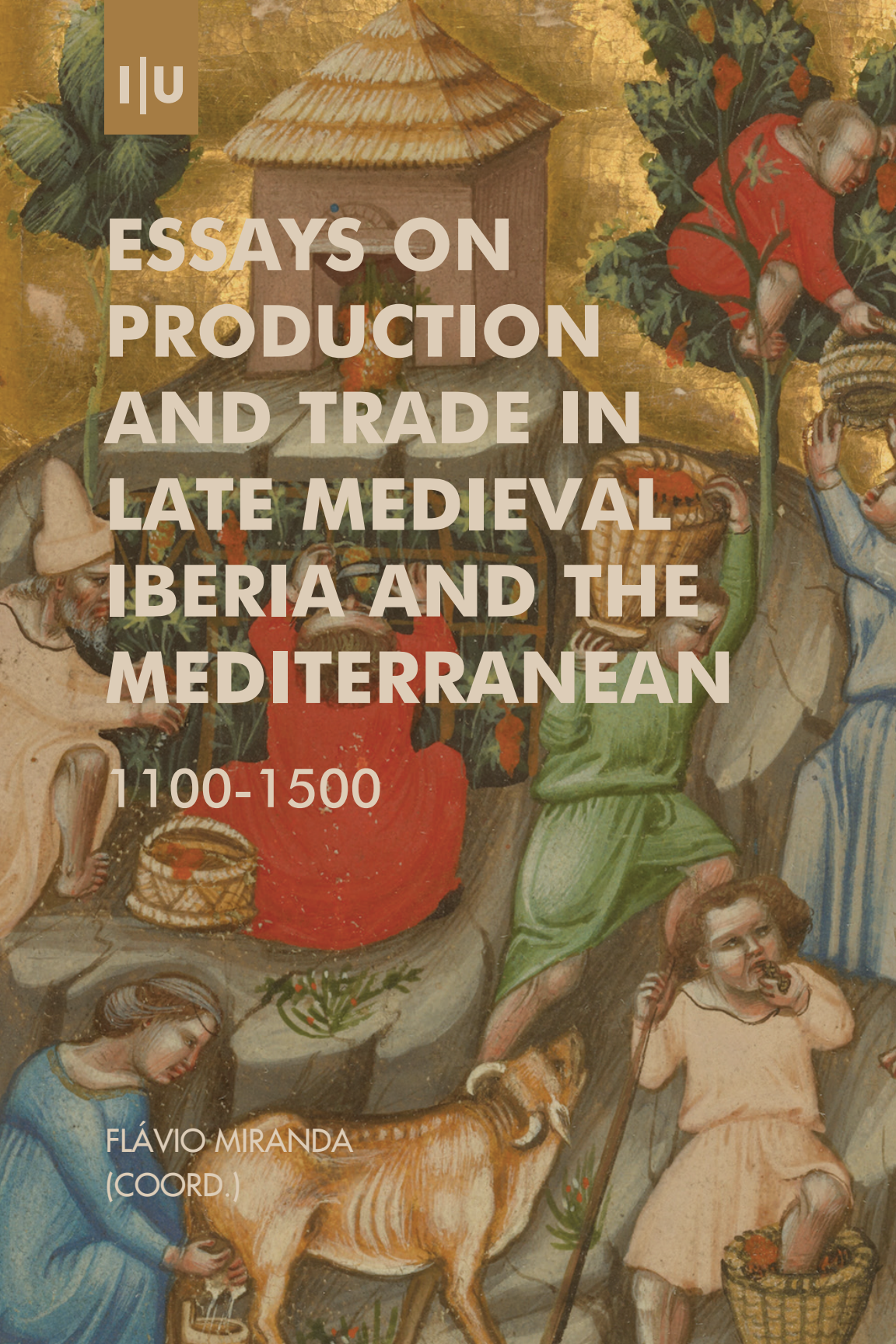

ESSAYS ON PRODUCTION AND TRADE IN LATE MEDIEVAL IBERIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

1100-1500

FLÁVIO MIRANDA
(COORD.)

From the tenth century on, technical and technological advancements in agriculture resulted in an unprecedented growth of cultivated land in Europe, which would contribute to a progressive integration of markets. This economic drive occurred during a time of profound political, social, and religious change. In certain parts of Europe, citystates emerged to become the standard form of polity, breaking away from previous ruling models and thrusting a new era of urban life and economic development. This period was also marked by the zenith of Islam throughout the Middle East, the Maghreb, and the Iberian Peninsula, with its people revolutionising agricultural production. Through specific case studies, this book aims to understand how these pieces of the medieval economy worked and evolved, how distinctive they were from one region to another, and what consequences local, regional, and international trade have had in people's everyday lives.

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Harvest scene, c. 1340'. Attributed to the Illustratore (Andrea da Bologna?)
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ESSAYS ON PRODUCTION AND TRADE IN LATE MEDIEVAL IBERIA AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

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SUMMARY

A PREFACE TO RESEARCH IN MEDIEVAL STUDIES

In 2018, we met in Porto and talked about organising a meeting that would gather scholars to discuss their most recent research in medieval studies. We knew that North American and European universities organise conferences and congresses dedicated to the study of the Middle Ages, among them: the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo (Michigan, USA); the International Medieval Conference at Leeds (UK); the conferences on medieval studies in Estella and Lleida (Spain); or the International Conference on the Middle Ages at Castelo de Vide (Portugal). Our goal was to create something different from those large events. Rather than having hundreds or thousands of speakers at parallel sessions, we aimed at bringing together a manageable group of researchers for an expertise meeting, where each would present their research as framed in the most recent historiographical debates. This would allow us to discuss the state-of-the-art, the sources, the methodologies, the hypotheses, and the conclusions, hoping to push forward current historical knowledge. With this in mind, we decided to start a series of annual seminars, with a topic close to our own expertise being developed in each of them. Our plan was to gather researchers working on economic history at the University of Porto for the first seminar, society and religion at the University of Coimbra for the second, and politics and diplomacy at NOVA University, Lisbon, for the third.

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A year later, we started drafting the guidelines and objectives, and the structure of what would become the Research in Medieval Studies (RiMS) annual meetings. At the same time, we submitted a proposal to the Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra (IUC, Coimbra University Press) explaining our project's goals and how we would like to publish a yearly volume containing the most up-to-date research in each field considered. We had our first meeting with Delfim Leão, the then director of the IUC, during the summer of 2019, who supported our project from the very beginning.

A few months later, we began preparing our very first call for papers, published online in January 2020. At that time, the media were starting to become aware of a new type of virus spreading from a remote part of China. We could not have predicted the impact hat this would have in our lives. What happened was that the pandemic of SARS-CoV-2 struck, and the lockdown began while we were publicising our event. We decided to maintain the call for papers, hoping that things would improve.

Considering the unpredictable nature of the pandemic, and the different strategies and health policies adopted by each state throughout the world, we hosted the meeting online. But even this change was not sufficient to prevent a few other setbacks. In a matter of months, the coronavirus started having both direct and collateral side effects on the personal and professional lives of academics. As we approached, 26 and 27 November 2020, the date of the meeting, colleagues fell ill with the virus or otherwise had to deal with professional instability as their universities remained closed for several months. In one specific case, the outcome of this new age of the pandemic was that a job contract was cancelled. This obviously created unequal conditions for participants to develop their research. At the same time, it hampered the extensiveness of the comparative approach to historical contexts across Europe that we had planned to accomplish with this meeting.

With fewer speakers than initially expected, and facing last-minute cancellations, we felt that our initial purpose was at risk. Still, we decided to carry on with the meeting even if circumstances were not ideal, and despite the challenge of not having enough case-studies for a fully fledged comparative perspective in medieval economic history. In addition, because many of the papers presented at the RiMS meeting in 2020 were still at a work-in-progress stage, not all authors had the chance to further develop their research and to maximise the comparative framework in the way the editors had wished. Despite all that, this book contains original and innovative research that we are confident will contribute to advancing the current state-of-the-art in medieval economic history.

We wish to thank the institutions that have supported us, namely the CITCEM at the University of Porto, the CHSC at the University of Coimbra, and the IEM at NOVA, Lisbon. We are most grateful to the general editor of the Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, and to all the staff collaborating in the editing of this book. Our special thanks goes to the members of the scientific committee for their generous contributions to the chapters. Finally, many thanks to Carsten Jahnke for accepting our challenge to participate in this first meeting as invited convener. His concluding remarks at the seminar were memorable, and he has done a great job writing this book's conclusion. Naturally, any error that might be detected in this collection of essays is the editor's responsibility.

Flávio Miranda, Maria Amélia Campos, and Tiago Viúla de Faria

(Página deixada propositadamente em branco)

1

Towards the Market. Production and Trade in Late Medieval Iberia and the Mediterranean

Flávio Miranda
University of Porto, CITCEM[*]
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8730-6285

Abstract

From the tenth century onwards, technical and technological advancements in agriculture resulted in an unprecedented growth of cultivated land in Europe. Little by little, Europeans witnessed a progressive integration of markets linked by overland transport and maritime connections in a way that would forever change their societies and economy. This essay introduces this volume and presents the essays published, arguing that research on production and commerce significantly points to a medieval economy moving towards the market.

Resumo

A partir do século X, avanços técnicos e tecnológicos permitiram um avanço na agricultura que resultou num crescimento

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de área cultivada sem precedentes na Europa. A pouco e pouco, os europeus assistiram a uma progressiva integração de mercados conectados por transporte terrestre e marítimo de uma forma que mudou para sempre as sociedades e a economia. Este ensaio efetua a introdução do volume e apresenta os estudos publicados, discutindo sobre como a investigação de temas de produção e comércio apontam de forma significativa para uma economia medieval que se move em direção ao mercado.

Introduction

From the tenth century onwards, technical and technological advancements in agriculture resulted in an unprecedented growth of cultivated land in Europe. Although these changes might seem less vibrant than the ensuing transformations that shaped urban life and trade, they became decisive in breaking the 'vicious circle of low population, low production, and low consumption,' which lasted for centuries since the fall of the Roman Empire.[1] With the rise of cities and urbanised population, a new era of 'strong specialisation and commercialisation of the economy' slowly began to change certain parts of Europe.[2] Large agricultural farmers continued to coexist with subsistence-oriented agriculture, but the economic interaction between producers and consumers became more frequent and difficult to escape. Little by little, Europeans started to witness a progressive integration of markets linked by overland transport

[1] LOPEZ, Roberto Sabatino – *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1971, p. 27.

[2] VAN BAVEL, BAS – *Manors and Markets. Economy and Society in the Low Countries, 500-1600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 1-2.

and maritime connections in a way that would forever change their societies and economy.[3]

Historians have written a good number of studies about the production and commerce of late-medieval Europe and the Mediterranean. For those investigating the primary sectors, the literature covers almost every activity, with works having been published on cereals, wine, sugar, salt production, among others.[4] The history of trade and traders is, perhaps, even more complete, as researchers have been drawn to the details about merchant companies, trading routes, shipping vessels, brokerage, urban power, law merchant, banking, insurance, and institutional development.[5]

This economic drive occurred during profound political, social, and religious change. In certain parts of Europe, city-states emerged as the standard form of polity, breaking away from previous ruling models and thrusting a new era of urban life and economic development. This period was also marked by the zenith of Islam throughout the Middle East, the Maghreb, and the Iberian Peninsula. Its people

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[3] BLOCKMANS, Wim; KROM, Mikhail; WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Justyna – Maritime Trade Around Europe 1300-1600. Commercial Networks and Urban Autonomy. In BLOCKMANS, Wim; KROM, Mikhail; WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Justyna – *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade Around Europe 1300-1600*. London: Routledge, 2017, p. 1.

[4] The footnotes in this essay do not claim to provide an exhaustive bibliography. See MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira – *Introdução à História da Agricultura em Portugal. A questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*. 3 ed. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1978; UNWIN, Tim – *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade*. London: Routledge, 1991; OUERFELLI, Mohamed – *Le Sucre. Production, commercialisation et usages dans la Méditerranée médiévale*. Leiden: Brill, 2008; HOCQUET, Jean-Claude, SARRAZIN, Jean-Luc (eds.) – *Le sel de la Baie. Histoire, archéologie, ethnologie des sels atlantiques*. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2006.

[5] See, for instance, TOGNETTI, Sergio – *Il Banco Cambini. Affari e mercati di una compagnia mercantile-bancaria nella Firenze del XV secolo*. Florence: L. S. Olschki, 1999; HOCQUET, Jean-Claude – *Denaro, Navi e Mercanti a Venezia, 1200-1600*. Roma: Veltro, 1999; KIM, Keechang – *Aliens in Medieval Law: The Origins of Modern Citizenship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; SPUFFORD, Peter – *Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003; CASADO ALONSO, Hilario – *El Triunfo de Mercurio. La presencia castellana en Europa (siglos XV Y XVI)*. Burgos: Cajacírculo, 2003; CECCARELLI, Giovanni – *Risky Markets. Marine Insurance in Renaissance Florence*. Leiden: Brill, 2021.

revolutionised agricultural production with their innovative techniques and knowledge. Despite pockets of peaceful cross-cultural coexistence in Iberia and the Mediterranean, the Latin Church orchestrated the religious wars known as the crusades, which would ultimately shape Europe's economy. A good example of this is the conquest of Lisbon, in 1147, by Portugal's first king with the aid of Northern European crusaders. For centuries, the Islamic al-Lixbûnâ had remained integrated in the economy of the al-Andalus and the Dār al-Islam. Still, the Christian conquest slowly realigned its productive hinterland and supply routes to other sociocultural geographies. Thus, by the end of the Middle Ages, Lisbon had gained economic ascendence to become one the greatest commercial gateways of Western Europe during the First Global Age.[6] Research using historical, palaeoecological, and biological evidence has also pointed out how climate change, the Black Death, and warfare triggered demographic decline and economic contraction in several parts of Europe. Dubbed as "the Great Transition", which lasted from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, this blend of natural and human causes interrupted a 'sustained phase of European expansion, cultural efflorescence and trans-Euroasian commercial integration'.[7] Unequal, however, in its impact across the continent, since research demonstrates that the Iberian Peninsula, for instance, overcame the late-medieval crisis faster than Northern European markets.[8]

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[6] ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar & Flávio MIRANDA – Lisbon. Trade, Urban Power and the King's Visible Hand. In *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe, 1300-1600: Commercial Networks and Urban Autonomy*, edited by BLOCKMANS, Wim, Justyna WUBS-MROZEWICZ and Mikhail KROM. London: Routledge, 2017, pp. 333-351.

[7] CAMPBELL, Bruce M. S. – The Great Transition. Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016, p. 1.

[8] CASADO ALONSO, Hilario – ¿Existió la crisis del siglo XIV? Consideraciones a partir de los datos de la contabilidad de la catedral De Burgos. In Castilla y el mundo feudal. In VAL VALDIVIESO, Isabel del & Pascual MARTÍNEZ SOPENA (eds.) – Homenaje al Profesor Julio Valdeón. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Universidad de Valladolid, 2009; FURIÓ DIEGO, Antoni (ed.) – La Crisis de la Baja Edad Media.

Through specific case studies, this book aims at understanding how these pieces of the medieval economy worked and evolved, how distinctive they were from one region to another, and what consequences local, regional, and international trade have had in people's everyday life. The scope used is wide, with production including both the agricultural and the industrial spheres. This choice allows us to dive deep into a rich and diversified primary sector, which had its supply chains of raw materials, different levels of specialised labour force, specific institutional backgrounds, and socioeconomic particularisms. The examination of trade adds a lively interpretation to the functioning of medieval economies and societies, by emphasising the connections with the productive sectors, the mechanisms of short- and long-distance commerce, the formation and integration of regional and international economies, the role of institutions, and the part played by distinct socioeconomic agents.

Perhaps one of the major gaps in our current knowledge of the medieval economy comes from the fact that we still lack in-depth, comparative studies about the particular aspects of production and commerce from the fringes of Europe and the Mediterranean. Fringes being understood as territories that were distant from the major economic and commercial centres (eg. the North of Italy and Flanders), only slightly touched by the principal trading routes of the Middle Ages. This book is all but a single contribution to this ambition of better understanding the peculiarities, the rhythms, the hindrances, and characteristics of the European economy. But one utterly necessary to build the basis of comparative research and economic interpretation.

Una revisión. Edited by Instituto Universitario de Historia Simancas, Las Crisis a lo largo de la Historia. Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2010; IGUAL LUÍS, David – ¿Crisis? ¿Qué Crisis? El comercio internacional en los reinos hispánicos de la Baja Edad Media. In *Edad Media. Revista de Historia* 8 (2007): 203-223.

Questions and Chapters

With the modest ambition of going back to the basics of medieval economic history, this book challenged researchers to reflect on simple questions about production and commerce: How did the primary and secondary sectors articulate with long-distance trade? Did certain parts of Europe specialise in production towards the market? To what extent were rulers, merchants, and institutions responsible for economic growth? Each essay delves into these questions differently, depending on their sources, methods, and approaches. But one of the main goals is to understand local, regional, and international complementarities and to observe continuities and change in institutions and policies.

The first question emerges in Raúl González's essay about Leon's urban market expansion in the early twelfth century. This chronology is particularly useful for identifying the construction of the connection between the countryside and the rise of an urban market. It explores the role played by manufacture and commerce, arguing that it might satisfactorily provide comparison with Lucca, Milan, and Rome for the same period. It goes on to examine urban growth by looking at the rise of prices, the agricultural expansion of Leon's surrounding countryside, the appearance of free craftspeople and specialised artisans, and the development of commercial exchange. Its conclusion points to economic and social changes that promoted market-oriented manufactures and the progressive monetisation and commercialisation of the Leonese society. Rather than an aristocratic-driven economic change based on luxury traders and commodities, this research highlights the importance of modest merchants and traditional commodities in market formation.

Fairs became one of the key nodal points for the liaison between producers and consumers in the Middle Ages. Traditional historiography and some works following the methods of the New

Institutional Economics consider fairs as important for local, regional, and international trade, but serving primarily as an overland trade institution. Paulo Cunha challenges this view by arguing that the late-medieval Algarve's fairs originated in close connection to maritime trade. Contrary to other fairs in Portugal that seem to have existed mainly to dispose of the hinterland's surpluses, Cunha argues that the Algarve's fairs aimed at attracting foreign merchants to its towns. In addition to providing empirical evidence to this hypothesis, this essay proposes new avenues of research for the study of fairs in other Iberian maritime regions.

Several of the book's common questions intersect in Tommaso Vidal's study about regional commercial integration in North-Eastern Italy from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries. Under the scope of the debates and methodologies of the New Institutional Economics, this essay examines institutions and the effect of competing powers in the process of market integration. By doing so, it manages to reconstruct the interregional economic integration of a region, with its epicentre in Friuli, and its trade contacts between Northern Italy and Southern Germany. One of Vidal's main arguments is that Friulian merchants took advantage of their linguistic and cross-cultural competences to establish long-distance trade, opening functional trade routes towards the Lombard plain and the Alps. Moreover, it challenges the established idea that jurisdictional fragmentation hampered economic development and market integration by hypothesising that intermediate markets had the potential to reduce costs without untying regional connections.

Long-distance market integration is visible too in Joana Sequeira's essay on Portuguese hide exports to Valencia in the second half of the fifteenth century. By combining Valencian, Italian, and Portuguese sources, this research investigates the nature of the hide trade in the Western Mediterranean by explaining how Tuscany's leather industries high demand for hides prompted the search for raw materials

in other parts of Europe and North of Africa. In this case, the essay shows how the demand for hides stimulated regional integration and the specialisation of European productive areas towards the market. It does so by examining the routes, the agents, and the prices in comparative perspective.

Taxation is one of the essential components of economies throughout time, and its analysis delivers important contributes to our understanding of production, commercial exchange, routes, investments, and urban and state policies. In José Mesquita's research, the fiscal regulation of Lisbon's wine market is the background for the examination of the state's capacity to enforce economic policies and to expand its jurisdiction over markets. This methodological approach, combined with the use of direct and indirect sources, allowed to determine how Lisbon's wine producers transitioned from self-sufficiency production to becoming suppliers of large quantities of this beverage to local, regional, and international markets. By doing so, Mesquita argues that the expansion of the wine-producing area surrounding late-medieval Lisbon is identifiable in the analysis of the taxes and levies the urban council charged to increase its sources of income. This essay thus contributes to the idea that local and regional producers stimulated the formation of a much larger scale of pan-European markets and trade in the later Middle Ages.

With a focus on the war industry, Miquel Faus Faus examines weaponry manufacturing and commerce in the Crown of Aragon from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. One of the first historiographical contributes identifiable in this essay is related to the fact that this research argues the existence of signs of proto-industrialisation. So much so that Faus Faus considers the weapon manufacturers of Valencia, Barcelona, and Mallorca as a cohesive and dynamic group embodying the necessary conditions to define it as a "war industry". Besides manufacturing and commercial exchange, this essay deals with two other relevant dimensions: arms

exports in wartime and the illegal arms trafficking. Its conclusion points to the existence of a network of productive centres, which connects different economic sectors, markets, and European regions through trade.

The contribution of each one of these essays to economic history is explained in this book's conclusion, with Carsten Jahnke stressing the relevance of regional development and commercial networks for Europe's late-medieval expansion. Jahnke's analysis masterfully highlights the peculiar aspects of economic growth from the rural and urban settings in the longue durée, proposing paths for future investigation.

Throughout the whole book, there is one common denominator. Notwithstanding the general approaches to production and commerce, every work seems to rally on an economy moving inconspicuously towards the market. Indeed, markets offer us a glimpse of the nature of the productive sectors and the span of the commercial networks that make it. This is noticeable in the research essays that examine the later chronologies of the Middle Ages, because of the steady crescendo of people living in towns and cities in Europe and how they exerted pressure on all sectors of the economy. But this is not absent from the essays investigating European realities of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, meaning that societies began adjusting the economic circuits of demand and offer very early in time.

The correlation between markets and culture is, alas, not present in this book. Fascinating debates have emerged, in the past decades, regarding the institutional and social peculiarities of Jewish, Islamic, and Christian merchants in Europe and the Mediterranean.[9] Through

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[9] For instance, the works by: CONSTABLE, Olivia Remie – *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World. Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; GREIF, Avner – *Institutions and the Path to the Modern Economy: Lessons from Medieval Trade*. Cambridge:

the study of markets and commercial exchange, one can grasp economic and social interactions at a broader scale, making it possible to understand better the formation of specialised productive centres, the rise of cosmopolitan urban centres, the paths of divergence, and the role of politics and institutions. Moreover, it allows historians to identify the socioeconomic thread that farmers, merchants, and consumers shared in their daily lives regardless of their origin. Future research encompassing Europe and the Mediterranean, with the Middle East and the North of Africa included, will share more light on the intricacies of local and regional economic systems, the role of individual and organised agents, and the part played by institutions and states.

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Cambridge University Press, 2006; GOLDBERG, Jessica L. – *Trade and Institutions in the Medieval Mediterranean. The Geniza Merchants and Their Business World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

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2

Building urban markets: production, commerce and economic growth in Leon and its countryside, c. 1100

Raúl González González
University of León
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9939-6874

Abstract

This essay will analyze the transformations in the city of Leon (northwestern Spain) and its countryside that led to a 'typical' urban market taking shape during the late eleventh century. Leon is not only one of the best-documented *civitates* in early medieval Europe (nearly 800 property charters for the tenth-eleventh century), but it also offers some very precise information on how the city market worked in the early twelfth century, thus providing a remarkable case study of the building of urban markets in western Europe c. 1100. In order to understand how the rise of an urban market was linked to the wider economic development of the city of Leon at the time, we will study the connection between urban growth and the rise of prices, the agrarian foundations of both phenomena, and the role played by manufacture and commerce.

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Resumo

Este ensaio analisa as transformações na cidade de Leão (no noroeste de Espanha) e seu espaço rural circundante que conduziram à formação de um mercado urbano 'típico' a partir do final do século XI. Leão não é apenas uma das mais bem documentadas *civitates* na alta idade média (com cerca de 800 documentos para os séculos X e XI), mas oferece também informação precisa sobre como o mercado urbano funcionava no início do século XII, fornecendo um exemplar caso de estudo para a construção dos mercados urbanos na Europa de *c.* 1100. De forma que se compreenda como a ascensão do mercado urbano esteve ligada ao desenvolvimento económico da cidade de Leão, este ensaio investigará a conexão entre crescimento urbano e o aumento dos preços, as fundações urbanas de ambos estes fenómenos, e o papel desempenhado pela manufatura e comércio.

Introduction

The traditional image of peasants going to the city market to sell their eggs or vegetables, get some cash, and occasionally buy some crafts, remains so firmly fixed in our collective memory that we usually see it as a 'natural' phenomenon, necessarily linked to agrarian societies.[1] And yet, far from constituting an immutable

[1] Abbreviations: CCL = SÁEZ, Emilio, RUIZ ASENCIO, José Manuel & FERNÁNDEZ CATÓN, José Mª – *Colección documental del Archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1987-1991. 6 vols; IHE = CANTERA BURGOS, Francisco & MILLÁS VALLICROSA, José Mª – *Las inscripciones hebraicas de España*. Madrid: CSIC, 1956; LTO = SANZ FUENTES, Mª José et al. – *Liber Testamentorum Ecclesiae Ovetensis*. Barcelona: M. Moleiro Editor, 1995; Otero = FERNÁNDEZ FLÓREZ, José Antonio & HERRERO DE LA FUENTE, Marta – *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas (854-1299)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1999-2005. 2 vols; Sah = MÍNGUEZ

and timeless reality, this 'traditional market' does not escape being determined by historical context: it only makes sense within a particular framework of social and economic relations that can hardly be found in early medieval *civitates*. So, the characteristic urban markets of the High and Late Middle Ages were not always there; they had to be built. Scholarly consensus dates that process in the decades around the year 1100, in connection with the rise of towns in Europe from the eleventh century onwards.

The causes underlying this 'urban renaissance' have been longly disputed by scholars. Pirenne's thesis linked it to the development of long-distance trade, while since the mid-twentieth century other authors have highlighted agrarian growth as the main factor.[2] In the Iberian Peninsula, this second approach has barely had an echo

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FERNÁNDEZ, José Mª, HERRERO DE LA FUENTE, Marta & FERNÁNDEZ FLÓREZ, José Antonio – *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (s. IX-1300)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1976-1994. 5 vols.

[2] Pirenne's point of view was renewed by archaeologists in the 1970s-1980s, particularly by HODGES, Richard – *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade*. London: Duckworth, 1982. However, this author has revised his position, considering that 'the trade model . . . no longer explains the rise of urbanism', as he states in HODGES, Richard – *Dark Age Economics: A New Audit*. London: Bloomsbury, 2012, p. 121. A general survey of long-distance trade during the Early Middle Ages is offered in McCORMICK, Michael – *Origins of the European Economy. Communications and Commerce, AD 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. On agrarian growth as the main factor, see VIOLANTE, Cinzio – *La società milanese nell'età precomunale*. Bari: Laterza, 1974 [1953]; VERHULST, Adriaan – The Origins of Towns in the Low Countries and the Pirenne Thesis. *Past & Present*, vol. 122, n.º 1 (1989), p. 3-35; DEVROEY, Jean-Pierre & ZOLLER, Chantal – Villes, campagnes, croissance agraire dans le pays mosan avant l'An Mil, vingt ans après. In *Villes et campagnes. Mélanges offerts à Georges Despy*. Alleur: Éditions du Perron, 1991, p. 223-260. More recently, see for instance CHARRUADAS, Paulo – *Croissance rurale et essor urbain à Bruxelles. Les dynamiques d'une société entre ville et campagnes (1000-1300)*. Brussels: Académie Royale de Belgique, 2011; idem – De la campagne à la ville. Peuplement, structures foncières et croissance économique dans la région de Bruxelles avant l'an mil, *Medieval and Modern Matters. Archaeology and Material culture in the Low Countries*, n.º 2 (2011), p. 1-24. This point of view has been integrated into the masterful survey on early medieval cities and systems of exchange offered by WICKHAM, Chris – *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 591-824.

in studies regarding the northwestern regions, where the economic growth of cities and towns in the High Middle Ages has been widely attributed to the arrival of Franks through the Way of St. James, an indigenous version of Pirenne's *pedes pulverosi*.[3] A more interesting, alternative picture has been proposed for Barcelona, postulating a sort of 'R&D model', in which the rise of urban markets is considered a somewhat 'natural' result of technical improvements in agriculture and an entrepreneurial spirit applied to the management of market-oriented crops.[4] But even this model needs to be nuanced by taking into account the social factors underlying economic development.[5]

This paper will analyze the transformations in the city of Leon (northwestern Spain) and its countryside that led to a 'typical' urban market taking shape during the late eleventh century. Leon is not only one of the best-documented *civitates* in early medieval Europe (nearly 800 property charters for the tenth-eleventh centuries), but it also offers some very precise information on how the city market worked in the early twelfth century, thus providing a remarkable case study of the building of urban

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[3] GARCÍA DE VALDEAVELLANO, Luis – *Orígenes de la burguesía en la España medieval*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1969; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ, Jean – *Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la Edad Media (siglos XI-XIII)*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1979.

[4] RUIZ-DOMÈNEC, José Enrique – "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona", *Miscellanea Barcinonensia*, n.º 31 (1972), p. 55-88; BONNASSIE, Pierre – *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe siècle à la fin du XIe siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1975-1976, 2 vols.; RUIZ-DOMÈNEC, José Enrique – The urban origins of Barcelona: agricultural revolution or commercial development?. *Speculum*, vol. 52, n.º 2 (1977), p. 265-286; BENSCH, Stephen P. – *Barcelona and its rulers, 1096-1291*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 85-121; RUIZ-DOMÈNEC, José Enrique – *Ricard Guillem o el somni de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2001, p. 39-43.

[5] LEONE, Alfonso et al. – Debat: Ricard Guillem. Un sogno per Barcellona. A propòsit de l'obra de José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec. *Revista d'Història Medieval*, n.º 11 (2000), p. 189-251; RUIZ GÓMEZ, Vicenç – Ricard Guillem o el *somni* neoliberal de Barcelona. *Desafectos. Revista d'història crítica* 3 (2002).

markets in western Europe c. 1100.[6] In order to understand how the rise of an urban market was linked to the wider economic development of the city of Leon at the time, we will study the connection between urban growth and the rise of prices, the agrarian foundations of both phenomena, and the role played by manufacture and commerce.

1. Urban growth and the rise of prices

Throughout the eleventh century, the city of Leon grows in population and extension. New residents are installed outside the old Roman walls, thus creating two suburbs next to the market area and the road to Santiago de Compostela: the *barrio Sancti Martini* and the *vicus francorum*, that would eventually fuse into one *burgo novo* during the twelfth century.[7] The process of urban growth also implied the densification of settlement inside the city walls, as attested by the rise of housing prices.

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[6] Comparison with Italian evidence may prove revealing. While in the cases of Lucca and Milan we have respectively 6,000 and 3,000 charters for the years 900-1200 (most of which undoubtedly come from the twelfth century), we have less than 900 documents for Rome in the years 900-1150: see WICKHAM, Chris – *Medieval Rome. Stability and Crisis of a City, 900-1150*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, p. 8. Concerning the earliest period, according to GOODSON, Caroline – *Cultivating the City in Early Medieval Italy* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021, p. 5, fig. 3, we have 179 preserved property charters from tenth-century Rome: 34 referring to urban properties, 38 to suburban properties, and 107 to rural villages outside Rome (presumably within the radius of 20-25 km around the city that constituted the *Agro Romano*: WICKHAM – *Medieval Rome*, 39). These figures are astonishingly similar to those of Leon, where we have 196 preserved tenth-century property charters: 22 referring to urban properties, 37 to suburban properties, and 137 to rural villages in a radius of 10 km outside Leon.

[7] REPRESA, Armando – Evolución urbana de León en los siglos XI-XIII. In *León y su historia. I.* León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1969, p. 253-263; ESTEPA DÍEZ, Carlos – *Estructura social de la ciudad de León (Siglos XI-XIII)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1977, p. 126-129.

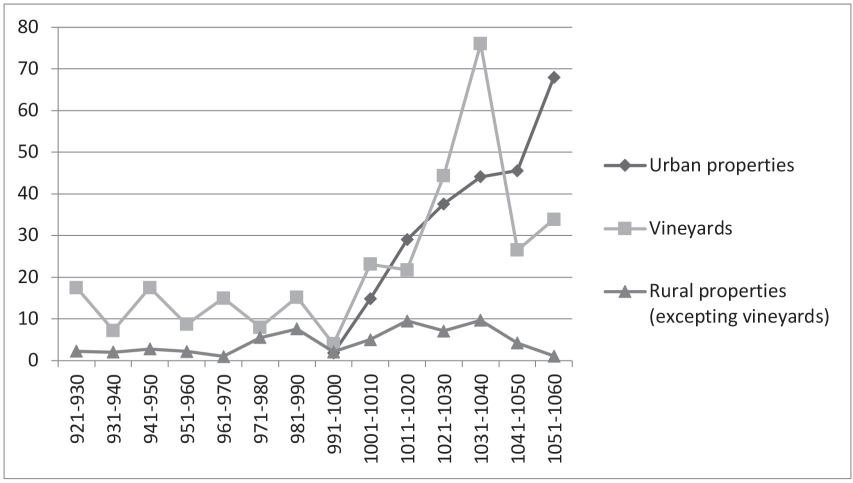

Figure 1. *Average value of properties in the city of Leon and its countryside, tenth-eleventh centuries (in silver* solidi*)*[8]
Source: CCL, *passim*; Otero, *passim*; Sah, *passim*.

By the 1050s, the average value of urban properties in Leon (considering also those placed outside the walls) was 38 times greater than during the last decade of the tenth century. As we can see in Figure 1, the price of land in the countryside also rose at the time, especially for vineyards: these were already much

[8] Only individual units of land (*terra, solare, vinea, corte*...) within a radius of 10 km around the city have been considered, taking also into account the generic indications given about their size. Extreme dates are determined by the available sources, whose scarcity for the years before 920 and after 1060 would make any calculation meaningless. For the period 921-1060, we have 183 sales offering a monetary value for properties in the city and its hinterland: 72 of them refer to vineyards, 66 to other rural properties, and 45 to urban properties (the latter only becoming significant since the 990s). Their chronological distribution is rather even, with around 10-20 sales per decade, excepting 30 in the 1030s and less than 7 in the 920s and the 1050s. In order to avoid distortions, isolated values that reach or exceed 100 *solidi* have been excluded from the calculation, as well as the few purchases concerning large estates. On the pertinence of the 10 km limit, see WICKHAM – *Medieval Rome*, 39 and CORTESE, Maria Elena – Una convivenza difficile: castelli e città nell'Italia centro-settentrionale (secc. X-XIII). In *L'incastellamento: storia e archeologia. A 40 anni da* Les structures *di Pierre Toubert*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2018, p. 82.

more valuable than any other rural property in the early tenth century, but from the 990s to the 1050s their average value increased by 8 times.

Unfortunately, we have no reliable data after the 1050s, but such a coincidence in the rise of prices both for houses in the city and vineyards in the countryside during the first half of the eleventh century can be understood as the sign of a process of *inurbamento* taking place at the time, as Violante has shown for Milan in the tenth-eleventh centuries.[9] It was not the mere result of a general price inflation, for we can see in Figure 1 that the value of other rural properties in Leon's countryside did not experience such a sustained increase. And if we have a look at the average value of property sales (usually a good indicator of inflation), we can see that the influx of silver from al-Andalus did cause a sudden rise in the first decade of the eleventh century, but it remained quite stable thereafter.

[9] Regarding the lack of reliable data after the 1050s, only 6 sale charters referring to urban properties have been preserved for more than a century thereafter (3 in 1061-1100, and other 3 in 1101-1175), while for instance we have 8 just for the first decade of the eleventh century. The reasons for such a documentary collapse lay on the huge transformations of local society and urban memories that took place during the early phases of the Central Middle Ages, leading to the disappearance of our main source of information for early medieval Leon: small family monasteries. After that, urban properties are largely absent from the written record until the late twelfth century, once the new civic order of *milites* and *burgenses* has gained legitimacy, thus allowing the new elite to have its memory preserved in ecclesiastical archives. See GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ, Raúl – Los poderes urbanos, entre repliegue aristocrático e innovación concejil: movilidad social, reajuste institucional y cambio ideológico en las ciudades asturleonesas (1038-1188). In *Poder y poderes en la Edad Media*. Murcia: SEEM, 2021, p. 311-322. On Milan, see VIOLANTE, *La società milanese*, p. 123-144.

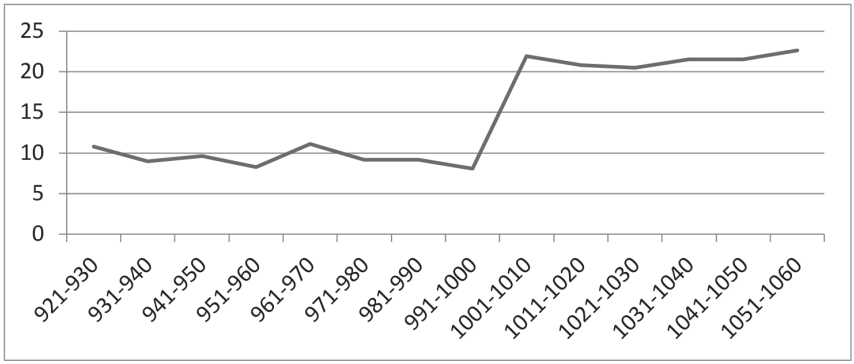

Figure 2. *Average value of property sales in Leon's countryside, tenth-eleventh centuries (in silver* solidi*)*[10]
Source: CCL, *passim*; Otero, *passim*; Sah, *passim*.

2. The agrarian foundations of urban growth

The rise of vineyard prices is an indication of the profits that city dwellers could now obtain from the market, but it also reveals how the process of urban growth was heavily dependent on agrarian development.[11] Not on an increase in gross agricultural production, but specifically on a greater share of the agrarian surplus extracted by the *civitas*. That was the key factor in enabling the growth of urban population and, once the consumption needs of landlords had been satisfied, the availability of a significant surplus that could be stored for trade.

[10] Numbers have been obtained from the same sources as in Figure 1, taking into account in this case the sales of rural properties within a 10-km radius around Leon. The sale value concerns the whole monetary amount involved in a transaction in which one or several pieces of land were purchased and should not be confused with the unit value of properties presented in Figure 1. On this difference, see FAINI, Enrico – *Firenze nell'età romanica (1100-1211)*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2010, p. 102-103.

[11] GOODSON – *Cultivating the City*, p. 136-138, links the rise of markets and market gardening in Italian cities during the first half of the eleventh century with crop specialization and the intensification of agriculture.

During the tenth-eleventh centuries, the urban aristocracies of Leon slowly gained control over the surrounding countryside, as they promoted a deep reorganization in the patterns of rural settlement, impelling deforestation and clearing, the fixation of peasant groups within a stable network of villages and the development of both extensive (cereal crops and, consequently, mills) and intensive agriculture (irrigation and vineyards).

2.1. Vineyards

The 'vineyard belt' of Leon is documented since the early tenth century, and speculation on wine is also recorded in the region during the Early Middle Ages, through a credit system known as '*renovo*': an interest-bearing loan in kind (usually wine or grain), guaranteed by land.[12] But only in the eleventh century did vineyards become a very profitable investment for city dwellers, as a market-oriented crop.

While the lands just beside the urban walls were mostly reserved for orchards and fodder crops, the vine plantations were concentrated mainly in two large hills near the city, designated by the sources under the names of Montorio (*Monte Aureo*), to the east, and Montefrío (*Monte Frigido*), to the north.[13] In the topographical

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[12] GARCÍA DE VALDEAVELLANO, Luis – El *renovo*. Notas y documentos sobre los préstamos usurarios en el reino astur-leonés (siglos X-XI). *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, n.º 57-58 (1973), p. 408-48.

[13] Unlike vineyards or fodder crops, orchards were also common inside the city walls of Leon. On the social and economic relevance of urban cultivation, see GOODSON – *Cultivating the City*. For a discussion on the value of dark-earth deposits as archaeological indicators of horticulture and other activities in early medieval cities, see LOVELUCK, Christopher – *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150: A Comparative Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 162-8. The evidence for Leon is presented in GUTIÉRREZ GONZÁLEZ, José Avelino – The Other Iberian Peninsula: The Cities in Early Medieval Spain. In *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy Compared. Essays*

conceptions of the time, these two hills were the landmarks defining the location of the city, along with the rivers Torío and Bernesga.[14] The first documentary mentions of Montorio and Montefrío date respectively from 917 and 984, and they are well documented thereafter.[15] They both appear as areas specialized in viticulture, to the point that absolutely all documents relating to either of the two areas during the tenth-eleventh centuries include references to vineyards. Thus, in the case of Leon, this winegrowing specialization of suburban lands cannot be seen as a novelty appearing around the year 1000, as it is often argued for other urban centers.[16] The richness of Leonese sources shows that this was in fact a much more gradual process, as the affirmation of a 'vineyard belt' is attested at least since the early tenth century, as soon as our documentary record begins to offer more than a handful of isolated testimonies about the countryside of Leon.

The correlative processes of urban expansion – with the logical increase in the value of real estate in the city – and a spectacular rise in the prices of vineyards throughout the first half of the eleventh century seem to indicate that it was then when the economic nature of the city of Leon and its relations with the surrounding countryside began to change, giving way to a new era characterized by the

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for Riccardo Francovich. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 174-175. In medieval charters, the term *Monte Aureo/Montorio* designates the clay slope that rises along the left bank of the river Torío, next to Leon; while the name of *Monte Frigido/Montefrío* is given to the elevation located north of the city, between the rivers Bernesga and Torío.

