
Commenda: the Operation of the Contract in Long Distance Commerce at Marseilles During the Thirteenth Century

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The notarial archives of Marseilles afford a unique opportunity to study the use of the commenda contract in medieval France: that form of partnership which was perhaps the most important single contract in use in Mediterranean commerce during the Commercial Revolution of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Although the Marseillaise archives do not compare with those of some Italian cities, particularly Genoa and Venice, they are unparalleled for the thirteenth century amongst the French archives and contain a great deal of material concerning commendae; much of it already edited, albeit unsatisfactorily.¹

The archival sources fall neatly into three groups: the charters of the prominent Marseillaise family de Manduel which span the years 1191 to 1263, the cartulary of the notary Giraud Amalric which spans the months of March to July 1248, and 31 other cartularies of later XIIIth-century notaries spanning the years 1278 to 1300.² The earliest material is in a collection of 165 nota-

¹ L. BLANCARD ed., *Documents inédits sur le commerce de Marseille au moyen-âge*, 2 vols. (Marseilles, 1884-5). Blancard's edition is textually unreliable, poorly indexed, and is incomplete. In this study the author has made use of the original manuscripts in the Archives Communales de la Ville de Marseille and the Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône. However, for the convenience of readers reference has been made to the documents as given in Blancard's collection whenever the information under discussion is in fact given by Blancard. Elsewhere reference is made to the manuscripts.

² Blancard edited documents from all three groups and published them as follows: the de Manduel charters as "Les chartes commerciales des Manduel negociants marseillais du XIIIe siècle" in vol. 1, pp. 1-258; Amalric's cartulary as "Les notules commer-

rial acts purchased from various notaries by members of the Manduel family.³ All but four of these acts were received at Marseilles by notaries of the city.⁴ This collection was seized from the family in 1264 when its head, Jean de Manduel, was executed for conspiracy against Charles I of Anjou. Spanning some 72 years, it records commercial activities of Etienne de Manduel (1200-1230), his elder son Bernard (1226-1236), and his younger son Jean (1236-1263).⁵ Amongst the acts are 64 for commenda contracts and several others which refer indirectly to other commendae. But their value for any statistical study of the use of the commenda at Marseilles is limited. They provide information about a mere 73 commendae over a period of more than half a century and give but a fragmentary glimpse of the total volume of trade during the first half of the century. Moreover, because the de Manduel family was a member of the wealthy commercial elite of Marseilles, the commendae which it sent abroad may not have been typical. And furthermore, since notarial acts for commendae were customarily purchased and kept by the commendator, the capital-investing and non-travelling partner, there is also little information about commendae taken abroad by members of the family as tractators, as labour-investing and travelling partners.⁶ The de Manduel collection presents the commerce of Marseilles from the point of view of

ciales d'Amalric, notaire marseillais du XIII^e siècle" in vol. 1, pp. 259-417 and vol. 2, pp. 5-367; selections from the later notaries as "Les commandites commerciales des béguines de Roubaud congréganistes marseillaises du XIII^e siècle" in vol. 2, pp. 369-383 and as "Pièces commerciales diverses tirées des archives marseillaises du XIII^e siècle" in vol. 2, pp. 385-512. References to his editions are given as *Blancard, de Manduel*; *Blancard, Amalric*; *Blancard, Béguines*; and *Blancard, Pièces commerciales*.

³ Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasses 1502-1515. One hundred and fifty of the charters were published by Blancard. Thirty five different notaries were used. Of the 165 acts, all but one are *instrumenta* redacted on parchment charters. The one exception is a *nota* on a small piece of paper recording a commenda contract of 13 April, 1237 which Blancard did not include in his edition: (Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasse 1508, supplément).

⁴ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 1, 40, 41 & 131.

⁵ The collection represents, of course, only a fraction of their actual activity. There is no reason to believe that the family kept a charter of every contract into which they entered. Indeed some of the charters refer to other contracts for which there is no surviving charter. Probably charters were kept mainly of those contracts which were not yet satisfactorily completed. In some charters, although not in all, it is clear that this is the case. See in particular A. SAYOUS, "Les opérations du capitaliste et commerçant marseillais Etienne de Manduel entre 1200 et 1230.", *Revue des questions historiques*, 3^e série, 16 (1930), 5-29 and "L'activité de deux capitalistes-commerçants marseillais au XIII^e siècle: (Les Manduel)," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale*, 17, 2 (1929), 137-155.

⁶ In fact two acts only refer to such commendae. See Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasse 1502, supplément & *Blancard, de Manduel*, 30.

wealthy investors rather than from that of the active travelling merchant or even, indeed, from that of the small investor.

In 1248 Giraud Amalric, a notary whose practice was in the commercial centre of Marseilles, wrote a cartulary which today is the oldest extant French notarial cartulary.⁷ Containing 151 folios of paper with a parchment cover, the leaves approximately 30 × 19.5 cms, this manuscript consists of three groupings, each concluded by a chronological table of contracting parties. Louis Blancard edited the cartulary in its entirety; however, being primarily interested in the economic rather than the juridical importance of its *notulae*, he indicated much of the legal formulae of those he transcribed by incipit only, simply calendared the economic content of many others, and in doing so omitted much information of vital interest to the economic historian.⁸ Of the 1031 *notulae* in Amalric's cartulary, 466 were for commenda contracts, far more than for any other contract, and another 36 *notulae* referred indirectly to yet other commenda. Thus the cartulary is of unparalleled importance amongst the French sources for the commenda; as it is for XIIIth-century French commerce in general.⁹ But, 1248 was not a typical year. St Louis' crusade was gathering in Southern France and in August Joinville boarded his ship at Marseilles, bound for Cyprus.¹⁰ Intelligent businessmen might have

⁷ Arch. Com. de la V. de M., série II, I.

⁸ For example that *notulae* 224 and 293, for commenda for Acre on the *Saint Esprit*, were in fact cancelled by the contracting parties before ever leaving Marseilles. Their commenda cannot be reckoned amongst those actually sent out from Marseilles in 1248.

⁹ See in particular A. SAYOUS, "Le commerce de Marseille avec la Syrie au milieu du XIII^e siècle," *Revue des études historiques*, 95 (1929), 391-408 and "Le commerce terrestre de Marseille au XIII^e siècle," *Revue historique*, 163 (1930), 27-50; L. BLANCARD, "Note sur la lettre de change à Marseille au XIII^e siècle," *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 39 (1879), 110-128; J. CAILLE, "Les marseillais à Ceuta au XIII^e s.," in *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie... George Marçais* (Algiers, 1957), vol. 2, 21-32; P. RACINE, "A Marseille en 1248: l'activité des hommes d'affaires de Plaisance," *Ann. du Midi*, 78 (1966) 77-78 & 221-233; I. LOEB, "Les negociants juifs à Marseille au milieu du XIII^e siècle," *Revue des études juives*, 16 (1888), 73-83; R.K. BERLOW, "The development of business techniques used at the Fairs of Champagne from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the thirteenth century," *Studies in Med. and Ren. History*, 8 (1971), 3-52 and "The sailing of the 'Saint Esprit'," *J. of Ec. Hist.*, 39 (1979), 345-362; R.D. FACE, "Techniques of business in the trade between the Fairs of Champagne and the south of Europe in the XIIth and XIIIth centuries," *Ec. H. R.*, 10 (1957), 427-38 and "The *vecuarii* in the overland commerce between Champagne and southern Europe," *Ec. H. R.*, 12 (1959), 239-246.

¹⁰ JOINVILLE, *The Life of Saint Louis*, trans. M.R.B. SHAW in *Joinville & Villehardouin: chronicles of the crusades* (Harmondsworth, 1963), 195-6. Amalric's cartulary contains acts for three charters of ships by crusaders to sail with the royal fleet in August: the *Bonne-Aventure* chartered by Count Guy of Forez (wounded at Damietta in

hoped to make a good profit from the forces in the East or from the opportunities for expanded commerce which their conquests might create. In fact, as we shall see, the proportion of commendae sent to the Levant was higher in Amalric's cartulary than in the de Manduel period.¹¹

Amalric's cartulary is a chance survival. No other like it has survived from medieval Marseilles. The other 31 extant cartularies of the XIIIth century were compiled by notaries whose practices were not in the commercial centre of Marseilles as was Amalric's.¹² After the extensive evidence of Amalric's cartulary, the fragmentary nature of that provided by these later notaries is a

1249 and returned home), the *Bénite* chartered by Count Jean of Dreux and Braine (died in Outremer in 1248), and the *Bonne-Aventure* chartered by Geoffroi, Archbishop of Tours (died in 1251). See Blancard, *Amalric*, 549, 777 & 878 and A. VILLARD, "Le plus ancien registre de notaire des archives françaises: Giraud Amalric, un témoin marseillais des Croisades, 1248," *Marseille, revue municipale*, 3^e série, 52 (1963), 23-30.

There are also two other leases concerning the crusade. On 10 July Bernard Gasc and Pierre Roubaud leased a half of their ship, the *St. Jean le Fort*, to a syndicate of bourgeois to accompany the crusade to Cyprus. It would seem that they had unsuccessfully attempted to attract a crusader lessee for one of the clauses of the contract specified that if a crusader did wish to charter the whole ship he could do so and the syndicate would have half the passage money (*naulum*). Blancard, *Amalric*, 968. Earlier in the year, on 18 April, Guillaume Aubert received a loan of £ 100 *moneta miscua* for one month from a notary Guillaume Imbert. The loan was apparently to be used for the construction of a ship at Marseilles and if Aubert reached agreement with Imbert and the vicar of Count Alfonso of Toulouse at Marseilles over the charter of the ship by the count for the crusade, then the £ 100 was to be deducted from the *naulum* rather than repaid. *Ibid.*, 560.

¹¹ On the general economic activity surrounding the crusade see W.C. JORDAN, "Supplying Aigues-Mortes for the Crusade of 1248: the problem of restructuring trade," in W.C. JORDAN, B. McNABB & T.F. RUTZ, eds., *Order and innovation in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1976), 165-72 and A. SAYOUS, "Les mandats de St. Louis sur son trésor et le mouvement international des capitaux pendant la septième croisade, 1248-54," *Revue historique*, 164 (1931), 254-304.

¹² Arch. Com. de la V. de M., série II

Nos. 2-6: Guillaume Faraud, 1277-78, 1283, 1285, 1296-8 & 1300

Nos. 9-12: Pons Marin, 1280, 1282, 1287 & 1291

Nos. 14-16: Pierre Elzéar, 1285, 1289 & 1300

No. 20: Pierre Aycard, 1285

Nos. 21-25: Pascal de Meyrargues, 1287, 1295, 1296, 1298 & 1299

No. 29: Bernard Blancard, 1297

Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série 381 E (*L'étude Malauzat*)

Nos. 1-3: Guillaume Faraud, 1277-80, 1283-84 & 1285-86

Nos. 7-12: Pascal de Meyrargues, 1282, 1291-92, 1294, 1295-96, 1298-99 & 1299-1300

Nos. 15-16: Pierre Elzéar, 1287-88 & 1290

No. 22: Barthélemy de Salinis, 1300.

disappointment. But while it is true that none of these practised in the commercial centre of the city, it is also probably true that the paucity of evidence to be found in them for use of the commenda contract in particular and for commerce in general may be largely attributed to a severe decline in the scope of Marseillaise commerce in the late XIIIth century.¹³ After the last datable commenda referred to in the de Manduel charters,¹⁴ there is a complete absence of information for 23 years until a commenda for which an act was received by Guillaume Faraud on 18 March, 1278.¹⁵ Following this there are a bare 68 other commenda contracts and 14 acts referring indirectly to commenda.

