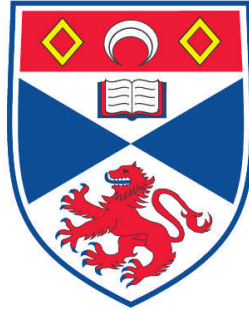


**SEVILLE : BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC AND THE  
MEDITERRANEAN, 1248-1492 : PRE-COLUMBUS COMMERCIAL  
ROUTES FROM AND TO SEVILLE**

**Dan Manuel Serradilla Avery**

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil  
at the  
University of St. Andrews**



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**Seville: between the Atlantic and the  
Mediterranean, 1248-1492**

**Pre-Columbus commercial routes from and to Seville**

© Dan Manuel Serradilla Avery, BA

Submitted to the Department of Mediaeval History at the University of St. Andrews as part of the  
fulfillment to read the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Dated on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April, 2007

Supervisor of studies: Dra. Esther Pascua Echegaray, Ph.D.

I, Dan Manuel Serradilla Avery, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately **39,125** words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date                      Signature of candidate

I was admitted as a research student in September, 2004 and as a candidate for the degree of Master of Philosophy in September, 2005; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2004 and 2007.

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I, Dra. Esther Pascua Echegaray, hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Master of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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## *ABSTRACT*

The city of Seville and its port have had a prominent place in the history of early modern Europe and America. This city was not only the Gateway of the Indies, but also the Gateway of Europe for all the exotic goods and people that arrived in Europe via Seville's port. How this city achieved such a prominent place has traditionally been overshadowed by its post-1492 fame. This thesis demonstrates how, during the two hundred or so years before Columbus, different groups were able to shape this city into a commercial port that had made it the axis between the Mediterranean's commercial routes and those of the Atlantic Ocean. Beginning in 1248, with the Christian reconquest, the monarchs set out to create an independent and powerful municipality, as well as a merchant class with distinctive city quarters and privileges. In turn, this merchant class affected the policies of both monarchy and city-council. Eventually, the policies of both merchants and the city-council led to the creation of important exchange port that lay nearly between the two bodies of water. The Castilian monarchs, aware of this, also began the construction of the first Royal Ware houses and Dockyards, as well as determined the location of the Castilian Armada. It is between those years between 1248 and 1492 that witnessed the birth of one of the most important naval ports of European history.

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## *ABBREVIATIONS*

- AMS Archivo Municipal de Sevilla.  
ACS Archivo de la Catedral de Sevilla.  
AAS Archivo de la Audiencia de Sevilla.  
AGS Archivo General de Simancas.  
AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional.  
AHPS Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla.  
ASG Archivio di Stato di Genoa.  
BAE Biblioteca de Autores Españoles.  
CCR Calender of Close Rolls.  
CPR Calender of Patent Rolls.  
HID Historia. Instituciones. Documentos.  
HPM Historia Patriae Monumenta.  
MGH Monumenta Germaniae Historiae: *SS* Scriptores.  
NA National Archives.  
RGS Registro General del Sello (AGS)  
SPB Southampton Port Book.

## *ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS*

Most of the work for this research thesis was completed during my first year as a postgraduate research student, as a requirement for the core module Sources & Source Criticism under the supervision of Professor Robert Bartlett. I wish to thank him for letting me pursue this obscure topic at a Scottish University.

My deepest thanks must go to Dra. Esther Pascua Echegaray, my supervisor of studies, whose patience, care, and numerous and extremely helpful comments have made this work possible. I must also thank the many unasked for, but welcome, comments by the very knowledgeable *técnicos* of the Municipal Archive of Seville, their bibliographical knowledge is simply unbelievable.

Finally, I wish to thank Ms. Traci H. Abraham, M.A. for her reading, commenting, and the help she provided into my English abilities.

I wish to thank the above and others for their immense help. The errors which remain in this research thesis are my own.

Triana, Sevilla. April 2007.

## GLOSSARY

Alcabala: a sales tax imposed on an item, such as *de las Bestias* or sales tax for animals;  
*Tax*.<sup>1</sup>

Alcázar/alcaçar: fortress, or in the case of Seville the royal palace.

Alcaicería/alcaçería: an area or district with shops trading cloths; sometimes called  
*Alhóndiga*.

Alcalde(s): a judge in charge of a district, at time becoming its mayor; *Judge*.

Alfoz: a region or district. In the Kingdom of Seville, the area directly controlled by the  
Council of Seville.

Alhóndiga: equivalent to a *funduq*; *Exchange house*.

Almirantazgo: admiral or head of the Castilian navy.

Almojarigazgo/almojarifazgo: a tax imposed on items leaving or entering a specific area.

Alquería: a country house with surrounding work land; *Farmstead*.

Aranzada: measure of land equivalent between 3,672 m<sup>2</sup> and 4,472 m<sup>2</sup>; *Acre*.

Adalid: military term used for scout, field marshal, etc.; *Scout*.

Barrio: a distinctive judicial and administrative district with-in a parish and/or city.

Cahíz: system of measure of grains; *Bale*.

Cántara: measure of liquids equivalent to 16,13 liters; *Container*.

Cómitre: a petty naval officer in charge of enforcement and other duties; *Boatswains*.

Diezmo: ten per cent tax paid to the church. In the case of Seville, it was paid to the  
crown, *Tithe*.

Dobla(s): monetary system based on a gold coin used in Castile.

Fuero: a municipal code or rights and privileges given to a certain group or city; *Code*.

Maravedi(s): a monetary value based on a coin used until circa. 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Jarra: a container to transport liquids, also a system of measurement for liquids; *Jar*.

Partidores: a team of 3 men in charge of dividing an area in the *Repartimientos*; *Dividers*.

Portazgo: tax paid by the gate (*puerta*) of a city for entering or leaving.

Puerta: a gatehouse of the city.

Yugada: a system of measure using the work of a yoke of oxen, equivalent to 32 hectares;  
*Bovate*.

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<sup>1</sup> Those items that have been italicized represent the English definition used within the text. Some, however, have been kept in their original Castilian version.



## INTRODUCTION

### The commercial riches of a city between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean

‘Seville owes everything to its river.’<sup>1</sup> The Guadalquivir River runs from east to south west ending in Sanlúcar de Barrameda in the Atlantic. Seville is just 144 nautical miles from Algeciras, in the Strait of Gibraltar. An important in-land port, Seville is, geographically, almost between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. After the Arab conquest, the river became known as the Great River or Guadalquivir. The mediaeval writer, Al-Saqundi wrote that this river ‘exceeds all others, with shores that are full of irrigated plots and gardens, of vineyards and poplar trees, which continue without interruption which is not found in any other river.’<sup>2</sup> Seville grew out of this great plain.

The following study attempts to show how the city of this river, Seville, became an important international port between the years 1248 and 1492, well before Spain’s Golden Age and the arrival of silver from the Americas.

We know that Seville was an important port in the post-1492 world. This study, however, will attempt to show that Seville’s commercial prominence with the New World was no coincidence. This city was not selected at random as a port; it had a history of commercial activity and relations that made the city, according to Heers, ‘the capital of gold’ well before anyone went searching for *El Dorado*.<sup>3</sup> Here, we examine the period between the re-conquest of Seville, in 1248, until the first trans-Atlantic voyage, in 1492, starting with the creation of commercial districts, known as *barrios*, by King Fernando III and his son Alfonso X. The importance of Seville was already evident by the twelfth century, both to the Christians in the north as well as to the Muslim rulers

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<sup>1</sup> Enrique Otte, ‘El Comercio Exterior Andaluz a Fines de la Edad Media,’ in *Actas del II Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza*. (Sevilla, 1981), p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Ayuntamiento Sevilla/Urbanismo, ed., *Sevilla y el Río Guadalquivir «Cronología»*. (Sevilla, 2000), p. 10, cited from in Al-Saqundi, *Elogio del Islam español*. (Lerida, 1934).

<sup>3</sup> Jacques Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, translated by Manuel Sánchez Martínez (Barcelona, 1984; originally published in French in 1968), p. 148.

of Al-Andalus. However, the fact that Seville was an in-land port was not the only reason why people saw Seville as an important location, it was the agricultural fertility of the lower valley of the Guadalquivir River, which ran through Seville and divided it in two.

The richness of the city of Seville was a consequence of its surrounding countryside. This fertile area enabled the city to grow, which in turn created a merchant class. The priest, Alonso Morgado, composing a history of Seville in 1587, used, among other sources, all of the chronicles of Spain between Fernando III and the Catholic Monarchs, when he wrote a beautiful account of the geographical area of Seville, today called Aljarafe, that allowed it to grow:

*But what mainly gave it [Seville] power, in the sense of comparing it to any other power was the great help, that was available (both in goods and people) from that very famous and very fertile gardens of Hercules, that they [Arabs] called Axarafe. Which starts from the other side of the Guadalquivir in front of Seville, and has an extent of ten leagues in length (including the olive groves of Niebla) by five leagues in height, and twenty in total. [...] There was in this Axarafe ten thousand alcarias, [farmsteads] without [counting] strongholds, and villages [...] and everything with its great fertility.<sup>4</sup>*

After the conquest of Seville by Fernando III, and more especially under his son's patronage, the city not only became an important agricultural and commercial port, but also the headquarters of the Castilian Navy or *Almirantazgo*, and the location of one of the most important Royal Warehouses or *Atarazanas Reales*, and the Royal Dockyards, which, sources tell us countless times, were used to build ships not only for commerce, but for the Castilian navy, as well.<sup>5</sup> It is therefore very important to understand the divisions and donations of the newly re-conquered city in order to understand its rapid commercial growth.