[14] CCL no. 1003 (year 1042): '*civitate et sede Legione, intus munitione muri, inter duos alpes Monte Frigido and Monte Aureo, decurrent amnos Turio and Vernisiga*'.

[15] Montorio: CCL no. 42 (year 917), 43 (917), 84 (929), 110 (936), 153 (942), 178 (944), 187 (944), 189 (945), etc. Montefrío: CCL no. 496 (year 984), 555 (993), 563 (994), 572 (996), 583 (999), etc.

[16] Particularly for Barcelona: RUIZ-DOMÈNEC – The urban origins of Barcelona, p. 273-276. WICKHAM – *Medieval Rome*, p. 97 and 108, postulates the same chronology for the case of Rome, and points out that in other Italian cities the consolidation of a 'vineyard belt' takes place around the year 1100; while in Florence it can be dated even later, to the early thirteenth century: FAINI – *Firenze nell'età romanica*, p. 76-78.

primacy of the market in the distribution of agrarian surpluses.[17] Thus, the exploitation of vineyards by city dwellers ceased to be almost exclusively a means of supply for self-consumption, becoming a very profitable investment as a market-oriented crop. According to a document from 1064, the *hemina* of wine was then sold in Leon at 12 *solidi*, which represents more than a third of the average value of a vineyard in the previous decade.[18] This would result in a very high yield rate that probably exceeded 10% per year, once the initial period of about 5-7 years after planting – in which the vine required laborious care without yet reaching its full productivity– had passed.[19] And the rise in prices seems to have affected not only vineyards, but also wine itself: the price of an *hemina* of wine in 1064 was six times greater than in the year 989, when it was valued at 2 *solidi*.[20]

This contributed to the consolidation of elite networks speculating on wine. A charter of 1069 provides an illustrative example of how they worked, connecting great aristocrats with the small local nobility, and even leaning on ties of vassalage.[21] The document recounts that a certain Belido Altetrizi had taken a 'wine loan' ('*vino de renovo*') from Diego Pérez, a member of the powerful Flaínez family, in return for 150 *heminas* of wine he should deliver by St. Martin's Day. As he failed to fulfill this obligation, the debt fell upon Martín Fafílaz, Belido's guarantor and lord, who gave Diego some land in compensation. Considering the price of wine in those years (12 silver *solidi* per *hemina* in 1064, as we have seen), the

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[17] On the correlation between urban growth and the rise of prices, see WICKHAM, Chris – Vendite di terra e mercato della terra in Toscana nel secolo XI. *Quaderni storici*, n.º 65 (1987), p. 355-77; FAINI – *Firenze nell'età romanica*, p. 101-113; GOODSON – *Cultivating the City*, p. 138.

[18] Otero no. 262, in which 7 *heminas* of wine are valued at 84 silver *solidi*, '*quomodo in ipso tempo in Leone andaba*'.

[19] RUIZ-DOMÈNEC – The urban origins of Barcelona, p. 273.

[20] CCL no. 525, in which 15 *heminas* of wine are valued at 30 silver *solidi*.

[21] Otero no. 272 (year 1069).

value of 150 *heminas* would amount to around 1,800 silver *solidi*, a small fortune. It is therefore evident that in cases like this the *renovo* was being used to finance trade, not just consumer credit.

So, in eleventh-century Leon, the planting of vineyards became especially interesting as a long-term investment. After a heavy initial workload, it continuously increased its own value as a rural property thereafter, while also providing high yields in a product whose price kept rising over time. Hence the success of '*ad complantandum*' agreements, in which the owner of a land handed it over to a cultivator for some years to plant vines on it, so that at the end of the term the vineyard would be divided equally between the two parties.[22] Thus, landowners ensured their vacant lands were turned into profitable crops without the need to gather the necessary labor, while offering cultivators the possibility of transforming their workforce into real property.[23]

2.2. Irrigation and mills

The other element that is usually mentioned as a factor of agricultural intensification in urban hinterlands since the early eleventh century is the diffusion of irrigation techniques.[24] As it happens with vineyards, a careful look at Leonese sources shows that this was also a gradual process, for hydraulic systems became widespread in the city's countryside long before the year 1000.

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[22] GIBERT, Rafael – La *complantatio* en el Derecho medieval español. *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, n.º 23 (1953), p. 737-67. No examples of this type of vine-planting contracts in the countryside of early medieval Leon have been preserved, but they are indirectly attested by charters in which planters sell their half: CCL no. 170 (year 943), 888 (1031), 896 (1032), 913 (1033), 936 (1035), etc.

[23] BONNASSIE – *La Catalogne*, vol. 1, p. 449-450.

[24] BONNASSIE – *La Catalogne*, vol. 1, p. 464-469; RUIZ-DOMÈNEC – The urban origins of Barcelona, p. 271.

A first indication is offered by watermills, whose construction requires some familiarity with canalization techniques. By the Early Middle Ages, they had already become a traditional component of Iberian landscapes, as confirmed by Bonnassie for Catalonia and Gautier-Dalché for northwestern Spain.[25]

Although the archaeological finds in the Leonese region dating from Roman and Late Antique times do not seem to offer examples of watermills, mentions of these and their mill races already appear in the oldest charters referring to the countryside of early medieval Leon.[26] For example, in 897 Nunilo and his son Bonelo sold to the Jew Hapaz a land next to a ford at the foot of the castle of Castrillino de Torío, about 8 km from Leon, including some water rights and a mill race (*aqua quam abemus adpresa de matre usque ubi cadet in matre, et aditu pro mulinos facere*); and, according to a lawsuit dating from the early tenth century, around the year 875 a certain Vimara and his sons took water from the river Bernesga to the city of Leon, following a decree issued by king Alfonso III (*presit Vimara cum suos filios Lup et Godesteo aqua in Vernesga ad populacionem de Legione ad editum regis bone memorie domni Adefonsi principi*), building a dam and a mill that they would later give to the monastery of Santiago de Valdevimbre.[27]

Throughout the tenth century, mentions of mills located in the basins of the Bernesga and Torío rivers are very common in charters referring to Leon's countryside, and from the middle of the

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[25] BONNASSIE – *La Catalogne*, vol. 1, p. 459; GAUTIER-DALCHÉ, Jean – Moulin à eau, seigneurie, communauté rurale dans le nord de l'Espagne (IXe-XIIe siècles). In Études de civilisation médiévale, IXe-XIIè siècles. Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande. Poitiers: Centre d'Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1974, p. 338.

[26] REVILLA CASADO, Javier – Apuntes sobre molinos en la arqueología leonesa. In *8º Congreso Internacional de Molinología: Innovación y Ciencia en el Patrimonio Etnográfico*. Pontevedra: Diputación de Pontevedra, 2012, p. 1-11.

[27] CCL no. 12 (year 897); CCL no. 34 (year 915).

century we find references to the specialized trade of miller.[28] In 947, two millstones (*duas molas pro in molino*) were even used as a means of payment in the purchase of some land in the area of Santas Martas.[29]

In the same way, mentions of irrigation channels (*rego*, *aquaductis*) are usual in Leonese charters since the early tenth century.[30] For instance, in 925 a family group gives to the monastery of Abellar, located about 9 km east from the city of Leon, some water rights and irrigation canals (*nostra aqua et suo aqueducto quam abemus de parentum nostrorum, quam abemus in flumen Turio* (...) *ut faciatis de ea quod volueritis ad irrigandum, et nos semper abeamus de ipsa aqua regum ad irrigandum*), showing that irrigation was already a traditional practice in the region, since the donors had inherited the ownership of the water and its channels from their parents.[31]

As already noted, the main differential factor in the growth of Leon during the eleventh century was not an increase in agricultural production due to technical improvements, but a greater share of the agrarian surplus extracted by the *civitas*, thanks to a more effective control of peasant labor by city authorities and urban landlords.[32] In respect to hydraulic systems, this phenomenon must

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[28] Mills: CCL no. 18 (year 905), 19 (905), 42 (917), 43 (917), 61 (924), 75 (927), 83 (929), 90 (931), 92 (931), 95 (932), 98 (933), 128 (938), 139 (940), 144 (941), 156 (942), 162 (943), 225 (950), 241 (952), etc. Millers: CCL no. 243 (year 952), 254 (952), 267 (954), 272 (954), 350 (952-961).

[29] CCL no. 194.

[30] CCL no. 18 (year 905), 26 (911), 49 (919), 58 (923), 66 (925), 90 (931), 95 (932), 120 (937), 141 (941), 157 (942), 162 (943), 195 (947), etc.

[31] CCL no. 66 (925).

[32] The same happened in other European regions: see WICKHAM – *Medieval Rome*, p. 107-9; CORTESE – Una convivenza difficile; CHARRUADAS, Paulo – Croissance rurale et action seigneuriale aux origines de Bruxelles (haut Moyen Âge – XIII^{e} siècle). In *Voisinages, coexistences, appropriations: groupes sociaux et territoires urbains*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2007, p. 175-201; BIANCHI, Giovanna – Analizing Fragmentation in the Early Middle Ages: The Tuscan Model and the Countryside in

have implied the spread of vertical watermills, with a much greater grinding force, as well as the intensification of irrigation with the aim of increasing production for market-oriented purposes, rather than just self-supply.[33]

So, rather than promoting radically new techniques, urban ruling groups adapted traditional hydraulic systems to new, market-oriented purposes, to make them more suitable for the new social context of the eleventh century.

3. Manufacture

The rise of urban markets is usually linked to the appearance of free craftspeople, but the case of Leon shows that the process was in fact much more complex: by the year 1000, specialized artisans were no novelty in city contexts, and in the early stages of market development, unfree manpower and lords played still a major role in urban manufacture. Only the development of a monetary economy all along the twelfth century would eventually undermine the basis of unfree artisan labor.

For the early medieval *civitas* of Leon was an aristocratic center within a society in which the distinction between the free and the unfree was still fully in force, a distinction that also applied to artisans.

Central-Northern Italy. In *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy Compared. Essays for Riccardo Francovich*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 329-332.

[33] On the difference between vertical and horizontal waterwheels and its social implications, see BARCELÓ, Miquel – La arqueología extensiva y el estudio de la creación del espacio rural. In *Arqueología medieval. En las afueras del medievalismo*. Barcelona, Crítica, 1988, p. 230-238; GLICK, Thomas F. – *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill, 2005, p. 261-267.

Year	Reference	Profession
941	CCL no. 148	blacksmith (*ferrario*)
950	CCL no. 230	furrier (*pelliculario*) baker (*alpistanna*) shoemaker (*harraze*)
952	CCL no. 241	goldsmith (*aurifice*)
955	CCL no. 293	cart maker (*karrario*)
963	Sah no. 210	weaver (*texetore*)
964	CCL no. 379	shoemaker (*harraze*)
967	CCL no. 405	dyer (*tinturario*)
984	CCL no. 496	blacksmith (*ferrario*)
990	CCL no. 533	chair maker (*sellero*)
1011	CCL no. 701	shield maker (*via ubi habitant escuderos*)
c. 1008-1028	*Fuero de León*, clause XXI	cooper (*cuparius*) weaver (*alvendarius*)
1018	CCL no. 756	blacksmith (*ferrarii*)
1029	CCL no. 849	blacksmith (*ferero*) (sic)
c. 1028-1037	CCL no. 989	tailor (*sartor*)
1097	CCL no. 1294	blacksmith (*ferrero*) cloth maker or seller (*gresciscero*)[34] chasuble maker (*casullera*) shield maker (*iter Scutarios*)
1100	IHE no. 3	goldsmith (חרוצה)
c. 1100	*Fuero de León*, clauses XXXI and XL, XXXV and XLIV, XXXVI and XLV	vintner (*vinitarii, vinitarius*) baker (*panatarie*) butcher (*carnicerii, mazellarii*)

Table 1. Crafts documented in the city of Leon, tenth-eleventh centuries

In the first place, there were some free craftspeople, who had access to real property and enjoyed a certain prestige among the

[34] The term is not referring to a man of Greek origin (he bears in fact a common local name: *Ovieco*), as supposed by GARCÍA MORENO, Luis Antonio – The City in Christian Spain in the XIth century. In *Die Frühgeshichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*. Köln: Böhlau, 1998, p. 151, but it derives from '*greciscos*', a type of fabric imported from the Byzantine world, which is mentioned in Leonese documents of the time: SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio – *Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años. Estampas de la vida e*n León. Madrid: RIALP, 2004 [1926].

community as a small minority specialized in the production of highly demanded goods. Consequently, they could reach a certain status of notability within the small local elite of free owners (*boni homines*).[35] That is why they were required to act as witnesses, and that is why the scribes, when recording the lists of subscribers in charters, considered that their craft was a mark of status important enough to deserve being written down (most of the examples in Table 1 come indeed from witness lists). This is very significant, as onomastics recorded in early medieval charters are rarely followed by such kind of personal identity marks, excepting those referring precisely to social elites, such as public offices, court positions, or ecclesiastical titles.

Free artisans linked to the royal court must have enjoyed a particularly privileged social position. Such was the case of Anserico *texetore* (weaver), whose lands in the vineyard area of Tendal, a village about 6 km east of Leon, adjoined those of the *infanta* Elvira or the royal *maiordomus* Ansur.[36] In the same way, a certain Felix *sartore* (tailor) owned a house in the city, next to the royal palace, that some years later was valued at the exorbitant amount of 500 silver *solidi* (it had been confiscated from Felix by king Vermudo III, described as *domno suo*, in reprisal for having rebelled against him).[37] It is very likely that in both cases such valuable properties had been given to Anserico and Felix by the royal family. Considering their wealth and position, we could even wonder if we should see them as true manual workers, or rather as administrators of some textile workshop supplying the palace, as a sort of artisan-officers.

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[35] As Bonnassie points out for Catalonian blacksmiths: *La Catalogne*, vol. 1, p. 474-475.

[36] Sah no. 210 (year 963).

[37] CCL no. 989 (year 1040).

But privileged craftsmen such as Anserico or Felix were only a minority. In early medieval Leon, most artisans were unfree workers linked by dependency ties to aristocrats, ecclesiastical institutions, or the royal family, as shown by the classic work by Carlos Estepa on the city's social structure during the eleventh-thirteenth centuries, in which he explained the development of urban crafts in the context of a manorial economy dependent on unfree labor.[38]

Evidently, these unfree workers could not act as witnesses or have access to land ownership, so their textual record is meager (as the main written source for early medieval Leon are charters recording transactions of property). However, their presence can be deduced through some precepts of the *Fuero de León*, a legal compilation gathering dispositions from different periods, from the adult reign of Alfonso V (1008-1028) to the early twelfth century, as Alfonso García-Gallo proved decades ago.[39] The oldest precepts are precisely those reflecting an unequivocally slaver mentality, in which the *servus* is for all purposes a possession of his master. His separation from his legitimate owner is only tolerated as an exceptional situation, if it remains *servus incognitus*, thus concealing his true condition. But as soon as he is recognized, he must be immediately returned to his master (clauses XXII and XXIII). And, of course, the famous provision forbidding the removal from Leon of servile laborers – coopers and weavers – who had settled in the city (*iunior cuparius, alvendarius adveniens Legionem ad morandum*) (clause XXI) leaves no doubt about the existence in Leon and its surroundings of these unfree craftspeople. Nor on their very special value, since these coopers and weavers are the

[38] ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, p. 373-378.

[39] GARCÍA-GALLO DE DIEGO, Alfonso – El fuero de León. Su historia, textos y redacciones. In *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, n.º 39 (1969), p. 5-171.

only dependents (*iuniores*) who receive some favorable treatment in the whole *Fuero*.[40]

The presence of unfree workers is also attested in later dispositions of the *Fuero*, belonging to what García-Gallo called the '*Posturas del concejo de León*', a collection of municipal regulations which can be dated *circa* 1100.[41] Clause XXXVIII establishes that no woman can be led against her will to prepare the king's bread, unless she is precisely his slave (*ancilla eius*); while the *servus regis* of clause XXXVIIII seems subject to a much looser dependence, since he is mentioned as a possible owner of orchards in the city.[42]

Thus, contrary to the cliché, the *civitas* appears in this period as a center of unfree labor, due to the overwhelming presence of the greatest of all aristocratic households: the royal court. The famous disposition on the *servi incogniti* (clause XXII), which has been considered the best proof of the validity of the '*Stadluft macht Frei*' principle in eleventh-century Leon, had no value in this case: obviously, neither the *ancillae* in charge of kneading the king's bread, nor any of his slaves from Leon or its surroundings could lead a clandestine existence in the city without being immediately discovered. For them, as well as for anyone subject to an urban lord, the air of the *civitas* was rather suffocating, not liberating.[43]

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[40] On the meaning of *iunior* in the *Fuero* and other sources, see GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ, Raúl – Esclavitud y servidumbre personal en el país asturleonés (siglos IX-XIII). *Medievalismo*, n.º 27 (2017), p. 169n.

[41] GARCÍA-GALLO DE DIEGO – El fuero de León, p. 95-8 and 109.

[42] '*Nulla mulier ducatur invita ad fingendum panem regis, nisi fuerit ancilla eius*' (LTO no. 31). '*Ad hortum alicuius hominis non vadat maiorinus vel sagio invito domino horti ut inde aliquid abstrahat, nisi fuerit servus regis*' (LTO no. 31).

[43] For example, in 1079 two blacksmiths and a potter from the city of Oviedo appear among the personal dependents (*homines de criacione*) who were donated by the king to the urban monastery of San Vicente: SANZ FUENTES, Maria Josefa – Más documentos del monasterio de San Vicente anteriores al 1200. *Asturiensia Medievalia*, n.º 5 (1986), charter no. 1 (1079). See GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ, Raúl – Lingering bonds: ideology of slavery and servile taint in medieval Asturias, 8th-13th

Manufacture was not limited to the *civitas* itself, as estates owned by the royal family outside the city walls could be devoted not only to cultivation, but also to the production of manufactures by unfree craftspeople, as it was the case of the extramural area of San Martín (see below). In the same way, some place names attested in the countryside of early medieval Leon have been understood as references to suburban settlements of specialized dependent workers: Nava de Olleros (potters), Roderos (< *rodarios*, 'wheelmakers'), Mancilleros (< *macellarios*, 'butchers') and Torneros (< *tornarios*, 'potters' or 'woodworkers').[44]

Therefore, the development of urban manufactures during the eleventh century must be reconsidered to assume that manorial economy and unfree labor played a major role in it. In fact, lords seem to have been its main promoters: San Martín, the first artisanal and commercial suburb of Leon, developed itself precisely over plots still owned in the late eleventh century by the king, the *infantado* and the cathedral.[45] In this *burgo*, craft production was organized in a new way: as *servi casati* in the countryside were being turned into tenants, direct exploitation of unfree workforce was also gradually abandoned in the city. Dependent artisans were now given by their lords a lot in which to live and develop their trade in exchange for a census, which

centuries. In *Forms of Unfreedom in the Medieval Mediterranean*. Évora: CIDEHUS, 2021, p. 10, §31. For a classical view about *Fuero*'s clause XXII, see for instance GARCÍA DE VALDEAVELLANO, Luis et al. – *El Fuero de León. Comentarios*. Madrid: Hullera Vasco-Leonesa, 1983, p. 81.

[44] ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, p. 374-375, who also elaborates on the fact that Torneros appears in its earliest documentary mention as '*Torneros de illa Regina*' (Sah no. 355, year 997). More recently, it has been proposed to identify the names of Roderos, Mancilleros and Torneros as hydronyms: LLAMAZARES SANJUÁN, Ángel – Torneros y otros «topónimos de oficio». *Tierras de León*, n.º 89-90 (1993), p. 120-30; idem – Toponimia e historia: ¿Roderos, un «topónimo de oficio»? *Tierras de León*, n.º 115 (2002), p. 158-74.

[45] CCL no. 1294 (year 1097). See REPRESA – "Evolución urbana de León, p. 253 and ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, p. 229-30 and 376.

they could pay thanks to the money obtained with the sale of their manufactures in the city market.[46]

Although barely traceable in our sources, this conversion of manorial craftspeople into autonomous workers producing market-oriented manufactures was certainly one of the major transformations in the economic nature of urban societies in northwestern Spain during the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

4. Commerce

The early medieval market ('*merkato*') of Leon, located on extramural lands owned by the royal family and the bishop, was basically a place where aristocrats could sell their surpluses and acquire some luxury commodities.[47] On the contrary, by the early twelfth century the urban market would be based on the sale of modest urban manufactures as well as raw materials and agrarian products from the countryside, thus becoming one of the main institutions ensuring the economic articulation of city-country relations.

This opposition has been obscured by the widely influential section devoted to the city market in the classic monograph by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz on early medieval Leon.[48] In fact, this chapter is mostly based on two twelfth-century sources: a very late section of the *Fuero de León* which García-Gallo calls '*Posturas del concejo de León*' (c. 1100), and the market tolls recorded in the *fuero* of Villavicencio (c. 1126-1131), which were most probably copied from those in force at the time in the city of Leon (see below). Sánchez-Albornoz did not accept that these could be later additions, for

[46] ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, p. 377 and 418-9.

[47] ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, p. 122.

[48] SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ – *Una ciudad de la España cristiana*, chapter 2.

he was convinced that the whole text of the *Fuero*, including the '*posturas*' and the market tolls, had been written in 1017-1020.[49] As a result, he transferred to the Early Middle Ages an anachronic image of commercial dynamism, economic vitality, and country-city integration that in fact corresponds to the decades around 1100, when Leon had already experienced a remarkable demographic growth, its artisan-commercial suburbs were flourishing outside the walls, and the city was receiving a significant influx of foreign settlers through the Way of St. James.

Although already in the late 1970s another monograph by Carlos Estepa showed how commerce in early medieval Leon could only be understood within the social context of manorial economy and aristocratic consumption, in practice many Spanish authors remained attached to Sánchez-Albornoz's model.[50] But today we are much more conscious of the key role played by manorial economy and agrarian production in the development of early medieval markets, as scholars working on the Frankish world – including central and northern Italy – have been pointing out during the last decades.[51]

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[49] SÁNCHEZ-ALBORNOZ, Claudio – *Homines mandationis* y *iuniores*. *Cuadernos de Historia de España*, n.º 53-54 (1971), p. 7-235. On the *Posturas*, see GARCÍA-GALLO DE DIEGO, El fuero de León, p. 95-8 and 109.

[50] ESTEPA DÍEZ – *Estructura social*, 76, 122 and 416-8.

[51] See for example TOUBERT, Pierre – La part du grand domaine dans le décollage économique de l'Occident (VIIIe-Xe siècles). In *La croissance agricole du Haut Moyen* Âge : *Chronologie, modalités, géographie*. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 1990, p. 53-86; DEVROEY, Jean-Pierre – *Puissants et misérables: système social et monde paysan dans l'Europe des Franc (VIe-IXe siècles)*. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 2006, p. 559-583; WICKHAM, Chris – Rethinking the Structure of the Early Medieval Economy. In *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe*. *New Directions in Early Medieval Studies*. Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008, p. 83-97; ARNOUX, Mathieu – Les marchés médiévaux (XIe-XIVe siècle): entre institution, économie et société. In *Genèse des marches*. *Colloque des 19 et 20 mai 2008*. Paris: Institut de la gestion publique et du développement économique, 2015, p. 21-28; THOEN, Erik & Tim SOENS – Rural specialisation and commercialisation in the former county of Flanders in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period. In *Penser la paysannerie médiévale, un défi impossible?* Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2017, p. 128-132; GOODSON – *Cultivating the City*, p. 124-154.

Even specialists on long-distance trade and *emporia* give now much more importance to such factors.[52]

Certainly, other European regions not so determined by post-Roman standards seem to have evolved differently. That was clearly the case in Islamic territories of the western Mediterranean, such as al-Andalus, where a network of highly autonomous peasant communities was connected through taxation to a complex structure of market-oriented urban workshops, or Sicily, where the Muslim conquest was also followed by a deep economic transformation, closely linked to the processes of social mobility, immigration and demographic expansion affecting the island during the ninth-tenth centuries.[53] And that might have also been the case in the new urban economies taking shape around the English Channel and the North and Baltic Seas since the late sixth century, although there is some controversy among scholars. The old Pirennian views have been recently renewed on the basis of archaeological evidence by Christopher Loveluck, who argues that merchants and artisans acquired a wealthy position in northern European towns and ports along the Early Middle Ages, also gaining status and playing a major role in local societies since the mid-tenth century.[54] While other authors present these long-distance trading posts as aristocratic-driven centers whose autonomy and economic significance has been widely magnified.[55]

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[52] McCORMICK, Michael – New Light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy. *Past & Present*, vol. 177, n.º 1 (2002), p. 53; HODGES – *A New Audit*, p. 116-138.

[53] GUTIÉRREZ LLORET, Sonia – Early *al-Andalus*: An Archaeological Approach to the Process of Islamization in the Iberian Peninsula (7th to 10th centuries), ? In *New Directions in Early Medieval European Archaeology: Spain and Italy Compared. Essays for Riccardo Francovich*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, p. 75-81; MOLINARI, Alessandra –«Islamisation» and the Rural World: Sicily and al-Andalus. What Kind of Archaeology? In *New Directions*, p. 215-216.

[54] LOVELUCK – *Northwest Europe*, p. 178-212, 302-27, and 363-7.

[55] WICKHAM – *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 681-92; HODGES – *A New Audit*, p. 91-115.

But, in any case, the social conditions allowing the development of dynamic urban markets in the Islamic western Mediterranean or the Northern Seas before the eleventh century were completely different from those prevailing in most regions of western Europe. In northwestern Spain, early medieval *merkatos* seem to have been mostly centers where aristocrats sold the surpluses from their domains and acquired some luxury goods, with little impact on local society. The sparsely populated *civitates* of the time, scarce in free artisans and inhabited by landlords who could provide for themselves and their entourages in their own domains, had little to offer the peasants of the countryside excepting demands of rents and tributes.[56]

From this point of view, it is no accident that the *merkato* of Leon developed precisely on lands owned by the royal family and the bishop. Still in the 1030s, while the process of urban expansion and economic development of the city was taking place, we find specific allusions to the 'king's market' (*merkato de rege*) or the 'queen's warehouse' (*alfondega de illa regina*).[57]

In addition to officers and dependents working on behalf of their masters, long-distance trade must have been in the hands of specialized agents.[58] We have no information about them (the term *Mercatarius*

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[56] HODGES – *A New Audit*, p. 91-2, gives a similar picture for old Roman *civitates* in Carolingian times, considering their market activity was 'minimal' in comparison with eleventh-century standards; while DEVROEY, Jean-Pierre – Économie rurale et société dans l'Europe franque (VIe-IXe siècles), tome 1: Fondements matériels, échanges et lien social. Paris: Belin, 2003, p. 223, thinks that at least some episcopal cities could be marginal in the economic circuits of the Frankish world; and GOODSON – *Cultivating the City*, p. 124-154, presents urban markets in early medieval Italy as being mostly places for luxury trade that played a minor role in supplying the city with agricultural products, in opposition to those from the eleventh century onwards.

[57] The king's market is mentioned in CCL no. 948 (year 1037) and 982 (1039), and the queen's warehouse in CCL no. 940 (1035).

[58] Still in 1131, a monk of the Asturian monastery of San Juan de Corias traveled to Leon in order to buy wheat, in the company of some '*homines de Corias*'. On their way back, they traversed the mountains '*cum XV bestias cargadas de trigo de Legione*': GARCÍA LEAL, Alfonso – *El Registro de Corias*. Oviedo: Real Instituto de Estudios Asturianos, 2000, p. 89.

appears in some tenth-century charters, but not in the sense of 'merchant': it serves as a personal name, that can be even used by priests or abbots), although it is probable that Jews played an important role in it as intermediaries between al-Andalus and the Christian kingdoms.[59]

The true development of a 'typical' urban market in Leon only took place when it became a point of exchange between agrarian products and urban manufactures throughout the eleventh century. This was made possible once the reorganization of the countryside under aristocratic rule assured the transfer of rural surplus to the city, and forced peasants to resort to the market as a means of obtaining cash to pay money rents and tributes.[60]

In fact, the economy of northwestern Spain experienced increasing monetization and commercialization since the late eleventh century.[61] This was precisely the moment in which the first mints appeared in the region, during the last years of the reign of Alfonso VI. One of them was in the city of Leon, as attested by documentary and numismatic evidence.[62] The *Fuero* itself alludes to the *moneta urbis*

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[59] On *Mercatarius* as a personal name, see CCL no. 106 (year 936), CCA no. 51 (938), CCL no. 154 (942), CCL no. 379 (964), CCL no. 432 (974). Regarding Jews, they are certainly documented as diplomatic intermediaries in the tenth century: CARRIEDO TEJEDO, Manuel – Un sol esplendoroso en León: el judío Hasday de Córdoba (941-956). *Estudios Humanísticos. Historia*, n.º 7 (2008), p. 21-60; and the Jew Cidi Rey seems to have owned a *tenda* in the city of Astorga (CCA no. 294, year 1043). Estepa Díez supposes that long-distance trade in early medieval Leon was in the hands of Muslim, Mozarabic and Jewish merchants from al-Andalus (*Estructura social*, 415-8).

[60] GUTIÉRREZ – The Other Iberian Peninsula, p. 176. On the integration of peasant economies to the market, see MOUTHON, Fabrice – *Les communautés rurales en Europe au Moyen Âge*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014, p. 143-151.

[61] GAUTIER-DALCHÉ, Jean – L'étude du commerce médiéval à l'échelle locale, régionale et inter-régionale: la pratique méthodologique et le cas des pays de la Couronne de Castille. In *Actas de las I Jornadas de Metodología Aplicada de las Ciencias Históricas, vol. II: Historia Medieval*. Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela, 1975, p. 348-349.

[62] CCL no. 1262 (1088-1091): '*in confirmatione huius carte CCC solidos denariorum Legionensis monete*'. Leonese coinages from this period bear the inscriptions *+ANFUS REX* and *LEO CIVITAS*. See ROMA VALDÉS, Antonio – Las acuñaciones compostelanas a nombre de Alfonso VI. *Gallaecia*, n.º 21 (2002), p. 296-298.

(clause XLVII), and by the mid-twelfth century the *renovo* system of credits in kind had developed into money loans, as shown by some examples mentioned in a list of debts appended to the will of Gontrodo Cídiz, a woman belonging to the city's elite.[63]

This wide circulation of money was the sign of a new era: throughout the eleventh-twelfth centuries, markets became a mostly urban institution, while old rural exchange points having not evolved into market towns simply languished.[64] Markets will henceforth be fundamental in the economic and territorial organization of the new feudal order, to the point of becoming a characteristic monopoly of towns and cities. Urban authorities usually compelled all the residents of their territory to sell their products at the town or city market, while banning commercial gatherings in the countryside.[65] In the case of Leon, the eleventh century was precisely the time when urban ruling groups developed an effective institutional framework, the '*concilium de Legione*', that would consolidate the city's domination over the countryside, henceforth organized as a

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[63] CCL no. 1439 (year 1143): '*Et ad lugador dedi una colcha et unum tempanum de almuzalla, et unas fazalellas letradas pro V morabitinos quos abstraxit a renovo. Oro Alfonso posuit meos pinnos unum fatelem nouum pro III morabitinos a renovo, et debeo illos morabitinos illi dare . . . Et onos meos manteles letrados sunt in pinnos a renovo pro uno morabitino*'. Both Gontrodo and her husband Rodrigo Vermúdez were eminent citizens: they were given a land in Valdearcos by queen Urraca '*propter seruicium quod sibi fecimus*' (CCL no. 1346, year 1114), and Rodrigo served as '*maiordomus regis*' – CCL no. 1370 (1122), 1386 (1128), 1388 (1129), 1389 (1129), 1390 (1129), 1392 (1129) and 1393 (1129) – and officer in charge of the towers of Leon (CCL no. 1429, year 1140). He is mentioned among the '*nobilium terre Legionis*' in CCL no. 1389 (year 1129), and as one of the '*baronibus civitatis*' in CCL no. 1398 (1130-1132).

[64] MARTÍNEZ SOPENA, Pascual – El mercado en la España cristiana de los siglos XI y XII. In *Actas del I Curso sobre la Península Ibérica y el Mediterráneo entre los siglos XI y XII*. Aguilar de Campo: Fundación Santa María la Real, 1998, p. 125-126 and 132-137. On the social and economic evolution of the territory of Leon along the ninth-thirteenth centuries, see the fundamental monograph by SÁNCHEZ BADIOLA, Juan José – *El territorio de León en la Edad Media. Poblamiento, organización del espacio y estructura social (Siglos IX-XIII)*. León: Universidad de León, 2004, 2 vols.

[65] RUIZ DE LA PEÑA SOLAR, Juan Ignacio – *Las «polas» asturianas en la Edad Media. Estudio y diplomatario*. Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1981, p. 195 and 220-2.

district subject to urban rule: the *alfoz*, whose limits are specified in the *Fuero* (clause XXVIII).[66]

Unlike long-distance trade, always focused on luxury goods of exotic origin, this urban market of the High Middle Ages will be based on small-scale commercial networks that supplied the city with raw materials and agrarian products from the countryside.[67] A remarkable testimony of this new reality is offered by the market tolls recorded in the *fuero* of Villavicencio de los Caballeros, dated c. 1126-1131 and closely related to the *Fuero de León*. As García-Gallo shows, this toll list seems to have been copied from the one then in force in the city of Leon (it even includes an allusion to the market being in a *civitate*, while Villavicencio was just a castle).[68] The list itself refers to the toll as *portazgo* ('*portatico*'), a tariff levied on merchandise brought from outside the city to be sold in the market, so we are provided a detailed image of the rural products that supplied the market of Leon in the early twelfth century.[69]

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[66] LTO no. 31: '*Omnis homo habitantes infra subscriptos terminos: per Sanctam Martham, per Quintanellas de via de Ceia, per Centum Fontes, per Villam Auream, per Villam Felicem et per illas Milieras et per Cascantes, per Villam Vellite et per Villar Mazareffe et per vallem de Ardone et per Sanctum Iulianum, propter contentiones quas habuerint contra Legionenses, ad Legionem veniant accipere et facere iuditium. Et in tempore belli et guerre veniant ad Legionem vigilare illos muros civitatis et restaurare illos sicut cives Legionis. Et non dent portaticum de omnibus causis quas ibi vendideri*'. The limits of Leon's *alfoz* were later extended by king Alfonso IX in several occasions. See SÁNCHEZ BADIOLA, Juan José – El segundo fuero de León y el alfoz de la ciudad. *Brigecio. Revista de Estudios de Benavente y sus tierras*, n.º 14 (2004), p. 51-68; MARTÍN FUERTES, José Antonio – *Colección documental del Archivo Municipal de León (1219-1400)*. León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación San Isidoro, 1998, no. 1 (1219) and 2 (1220).

[67] Such a complex economy fueled by closely interlinked markets connecting urban artisanal production and agrarian surplus seems to have been already working in eastern Mediterranean trade during the Early Middle Ages, particularly in Egypt: WICKHAM – *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, 759-69. In the western Mediterranean, some hints of a similar, though less articulated, economic system can be found in al-Andalus: GUTIÉRREZ LLORET – *Early al-Andalus*, p. 75.

[68] GARCÍA-GALLO DE DIEGO – El fuero de León, p. 101.

[69] The dwellers of the city's *alfoz* were exempted by clause XXVIII of the *Fuero* (see above).

Product	Toll rates
salt	1 *hemina* per cartload (also the buyer must pay 1 *travessa* per *hemina*)
turnip	3 *denarii* per cartload, 1 *denarius* per donkey and 1 *garfato* (handful) per porter
radish	20 [strings] per cartload, 10 per donkey and 5 per porter
garlic / onion	20 strings of 8 heads per cart, 10 per donkey and 5 per porter
bread	exempt
shoes	exempt (but shoemakers must give a pair of sandals per month)
wood	3 *denarii* per cart (also the buyer must pay other 3 *denarii*)
tinware	8 [pieces] per cart, 2 per donkey and 1 per porter
barrel hoops	8 [hoops] per cartload, 2 per donkey and 1 per porter
tar	1 *toral* per cartload
wine	1 *solidus* and 1 *terraza* of wine per cartload, 5 *cuartillas* per donkey
iron	1 bar per cartload, 1 *meaja* (a billon coin) for each 2 bars
horse	1 *solidus*
ox	3 *denarii*
calf	1 *denarius*

Table 2. Market tolls in Leon, early twelfth century (as copied in Villavicencio's *fuero*)
Source: GARCÍA-GALLO DE DIEGO – El fuero de León, p. 171.

This toll list clearly shows how 'typical' urban markets making their appearance in northwestern Spain during the eleventh-twelfth centuries, such as the one already operating in Leon around the year 1100, were mainly dependent on small-scale trade. By supplying raw materials to artisans and basic consumer goods to the entire urban population, local networks sustained the economic growth of towns and cities.

Conclusion

When studying the rise of medieval urban markets, we should carefully consider both the social background of economic growth, and

its effects. In the case of Leon, only the recovery of urban, aristocratic control over the countryside and the corresponding disciplining of labor throughout the eleventh century can explain how some already traditional techniques, such as intensive 'vineyard belts', mills, or irrigation, could thereafter provide market-oriented surpluses for a cash-crop agriculture. In a similar way, we have seen how lords played a major role in the early stages of market development, as they enabled the monetization and commercialization of Leonese economy by promoting the transformation of crafts produced by their dependents into market-oriented manufactures, as well as forcing peasants to resort to the market so as to obtain cash to pay their rents and tributes.

But this aristocratic-driven economic transformations would effectively bring consequences implying new, more significant changes: the urban growth they generated would promote a local demand for crops and manufactures, served by an urban market already operating in the city of Leon around the year 1100. From then on, commerce would no longer be the matter of just a few, long-distance luxury traders (or speculators on wine and grain through the *renovo* credit system), but an essential feature of local and regional economies linking the city to its countryside, and both to the wider world.

We usually associate commercial dynamism with the circulation of exotic ointments, oriental cloths, and delicate pieces of goldsmith, but the importation of luxuries has been a distinctive pattern of aristocratic consumption all along the last millennia, so it should not be considered a reliable indicator of economic development.[70] The contrast between early medieval *merkatos* and 'typical' markets taking shape in European towns and cities during the eleventh-twelfth centuries makes clear that, to measure the significance of trade in medieval urban economies, we should rather turn our gaze to the modest routes travelled by sandals, radishes, and onions.

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[70] WICKHAM – *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, p. 701.

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3

Fairs and maritime trade: a case study of the Algarve region (thirteenth-sixteenth centuries)

Paulo Morgado e Cunha
University of Porto, CITCEM
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6295-9183

Abstract

This essay puts forward an analysis of the fairs of the Algarve region of Southern Portugal, between the late thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Medieval fairs have been seen as a phenomenon with relevance for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe. Taking as a prime example the Champagne fairs, these catered to overland trade and played an important role in the commercial revolution, as proposed by Roberto Sabatino Lopez. More recently, this thesis has been challenged, especially with the emergence of the New Institutional Economics, with a reappraisal of late medieval fairs and their role in the local, regional, and international trade. Nonetheless, most still focus on fairs competing with maritime trade. This essay will present an alternative hypothesis with a case study that connects the fairs of the Algarve, the productive landscape of the region and maritime trade, showcasing the flexibility of fairs as a commercial institution.

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Resumo

Este ensaio apresenta uma análise das feiras do Algarve, no Sul de Portugal, entre o final do século XIII e o início do século XVI. As feiras medievais têm sido percecionadas como um fenómeno de crescente relevância na Europa dos séculos XII e XIII. Tomando como exemplo as feiras de Champagne, estas estimularam o comércio terrestre e desempenharam um papel importante na revolução comercial, conforme os estudos de Roberto Sabatino Lopez. Recentemente, esta tese foi desafiada, especialmente com a emergência da *New Institutional Economics*, que reavaliou a feiras tardomedievais e o seu papel no comércio local, regional e internacional. Apesar disso, a maior parte das investigações ainda relaciona as feiras com o comércio marítimo. Este estudo apresentará uma hipótese alternativa com um estudo de caso sobre as feiras do Algarve na sua conexão entre a paisagem produtiva e o comércio marítimo, demonstrando a flexibilidade das feiras enquanto instituição comercial.

Introduction

This essay is focused on the analysis of the fairs of the Algarve region of Southern Portugal, between the late thirteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as a case study for the connection of fairs and maritime trade in the late Middle Ages. Medieval fairs are often seen both as an earlier phenomenon (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and as mostly catering to overland trade routes. This paper will present an alternative hypothesis, showcasing the flexibility of fairs as a commercial institution.

Few elements enjoy the reputation that fairs have in the common imagination of the medieval period. The first studies of medieval fairs started in the late eighteenth century and till the first half of

the twentieth century, most studies focused on the legal aspects. Taking as a prime example the fairs in the Champagne region of France, these studies viewed fairs as an important medium for long-distance overland trade. The thesis was then that fairs were crucial in the revival of trade in the twelfth-thirteenth century, only to be gradually replaced by large urban centres and maritime trade between them. This assessment proved to be popular and still crops up nowadays, in summaries of the period.[1]

Nonetheless, this interpretation of late medieval fairs as being of lesser importance was challenged, especially at the end of the twentieth century with the emergence of the New Institutional Economics and two major international congresses. These proposed a new point of view, focusing both on the supply and demand side of the fairs as a commercial institution and adopting a *longue durée* perspective. Its thesis was that late medieval fairs served an important role in local, regional, and international trade and were much more competitive with maritime trade than previously assumed.

