CARGOES AND COMMODITIES. ABERDEEN'S TRADE WITH SCANDINAVIA AND THE BALTIC, c1302-c.1542.

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If publications are anything to go by, the study of medieval Scottish trade has been deeply unfashionable until recently. Some important work has appeared in the last decade to substantially rectify this neglect, but the amount of literature published on medieval Scottish trade remains remarkably limited when compared with that available for other European countries. (1) There is now even a history of medieval Ireland's trade, even though that country is hardly blessed with an abundance of medieval records on trade. (2) Compared to that available for Irish ports, a substantial number of records survive relating to commercial activity in later medieval Aberdeen.

There are two particularly important sources available for a study of the town's trade. The first is the *Exchequer Rolls*, which include details about the amount of customs revenue raised at Aberdeen and the volume of customable merchandise passing through the port from 1327.⁽³⁾ Until the mid-fifteenth century the customs accounts also usually indicate the number of vessels departing from the port during each period of account. Though there are gaps in the series of accounts, especially for the mid-fourteenth century, the Scottish customs accounts are one of the best sources of their type surviving for the medieval period anywhere in Europe. They are, however, a tantalizing source, for they do not tell the historian everything which might wish to be known. They include little information, for example, about imports or exports which were not liable to duty. This is a particularly serious omission as far as Aberdeen is concerned, since salmon exported by the town's burgesses – one of the burgh's main exports – was exempt from duty until the 1530s. Neither do the customs accounts give any indication about the destination of departing vessels.

In this respect English historians are very much luckier for an extensive collection of 'particular' accounts survive for most English ports. These often include details about exactly those matters on which the Scottish customs records published in the *Exchequer Rolls* are so reticent: the names and origins of ships and merchants trading at English ports and the cargoes and destinations of outward bound vessels. Similar accounts for Scotland are almost completely missing. The first surviving Aberdeen account of this nature dates from 1499. Other Aberdeen 'particulars' survive for 1522-4, 1526-7, 1531-2 and 1576-6, with a few more available for the 1580s. The local Aberdeen shore work accounts, meanwhile, are extant from 1596.⁽⁴⁾

The second principal source available for a study of later medieval Aberdeen's trade is the series of council registers which survives from 1398, though there is a lengthy gap in the series between 1414 and 1434. (5) The council registers are a mine of information about the people involved in trade, the problems which they encountered and the regulative framework within which commercial activity was practised. The emphasis of this article is, however, on the commodities of trade. The council registers also include many references to goods which were both imported and exported. On the other hand, this source provides less in the way of statistical data about trade than the customs accounts.

In addition to the customs accounts and the council registers many references to Aberdeen's trade can, of course, also be gleaned from a variety of other Scottish records. Miscellaneous foreign records augment still further the information available about the town's overseas trade. (6) Nevertheless, although a substantial and diverse array of source material is available for a study of Aberdeen's trade, the record material is far from complete. In 1410 the council of Aberdeen wrote to its counterpart in Danzig concerning an alleged incident of piracy committed by Aberdeen burgesses on a Danzig vessel (7) The letter states that Aberdeen's seal was well-known in the Prussian town – well-known, in other words, by 1410. There is no reason to doubt the validity of this statement, but the 1410 letter is the earliest surviving letter from Aberdeen to a Hanseatic town.

The trade of later medieval Aberdeen was conducted almost exclusively within a north European context. Some merchandise, such as figs and Gascon wine, was certainly shipped to Aberdeen from southern Europe, but most southern European produce probably arrived indirectly, via the Low Countries or Normandy. (8) Even in the sixteenth century, when direct Scottish contact with south-western France and northern Spain increased, Aberdeen's contact with these areas seems to have been negligible. The Aberdeen 'particulars' of 1577 and 1580 do not indicate the existence of any trading links with ports south of Normandy, while, of the ships recorded in the shore work accounts for the final years of the sixteenth century, only about 5% of the total number of recorded vessels came from Bordeaux, La Rochelle or Spain. (9)