This study is divided into three main parts, the repopulation of the city, the creation of the different commercial districts found within the city and, finally,

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<sup>4</sup> Alonso Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla*. (Sevilla, 1587), pp. 86.

<sup>5</sup> Fox example, in 1292 this district was involved in the war against Tangier. See C. Rosell (ed.), *Crónica del rey don Sancho, el Bravo*. In *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*. BAE, Tomo I. (Madrid, 1953), pp. 88-86.

international commerce. After the conquest of Seville in 1248, the new Christian rulers had the daunting task of dividing the area under their control, and most importantly, of re-populating an area that was almost completely empty of souls. The number of Muslims that were forced to leave the countryside is unknown, although it is to be assumed it was a large percentage. A similar situation can be said of the city of Seville itself, the *Crónica General* notes that around 400,000 were forced to leave the city.<sup>6</sup> Even if this figure was exaggerated, Seville and its surrounding area were now free and unpopulated, ready for the settlement of the new Christian rulers.

It is in this period of re-population that we learn about the special interest of certain groups, mainly Italians, in the city that had an important port. The section in this work on re-population is divided into the two periods representing the re-population and re-distribution stages. The first period comprises the entire thirteenth century, or the first fifty years after re-conquest. This period saw the first issuing of privileges, arrival of settlers, and the creation of the port, the royal warehouses and, most importantly, the creation of the commercial districts, which would later be involved in the international trade. However, by the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, the documents show an increased depopulation of the area. This mostly affected the countryside but, in turn, affected the city. The period comprising the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is the second part of the study of re-population. The next attempt to re-populate the area, which began after a census was taken, was completed during the sixteenth century, well after the end of the mediaeval period.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of re-population and depopulation, a note on the Spanish historiography about the Black Death should be mentioned, since the different plagues that affected the region contributed, in part, to the depopulation process. The best description on the issue was written by historian Jaime Sobrequés Callicó in the 1970s, when he wrote: '*El panorama que ofrece la historiografía castellana en lo tocante a la Peste Negra y sus consecuencias, es bastante decepcionante.*'<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Julio González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. (Madrid, 1951), vol. I, p. 216.

<sup>7</sup> AMS, Sección I: Privilegios. Carpeta 125, n. 109.

<sup>8</sup> Jaime Sobrequés Callicó, *La Peste Negra en la Península Ibérica*. Anuario de Estudios Medievales, n. 7. *Separata*. (Barcelona, 1970-1), p. 86.

When professor Sobrequés wrote that the historiography was disappointing, he was comparing the Castilian sources, to not only other European regions, but others within the Iberia, such as Catalonia. The professor was aware that apart from the recording of the death of King Alfonso XI due to the plague in 1350, and the attempt by his son, Pedro I, to control prices a year later, the sources that deal with the Black Death of 1348-1350 are rare. We find a different scenario in other European nations, but perhaps more familiar to Sobrequés were the fiscal census created in Catalonia, known as *fogatges*.<sup>9</sup> These can provide valuable information on the Black Death in the county of Barcelona. Unlike Castile, including Andalusia, Barcelona has been extensively studied by historians due to the surviving sources. Regardless of the lack of sources, most historians have arrived to a series of conclusions about the Black Death in Castile.

Professor Sobrequés arrived to a series of conclusions; chief amongst them was that the re-population process, after the plague, was highly concentrated in regions with a larger autonomy. Seville, as explained later on, had a series of privileges based upon those of Toledo. Seville and its kingdom were privileged to have a council free to order its own re-population.<sup>10</sup>

Another conclusion arrived by professor Sobrequés, borrowing certain ideas from professor Cabrilla, was the fact that even though the Black Death contributed to the depopulation process, it was by no means the main or most important factor.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Seville, the continuous process of re-conquest, civil-war, and above all the revolt of Muslims in the mid thirteenth century affected the depopulation process well before the arrival of the Black Death. Although the present work does not draw a difference between country-side and city, it is important to note that rural issues affected the city and vice-versa. This is perhaps more evident, when looking at the landed-urban elite which was created shortly after the conquest. Although these lords were urban in nature, their lordship remained in the country-side.

Accompanying the re-population period was the creation of various commercial districts, a port, warehouses etc. The attempt to bring new people from other parts of the

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<sup>9</sup> Joan F. Cabestany Fort, *Demografía, Sociedad y Urbanismo en el Siglo XIV*. Cuadernos de Historia, n. 8. Anexo *Hispania*. (Madrid, 1977)

<sup>10</sup> Sobrequés Callicó, *La Peste Negra...*, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89. See bibliography,

Iberian Peninsula to Seville was controlled and affected by the internal affairs of the Castilian crown, as well as the policies of the council of Seville, but above all it was related to the situation of the time. The different commercial districts were more likely to have been affected by royal policies, but were also affected by the policies of their foreign residents and foreign governments, the case of Genoa being the most obvious. This is the reason why the study of the creation of the different commercial districts is not divided chronologically, but rather into the two royal dynasties, the Burgundian (Borgoña) and the Trastámara. The next study, which is of international commerce, has the same divisions. In both instances and under both dynasties, the relationship between the Castilian crown, other European monarchs, and merchants were constantly altering according to the politics of each monarch.

During the first dynasty, which ruled from the conquest in 1248 until 1369, the merchants and the crown maintained good and constant relations, although these were not always free from altercations. The majority of merchants living or trading in Seville during this period, conducted their overseas trade with either England or the Low Countries, and thus the relationship between the Castilian crown and both France and England could easily be affected their commercial relationships. For example, there had been a small quarrel during the wars between King Alfonso X and his rebellious second eldest son, Prince Sancho (IV). Sancho eventually became King and commercial relationships were eventually restored. During the second dynasty, the Trastámara, which ruled from 1369 until the sixteenth century, the story is quite different. Pedro I allied himself with the English crown, but the English support was, at best, inadequate. On the other hand, his illegitimate half-brother, Enrique (II) of the Trastámara dynasty, had a strong ally in France. This “internal Castilian war” was played as part of the larger Hundred Years Wars. The war between Pedro I and Enrique II provided one of the clearest examples of how the political situation could endanger commercial endeavours.<sup>12</sup> During this period, a number of English ships were plundered, either on arrival or departure from Castile. For example one of the English sources tells us that when a number of English ships were to be taken to Flanders and other locations, ‘that the said ships and merchandise being found at Lussebon [Lisbon], Siville [Seville] and Vermieu

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<sup>12</sup> Wendy Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages*. (Manchester, 1978), p. 33.

[Bermeo] were by the said bastard [Enrique II] and his people in hostile manner taken and plundered.<sup>13</sup> The taking of ships during this period happened to both sides, and just a month later, in July 1369, six Spanish vessels were considered enemies of the King and thus seized and taken to Sandwich. Only after a formal complaint was lodged did merchants receive restitution for their stolen goods.<sup>14</sup> Eventually, a truce was agreed allowing the free passage of merchants and their merchandise.<sup>15</sup> Such situations not only affected international relations, but also affected the local situation in Seville between the Genoese and their Mediterranean rivals, the Catalans. Normal commercial contact eventually recommenced with Spanish ships going northwards, and English merchants arriving in Seville, however, relationships were never again as friendly as before. By the end of the fifteenth century, the ships arriving and leaving from Seville had changed their destination, there were new places and new markets to explore. Seville soon became the door to the Indies and ships going west slowly began to outnumber those sailing north, although there was still room for the occasional trip to England. For example, in 1511, the caravel *San Nicolás* was loaded by Robert Palmer, an Englishman and resident of Seville, with between 75 to 80 tons of olive oil which were to be shipped to London.<sup>16</sup> This study, however, ends with the closing of the Late Middle Ages; in Spanish historiography, around the year 1492.

By ending this study in 1492, this work will be focused on a period of history that has been traditionally overshadowed by the importance of the post-1492 world by modern historians, and by the importance of the re-conquest to mediaeval historians. The study of mediaeval Seville has always sparked interest in the minds of historians. However, a true academic interest for this subject did not appear until the early twentieth century and the most part it has been conducted by historians interested in their own local history. This is in sharp contrast to the interest in colonial Seville by the hand of American historians and the role of Seville in the opening of the New World, where pre-Colombian Seville was, at best, part of the introduction to any work on colonial America. Although this study is researched from a political and economical point of view, there are

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<sup>13</sup> *CCR 1369-1374*, p. 30.

<sup>14</sup> NA E 30/255.

<sup>15</sup> *CCR 1369-74*, pp. 112-13.

<sup>16</sup> AHPS, Protocolos. Oficio XV, 1511.

three distinctive parts brought together: firstly, the study of the re-conquest and re-population of Seville and its surrounding area, secondly, the study of the development of the commercial districts, and, finally, the study of the development of overseas trade. The first two have generally been studied together, although the importance of the re-population, which started as early as the sixteenth century; outweighs the study of any other subject, while the latter is not always fully studied. This becomes more evident when searching for secondary sources in this subject.

