
PROBLEMS

Genoa and Spain in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Notarial Evidence for a Shift in Patterns of Trade

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The period from the middle of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century marked an era of remarkable change in the western Mediterranean world, during which political, military, and economic energy shifted from the southern Islamic regions to the kingdoms of the Christian north. Among other factors, the growth of southern European cities and commerce, and the progress of the Spanish *reconquista*, worked to transform the relationship between the northern and southern shores.

One aspect of this change may be seen in the development of commercial ties between Genoa and Spain. Drawing on their city's strength and reputation as a naval power, and aided by discontinuities created by the *reconquista*, Genoese merchants gained commercial privileges in both Christian and Muslim Iberian ports, taking the place of earlier Jewish and Muslim merchant populations. The present article investigates the genesis of the commercial relationship between Genoa and Spain, with particular regard to evidence from mercantile contracts contained in the Genoese notarial registers. Through comparing the notarial material with data from diplomatic and narrative sources one may gain a clearer understanding of the early development of Genoese-Iberian trade.

Genoa was undoubtedly the most important participant in Iberian international trade at this time. No other power, with the occasional exception of Pisa, ever presented a real challenge to Genoese commercial hegemony in the western Mediterranean until the rise of Catalan maritime strength in the mid-thirteenth century. Genoa ranked among the major European cities, with a

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population which has been estimated at as high as 100,000 in the twelfth century.¹ Considering this, and the much-cited contemporary proverb "genuensius ergo mercator", it is perhaps not surprising that the Genoese came to handle the bulk of southern Spanish maritime communications and commerce.² By the middle of the twelfth century, the Spanish Muslim geographer, al-Zuhri, wrote that "the city of Genoa is among the greatest cities of Rûm...they are a merchant people, [trading] by sea between Syria and Spain. They have control of the sea".³ During the following century, Genoese merchants garnered particular influence in southern Castile and the Muslim kingdom of Nasrid Granada. In 1264, Alfonso X of Castile went so far as to put a Genoese, Hugo Vento, in command of the Castilian navy, thereby solidifying the relationship between the city and his kingdom.

Diplomatic records, chronicles, and notarial contracts all provide evidence on commercial relations between Genoa and Spain in the period 1150 to 1250. Because many of the diplomatic and narrative materials have been published, they have been more frequently used than notarial records to examine Italian-Iberian relations.⁴ While most of the twelfth-century Genoese notarial cartularies have been edited and are easily available, little progress has been made so far in publishing the early thirteenth-century materials.⁵

¹ R.S. LOPEZ, "Profil du marchand génois," *Annales: économique et sociale* 3 (1958), p. 501.

² R.S. LOPEZ, "Aux origines du capitalisme génois," *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* 9 (1937), p. 441.

³ *Kitâb al-djarâfiyya* (ed. M. HADJ-SADOK) *Bulletin d'études orientales* 21 (1968), pp. 229-230. Although officially anonymous, this work is attributed to AL-ZUHRI, who died in the later twelfth century. Although the Arabic designation *Rûm* often applied to Byzantium, al-Zuhri's usage (and that of many other western Arabic authors) signified Europe.

⁴ See *Codice diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova* (ed. C. IMPERIALE, 3 vols., Rome 1963-42); *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuari* (ed. L.T. BELGRANO, 5 vols., Genoa, 1890); *Liber iurium reipublicae genuensis* (ed. M.E. RICOTTI, *Historiae patriae monumenta*, vol.7, Turin, 1854); "Nuovi ricordi arabici su la storia di Genova," (ed. M. AMARI) *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 5 (1867).

⁵ The published notarial registers are those of Giovanni Scriba (2 vols., eds. M. CHIAUDANO and M. MORESCO; Rome, 1935); Lanfranco (2 vols., eds. H.C. KRUEGER, R.L. REYNOLDS; Genoa, 1952); Salmonis (ed. A. FERRETTO; *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 36 (1906); Oberto Scriba de Mercato (separate vols: (1186) ed. M. CHIAUDANO; Genoa, 1940; and (1190) eds. M. CHIAUDANO and R. MOROZZO; Genoa, 1938); Giovanni di Guiberto (2 vols., eds. M. HALL-COLE, H.C. KRUEGER, R.L. REYNOLDS; Turin, 1940); Bonvillano (eds. J.E. EIERMAN, H.C. KRUEGER, R.L. REYNOLDS; Turin, 1939); and Guglielmo Cassinese (2 vols., eds. M. HALL, H.C. KRUEGER, R.L. REYNOLDS; Turin, 1938).

This survey covers some, but not all, of the surviving notarial registers compiled before the middle of the thirteenth century. Aside from the published registers noted above, the unpublished cartularies (or those containing unpublished sections) from the

The diplomatic, narrative, and notarial records often complement and confirm each other, although they were written with different intentions and present different information. In general, the notarial data suggest more economic interaction between Genoa and Spain — and tell us more about specific destinations and merchants — than do the non-notarial sources. By their nature, notarial materials are more suited to showing the results of change than change itself. Through their record of mercantile investments and aspirations, notarial contracts reflect and corroborate the clauses laid out in commercial treaties and the events described by chroniclers. References to Iberian trade in the Genoese registers broaden our understanding of the routes, people, and goods involved in western Mediterranean commerce during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In them we may observe Genoese voyages to Spanish ports, the merchants (Genoese and otherwise) travelling to and from Spain, and the commodities which they traded. Contracts written by Genoese notaries reflect the changing role of the Iberian Peninsula in western Mediterranean trade in this period, when the Iberian economy was shifting from an Islamic to a Christian orbit.

There is ample evidence, in chronicles and other non-notarial records, of Genoese contact with Spain going back to the late eleventh century. Before this time, Genoa was only beginning to emerge as a player on the Mediterranean stage, and references to Genoese commerce are rare.⁶ In the late eleventh century a Genoese boat anchored in Malaga, and early in the next century the *Miracula beati Aegidii* (ca. 1120) mentioned a Genoese merchant boat sailing home from Almeria.⁷ Another document from roughly the same period recorded Genoese boat-builders working in Galicia.⁸ By 1146 the Genoese also had trading houses (*funduqs*) in both León and Castile.⁹ In the

Archivio di Stato (ASG) are numbered: 3/II, 5, 7, 11, 15, 16/II, 17, 18/I, 18/II, 20/I, 20/II, 21/I, 24, 25, 26/I, 26/II, 29, 34, 56, 143, and *Diversorum* 102. Not all of these have been used in their entirety. In several cases the winter months (November-February) were omitted because commercial voyages were rare at this time of year.

⁶ Little is known of Genoese commerce before the eleventh century. G. AIRALDI has discussed the early commercial development of the city in her article "Groping in the Dark: The Emergence of Genoa in the Early Middle Ages," *Miscellanea di studi storici II: Collana storica di fonti e studi* (Genoa, 1983). A commercial route between Genoa and Spain was noted as early as the sixth century C.E. by Procopius of Caesaria (*Bellum gothicum*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1919) III, p. 393).

⁷ Malaga: R. ARIÉ, *La España musulmana (siglos VII-XV)* (Barcelona, 1982), p. 252. Arié does not cite a textual reference. Almeria: Petrus Guillelmus, *Miracula beati Aegidii* (ed. Ph. Jaffé, MGH Scriptores XII (in folio), Hannover, 1856) p. 321. This latter vessel was overtaken by a storm in the channel between the Balearics and Barcelona, but with the help of St. Giles, it managed to limp into Marseilles for repairs.

