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Trust, Globalisation and Citizenship in Renaissance Europe:

The Case of the South German Merchants of Lisbon Around 1500*

by

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Over the last thirty years, social theory has grown interested in the effects of globalisation on trust[1]. Some scholars have prolonged classic modernisation narratives, such as Montesquieu's insistence on the role of commerce in civilising mores[2] or the belief of the founding fathers of sociology (Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and Max Weber) that emancipation would ultimately emerge from modernisation[3]. They have, accordingly, taken an optimistic view on the relationship between globalisation and trust and seen trust as an outcome of globalisation. This perspective contrasts with the perspective of other social scientists who have taken a more critical view on globalisation. Their approaches also build on long-established arguments such as the core-periphery inequality at the heart of Wallerstein's 'world-system' analysis[4], the Frankfurt School-type insistence on the losers of modernity[5] or studies in risk management sharing

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[1] S. Polillo, 'Globalization: civilizing or destructive? An empirical test of the international determinants of generalized trust', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 53(1) (2012), 45-65, 47ff.

[2] See A. O. Hirschman, *The Passions and the Interests: Political Arguments for Capitalism Before its Triumph* (latest edition, Princeton, 2013), 56ff. For an example of approaches to globalisation and trust inspired by the *doux commerce*, see: D. N. McCloskey, *The Bourgeois Virtues. Ethics for an Age of Commerce* (Chicago, 2006), 126ff.

[3] See A. Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1990), 7ff. Work inspired by analyses stressing the 'opportunity side' of modernity includes: D. J. Frank *et al*., 'The individualist polity and the prevalence of professionalized psychology: a cross-national study', *American Sociological Review* 60(3) (1995), 360-77.

[4] See, on the relationship between the discourse of globalisation and structures, P. C. Hiss & P. M. Hirsch, 'The discourse of globalization: framing and sensemaking of an emerging concept', *American Sociological Review* 70(1) (1995), 29-52. For the link to Wallerstein, see Polillo, 'Globalization', 49.

[5] See Z. Bauman & L. Donskis, *Moral Blindness: The Loss of Sensitivity in Liquid Modernity* (Cambridge, 2013). On Bauman's affiliation with the Frankfurt School, see A. Rattansi, 'Zymunt Bauman: an Adorno for "liquid modern" times?', *The Sociological Review* 62 (2014), 908-17, 909.

Heidegger's scepticism about technology[6]. Contrary to the former group of scholars, the latter insists on the rise of distrust in the wake of globalisation.

Despite their contrasting views, these social scientists share a series of assumptions upon which it is worth elaborating. First, all of them take the discontinuity between pre-modern and modern societies for granted. Indeed, they invariably see modern societies as the product of new developments starting in the 16th century at the earliest. Secondly, these scholars see a greater 'time-space distanciation', as Anthony Giddens put it, or related phenomena, as having introduced a radical difference between pre-modern and modern societies[7]. Globalisation has thus come to define modernity as the era in which "the relations between local and distant social forms and events become […] 'stretched'", to quote again Giddens[8]. Thirdly, trust or, more precisely, generalised trust (i.e. "trusting most (but not all) people you do not know or know nothing about"), as opposed to particularised trust (i.e. "trusting people you know or know something about"), is ultimately deemed a product of globalisation in this context (as is, for that matter, widespread distrust)[9].

Whilst largely accepted, the assumptions on which social theorists base their assessment of the relationship between globalisation and trust are highly problematic from a historian's point of view. First, by placing the emphasis of globalisation on "the relations between local and distant social forms and events" becoming "stretched", sociologists like Giddens view it as a technology-led and, hence, according to a common criticism of technology-led models, as a linear process of innovation[10]. Following from there, this process is understood to be singular and irreversible. Implied in it is, above all, that it comes first and is, thus, the primary cause of further developments such as generalised trust (whether the latter prevails, or distrust becomes generalised instead). By opting for a model of globalisation that is not narrowly technology-led

[6] See, in the first instance, U. Beck, *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, transl. M. Ritter (London, 1992), 28, 49. The link between Beck and Heidegger (*via* Hans Jonas) is mine, see: G. A. Loud & M. Staub, 'Some thoughts on the making of medieval history', in: *eid*. (eds), *The Making of Medieval History* (York, 2017), 1-14, 10ff.

[7] Giddens, *Consequences*, 14ff.

[8] *Ibid.*, 67.

[9] On generalised trust as a characteristic of modern societies, see – in addition to Giddens, *Consequences* – N. Luhmann, *Trust and Power*, transl. H. David *et al.* (Chichester, 1979), A. Honneth, *The Struggle for Recognition: The Moral Grammar of Social Conflicts*, transl. J. Anderson (Cambridge, 1995), A. B. Seligman, *The Problem of Trust* (Princeton, 1997). A useful starting point can be found in J. Baberowski (ed.), *Was ist Vertrauen? Ein interdisziplinäres Gespräch* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2014). On the place of distrust in modern democracy from a Polish perspective, see P. Sztompa, *Trust: A Sociological Theory* (Cambridge, 1999). On trust in contemporary societies, see M. Hartmann, *Vertrauen. Die unsichtbare Macht* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2020). From a historical point of view, see U. Frevert, *Vertrauensfragen: eine Obsession der Moderne* (Munich, 2013). These reflections may be tied to suggestions, inspired by N. Luhmann, that societies in the process of centralisation used media in order to overcome the limitations of face-to-face communication without giving-up its ideal. See R. Schlögl, ‚Kommunikation und Vergesellschaftung unter Anwesenden. Formen des Sozialen und ihre Transformation in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 24 2008), 155-224. The definition of particularized vs. generalized trust is taken from N. Berggren & H. Jordahl, 'Free to trust: economic freedom and social capital', *KYKLOS* 59(2) (2006), 141-69, 143.

[10] On the dependence of innovation on invention in economic theory, see B. Godin, 'The linear model of innovation: the historical construction of an analytical framework', *Science, Technology, and Human Values* 31(6) (2006), 639-67, 656ff.

and, hence, by allowing for a less linear approach to innovation, historians may observe globalisation at work in other eras and areas than modern Europe, the West or, eventually, the Westernised world. Such a reassessment is also momentous for the history of trust since the process from particularised to generalised trust is no longer a given under these circumstances.

It is, indeed, important to remember, secondly, that, while the progression from particularised to generalised trust is commonly assumed[11], classic work by Putnam and Fukuyama insists on the importance of "civic associations that create 'bridges' between social arenas not otherwise connected to each other"[12]. Accordingly, it seems appropriate to pay specific attention to the interaction between forms of particularised and generalised trust.

This perspective is, thirdly, even more advisable the further back in time historians move to scrutinise the relationship between globalisation and trust, without, that is, assuming a fundamental discontinuity between pre-modern and modern societies[13]. Indeed, it then becomes possible to try to understand how early globalisation originated from the largely decentralised societies of late medieval Europe.

This article aims to contribute to a better comprehension of early European globalisation by exploring the relationship between globalisation and trust while challenging some tenets of social theory. It will take an open approach to globalisation, trust and their relationship along the lines that have just been mentioned. This approach will focus on the case of the South German merchants trading in and with Lisbon around 1500 as well as the craftsmen, artists and humanists who were involved in their activities. There are empirical reasons for this choice, which will be detailed below. In short, both the rich source material that is available to historians of this milieu and the overall commercial, political and cultural significance of this context for historians interested in the early globalisation make it advisable to concentrate on this case. The small-scale approach is not only driven by effectiveness, however. Its exemplarity also proceeds from the largely decentralised structure of late medieval European society, in which city-states coexisted with early forms of the nation-state and city-leagues. This society, which took shape from the 13th century, has become associated, especially in his later stages, with the Renaissance[14]. While it cannot be the aim of this article to elaborate on this process, it is important to recall the

[11] See S. Ogilvie, *Institutions and European Trade: Merchant Guilds, 1000-1800* (Cambridge, 2011), 429f.
[12] R. Putnam, *Making Democracy Work: Civic Traditions in Modern Italy* (Princeton, 1993); F. Fukuyama, *Trust: The Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity* (New York, 1995). See Polillo, 'Globalization', 46 (quote above). On the distinction between 'bridging' and 'bounding' interactions, see D. Stolle, 'Trusting strangers – The concept of generalized trust in perspective', *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Politikwissenschaft* 4(2) (2002), 397-412, 405f.
[13] For a broad historical approach to trust not limited to, or even focused on, modernity, see S. Reynolds, 'Trust in medieval society and politics', in: *ead.*, *The Middle Ages Without Feudalism: Essays in Criticism and Comparison on the Medieval West* (Farnham, 2012), xiii, and G. Hoskins, *Trust: A History* (Oxford, 2014). For a tentative historical semantics of 'trust', see D. Weltecke, 'Trust: some methodological reflections', in: P. Schulte *et al*. (eds), *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2008), 380-92, 386ff.
[14] See H. Spruyt, *The Sovereign State and Its Competitors: An Analysis of Systems Change* (Princeton, 1994).

importance of republican humanist thought in this identification[15]. For republican thought too matters for this article and its focus.

Indeed, by drawing our attention to citizenship, republican thought provides us with a framework for examining the interaction between particularised and generalised trust and for comprehending globalisation against the background of decentralised societies. Moreover, thanks to its rootedness in the period under investigation, republican thought gives us an opportunity to get close to and, to an extent, to explore the relationship between the practice and theory of citizenship in the context of the Renaissance.

Before it proceeds to the close examination of the case of the German merchants trading in and with Lisbon around 1500 and their milieu, this article will, first, reframe the question of the relationship between globalisation and trust in the Renaissance in republican terms. It will then, secondly, introduce the context of the case-study and elaborate on its empirical dimension. After, thirdly, a close study of the case, it will, fourthly and finally, explore some aspects of the relationship between the theory and practice of citizenship in the Renaissance as it can be drawn from the case-study.

