
ARTICLES

Catalan Cloth on the Late Medieval Mediterranean Markets

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In the XIVth and XVth centuries the Catalans sold large quantities of their cloth in the countries of the Central and Eastern basin of the Mediterranean. However, there were fluctuations in the sales of Catalan cloth owing to political and economic changes in Catalonia itself and in the countries to which the cloth was exported. The purpose of this paper is to establish which countries received the greatest amount of Catalan cloth, and to date more precisely the period when this became the principal woollen textile product in the Mediterranean area. Our arguments are drawn from a quantitative analysis of the data in notarial deeds from the three major commercial centres - Perpignan, Palermo and Naples. Such data do not represent an accurate true statistical measurement because probably the acts of many notaries went astray and, in addition, every notary had different clients. Nevertheless, sale contracts drawn up by notaries provide a very valuable source of information and better reflect the trends of international trade than the stock inventories of single merchants. An individual cloth dealer may have acquired a large quantity of certain articles by chance or because they were offered at a cheaper price. Such individual documents also have their value, since notarial deeds, on the other hand, often refer to sales of cloth without specifying details, while one can never be sure that a particular article was really manufactured in

the town whose name it bore, for many kinds of cloth were imitated in other towns and in foreign countries. Nonetheless, by collecting data from notarial deeds and checking them against inventories of shops and registers of customs offices, reasonably accurate conclusions may be reached.

1. Southern Italian Markets, 1380-1400

Documents from many different archives have survived and shed light on the general trends of the cloth trade in Southern Italy and Sicily at the end of the XIVth century. The correspondence of the branches of the Datini firm provides the most important of these documents, since the cloth trade was the principal activity of this great enterprise. There are also valuable data in notarial deeds which date from that period or the years immediately after.

These records show that different kinds and qualities of Italian and French cloth held a leading place on the woollen markets of the central Mediterranean basin in that period. This conclusion is based mainly on the Datini correspondence which contain numerous references to the sale of Italian and French woollens in Naples, Palermo and other towns of Southern Italy and Sicily, and show that this Tuscan firm dealt by preference with the products of its own country and much less with others.

In the 1380's great quantities of Florentine cloth were imported in Naples.¹ Merchants who engaged in the woollen trade there emphasized in their letters to the Datini firm that there was a good market only for the fine cloth of Florence.² Similar

¹ Archivio di Stato, Prato, *fondo Datini* (henceforth quoted *Dat*) 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 25 March 1384.

² *Dat* 534, letter of Manno d'Albizi degli Agli to Datini in Pisa of 13 and 21 May 1385. *Dat* 536, letter of Gherardo Pacini to the same of 9 Nov. 1388. *Dat* 904, letter of Scotto di Guglielmo for the Comp. Agnolo di Ser Pino e Giuliano di Giovanni in Palermo to the Datini firm in Barcelona of 15 Feb. 1403.

statements are to be found in the letters of cloth dealers of Palermo, dating from the same years.³ A piece of fine Florentine cloth (San Martino cloth) fetched 55-65 fl (in the wholesale trade) in Naples and Palermo.⁴ As the cloth merchants marketed relatively large quantities of Florentine woollens both in Naples and in Palermo, they often asked the Datini firm in Pisa and Florence for further supplies.⁵ Often they insisted on supply without delay, as the demand was great.⁶ Large quantities of Milan and Como cloth were also marketed both in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily. These woollens fetched about 20 t the *canna*,⁷ in that period in Palermo, so that a piece cost 40-45 fl.⁸ In Sicily, the demand for these woollens was so great that the agents of Francesco Datini continually asked for new shipments.⁹ Quantities of the cloth of Prato was sold¹⁰ in Na-

³ *Dat* 534, letter of Ambrogio Bini from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 5 March, 5 and 6 Apr. 1384.

⁴ For Naples see *Dat* 534, account of Manno degli Agli of 20 Oct. 1386; in Palermo, the value of Florentine cloth was calculated according to the price of the *canna*. The *canna* of Sicily was equal to $3 \frac{1}{40}$ *braccia* of Venice, (see *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de' paesi*, ed. F. BORLANDI, Turin, 1936, p. 110), so it measured 2.0672729 m (cf. A. MARTINI, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete*, Turin 1883, p. 817: the braccio of Venice is of 0.683396 m). The *canna* was of eight *palmi*. It was in the 1380's 27-29 t, see *Dat* 534 letters of Ambr. Bini of 31 May, 4 Aug., 16 Sept. 1384 21 Dec. 1385 22 Jan. 1386; *Dat* 535, account of Manno degli Agli of 26 Sept. 1385, 21 Dec. 1385 12 Jan. 1386, but see lower prices *Dat* 536, letter of Comp. Bartolo Bonciani e Vannuccio Petrucci from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 23 May 1387, 19 Oct. 1388. The Florentine cloth was sold in pieces of 14 *canne* (see note d of Table 2).

⁵ *Dat* 534, letter of Ambrogio Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 4 and 30 Oct. 1384.

⁶ *Ibid.*, his letters of 16 Sept. and 3 Nov. 1384.

⁷ See the letters of Ambr. Bini quoted in note 4 and further there his letters of 23 Aug. 1383 26 Apr. and 6 May 1384. (There was a slight difference between the prices of the woollens of Como and Milan, the latter always being always slightly cheaper).

⁸ See *Dat* 534, letters of Ambr. Bini of 4 July 1383, 17 Sept. 1384.

⁹ *Ibid.* his letter of 17 Sept. 1384; 4, 15 and 30 Oct., 4 Nov., 8 and 29 Dec. 1384. *Dat* 536, letter of Gherardo Pacini from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 29 Nov. 1387.

¹⁰ Import to Naples; *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri to the Datini firm in Pisa of 20 Apr. 1385. Also, letter of Ambr. Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 15 Aug. 1383.

ples and in Palermo, the two greatest markets of the region. In Sicily, where a *canna* of it fetched 10-14 t, a piece cost 25-30 fl.¹¹ Woollen cloth from Pisa and Siena,¹² (which had the same value as those of Prato),¹³ cloth from Lucca,¹⁴ Verona,¹⁵ and Padua¹⁶ and the cheap ware of Brescia¹⁷ were also marketed there. The letters we have quoted were written by Florentine merchants, and one may assume that other cloth dealers sold less Tuscan and other Italian cloth, while the notarial deeds which have come down to us from that period confirm that Florentine cloth was then in great demand in Sicily.¹⁸ Florentine merchants often bartered their cloth for Sicilian sugar,¹⁹ and also marketed it through agents at the fairs held in several towns of Sicily.²⁰

The shipments of French cloth that were marketed in Southern Italy and Sicily at the end of the XIVth century included considerable quantities of different kinds of woollens, but they were mostly products of Languedoc. On March 25, 1385 a Flo-

¹¹ *Dat* 534, letter of Ambr. Bini of 7 Jan. 1385. *Dat* 535, his letter of 21 June 1385 and his account of 18 Aug. 1384. *Dat* 535, account of Manno degli Agli of 26 Sept. 1385. *Dat* 670, his letter of 25 Apr. 1386 and *ibid.* account of Comp. Calvano di Messer Guccio of 20 March 1388, 1 Apr. 1390. A higher price, namely 35 fl. see *Dat* 670, account of the same of 4 Feb. 1389.

¹² *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 20 Apr. 1385.

¹³ *Dat* 534, letters of Ambr. Bini to Pisa of 31 Aug. 1383; 11 Dec. 1383 (where the sale of a great quantity is reported); 5 March 1384 (they have a good market); 5 and 6 Apr. 1384. *Dat* 535, account of Manno degli Agli of 26 Apr. 1385.

¹⁴ *Dat* 534, letter of Ambr. Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 23 Aug. 1383, 6 Apr., 6 May 1384.

¹⁵ *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Agnolo Latinucci e Lorenzo di Giovannetto from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 25 Jan. 1385; letter of A. Bini from Palermo to the same of 14 March 1385.

¹⁶ *Dat* 536, letter of Comp. Bartolo Bonciani e Vannuccio Petrucci from Palermo to Pisa of 19 Oct. 1388.

¹⁷ *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Agnolo Latinucci e Lorenzo di Giovannetto from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 12 Feb. 1385.

¹⁸ Archivio di Stato, Trapani (ASTrap), notary Alemanno Zucala, 8527, f. 532a, 546b (a. 1414).