⁸ L.T. BELGRANO, "Documenti e genealogia dei pessagno genovesi ammiragli del Portogallo," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 15 (1881), p. 246.

⁹ A. LEWIS, "Northern European Sea Power and the Straits of Gibraltar, 1031-

1160s the Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela related that many merchants, including the Genoese, did business in Barcelona.¹⁰

Both Genoa and its rival, Pisa, sought trade advantages and privileges wherever possible, and their diplomatists must have been busy during the early twelfth century. As a result, diplomatic sources include a wealth of treaties, pacts, and accords negotiated between Genoa and Spanish rulers, both Muslim and Christian, and these records begin much earlier than the surviving notarial registers. Genoese mercantile contacts with the Iberian Peninsula were influenced by the prevailing diplomatic climate existing not only between Genoa and Spanish rulers, but also with other powers, as testified by an 1155 Genoese alliance with Montpellier which specifically assured the safety of Genoese vessels "euntes Yspaniam vel redeuntes inde a Ianua".¹¹

Genoese diplomatic advances frequently coincided with Genoese naval activity on behalf of Christian Spanish rulers. In 1092, for example, together with Pisa, Genoa assisted the rulers of Aragon-Navarre and León-Castile, Sancho Ramirez and Alfonso VI, in an assault on Tortosa. Half a century later, in 1147, they helped Alfonso VII of Castile to capture Almeria, and again besieged Tortosa at the request of Catalonia's Ramón Berenguer IV. The Genoese chronicler, Caffaro, cited crusading and defence as motives for the expeditions of 1147, which followed closely on a Genoese raiding expedition to Almeria the previous year,¹² but the Genoese also made advantageous trade agreements with both Alfonso and Ramón. They were granted special commercial privileges in Almeria, and their deputy, Bonvillano, was given particular instructions that Pisan trade with this city must be strictly regulated.¹³ In spite of these warnings, relations between the two Italian ports were warming to the point that, in April 1149, Genoa and Pisa made a fifteen-year treaty of alliance valid throughout the Mediterranean, mentioning "totam Yspaniam" among the regions in which both cities might trade.¹⁴

After the Almeria campaign of 1147, there is no record of formal contact between Genoa and Castile for another century. Active diplomacy appears to have resumed as southern ports, where the Genoese had already established

1350 AD," *Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R. Strayer* (Princeton, 1976), p. 146.

¹⁰ *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela* (ed. and tran. by M.N. ADLER) *Jewish Quarterly Review* 16 (1904), p. 467. Besides noting the Genoese in Barcelona, Benjamin of Tudela also remarked on the presence of Greeks, Sicilians, Egyptians, Pisans, and other merchants. The generous nature of this account has caused some modern scholars to question its accuracy.

¹¹ *Codice diplomatico* (ed. Imperiale) # 267, vol. I, pp. 320-321.

¹² H.C. KRUEGER, "Post-War Collapse and Rehabilitation in Genoa", *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1962), p. 122.

¹³ CAFFARO, "Ystoria captionis Almarie et Tutuose", in *Annali genovesi* (ed. Belgrano), vol. I, pp. 79-89; and *Liber iurium* (ed. Ricotti), I, p. 132, no. 136.

¹⁴ *Codice diplomatico*, I, pp. 243-47.

trade connections with Muslim rulers, were taken by the Christians. When Ferdinand III of Castile captured Seville in 1248, he ceded extensive commercial privileges to the Genoese in that city. These confirmed earlier concessions, including a *funduq*, made to them by the Amir of Seville ("Elimermolino Sybilie") in 1231, three years after the Almohads' departure.¹⁵ In 1251, Ferdinand augmented Genoese rights by granting them trade privileges throughout his realm. These concessions paved the way for a new phase in Genoese-Iberian relations, and firmly implanted the Genoese as participants in the trade of southern Castile.¹⁶

Genoese diplomatic connections with Aragon and Catalonia in the twelfth century were more active than those with Castile. Already in 1127 the city had made an accord relating to maritime safety with Ramón Berenguer III,¹⁷ and it is clear that their assistance in 1147 was crucial to early Catalan expansion. In 1230, James I of Aragon still felt it necessary to acknowledge a debt to Genoese aid in taking Tortosa nearly a century before.¹⁸ Although relations cooled between 1175 and 1185, owing to a Genoese pact with Tolosa and Narbonne against Aragon, friendly communications then resumed and continued through the early thirteenth century. At this point, however, a Castilian-Genoese alliance and the growth of native Catalonia trade led to rivalry between the two states. James I granted *funduqs* in Mallorca to the Genoese after his capture of the island in 1229, but their immediate interest in this area may have been reduced by local competition from Catalan merchants and protectionist trade policies.¹⁹

The nature of Genoese relations with Muslim Spanish rulers is less clear than with Christian rulers, and commercial treaties reflect both a desire for

¹⁵ *Annali genovesi*, III, p. 57.

¹⁶ The 1248 concessions are recorded in the *Annali genovesi*, III, pp. 183-4. The text of the 1251 treaty and subsequent renewals are edited in the *Liber iurium* pp. 1060-1064, 1392-93. On later relations between Genoa and Castile, see A. BALLESTEROS Y BERETTA, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* (Seville, 1913); J. HEERS, "Les hommes d'affaires italiens en Espagne au moyen-âge: la marché monétaire," *Fremde Kaufleute auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (ed. H. Kellenbenz, Cologne-Vienna, 1970), pp. 74-83; R.S. LOPEZ, "Alfonso el Sabio y el primer almirante de Castilla genovese," *Cuadernos de historia de España* 14 (1950), pp. 5-16, and "Il predominio economico dei Genovesi nella monarchia spagnola," *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria* 11 (1936), pp. 65-74.

¹⁷ J.E. RUIZ DOMENEC has included the text of this treaty and an interesting discussion of its significance in his article "En torno a un tratado comercial entre las ciudades de Genova y Barcelona en la primera mitad del siglo XII," *Atti del I Congresso storico Liguria-Catalogna* (Bordighera, 1974), pp. 151-160.

¹⁸ *Liber iurium*, p. 888, # 688.

¹⁹ The actual grant was made in 1231. C. VERLINDEN, "From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: Aspects of an Economic Shift (12th-18th C.)," *Journal of European Economic History* 1 (1972), p. 629.

mutual economic advantage and a fear of Genoese maritime aggression. Genoa made several treaties with the Almoravids (ruled 1056-1147), including a ten-year agreement with the "sarracenis regis murrochi" in 1137, which was mentioned in an accord with Marseilles in the following year.²⁰ It is uncertain to what extent these Almoravid treaties pertained to Muslim Spanish territory, but Almeria was listed among those cities that paid trade tariffs in Genoa in 1143.²¹ Nevertheless, the 1138 treaty did not prevent Genoese raids on Almeria and Minorca in 1146.²² At this time the Almoravid dynasty was in decline, and the Genoese raids opened a series of Christian naval hostilities that were clearly intended to take advantage of the changing axis of power in North Africa.

More is known of Genoese diplomacy with the Almohads (ruled 1130-1269). Genoa may have concluded a treaty with the Almohad caliph Abd al-Mu'min in 1153, and certainly did so in 1161.²³ Meanwhile, in 1157, the Almohads recaptured Almeria, giving the Genoese an opportunity to congratulate themselves on the felicity of a dual alliance. Their Almohad treaty granted them rights to a *funduq* in Seville, and possibly also in other Andalusian cities.²⁴ Genoese-Almohad treaties continued to be renewed at approximately fifteen year intervals until the early thirteenth century. H.C. Krueger has speculated that one was made in 1176, and there were certainly agreements in 1191, 1208, and 1223.²⁵ These accords usually guaranteed safe conduct for shipping, and reduced the import tolls paid on Genoese goods arriving in most Almohad ports to 8% from the standard 10%.