I

Two assumptions are commonly made about trust, both of which are significant for the ways in which it is approached, and its importance is assessed. First, trust is considered a matter for decision and a substitute for information. Where information is wanting, so the reasoning goes, trust is advisable[16]. Conversely, an agent who is well-informed does not need to place trust in other agents. As shown by the political scientist Francisco Herreros, this commonly held assumption of a trade-off between information and trust disappears as soon as one realises that trust is a belief and, hence, an expectation in other people's trustworthiness whilst information can be either factual or personal[17]. Personal information and trust are obviously linked.

[15] The link between republicanism and the Renaissance via humanism was established by Hans Baron in his work on *Bürgerhumanismus*, i.e. 'civic humanism'. On this context, see M. Staub, ‚Bürgerlichkeit im Exil: Bernhard Groethuysen und Hans Baron', in: H. Lehmann, M. Matthiesen, O. G. Oexle & M. Staub (eds), *Nationalsozialismus in den Kulturwissenschaften*, vol. 2: *Leitbegriffe - Deutungsmuster – Paradigmenkämpfe; Erfahrungen und Transformationen im Exil* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 211) (Göttingen, 2004), 351-74, 364ff. On the reception and transformation of Baron's ‚civic humanism' in the Anglo-American context, see W. J. Connell, 'The republican idea', in: J. Hankins (ed.), *Renaissance Civic Humanism: Reappraisals and Reflections* (Cambridge, 2000), 14-29.

[16] This assumption is most evident in work based on rational choice theory approaches to trust. See James S. Coleman, *Foundations of Social Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990).

[17] F. Herreros, *The Problem of Forming Social Capital: Why Trust?* (Basingstoke, 2004), 8. The conception of trust as an expectation about another individual's trustworthiness (resting on 'encapsulated interests': "I trust you because I think it is in your interest to take my interests in the relevant matter seriously") is based on R. Hardin, *Trust and Trustworthiness* (New York, 2002) (quote, 1). See too D. Gambetta, 'Can we trust trust?', in: *id*. (ed.), *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations* (Oxford, 1988), 213-37. For a critical perspective on trust in economics with an emphasis on information and enforcement, see T. W. Guinnane, 'Trust: a concept too many', *Jahrbuch für*

Following from this insight, the republican family of thought has been concerned with the trustworthiness of political representatives and some of its authors have come up with a series of reflections on the ways in which trust facilitates politics[18]. Recovering this thinking is, thus, of the utmost importance if we are to understand the significance of trust in political life and, indeed, beyond it.

Next to this most needed reassessment of trust as an expectation, as opposed to trust as a decision, it is essential to question a second common assumption. Many scholars consider particularised trust within members of close-knit networks to precede and, ultimately, to favour generalised trust among members of the public[19]. Few have attempted to explain the alleged precedence, both temporal and causal, of particular trust over general trust while even fewer have dismissed such a link altogether[20]. Overall, however, engagement with the relationship between particular and general trust has remained limited. The reason for such limited engagement may reside in the approach that underlies it. For the generalisation of trust out of particular trust is deeply rooted in an approach that puts ownership first, again in both a temporal and a causal sense[21]. Against this – we may call it, with reference to a well-established dichotomy – liberal approach, republican thinkers have posited that public rules "create private space", as political

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Wirtschaftsgeschichte 46 (2005), 77-92, following Hardin on the concentration on trustworthiness and the suggestion to focus on 'credibility' instead of trust by O. E. Williamson, 'Calculativeness, trust, and economic organization', *Journal of Law and Economics* 36 (1993), 453-86.

[18] See P. Pettit, 'Republican theory and political trust', in: M. Levi & V. Braithwaite (eds), *Trust and Governance* (New York, 1998), 295-314, 302ff.

[19] See n. 11.

[20] See, in addition to Ogilvie, *Institutions*, and with contrasting positions, A. Greif, *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: The Lessons from Medieval Trade* (Cambridge, 2006). For a critique of Greif's interpretation, see J. Edwards & S. Ogilvie, 'Contract enforcement, institutions and social capital: the Maghribi traders reappraised', *The Economic History Review* 65(2) (2012), 421-44. The debate about Greif's work has not revolved around trust as such, but more generally around the institutional arrangements that enforced long-distance trade relations in pre-modern Europe and the Mediterranean. It is thus to be linked to the historiography of long-distance trade networks and of credit in the pre-modern world. Whilst this historiography cannot be detailed here, it is worth mentioning that the cultural history approach that was predominant in it has recently given way to approaches that privilege context over structure, in line with some of the suggestions made by economists working on trust (see n. 17 above) as well as a diversity of perspectives. Trust is thus approached as "a set of values, a suite of emotions, a conversation involving speech-acts and physical performance, and a way of negotiating the spaces in which relationships were conducted", as recently suggested by: I. Forrest & A. Haour, 'Trust in long-distance relationships, 1000-1600 CE', in: *The Global Middle Ages = Past & Present* 218, Suppl. Issue 13 (2018), 190-213, 192 (further literature on long-distance trade networks and on credit) and 193 (quote). My own article, whilst suggesting a republican approach to trust, concurs with this recent work on pre-modern long-distance trade networks that historians are faced in the sources with "a complex continuum of trust practices in every setting where life is lived beyond the immediate; from journeys of a few miles to long voyages across oceans or deserts" and that they should approach it without assuming "that trust operates on either the local or the global scale; that it is thick or thin, easy or difficult" (*ibid.*, 193).

[21] This approach is epitomised by M. W. Macy & J. Skvoretz, 'The evolution of trust and cooperation between strangers: a computational model', *American Sociological Review* 63(4) (1998), 638–60, and J. Henrich *et al.*, 'In search of *homo economicus*: behavioral experiments in 15 small-scale societies', *American Economic Review* 91(2) (2001), 73–8.

theorist Philip H. Pettit put it[22]. If we follow on from their assumption, it may not necessarily be the case that particular trust takes precedence over general trust. On the contrary, general trust of some kind may prove essential to the existence and development of particular trust.

Republican authors are, thus, critical too in reassessing the common assumption about the temporal and causal progression from particular to general trust. Their thought draws our attention to cases in which trust facilitates politics, on the one hand, and to the conditions under which politics fosters trust, on the other. Switching from a liberal to a republican approach to trust, as this article is suggesting for reasons of method, has added value for research on the Renaissance since this period was crucial in the development of the republican tradition of thought. While linking this reflection to contemporary practices requires caution, this coincidence is at least intriguing. This article will seek to understand, in its fourth section, whether this coincidence was fortuitous or not and, if not, how practice and thinking related to each other. Prior to that, though, it will examine Renaissance practices considering republican approaches to trust in general.

Reassessing trust to better understand its effects on society and its significance for social life is advisable for its own sake. The benefit of a republican approach to trust goes further, however, as such perspective enables introducing citizenship and, as crucially to this article on the Renaissance period, linking citizenship and trust to globalisation. Herreros has suggested that "the relation between representatives and constituents can be pictured using an agency model" in which "the citizens are the principals and the representatives are their agents"[23]. As in all agency models, a degree of asymmetry is to be assumed in the information available to the principal and the agent. Furthermore, a principal's aim is to make his or her agent accountable. Herreros contends that republican thinkers have not only carefully thought about the principal-agent problem in a political context. While they usually assumed that the accountability of the agent to the principal was best delivered through institutional mechanism, they also "considered that trust could play a role in the solution of the principal-agent problem between representatives and constituents, through the selection of the most able agent for the fulfilment of the constituents' interest"[24]. Herreros stops short of extending his analysis beyond politics, yet the very authors on whom he relies (here notably Cicero, some of the Italian civic humanists and, to a lesser extent some of the Founders of the American Republic)[25], took a wider view which did not seldom apply to trust and society in general. This article will follow their lead[26].

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[22] See P. Pettit, *On the People's Terms: A Republican Theory and Model of Democracy* (Cambridge, 2012), 184, based on the (republican) notion of freedom as non-domination being akin to a public good. The quote is taken from *id.*, 'The market as a *res publica*', in: S. White & N. Seth-Smith (eds), *Democratic Wealth: Building a Citizens' Economy* (Oxford/Cambridge, 2014), https://www.opendemocracy.net/ourkingdom/collections/democratic-wealth-building-citizens%27-economy.

[23] F. Herreros Vázquez, 'Political trust, democracy and the republican tradition', in: I. Honohan & J. Jennings (eds), *Republicanism in Theory and Practice* (London, 2006), 97-108 (quote, 98).

[24] *Ibid*., 101.

[25] For Herreros' typology of republican authors according to their optimistic (aristocratic) or pessimistic (democratic) view on the probability of good 'agents' in the republic, *ibid*., 102 (table 7.1) and 104ff.

[26] See, based on a wider selection of republican authors, A. Pagden, 'The destruction of trust and its economic consequences in the case of eighteenth-century Naples', in: Gambetta (ed.), *Trust*, 127-41, and, elaborating on the

Trust does not only foster obligations of reciprocity, as one may requalify the relationship between principal and agent according to another distinction drawn by Herreros. It also gives access to information from and about other members of the social network by which it is generated, as follows from Herreros' insistence that trust be seen as an expectation in accordance with republican thought[27]. Trust, thus, covers the two main concepts that Charles Tilly associated with citizenship, i.e. citizenship as a category and citizenship as a tie. As Tilly explained: "as a category citizenship designates a set of actors – citizens – distinguished by their shared privileged position *vis-à-vis* some particular state; as a tie, citizenship identifies an enforceable mutual relation between an actor and state agents"[28]. In other words, trust, as approached by the republican tradition of thoughts, leads to the heart of citizenship. Moreover, it becomes apparent how politics may facilitate trust while being fostered by it. Trust can arise from citizenship insofar as citizenship gives access to information and is understood as a category. At the same time, trust can contribute to building citizenship to the extent that trust enhances obligations of reciprocity and citizenship is defined as a tie.