The fact that there are a limited number of secondary sources dealing with the post-conquest and the pre-Colombian commerce, an issue that will be discussed later, has resulted in the usage of many primary sources, both published and un-published.

For the following work, and for the sake of argument, such primary sources could be sub-divided into major and minor ones. The mayor sources are those which have been heavily utilise within this text, some of them repeated on occasions. These included sources that have been published, although when available the original document has also been consulted, such as the *Libro de Repartimiento de Sevilla*, the *Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses establecidos en Sevilla*, the *Libro de los Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, and the *English Rolls*. These documents have been edited and published, at some point in time. On the other hand, there are other major primary sources that have never been published and thus were consulted at their location, such as those documents from the *Actas Capitulares (Sección X, AMS)* or the *Protocolos (AHPS)*.

The minor, which by no means implies less important, sources are those which have been utilised to clarify an argument or point, to give context for a person or group, or simply manuscripts that have never been edited, published, or composed into one single *Libro*; in addition, there are other sources consulted which never fully made it into this text itself, but certain parts. These included published sources, such as the *Siete Partidas*, the *Local Port Book of Southampton*, *HPM*, *MGH*, collection of Genoese notorial documents from the *ASG*, Alfonso X's *Crónica General*, Pedro I's *Coronica*, the 1384 *Padrón* or Census, etc. When the original document was readily available, it was consulted, most notability the case of the 1384 Census. Other minor documents, that have not been published to date, are those from *Mayordomazgo* and *Diversos (Secciones*

XV & XVI, AMS) and from Fondo Histórico General (Sección IX, ACS), although some have been edited by professor Antonio Ballesteros.

Over all, these primary sources represent a wide range of possibilities for the researcher, since this topic can be studied from many different perspectives. However, it is also true that the topic at hand has an enormous vacuum due mainly to the lack of sources from the Spanish side. In fact, Wendy Childs, in her *Anglo-Castilian trade in later Middle Ages* (1978), points out what many other historians of Spanish history know, the ‘undeniably poor’ sources, as well as the difficulty of accessing them.<sup>17</sup> Although there has been a great deal of improvement since 1978, most notably the publication of some of the sources as recent as 1992 or 2001, and the digitalisation of some sources, overall, Spanish primary sources are still far behind those located at the National Archives, for example, and, most shocking perhaps, are the difficult access experienced by foreigners or those with limited connections, in some instances.<sup>18</sup> Therefore, the lack of primary sources has shaped this study into relying mostly on the English *Rolls* when discussing overseas trade. Seville, important port that it was, never had a system of record keeping until the mid-fifteenth century, and especially after 1492. These sources mainly deal with ships’ record keeping, which were kept at the Protocol Archives of Seville (APS) until the creation of the Archivo General de Andalucía in 1987. Here, all of the provincial archives of the Andalusian Regional Government are managed, and includes the new location of the Protocol documents in the previously mentioned Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla (AHPS).<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless the Protocol documents from between 1450s until 1516, the year that Fernando of Aragón or the Catholic died, have been consulted and used.

The first and most obvious problem with the Protocols is simply the lack of information, in other words, to have waited almost two hundred years before a system of records had been established seems unbelievable. The fact of the matter is that, if there had been such a work as the *Local Port Book of Seville*, as there is for Southampton, it may have rendered a thesis such as this worthless. In any case, the information, albeit

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<sup>17</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 2.

<sup>18</sup> See the Bibliography for publication dates. For digitalisation see for example [www.bne.es](http://www.bne.es) & <http://fondosdigitales.us.es/>.

<sup>19</sup> See [www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/aga/](http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/aga/)



limited, is very useful, such as ship's name, ship's master and/or patron, cargo, origin, destination, and on many occasions even the cargo's owner, seller and/or buyer. Therefore this information is mostly used when dealing with overseas trade (see Chapter 3), and complements the information gathered from the English *Rolls* and other sources from the National Archives (NA).

The *CCR* and *CPR* present a series of problems of their own. Although readily available in most libraries, even in Spain, the documents not only give inconcise information but at times it just implies it. For example, a document may say if restitutions were requested but it never explains whether or not it was carried out. Still, most of the information on overseas trade would have been impossible without these *Rolls*.<sup>20</sup> Finally, some other minor primary sources were used to give a more complete picture of overseas trade between 1248 and 1492, such as Genoese Notorial documents, in addition to the sporadic mention of ships in the *Libros* and in the *Actas Capitulares*.

These *Actas Capitulares*, along with many of the other sources to be found in the AMS, including some of the *Libros*, which will be discussed individually due to their importance. The *Actas* started in the 1430s and they are basically the recordings of any act, order, request, situation, etc., that the council of Seville was involved in. This could range from a simple request to oversee a political situation, to a request by foreigners, most notably the city of Genoa, Kings and Queens, etc. The documents kept in this *Sección X* are extremely valuable for any researcher on any topic that has to do with Seville, murder, commerce, court cases, sales, purchases, etc., as they can provide the researcher with the names of merchants, request from and to merchant colonies, etc. Overall, they are well preserved, although they are yet to be fully studied, edited, published and obviously, digitalised.

On the other hand, ignoring overseas trade, there are sufficient documents for the study of both the re-conquest and re-population of Seville, as discussed in Chapter 1, as well as the creation of the merchant class, as discussed in Chapter 2. For these chapters, the different *Libros* have been consulted; first amongst them is *Libro de Repartimiento de Sevilla*.

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<sup>20</sup> The English *Rolls*, along with other sources, were also used for Appendix I.

The redistribution of the Kingdom of Seville, as it was known, was one of the earliest documents studied for the history of Seville. In fact between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, different copies of the text were made, thus resulting in many copies available today, some of which located at the British Library. From the original, and still during the mediaeval period, two different copies were made. These copies survived without alterations until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when they received the names of Espinosa and Palacio. The first was published in the 16<sup>th</sup> century by Espinosa, while the second manuscript was never published (until 1951) and was named after a copy that survives in Madrid, at the library of the Royal Palace.<sup>21</sup>

Between the sixteenth and eighteenth century the *Libro de Repartimiento* was copied numerous times and studied by many, especially the Espinosa type. This version of the *Libro* clearly represents the interest of the time, in other words, the study of the ruling classes and their own history. It has been labelled as a ‘work created by a fussy author interested in privileges and genealogical data.’<sup>22</sup> Nonetheless it produced important works for the study of medieval Seville that could be used by modern historians. Such studies include those consulted and used in this work, such as *Historia de Sevilla* by Alonso Morgado, published in Seville in 1587 and Ortiz de Zuñiga’s *Anales Eclesiasticos y Seculares de la Muy Noble, y Muy Leal Ciudad de Sevilla, Metrópoli de la Andaluzia, 1246-1671*, published in Madrid in 1677. Such books, albeit important, represent works of their time and thus are rather limited. Studies about the history of Seville show an incredible improvement in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, with many works showing the limits of the Espinosa type of the *Libro* and finally including other surviving versions, which gave a more holistic version of thirteenth century Seville. The first to do this was Guichot y Parody in his *Historia del Excelentísimo Ayuntamiento de la muy noble, muy leal, muy heroica e invicta ciudad de Sevilla*, published in 1896, followed by *El Concejo de Sevilla* by Tenorio y Cerero, published in 1901.

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<sup>21</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. (Madrid, 1951), vol. I, p. 93

<sup>22</sup> Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*. (Madrid, 1913), p. CCLXXIV.

Between the 16<sup>th</sup> century and 1901, more than two dozen copies and editions of the Espinosa type were made.<sup>23</sup> None, however, made any attempt to study the text itself. It was not until the historians Antonio Ballesteros (in 1913) and Ramón Carende (in 1925), on the history of Seville, that the available copies started to be questioned, and new ones searched for. In 1951, the historian Julio González made the definite edition of the *Libro de Repartimiento*. Up to that point, as González clearly points out, ‘the text published by Espinosa was still used by researchers.’<sup>24</sup>

Although the 1951 edition has been re-edited recently by the City of Seville, it is still considered to be the best work on the redistribution of land in 13<sup>th</sup> century Seville. The 1951 edited text itself presents the researcher with an enormous amount of information which can only be compared to Domesday Book. In fact, both texts have some overlapping information, but, whilst the emphasis in the English document is seigniorial, the *Libro* is territorial.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the *Libro* provides certain information that the English document lacks; it lists every single person, regardless of rank or origin, who had received land, irrespective of size, in the Kingdom of Seville. This information can be very helpful for a researcher interested in the people who were not from the Iberian Peninsula, such as the Genoese who would later be so important in the overseas trade of Seville. Using their names, it can also provide the origin of the settlers who came from within the Peninsula, mostly from León, as shown by Julio González.<sup>26</sup>

The use of the *Libro de Repartimiento* also has other shortcomings, but they do not relate to the information necessary in this work.<sup>27</sup> For the re-population, there were other minor primary sources used, mostly from the *Sección IX* (ACS). In this *Sección* we mostly find individual grants, charters, and other manuscripts dealing with land rights, street concessions, etc. Out of the hundreds of documents found in this section, more than two hundred were edited and published by the previously mentioned historian, Antonio Ballesteros in 1913. Ballesteros’ *Sevilla en el siglo XIII* contains 246 original

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<sup>23</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. (Madrid, 1951), vol. I, pp. 100-118.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 118.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas F. Glick, ‘Reading the Repartimientos’ in Meyerson & English, ed., *Christians, Muslims, and Jews in Medieval and Early Modern Spain*. (Notre Dame, 1999), p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. (Madrid, 1951), vol. I, opp. p. 314.