The destinations of commenda voyages from Marseilles reflected the interests of Marseillaise merchants and these are shown in Table 1. The earliest extant Marseillaise commenda was invested in £ 14.10. 0 crowned royals and shipped to Sicily by Etienne de Manduel in 1207.¹⁶ However, during the

¹³ On the general decline of the commerce of Marseilles in the late XIIIth century and the transition of the port from a commercial centre into an Angevin war port see R. FERNOUD, *Essai sur l'histoire du port de Marseille des origines à la fin du XIII^e siècle* (Marseilles, 1935), 280-288 and *Le moyen-âge jusqu'en 1291* in G. RAMBERT, ed., *Histoire du commerce de Marseille. Tome 1: L'Antiquité et le moyen-âge jusqu'en 1291* (Paris, 1949), 346-375; G. LESAGE, *Marseille angevine* (Paris, 1950), 145-161; and in particular the important article of E. BARATIER, "L'influence de la politique angevine sur le déclin de Marseille au XIII^e et XIV^e siècles," in *VI Congreso de historia de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1959), 679-693.

¹⁴ 26 April, 1255. *Blancard, de Manduel*, 124 and cf. 134.

¹⁵ *Blancard, Pièces commerciales*, 15.

¹⁶ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 2. Crowned royals, *regales coronati*, were silver pennies issued at Marseilles from 1186 to 1243. They were first established by an agreement between Alfonso I, King of Aragón and Count of Provence, and the inhabitants of Marseilles in 1186. Taking their name from the crowned head on the face their average weight was about 0 gr. 92 and they maintained their value at about 60 shillings (720 coins) to the mark of fine silver. By 1243 the ratio had slipped only slightly to 63 shillings to the mark. The face bore the legend *Rex Aragone*, the obverse *Provincia*. Closely associated with the city where they were minted, the crowned royals in practice became regarded as a Marseillaise municipal coinage. There was also a halfpenny issued. In 1218, Count Raymond Berengar V (1204-45) authorised Marseilles to issue a groat (*gros marseillais*) worth six royal crowned pennies, bearing the legend *Comes Provincie* on the face and *Civitas Massilie* on the obverse. During the troubled history of Marseilles with the Counts of Provence and Toulouse over the next 25 years the ultimate sovereignty of the Counts of Provence over the coinage tended to become obscured. But in 1243 Raymond Berengar V succeeded in partially reimposing his authority. One of the terms of the treaty concluded between himself and Marseilles in that year involved the discontinuation of the crowned royal coinage and its replacement by a coin which is known as the *menut marseillais*. Bearing the legend *R(aymond) Be(rengar) Comes* on the face and *Provincia* on the obverse, the coin's weight oscillated between 0 gr. 49 and 0 gr. 76. Its fineness was about half that of the old crowned

following fifty years the Maghreb and the Levant were much more important than Sicily as destinations for the commendae which the de Manduel family despatched widely around the Mediterranean.¹⁷ Etienne and Bernard de Manduel sent more commendae to the Maghreb than did Jean who widened the family's interest in the Levant when he assumed control in 1236 on the death of Bernard.¹⁸

Increasing interest in the Levant may have been general at Marseilles during the middle years of the thirteenth century for, according to the cartulary of Giraud Amalric, the Levant was the market par excellence in 1248. But one should note also that in 1248 the Kingdom of Sicily appeared as the second most important destination for Marseillaise commendae while the Maghreb had slipped to third place. The ports of the Spanish and Northern Italian littorals also seem to have gained at its expense. Even before the thorough incorporation of Marseilles into the Italian sphere by Charles I of Anjou's conquest of the city in 1252 and his subsequent conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily in 1266-68, it seems clear that Marseillaise commerce had become increasingly oriented towards Italy in general. In the last quarter of the XIIIth century, the Levant seems to have maintained its importance as a destination for Marseillaise commendae. They continued to be sent to Acre and then to Cyprus after the fall of Acre in 1291.¹⁹ On the other hand, as

royal. *Moneta miscua modo curribilis Massilie*, the mixed money current in Marseilles which figures so largely in Amalric's cartulary was a mixture of the *gros marseillais* and *menut marseillais*. See A. DIEUDONNÉ, *Manuel de numismatique française. T. IV: Monnaies féodales françaises* (Paris, 1936), 339-341 and H. ROLLAND, *Monnaies des Comtes de Provence, XII^e-XIV^e siècles* (Paris, 1956), *passim*.

All attempts to convert the various currencies mentioned in Amalric's cartulary into a common standard have been, in my opinion, unsatisfactory. Letters of exchange, *cambium*, contain too many hidden factors of profit taking and set-off against other contracts etc. to be reliable. All currencies have therefore been left unconverted. This has not impeded the conceptual analysis of the statistics.

¹⁷ See Table 1. Simply adding all the destinations given in Table 1 for de Manduel commendae gives a total of 77 although there are only 64 acts for commenda contracts and acts containing reference to another 9 commendae only. However, while some acts give no destination at all, others give several. Throughout this article, and in the tables and graphs, I have followed the principle of considering each mention of a particular item in a particular act separately; even if there are several of them (destinations, types of merchandise, tractators, etc.) in that act. Consequently, figures often do not correlate.

¹⁸ Etienne & Bernard de Manduel (ante 1236): Maghreb - 31, Levant - 5, Kingdom of Sicily - 3, Others - 10, Unknown - 1.

Jean de Manduel (post 1235): Maghreb - 10, Levant - 8, Kingdom of Sicily - 1, Others - 4, No destination - 1, Unknown - 4.

¹⁹ *Pascal de Meyrargues, 1295-96*, fol. 6r (April 1291); *Pierre Elzéar, 1300*, fols. 93r & 93v (Sept. 1300).

TABLE 1

COMMENDAE EXPORTED FROM MARSEILLES BY DESTINATION¹

DESTINATION		NO. OF COMMENDAE					
GENERAL AREA	SPECIFIC DESTINATION	Manduel 1207-1255		Amalric 1248 ²		Other notaries 1278-1300	
		Per Destin- ation	Total Per Area	Per Destin- ation	Total Per Area	Per Destin- ation	Total Per Area
Southern France	Aigues Mortes					1	
	Arles			2			
	Avignon			2			
	Hvères	1					
	Littoral					1	
	Montpellier		2	3	8		5
	Nice					1	
	Provence					1	
	Rhône	1		1			
	St. Giniez					1	
Northern France & England	Bar (Fair)	1		4			
	England	1					
	France		5	1	10		1
	Lagny (Fair)	2				1	
	Provins (Fair)	2		7			
Northern Italy	Cagliari			4		1	
	Genoa	2		13		4	
	Pisa			14		2	
	Rome		2	2	43	2	20
	Sardinia			9		15	
	Tuscany			1			
Kingdom of Sicily	Messina	2		32			
	Naples		4	39	116	1	1
	Sicily	2		45			
Western Mediterranean	Barcelona	1		5		3	
	Catalonia			3			
	Majorca	3	5	4	29	1	4
	Narbonne			1			
	Spain	1					
	Valencia			16			
Maghreb	Algiers			1			
	Barbary/Maghreb	1		3			
	Bougie	21		50		1	
	Ceuta	12	41	18	72		1
	Oran	3					
	Tlemcen	2					
	Tunis	4		1			
Levant	Acre	7		173		14	
	Alexandria	1				6	
	Armenia (Lesser)		13		184	1	28
	Cyprus			9		8	
	Syria/Outremer	6		3		1	
No destination			1		8		6

¹ See n. 17.

² Includes only commenda contracts for which a notula was received in 1248.

a result of troubled relations with the Maghreb after St Louis' crusade to Tunis in 1270, Marseilles almost ceased sending commendae to the Maghreb.²⁰ At first sight it also seems somewhat strange, when one considers the Angevin control of both Marseilles and the Kingdom of Sicily, that commendae for the Kingdom also almost disappeared in the late XIIIth century.²¹ Marseillaise trade in commendae became more generally localized in the Western Mediterranean with northern Italy and Sardinia greatly increased in importance.

At Marseilles according to Amalric, the main period of the year for shipping commendae abroad was the spring, from March to May.²² The peak of the season in 1248 came in early April and the cartulary testifies to 22 ships passing through the port during the 8 days from 8 to 15 April. For Amalric himself the peak of the season came on 30 March when he received *notulae* for 58 contracts, 51 of which were commendae. The season gradually tapered off after that until he received the last *notula* for a commenda on 6 July.²³ By then he had filled his cartulary and we do not know whether there was a second burst of activity in the autumn as ships sailed from Marseilles intending to winter overseas. However, other evidence indicates that this may have been the case.²⁴ There are two de Manduel charters, not published by Blancard, which record commendae sent to Acre in the autumns of 1248 and 1249 by Jean de Manduel.²⁵ Both were shipped aboard a ship called the *Saint Esprit* commanded by a Marseillaise, Raimond Suffren. Although neither act was received by Giraud Amalric, the *Saint Esprit* appeared large in his cartulary. The two de Manduel commendae reveal that the ship returned to Marseilles, sailed again for Acre in the autumn of 1248, probably wintered there, returned to Marseilles a second, and perhaps even a third time, and in the autumn of 1249 sailed for Acre yet again.²⁶

²⁰ R. PÉROUD, *Le moyen-âge*, 365-66.

²¹ The explanation for this apparent anomaly is to be sought in the economic policy of the Angevin kings, which did not particularly favour the commerce of their subjects between their various domains. See G. LESAGE, *Marseille angevine*, 150-56, and the present author's "Foreign policy and economic policy: the Angevins of Sicily and the economic decline of southern Italy, 1266 to 1343," in *Principalities, powers and estates: studies in medieval and early modern government and society*, ed. L.O. Frappel, Adelaide, 1979; 43-55.

²² See Graph 1.

²³ Blancard, *Amalric*, 952.

²⁴ Graph 1, inset.