This article will examine trust in the Renaissance from these two points of view. Accordingly, it will seek to grasp the relationship between trust and citizenship in its two main facets, that is: how politics contributed to trust and how politics benefited from trust. Citizenship was evidently important to Renaissance thought and practice. Yet so too was what we have come to call globalisation. Indeed, the Renaissance period may be characterised as an era of globalisation before the rise of the nation-states and the international order to which the latter gave birth. The question that arises from that realisation and follows from the republican approach to trust and citizenship is then: how did trust and citizenship accompany early globalisation and how did, conversely, early globalisation affect both? The following two sections of this article seek to provide some elements of response to these questions.

Before we address these questions, it may be useful to clarify that relationships between Europeans and non-Europeans will be included at a later stage into this ongoing investigation. This article has a more limited scope and examines trust and citizenship in social networks involved in European expansion abroad.

As has already been mentioned, it is striking, from a European perspective, that early globalisation was achieved by decentralised societies. Two points are of significance in this respect. First, as has recently been shown by global social networks scholars working on the spread of pandemics in the medieval and modern eras, no 'small-world effect' can be observed

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republican credentials of the notion of 'trust-responsiveness', Pettit, 'Republican theory', 306ff. 'Trust-responsiveness is defined by this author as "the reason the trustor believes that his manifesting reliance will motivate the trustee is that it is a manifestation of trusting reliance which communicates a belief in, or presumption on, the trustworthiness of the trustee". See P. Pettit, 'The cunning of trust', *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 24(3) (1995), 202-25, 216.

[27] On obligations of reciprocity that spring from relations of trust and access to information derived from participation in social networks as the two resources of social capital, see Herreros, *Problem*, 7.

[28] See C. Tilly, 'Citizenship, identity and social history', *International Review of Social History* 40(Supplement 3) (1995), 1-17, 7ff. (quotes, 8). Tilly's approach is indebted to, and critical of, T. H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays* (Cambridge, 1950).

before 1800. Indeed, pairs of individuals were connected by relatively long chains of acquaintances in the premodern world as opposed to the contemporary world where no more than a few individuals usually connect any two people on the planet[29]. Put differently, medieval and early modern society were dominated by small social networks. Secondly, while "impersonal contractual forms and notarial registration, supported by impartial public law enforcement and record-keeping available to all" were more significant than hitherto assumed, as recently demonstrated by Sheilagh Ogilvie, they emerged only gradually during the Renaissance[30]. They therefore had a relatively limited effect on social life. It may be argued that Renaissance authors had some of these limitations in mind when they focused on trust while the republican tradition classically insisted on institutional devices aimed at controlling representatives out of distrust towards them.

This point will be addressed in the latter part of this article in which the relationship between the practices of trust and citizenship in the Renaissance and republican thoughts in the period will be addressed. More immediately, however, our attention will turn to an example of a social network involved in the European expansion abroad with a view to investigating trust and citizenship against the background of early globalisation.

II

The history of the German free imperial city of Nuremberg has been associated with the early stages of European expansion. Most of the scholarship to which this association gave rise has been shaped by the twin approaches characteristic of historicism: the attention paid to individuals who were considered influential in early globalisation[31] and a national, or at times even nationalist, perspective on the history of a key period of European history[32]. However, once its history and historiography are put into context, Nuremberg offers an interesting vantage point to examine how trust and citizenship interacted with globalisation against the background of small social networks and in the face of limited progression of both impersonal law and impartial institutions.

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[29] S. A. Marvel *et al*., 'The small-world effect is a modern phenomenon', *arXiv* (2013), 1-8 (definition, 1).
[30] Ogilvie, *Institutions*, 315ff.; quote, 432.
[31] Martin Behaim has featured at the core of the history and memory of Nuremberg's contribution to early globalisation. For a detailed overview of Behaim's afterlife, see H. Kellenbenz, ‚Martin Behaim und die portugiesischen Forschungen', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1991), 57-60, P. J. Bräunlein, *Martin Behaim: Legende und Wirklichkeit eines berühmten Nürnbergers* (Bamberg, 1992), 102ff., *id*., 'Ritter, Seefahrer, Erfinder, Kosmograph, Globusmacher, Instrumentenbauer. Zum populären Behaim-Bild des 19. und des 20. Jahrhunderts', in: G. Bott (ed.), *Focus Behaim-Globus* (Nuremberg, 1992), vol. I, 189-208, and J. Pohle, *Martin Behaim (Martinho da Boémia): factos, lendos e controvérsias* (Coimbra, 2007). One of the first critical work on Behaim was: E. G. Ravenstein, *Martin Behaim: His Life and His Globe* (London, 1908).
[32] For a critical engagement with a nationalist cum colonialist interpretation of Martin Behaim in the Third Reich, see R. Jakob, 'Die Ehrenrettung des deutschen Seefahrers Martin Behaim. Die Kolonialhistorikerin und Frauenpolitikerin Hedwig Fitzler und ihr sensationeller Quellenfund', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 94 (2007), 227-44.

At the end of the 15th century and the very beginning of the 16th century, Nuremberg traders had become a familiar sight on the Western maritime façade of the European mainland, from Genoa to Valencia, Sevilla and, via Lyon and Antwerp, Lisbon[33]. For many decades, if not centuries, this history has focused on the biography of Martin Behaim, the scion of a family of cloth merchants from Nuremberg most famous as a navigator in the Atlantic and the author of the oldest preserved globe[34]. This perspective was reinforced by the growing significance acquired in the literature by the so-called *Itinerarium Hispanicum* in which the Nuremberg physician and cosmographer Hieronymus Münzer reported on his journey of 1494/5 to and from Lisbon where he stayed with Behaim's father-in-law and at Évora where he met, possibly on behalf of Emperor Maximilian (1493-1519), with the sovereign's cousin, King John II of Portugal (1481-1495). Yet a close examination of Münzer's contacts suggests a strong German presence among the merchants, aristocrats, ecclesiastics and scholars whom the doctor met *en route*[35].

A wider perspective on South German and, more specifically, Nuremberg trade networks of the period provides evidence of the fast-growing significance of business locations in South-West Europe. As has recently been shown by Marco Veronesi, the rise of Genoa in exchanges from and to South Germany and, via Nuremberg, with Central Europe from the 1460s was linked to the contrasted business opportunities offered by the Mediterranean trade that suffered from the consequences of the Ottoman advance in the East, with the Fall of Constantinople occurring in 1453, and the thriving Atlantic trade in the West, with the Portuguese exploring the Gulf of Guinea under King Afonso V (1438-1481) after the colonisation of Madeira and the Azores and the Castilians engaged in the long-term colonisation of the Canary archipelago[36]. This shift

[33] M. Diefenbacher, 'Handel im Wandel. Die Handels- und Wirtschaftsmetropole Nürnberg in der frühen Neuzeit (1550-1630)', in: B. Kirchgässner & H.-P. Becht (eds), *Stadt und Handel* (Stadt in der Geschichte, 22) (Sigmaringen, 1995), 63-81, 66.

[34] See n. 31.

[35] The Latin text was edited by: L. Pfandl, 'Itinerarium hispanicum Hieronymi Monetarii (1494-1495)', *Revue hispanique* 48 (1920), 1-179 (Iberian itinerary), and E. P. Goldschmidt, 'Le voyage de Hieronimus Monetarius à travers la France, *Humanisme et Renaissance* 6 (1939), 55-75, 198-200, 324-48 and 529-39 (remnant of the itinerary); for an English translation, see J. Firth, *Doctor Hieronymus Münzer's* Itinerary *(1494 and 1495) and* Discovery of Guinea (London, 2014). On the planned new edition on behalf of the Monumenta Germaniae Historica, see R. Hurtienne, 'Ein Gelehrter und sein Text. Zur Gesamtedition des Reiseberichts des Hieronymus Münzer, 1494/95 (Clm 431)', in: H. Neuhaus (ed.), *Erlanger Editionen. Grundlagenforschung durch Quellenedition: Berichte und Studien* (Erlanger Studien zur Geschichte, 8) (Jena, 2009), 255-72. Recent research on the source is summed up by: K. Herbers, 'Humanismus, Reise und Politik. Der Nürnberger Arzt Hieronymus Münzer bei europäischen Herrschern am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: A. Gotthard et al. (eds), *Studien zur politischen Kultur Alteuropas. Festschrift Helmut Neuhaus zum 65. Geburtstag* (Historische Forschungen, 91) (Berlin, 2009), 207-19. Münzer's translator in Lisbon was the German-speaking printer Valentim Fernandes whose role in German-Portuguese relations around 1500 cannot be overestimated. See Y. Hendrich, *Valentim Fernandes. Ein deutscher Buchdrucker in Portugal um die Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert und sein Umkreis* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 2007). On Maximilian I's manifold connections with, and interests in, Portuguese and Overseas business, see G. M. Metzig, 'Maximilian I. und das Königreich Portugal', in: J. Helmrath *et al.* (eds), *Maximilians Welt. Kaiser Maximilian I. im Spannungsfeld von Innovation und Tradition* (Berliner Mittelalter- und Frühneuzeitforschung, 22) (Göttingen, 2018), 273-94.

[36] M. Veronesi, *Oberdeutsche Kaufleute in Genua, 1350-1490. Institutionen, Strategien, Kollektive* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, Reihe B: Forschungen, 199) (Stuttgart, 2014), 216ff, 240ff. and 270ff.

towards South-West Europe also coincided with the move by new entering participants away from the staple system which had been the dominant feature of the Venetian and Eastern Mediterranean trade. Further important nodes in this new context were Valencia, which benefited from the relative decline of Barcelona following the so-called Catalonian Civil War of the 1460s and early 1470s, and Lyon, which rose to significance through its location at the crossroad between Atlantic and Central European commodity flows, on the one hand, and North European and Italian finished-good trading routes, on the other, and the active promotion of international financial settlements by the French monarchy from the end of the 15th century[37].