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[1] VILLA-NOVA PORTUGAL, Thomaz Antônio de - Memória sobre a preferencia que entre nós nerece o estabelecimento dos mercados ao uso das feiras de anno para o commercio intrinseco. In *Memórias económicas da Academia Real das Ciências de Lisboa para o adiantamento da agricultura, das artes, e da indústria em Portugal e suas conquistas (1789-1815)*. Lisboa: Banco de Portugal, 1991. T. II, p. 3-12 (originally published in 1790); HUVELIN, Paul - *Essai Historique Sur Le Droit Des Marchés Et Des Foires*. Paris: A. Rousseau, 1897; GAMA BARROS, Henrique da - *História Da Administração Pública Em Portugal Nos Séculos XII a XV*. 1st ed. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1885-1922; PIRENNE, Henri - *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. New York: Princeton University Press, 1925; GARCÍA DE VALDEAVELLANO, Luis - *El Mercado: apuntes para su estudio en Leon y Castilla durante la Edad Media*. Sevilla: Univ. de Sevilla, 1975. (originally published in 1931); LOPEZ, Roberto Sabatino - *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages: 950-1350*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976. For a recent example of this thesis, see: KALLIOINEN, Mika - *Long-Distance Trade in Medieval Europe. Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Economics and Finance* (July, 2020). [Accessed 12 Nov. 2020.] Available online: https://oxfordre.com/economics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190625979.001.0001/acrefore-9780190625979-e-558. For a reappraisal of the Champagne fairs, see: EDWARDS, Jeremy; OGILVIE, Sheilagh - *What Lessons for Economic Development Can We Draw from the Champagne Fairs?*. Explorations in Economic History. Vol.49, no. 2 (April 2012), p.131-148 [Accessed 12 Nov. 2020.]. Available online: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0014498311000660.

Nonetheless, most authors still focused on fairs as an overland trade institution, with some exceptions.[2]

The Portuguese historiography on the subject is less developed, with the most well-known and cited work being the book Virgínia Rau wrote in 1943. Indebted to a more rigid and legalist approach to the medieval fairs, it establishes that Portuguese fairs were unimportant when compared to their European counterparts as Portugal did not sit on any important overland trade route. This was also in line with the earlier overall conclusions of the historiography of the first half of the twentieth century. This thesis cemented itself and with few exceptions, there were not many studies that expanded upon Rau's work.[3]

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[2] VERLINDEN, C. - *Markets and Fairs. In The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963. Vol. 3, p. 119–154; MUNRO, John H - The 'New Institutional Economics' and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: The Textile Trades, Warfare, and Transaction Costs. *VSWG: Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. Bd.88, no. 1 (2001), p. 1-47; EPSTEIN, Stephan R. - *An Island for Itself: Economic Development and Social Change in Late Medieval Sicily*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991; EPSTEIN, Stephan R. - Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe. *The Economic History Review*. London: Blackwell Publishers. Vol. 47, no. 3 (1994), p. 459-482; CAVACIOCCHI, Simonetta (ed.) - *Fiere E Mercati Nella Integrazione Delle Economie Europee, Secc. XIII-XVII: Atti Della "Trentaduesima Settimana Di Studi", 8-12 Maggio 2000*. Firenze: Le Monnier, 2001; DESPLAT, Christian (dir.) - *Foires Et Marchés Dans Les Campagnes de L'Europe Médiévale et Moderne*. Toulouse: Presses universitaires du Midi, 1996; LIMBERGER, Michael - *Regional and interregional trading networks and commercial practices at the port of Antwerp in the 14th and 15th centuries. The testimony of merchants and skippers in court records*. Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos (2016) [Accessed 12 Nov. 2020.] Available online: http://journals.openedition.org/nuevomundo/69938; JAHNKE, Carsten - The Medieval Herring Fishery in the Western Baltic. In *Beyond the Catch. Fisheries of the North Atlantic, The North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850*. Leiden: Brill, 2009. p.157-186; HUANG, Angela Ling - Lübeck's Trade in the Fifteenth Century. In *A Companion to Medieval Lübeck*. Leiden: Brill, 2019. p.253-272; IGUAL LUIS, David - Más Allá De Aragón. Historia E Historiografía De Los Mercados Medievales. In *Una Economía Integrada. Comercio, Instituciones Y Mercados En Aragón, 1300-1500*. Zaragoza: Grupo de Investigación Consolidado CEMA, 2012. p. 69-95.

[3] RAU, Virgínia - *Feiras Medievais Portuguesas: subsídios para o seu estudo*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1982. (originally published in 1943); COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz - *A Feira de Coimbra no contexto das feiras medievais portuguesas*. Coimbra: Inatel, 1992; COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz; SANTOS, Maria José Azevedo - *Cartas*

Considering the state of the art on fairs in medieval Portugal, recent research has cross-examined a large set of written sources, such as fairs' charters, parliamentary records, and council minutes, proposing a new interpretation of the development of fairs in Portugal between 1125 and 1521, identifying two big expansion phases: from 1260 to 1323 and from 1385 to 1472. The first was dominated by fairs whose privileges were based upon the charter of Covilhã's fair – the Covilhã-model – and the second by ones modelled upon Trancoso's and Tomar's charters – the Trancoso-model and the Tomar-model. The two phases are framed by three other periods: one from 1125 to 1260, where there does not seem to exist a consistent policy regarding fairs; a stagnation period from 1323 till 1385; and a transition period between 1483 and 1521, where monarchs mostly reassert earlier fairs' privileges.[4]

The most important fairs relate to land routes with Castille, as in the cases of Trancoso and Guarda. In contrast with most other cases around Europe, except for England, there were fewer fairs created in the fifteenth century in Portugal than in the thirteenth and fourteenth. [5] These two facts seem to corroborate Rau's thesis that Portuguese fairs were mostly small and connected to the "regional" trade between Portugal and Castille, declining in importance in the fifteenth century, at which point the most important trade was

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de feira de Bragança (sécs. XIII-XV). Bragança: Câmara Municipal de Bragança, 1993; DUARTE, Luís Miguel - *A feira da Vila: 1407-2007*. Santa Maria da Feira: Câmara Municipal de Santa Maria da Feira, 2007. There are also some are also some discussions of fairs' role in the spatial organization of medieval Portugal in: MATTOSO, José - *Identificação de um País*. Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 2015. p. 569-588; HOMEM, Armando Luís de Carvalho - A Dinâmica Dionisina. In *Nova História de Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1996. vol. III, p. 144-163.

[4] CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis.

[5] *Gazetteer Of Markets and Fairs in England And Wales To 1516*. London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2013. [Accessed 12 Nov. 2020.]. Available online: https://archives.history.ac.uk/gazetteer/gazweb2.html.

maritime-based, in the context of Portuguese overseas expansion and centred in large urban centres, especially in Lisbon.[6]

As mentioned, and in contrast with this thesis, appear the fairs of the Algarve. By analysing their charters and contextualizing their creation in the region I will put forward the case that the fairs in the Algarve region of Portugal are deeply connected to maritime trade (and the local production and trading landscape). As such, they present an important contribution towards a more general understanding of late medieval fairs and the role they play in commerce, especially when put side by side with other European spaces.[7]

The Fairs of the Algarve: first charter and productive landscape

Algarve is a region in Southern Portugal, with the Atlantic Ocean in the South and West, the Guadiana River in the East, and the Monchique and Caldeirão mountain ranges in the North. It was ruled by Muslim powers from the eighth century until it was conquered, in 1249, by the Portuguese king Afonso III. Nominally a separate kingdom from Portugal, despite never having its own courts or

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[6] SEQUEIRA, Joana; MIRANDA, Flávio - 'A Port of Two Seas.' Lisbon and European Maritime Networks in the Fifteenth Century. In *Reti marittime come fattori dell'integrazione europea / Maritime Networks as a Factor in European Integration*. Florence: Florence University Press, 2019. p. 339-353. This work also sheds light on a key subject. In the 15th century, Portuguese commerce was, in many ways, still reliant on cheap commodities, such as hides, olive oil and fruits in addition to more "exotic" goods. See also: ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar - La dimensión urbana de un espacio atlántico: Lisboa. In *Mercado inmobiliario y paisajes urbanos en el occidente europeo (siglos XI-XV)*. Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra/Departamento de Cultura y Turismo/Institución Príncipe de Viana, 2007. p. 347-376; ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar; MIRANDA, Flávio - Lisbon. Trade, urban power and the king's visible hand. In *The Routledge handbook of maritime trade around Europe 1300-1600*. New York: Routledge, 2017. p. 333-351.

[7] I am not the first one to propose this connection between the fairs of the Algarve and maritime trade. See: PEREIRA, João Cordeiro - Organização e Admnistração Alfandegárias de Portugal no século XVI (1521-1557). In *Portugal na Era de Quinhentos*. Cascais: Patrimonia Historica, 2003. p. 9-117.

parliament, the Algarve was heir to a strong urban tradition, with a dense network of small towns. [8]

The local economy was rural and to ensure the continuous supply of grain, urban and royal authorities regularly imported wheat from other European regions. A significant proportion of the agricultural production of Algarve was built on crops intended for trade, with an important focus on fruits, such as figs, grapes, used both to produce wine and raisins, and, on a lesser scale, olives, used mostly for olive oil. These, together with salt and other smaller productions (such as almonds), made up the bulk of the exports of the region, enjoying an excellent reputation in Northern Europe. This commerce was further bolstered by the geographical position of the region, being the mid-point in the trade routes between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. It is within this productive and commercial system that we must understand the fairs of the Algarve.[9]

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[8] HENRIQUES, António Castro - *Conquista do Algarve (1189-1249). O segundo reino*. Lisboa: Tribuna da História, 2006; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - Coroa, as vilas e o mar: a rede urbana portuária do Algarve (1266-1325). In *O Papel das Pequenas Cidades na Construção da Europa Medieval*. Lisboa: IEM/Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide, 2017. p. 547-576; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - *As Portas do Mar Oceano: Vilas e Cidades Portuárias do Algarve na Idade Média (1249-1521)*; Under the supervision of Amélia Aguiar Andrade. Lisbon: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, 2021. PhD thesis. Silves was considered a city, as it was an episcopal see. Despite this, I prefer to use the term town due to the probable small size of the urban population. The separation between the Kingdom of Portugal and of the Algarve was mostly present in certain fiscal matters, such as ships from the rest of Portugal being considered as foreign ships.

[9] MARQUES, A.H de Oliveira - *Introdução à História da agricultura em Portugal: a questão cerealífera durante a Idade Média*. Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1968; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - Alimentar la red urbana: las villas y ciudades portuarias del Algarve y el abastecimiento cerealista a finales de la Edad Media. *Riparia*. Cadiz: University of Cadiz/University Laval. Suplemento 2 (2019), p. 211-247; GONÇALVES, Iria - Uma pequena cidade medieval e o seu pão na Baixa Idade Média: o caso de Loulé. In *Abastecer a Cidade na Europa Medieval*. Lisboa: IEM/Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide, 2020. p. 179-212; MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero - *O Algarve Económico durante o século XVI*. Faro: Sul, Sol e Sal, 2019; MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero - *O Algarve Económico: 1600-1773*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1988; BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima - *A construção de uma identidade urbana no Algarve medieval: o caso de Loulé*. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2009. For the specific case of Portuguese figs and their export, see: MIRANDA, Flávio - Die Saga der

The first fair instituted in the Algarve was set up in Loulé in 1291, by King Dinis.[10] Its charter was in line with the most common model of fair of the first phase, the Covilhã-model, focused on the legal protection of the goods and personal safety for the merchants. Therefore, it can be seen as simply a part of the general expansion of fairs over the Portuguese territory. Nonetheless, there is a peculiarity in this fair – its date. Loulé's fair would take place annually, in September, centred around the feast day of Saint Cyprian (16 September). This would make Loulé's fair take place later than most, as fairs in Medieval Portugal clustered between May and August.[11]

This feast day was very important in the local context, due to its connection with fruit production, as it is quite clear in the *Livro da Repartição da Fruta* (loosely translated as "Fruit Share Book") from the early 1400s. In it, we have large quantities of dried figs and raisins that are bought in portions to several small producers of different religious and cultural backgrounds (Christian, Jewish, Muslim). These appear to be bought before being harvested and

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Portugiesischen Feigen der Handel mit dem Nord-und Osterseeraum im Mittelalter. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Trier: Porta Alba Verlag. Vol.133 (2015), p. 77-97. For the texts who praised the quality of these products: MIRANDA, Flávio - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic: commercial diplomacy, merchants, and trade, 1143-1488;* under the supervision of Luís Miguel Duarte and Hilário Casado Alonso. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2012. PhD Thesis. p. 169-171. For evidence of the role played by the Algarve as mid-point in the trade between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, see: CARDOSO, Ana Clarinda - *Os livros de contas do mercador Michele da Colle (1462-63): do registo contabilístico à atividade financeira na praça de Lisboa*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte and Joana Sequeira. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2016. Master's Thesis. p. 39; FONSECA, Luís Adão da; PIZARRO, José Augusto P. de Sotto Mayor - Algumas considerações sobre o comércio externo algarvio na época medieval. In *Actas das I Jornadas de História Medieval do Algarve e Andaluzia*. Loulé: Câmara Municipal de Loulé, 1987. p. 61-89.

[10] Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (A.N.T.T), *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, l.2, f.17.

[11] CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis, p. 240, table 26.

were due to be delivered by the feast of Saint Cyprian.[12] As such, and despite the gap between the creation of the fair and this book, the connection between the date of Loulé's fair and the fruit production seems likely. As these products were mainly exported, it is possible to argue that the fair of Loulé became pivotal for the distribution of dried fruits locally, nationally, and overseas markets. Nonetheless, the fair of Loulé appears to have not survived as an annual affair, as there is no trace of it in the extant sources. It is possible that the growing importance of towns such as Tavira, Lagos or Faro, which had better access to the sea than Loulé, ended up making it a less convenient location. The later appearance of fairs in Faro and Tavira seem to support this hypothesis.[13]

In 1444, Faro petitioned the king for the rights over two plots of land located near the town's butchers.[14]According to the deputies, these laid abandoned, and their owners made an insignificant payment to the king for them. If the king authorized the transfer of the plots, Faro's municipal authorities promised to build in them a large porch, under which the greengrocers and bakers could sell their goods both in summer and winter. This new porch would also be very useful for the town, as very near them it used to take place

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[12] BOTÃO, Maria de Fátima - *A construção de uma identidade urbana no Algarve medieval: o caso de Loulé*. Casal de Cambra: Caleidoscópio, 2009, p. 118-119; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - *As Portas do Mar Oceano: Vilas e Cidades Portuárias do Algarve na Idade Média (1249-1521)*; Under the supervision of Amélia Aguiar Andrade. Lisbon: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, 2021. PhD thesis. vol.1, p. 100-101; DUARTE, Luís Miguel - Figos da terra e trigo do mar. In *Loulé: territórios, memórias, identidades / territoires, mémoires, identités / territory, memory, identity*. Lisboa: Direção-Geral do Património Cultural, 2017. p.598-606.

[13] There are some mentions for a fair in Loulé in the fifteenth century, but this appears to be a weekly market, connecting the urban centre with its agricultural hinterland. See: CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis, p.37, note 89.

[14] *Cortes Portuguesas: Reinado de D. Afonso V (Cortes de 1441-1447)*. Ed. Pedro Pinto; João José Alves Dias. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017, p. 279-290.

a "fair" during the *tempo da carregaçom* (shipping season), where the merchants sold their cloths and other wares. As such, the construction of the porch would furnish Faro with a very honourable public square. Despite not having a written privilege, as there is no evidence of a previous charter for Faro, the situation described above is very telling, foreshadowing the more formal and detailed fair of Tavira, whose charter was granted later in the century.[15]

The period mentioned by the deputies of Faro would be defined a few years later in another petition, presented by Tavira in 1446. [16] Stressing the importance of the export of fruit and wine, Tavira's deputies claimed that the "whole land [Algarve] was built on fruit and wine", and they had enjoyed certain privileges since the Algarve's conquest. These mainly concerned the trading of salt, whose production and sale was a royal monopoly and which was mostly produced for internal consumption. According to the petition, it was allowed for ships that wanted to buy fruit to also load a certain quantity of salt. This limited the amount of fruit exported and lead to great losses, both to the local population and the king's finances, as the revenue from a ship loaded with fruit was larger than four or five with salt. To curtail this practice, it was asked that the king prohibit the export of salt from July 1st until March 1st. The king heeded the

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[15] This mention of a fair lacking a previous charter makes Faro the only case, so far, in which is possible to suppose the existence of a spontaneous "fair" to which the royal charter only gives legal backing. This question of whether the charter created a new event or merely formalize a previous situation is a very difficult one to give a definite answer and as occupied several historians (CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis. p.36-39). On the topic of Faro's square, see: TRINDADE, Luísa - *Urbanismo na composição de Portugal*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2013. p. 589-590; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - *As Portas do Mar Oceano: Vilas e Cidades Portuárias do Algarve na Idade Média (1249-1521)*; Under the supervision of Amélia Aguiar Andrade. Lisbon: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, 2021. PhD thesis. vol.1, p. 319-326.

[16] A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.4, f.69v.

deputies petition, but only for September, October, November, and December. These were, according to the king's reply, the months during which the fruit trade happened - the shipping season.[17]

These months coincide with the feast of Saint Cyprian, which was the centre of Loulé's fair, and there is evidence for their importance in overall Portuguese trade. For example, there is some correlation between September and October and an increase of activity for Portuguese trade in Bristol. It is also telling that apart from Lisbon, most ships from Portugal come from the Algarve, with fruit, wine and olive oil being among the top exports.[18]

The Fairs of the Algarve: the Tavira-model and maritime trade

The charter for Tavira's "royal" fair was granted by King João II in 1490.[19] It had a set of rights and privileges that, despite having some similarities with the Tomar-model, namely the exemption of half the *sisa* (assize, an indirect tax on sales and purchases), departed from it and was tailored to the particularities of the Algarve. [20]

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[17] On the production of salt, see: SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - *As Portas do Mar Oceano: Vilas e Cidades Portuárias do Algarve na Idade Média (1249-1521)*; Under the supervision of Amélia Aguiar Andrade. Lisbon: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, 2021. PhD thesis. vol.1, p. 86-87. On the definition of shipping season, see: FONTES, João Luís - A expansão medieval. In *A Vinha e o Vinho no Algarve. O renascer de uma velha tradição*. Faro: Comissão de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional do Algarve, 2006. p. 25-53.

[18] MIRANDA, Flávio; CASADO ALONSO, Hilário - Comércio entre o porto de Bristol e Portugal no final da Idade Média, 1461–1504. *Anais de História de Além-mar*. Lisboa: Centro de História de Além-Mar. Vol. XIX (2018), p. 11-36; MIRANDA, Flávio - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic: commercial diplomacy, merchants, and trade, 1143-1488;* under the supervision of Luís Miguel Duarte and Hilário Casado Alonso. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2012. PhD Thesis.

[19] A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, l.12, fols.2-2v.

[20] About the status of "royal" fair, see: CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis. p. 231-233.

First, Tavira's fair should take place between the first of September and the 19th of October, the eve of the feast of Saint Irene, lasting 49 days. This overlaps both with the earlier fair in Loulé and the shipping season and made Tavira one of the longest fairs of medieval Portugal.

Second, the fiscal exemptions granted by Tavira's charter were much broader than the mere exemption of half the *sisa* that it shared with the Tomar-model fairs. Firstly, all the woollen and linen cloth (among other wares) entering by sea within the 49 days would pay only half of the *dízima* (tithe, a 10 per cent customs tax) and should not pay any *corretagem* (brokerage, fee paid to a broker), *saca* and *estiva* (withdrawal and stowage, two fees linked with sea trade). Furthermore, the ones selling woollen cloths should not pay any *sisa*, merely having to give the names of those who they sold to, on which the *sisa* would be levied. In the case of the *fruta da carregaçom* (shipping fruit, most likely dried figs and raisins), wine and olive oil, the opposite occurred, with the half *sisa* being paid by the seller. Besides this, merchants, their wares and ships were safe from any reprisals, requisition for military service, searches, and inspections. Lastly, if any goods were left unsold by the end of the fair, merchants had until the end of October to leave port. If they did so, they would not have to pay any additional taxes or duties, as was usual.[21]

These privileges appear to focus on catering to trade from Northern Europe. Portuguese merchants from other regions most likely also benefited from these exemptions given that they were, customs-wise, considered foreigners, as they were not from the Kingdom of the Algarve. Nonetheless, the exemption of the *sisa*

[21] CUNHA, Paulo Morgado e - *Feiras no Portugal Medieval (1125-1521): evolução, organização e articulação*; under the supervison of Luís Miguel Duarte. Porto: Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, 2019. Master's Thesis. p. 196-197.

on the selling of cloth and the purchase of fruit, wine, and olive oil, respectively the top export and import of Northern European trade, coupled with specific mentions to merchants and ships "from the west" (as opposed to the Mediterranean), point to them being the main target of the privileges. As such, it is reasonable to make the case that the objective was to bolster long-distance maritime trade, making Tavira's fair a platform for the surrounding region, helping the integration of its agricultural hinterland in larger trading networks. It is of note that the prologue of the charter itself points to this, as it argues that the fair was granted for the benefit of the merchants Tavira and the Algarve, so that every year merchants and goods gathered in Tavira, whether by land or sea, enriching it.[22]

This fair seems to have been a success. Despite its original charter only being granted for a period of five years (1491-1496), this was extended for five more years in 1496 and 1505, before being made permanent in 1511, and was active at least until 1525.[23]

Another indication of the fair's success is, perhaps, its usage as a basis for another charter. In 1491, King João II granted another fair in the Algarve, in Silves, nominally the "head" of the region, as its only episcopal see.[24] This charter appears to be a shorter version of the one given to Tavira, having the same date and duration, but only mentioning the exemption from half of the *dízima* on woollen and linen cloth and other wares and of *corretagem*, *saca* and *estiva*. It is difficult to understand if this

[22] Despite only mentioning the years 1550-1554, see, on the importance of these privileges: PEREIRA, João Cordeiro - Organização e Admnistração Alfandegárias de Portugal no século XVI (1521-1557). In *Portugal na Era de Quinhentos*. Cascais: Patrimonia Historica, 2003. p. 96-99.

[23] A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.5, f.253v; A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.122; A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.150v; A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.52, f.154v. I suppose there was a renewal around 1500-1501, but I was unable to find evidence of it, as of the writing of this paper.

[24] A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.166.

reduction is due to the nature in which the document was preserved or was intentional. There is not an original in the King's Chancery records or Silves' archives, and the charter is only known in a copy, where it is inserted among many other documents from Silves, all collectively presented and confirmed by King Manuel I in 1497. As a copy, some elements are missing, such as the day in which it was granted, but it is difficult to say if these omissions also occurred in the privileges of the charter. It is possible that as the Tavira charter was mentioned, the rest of the privileges could be omitted, as they could be found in the other document, but this is very unlikely and fails to explain why some privileges were explicitly repeated and others were not. Nonetheless, the key issue of the connection between the local production, the fair and long-distance maritime trade is still explicit, not only due to certain privileges mentioned being specific to this trade, but also there is still the mention of *partes do ponente* as in Tavira. This fair seems to remain active at least until 1526 when King João III confirmed this charter.[25] Nonetheless, it does not appear likely that the fair survived much longer, as Silves was suffering a steep decline due to the silting of the river Arade, that limited its access to the sea and gave rise to various diseases. It is even possible that the fair, granted in 1491, was intended to mitigate this decline and help the local economy. However, Silves was gradually replaced by Lagos and Portimão as the main port in western Algarve and the seventeenth century fair in Silves appears to be unrelated to its fifteenth-century counterpart.[26]

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[25] A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.11, f.125.

[26] MAGALHÃES, Joaquim Romero - *O Algarve Económico: 1600-1773*. Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1988. p. 269-271; SILVA, Gonçalo Melo da - *As Portas do Mar Oceano: Vilas e Cidades Portuárias do Algarve na Idade Média (1249-1521)*; Under the supervision of Amélia Aguiar Andrade. Lisbon: Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, 2021. PhD thesis. Vol.1, p. 122-137.

These privileges of the fairs of Tavira and Silves were effective, at least in causing damage to nearby towns, as the inhabitants of Faro would complain in 1499.[27] In a letter to King Manuel I, they mention that the town had suffered greatly in the last few years because of the privileges given to Silves and Tavira during the shipping season. Because of them, ships that otherwise would come to Faro shifted towards Silves or Tavira, leaving Faro's fruit unsold. This would be particularly damaging, as the production and trade in fruit involved many smallholders, all of which were affected. To solve this problem, Faro requested and was granted the same privileges that Silves had in September and October, namely the exemption of half of the *dízima*.[28]

It is possible that Faro's initial request was different, as Silves' privileges were broader, with the two months mentioned only reflecting what was granted by the King. However, it is difficult to make any further assumptions as the sources are so few. It is also hard to understand why there was no formal charter given to Faro in this period, as an informal fair seemed to exist already in 1444. This might have been due to an intentional policy of benefiting Tavira and Silves, the first as the "gate" to Portuguese North African possessions and the second as the capital of the region, with its only episcopal see. The fact that Faro only receives a charter for a fair in 1549, already after being made the episcopal see of the Algarve, replacing Silves, seems to point in this direction, but it is only a supposition.[29]

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[27] A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.1, f.293-294v.

[28] This was confirmed in 1526 by King João III (A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.11, f.134).

[29] Despite only being transferred in 1577, the request for the transfer of the episcopal see from Silves to Faro was already granted in 1539, one year before Faro being made a city by King João III.

Despite being granted much later, Faro's 1549 fair still shares much of the same *ethos* as the other in Algarve. [30] First, it should take place at the same time and with the same duration. Some privileges were also identical to the ones of Tavira and Silves, like the exemption of *corretagem*, *saca* or *estiva*, half the *dízima*, and of taxes on unsold goods. Others were similar, such as the way the *sisa* was charged – half the *sisa* on fruit, wine and olive oil would be paid by the seller and the full *sisa* on woollen cloth by the buyer. Nonetheless, some more significant differences existed, such as Castille and Aragon being mentioned as possible origins of the woollen and linen cloth, or the clarification that the exemptions on the sale and purchase of these cloths would not be applied if they arrived by land or from nearby places, defined as being less than ten leagues from Faro. These should pay full *dízima* and *sisa* and had to face a different set of legal requirements.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to be certain that these were all the privileges granted to Faro's fair, as the charter has survived only in a copy from its municipal archive, that appears to be incomplete, as there is no mention of the day the document was granted. Nonetheless, the extant sources show that, like Tavira's and Silves' fairs, Faro's was deeply and specifically connected with its local production and maritime trade, perhaps even more so, as the mention of Castille and Aragon gave a broader set of routes for its merchants, mixing both eastbound and westbound trades.[31]

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[30] A.H.M de Faro, Fundo Câmara Municipal de Faro, *Registo de Leis, alvarás, provisões, cartas e outros diplomas. (1645 - 1710)*, doc.21, f.10-10v. I would like thank Dr. Tiago Barão, from the Municipal Archive of Faro, for sending me these documents.

[31] It is possible that other copies of Faro's charter exist, but I have been unable, so far, to locate them. According to Romero Magalhães, this fair had a troubled existence, especially due to the sack of Faro in 1596 by the Earl of Essex. This can be part of the reason for the difficulty in finding its original charter.

Conclusion

The case of the fairs in the Algarve region stresses the importance of looking at late medieval and early modern fairs as institutions catering more than regional overland trade, as some authors like Epstein have proposed.[32] They constituted an exceptional case in Portugal, where privileges tended to be more generic, even when trying to attract foreign merchants, like exempting certain regions and their wares of one tax. For example, Caminha and Viana do Castelo (two towns in the North of Portugal, bordering Galicia) were also deeply connected to foreign trade, were supported by fairs since D. Dinis (like Loulé) and were subject to a similar policy of concentrating the trade in the (few) urban centres. Despite this, we never see their fairs assume special privileges pertaining to foreign trade, being more connected with the gathering of hinterland's production.[33]

Despite being difficult to fully understand the scale and measure the success of these gatherings, the few indicators (for example, complaints from nearby towns, the continued survival of the fair itself) point to the fairs of the Algarve being at least moderately successful. However, further analysis is needed to give a more complete picture of the late medieval revival of fairs, both in Portugal and in the larger European context, focusing on the integration of the fair in its region's productive and commercial landscape. This could be achieved by making case studies of several different and varied regions, for example, Cantabria or Biscay, contrasting cases like the fairs of the Algarve or even larger fairs such as Brabant

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[32] EPSTEIN, Stephan R. - Regional Fairs, Institutional Innovation, and Economic Growth in Late Medieval Europe. *The Economic History Review*. London: Blackwell Publishers. Vol. 47, no. 3 (1994), p. 459-482.

[33] See: PEREIRA, João Cordeiro - Organização e Admnistração Alfandegárias de Portugal no século XVI (1521-1557). In *Portugal na Era de Quinhentos*. Cascais: Patrimonia Historica, 2003. p. 9-19.

and Antwerp, with fairs like Medina del Campo, given that the former are all heavily connected with maritime trade and the latter is not.[34] It is also important to bear in mind the productive landscape because some fairs were deeply connected to a commodity, with fruits becoming quintessential to Algarve's fairs as herring was to Scania's, studied by Carsten Jahnke. This not only shaped the potential customers but also conditioned how the fair took place, like its date or location. This analysis should not be limited to an arguably unfair comparison in scale, but also reflect on the strategies used to adapt the fair to the local reality, stressing the institutional innovation that Epstein correctly pointed out as being the key aspect for the success of late medieval fairs, never forgetting the importance of connecting the regional trade with the local production and the national and international trading circuits, whether by overland or oversea routes.

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A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. Dinis*, l.2, f.17

A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João II*, l.12, fols.2-2v.

A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.52, f.154v.

A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.11, f.125.

A.N.T.T, *Chancelaria de D. João III*, Doações, ofícios e mercês, l.11, f.134.

[34] For a recent survey of the Medina del Campo fairs, see: CASADO ALONSO, Hilário - Comprar y vender en las ferias de Castilla durante los siglos XV y XVI. In *Faire son marché au Moyen Âge: Mediterranée occidentale, XIIIe-XVIe siècle*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2018. p. 111-131.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.1, f.293-294v.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura* Nova, Odiana, l.4, f.69v.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.5, f.253v.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.122.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.150v.

A.N.T.T, *Leitura Nova*, Odiana, l.7, f.166.

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The Hinterland of Long-distance Trade. Regional Integration and Functional Development in North-Eastern Italy (1250-1450)

Tommaso Vidal
University of Padua
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8019-9077

Abstract

A quite established mainstream narrative in economic history has focused on long-distance trade and its main logistical, financial and exchange hubs. Furthermore, from a theoretical standpoint, the institutionalist approach to economic history emphasized the importance of the reduction of transaction costs as a pre-condition for economic development. Late-medieval Friuli, a region strategically situated between Venice and the German-speaking lands, proves to be a fruitful case study to test such assumptions. With this contribution I will try to demonstrate that transaction costs (especially customs and regional/state fiscality), rather than eliminated, could also be avoided, and exploited and might have even been a stimulus to economic integration on an interregional level.

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Resumo

Uma das narrativas mais comuns em história económica tem colocado o enfoque no comércio de longa-distância e nos seus centros nevrálgicos de logística, finança e comércio. De um ponto de vista teórico, a abordagem institucionalista à história económica enfatiza a importância da redução dos custos de transação como uma pré-condição para o desenvolvimento económico. Friuli, na baixa idade média, uma região estrategicamente situada entre Veneza e as regiões de língua alemã, assume-se como um relevante estudo de caso para testar essas teses. Este ensaio procurará demonstrar que os custos de transação (especialmente as taxas alfandegárias e a fiscalidade regional e estatal), em vez de eliminados, poderiam ser evitados, mas também explorados, e poderão ter representado um estímulo à integração económico num nível inter-regional.

Introduction

Between the 7th of February and 10th of March 1381, an unknown official of the Patriarchate of Aquileia issued 141 trade licenses to 130 different individuals. Among these licenses, twenty-seven had been required to export various merchandises beyond the borders of the Patriarchate.[1] The register from which these data have been taken is but a fragment of a bigger one, unfortunately lost, written by a notary of the Patriarch of Aquileia during the war of Chioggia. The sheer volume of export is staggering if we consider that the

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their kind and insightful suggestions. My thanks also go to the scientific committee for having organized such a stimulating meeting and to all the participants and discussants for their clever paper and remarks.

[1] ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, 43, Licenze per l'estrazione delle merci (forse della muda di Venzone).

data that we have cover just 32 days. During this month Friulian carters and merchants exported at least 52,5 *miliari* of iron (approx. 25 tonnes), 14 *some* of steel (7 *miliari* or 3,33 tonnes if we consider the *soma* of 500 *libbre*), 1700 scythes, along with canvas, linen cloth, wool yarn and cloth, nails, knives, fine wine, and flax. Padua, Trento, and Vicenza were the main export destinations, especially for ironworks, steel, and rough cloth, but also Cadore, Villach, and Ancona were vital destinations of Friulian exports that thus reached most of the main trade centres of North-eastern Italy. The only notable absence is Venice but, it must be noted, the fragment that records these licences was produced by the chancery of the Patriarch of Aquileia Marquard of Randeck during the war of Chioggia, at a time when trade with Venice, at war against Genoa and its allies, was strictly forbidden.[2]

In normal times, a robust trade and export of Friulian goods towards Venice by merchants resident in Friuli was the rule rather than the exception. In 1388, some years after the peace of Turin (1381) that ended the war of Chioggia, iron export towards Venice had already been fully re-established. By that year, the company of the Florentine Giovanutto Boni and the Udinese Mattiusso Q. Giovanni Franzutti had sold twenty *fassi* (weight measure for iron, corresponding to 175 *libbre*)[3] of iron to Villano *del Ponte*, a coppersmith from Bologna that had gained Venetian citizenship in 1379.[4]

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[2] BRAUNSTEIN, Philippe – Guerres, vivres et transports dans le haut-Frioul en 1381. In *Erzeugung, Verkehr und Handel in der Geschichte der Alpenländer (Tiroler Wirtschaftsstudien 33.)*, edited by Huter FRANZ, Georg ZWANOWETZ, and Franz MATHIS. Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1977. p. 85-106.

[3] BARALDI, Enzo – Ordigni e parole dei maestri da formo bresciani e bergamaschi: lessico della siderurgia indiretta in Italia tra XII e XVII secolo. In *La Sidérurgie alpine en Italie: 12.-17. siècle. (Collection de l'École française de Rome; 290)*, edited by Philippe BRAUNSTEIN. Rome: *École* Française de Rome, 2001. p. 163-213, *ad vocem*.

[4] ASUd, *ANA*, b. 5127/9, ff. 43r-44r; for Villano *del Ponte*: VILLANUS A PONTE QD PETRI, Cives Veneciarum, http://www.civesveneciarum.net/dettaglio.php?id=3524, versione 56/2017-02-01.

Such trade currents, extremely vital throughout the fifteenth century can be dated back to the first half of the fourteenth century.[5]

Though heavily source-based, this contribution will consider some of the most flexible and less strict theories put forth by historians inspired by the New Institutional Economics (NIE). Stephan R. Epstein wrote inspiring pages on the interacting role of politics and economics, and the place for jurisdictional fragmentation within the development process of integrated regional economies in his famous *Freedom and Growth*.[6] His idea that the lack of strong competing powers helped Italian city-states – and regional states – achieve market integration earlier than European national states is undoubtedly stimulating, but his case studies are limited to Lombardy, Tuscany, and Sicily. Venice, whose regional state span from the valleys of Bergamo to Friuli in the fifteenth century, is only marginally considered. A more recent survey by Franceschi and Molà, on the other hand, has highlighted the problems and uncertainties of a purely economic region approach to the economic history of late medieval Italian regional states.[7] Though it can be said that within certain areas, like Lombardy under the Visconti and Sforza, central powers sought to rationalize traffic routes and customs, the general trend was characterized by a long standing municipalism and lack of coordination.[8]

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[5] DAVIDE, Miriam & VIDAL, Tommaso – Between Carinthia and Venice: transport, manufacture and commerce of iron goods in the Patriarchate of Aquileia (1300s-1400s). In *Hommes et travail du métal dans les villes médiévales: 35 ans après*, edited by Nicholas THOMAS, Lise SAUSSUS, Danielle ARRIBET-DEROIN, and Marc BOMPAIRE. Paris: Presses universitaires de la Sorbonne, forthcoming.

[6] EPSTEIN, Stephan R. – *Freedom and Growth. The rise of states and markets in Europe, 1300-1750*. London: Routledge, 2000. For his reconstruction of the Italian context see pages 89-105.

[7] FRANCESCHI, Franco & MOLÀ, Luca – Stati regionali e sviluppo económico. In *Lo stato del Rinascimento in Italia: 1350-1520*, edited by Andrea GAMBERINI and Isabella LAZZARINI. Viella: Rome, 2014. p. 401-420.

[8] FRANCESCHI & MOLÀ – Stati regionali, p. 417-418. Interesting insights on the ruling centre-subject centre relations can also be found in MAINONI, Patrizia

Another problem of a straightforward NIE approach to the topic of regional economic integration is the very idea of region. As Paola Lanaro suggested, economic regions are difficult to identify from a geographic point of view and must not be considered "the only outlet for political and economic processes put forth by central authorities".[9] Her suggestion to consider water and land route integration as a defining factor to identify the Venetian economic region is not only convincing but can also be further exploited to explore interregional economic integration.

In this contribution I will aim at reconstructing the development of interregional integration in North-Eastern Italy, with a particular focus on Friuli, whose role as a key connective area for trade between Northern Italy and Southern Germany was never really cancelled by Venetian policies for German trade.[10] It is not my intention, nor my ambition, to give an answer to all the many unanswered questions on regional and interregional market integration and economic regions in the late Middle Ages. I will offer new insights on the subject, focusing on a frontier area like Friuli that, due to its peripheral nature, has often been overlooked.

Yet, the economic growth of the region can hardly be accurately quantified, as it is often the case in pre-modern societies. The lack of direct indicators of trade intensification forces us to rely on various 'proxy' indicators. Demographic growth can be considered a

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& BARILE, Nicola Lorenzo– Mercati sub-regionali e flussi di traffico nell'Italia Bassomedievale. In *I centri minori italiani nel tardo medioevo: cambiamento sociale, crescita economica, processi di ristrutturazione (secoli XIII-XVI): atti del XV convegno di studi organizzato dal Centro di Studi sulla Civiltà del Tardo Medioevo, San Miniato, 22-24 Settembre 2016*, edited by Federico LATTANZIO and Gian Maria VARANINI. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2018. p. 81-114.

[9] LANARO, Paola – *I mercati nella Repubblica Veneta. Economie cittadine e stato territoriale (secoli XV-XVIII)*. Venezia: Marsilio, 1999, p. 35.

[10] LANARO – *I mercanti*, p. 74.

first sign – or consequence – of economic and trade development.[11] Udine, for example, enjoyed a rather long and steady positive demographic trend from the fourteenth to the early sixteenth century, going from approximately 6000 (1350s) to 14579 inhabitants (1548).[12]

Friulian cities (Udine, Cividale and Gemona) also preserve some rather complete and continuous data on the sale prices of the urban *dazi* (indirect taxes on sales and/or consumption). These data, though apparently perfect for a quantitative analysis of urban economic trends must, in fact, be used with caution to avoid mistaking periods of apparent – sometimes protracted – stagnation with actual economic decline. The *dazi* of Udine (Appendix, Fig. 1) seem to show a rather rapid and robust growth from the early 1300s to approximately the 1380s, followed by a lengthy stagnation – if not decline – that would only be broken at the end of the fifteenth century.[13] In fact, these data must be used with great caution, not only because *dazi* and other revenues were often granted as a payment to the creditors of the commune, but also because they are deeply embedded in a complex political and economic context. The prolonged stagnation starting in the 1380s that the *dazi* of Udine seem to suggest must be connected with the deeply unstable and war-ridden last phase of the Patriarchal domain over Friuli. The years 1381-1420 were characterized by continuous warfare, recurring epidemies and an overall decrease in rural population.[14] Thus,

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[11] EPSTEIN – *Freedom*, p. 32-52 who, in turn, founds its hypothesis on the work by Patrick Galloway; Galloway, "Basic Patterns".

[12] GINATEMPO, Maria & SANDRI, Lucia. *L'Italia delle città. Il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento (secoli XIII - XVI)*. Firenze: Le Lettere, 1990, p. 93.

[13] The data are taken from the account books of the commune (BCU, *FP*, mss. 882/I-XIX; ASUd, *DSF*, II, 149) or the registers of city council deliberations (BCU, *ACU*, Annales, tomes VII-XXXVII; BCU, *ACU*, Acta, tomes I-III).

[14] DEGRASSI, Donata – Il Friuli tra continuità e cambiamento: aspetti economico-sociali e istituzionali, in DEGRASSI, Donata – *Continuità e cambiamenti nel Friuli tardo medievale (XII-XV Secolo): saggi di storia economica e sociale*. Trieste: CERM, 2009. p. 133-157: 149-149.

stagnation in the auction prices of the *dazi* can be considered a sign of resilience of the economic system as a whole during a time of crisis. The steady increase in the revenues from the sale of the tax on iron goods – a speciality of Friulian economy – seems to confirm such an interpretation.

A third, perhaps, more accurate indicator of trade intensification is the breadth and complexity of trade networks. Abundant and significant work has been devoted to the study and the assessment of pre-industrial port network, as the analysis of a wide variety of sources has highlighted the role of ports as a key factor in the integration of otherwise disconnected economic areas.[15] It should not be completely futile to further enrich our knowledge of fairs and markets as integrating factors[16] through the analysis of the networks of key logistic hubs and intermediate markets in long-distance land trade whose role can easily be compared to the one ports played in sea trade.