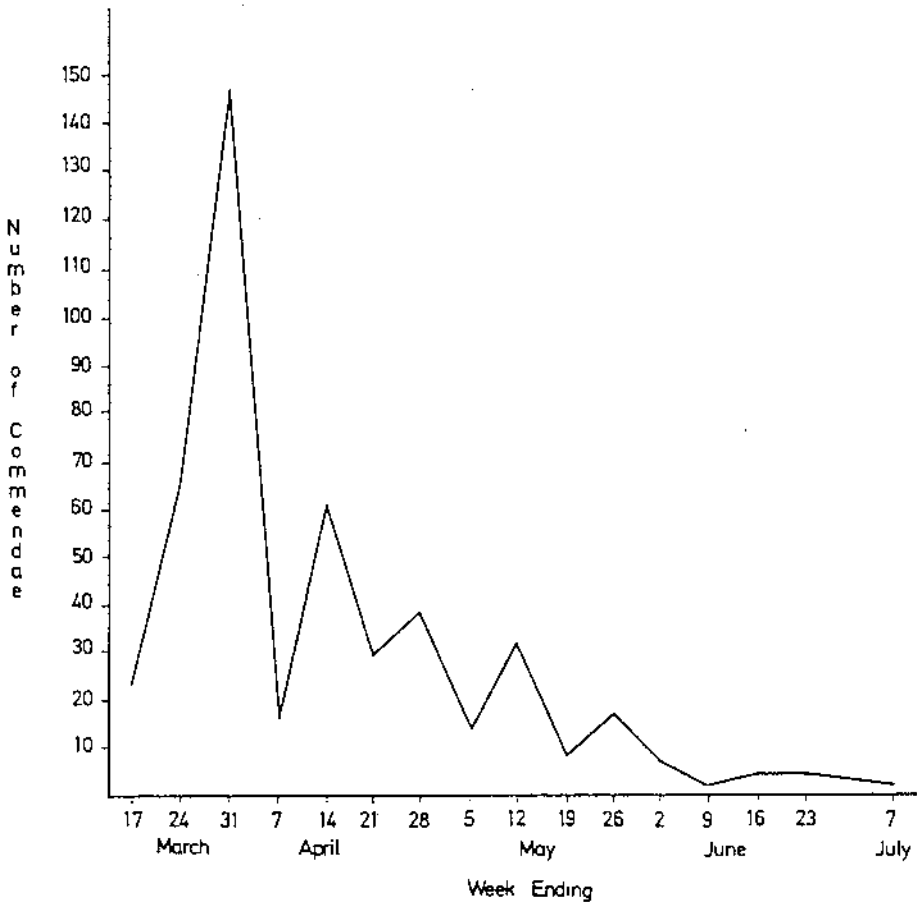
²⁵ Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasses 1511 & 1512: 4 Sept. 1248 and 23 Sept. 1249.

²⁶ See BERLOW, "The sailing of the 'Saint Esprit'," esp. p. 359 and n. 81. Professor Berlow is unaware of the two unpublished de Manduel charters. In 1263-4 the ship was still plying the route to Acre. At that time she returned to Marseilles from Acre once more, still under the command of Raimond Suffren. She paid a duty of

GRAPH 1

Amalric - Number of Commendae per week

Other sources - Number of Commendae per season			
	<u>De Manduel</u>	<u>Others</u>	<u>Total</u>
March - May	31	25	56
June - August	14	15	29
September - November	15	7	22
December - February	4	6	10



The *Saint Esprit* was one of 54 ships to carry commendae from Marseilles during the five months covered by Amalric's cartulary,²⁷ but she carried by far the largest number of commendae. In 18 days between 14 and 31 March, Amalric received *notulae* for 132 commendae to be taken to Acre aboard her; two of which did not actually leave Marseilles (above n. 8). Based on the assumption that ships were in port for the period during which they are mentioned in Amalric's cartulary,²⁸ Table 2 shows the pattern of arrivals and departures in 1248. When the season opened, those which had presumably wintered at Marseilles, such as the *Saint Esprit*, the *Bonne-Aventure* of Arnaud Gasc, and the *Saint Gilles* of Bertrand Rostang, began to receive cargoes immediately. Others, such as the *Saint François* of Bertrand Davin, the *Saint Gilles* of Raimond Mossan, and the *Gerfaut* of Raimond Caire, seem to have arrived in port after the opening of the season and to have stayed from a few days up to five weeks collecting cargoes. With the advance of the season, ships began to make shorter stopovers to pick up available cargoes rather than to stay collecting them. At the same time the proportion of vessels bound on coasting voyages to the Northern Italian and Spanish littorals increased.²⁹ Over the entire season ships bound for the Levant, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Maghreb stayed in port collecting cargoes nearly twice as long as those bound elsewhere;³⁰ but their longer stopovers are partly explained by the larger number of commendae, and other contracts, made for their voyages.

Ships outward bound from Marseilles carried 8.7 commendae on board on average, but those bound for the Kingdom of Sicily, the Levant, and the

£ 109. 7. 0 on that part of her cargo in the hands of foreigners indicating that its total value was some £ 26,244. The duty was a penny in the pound. BERLOW, *loc. cit.* and PÉRONOU, *Le moyen-âge*, 339.

²⁷ See Table 2.

²⁸ This is an assumption only. Ships may have been in port longer than the period during which they are mentioned, or they may not have actually been in port at all when acts for commendae to be shipped aboard them were received; their arrival may have been anticipated. In the case of some ships, although not in those involving any commenda contracts, it is clear that the ships were not in port at the time of making of the contracts. See e.g. the contracts concerning the *St. Blaize*, *St. Croix*, *St. Paul* and the ship of the Pisan admiral. *Blancard, Amalric*, 933, 934, 939, 940, 943, 947, 948. Thus, the *Saint Esprit* may not necessarily have been in port on 14 March when Amalric received the first note for a commenda to be shipped to Acre aboard her. But she must have been in port on 20 March when her master, Raimond Sulfren, accepted a commenda of 1211 $\frac{1}{4}$ sarracenate besants himself. See *Blancard, Amalric*, 91.

²⁹ After the departure of the *Saint François* for Bougie and the *Bonne-Aventure* for Sicily on 9 May, the ratio of overseas to coasting voyages fell from 19:12 to 6:10. This excludes the voyages of six ships mentioned only as being given in commenda themselves and of one ship for which a destination was not given.

³⁰ An average of 12 days for the former and 7.1 for the latter.

SHIPS CARRYING COMMENDAE FROM MARSEILLES IN 1248 ¹

TABLE 2

	March	April	May	June	July
<i>Bonne-Aventure, navis</i> , Arnaud Gasc, Ceuta, 17	14-----10				
<i>St. Gilles, navis</i> , Bertrand Rostang, Messina & Sicily, 64	14-----14				
<i>St. Esprit, navis</i> , Raimond Suffren, Acre 132 (minus 2 = 130)	14-31				
<i>Cerf, lignus</i> , Pierre Thomas, Naples, 6	14-18				
<i>St Nicholas, tarida</i> , Boniface Gilles, Naples, 2	16-17				
<i>Gerfant, bucius navis</i> , Raimond Caire, Naples, 13	17-----15				
<i>St Antoine, tarida</i> , Boniface Gilles, Naples, 9	23-30				
<i>St François, bucius navis</i> , Bertrand Davin, Bougie, 25	23-----8				
<i>St Antoine, navis bucius</i> , Pierre Isnard Fulcolin, Acre, 1	23				
<i>Cygue, navis</i> , Guillaume Aubin, Cyprus, 5	24-----14				
<i>Galea, Pons Mérueis</i> , Pisa, 1	25				
<i>Negreta, galea</i> , Filon de Finari, Sardinia, 1	25-30				
<i>St Gilles, bucius navis</i> , Raimond Mosson, Bougie, 21	26-----8				
<i>St Jean, lignus</i> , Jacques Corso, Genoa, 1	27-30				
<i>Ste Marguerite, tarida</i> , Pierre Sartre, Naples 1*	28-----returned?-----19				
<i>Barca, Pierre Castelnau</i> , no specific destination, 1*	28				
<i>St Antoine, navis</i> , Guillaume Narbonne, Acre, 3		2-9			
<i>Bonne-Aventure, galea</i> , Bernard de Tarascon, Genoa, 8*		2-16			
<i>Barca, Pierre d'Aubagne</i> , Valencia, 2		3-8			
<i>St Antoine, bucius</i> , Raimond Narbonne, Acre, 5		4-9			
<i>Galea, Raimond Mérueis</i> , Pisa, 1		8			
<i>St Michel, bucius navis</i> , Hugues Ferrier, Acre & Cyprus, 2		8-11			
<i>Galea, Guillaume Baucian</i> , Pisa, 3		10-----23			
<i>Barca, Guillaume Mosse</i> , Catalonia, 2		10-12			
<i>St Nicholas, navis</i> , Raimond Mosson, Bougie, 5		10-13			
<i>Sicarde, navis</i> , Acre & Cyprus, 15		10-16			
<i>Galea, Pierre Boniface</i> , Montpellier & Pisa, 5		10-----5			
<i>Barca, Imbert d'Arles</i> , Avignon, 2		13			
<i>Barca, Jean Mosse</i> , Barcelona, 1		13			

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

(Continued)

TABLE 2

J.H. Pryor

	March	April	May	June	July
<i>Bonne-Aventure, navis</i> , Pierre Cresteng, Messina & Sicily, 9		13-----9			
<i>Bonne-Aventure, sagetia</i> , Aubert Piola of Varages, no specific destination, 1*		14			
<i>Barca</i> , Guillaume Bernard, Montpellier, 1		16			
<i>St François, bucius navis</i> , Guillaume de Mota, Sicily, 2		18-24			
<i>St Vincent, navis</i> , Acre, 2		22-----2			
<i>La Rose (Rosette) de St Denys, navis</i> , Pierre Oliver, Acre, 9		24-----18			
<i>Navis</i> , Basso, Valencia, 2		29-----4			
<i>St Nicholas, lignus</i> , Raimond Corbeau, Sardinia, 8		30-----12			
<i>Barca</i> , Brémond Gagnier, no specific dest., 1*			8		
<i>Léopard, lignus</i> , Bertrand Bepel, Valencia, 12			8-22		
<i>Barca</i> , Jean Blanc, Catalonia, 1			9		
<i>St Nicholas, lignus</i> , Sicily, 1			12		
<i>Barca</i> , Bérenger Rofas, Catalonia, 1*			13		
<i>Lignus</i> , Guillaume Grasse d'Hyères, Pisa, 1			19		
<i>St Vincent, bucius navis</i> , Outremer, 1*			19-----13		
<i>Galea</i> , Rabuzgasse d'Arenzano, Genoa, 1			20		
<i>Navis</i> , Raimond Caunes, Naples, 1			21		
<i>St Antoine, navis</i> , Naples, 7			22-26		
<i>Ganganella</i> , Guillaume Hugues Fulcolin, Valencia, 3			26-29		
<i>Navis lignus</i> , Dominique Lafont, Majorca-Barbary-Algiers-Tunis, 4			27-28		
<i>Galea</i> , Isnard Sangile, Arles & Rome, 2				3-6	
<i>Lignus</i> , Guillemete de Nervo, Majorca, 1				10	
<i>Navis</i> , Rossi Tortose, Pisa, 1				10	
<i>Barca</i> , Raimond Cuissard, Cagliari, 4				18	
<i>Bonne-Aventure, navis</i> , Temple, Acre, 1					6

1 Information given includes, where known, name of the ship, its type, name of the master or owner or part owners, the destination, and the number of commendae carried. Asterisks indicate ships given in commendae themselves. The length of stay in port is calculated from the earliest and latest contracts concerning the ship unless it is clear that a ship was not in port at the time a contract was made.

Maghreb averaged 14 as opposed to only 2.8 for others.³¹ The larger number of commendae carried on overseas voyages resulted from the use of larger vessels, the attractiveness of overseas markets, and also the practice of sending overseas, as soon as the spring season opened, large amounts of merchandise accumulated over the winter. Because more time was required for a voyage to Sicily, the Maghreb, or the Levant than for a coasting voyage, it was more important that ships bound for these destinations sail early in the season. Consequently these early sailings for overseas were more heavily laden than later coasting voyages. In 1248 the average number of commendae carried on each ship declined from 11.7 before 9 May to 3.4 after that date.³² The average value of commendae also declined as the season wore on.³³

Values of commendae varied according to destination, the type of investment, and the economic status of the commendator. For example, in 1248 Jean de Manduel began to declare the value of his commendae in the mixed money of Marseilles, *moneta miscua modo curribilis Massilie* (see n. 16). The six commendae thus valued for which charters are extant had an average value of £ 173 m.m., which was considerably higher than the average value of the commendae valued in mixed money in Amalric's cartulary of 1248, £ 62 m.m.³⁴ This probably reflected Jean de Manduel's position amongst the commercial aristocracy of Marseilles. Furthermore, although £ 62 m.m. was the average value of commendae in Amalric's cartulary, most commendae were worth less, between £ 10 and £ 50.³⁵ The distortion was produced by a relatively few highly valuable commendae.