Although Aberdeen's commercial contacts were mainly with northern Europe, the town's trade with the different regions of northern Europe was not evenly balanced. Until the later fifteenth century the Low Countries were probably Scotland's most important trading partner and there is no reason to doubt that, at least until then, most of Aberdeen's trade was channeled in that direction too. The frequence of these contacts is reflected by the large number of references to Flanders and Zeeland in particular in the council registers. Towards the end of the fifteenth century there appears to have been a growth in both Scotland's and Aberdeen's trade with Normandy and especially with Dieppe. (10) By then English trade – important in the thirteenth century, but interrupted by the wars of independence – had also revived. In the fifteenth century Aberdeen had trading links with several east-coast

English ports, including Berwick, Hull, Yarmouth and London. (11) Commercial links with Scandinavia and the Baltic were, then, only part of a much wider network of trading relationships which Aberdeen maintained across much of north-western Europe.

When merchants from Scandinavia and Germany first began to visit Aberdeen is uncertain. Both Berwick and Dundee received such visits before the end of the thirteenth century and Aberdeen may also have done. (12) The first documentary indiction of German commercial activity at Aberdeen dates, however, from the fourteenth century. In 1302 a Lübeck vessel heading for Aberdeen was driven by storms to Newcastle. It is not until 1341-2 that the first documentary evidence survives of Norwegian commercial activity at Aberdeen. (13)

During the wars of independence German merchants were probably reasonably frequent visitors to Aberdeen. Indeed, the English authorities suspected that German merchants assisted Robert I's forces in their recapture of the town in either June or July 1308, Several Germans, from various towns, were arrested in England for their alleged complicity in this event. The English authorities seem, however, to have had some difficulty in obtaining convictions against the Germans. Nine merchants arrested at Boston, for example, were found not guilty of the charges brought against them in 1310. As late as 1316, eight years after the capture of Aberdeen, the English government was still pursuing Herman Clipping, who was considered to have been one of the prime culprits involved in the Scottish recapture of the town. (14) The tenacity with which the English pursued those such as Clipping who were suspected of collusion with the Scots in 1308 can probably be explained by the strategic importance of Aberdeen. From 1306 to 1308 the town could be used as a supply point for English military activity in the north-east. With Robert I's defeat of the Comyns, followed by the capture of Aberdeen, there were few bases left in the area from which the English and their allies could mount a campaign against Robert. Instead, Aberdeen became a vital funnel through which foreign supplies could be channelled to Robert I's supporters. It was the first of the principal five Scottish burghs to be captured by the king, and pirates, as well as bona fide merchants were welcomed with their wares: in 1314, for example, merchants from Lübeck, Stralsund and Greifswald captured a ship sailing from Nantes to English-held Perth and sold its cargo in Aberdeen. (15)

It is impossible to determine the precise level of German commercial activity at Aberdeen during the wars of independence. Most of the evidence of such activity is derived from English sources. By their nature such sources tend to dwell only on those ships and merchants who fell foul of the English authorities. The surviving fragment of the 1317 Aberdeen burgh court roll refers to a Tideman Breme, whose name would suggest a German origin: yet his is not a name which can be traced in the English records. (16) It is doubtful, however, whether those Germans who were active at Aberdeen during the wars of independence traded from their home ports. Though

the English authorities were concerned about the activities of German merchants in Scotland, and though they complained to German towns about acts of piracy mounted on English shipping, they did not apparently request that the German towns cease to trade with Scotland. Such requests were sent to the Low Countries. In 1309 Edward II complained specifically about the aid which German merchants based in Flanders were extending to the Scots. (17) It seems likely that most, if not all, legitimate trade involving German merchants in Scotland at this period was conducted from the Low Countries rather than from the towns of northern Germany.