The time span I am going to adopt for this study, ranging from the early 1200s to the 1450s, will allow me to follow the development of the region from its early phases up to its consolidation within the context of the Venetian regional state. The economic and fiscal policies of the many political authorities of the area will be considered, as well as the influence of Venetian mainland state, as I evaluate their role in the rise of strong intermediate and subsidiary markets that favoured interregional integration, productive

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[15] A recent insight on Medieval port networks and their role, with rich and updated bibliogrpahy, in ORLANDI, Angela – Between the Mediterranean and the North Sea: Networks of Men and Ports (14th-15th Centuries). In *Reti marittime come fattori dell'integrazione europea: selezione di ricerche; Maritime Networks as a Factor in European Integration: Selection of Essays*, edited by Giampiero NIGRO. Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2019. p. 49-70.

[16] See for example the proceedings of a conference held in Prato by the Istituto Datini; CAVACIOCCHI, Simonetta (ed.) – *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee secc. XIII-XVIII: atti Della trentaduesima settimana di studi 8-12 Maggio 2000*. Grassina, Bagno a Ripoli: Le Monnier, 2001.

specialization, and the development of complementary export flows. In a way, this set of factors could allow us to consider the area that spans from North-eastern Italy to Southern Germany as a perfectly integrated economic macro-region.

2. *Prelude to interregional integration: the age of* Pacta

A recent survey identified the central years of the thirteenth century, from the foundation of the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* in 1228 to the end of the rule of Ottokar II Přemysl (r. 1253-1278) in 1278, as crucial to the birth of solid and lasting direct trade flows between Venice and Central Europe.[17] Such a crucial development in long-distance – or international – trade was preceded by the creation in the neighbouring *Terraferma* of an economic area that, in the intentions of Venice, was supposed to be strictly linked and dependent from the market of Rialto.

Venice focused its direct interest on the *contado* of Padua, the district of Treviso, Friuli and Istria. Here, the patriciate of the Republic sought to achieve this objective via economic expansion in the land market to secure revenues, military aggression, and the *pacta*, bilateral treaties that could be both mainly commercial and a mixture of peace and commerce treaties (like the *pacta* with the Patriarchate of Aquileia).[18] Venice sought to secure food supply for its domestic market and to create favourable conditions for its own

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[17] ZAORAL, Roman – Mining, Coinage and Metal Export in the Thirteenth Century. The Czech Lands and Italy in Comparative Perspective. In *The Medieval Networks in East Central Europe: Commerce, Contacts, Communication*, edited by Nagy BALÁZS, Felicitas SCHMIEDER, and Vadas ANDRÁS. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2019. p. 211-226: 213-215.

[18] POZZA Marco – Penetrazione fondiaria e relazioni commerciali con Venezia. In *Storia di Treviso II. Il Medioevo*, edited by Daniela RANDO and Gian Maria VARANINI. Venezia: Marsilio Editori, 1991. p. 299-322: 304-312.

merchants on foreign markets, while also trying to attract trade flows and potential custom revenues towards the market of Rialto. Thus, while bilateral in form, the early redactions of the *pacta* with the neighbouring authorities (the commune of Treviso, the Patriarch of Aquileia) were generally more favourable to Venice and harsher towards the weaker party.[19] This process, that took place throughout the whole thirteenth century, resulted in the creation, in Treviso and the Paduan countryside, of an area that, from both the economic and political standpoint, was deeply tied and dependent from Venice. Such deep-rooted ties resulted in a much more direct and stricter control over these areas after the formation of the Venetian regional state as compared to the looser control over Verona, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo.[20] While Friuli was originally part of this indirect control effort by Venice, for reasons not perfectly known yet, it would later diverge from the path followed by the centres nearest to the lagoon, resulting in looser control after the annexation (1420). The reasons for such a divergent development are hard to identify and could range from the lack in Friuli of substantial land purchase and ownership by Venetians, whose presence was more consistent in the lands west of the Tagliamento river; to political developments that helped loosening the noose around Friulian economy. I will now offer a brief yet, possibly, exhaustive survey of the first phase of the development of Friulian-Venetian relationship in the 1200s.

The pacta from the first half of the thirteenth century (1206, 1222, 1248) were indeed characterized by a clear prevalence of Venetian interests. Venice managed to impose a *quadragesimum* (2.5% tax on all merchandises passing through the port) in Aquileia while being

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[19] POZZA – Penetrazione fondiaria, p. 308-309; HÄRTEL, Reinhard– *I patti con il patriarcato di Aquileia: 880-1255. (Pacta Veneta; 12)*, Rome: Viella, 2005, p. 162-169.

[20] VARANINI, Gian Maria – *Comuni cittadini e stato regionale. Ricerche sulla Terraferma veneta nel Quattrocento*. Verona: Libreria editrice universitaria, 1992, p. LIII-LIV.

exempted from the *dazi* on sales in the Patriarchate.[21] A treaty from 1254 required the Patriarch to remove some new taxes on salt, iron and pitch he had begun to levy in Chiusaforte, a customs station on the road connecting Friuli to the other side of the Alps. Venice also reaffirmed, apparently after some limitations, the right for its merchants to freely export foodstuff from Friuli. While the general pattern of trade did not undergo considerable variations, some signs of change can be identified. Patriarchs had sought to impose new taxes on key merchandises of long-distance, international trade (iron, salt, pitch) on a trade route that had been blooming in the previous decades since the establishment of the *Fondaco* in Venice. Meanwhile, small market towns of Friuli started to enjoy demographic and economic development and their urban patriciate, bolstered by foreign merchants, aspired to a more active role within the existing trade flows. Venzone seemed to enjoy a particularly sudden rise that must undoubtedly be tied to its "extra-territorial" status within the territories of the Patriarchate of Aquileia, being a fief bestowed by the Patriarchs to the Mels family who, in turn, sold it to the counts of Gorizia in 1288.[22] The merchants from this enclave enjoyed a special custom regime as early as 1261, after a treaty with the count of Gorizia that was meant to bolster the direct connection between Venzone and Latisana.[23] They could also exploit their peculiar status to avoid the restrictions that Venice imposed to trade with Friuli whenever tensions between the *Serenissima* and the Patriarchs broke out. In 1291, for example, Venice and the Patriarch reached a deal to ensure the continuity of trade on the

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[21] HÄRTEL – *I patti*, p. 78-80, 98-103.

[22] CUSIN, Fabio – *Il confine orientale d'Italia nella politica europea del XIV e XV secolo*. 2nd ed. Trieste: LINT, 1977, p. 15.

[23] SWIDA, Francesco – Documenti Goriziani e Friulani dal 1126 al 1800, *Archeografo Triestino*. Trieste: Tip. di Gio. Marenigh. New series, no. XIV/II (1888), p. 399-425, no. XIII.

Caorle-Portogruaro line. Thirty men from each side were authorized to come and go for trade reasons from Portogruaro and Venice respectively. The merchants from Venzone and above Venzone (i.e. German merchants), on the other hand, could go, stay and trade in Venice without any limitation.[24]

The last pacts of this period, signed by patriarch Raimondo della Torre, date back to 1275 and 1277.[25] All the main traits of the period are still perfectly recognizable: favourable conditions for Venetian merchants, focus on free export of foodstuff and tax exemptions on the main export goods. Yet, signs of changed trade patterns also start to show. Trade flows had intensified, and Friulian market towns had started to play a more enterprising role within the existing framework. The Patriarchs seem to have been aware of the increase in trade flows and acted accordingly, levying new taxes, and instituting new custom stations to increase their fiscal income. In the pact from 1299 between Venice on one hand, and the count of Gorizia, general captain of the Patriarchate, and the chapter of Aquileia on the other, during the vacancy of the Patriarchal See, the parties seem to be on a more level playing field.[26] The representatives of the Patriarchate were even able to demand the removal of the *dazi* Venice levied on Friulian goods, notably wool cloth, during the war at the time of Patriarch Raimond (1291).[27] It is evident that progressively since the 1250s Friulian market towns had freed themselves from the limits of Venetian intermediation in

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[24] *FOUCARD, Cesare (ed.) – Codice diplomatico della città di Portogruaro dall'anno MCXL all'anno MCCCCXX*, Portogruaro, 1856, no. 14 [13.III.1291].

[25] MINOTTO, Antonio Stefano (ed.) – *Acta et diplomata e regio tabulario Veneto usque ad medium seculum XV summatim regesta. Documenta ad Forumjulii, Patriarchatum Aquileiensem, Tergestum, Istriam, Goritiam spectantia*, Venezia, 1870, p. 31-33.

[26] MINOTTO (ed.) – *Acta et diplomata*, p. 45-46.

[27] In 1291, Venice had rised the tax on imported Friulian woollen cloth, making it two times the one on other woollen cloth. ASVE, *Maggior Consiglio*, Pilosus, f. 6r.

the organization of trade flows. The parallel urban development of the main centres of the Patriarchal domains can only be explained by, and in turn produce, a more flourishing domestic market, more rapid currency circulation and more enterprising urban patriciates.

The grand design that Venice tried to achieve, with a certain degree of consciousness, during the thirteenth century, consisted in the creation in the north section of the Adriatic Sea, from coastal Istria to the mouth of the Po river, of a wide market area meant to supply its domestic market.[28] Control over Adriatic naval trade flows was perfectly achieved, but land trade on the other hand was more difficult to control for a complex series of reasons: possibility for merchandises to trickle down an infinite series of paths and intermediate markets, jurisdictional fragmentation over land routes and the rise of stronger intermediate markets, to mention but a few. During the fourteenth century the focus of Venice in Friuli would not be customs exemption and tax-free foodstuff trade anymore, but peace and safety for merchants and free circulation on the routes that connected the two sides of the Alps.[29]

3. *The rise of intermediate markets (1260s-1350s)*

As seen in the overview briefly sketched in the previous section, after a first, generally passive phase, Friulian economy and trade had begun to develop in the second half of the thirteenth century. Signs of development can be seen in the subtle but significant mutation of the *pacta* from the 1250s onwards, or in the detailed

[28] FAUGERON, Fabien – *Nourrir la ville: ravitaillement, marcheés et métiers de l'alimentation à Venise dans les derniers siècles du moyen âge*. Rome: École française, 2014, p. 328-334.

[29] See for exemple the pact with the Patriarch Pietro Gera from 1300; MINOTTO (ed.) – *Acta et diplomata*, p. 49-51.

custom and trade pact between Meinhard, count of Gorizia, and the lord of Venzone, *Clizoi* of Mels.[30] The treaty, concluded before 1261, regulated customs for Venzonese merchants on the route from Venzone to Venice through the port of Latisana, under the jurisdiction of the County of Gorizia. It regulated tariffs for thirty-six different items, from foodstuff and wine to metals, wool, pelts, and spices, thus conveying the impression of the existence of autonomous trade patterns in Friuli. The town of Venzone later became part of the jurisdiction of the dukes of Carinthia in 1288, strengthening its role as an enclave within the Patriarchate until 1336.[31]

Similar trade patterns must have also characterized the neighbouring patriarchal market town of Gemona, favoured by the *Niederlech*, a privilege granted by the patriarchs some time before 1280 in an effort to contain the rise of Venzone and to divert trade currents towards the patriarchal custom stations.[32] Such privilege made it compulsory for German merchants to unload their chariots and load their merchandises – bound to Venice – on chariots led by Friulian carters while spending the night in the city. An increase in demand of northern goods (wool, live animals, pelts, iron), stimulated by the steady demographic rise of the city in the second half of the thirteenth century, was met by the increase of the offer determined by the convenience, for German merchants, to sell some of their merchandises after the forced stop in the town. Gemona thus developed as an intermediate service-oriented market that exploited the existing trade flows from Southern Germany and Carinthia to the *Fondaco* in Venice.

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[30] SWIDA – Documenti goriziani, no. XIII.

[31] CUSIN – *Il confine orientale*, p. 15, 34-38, MINIATI, Enrico – L'Alto Friuli: le terre di Gemona, Venzone e Tolmezzo. In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: secoli XIII-XIV*, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 349-376: 364.

[32] MINIATI – L'Alto Friuli, p. 359-360.

Whereas merchants and businessmen from Gemona seemed to be content with exploiting an existing and flourishing trade flow, the merchants from Venzone, favoured by their status as a foreign enclave, gradually built a trade network that is impressive for a town that probably counted a few hundred inhabitants.[33] The data from notarial registers from 1332-1333 and 1336[34] show that the trade patterns of the town were roughly similar, with some significative variations, to the ones of Gemona (Appendix, fig. 2). Undoubtedly, much of the network was built on the constant passage of German merchants, but Venzonese merchants had also already established a permanent or semi-permanent presence in Villach where they traded oil.[35] The annexation of Venzone to the Habsburg domains from 1351 to 1365 brought numerous advantages to its merchants. After the treaty of Budweis (1351) the duke of Austria Albert II controlled the town of Venzone, the *Val Canale* connecting the piedmont to the Alpine pass of Tarvis/Coccau, and Chiusaforte, seat of the main customs station of the Patriarchate of Aquileia. This meant that merchants from Venzone became part of the Alpine-Habsburg customs area, thus enjoying a significative advantage over other Friulian competitors in trade with both Venice and the rest of Northern Italy, characterized in the 1350s by extreme jurisdictional fragmentation. The advantage was particularly relevant in the trade of bulk commodities (iron, low-quality wine, and wool) that were the backbone of the Alpine trade system and suffered from customs taxation because of their low per-unit value.[36] The rise of Venzone and its merchants as

[33] Venzone was subject to the dukes of Carinthia from 1288 to 1335 and later (1335-1336) to the counts of Gorizia. After a brief period of patriarchal control from 1336 to 1351, it became part of the Habsburg domains until 1365, when it fell gain under the patriarchal rule; DAVIDE & VIDAL – Between Carinthia.

[34] ASUd, *ANA*, 10717/Ermanno of Lazzaro (1333); ASUd, *ANA*, 10171/Nicolò of Candido (1336).

[35] ASUd, *ANA*, 10717/Nicolò of Candido (1336), ff. 21r-22v.

[36] For some further considerations see DAVIDE & VIDAL – Between Carinthia.

a relevant part of trade between Central and Southern Europe is testified by the development of the town's trade network in the 1350s (Appendix, fig. 3).[37] Even though a denser network could be the consequence of the greater abundance of notarial registers, it must be noted that its breadth and complexity also grew. Venzone became, during the Habsburg domain, a key hub for purchase and redistribution of Southern and Northern merchandise. The Venzonese acted as middlemen for merchants from other towns – notably Udine – in the purchase of live animals, cheese, woollen cloth, and iron, while also gathering merchandises like oil, wine, and spices to settle the balance of trade with the other side of the Alps. More importantly, merchants from Venzone begun establishing permanent companies well beyond the borders of Friuli.

The company *a civitate Veneciarum usque ad civitatem Bruzarum* (from the city of Venice to the city of Bruges) that Tomasino *quondam Sdrolgo* and Rainerio *Niger*, acting for his brother Iosafat, liquidated in 1352[38] might indeed have been a single travel or venture company, but numerous deeds testify the existence, in the 1350s, of a thick system of companies settled by merchants from Venzone throughout Carinthia, Carniola, Tyrol, Styria, and Austria. Domenico *Mas*, for example, was a typical merchant from Venzone. Born in Venzone, he had settled in Maribor and in 1350 he established a company to trade *in arte mercimoniorum quem utuntur ad Marchiam Stirie* (in those merchandises that are used in the March of Styria).[39] Five years later, in 1355, his business, based mainly on oil export from Friuli, had spread from Maribor to Leibnitz and Graz and even reached Wien.[40] Domenico by 1352

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[37] Data from ASUd, *Comune di Venzone*, 1/5; ASUd, *ANA*, 2229-2230.

[38] ASUd, *ANA*, b. 2229/Alessio (1351-1352), f. 75v.

[39] ASUd, *ANA*, b. 2229/Alessio (1349-1350), ff. 40v-41r.

[40] ASUd, *ANA*, b. 2230/Alessio (1354-1355), ff. 29rv.

had moved to Udine, where he used his connections in Styria to intervene in the lucrative cattle and pig trade, leaving the material execution of his business in Styria to his employees.[41] The case of Domenico *Mas* is one among many merchants from Venzone progressively scattered throughout Austria, reaching in some cases even Nurnberg. Their knowledge of the territories and land routes must have been acknowledged even in Venice, since the Senate, in 1351, sent the Venzonese *Cecho Lion* to try and repair the route to Flanders via Nurnberg.[42]

Merchants from Venzone were able to create a wide trade network that was both a consequence of trade intensification on the route from German-speaking lands to Italy and a powerful stimulus to Friulian economy. The needs of interregional trade with the towns on the other side of the Alps spurred Friulian market towns towards increased productive specialization. Towns like Venzone and Gemona required a steady supply of wine, salt, oil, and other southern merchandises to sustain their economic system. Venzonese merchants purchased great quantities of wine in the piedmont and *ultra Tulmentum* (on the right side of the Tagliamento river) supplying in turn the farmers with credit, cloth, and iron.[43] The area around Casarsa della Delizia in particular, seems to have precociously specialized in wine production, a specialization that lasts to our days. Finer wine (ribolla, malvasia) and oil reached Venzone and Gemona from Istria and Trieste, while *Romània* wine was undoubtedly purchased in Venice along with spices. To settle the balance of payments in Rialto, merchants from Venzone exported wood, pitch,

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[41] ACU, AOSMM, 798, 86.

[42] GIRARDI, Francesca (ed.) – *Venezia - Senato: Deliberazioni Miste. Registro XXVI (1350-1354)*. Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2008, p. 295-296, 465-466.

[43] Wine supplies as a payment for credit by businessmen from Venzone are continuously registered by notaries during the 1350s; ASUd, *ANA*, 2229-2230.

and iron.[44] The production of wrought iron and iron objects developed vigorously in the first half of the fourteenth century in the *Val Canale* (Pontebba, Malborghetto) and in the piedmont (Artegna, Nimis, Tarcento, Reana) respectively.[45] Iron production – scythes in particular – became a trademark of Friulian economy in the late fourteenth century, being recognized as a speciality in Tuscany by the correspondents of Francesco Datini[46] and in Lombardy by the dukes of Milan.[47]

While Venzone and Gemona developed as intermediate markets on the route from Germany to Venice, Udine tied its rise to pre-eminence in Friuli to patriarchal policies.[48] As Donata Degrassi recently highlighted, the primer for Udine's explosive rise in the early fourteenth century, must be traced back to the eleventh century, when one of the Patriarch's *canipe* – gathering place and stock warehouses for rents – was established in Udine. The *canipa* tied Udine, a small, fortified outpost at the time, to the fertile neighbouring plains, and put it at the centre of a relevant flow of grains and wine coming from patriarchal estates. Udine, supported by the Patriarchs, became, in the late thirteenth century, one of the main financial centres of the region where Lombards and Tuscans,

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[44] See for example in ASUd, *ANA*, 2230/Alessio (1358-1359) the establishment in 1359 of a company for the production in Malborghetto of wrought iron specifically destined to the Venetian market.

[45] SCARTON, Elisabetta – La falce senza il grano. Produzione e commercio a Udine tra XIV e XV secolo. In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: secoli XIII-XIV*, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 283-318: 297-305.

[46] SCARTON – La falce, p. 298.

[47] MAINONI, Patrizia – *Economia e politica nella Lombardia medievale. Da Bergamo a Milano fra XIII e XV secolo*. Cavallermaggiore: Gribaudo, 1994, p. 117; the *ducale* that appointed the officials of the Duke to the *fondaco della ferrarezza* in Bergamo in 1397, mentions, among the other tipes of iron objects, the *furlanos* (literally "friulians").

[48] SCARTON – La falce, p. 283-290; DEGRASSI, Donata – Udine nell'economia del Patriarcato. In *Cultura in Friuli III*, edited by Matteo VENIER, and Gabriele ZANELLO. Udine: Società Filologica Friulana, 2017. p. 639-649: 639-649.

allured by the prospect of easy profits in a bullion-hungry region, co-operated with dynamic urban élites.[49]

Udine, during its initial development (1220s-1330s), seems to have been, not unlike Gemona, a logistic hub, characterized by service offer, high demand of consumer goods and overall low production outputs. The lack of sources for this period makes a thorough reconstruction of the trade and production patterns almost impossible. When sources start to become more consistent, around the 1330s-1350s, Udine had already changed its urban and commercial physiognomy. The concentration of capitals in the city, unparalleled in the region, transformed Udine from a logistic to an organizational hub. Capital holders and companies settled in Udine started to control and direct trade flows in the region, investing in key sectors like iron, leather, live animals (particularly pigs) and cloth.[50] Cloth and leather production had also developed as the former was favoured by the joint action of the patriarch Bertrand of Saint-Geniès (r. 1334-1350) and the city council, while the latter naturally benefitted from the lucrative cattle and live animals trade.[51] Fiscal policies further advantaged

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[49] For the Lombards in Friuli see DAVIDE, Miriam – *Lombardi in Friuli: per la storia delle migrazioni interne nell'Italia del Trecento*. Trieste: CERM, 2008. The role of the Tuscan community in Friuli has been at the centre of two meetings: MALCANGI, Alessandro (ed.) – *I Toscani in Friuli: Atti Del Convegno, Udine, 26-27 Gennaio 1990*. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1992; FIGLIUOLO, Bruno & GIULIANO, Pinto (eds.) – *I Toscani nel Patriarcato di Aquileia in età Medioevale: atti del convegno di Udine: (19-21 Giugno 2008)*. Udine: Selekta, 2010.

[50] A general, albeit sometimes outdated, overview in ZACCHIGNA, Michele – *Lavoro sottoposto e commerci in una comunità friulana: Udine fra crisi e sviluppo, secoli XIV - XV*. Trieste: Edizioni Università di Trieste, 2001 and DEGRASSI, Donata – L'economia del tardo medioevo. In *Storia della socità friulana. Il medioevo*, edited by Paolo Cammarosano. Tavagnacco (UD): Casamassima, 1988. p. 269-435.

[51] The development of cloth industry in Udine has been so far undervalued and thus understudied. On the implant of wool industry in Udine see DI PRAMPERO, Antonio – *Il dazio dei panni e l'arte della lana in Udine dal 1324 al 1368*. Udine, 1881 and BRUNETTIN, Giordano – *Bertrando di Saint-Geniès Patriarca di Aquileia (1334-1350)*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2004, p. 732-733. On leather production see SCARTON – La falce, p. 305.

the development of urban centres and interregional trade flows as the patriarchs were more interested in selling customs revenues at a fixed price than collecting them. The purchasers of customs revenues were generally either Tuscan companies (Bonsignori, Capponi, Bardi) or groups of businessmen and capital holders from Udine and Venzone that were also at the centre of interregional trade organization.[52]

The company of the Florentines Bartolo q. Bentaccorda and Andrea son of Francesco can be considered a clear paradigm of such an attitude by merchants and businessmen settled in Udine in the 1350s.[53] Bartolo and Andrea, who probably managed the "Chonpagnia della Stazone" as a subsidiary to the family company of Castrone de' Bardi, were extremely active in all the main sectors of Friulian economy. Aside from intervening in the flourishing credit market, they exported wine, rough canvas cloth and scythes to Venice where they bought spices, refined cloth, and wax.[54] Scythes were purchased or ordered directly to artisans from the piedmont, an area that has been identified as specialized in iron object production.[55]

Such a development of Friuli as a functional node in interregional trade had begun to appear by 1350s but became more apparent only in the second half of the fourteenth century with a clear consolidation in the fifteenth, well before and separately from the rise of Venetian *Terraferma* state.

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[52] Some considerations on Betrand's fiscal policies in BRUNETTIN – *Betrando*, p. 556-560, 709-712. Customs revenues sales dating back to 1265 are synthetically reported by ZENAROLA Pastore, Ivonne – *Atti della cancelleria dei Patriarchi di Aquileia (1265-1420)*. Udine: Deputazione di storia patria per il Friuli, 1983.

[53] The company has been studied thanks to an account book that covered the years 1349-1369. VIDAL, Tommaso – Contabilità e traffici della «Chonpagnia della Stazone» (Udine 1349-1369). In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: secoli XIII-XIV*, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 319-348.

[54] VIDAL – Contabilità, p. 339-346.

[55] VIDAL – Contabilità, 344.

4. *Friuli in the* Terraferma *(1350s-1450s): an integrated economic region?*

The commercial networks of Venzone immediately show how the patterns of interregional trade organization that had developed in the area since the late thirteenth century, consolidated between the 1380s and 1430s (Appendix, fig. 4). The core features of the network are unaltered: wine being collected in Venzone from the Friulian plain and the Collio and exported to the other side of the Alps; iron and iron products (steel, knives, scythes) being shipped throughout the region and North-Eastern Italy. Yet, some significant changes, barely recognisable, in the 1350s, had also appeared. The network shows a much more pronounced eccentricity as merchants from minor centres like Amaro and Tolmezzo, pushed by capitals and supplies from Venzone, Udine, and Gemona, begun to be involved in iron, steel, and iron objects export, especially towards the Lombard plain (Padua, Vicenza), their presence being relevant in Treviso from the 1430s.[56] Furthermore, Udine's role as a coordinating centre for interregional trade flows became more evident in the late fourteenth century. Great merchants and businessmen from Udine such as the Florentine Giovannutto q. Bono slowly turned their counterparts from Venzone and Gemona into their middlemen and urban capital penetration in specialized productive areas also increased before and after the conquest by Venice.[57]

This period seems to have been characterized by the crystallization of phenomena that had already been set in motion by the

[56] The presence of merchants from Venzone and Amaro trading cloth and iron in Treviso has been studied by SCHERMAN, Matthieu – *Familles et travail à Trévise à la fin du Moyen Âge: (vers 1434-vers 1509)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2014, p. 451-454.

[57] See above § 1. See also DAVIDE & VIDAL, Between Carinthia; SCARTON – La falce, p. 297-305.

1350s. Venzone and Gemona confirmed their place as intermediaries within the Alpine trade system while Udine took an increasingly leading role in the region's economy. Pig, wool, and cloth and iron trade seem to have still been the leading sectors of economy in fifteenth century Udine – and generally in Friuli–, accounting for about 54% of total company investments.[58] In the second half of the fourteenth century Udine had also developed a solid, low-level cloth industry that was able to answer the needs of the home market. While local wool and flax production could have been sufficient to supply local cloth production during the early fourteenth century, the continuous demographic growth that Friuli enjoyed up to the early 1400s spurred Udinese cloth merchants to find other sources. Increasingly from the fifteenth century, wool was imported from Feltre and Tesino,[59] while cotton yarn was generally purchased directly in Venice.[60] Cloth import did not cease altogether but changed its main patterns. While from the thirteenth century onwards Venice had been the main cloth supply centre for Friuli, from the early fifteenth century, after the rise of the Venetian *Stato da Terra*, the market of Rialto was literally bypassed. Udine and other Friulian towns started to become export outputs for the cloth industry of Verona and Bergamo, that filled niches left by local production.[61]

Overall, though, the annexation of Friuli to the Venetian regional state in 1420 does not seem to have determined clear changes into exchange patterns as Udine and Friuli in general had already been part of a thick network of medium and long-distance trades

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[58] Data referred to the years 1385-1464 from ZACCHIGNA – *Lavoro sottoposto*, p. 186. Unlike Zacchigna, I have considered scythes and wool companies as part of the wider iron and cloth companies group respectively.

[59] SCARTON – La falce, p. 314-315.

[60] ZAMBON, Giulia – L'attività dello speziale Domenico Tamburlini a Udine all'inizio del Quattrocento. Udine: University of Udine MA dissertation, 2012, p. 20; ACU, *AOSMM*, 884/4.

[61] SCARTON – La falce, p. 312-316.

that connected Northern Italy and Central Europe for a long time. The rise of the regional state did not determine the creation of an economic region per se, since, with the notable exclusion of the neighbouring mainland (Mestre), Treviso and the *contado* of Padua,[62] cities usually retained their original economic space.[63] The economic role of Friuli as a key and profitable intermediate market, such as it had developed from the thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, survived the Venetian conquest, whose failure in controlling the lucrative and vital iron flows from Central Europe is well known.[64] Nonetheless, the annexation to the *Terraferma* state, could have also strengthened or intensified existing trade patterns between Friuli and Northern and Central Italy but the extent and quality of such intensification is neither clearly measurable nor clearly identifiable at the moment.

5. *Conclusion*

From the cases of Venzone, Gemona and Udine[65] a clearly distinct pattern emerges. After a first phase of Venetian hegemony

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[62] LANARO – *I mercati*, p. 43.

[63] See the examples from Padua, Verona and Vicenza in DEMO, Edoardo – Panni di lana per l'esportazione: I lanifici di Padova, Verona e Vicenza nel tardo medioevo. In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: secoli XIII-XIV*, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 165-176. For a more detailed review of the economic effects of political annexation to the Venetian regional state see DEMO, Edoardo – *L'anima della città: l'industria tessile a Verona e Vicenza, 1400-1550*. Milano: UNICOPLI, 2001, p. 251-285.

[64] BRAUNSTEIN, Philippe – Le commerce du fer à Venise au XV^{e} siècle. *Studi Veneziani*. Firenze: Leo. S. Olschki editore. No. 8 (1966), p. 267-302: 275.

[65] Similar trade patters emerge for Cividale (FIGLIUOLO, Bruno – La vita economica e le presenze forestiere. In *Storia di Cividale nel Medioevo: economia, società, istituzioni*, edited by Bruno Figliuolo. Cividale del Friuli: Comune di Cividale del Friuli, 2012. p. 111-170), Trieste (DAVIDE, Miriam – Trieste e l'area giuliana: sviluppo economico e commerciale tra XIII e XIV secolo. In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale:*

in directing trade flows, by the 1350s the trade patterns of the area had undergone some changes, diverging from the previous development. Venice undoubtedly maintained its role as the leading and attracting trade and financial centre of the area, being the main output for Friulian exports and the main supply centre for refined woollen and silken cloth, spices, and other commodities of Levant trade. A complex set of factors favoured the development of intermediate markets and the rise of specialized export-oriented productions (wine, iron objects, rough woollen, and canvas cloth). To understand such a thick complex of interacting factor it is best to summarize them and their possible interactions, dividing them into extra-economic and economic factors.

First and foremost, Friuli connected Northern Italy to Central and Eastern Europe. Friulian merchants developed cross-cultural and linguistic competences because of geographical and political proximity to the German area.[66] The geography of the region, characterized by low passes and a thicket of small navigable canals and rivers interconnecting the lagoon system that span from Grado to Venice, offered merchants a plethora of generally favourable trade routes.[67]

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secoli XIII-XIV, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 377-404), Portogruaro (GIANNI, Luca. Strutture produttive e di scambio nel Friuli concordiese del XIV secolo. In *Centri di produzione scambio e distribuzione nell'Italia centro-settentrionale: secoli XIII-XIV*, edited by Bruno FIGLIUOLO. Udine: Forum, 2018. p. 245-282).

[66] HÄRTEL, Reinhad – Il Friuli come ponte tra Nord e Sud. In *Comunicazione e mobilità nel Medioevo: incontri fra il Sud e il Centro dell'Europa (secoli XI-XIV)*, edited by Siegfried De RACHEWILTZ & Josef RIEDMANN. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1997. p. 495-518.

[67] BRAUNSTEIN, Philippe – *Les Allemands à Venise (1380-1520)*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2016, p. 31-74 for the Alpine passes and DORIGO, Wladimiro – «In Flumina Et Fossas». La navigazione endolitoranea fra Chioggia e Aquileia in età romana e medioevale. *Aquileia nostra*. Aquileia: Museo Archeologico. No. 65 (1994), 81–140 for the navigation in the lagoon system.

Secondly, Venetian control over the region loosened progressively in the second half of the thirteenth century, and Friuli emancipated from the constraints of the first *Pacta*. Patriarchs, favouring key urban centres to oppose and balance rural aristocracy, ultimately weakened their own control over the region that, by the end of patriarchal domain (1420) was reduced to opposing, disaggregated and ever-changing factions. The political fragmentation of the patriarchal state resulted in looser control by Venice after the annexation to the Mainland State.[68] The fiscal policy of the patriarchs of Aquileia also facilitated trade with the neighbouring regions due to close identity between customs duties collectors and merchants active on an interregional scale.

Lastly, jurisdictional fragmentation had numerous effects on economy on a regional and interregional level. Stephan R. Epstein maintained that, on a macro level, jurisdictional fragmentation hampered economic development and market integration.[69] Data from Friuli, and generally North-eastern Italy, seem to contradict such a rigid assertion. The extreme jurisdictional fragmentation, especially on the route from southern Germany to Venice, along with the fiscal pressure of the *Fondaco* in Venice,[70] instead of preventing economic growth and regional or interregional integration could have stimulated it. Merchants had an advantage in selling at least part of their goods in intermediate markets to avoid reducing their profits going through multiple customs. This could have helped intermediate markets, such as Friuli, develop not only because of favourable commodities offer, but also by stimulating the production of competitive exchange goods and services (such as wine, oil, transport, etc.). The apparent incoherent

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[68] VARANINI – *Comuni cittadini*, p. LIII-LIV.

[69] EPSTEIN – *Freedom*, p. 36.

[70] See BRAUNSTEIN – *Les Allemands*, p. 121-126, 144-164.

juxtaposition of exemptions and multiple, subsequent customs provided a stimulus and tightened links between Friuli, Northern Italy, and Central Europe.

On the other hand, when explaining the origins of protoindustry in Lombardy, Veneto, Low Countries and southern Germany, Epstein identified the joint action of jurisdictional fragmentation and weak territorial power as the "optimal circumstances".[71] The development in Friulian rural areas of export-oriented production of woollen and canvas cloth (Carnia), wine (right side of the Tagliamento, Collio) and iron objects (piedmont) was a consequence of weak control by urban centres and rural aristocracy, strong demand of such commodities for interregional trade and penetration by urban capitals.

As for purely economic factors, their nature and effects were more straightforward. The demographic and economic rise of Friulian market towns, favoured by the patriarchs, made them appealing for foreign businessmen that, in turn, were welcome in Friulian cities, integrating quickly and modifying the social fabric. The development of North-South trade routes from in early thirteenth century stimulated the rise in Friuli of integrated intermediate regional and sub-regional markets that spurred the formation of export-oriented productive areas and a certain degree of regional division and specialization of labour.

In conclusion, the reciprocal influence of economic and extra-economic factors determined the rise of intermediate markets in Friuli and its divergence from the role of a market strictly subject to Venice. Thus, Friulian economy opened to both the Lombard plain and the other side of the Alps and the region turned into an essential and functional peg of interregional trade.

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[71] EPSTEIN – *Freedom*, p. 144-146.

Appendix

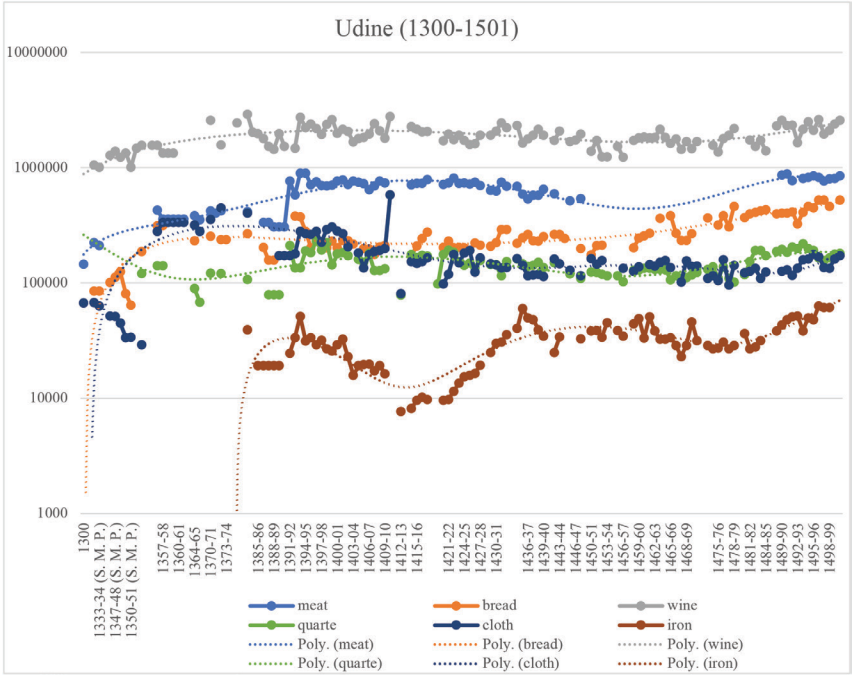

Fig. 1. The auction sale prices of the main *dazi* of the city of Udine from 1300 to 1501 (log10 scale). Data from the account books of the commune (BCU, *FP*, mss. 882/I-XIX; ASUd, *DSF*, II, 149) and the registers of city council deliberations (BCU, *ACU*, Annales, tomes VII-XXXVII; BCU, *ACU*, Acta, tomes I-III).

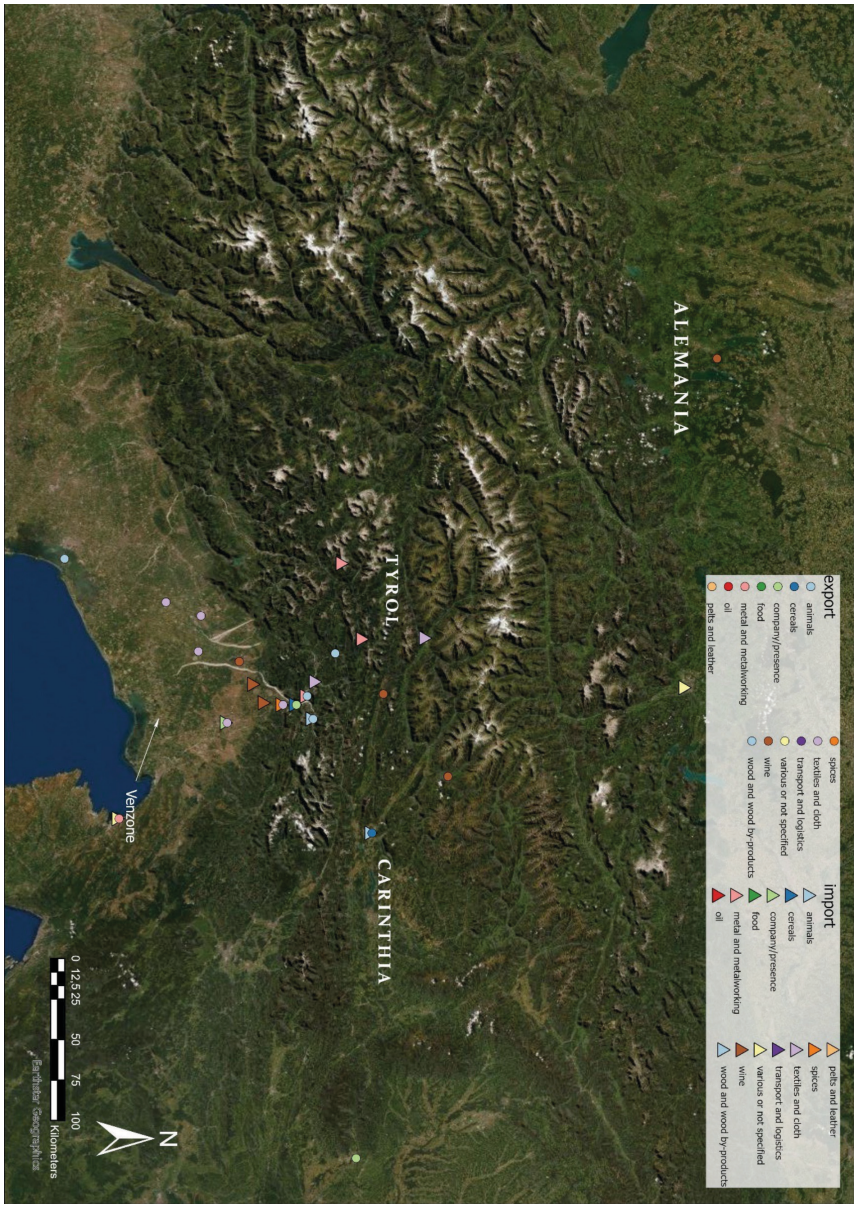

Fig. 2. Commercial network of Venzone (1330s); data from ASUd, ANA, 10717.