Most de Manduel commendae, all of them prior to 1248, were valued not in mixed money but in crowned royals and had an average value of £ 88.10 0 r.c. In Amalric's cartulary most commendae were valued in mixed money and only a very few in crowned royals. Consequently, the high average value of these few, £ 97 r.c., may not have been representative. During the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the practice at Marseilles reverted to valuing commendae in crowned royals and the average dropped even below the de Manduel level, to £ 67 r.c.³⁶

Commendae sent to the Levant were generally between £ 20 and £ 30 more

³¹ Total commendae sent out from Marseilles in 1248 - 466: 10 by land to Northern France, 6 invested in ships, 26 shipped on unnamed ships or to unnamed destinations. Of the rest (424), 361 were shipped on 26 ships to the Kingdom of Sicily, the Levant, and the Maghreb and 63 on 23 ships elsewhere.

³² Total 424: 363 on 31 ships leaving on or before 9 May; 61 on 18 ships leaving after 9 May.

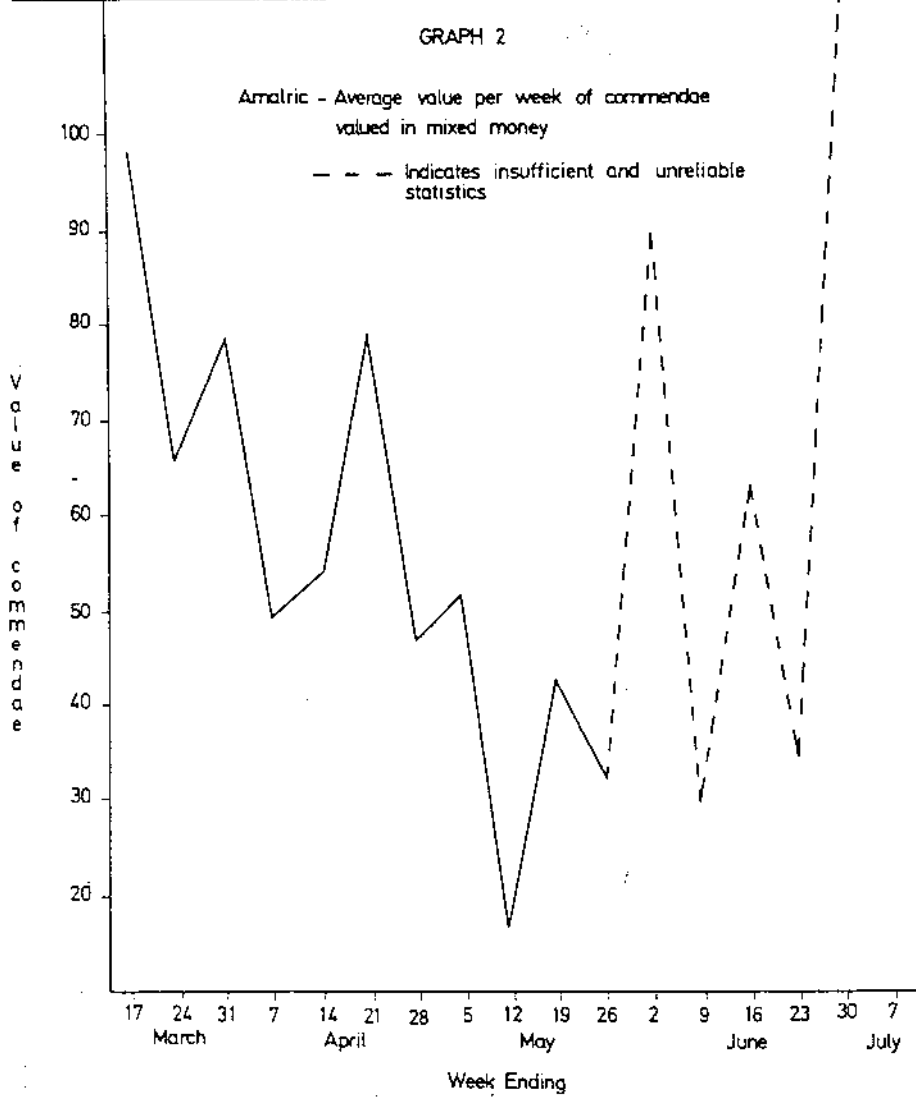
³³ See Graph 2.

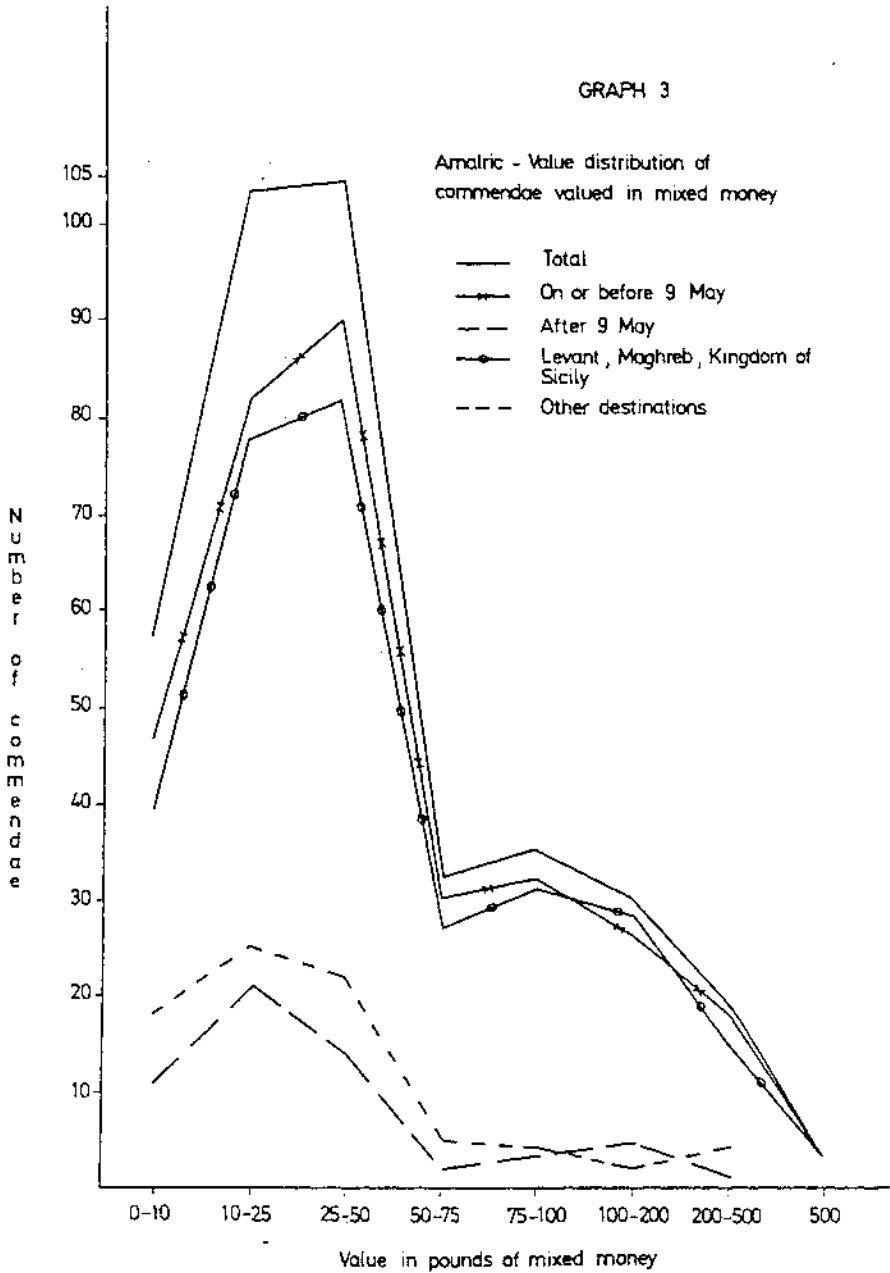
³⁴ See Table 3.

³⁵ See Graph 3.

³⁶ See Table 3.

Value	98	66	79	49.5	54.5	80	47	52	17	43	32	90	30	64	35	250	165
No.	17	57	112	10	48	23	34	13	29	7	17	7	2	3	4	1	1





VALUES OF COMMENDAE¹

J.H. Pryor

	MANDUEL 1207-1255			AMALRIC 1248 ²			OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300		
	No.	Total Value	Av. Value	No.	Total Value	Av. Value	No.	Total Value	Av. Value
Mixed Money (<i>moneta miscua</i>)	6	£ 1,039. 8. 0	£ 173. 0. 0	385	£23,921. 2. 3	£ 62. 0. 0	1	£ 256.12. 0	
Crowned royals (<i>regales coronati</i>)	61	£ 5,403.13.10	£ 88.10. 0	6	£ 580.19. 0	£ 97. 0. 0	68	£ 4,563.11. 5	£ 67. 0. 0
Melgueil (<i>melgorienses</i>)	3	£ 108. 0. 0	£ 36. 0. 0	43	£ 4,138. 1. 0	£ 96. 0. 0			
Tours (<i>tuironenses</i>)				10	£ 1,241.10. 0	£ 124. 0. 0	3	£ 89. 5. 0	£ 29.15. 0
Genoese (<i>januenses</i>)				6	£ 445.18. 6	£ 74.10. 0			
Raimondins (<i>raimondenses</i>)				3	£ 76. 0. 0	£ 25.10. 0			
Sicilian tarins (<i>tarini</i>)				1	25 ounces of tarins		1	6 tarins	
Sarracenate besants of Acte (<i>bisancii sarracenati Acconis</i>)				1	125 S.B.A.				
Provins (<i>provinenses</i>)				1	£ 500. 0. 0				
Mixed				1	£ 14.11. 0 Melgueil				
					£ 11. 0. 0 m.m.				
				1	£ 12. 0. 0 Melgueil				
					& £ 1. 0. 0 m.m.				

¹ See n. 17.² Includes only commenda contracts for which a *notula* was received in 1248.

valuable than those sent elsewhere although there were exceptions.³⁷ For example, the de Manduel family sent four exceptionally valuable commendae, worth a total of £ 2,501. 5. 0 r.c., to the Fairs of Champagne.³⁸ Considering the only body of commendae numerous enough to provide reliable averages, those in Amalric's cartulary, the average value of commendae for the Levant was £ 89.10. 0 m.m. as opposed to £ 37.10. 0 for the Maghreb, £ 22.10. 0 for the Western Mediterranean, £ 54 for the Kingdom of Sicily, and £ 52 for Northern Italy. The higher average value of commendae shipped to the Levant probably reflected both the general profitability and attractiveness of the Levant and also the fact that more capital was required to make the longer voyage profitable.