The Genoese tended to take a more aggressive stance in their diplomacy with the Muslim rulers of smaller states. The ruler of Valencia, Abd Allah Muhammad b. Saïd Ibn Mardânish, finding himself caught between Genoese colonies in both Almeria and Tortosa in 1149, thought it best to establish friendly relations with his new neighbours. In June of that year he entered into a ten-year accord with Genoa, and bought his security at the price of 15,000 *murabitûns* (Almoravid dinars), tariff exemptions for Genoese ship-

²⁰ ASG, "Materie politiche," mazzo I; ed. G. PISTARINO, *Testi per lo studio del medio evo in Liguria* (Genoa, n.d.), pp.129-131.

²¹ L.T. BELGRANO (ed.), "Il registro della curia arcivescovile di Genova," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 2 (1862), II, p. 9. An 1142 ruling collected in Imperiale's *Codice diplomatico* (I, p. 141) also noted a tariff levied on vessels going to Spain.

²² H.C. KRUEGER, "Post-War Collapse," p. 122.

²³ M. BARCELÓ, "Expedicions militars i projectes d'atac contra les illes orientales de al-Andalus," *Sobre Mayûrqa* (Palma, 1984), p. 66.

²⁴ C. VERLINDEN, "The Rise of Spanish Trade in the Middle Ages," *Economic History Review* 10 (1940), p. 49.

²⁵ H.C. KRUEGER "Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa in the twelfth century," *Speculum* 8 (1933), p. 379; G. PISTARINO, "Genova e l'Islam nel Mediterraneo occidentale," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 10 (1980), pp. 196, 200, 201, 203.

ping, and the promise of Genoese *funduqs* in both Valencia and Denia.²⁶ A similarly based commercial treaty was made with Ibn Mardānīsh again in 1161.²⁷

Diplomatic ties were likewise sought with the Banū Ghāniya family, rulers of the Balearics. The geographical location of these islands made such a connection particularly advantageous, both in terms of maritime routing and commercial prospects. In 1181, the Genoese concluded an alliance of peace and safe-conduct with Ishāq b. Muhammad that guaranteed security of shipping, but contained no specifically commercial clauses. This treaty was renewed in 1188 between Genoa and the new ruler Abd Allah b. Ishāq, and commercial provisions were added relating to a *funduq* and trade privileges for any Genoese merchant "qui Maioricam venerit causa mercandi".²⁸

Turning to the notarial record, a comparison of Genoese commercial activity in Spain with the diplomatic events shows an apparent correlation between the two. Likewise, the growing number of mercantile contracts for voyages to Spanish ports indicates an increase in trade with that region. But a word of caution is in order. The erratic preservation of notarial materials (owing in part to a fire in the archive) and the subjective distribution of contracts makes it difficult to use the notarial registers for quantitative or statistical analysis. Similarly, because Genoese traffic increased dramatically throughout the period in question, as did the number of notarial records preserved, an increase in numbers of contracts is not significant except in reflecting overall growth of trade. Nevertheless, it is possible to gain a general picture from notarial materials of both the relative importance of Spanish trade within the larger Genoese mercantile sphere, and of increasing Genoese contact with Iberian ports. By themselves, notarial records are inconclusive. However, because their evidence is born out in other types of sources, their information becomes utilizable and important. Their unique perspective on the routes, merchants, and goods involved in traffic between Genoa and Spain reveals details about this trade region which are not available elsewhere.

The Archivio di Stato in Genoa preserves the cartularies of over thirty notaries from the period 1154-1253. Of these, Giovanni Scriba is the only notary whose work survives from the decade 1154-1164. Not all later years are

²⁶ Abd Allah promised to pay money to the Genoese in instalments: 5,000 *Mura-bitāns* to be paid immediately - 2,000 in silk textiles and 3,000 in cash. The remaining 10,000 would come over a two-year period. Beyond this, he guaranteed "duos fondicos proprios illorum causa manendi et negociandi et habitare et introire in eis unum in valentia et unum in denia..." *Codice diplomatico*, pp. 247-49, and *Liber iurium*, pp.152-153. Shortly thereafter, in January of 1150, Ibn Mardānīsh concluded a similar treaty with Pisa which contained promises of *funduqs* and safe-conduct, but said nothing of money. See M. AMARI, *I diplomi arabi del R. Archivio fiorentino* (Florence, 1863), pp. 239-40.

²⁷ *Annali genovesi*, pp. 61-62.

²⁸ *Codice diplomatico*, II, pp. 341-343; M. AMARI, "Nuovi ricordi," pp. 600-606.

accounted for, the most notable gap being from 1164 to 1179, but many years are covered by several notaries.²⁹ For the century as a whole, the notarial registers contain nearly one hundred and fifty contracts for Genoese trade with Muslim and Christian Spain.

On 6 August 1159, Giovanni Scriba composed the rough draft of a *societas* contract of partnership between two investors, Iohannes and Rataldus, and the factor Petrus Capra. The latter had agreed to carry jointly-invested capital on a commercial voyage from Genoa to Spain (*Yspaniam*). This contract is among the oldest surviving contracts for trade between Genoa and Spain, and thus it represents one of the earliest recorded commercial contacts between the Italian city and the Iberian Peninsula.

Bonus Iohannes Malfiaster and Rataldus have contracted a *societas* with Petrus Capra, to which these two have contributed one hundred and fifty pounds, eleven shillings, one penny, and Petrus Capra has contributed half of this amount. On behalf of this *societas* this same Petrus will carry [the investment] to Spain, and return from there to Genoa where, having removed the original capital, the profits are to be divided in half...³⁰

In itself, the form of the *societas* contract drawn up between Petrus Capra and his two partners was not unusual. The phrases and content were standard, allowing for different destinations and investments. It is unlikely that Iohannes and Rataldus intended Petrus Capra to carry the actual coin of their investment (and that of other investors in the voyage) when he set sail. Almost certainly he would spend it, before departing, on merchandise available in Italy that he could sell in Spain. The contract does not state his exact destination on the Iberian coast, and he may have visited more than one port as he sought good markets for his cargo and good prices for the commodities which he was buying with the proceeds. On his return, these goods would have been sold in Genoa or trans-shipped to a further destination. Some of these items — such as textiles, spices, gold, or leather — would have been pro-

²⁹ It has been estimated that these surviving registers represent only 40-50% of the original total. Each individual notary had his own specialization, and not all registers contain commercial contracts, let alone contracts relating to Spain. In order to counteract these biases and lacunae, I have made a particular effort to concentrate on years which are represented in at least two registers. By looking at two or more overlapping sets of contracts, one may gain a better picture of the scope and variety of Genoese trade in any given month or year. In most cases it has been possible to find years, spaced at rough intervals but with gaps of never more than five years, through which to survey the development of Genoese trading patterns.

³⁰ Bonus Iohannes Malfiaster, Rataldus fecerunt societatem cum Petro Capra in quam isti duo contulerunt Ib. centum quinquaginta et s. XI et dr. I et Petrus Capra contulit medietatem eiusdem quantitatis. Hanc societatem ipse Petrus Yspaniam portare debet et inde Ianuam et tracto capitali proficuum per medium dividere debent... *Il catolare di Giovanni Scriba*, I, p. 295.

duced or manufactured in the Islamic world, reaching European markets by way of Spanish ports and Genoese transport. When Petrus Capra met again in Genoa with Iohannes and Rataldus, they would have divided the profits from the voyage in accordance with the contract which Giovanni Scriba had prepared, half going to the factor and half to the two investors. This type of division was standard in a *societas* agreement. In contrast, in a *commend* agreement (which became popular somewhat later) the factor put in no money and received only one third of the profits.