¹⁹ *Dat* 670, letter of Manno degli Agli from Palermo to the Datini firm in Florence of 14 Oct. 1386. *Dat* 1075, letter of Matteo Grandoni from Palermo to Cristofano di Bartolo Capocci da Barberino in Majorca of 11 Sept. 1402.

rentine firm informed Francesco Datini in Florence that ships coming from Savona and Aigues-Mortes had brought to Naples great quantities of Languedoc cloth, most of it cheap ware.²¹ The cloth of Languedoc which was sold in the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily at the end of the XIVth century consisted of woollens of many towns. The letters of Florentine cloth dealers mention woollens of Gignac, Beziers, Carcassonne, Montolieu, St. Félix-de-Lauragais, Toulouse, Gaillac, Lesbordes and others.²² They were all cheap, selling for 16-19 fl. a piece.²³ In Southern Italy the higher priced cloth of Rouen and Louviers²⁴ was also sold.²⁵ The cheap cloth of Languedoc had an excellent market in the small towns of Sicily,²⁶ and was in great demand everywhere on the island. The cheap kinds of Tuscan cloth could not compete with it. On May 21, 1385 a Neapolitan firm wrote to Francesco Datini in Pisa that "no-one asks for Prato cloth any more because there is so much Languedoc cloth here".²⁷

In that period considerable quantities of Flemish and Brabantine cloth were imported to Sicily, and among these the woollen cloths of Wervicq-sur-Lys, a middle-ranking fabric, held first place. A piece was sold for 26-32 fl.,²⁸ which means

²⁰ *Dat* 534, letter of Ambr. Bini from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 31 Jan. 1385. *Dat* 670, his letter to the Datini firm in Florence of 21 Sept. 1385.

²¹ *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri of 25 March 1385.

²² *Dat* 534, letter of Manno degli Agli from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 21 May 1385; letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the same of 16 May 1385.

²³ *Ibid.*, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 25 March 1384; letter of Ambr. Bini of 31 May, 4 Aug., 16 Sept. 1384. *Dat* 536, letter of comp. Silvestro Nardi e Gherardo Pacini of 31 May 1389; letter of Gherardo Pacini to the same of 31 May, 21 June, 31 Aug. 1387.

²⁴ *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the Datini firm in Pisa of 20 Apr. and 16 May 1384.

²⁵ *Dat* 534, letter of Comp. Sandro Mazzetti e Guido Pilestri from Naples to the same of 7 June and 15 July 1385.

²⁶ *ASTrap*, Alemanno Zuccala, 8528, f. 94b f.

²⁷ *Dat* 534, letter of Manno degli Agli of 21 May 1385.

²⁸ *Dat* 536, letter of Comp. Bartolo Bonciani e Vanuccio Petrucci to the Datini firm in Pisa of 23 May 1387. *Dat* 670, letters of Scotto di Guglielmo for the Comp.

that it ranked a little higher than the Prato cloth. The demand was apparently great and much of it was sold.²⁹ Notarial deeds from Trapani for the early XVth century testify to the sale of many pieces of Wervicq cloth in that town of western Sicily.³⁰ The letters and notarial deeds that refer to the sale of Wervicq cloth in Sicily also tally well with documents which bear witness to its diffusion in Catalonia in the same period.³¹ Cloth from Bruges³² and Malines³³ was also sold in Sicily at the end of the XIVth century, and much of the Flemish cloth was imported by the Venetian "Flanders Galleys".³⁴

However, Catalan cloth was also marketed in much greater quantities in both the Kingdom of Naples and in Sicily. Letters written by agents and correspondents of the Datini firm from various commercial towns in Southern Italy and Sicily to its branches in Florence, Pisa and Catalonia show clearly that Catalan cloth (including that of Majorca and Valencia) began to conquer these markets in that period. In 1383 Ambrogio Bini, the Datini company's faithful agent in Palermo, wrote that "when there are Catalan woollens, one cannot sell Languedoc cloth".³⁵ In other letters one reads that "the Catalan woollens have a good market",³⁶ or that cloth of Majorca is requested.³⁷ Some

Agnolo di Ser Pino from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 6 Apr. and 19 July 1403. *Dat* 904, letter of the same to the same of 15 Feb. 1403.

²⁹ *Dat* 534, letters of Ambr. Bini of 11 June, 23 Aug. 1383; 27 March, 5 and 6 Apr., 6 May 1384; 14 March 1385.

³⁰ ASTrap, Alemanno Zuccala, 8527, f. 443b; 8528, f. 103b, 170a, 183a, 221a, 247b; 8529, f. 162a (of 23 Feb. 1424), *Indic.* 15, f. 47b f.

³¹ See F. MELIS, *La diffusione nel Mediterraneo occidentale dei panni di Wervicq e delle altre città della Lys attorno al 1400*, (in) "Studi in onore di A. Fanfani" (Milan 1962), III, p. 215ff.

³² *Dat* 534, letter of Ambr. Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 5 Apr. 1384.

³³ *Ibid.*, letter of the same to the same of 27 March, 5 Apr. 1384.

³⁴ *Dat* 536, letter of Bartolo Comp. Bonciani e Vannuccio Petrucci of 23 Apr. 1387.

³⁵ *Dat* 534, his letter to the Datini firm in Pisa of 4 July 1383.

³⁶ *Dat* 536, letter of Gherardo Pacini from Palermo to the Datini firm in Pisa of 21 Apr. 1393. One also reads sometimes in a merchant letter that Catalan cloth is not sold, see *Dat* 1075, letter of Matteo Grandoni in Palermo to Cristofano di Bartolo Capocci da Barberino of 18 Aug. 1402.

merchants requested shipment of the cloth of Majorca to Palermo,³⁸ and others reported the arrival of Catalan cloth, in their correspondence, noting for instance that a Catalan ship had arrived in Trapani with a large consignment of cloth,³⁹ or that a Venetian "Flanders Galley" had discharged much Catalan cloth in Palermo.⁴⁰ Certain notarial deeds from Trapani refer to the sale of large quantities of Catalan cloth in that town at the end of the XIVth century and beginning of the XVth century.⁴¹

It seems that the massive import of Catalan cloth into Sicily only began in the 1420's, however. An act drawn up by the Trapanese notary Alemanno Zuccala in 1422 refers to the purchase of Catalan woollens for 918 ounces (4590 ducats) by a local cloth dealer, Francesco de Vincio.⁴² However, even at the end of the XIVth century Sicily was absorbing a great deal of Catalan cloth. In a letter written in July 1386 it is recorded that a ship brought 2000 pieces of cloth from Valencia to Palermo.⁴³ But at that time the majority of Catalonia's woollen cloths were exported direct to the Levant, and a letter written in 1399 from Gaeta refers to the arrival of a Genoese ship set for Alexandria,⁴⁴ carrying 400 bales of Valencian cloth.

2. Perpignan, 1375-1410

In the first half of the XIVth century, Perpignan was already a major centre of the woollen industry. Sources from that period

³⁷ *Dat* 904, letter of Doffo di Ser Iacopo for the Comp. Agnolo di Ser Pino from Palermo to the Datini firm in Barcelona of 5 Jan. 1403.

³⁸ *Dat* 1075, letter of Giovanni Abbatelli to the Comp. Datini e Cristofano da Bartolo Carocci da Barberino in Majorca of 17 Nov. 1402.

³⁹ *Dat* 535, letter of Ambr. Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 15 Nov. 1385.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, letter of the same of 8 Feb. 1386.

⁴¹ *ASTrap*, notary Franc. Janca, 8524, sub 21 Nov. 1393; Alemanno Zuccala, 8528, f. 246b, 255a.

⁴² *Al. Zuccala*, 8529, III indic. sub 19 Oct. 1422.

⁴³ *Dat* 677, letter of Agnolo di Ser Pino e Giuliano di Giovanni of 16 July 1399.

⁴⁴ *Dat* 535, letter of Ambr. Bini of 6 July 1386; *Dat* 670, his letter to the Datini firm in Florence of 1 July 1386.

show that 40,000 pieces of cloth were produced in Perpignan every year.⁴⁵ This report may be exaggerated, but it indicates the flourishing nature of the town's textile industry. There were several hundred weavers⁴⁶ and in the 1330's Perpignan exported its cloth to many different Mediterranean countries.⁴⁷ Perpignan merchants formed the largest group of the Catalan traders who sold cloth in Sicily.⁴⁸ The cloth makers of Perpignan produced woollens of various kinds and different colours, such as brown, red and black,⁴⁹ and their prices were always higher than those of other Catalan cloths.

Documents dating from the early XVIth century show that a piece of cloth manufactured in Perpignan was estimated by the local producers and merchants at 8-10, or even 13-14, Barcelonan pounds.⁵⁰ On the foreign markets it fetched much higher prices. In the middle of the XVth century, a piece of Perpignan cloth cost 3.6-3.8 ounces in Palermo (in the wholesale trade), whereas the average price of Catalan cloth was 3 ounces.⁵¹ In the 1470's in Southern Italy the standard price of a piece was more than 31 ducats, about three times as much as the cloth of

⁴⁵ M. RIU, *The woollen industry in Catalonia in the later Middle Ages*, (in "Cloth and clothing in medieval Europe, essays in memory of E.M. Carus-Wilson" (London 1983), p. 211.