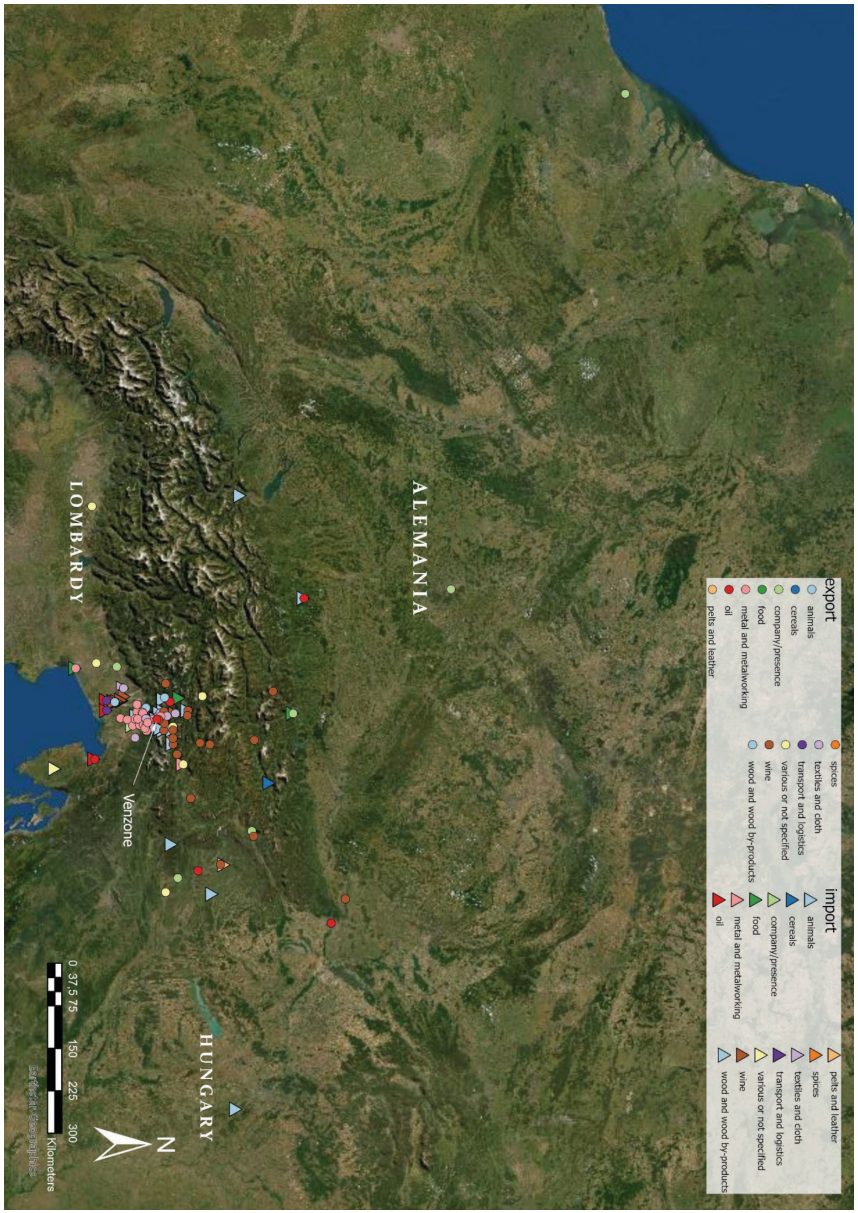

Fig. 3. Commercial network of Venzone (1350s); data from ASUd, *Comune di Venzone*, 1/5; ASUd, *ANA*, 2229-2230.

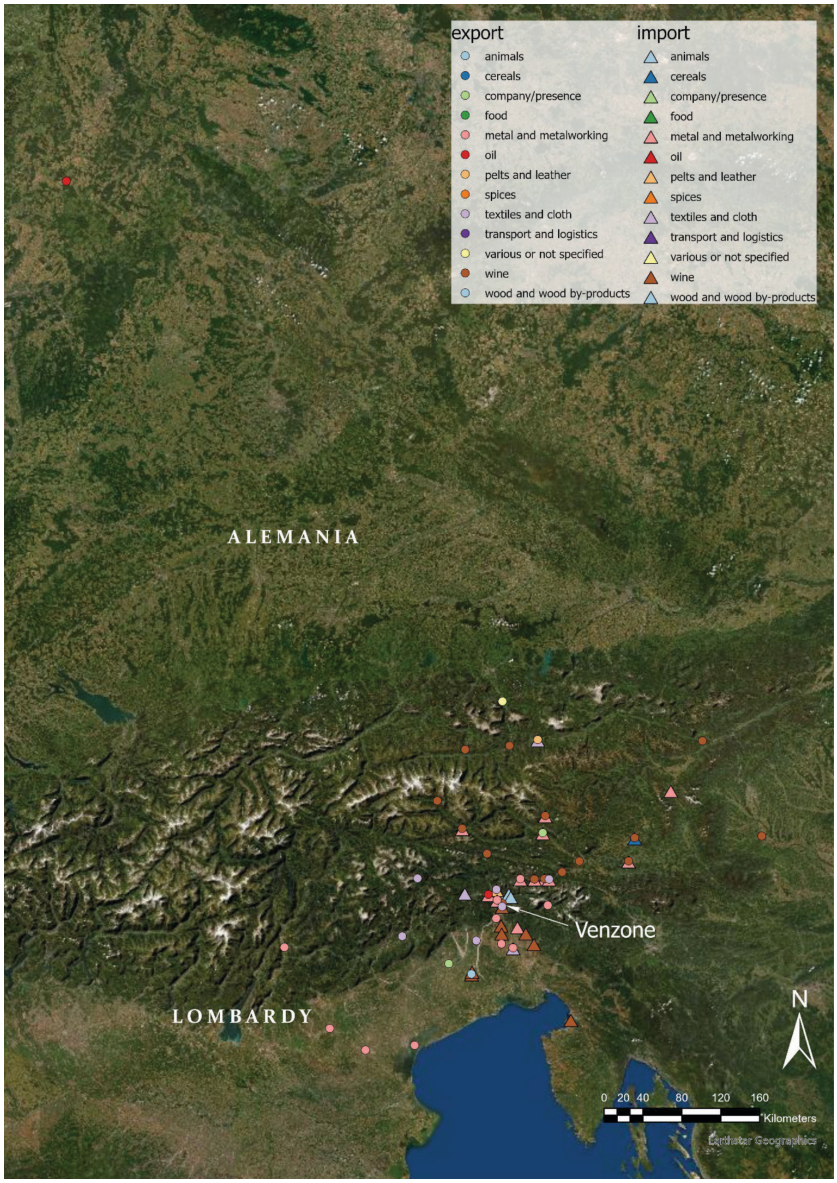

Fig. 4. Commercial network of Venzone (1380s-1430s); data from ASUd, *Comune di Venzone*, 2/9; ASUd, *ANA*, 10717-10718; ASVe, *Miscellanea Gregolin*, 43, Licenze per l'estrazione delle merci (forse della muda di Venzone).

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ACU = Capitular Archive of Udine; *AOSMM* = Archivio dell'Ospedale di S. Maria della Misericordia

ASUd = State Archive of Udine; *ANA* = Archivio Notarile Antico; *DSF* = Documenti storici friulani

ASVe = State Archive of Venice

BCU = Civic Library of Udine; *FP* = Fondo principale; *ACU* = Archivum Civitatis Utini

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5

The War Industry in the Middle Ages: Manufacturing and Trading Weapons in the Crown of Aragon (14th-16th Centuries)[1]

Miquel Faus Faus
University of Valencia
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5725-8377

Abstract

This essay traces the history of the military industry in the Crown of Aragon between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is shown that the Catalan armoury was a thriving sector with specialized productive centres and a trade network that stretched from the Iberian Peninsula and western Mediterranean. Using a broad range of sources, this study will compare productive structures and exports in Barcelona, Mallorca, and Valencia.

Resumo

Este ensaio investiga a história da indústria militar na Coroa de Aragão entre os séculos XIV e XVI. É demonstrado que o arma-

[1] ACA. = Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, AHCB. = Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, ARM. = Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, ARV. = Arxiu del Regne de València, APPV. = Arxiu de Protocols del Patriarca de València, BV. = Biblioteca Valenciana., ACA. = Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó.

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mento catalão era um setor pujante com centros de produção especializados e uma rede mercantil que conectava a Península Ibérica e o Mediterrâneo Ocidental. Utilizando um leque alargado de fontes, esta investigação compara os setores produtivos e as exportações em Barcelona, Maiorca e Valência.

Introduction

The term "arms industry" is frequently used to identify all businesses dedicated to research into, the engineering, manufacturing, and distribution of weaponry. This concept could well be applied to military production prior to World War I and even to that of the eighteenth century, but we would rarely trace it back to the late Middle Ages. By contrast, it is quite usual to find historians describing clothing and fabric production in the fourteenth century as the textile industry.

The sector has its economic robustness and dynamism to thank for this privilege. Some of the characteristics that define modern production were undoubtedly first observed in textiles (regional specialization, international markets of products and rough materials, outsourced work, capital accumulation). As a consequence of this, historians have devoted a great deal of time and effort in looking for signs of proto-industrialization in the craft that, with each passing day, can be recorded further back in time.[2]

Meanwhile, sectors such as that of weapons production are described as stagnant prior to industrialization. Even observatories known for their arms production in the Middle Ages, such as Milan or some German cities, are still regarded as specialized artisanal regions, better known for their skilled work than for their productive structure.

[2] COLEMAN D. C. - Proto-industrialisation: A Concept Too Many, p. 435-448.

The purpose of this research is to show how weapons manufacturers in the late medieval Crown of Aragon experienced transformations that made them a cohesive and dynamic group worthy of being distinguished as a "war industry." To do so, we will analyse the productive dynamics of artisans and the arms trade in Valencia, Barcelona and Mallorca. We will pay special attention to the sword makers of the city of Valencia, since, at this moment of the research, it is the group and product we know more about.

We will carry out this study combining sources of a different nature: guild regulations, export records and operations related to the manufacturing activity, kept in judicial and notarial volumes. The varied documentation forces us to use different methodologies in each section. On the one hand, the fiscal records that control the arms trade allow a precise quantification of the participation of the analysed observatories in the international market. However, to reconstruct the production in the cities, we are forced to use qualitative and extraordinary sources whose combination gives us a more or less approximate image of the craft.

1. Consumption of weapons in late medieval Valencia

From the thirteenth century onwards, weapons became a regular household item throughout the Crown of Aragon. The growth of the number of weapons among the population was driven by new military requirements that increasingly concerned a greater proportion of the community. In this regard, the consumption of military material was also in many ways encouraged by the authorities, either through public ordinances issued by the king and local governments, compelling every man to maintain a personal arsenal according to their economic status, or by giving weapons special protection against embargoes and pawning.

Studying the percentage of the population that was armed in the Crown of Aragon is the key methodology for getting a comprehensive picture of weapons consumption. Cities, large and small, had high percentages of arms ownership, ranging from 70% to 95% among the male population. Of the 2,030 households in the city of Mallorca in 1515, 1,482 had some kind of military equipment, that is, 73% of the sample.[3] There are no major differences between socioeconomic groups in the city; in virtually all of them between 70% and 80% had weapons. The most extreme examples are, at the one end, notaries (88%), and at the other, journeymen (55%).[4]

2. Weapons production in the medieval Crown of Aragon

The increased demand for weapons made the consolidation of constant specialized production possible. From the thirteenth century onwards, professional arms manufacturers can be found in the main cities of the Crown of Aragon. Little is known about production in previous centuries due to a lack of sources, but much of it would certainly have been performed by smiths and other metalworkers.[5] According to some evidence in terminology and corporate organization, one could even speculate that, before wholesale specialization, manufacturing was already carried out by a special group of craftsmen exclusively in charge of providing weapons to consumers.

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[3] FAUS FAUS, M. - El negocio de la guerra: producción y comercio de armas en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV-XVI), p. 136-137.

[4] Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca, Arxiu Històric 6638.

[5] Historian Matthias Pfaffenbichler argues that there is a simultaneous emergence of specialized arms manufacturers between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, just preceded by some German observatories, where they existed from at least the twelfth century, and Milan, a city in which can already be documented in the eleventh century: PFAFFENBICHLER, M. – Armeros.

Despite this, it was in the thirteenth century that the main process of specialization could be observed, characterized by the division of the trade into branches, each manufacturing a specific product. For example, *armers,* or armourers, made all kinds of defensive equipment, from helmets to breastplates. Similarly, *llancers,* or spear makers, produced all manner of pole arms.

From the second half of the fourteenth century onwards, the trade underwent another change, defined by productive intensification. This process distanced it from manual labour and brought it closer to commercialization. Weapons suppliers swapped the workshop where they made the product for the shop where they sold it. We can best appreciate this process in the context of the *espasers*: the swords' makers.

2.1. Sword production in the Crown of Aragon

Espasers were the artisans who manufactured and distributed swords in the late Middle Ages. These professionals can be found in Catalan sources from the thirteenth century onwards, but although the terminology remained the same, the tasks carried out by them changed radically during the period.

Initially, *espasers* were simply swordsmiths, whose production was no more specialized than that of any other smith. In fact, the differentiation of the group was so fragile that, in 1325, some statutes of Barcelona had still not recognized the craft's monopoly of sword making, which, according to the sources, was open to all smiths.[6] At this time, their tasks in the workshop probably consisted of forging the sword and its components, manufacturing the scabbard, decorating the piece and, finally, selling the product.

[6] AHCB, Llibre del Consell vol. 9, January 16, 1325, f. 23v-24r.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, the craft underwent a transformation that intensified its production. Chiefly, *espasers* began to outsource part of their productive tasks to other craftsmen. At first, this can be documented in the emergence of new professions providing services and performing tasks that would previously have been done by the sword makers themselves. Examples include the *febridor d'espases* who was responsible for assembling, decorating and finishing the swords, and the *pomer* who manufactured the pommels. On other occasions some metalwork would have been given directly to regular blacksmiths, such as the forging of the blade.

Some *espasers* even experimented with greater intensification by directly subcontracting other *espasers*. For instance, in 1407 Pere Sala, an *espaser* from Valencia, engaged his colleague Joan Arnau to work for him, paying him 20 *sous*.[7] Elsewhere, one of these artisans can be found purchasing swords from another for a fraction of the market price. In this case it is easy to speculate that the operation may conceal another variety of subcontracting. For example, in 1380 Guillem de Solanes bought seven swords from Bernat Perez for 7.5 *sous* each, when swords in medieval Valencia regularly cost 17 *sous* a piece.[8]

Another activity that can be associated with productive intensification is the importation of products and parts from markets abroad. Cities such as Pisa, Milan or Villa Basilica were able to manufacture swords and their component parts at such low prices that their products still were competitive in the markets of the Crown

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[7] ARV, *Justícia dels 300 sous* 29, February 22, 1407.

[8] ARV, *Justícia dels 300 sous* 18, March 19, 1380. The market price of a sword in late medieval Valencia has been established by a notarial appraisal of the workshop of Guillem Matoses, *espaser* of Valencia, where the price of a finished sword is set at 17 *sous*. APPV, Jaume Vinader 9515, July 22, 1422. This number is also the average between the price of new swords sold on the second-hand market (15 *sous*) and the price of new swords purchased directly from the producers (19.4 *sous*), each found in notarial auctions and in payment obligations written in the records of the *Justícia dels 300 sous,* respectively.

of Aragon. This proves that processes of intensification were taking place simultaneously in different observatories across Europe.

Between 1350 and 1425, all these activities were conducted informally by the *espaser*s, but after that they were regulated by guild statutes, which gave new labour dynamics a legal framework. To give an example, the guild examination in Valencia, approved in the statutes of 1425, tested how well apprentices garnished a sword, not how they forged it, which implicitly should have been done by other professionals.[9]

In the city of Valencia, the system reached a new level in 1484. The guild was then legally split into two groups: *espasers forjadors* and *espasers guarnidors*. The former forged and shaped the metal to produce swords. Although the statutes identified these professionals as *espasers*, they were probably common smiths working in sword manufacture. The latter group bought the semi-finished products at a fixed price of 7.5 *sous* each and added the final touches. The most important feature, however, was the distribution of the end product to consumers.[10]

This new framework not only gave *guarnidors* the monopoly of sword commercialization in the city, but also the exclusive right to purchase the main component parts. Consequently, in the last decades of the medieval period, in Valencia *espasers* became small business managers almost completely detached from manual labour and closer to the role of the merchant than to that of the metal-worker. In the end, this process may be considered quite natural due to the lack of raw materials in the territory. In fact, both the metal and the component parts of weapons were imported from other centres of production, something that probably determined the development of the productive structure of the craft.

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[9] BV. Ms. 125, f. 1r-8v. All the statutes of the *espasers* were consulted in MARTÍNEZ VINAT, J. - Cofradías y oficios. Entre la acción confraternal y la organización corporativa en la Valencia medieval (1238-1516).

[10] BV. Ms. 136, f. 28r-35r.

Behind this complex procedure capital must have been available that is difficult to quantify, but for which we have indirect evidence.[11] In itself, the whole process of productive intensification is proof of capital accessibility, because many of its subcontracting operations relied on large quantities of money. For instance, in 1399, Pere Mariner, an *espaser* from Morvedre, bought swords and leather from Pere Liminyana, an *espaser* from Valencia, for 1,452 *sous,* an investment equivalent to almost two years' work by an unqualified mason in that same year.[12]

Interestingly, the accumulation of capital did not cause any technical improvements to emerge, like in cities such as Tours, where armourers invested in hydraulic mills and grinding wheels that were used to burnish and sharpen weapons.[13] It would not be unreasonable to assume that separation from metalworking steered productive intensification towards the outsourcing of labour and not towards more refined technology.

2.2. Productive intensification in Valencian *espasers*

Over time, changes in *espasers*' productive structures led not only to an increase in their profits, but also to greater control of the

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[11] There are dozens of examples of the intensification in the Crown of Aragon's textile production, supported by the accumulation of capital by part of the group, such as: LLIBRER ESCRIG, J. A. - Industria textil y crecimiento regional: La Vall d'Albaida y el Comtat en el siglo XV, p. 324-330. The spread of the *censal* (annuity) as credit contributed to this, allowing the productive economy to increase its capacity for investment. GARCÍA MARSILLA, J. V. - Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval: de los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio, p. 381.

[12] According to data supplied by Earl J. Hamilton, the average daily wage for an unqualified mason in 1399 was 3.39 *sous*, which meant a yearly income of approximately 892 *sous*. HAMILTON, E. J. -Money, Prices, and Wages in Valencia, Aragon and Navarre, 1351-1500, p. 273.

[13] Painsonneau, S. - Fabrication et commerce des armures. L'armurerie tourangelle au XV esiècle, p. 29-31.

entire manufacturing process. In order to understand this process, I have reconstructed some examples of sword making with different assembly systems.

First, I shall examine the basic outsourcing of labour according to the aforementioned notarial appraisal of the workshop of Guillem Matoses, an *espaser* from Valencia, taken from the sale made by his widow in 1422. In this document, there is a list of all the sword components, with a price given for each one. All these parts would have been purchased from other artisans or distributors, as, in fact, of all the tools in the inventory not one can be found that can be associated with metal working. If we add the price of the blade (11 *sous*) to that of the pommel and the guard (2.5 *sous*) and the scabbard (0.66 *sous*), we have a combined value of 14.16 *sous* for an ordinary sword, which would then have been sold to the consumer at a market price of 17 *sous*. In the end, the *espaser* would have assembled, added the finishing touches, and sold the sword for a profit of 2.84 *sous*.

A second case is that of the importation of products and components. As stated earlier, many *espasers* imported blades and swords from other productive centres, especially Pisa. When Catalan sources mention Pisan swords, they are describing all swords that came from Tuscany, as we can see clearly in a fourteenth-century Mallorcan judicial process.[14] In the same source the low prices of the Tuscan products, which can be corroborated with other data, are mentioned several times.

In 1360, the year in which the trial was held, the price of a blade from Villa Basilica in Italy ranged between 3.5 and 4.5 *sous*. According to *La Pratica della Mercatura* (1442) a blade in Pisa was valued at 6.34 Valencian *sous*.[15] Once it had been transported to

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[14] *…les (espases) fes fer semblants en Pisa, en Lucha, en Vila Basilicha, en Florensa, en altres parts…* ARM, Suplicacions 21, f. 473r-487v.

[15] The currency exchange rate also has been taken from the proportion estimated by Giovanni da Uzzannno in *La Pratica della Mercatura*. PAGNINI DEL VENTURA,

this city the price of the blade rose to 9 *sous*, still more competitive than the local product (11 *sous*).[16] An *espaser* could therefore increase his profit by two *sous* per sword by buying these Italian blades for a total outlay of 4.84 *sous* per piece.

Likewise, swords finished abroad would have been purchased by local distributors. According to *La Pratica della Mercatura*, a sword from Villa Basilica could be bought in Pisa for 6.74 Valencian *sous*, which would probably still have been competitive in the markets of the Crown of Aragon after adding shipping costs.[17]

Not a lot is known about these productive centres and how they managed to be so competitive in international markets. The reason may have been a combination of dynamic productive structures, expert craftsmanship and the sheer numbers of manufacturers. Of all the Tuscan observatories, Villa Basilica is the most interesting example because it was a small village with renowned artisans whose workmanship was known all over the Mediterranean and whose work can still be observed in heraldic coats of arms and grindstones in its streets.[18]

These imports were not initially perceived as an invasive and far more competitive product, but as an opportunity to increase profits. The trial in Mallorca is again a very good source for getting a comprehensive picture of how this trade may have operated. According to the document, local *espasers* asked Italian merchants to supply them with Pisan swords and blades. Sometimes local

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G. F. - *Della decima e di varie altre gravezze imposte dal comune di Firenze, della moneta e della mercatura de' fiorentini fino al secolo XVI*, *Vol. IV: Pratica della Mercatura di Antonio da Giovanni da Uzzano*, p. 108/183.

[16] The price of the Pisan blade in Valencia has been taken from a purchase made by Martí Pastor, a Valencian *espaser*, in 1427 from a merchant of Lucca. APPV, Jaume Vendrell 14404, September 10, 1427.

[17] PAGNINI DEL VENTURA - *Pratica della Mercatura di Antonio da Giovanni da Uzzano*, p. 181.

[18] GINO ARRIGHI - I maestri spadai di Villa Basilica, p. 61-70.

producers even gave wooden samples, indicating the style of the product they wanted, proving that they were active participants in this trade.

Over time, however, the arrival of imports became a problem for local manufacturers. All the major cities in the Crown of Aragon introduced protectionist measures to limit the arrival of swords from Pisa. In the case of Valencia, the 1484 prohibition was justified to ensure the quality of the product sold to the consumers. The limitations were conducted to block a far more competitive product and to oversee local distribution, a niche market originally held by the *espasers*, but frequently challenged by shopkeepers and other retailers.[19]

Lastly, we must examine the productive structure of the *espasers* as outlined in the statutes of 1484, with the craft divided between *forjadors* and *guarnidors*. According to this document, the former sold the semi-finished sword to the latter for a fixed price of 7.5 *sous*. We do not know the precise cost of labour and the materials used by the *guarnidors*, but it would most likely be less than one *sou* for an ordinary piece.

In fact, the price paid by these professionals for raw materials would have been rather low, as can be concluded from a provision established by the statutes in that same year. The article established that the guild should buy two swords a week, for 13.5 *sous* each, from any *espaser guarnidor* who could not keep his workshop open. With the remaining 12 *sous* after subtracting the 15 *sous* from the acquisition of the semi-finished product, the *espaser* ought to have had enough to give the finishing touches to both swords, keep his shop open, and lead a dignified life.

This productive structure reduced the manufacturing cost of a sword to just 8.5 *sous*, increasing the profit from its sale to 8.5 *sous*. At this stage we can find not only the highest profit extracted

[19] BV. Ms. 136, f. 28r-35r.

by the craft in Valencia for the whole of the late Middle Ages, but also the moment when we can see greater control over production and sale by some *espasers*.

Although this process of productive intensification may be considered quite dynamic, it pales in comparison with those found in other observatories. In fact, all the examples of productive structures were still small, poorly capitalized family businesses that employed a modest number of workers, while at the same time big companies existed in the Mediterranean fully engaged in arms production and trade.

For instance, the Datini Company created a network that in the second half of the fourteenth century commercialized Italian arms and armour in the western Mediterranean. From its headquarters in Prato, the company purchased military material from important productive centres such as Milan or Brescia and then resold it in the cities of the Crown of Aragon or southern France. Interestingly, in the case of Avignon, the material was sold in its own shops, over which the company exercised direct control. The company not only behaved as an intermediary, but also directly commissioned armourers, who were sometimes even on the company payroll, to manufacture products to meet the precise requirements of the international markets.[20]

Similarly, the Missaglia family became one of the most important weapons manufacturers in Western Europe during the fifteenth century. The family expanded from a small workshop in Milan to a big corporation that controlled the entire productive process, from the extraction of the metal in the mines of Canzo, acquired by the family in 1472, to its distribution around the continent, very often in its own shops in the destination markets.[21]

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[20] FRANGIONI - Chiedere e ottenere, p. 69-87.

[21] PFAFFENBICHLER - Armeros, p. 54-55.

3. Weapons exports in the Crown of Aragon

Weapons were always conceived as a special item among all other objects. Their use was restricted in public areas, and they were considered a strategic product in regional and international markets. That is why all the states of the Crown of Aragon had control mechanisms to guarantee that no Aragonese weapons would end up in enemy hands, especially the Muslims.

3.1. Control over exports

Weapons, like other strategic products such as wheat, metal or wood, were identified in exports as *coses vedades* or *coses prohibides* (forbidden things or products). The trade in all these goods was closely supervised by the Crown, with strict customs control. In order to export any weapons, the distributor had to notify the local authorities not only of the product exported, the quantity and the destination, but he also had to confirm its arrival in its destination for the operation to be considered completely legal.

Thanks to these control mechanisms, dozens of records containing all the exported forbidden products have survived and constitute the principal source to study arms trade in the Crown of Aragon. Three major cities, Barcelona, Valencia and Mallorca, kept these documents continuously during the Middle Ages. They are now in the *Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Arxiu del Regne de València* and *Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca*, respectively.

These records contain hundreds of operations concerning the exportation of weapons from the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon, usually copies of the receipts proving their validity. The information given by the source is brief (exporter, product, quantity, and destination) but sufficient for quantification over long periods.

Despite the undeniable value of the *coses vedades*, their content is not infallible. Comparing these records with other sources, such as notarial protocols, shows up slight discrepancies in the number of pieces exported. Distributors usually did not declare a portion of the weapons that left the kingdom, probably with the aim of avoiding payment of the taxes that accompanied the issuance of the receipt.

3.2. Weapons exporting cities in the Crown of Aragon: the cases of Barcelona and Valencia

In order to get a comprehensive picture of weapons exports in the Crown of Aragon, I have quantified the operations in the cities of Barcelona and Valencia between 1401 and 1410, taken from the records of *Coses Vedades*. This decade is the only one in which enough data has survived to enable us to understand the main characteristics of this trade.[22]

I have excluded the records of Mallorca because they contain just a handful of operations for the entire decade, making comparison impossible (Table 1). It is unclear whether Mallorcan exports were as small as shown in the source or whether many of them were not entered in these volumes. To see this in perspective, Barcelona and Valencia exported 107,096 and 46,507 weapons, respectively, in this period, but the figure was only 185 for Mallorca.

This trade depended on a general demand for weapons all over medieval Europe, like that explained for the Crown of Aragon. If we take into consideration the data in Table 2, we can observe

[22] Barcelona: ACA, Batllia General de Catalunya, volúmenes 1066-1076. Valencia ARV, Mestre Racional 20-31. Mallorca: ARM, G6 and G7.

how exports were similar year after year, regarding both the products exported and the destination markets.[23]

The main product exported by both cities was *coltells,* or daggers, representing 85% of the total number of weapons in the case of Barcelona and 40% in that of Valencia.[24] After that, we can appreciate a certain specialization in the exports of both cities. Barcelona traded bucklers and cervellieres, whereas Valencia exported cuirasses, crossbows, and especially swords and spears, which represented around 17% and 15% of all arms.

Regarding destination markets, Barcelona and Valencia follow the same trade patterns with weapons as with other products. The Catalan capital focused its exports on western Mediterranean cities and ports, especially the other kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon (Table 1). On the other hand, Valencia traded weapons with the markets of the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, especially rural towns and small cities, all of them regional product distribution hubs.

The existence of specialization in the exports and the destination markets proves that the production and commercialization of weaponry in these Aragonese cities was particularly designed to meet the needs of the demand in international markets and was not a by-product of local manufacture. For instance, if we compare sword exports in Valencia and Barcelona, we can better appreciate the particularities of the production centres. In those years the former exported 7,445 swords, mainly to Castile and the Kingdom of Aragon, while the Catalan capital sent just 116 pieces to Sardinia and Sicily.

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[23] In a previous paper, I compared the exports made by the three cities in one year (1402), resulting in similar data regarding the product exported but also the destination markets. With a larger sample the result remains roughly the same, strengthening my arguments on arms trafficking made in the previous article. FAUS FAUS - El negocio de la guerra, p. 135-150.

[24] Most of the product exported by these two cities was manufactured in the same place, with the notable exception of daggers from the village of Vic, an important productive center that traded with the Mediterranean via Barcelona.

3.3. Products and distributors on the international market: the case of Valencian swords

Exportation was carried out by both merchants and arms producers or distributors, but for this article I focus on the second group, and especially on *espasers* in Valencia. Although I have identified dozens of these professionals making these transactions in the period studied, the source only gives us a few details about them and the business they did. Despite this, I have been able to identify the main dynamics behind these operations and the mindset of the producers behind them, comparing data from the records of *Coses Vedades* and other documents.

It is reasonable to presume that these professionals tried to obtain better deals with their product by selling it in foreign markets, where the local product was far less competitive or domestic supply was insufficient. As said previously, ideal destination markets were small towns that did not generally produce weapons on a large scale. If we take, for instance, the case of Gonçalbo Perez, the biggest sword exporter in the last decades of the fourteenth century, we can observe that 80% of his 1,740 pieces were sent to small and medium-sized cities (Albarracín, Montalbán, Teruel, and Huesca). Operations were carried out taking into consideration not only where the arms were headed but also when, taking advantage of increased demand coinciding with seasonal fairs.[25]

Once again, prices provide solid data about this advantageous market for Valencian *espasers*. This is the case with an operation, dated 1396, found in notarial sources in which Pere Liminyana, an *espaser* of Valencia, sold to Joan Ponç d'Iranço, an armourer from Teruel, 97 swords for sale in his hometown in

[25] FAUS FAUS - El negocio de la guerra, p. 144-145.

the Kingdom of Aragon.[26] In the above-mentioned transaction, it is mentioned that the price of each ordinary piece was 20 *sous*, giving us a surplus of approximately 3 *sous* gained by selling the product outside the borders of the kingdom, with regard to the market price in Valencia.[27] This document also points to the most likely system of commercialization in foreign markets, that is, the collaboration of local distributors and producers in retailing the product.

Over time, the constant arrival of Valencian swords created a niche market in which this product could thrive. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the product was identified in notarial inventories from Castile and its quality was ratified in guild statutes around the Iberian Peninsula, such as those of Segovia.[28] The product's fame even entered popular culture through proverbs, such as one in which the Valencian sword is used as a metaphorical standard of quality.[29] In the terminology of Economic History, Valencian swords could be described as a successful product, in line with the definition *prodotti di successo,* given by Luciana Frangioni. In other words, they were products that could be identified in some markets thanks to their quality, productive techniques or certified provenance. This does not imply that they were luxury items, but only that they were popular and recognizable.[30]

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[26] ARV, Protocols Notarials, Bertomeu de la Mata 1446, February 28, 1401

[27] This price is that of the product purchased by a distributor of Teruel it may had been even higher when sold directly to local consumers.

[28] DUEÑAS BERAIZ, G. - Introducción al estudio tipológico de las espadas españolas: siglos XVI-XVII, p. 152.

[29] *La espada valenciana/y el broquel barcelonés/la puta toledana/y el rufián cordovés*. ALONSO HERNÁNDEZ, J. L. - *Teatro universal de proverbios de Sebastián de Horozco*, p. 302.

[30] FRANGIONI - Chiedere e ottenere, p. 7-8.

3.4. War profiteers: arms exports in wartime

The trade described above remained stable over time with regard to weapons exported and destination markets. Only international conflicts drastically changed the primary patterns of arms traffic. Whenever a neighbouring state declared war on the Crown of Aragon, local authorities halted the trade in war material and any other product that could be considered strategic. On the other hand, Aragonese cities became important arms suppliers in international conflicts in which they officially remained neutral. Either way, war was always an opportunity for local producers and distributors to make a profit, either arming the population at home or elsewhere.

In my database, these last operations can easily be identified because they usually represent an anomaly in the figures, either in the product exported or in the destination markets. If we consider the spears sent abroad from Valencia (Table 2), we observe a peak in 1407. This can be traced to half a dozen shipments of weapons to Seville, some of them containing hundreds of pole arms. Interestingly, this statistical irregularity coincides with the start of the Castilian campaigns against Granada between 1407 and 1410.[31] In this context, Guillem Vento, a Valencian pole arms manufacturer, sold 500 spears to Gomez Carrillo in Seville, which shows how Aragonese distributors looked not only for the best destination markets but also the best opportunity to make a bigger profit.[32]

These operations were usually carried out in order to meet the demands of a centre whose producers and distributors were unable to satisfy them. An interesting example is that of the city of Ceuta, conquered by the Portuguese in 1415, which overnight became

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[31] GONZALEZ SÁNCHEZ, S. - Los recursos militares de la monarquía Castellana del Siglo XV. Las Campañas Granadinas del Infante Don Fernando: Setenil y Antequera (1407-1410), p. 247.

[32] ARV, Mestre Racional 25, f. 59v.

a Christian outpost surrounded by hostile Muslims.[33] In order to defend the strategic location, the city was constantly supplied with weapons and resources from the Iberian Peninsula.[34] The African city was supplied by Barcelona on three separate occasions. In 1416 more than 300 weapons were sent to Ceuta on board a Castilian ship. In the operation we can find a wide variety of products, from crossbows to different pieces of armour (table 3). Two smaller operations in 1417 and 1425 are documented, in which, apart from the cargo, the city exported manual labour, in the form of an armourer and a crossbow maker.[35]

A good example to help us to understand this trade is that of the military conflict between the city of Morella and the surrounding villages, in the Els Ports region of the Kingdom of Valencia. The context was a jurisdictional dispute between both factions in the fourteenth century that escalated into armed conflict during the interregnum crisis (1410-1412). Each of them fought on the side of a candidate for the throne, and this determined where the two factions could purchase supplies for their troops.[36] The villages acquired war material in the city of Valencia, which like them was on the side of Jaume d'Urgell. Morella, on the other hand, supported Ferran d'Antequera, and it had to be armed by the city of Barcelona.[37]

The main reasons for these operations were an extraordinary demand for war material, but also insufficient production in Els Ports. The city of Morella was in fact the only place with an active community of weapons manufacturers. During the fifteenth cen-

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[33] O'CALLAGHAN, The Last Crusade in the West: Castile and the Conquest of Granada (The Middle Ages Series), p. 46-67.

[34] GOUVEIRA MONTEIRO, J. - A Campanha Militar de Ceuta (1415) Revisitada, p. 70-71.

[35] ACA, Batllia General de Catalunya, volumen 1077, f. 15r.

[36] ROYO PÉREZ, V. - Les arrels històriques de la comarca dels Ports. Societat, poder i identitat en una terra de frontera durant la Baixa Edat Mitjana, p. 316-321.

[37] FAUS FAUS - El negocio de la guerra, p. 147.

tury there were six dagger makers, two crossbow makers and an artisan responsible for producing crossbow bolts.[38] In any case, both contenders had to rely on outside production to supply their troops. For instance, Pere Sanç, a notary from Castellfort, a small village in Els Ports, purchased 200 cuirasses in Valencia from nine different armourers, a demand that could only be met in big cities with a stable group of weapons producers.[39]

3.5. Illegal arms trafficking

The control mechanism of the records of *coses vedades* was created to prevent strategic products from being supplied to the enemies of the Crown. At first glance, we may assume that the system was effective, but a closer look at the source shows us its drawbacks. In Valencia we can find evidence of illegal exports thanks to the accounts of royal officials where fines and auctions of confiscated weapons were recorded.

These operations can be classified according to the reasons for them. First, there were all the exports that were not recorded in the *coses vedades*, probably trying to avoid paying the tax associated with the licence. Then, we have the illegal sales made to enemies in wartime. For example, during the war against Castile in 1429, local representatives of Alpont, a small Valencian town near the border, captured a group of Castilian immigrants that were smuggling 12 harnesses to sell to their countrymen.[40]

Finally, we have a dozen documents providing information about the arms trade with Muslim states. There can be no doubt that these operations are key to understanding the importance of arms traffic

[38] APARICI MARTÍ, J. - Armas y armeros en Segorbe durante la Baja Edad Media, p. 11-17.

[39] APPV, Antoni Pasqual 23237, November 3, 1410.

[40] ARV, Mestre Racional 48, f. 381v.

control for the kings of the Crown of Aragon. European weapons were highly appreciated in Granada and North Africa for the quality of their materials and their production techniques. Ibn Hudhayl, for instance, described Frankish swords as having been made by genies.[41]

In 1401, Jordi d'Alexandria, a Genoese merchant, was captured while smuggling a complete suit of armour to Granada, which could have been sold there for a high price.[42] The appreciation of Christian weapons almost certainly helped to stimulate this illegal trade, so in order to discourage it, the authorities imposed heavy fines on all these operations (Jordi d'Alexandria was fined 420 *sous*).

Unfortunately, the fines and auctions do not give us much information about the operations. Very often, customs control reports only give part of the case data, such as the product smuggled, the way in which it was concealed, the ship on which it was carried, or the possible destination. For example, in 1448, an anonymous witness informed the local authorities of an illegal plot to send chainmail and swords to Muslim lands hidden on a ship anchored in the harbour. Customs guards confiscated the weapons and sold them for 1,050 *sous*.[43] Another interesting case is what happened in 1451 when Ahmet Aduqueyec and Abraddim Velencí, Muslims from the town of Ondara, were arrested while transporting chainmail in sacks of rice to Denia, to be exported from this coastal town to their co-religionists abroad.[44]

Examples such as the last one point to the participation of Valencian Muslims in these illegal activities. This probably led different Christian merchants to accuse their *Mudejar* counterparts of smuggling arms.[45]

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[41] VIGUERA, M. J. - Ibn Hudayl. Gala de Caballeros, Blasón de Paladines, p. 185.

[42] ARV, Mestre Racional 20, f. 275r.

[43] ARV, Mestre Racional 63, f. 124r-v.

[44] ARV, Mestre Racional 65, f. 81r.

[45] SALICRÚ I LLUCH, R. - Mudéjares y cristianos en el comercio con Berbería: quejas sobre favoritismo fiscal y acusaciones de colaboracionismo mudéjar, una relación cristiana a la defensiva, p. 295-302.

The data provided here, although sparse, could point to possible collaboration between co-religionists on both sides of the border. I hope to discover more evidence of this illegal trade from other sources in the future, and to present a theory about something that, for the moment, is a mere anecdote.

Conclusion

In view of the above, can we describe arms production in the Middle Ages as a military industry, since we use the term "textile industry" in the same period? Several factors point strongly in this direction. Firstly, there was the dynamism of manufacturers, who underwent a process of productive intensification that reduced the amount of manual labour they had to do and gradually increased their profits. This process brought the craft closer to proto-industrialization through the outsourcing of the work at some stages of the manufacturing process. Consequently, many of the erstwhile artisans making weapons became distributors and traders, more interested in finding markets to profit from than in metalworking.

A second important factor is that of the existence of a network of interconnected productive centres across the western Mediterranean, with cities specializing in the manufacture and distribution of products. In the Crown of Aragon this meant the consolidation of Valencia and Barcelona as key centres of weapons manufacture and distribution.

Finally, these cities became renowned exporters of weapons, supplying less productive centres and meeting extraordinary demand in times of war. This means that some observatories had already transformed their productive structures to suit the needs of the international market, leaving behind the stagnant craft supplying local consumption.

In the end, the sector followed the same pattern of specialization and dynamism shown by textiles on a smaller scale. For that very reason, it is right to use the term "war industry" when talking about arms manufacturing in the medieval Crown of Aragon. However, unlike the textile industry, we lack economic studies of medieval weaponry that would allow us to make comparisons and theorize on a larger scale.

If we can argue that the Crown of Aragon, although historians do not regard it as being an important centre of the arms business, had a considerable military industry, what could we expect from the Italian and German cities that were known internationally for their skills in weapons manufacturing? Observatories such as Pisa, whose swords were more competitive throughout the Mediterranean than those made locally, may have experienced even stronger productive intensification. Or cities such as Milan, with dozens of armourers who could have supplied huge amounts of weapons to the international market, creating truly international companies. In the field of medieval military industry, more studies in other observatories are needed, not only because they are key to understanding the roots of the modern business of war, but also to give us a better comprehension of medieval economic history.

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	Barcelona	Valencia	Mallorca
Kingdom of Valencia	48,379	/	135
Sicily	28,906	3,014	0
Mallorca	10,316	267	/
Castile	7,943	25,540	0
Sardinia	7,144	0	0
Occitania	1,366	0	0
Pisa	1,252	0	0
Marseille	627	0	0
Menorca	280	14	30
Aragon	276	13,426	0
Genoa	187	75	0
Ibiza	156	457	0
Naples	144	1	0
Portugal	84	447	0
Malta	36	0	0
Flanders	0	10	0
Catalonia	/	132	20
Total	107,096	43,383	185

Table 1: Destinations of weapons exported by Barcelona, Valencia and Mallorca according to the records of *Coses Vedades*.

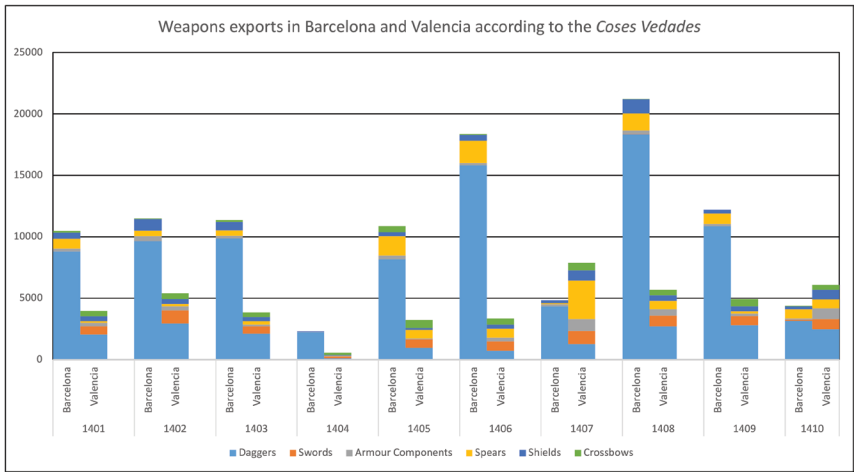

Table 2: Types of weapons exported by Barcelona and Valencia according to the records of Coses Vedades.