Throughout the thirteenth century, commendae invested in merchandise were more valuable than those invested in coin, precious metals, or the combined, pooled investments of a tractator (*communia implicita*).³⁹ It is understandable that commendae invested in combined investments should generally have been of low value since this was a technique which permitted small amounts invested by individual commendators to be amalgamated into one large sum. But why should commendae invested in coinage and precious metals have been consistently less valuable than those invested in merchandise? A possible explanation may be that commendators were unwilling to entrust large amounts of coin and precious metal to tractators because of the flexibility and portability of this form of capital. They preferred that larger sums be invested in commendae composed of merchandise, which was less easily disposed of.

The destinations of commendae invested in coinage were generally determined by the type of coinage.⁴⁰ Sarracenate besants of Acre and Alexandria, imitations of Muslim besants, struck in the crusader states and in Southern France, were sent to the Levant. Millares, coins produced in Southern France and Spain in imitation of the half-dirhem of the Almohads, were sent to the Maghreb and Sardinia, and gold tarins of the Kingdom of Sicily to Sicily and Italy. The Fairs of Champagne were the major markets for the coinage of Provins, Tours, and Paris, while Northern Italy was the major market for Genoese and Pisan coinage. Commendae invested in precious metal and mixed money were distributed evenly amongst the Levant, the Kingdom of Sicily, and the Maghreb; as also were those simply invested in the combined investments of tractators.

It was the commendae invested in specified types of merchandise which most clearly demonstrated the preferences of merchants for certain markets for certain types of goods: preferences which remained relatively constant

³⁷ See Table 4.

³⁸ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 43, 47, 100 & 121.

³⁹ See Table 5.

⁴⁰ For all of that which follows see Table 6.

VALUE OF COMMENDAE BY

AREA OF DESTINATION	MANDUEL 1207-1255			No.
	No.	Total Value	Average Value	
Southern France	2	£ 24. 0. 0 r.c.	£ 12. 0. 0 r.c.	1
Northern France & England	4	£ 2,501. 5. 0 r.c.	£ 625. 0. 0 r.c.	1
				1
				2
				6
Northern Italy	2	£ 60. 0. 0 r.c.	£ 30. 0. 0 r.c.	1
				40
Kingdom of Sicily	4	£ 192. 0. 0 r.c.	£ 48. 0. 0 r.c.	1
				3
				7
				1
				1
			101	
Western Mediterranean	4	£ 214. 2. 8 r.c.	£ 53.10. 0 r.c.	1
	1	£ 60. 0. 0 Melgueil		27
Maghreb	2	£ 445. 8. 0 m.m.	£ 222.10.0 m.m.	8
	2	£ 48. 0. 0 Melgueil	£ 24. 0. 0 Melgueil	64
	37	£ 1,565.13. 1 r.c.	£ 42. 0. 0 r.c.	
Levant	10	£ 875.16. 0 r.c.	£ 87.10. 0 r.c.	1
	3	£ 564. 0. 0 m.m.	£ 188. 0. 0 m.m.	
				27
				8
				4
			2	
			140	

¹ See n. 17.

TABLE 4

AREA OF DESTINATION :

AMALRIC 1248 ²		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300		
Total Value	Average Value	No.	Total Value	Average Value
£ 23.10. 0 Genoese		1	£ 60. 0. 0 Tours	
£ 251. 4. 8 m.m.	£ 36. 0. 0 m.m.	3	£ 92.10. 0 r.c.	£ 31. 0. 0 r.c.
£ 500. 0. 0 Provins		1	£ 75.18. 0 r.c.	
£ 53. 6. 8 r.c.				
£ 68.10. 0 Tours				
£ 869.14.0 m.m.	£ 145. 0. 0. m.m.			
£ 14.11. 0 Melgueil & £ 11. 0. 0 m.m.		18	£ 706. 5. 7 r.c.	£ 39. 0. 0 r.c.
£ 4. 0. 0 Genoese				
£ 2,086.13. 7 m.m.	£ 52. 0. 0 m.m.			
£ 6.12. 4 r.c.		1	£ 39. 6. 8 r.c.	
£ 76. 0. 0 Raimondins	£ 25.10. 0 Raimondins			
£ 597. 0. 0 Melgueil & £ 6. 0. 0 Genoese	£ 85.10. 0 Melgueil			
125 Sarracenate besants of Acre 25 ounces of Sicilian tarins				
£ 5,432. 1. 5 m.m.	£ 54. 0. 0 m.m.			
£ 6. 0. 0 Genoese				
£ 603.15. 3 m.m.	£ 22.10. 0 m.m.	4	£ 437.11. 6 r.c.	£ 109.10. 0 r.c.
£ 230. 7. 0 Melgueil	£ 29. 0. 0 Melgueil	1	£ 10. 0. 0 r.c.	
£ 2,375.14. 1 m.m.	£ 37.10. 0 m.m.			
£ 12. 0. 0 Melgueil & £ 1. 0. 0 m.m.		26	£ 2,135. 2. 3 r.c.	£ 82. 0. 0 r.c.
£ 2,762.14. 0 Melgueil	£ 102.10. 0 Melgueil			
£ 1,173. 0. 0 Tours	£ 147. 0. 0 Tours			
£ 521. 0. 0 r.c.	£ 130. 0. 0 r.c.			
£ 406. 8. 6 Genoese	£ 203. 0. 0 Genoese			
£ 12,505.18. 7 m.m.	£ 89.10. 0 m.m.			

² Includes only commenda contracts for which a *notula* was received by Amalric in 1248.

VALUES OF COMMENDAE

MANDUEL 1207-1255				
	No.	Total Value	Average Value	No.
Coin & Precious Metals	2	£ 160. 0. 0 m.m.	£ 80. 0. 0 m.m.	67
	26	£ 922.11. 6 r.c.	£ 35.10. 0 r.c.	6
				5
				3
				3
				1
Merchandise	1	£ 404. 0. 0 m.m.		189
	20	£ 2,553. 9. 9 r.c.	£ 127.10.0 r.c.	3
	3	£ 108. 0. 0 Melgueil	£ 36. 0. 0 Melgueil	28
				5
				2
				3
Combined Investments (<i>Communia Implicita</i>)	1	£ 100. 0. 0 m.m.		105
	3	£ 199.10. 0 r.c.	£ 66.10. 0 r.c.	2
				4
				1
			1	

¹ All commendae invested jointly in coin and merchandise and or *communia implicita* have been eliminated, as have those commendae invested in shares of ships and others for which the type of investment or its value is not known.

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

TABLE 5

BY TYPE OF INVESTMENT¹

AMALRIC 1248 ²		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300		
Total Value	Average Value	No.	Total Value	Average Value
£ 3,177. 6. 2 m.m.	£ 47.10. 0 m.m.			
£ 215.19. 4. r.c.	£ 36. 0. 0 r.c.	3	£ 32. 0. 0 r.c.	£ 10. 0. 0 r.c.
£ 240. 9. 0 Melgueil	£ 48. 0. 0 Melgueil			
£ 435. 0. 0 Tours	£ 145. 0. 0 Tours	1	£ 60. 0. 0 Tours	
£ 25. 0. 0 Genoese	£ 8.10. 0 Genoese			
£ 500. 0. 0 Provins				
£ 13,725. 0.11 m.m.	£ 72. 0. 0 m.m.			
£ 548. 6. 8 r.c.	£ 183. 0. 0 r.c.	34	£ 2,655.18. 6 r.c.	£ 78.10. 0 r.c.
£ 2,824. 2. 0 Melgueil	£ 101. 0. 0 Melgueil			
£ 718. 0. 0 Tours	£ 143.10. 0 Tours			
£ 392. 0. 0 Genoese	£ 196. 0. 0 Genoese			
£ 76. 0. 0 Raimondins	£ 25. 0. 0 Raimondins			
25 ounces of Sicilian tarins				
£ 4,495.10. 6 m.m.	£ 43. 0. 0 m.m.			
£ 16. 2. 4 r.c.		15	£ 266. 2. 0 r.c.	£ 17.10. 0 r.c.
£ 214. 4. 0 Melgueil	£ 53.10. 0 Melgueil			
£ 20. 8. 6 Genoese				
125 Sarracenate besants of Acre				

² Includes only commenda contracts for which *notula* was received by Amalric in 1248.

COMMENDAE BY TYPE OF INVESTMENT¹

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248 ²		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations ³	No.	Destinations ³	No.	Destinations ³
COIN AND PRECIOUS METALS						
(a) Coin						
Crowned Provençals Mixed Money			17	Levant - 3, Maghreb - 2, K. of Sicily - 2, Nth. Italy - 11, Sth. France - 1	1	Cyprus
Sarracenate Besants of Acre	10	Levant - 9	35	Levant - 33, K. of Sicily - 2		
Sarracenate Besants of Alexandria	1	Alexandria				
Besants of Millares	20	Maghreb - 20, Nth. Italy - 1, Sth. France - 1	23	Maghreb - 11, W. Med. - 4, Nth. Italy - 8		
Sicilian Tarins	1	K. of Sicily	14	K. of Sicily - 11, Nth. Italy - 3		
Raimondins			1	K. of Sicily		
Marabotins			1	W. Med.		

¹ See n. 17.² Includes only commenda contracts for which a *notula* was received by Amalric in 1248.³ Destinations in terms of general areas only. See Table 1 for specific ports included within those areas.

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Currency of:						
Provins	1	Nth. France	1	Nth. France		
Tours	1	Nth. France	5	Levant - 2, Nth. France - 2, W. Med. - 1	4	Levant - 1, Nth. Italy - 1, Sth. France - 1, Nth. France - 1
Genoa			5	Nth. Italy - 4, W. Med. - 1		
Pisa			1	Nth. Italy		
Paris			1	Nth. France		
Melgueil			2	Levant - 1, Nth. Italy - 1		
(b) Precious Metal						
Gold	2	Maghreb - 2, Nth. Italy - 1	1	K. of Sicily - 3		
Silver	1	Maghreb	6	Levant - 4, K. of Sicily - 2		
Sterling	1	Maghreb	1	Nth. Italy	1	Levant
Copper			3	Levant - 1, Maghreb - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Exchange			3	Nth. France - 2, Sth. France - 1		

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

(Continued)

TABLE 6

J.H. Pryor

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
COMBINED INVESTMENTS						
Combined Investments	4	Maghreb - 3, K. of Sicily - 1	114	Levant - 38, Maghreb - 11, K. of Sicily - 44, Nth. Italy - 10, W. Med. - 9, Nth. France - 2, Sth. France - 1	15	Levant - 10, Nth. Italy - 5
MERCHANDISE						
(a) Cloth and Cloth Products						
Cloth	4	Levant - 2, W. Med. - 2	45	Levant - 28, K. of Sicily - 15, Nth. Italy - 1	2	Nth. Italy - 2
Cloth of:						
Chalons	1	Levant	24	Levant - 18, K. of Sicily - 4, Maghreb - 1, Nth. Italy - 1	1	Nth. Italy
Douai	1	Levant	1	Levant		
Arras			8	Levant - 2, K. of Sicily - 6		
Tarascon			1	Levant		
Narbonne			1	Levant	2	Nth. Italy - 1, Levant - 1