Iberian destinations represented only a minor sphere in the overall context of Genoese commercial enterprise. In comparison with North African ports, Sicily, or the Levant, voyages to Spain were few, and investments in such ventures were modest. A cross-section of destinations for one year, using the register of one notary, shows that Iberian destinations make up only 2.5% of the total. In the year 1191, the notary Guglielmo Cassinese wrote contracts to the following destinations:

Yspania	2	Italy	22
Mallorca	1	Ceuta	29
Catalonia	5	Bougie	38
S. France	12	Tunis	27
Corsica &		Ultramar	38
Sardinia	52	Byzantium	29
Sicily	33		

Although the sample is small, there is no reason to believe that it is unduly biased. Guglielmo Cassinese clearly wrote many contracts for commercial voyages, and his customers appear to have travelled widely, both in the eastern and western Mediterranean. However, for one reason or another, fewer came to the notary for assistance in writing contracts to Spanish ports than to other destinations.³¹ A similar cross-section of destinations, revealing the minor importance of Iberian markets, is found in the works of other contemporary notaries.

Roughly half a century later, in 1253, we see a rather different distribution of destinations. These changes reflect shifts in both the spheres of Mediterranean politics and the Genoese internal economy, but Spanish ports still played a small role in overall Genoese activity. This selection is taken from several different notaries, and it is weighted towards voyages made in the spring sailing season.³²

³¹ Data taken from *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190-92)* (eds. M. HALL, H.C. KRUEGER, R.L. REYNOLDS, 2 vols., Turin, 1938). Not every destination noted by Cassinese has been included in this table; some minor ports have been omitted.

³² The sample is small, but not without interest. These figures are taken primarily from ASG Cart. 18/I [Januino di Predono] and ASG Cart. 29 [Bartolomeo Fornarius]. The table also includes data for March 1253 collected by R.S. Lopez from three further notaries [Giovanni Veccio, Guglielmo de Pegli, Tommaso di S. Lorenzo]. See

Spanish ports	14		
Mallorca	17	Ceuta	43
Catalonia	—	Bougie	126
S. France	52	Tunis	120
Corsica &		Ultramar	335
Sardinia	47	Byzantium	1
Sicily	114		

Again we find a wide distribution of destinations represented, although the proportion of voyages to the Latin East has grown significantly. This increase tallies with Genoese diplomatic and naval advances in the eastern Mediterranean during the thirteenth century. However, the percentage of contracts drawn up for Iberian commerce remains virtually unchanged — now about 3.5% of the total. It is important to remember, also, that not only were numbers of voyages lower, but investment of capital tended to be smaller in the western Mediterranean than in the eastern.

From the Genoese point of view (the view reflected in notarial records), traffic with Spanish ports increased in the first half of the thirteenth century, but remained relatively stable with regard to their wider commercial interests. As shown by the standard form and style used in their contracts, Genoese merchants did not regard a trading venture to Spain as substantially different from a voyage to any other port. On the other hand, from the Iberian point of view, the picture was very different. Spanish sources show that Genoese commerce had become an important part of their external trade in the years between 1190 and 1253. With the advances of the Christian *reconquista*, and the exodus of Muslim merchants from Iberian commerce in the wake of the Almohad departure and Christian victories, Genoese traders filled in a vacuum. Before long, they controlled much of the international trade of southern Castile and Granada, although they met with less success in Catalonia. By the middle of the thirteenth century, even a small percentage of the Genoese trading empire had become very important to Spain.

When a Genoese investor entered into a contract for a voyage to Spain, he or she sometimes limited the agent to calling only at Spanish ports. In other instances, Spanish destinations might be only brief stops on a more ambitious itinerary. The geographical position of the Peninsula made it a natural stopping point for ships traveling between Genoa and North African ports in an age when shipping routes still ran close to the coast. A Genoese vessel might put into a Spanish harbour for supplies, repairs, or commercial information as well as for trade. Individual Genoese commercial contracts to Spain might be made for trade to specific ports, to particular regions, or simply to Yspa-

"L'attività economica di Genova nel Marzo 1253 secondo gli atti notarili del tempo," *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 64 (1934), pp. 166-270. Once again, some minor non-Spanish destinations have been omitted. "Spanish ports" applies to mainland destinations, including Yspania, not within the Crown of Aragon.

nia (as in the contract between Petrus Capra and his partners). A table showing the chronological distribution of contracts to different Iberian destinations will be found in an appendix.³³

Roughly twenty-five percent of Genoese notarial contracts involving travel to the Iberian Peninsula in the period 1156-1250 cited Yspania as their intended destination. However, since the term Yspania had several meanings in the Middle Ages, it is not entirely clear what it would have meant to a Genoese merchant in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Although frequently used elsewhere in Europe to designate Christian Spain (or specifically Castile), the Genoese usage probably applied to the entire Iberian Peninsula (except for Catalonia), with particular emphasis on the southern Mediterranean coast. When it appears in notarial records and chronicles, the term seems to lack specific religious or political overtones.

In several instances, Yspania clearly signified islamic Spain (al-Andalus), as when Giovanni Scriba specified "Yspaniam ultra Barchinoniam" (i.e. Spain, presumably coastal, on the far side of Barcelona) as a destination in a notarial contract dated 1160.³⁴ Likewise, at the start of the next century, the term appeared in the *Annali genovesi*, when the Castilian armies marching to the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) were described as entering "Yspaniam".³⁵ Another notarial reference, from 1248, listed a Granadan Muslim slave, sold in Genoa, as being "de genere Yspanie de Granata".³⁶ In an interesting diplomatic example, there survive both Latin and Arabic versions of the treaty of 1188 between Genoa and the Balearics, in which the Latin word "Yspanium" was translated by the Arabic "al-Andalus". In both cases, the Island of Mallorca was the intended geographical application, but while both parties must have agreed that, in their own language, Yspania and al-Andalus included Mallorca, it is still not certain that a true correlation existed between the two larger regions.³⁷

³³ It should be noted that not every contract represents a separate voyage since the investments of many businessmen could be carried on the same ship. No differentiation has been made here between *societas* and *commenda* contracts.

³⁴ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, I, p. 380.

³⁵ *Annali genovesi*, II, pp. 124-5.

³⁶ ASG, Cart. 20/I, f. 122v. The wording may indicate that this slave, though Muslim and clearly from al-Andalus, was an ethnic Spaniard.

³⁷ M. AMARI, "Nuovi ricordi arabici", p. 603 & V. It should be noted that both A. SCHAUPE (*Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich-Berlin, 1906), p. 385) and G. PISTARINO ("Genova e l'occidentia del secolo XII," *Atti del I Congresso storico Ligure-Provenza* (Bordighera, 1966), p. 80-81) believed that the Genoese *Yspania* referred to al-Andalus, particularly eastern al-Andalus. Likewise, P. Chalmeta has pointed out that *Ispanie* was used in Catalonia to designate Muslim regions, as when eleventh-century Andalusi dirhams were referred to as "solidos ex monete Ispanie". See CHALMETA, "Précisions au sujet du monnayage hispano-arabe," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981), pp. 317-18.