⁴⁶ A. DE CAPMANY Y MONTPALAU, *Memorias historicas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* (Madrid 1779-1792) I, p. 210 f. III, p. 7.

⁴⁷ FR. BALDUCCI PEGOLOTTI, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass. 1936), p. 37, 55, 58, 79; M. Riu, art. cit., p. 217.

⁴⁸ C. TRASELLI, *Il mercato dei panni a Palermo nella prima metà del XV secolo*, "Economia e storia" IV (1957), p. 142.

⁴⁹ PH WOLFF, *Commerce et marchands de Toulouse (vers 1350-vers 1450)* (Paris 1954), p. 241.

⁵⁰ Ferriol Bosqueros (see infra note 55) 731, f. 33a, 34a, 42a f. and see below Table 1. The prices are those of the wholesale trade in Perpignan and are given in Barcelonan pounds. The pound had the value of 1.8 Aragonese florins, in that period see Guitard (cf. below note 55) 1558, f. 66a and this florin (Ornos, f. 31a) was equal to 2/3 fl. of Florence, see GIOVANNI DA UZZANO, *La pratica della mercatura*, (in) G. FR. PIGNINI, *Della decima e di varie alte gravetze imposte dal comune di Firenze* (Lisbon 1765-66) IV, p. 108. So the pound of Barcelona had the value of 1.2 fl. (or ducat).

⁵¹ ASPal (Archivio di Stato, Palermo), notary Antonino Aprea, 803, f. 497a, 576a 805 sub 28 Jan., 1449, 808, f. 414b.

Majorca and double that of Barcelona. Perpignan cloth held third place after those of Florence and London.⁵² The flourishing state of Perpignan's woollen industry at the end of the XIVth and beginning of the XVth century is also borne out by the fact that when Giovanni da Uzzano compiled his trade manual in 1420 he found it necessary to include a special chapter on the town's cloth.⁵³ Its woollen industry continued to prosper through the XVth century, and in the 1480s 40,000 fl. worth of Perpignan cloth was imported to Florence every year until it was decided to ban these imports and to produce an identical article locally.⁵⁴

The last quarter of the XIVth century and the beginning of the XVth century were the period of greatest expansion in the history of Perpignan's cloth industry and exports. This is well documented in the notarial deeds,⁵⁵ which show that Perpignan also acted as a major commercial centre from which the woollens of several neighbouring towns and provinces were exported.

Many notarial deeds refer also to the export of the cloth of Villefranche-de-Conflent, another town in the Roussillon to the west of Perpignan.⁵⁶ This was cheap cloth, costing 6.66-7.3 Barcelonan pounds⁵⁷ a piece and it found good markets in the Le-

⁵² A. SAPORI, *Una fiera in Italia alla fine del Quattrocento* (in his "Studi di storia economica" (Florence 1955-67) I, p. 455.

⁵³ *Op. cit.*, p. 130f.

⁵⁴ M.M. MALLET, *The Florentine galleys in the fifteenth century* (Oxford 1967), p. 128.

⁵⁵ The following collections of notarial acts in the *Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Orientales* (APO) (in Perpignan) are most often quoted in this paper: Raymond Ferrer, *Notule*, B. 196, 218. - quoted Ferrer. Pierre Armany, 937. - quoted Armany. Ferriol Bosqueros, 731, 734, 735, 771. - quoted Bosqueros. Antoine Guitard, 1552-1555. - quoted Guitard. Pierre de Ornos, B. 184 - quoted Ornos. B. 250, liasse 24. B. ALART, *Inventaire-sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790. Pyrénées orientales I* (Paris 1868).

⁵⁶ Although our sources do not specify which Villafranca is meant, one will certainly discard the hypothesis that Villefranche-de-Lauraga is a centre of woad planting, (cf. WOLFF, *op. cit.*, p. 249, note 103) is meant.

⁵⁷ See the deed quoted in note 60 and Guitard 1553, f. 16a.

vant. In 1375 it was exported to Damascus,⁵⁸ in 1380 to "Romania" (the territories formerly or still belonging to the Byzantine Empire),⁵⁹ in 1387 to Cyprus and Beirut⁶⁰ and in 1416 196 pieces, in 28 bales, to the "Levant".⁶¹ The merchants of Perpignan also exported cloth made in Cerdana 62, as well as those of other towns from south of the Pyrenes, like Puigcerda. The wool cloths produced there were cheap (costing 8 Barcelonan pounds a piece) and were easily sold in the Levant. In 1387 23 pieces were exported by a Perpignan merchant to Cyprus and Beirut.⁶³ Perpignan merchants also sold French cloth, such as palmelles, everywhere.⁶⁴ Another Languedoc textile centre, Auch, produced very cheap woollens that were exported via Perpignan.⁶⁵

Cloth was exported from Perpignan to many countries in the West and the East. A document of 1422 refers to the export of 14 pieces of Perpignan cloth to Galicia via Fort-Vendres;⁶⁶ another refers to the marketing of Perpignan cloth in Marseilles⁶⁷ and Pisa.⁶⁸ But the bulk of the woollens export from Perpignan went either to Southern Italy and Sicily, or to the Levantine markets. Many notarial acts of the period indicated Naples or

⁵⁸ APO, Andrea Romeu, B. 131, f. 78b; cf. Alart, *Nolis*, p. 74a.

⁵⁹ Ornos, f. 75a.

⁶⁰ Same notary, f. 79b f.

⁶¹ Guitard, 1553, f. 16a. Cloth of Villefranche-de-Conflent was exported also via Barcelona, see about its shipping from Barcelona to Syria (Damascus) in 1408 and 1409, J.M. MADURELL MARIMON - A. GARCIA SANZ, *Comendas barcelonesas de la baja edad media* (Barcelona 1973), no. 177, 182 and to the "Levant" in 1413 op. cit. no. 187.

⁶² B. 250, liasse 24; cf. Alart, p. 163 b.

⁶³ Ornos, f. 81a Cf. E. ASHTOR, *L'exportation de textiles occidentaux au bas moyen âge dans le Proche Orient musulman (1370-1517)*, (in) "Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis" (Naples 1978) II, p. 333. About the cloth of Puigcerda see M. GUAL CAMARENA, *Origenes y expansión de la industria lanera catalana en la edad media* (in) "IIa Settimana di studio, Istituto Fr. Datini" (Florence 1976), p. 522.

⁶⁴ Ornos, f. 77b.

⁶⁵ See Table 1 c.

⁶⁶ APO, notary Jean Peytavi, 859, f. 15a.

⁶⁷ Alart, op. cit., p. 124a.

⁶⁸ Bosqueros, 771, f. 15b.

Gaeta as the destination of cloth exports from Perpignan.⁶⁹ The number of contracts concerning the export of cloth from Perpignan to Sicily was particularly great,⁷⁰ and the considerable volume of exports to Sicily indicates that Perpignan cloth grew rapidly on the Sicilian markets at the end of the XIVth and at the beginning of the XVth centuries and replaced woollens from other textile centres.⁷¹ There are numerous notarial acts referring to the export of cloth from Perpignan to the Greek Levant (Romania) (from 1380, 1381, 1386 and 1405).⁷² Other notarial acts refer to the export of woollens to Rhodes⁷³ or simply to the "Levant" (*partes Orientis* or *partes soldani*).⁷⁴ Sometimes the destinations — Cyprus and Beirut,⁷⁵ Damascus⁷⁶ or Alexandria⁷⁷ — are more precisely indicated in the notarial act.

All these references bear witness to the great success of Perpignan cloth on the markets of Syria and Egypt in that period. Besides Barcelona and Puigcerda cloth, those of Perpignan and Villefranche-de-Conflent were the only Catalan woollens that appeared on the price lists drawn up in Damascus in the 1390's by the agents of Francesco Datini, the great merchant of Prato, and the fine cloth of Perpignan fetched much higher prices there than that of Barcelona. In 1395 the difference between their pri-

⁶⁹ Same notary 731, f. 37a 735, f. 3b.

⁷⁰ Armany, f. 12b; Bosqueros, 731, f. 5a (the destination, as in many other deeds, is "Sicily or Naples"); Alart, p. 124a.

⁷¹ See also ASTrap, notary Alemanno Zuccala, 8526, sub 2 Nov. 1412: sale of 8 pieces of black cloth of Perpignan. Also, *Dat* 534, letter of Ambr. Bini to the Datini firm in Pisa of 12 Nov. 1383.

⁷² Ornos, f. 75a, 78a; Alart, op. cit., serie B.C., p. 107a; B. 139, f. 93a quoted by B. LAINE, *La vie économique et sociale à Colloire* (1360-1490) (doctoral thesis, copy in APO).

⁷³ Bosqueros, 731, f. 33a, 34a.