As has been established in the case of the Lyon fairs[38], the Atlantic and Western Mediterranean trade did not only grow in volume, but it also became institutionally settled in the last decades of the 15th and early decades of the 16th century. While the presence of German merchants and craftsmen at Lisbon can be traced down to the 13th century with the Chapel of St Bartholomew soon to be integrated into the Church of St Julian near the Tagus River, their number increased in the period under consideration in which they were joined by gunners hired by the Crown of Portugal as well as by printers[39]. Albeit scarce, evidence exists for the 15th century for a religious organisation of German merchants, craftsmen and gunners around St Bartholomew and, to a lesser extent, in the Confraternity of the Holy Cross and St Andrew at the Dominican convent[40]. Yet trading documents, even though skewed towards Behaim and his circle for 15 years or so before 1500, suggest a somehow different picture, for South German merchants at least. It is, indeed, striking that Behaim's fortune was dependent on the support of his wife's Flemish-Portuguese family, the van Huerter-de Macedo, and the latter's access to the royal Court of Portugal[41]. Whereas access to the king remained crucial in the early 1500s, by then Nuremberg and Augsburg merchants had established a series of trading posts at Lisbon[42].

[37] See the chapters on international trade in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*, 2 vol. (Nuremberg, 1967) and H. Kellenbenz, ‚Gewerbe und Handel am Ausgang des Mittelalters' and ‚Wirtschaftsleben im Zeitalter der Reformation', in: G. Pfeiffer (ed.), *Nürnberg: Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt* (Munich, 1971), 176-93.
[38] G. Pfeiffer, 'Die Bemühungen der oberdeutschen Kaufleute um die Privilegierung ihres Handels in Lyon', in: *Beiträge*, vol. I, 407-55.
[39] On the Germans of Lisbon, see A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Hansa e Portugal na idade média* (Lisbon, 1959); H. Kellenbenz, ‚Der Norden und die iberische Halbinsel von der Wikingerzeit bis ins 16. Jahrhundert', in: *id*., *Kleine Schriften*, vol. I: *Europa, Raum wirtschaftlicher Begegnung* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, 92) (Stuttgart, 1991), 51-76; W. Grosshaupt, ‚Commercial relations between Portugal and the merchants of Augsburg and Nuremberg', in: J. Aubin (ed.), *La découverte, le Portugal et l'Europe* (Paris, 1990), 359-97; Marques, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Portugal und Deutschland im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert', *Aufsätze zur portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte* 20 (1993), 115-31; J. Pohle, *Deutschland und die überseeische Expansion Portugals im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Historia profana et ecclesiastica, 2) (Münster, 2000); J. Poettering, *Handel, Nation und Religion. Kaufleute zwischen Hamburg und Portugal im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2013).
[40] Pohle, *Deutschland*, 146ff.
[41] D. Hunter, *The Race to the New World: Christopher Columbus, John Cabot, and the Lost History of Discovery* (New York, 2011), 110ff. On the Flemish settlers on the Azores, see C. Verlinden, 'La colonisation flamande aux Açores', in: J. Everaert & E. Stols (eds), *Flandre et Portugal. Au confluent de deux cultures* (Antwerp, 1991), 81-98 and 367-8.
[42] Pohle, *Deutschland*, 97ff.

True, competition was ripe between trading agents of the different trading posts[43], but collaboration in religious and social matters around St Bartholomew and, later, St Sebastian, also at St Julian's Church, as well as in joining infrastructure and in negotiating with the King of Portugal undeniably favoured communal institutions, from the development of a shared mailing network to the series of privileges awarded to groups of German merchants by King Manuel I of Portugal (1495-1521) from 1503 that were kept in the Chapel of St Bartholomew and the election of a single representation to his Court[44]. While institutional settlement may have globally reduced commercial risk for German merchants operating in Lisbon, ambitious enterprises remained prone to failure, however. A westbound expedition that most probably involved Behaim and for which Dulmo and Estreito had secured a royal patent never departed from the Azorean Island of Terceira in 1486/7[45] and Behaim's initiatives from 1493 to discover a Northern passage to Asia from Portugal and/or England fell victim to the political turmoil in Northern Europe in the wake of the Warbeck conspiracy and to the European consequences of the French intervention in Italy[46]. In 1505/6, a consortium of South German and Italian merchants from Lisbon participated in a Portuguese expedition led by Francisco de Almeida to India with the initial support of the Portuguese king. However, the enterprise ended in tatters as, following the royal monopoly that the Crown of Portugal had eventually imposed on the spice trade with its colonies, the pepper brought back from the expedition was confiscated by the state[47].

The expedition of 1505/6 may have ended in commercial failure, yet it had a decisive influence on perceptions of the world by popularising novel and lasting representations of the non-European 'other'. While Augsburg played a central role in funding the expedition and in collecting and disseminating new knowledge, this constellation recalled Nuremberg's role in

[43] See H. Kömmerling-Fitzler, 'Der Nürnberger Kaufmann Georg Pock (gest. 1528/9) in Portugiesisch-Indien und im Edelsteinland Vijayanagara', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 55 (1967-8), 137-84, 142.
[44] See R. Jakob, ‚Der Skandal um einen Nürnberger Imhoff-Faktor im Lissabon der Renaissance. Der Fall Calixtus Schüler und der Bericht Sebald Kneussels (1512)', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 60 (= Festschrift Rudolf Endres zum 65. Geburtstag) (2000), 83-112, 106ff.; Pohle, *Deutschland*, 144f. On the privileges of the German merchants, see J. Denucé, 'Privilèges commerciaux accordés par les rois de Portugal aux Flamands et aux Allemands (XV^{e}-XVI^{e} siècles)', *Archivo histórico portuguez* 7 (1909), 310-9 and 377-92. In comparative terms, the arrangements within the German merchant community of Lisbon are close to type 3, i.e. 'political representation', in the typology drawn by R. Grafe & O. Gelderblom, 'The rise and fall of the merchant guilds: re-thinking the comparative study of commercial institutions in premodern Europe', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2010), 477-511, 491.
[45] Hunter, *Race*, 113ff., mostly based the evidence provided by H. Vignaud, *Etude critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, vol. II: *1491-1493* (Paris, 1911), 407ff.
[46] Hunter, *Race*, 131ff.
[47] See, from a Portuguese perspective, A. A. Banha de Andrade, *Mundos novos do mundo. Panorama da difusão, pela Europa, de noticias dos descobrimentos geográficos portugueses*, (Lisbon, 1975), vol. I, 477ff.; from a German perspective, F. Hümmerich, *Die erste deutsche Handelsfahrt nach Indien 1505/06. Ein Unternehmen der Welser, Fugger und anderer Augsburger sowie Nürnberger Häuser* (Munich and Berlin, 1922), H. Kellenbenz, ‚Die fremden Kaufleute auf der iberischen Halbinsel vom 15. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts', in: *id*. (ed.), *Fremde Kaufleute auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (Cologne and Vienna, 1970), 265-376, 319f. and Pohle, *Deutschland*, 101ff. and 205ff.

processing cosmographical information to its material advantage and intellectual fame in the immediately preceding decade.

It is no exaggeration to claim that, albeit commercially unsuccessful for the participating South German and, above all, Augsburg merchants, the Portuguese expedition of 1505/6 shaped perceptions of the non-European 'other' in the long-run. Within three years, two accounts of said expedition were published in Southern Germany, the first in Nuremberg by an anonymous author under the title *Itinerary from Lisbon to Calicut* (*Den rechten weg auß zu faren von[n] Lißbona gen Kallakuth*) in 1506[48] and the second by Balthasar Springer (or Sprenger), a Tirolean agent of the Welser family from Augsburg who participated in the expedition, with woodcuts by Wolf Traut in 1508. The latter accompanied the publication of a series of friezes by the Augsburg artist Hans Burgkmair with which it was reprinted in an abridged and highly popular version under the title *The Voyage and Discovery of New Routes* (*Die merfart und erfarung nu*^{e}*wer schiffung*) in 1509[49]. Indeed, as early as 1508, the Antwerp printer Jan van Doesborch published a Flemish version of Springer's travelogue[50]. It was, however, through Burgkmair's woodcuts that the Portuguese expedition of 1505/6 was to have a profound and lasting influence on perceptions of the non-European 'other'.

Given that Burgkmair's friezes amounted to nothing less than a visual ethnography of non-European peoples[51], it is perhaps not surprising that they started a life of their own as soon as they were published. The recontextualizations of Burgkmair's friezes were many. The artist himself reused his depiction of Africans in his woodcuts for the *Triumph of the Emperor Maximilian I* in 1512 amongst the people of Calicut. The city on the south-eastern coast of the Indian subcontinent referred to newly discovered lands beyond even India and Asia. Burgkmair's friezes were copied on varied supports and in many settings during the 16th century[52]. It was in print, however, that Burgkmair's work was to have the most famous posterity. Van Doesborch, the Antwerp printer, subtly associated Springer's account with Americo Vespucci by introducing it without further reference with an excerpt from a letter attributed to the latter[53]. The letter allegedly addressed to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici had been widely disseminated in Latin under the title *Mundus novus* in Northern Europe from 1503 via Paris, with no less than five editions published in Augsburg. Testimony to Vespucci's fame in Southern Germany is the labelling of the newly 'discovered' continent as America by the Alsatian humanist Matthias Ringmann and the Freiburg cosmographer Martin Waldseemüller at Saint-Dié (Lorraine) in 1507, although it rested on the Latin translation of an Italian letter, published in Florence, that

[48] *Den rechten weg auß zu faren vo[n] Lißbona gen Kallakuth von meyl zu meyl […]* (Nuremberg: Georg Stuchs, 1506).
[49] A. Erhard & E. Ramminger, *Die Meerfahrt: Balthasar Springers Reise zur Pfefferküste* (Innsbruck, 1998), 40ff. (re-edition of the 1509 version), 66ff. (for the history of the text).
[50] See S. Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany. New Worlds in Print Culture* (Basingstoke, 2010), 233 n. 9.
[51] *Ibid*., 63ff.
[52] See J. M. Massing, 'Hans Burgkmair's depiction of native Africans', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 27 (1995), 39-51.
[53] See S. Young, 'Envisioning the peoples of "new" worlds: early modern woodcut images and the inscription of human difference', *English Studies in Africa* 57(1) (2014), 33-54, 42.