When a notary drew up a contract using a phrase such as "cum hac societate portare debet Yspaniam causa negociandi" the exact destination may have been left intentionally unclear. As a purely generic geographical term, designating the entire Iberian Peninsula rather than a particular political or religious entity within it, the vagueness of Yspania would have had clear commercial use. During times of war, or periods when trade with the Muslim world was discouraged, a contract to Yspania might pass inspection where a journey directed to a specific Islamic port would not. Such wording would give greater leeway to the individual merchant to trade where his commercial instinct (and his political conscience) directed. Even so, by far the majority of Genoese contracts cite a more specific destination, such as Catalonia/Barcelona (27%) and Mallorca (34%), or individual ports such as Denia, Cartagena, Malaga, Valencia, and Seville.

In the case of Yspania, the generic nature of the name makes it particularly difficult to link individual contracts with diplomatic events. In two cases travel to Yspania was specifically forbidden (*devetum*) in the contract, and these are especially troublesome. If Yspania were understood here to indicate Muslim Spain, then the two prohibitions (dated 1158 and 1160) could point to hostile Genoese-Almohad trade relations before the treaty of 1161. A dozen other contracts indicate, however, that trips to Yspania did take place before 1161, so it seems more likely that these prohibitions were dictated by individual commercial circumstance, and unrelated to diplomatic events. Later notarial references to Yspania coincide more closely with external evidence. For example, the increase in contracts during the mid-thirteenth century probably reflects the growth of Genoese trade with the southern Peninsula which is documented in other sources.

Elsewhere, correlations between diplomatic and notarial evidence may be clearer. Among the most obvious trends in the notarial record is the noticeable decrease in commercial contracts to Iberian ports between about 1213 and 1235. Several explanations are possible for this trend, but it may reflect a reduction in trade during the height of the Christian *reconquista* effort. In the previous century, Genoese voyages to Valencia and Denia coincide reasonably well with the commercial treaties of 1149 and 1161 made with Ibn Mardānīsh. Whether or not they follow directly from diplomatic initiatives, contracts to these two cities recorded by Giovanni Scriba in 1156, 1157, 1158, and 1163 show that the trade routes were undoubtedly open between Genoa and the Andalusī Levant in this period. A contract to Seville, dated August 7, 1164 may be similarly related to the Almohad-Genoese treaties of 1153 and 1161, which had included the grant of a Genoese trading house in that city. On the other hand, the apparent lack of later contracts to Seville (aside from one in 1184), especially after the concessions granted by Ferdinand III in 1248, is rather puzzling. In spite of the well-documented Genoese influence on southern Castilian trade at this time, only Cartagena shows any marked increase in trade by the early 1250s. Instead it is the Muslim ports, particular-

ly Almeria, which reappear in contemporary contracts. With the increasing isolation of Nasrid Granada, and the growing necessity of this small Muslim enclave to supply its basic needs through imports of food and other goods, it represented a profitable destination to the Genoese entrepreneur.

It is noteworthy that Almeria, the premier port of southern Spain, appears so infrequently in earlier notarial records. Although the *Miracula beati Aegidii* noted Genoese activity in this port early in the century, the single twelfth-century notarial reference to Almeria is dated 30 July 1157. This would have been barely a month after the Almohad reconquest of the city, which took place during the Muslim month of *Jumâdâ al-akhira*, 552 (11 June - 10 July 1157).³⁸ Apparently the Genoese were taking advantage of their dual alliances, which would have allowed them to trade with this port whether under Muslim or Christian rule. No Genoese contracts survive for voyages to Almeria during the period after the Christian conquest in 1147, but since no notarial materials whatsoever survive until nearly ten years after that date, one cannot assume that the trade treaties made in that year went unexploited.

According to the notarial records, Genoese commerce with Catalonia was particularly active in the years 1190-1213. The earlier date may reflect a resumption of trade after the Genoese-Aragonese reconciliation of 1185, although the scarcity of contracts for the period before 1185 renders such a conclusion tentative. After the first decade of the thirteenth century, however, coinciding with the accession of James I to the Aragonese throne and the growth of indigenous Catalan mercantile activity, a dearth of references to Barcelona or other Catalan ports supports the conjecture that Genoese traffic diminished.

Trade with the Balearics fared somewhat differently. Although no treaty with the island is known before 1181, the notarial record nevertheless shows that the Genoese were commercially active there. Even so, trade may have increased after the accords of 1181 and 1188, since at least eleven contracts were written to Mallorca between 1182-1184, and seven more exist for the period 1190-1198.³⁹ However, the surge of contracts in 1253 is less explicable, for it seems implausible to attribute these to the concessions granted to the Genoese by James I twenty years before.

Clearly, Genoese merchants traded with a number of different Spanish ports, both Christian and Muslim, from the middle of the twelfth century. Although counting contracts can provide only a sketchy appreciation of changes in volume of trade, each record in itself demonstrates positive evidence of commercial contact. Also, the correlation of data from diplomatic

³⁸ J. TAPIA-GARRIDO, *Almeria Musulmana* (Almeria, 1986), I, p. 466.

³⁹ The cluster of contracts from October 1182 may well have been for only one or two trips. Also noteworthy, as with Barcelona, is the lack of evidence for the earlier period.

sources and notarial records is often close enough to see both the political arrangements for trade relations and the actual movement of merchants and goods between regions.

The naming of Spanish port cities as destinations in Genoese partnership arrangements tells little, in itself, about the actual working of regional commerce. More can be learned through references to the people involved in Spanish trade and the commodities in which they traded.

Among merchants, two categories present themselves for examination: those persons mentioned in contracts to Spain and those mentioned elsewhere in the notarial record who bear names of apparent Spanish origin. The former group has already received considerable study and attention in more general studies of Genoese social structure and trading interests. Notarial records show that the relatively minor role of Spain in the Genoese commercial sphere, as compared to the East, was paralleled in the scale of investment and status of investors in Iberian and Eastern trade. The five largest twelfth-century Genoese merchant families, the della Volta, Burone, Malone, Vento, and Usodimare clans, were primarily interested in commerce with the Levant. Their investments in the western Mediterranean were smaller than those in the East. Investments of the della Volta family, for example, were recorded by Giovanni Scriba as totaling £16,800 to the Levant, £3,800 to the Maghrib, and £4,800 to Spain and France during the period 1155-1162.⁴⁰ Likewise, William Ventus put £1,200 towards Levantine voyages and £170 into Western ones, of which roughly £102 was taken in a commercial voyage to Seville in 1161.⁴¹ Sometimes these investors would combine their eastern and western interests, as did William Buronus in 1160 when he invested £100 in a voyage to Constantinople and Alexandria, with instruction that the ship should return to Genoa by way of Bougie or Yspania.⁴² Possibly he hoped to sell some eastern purchases in the western Mediterranean, and acquire local items — perhaps gold, hides, or silks — for sale in Italy.

Merchants from more humble backgrounds and families appear to have taken a more active part in trade to Spain. Bonus Iohannes Malfiaster, for example, who was probably a Greek established in Genoa, invested in several ventures to Yspania. The contract from 1159 (translated above) shows him putting one hundred and fifty *lire* towards a Spanish voyage in partnership with Rataldus, and elsewhere a further £40 in 1160 for a trip to the same destination.⁴³ Jews and those of Jewish heritage formed another category of

⁴⁰ H.C. KRUEGER, "Post-War Collapse," pp. 127-128. Genoese investments during the twelfth century have been extensively studied and documented by E. BACH, *La cité de Gênes au XIII^e siècle* (Copenhagen, 1955).