⁷⁴ Same notary, 731, f. 42a f.; Ferrer B. 196, f. 37b; Guitard, 1554, sub 27 Feb. 1417.

⁷⁵ Alart, série B.C., p. 107a.

⁷⁶ Bosqueros, 735, f. 6a.

⁷⁷ B. 250, liasse 24, sub 2 April 1395. In 1385 cloth from Perpignan was shipped from Marseilles to Egypt, see *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, II, by E. BARATIER and F. REYNAUD (Paris 1951), p. 245 note 5.

ces amounted to 40%, although the clothiers of Perpignan and their agents also offered cheaper articles.⁷⁸

There is also a great deal of information in the registers of the notary Ferriol Bosqueros which date from the year 1406. They refer to the export of cloth from Perpignan and shed light on the destinations of this trade. This information is summarized in the following table.

Table 1
EXPORTS OF CLOTH FROM PERPIGNAN IN 1406
(According to F. Bosqueros, 735)

a) Cloth of Perpignan			
Destination	Number of pieces	Total value	Average price
Naples/Sicily ^a	138 ^b	1732.93 l ^c	13.28 l
Sicily	34	475.25 l	13.97 l
Levant	42	424.27 l	10.1 l
Total	214	2632.45 l	

^a In many documents "Naples or Sicily" are indicated as destination.

^b The price of 7 1/2 pieces is not given.

^c Adding the presumable price of 7 1/2 pieces, i.e., 99.6 l, the total would be 1833.1 l.

b) Cloth of Villefranche-de-Conflent			
Destination	Number of pieces	Total value	Average price
Levant	24	163.08 l	6.8 l

c) Cloth of Auch			
Destination	Number of pieces	Total value	Average price
Levant	8	40 l	5 l

These references show clearly that Southern Italy and Sicily were the markets where the greatest quantity of Perpignan cloth was sold at the end of the XIVth and beginning of the XXVth centuries, while only a much smaller part was marketed in the

⁷⁸ Archivio di Stato Prato, fondo Datini, Ba 1171, price lists of Damascus of 30 May and 2 August 1395.

Levant. On the Levantine markets there was still a great demand for the cloth of Florence, both the Garbo and S. Martino woollens, but Barcelona, Puigcerda and other towns of Catalonia south of the Pyrenees supplied ever growing quantities of cheap ware. Can the deeds (mostly commenda contracts) of that year be taken as typical of the export trade of the clothiers of Perpignan? We can unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative, for according to a document of 1397 ten merchants of Perpignan exported almost 1000 pieces of cloth to Sicily in that year.⁷⁹

3. Palermo, 1440-1460

Throughout the XVth century, Palermo was a major cloth market where considerable quantities of woollens from many different countries were sold. Palermo cloth dealers supplied the retailers of western and central Sicily, although certain of the woollens sold in the capital of the island were destined for other countries. The Catalan merchants who had settled in Palermo and the Pisans who engaged in banking and commercial activities sold cloth for some hundred ounces every year. According to the registers of a Palermitan notary, Francesc Allegra sold cloth for 416.6 ounces in 1447,⁸⁰ in 1448 for 561.2⁸¹ and in 1449 for 868.4.⁸² Other major cloth dealers were the Pisan bankers Antonio and Chellino Settimo,⁸³ Antonio Agliata,⁸⁴ and Giovanni Abatelli,⁸⁵ all of whom marketed cloths originating from many different countries.

⁷⁹ Alart, *Nolis*, p. 100a.

⁸⁰ Ant. Aprea 802, f. 544a f., 666a, 673b, 679b, 683b, 684b, 687a, 688a.

⁸¹ Same notary 803, f. 580a, 743b, 753a, 761b.

⁸² Same notary 805, sub 28 Feb. 1449, f. 646b, 658a, 692b, 693a, 13, 14, 22 and 31 March 1449.

⁸³ Same notary, 805, sub 19 March 1449, 808, f. 754b ff. and cf. C. TRASELLI, *Note per la storia dei banchi in Sicilia nel XV secolo* (Palermo 1959-1968) II, p. 10, 142 and cf. 135 ff., 139f. 141.

⁸⁴ Ant. Aprea, 803, f. 565a, 648b and cf. Trasselli, op. cit. II, p. 11 and cf. 144 ff.

⁸⁵ Same notary 810, f. 11b and cf. Trasselli, op. cit. II, p. 13, 130 (this is Giov. Abbatelli the younger). See further the Pisans who are listed as cloth dealers in Paler-

The collections of notarial deeds that have come down to us from Palermo notaries of the mid-XVth century are particularly rich in contracts concerning the sale of cloth. The French historian Cl. Carrère has worked on the information provided by the acts of the notary Giacomo Comito drawn up in the year 1445-1455.⁸⁶ The information taken from the registers of another notary, Antonino Aprea, dating from the middle of the XVth century, provide the totals listed in Table 2.

The Palermo notaries used to specify in their deeds the exact kind and quantity of the cloth to be sold (i.e., origin, quality). But many acts did not specify either the quality or the quantity and others referred to the payment of a price due for the acquisition of a certain quantity of cloth (which is not given). In many contracts the origin of the cloth and its price are indicated, but not the quantity.

As Table II indicates, the woollens of Barcelona were sold in the greatest quantity in the middle of the XVth century in Palermo. They included different types of cloth whose quality and measurement were different. The notarial acts mention *burelli*, a cheap cloth,⁸⁷ *cordellati*, a cloth woven with lines,⁸⁸ "*frisoni*", apparently an imitation of Frisian woollens,⁸⁹ one called "*de*

mo by G. PETRALIA, *Mercanti e famiglie pisane in Sicilia nel XV secolo*, "Annuario dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per l'età moderna e contemporanea" 33/34 (1981/82), p. 280 and cf. Trasselli, op. cit. II, p. 10 ff.

⁸⁶ *La draperie en Catalogne et en Aragon au XV^e siècle*, (in) "IIa Settimana di studio, Istituto Fr. Datini", p. 507 f.

⁸⁷ See Ant. Aprea, 803, f. 510a and cf. J. ALFAU DE SOLALINDE, *Nomenclatura de los tejidos españoles del siglo XIII* (Madrid 1969), p. 63 ff.

⁸⁸ See Ant. Aprea 802, f. 118b and cf. P. SELLA, *Glossario latino italiano (Stato della Chiesia-Veneto)* (Gitta del Vaticano 1944), p. 178; L. BALLETO, *Genova, Mediterraneo, Mar Nero* (Genoa 1976), p. 237.

⁸⁹ Ant. Aprea, 805, sub 13 March 1449; 810, f. 403a f., 438b and cf. CL. CARRERE, *Barcelone, centre économique a l'époque des difficultés, 1380-1462* (Paris 1967), p. 445 f. The *frisoni* were a typical product of Barcelona, see Wolff, op. cit., p. 241. It was also produced in other countries; for England see B. KUSKE, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kölner Handels und Verkehrs im Mittelalter II* (Bonn 1917), no. 577. It was often used for baling, see F. MELIS, *Uno sguardo al mercato dei panni di lana a Pisa nella seconda metà del Trecento*, (in) "Problemi economici dall'antichità ad oggi, Studi in

Table 2
CLOTH SOLD IN PALERMO IN THE MIDDLE OF
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY (1443-1459)^a

a) Iberian cloth				
Cloth from	Pieces ^b	Canne ^c	Palmi	Quarri
Barcelona	676	60	14	3
Majorca	612			
Gerona	306			
San Juan	166			
San Llorens	110 1/2			
Perpignan	50			
"Catalan"	719 1/2			
Molades	94			
Total	2734	60	14	3
b) Other cloth				
	Pieces ^d	Canne	Palmi	Quarti
Italian	6	261 1/2	20	
French	26	100		
Flanders-Brabant	224	27	7	
English	154	398	22	2
Total	410	786 1/2	49	2
c) Grand totals				
	Pieces ^e	Canne	Palmi	Quarti
Iberian	2864	1	6	86.8
Italian	18.8	4 1/2		0.5
French	34	4		1
Flemish ^e	226	3	7	6.8
English ^e	192.5		6	
Total	3335.3			

^a Exactly 1443-1456, 1459, i.e., 15 years.

^b The "piece" of Catalan cloth marketed in Sicily was 12 Canne, according to a trade manual dating from the middle of the Fifteenth Century, see *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de' paesi*, ed. Fr. BORLANDI (Turin 1936), p. 110. But see below note 91.

^c On the *canna* of Sicily, see note 4 above.

^d The cloth of Florence, Venice, Milan and London was sold in Sicily in pieces of 14 *canne*, see *Libro di mercatantie*, p. 94, 110. So the piece of these woollens would have been of 28.94 m, but in fact it measured only 13 1/3 *canne*, see Ant. Aprea, 808, f. 572a; ASPal, notary Domenico di Leo, 1408, f. 178b; see further *Histoire du commerce de Marseille* II, p. 383. Consequently one should correct the measures given in my paper *Die Verbreitung des englischen Wollentuches in den Mittelmeerländern im Spätmittelalter*, WSWG 71 (1984), p. 20 and note 166.