It is not altogether certain when direct trading links were established between Aberdeen and the Hanseatic towns. It is likely, however, that, if there were any such links before the later fourteenth century, they were considerably boosted in the second half of that century when the sea route through the Sound began to be used with increasing frequency by shipping. By 1410 - when Aberdeen claimed that its seal was well-known in Danzig - it must be presumed that trading relations were already of some duration. But it is only in the fifteenth century that a clearer picture emerges of which ports in the Baltic maintained trading links with Aberdeen. Foremost among them, in all probability, were Danzig and Stralsund, the two Hanseatic towns which are mentioned most frequently in the Aberdeen council registers. In addition to contacts with these towns, less frequent links were also forged with Hamburg, Lübeck, Greifswald and Stettin and perhaps also with Bremen and Rostock. Ships from these two towns are recorded at Aberdeen, but direct trading links with them can not be attested before 1542. (18) There is little evidence to suggest that Aberdeen maintained links with ports east or north of Danzig. If goods from Sweden or Livonia reached Aberdeen they probably did so via Danzig, though pirated vessels and captured mariners from Königsberg and Stockholm, as well as from other Baltic ports, did sometimes appear in Aberdeen's harbour (19)

While there is little evidence of contact with Sweden, Danes and Norwegians are both recorded at Aberdeen. Only rarely, however, are their home towns mentioned. It is possible that Aberdeen merchants were among the Scots whom the Hanseatic authorities attempted to have excluded from the Scanian herring fairs in the 1370s. (20) Certainly by the fifteenth century, when trade links had been established with Danzig and Stralsund, it is reasonable to suppose that ships sailing between these towns and Aberdeen may have called at ports situated in Denmark's Sound provinces. All ships were supposed to stop at Elsinore to pay the Sound toll and by the early sixteenth century there were also links with Varberg and Copenhagen. (21) Such links as existed with Norway are most likely to have been focussed on Bergen, that country's chief commercial emporium in the middle ages, and the northern isles, though there is also a late fifteenth-century reference to Tønsberg among Aberdeen's records. (22) No specific evidence exists of trade between Aberdeen and Iceland, though in the early sixteenth century ships bound for Iceland from eastern

England sailed along the Scottish coast before negotiating the treacherous waters of the Pentland Firth and the Atlantic. (23) These vessels may well have called at Scottish ports if only to purchase supplies for the long voyage to Iceland.

Aberdeen's trading links were primarily determined by those commodities which could be exported from the burgh and that merchandise which it was either necessary or desirable to import. (24) The town's main customable exports were of an agricultural nature, composed of the surpluses of wool and woolfells, hides and skins which were acquired from beasts in the surrounding countryside. Fish, too, was exported – mainly salmon and cod – but woollen cloth is the only manufactured product which was subject to duty from the fifteenth century and therefore known to have been regularly exported. New export duties were also levied on salt and coal from the fifteenth century, though for obvious geological reasons neither figured prominantly among Aberdeen's exports. Some wares which were not subject to customs duties were also exported. Indeed, some imported goods, such as wine and salt, were occasionally reexported.

There is a very marked similarity between Aberdeen's exports and the exports of other Scottish towns. Wool, woolfells, hides, skins and cloth were commonly dispatched abroad from other Scottish ports. Fish exports, too, were not unique to Aberdeen. Salmon was the most important type of fish exported from Aberdeen in the later middle ages, but salmon was also exported from Perth, Dundee and Montrose in particular. Aberdeen merchants were therefore competing with those from other Scottish towns in much the same range of exports. There are signs that, at least to some extent, Aberdeen was losing the competition. In the thirteenth century Aberdeen, together with Berwick and Perth, was probably one of the three most important centres of overseas trade in Scotland. In the fourteenth century Berwick's position in this trinity was gradually undermined by the rise of Leith. After the capture of Berwick by the English in 1333, Leith emerged as Scotland's largest centre of overseas trade. This adjustment of trading patterns in the south-east was not in itself any threat to Aberdeen's prosperity. Aberdeen retained its dominance of the north-east's trade until 1542 and after. Nevertheless, Aberdeen's relative ranking among the major exporting burghs did undergo some changes of fortune. Between 1327 and 1333 Aberdeen was second only to Berwick in the volume of its trade. By the later fourteenth century Aberdeen had slipped into third place, behind Edinburgh and Linlithgow. In the 1410s it slipped still further, outstripped by Edinburgh and Dundee and usually overtaken by Perth and Linlithgow too. This decline in Aberdeen's ranking during the 1410s was set against a widespread slump in Scottish trade which seems to have affected Aberdeen rather more than the other Scottish towns. By the mid-fifteenth century Aberdeen had regained its position as Scotland's second busiest port of overseas trade. From 1460 until 1542 its custumars always returned the second largest amount of revenue to the exchequer after those of Edinburgh.