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Cambrai			3	Levant - 3		
Louviers			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Avignon			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
St Quentin			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Genoa			1	K. of Sicily		
Chartres			2	Levant - 2		
Provins			3	K. of Sicily - 3		
L'Isle (en Venaissin)			1	Levant		
France					1	Levant
<i>Panni de Assier?</i>					1	Nth. Italy
Scarlet Cloth			3	Levant - 2, K. of Sicily - 1		
Scarlet Cloth of Ypres			1	Levant		
Scarlet Cloth of <i>Licamsa?</i>			1	Levant		
Toile	4	Maghreb - 4	10	Levant - 6, Maghreb - 3, K. of Sicily - 1	2	Levant - 1, Nth. Italy - 1
Toile of:						
Champagne			1	Levant		
Rheims			6	Levant - 5, K. of Sicily - 1		
Germany			3	Levant - 3		

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

(Continued)

TABLE 6

J.H. Pryor

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Epinaud			1	Levant		
Basel			1	Levant		
Stamin			4	K. of Sicily - 2, Nth. Italy - 1, Levant - 1		
Stamin of:						
England			1	Levant		
St. Pons			1	Levant		
Arras	3	Magreb - 2, Levant - 1	2	Levant - 2		
Capes of:						
Provins			1	Levant		
Metz			1	K. of Sicily		
Bayonne			1	Levant		
Biffe			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Biffe of:						
Paris			2	Levant - 2		
Genoa			1	Levant		
France					1	Levant
Cameline of Arras					1	W. Med.
Canvas	1	Levant	5	Levant - 4, Maghreb - 1		

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Say			1	Levant		
Garnaches			1	Levant		
Buckram			1	Maghreb		
Barracan			13	Levant - 5, Nth. Italy - 2, K. of Sicily - 4, Maghreb - 1, Nth. France - 1		
Blanket			1	Sth. France		
Cloaks			1	K. of Sicily		
Vingtain			3	Maghreb - 2, Levant - 1		
Sendal, of Tripoli			1	Nth. France		
Covers (woollen)					3	Levant - 2, Nth. Italy - 1
Mercery			1	K. of Sicily		
Silk	1	Maghreb	5	Maghreb - 4, Sth. France - 1		
Silk of Cévennes	1	Maghreb				
Silk surcoat			1	Kingdom of Sicily		
Linen	2	Maghreb - 2				
Wool			2	Nth. Italy - 2		
Woollen fleeces			1	Maghreb		
Cotton	4	Maghreb - 4	3	Maghreb - 3		

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

(Continued)

TABLE 6

J.H. Pryor

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Cotton Thread	2	Maghreb - 2				
Thread			1	Levant		
Thread of Burgundy	1	Maghreb	1	Levant	2	Levant - 1, Nth. Italy - 1
Gold Thread			4	Levant - 4		
Gold Thread of:						
Genoa			7	Levant - 7		
Lucca			2	Levant - 1, Sth. France - 1		
Montpellier			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Felt Caps			1	Levant		
Skins (Sheep)	1	Maghreb	3	Maghreb - 3		
Skins (Fox)			1	Levant		
Skins (Marten)			1	Levant		
Leather			1	Nth. Italy		
Cordwain	3	Nth. France - 3				
(b) Foodstuffs						
Rice			1	K. of Sicily		
Almonds (Shelled)			5	Levant - 4, K. of Sicily - 1	4	Nth. Italy - 2, Levant - 2, K. of Sicily - 1

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Almonds (Unshelled)			3	Levant - 2, K. of Sicily - 1		
Nuts (Shelled)			3	K. of Sicily - 2, Nth. Italy - 1		
Chestnuts			2	Maghreb - 2		
Beans	1	Marseilles			1	Levant
Flour	2	Marseilles - 1, Maghreb - 1			1	Sth. France
Chick Peas	1	Sth. France				
Salt Pork	1	Levant			1	Levant
Wine	2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1			6	Italy - 5, Sth. France - 1
Cheese					1	Sth. France
Salt	1	Maghreb			2	Nth. Italy - 1, W. Med. - 1
Axunge (Hog's Lard)					1	Levant
Rhubard			1	W. Med.		
Liquorice			1	?		
Angelot Cheese			1	W. Med.		
Dates			1	W. Med.		

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

(Continued)

TABLE 6

J.H. Pryor

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
(c) Spices, Herbs & Medicinals						
Sugar	1	England				
Mirabolans			1	Maghreb		
Cinnamon			4	Maghreb - 4		
Saffron			22	Levant - 10, W. Med. - 1, Maghreb - 9, Sth. France - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Cloves			6	Maghreb - 6, W. Med. - 1		
French (Spike) Lavender			3	Maghreb - 2, W. Med. - 1		
Ginger			3	Nth. France - 2, Maghreb - 1		
Pepper	1	Maghreb	2	Nth. France - 1, W. Med. - 1	1	?
Cardamon			1	?		
Cumin			2	W. Med. - 2		
Musk			1	W. Med. - 1		
Incense			2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1	2	W. Med. - 1
Scammony			2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1		
Nutmeg			2	Maghreb - 2, W. Med. - 2		

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Galangal			2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1		
Camphor			2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1		
(d) Metals, Chemicals & Dyes						
Fustet			1	K. of Sicily		
Sal-anumoniac			1	Maghreb		
Brazil-wood	1	Maghreb	2	Maghreb - 2, W. Med. - 1		
Tin	1	?	12	Levant - 5, K. of Sicily - 6, Sth. France - 1, Nth. Italy - 1		
Coral	2	Maghreb - 1, Levant - 1	7	Levant - 4, Maghreb - 1, K. of Sicily - 2	4	Levant - 2, W. Med. - 2
Borax			1	Maghreb	1	W. Med.
Alum	2	Nth. France & England - 2				
Alum of Aleppo	1	Nth. France				
Lead	1	Levant				
Iron					2	Levant - 2

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Indigo of Cyprus			2	Magreb - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		
Indigo of Baghdad			3	W. Med. - 2, Sth. France - 1		
Mastic			1	Maghreb		
Sulphur			2	W. Med. - 1, Sth. France - 1		
Sandarac			2	K. of Sicily - 2		
Scarlet (dye)			1	Nth. France		
Verdet			1	Nth. Italy		
Galls			2	Maghreb - 1, W. Med. - 1		
Resin	3	Maghreb - 2	7	Maghreb - 7		
(e) Miscellaneous						
Pitch			1	?		
Lacquer			1	Maghreb	1	Nth. Italy
Chests			1	Maghreb	2	Levant - 2
Porringers			1	Sth. France		
Basins			2	Levant - 1, K. of Sicily - 1		

(Continued)

TABLE 6

ITEM	NUMBER OF COMMENDAE					
	MANDUEL 1207-1255		AMALRIC 1248		OTHER NOTARIES 1278-1300	
	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations	No.	Destinations
Box Wood Combs			1	Nth. Italy		
Cross Bows			1	Sth. France		
Armour			1	Sth. France		
Grindstones			1	Nth. Italy		
<i>Pulvis</i> ----?					1	Nth. Italy
<i>Terra merita?</i>					1	W. Med.
Cordage					1	?
<i>Penselona?</i>					1	W. Med.
Gold Buttons					1	Levant
Provisions					1	?
Saddles					1	Levant
SHARES IN SHIPS						
Shares in Ships	3	Maghreb - 3	9	Levant - 3, K. of Sicily - 1, W. Med. - 1, Nth. Italy - 1, Undetermined - 3	7	Undetermined - 7

Commenda: the Operation of the Contract

throughout the century with little shift of interest. The Levant was the main market for cloth from Northern Europe, although the de Manduel family shipped toile and cotton to the Maghreb. Either this was a family preference or else conditions changed for in 1248 both the Levant and the Kingdom of Sicily were more important markets for cloth than the Maghreb.⁴¹ The Levant remained the preference of most merchants as a market for cloth until the end of the century, but Northern Italy gained in importance at the expense of the Kingdom of Sicily.

The Maghreb and the Spanish littoral were the main markets for spices, herbs, and medicinals. Spices imported from the East might have been expected to have been trans-shipped to the fairs of Champagne where they would have commanded high prices. And, in fact, a few commendae of spices were sent north. However, most were sent by sea to the Maghreb and Spain. The high cost of transportation by land may have been the determining factor and it may have been to cover this high cost that the average value of commendae sent to Northern France was very high.⁴²

Foodstuffs were distributed widely around the Western Mediterranean, Northern Italy, the Maghreb, and the Kingdom of Sicily without any apparent preference for particular markets. There were even a few commendae of almonds, salt pork, beans, and lard shipped to the Levant. Chemicals, dyes, and leather were shipped mainly to the tanneries of the Maghreb.

The ratio of commendae invested in the three categories of coin, merchandise, and combined investments varied considerably over the century. Considering in each case the number of commendae invested in combined investments as a unit, the following ratios emerge:⁴³

	Combined Investments	Coin	Merchandise
de Manduel (1207-1255)	1	7.25	6.75
Amalric (1248)	1	.76	2.04
Other Notaries (1278-1300)	1	.26	2.66

⁴¹ Levant - 122, Kingdom of Sicily - 47, Maghreb - 20.

⁴² See Table 4.

⁴³ In absolute numbers of commendae the figures are:

	Combined Investments	Coin	Merchandise
de Manduel (1207-1255)	4	29	27
Amalric (1248)	113	86	231
Other notaries (1278-1300)	15	4	40

These figures include some commendae not given in Table 5 because they were unvalued.

The de Manduel invested fairly evenly in coin and precious metals on the one hand and merchandise on the other. Only infrequently did they invest in combined investments. That a wealthy patrician family should not have invested very frequently in the combined investments held by tractators is not surprising. That was a technique which was obviously suited to the small investor. The proportion of commendae invested in coinage and precious metals dropped dramatically by 1248 and even further during the last quarter of the thirteenth century; a development which surely reflected the strengthening of the European economy as a wider range and larger volume of merchandise became available for trade, making it no longer necessary to use coin and precious metal to buy oriental goods.

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century commendae continued to be predominantly invested in merchandise. But the nature of the merchandise was generally more mundane in this period as a result of the declining commercial importance of Marseilles under Angevin control. Commendae invested in basic foodstuffs such as wine, cheese, flour, salt, almonds, and beans increased in number while those invested in more exotic products such as spices, expensive cloth, and precious metals declined.

Because of the paucity of the de Manduel charters, little can be said about the types of tractators engaged by the de Manduel family. However, the indications from this early period are that the situation was much the same as that shown by the copious *notulae* of Amalric's cartulary in 1248. Marseillaise citizens were used as tractator five times and Jews four times.⁴⁴ On four occasions the tractator was from Montpellier, twice from Aubagne, and once each from Tarascon and Figeac.⁴⁵ Bertrand Rostang, who took a commenda to Bougie in 1233, was originally from Orange although he had become a citizen of Marseilles.⁴⁶ Considering that only 73 de Manduel commendae are known, quite a large number of tractators, 11 in all, were engaged twice. A few examples will suffice. Etienne de la Font carried commendae invested in millares to the Maghreb in 1227 and 1229, once in a partnership with a Jew, Bonjudas, son of Pesat. In partnership with a different tractator, the same Bonjudas accepted a second commenda destined for the Maghreb and invested in lead and resin. In 1235 a certain Othon Guangaille made two voyages to the Maghreb with commendae of salt and coral. Finally, André Jean made voyages in November 1234 to Majorca, and in November 1235 to Ceuta, with commendae of wine, resin, and cloth.⁴⁷

The nationality or citizenship of the commendator is identifiable in 324

⁴⁴ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 17, 40, 41, 61, 63, 81, 108, 114 & 126.