<sup>27</sup> See Glick, ‘Reading the Repartimientos,’ p. 25.

documents from different archival resources in Seville, some of which from the ACS. For any researcher, and for this work, it is very important to understand the method of citing primary sources from this Archive. In recent years there have been an attempt to modernise, as well to move, the Archive to a different location; as recent as the Autumn of 2006. This resulted in sources having two distinctive ways of being catalogued. Hence, if a source is cited as such ACS, IX, (1-7-84), the parentheses are there to tell the reader that this is the old calling system of the catalogued, which may be still in used by some historians; for example González Jiménez cites the same document as AC Sevilla, 1-7-84. It is important to understand this system since it was used, and still used at times, by most of the historians of Seville.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand, the new catalogued system seems to follow a more standardise European version, or at least similar to the system used at the AMS, where the documents can be divided between *legajos*, *cajones*, etc. Documents cited under the new system appear as, for example, ACS, IX, leg. 33, n. 2. In this thesis the original documents have been cited, either with the old or new system, using the catalogue found on the envelope at the time of viewing the original document at the ACS. As of Easter 2007, not all documents have been moved to a new location, but to facilitate researchers the Institución Colombina has a reference book showing both systems to facilitate the location of the document.

For Chapter 2, two more *Libros* were used, both of which are very important for the study of mediaeval Seville. The *Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses establecidos en Sevilla* and *Libro de los Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla* were extensively used for this chapter since they both deal with the issuing of privileges which would allow the creation of a merchant class. Both texts have similarities and coincidences, although both are very distinctive in nature. The first gives a series of privileges to the Genoese colony of Seville, whilst the second gave the city of Seville a series of privileges. Due to their importance, the initial parts of both *Libros* have been translated and further explained in the Appendix II.

Unlike these primary sources, the other minor primary sources represent a variety of documents and information. Information gathered from the *SPB*, *HPM*, *MGH*, *HID*, was very limited and only used to further complete missing information and to clarify

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<sup>28</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, *En Torno a los orígenes de Andalucía*. (Sevilla, 1988), p. 180.

arguments. However, the information on ships available from the Genoese Notarial documents, as well as the *Local Port Book of Southampton*, were quite helpful in drawing a more clear and complete picture of Seville's overseas trade between 1248 and 1492.

Furthermore, the *General* and the *Coronica* chronicles used were of limited – relevance for this research, as neither deal directly with overseas trade, re-population or any other topic found in this work. They do, however, provided a historical context for the reader, as well as providing certain data, which at times, was not as factual as one would like but provides a context nonetheless. This can be said about the assertion in the *Crónica General* that Seville's population in 1248 was 400,000. Such a figure, which was probably ten times its reality, was obvious grossly exaggerated by the Christian chronicles but provides the reader with a sense of the importance that Seville must have had in thirteenth century, at least in the eyes of the Christian forces. In fact it was not until the later years of the fifteenth century that Seville would once again reach a population of about 40,000. In 1485, the census recorded approximately 7,000 residents, which did not include members of the clergy, Jews, Muslims, foreigners, members of the military orders, nobility, and other special groups, allowing the researcher to assume a figure closer to 40,000.<sup>29</sup>

Similarly, the *Coronica* of King Pedro I, can provide an historical context to the reader with the information that provides. This chronicle lacks the exaggerations found in others, and it does provide the research with information in regards to the ability of the dockyards and port of Seville to provide ships, sailors, and other men of the sea. This information is very valuable for any researcher interested in the overseas trade of Seville. Even though this fourteenth century chronicle does not provide population information another does, the census of 1384.

The *Padrón de 1384* was utilised to provided statistical date about Seville, and more important, and perhaps more interesting, is the list of “foreigners” in what is basically a list of taxpayers. Among the privileges received by foreigners many, if not all, were exempt of paying taxes so why, then, were they recorded? There could be to answers to these questions: first, an error was made by the tax collector and/or scribe and

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<sup>29</sup> Julio Valdeón, ‘La Baja Edad Media,’ in *La Baja Edad Media*, Historia 16, n. 5. (Madrid, 1981), pp. 11-12.

second, the small but unavoidable *hispanization* of foreigners. The first case was indeed possible, as it happened, for example in 1409, when a foreigner requested to be removed of the census due to this status.<sup>30</sup> However, it is the second reason which is most interesting to the researcher. Eventually, a mostly male, foreign, merchant class was bound to settle in Seville, and even marry into the local population.

These primary sources are obviously complemented with a series of secondary sources. Only after adding all the secondary works available in English, Castilian, and other languages, can we say that there is an abundant amount of texts on this subject. It is important to have an overall review of these texts, and for clarification purposes these works have been divided into the language of their original text, starting with Castilian.

Spanish historiography has evolved in a similar pattern as the rest of Europe, with an obvious interest in national history during the last two hundred years. In the particular case of Spain this pattern was continued well into the 1970s, when we find an increase interest in regionalism and regional nationalism. As previously mentioned, the first works on the history of Seville were created in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the first works, in the academic sense, were published, and within the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the most influential works on the history of Seville were published. Apart from the previously mentioned works by Tenorio and Ballesteros, it was not until 1924 when the most important work to date of the study of mediaeval Seville was released. Published originally in the *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, *Sevilla: fortaleza y mercado* has become the reference text for any student of pre-Colombian Seville. Ramón Carande's work is truly holistic and for the first time is also an impressive academic piece of work. It is from him that the history of historians of Seville can be trace, starting with Enrique Otte and including Francisco Collantes de Terán (father), Francisco de Collantes de Terán (son), Antonio Collantes de Terán, Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, Manuel González Jiménez, etcetera. Many of their works have been used and consulted in creation of this study.

From Carande's work in 1924, one must wait until post-Civil War Spain to see a rebirth of an interest in Seville. This is more evident by the first-ever study and publication of the previously mentioned work by Julio González. One must note that in

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<sup>30</sup> AMS, Sección X: Actas Capitulares, 1409: 130.

these works we see an interest in the expansion of the commercial districts of the city, as well as the development of trade in mediaeval Seville. Although Ballesteros and Carande make an attempt to paint a picture of a commercial city prior to 1492, their work was limited due to the limitations of the sources available; in fact pre-Colombian trade has always been undervalued. This is the case not just for Seville, but for overseas trade as well, such as Anglo-Castilian. It was not until the 1940s when historians in Spain started to realize the need for a study of Castilian overseas trade during the Middle Ages.<sup>31</sup> Julio González makes an attempt, but his interests lay more with the re-population questions than with overseas trade. Still, the lack of secondary sources is evident by the re-publishing of Carande's work, instead of new research, in 1972, 1975, and 1982. Yet, since the 1980s and thanks to the opening up of Spain a series of new works have been published. These can be divided into two interest groups: those of general history and, increasingly, those interested in local and/or regional history. Thus, more recent studies of mediaeval Seville are not focused on its relationships with the mediaeval world. An example of this is Manuel González Jiménez's *En Torno a los Origenes de Andalucía* [About the Origins of Andalusia], published in 1988. Not only is there an increase of works with a regional/local focus, but an increase of colloquia with these kinds of interest.<sup>32</sup> Recent works include the 1992 study of the *Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses establecidos en Sevilla* and the 1996 *Sevilla y sus mercaderes a fines de la Edad Media* by Enrique Otte, a disciple of Carande himself. Finally, Collantes de Terán has not published any recent work due to an interest in the indexing of documents at the AMS, a task started years earlier by the other Collantes de Terán. It appears that the editing and publishing of primary sources seems to be current trend, at least for those interested in the history of mediaeval Seville.

English texts on the subject, unlike those from Spain, did not begin to appear until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. By the 1940s there was an interest in the subject, nonetheless the topic was a newcomer, obviously influenced by the lack and limited access to sources. These reasons were pointed out by one of the earliest books in English on the subject, written by

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<sup>31</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>32</sup> See Bibliography. Coloquios de Historia Medieval Andaluza and Congresos de Historia Andaluza.

Wendy Childs in 1978.<sup>33</sup> As important as this work is, the author's interest is limited to English trade with mostly northern Castilian, Galician, Basque ports; thus only noting connections with Seville when English merchants were involved. On the other hand the work at hand is mostly interested in trade between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, which involved Italians over and above Castilians, the English, and other nationalities.