A simple analysis of ranking based on collected revenue is not, however, especially illuminating. It disguises a shift which was occuring in the balance of Scottish trade. The volume of exports passing through the ports of northern and central Scotland was declining, while that shipped abroad from the south-east, and especially from Leith, was growing. From 1327 until 1333 Aberdeen accounted for 25.6% of total Scottish customs receipts. By the 1460s that share had fallen to 12.9%. Aberdeen continued to handle between about 13% and 15% of total receipts in each decade up to and including the 1500s, from when its share gradually eased a little more, to 9.5% in the 1530s.

Aberdeen dominated the Scottish salmon trade, its custumars accounting for between just over a third and just over a half of customable salmon exports in each decade between the 1460s and the 1530s. In the export of most other commodities, however, Leith was squeezing its rivals. The Edinburgh port's share of the total wool trade rose from almost 20% in the early fifteenth century to 90% by the 1530s. Until then Aberdeen had managed to retain a respectable proportion of the wool trade. It handled 20.5% of the trade in the 1500s, but only 5.0% by the 1540s. The town's share of the trade in woolfells and hides had declined earlier. Its share of the former fell from 20.3% in the early fourteenth century, to 13.3% in the 1460s and between 4% and 7% in each decade from then until the 1540s. While 16.5% of hide exports had passed through Aberdeen in the early fourteenth century, only 3.3% of the total revenue collected on hide exports in the 1490s was collected at Aberdeen. The town's share of the trade both in skins and cloth was never large in the fifteenth century. In the cloth trade, for example, Aberdeen's share of exports ranged from a peak of 3.7% in the 1470s to less than 1% in the 1460s and 1490s. Similarly, Aberdeen's share of the trade in herring and cod was minute when compared with that of the Pittenweem group of burghs, despite the international reputation which Aberdeen had gained for cod in the thirteenth century. (25)

Aberdeen was not, however, just competing with other Scottish burghs. All Scottish towns, including Aberdeen were competing with other parts of Europe. Wool, often of a better quality than that produced in Scotland, was available from England, Ireland and Spain as well as Scotland. Woollen cloth, also frequently of a much better quality than that manufactured in Scotland, was produced in England and the Low Countries in particular. Other types of cloth were produced in other areas. Various types of skins could be acquired from most parts of Europe, including Spain, Portugal, England, Ireland and Scandinavia. As for fish, cod could be purchased in Norway and Iceland; herring from Scania and Holland; and salmon from Ireland and Norway. This international competition, set against the falling demand for merchandise after the Black Death and the limited range and poor quality of Scottish exports, accounts for the declining volume of Scottish exports from the later fourteenth century. The overall level of Scottish exports remained generally depressed from then until the sixteenth century. So, while Leith was squeezing its Scottish rivals, Scotland was in turn being squeezed by its international

rivals.

Within this rather depressing framework, the overseas demand for Aberdeen's exports determined the pattern of the town's trade. The demand for Scottish fish in both Scandinavia and the Baltic region was limited since prestigious quantities of fish were available locally. Although the routes of the Hanseatic fish trade were extended westward in the fifteenth century, they were directed mainly towards Shetland and Iceland rather than towards Aberdeen. It was stockfish rather than salmon which the Hansards sought and stockfish, as noted above, was not one of later medieval Aberdeen's major exports. The main overseas market for Aberdeen's salmon lay in England and Normandy rather than in the Baltic⁽²⁶⁾. Neither Scandinavia nor the Baltic lands were major importers of wool, though they did import cloth. Although fine quality furs, hides and skins were obtainable in Scandinavia, there was a market in the Baltic region for Scottish hides and skins, especially lambskins. Poor quality Scottish cloth, hides and skins were the principal commodities which Scottish pedlars hawked around the rural areas of Scandinavia, Poland and Germany from the fifteenth century and the Scottish export trade was attuned to supply these emigrant Scots pedlars. (27)