⁴⁵ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 16, 25, 34, 48, 71, 74 & 88. Cf. *Blancard, Amalric*, 31 & 331 and Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasse 1508, supplément.

⁴⁶ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 35. Cf. *Blancard, Amalric*, 264.

⁴⁷ *Blancard, de Manduel*, 17 & 21, 81, 62 & 69, 70 & Arch. Dép. des B.-du-R., série B, liasse 1505 respectively.

TABLE 7

TRACTATORS AND COMMENDATORS TRADING IN COMMENDAE
AT MARSEILLES BY PLACE OF ORIGIN

Town, Region or Race	No. of tractators			No. of commendators		
	Manduel 1207-1255	Amalric 1248 :	Other notaries 1278-1300	Manduel 1207-1255	Amalric 1248 :	Other notaries 1278-1300
Agde		2				
Aix-en-Provence					1	
Ales					1	
Albi		1				
Arles		1			2	
Aubagne	2					
Avignon					1	1
Bagnols					1	
Barcelona			1			1
Barjols		1				
Beaucaire		1				
Le Bourg?		2				
Cahors		3				
Cajarc		1			1	
Castelar (Commune of Marseilles)					1	
Catalonia		3				
Cyprus		1				
Figeac	1	8		2	4	
Gaillac		1				
Genoa		1			1	
Hyères					3	
Jews	4	39	3		32	9
Le Puy					2	
Limoges					1	
Lucca		1			1	
Marcel		3			3	
Marseilles	5	107		77	233	
Milhau		6			1	

(Continued)

TABLE 7

Town, Region or Race	No. of tractators			No. of commendators		
	Manduel 1207-1255	Amalric 1248 ?	Other notaries 1278-130	Manduel 01207-1255	Amalric 1248 ?	Other notaries 1278-1300
Montauban		4				
Monteux					3	
Montpellier	4	23	1		21	1
Narbonne		1				
Nimes		1				
Orange	1					
Orlac		4				
Pellum, Pella		1			1	
Penajane		5				
Piacenza					1	1
Rodez					1	
St. Antonin		4			3	
St. Gilles		3			2	
Salon					1	
Sarlat		1				
Siena					2	
Tarascon	1					
Torreilla?		1				
Tourves		2				
Toulouse		1				
Varages	2					

¹ Includes only commenda contracts for which a note was received in 1248.

of the 466 commendae shipped abroad from Marseilles in 1248; that of the tractorator is identifiable in 233.⁴⁸ Of the commendators, 72% were Marseillaise and 32 of the other 91 were Jews, some of whom were Marseillaise citizens. The largest group from abroad was 21 from Montpellier. As would be expected, fewer tractorators were Marseillaise: 46% only. Of the other 126 identifiable, 39 were Jews, some of whom again were also Marseillaise. Mont-

⁴⁸ See Table 7.

pellier again supplied the largest number from abroad, 23. There was a small but important number of tractators who were also masters of ships in port, some being Marseillaise but at least one being from abroad, in this case from Varages.⁴⁹ Perhaps the most interesting characteristic of the foreign community at Marseilles was the relatively large number of merchants from a group of towns in Languedoc: Albi, Milhau, Figeac, Sarlat, Toulouse, Cahors, Gaillac, Cajarc, Montauban, Limoges, Orillac, and Rodez. May we suppose that the Albigenian wars had induced a number of merchants from that area to seek more settled conditions for commerce elsewhere?

Most commendators and tractators appeared in one commenda only in Amalric's cartulary, very few being involved in more than three or four.⁵⁰ However, a few tractators may be seen collecting as many commendae as possible to make their voyages more profitable. Nicolas Marinier, sailing for Messina on the *Saint Gilles* of Bertrand Rostang, accumulated 14 commendae worth a total of £ 1,142.10. 0 m.m. from 14 different commendators; and these were, of course, only the commendae for which Amalric received acts.⁵¹ Marinier may well have received more commendae for which acts were received by other notaries.

Some wealthy merchants, money changers, and other individuals at Marseilles did send multiple commendae abroad. Amalric's cartulary contains acts for commendae in which 23 different money changers, *campsores*, were the commendators. Between them these 23 shipped 75 commendae from Marseilles in 1248. One of their number, Giraud Civate, despatched eight commendae with different tractators: two to Acre, three to Sicily, one to Naples, one to Tuscany, and one to Valencia. Two were invested in coin, five in cloth, and one in almonds.⁵² Whereas Civate preferred to minimize the risk of loss by diversifying his commendae, Bérenger Eguezier, of whom it is known only that he was Marseillaise, preferred to concentrate them. He sent six commendae to Acre on the *Saint Esprit* early in the spring of 1248

⁴⁹ Raimond Suffren of the *Saint Esprit* - Marseillaise (*Blancard, Amalric*, 91); Arnaud Gasc of the *Bonne-Aventure* - Marseillaise (*Blancard, Amalric*, 1, 36, 270, 272 & 441); Pierre Thomas of the *Cerf* - Marseillaise (*Blancard, Amalric*, 7, 78, 82, 86 & 87); Bertrand Davin of the *Saint François* (*Blancard, Amalric*, 552); Boniface Gilles of the *Saint Nicholas* (*Blancard, Amalric*, 16); Guillaume Hughes Fulcolin who was master of a *Ganganella* (*Blancard, Amalric*, 789 & 827); Boniface Gilles of the *Saint Antoine* (*Blancard, Amalric*, 124); Pierre Crestin of the *Bonne-Aventure* (*Blancard, Amalric*, 542 & 576); Raimond Cuissard, master of a bark (*Blancard, Amalric*, 894, 895 & 896); Pierre d'Aubagne, master of a bark (*Blancard, Amalric*, 366 & 404); and Jacques Corse of the *Saint Jean* - Varages (*Blancard, Amalric*, 256).

⁵⁰ See Graph 4.

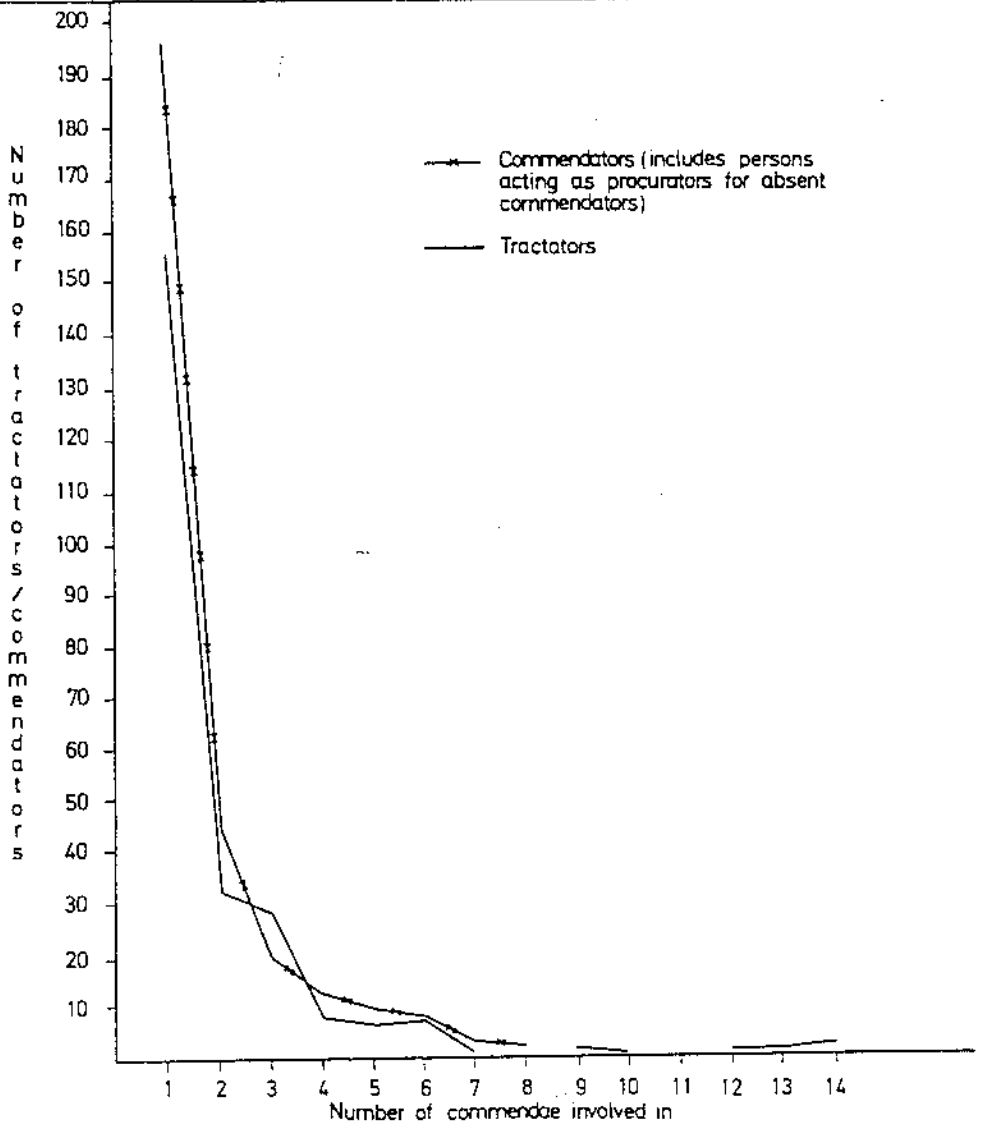
⁵¹ *Blancard, Amalric*, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 69, 93, 107, 196, 198, 199, 315, 346 & 352.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 160, 161, 302, 317, 472, 761, 775 & 789.

GRAPH 4

Amalric - Number of commendae per commendator/tractator

Commendators	196	45	20	13	10	8	3	2						
Tractators	155	33	27	8	6	7	1	-	2	1		1	1	2



and two to Valencia on the *Léopard* later in the season.⁵³ The six for Acre were entrusted equally to his brother, Bertrand, and to two other tractators; the two for Valencia were committed to a partnership of three Jews. Two commendae, one for Acre and one for Valencia, were provided jointly in partnership with a certain Pierre Bouquier.

Commendators more frequently collaborated in furnishing capital for commendae than did tractators in their management.⁵⁴ Friends, neighbours, or business associates might collaborate and businessmen might do so at the suggestion of tractators seeking larger cargoes. For example, Guillaume Desportes sent three commendae with different tractators on voyages to Bougie and Acre/Cyprus, but in all three cases he was the agent for a certain Giraud Cardaillac.⁵⁵ Bérenger Eguezier and Pierre Bouquier, mentioned above, were joint commendators rather than one the agent of the other. However, the most extensive collaboration was found amongst members of the same family. Jean Azemar was an agent for his father, Guillaume, in three commendae which he sent to Acre during the spring of 1248. All three were shipped aboard the *Sicarde* and his brother, Raimond, was tractator for two of them.⁵⁶

On the other hand, tractators generally preferred to keep the management of their affairs to themselves without the hindrance of having to collaborate with others. Exceptions to the rule were three Marseillse Jews who carried 14 commendae to Valencia on the *Léopard*. They contracted a partnership amongst themselves to divide equally the proceeds from all their commendae destined for Valencia, whether received in common or individually.⁵⁷

Because of the paucity and fragmentary nature of the sources, few generalizations can be made about tractators and commendators during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. However, there do seem to have been fewer foreigners at Marseilles during this period, a development which again probably reflects the change in the nature of Marseilles as a port. With its development into an Angevin war port, and with a declining volume of trade passing through the port, Marseilles may have become neither as attractive nor as welcoming to foreigners as it had been in 1248. Names survive of only four tractators and four commendators involved in more than one commenda during this period. Pierre Aleman, a money changer, sent three commendae abroad in 1287 and 1290.⁵⁸ A Marseillse Jew, Sauve Rimos, despatched four

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 202, 203, 204, 205, 273, 274, 693 & 696.