Vespucci allegedly addressed to Piero Soderini and was part of the effort of Maximilian I to lay claim to the imperial title (which he took in 1508 without coronation at Rome, yet with papal assent) and, through his son's marriage to the heiress of the Spanish monarchs, to the New World[54]. The popularity of the accounts attributed to Vespucci in Augsburg and Northern Europe ultimately led to associating Burgkmair's engravings with America.

The role played by Burgkmair and, more generally, Southern German humanists, artists and merchants in shaping and sharing the knowledge of the world was not novel. Indeed, the constellation of cutting-edge cosmography and printing had an antecedence in Nuremberg in the late 1480s and early 1490s. Here too, a milieu of Southern German humanists, artists and merchants was involved. Only, the process that was later to be successful failed to produce a similar outcome, and one may wonder to what extent the likes of Ringmann, Waldseemüller and, above all, Burgkmair and the Augsburg circle had learnt from this initial failure[55].

Between 1492 and 1493, Nuremberg scholars, artists, merchants and craftsmen produced two of the most elaborate vehicles of dissemination of the knowledge of the world to date: the oldest extant earth orb and the *Liber chronicarum*, which are both for good reasons regarded as major achievements of the age[56]. Yet their influence remained limited. While not the first item of its kind ever produced[57], Behaim's globe is not only the oldest earth orb that has come to us, but it represented a cosmographical, technological and artistic achievement of its own. As such, it provided an entirely new way of spreading cosmographical knowledge. The knowledge that informed it combined classical and recent cosmography and in the case of the West African coast, most probably first-hand knowledge that Behaim had, as he claimed, acquired on a Portuguese expedition in the mid-1480s. That the latter was deemed to match ancient and medieval authorities points to the fact that the orb was meant to convince the Nuremberg humanists and merchants of the meaningfulness of travelling westwards to Asia[58]. As the globe was being manufactured, Columbus was exploring that route, but of his enterprise little if anything was known in Nuremberg.

If Behaim's globe was instrumental in asserting his commissioner's credentials, spreading cosmographical knowledge was certainly a core preoccupation of the Nuremberg circle that produced it and was involved in the contemporary project of the *Liber chronicarum*, a compilation of chronicles by Hartmann Schedel advised by Hieronymus Münzer[59]. This *Nuremberg Chronicle*, as it has been known in publications in English, represented an innovation

[54] See R. Pieper, 'Between India and the Indies: German mercantile networks, the struggle for the imperial crown and the naming of the New World', *Culture and History: Digital Journal* 3(1) 2014, e003.
[55] As recently stated, though, "most of the stories composed by Germans who had ventured overseas would have circulated in oral or manuscript form, accessible only to friends and associates". See C. R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvellous* (Charlottesville, VA, 2008), 24.
[56] R. Jakob, ‚Wer war Martin Behaim? Auf den Spuren seines Lebens', *Norica* 3 (2007), 32-47, 42.
[57] P. Gautier Dalché, 'Before Behaim: terrestrial globes during the 15th century', *Médiévales* 58(1) (2010), 43-61.
[58] Jakob, 'Behaim', 41ff. See also Bott (ed.), *Focus Behaim*, 2 vol., and U. Knefelkamp, 'Die neuen Welten bei Martin Behaim und Martin Waldseemüller', in: M. Kraus & H. Ottomeyer (eds), *Novos Mundos – Neue Welten: Portugal und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen* (Dresden, 2007), 73-87.
[59] See C. Reske, 'Schedelsche Weltchronik', *Historisches Lexikon Bayerns*, https://www.historisches-lexikon-bayerns.de/Lexikon/Schedelsche_Weltchronik.

in the way in which cosmographical knowledge was combined, presented and made accessible[60]. In this, it bore some resemblance with Behaim's globe – only that the emphasis lay unmistakably on dissemination to an educated audience, with an original edition in Latin and a shorter German translation both published in 1493 by Anton Koberger[61]. True, the text and the visual material were hardly original in detail, with a few noteworthy exceptions, such as an account of Behaim's Portuguese expedition[62] and drawings of monstrous races by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff in the margins of a world map based on Ptolemy's *Geography*[63]. While more than 1,000 Latin and a few hundred German copies were sold through merchant networks, the enterprise soon proved to be financially unviable, leading to its termination even before the planned second edition was printed.

Even so, by the beginning of the 16th century, Southern German humanists, artists, merchants and craftsmen had evidently entered multifaceted and dense relationships in South-West Europe, some of which were institutionally settled through internal organisation, integration into State structures abroad or a combination of both.

III

This article aims to better understand the relationship between trust and globalisation in the Renaissance. It will now explore the forms taken by trust among South German merchants trading in and with Lisbon around 1500, as well as the craftsmen, artists and humanists involved in their activities, and the ways in which trust can help us comprehend early globalisation in the context of the decentralised societies of the period. To that end and for the reasons stated above, it will focus on the interaction of particularised and generalised trust through a republican lens. More precisely, it will investigate how, in the mentioned context, trust arose from citizenship, i.e. how citizenship understood as a category favoured access to information, and, conversely, how trust contributed to building citizenship defined as a tie to the extent that it enhanced obligations of reciprocity.

III/1

To what extent did, first, membership of the same body politic facilitate access to information? An occurrence of 1511/2 in the Lisbon trading post of the Nuremberg Imhoff family gives us a

[60] Leitch, *Mapping*, 16ff.
[61] Hartmann Schedel, *Liber chronicarum cum figuris et ymaginibus ab inicio mundi* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493); *id*., *Croniken und geschichten mit figuren und pildnussen von anbegin der welt bis auf dise unsere zeit* (Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, 1493).
[62] Schedel, *Croniken*, fol. 285v.
[63] *Ibid*., 12v-13. See Leitch, *Mapping*, 28.

precise idea of the ways in which citizenship implied information flow. The case in question may at first seem to be at odds with this statement or even irrelevant to it. Yet, not only does it add clarity to its understanding, but it also sheds interesting light on the relevance of an information flow based on citizenship in the context of the European expansion overseas. Indeed, it points to the ability to project local citizenship into a global environment and the benefit that could be drawn from such projection.

The South German merchants had quickly recovered from the setback of the 1505/6 expedition to India that had seen the King of Portugal impose a Portuguese monopoly on overseas commodities negotiated in Lisbon[64]. The Welser family, which had the highest stakes in said transaction, eventually even returned a benefit of 150 to 175%[65]. The plague of 1506/7, to which many German merchants of Lisbon fell victims, including Martin Behaim, had only partly and temporarily disrupted the South German trade in Portugal, so that, by the beginning of the 1510s, Augsburg and Nuremberg trading posts could look back on half a decade or more of flourishing business[66]. This propitious context was troubled in 1511 by evidence of conflicts that affected the Augsburg and Nuremberg trading posts but concentrated on an antagonism within the trading post of the Fugger from Augsburg, possibly fuelled by concerns among South German agents about the dealings with the aftermaths of the 1505/6 expedition, followed by personal issues within the trading post of the Imhoff family from Nuremberg.

Historians have researched the conflicts affecting the Augsburg and Nuremberg trading posts and point to rivalries among South German merchants[67], whereas the personal issues within the trading post of the Imhoff have received far less attention. Where they have, scholars have relied on rational choice theory or, alternatively, on Goffman's focus on symbolic interaction[68]. While research has thus gained valuable insights into the individual interests at stake and the situation among South German agents, including commercial and generational rivalries in Lisbon, tensions between principals at home and agents abroad as well as social control in Portugal and

[64] Hümmerich, *Handelsfahrt*, 142ff.

[65] Lucas Rem mentions a 150% win in his diary. See *Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494-1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, ed. B. Greiff (Augsburg, 1861), 8. K. Häbler, *Die überseeischen Unternehmungen der Welser und ihrer Gesellschafter* (Leipzig, 1903), 23f., reckons that the win may have amounted to 157%. The figure of 175% is advanced by R. Ehrenberg, *Das Zeitalter der Fugger: Geldkapital und Creditverkehr im 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. I: *Die Geldmächte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (3rd ed., Jena, 1922), 195.

[66] Ehrenberg, *Zeitalter*, 195ff.

[67] See n. 43.

[68] See Pohle, *Deutschland*, 142ff., and Jakob, 'Skandal', 83, respectively. Older literature includes: K. Häbler, *Die Geschichte der Fugger'schen Handlung in Spanien* (Sozialgeschichtliche Forschungen, 1) (Weimar, 1897), 26-9; H. Jahnel, *Die Imhoff, eine Nürnberger Patrizier- und Großkaufmannsfamilie (1351-1579)* (PhD Würzburg, 1950), 111; G. von Pölnitz, *Jakob Fugger*, vol. 2: *Quellen und Erläuterungen* (Tübingen, 1951), 133 and 234; Kömmerling-Fitzler, ‚Pock', 140f.; H. Kellenbenz, *Die Fugger in Spanien und Portugal bis 1560. Ein Großunternehmen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Schriften der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Augsburg, 33-34) (Munich, 1990), vol. 1, 51ff. On the German merchants involved in the Lisbon trade, see also: M. Häberlein, 'Fugger und Welser: Kooperation und Konkurrenz 1496-1614', in: *id.* & J. Burkhardt (eds), *Die Welser: Neue Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des oberdeutschen Handelshauses* (Berlin, 2002), 223-39 and *id*., *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville, VA, 2012). On the context of economic crisis in the Holy Roman Empire in the 1500-1530 period, see P. R. Rössner, *Deflation – Devaluation – Rebellion: Geld im Zeitalter der Reformation* (Vierteljahrschrift fur Sozial-und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, 219) (Stuttgart, 2012).

at a distance in South Germany, the importance of citizenship in the personal issues within the Imhoff trading post has hardly been perceived.