Nevertheless, given the structure of Aberdeen's exports, Scandinavia and the Baltic region can only have been of secondary importance to later medieval Aberdeen merchants. Aberdeen handled only a small proportion of Scotland's woollen cloth trade, substantially less than that handled by for example Edinburgh and Dundee. Other Scottish commodities sent to the Baltic were also comparatively minor components of Aberdeen's trade. The town's share in the trade of hides and lambskins was eclipsed not only by that of Edinburgh but also by that of Dundee and several other towns. There were no local supplies of salt or coal near Aberdeen with which the demand for these goods in the Baltic area could be met. Aberdeen's geographic position would lead one to expect that the town played an important part in Scotland's trade with Scandinavia and the Hanseatic towns. But the relative importance of wool and salmon to Aberdeen's trade determined that the town's principal trading partners were not to the east but rather in the Low Countries, Normandy and England.

It is impossible to determine the exact frequency of Aberdeen's trading links, such as they existed, with Scandinavia and the Baltic. Until the mid-fifteenth century the number of vessels laden with customable goods which departed from Aberdeen is usually recorded in the *Exchequer Rolls*. The destination of those ships is not recorded. Between 1327 and 1333 an average of 36.2 vessels left Aberdeen each year. By the early fifteenth century, as indicated in the appendix to this article, vessel departures had declined substantially. In the 1410s an average of only 4.6 ships left Aberdeen annually. Given that Aberdeen's export trade was directed more towards the south than towards the east, few vessels can have sailed from Aberdeen to the Baltic or Scandinavia during the early fifteenth century. Even an average of one departure per year might be considered as an excessive estimate. After 1452 the

Exchequer Rolls do not include figures about vessel departures. No departures for either Scandinavia or the Baltic are recorded in the earliest surviving 'particular' account for Aberdeen which covers the year 1499-1500.⁽²⁸⁾ Likewise, no such departures are recorded in the accounts from 1524, 1527 or 1532.⁽²⁹⁾ Aberdeen vessels are recorded on four occasions in the first extant Sound toll register for 1497; but none are recorded in the registers for 1503 or 1528.⁽³⁰⁾ The evidence is extremely jejune, but it would seem as if in the early sixteenth century too very few ships left Aberdeen for either Scandinavia or the Baltic.

Aberdeen's imports in the later medieval period are much more difficult to determine than its exports. There is little statistical data with which to work, but is seems likely that a broad range of manufactured products was imported, along with a more limited range of agricultural products and raw materials. The biggest difference between Aberdeen's imports and those of the Forth ports was the former's much greater reliance on salt imports. Scandinavia and the Baltic were not generally noted for their manufactured exports. Brewing was perhaps the only industry for which the Hanseatic towns were internationally famous. Beer was produced in most of the Hanseatic towns and brewing was especially important in Hamburg and Wismar. Some German beer certainly found its way to Aberdeen. Hamburg beer for example, is referred to in the town in 1445 while the cargo of a Danzig ship which arrived in Aberdeen in the same year included two lasts of beer. (31) On the whole, however, the Baltic region tended to specialize in the export of agricultural produce, fish and raw materials. The chief exports from Danzig in the fifteenth century were wheat, rye, copper, lead and timber (particularly in the form of staves and oak planks). Smaller amounts of other goods, such as flax, were also exported. Exports from the other Prussian ports were similar, though Königsberg also exported amber. Grain, timber and timber-based products were also exported from the towns of the western Baltic. These goods provided a potential basis for trading links with Scotland and Aberdeen.