In contrast to the latecomer of Anglo-Castilian trade, there are countless works on commerce and general trade from English ports. Examples of these are, but not limited to, works by A. A. Ruddock, H.S. Cobb, A. MacKay, and there is also an increased interest of general Iberian mediaeval history as well as the history of trade in al-Andalus. The latter is most evident in the works by Olivia Constable, such as *Trade and traders in Muslim Spain* (1994) and others. There is also a general increase of works on mediaeval Spain, such as those from Thomas Glick or Bernard Reilly.<sup>34</sup>

Apart from the works consulted in Castilian and English, there are some others in French and Italian. Consultation of Braudel's famous *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Phillip II*, for the study of commerce during the medieval period is essential, as are the works by G.I. Bratianu, R. Doehaerd's study of Genoese Notarial documents, and the works by Jacques Heers, such as *Gênes au XI siècle* (1961) which is considered one of the best works on the subject. Finally, only one work in Italian was consulted, *Genova e la Spagna: il Mediterraneo e L'America* (1992).

With works in different languages, it is necessary to have a spelling pattern for the text in hand. Sources and documents are found in English, Castilian, French, and Italian, as well as their mediaeval counterparts in vernacular, as sated in one of the *Libros*. To these must be added the documents in Latin. There was also the potential of finding the spelling of a person's name in five different ways. To facilitate reading and comprehension, the spelling of names and places have been kept uniform throughout the text. Therefore, Sevilla is spelled Seville, Castilla, Castile, etc. Also some of the locations, such as farmsteads, survived to this day, in that instance their current name has been placed with-in brackets, to allow the reader an easier time location the place for

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<sup>33</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>34</sup> See Bibliography.



further reference.<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, the names of the Castilian monarchs have been kept in the origin form, as to not confuse an English King Henry with a Castilian King Henry (Enrique).

Finally, it is imperative to understand, especially in reference with the previously mentioned sources, where this thesis fits. Obviously, there is a sharp contrast between the documents available for the mediaeval historians and early modern historian. When researching the overseas trade of Seville, since the famous Archive of the Indies holds an immense amount of documents for the post-1492 world. Another contrast is the availability of documents regarding mediaeval Seville not related to overseas trade. Therefore, in the historiography of mediaeval Seville, where does this work fit in?

Using the Genoese as an example, we must note that they had judges who dealt with commercial affairs as well as having their own palace in Seville. What happened to all those documents relating to the issue of grants and privileges, or the day-to-day business record keeping? Certainly with a business relationship with Seville of more than 300 years a large quantity of documents must have existed, but almost none survive. A copy of the original charter granted by King Fernando III survives in the Archivio di Stato di Genoa (AGS), and perhaps some of the documents in the AMS or ACS may have originated in the Genoese's *Lonja* or Palace. The present study will attempt to fill some of that documentary vacuum with the readily available English sources, combined with the surviving documents in Seville. Although no work can give a complete picture of the relationships between Seville, foreigners, and overseas trade, I believe that this work will give the reader a clear idea of how important Seville and its port were to the mediaeval commercial routes between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, which ultimately gave her the opportunity to become the most important international port in the Iberian Peninsula by 1500, and perhaps of Europe.

As mentioned, today one would be hard pressed to find an academic work that does not have a regional/local focus to it, especially those at the universities of Andalusia, Catalonia, Basque Country, Galicia, etc. This study, however, will attempt to close the gap between the increased regionalism of the history of Seville, within a larger European context, and the interest of some historians to bring a more holistic view of an inter-

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<sup>35</sup> For example, *Solúcar* [Sanlúcar la Mayor], *Almaçilla* [Almensilla], etc.

connected mediaeval European world. Perhaps this work follows in the footsteps of A. A. Ruddock and her many works on foreign merchants in mediaeval Southampton, and how they in turn interacted in the overall overseas/European trade; in my instance, however, I have chosen the city that was the port between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER 1

### The Kingdom of Seville after the re-conquest

#### I. Redistribution and resettlement of the Kingdom of Seville, 13<sup>th</sup> century

As early as the twelfth century, the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were able to plan the conquest and allocation of the southern part of the peninsula. The reason for this planning was that each of the Christian kingdoms desired the control of the most important city of al-Andalus, Seville. Whilst Portugal and Aragon had easy access to overseas commercial routes via the Atlantic and Mediterranean, the Kingdom of Castile needed a commercial port that would allow them access to commercial routes of the Mediterranean world, which had been blocked by the Muslim-controlled strait. Access to these routes could only be gained by controlling the port that lay between them, providing access to both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean Sea. This port was Seville, the commercial axis between both bodies of water. It was so important that two Christian kingdoms sought to control it and, in 1158, Castile and León eventually signed the Sahagún Treaty, which amongst other points marked the land divisions and the rights over Seville.<sup>1</sup> In the previous decade before the treaty was signed, Seville was already playing a central commercial role in the Mediterranean world, possessing an exchange house, or *funduq*, for foreign merchants.<sup>2</sup> This crucial role in commerce is what had brought the first wave of Italian traders to the city of the Guadalquivir, or Great River.<sup>3</sup> This is evidenced by the arrival of foreign merchants, and an elaborate set of rules governing commercial activities within the city. The writer, Ibn ‘Abdūn, who was probably a lowly official in Muslim Seville, wrote a treatise with regard to all aspects of the life of the city, including its commercial activities. In this treatise, *Sevilla*, the author

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<sup>1</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 7. Treaty of Sahagún, 23 of May, 1158.

<sup>2</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*. (Cambridge, 2003), p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Ogerii Panis Annales*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *MGH*, SS 18. (Hannover, 1863), p. 117.

recognised the importance of the river, ‘this area is, in fact, the vital point of the city, the place where the goods exported by merchants leave, the refuge of foreigners and the arsenal for the repairs of ships, and, therefore, it must not be private property, but only that of the State.’<sup>4</sup> Although Ibn ‘Abdūn does not specifically mention foreign merchants in this treatise, we know thanks to other sources and accounts that merchants were in the city at that time. Later in the treatise, Ibn ‘Abdūn mentions that foreigners that were caught in the city at night should not be arrested, but should instead be obligated to ‘be held in a *funduq* where they will be under the oversight of the other residents until morning.’<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, he mentions that there were *ifrançh* women, or women from north of the Pyrenees, in Muslim Seville.<sup>6</sup> In any case and thanks to the 1158 treaty, the machine of the re-conquest was free to attack.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the Christian kingdoms won a crucial battle against the forces from al-Andalus. This victory not only signified the strength of the Christian kingdoms, but also denoted the end of the Almohads’ domination of the peninsula. Although the victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 was an important battle, the year that signified the end of the Almohads’ power was the year 1230. During that year, following the death of Alfonso IX of León, Fernando III became the King of a stronger, and unified, Castile and León. This created a powerful kingdom which allowed the further movement south. More importantly, however, that year also marked the internal rebellion that overthrew, literally, the Almohads of Seville when, after a popular revolt, the people threw their Almohad governor over the city walls.<sup>7</sup> As in the case of Cordoba, this was the beginning of the end, with a period of instability and even anarchy following thereafter. Thirteen years before Fernando III arrived in the city, the problems of the city had allowed, temporarily, a Christian militia to enter the city of Seville and restore order.<sup>8</sup> Within six years, Cordoba would fall to Fernando III, allowing the opening up and subsequent re-conquest of the middle valley of the Guadalquivir river

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<sup>4</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn, *Sevilla.*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal & E. García Gómez (Madrid, 1948), p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Ibn ‘Abdūn, ‘Risāla fī al-qadā’ wa al-hisba,’ in *Documents arabes inédits sur la vie sociale et économique en occident musulman au moyen age: trois traités hispaniques de Hisba*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal. (Cairo, 1955), p. 18. See also *Housing the Stranger.*, p. 90.

<sup>6</sup> ‘Abdūn, *Sevilla*, p. 150. The word can describe women from both north of the Pyrenees or from the Hispanic March.

<sup>7</sup> Isidro de las Cagigas, *Sevilla Almohade y sus últimos años de su vida musulmana.* (Madrid, 1951), p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

basin. Between 1240 and 1243, the region between Cordoba and Seville fell to the Christians.<sup>9</sup> Only Carmona stood between Fernando III and Seville and this city, too, fell to him in 1247. In Carmona, the Muslim King of Granada, Aben Mahomad, a vassal of King Fernando III, arrived ‘with 500 Muslim (*Moros*) knights’ to provide support.<sup>10</sup> In August of that year, Fernando III and his army camped outside Seville. The treaty signed between the governor of Seville and Fernando III a year earlier was rendered worthless. The governor fled and a defence committee was created, headed by the *qa'id* or judge Yaqqaf.<sup>11</sup> The last Muslim leader of Seville would become known in the Christian chronicles as King Axataf.<sup>12</sup> It was he who was depicted by Alonso de Cartagena, circa 1460, as the man giving the keys of the city of Seville to Fernando III.<sup>13</sup> Seville fell on 23 November 1248, day of Saint Clement; this date was no coincidence, it was the birthday of Fernando’s eldest son, Alfonso (X). After more than one year of a siege ‘*uictoriosissimo rex Fernandus cepit Hyspalin, nobilissimam ciuitatem, et eam restituit cultui christiano.*’<sup>14</sup>

The re-conquest, unlike the crusades, was more of an Iberian, rather than a European phenomenon. The battle of Las Navas de Tolosa did include a small number of forces from outside the Iberian Peninsula, mostly from France. However, overall it was a “Spanish” affair. The conquest of Seville was very different. This conquest not only ended the re-conquest, as it was believed at the time, but it brought a number of foreigners to the city seeking fortune and glory. With the re-conquest completed, the people who had come to Seville from other regions became residents, and were there either for military or commercial reasons - albeit the line between the two groups was sometimes blurred. It was, in fact, Fernando III who, on his deathbed, announced to his eldest son, Alfonso, that the re-conquest had come to an end. Fernando III died convinced of this, as cited in the *Primera Crónica general* with clear neo-gothic tones:

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<sup>9</sup> González Jiménez, *En Torno a los orígenes de Andalucía*, p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Mordago, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 88.