In 1511, the new agent of the Fugger in Lisbon, Jan von Schüren, reported Callixtus Schüler, who had served as an agent of the Imhoff since 1507, to Peter Imhoff in Nuremberg[69]. Von Schüren had been at odds with his own predecessor, Marcus Zimmermann, for reasons that involved personal rivalry, difference of generation, specifically in the attitude towards riches and corruption, and commercial decisions[70]. When Schüler sided with Zimmermann, von Schüren took action and prompted a situation within the Imhoff company that seemed to duplicate the conflict at the Fugger's. For, reacting to reports on the state of affairs in Lisbon, Peter Imhoff decided to send Sebald Kneussel to Portugal, where he would eventually succeed Schüler as the agent of the Imhoff. Van Schüren's intervention had been triggered by the decision taken by the factors of the Imhoff, Höchstetter and Welser to fund a chapel for the South German merchants, which would have set them apart from the Germans established in Lisbon. While von Schüren firmly opposed this initiative, Zimmermann had most probably endorsed it before his departure from Lisbon in 1511, following the conflict with his successor.

Peter Imhoff reacted to Schüler's attempt to institutionalise the relations between South German agents in Lisbon. Yet his reaction was not prompted by structural or class antagonism between principal and agent. In any case, the South German merchants eventually funded a chapel of their own under the patronage of St Sebastian next to St Bartholomew chapel in the Church of St Julian, as has already been mentioned. It is, however, striking that Peter Imhoff's detailed instructions to Kneussel mirrored civil legislation in aspects as important as the effects of the marital status on citizenship and the public appearance and behaviour of citizens. Commercial concerns were mentioned, but they were not given any prominence. True, Schüler's spell at the helmet of the Lisbon trading post had seen the Imhoff company realise a (net?) profit margin of 10 to 15% p.a. with the commerce of spices[71]. Nonetheless, the question remains as to the interest that Peter Imhoff may have taken in enquiring the lifestyle of a successful businessman.

So far, the answers to this question have either pointed to the impact of a negatively perceived behaviour on reputation and, hence, business or to the principal's moral conservatism[72]. While neither of these considerations should be dismissed, it may be worth noting that Schüler had, like his peers, to deal with an aristocratic court culture in which he seems to have been at ease[73] – to the benefit of his principal. As for Peter Imhoff and his family, it is easy to show that they had been sufficiently innovative in their interpretation of social and cultural codes to climb to the top echelon of Nuremberg's society despite their relatively recent settlement in the city. Indeed, the

[69] The main source of the 1511/2 conflict among the South German merchants of Lisbon is the correspondence between Peter Imhoff and Sebald Kneussel. See Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg, Imhoff Family-Archive, Fasc. 28, no. 21 [letter of Peter Imhoff to Sebald Kneussel, s.l., 1512] and 22 (1-3) [respectively, slightly emended copy and original letter of Sebald Kneussel to Peter Imhoff, Lisbon, 22 September 2012, and letter of Sebald Kneussel to Peter Imhoff, Lisbon, 23 October 1512].
[70] See Jakob, 'Skandal', 104ff.
[71] See Jahnel, *Imhoff*, 121f.
[72] See Jakob, 'Skandal', 110f. and 88f., respectively.
[73] See Pohle, *Deutschland*, 127.

newcomers to Nuremberg had promoted the visual arts (architecture, sculpture and painting) to a degree hitherto unknown of and used them to transgress established social barriers[74].

While transgression of sumptuary laws, in particular dress codes in portraits, was occasionally prosecuted[75], the visual arts generally played an important and acknowledged role in contributing to upward social mobility. By offering a subtle transgression of fixed social boundaries, they allowed for flexibility without jeopardising equality, which was deeply rooted in civic bodies and at the core of urban sumptuary laws, as shown by Gerd Schwerhoff among others[76]. Nuremberg's sumptuary laws were implemented beyond its borders by city officials that were requested to report on the dresses worn by its citizens in the neighbourhood[77].

Peter Imhoff's attention to the implementation of civic legislation in his company's trading post in Lisbon makes perfect sense against this background. Whether Schüler was a citizen of Nuremberg or not (he originated from the Swabian city of Hechingen, the historic residence of the Counts of Hohenzollern)[78], the trading post had to comply with the civic legislation of the principal's home town. This was the rationale for Peter Imhoff's intervention in 1511. Yet why was it so important to Peter Imhoff to be seen to respect equality in a place as far afield as Lisbon and in a context in which ostentation was not detrimental – quite the contrary – to business?

Two indications may be of interest here. It is worth remembering, first, that Peter Imhoff's intervention was prompted by a report from the Fugger's agent and, most probably, knowledge of the conflict that had engulfed the Fugger's trading post. While von Schüren had an interest in weakening the allies of his predecessor Zimmermann in Lisbon, Peter Imhoff would hardly have considered intervening for the sake of the Fugger or their new agent. Yet Peter Imhoff attended to the situation at his family's trading post on von Schüren's report. If anything, von Schüren's letter had alerted him to the nefarious consequences of Zimmermann's behaviour on the Fugger

[74] See H. Dormeier, ‚St. Rochus, die Pest und die Imhoffs in Nürnberg vor und während der Reformation. Ein spätgotischer Altar in seinem religiös-liturgischen, wirtschaftlich-rechtlichen und sozialen Umfeld', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1985), 7-72; C. Schleif, ‚*Donatio et memoria*. Stifter, Stiftungen und die Motivationen an Beispielen aus der Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg 1490 – 1520' (Munich, 1990), 16ff.; M. Staub, *Les paroisses et la Cité: Nuremberg du XIII*[e] *siècle à la Réforme* (Paris, 2003), 253ff.

[75] See N. Bulst, 'Kleidung als sozialer Konfliktstoff. Probleme kleidergesetzlicher Normierung im sozialen Gefüge, Saeculum 44(1) (1993), 32-46, and *id. et al*., ‚Das Portrait als Rechtsverstoß. Verstöße gegen Kleider- und Luxusordnungen in Bildnissen der deutschen Renaissance', *Forschung an der Universität Bielefeld* 20 (1999), 3-8.

[76] G. Schwerhoff, ‚"... Die groisse oeverswenckliche costlicheyt zo messigen". Bürgerliche Einheit und ständische Differenzierung in Kölner Aufwandsordnungen (14.-17. Jahrhundert)', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 54 (1990), 95-122 (on Cologne), 104. See also L. C. Eisenbart, *Kleiderordnungen der deutschen Städte zwischen 1350 und 1700. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums* (Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 32) (Göttingen, 1962); W. Buchholz, ‚Anfänge der Sozialdisziplinierung im Mittelalter. Die Reichsstadt Nürnberg als Beispiel', *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 18(2) (1991), 129-47; J. Zander-Seidel, ‚Kleidergesetzgebung und ständische Ordnung: Inhalte, Überwachung und Akzeptanz frühneuzeitlicher Kleiderordnungen', *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums* (1993), 176-88; G. Jaritz, ‚Kleidung und Prestige-Konkurrenz. Unterschiedliche Identitäten in der städtischen Gesellschaft unter Normierungszwängen', *Saeculum* 44(1) (1993), 8-31; B. Frenz, *Gleichheitsdenken in deutschen Städten des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts: Geistesgeschichte, Quellensprache, Gesellschaftsfunktion* (Städteforschung A, 52) (Cologne, 2000), 123ff.

[77] Bulst, 'Kleidung', 42. For further examples, see C. Schopphoff, *Der Gürtel: Funktion und Symbolik eines Kleidungsstücks in Antike und Mittelalter* (Cologne, 2009), 89.

[78] Jakob, 'Skandal', 93.

trading post and the potential harm that his own agent, Schüler, could cause to his family's trading post. Peter Imhoff's instructions to Kneussel give us, secondly, some idea about the reasons for which he deemed his family business threatened and saw it fit to request compliance with the civic legislation of his home city. For, we learn that Peter Imhoff was particularly concerned about Schüler's marital status (he was said to have entered several relationships with women and to have had children from a few of them) and his gambling habit. Both questions had financial implications, for sure, but Peter Imhoff was hardly worried about possible liabilities as Schüler had stakes in the Imhoff company that could be seized in such an eventuality[79].

For Peter Imhoff, the main issue was likely to be the unsure loyalty of his agent. While cultural prejudice on his part cannot be excluded (the women in question and some of the gambling partners were Portuguese and Spanish)[80], corruption was hardly the problem, however, given Schüler's successful business record. The concern about gambling points, on the contrary, to a sore issue in Peter Imhoff's eyes, i.e. the leaking or retaining of information caused by gambling debt and social relations at the margins of legality. The consequences in question were clearly expressed in Nuremberg's extended civic legislation on gambling[81]. Yet Kneussel draws attention to their impact on the information flow by pointing to the role of the merchants of Burgos, who intended to share in the commercial privileges of the South German merchants of Lisbon[82] and, in particular, to the influence of Cristóbal de Haro who would not only secure a royal privilege from Manuel I for the Castilian merchants in 1512, but fund Ferdinand Magellan's circumnavigation of the earth from 1519[83].

As Kneussel, himself a citizen of Nuremberg[84], and Peter Imhoff understood, citizenship was essential to the flow of information on which international trade was dependent. Moreover, projecting citizenship beyond the confines of the city by implementing civic legislation even into contexts in which it competed with, or was marginalised by, other public and social norms, such as those that applied to princely courts, opened the prospect of doing business in various political, social and cultural environments. Following the European expansion to Africa, Asia and America, this possibility had become very tangible.

III/2

Renaissance politics thus contributed to trust. Yet did the Renaissance politics benefit from trust? In other words, if citizenship as a category facilitated access to information, should we also

[79] *Ibid*., 94.
[80] *Ibid*., 95ff. and 102f.
[81] *Nürnberger Polizeiordnungen aus dem XIII. bis XV. Jahrhundert*, ed. J. Baader (Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 63) (Stuttgart, 1861), 64, 87f. (unenforceability of gambling debt) and 89f. (control of the activities on the outskirts of the city).
[82] See *Privilegia und Handelsfreiheiten, welche die Könige von Portugal ehedem den deutschen Kaufleuten zu Lissabon ertheilt haben* (Bremen, 1771) (German translation).
[83] See Jakob, 'Skandal', 102f.
[84] *Ibid*., 89f.

assume that obligations of reciprocity reinforced citizenship as a tie? This is the second facet of the interplay between trust and citizenship that this article aims to examine.