⁴¹ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, II, p. 32 # 859. See also H.C. Krueger, *Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa*, pp. 387-388.

⁴² GIOVANNI SCRIBA, I, pp. 404-5, # 752.

⁴³ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, I, p. 295, # 550; I, pp. 338-39, # 624. See also E.H. BYRNE,

Genoese merchants with clear interests in Andalusian trade. One prominent member of this group, Solomon of Salerno, sent cargoes to all regions of the Mediterranean, but particularly to Sicily and Spain. Giovanni Scriba recorded several Spanish investments made by Solomon and his wife Eliadar, including a sum of £103 which Solomon sent to Yspania in 1158, and a very complicated contract made by Eliadar two years later for a similar venture.⁴⁴ Eliadar represents one of a small, but not unimportant, group of female investors in Genoese commerce. Another merchant, Blancardus, who may also have been a Jew, appeared frequently in contracts for Iberian commerce. One of these, draw up in 1162, stated that he had entrusted £120 to Iohannes the son of Albericus, who was traveling to Yspania. In the following year Blancardus dispatched £40 to Ibiza, and in 1164, £50 to Seville.⁴⁵

Towards the end of the twelfth century it becomes difficult to track individual investments and investors in Genoese trade, and the task is even harder for the thirteenth century (particularly after 1250), when hundreds of new names start to appear in contracts to both the Levant and the West. E.H. Byrne has attributed this change to the establishment of a *podestà* in Genoa in 1190, and the concurrent decline of communal authority and the aristocratic oligarchy.⁴⁶ Weakening of the social and mercantile hierarchy provided an opportunity for new investors to enter the Genoese commercial arena at the same time as the city's trading empire was growing by leaps and bounds.

There are many instances where notarial contracts cite merchants bearing names indicating Spanish origin (including *de Cartagenia*, *de Tortosa*, and *de Barcelonio*), whether or not these merchants were directly involved in commerce with Spain. Closer examination, however, may show that families with names like *de Cartagenia* or *de Valencia* had no contemporary connections with the Iberian regions from which they took their names. The *de Cartagenia* clan, for example, though originally Spanish, had long settled in Genoa and considered themselves Genoese.⁴⁷ Other difficulties arise with the name *de Valencia*, since, as R.S. Lopez has pointed out, it is impossible to distin-

"Easterners in Genoa," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 38 (1918), pp. 176-187.

⁴⁴ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, I, p. 267, # 500; I, p. 339, # 625.

⁴⁵ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, II, pp. 78-9, # 967; II, p. 141, # 1084; II, pp. 229-230, # 1269. The heritage of Blancardus is uncertain, and B. NELSON has raised serious doubts as to whether he was, indeed, Jewish. See "Blancard (the Jew?) of Genoa and the Restitution of Usury in Medieval Genoa," *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto* (Milan, 1949), I, pp. 96.

⁴⁶ E.H. BYRNE, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the twelfth century," *American Historical Review* 25 (1920), p. 210. A *podestà* was an urban administrator brought in from the outside in order to ensure the fairness and impartiality of his rule.

⁴⁷ H.C. KRUEGER, "Genoese Trade with Northwest Africa," p. 394; D. ABULAFIA, on the other hand, considers *de Cartagenia* to be a true Spanish name (*The Two Italies* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 200).

guish, in Latin, between the native of Valencia (Spain), Valenza (Piedmont), or Valence (France).⁴⁸ Although the merchant Bernardo de Barcellonio might well have been Catalan, he appears in only one contract,⁴⁹ and while the origins of the *de Tortosa* group seem straightforward, these merchants do not appear in notarial records until the mid-thirteenth century. By this period, non-notarial sources also show other merchants from the Crown of Aragon trading in Genoa.

Some evidence suggests that non-Christian merchants also traded along Iberian-Italian routes. The 1127 treaty between Genoa and Barcelona mentioned special taxes to be imposed on Genoese boats transporting "negociatores extraneos" along the Catalan coast,⁵⁰ and while the religion of these foreigners is unknown, other documents note non-Christian passengers on Genoese boats between Spain and Italy. The Spanish Muslim traveler Ibn Jubair, for example, was transported to and from Spain by the Genoese ca. 1185, and Benjamin of Tudela had travelled by Genoese ship a few years earlier.⁵¹ In 1222, a Genoese notary referred to the arrival of a certain Muhammad b. al-Mahalem on a Genoese boat from Ceuta, bringing with him a cargo of copper, lead, and cinnabar.⁵² The references here to copper and cinnabar suggest that the goods at least (if not the goods *and* the merchant) originally came from Spain.

Commodities are more elusive than merchants, and information on commercial goods is harder to obtain through notarial records. In general, the notaries tell little about the merchandise in which stated sums were to be invested, since most contracts left open the question of goods, noting instead that a certain sum of money was "to be put to work as [the factor] sees best". For this reason, units of coinage (*bisancios*, *morabetinos*, Genoese *libras*, and other specie) were the items most frequently listed for shipment between Genoa and Spain. Here it is impossible to ascertain whether such references indicate actual cash, money of account, or goods of a certain value. It does not appear, however, that coins were being transferred as a commodity in themselves, since references to coinage generally occur in the context of voyages

⁴⁸ R.S. LOPEZ, "Concerning Surnames and Places of Origin," *Medievalia et humanistica* 8 (1954), p. 14.

⁴⁹ GUGLIELMO CASSINESE, # 19, p. 38.

⁵⁰ G. PISTARINO, "Genova e l'occitania," p. 81.

⁵¹ *The Travels of Ibn Jubair* (ed. and trans. R.J.C. BROADHURST, Beirut, 1959) pp. 352, 357, 362; Benjamin of Tudela, p. 470. S.D. GOITEIN has observed that records from the Cairo geniza show that it was "absolutely common" for Jews to travel on Christian ships ("The Unity of the Mediterranean World in the 'Middle' middle Ages," *Studia islamica* 12 (1960), p. 32).

⁵² *Liber magistri Salmonis sacri palatii notarii (1222-1226)* (ed. A. FERRETTO) *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 36 (1906) # 283, p. 100. See also C. DUFOURCQ, "Aperçu sur le commerce entre Gênes et le Maghrib au XIIIe siècle," *Economies et sociétés au moyen-âge. Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy* (Paris, 1973), p. 733.

outbound from Genoa. On the other hand, precious metals may have traveled as cargo headed into Italy, since Genoa probably obtained Sudanese gold by way of Islamic ports in the western Mediterranean.⁵³

In some cases, a contract would mention an individual commodity, often in terms of the fact that a certain sum of money had been invested in that merchandise. Although a travelling partner might carry these goods abroad, he was never instructed to buy specific things on arrival in a foreign port. Therefore, one rarely learns of goods to be purchased, only of items already in hand. We observe goods about to travel to Spain, and Spanish goods which had already arrived in Genoa.

Among the goods coming from Spain, one of the most obvious is the dyed and embossed leather called cordoban. Whether or not this commodity was actually produced in Cordoba, it was still a Spanish product. Cordoban first appears in the notarial record in July of 1197, when "torsellas III corduvani" were included in a contract referring to goods carried from Genoa to Ceuta. In August of the same year another contract acknowledged the receipt of ten cordoban pieces ("corduan panos X"), valued at £.11, 10d. References increase in the thirteenth century, with six transactions of cordoban noted between 1210 and 1226.⁵⁴ Other sales of Spanish goods include alum from Castile,⁵⁵ Valencian cloth,⁵⁶ several types of textile and silk from Yspania and southern Spain,⁵⁷ as well as grain, and rabbit skins.⁵⁸ Likewise, the *Annali genovesi* indicated a well-established Genoese commerce in Sevillian olive oil. A charter of Ferdinand III of Castile in 1249 permitted the Genoese to continue

⁵³ H. MISBACH, "Genoese Commerce and the Alleged Flow of Gold to the East, 1154-1253," *Revue internationale d'histoire de la banque* (1970), pp. 67-87.