<sup>11</sup> Cagigas, *Sevilla Almohade...*, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 33; cited from *Crónica del Santo Rey*. See also Mordago, *Historia de Sevilla*. p. 89.

<sup>13</sup> Illustration from Alonso de Cartagena, *Genealogía de los Reyes de España*. ms. Biblioteca del Palacio Real de Madrid, circa 1460.

<sup>14</sup> *El Libro de Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, ed. Fernández Gómez M. et al. (Sevilla, 1993), p. 141.

*Son... I leave you the whole realm from the sea hither, which the Moors won from Rodrigo, King of Spain. All of it is on your dominion, part of it conquered, the other part tributary.*<sup>15</sup>

Fernando III was referring both to his conquest over western Andalusia as well the tributary Kingdoms of Granada, Murcia, and Niebla which were, in theory, vassal-kingdoms which paid tribute to Castile, as well as *consilium et auxilium*, when required.<sup>16</sup> In fact, after the fall of Jaen, King Aben Mahomad of Granada paid tribute and, as noted earlier, provided soldiers for the siege of Seville.<sup>17</sup> This situation had changed completely within a decade, and Alfonso X had no choice but to go on the offensive. However, those who had come to Seville to make a fortune in commerce were there to stay. Their drive and influence in receiving grants and privileges began well before King Axataf had given the keys of the city to Fernando III. Both merchants, with their influence, and soldiers, with their swords, would become landowners in the newly established Kingdom of Seville.

There were individuals camped outside the city of Sevilla, probably seeking approval for the redistribution of land from Fernando III – even though Seville had yet to fall. Fernando III knew this only too well and was not always sure that he would be able to conquer Seville. In fact, in a document addressed to Pelay Pérez Correa, the Master of the Order of Santiago, King Fernando III acknowledged the help provided by the Master during the siege of Seville, which had yet to be re-conquered. In the document drawn up whilst still camp outside Seville, Fernando III expresses his wish to take the city; in it he grants the Master of the Order a series of privileges which he promised to give him ‘when God chooses to give [him] Seville.’ The King, however, was very much aware of the size of Seville and conscious of the fact that he may not win the city after such a long siege. Because of the situation, the letter denotes what would happen if he were not to take the city. In the letter, Fernando III tells the Master the following, that ‘[I] give and order that Alfonso, my son, if he wins the city or to those who would rule after him if

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<sup>15</sup> *Primera crónica general de España*. Menéndez Pidal, ed. (Madrid, 1977), vol. II, p. 772; see also Manuel González Jiménez, ‘Frontier and Settlement in the Kingdom of Castile (1085-1350),’ in Robert Bartlett and Angus MacKay, eds., *Medieval frontier societies*. (Oxford 1992), pp. 49-74, p. 64.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 746; *ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>17</sup> Mordago, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 84.

they win it (Seville)’ to give to the Master the privileges set forth in the letter and promises to give ‘good houses in Seville.’<sup>18</sup> It is made clear through the writings of Fernando III that conquering Seville would be a monumental task – so much so that this might have been reserved for his son, or even later generations. His doubts eventually receded and the city was won. The Andalusian capital now lay empty of souls, and it fell upon Fernando III to repopulate the city. Obviously, the soldiers of the campaign to reconquer Seville were going to be well rewarded, but the foreigners, whether military or commercial had not been forgotten, either. Fernando III knew that the first was to give Seville a series of rights and privileges that would allow the city to grow and facilitate the process of resettlement. In the same document, the king extended some privileges to merchants, and in other cases he granted merchants charters of their own. After all, the merchants were the ones who had brought, and would continue to bring, prosperity to the city. The document in question was the *Fuero de Toledo* or Code of Toledo. Unlike Toledo, Seville was an important commercial port, and thus, additions to the *Fuero de Toledo* were made. These additions would later become known as the *Fuero de Sevilla*, when it was given to the coastal town of Murcia. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1251, Fernando III issued the *fuero* to the ‘greatest [...] and most noble city of Seville [...] from....] all other cities in Spain.’<sup>19</sup>

In it, not only does the king grant a list of rights to the residents of Seville (*vezinos de Seuilla*) and also issue a Knight’s Charter (*priuilegios de los caualleros*) but, more importantly, this document lists the first two sections of the city with commercial ties and interests, which would receive privileges as part of the original *fuero*:

*Another, [we] give and grant to those in the Barrio de Francos, [...] that they can sell and buy in liberty and freely in their homes their cloths and merchandise...*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Document dated 11<sup>th</sup> of January, 1248. Published in Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, pp. I-III.

<sup>19</sup> Original *fuero*: AMS, I: Carpeta 4, n. 1. Published by Nicolás Tenorio y Cerero, *El Concejo de Sevilla*. (Sevilla, 1901), pp. 169-174. Also published in *El Libro de Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, pp. 137-141.

<sup>20</sup> *El Libro de Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, p. 138.

This is, as written by a scribe in the margin, the ‘*preuilegio de la calle de Francos.*’ In the *calle*, or street, *de Francos*, there were French residents, although the discussion continues regarding whether or not this street was named after the type of privileges the street had (*franquezas* or commercial liberties) or because its residents were French. In any case, the people who settled on that street as well as others were, by and large, from across the Pyrenees. This is the only *calle* and *barrio* that begs the question about its naming origin. On the other hand, the other *barrios* were definitely named after their residents. Although, this would become the first *barrio comerciante* or merchant district unlike others, the *Barrio de Francos* did not receive the right to appoint its own internal *alcaldes* or judges to deal with their internal affairs. Basically, this *barrio* had limited rights. In the same *fuero*, the second and last merchant district was created. The remaining districts were formed later in the months or years to come by the use of individual charters and grants. After the *Barrio de Francos*, the *fuero* reads:

*Another, [we] give and grant to those of the sea by mercy that we do, that they have their own alcalde, that judges them in everything do to with the sea...*<sup>21</sup>

This, as written by a scribe in the margin, was the privilege to have an ‘*alcalde de la mar*’ (judge of the sea), and thus, by default created what would become the *Barrio de la Mar* which dealt with issues regarding the sea, sea trade, ships, etc. Unlike Toledo, this would be new and specific to Seville, as it had a seaport that allowed it to function as the axis of commerce between the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean. The king went even further, giving those in the *Barrio de la Mar* the right to sell and buy their merchandise freely. He also gave them ‘twenty carpenters which would work on your ships in your *barrio* (district). And [we] give them three blacksmith and three barbers [...and we...] give them a butcher in your *barrio*.’<sup>22</sup> While the *fuero* notes that the *Barrio de la Mar* received the services of knights, it also mentions that they must provide, for at least three months of each year, their bodies, arms, foods, and ships to the service of the king or villages that requested it. Finally, this *fuero* notes the price to pay

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.



for the king allowing them certain privileges, which, in this case, applies to every single person:

*And [we] order jointly to all those who are residents and dwellers in Seville, including knights as well as merchants as well as those of the sea as all those others of the village that they [should] give us the diezmo (tithe)...*<sup>23</sup>

Two merchants' districts were now created; but perhaps the most important one was yet to follow, the *Barrio de Génova* or Genoese district. The reason this district was created outside the *fuero* was perhaps due to the fact that the Genoese were a special case, in that they had asked for privileges well before King Fernando III conquered the city. In fact, they had probably been trading with the city whilst it was still under Muslim control. The Genoese commercial business was well established by the twelfth century, possessing colonies throughout the Mediterranean Sea, as well as in Muslim Spain. These colonies became known as *fondaks* or *funduqs*. These trading, or exchange houses were even to be found in the Christian north by the 1140s.<sup>24</sup> They were also to be found in the Muslim cities of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Almería, Malaga, Cadíz, etc. However, their most important commercial colony, up to that point, was in Ceuta, established around 1161.<sup>25</sup> Around the same time, the Genoese established themselves in Seville and according to Ibn 'Abdūn, trade was already an important part of Muslim Seville. The Italians were no strangers to the Iberian Peninsula, as news of trade with Muslim Seville dates back as early as 1167.<sup>26</sup> The first documentary evidence of trade between the Republic of Genoa and Seville dates from the year 1231, when both parties signed a peace treaty ('*Sybilie pacem honorabilem et conventionem laudabilem firmaverunt.*')<sup>27</sup> This treaty, however, was not to last as the Genoese were probably well aware of the progress of the re-conquest. In fact, by the time of the conquest of Cordoba

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<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

<sup>24</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, 'Genoa and Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries' in *Journal of European Economic History*. Vol. 19, n. 3. (Roma, 1990), pp. 635-656, p. 637.