It is worth paying close attention to the reorganisation of the South German business in Lisbon following Almeida's expedition to India in 1505/6 and the plague outbreak of 1506/7. Many German merchants had fallen victim to the latter, as already mentioned. Yet the disruption caused by the plague was not confined to demographics. While the Court and affluent people had left Lisbon to escape the consequences of the epidemic, the city was in a state of severe turmoil which reached the highest intensity with the massacre of members of the Jewish community that had been converted by force a decade earlier, in 1497[85], by a mob of so-called 'Old Christians' in April 1506[86]. Evidence shows that municipal and royal authority were deeply contested. While some sources point to the involvement of German merchants in these dramatic events, their violence certainly sent shockwaves across Europe. At least three different editions of the account of an anonymous German witness were published under the title *Of the Christian conflict etc.* (*Von dem christenlichen streyt etc.*)[87] and the episode is mentioned as late as in 1588 in the *Colloquium heptaplomeres* that has generally been attributed to Jean Bodin[88].

It is against this background of economic uncertainties, heightened mortality and religious, social and political confrontation that we read of the settlement by the Archbishop of Lisbon of a conflict between the Confraternity of St Bartholomew and the clergy of the Church of St Julian where the Chapel of St Bartholomew was located and of a set of regulations relating to the obligations attached to the membership of said confraternity and its governance[89]. Increasingly, the Confraternity of St Bartholomew was referred to as the Confraternity of the German Gunners (*Confraria dos bombardeiros alemães*)[90]. The dominant role played by the German gunners in the Confraternity of St Bartholomew goes without doubt a long way in explaining the South German merchants' decision to fund a chapel and, as is to be assumed, a confraternity of their own. Yet in the same way than Peter Imhoff's course of action was only at first glance prompted by his opposition to his agent's attempt to institutionalise the relations between South German merchants at Lisbon, the latter had many more reasons to seize the initiative than his interest, however real, in defending the autonomy of the group to which he belonged. These reasons are relevant to assessing obligations of reciprocity.

While the patronage of the chapel that was eventually funded by the South German merchants at St Julian has gone largely unnoticed, it is indeed worth recalling that it was devoted to St Sebastian. Starting in late medieval Italy, the association between the cult of St Sebastian (which

[85] See F. Soyer, *The Persecution of Jews and Muslims of Portugal: Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496/7)* (Leiden, 2007), 182ff.
[86] On the 1506 massacre, see Y. H. Yerushalmi, *The Lisbon Massacre of 1506 and the Royal Image in the* Shebet Yehudah (Cincinnati, 1976), S. Bastos Mateus & P. Mendes Pinto, *The Massacre of the Jews: Lisbon, April 19, 1506* (2nd ed., Lisbon, 2012) and F. Soyer, 'The massacre of the New Christians of Lisbon in 1506: a new eyewitness account', *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* 7 (2007), 221-44.
[87] Edited in Yerushalmi, *Lisbon*, 69ff. (Appendix A).
[88] J. Bodin, *Colloquium heptaplomeres de rerum sublimium arcanis abditis*, ed. L. Noack (Schwerin, 1857), 357.
[89] See J. D. Hinsch, 'Die Bartholomäus-Bruderschaft der Deutschen in Lissabon', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* (1888), 1-27, 4f.
[90] See n. 40.

was first mentioned in fourth-century Rome) and the protection against the plague had become popular in large swathes of Europe at the beginning of the 16th century[91]. While this popularity of St Sebastian as a plague saint might by then have reached Lisbon, it was already well-established in Southern Germany. South German merchants would not only have thought of St Sebastian as an intercessor against the epidemic, but they would very often have promoted the foundation of plague hospitals under the saint's patronage[92]. Indeed, they might have taken or, at least, planned such an initiative in Lisbon. If so, it would have exacerbated the tensions with the German gunners who ran a hospital under the patronage of St Bartholomew. As Martin Behaim deceased there during the 1506/7 epidemic, it must be assumed that St Bartholomew's hospital cared for plague patients too and that it was, very much like the Confraternity of St Bartholomew, open to all Germans of Lisbon, regardless of their professional activity.

There is evidence, albeit indirect, that the South German merchants of Lisbon might have intended to fund a hospital of their own in the years 1505-7. Hubert von Welser showed long ago that the altarpiece commissioned by Lucas Rem in Antwerp after his marriage in 1518 and painted by Quinten Massys explicitly referred to Rem's first term of office as an agent of the Augsburg Welser family company in Lisbon between 1504 and 1508[93]. Von Welser's compelling argument is based on the painted globe on which the three persons of the Trinity stand, with the crucifixion representing the Son placed on the Indian Ocean, the shape of which reflects the cosmographical knowledge that the South German merchants would have had at the start of Almeida's expedition in 1505[94]. It is likely that Rem was keen to claim his share in the beginning of the Welser's and, more generally, South German settlement on the banks of the River Tagus and to recall his role in the South German involvement in Almeida's expedition after he had launched his own business with his brothers and got married in the same year[95]. The altarpiece (that is kept at the Alte Pinakothek in Munich) is not only about Rem himself, however. The two movable wings of the triptych feature St Sebastian and St Roch, the two saints that the South German merchants would invoke against the plague.

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[91] See S. Barker, 'The making of a plague saint: Saint Sebastian's imagery and cult before the Counter-Reformation', in: F. Mormando & T. Worcester (eds), *Piety and Plague, from Byzantium to the Baroque* (Kirksville, MO, 2007), 90-131.

[92] See H. Dormeier, 'Laienfrömmigkeit in den Pestzeiten des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts', in: N. Bulst & R. Delort (eds), *Maladies et société (XIIe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1989), 269-306; C. Bühl, ‚Die Pestepidemien des ausgehenden Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit in Nürnberg (1483/84 bis 1533/34), in: R. Endres (ed.), *Nürnberg und Bern. Zwei Reichsstädte und ihr Landgebiet* (Erlangen, 1990), 121-68; N. Bulst, 'Heiligenverehrung in Pestzeiten. Soziale und religiöse Reaktionen auf die spätmittelalterlichen Pestepidemien', in: A. Löther *et al.* (eds), Mundus in imagine. *Bildersprache und Lebenswelten im Mittelalter. Festschrift für K. Schreiner* (Munich, 1996), 63-97; and T. Esser, *Pest, Heilsangst und Frömmigkeit. Studien zur religiösen Bewältigung der Pest am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Altenberge, 1999).

[93] H. Freiherr von Welser, 'Der Globus des Lukas Rem. Ein Beitrag zum Martin-Behaim-Gedächtnisjahr 1957', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 48 (1958), 96-114.

[94] Quinten Massys, *Rem-Altar*, oil on oak (c.1518), Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen – Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

[95] See *Tagebuch des Lukas Rem aus den Jahren 1494-1541. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte der Stadt Augsburg*, ed. B. Greiff (Augsburg, 1861).

While the role played by St Sebastian among the South German merchants established in Lisbon has already been mentioned, it is worth paying close attention to the relevance of the reference to St Roch in this context. For the cult of St Roch was not only more recent than the cult of St Sebastian or, indeed, the cult of St Sebastian as an intercessor against the plague, but Nuremberg had established itself as a centre of this devotion that originated in Northern Italy via Venice[96]. Starting in the 1480s, St Roch was promoted in and beyond Nuremberg in text, print, painting and endowments such as chantries and a chapel on a cemetery named after the saint. Strikingly, the latter initiatives were all taken by members of the Imhoff family.

Between the mid-1480s and the early 1520s, the Imhoff family had endowed, among others, a chantry at the altar of St Roch in St Lawrence parish church, a second chantry at another altar of St Roch in the chapel of the cemetery of the leprosery of St John and a chapel of St Roch in a new cemetery that had been established at the periphery of the city in response to recent episodes of the plague. As far as the commitment of resources, density of action and effectiveness of initiative are concerned, these endowments were not dissimilar, all things being equal, to the Imhoff family's investment in the visual arts. Indeed, in some cases, such as the altarpiece of St Roch in St Lawrence parish church, both practices were intimately linked to each other. Interestingly, Peter Imhoff played an essential role in all these initiatives, so that his agent in Lisbon, Schüler, may not have acted against his interests, after all, in his attempt to set up a new confraternity. For we have good reasons to infer from what we have learnt so far that Schüler was involved in establishing a confraternity of the South German merchants under the patronage of St Sebastian and, if Rem's altarpiece is anything to go by, of St Roch, the two plague saints.

We have already seen that Peter Imhoff had other motives to withdraw his support for Schüler in 1512. These motives were related to citizenship in as far as it was essential to trust as expressed in the flowing of information. In the case of the confraternity of SS Sebastian and Roch, trust was, conversely, deemed a prerequisite of citizenship. For, by pressing for such a confraternity, Schüler was not merely promoting a cult that was dear to, and associated with, his principal's family. By seeking to enhance obligations of reciprocity among South German and, specifically, Nuremberg merchants in Lisbon in this way, he also, and more importantly, participated in the civic religion that Peter Imhoff and his family had contributed to establishing around the cult of St Roch. Indeed, the Imhoff family played a major role in the rise of a form of civic religion in Nuremberg in the last decades of the 15th and early decades of the 16th century, as I was able to show in a different context, and the promotion of the cult of St Roch as the new plague saint was at the core of this development[97].

Against the events of 1505-7, it becomes apparent that Schüler was in fact promoting the civic religion that the Imhoff family had decisively contributed to establishing at Nuremberg as far

[96] See n. 74.