NUMBER OF PRODUCTS	PRODUCT IN CATALAN	PRODUCT IN ENGLISH
172	Ballestes	Crossbows
48	Telloles/Samfonies	Crossbow Spanning Mechanisms
30	Avantbraços (parells de)	Vambraces (pairs of)
35	Guants de Malla	Chainmail gloves
4	Bacinets	Bascinets
5	Arnesos	Harnesses
12	Cuirasses	Cuirasses
24	Coltells	Daggers
1	Calces Flandeses	Reinforced hose

Table 3: Weapons sent from Barcelona to Ceuta in 1416

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Portuguese hide exports to Valencia in the context of the West Mediterranean trade, 1465-1500

Joana Sequeira
University of Minho, Lab2PT*
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6112-5761

Abstract

This research provides an in-depth analysis of the Portuguese hide trade in the port of Valencia from 1465 to 1500, based on the records of the *Dret portugués*. By delivering accurate numbers on this trade, and by identifying the commercial agents involved, it elucidates on the commercial strategies employed in hide trade operations carried out at this specific port and attempts a comparison with other hide trade flows that took place in the West Mediterranean during the second half of the 15th century. The special focus on the role played by Portuguese agents in the international hide market also contributes to a more profound knowledge on the Portuguese presence in the Mediterranean in the early Age of Discovery.

* Assistant Researcher at Lab2PT/IN2PAST, University of Minho, Portugal (under contract financed by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, Ref. 2020.02528.CEECIND). E-mail: sequeira.joana@ics.minho.pt

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Resumo

Esta investigação fornece uma análise aprofundada do comércio de couros português no porto de Valência de 1465 a 1500, baseado nos registos documentais do *Dret portugués*. Ao fornecer números exatos ao comércio, e identificando os agentes comerciais envolvidos, elucida acerca das estratégias comerciais empregues no comércio de couros nesse porto, e procura estabelecer comparações com outros fluxos comerciais de couros para outras partes do Mediterrâneo Ocidental na segunda metade do século XV. A abordagem ao papel desempenhado pelos agentes portugueses no comércio internacional de couros permite contribuir para um conhecimento mais profundo da presença portuguesa no Mediterrâneo na era da expansão oceânica.

Introduction

Hides were one of the most important goods circulating in the West Mediterranean during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They were a crucial raw material in the growing tanning industries of Eastern Iberia[1]

[1] NAVARRO ESPINACH, G. — La industria del cuero en el reino de Valencia y en el concejo de Teruel (ss. XIII-XVI). In Córdoba de la Llave, R., ed. —*Mil años de trabajo del cuero: actas del II Simposium de Historia de las Técnicas, Córdoba, 6-8 de mayo de 1999*. Cordoba: Litopress, 2003, p. 201-230. FALCÓN PÉREZ, M. I. — La manufactura del cuero en las principales ciudades de la Corona de Aragón, ss. XIII-XV. *En la España Medieval*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid. ISSN: 0214-3038. Nr. 24 (2001), p. 9-46. FALCÓN PÉREZ, M. I. — La manufactura del cuero en Aragón (ss. XIIIXV). Aspectos sociales y profesionales. In Córdoba de la Llave, R., ed. — *Mil años de trabajo del cuero: actas del II Simposium de Historia de las Técnicas, Córdoba, 6-8 de mayo de 1999*. Cordoba: Litopress, 2003. p. 137-168. APARICI MARTÍ, J. — Pieles, zapateros, curtidurías. El trabajo del cuero en la zona septentrional del Reino de Valencia (ss. XIV-XV). *Millars: Espai i Història*. Castellón: Universitat Jaume I. ISSN: 1132-9823. Nr. 35 (2012), 49-68. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, R. — Los cueros bovinos en el Mediterráneo del siglo XV: retroceso del mercado magrebí y auge de los mercados ibéricos. In Córdoba de la Llave, R., ed. — *Mil años de trabajo del cuero: actas del II Simposium de Historia de las Técnicas, Córdoba, 6-8 de mayo de 1999*. Cordoba: Litopress, 2003. p.170-171.

and Tuscany.[2] The Maghreb region became a significant supplier of the product, which reached the ports of Valencia, Barcelona, Mallorca, Liguria, and Tuscany.[3] However, as Roser Salicrú has demonstrated, the Berber hide market would face progressive decline during the fifteenth century, paving the way for a rise in the Iberian hide trade, specifically goods produced in Andalusia, Galicia, and Portugal.[4]

For decades, historians have played down the role of low-value goods, such as hides, cheap textiles and certain foodstuff, in the development of international trade.[5] Although luxury goods acted as a motor for exchange on a global level, increased mass consumption observed in the late Middle Ages created the conditions necessary to internationalise the commerce of multiple products, specifically lower-priced items of daily consumption. The intensification of commercial routes crossings between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which came about as a result of the opening of the Strait of Gibraltar in 1292, benefitted the Iberian Peninsula in particular — a central production place of raw materials and foodstuff.[6]

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[2] ANTONI, T. — I costi industriali di una azienda conciaria della fine del Trecento (1384-1388). *Bollettino storico pisano.* Pisa: Pacini. ISSN 0391-1780. Nr. 42 (1973), p. 9-52. TANGHERONI, M. — Commercio e lavorazione del cuoio in Toscana. In *La conceria in Italia dal Medioevo ad oggi*. Milan: La Conceria, 1994. p.173-192. DINI, B. — Il commercio dei cuoi e delle pelli nel Mediterraneo nel XIV secolo. In Gensini, S., ed. — *Il cuoio e le pelli in Toscana: produzione e mercato nel tardo Medioevo e nell'Etá Moderna*. Pisa: Pacini, 1999. p. 71-91.

[3] SALICRÚ I LLUCH — Los cueros bovinos..., p. 172, 180. FIORENTINO, A. — *Il ruolo del comercio di commisione nel Basso Medioevo: il caso delle pelli e delle cuoia*. Turin: G. Giappichelli Editore – Torino, 2007, p. 93-109. ANTONI — I costi industriali di una azienda conciaria...p. 10, 31-41.

[4] SALICRÚ I LLUCH — Los cueros bovinos...p. 173.

[5] ARNOUX, M. ; BOTTIN, J. — Les acteurs d'un processus industriel : drapiers et ouvriers de la draperie entre Rouen et Paris (XIVe-XVIe siècles). In Arnoux, M; Monet, P., eds. — *Le technicien dans la cité en Europe occidentale, 1250-1650*. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2004. p. 347-386 (p. 347).

[6] MELIS, F. — *I mercanti italiani nell'Europa medievale e rinascimentale*. Florence: Le Monnier, 1990, p. 258-259, 272. IGUAL LUIS, D. — La difusión de productos en el Mediterráneo y en Europa occidental en el tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna. In Cavaciocchi, S., ed. — *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee,*

Thanks to its geographical location, commercial navigation experience gained in the Atlantic, and the support of its rulers, Portugal developed a growing presence in the Mediterranean from the mid-fourteenth century onwards.[7] The kingdom played a significant role in the international trade of hides. Italian historian Federigo Melis even stated that fifteenth-century Lisbon had become the most important emporium for the export of animal hides, with the bulk of its trade flowing to the Mediterranean — Livorno, for example, having been the final destination of almost 90% of these commodities.[8] Although the numbers provided by Melis have certainly been exaggerated, Portuguese participation in this branch of West Mediterranean trade is worth studying in detail, particularly exports to Eastern Iberia, which historians have somewhat overlooked in the past.

This research provides an in-depth, isolated analysis of the Portuguese hide trade in the port of Valencia from 1465 to 1500, based on the records of the *Dret portugués* of Valencia — a serial source documenting Portuguese trade in the city.[9] The first aim of this case study is to provide more accurate numbers of this specific trade than previous studies carried out using the source. Secondly, the extent to which the hide trade correlated with the commerce of other products will be examined to determine the context within which exchanges were carried out and any possible tendencies. Particular attention will be paid to the economic agents involved in said trades in order to answer some questions:

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secc. XIII-XVIII. Atti della « Trentaduesima Settimana di Studi » 8-12 maggio 2000. Florence: Le Monnier, 2001. p. 453-494.

[7] FONSECA, L. A. da — Le Portugal et la Méditerranée au XVe siècle. In *Le Portugal et la Méditerranée*. Lisbon/Paris: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002. p. 2-34 (p. 14-15).

[8] MELIS — *I mercanti italiani* ...p. 10.

[9] MUÑOZ POMER, M. R. [et. al.], eds. — *Els llibres de la col•lecta del Dret Portugués de València (1464-1512)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2019.

How many agents were involved? How many of them were of Portuguese origin? Where did their vessels originate from? Were Italian merchants involved in the network? Were Castilian, Catalan or Galician merchants involved? What was the social rank of these agents? Were they merchants? Were they noblemen? Which sales model(s) were these agents using? What was the pricing of the goods? Answers to these questions will help elucidate the commercial strategies employed in hide trade operations carried out at this specific port and will allow for a comparison to be made between these and the strategies adopted in hide trades between Portugal and Tuscany.

Historians have been pointing to the participation of seafarers in international trade during the First Global Age as having been of utmost importance. Not only were seafarers engaged in short coastal routes, but they also played an entrepreneurial role in medium and long routes, thus increasing their income and contributing to the development of global trade and finance.[10] Evidence of this role played can be found in "alternative documentary sources", specifically tax records such as the *Dret Portugués*.[11] So as to contribute to this historiographical debate, seafarers will be identified in the records and their relative importance to trade and businesses at the time analysed.

Finally, this case study shall not only provide more in-depth knowledge of the role played by the Portuguese in the international, fifteenth-century untreated hide market but also contribute to more profound knowledge being gained about the Portuguese presence in the Mediterranean in the early Age of Discovery.

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[10] FUSARO, M. [et. al.] — Entrepreneurs at sea: Trading practices, legal opportunities and early modern globalization. *The International Journal of Maritime History*. International Maritime History Association. Vol. 28, Issue 4 (2016), p. 774-786 (p. 776).

[11] FUSARO [et. al.] — Entrepeneurs at sea...p. 776.

1. The context

One of Portugal's most valuable exports during the Middle Ages was rawhides.[12] Exported to Flanders from the thirteenth century,[13] early-fourteenth century documents from Bristol, England, recorded Portuguese merchants trading hides there,[14] with cordovan and rabbit skins having also arrived on the island by the mid-fifteenth century.[15] With ever-increasing navigation towards the Mediterranean, the Italians became significant protagonists in the international trade of Portuguese bovine hides, mainly due to high demand from Tuscan tanning industries. Case studies on commercial companies from the region have shown that the networks established between Italian and Portuguese economic agents led to the arrival of vast amounts of bovine hides from Portugal, but also Ireland, mainly from the mid-fifteenth century onwards.[16] For instance, Sergio Tognetti demonstrated that the Florentine Cambini Company traded more than

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[12] MARQUES, A. H. de O. — *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*. Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1993, p. 90-91.

[13] MARQUES — *Hansa e Portugal...* p. 130-134.

[14] MIRANDA, F. — Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic. Commercial Diplomacy, Merchants and Trade, 1143-1488. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2012. PhD Dissertation, p. 72.

[15] CHILDS, W. — *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castille and England*. Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2013. p. 97.

[16] TOGNETTI, S. — Aspetti del commercio internazionale del cuoio nel XV secolo: il mercato pisano nella documentazione del banco Cambini". In Gensini, S., ed. — *Il cuoio e le pelli in Toscana: produzione e mercato nel tardo Medioevo e nell'Etá Moderna*. Pisa: Pacini, 1999, p. 17-50. CARLOMAGNO, A. — Il banco Salviati di Pisa: commercio e finanza di una compagnia fiorentina tra il 1438 e il 1489. Pisa: Università di Pisa, 2001. PhD Dissertation, vol. 1, p. 323-339. CARDOSO, A. C. — Redes comerciais entre Itália e a Península Ibérica: fretes marítimos da Companhia Nerone-Salviati, 1454-1461. *Ler História*. Lisboa: ISCTE-IUL. ISSN 2183-7791. Nr. 77 (2020), p. 9-33. BERTI, M. — Le aziende Da Colle: una finestra sulle relazioni commerciali tra la Toscana ed il Portogallo a metà del quattrocento. In *Toscana e Portogallo: miscellanea storica nel 650° anniversario dello Studio Generale di Pisa*. Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 1994. p. 57-106. GUIDI-BRUSCOLI, F. — *Bartolomeo Marchionni, "Homem de Grossa Fazenda" (ca. 1450-1530). Un mercante fiorentino a Lisbona e l'impero portoghese*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2014, p. 87-88.

60,000 Portuguese bovine hides during a period of 18 years (1459-62, 1466-70, 1472-1480).[17] During his doctoral research, Antonio Carlomagno counted 27,865 pieces of hides traded by the Salviati Bank of Pisa over 47 years (1438-1485). Of these, 28% came from the Maghreb, 22% from Portugal, 14.5% from *Spagna* (Andalusia), 13% from Ireland, 4% from Sicily, 4% from Sardinia, and the remaining 14.5% from other, or unknown, origins.[18] As for the Nerone-Salviati company from Pisa, 93% of the hides negotiated were of Portuguese and Irish origin (1451-1461).[19] Studies have also demonstrated that trade was based on a wholesale model and that the Portuguese maritime fleet transported the lion's share of both Portuguese and Irish hides.[20] Although some Portuguese economic agents were involved, it was Italian merchants that mainly controlled the business, and who sometimes had direct access to the entire trade chain.[21]

While the presence of Portuguese hides and the respective involvement of Portuguese economic agents in trading is relatively well-known in terms of the Tuscan market, the same cannot be said for the Eastern Iberian market, although some studies do provide a glimpse of this presence. In 1404, hides of Berber origin constituted one-third of all imports to Barcelona, though they would disappear entirely in 1434, replaced by Andalusian, Galician, and Portuguese hides. The same year, Valencia was Barcelona's major hide supplier, which could be

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[17] TOGNETTI — Aspetti del comercio…p. 40.

[18] CARLOMAGNO — Il banco Salviati…, vol. 1, p. 325-26.

[19] CARDOSO — Redes comerciais…p. 13.

[20] TOGNETTI — Aspetti del commercio…p. 20, 27, 28, 36-39. CARDOSO — Redes comerciais…p. 19-22. BERTI — Le aziende Da Colle…p. 105. SEQUEIRA, J. — Entre Lisboa e Pisa: alguns exemplos de viagens comerciais no terceiro quartel do século XV. In Macário, R., ed. — *Ao tempo de Vasco Fernandes*. Viseu: DGPC/ Museu Grão Vasco/ Projecto Património, 2016. p. 173-185 (p. 176-178).

[21] TOGNETTI — Aspetti del comercio…p. 27-28. GUIDI-BRUSCOLI — *Bartolomeo Marchionni*…p. 87. CARDOSO — Redes comerciais…p. 24-29. SEQUEIRA, J. — Comprar, organizar e expedir: mercadores pisanos no negócio internacional dos couros portugueses e galegos no século XV. *eHumanista. Journal of Iberian Studies*. Santa Barbara: University of California Santa Barbara. ISSN 1540 5877. Nr. 38 (2018), p. 131-145.

explained by the fact that the city was a vital re-exportation market of the raw material.[22] As far as Valencian suppliers are concerned, Jacqueline Guiral states that Portuguese hides in the city did not abound in 1488, but that in 1494 they made up 16% of all hides imported by sea, whereas those of Berber origin made up only 7%.[23] The author also states that the tanning industry was the third most significant in Valencia, after the textile and metallurgical sectors.[24]

Many historians have pointed out that hides were among the products that characterised commercial relations between Portugal and Valencia.[25] According to Filipe Themudo Barata, the Portuguese vessels that went to the East side of the peninsula to sell fish by the end of the fourteenth century had become a regular presence from the 1430s onwards.[26] These same vessels would bring raw materials, fabrics, weapons, spices, and cereal back to Portugal from

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[22] SALICRÚ I LLUCH — Los cueros bovinos...p. 174.

[23] GUIRAL-HADZIIOSSIF, Jacqueline — *Valence, port méditerranéen au XVe siècle (1410-1525)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1986, p. 317.

[24] GUIRAL-HADZIIOSSIF — *Valence, port méditerranéen*...p. 316.

[25] BARATA, Filipe Themudo — *Navegação, comércio e relações políticas: os portugueses no Mediterrâneo Ocidental (1385- 1466)*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1998, p. 146. MUÑOZ POMER, M. R. — El eco de Portugal y los Portugueses en Valencia (siglos XIV-XVI). In *Estudos em homenagem ao Professor Doutor José Marques*. Porto: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2006. Vol. 4, p. 61-83. MUÑOZ POMER, M. R.; NAVARRO ESPINACH, G.; IGUAL LUIS, D. — El comercio portugués en el Mediterráneo occidental durante la Baja Edad Media. In González Jiménez, M., ed. — La *Península Ibérica entre el Mediterráneo y el Atlántico siglos XIII-XV*. Cadiz: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2006. p. 73-84 (p. 78). MUÑOZ POMER, M. R.; NAVARRO ESPINACH, G.; IGUAL LUIS, D. — El comercio de importación portugués en Valencia, 1487-1488. In Fonseca, L. A. da; Amaral, L.; Santos, M. F., eds. — *Os reinos ibéricos na Idade Média: livro de homenagem ao Professor Doutor Humberto Carlos Baquero Moreno*. Porto: Livraria Civilização Editora, 2003. Vol. 1, p. 1121-1131 (p. 1122-1124). HINOJOSA MONTALVO, J. — Intercambios comerciales entre Portugal y Valencia a fines del siglo XV: el «Dret Portugués». In *Actas das II Jornadas Luso-Espanholas de História Medieval*. Porto: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1987. Vol. 2, p. 759-779 (p. 760, 770).

[26] BARATA, F. T. — Vers l'Atlantique: quand le Portugal s'éloigne de la Méditerranée. In *Le Portugal et la Méditerranée*. Lisbon/Paris: Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian, 2002. p. 35-59 (p. 35).

Valencia and Italy.[27] Based on an analysis of the *Dret Portugués de València*, José Hinojosa Montalvo conducted research that provided an overview of Portuguese trade in Valencia in the second half of the fifteenth century.[28] From 1465 onwards, this trade would come to be characterised by massive exports of Portuguese fish, along with other products such as hides, linen, chestnuts and, after 1485, Madeiran sugar. Small numbers of African slaves were also traded to Valencia.[29] When returning to Portugal, the vessels would bring spices, dyestuff, rice, tableware, wool textiles, canvas, and raw silk.[30] The commercial balance was favourable to Portugal in this phase, mainly thanks to the large amounts of fish exported.[31]

2. The source

The *Dret Portugués de València*, published by the University of Valencia, consists of 20 fiscal notebooks containing records of payments of specific levies on Portuguese trade in Valencia between 1464 and 1512.[32] The levy was imposed to reimburse the significant losses incurred when Portuguese pirates attacked a Valencian caravel in 1462. The imposition of special taxes to alien merchants was quite common in the Crown of Aragon during the Middle Ages; the *Dret Portugués* was not an exceptional measure, as similar taxes were applied to other merchants.[33]

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[27] BARATA — Vers l'Atlantique...p. 41.

[28] HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 770. This work was later complemented by María Rosa Muñoz Pomer, Germán Navarro Espinach and David Igual Luis, above cited.

[29] HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 771.

[30] HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 777-779.

[31] HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 779.

[32] MUÑOZ POMER [et.al.], eds. — *Els llibres de la col•lecta...*

[33] HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 764.

Although the documents are extraordinary in details, they do not provide information for every single one of the 35 years between 1465 and 1500. No volume survived for the period between August 1467 and August 1468, for example.[34] The War of the Castilian Succession (1475-1479), in which Portugal and Aragon were on opposing sides, explains the absence of records between 1472 and 1479, with trade having been rehabilitated from 1480 onwards.[35] The levy was also suspended by King Ferdinand II of Aragon during two periods: between March 1480 and December 1481 and from November 1483 to March 1494.[36] Only a short record of the month of December has remained for the year 1491, and records are only available from June onwards for 1494.[37] Over a total of 35 years, adequate records are only therefore available for 19.

The depth of information differs from one notebook to another. Most of the notebooks are *llibres de jornades*, and the records are organised by the date on which levies were paid. A typical record includes the price, types and quantities of goods received, owners' names, and the amounts paid as levies.[38] Other journals include *llibres de manifest de mar*, which contain more information. In these cases, records are sequenced by order of boat arrivals: first, the type of vessel was noted, followed by the date of anchorage, the name of its skipper or captain, port of origin, a list of goods, quantities and respective owners and, occasionally, the names of the

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[34] MUÑOZ POMER, M. R. [et. al] — Anàlisi Històrica. In Muñoz Pomer, M. R. [et. al.], eds. — *Els llibres de la col•lecta del Dret Portugués de València (1464-1512)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2019. p. 7-21 (p. 10).

[35] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — El comercio de importación portugués…p. 1125. The authors, in transcribing excerpts from the *Dret Portugués*, state that the absence of trade between 1472 and 1479 was due to conflict opposing the kings of Portugal and Aragon.

[36] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — Anàlisi Històrica…p.14.

[37] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — Anàlisi Històrica… p.10.

[38] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — Anàlisi Històrica… p.11.

recipients, who also acted as guarantors that levies would be paid. The *llibres de manifest de mar* predate the *llibres de jornades*.[39]

The snapshot of trade between Portugal and Valencia provided by the *Dret Portugués* and studied by Hinojosa Montalvo does not necessarily reflect the entire picture of trade between the two regions in the period in question. In fact, as other authors have demonstrated in their analyses of various types of sources, after 1470, commercial relations between Portugal and Valencia were particularly geared towards trading sugar and slaves.[40] However, the mentions of these products in the *Dret* records are reasonably scarce, which could be explained by the fact that "new products" were commercialised in a specific circuit, and though both Portuguese and Valencian merchants participated in it, it was significantly controlled by Italian commercial companies.[41] Therefore, it appears that the *Dret Portugués* is a record of more "traditional commerce" as it had existed since the late fourteenth century.[42] Like all historical sources, the *Dret Portugués* provides only a limited glimpse of the circumstances in question. This research was conducted with this factor in mind, employing the expression "Portuguese trade in Valencia" rather than "Trade between Valencia and Portugal" to reflect this limited view.

In 1465 and 1500, 2,581 batches of imports and exports were recorded in the notebooks, 323 of which included bovine hides from Portugal, representing 13% of the total flow.[43] The terms used

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[39] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — Anàlisi Històrica…p. 11.

[40] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — El comercio de importación portugués… p. 1125.

[41] On the involvement of Italian companies in the trade between Portugal and Valencia, see IRADIEL MURUGARREN, P.; IGUAL LUIS, D. — Del Mediterráneo al Atlántico. Mercaderes, productos y empresas italianas entre Valencia y Portugal (1450-1520). In Fonseca, L. A. da; Cadeddu, M. E., eds. — *Portogallo Mediterraneo*. Cagliari: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 2001. p. 143-194.

[42] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — El comercio de importación portugués…p. 1125.

[43] These batches are referenced in pp. 31-294 of the edited version of the source. Since they have been published and the edition provides a very good Index, records shall not be quoted individually.

to describe these goods are "cuyro" (hide), "cuyro de vedell" (calf hide) and "cuyro de bou" (oxhide). According to definitions and documentary examples provided by Gual Camarena on the terms "cuyro" and "cuyram", it is entirely plausible that the "cuyros" mentioned in these sources were untreated hides (untanned)[44], which is consistent with the historical context presented previously.

3. The Portuguese hide trade in Valencia: the numbers

Once the records were compiled into a database, it was ascertained that the 323 batches identified corresponded to a total of 12,027 Portuguese bovine hides reaching the city of Valencia during the period in question (Graph 1).[45] As previously established, it is essential to note that information is only available for a period of 19 years. Therefore, if only these years are considered, an average can be calculated of around 630 hides per year. This number is not very significant, especially when compared to numbers traded with Tuscan companies. Cambini, a company from Florence, for example, purchased over 3,000 Portuguese hides per year (1459-1480).[46] Comparable numbers can only be found in the *Dret Portugués de Valencia* for two years: 2,893 hides in 1467 and 2,079 in 1471 (Graph 1). After the War of the Castilian Succession, the hide trade was reactivated, but the numbers remained very low in the first years. This could be explained by the fact that, following the *Cortes* (parliament) met in 1481-82, the Portuguese king, João II, forbade

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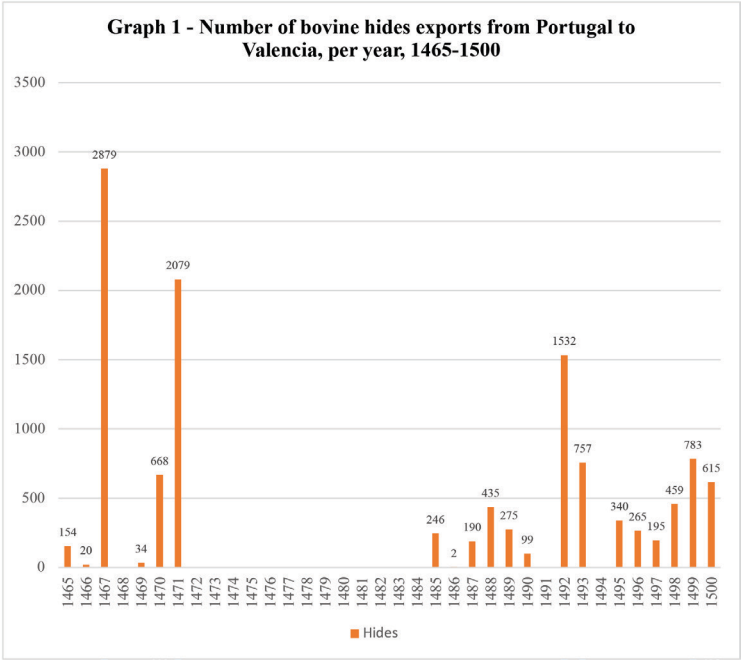
[44] GUAL CAMARENA, M. — *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*. Barcelona: Ediciones El Abir SA, 1976, *sub voce* "cuyro", "cuyram".

[45] See HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p.773.

[46] Based on the numbers in TOGNETTI — Aspetti del comercio internazionale-...p. 40.

hides from being exported from Portugal for six years.[47] After 1488, they resumed being exported regularly and consistently, although the rate per year rarely reached 1,000 hides (Graph 1).



MUÑOZ POMER, María Rosa [et. al.], eds. — Els llibres de la col•lecta del Dret Portugués de València (1464--1512). Valencia: Universitat de València, 2019, p. 31-294.

One aspect of note is that 78% of the batches that included hides also included fish (hake, conger, or sardines), generally in large quantities. It was also not by chance that almost all the batches (95%) arrived during February, March, and April, that is during Lent when the population would traditionally eat more fish. There is no doubt that the bulk of Portuguese trade to Valencia was fish, which meant that hides were provided as a complementary product, although they were still the second most traded goods. As Roser Salicrú has written,

[47] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 132.

this binomial relation was characteristic of the "new Iberian hide exportation markets", specifically those from Galicia, Andalusia, and Portugal.[48] Elisa Ferreira also observed that numbers of hides were far inferior to the quantities of fish counted among Galician exports.[49]

Other kinds of products were also shipped along with hides, though in much smaller quantities: chestnuts, goat and sheep leathers, yarn, tallow, linen and, after 1487, Madeiran sugar (the latter was noted in 9% of the 323 batches). Slaves were only noted in two of the 323 records, corresponding to two individuals. It is also important to mention that 221 hides were from Guinea (probably Upper Guinea). This African region began to be adequately explored by Portuguese merchants from 1470 onwards, their attention drawn to gold and slaves along with other resources like animal hides.[50] A significant portion of these Guinean hides was transported along with fish in 1488, on the vessel of "Andreu Pas", a man from Viana.[51] They were described as small because they were calf hides.

The largest batch of hides transported originated from Galicia: 340 pieces, shipped in 1495. Their inclusion in the *Dret Portugués* can be explained by the fact that they were sent by Portuguese agents (Pedro Dias and Fernão da Cunha) and were probably transported on a Portuguese vessel. Although Galicia and Portugal were competitors in the Mediterranean market due to the two regions exporting the same types of products, it was not uncommon for Portuguese agents to trade Galician hides, as both agents shared maritime transportation services.[52] Evidence has also been found

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[48] SALICRÚ I LLUCH — Los cueros bovinos…p. 189-193.

[49] FERREIRA PRIEGUE, E. — *Galicia en el comercio marítimo medieval*. Santiago: Universidad de Santiago, 1988, p. 740.

[50] ELBL, I. — The Portuguese trade with West Africa, 1440-1521. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1986. PhD Dissertation, p. 450, 452, 544-547.

[51] Probably Viana da Foz do Lima, today Viana do Castelo.

[52] FERREIRA PRIEGUE — *Galicia en el comercio…*p. 647, 648.

of Italian merchants settling in Portugal, trading both Galician and Portuguese hides simultaneously.[53]

The fact that hides were a complimentary product in Portuguese trade with Valencia is made even more apparent by the finding that only 20% of the batches were exclusively made up of hides, which meant that the owner/investor invested solely in that specific product. The percentage stated might suggest a correspondence with large quantities of hides, but this is not the case. In fact, half of the batches contained less than 10 hides, and many agents chose to send only one, two or three pieces. In some cases, it could be classed as *pacotilha* trade; that is, goods taken aboard a ship by a passenger or seaman without having to pay any taxes. In other cases, hides would only be added to a shipment to complete or complement the cargo. However, it appears that these batches did not have guaranteed distribution channels and would be circulated until a buyer could be found.[54] It also seems as though the economic agents knew these types of operations were a good bet. For this reason, another hypothesis should be considered: many of the vessels circulating in the Mediterranean most probably did not have Valencia as their only, or even final, destination, which could mean that only some of the goods on board would be discharged in the city's port, and the rest sold elsewhere — in other Eastern Iberian or even Italian ports.

A very small percentage (18%) of batches contained more than 80 hides, corresponding to what could be called a wholesale model. The biggest batch, containing 340 hides, has already been mentioned. This stands in stark contrast to the sales models observed when Portuguese hides were traded with Tuscan companies. For instance, in the Salviati Bank of Pisa, 75% of batches of hides (from differ-

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[53] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 134-137.

[54] MUÑOZ POMER [et al.] — El comercio de importación portugués…p. 1123-1124.

ent origins) contained more than 100 pieces, and it was not at all common to trade batches containing less than 10 or 20 pieces.[55]

Regrettably, information about the origins and types of vessels are available only in about 4% of the records. Mentioned most often was "Andreu Pas"' *balaner*, from Viana, on which a total of 275 hides were transported in February 1488. Pedro Eanes' caravel, recorded in 1465, also set sail from Viana. Gabriel Afonso's caravel departed from Lisbon in 1488, transporting Guinean hides. The port of Caminha is also mentioned as the departure point of a *nau* that arrived in Valencia in 1467.

Fresh hides being transported on vessels for several weeks threatened their quality. Reports on the arrival of rotten hides were quite common,[56] some of which have been identified in these specific records. For example, two batches were registered as such on 19 March 1471: 40 hides out of 140 were rotten, and 25 hides out of 110.

4. The Portuguese hide trade in Valencia: the suppliers

Around 93 different names were identified as being goods suppliers. This is consistent with the sales model adopted by the economic agents: retail trade. An anthroponomic analysis demonstrates that these agents would predominantly have been Portuguese, although the similarity between these anthroponyms and certain Castilian and Galician ones cannot be discarded. Only a few were identified as being Catalan, and no evidence was found of Italian merchants. In fact, only one person was identified as merchant. So, if not merchants, who were the suppliers? Most of them are identified with

[55] Based on the data in CARLOMAGNO — Il banco Salviati..., vol. 2, p. 234-239.

[56] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar...p.141.

two names, the second being the patronymic based on the father's first name. In Portugal, by the late Middle Ages, between seventy to ninety percent of second names were formed this way.[57] A survey conducted by Concepción Villanueva and Germán Navarro revealed that the most common second name among the agents identified in the books of the *Dret Portugués* was Yañez (Anes or Eanes, in Portuguese, which means son of João or Johanes).[58] Nine percent of the total batches were associated to someone named Yañez and the same percentage can be observed in the sample herein analysed. Unfortunately, as the authors point out, it's hard to establish any kind of familiar relations between the men that shared the same second name. In fact, studies on Portuguese medieval anthroponomy show that Anes or Eanes was, by far, the most common patronym used at the time.[59] These facts can only suggest that we are in face of a majority of people who were not distinguished by their occupation or higher social status.

Nevertheless, some details are indicated for a few individuals. Six were identified as being Jews, a low number especially when

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[57] GONÇALVES, I. — O nome. In Mattoso, J.; SOUSA, B. V. e, eds. — *História da Vida Privada em Portugal. A Idade Média*. Lisbon: Temas e Debates, 2010. p. 198-225 (p. 208).

[58] VILLANUEVA MORTE, C.; NAVARRO ESPINACH, G. — Los Yáñez, comerciantes portugueses en Valencia durante la imposición del Dret Portugués (1462-1512). In Martínez Peñin, R.; Cavero Domínguez, G., eds. — *Poder y poderes en la Edad Media*. Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2021. p. 535-560 (p. 535, 539).

[59] GONÇALVES, I. — Antroponímia das terras alcobacenses nos fins da Idade Média. *Do Tempo e da História. Revista do Centro de Estudos Históricos*. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa. Vol. 5 (1972), p. 159–200 (p. 164). FRANCO, I. — Antroponímia e Sociabilidade através dos 'pergaminhos' do Cabido da Sé do Porto (século XIV). Braga: Universidade do Minho, 2006. PhD Dissertation, p. 396. VIVAS, D.; LEITÃO, A. de O. — Nomear e ser nomeado na Idade Média. Estudo de antroponímia alentejana medieval (Homenagem a Iria Gonçalves). In *2.º Encontro de História do Alentejo Litoral*. Sines: Centro de Estudos Emmerico Nunes, 2009. p. 97-110 (p. 101, 103, 108). REIS, V. A. — Diz-me como te chamas, dir-te-ei quem és: amostra antroponímica do Porto e seu termo (1431-1438). In Lopes, A. I. A. [et.al.], eds. — *Omni Tempore. Atas dos Encontros da Primavera*. Porto: Universidade do Porto, Faculdade de Letras, Biblioteca Digital, 2017. p. 176-214 (p. 211).

compared to their presence in the circuits of other products. Two women were also identified: one noblewoman (*Dona* Catarina de Albuquerque)[60] and the Mother Abbess of "Narbano".[61] The former sent a batch containing 111 hides and 42 dozen *alludes*[62] (tanned sheep leathers) in 1492, while the latter shipped a single hide, hake, sardines, and a slave in 1488. This constitutes interesting evidence of both women and the social elite (nobility and clergy) participating in international trade. Another nobleperson, Fernão da Cunha,[63] crops up in the records more than once as having sent large quantities of hides in sequential years: in 1492, he shipped hake and 134 hides; in 1493 hake, conger and 293 hides; in 1495, he shipped the previously mentioned batch of 340 Galician hides along with Pedro Dias; in 1496 conger and 116 hides; in 1497 conger, 35 hides and Madeiran sugar; and in 1499 conger and 50 hides.[64] In fact, noblemen, clerics, and even kings involved in international commerce were a particular characteristic of the Portuguese economy and society during the Age of Discoveries.[65]

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[60] Catarina de Albuquerque was a noblewoman firstly married to Nuno da Cunha, an important knight of prince Fernando's household (1433-1470), deceased in 1477. She would marry another nobleman, Fernando Coutinho, but it in 1492 she was again a widow. This fact could explain her direct involvement in this trade operation in that same year (DRUMOND, P. — Uma fidalga portuguesa dos finais da Idade Média: D. Catarina de Albuquerque. *Boletim de Trabalhos Históricos*. Guimarães: Arquivo Municipal Alfredo Pimenta. Vol. 41 (1990), p. 49-60 [p. 50-56]); Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), *Convento de Santa Clara do Funchal*, mç. 1, nr 29. I thank Miguel Aguiar for this reference.

[61] It was not possible to identify the toponym.

[62] Although representing a large quantity, this is the only record of *alludes* found in the whole of the *Dret Portugués*.

[63] For more information on this nobleman, see GÓIS, D. de — *Livro de Linhagens de Portugal*. Edited by António Maria Falcão Pestana de Vasconcelos. Lisbon: Instituto Português de Heráldica/ CLEGH/ CEPESE, 2014, p. 414.

[64] Fernão da Cunha (*Ferrando de Cunya*) is recorded in other batches that did not contain hides (see the anthroponomical index in MUÑOZ POMER [et.al.], eds. — *Els llibres de la col•lecta*...p. 316).

[65] GODINHO, V. M. — *Os Descobrimentos e Economia Mundial*. 2nd ed., vol. 1, Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1984, p. 51-62. GOMES, R. C. — Between Pisa and Porto:

Fifteen batches corresponding to 397 hides (3.3% of the total) belonged to seamen, which were fortunately identified as such in the records (Table 1): four skippers (*patró*), three boatswain's mate (*contramestre*), two sailors (*mariner*) and one pilot (*piloto*). Two men identified as *mestre* and another classified as *boter* were also included — although the word *mestre* could designate a shipmaster, it being rather generic, it was also commonly used to refer to a professional level of excellence reached by an artisan.[66] The word *boter* could designate either a boatman or a boot maker.[67] Despite the ambiguity of the terms, it was decided that both likely referred to seafarers, as in this particular source almost every profession mentioned relates to maritime work.

Table 1 - Seafarers as hides suppliers in the Portuguese trade in Valencia, 1465-1500

Year	Name	Job	Nr. of hides supplied	Other goods supplied
1499	*Johan Alfonço*	skipper	164	Conger
1492	*Johan Rodriges*	skipper	66	Sugar
1471	*Johan Villela*	mestre (shipmaster?)	51	Conger; Hake
1500	*Johan Alfonso*	cockswain	50	Conger; Hake
1467	*Àlvaro Martínez*	boatwain's mate	14	Hake; Tallow
1488	*Johan Alfonso*	boatwain's mate	12	Conger; Hake
1467	*Pere Alfonso*	sailor	11	Conger; Hake; Yarn
1471	*Contramestre*	boatwain's mate	7	Hake
1467	*Mestre Vascho*	mestre (shipmaster ?)	5	Hake
1467	*Johan Andrés*	skipper	4	-

Afonso Eanes, merchant of the King of Portugal (1426-1440). In Ramada Curto, D. [et. al.], eds. — *From Florence to the Mediterranean and Beyond. Essays in Honour of Anthony Molho*. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2009. p. 235- 248 [p. 236].

[66] ALCOVER, A. M.; MOLL, F. de B., eds. — *Diccionari català-valencià-balear* [on-line]. Institut d'Estudis Catalans/ Institució Francesc de Borja Moll, 2018 [accessed on 2 June 2021]. *Sub voce* "mestre". Available at: https://dcvb.iec.cat/

[67] ALCOVER; MOLL, eds. — *Diccionari …. sub voce* "boter".

1467	*Lorenç Yanyes*	boter (boatman?)	3	Conger; Hake
1467	*Gosalbo Àlvarez*	sailor	3	Hake; Chestnut; Peles
1488	*Goçalbo Alfonso*	pilot	3	Conger; Hake; Sugar
1500	*Afonço Yanyes*	skipper	2	Conger
1496	*Johan Alfonso*	skipper	2	Conger; Hake

Source: MUÑOZ POMER, María Rosa [et. al.], eds. *— Els llibres de la col•lecta del Dret Portugués de València (1464-1512)*. Valencia: Universitat de Valènc-ia, 2019, p. 31-294.

Although the number of hides supplied by these men was not a significant contribution to the total, this data shows that they were also involved in international trade, seeking to earn extra money through businesses other than seafaring. Three of these men traded more than 50 hides at once, evidencing a certain level of entrepreneurship. "Johan Alfonso" (probably João Afonso), the skipper of a caravel departing from Viana, crops up three times: first in 1496, selling conger, hake and only two hides; then in 1499, selling conger and 164 hides, then and again in 1500 selling conger, hake and 50 hides. Most of the sailors mentioned sold very few hides, probably benefiting from the previously mentioned tax exemption. Skippers also acted as guarantors of levy payments several times, which could mean that the owners commissioned them to sell their goods, as was common practice.[68] Seamen were crucial players in international networks. However, seafarers' interests were diversified, them being engaged in the fishing trade, among others, confirming their importance to the visibility of local fisheries.[69] One of the other trades in which they were involved was the sugar trade, a

[68] BARROS, A. — Porto: a construção de um espaço marítimo nos alvores dos tempos modernos. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2004. PhD Dissertation. Vol.1, p. 746.

[69] FUSARO [et al.] — Entrepeneurs at sea…p. 776.

product from "new" lands. The role played by seafarers in international trade during the First Global Age, therefore, deserves a more in-depth study, the *Dret Portugués* of Valencia being a good source upon which to base such a study. While the participation of seamen in Portuguese exports to Valencia is evident, a superficial query conducted using the records of imports from Valencia to Portugal, found in the *Dret,* reveals that they were absent from the reverse trade. However, as mentioned, the subject requires further research.

Though certain noblemen and seafarers were identified, it is difficult to establish the social rank of the majority of suppliers, as only their anthroponym is revealed. Considering the sales models employed, the small quantities supplied, close connection to the fish trade, and mundanity of the names of sellers, it seems likely that a significant portion of hide suppliers could be people of relatively modest means, such as fishermen or butchers, who chose to invest in selling their products to foreign markets because the opportunity to do so arose.[70] Of course, it can be assumed that some of the 93 suppliers were Catalan or Castilian civilians, which means that some of the imports may have been shipped as self-supply trading, which would also explain batches shipped containing minimal quantities.