⁵⁴ 44 commendae with 2 persons involved as commendator, 8 with 3, 1 with 4, and 1 with 5. 8 commendae with 2 persons involved as tractator, 10 with 3.

⁵⁵ *Blancard, Amalric*, 464, 465 & 577.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 485, 487 & 489.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 628, 647, 658, 659, 683, 684, 687, 693, 694, 695, 696, 704, 705, 759; 697 for the partnership.

⁵⁸ *Pierre Elzéar*, 1290, fols. 81 v & 101 v; *Pascal de Meyrargues*, 1287, fol. 11 r.

between 18 March, 1278 and 21 April, 1280.⁵⁹ He engaged four different tractators, but sent them all on voyages to the Levant: three to Alexandria and one to Sicily and Acre. One commenda was invested in combined investments, two in a combination of these and coral held separate, and one in almonds and the currency of Tours. One of his tractators, Augier Delamar, later made a voyage to Barcelona with another commenda invested in salt and Arras cloth.⁶⁰ For this commenda, the commendator was Marguerite, wife of Nicolaus Raynaud.

At Marseilles women frequently used *commendae* as a means of investment in commerce. This was particularly true during the last quarter of the thirteenth century. Of the 83 *commendae* from this period to which some reference is extant, 11 had women as commendators.⁶¹ However, as might be expected, these *commendae* were considerably less valuable than the general average,⁶² and reflect investment of savings, small incomes, and legacies rather than a professional interest in commerce. The high proportion of women commendators in the notarial cartularies of this period may be the result of the fact that none of the notaries in question practised in the commercial centre of Marseilles. The cartulary of Giraud Amalric, who did, shows far fewer *commendae* with women as commendators; in fact only 13 out of 466. Of these women, eight were commendators for one commenda only and the average value of their *commendae* was again less than the general average.⁶³ However, the ninth, Alazacie, the widow of Bernard Carcassonne, seems to have been professionally interested in commerce. The five *commendae* which she shipped from Marseilles in the spring of 1248 had an average value of £ 114.10. 0 m.m., considerably more than the average for that year.⁶⁴ Her

⁵⁹ Guillaume Faraud, 1277-78 fols. 52 r & 55 r; Guillaume Faraud, 1277-80, fols. 6 r, 26 r, 27 r & 110 v.

⁶⁰ Pierre Elzéar, 1290, fol. 24 r.

⁶¹ Guillaume Faraud, 1285-86, fol. 20 r; Pascal de Meyrargues, 1287, fols. 11 r, 12 r, 21 v, 39 r, 45 r, 45 v & 80 v; Pascal de Meyrargues, 1295-96, fol. 6 r; Pierre Elzéar, 1290, fols. 24 r & 47 v.

One should also mention the *commendae* of the women who were *Béguines de Roubaud* at Marseilles during the later XIIIth century. While their *commendae* were invested in businesses at Marseilles rather than in overseas commerce, and as such do not enter the scope of this article, they are nevertheless very interesting. See BLANCARD, *Béguines de Roubaud*. There are also many other *commendae* for this type of investment by women both in Amalric's cartulary and in those of the later notaries, not all of them edited by Blancard.

⁶² Total value £ 127.19. 6 r.c. Average value £ 11.10. 0 r.c. as compared with an overall average of £ 67. See Table 3.

⁶³ Eight *commendae*. See Blancard, Amalric, 25, 38, 255, 320, 428, 468, 561 & 623. Two valued at £ 14. 7. 0 and £ 54 Melgueil, six valued at a total of £ 265.15. 2 m.m.; average value £ 44.10. 0 m.m.

⁶⁴ Blancard, Amalric, 36, 174, 196, 197 & 349.

commendae were invested in Chalons cloth, buckrams, and barracans and sent to Ceuta, Acre, Messina, and the fairs of Bar and Provins. Her investments in commendae were substantial, well organized, and widely distributed against the possibility of loss. Not only that, but she retained direction of most of the commendae, allowing only a part of one to be submerged in the combined investments of a tractor.⁶⁵

The extent to which women made use of the commenda contract as a means of investment is an index of the fact that it had become considered a safe and conservative method of investment. Alazacie Carcassonne apparently used it to provide herself with an income during her widowhood. Since women commendators were liable for loss just like men, the commenda must therefore have been considered a good risk. Had it been a highly speculative form of investment, women would be expected to have invested in other areas, such as immovable property which could have given a return in the form of rents. A further index of the degree to which the commenda had become an orthodox, conservative form of investment by the middle of the thirteenth century may be found in the large number of small investors investing less than £ 50 mixed money.⁶⁶ The contract was no longer one (if indeed it ever had been) whose primary use was in high risk speculative ventures of professional merchants in exploratory commerce.⁶⁷

Notarial acts rarely specified the trade or profession of the parties involved, thus making it difficult to determine the extent of the commenda's use by various sections of society at Marseilles. However, money changers (*campsores*), the Marseillaise equivalent of bankers, were an exception. People invested capital with money changers and received a share of the profit which they made by investing that capital with others.⁶⁸ As seen above, in 1248 money changers sent from Marseilles 75 commendae with an average value of £ 76: £ 14 more than the general average.⁶⁹ That they were prepared to invest so heavily in commendae indicated the high regard in which the commenda was held as a commercial institution.

At Marseilles, the commenda was the main legal means used to bring together in commercial ventures resources of labour and capital, neither of which could earn a profit without the other. As the eleventh century Muslim jurist, Sarakhsi, said of the Muslim equivalent of the commenda, the *qirād*, the *qirād* was permissible: ▀

because people have a need for this contract. For the possessor of capital may not find it possible to engage in profitable trading activity, and the person who

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 349.

⁶⁶ See Graph 3.

⁶⁷ See also BERLOW, "The sailing of the 'Saint Esprit'," *passim*.

⁶⁸ See, for example, *Blancard, Amalric*, 829.

⁶⁹ 75 commendae: total value - £ 5,711.11. 1 m.m., average value - £ 76. 0. 0 m.m. Cf. Table 3.

can find it possible to engage in such activity may not possess the capital. And profit cannot be attained except by means of both of these, that is, capital and trading activity. By permitting this contract, the goal of both parties is attained.⁷⁰

In the West, the *Consolat del Mar* of Barcelona also pointed out that tractators often lacked capital of their own.⁷¹ The importance of the commenda in meeting this basic need to bring together resources of labour and capital was indicated by the *Statutes of Marseilles* of 1253 which gave far more extensive treatment to the commenda than they did to any other contract. Whereas chartering of ships was accorded but four chapters, and wills, donations, and sales but one chapter each, the commenda was accorded seven chapters in the Statutes of 1253 and an extensive revision in 1279.⁷²

Surviving notarial acts also indicate that no other contract was used at Marseilles for long-distance trade as extensively as the commenda. According to Amalric there were 464 commendae actually despatched from Marseilles in 1248. By comparison, the next most popular contract was the letter of exchange, of which Amalric records only 103 instances of its use for long-distance trade. The de Manduel charters provide a ratio even more heavily in favour of the commenda: 73 commendae to 4 letters of exchange.

Because it was the contract most used for long-distance trade, the commenda contributed greatly to Marseilles commercial prosperity in the thirteenth century. An enormous amount of capital was invested by means of the contract. Over a period of fifty years the single family of de Manduel invested more than approximately £ 6,500 r.c. in commendae. Its investments as recorded by its surviving charters alone averaged slightly less than £ 120 r.c. per year at a time when the annual salary of the judges of Marseilles courts was only £ 60 r.c.⁷³ In the one trading season of 1248, Giraud Amalric, a single notary, received acts for commendae sent abroad from Marseilles valued

⁷⁰ *Al-Sarakhsi, Al-Mabsüt*, 30 vols. (Cairo, 1906-12), vol. XXII, p. 19, quoted in ABRAHAM UDOVITCH, "Commercial Techniques in Early Medieval Islamic Trade," in D.S. RICHARDS, ed., *Islam and the Trade of Asia: A Colloquium* (Oxford/Philadelphia, 1970), 37-62; here 49.

⁷¹ *Consolat del Mar*, ed. T. Twiss, in *Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty*, 4 vols. (London etc., 1871-76), Appendix: Part III, vol. 3, 306-560; here cap. CLXVII: E axi los nostres antichs antecessors veren e conegueran que los senyors de les naus o lenys, qui porten mercaderies lurs, e prenen comanda d'altre o d'altres, o que porten mercaderia lur a no, sol que aporten comandes d'altres, no deven esser de pijor condicio que un altre comandatari. Pel qual rao? Perco com comandataris van per lo mon molts qui en tot co que porten no en alguna cosa. Encara mes, si aquelles comandes no eren que hom los fa, irrien a onta. Encara mes, si aquelles comandes se perden, ells no y son en res, perco car a ells no costara res del lur ne y perdran res.

⁷² R. PernoUD, ed., *Les statuts municipaux de Marseille* (Monaco/Paris, 1949); lib. 3, cc. 19-25 & lib. 6, c. 19.

⁷³ F. PORTAL, *La republique marseillaise du XIII^e siècle (1200-1263)* (Marseille, 1907), 99.

at approximately £ 30,000 m.m.⁷⁴ By any standards this was an enormous sum for the period when one considers that Amalric was but one notary amongst many.

Not only were large amounts of capital invested in commendae, but a great many people also derived income from them. Amalric's cartulary of 1248 shows 297 different commendators and 244 different tractators involved in commendae:⁷⁵ a total of 541 persons, of whom at least 340 were Marseillaise.⁷⁶ Moreover, these 340 persons were but some of the total number of Marseillaise directly involved in the trade in commendae because Amalric was but one of the notaries practising in 1248. In addition, there were many other persons involved indirectly: notaries, business agents, ship-owners, boatmen, sailors, carriers, and workmen of all types. The entire economy of Marseilles benefited from the commenda.

In the thirteenth century Europe developed the manufacturing capacity to pay for the products of the East in merchandise. As was witnessed at Marseilles by the increasing number of commendae invested in merchandise and the decreasing number invested in coin and precious metals, the drain of coin and precious metals from Europe slowed down. For the expansion of trade, and particularly for the trans-shipment of merchandise by sea, the commenda was the contract found most suitable. It was utilized not only by wealthy bankers and merchant princes but also by all sections of society to participate in the rapidly expanding maritime commerce of the Mediterranean. Amalric's cartulary shows 65% of all persons involved in commendae being involved in one contract only, and 69% of all commendae worth less than £ 50 m.m. The professional merchant class at Marseilles naturally used the commenda extensively, but the evidence also indicates broad use of the commenda for investment in overseas commerce by the population of Marseilles at large.

⁷⁴ See Table 3.

⁷⁵ See Graph 4.

⁷⁶ See Table 7.