⁵⁴ July 1197: ASG, *Diversorum* 102, fol. 58r; August 1197: ASG Cart. 56, fol. 187v. Thirteenth-century references: Lanfranco, I, p. 396, II, pp. 59, 147-48, 349; ASG Cart. 5, fols. 110r, 232r. Later transactions of cordoban are mentioned in ASG Cart. 26/II, fol. 38r and Cart. 29, fols. 2r and 15v.

⁵⁵ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, I, pp. 101-102 (dated 1157); II, pp. 203-205 (1164); ASG *Diversorum* 102, fol. 5v (1179); ASG Cart. 5, fol. 60r (1213).

⁵⁶ ASG Cart. 29, fol. 22r; Dated March 1253, this cloth was probably some type of silk textile woven in Valencia with raw silk imported from elsewhere, possibly al-Andalus.

⁵⁷ GIOVANNI SCRIBA, II, p. 4 (dated 1160: "sete... et decem pecias tela Yspanie"); OBERTO SCRIBA, p. 98 (1186: "VI pecias panni de Granata"); ASG Cart. 4, fol. 171r (1200: "cendais yspanie"); ASG Cart. 16/II, fols. 14v (1224: "pelles duas de scarlata cum... cendatu... de Ispania"), 23v, (1225: "sete de Yspania"); ASG Cart. 11, fol. 186r (1238: "cendat yspanie"). M. GUAL CAMARENA identifies *cendat* as a type of fine light silk cloth (*Vocabulario del comercio medieval* (Tarragona, 1968), p. 263).

⁵⁸ H.C. KRUEGER has noted two sea loans in 1200 for grain (*blava*) to be shipped from either Catalonia or Sardinia, "The Wares of Exchange in the Genoese-African Traffic of the twelfth century," *Speculum* 12 (1937), p. 66. GIOVANNI DI GUIBERTO, II, p. 389 records a contract for rabbit pelts (*cuniculorum*) from Spain.

exporting oil from Seville "to other regions of the world" as had been their custom "during the time that the city was held by the Saracens".⁵⁹

Although the number of notarial references to any given commodity is small, the data confirm non-notarial information on Iberian trade. All of these goods are known from other sources to have been major exports from the Iberian Peninsula. Arabic geographical works and Latin legal documents show that textiles (particularly woven and raw silk), cordoban, spices, olive oil, grain, and alum were shipped from Muslim and Christian Spain to other regions of the western Mediterranean. Silk was extensively cultivated and processed in al-Andalus until the time of the Christian *reconquista*, and exported northward to Christian Spain and Europe. Almerian fabrics, for instance, (*pailles d'Aumarie* or *soie d'Aumarie*) found their way into the verses of French romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and probably into the holds of Genoese ships.⁶⁰ Olive oil, also, was a well-known Andalusian export, and in the late twelfth century al-Zuhri listed "the land of Rûm" among regions receiving oil from the area around Seville.⁶¹ The same is true for cordoban, which was exported not only to Genoa but also to other European ports. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, tariff lists from Narbonne, Marseilles, and other southern French towns included cordoban among taxable commodities.⁶² More surprisingly, the Welsh *Mabinogion* contains a reference to shoemakers working with gilded cordoban, indicating that this pro-

⁵⁹ "ad ipsam civitatem negociatores Ianue, tempore quo erat Sarracenorum, frequentum usum et accessum habebant et maxime gracia mercis olearie habundabat enim provincia dicte civitatis oleo ultra alias provincia huius mundi..." *Annali genovesi* III, pp. 183-184. These privileges were renewed in 1251. See C. VERLINDEN, "Italian influence in Iberian Colonization," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 33 (1953), p. 201.

⁶⁰ Among the French romances citing Almerian textiles see the *Chanson d'Antioche, composée au XIIe siècle par Richard le pèlerin* (ed. L. DE SAINTE-AULAIRE, Paris, 1862), p. 16 ("étouffes d'Almerie"); *Aye d'Avignon. Chanson de Geste* (late twelfth) (eds. F. GUESSARD and P. MEYER, Paris, 1861), p. 7 ("paile vermeill d'amoravine"), p. 29 ("porpre d'Aumarie"); Bertrand de Bar-sur-Aube (fl. ca. 1220), *Girart de Vienne* (ed. W. VAN EMDEN, Paris, 1977), p. 113 ("tirez et pailles et soie d'Aumarie"), p. 200 ("soie d'Aumarie"), p. 207 ("paile d'Aumarie"), p. 273 ("soie d'Aumarie"); *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* (ed. W. STUBBS, London, 1870), p. 51. Roger of Hoveden also noted (*ibid.* p. 48) that Almeria was the city "ubi fit nobile sericum et delicatum quod dicitur sericum de Almaria," which suggests that his readers were already familiar with this item.

⁶¹ AL-ZUHRI, p. 218.

⁶² Narbonne (1153): *Inventaire des archives communales. Ville de Narbonne* (ed. G. MOUYNÈS, Narbonne, 1871), p. 4; Marseilles (1228): *Histoire analytique et chronologique des actes et des délibérations du corps et du conseil de la municipalité de Marseille* (eds. L. MÉRY and F. GUINDON, vol. I, Marseilles, 1841), pp. 347-8; Other Provençal references (thirteenth-century): *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint Victor de Marseilles* (ed. B. GUÉRARD, Paris, 1857), pp. LXXIII-C; LXXVI.

duct was known as far away as western Britain in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁶³

Among the more important Genoese imports from Spain in the mid-thirteenth century were Muslim slaves. The Genoese notarial records yield an important group of slave sales contracted in that city between the middle of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth century. Not all of these sales relate to Andalusian slaves, for there is also evidence of men and women brought from North Africa, Sardinia, Malta, and elsewhere. The Spanish contracts are particularly interesting, however, in terms of the chronological correlation between the progress of the Christian *reconquista* and the dates of these sales. It is surely not a coincidence, for example, that following the conquest of Valencia by James I in 1238, Genoese notaries recorded many sales of Valencian Muslim slaves.

A brief survey of the records for the period 1237-1251 shows about forty Spanish Muslim slaves sold in Genoa. Although slaves were not a new export from the Peninsula, the previous trend had been for exporting Christian slaves to Muslim territories, whereas the thirteenth century saw an increase in the sales of Muslim slaves in Christian lands. The Arabic names of these men and women indicate their recent enslavement, presumably as prisoners of war. Nevertheless, the slave traders' nets were flung widely, and besides the politically significant Valencian sales, contracts exist for Muslim slaves brought from all over the south of Spain, including Malaga, Denia, Murcia, and Granada.⁶⁴

In westward transit, the two major commodities brought by the Genoese to Spain were European textiles and Eastern spices. Several contracts mention shipments of cloth — particularly bolts of fustian (*fustaneorum*) — travelling from Italy to Spain, as well as brazilwood, pepper, and other luxury items coming from the East.⁶⁵

Here, in these cargos, we see evidence of what may have been the single greatest impact which the Genoese had on western Mediterranean trade at this time. The Genoese not only exploited new areas of production, such as the European textile industry, but they also took over and changed the routes

⁶³ *The Mabinogion* (ed. J. GANTZ, London, 1976), p. 108. Gantz dates this work, very roughly, to the period 1000-1250, and surmises that the main body of the work is late eleventh century.