It is essential to state that some suppliers' names appear more than once. The problem is that many of the names were quite common, as already explained above. In the absence of other sources to cross-reference, it is difficult to determine whether the same name referred to one or many individuals. Certain suppliers had more distinctive names, some of which are easier to pick out as they supplied more significant numbers of hides: besides the previously mentioned Fernão da Cunha (938 hides), others included Rodrigo

[70] In a list of hides suppliers in Portugal, of 1464-65, many of them were identified as butchers (SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 136-137).

Álvares (610),[71] Nuno de Barros (260),[72] Diogo Gonçalves (295),[73] and João Velho (359).[74] Nuno de Barros is a name retrieved from another source containing a list of hide suppliers from 1464-65. During these years, Pisan agents Da Colle, who had been established in Lisbon since 1462, organised a huge acquisition of hides in Portugal and Galicia: a total of 6,602 bovine hides and 277 sheepskins, supplied by 82 different individuals.[75] Nuno de Barros, from Viana,[76] was one of their suppliers.[77] As mentioned, immediately after this sale, in 1467, he sent a batch of hides directly to Valencia, with no intermediaries. Would the latter option be more profitable? The question leads directly to the issue of prices.

5. The Portuguese hide trade in Valencia: prices

Unfortunately, few records provide accurate pricing information because in almost every case, the amount stated in the records applies to the entire set of goods, with no individual prices stated for each type of product. Prices from records listing hides as unique products were therefore collected, though only from years in which at least two records containing information specifically on hide prices could be found (Table 2).[78]

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[71] 2 calf's hides in 1471, 76 hides in 1488, 160 Guinea hides in 1488, 227 hides in 1489 and 145 hides in 1493.

[72] 260 hides in 1467.

[73] 80 hides in 1467, 135 in 1470, 80 calf's hides in 1471.

[74] 223 hides in 1467, 40 in 1470, 96 in 1471.

[75] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 134-137.

[76] Viana da Foz do Lima, today Viana do Castelo.

[77] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 134-137.

[78] A choice was made to include only the prices of "cuyros" and "cuyros de bou", excluding calf and Guinean hides. The price of these alternatives was not much lower than that of adult ox's hide, costing only one or two *sous* less.

Table 2 – Prices of bovine Portuguese hides in Valencia, per unity

Year	Price per unity, in sous* (minimum)	Price per unity, in sous* (maximum)
1467	4	18
1471	3	6
1488	5	6
1490	5	6
1492	20	22
1493	3	13
1498	14	17
1500	7	13

* 1 lliiura valenciana=20 sous= 12 diners
Source: MUÑOZ POMER, María Rosa [et. al.], eds. — *Els llibres de la col•lecta del Dret Portugués de València (1464-1512)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2019, p. 31-294.

Upon assessing the table above, it is challenging to ascertain the reasoning behind the development of hide pricing. However, it should be noted that these were not market prices, but values declared on a fiscal document, which could differ from actual market prices charged. As such, any comparison made, or conclusion drawn from this data, can be nothing more than simple observation.

Differences between the minimum and maximum amounts charged could, for example, be huge in the same year, as they were in 1467 or 1492. Between 1490 and 1492, the price per unit practically quadrupled. A particular trend can be observed: after 1471, the prices went down and remained low until 1490, but in 1492 they rose an incredible amount, staying high throughout the following years (Table 2). If Table 2 is compared to Graph 1, it can be observed that in 1467 and 1492, two years in which higher rates were charged for hides, the maximum price was exceptionally high. However, though many hides were sold in 1471, both the minimum and maximum prices

registered per unit were low. A higher abundance of Portuguese hides in the Valencian market did not seem to cause prices to diminish. Of course, to properly understand these trends, the availability of hides from different origins should be ascertained in the years in question. Regrettably, information such as that is far from abundant. In fact, total numbers are only available for 1488, a year in which Portuguese hides made up 9% of all hides imported to Valencia.[79] Though this is a very small percentage, the prices registered for the year were low. While Portugal exported 453 hides (Graph 1), Galicia exported six times more (2,736 pieces)[80] in the same year. Evidence was also found that 1,357 Galician hides,[81] and only 615 Portuguese hides (Graph 1), were exported to Valencia in 1500. In this year, the price of Portuguese hides varied between 7 and 13 *sous* (Table 2), while those from Galicia reached around 16-19 *sous*.[82]

Sets of hides registered on the same day present different prices per unit. There seems to be no relationship between the price charged and the number of hides in a batch; larger quantities did not necessarily mean lower prices. Similar circumstances were observed in the purchase made by the Da Colle merchants in 1464-1465, mentioned above. They bought hides from all over the country at many different prices (ranging from 92 to 260 *reais* per piece), but no correlation was found between prices and numbers of hides bought from any one supplier.[83] It looks like in both cases, although a sort of informal market tendency could exist, it was up to sellers to determine the final prices.

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[79] According to the number of total imports of bovine hides to Valencia (5276 units) provided by Jacqueline Guiral, which correspond only to the maritime imports (GUIRAL-HADZIIOSSIF — *Valence, port méditeranéen*...p. 317).

[80] FERREIRA PRIEGUE — *Galicia en el comercio*...p. 741.

[81] FERREIRA PRIEGUE — *Galicia en el comercio*...p. 741.

[82] FERREIRA PRIEGUE — *Galicia en el comercio*...p. 740.

[83] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar...p. 139.

As such, the initial question still stands: was it more profitable for a Portuguese hide owner/investor to sell the goods directly in the international market, without intermediaries? This is not an easy question to answer, as prices vary greatly in the two examples analysed. However, some simple comparisons can be made to try to reach a conclusion, for example, between the prices charged by Da Colle in 1464-65, and those practiced in Valencia in 1467. From 1462 to 1463, one Valencian *llivra* (which divided into 20 *sous*[84]) was equivalent to 300 to 400 *reais*.[85] In 1464-65, Nuno de Barros sold 147 hides to the Da Colle merchants in Portugal at 260 *reais* per unit,[86] which would have been equivalent to 13 to 17 *sous*. In 1467, this same agent traded 260 hides in Valencia at 11 *sous* apiece. It therefore seems that it would have been more profitable to sell the hides to foreign merchants in Portugal, especially as doing so would mean the merchant would not have to pay for transportation. Another comparison can be made, of the average prices in both examples. In the Da Colle operation, the average price for a bovine hide in 1464-65 was 164 *reais*,[87] equivalent to between 8 and 11 *sous*. In 1467 Valencia, the price of a Portuguese bovine hide varied between 4 and 18 *sous* (Table 2), and the average price was 9 *sous*. This example reveals that the prices would have been around the same. Finally, if maximum prices are compared, the highest value obtained in the Da Colle operation was equivalent to 13 to 17 *sous*,[88] while in Valencia it was 18 (Table 2). This example demonstrates

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[84] 1 *lliura* = 20 *sous* = 12 *diners*.

[85] According to the exchange rates given in CARDOSO, A. C. — Os livros de contas do mercador Michelle da Colle (1462-63): do registo contabilístico à atividade financeira na praça de Lisboa. Porto: Universidade do Porto, 2016. MA Dissertation, p. 197.

[86] Archivio Salviati, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa (Pisa), *Serie I – Libri di Commercio, Da Colle e Salviati. Giovanni Da Colle e Averardo di Alamanno Salviati, di Banco in Lisbona*, reg. 10, fls. 43v-46.

[87] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 138.

[88] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 139.

how it could have been more profitable to send the hides directly to the international market.

In summary, the three examples provide leads to three different conclusions. Of course, these exercises are flawed. First, there is no guarantee that the exchange rate in 1462-63 remained constant for the following years, as it was influenced by multiple factors. Secondly, as previously mentioned, these amounts are provided by fiscal sources and may not correspond to real market values. Thirdly, it is risky to compare prices from 1464-65 to those of 1467 because variation from one year to another could be enormous, as demonstrated in Table 2. Due to all these limitations, no logic can be found about how prices were determined, though this does not, of course, mean that no logic existed. What can be gained from these examples and all the other studies on Tuscan companies already mentioned was that hide exporting was a desirable market to Portuguese agents and that they did their utmost to sell their goods to external markets. Some Portuguese sources also confirm this preference for selling hides to foreign countries, notwithstanding the multiple complaints made in the *Cortes* against foreign merchants involved in the hide trade throughout the fifteenth century.[89] For instance, in the *Cortes* meeting of 1451, the *procuradores* (delegates) from the region of the Algarve (southern Portugal) explained that butchers, who were allegedly poor, preferred to sell their hides to Genoese merchants, rather than selling them to the king's officials, because the Genoese bought the hides in advance, one year before Easter, during Carnival. [90] Prepayments such as these allowed the butchers to have the money they needed to buy animals the following year, throughout Lent, therefore guaranteeing that meat would be supplied over Easter. This testimony also explains why the majority of hides arrived in Valencia during Lent.

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[89] SEQUEIRA — Comprar, organizar…p. 131-132.

[90] Academia das Ciências (Lisbon), *Códice 402 (Azul)*, fl. 137-137v.

Conclusion

The number of hides traded in Valencia as part of the Portuguese hide trade seems to be higher, and therefore more important, than that signalled in previous studies,[91] though comparably inferior to the number of hides exported to Tuscan companies. As this kind of serial data is not available for the period preceding that studied in Valencia, it is difficult to determine if the imposition of the levy caused trade to diminish. Of course, Portugal was only one of multiple hide suppliers in Valencia. Still, by the end of the century, it seems to have overtaken other markets, specifically the Berber hide market. It is also worth considering the possibility that Valencia was only one of many ports in which vessels departing from Portugal docked, which could help explain the relatively low numbers of hides exported to that specific port.

The analysis of the correlation between exports of hides and other products revealed that hide trading was closely linked to fish trading, both of which were seasonal markets with demand piquing during Lent, when fish was consumed in higher quantities and hides were made available as a result of butchers preparing their meat stocks for Easter. While the hide trade was initially included in the general trading of traditional products, soon it became linked to the commerce of new products from "new lands", specifically Madeiran sugar.

The commercial strategies adopted by Portuguese agents when exporting hides to Valencia and Italy were quite different. In Tuscany, commercial companies and/or merchants controlled a large part of the business, sometimes buying hides in advance from producers in Portugal, dealing with batches containing large quantities of product. When it came to goods exported to Valencia,

[91] See HINOJOSA MONTALVO — Intercambios comerciales...p. 773.

suppliers, who were not identified as merchants, sold their goods to foreign markets with no mediation from big merchants, often shipping minimal quantities of hides (retail model). When trading in Valencia, it is worth mentioning that the product owner had to pay for the transportation and levy, risking losing all or part of any shipment due to multiple factors (shipwrecks, piracy, deterioration of the goods, etc.). The possibility of Catalan and Castilian agents employing self-supply trading should also be considered in the context of Portuguese trade in Valencia.

Some evidence encountered sheds light on the historiographical debate on seafarer entrepreneurship in the First Global Age. This case study demonstrated that they were far more than simple transporters, also taking on the role of businessmen engaged in circuits involving multiple products. This isolated analysis clearly demonstrates that regular traffic between Portugal and Valencia took place, thus confirming the solid presence of Portuguese agents (both traders and seafarers) in the West Mediterranean by the late fifteenth century.

Attempts to compare the prices of hides in Valencia to those charged by Italian merchants in Portugal provided no conclusive results. However, all the data provided by studies on Portuguese hide exports demonstrate that it was a reasonably active market. Although hides were a low value good, their trade involved many agents and substantially nurtured maritime commercial routes, therefore contributing to trade on a global level.

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7

Taxation on Late Medieval Lisbon's Wine Market

José Miguel Zenhas Mesquita
NOVA University of Lisbon, IEM
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4650-0302

Abstract

At the end of the middle ages, Lisbon reached a unique dimension in Portugal in terms of demographics, and political and economic power. It also became pivotal in the kingdom's wine exports to the northern Atlantic markets. The consumption demand, the city's geographical position between the ocean and a long navigable river, and the agrarian aptitude for wine production, are not the only explanations for that, with institutions promoting those changes. This essay explores the role of the monastic orders in shaping the natural environment of this region and its agricultural output. Recurring to Portuguese compilations of ordinations, books of laws, postures, chancelleries, and royal chapters, it will also be shown how economic and fiscal policies set a framework for the creation of a market-oriented trading system, which became an important source of fiscal exaction to royal and local authorities.

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Resumo

No final da idade média, Lisboa atingiu uma dimensão única em Portugal no que diz respeito à demografia e poder político e económico. Também se tornou no principal exportador de vinho para os mercados do Atlântico Norte. A procura para satisfazer o consumo, a posição geográfica entre um rio e um oceano, e a aptitude agrária para a produção vinícola não são as únicas explicações para este fenómeno; as instituições desempenharam um papel crucial para essas mudanças. Este ensaio explorará o papel das ordens monásticas na adaptação da paisagem natural da região e no aumento da produção agrícola. Utilizando compilações de fontes portuguesas como ordenações, livros de leis, posturas, chancelarias, e capítulos de cortes, este estudo demonstrará como as políticas fiscais e económicas permitiram a criação de um sistema de comércio orientado para o mercado, que se tornou uma importante fonte de receitas de impostos para as autoridades locais e régias.

Introduction

In the later middle ages, Lisbon had grown large in population. It had become a leading centre of political decision and economic power on the scale of the kingdom of Portugal. On the estuary of the River Tagus, it was tied to a vast and productive hinterland, stretching beyond the municipality's administrative borders. It was home to a seaport having excellent natural conditions. These characteristics turned Lisbon into the biggest commercial hub in Portugal, wine being one of the main commodities exported. Therefore, Lisbon presented itself in northern-European markets as a supplier of wines alternative to the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, the Mediterranean, the French Atlantic coast, and the Rhineland.

A few questions remain to be answered: How did the city's relationship with its productive hinterland contribute to forming a markedly oriented wine economy? How far did the crown and city council capitalise on this by exacting taxes?

The debate about the commercial production of wine and its medieval markets is long-established. In the European historiography, Roger Dion's classic work *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France. Des origines au XIXè siècle* (1959) proposed a development model divided into two phases.[1] The first corresponded to developments in local production, oriented to supply landlords and urban centres in the vicinity of the vineyards. The vine was planted indiscriminately without paying attention to the terrain's natural characteristics, nor to the qualities desired of the wine. The next phase, from the thirteenth century onwards, was named by the author "Les grands vignobles commerciaux du Moyen Age". These big commercial vineyards corresponded to regions that, due to their location, allowed the rapid flow to the market at low costs. At this stage, we also find political conditions conducive to developing an economy geared towards trade and surplus. At this time, landlords and institutions, mostly ecclesiastical, were keen to invest in production conditions and better-quality wines for consumption and a market for them.

While Dion revolutionised our understanding of these issues by looking mostly at France, Tim Unwin's book *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (1991) added a more complete analysis of the European framework.[2] Although recognising viticulture as an agricultural complement to the self-subsistence of southern European populations (along with cereal and olive production), Unwin also established that between

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[1] DION, Roger - *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle.* Paris: CNRS Editions, 1959; repr., 2010.

[2] UNWIN, Tim - *Wine and the Vine: An Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* London: Routledge, 1991.

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, wine was commercially produced in the area to supply growing urban centres in both Southern and Northern Europe. The main consumers of the time, such as England, Flanders and the Baltic region, used three main imported routes: sweet wines came from the Mediterranean, then wines from Northern Spain and Western France, and finally wines from the Rhineland. However, this does not fully reflect the European wine trading system. Thanks to authors like Wendy Childs and Peter Spufford, Southern Spain and Portugal can be added.[3]

Taking an oenological approach, Hugh Johnson pointed out that the development of wine markets where supply originated in different regions led to wines being singled out by name. This is in accordance with each wine's specific characteristics, namely its region of origin and sometimes flavour – for example, sweet wine. Different wines were diverse in quality and price.[4] The designation "region of origin" could apply both to the area where the wine was produced and the port from which it was exported. A solution to this ambivalence can be found in Aline Brochot's definition of "wine capital" (*capitale du vin*), according to which wine will be named after a city, either because of its role as "head" of the production area or because of it attracting resources due to political, administrative or commercial influence.[5]

The formation of a wine market on a European scale presupposes the transition from a self-sufficient economic model – corresponding

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[3] CHILDS, Wendy R. - *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Rowman and Littlefield, 1978; *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*. Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2013. SPUFFORD, Peter - *Power and Profit. The Merchant in Medieval Europe*. New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003.

[4] JOHNSON, Hugh - *The Story of Wine*. London: Octopus Publishing Group 1989; repr., 2004.

[5] BROCHOT, Aline - Capitales du Vin: Identités, Hiérarchies et Concurrences. *Ethnologie française* 46, nr 6 (2016).

to the first phase of viticulture as described by Dion – to the second phase, in which a market society has developed through integrating regional, inter-regional and international markets. Stephan R. Epstein's "Freedom and Growth" (2000) launched a debate on various questions contributing to the formation of markets in the long haul, that is from the middle ages to the early modern era.[6] He suggested that factors explaining market growth and development included the institutional framework, the ability of states to enforce economic policies, and jurisdiction over the market.

The institutional framework and jurisdiction over the market are key to understanding privileges and taxation as established by those in power. Concerning wine markets, Malcolm Barber and Bas van Bavel have pointed out the creation, in the second half of the thirteenth century, of a fiscal system to finance the growing needs of urban centres. The system was based upon the taxation of essential goods such as bread, wine and beer.[7] During the middle ages, this form of indirect tax over retail and wholesale goods made up as much as three-quarters of urban revenues on average. Jeffrey Flynn-Paul, in "Civic Debt, Civic Taxes and Urban Unrest: A Catalan Key to Interpreting the Late Fourteenth-Century European Crisis" (2007), has argued for the application on a European level of this model of urban financing, from the fourteenth century onwards.[8]

Research on wine production and trade in medieval Portugal remains in its very beginnings, apart from the work of Mário Viana

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[6] EPSTEIN, Stephan R. - *Freedom and Growth. The Rise of States and Markets in Europe, 1300-1750.* London: Routledge, 2000.

[7] BARBER, Malcolm - *Two Cities: Medieval Europe, 1050–1320*, 2 ed. London: Routledge, 1992, p. 56. BAVEL, B. J. P. van - *Manors and Markets. Economy and Society in the Low Countries, 500-1600* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, p. 119.

[8] FLYNN-PAUL, Jeffrey - "Civic Debt, Civic Taxes and Urban Unrest: A Catalan Key to Interpreting the Late Fourteenth-Century European Crisis " in *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe. Essays in Honor of John H.A. Munro,* ed. Lawrin Armstrong, Ivana Elbl, and Martin Elbl. Leiden/Boston: Brill 2007.

especially.[9] However, a strong tradition in rural studies has established that vineyards were a feature of the agrarian landscape in central Portugal, thanks to authors such as Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, Iria Gonçalves, Silvio Conde and José Augusto Oliveira.[10] Economic historians such as A. H. de Oliveira Marques and Flávio Miranda have provided an approach to the balance of trade, the products traded and the institutional framework of economic activities.[11] António Castro Henriques and Rodrigo da Costa Dominguez have established what the fiscal framework of the kingdom was. It is necessary to combine all of these for answers to the questions already risen.[12]

This chapter aims to demonstrate the transition in Lisbon and its hinterland, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from a self-sufficient wine production system to a surplus production system to supply regional, interregional and international markets. At the same time, it will show the creation by the Portuguese crown and the Lisbon municipal authorities of an institutional framework of

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[9] VIANA, Mário - Considerações sobre o abastecimento de vinho a lisboa provocadas pelo choro de uma dama antiga (1522), *Arquipélago. História* 2, n. II (1997); *Vinhedos medievais de Santarém*. Cascais: Patrimonia 1998; Alguns preços de vinho em portugal (séculos XIV-XVI), *Arquipélago. História* 2, n. V (2001); A viticultura nas cidades medievais portuguesas, in *Alimentar la ciudad en la Edad Media. Actas Encuentros Internacionales del Medieveo, 2008*. Nájera: Instituto de Estudos Riojanos, 2009.

[10] COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz - *O Baixo Mondego nos finais da Idade Média*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1989; GONÇALVES, Iria - *O património do mosteiro de alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV*. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa; Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1989; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio - *Uma paisagem humanizada. o M*édio *Tejo nos finais da Idade Média*, 2 vols. Cascais: Patrimonia 2000; OLIVEIRA, José Augusto - *Na Península de Setúbal, em finais da Idade Média: Organização do espaço, aproveitamento dos recursos e exercício do poder*. Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2013.

[11] MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira - *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, 2nd ed.. Lisbon: Presença, 1993; MIRANDA, Flávio - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic. Commercial Diplomacy, Merchants, and Trade, 1143–1488*. Porto: University of Porto PhD dissertation, 2012.

[12] HENRIQUES, António Castro - *State Finance, War and Redistribution in Portugal, 1249-1527*. York: University of York PhD thesis, 2008; DOMINGUEZ, Rodrigo da Costa - *O Financiamento da coroa portuguesa nos finais da idade média. Entre o africano e o venturoso*. Porto: University of Porto PhD thesis, 2013.

rights and taxes allowing them to increase their profits in the wine trade market. This will allow for conclusions to be made regarding the municipality's fiscal influence beyond its direct administrative jurisdiction, with royal support, as well as regarding the development of the tax system from seigneurial methods to methods more in keeping with the economic and demographic dynamics of Lisbon being the "head" of the kingdom. This requires a specialised bibliography and both royal and municipal primary sources, such as charters, petitions, laws and decrees, from the *Torre do Tombo* Portuguese National Archive (ANTT) and the Lisbon Municipal Archive (AML-AH).

Production and trade

The evolution of wine production and trade cannot be seen in isolation from structural developments felt in Portugal. Between the thirteenth century and the mid-fourteenth century crisis, the kingdom witnessed considerable demographic growth. Urban centres flourished and labour available in the countryside fueled the expansion of farmland. This was noticeable particularly in the areas closest to Lisbon, the integration of which into the Portuguese kingdom had taken place between the end of the twelfth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century.[13] Being a part of the Mediterranean agricultural system, vineyards were planted arbitrarily everywhere, even in places far from appropriate.[14] Vineyards

[13] HENRIQUES, António Castro - The Reconquista and Its Legacy, 1000–1348, in *An Agrarian History of Portugal, 1000-2000: Economic Development on the European Frontier*, ed. Dulce Freire and Pedro Lains, *Library of Economic History*. Leiden/ Boston: Brill, 2017, pp. 19-33.

[14] PINA, Isabel Castro - *A Encosta Ocidental da Serra da Estrela: Um Espaço Rural na Idade Média*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 1998, pp. 34-37.

appeared in small and medium plots of land standing next to urban centres, bordering roads, alongside rivers, as concentrated patches, or coupled with other crops such as olive groves.[15]

By the mid-fourteenth century, a series of structural changes had already made an impact on the agrarian landscape around Lisbon. Bad harvest years weakened the population for decades and, coupled with the Black Death in 1348, caused catastrophic impact. The second half of the century was plagued also by social and political instability, and war with Castile. All this led to the kingdom's population shrinking dramatically, only to recover in the first half of the sixteenth century. Simultaneously, the population flocked from the rural areas to cities, which kept on growing in population numbers and economic vitality.[16]

At the same time, the framework of agrarian production started to evolve from the disorganised expansion of farmland, fueled by manual labour, then abundant, to improved land use. Vineyards played a central role in this. Stimulus to the vineyard expansion in the countryside came mostly from religious institutions such as the Cistercians based in Alcobaça (north of the Tagus) and the military order of Santiago, namely from properties held by the monastery of Santos (near Lisbon) south of the Tagus, in the Setúbal Peninsula. Many agrarian contracts from this time stipulated the work to be done in the vineyard to improve productivity, and the places where vine would produce better quality wines. These contracts also contain the first documented references to the best

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[15] GONÇALVES, Iria - *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, pp. 82-84.

[16] COELHO, Maria Helena da Cruz - Os Homens ao Longo do Tempo e do Espaço, in *Portugal em Definição de Fronteiras. Do Condado Portucalense à Crise do Século XIV*, ed. Luís Carvalho Homem and Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *Nova História De Portugal*. Lisboa: Editorial Presença, 1996, pp. 168-83; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira - *Portugal na Crise dos Séculos XIV e XV*, ed. Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, 12 vols., vol. 4, Nova História De Portugal. Lisboa: Presença, 1987.

grape varieties to grow.[17] In the region under the influence of Alcobaça Monastery, many crops were converted into vineyards, which evolved from being secondary in the agricultural activity of the fourteenth century into becoming the most important products in the fifteenth century. Wine production was channelled to meet increasing demand from markets in Lisbon, Torres Vedras, Santarém, Leiria, Alverca, Óbidos, Rio Maior and Golegã.[18] At the Santos Monastery, the strategy was to concentrate vineyards around the ports of Coina and Almada, and in the fifteenth century also in Caparica and Seixal, to supply Lisbon and a broader commercial market.[19] Along the Tagus valley reaching Abrantes, vineyards kept expanding until the end of the fifteenth century, most noticeably in Santarém, which became a huge production centre on an interregional scale.[20]

These regions concurred to supply Lisbon's internal and external wine market.[21] The city experienced population growth from 35,000, at the end of the fourteenth century, to 65,000 in 1517.[22]

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[17] Gonçalves - *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, pp. 81-87, 148, 215-16. OLIVEIRA, José Augusto - *Na Península de Setúbal, em Finais da Idade Média: Organização do Espaço, Aproveitamento dos Recursos e Exercício do Poder*, pp. 230-53.

[18] GONÇALVES, Iria - *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, pp. 83, 148, 251-53.

[19] OLIVEIRA, José Augusto - *Na Península de Setúbal, em Finais da Idade Média: Organização do Espaço, Aproveitamento dos Recursos e Exercício do Poder*, pp. 233-36.

[20] VILAR, Hermínia - *Abrantes, Medieval: Séculos XIV e XV*. Câmara Municipal de Abrantes 1988, p. 41; CONDE, Manuel Sílvio - *Uma Paisagem Humanizada. O Médio Tejo nos Finais da Idade Média*, p. 178; VIANA, Mário - *Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém*; CATARINO, Maria Manuela - *Na Margem Direita do Baixo Tejo: Paisagem Rural e Recursos Alimentares (Sécs. XIV e XV)*. Cascais: Patrimonia, 2000, pp. 81-84.

[21] VIANA, Mário - Considerações sobre o abastecimento de vinho a Lisboa provocadas pelo choro de uma Dama Antiga (1522), pp. 417-33; A Viticultura nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas, pp. 87-90.

[22] MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira, Iria Gonçalves, and Amélia Aguiar Andrade - *Atlas Das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa/Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990, p. 55.

When compared to other Portuguese major urban centres in the same period, such as Oporto, Santarém and Évora, it was still the biggest consumer city by far.[23] Favoured by the king, supported by a strong merchant class, an excellent seaport inserted in the European trade routes, and a wide, navigable river to transport agricultural products from the most fertile regions in the country, Lisbon became the political "head" of the realm and its most important commercial hub.[24]

Since the late twelfth century, Portugal exported to northern Europe wine, raisins, olive oil, figs, oranges, wax, honey, lampreys, leather, cork and salt, in return for cereals, textiles, wool, iron, weapons and metals.[25] Mostly from Lisbon, the export of wine to northern European markets grew throughout the fourteenth century until the first half of the fifteenth century, at which point it became the country's main export.[26] Although Portuguese wine could also be found in the Hanse, Flanders and France, England was the main importer.[27] As for the Portuguese wine trade with the Mediterranean

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[23] *Atlas Das Cidades Medievais Portuguesas*. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa/Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1990, pp. 23, 65, 83.

[24] ANDRADE, Amélia Aguiar and Flávio Miranda - Lisbon Trade, Urban Power and the King's Visible Hand, in *The Routledge Handbook of Maritime Trade around Europe, 1300-1600: Commercial Networks and Urban Autonomy*, ed. Wim Blockmans, Mikhail Krom, and Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz. London Routledge, 2017; MIRANDA, Flávio and Diogo Faria - Lisboa e o Comércio Marítimo com a Europa nos Séculos XIV e XV, in *Lisboa Medieval: Gentes, Espaços e Poderes*, ed. João Luís Inglês Fontes, et al. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais 2016.

[25] MIRANDA, Flávio - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic. Commercial Diplomacy, Merchants, and Trade, 1143–1488*, pp. 15, 25.

[26] CHILDS, Wendy - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic. Commercial Diplomacy, Merchants, and Trade, 1143–1488*, pp. 25, 172; *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*, p. 99. MIRANDA, Flávio and Hilario Casado Alonso - Comércio entre o porto de Bristol e Portugal no final da Idade Média, 1461-1504, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, no. XIX 2018, pp. 24, 25.

[27] DION, Roger - *Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIX Siècle*, p. 321; MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira - *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, pp. 119, 20; MIRANDA, Flávio - *Portugal and the Medieval Atlantic. Commercial Diplomacy, Merchants, and Trade, 1143–1488*, pp. 169, 72.

world, the current state of knowledge leads us to think that it was not as relevant as the Atlantic world.[28]

The exported wines were of different qualities and varieties: red or white, sweet or non-sweet, classified by the grape variety used, such as bastard or malmsey, or by their place of origin.[29] From Lisbon, were sent out the *osey* or *d'osoye*, the *capryke*, *raspey*, *reputage* and *land wyne*. The match between wine types and such names, as they appear in the English customs sources, is still open to interpretation. The *osey* might have originated in the north bank of the lower Tagus basin, somewhere near Santa Iria da Azóia.[30] This might be the same as a type of malmsey sweet wine, which was being produced in royal properties in Sacavém at the end of the fifteenth century.[31] Wendy Childs offers the *capryke* and *reputage* as coming from Caparica and Ribatejo respectively. As to the *land wyne,* Childs believes it could mean any type of wine from Portugal.[32] Portuguese sources are not clear about this, other than a purchase made by King Duarte of 29 tuns of *vinhos da terra*, which translates into *land wyne*.[33] According to the Portuguese fiscal sources, the expression *vinho*

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[28] BARATA, Filipe Themudo - *Navegação, Comércio e Relações Políticas. Os Portugueses no Mediterrâneo Ocidental (1385-1466)*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Junta de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1998, pp. 113, 14.

[29] VIANA, Mário - A Viticultura nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas, pp. 91-98; FREEMAN, Michael - Pots of Osey, in *De Mot En Mot. Aspects of Medieval Linguistics*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997; CHILDS, Wendy - *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*, pp. 99-103.

[30] MARQUES, A. H. de Oliveira - *Hansa e Portugal na Idade Média*, p. 117; CHILDS, Wendy - *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*, p. 99. VIANA, Mário - Considerações sobre o abastecimento de vinho a Lisboa provocadas pelo choro de Uma Dama Antiga (1522), pp. 247,48.

[31] FREIRE, Anselmo Braamcamp - Cartas de Quitação Del Rei D. Manuel, *Archivo histórico portuguez* I, no. 10 (1903), doc. 12, p. 366.

[32] CHILDS, Wendy - *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile, and England*, pp. 24, 25, 99, 100.

[33] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte*, ed. João José Alves Dias, vol. II. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos.Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1999, doc. 41, pp. 62-75.

de Lisboa (wine of Lisbon) was applied to all the wines that were custom cleared for exportation in the city port, regardless of having been produced in Ribatejo or elsewhere.[34]

Rights and taxes on production and commerce

For many medieval European countries, Portugal included, there were two main ways to finance the "state". Firstly, from collecting rights and taxes, such as those due from agricultural production and the exchange of everyday goods. Secondly, extraordinary loans and "services" were sometimes required. Besides, increased trade at the regional and international levels provided new forms of taxation of goods. From financing through rights such as tolls, which affected payers directly, the tax system evolved to new forms of taxation over the commercial act itself, and, therefore, indirectly over the payer. This evolution, which can be regarded as being a development of the seignorial system to a tax system, was only possible through the establishment of political and institutional structures capable of implementing this change by force.[35] For example, in Manresa, an urban centre in Catalonia, a law passed in 1311 establishing a form of monopoly on the wine market, whereas a similar law was passed in 1179 the Lisbon city charter.[36] By 1314 and 1316, the Barcelona and Tortosa municipal authorities started implementing a new extraordinary tax called *imposicion*, on wine, meat, grain, and other goods. Later, this tax passed to the royal sphere, so that King

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[34] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Duarte*, ed. João José Alves Dias, vol. II. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos.Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1999, doc. 22, pp. 38-42.

[35] DOMINGUEZ, Rodrigo - *O Financiamento da Coroa Portuguesa nos Finais da Idade Média. Entre o Africano e o Venturoso*, p. 35.

[36] FLYNN-PAUL, Jeffrey - Civic Debt, Civic Taxes and Urban Unrest: A Catalan Key to Interpreting the Late Fourteenth-Century European Crisis, p. 121.

Jaume II could finance his military campaigns.[37] The Catalonian *imposicions* could be roughly compared to *sisas*, a Portuguese tax that began as an extraordinary municipal tax but morphed into an ordinary tax collected by the crown.[38]

Therefore, Lisbon's specificity does not lay in the precocity or novelty of the fiscal mechanisms, nor the survival of older taxation methods, but rather in the coexistence of different rights and taxations. Altogether, these would change over time for political, social and economic reasons. The dynastic dispute that made Portugal descend into a long war at the end of the fourteenth century was a catalyst for institutional change in taxation practices, from the crown and the Lisbon municipal authorities, leading to a definitive change from the old "seignorial system" to a new system of taxation.[39]

The implementation of the "seignorial system" in Lisbon dates from the city charter of 1179, a few decades after the city was conquered by King Afonso Henriques.[40] In so doing, the Portuguese crown integrated Lisbon into the kingdom's institutional framework of administrative, judicial, economic, and fiscal regulations. As for wine production and circulation, the *jugada*, *relego*, and toll were implemented. The tithe was added a few years later.

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[37] FLYNN-PAUL, Jeffrey - Civic Debt, Civic Taxes and Urban Unrest: A Catalan Key to Interpreting the Late Fourteenth-Century European Crisis, pp. 122-23.

[38] HENRIQUES, António Castro - *State Finance, War and Redistribution in Portugal, 1249-1527*, pp. 149-69; DOMINGUEZ, Rodrigo - *O Financiamento da Coroa Portuguesa nos finais da Idade Média. Entre o Africano e o Venturoso*, pp. 27, 28; SÁNCHEZ, Manuel - Vino Y Fiscalidad En La Edad Media: El Caso De Los Municipios Catalanes, in *Actas Del I Simposio De La Asociación Internacional De Historia Y Civilizacíon De La Vid Y El Vino*, ed. Ayuntamiento de El Puerto de Santa María 2001.

[39] ROSA, Catarina Rosa - Na Lisboa de D. João I (1385-1433): Fiscalidade Régia e Abastecimento, in *Abastecer a Cidade na Europa Medieval*, ed. Amélia Aguiar Andrade and Gonçalo Melo da Silva. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos Medievais/Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide, 2020, pp. 514-21.

[40] *Documentos para a História da Cidade de Lisboa: Livro I de Místicos de Reis/ Livro II dos Reis D. Dinis, D. Afonso IV E D. Pedro I*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1947, doc. 2, pp. 11-19.

The *jugada* was a royal right taking the shape of a direct tax. It was applied to cereal crops, wine and flax cultivated in the king's estates within the city's administrative jurisdiction.[41] The wine was subject to an annual payment of 1/8 of the total production, usually made at the winery. There was the possibility of payment being made until Christmas Day; and if the tribute had not been collected until then, the royal exactor could no longer require it.[42] Soon after the establishment of this right, King Sancho I ordered a temporary suppression, to mitigate a cereal crisis in the region. Later, collection resumed and the right remained in force without major changes until the fourteenth century, at a time when it was frequently leased by the king to third parties.[43] By the end of King Fernando's reign, in 1381, hardship was felt in Lisbon because of the monetary crisis in the kingdom. As a privilege granted to the city, the king ordered the *jugada* to be paid according to the rate established in the previous reigns.[44]

The *relego* was a seignorial right consisting of a monopoly over the commerce of wine in the territorial jurisdiction where it was produced, during the first three months of the year (January to March). According to Iria Gonçalves, the right was imposed because the king generally received rents and taxes in kind, and wine was abundant. This allowed him to quickly sell the surplus.[45] When the *relego* period ended, the king's wine that had not been sold was

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[41] Ibid., doc. 2.

[42] GONÇALVES, Iria - Jugada, in *Dicionário Da História De Portugal*, ed. Joel Serrão. Porto: Figueirinhas, 1963-1971, p. 415.

[43] ROSA, Catarina - *Fiscalidade Régia: O Caso da Lisboa Medieval*. Lisboa: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, M.A. Thesis, 2020, pp. 50, 52.

[44] *Documentos para a História da Cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1949, doc. 20, p. 223.

[45] GONÇALVES, Iria - Relego, in *Dicionário da História De Portugal*, ed. Joel Serrão. Porto: Figueirinhas, 1963-1971, pp. 268-69.

removed from the market, giving way to the privately-owned wine trade. During *relego*, wine from non-seignorial production could still be marketed if its owner paid a specific tax named *relegagem*.[46] In Lisbon, the payment for *relegagem* was set as 1 *almude* of wine for each horse load brought into the city. In 1210, King Sancho I ordered an enquiry to be carried out in Lisbon due to irregularities in the collection of *relegagem*. It was concluded that it was customary for the city the payment of this tax as previously established in the charter, but also the payment of 2 *almudes* of wine for each cargo brought in by boat, which was a novelty, and the exemption from payment if the wine was for the producer's private consumption.[47] Sources on the evolution of the *relego* and *relegagem* in the city are scarce thereafter. By the first half of the fourteenth century, the *relego* was being leased by the king to private investors.[48]

The toll was a royal right on the purchase and sale of daily products. It was applied to all the imports entering any municipality and all the exported products if their export value differed from that of an import having the same value. Usually, payment occurred at the city gates or in the customs hall. Local merchants were exempted from toll duties on payment of 1s. before 11 November every year.[49] Along with the toll came the tithe, also paid to the king. This was levied on 10 per cent of all goods entering the kingdom by sea or river. Since the *almotaçaria* law, established in 1253 by King Afonso III, payment over the exports was due only one year

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[46] GONÇALVES, Iria - Relegagem, in *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, ed. Joel Serrão. Porto: Figueirinhas, 1963-1971, p. 268.

[47] *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, ed. Leontina Ventura and António Resende de Oliveira, vol. I. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006, doc. 268, pp. 289-90.

[48] *Chancelaria de D. Afonso III*, ed. Leontina Ventura and António Resende de Oliveira, vol. I. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006, docs. 38, 39, 217, 269, pps. 47, 48, 246, 91; *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. Afonso IV*, ed. A. H. de Oliveira Marques, vol. II Lisboa: INIC, 1990, doc. 104, 198-99.

[49] GONÇALVES, Iria - Portagem, pp. 122-23.

after shipping, and only if the owner failed to bring in imports of the same market value.[50] At first, collected directly by the king's officials, it was later leased against payment in cash. The toll was established in Lisbon by charter in 1179, a few decades after king Afonso I had conquered the city. It applied to all products entering the city by land, while the tithe was applied to those coming in by river or the sea.[51]

With the Portuguese conquest of the Algarve completed by 1249, the newly integrated municipalities were granted the customs and charters of the toll and tithe. These new rulings were ambiguous and came to give rise to disputes with the local authorities. Putting an end to that, in 1272 the king ordered an enquiry on how such rights were collected in Lisbon, so that a general law could be passed based on the city's collection model. It was concluded that the abovementioned general norm was applied, notwithstanding a few exceptions. There was no payment of tithes for imports, provided that foodstuffs were for the supply of Lisbon. In all circumstances, whoever exported cereal or wine had to pay tithe for them, unless those agricultural goods were the individual's own production.[52]

In 1371 – centuries after the toll and the tithe had been established – the royal officials responsible for collecting them complained to King Fernando that the system was obsolete and therefore had to be reformed.[53] They argued that the exemption granted to local merchants if they paid 1s. per year led to fiscal evasion because

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[50] FONTES, João Luís Inglês - Dizima I, in Glosario Critíco de Fiscalidad Medieval, IMF, http://www.1minut.info/glosariofiscalidad.org/wp/?page_id=172&lang=pt-pt, accessed on 23/11/2020.

[51] ROSA, Catarina - *Fiscalidade Régia: O caso da Lisboa Medieval*, pp. 43, 79.

[52] *Descobrimentos Portugueses: Documentos para a sua História*, ed. João da Silva Marques, vol. I. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1956; repr., 1988, doc. 16, p. 10.

[53] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. 1, fls. 84-87.

the merchants re-sold their goods to foreign merchants, who then exported them without further payment. They also claimed that the city citizens evaded paying the wine toll. This was because the poorest hagglers usually brought from Ribatejo, Almada and other unspecified places *raspa* skins, to sell them in Lisbon without paying the toll.[54] Knowing this, sellers of wine in cellars and taverns brought their wine to the city all year long in *odres* (a recipient made of animal skin) up to a total of 30 tuns of wine, negatively affecting the king's revenue. At this point, the tithe was valued at 1,5 *almudes* per tun, or its equivalent in money at the current market value.[55] The toll applied to wine as it entered the city by land was of 3d. or 3m., depending on the size of the animal carrying. A few years after this call for reform, Fernando faced new problems in collecting the toll and tithe. It was decided that these were going to be leased, so it was necessary to inquire into the rights due to the king and how they should be collected.[56] The results were to be written down in a register. Regarding the toll and tithe applied to wine, they remained the same as before.[57]

The tributary system was considered obsolete by the fiscal institutions in the city even before Fernando's reign. Decades earlier, new and more efficient forms of taxation had already developed to meet Lisbon's growth and economic development. The first steps toward a revamped tax system such as mentioned above were taken. The measures impacting the wine market where *sisa do vinho* and *imposição do vinho* (*imposição de Vila Nova*).