^e The woollens from Wervicq-sur-Lys, which were formed the greater part of the Flemish cloth offered in Sicily, were sold in pieces of 12 *canne*, see *Libro di mercatantie*, l.c.

passaggio" (*de pasathe*) woven in short pieces⁹⁰ and "*muschio*", woven of wool of different colours.⁹¹ Most of the woollens of Barcelona fetched prices ranging from 2.5 to 3.5 ounces;⁹² those called "*de passaggio*" cost 2-3 ounces.⁹³ The Catalan merchants also marketed in Palermo certain quantities of cloth produced in the small towns which now belong to the province of Barcelona, such as the cloths of Manresa,⁹⁴ of Vich (whose cloth was apparently slightly more expensive than that of Barcelona,⁹⁵), the cheap ware of Sant Feliu de Torello⁹⁶ and Berga.⁹⁷ Tortosa, the capital of the southernmost province of Catalonia, supplied the Palermo merchants with little cloth,⁹⁸ but Valencia exported

onore di V. Franchini" (Milan 1959), p. 107 (but Trasselli believed that the *frisoni* sold in Palermo were cloth of the Netherlands, see *Il mercato dei panni a Palermo nella prima metà del XV secolo*, p. 303).

⁹⁰ Ant. Aprea, 807, f. 862b; 808, f. 412b; 809, f. 445a; 810, f. 433a, 627a, 786b and cf. about the 861a name CL. CARRE, *La draperie*, p. 486.

⁹¹ SELLA, *Glossario*, p. 367, 408; BALLETO, *op. cit.*, p. 238.

⁹² This was the price of the standard cloth of Barcelona called *de la b.*; about this name see M. RIU, *The woollen industry in Catalonia in the later Middle Ages*, p. 216.

⁹³ These are wholesale trade prices. They are given in ounces (*taris* and *grani*) whose value was until the middle of the fifteenth century 6 florins. But later its value declined progressively. At the end of the fifteenth century the Sicilian florin, which was a money of account, was originally equal to the Venetian ducat, and had much less value. As early as 1438 a ducat was coined in Palermo whose nominal value was 7 *taris*, see TRASELLI, *Note per la storia dei banchi*, II, p. 266 (In my paper *Die Verbreitung des englischen Wolltuches in den Mittelmeerländern im Spätmittelalter*, VSWG 71, 1984, p. 1 ff. I have consequently calculated prices of woollens according to the exchange rate of the first half of the fifteenth century when it was stable, instead of trying to find out its floating exchange rate in the second half of the century. The real prices in ducats were therefore a bit lower).

⁹⁴ Ant. Aprea, 803, f. 562b. On cloth production in this town see M. GUAL CAMARENA, *Para un mapa de la industria textil hispana en la edad media*, "Anuario de estudios medievales" IV (1967), p. 139f.

⁹⁵ Ant. Aprea, 805, sub 13 March 1449; 810, f. 438b, 788a and cf. Gual, *art. cit.*, p. 157.

⁹⁶ Same notary, 812, f. 454a and cf. GUAL, *Origenes y expansión*, p. 512. The identification of Sant-Feliu with the town in Catalonia is certainly preferable to that with Saint-Félix-Lauragais, cf. F. MELIS, *Documenti per la storia economica dei secoli XIII-XVI* (Florence 1972), p. 146, 308.

⁹⁷ Ant. Aprea, 808, f. 652a; 809, f. 445a, 445a; 810, f. 617a and cf. GUAL, *Para un mapa*, p. 127.

⁹⁸ Same notary 803, f. 575b.

various kinds of cloth (*burelli*, *mischio*, *cordellati* and “*gamellino*”, a light material in grey or brown or else not dyed at all.⁹⁹ All of these woollens were cheap cloths which were sold in Palermo for 2.7-2.8 ounces the piece. The cloth manufactured in the western province of Catalonia, Lerida, which appears in the notarial acts analysed here, was represented by some cheap woollens of Solsona¹⁰⁰ and by a great number of woollens of Sant Llorens dels Morunys. The latter town produced various kinds of good cloth, such as *brunetti* and “*piteus*” or “*paeta-vins*”, apparently an imitation of French cloth of Poitou. The better kinds of cloth of Sant Llorens fetched 3.6-4 ounces the piece in Palermo, but cheap “*blanchets*” of Sant Llorens were also marketed there, being sold for 2.4-2.6 ounces.¹⁰¹ Gerona and its province formed the most industrialised region of Catalonia in the later Middle Ages, and its woollen manufactures were well represented on the Palermo cloth market. Gerona itself supplied a large quantity of various kinds of cloth, which fetched 3 ounces a piece on the average — the standard price of Catalan cloth in Sicily.¹⁰² In Palermo, the Catalan cloth dealers offered *muschio* and *gamellino* of Gerona,¹⁰³ *burello* which was cheaper,¹⁰⁴ and *palmelles* and *brunetti* which were more expensive, fetching 3.2-3.5 ounces.¹⁰⁵ They also marketed the cloth of

⁹⁹ Same notary 803, f. 484b, 497b, 593b 808, f. 786b; 812, f. 431b; cf. Gual, art. cit., p. 155, 156 and about *gamellino*, BALLETTTO, op. cit., p. 239.

¹⁰⁰ Same notary 812, f. 462a, 739b and cf. GUAL, *Origenes y expansión*, p. 512; Wolff, op. cit., p. 146, 241.

¹⁰¹ See GUAL, *Para un mapa*, p. 149; RIV, *The woollen industry in Catalonia*, p. 226. The *blanchets* were cloth woven of wool of bad quality and mostly white or more exactly not dyed at all but bleached, see G. DE POERCK, *La draperie médiévale en Flandre et Artois* (Bruges 1951) II, p. 20 f.; ROSSINI-MAZZAOU, *Società e tecnica nel medioevo*, “Atti e memorie dell’Accademia di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona”, serie VI, 21 (1971), p. 581; CL. CARRERE, *La draperie en Catalogne*, p. 484. It was produced in several countries. For its prices see Ant. Aprea 802, f. 687a, 785b; 803, f. 489b, 574b, 765b.

¹⁰² Ant. Aprea, 802, f. 683b, 684b; 803, f. 765b, 911b; 808, f. 960b.

¹⁰³ Same notary, 808, f. 565a; 809, f. 203b (*mischio*); 803, f. 574b (*gamellino*).

¹⁰⁴ Same notary 802, f. 781a; 804, f. 22a; 808, f. 430b, 771b; 809, f. 761 b.

¹⁰⁵ Same notary 805, sub 28 Jan. 1449; 808, f. 771b.

La Bisbal,¹⁰⁶ Banyoles,¹⁰⁷ Castellon de Ampurias (both of the town and the district),¹⁰⁸ Camprodon, which produced expensive stuff, a piece being sold in Palermo for 4-4.5 ounces,¹⁰⁹ San Juan de las Abadesas, a small town which manufactured excellent woollens,¹¹⁰ Besalù¹¹¹ and Ripoll.¹¹² The Trans-Pyrenean Catalonian cloth industry was represented on the market of Palermo mainly by woollens of Perpignan, and cloth from Prats (Prats de Mollo) was also marketed in Palermo in the middle of the XVth century.¹¹³ But the supply of woollens from all the Catalan textile centres other than Barcelona was overshadowed by the massive imports of Majorcan cloth into Sicily. Table One shows that Majorca exported almost as much cloth to Palermo as to Barcelona. The cloth industry of Majorca continued to flourish until the end of the XVth century,¹¹⁴ and most woollens of Majorca fetched 3-4 ounces a piece¹¹⁵ in Palermo in the

¹⁰⁶ Same notary 810, f. 18a and cf. CARRERE, *Barcelone*, p. 431.

¹⁰⁷ Same notary 808, f. 744a and cf. GUAL, *Para un mapa*, p. 125; M. RIU, *The woollen industry*, p. 226.

¹⁰⁸ Same notary 808, f. 868; 812, f. 436b and cf. Gual, art cit., p. 129.

¹⁰⁹ Same notary 803, f. 644b, 646b; 07, f. 883b f., 809, f. 32b and cf. Gual, l.c.

¹¹⁰ Same notary 802, f. 144b, 671a, 673b; 803, f. 482b, 645b and cf. Gual, art. cit., p. 148 f. The average price of this town's cloth in Palermo seems to have been 4 1/2 ounces in that period. For the flourishing of the cloth industry of San Juan de las Abadesas in the middle of the Fifteenth Century see CL. CARRERE, *La draperie en Catalogne*, p. 491.