⁶⁴ I am currently preparing an article on these slaves sales. Some of these sales have been already noted in important articles by M. BALARD, "Remarques sur les esclaves à Gênes dans la seconde moitié du XIII^e siècle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome* 80 (1968), pp. 627-680, and by C. VERLINDEN, "Le recrutement des esclaves à Gênes du milieu du XIII^e siècle jusque vers 1275," *Fatti e idee di storia economica nei secoli XII-XX. Studi dedicati a Franco Borlandi* (Bologna, 1977) pp. 37-57.

⁶⁵ G. SCRIBA, I, p. 292, # 544; p. 340, # 626. BONVILLANO, pp. 48-9, # 107. G. DI GUIBERTO, p. 210, # 442; p. 220, # 450; p. 230, # 500.

of trade between east and west. Genoa and other Christian ports came to fill the role, which Spain itself had played in previous centuries, of procurer and distributor of eastern goods in the western Mediterranean. At the same time, the Genoese and other Christian merchants took the place of the Muslim and Jewish traders who had previously travelled Mediterranean routes and carried goods between eastern and western markets.

In the eleventh century, there were several distribution points for goods in the western Mediterranean, the most important being Sicily, Tunisia, and Muslim Spain. In the latter case, contemporary Judeo-Arabic letters from the Cairo Geniza show that spices and other luxury items were often shipped on to North African ports from al-Andalus,⁶⁶ and documents from Christian Spain and Europe suggest that eastern goods arrived in these regions through similar channels. Barcelona, particularly, may have served as a departure point for goods coming up through the south of Spain or from the interior, and heading north into other areas of Europe.⁶⁷ Until the mid-twelfth century, al-Andalus, and the Peninsula in general, appear to have maintained this role as entrepôt and exporter. By the early thirteenth century, however, notarial records show Genoese merchants providing similar merchandise not only to North Africa and Europe, but also to Spain itself.

Thus, by the first half of the thirteenth century, the commercial geography of the Mediterranean had changed: Italian merchants were carrying the goods previously transported by Muslims and Jews. In similar manner, the axis and routes of trade had also shifted to emphasize the role of northern Italian ports and reduce direct sea links between the eastern Mediterranean, North Africa, and Spain. This scenario, widely attested, is confirmed and augmented in notarial records, which provide data on the early progress of Genoese maritime and mercantile contacts in Spain. Among the commodities mentioned in twelfth and thirteenth-century contracts, the Spanish products arriving in Italy show that exports from Spain itself differed little from the previous century, but they were now coming on Italian ships. Only in the case of slaves is there clear evidence of Spanish exports being influenced by the Iberian affairs. Genoese imports of eastern goods indicate, moreover, that the overall pattern of trade had shifted considerably. By 1250, eastern goods no longer came through Spain as a centre of commerce and re-export, as well as of consumption, but merely to Spain as a consumer. The Genoese, and other Italians, had seized the initiative, becoming busy and prosperous intermediaries in a new pattern of mercantile exchange between east and west.

⁶⁶ S.D. GOITEIN, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, 1973), pp. 51-56 (TS 12.435); pp. 264-268 (TS 13 J 21.12).

⁶⁷ J.E. RUIZ DOMENEC, p. 156.

APPENDIX - CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRACTS
TO DIFFERENT IBERIAN DESTINATIONS

Contracts to Mallorca

26 Sept. 1156	21 April 1190	19 April 1253
7 Sept. 1158	27 April 1190	30 April 1253
20 Sept. 1159	30 Oct. 1191	30 April 1253
August, 1179	13 Oct. 1198	11 May 1253
August, 1179	13 Oct. 1198	12 May 1253
October, 1182	13 Oct. 1198	15 May 1253
October, 1182	April, 1200	19 July 1253
October, 1182	March, 1213	21 July 1253
October, 1182	November, 1244	26 August 1253
October, 1182	7 Jan. 1247	September, 1253
October, 1182	9 March 1248	15 Sept. 1253
9 Oct. 1182	3 August 1248	16 Sept. 1253
19 Oct. 1182	7 Sept. 1252	16 Sept. 1253
9 Oct. 1182	7 Sept. 1252	16 Sept. 1253
9 Oct. 1182	31 March 1253	
Feb/March, 1184	31 March 1253	
19 April 1190	14 April 1253	

Giovanni Scriba also included two contracts to "Evença" (Ibiza?) dated August 28 and 30, 1163.

Contracts to Valencia [V], Denia [D], and Cartagena [C]

26 April 1156 [V]	10 Sept. 1163 [D]	30 Aug. 1253 [C]
13 Oct. 1156 [V]	14 April, 1253 [C]	30 Aug. 1253 [C]
21 Sept. 1157 [V]	May, 1253 [C]	September, 1253 [C]
7 Sept. 1158 [D]	6 May 1253 [C]	8 Sept. 1253 [C]

Contracts to Almeria [A], Malaga [M] and Seville [S]

30 July 1157 [A]	17 May 1184 [S]	15 May 1253 [A]
1 August 1164 [S]	May, 1253 [A]	20 July 1253 [M]
7 August 1164 [S]	6 May 1253 [A]	24 July 1253 [A]

APPENDIX - CHRONOLOGICAL DISTRIBUTION OF CONTRACTS
TO DIFFERENT IBERIAN DESTINATIONS

Contracts to Yspania

26 Sept. 1158	27 Aug. 1160	8 March 1237
26 Sept. 1158	8 Sept. 1162	4 Sept. 1252
24 July 1159	14 Dec. 1162	4 Sept. 1252
6 Aug. 1159	11 Aug. 1164	4 Sept. 1252
16 Jan. 1160	March, 1184	4 Sept. 1252
16 March 1160	13 April 1191	4 Sept. 1252
5 April 1160	12 Oct. 1191	7 Sept. 1252
7 April 1160	8 Sept. 1197	17 March 1253
7 April 1160	31 July 1235	16 May 1253
17 April 1160	April, 1236	16 May 1253
13 July 1160	25 Jan. 1237	30 August 1253

Giovanni Scriba also included two further contracts, dated April, 1158 and July 28, 1160 in which the factor was expressly forbidden to visit Yspania.

Contracts to Catalonia [C] and Barcelona [B]

28 July 1160	[B]	August, 1200	[C]	26 Aug. 1201	[C]
May, 1184	[C]	August, 1200	[C]	29 Aug. 1201	[C]
16 Feb. 1191	[C]	August, 1200	[C]	29 Aug. 1201	[C]
25 Sept. 1191	[C]	Sept. 1200	[C]	25 April 1203	[B]
3 Oct. 1191	[C]	Sept. 1200	[C]	22 June 1203	[B]
9 Oct. 1191	[C]	23 June 1201	[B]	5 May 1210	[C]
9 Oct. 1191	[C]	29 July 1201	[C]	22 Sept. 1212	[C]
23 Sept. 1198	[C]	August, 1201	[C]	2 March 1213	[B]
5 Oct. 1198	[C]	August, 1201	[C]	July, 1213	[C]
5 Oct. 1198	[C]	22 Aug. 1201	[C]	November, 1241	[C]
6 Oct. 1198	[C]	22 Aug. 1201	[C]	4 Feb. 1243	[C]
6 Oct. 1198	[C]	23 Aug. 1201	[C]	6 Feb. 1243	[C]
10 July 1200	[B]	25 Aug. 1201	[C]	5 July 1248	[C]