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[54] *Raspa* is a low alcohol by-product of wine, resulting from the washing of the winery immediately after the winemaking process.

[55] *Almude* is a now obsolete liquid capacity measure.

[56] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 21, pp. 225-58.

[57] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 17, p. 85.

The *sisa* was an indirect tax over the transaction of commodities, split equally between the buyer and the seller. Nobody was exempt and it applied to every transaction, meaning that a product could be subject to *sisa* multiple times. Some *sisas* applied to generic products, such as *sisas gerais*, while others took specific names like *sisa do vinho*, which applied to wine specifically.[58] In 1336, king Afonso IV allowed the council of Lisbon to deliberate on the creation of a new extraordinary tax in the city, for two years, with the sole purpose of funding royal demands. The council then decided to create a *sisa* on the wine trade, thereby creating the *sisa do vinho*. Immediately after the crown had approved it, the city council leased the new tax to two local merchants.[59] In 1355, the city needed additional income for the upkeep of city walls and to purchase cereal for supply at regulated prices, due to the severe shortage felt at the time. The *sisa do vinho* was unleashed again, for one year.[60] Once it was approved, the city council issued a municipal ordinance specifying how it should be collected.[61] The payment was 1s. for each *almude* of wine sold in Lisbon and its administrative area. As for the wine custom cleared in the Lisbon port to be shipped and sold outside the city, the tax was 10s. per tun on board.

This new way of tax collecting originated several legal disputes. By charging *sisa* on every tun of wine exported from Lisbon port, the council claimed fiscal income on products that it did not produce. Litigation had begun in the same year as the ordinance

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[58] GONÇALVES, Iria - Sisas, in *Dicionário da História de Portugal*, ed. Joel Serrão. Porto: Figueirinhas, 1963-1971, pp. 1, 2.

[59] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 3, pp. 13-15.

[60] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, docs. 6, 7, pp. 23-25, 27.

[61] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 7, p. 29.

was approved.[62] The council of neighbouring Alverca claimed that its locally produced wines should not be made to pay *sisa* when exported through the port of Lisbon, because this tax had already been collected in the wine market. According to their claim, they had jurisdiction even if the wine buyers had come from Lisbon. The Lisbon council argued that the tax-collecting procedure had been authorised by the king. In fact, in the last appeal, the king eventually accepted the city's arguments. Two years later, the king passed a new decree, to the same effect as the one before.[63] Now, the merchants buying wine in the Ribatejo region wanted to pay *sisa do vinho* where the wine was originally produced, instead of doing so at the port in Lisbon. The Lisbon council successfully argued that the city port and customs were within its jurisdiction, and therefore the products going through the city customs should pay the taxes imposed, even if they were to be sold outside the city.

Sisa do vinho remained an extraordinary source of income for Lisbon until the end of the fourteenth century, even when, in 1373, King Fernando took unto himself the *sisas* from the city council, to finance the upbringing of his only daughter Beatriz.[64] *Sisa do vinho* remained in the remit of the council because it had already been leased and also because it was needed to finance the construction of the city wall. In 1378, the council needed additional funds for the works, the king was asked to increase the rate of *sisa do vinho*. It was argued that the rise would not be harmful to the population, since people could afford wine and

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[62] *Documentos para a História da cidade de Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 5, pp. 19-22.

[63] AML-AH, *Livro 1º De Sentenças*, doc. 9; *Documentos para a História da cidade Lisboa: Livro I De Místicos/ Livro II Del Rei Dom Fernando*, doc. 7, pp. 27-33.

[64] *O Livro dos Pregos*, ed. Miguel Gomes Martins and Sara de Menezes Loureiro. Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, 2015, doc. 71, p. 148.

were accustomed to paying for it. The king authorised this, so *sisa do vinho* on wine brought into and sold in Lisbon became 2s. for each *almude* transacted. The tax raise could relate also to the fact that the yield from *sisa do vinho* was being partly transferred to the crown. In the same year, Fernando regulated the *sisas* farming procedure across the kingdom.[65] This law established a tax of 20s. per tun, or 1s. for every pound from the wholesale of wine. In the case of retail sales, the tax was worth 20s per tun, or 1s. per *almude*. It also established a supplementary regime for Lisbon, where the wine retail would be subject to a tax of 2s per *almude*. The wholesale tax was due for every wine produced in Ribatejo and elsewhere, including unspecified places, and cleared through customs at the Lisbon port. This clause was included to avoid legal disputes about Lisbon's legitimacy to claim *sisa do vinho* on the wines it exported.[66] Problems with the taxation system on the wine wholesale in Lisbon did not end here, as in 1393 King João I reinforced the same measures.[67]

When King Fernando died, a dynastic dispute arose between his only child Beatriz, married to Juan I of Castile, and João, the bastard son of the late king, Pedro I of Portugal. The consequent military conflict led to a siege of Lisbon, in 1384. To mitigate crop losses and the destruction of vineyards, orchards and homes in the countryside, João (then protector of the realm) granted Lisbon the suspension of several royal rights, including *jugada* and *relego*.[68] One year later, João was made king in Coimbra, and the privilege

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[65] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. 4, fls. 9-10.

[66] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Fernando*, liv. 4, fls. 7v, 19.

[67] *O Livro dos Pregos*, doc. 194, p. 311.

[68] *Chancelarias Portuguesas. D. João I*, ed. João José Alves Dias, vol. I, tm. 1. Lisboa: Universidade de Nova Lisboa. Centro de Estudos Históricos, 2004, doc. 420, pp. 219-21. *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, ed. João José Alves Dias, vol. III, tm. 2. Lisboa: Universidade de Nova Lisboa. Centro de Estudos Históricos, 2004, doc. [III-922], pp. 75-77.

was confirmed.[69] Despite this, only a few years later the monarch again tried to lease *jugada*. In 1394, the city officials successfully demanded that their privileges be respected.[70] Finally, in 1415 the king and his son and heir Duarte confirmed the privileges once again.[71] As for *relego* and *relegagem*, in 1373, during Fernando's wars with Castile, the king ordered a temporary end to the restrictions imposed by *relego*, meaning that wine was allowed into Lisbon without limitation or payment. The objective was to supply the city and avoid the destruction of wine produced in the countryside, due to the possibility of a siege. This wine would be stored within the city walls and could only be sold after March, at the end of *relego*.

The end of *jugada* and *relego* in Lisbon seems to have been an exception in the royal policy for the kingdom. In Santarém, the biggest wine producer in the Tagus valley, *jugada* remained a key source of royal income throughout the fifteenth century.[72] In addition, *relego* and *relegagem* remained in many places in the country.[73]

In the same structural context as the privileges granted by João I to the city of Lisbon, towards the end of the fourteenth century the king brought *sisas* into the royal sphere. They were set to become a permanent general tax, uniformly applied throughout the kingdom.[74] As a permanent royal tax, *sisa do vinho* was in

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[69] *O Livro dos Pregos*, doc. 120, pp. 240-48.

[70] *Rey de Portugall e do Algarve, Senhor de Çepta – Livro I e II De D. João I*, ed. Inês Morais Viegas and Miguel Gomes Martins.Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, 2010, doc. 61, p. 131; *O Livro dos Pregos*, doc. 198, p. 313.

[71] *Chancelarias Portuguesas: D. João I*, vol. III, tm. 2, doc. [III-922], pp. 75-77; *O Livro dos Pregos*, doc. 280, pp. 372-73.

[72] VIANA, Mário - *Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém*, pp. 168-73.

[73] GONÇALVES, Iria - *O Património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos Séculos XIV e XV*, pp. 466-70; VIANA, Mário - *Vinhedos Medievais de Santarém*, pp. 173-75; A Viticultura nas Cidades Medievais Portuguesas, p. 100.

[74] ROSA, Catarina - *Fiscalidade Régia: O caso da Lisboa Medieval*, p. 139.

the same manner and at the same rates as before, with Lisbon keeping its exception status.[75] The tax rate for this *sisa* would be updated by royal regulation only in 1476.[76] The wine wholesale was subject to a 2r. tax per pound, whereas retail generated 20r. for each tun and 3r. for each *almude*. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, an expanding Lisbon required the construction of a new neighbourhood, named Vila Nova. For its creation, João I launched *adua*, towards defraying the construction costs. This turned out to be unbearable, leading to constant delays in work on the site. In 1410, the king ordered the city council to establish a new tax for funding the construction, so that the city could be relieved of *adua*.[77] The new tax would apply to the retail market of consumer goods, to be chosen from a list consisting of grain, wine, meat, or salt. The council chose wine. As the tax was generally called *imposição*, the new tax took on the designation *imposição do vinho* or *imposição de Vila Nova*. It was to be in place for as long as the construction works lasted, against the crown's assurances that it would never receive the income of it from the council.

The king never fulfilled this promise. By 1434, the *imposição* had been incorporated into the crown's fiscal frame.[78] That year, the council asked King Duarte to have it back, without success. However, the king let the council have half of the annual income from the tax (some 6,000.000 lb.), so the city might finance the

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[75] ROSA, Catarina - *Fiscalidade Régia: O caso da Lisboa Medieval*, pp. 139, 44-45; *Rey de Portugall e do Algarve, Senhor de Çepta – Livro I e II de D. João I*, doc. 110a, pp. 214-24.

[76] ROSA, Catarina - *Fiscalidade Régia: O caso da Lisboa Medieval*, pp. 146,47.

[77] *Rey de Portugall e do Algarve, Senhor de Çepta – Livro I e II de D. João I*, doc. 97, pp. 193-94.

[78] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso V: Cortes de 1438*, ed. João José Alves Dias. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014, p. 126.

ongoing construction of Vila Nova.[79] At the *cortes* of Torres Vedras (1438), Lisbon asked the next monarch, Afonso V, for the return of the tax, after the promises made by his grandfather.[80] The request was again denied. The council again asked for confirmation of the privilege granted by Duarte, giving them half of the tax income. In response, the new king not only met the request but raised the sum by 2,000.000 lb per year. This was to go toward Vila Nova and other urban improvements as ordered by the king, or chosen by the council and approved by him.[81] The city also regained jurisdiction over collecting the tax but was never able to recover the total in full.

The *imposição do vinho* over the sale of wine for consumption in Lisbon fell into the orbit of the well-established *sisa do vinho*. The wine sellers who combined consumer and retail and wholesale might attempt to pay the lowest tax for their products. To avoid this, in 1421 the king ordered wine sellers to inform, before the sale, the *sisa* and *imposição* tax officials to inspect the goods and establish the tax amount due to the king or the city.[82] Reinforcement of this decision through royal decrees, in 1425 and 1433, leads us to believe that the measure was difficult to implement.[83]

As for the toll and tithe, they remained in place without significant change until the end of the middle ages. Sometimes they were

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[79] ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Duarte*, tom. II, doc. 13, pp. 25-26.

[80] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso V: Cortes de 1438*, pp. 120-23; *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso V: Cortes De 1439*, ed. João José Alves Dias and Pedro Pinto. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos. Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2016, pp. 292-318.

[81] *Cortes Portuguesas. Reinado de D. Afonso V: Cortes de 1438*, pp. 117-119.

[82] *Documentos para a História da Cidade de Lisboa: Livro I de Místicos de Reis/ Livro II dos Reis D. Dinis, D. Afonso IV e D. Pedro I*, doc. 8, pp. 45-48; *Rey de Portugall e do Algarve, Senhor de Çepta – Livro I e II de D. João I*, doc. 110b, pp. 124-25.

[83] *Rey de Portugall e do Algarve, Senhor de Çepta – Livro I e II de D. João I*, doc. 110, pp. 212-37.

the subject of complaint from foreign merchants, on the grounds that the amount which the tithe officials demanded for the wines traded was arbitrary.[84]

Conclusion

Both the crown and the city council income systems over the production and commerce of wine in Lisbon started soon after the city was conquered for Portugal. This saw the issuing of a charter which included rights and taxes of a seignorial kind. In the early stages of urban development, when the agricultural output of the nearest hinterland was enough to supply the city, *jugada* guaranteed a surplus of wine to be marketed during *relego*. At the same time, the toll and tithe marked the entry of any wine into the urban centre. As the city grew, this model became obsolete. Perhaps already in the second half of the thirteenth century, the surplus of wine from the royal rights was not enough to guarantee the purpose of *relego*, so *relegagem* gained importance as a tax to capitalise on the wine market.

Certainly, throughout the fourteenth century, the city was not self-sufficient in its wine needs. Therefore, the urban market relied on several wine-producing regions which were then expanding their vineyards. At the same time, wine exports through Lisbon to the northern European markets were on the rise. To face extraordinary expenses, the city council looked at this commodity as a source of income. The establishment of a new tax approved by the king, *sisa do vinho*, guaranteed capitalisation over the urban

[84] *Descobrimentos Portugueses: Documentos para a sua História*, ed. João da Silva Marques, Sup. vol. I. Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1956; repr., 1988, doc. 229, pp. 256-59.

market and a better positioning regarding the production centres at the interregional level and the international export market. This form of taxation was efficient, and income from *sisa do vinho* made it irresistible to the crown, which absorbed the tax as soon as it could, turning it into a permanent tax. The same happened in the fifteenth century with *imposição do vinho*, which had also started as an extraordinary tax on the wine trade launched by the city council (which had recently lost the *sisa do vinho*) but was rapidly seised by the crown.

By the end of the fourteenth century, the necessity to safeguard Lisbon's wine supply in the context of military conflicts eventually leading to sieges exposed the problems of a market system established around *jugada* and *relego,* which no longer reflected the state of Lisbon's economic development. As production within the city's administrative jurisdiction provided less income than before, and new forms of taxation were applied to the wine marketed (putting *relego* and *relegagem* out of date), the crown had no trouble giving those rights away. The toll and tithe remained – a residue of the seignorial system – because they evolved and adapted to an integrated market system.

In the late middle ages, Lisbon had claimed its position as an important consumer centre, where wine was also redistributed to interregional and international trade markets. Profit-making in both wine production and commerce reflected the status of this commodity, while it justified why multiple taxes were launched on a single fiscal object: the commerce of wine. Despite these conclusions, several questions remain. We still lack information on how the wine production evolved within Lisbon's administrative boundaries, to better understand the city's assimilation into an integrated market system. Likewise, we must go further in knowing how the royal and municipal norms in commercial activity and the wine trade influenced the evolution of Lisbon's wine market.

Appendix

Rights and taxes over the production and commerce of wine in medieval Lisbon

Name	Beginning	End
Jugada	1179	1394
Relego	1179	1394
Toll and tithe	1179[85]	—
Sisa do vinho	1336[86]	—
Imposição do vinho	1410[87]	—

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[85] The tithe was incorporated at a later, uncertain date.

[86] As a municipal tax.

[87] As a municipal tax.

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8

Production and Commerce in Southern Europe. Some thoughts as an epilogue

Carsten Jahnke
University of Copenhagen
https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9157-3688

Abstract

The contributions presented in this volume have clearly shown that economic history can only really gain momentum through the comparison of individual regional studies. This essay analytically summarises the main theoretical and methodological achievements and concludes with some thoughts as an epilogue.

Resumo

As contribuições apresentadas neste volume demonstram claramente que a história económica pode beneficiar muito através da comparação de casos regionais individuais. Este ensaio efetua um sumário analítico das principais contribuições teóricas e metodológicas, concluindo com alguns apontamentos como epílogo.

Introduction

The lectures at the RiMS conference in Porto as well as the contributions presented in this volume have clearly shown that

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economic history can only really gain momentum through the comparison of individual regional studies. The results of the two online days as well as the essays show that the developments on the Iberian Peninsula, in Italy, in the Mediterranean region, the Adriatic but also in the south-western Atlantic region reveal comparable, if not the same structures and developments that can also be found in the European North, for example. Starting from this basic idea, some fundamental considerations and comparisons between the regions will be made in the following, which should serve as an incentive for further research but also to strengthen the arguments put forward. These reflections will follow a chronological thread from the transition from the Roman Empire to the end of the Middle Ages, taking up the thoughts of the contributions more eclectically than offering a systematic overview.

1. The great nothing? Between the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages

It is our common academic heritage in Western Europe that since the time of the first Crusades we have seen Islam and the Islamic dominions as an uncultured, uncivilised and clearly demarcated enemy with whom no prosperous coexistence and (of course) no trade was possible.[1] From this perspective, it is only natural that Henri Pirenne put forward his famous thesis in 1925 that all trade in Europe had come to an end with the spread of Islam at the latest, and that it were not the "wild Germanic

[1] See i.a. HENG, Geraldine – *The invention of race in the European Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018; HANLON, David – Islam and Stereotypical Discourse in Medieval Castile and Leon. In *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. Vol. 30, 3 (2000): 479-500.

tribes" who had destroyed the late Roman trading system.[2] Pirenne states that,

> The tremendous effect the invasion of Islam had upon Western Europe has not, perhaps, been fully appreciated.
>
> Out of it arose a new and unparalleled situation, unlike anything that had gone before. Through the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and finally the Romans, Western Europe had always received the cultural stamp of the East. It had lived, as it were, by virtue of the Mediterranean; now for the first time it was forced to live by its own resources. The centre of gravity, heretofore on the shore of the Mediterranean, was shifted to the north. As a result the Frankish Empire, which had so far been playing only a minor role in the history of Europe, was to become the arbiter of Europe's destinies.[3] [And he continues:] Such conditions were incompatible with the existence of a commerce of first-rate importance.[4]

Pirenne's theses, inspired by a relative Islamophobia, were not the only ones to dominate academic discourse over the years. In addition, there were Marcel Maus's ideas about the sole exchange of goods as objects of prestige.[5] This resulted in the dogma, still to be found, of the economy- and market-less early Middle Ages, precisely those dark years between the end of the Roman Empire and a strengthened urban-bourgeois economy of the twelfth century. Michael McCormick put a clear and unequivocal end to this

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[2] PIRENNE, Henri – *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Princeton: University Press 1927; PIRENNE, Henri – *Mohammed and Charlemagne*. London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1937.

[3] PIRENNE, Henri – *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, p. 16.

[4] PIRENNE – *Medieval Cities*, p. 20.

[5] See introductory OFFER, Avner – Between the gift and the market: the economy of regard. In *Economic History Review*, L3, 3 (1997): 450-476.

dogma in 2001.[6] Not only did the flourishing of Christianity lead to early links with the holy sites of the southern Mediterranean,[7] but trade and ancient institutions persisted.[8] Although the role of Jewish communities in Carolingian trade, for example, is disputed,[9] the presence of traded goods paints a clear picture of the existing connections.[10]

If one now – mentally – adjusts to a new starting position and states that trade of whatever kind took place even after the collapse of the Roman Empire, one must first ask about the actors and then about the markets.

In his *Gesta Karoli*, written in the 880s, Notkerus Balbus describes how Charlemagne humiliates a bishop who has become arrogant and worldly (*vanae gloriae et inanium rerum valde cupidus*). He commissions an international Jewish merchant (*cuidam Iudeo mercatori, qui terram repromissionis sepius adire, et inde ad cismarinas provintias multa praeciosa et incognita solidus errat affere*) to sell the bishop a stuffed and perfumed house mouse (*unum murum domesticum, diverises aromaticus condivit*), supposedly from the Orient, for expensive money in order to expose him.[11]

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[6] MCCORMICK, Michael – *Origins of the European economy. Communications and Commerce AD 300-900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2001.

[7] MCCORMICK, Michael – Les pèlerins occidentaux à Jérusalem VIIIe–IXe siècles. In *Voyages et Voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VIe au XIe siècle*. DIEKENS, Alain & Jean-Marie SANSTERRE (eds.). Geneve: Libraire DROZ 2000, pp. 273–306.

[8] See beside McCormick i.a. MIDDLETON, Neil – Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade In *Early Medieval Europe*. Vol. 13, 2005, pp. 313–58.

[9] TOCH, Michael – *The economic history of European Jews, Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*. Leiden: Brill 2013, pp. 87-97 and 193-200; GOITEIN, S. D. & Mordechai A. FRIEDMAN (eds.) – *India traders of the Middle Ages: Documents from the Cairo Geniza*, Leiden: Brill 2008.

[10] See e.c. the mention of galangal for Charles the Fat, ZEUMER, K. (ed.) – *MGH, Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi.* 1. Hannover: Hahn, 1886, pp. 395-433; HEYD, Wilhelm – *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*. 2 Vol. Stuttgart: Cottasche Buchhandlung, 1879, p. 591.

[11] BALBULUS, Notker – *Gesta Karoli, MGH, SS*. Vol. II. PERTZ, G. H. (ed.). Hannover: Hahn, 1829, pp. 731-763, here ch. I, 16, p. 737.

The fact that this scene takes place in the high aristocratic milieu between emperor and bishop is no coincidence. The landlords of the time not only had means and surpluses to acquire trade goods, they also needed prestige objects to show their status.[12] The emperor thus had his 'own' merchants, the *homines imperatoris* – 'les hommes le Emperour Dalemayne', as it is called in English Laws IV Æthelred,[13] as did the great monasteries.[14] The same points that Jean-Pierre Devroey makes for early medieval monasteries can be made for all secular and ecclesiastical rulers. Carolingian monasteries were market-oriented institutions in several aspects:

- As large landowners and agricultural producers, using the land and labour of others to provide the goods necessary for communal life.
- As a particular group of consumers, not just in terms of the quantity and quality of the goods they needed but also with regard to time (monks ate differently from others in accordance with liturgical time and alimentary restrictions) and the need for distinct products (wine and fish, materials for the vestry, the scriptorium, and the infirmary) and raw materials (for construction sites and monastic workshops). [...]

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[12] JAHNKE, Carsten – Customs and toll in the Nordic Area c. 800-1300. In *Nordic Elites in transformation c. 1050-1250*. Vol. 1. VOGT, Helle, Bjørn POULSEN & Jón Viðar SIGURDSSON. Oxon: Routledge 2019, pp. 183-211, here pp. 183f.

[13] HUB I, S. 1 f. See in detail JAHNKE, Carsten – *Homines imperii* und *osterlinge*. Selbst- und Fremdbezeichnungen hansischer Kaufleute im Ausland am Beispiel Englands, Flanderns und des Ostseeraumes im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert. In *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Vol. 129, 2011, pp. 1-57, here pp. 2-8. SCHLESINGER, Walter – der Markt als Frühform der deutschen Stadt. In JANKUHN, Herbert, Walter SCHLESINGER & Heiko STEUER (eds.) – *Vor- und Frühformen der europäischen Stadt im Mittelalter*. Part I, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975, pp. 262-293, here p. 266.

[14] LEBECQ, Stéphane – The role of the monasteries in the systems of production and exchange of the Frankish world between the seventh and the beginning of the ninth centuries. In HANSEN, Inge Lyse & Chris WICKHAM (eds.) – *The Long Eighth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 2000, pp. 121-148, here 146.

- As traders, reselling and exchanging products or objects in surplus, to procure others or to satisfy the external demands outlined under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious (r. 814-40) as 'monastic service.'
- As managers of property and wealth. The obligation to organise monastic domains gave rise to a 'practical rationality,' numerous aspects of which historians associate with a 'Benedictine mentality.' This includes the organisation of administrative documents, the use of arithmetic, the mental organisation of space to create lists of places that represented a veritable geographic guidebook, and the strict control of time made necessary by adherence to the canonical hours. This rationality was also marked by physical investments, in particular in everything that involved hydrologic projects (mills, fishponds), viticulture, and forestry.
- As reservoirs of wealth. Monasteries served as material and political support not only for the regional aristocracy, which had increased the number of foundations and pious donations (Eigenklöster), but also for the Carolingian sovereigns who used them and their property to reinforce their power base and the acts of the Christian empire.[15]

Monasteries[16] as well as secular dominions naturally became economic enterprises as soon as even some products of daily life as well as prestige could not be obtained self-sufficiently. The 'organisation of space' as well as the 'physical investments' that Devroey describes theoretically for the monasteries can also be seen practically for Leon, as Raúl González González shows in this volume. The elites of the city of

[15] DEVROEY, Jean-Pierre – Monastic Economics in the Carolingian Age. In BEACH, Alison I. & Isabelle COCHELIN (eds.). – *The Cambridge History of Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West*. Cambridge: University Press, 2020, pp. 466-484, here p. 469.

[16] LEBECQ – *The role of the monasteries* (see note 14), pp. 136-147.

Leon, who belonged to the court, organised and invested the vineyards around the city at a time when the wine trade (also through Jewish merchants) was regaining momentum in Spain.[17] González González is able to use Leon as an example to show how the elites speculated in wine and wineries to finance their prestige. This wine trade could not have taken place without the mediation of merchants, because only they could profitably sell the wine over long distances and only they could have procured the coveted products for the elites in the long run. In this context, it should be pointed out that the question of the balance of trade has not yet been sufficiently investigated in this context.

Wine was only one, albeit an important, article of European commercialisation, as José Miguel Zenhas Mesquita shows in this book. On the one hand, wine was of particular importance for religious reasons. The Christian commandment to use wine as a symbol of Christ's blood, at the Last Supper, created an artificial market for this product. For example, a request by the Archbishop of Nidaros in Norway to the Pope to replace communion wine with beer, since '*ac cerevisia vel potus alius loco vini, cum vix aut nunqvam vinum reperiatur in illis partibus, sint tradenda*' ('and that beer or other drinks should be handed over in place of wine, since wine is scarce or never found in those parts'), was categorically rejected by the Pope.[18] On the other hand, wine was an everyday drink until far north of the Alps, which promised good sales opportunities.

2. The emergence of urban markets - competing explanations?

In this volume, Raúl González González discusses the various theories and ideas that research has produced so far on the emergence

[17] TOCH – *Economic History* (see note 9), pp. 221f.

[18] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, Vol. 1, n. 16, p. 14.

of markets. The question is, however, whether aristocratic or monastic rule over the market[19] and the surrounding areas really had a negative impact on market development or whether this was not just a stage in market development.[20]

It is important to note that markets always represent focal points between production and sale areas. They arise where the bundled surplus of a region has reached such an extent that it can be profitably traded over a longer distance. The longer the distance between production and consumption areas, the higher the profit opportunities can be. The way in which the surplus reaches the market, be it through numerous small producers who sell their small surpluses in one place or be it through previous bundling by large landowners who sell parts of their collected surplus, is irrelevant. What is important, however, is the balancing of exports and imports that takes place in a market. This means that suppliers either purchase their diverse and small-scale needs directly on a market, which leads to monetisation, or large-scale producers have to ensure that the needs of their subordinates are satisfied. The fact that markets or fairs and handicrafts coincided in the suburbs, as in Leon, is a phenomenon that can be observed throughout Europe.[21] Some of these places, such as St. Denis near Paris[22] or Næstved in Denmark,[23] were able to develop into permanent markets.[24]

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[19] See i.a. SCHLESINGER – *Der Markt als Frühform* (see note 13), pp. 274-282.

[20] JAHNKE – *Customs and Toll*, (see note 12), pp. 185f. LEBECQ – *The role of Monasteries* (see note 14), pp. 143ff.

[21] See i.a. SCHICH, Winfried – Die pommersche Frühstadt im 11. und frühen 12. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von Kolberg (Kołobrzeg). In Jörg Janut & Peter Johannek (eds.), Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert, Köln: Böhlau 1998, pp. 273-304, here pp. 289-292.

[22] KRUSE, Holger – Pariser Messen des Mittelalters. In FOUQUET, Gerhard & Hans-Jörg GILOMEN (eds.) – *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters*. Ostfildern: Thorbeke, 2010, pp. 101-134.

[23] Carsten Jahnke, The city of Næstved. A port in different roles, forthcoming.

[24] See i.a. SCHLESINGER – Der Markt als Frühform (see note 13).

The position of a market within the surrounding landscape but also within regional and supra-regional trade is variable in a diachronic perspective. Depending on its location and perspective, a market can gain importance, maintain importance, or loose importance. Here, the system of portal cities developed by Ulrika Harlitz is a helpful analytical approach.

Table 1. System of portal cities[25]

Level of the surrounding area	Function	Position	Exclusivity
Greater Area/ International Level	International trade (gateway function (Portal-city)), minting, political centre, juridical centre, cathedral chapter etc.	High	Exclusive
Wider region	Regional trade, periodic markets, administrative centre (bailiwick, chancellery, abbey)	Medium	Semi-exclusive
Immediate surroundings	Local trade, cultivation of grain, hops, vegetables etc.	Low	Non-exclusive

Mesquita's description of the shift in wine markets in the Lisbon area is in this context a classic example of how a portal city, in this case Lisbon, secures dominance over the regional markets of the surrounding area and seeks to secure an exclusive position in international trade through fiscal and political measures.

In addition to the clearly urban markets, there were also fairs that were distinguished by two special features: 1) they were located at the interface of two large economic sectors, and 2) they were sales markets for a temporary production. Just as the Scanian fairs in northern Europe linked the economic area of the Atlantic with that of the Baltic and, at the same time, supplied the European market

[25] HARLITZ, Erika – *Urbana system och riksbildning i Skandinavien. En studie af Lödöses uppgång och fall ca 1050-1646*. Gothenburg: Göteborgs Universitet, 2010, p. 50.

with herring in autumn,[26] the towns in the Algarve also developed into fairs, as Paulo Morgado e Cunha presents in this volume. The fairs of Loulé, Faro, Silves or Tavira fulfilled exactly the criteria of such a fair of European rank. They connected two, if not three, economic areas, the Atlantic region, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Mediterranean, and they emerged as sales markets for regional fig, wine, raisin, almond, and olive production. In this way, they fulfilled a double task by linking regional and international interests. The change in the role of cities within the trading system can also be seen as classic. International and regional markets were in a constant struggle for position, which, in addition to economic and political developments, was also strongly dependent on the development of international and regional trade routes.

This development of regional or international (intermediate) markets cannot only be determined by the border areas of the economic regions. Rather, the intermediate stations of international trade must also be increasingly taken into account. Studies of trade between Hamburg and London, for example, showed that ships that had actually declared for London and could have called directly at the port called at lucrative intermediate markets such as Middelburg before reaching their destination.[27] Medieval merchants were flexible and profit-oriented, so that trade between places A and B could in any case also include the intermediate stops, as Tommaso Vidal shows in this book using the example of North-Eastern Italy. The region of Friuli can be considered a classic example of an intermediate region.

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[26] JAHNKE, Carsten – The Medieval Herring Fisheries in the Baltic Sea. In *Beyond the Catch. Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900-1850*. In SICKING, Louis & Darlene ABREU-FERREIRA (eds.) – Leiden: Brill 2009, pp. 157-186; JAHNKE, Carsten – Das Silber des Meeres. In *Fang und Vertrieb von Ostseeehering zwischen Norwegen und Italien vom 12. bis zum 16*. Jahrhundert, Köln: Böhlau 2000.

[27] HUANG, Angela & Carsten JAHNKE, Bermudadreieck Nordsee. Oder: Drei Hamburger Schiffe auf dem Weg nach London. In *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Vol. 130, 2012, pp. 59-91.

Located on the main trade route between Venice and Frankfurt/Nuremberg, merchants and citizens not only engaged in the service sector, but also developed their own products, diverting part of the goods and profits traded through the area to this region. The classical long-distance trade was not only focused on the place of origin and the place of destination. For fiscal but also economic reasons, merchants could also sell their goods before reaching their destination, for example if the transaction costs threatened to seriously reduce the profits at the actual destination. The example of Friuli clearly shows that in the future, research must increasingly turn to these intermediate regions, which until now have only been perceived as annoying stopovers without any intrinsic value.

3. Goods of importance or what is actually important?

In his contribution, Tommaso Vidal shows, among other things, how Udine and the Friulian towns developed their own cloth production in interaction with the Venetian market. These were not the high-priced products à la Venice, but a middle or low-price segment. These cloths, as well as the trade in animal skins described by Joana Sequeira, were an important but hitherto little-noticed part of the backbone of international trade. It is not only the quantity of goods traded that is crucial, but also, as rightly described by Sequeira, the fact that these low-priced goods integrated vast landscapes and many layers of the population into the international trade network. Products such as animal skins or linen[28] economically connected the landscapes and smaller towns outside the portal cities to international trade.

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[28] HUANG, Angela – *Die Textilien des Hanseraums: Produktion und Distribution einer spätmittelalterlichen Fernhandelsware.* Köln: Böhlau, 2015.

And yet another point should be emphasised in this context, namely the fact that the merchants did not stand alone for international trade. The portage of seafarers,[29] as also regulated for example in the Vonesse van Damme for voyages to Bordeaux and other places,[30] is a part of the international cargo volume that should not be underestimated, as Sequeira can show through the Dret Portugués de Valencia. Not only skins were brought to Valencia as portage, but also Portuguese figs and raisins to England or other places.[31] In Hamburg, from 1459 onwards, the sailors even had their own place to sell the raisins from their portage.[32] The extent of this parallel trade has not yet been sufficiently investigated, probably also because the serial sources for it are often missing. The analysis of the Dret Portugués de Valencia is therefore an important building block for a better understanding of international trade processes.

4. Standardisation and the Development of Proto-Industrial Mass Production

Finally, the RiMS conference in Porto also shows how much we have neglected the field of proto-industrial forms of production and

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[29] CORDES, Albrecht – *Conflicts in 13th Century Maritime Law: A Comparison between five European Ports*. (2020) Oxford U Comparative L Forum 2 at ouclf.law.ox.ac.uk.

[30] JAHNKE, Carsten – Flandrischer Copiar Nr. 9, Edition und Übersetzung. In GRAßMANN, Antjekathrin & Carsten JAHNKE (eds.) – *Seerecht im Hanseraum des 15. Jahrhunderts. Edition und Kommentar zum Flandrischen Copiar Nr. 9*. Lübeck: Schmidt Römhild, 2003. Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Series B Vol. 36, pp. 7-94, here §§ LXXVII and CVII. See also BRÜCK, Thomas – *Der Eigenhandel hansischer Seeleute in Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Vol. 111, 1993, pp. 25-41.

[31] JAHNKE, Carsten – Der Feigenhandel im Hanseraum. In *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Vol. 133, 2015, pp. 41-75, here p. 52.

[32] KÖHLER, Stephan & Carsten JAHNKE – Vom Mittelmeer zum Hanseraum: Der Handel mit Rosinen, Korinthen und Zibeben. In *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*. Vol. 136, 2018, pp. 13-63, here p. 38.

above all standardisation in the Middle Ages. As Miquel Faus Faus can vividly show in his contribution on the production of weapons under the Crown of Aragon, some of the widespread everyday goods such as weapons, which were represented in about 73 per cent of households, could be produced in large quantities through putting-out systems and especially through the production and trade of semi-finished goods. In addition to the spread of putting-out systems,[33] also in this branch of production, the need for standardisation of the product range should be noted above all. Smooth and, above all, cost-saving assembly of the weapon parts required a uniform basic form, just as the creation of uniform product terms, such as Pisan weapons, points to a standardisation in terms of quality but also in terms of goods.

In addition to standardisation, Miquel Faus Faus's analyses, as well as the other contributions collected in this volume, provide further food for thought. Time and again, it becomes apparent how much the country is linked to the markets and the markets to each other. This linkage, which has so far been primarily associated with the production of staple foods, is, however, the basis for the distribution revolution of the fifteenth century, which in turn gave rise to the consumption revolution of the seventeenth century.[34] The networks shown by González González, Mesquita, Vidal, Sequeira or Faus Faus create precisely those economic networks on which later colonial goods were to find their way from the quay to the teacup. The products, networks and mechanisms presented here in this volume thus not only have a meaning in themselves, but

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[33] Siehe hierzu auch HOLBACH, Rudolf – Frühformen von Verlag und Großbetrieb in der gewerblichen Produktion (13.–16. Jahrhundert). In *zugleich Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Beihefte*. Vol. 110. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1994.

[34] JENKS, Stuart – The Missing Link: The Distribution Revolution of the 15th Century. In HUANG, Angela & Carsten JAHNKE (eds.) – *Textiles and the medieval economy. Production, trade and consumption of textiles 8th-16th century*. Oxford: Oxbow Books 2015, pp. 230-253.

they are at the same time excellent examples of the developing economisation of Europe and the increasing density of European trade networks. The weapons of a household did not just come from the region itself but had already been traded through Europe as semi-finished products, just as northern European merchants and sailors brought Portuguese products to Hamburg as well as to Valencia, from where they were further traded. This trade was not one-sided, of course, but at the same time other products flowed back to Portugal's markets.

The Iberian Peninsula, Italy and the Mediterranean region were economically firmly integrated into the Euro-Asian-African trade network. This is not a novelty. But they also occupied an important intermediate position between the markets – and, and this is the last interesting result of this conference, the economic developments here are the same as we can see in Northern Europe if we focus on the overarching mechanisms. Only through a comparative cooperation and collaboration platform, such as RiMS offers, can the regional developments be recognised in their systemic context.

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CONTRIBUTORS

CARSTEN JAHNKE is Associate Professor at the Saxo institute of the University of Copenhagen. He investigates commerce, institutions, and economic development of high- and late-medieval Scandinavia and Northern Europe. A particular focus of his research is the Hanseatic League and trans-European and international trade relations and networks. Contact: jahnke@hum.ku.dk. ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9157-3688.

FLÁVIO MIRANDA is a research fellow working on medieval economic history at the CITCEM (Transdisciplinary Research Centre «Culture, Space and Memory», Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto. He investigates the merchants, commerce, institutions, and urban history of late medieval Portugal and Western Europe. Contact: fmiranda@letras.up.pt. ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8730-6285.

JOANA SEQUEIRA is assistant researcher in medieval history, based at the Landscape, Heritage and Territory Laboratory at the University of Minho (Braga, Portugal). Her PhD in History (2012) is from the University of Porto (Portugal) and the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (France), with a thesis on the textile production in Portugal in the late Middle Ages. She specialises in economic and social history, namely textile production, trade and consumption in the Middle Ages, and mercantile networks between Portugal and Italy in the 15th century. ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6112-5761.

JOSÉ MESQUITA is a History PhD student at the School of Social Sciences and Humanities, NOVA, Lisbon (NOVA-FCSH) and a researcher in the Institute of Medieval Studies (IEM). He investigates agrarian production, commerce, law-making, fiscal policies, public administration, and the institutions of late medieval Portugal related to the vine and wine. Contact: a57464@campus.fcsh.unl.pt. ORCID ID: 0000-0003-4650-0302.

MARIA AMÉLIA CAMPOS is researcher in the CHSC, the University of Coimbra. Her research focuses on Coimbra's parishes and collegiate churches during the Middle Ages, studying their institutional history and urban integration. Her main interests are Urban History; History of the Secular and Parish Clergy; Prosopography; Digital Humanities. Contact: mcampos@uc.pt. ORCID ID: 0000-0002-3131-7356.

MIQUEL FAUS FAUS is a PhD student at the University of Valencia, funded by a «Formació de Professorat Universiari» doctoral fellowship. He investigates the history of production and trade of weapons and the evolution of work and living standards in the Crown of Aragon. Contact: miquel.faus@uv.es. ORCID ID: 0000-0001-5725-8377.

PAULO MORGADO E CUNHA has a Master's in Medieval Studies (2019) from the Faculty of Arts of the University of Porto, with a dissertation on the development of fairs in Portugal between 1125 and 1521. His research interests are the social and economic history of late medieval and early modern Portugal. Currently, he is a PhD student at Porto, studying the Portuguese metallurgical industry between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, with a grant from the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, Portugal. He is also a researcher with the MedCrafts project, which studies the regulations of crafts activities in late medieval Portugal. Contact: up201403129@letras.up.pt. ORCID ID: 0000-0002-6295-9183.

RAÚL GONZÁLEZ GONZÁLEZ has taught Medieval History at the universities of Oviedo, Bretagne-Sud and Leon. His research focuses on urban societies, political cultures and ties of dependence in Northwestern Iberia during the Middle Ages. Contact: rgonzg@unileon.es. ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9939-6874.

TIAGO VIÚLA DE FARIA (DPhil, Oxford), is a research fellow of the Instituto de Estudos Medievais (IEM), NOVA University, Lisbon. His main scholarly interest has been in the shaping and practices of external relations in the late medieval West, focusing especially on Portugal and England. He has mostly dealt with diplomacy and peace-making, cultural transfer, and the Hundred Years' War. Most recently, he has taken on an additional research line in environmental studies, having founded NEMUS, the Network for the Environment in Medieval Usages & Societies. ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6832-7024.

TOMMASO VIDAL obtained his PhD in historical studies at the Universities of Padua, Venice Ca' Foscari and Verona with a thesis on the management of the rural estates of the hospital of Udine in the 14th and 15th centuries. His main research interests are social and economic history of North-eastern Italy, rural and labour history. Contact: tommaso.vidal@studenti.unipd.it. ORCID ID: 0000-0002-8019-9077.

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Flávio Miranda (Porto, 1982) is a hired researcher at the Faculty of Arts and Humanities of the University of Porto, and integrated member of the CITCEM. He studies Portugal's merchant economy in the later middle ages through economic and institutional approaches. His recent works examine Portuguese exports to markets in Atlantic Europe and maritime conflict management in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Throughout his career, he has researched or worked the University of Groningen (the Netherlands), the University of Notre Dame (Indiana, USA), the University of Cambridge (UK), and at the Institute of Medieval Studies of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Nova University of Lisbon. He coordinates the seminar 'Sources in Foreign Archives for the Study of Portuguese History' at the University of Porto. He is a member of the scientific committee of the UNESCO Chair 'The Ocean's Cultural Heritage' at the FCSH-NOVA University Lisbon.

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