¹¹¹ Ant. Aprea, 803, f. 875a, 1260b and cf. GUAL, *Origenes y expansión*, p. 512.

¹¹² Same notary, 803, f. 646a, 678a and cf. GUAL, *Para un mapa*, p. 148; RIU, *The woollen industry*, p. 226.

¹¹³ Same notary, 812, f. 743a and cf. CARRERE, *Barcelone*, p. 431; GUAL, *Origenes y expansión*, p. 512.

¹¹⁴ See FR. SEVILLANO COLOM, *Artisanía textil de la lana mallorquina (siglo XVI y XV)*, "Ila Settimana di studio, Istituto Fr. Datini", p. 540; A. SAPORI, *Una fiera in Italia*, p. 455: at the fair of Salerno in 1478 much more cloth from Majorca was sold than that of Barcelona. It may be however that a part of the "panni maiorchini" sold in Southern Italy and Sicily were woollens produced elsewhere, imitating the cloth of Majorca, see L. GENUARDI, *Commercio e diritto marittimo in Napoli nei secoli XIII, XIV e XV*, (in) "Studi di storia napolitana in onore di Michelangelo Schipa" (Naples 1926), p. 121 note 6: panni "alla maiorchina de Genova" (from Napolitan notaries of the Fifteenth Century).

¹¹⁵ Ant. Aprea 800, sub 19 Nov. 1443; 802, f. 667b, 687b; 803, f. 743b, 765b.

middle of the XVth century. "Cordellati" of Majorca, which were very expensive, were rarely sold for less than 8-9 ounces.¹¹⁶

These woollens were identified by the names of the town where they were produced, or by the name of an article which was the typical product of a certain town. One should add to the list a great number of pieces called simply "Catalan", a name used for the cloth of Valencia and Majorca,¹¹⁷ and the woollens called "mulati", which were probably mostly Catalan since in Catalonia all woollens which were not dyed were called "molade". This was a cheap cloth, a piece of which fetched two ounces or even less in Palermo.¹¹⁸ Finally, the Palermo notarial registers of the middle of the XVth century also refer to the sale of many woollens which we cannot identify precisely but which were probably mainly Catalan.

Without including the latter, our findings result in an impressive total of 2864 Catalan woollens sold in fifteen years by merchants who used the notary Antonino Aprea, and constituted 86.8% of all the (identified) woollens mentioned in the sale contracts he drew up. Cl. Carrère who has studied the registers of another contemporary notary, Giacomo Comito, found that the Barcelona merchants (the same Catalans) sold 2139 woollens of their country in Palermo in eleven years.¹¹⁹ This means that they sold 194 pieces of Catalan cloth a year, whereas the Palermo cloth dealers (wholesale dealers) who employed

1176b; 804, f. 4a; 805, sub 28 Jan. 1449; 807, f. 860a. These prices are similar to those of Majorcan cloth in Naples in the second half of the fifteenth century, see H. HOSHINO, *L'Arte della Lana in Firenze nel Basso Medioevo* (Florence 1980), p. 293.

¹¹⁶ Ant. Aprea, 802, f. 686b; 803, f. 763b, 1012b; 804, f. 13b; 807, f. 883b f.; 810, f. 439a, 627a f.

¹¹⁷ See F. MELIS, in "Studi in onore di A. Fanfani" (Milan 1962) III, p. 236.

¹¹⁸ Ant. Aprea, 800, sub 7 Oct. 1443; 805, sub 23 Jan. 1449; 807, f. 883b; 808, f. 412b f., 754b ff.; 809, f. 205b; 810, f. 638b and cf. CL. CARRERE, *La draperie en Catalogne*, p. 483 f. on the export of *molades* from Barcelona see also MADURELL MARI-MON-GARCIA SANZ, *Comendas barcelonesas*, no. 227.

¹¹⁹ *La draperie en Catalogne*, p. 508.

Antonino Aprea sold 191 Catalan woollens a year.¹²⁰ Although Carrère worked from the contracts drawn up by Catalans (more exactly Barcelonans), we can safely conclude that the results of both inquiries are similar and demonstrate the predominance of Catalan cloth on the Palermo market in the middle of the XVth century. Cl. Carrère has also calculated all the cloth sales carried out by nine Catalan cloth dealers in Palermo in the years 1445-1455. They sold 1240 woollens, out of which 1125 were Catalan cloth, which means that Catalan cloth represented 90.7% of all the cloth sold. This corresponds remarkably well with our own results, and the proportion of products from the different textile centres is not very different, with the exception of the cloth of Majorca which is represented in the sale contracts of Giacomo Comito by a relatively small number of pieces. But in fact every notary had other clients, who often dealt with different articles.¹²¹

The few Italian woollens that were sold in Palermo in this period were almost exclusively Florentine, both *garbo* and *San Martino* cloth. The former always cost less than 50 ducats,¹²² the latter 3-4 ducats the *canna*.¹²³ Furthermore, the woollens of Carcassonne and "*Gascogne*" were marketed in that period when Tarbes, Miranda and Béarn produced significant quantities of cheap cloth.¹²⁴ The fine cloth of Montevilliers, on the other

¹²⁰ The French historian has also calculated the number of the woollens which all Catalan cloth merchants in Palermo sold by contracts made by the notary Giacomo Comito and whose origin is not indicated, but which according to their prices were (in her opinion) Catalan. We have not taken these data into consideration, just as we have not counted all the unidentified woollens mentioned in contracts drawn up by Antonino Aprea although most of them probably were Catalan.

¹²¹ Among the clients of Giacomo Comito there were three who apparently were accustomed to having recourse to the services of Antonino Aprea: Francesch Allegra, Pere Amat and Berbat Oliver, see CARRERE, *La draperie*, p. 508.

¹²² Ant. Aprea, 802, f. 683b; 803, f. 764a, 871a; 812, f. 1007a; cf. HOSHINO, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

¹²³ Same notary, 803, f. 712b; 807, f. 887a; 812, f. 425a, 429a, 991a, 1012a and cf. HOSHINO, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

¹²⁴ Same notary, 808, f. 754b ff.; 810, f. 403b; 812, f. 461b; cf. WOLFF, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

hand, fetched high prices.¹²⁵ The total amount of Italian and French cloth which was marketed in the middle of the XVth century was very small compared with the great quantity marketed there at the end of the XIVth century. A very important feature of our findings is the great number of pieces of cloth of Wervicq-sur-Lys which were sold in Palermo in the middle of the XIVth century. It corresponds with the findings of F. Melis, who analysed the accounts of the four branches of the Datini Company in Catalonia at the end of the Fourteenth and beginning of the XIVth centuries.¹²⁶ Our data as well point to the great success of the cloth of Wervicq in the Mediterranean countries. Characteristically, the anonymous author of a trade manual dating from the middle of the XVth century mentions the cloth of Wervicq as being the most important among the foreign woollens marketed in Sicily.¹²⁷ The cloth of Wervicq¹²⁸ of which there were several kinds,¹²⁹ fetched 5-6 ounces the piece, sometimes even more in Palermo.¹³⁰ Thus, it was intermediate between the prices of Catalan and of fine Florentine cloth. Besides the woollens of Wervicq, the expensive cloths of Bruges

¹²⁵ Same notary, 803, sub 21 Nov. 1444; 810, f. 438b; cf. WOLFF, *op. cit.*, p. 240; FR. PIPONNIER, *Cloth merchants inventories in Dijon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries*, (in) "Cloth and clothing", p. 246.

¹²⁶ See F. MELIS, *La diffusione nel Mediterraneo occidentale dei panni di Wervicq*, (see note 31 above), p. 217 ff. See also CH. VERLINDEN, *Draps des Pays-Bas et du Nord-Ouest de l'Europe au Portugal au XV^e siècle*, "Anuario de estudios medievales", III (1966), p. 246, 248, 250; J. HEERS, *La mode et les marchés des draps de laine: Gênes et la montagne à la fin du moyen âge*, "Annales E.S.C." 26 (1971), p. 1110 f.

¹²⁷ *El libro di mercatantie*, p. 13; mettevisi panni di verni (should be corrected to Vervi, the Italian name of Wervicq), chatalaneschi, fiorentini, lombardi, and cf. p. 94, 110.

¹²⁸ Perhaps in Palermo the woollens from other towns of the Lys were also called by the name of its principal textile centre. It may have been partly cloth produced elsewhere in imitation of Wervicq ware, but, on the other hand, one should be wary of ascribing the "Vervi" cloth completely to the manufactures of Barcelona, where it was imitated, see CARRERE, *Barcelone*, p. 439 f., 443 f.

¹²⁹ See WOLFF, *op. cit.*, p. 239 and cf. MELIS, *Documenti*, p. 2.