<sup>25</sup> Isidoro González Gallego, 'Los genoveses en la Castilla medieval' in *El Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses Establecidos en Sevilla*, Camarero Bullón, ed. (Madrid, 1992), pp. 80-84, p. 83.

<sup>26</sup> *Ogerii Panis Annales*, MGH, SS 18. Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed. (Hannover, 1863), p. 117.

<sup>27</sup> *Bartholomaei Scribae Annales*, MGH, SS 18. (Hannover, 1863), p. 177.

in 1236, the Genoese were out of Seville; but not without having first sent ambassadors to the soon-to-be ruler, Fernando III.<sup>28</sup>

The sources do not allow the possibility of determining the exact purpose of the embassy, whether or not they helped during the military siege of Seville, or who it was composed of. The Genoese might have been part of the naval force that had attacked Seville, this type of aid had been utilized previously by Christian kings, such as the case of Almería in 1147.<sup>29</sup> About ten years later, Alfonso VII granted them a church, bathhouse, gardens, *funduqs or alhóndiga* (exchange houses) as well as commercial privileges there.<sup>30</sup> These were very similar to those which the Genoese would receive in Seville, in the mid-thirteenth century. From the sources, we can learn that Pope Innocent IV, a Genoese himself, had sent his nephews, miçer Uberto and miçer Enrique to meet with the king. Apart from the nephews, the rest of the embassy to King Fernando III from Genoa was composed of Nicolás Calvo and later, Petraço de Musso. These last two appeared in the first document granting privileges to the Genoese in Seville. This document was just like the *fuero* and created the *Barrio de Génova*, which would become the most powerful merchant district of Seville well before any Genoese would travel to the Americas. All of these men would later become landowners in Seville. This document would become known as the *preuillejo principal*, or principal privilege, dated May, 1251.<sup>31</sup> In that year, Nicolás Calvo and Petraço de Musso (*Petracius de Musso*) approached the ‘*illustris rex Ferdinandus Castelle et Legionis, civitatem Yspalensem de manu Sarracenorum liberasset*’ with a series of requests.<sup>32</sup> Surprisingly, the Genoese did not ask for a brand new set of privileges, as one would expect by looking at the new sets of privileges previously mentioned in the *fuero*. Instead, they wanted to continue their trade within the area, with the same set of privileges they had had during the time of Muslim control (*tempore quo erat Sarracenorum.*)<sup>33</sup> They asked for ‘*fondicum, domos,*

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<sup>28</sup> González Gallego, ‘Los genoveses en la Castilla medieval,’ pp. 84-85.

<sup>29</sup> Ramón Carande Thovar, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*. (Sevilla, 1972), p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> González Gallego, ‘Los genoveses en la Castilla medieval,’ p. 84. See also Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*, p. 71.

<sup>31</sup> *Liberium Reipublice genuensis, HPM*, 1854, Tomus I, fols. 1060-1064. Original charter located in ASG, Materia Politiche, Mazzo 5. The document is dated between 12<sup>th</sup> and the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May 1251 depending on the author. For our purposes we shall be citing the principal privilege inside of *El Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses Establecidos en Sevilla*.

<sup>32</sup> *Annales Ianuenses, MGH*, SS 18. p. 226.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

*ecclesiam, et furnum,*’ as well as judges or officials (Latin: *consules* Castilian: *alcaldes*) who could judge their internal affairs, with the exception of certain crimes (*‘exceptis dumtaxat causis penam sanguinis.’*)<sup>34</sup> These requests, as listed in the original charter in Genoa, were granted and became the principal privilege but King Fernando III also granted them the right to establish a *barrium* or district (*barrium*). This original charter was written in Latin, but many of these words were of Arabic origin: *barrium*, *alfondigam*, and *alcalde*. In fact, the Latin charter was translated, at the request of Petraço de Musso, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August 1253, a year after King Fernando III had died.<sup>35</sup> This translation of the charter was completed under the reign of Fernando’s eldest son Alfonso X, who wanted it translated into the *‘romance,’* or what today would be called old Castilian.<sup>36</sup> This version is that which appears in the *Libro de los Privilegios*, or the Book of Privileges, which was given to the Genoese nation. At first, of course, this was an individual charter and it did not become a *Libro* or Book, until it was composed by order of Isabel I, in 1491. In any case, Fernando III granted them *‘barrium, alfondigam, furnum et balneum in ciuitati hyspalensi’* (Castilian version: *‘barrio e alfondiga e forno e baño en çidbat de Seuilla’*) and the right for their church to *‘presentandi capellanum archiepisco hyspalensi.’*<sup>37</sup>

We can see the extent to which the Genoese were able to gain power in the city by comparing the Genoese district to the other merchants’ districts. This would become the base, which culminated post-1492. Apart from the above-mentioned privileges, there were, of course, the most important grants – commercial ones. These charters will be examined, with the other commercial districts, in the following chapter. These other districts did not gain as much autonomy and were sometimes only known as *cals* or *calles*, meaning street(s); but they were the work of consequent monarchs and thus will be dealt with later on. According to the *Primera Crónica General*:

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>35</sup> *El Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. VIIv-Xv.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. VI verso.

<sup>37</sup> Latin version from ASG, and from it published in *Liberiurium Reipublice genuensis*, HPM, 1854, Tomus I, fols. 1060-1064, this one edited and published in Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*. p. 72. Castilian version: *El Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. VII verso.

*The noble city of Seville was won in 1286, when it was the year 1248 of the Incarnation of our Lord, on Saint Clement's Day, twenty-three days of the month of November having passed, [...] and the noble King Fernando endowed it with good and landed properties. [...] He then gave the archbishopric to Don Remondo, who was the first archbishop of Seville after King Fernando had won it. After King Fernando had ordered all this, he also organised his city very well and nobly; he settled it with very good people, he allowed it to be shared...*<sup>38</sup>

King Fernando III re-conquered the city, provided its residents and dwellers with rights and privileges, in addition to those who specifically sought grants, such as Italian merchants. He also began the re-settlement of Seville 'with noble men [...] naming the streets with names and the others according to professions, or with their nations, just as they remain to this day with their street names (*calles*) of *Francos*, of *Catalanes*, of *Bizcaynos*, of *Gallegos*, of *Genova* ...'<sup>39</sup>

This was the first step of King Fernando III, but the next and most important part was still to be done: the resettlement and division of the Kingdom of Seville. This would include giving land to the above mentioned *barrios*, as well as to the individuals who participated in the conquest. The king, however, would not see the progress of the city that he had re-conquered. He died on the 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1252, and was buried with Franciscan robes in the Cathedral of Seville, where his body still remains. It was up to his son, Alfonso X the Wise, to then begin the process of land allocation, in and out of the city walls, as well as the resettlement. This process is known as *repartimiento*, meaning re-distribution, and was completed approximately five years after Seville was re-conquered. This re-distribution document not only lists all the people who received land, including all those foreigners which are of interest, but more importantly, it shows the geographical birth of the different commercial districts within the city that they later shaped. This was the first step in repopulating the area, a process that would later fail due to the steady process known as the depopulation.<sup>40</sup> The failure to keep a steady population in the region shaped the resettlement policies of the affected monarchs.

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<sup>38</sup> *Primera Crónica General de España*, vol. II, p. 770.

<sup>39</sup> Mordago, *Historia de Sevilla*, p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, *La repoblación de a zona de Sevilla durante el siglo XIV*. (Sevilla, 2001), p. 25.

However, it was mostly evident in the countryside and not in the city. Those living in Seville, as shall be seen later, had movement restrictions that forbade them to leave the city. However, these restrictions were not placed upon foreigners and other residents, and as such they would be affected by the same depopulation. In this instance, many would receive land and were placed in charge of the re-population of an area but, before this occurred, the first process was to divide the land for the conquerors.

The *Libro de Repartimiento* has, for Seville and other Iberian cities, become known as the Domesday Book of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>41</sup> The prologue of the *Libro* gives us a sense of the importance of this re-distribution, it reads:

*In Seville, Thursday, first of May, era of 1291<sup>42</sup> [...] don Alfonso, by the grace of God, King of Castile, and of León, and Galicia, and Seville, and Cordoba, and Murcia, and of Jaen [...] needed to know how many farmhouses, and figs, and olive groves, and gardens, and vineyards, and [land] for bread, and he learned this from don Remondo, bishop of Segovia, and from Ruy Lopez de Mendoza, and from Gonzalo Garcia de Torquemada, and from Ferran Servicial, and from Pedro Blanco the adalid, all of whom walked as ordered, and learned all of which there was there [...] and told the king so. [...] And all was divided and inherited by Alfonso de Molina, [...and others...] and part was inherited by the people of Seville, as is written and ordered in this book.<sup>43</sup>*

Internally, the book divided into *Donadíos Mayores* or Major Donations, *Donadíos Menores* or Minor Donations, *Heredamiento de la Ciudad* or City (Seville) inheritance, and *Heredamiento del Cillero, Almacén y Galeras del Rey* or the Inheritance of the officials of the Cellar, Warehouse, and the King's ships.<sup>44</sup> Within each section of the *Libro*, there are subsections, such as villages or farmhouses, but it is also a list of those foreigners that came to the city either for commerce or for conquest, allowing us to learn to what extent these people played a central role in the commercial birth of the city of Seville. Within the pages of the Major Donations, we find the most important men and women of the kingdom. These included the family of Alfonso X and the great *barons* of the realm, somewhat similar to Domesday Book. Inside it, we also find those who, for

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<sup>41</sup> Glick, 'Reading the Repartimientos,' p. 20.