Ships bound for Scotland from Danzig were freighted mainly with flax and grain and smaller amounts of timber, timber-related products (such as pitch and tar), iron and miscellaneous other goods. [32] Flax could be used to produce linseed oil or linen. Rye and wheat figured foremost among the grains sent to Scotland. While the Scottish climate was well-suited to the cultivation of oats, wheat was more difficult to grow because of the relatively long period of summer warmth which it requires to ripen. Timber imports, meanwhile, reflect deforestization in eastern Scotland. Most of the imported Baltic wood was used for construction work. The Danzig customs accounts do not indicate the specific destination of Scottish-bound vessels, but all of Danzig's most important Scottish exports can be traced at Aberdeen. Likewise, grain, timber and timber-related products can all be traced on Wendish ships which arrived in Aberdeen. [33] By contrast, references to Scandinavian imports at Aberdeen are relatively sparce. The paucity of such references is indicative of the similar nature of the Scottish and Scandinavian economies. They were too similar to

sustain a regular amount of bilateral trade for most of the medieval period. (34) Some herring from the Sound region is recorded at Aberdeen in 1438(35), but only after the development of the Scandinavian timber trade towards the end of the century do references to Danish and Norwegian commercial activity at Aberdeen become at all significant. Thereafter some other Scandinavian imports are also recorded: gunpowder, for example, was purchased by an Aberdeen merchant in Denmark in 1543. (36)

Evidence regarding the arrival of shipping at Aberdeen is even patchier than that which survives for vessel departures. It would, however, be wrong to assume that because few ships seem to have left Aberdeen for Scandinavia or the Baltic that equally few ships arrived in Aberdeen from Scandinavia or the Baltic. Evidence from Dundee highlights the problem. The Dundee 'particulars' for the 1550s can be compared with the ship arrivals recorded in the burgh head court book. The former suggests that there was only a very modest level of trade with the Baltic and Scandinavia. (37) The latter, on the other hand, reveals that a substantial number of ships arrived in Dundee from these areas. (38) It is possible, indeed likely, that at Aberdeen too more vessels arrived from the east than departed for the east.

The nature of Aberdeen's exports suggests that Aberdeen's trade was directed mainly towards the Low Countries, Normandy and England. The detailed records of vessel departures, such as they survive, unequivocally support such a conclusion. On the other hand, there was a demand in Aberdeen for various goods exported from the Hanseatic towns and, towards the end of the period, for Scandinavian timber too. The council registers provide unequivocal evidence that commodities arrived in the town from these areas. There was a greater basis for trade from east to west than there was in the other direction. While ships could be dispatched to the east in ballast, this was hardly a cost-effective use of resources. But how else could cargo space be filled on eastward bound voyages? In 1439 a Greifswald ship called at Aberdeen whilst en route for its home town. Its cargo space had been filled at Nijmegen in the Low Countries. (39) In 1499 a Lübeck skipper departed from Aberdeen not with an empty, Baltic-bound vessel, but rather with a cargo of Scottish exports bound for the port of Vere in the Low Countries. (40) On both occasions, perhaps, Aberdeen was used as a mid-voyage port of call. Evidence of this sort is admittedly not abundant. But is suggests that Aberdeen's trade with the Baltic and Scandinavia was not forged in isolation from wider patterns of European trade. Indeed, it suggests that Aberdeen's overseas trade should be viewed as a small, but integral, component of trading relationships between the Baltic region and the Low Countries.

Notes

Where possible abbreviations conform to the List of Abbreviated Titles of the Printed Sources of Scottish History to 1560, published as a supplement to the Scottish

Historical Review of October 1963.