¹³⁰ Ant. Aprea, 801, sub 22., 26 April 1446, 1 June 1446; 802, 139b; 804, f. 11a; 805, f. 657b, 687a, 691b f.; 808, f. 754b ff. and cf. MELIS, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

and Malines were also sold in Palermo, but only very small quantities are mentioned in the sales contracts.¹³¹ The Palermo notarial registers also mention *panni di Lost* or Alost or Alota, names that probably referred to Alost in Brabant.¹³² There were fewer English woollens than Flemish ones sold in Palermo in the middle of the XVth century, according to contracts registered by Antonino Aprea. 60% was cheap Essex stuff, sold for 1.2-1.6 ounces a piece,¹³³ others were London cloth and kersey.¹³⁴ Altogether there was a much larger quantity of English cloth marketed in Palermo in that period than Italian cloth.¹³⁵

Our findings are not weakened because they are drawn from the registers of a prominent Palermo notary who mainly served Catalan merchants. The results would be different if we were to consider the data in the acts of a notary whose clients were mostly Genoese, Florentine or Pisan merchants, but the Cata-

¹³¹ Same notary, 805, sub 15 Jan. 1449; 807, f. 975b (Bruges); 808, f. 760b; 810, f. 14a (Malines).

¹³² Same notary, 802, f. 759a; 807, f. 883b f.; 809, f. 205b; MELIS, *Documenti*, p. 597 identifies the name with the English cloth *loesti*. The prices indicated in the notarial acts of Palermo would confirm this assumption, see Ant. Aprea, 802, f. 787a; 809, f. 32b; 812, f. 99a (in addition to those quoted above), but nevertheless the identification with Alost in Brabant seems more probable, cf. HOSHINO, *op. cit.*, p. 45, 70, 102, 139, 186. Also in Naples in the Fifteenth Century *panni di Alocta* were marketed, see L. GENUARDI, *Commercio e diritto marittimo in Napoli nei secoli XIII, XIV e XV*, "Studi in onore di M. Schipa", p. 121 note 6. It is not likely that the reference is to cloth of Olot (in Catalonia), because in our documents O never appears as initial. For a similar reason one would discard the supposition that cloth of Alet (in the region of the river Aude), cf. WOLFF, *op. cit.*, p. 266 is meant. In attributing these woollens to the said town in Southern France one could not explain the "o" which always appears in its name in our sources.

¹³³ See my paper *Die Verbreitung des englischen Wolltuches* (see note 93 above), p. 10 and note 75.

¹³⁴ It is worth mentioning that one deed refers to the sale of "*carisea de grana de Londres*": see Ant. Aprea, 802, f. 688a. There were also expensive kerseys, and English imitations of Montevilliers cloth was offered in Palermo: See f. 104a and cf. HOSHINO, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

¹³⁵ The same fact has been established by C. TRASELLI, *Società ed economia a Sciacca nel XV secolo*, (in his volume) "Mediterraneo e Sicilia all'inizio dell'epoca moderna" (Cosenza 1977), p. 242, 246.

lans were the great merchants of Palermo in this period and they traded in cloth produced in other centres, as well as in the woollens of their own country. They also sold English cloth, just as Genoese merchants offered Catalan woollens,¹³⁶ as is clearly demonstrated by G. Petralia's study of the activities of the Pisans in Palermo based on the nine volumes of the minutes of the notary Antonino Aprea. Petralia's findings show the origin of the cloth sold by the Pisan merchants in Palermo (that is, Pisans who had settled there):¹³⁷

Table 3
CLOTH SOLD IN PALERMO BY PISANS
IN THE MIDDLE OF THE XVth CENTURY

Catalan cloth	64 %
Flemish cloth	20 %
English cloth	8.6 %
French cloth	2.5 %
Italian cloth	1.83%

The conclusion that arises from Antonino Aprea's registers is that in the middle of the fifteenth century there was a substantial predominance of Catalan cloth on the market of Palermo, and this is confirmed by other data referring to the preceding and subsequent periods. The accounts of a Palermo cloth dealer, obviously a retailer, show that in the years 1431-1434 he bought altogether 731 pieces of woollens, of which 651 were Iberian stuff (i.e., 84.1%), whereas English cloth made up 3%.¹³⁸

The freight inventories of the Florentine state galleys also reveal the predominance of Catalan cloth on the Sicilian markets.

¹³⁶ All merchants sold different kinds of cloth. Catalan and Genoese merchants sold Flemish cloth, see Ant. Aprea, 805, f. 693b, sub 19, 21 and 31 March 1449; 807, f. 964b.

¹³⁷ *Mercanti e famiglie pisane in Sicilia nel XV secolo* (see above note 85), p. 280.

¹³⁸ TRASELLI, *La bottega di Matteo da Vico*, "Economia e storia", IV (1957), p. 302 ff.

In 1465, the Florentine Syria galleys brought back 521 bales of woollens (i.e., 4246 pieces) destined for Sicily from their first voyage to Catalonia. After their trip to Syria, the galleys again went to Catalonia and returned in May 1466 with 304 pieces of Majorcan and 514 of Perpignan cloth. Probably a great part of the second shipment was destined for Sicily and Southern Italy.¹³⁹ The Sicilian ports from which cloth was exported to the Levant were mostly Messina and Syracuse, whereas Palermo's trade was mainly directed towards the Tyrrhenian Sea and the western basin of the Mediterranean.¹⁴⁰ It seems indeed that these two regions absorbed the greater part of Catalan cloth which was shipped to them. Among the acts of the Palermitan notaries in the middle of the fifteenth century there are few which refer to the reexport of Catalan cloth,¹⁴¹ but contracts referring to the reexport of imported cloth are very rare, which shows the great demand for foreign cloth in Sicily itself.

4. Palermo 1485-1494

It has been claimed that the massive cloth exports from Catalonia came to an end when the civil war began in the 1460's, but our findings suggest that this was not the case. Summarising the cloth sales recorded in the minutes of two Palermo notaries for the years 1492-1495 one arrives at the following totals.¹⁴²

This analysis of notarial acts of the last decade of the fifteenth century shows that there was only a slight decline in the import of Spanish cloth into Sicily. However, the greatest part of Iberian cloth sold in those years in Palermo was Majorcan,

¹³⁹ MALLETT, *Florentine galleys* (see note 54 above), pp. 125, 127.

¹⁴⁰ Ant. Aprea, 812, f. 427a (export to Alexandria of Majorcan cloth, a. 1456); see further sub 14 Nov. 1455.

¹⁴¹ See APO B. 250, liasse 24, sub 9 Feb. 1407: export of Perpignan cloth to the Levant from Messina.

¹⁴² The data are culled from ASPal, notaries Matteo Fallera, 1752-1755; Domenico di Leo, 1407, 1408.

Table 4
FOREIGN CLOTH SOLD IN PALERMO IN 1492-1495

a) All foreign cloth				
Iberian	Florentine	French	Flemish-Brabantine	English
80%	3.3%	4.4%	7%	2.8%
b) Iberian cloth				
Barcelonan	Majorcan	of Gerona		of Puigcerda
16.3%	72.2%	4%		7%

whereas the import of woollens from the Catalan mainland had declined. Our data also point to the growth in the import of French woollens: 4.4% as against 1% in the middle of the century.¹⁴³ The share of the Flemish-Brabantian cloth was the same as in the preceding period, but it is worth emphasizing that the woollens of Wervicq-sur-Lys had disappeared and were replaced by those of Bruges and Malines. The percentage of English woollens was also smaller than in the middle of the century, but the Table does not show accurately the share of English cloth marketed in the last decade of the fifteenth century in Palermo. There are several Palermo notarial deeds in the 1490's which refer to the sale of English cloth, without indicating the quantity¹⁴⁴ and the volume of English woollens sold on the market of Palermo must have been much greater than is recorded.¹⁴⁵

The upswing in the imports of French cloth, mainly woollens from Languedoc, is also clearly shown in the inventory of

¹⁴³ To our totals there should be added data in deeds in which the quantity of the cloth is not given, see for instance Matteo Fallera 1752, f. 512b: sale of cloth of Sarges, that is Serce, cf. WOLFF, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la draperie du Languedoc*, "Ha Settimana di studio, Istituto Fr. Datini", p. 452 (and see also Matteo Fallera, 1750, f. 178b about the sale of these woollens).

¹⁴⁴ See MATTEO FALLERA, 1753, f. 149b, 930b; 1755, f. 981a, 1083b.