[97] See M. Staub, 'Eucharistie et bien commun. L'économie d'une nouvelle pratique fondatrice à l'exemple des paroisses de Nuremberg dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle : sécularisation ou religion civique ?', in: A. Vauchez (ed.), *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (Chrétienté et Islam)* (Collection de l'Ecole française de Rome, 213) (Rome, 1995), 445-70, 458ff., and *id*., Memoria im Dienst von Gemeinwohl und Öffentlichkeit. Stiftungspraxis und kultureller Wandel in Nürnberg um 1500', in: O. G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur* (Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 121) (Göttingen, 1995), 285-334, 327ff.

afield as in Lisbon. Indeed, Peter Imhoff must have perceived that this initiative was as important to his business in an increasingly global environment as making sure that information kept flowing. For it is striking that he hesitated over the right course of action in dealing with Schüler, very much to the annoyance of Kneussel who interpreted his principal's hesitation as procrastination[98]. Ultimately, though, Peter Imhoff had understood that citizenship as a tie was dependent on trust as expressed in obligations of reciprocity in the same way as citizenship as a category promoted trust as access to information. Moreover, the early globalisation, of which the Imhoff family was one of many agents, required a rethinking of the relationship between trust and citizenship at the same time as it presented merchants as well as scholars, craftsmen and others with an opportunity to deepen the implications of such rethinking.

IV

This article has examined the relationship between early globalisation and trust by revisiting the relation between particularised and generalised trust through the lens of the republican tradition of political thought. To that end, it has focused on the interaction between trust and citizenship. As the Renaissance was an important step in the development of the Republican tradition, it now seems appropriate to enquire the extent to which Renaissance republican thought may have shaped the interaction of citizenship and trust around 1500.

According to Pettit, republicans' relationship to trust is characterised by a fundamental ambiguity. Republican thought has insisted on the importance and availability of personal political trust while equally considering manifestations of distrust to be essential to the functioning of the political body[99]. Pettit has stressed the complementarity of these approaches and dismissed their alleged incoherence. If we turn to Renaissance attitudes to citizenship and trust as they have been outlined in this article, it would appear that the complementary approaches to trust identified by Pettit in republican thought matched the complex relationship that has been empirically established, in the case of the South German merchants trading in and with Lisbon and their milieu, between citizenship as a category understood as a prerequisite to trust as access to information, on the one hand, and trust manifested in obligations of reciprocity as a condition of citizenship defined as a tie, on the other. While personal political trust would be seen to refer to citizenship as a category, manifestations of distrust would seem to point to citizenship as a tie.

This article is not the place to pursue this investigation, however, as its purpose is more limited and more precise at the same time. The aim of these final remarks is not to examine the implementation of republican thought or, indeed, its interaction with political practice. Its focus is on the Renaissance and it enquires the extent to which political thought in the period may have influenced the concrete interaction between citizenship and trust around 1500. While Pettit's

[98] See Jakob, 'Skandal', 88.
[99] Pettit, 'Republican theory', 302ff.

distinction between personal political trust and manifestations of distrust as the two sides of the republican tradition may be too broad for answering this question, another eminently republican dichotomy may prove useful.

Historically, republican thought has been shaped by the distinction between the people as the constitutive part of the polis and the people who have no part in the state and the resulting question of the participation of the latter – the *plebs* in the Latin tradition – in the state and, hence, its relationship to the former – the *populus* in the same tradition[100]. Whilst at first framed in Aristotelian categories, the tension between *plebs* and *populus* was indeed at the core of late medieval republican thought, not least in South Germany. Ulrich Meier has shown how late medieval Aristotelian republicanism, as exemplified in South Germany by the work of Johann von Soest (1448-1506), revolved around the distinction between full and qualified citizens – in scholastic Latin: between *cives simpliciter* and *cives secundum quid* – with an emphasis on qualified citizenship[101]. When the republican discourse turned to the Romans in the wake of the rise of humanism, attention shifted to full citizenship and, as Meier contends, on the elite of the city-states[102]. This relatively late development was not the whole story, however, as has recently been established, not least by reconsidering the work of Niccolò Machiavelli. Miguel Vatter has convincingly argued that, far from interpreting the tension between *plebs* and *populus* in terms of class antagonism, Machiavelli sought to address what he perceived as the weakness of late medieval guild republicanism by suggesting a constitutional arrangement in which plebeian politics were able to claim equal freedom and, thus, to contest the distinction between those who ruled and those who were ruled[103].

Machiavelli was part of a discussion of which the terms were known in South Germany, as has been mentioned. Indeed, South German humanism also prompted a shift of political language from Aristotelian scholastic categories to Roman civic notions, as can be shown by the reflection on the meaning of *populus*. Interestingly, this reflection was often mediated by ecclesiology in the South German context, a characteristic that may be explained by the relationship between empire and Church in theory and, within limitations, in practice and the significance of the Council of Constance and, above all, the Council of Basel in reassessing said relationship.[104] It is

[100] See M. Vatter, 'The quarrel between populism and republicanism: Machiavelli and the antinomies of plebeian politics', *Contemporary Political Theory* 11(3) (2012), 242-63, 255ff.

[101] U. Meier, '*Burgerlich vereynung*. Herrschende, beherrschte und „mittlere" Bürger in Politiktheorie, chronikalischer Überlieferung und städtischen Quellen des Spätmittelalters', in: R. Koselleck & K. Schreiner (eds), *Bürgerschaft: Rezeption und Innovation vom Hohen Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Sprache und Geschichte, 22) (Stuttgart, 1994), 43-89, 49ff. (*cives simpliciter* vs. *cives secundum quid*) and 70ff. (Johann von Soest).

[102] *Id*., 'Konsens und Kontrolle. Der Zusammenhang von Bürgerrecht und politischer Partizipation im spätmittelalterlichen Florenz', in: K. Schreiner & *id*. (eds), *Stadtregiment und Bürgerfreiheit. Handlungsspielräume in deutschen und italienischen Städten des Späten Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit* (Bürgertum. Beitrag zur europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, 7) (Göttingen, 1994), 147-87, 165ff.

[103] See Vatter, 'Quarrel', 256f. (with A. Momigliano against G. Agamben).

[104] The ecclesiological dimension that is developed in this section complements a considerable body of work on the social, intellectual and, for the period of the Reformation, religious background of humanist politics in the South German cities. On Nuremberg, more specifically, see F. Machilek, 'Klosterhumanismus in Nürnberg um 1500', *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 64 (1977), 10-45; H. G. Walther, 'Italienisches gelehrtes Recht im Nürnberg des 15. Jh.', in: H. Boockmann *et al.* (eds), *Recht und Verfassung im Übergang vom Mittelalter*

striking that the explicit claim by the city council of Nuremberg to speak on behalf of the *populus* can be dated back to a controversy, which occurred in 1451, with the former German conciliarist and then papal legate Nicholas of Cues about processions of the Blessed Sacrament outside the festival and the octave of Corpus Christi[105]. In Nuremberg as elsewhere, Corpus Christi was an annual occasion on which politics met religion and, in particular, ecclesiology. This complex relationship was negotiated in other contexts too, albeit in a less explicit fashion. This was, not least, the case of Church and art patronage, an activity in which the Imhoff family played an eminent role in Nuremberg, as has already been mentioned.

To Peter Imhoff, civic religion was, as we have seen, a way of promoting citizenship as a tie through trust as obligations of reciprocity. By doing so, he, implicitly at least, endorsed the discourse of the political elite of the city of Nuremberg on the *populus*. However, Peter Imhoff's position was not devoid of ambiguity, as Kneussel complained[106]. True, Schüler seemed in this instance to side with the Nuremberg elite as did Peter Imhoff. Yet Peter Imhoff's concern about trust as the flowing of information resulting from citizenship understood as a category must have been far more disturbing for Kneussel since it amounted in theoretical terms to nothing less than supporting political participation and, hence, plebeian politics. Peter Imhoff's attitude was thus characterised by a fundamental political ambiguity that reflected the tension at the heart of the republican thought of the Renaissance. While theorists like Machiavelli suggested how to integrate civic and plebeian discourses and practices, Peter Imhoff was satisfied with their coexistence – for the time being, at least. When, in the process leading to the Reformation, the city council of Nuremberg pressed ahead with civic politics, particularly in Church patronage, Peter Imhoff refused to follow suit and sought to reassert plebeian politics[107].

There are, thus, good reasons to assume that the reflection on republican politics accompanied the development of the relationship between citizenship and trust in the Renaissance against the background of early globalisation. While its contribution to, and interaction with, practices of trust and citizenship has been established in the case of Nuremberg and, more generally, South German networks involved in European expansion abroad, the relationship between republican theory and early globalisation remains inconclusive until further research has been done. This is particularly true of the ways in which the dichotomy between civic and plebeian politics, which has proved to be essential in Renaissance republican thought, influenced, and was affected by, European expansion.

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zur Neuzeit, vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1998), 215-29; E. Isenmann, 'Reich, Verfassung und Politik in Rechtsgutachten spätmittelalterlicher deutscher und italienischer Juristen, vornehmlich des 15. Jh.', *ibid.*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 2001), 47-245; and B. Hamm, *Lazarus Spengler (1479-1534)* (Spätmittelalter und Reformation, Neue Reihe, 25) (Tübingen, 2004), 1ff.

[105] See Staub, *Paroisses*, 275ff.

[106] See Jakob, 'Skandal', 92f.

[107] See M. Staub, *La république des fondateurs. Participation, communauté et charité à la fin du Moyen Age et à l'époque moderne* (Berlin, 2013), 108f.

Being able to close the gap between republican thought on trust and citizenship, on the one hand, and globalisation, on the other, would have implications beyond the history of the Renaissance period. Yet, this article hopes to have shown that trust and citizenship entered a complex mutual relationship in the context of European expansion abroad in interaction with republican political thought. Unearthing this largely lost tradition in order to better understand the relationship between globalisation and trust in the Renaissance was the primary aim of this article. Examining the interaction of trust and citizenship beyond Europe and clarifying the ways in which these practices were influenced by, and influenced, republican thought would contribute to making them relevant to contemporary interdisciplinary conversations about citizenship and globalisation.