- The most important recent studies of medieval Scottish trade are A.W.K. Stevenson, Trade Between Scotland and the Low Countries in the Later Middle Ages (University of Aberdeen, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982) and A. Grant, Independence and Nationhood. Scotland 1306-1469 (London, 1984), chapter 3.
- 2. T. O'Neill, Merchants and Mariners in Medieval Ireland (Blackrock, 1987).
- 3. ER, i-xvii, passim. (covering the period to 1542).
- 4. Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO), E71/1/1-10; L.B. Taylor, ed., Aberdeen Shore Work Accounts 1596-1670 (Aberdeen, 1972).
- 5. City of Aberdeen District Archive, Council Register (hereafter ADA, CR), ixvii (covering the period to 1542); J. Cripps, Report to the City Council on the Missing Register of Council 1414-1434 (Aberdeen, 1981).
- 6. For a fuller survey of the documentary records, see I. Flett and J. Cripps, 'Documentary Sources' in M. Lynch, M. Spearman and G. Stell, eds., *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), 18-41.
- 7. Wojewodskiego Archiwum Panstwowe (hereafter WAP), Torun, Kat. I, no. 686; WAP Gdansk, 300/59/4. 254.
- 8. E.g., J.C. Murray, ed., Excavations in the Medieval Burgh of Aberdeen 1973-81 (Edinburgh, 1982), 242; ER, iv, 568.
- 9. Taylor, Accounts, 24-45.
- 10. Stevenson, Thesis, 330.
- E.g. SRO, E71/1/1; Public Record Office, E122/202/5; Norfolk Record Office, Y/C4/170; CDS, iv, nos. 967, 1078, 1107, 1114, 1130.
- 12. D. Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe' in Lynch, Medieval Town, 162.
- 13. CDS, v, no. 328; ER, i, 474.
- Calendar of Close Rolls (London, 1902-), 1307-1313, 276-7; 1313-18, 2 71. See also J. Dilley, 'German Merchants in Scotland, 1297-1327', SHR, xxvii (1948), 142-55.
- 15. ibid., 152.
- 16. W.C. Dickinson, ed., Early Records of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1307, 1398-1407 (SHS, 1957), 9, 17.
- 17. Foedera (R), ii, 70; Rot. Scot., i, 78.
- 18. ADA, CR, v(1), 266; vii, 952; viii, 856.
- 19. K. Höhlbaum et.al., eds., Hansisches Urkundebuch, (Halle, etc., 1886-1939), vi, no. 176; J. Stuart, ed., Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen 1398-1570 (Spalding Club, 1844), 205.
- D. Ditchburn, 'A Note on Scandinavian Trade with Scotland in the later Middle Ages' in G.G. Simpson, ed., Scotland and Scandinavia 800-1800 (Edinburgh, 1990), 77.
- 21. ADA, CR, ix, 99-100, 442.
- 22. ADA, Sasine Register, i, 651.
- 23. J. Webb, Great Tooley of Ipswich. Portrait of an Early Tudor Merchant (Suffolk Record Society, 1962), 79-80.

- 24. Unless otherwise stated references to commodities and calculations regarding exports and shipping which follow are based on the Scottish customs accounts published in *ER*, i-xvii, passim. For the period from 1460 the customs returns have been tabulated in I. Guy, The Scottish Export Trade, 1460-1599 (University of St. Andrews, unpublished M.Phil. thesis, 1982).
- 25. A.W.K. Stevenson, 'Trade with the South' in Lynch, Medieval Town, 186.
- 26. ibid., 201.
- 27. Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe', 167.
- 28. SRO, E71/1/1.
- 29. SRO, E71/1/2-4.
- 30. N. Bang, ed., *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund 1467-1660* (Copenhagen, 1906-33), i, 2-4.
- 31. ADA, CR, iv, 413; v(2), 700.
- 32. Ditchburn, 'Trade with Northern Europe', 168.
- 33. ADA, CR, iv-ix, passim.
- 34. Ditchburn, 'Scandinavian Trade', 84-5.
- 35. ADA, CR, iv, 154.
- 36. ER, xviii, 38.
- 37. SRO, E71/12/2-6.
- 38. City of Dundee District Archive, Burgh and Head Court Book, ii, passim.; Ditchburn, 'Scandinavian Trade', 80-1.
- 39. Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck, vii (Lübeck, 1885), no 808.
- 40. SRO, E71/1/1; W.S. Unger, ed., De Tol van Iersekerood. Documenten en Rekeningen, 1321-1572 (The Hague, 1939), 51.

Appendix

Vessels Departing from Aberdeen with Customable Exports, 1360-1452.