¹⁴⁵ The deeds of the Palermitan notaries of the last decade of the fifteenth century include many data which point to the increasing import of English cloth, see Domenico di Leo, 1408, f. 233b; 1409, f. 48a.

the estate of a Palermo cloth dealer, Moises b. Sason, a Catalan Jew. According to this inventory dated November 1, 1486 his stocks, comprised the following woollens:¹⁴⁶

Table 5
BEQUEST OF MOISES B. SASON

Iberian cloth		
cloth of Barcelona	194 1/3 canne	7 1/2 palmi
Sant Florens	15	1/2 palmi
Gayloch ^a	2	5
Majorca 1 pezza		
French cloth		
cloth of Rouen	5	1/2
Gignac	4	5
Gascogne	1 1/2	
Miranda ^b	26 1/2	13 1/2
Lesbordes ^c 9 pezze	32	3
"Francia" 1	8	3
English cloth		
cloth of London	2	1/2
Kersey	5	4

^a This is apparently cloth of Loch, cf. GUAL, *Para un mapa*, p. 134.

^b On the cloth of Miranda, see above note 124 and my paper *L'exportation de textiles occidentaux*, p. 330 and further *Histoire du commerce de Marseille II*, p. 627; Wolff, op. cit., p. 268.

^c "Bordati" and cf. MELIS, *Documenti*, p. 146 (cloth of Laborda); Uzzano, p. 175: *panni della Borda*.

Totals	Pieces	%
Iberian	17.5	48.07
French	17.5	48.07
English	1	2.8

Despite the limits of a single source,¹⁴⁷ the remarkable share of French woollens in Moises b. Sason's bequest provides an index of changing trends in the Mediterranean cloth trade.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁶ MATTEO FALLERA, 1749, fas. 1486/7, f. 152b ff.

¹⁴⁷ Our Table includes only pieces whose origin we could establish. Adding the others could of course change the proportion.

¹⁴⁸ On the import of Languedoc cloth into Italy after 1460 see MALLETT, *The Florentine galleys*, pp. 126, 127, 128f.

5. Naples, 1455-1480

In the second half of the fifteenth century Naples fulfilled two roles in the cloth trade: it was the largest market in Southern Italy, where cloth dealers of many small towns were supplied with Italian and foreign ware, and secondly, it served as a port of exchange and transshipment for various kinds of cloth destined for countries beyond the sea. The "galleys of France" and Italian merchantmen connected Naples with the Levant. The Customs registers and notarial deeds therefore contain valuable data concerning the kinds of cloth that were traded in Naples in that period.

It seems that by the middle of the fifteenth century the Catalans and their agents were encountering some difficulty in marketing their cloth in the Kingdom of Naples. As early as 1445, Alfonso the Magnanimous had to impose a new duty of one ducat per piece on the import of French, Provençal and Languedoc cloth.¹⁴⁹ This decree is a clear sign of the start of the decline of the Catalan woollen trade in the Kingdom of Naples, although it appears that the great decline did not begin before the outbreak of the civil war in Catalonia in the 1460's.

A register of the Customs Services dating apparently from 1457 contains many relevant data which are summarized in the following Table.¹⁵⁰

The Table reveals on the one hand the decline of the Catalan woollen imports into Southern Italy, and on the other hand, the great upswing of the trade in French cloth in that region. The rise in the import of French cloth into the Kingdom of Naples corresponds to the general trend of international cloth trade in the second half of the fifteenth century and on other Mediterranean markets as well great quantities of French cloth were being sold in this period. From a report quoted by Marino Sanuto one

¹⁴⁹ C. TRASELLI, *Note per la storia dei banchi in Sicilia nel XV secolo*, II, p. 142.

¹⁵⁰ M. DEL TREPPO, *I mercanti catalani e l'espansione della corona d'Aragona nel secolo XV* (Naples 1972), p. 244.

Table 6
CLOTH SOLD IN NAPLES IN OCT./NOV. 1457

	Pieces	%	% of total value
Catalan	665	55.7	47.7
Florentine	68		
Genoese	33	9.46	25.6
Pinerolo	12		
French	374	31.32	18.6
Flemish	40	3.35	4.5
Ragusan	2		

learns that in August 1500 three French ships brought to Alexandria 13,000 pieces of cloth of which certainly the greatest part was French ware.¹⁵¹ The difference between the quantity of French cloth in Naples in the months of 1457 and its price is telling: it was obviously very cheap ware. The Florentine cloth was expensive.

Other data culled from sales contracts drawn up by a Neapolitan notary in the 1460's point to the same trend in the international woollen trade:¹⁵²

The Table needs little comment and shows convincingly the great advance in the export of French cloth, consisting mainly of cheap Languedoc woollens.

Table 7
CLOTH TRADE IN NAPLES IN 1465/66

	Pieces	%
Catalan	12	5.62
Majorcan	1	
Florentine	18	7.8
"French"	36	15.5
Languedoc	164	71

¹⁵¹ *Diarii*, III, col. 1199.

¹⁵² G. CONIGLIO, *Mercanti forestieri a Napoli attraverso gli atti del notaio Petrucio Pisano (1465-66)*, "Samnium" 28 (1955), p. 78 ff.

The sales contracts drawn up by the same notary at the fair of Salerno in 1478 have been studied by A. Saporì and may be summarized as follows:¹⁵³

Table 8
CLOTH SOLD AT THE SALERNO FAIR IN 1478

	Pieces	%	% of value
Barcelona	33 1/2		
Majorca	74	12	13.56
Perpignan	17		
Catalasi	10		
	134 1/2		
Florence	56	35.45	32.28
Genoa	239		
Piedmont	22		
Verona	?		
Arbasioa	73		
"French"	49	4.45	2.26
Languedoc ^b	454	41	28.6
London	78 1/2	7	23.23

These data also point to the considerable increase in the import of French cloth into Southern Italy and the paralled decline of the Catalan cloth trade. Catalan cloth sold at the fair of Salerno in 1478 was relatively cheap ware, with average prices that were lower than those in our Table, where the total of Catalan woollens and their medium price include the high class Perpignan cloths. Nevertheless, it could still not sustain the competition of the cheaper French cloths. The number of pieces of Italian cloth sold at the Salerno fair is also remarkable, but they consisted predominantly of cheap cloth of Genoa and of *arbasio*, the cheapest of all woollens sold at the fair. The percentage of "London cloth" sold at the fair is also greater than has been possible to establish from the documents analysed previously.

¹⁵³ A. SAPORI, *Una fiera in italia*, p. 443 ff.

* * *

It is possible to draw some general conclusions from the data we have presented.

Despite the limits imposed by our sources (the correspondence of Florentine merchants in Southern Italy and Sicily with the Datini firm) one may nevertheless conclude that by the end of the fourteenth century Catalan cloth had begun to replace all other woollens in that region. By the first quarter of the fifteenth century its predominance was overwhelming. The great thrust of its expansion was then directed toward the Levantine markets where Catalan cloth had great success without however becoming predominant there. The great decline in the export of Catalan cloth to the central basin of the Mediterranean did not begin before the outbreak of civil war in Catalonia in the 1460's, but the data also show that even in the second half and at the end of the fifteenth century Catalan cloth was still predominant at Palermo, which was the major market in Sicily. On the other hand, its export to the Kingdom of Naples had very much declined. But the region where the decline of the Catalan cloth trade was most tangible was the eastern basin of the Mediterranean. One should of course be wary of exaggeration: even in that period Catalan cloth was still exported to Egypt.¹⁵⁴ But the decline must have been considerable. The general downward trend of the Catalan economy began in the middle of the 1430's, and there is strong evidence to show that it did not begin earlier.¹⁵⁵ In the middle of the fifteenth century there was a noticeable recovery in the Catalan cloth industry and its exports,¹⁵⁶ but with the outbreak of the civil war in Catalonia

¹⁵⁴ MADURELL MARIMON-GARCIA SANZ, no. 239, 243.

¹⁵⁵ See E. ASHTOR, *Levant trade in the later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1983), p. 341 ff.; CL. CARRERE, *Barcelone*, p. 729, and, see on the other hand, J. VICENS VIVES, *Manual de historia economica de España* (Barcelona 1964), p. 196; CARRERE, *op. cit.*, p. 725.

¹⁵⁶ CARRERE, *op. cit.*, p. 919.

there was a further decline. One should not draw far-reaching conclusions from these data, however. The hypothesis that the spread of English woollens and the decline of the Catalan and Florentine cloth export to Sicily brought about a downturn in grain production on the island, because landowners lost the markets to which wheat had been sent in payment for cloth, is not only unsupported by the facts but is disproved by them. Recent research has convincingly shown that cereal production expanded in Sicily in the second half of the fifteenth century and that the export of wheat had greatly increased by the end of the century and during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ O. CANGILA, *Baroni e popolo nella Sicilia del grano* (Palermo 1983), p. 25, 31 ff.

Postscript: Notes and queries jotted on loose leaves attached to the manuscript of this article indicate that Professor Ashotr intended to re-examine a number of archival documents. I also learn from his correspondence that he was waiting for the arrival of an offprint of ALAN RYDER's article, *Cloth and credit: Aragonese war finance in the mid-fifteenth century*, "War and Society", 2 (1984), 1-21. [B.Z.K.]