<sup>42</sup> 1252 AD.

<sup>43</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 13-14. Prologo.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 179-185.

political, commercial or other reasons, were close to the king. This would include the Genoese embassy of pope Innocent IV.

After the king's family, we find members of other royal families: to the prince of Portugal, who aided Alfonso's father during the re-conquest, the king gave two *alquerias*, or farmsteads. In one of these, there was 'ten thousand feet of olive groves and figs, and [has] the size of one hundred and sixty acres [of land].'<sup>45</sup> At another location, he received a larger donation of land: that of two hundred acres, of which twenty *yugadas* or bovates were reserved for the growth of wheat for bread.<sup>46</sup> To the prince of Aragón, Alfonso, who came down for the re-conquest of Seville, was also granted a generous donation, including, forty thousand feet of olive groves and figs. This is followed, in order of importance, by the great nobles of the realm, many of whom had family ties with the monarchs. Later, we find the Bishops of the Principal Sees of the Realm, military orders, and other great men from the different Iberian kingdoms, such as Rodrigo Gómez de Galicia, who was there representing the Kingdom of Galicia, or the powerful noble families of Castro and the Arias. But there were also powerful men listed under the Major Donations who were not from any of the Christian Kingdoms. They were, however, great men of commerce.<sup>47</sup>

The Genoese embassy to King Fernando III, mentioned earlier, also acquired generous donation. They were, 'miçer Uberto, nephew of the pope,' who obtained the farmstead of *Almaçilla* [Almensilla], which had the size of 'one hundred times one thousand feet [of land] and two hundred acres.' He also received the farmstead of *Alonaçir*, which had 'forty thousand feet of olive groves and figs.'<sup>48</sup> And miçer Enrique, who was also very well bestowed receiving the farmstead of *Loret* [Loreto] which had 'sixty thousand feet of olive groves and figs [and a total of] one thousand and four hundred acres.'<sup>49</sup> The actual Ambassador to Fernando III, Nicolas Calvo, and his brother, don Ensaldo, also received generous tracts of land:

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<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 19.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 19-20.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 28-29, pp. 25-27, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 30.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 30.

*Cambogat, which the king named Cafiza, which is within the limits of Seville; and there was in it one thousand feet of olive groves and of figs, and by size of land [it had] two hundred acres, and gave it all to Miçero [Ensaldó] and ten bovates in Alaquaz. And it was given, and in this village to Niculoso [Nicolas Calvo], his brother, thirty acres of olive groves and six acres of vineyards. [...] And gave to Miçero the houses and the garden in Triana which are [between] the river Guadalquivir and the road that goes to Camas, and to Niculoso another one there next to it with a garden.<sup>50</sup>*

[...]

*And this is the inheritance that the king gave to don Ensalt: Gave [him] Machar Aben Romach, which the king named Ensaldina, which is within the limits of Asnalfarach [Aznalfarache]; and there was in it three thousand feet of olive groves and figs, and had the size of sixty acres...<sup>51</sup>*

These donations were made nominally to these individuals, but later, the Genoese commercial district of Seville would also be granted land, in this case within the city. Apart from these men, who were there for economic reasons, there were also those that arrived in Seville for the conquest; although many would later be involved in commerce. An example of this is the nobleman *Olín de Burdel* (or *D. Oliver de Burdel*), from Burgundy, who received the entire farmstead of ‘Macher Abnalgait, which is within the limits of Solúcar [Sanlúcar la Mayor], and has ten thousand feet [of olive groves and figs].’<sup>52</sup> The largest religious minority of post Muslim Seville, the Jewish community, was also represented in the Major Donations. In their case, it was don Çuleman, who received vast amounts of land, including olive groves, figs, vineyards, and houses, and don Mayr, the King’s tax collector, who received an entire farmstead.<sup>53</sup>

After the Major Donations came the Minor ones. Although of lesser importance, the Minor Donations had the greatest number of individuals listed, including foreigners. Obviously, their donations were smaller than the previous ones. Furthermore information on a specific person in this Minor list is not as well documented as the people listed in the Major Donations. Therefore, it is not possible to be one hundred percent certain that

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 35, see note 403 on same page.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 35-36.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, vol II, p. 35, see note 394 on same page. See also Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, p. 47.

<sup>53</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol II, pp. 30-31.

those listed are from outside the Iberian Peninsula, especially with some of their names having been Hispanicised. It is important to note, however, that at least in the Iberian Peninsula, many of the names listed were family names but, by the thirteenth century, and especially in documents relating to the resettlement of western Andalusia, many names have changed to place names - clearly emphasising the importance of the origin of the new settlers. Good examples of these are the English, such as the son of *Juan de Londres* or John of London, these will be discussed later on, or the previously mentioned *Olin de Burdel* from Burgundy. Another difference to note is that in the Minor Donations, unlike the Major Donations, individuals are listed under the names of villages, farmsteads or towns where they received land, instead of their names having been recorded first. This, therefore, demonstrated the differentiating of importance between the people of the Major Donations and those of the Minor Donations. In any case, the information contained in the Minor Donations was also important.. For example, in the farmstead of Tablante [Mesnada], which is within the limits of the town of Solúcar [Sanlúcar la Mayor] a man by the name of Richart received ‘forty acres and six bovates [of land].’<sup>54</sup> It is very likely that this person was an Englishmen, many of whom resided on a street named after their nationality, as in the case of *cal de la Mar* or *calle de Génova*. However, this “English colony” in Seville was never large or powerful enough to be considered a *barrio*. It is important to note that many of these English residents were actually from continental Europe, from the English possessions in France - such as Gascony. The street where these men resided was called *calle de Bayona*, or Bayonne Street.<sup>55</sup> A subsequent farmstead listed, Gelu Rauz, ‘which the king named Portugalesa, which is within the limits of Tejada [Aldea de Tejada, Escacena del Campo]’ was donated, as the name indicates, to a majority of people from Portugal, for example, the well known gentleman Pero Homes. However, many of the residents were from Galicia, an Iberian Christian region north of Portugal.<sup>56</sup> The next farmstead, Mexia, which the King renamed Aragón, was donated, as the name indicates, to men from the Crown of Aragón. In it, there was ‘forty thousand feet of olive groves and two thousand feet of figs

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<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 51.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter II, part III.

<sup>56</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol II, pp. 51-52.



[...] and it is given to the knights of Aragón and [others] from outside the kingdom.’<sup>57</sup> It is likely that these men from outside the kingdom came from land in south-eastern France, dominated by the Crown of Aragón. This was not the only time where a farmstead was divided between different residents. For example, in a farmstead, located in Utrera, the king divided it amongst men from Castile, León, and Galicia.<sup>58</sup> The entire farmstead of Paterna, which the king renamed as the Village of the King’s Jews, was donated to this religious minority.<sup>59</sup> In the farmstead of Pilas, which the king renamed Tor del Rey, there were ‘three hundred thousand feet of olive groves and of figs...’ and the king divided the land amongst clerics, scribes, [knights], diverse officials, stewards, bakers, etc.<sup>60</sup> Among the diverse officials we find don Rubert, also known as Robert, an Englishman who received ‘forty acres and six bovates.’<sup>61</sup> Also the son of John of London, who received ‘ten acres and two bovates.’<sup>62</sup> The Genoese ambassador to King Fernando III, miçer Nicolás, is also listed there. Thus far, this document lists which plots of land were received by each person. However, the document does not denote what restrictions, if any, the charters of land ownership (sometimes called *cartas-pueblas* or charter to populate) had upon the residents. In the farmstead of Camas, which the king did not rename, there are a series of restrictions which are interesting. These were set in place to guarantee the repopulation of the area. In the case of the city of Seville, this restriction was forced upon the new residents, which will be discussed at a later stage. The *Libro*, and the surviving *cartas-pueblas*, shows how imperative the need was for the new population to stay in their new granted land. These enable the reader to understand the limits of movement placed on the population by the authorities, to keep the people in this region, which still was the frontier of the Christian realm. In some instances, these policies would later fail. Camas also gives us a specific example of a donation of a village towards of group of the same origin. In this case the Catalans received the entire farmstead with the accompanying movement restrictions. The sources tell us that Camas had:

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<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 50.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 58-61.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 65-66.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 69-76.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 243, p. 72.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 73-74.

*fifteen thousand feet of olive groves and of figs, and it has the size of one thousand six hundred acres, [...] and the king gave it these one hundred Catalan crossbowmen which are here written, by inheritance, in a manner that [they] pay tribute with the council [city] of Seville in all matters and that they serve their fuero according to the fuero de Sevilla, and that [they] will not be able to sell it nor pawn [...] from here until five years, and from five years forward if they wish to sell it that they sell it to crossbowmen and not to other men; and each of these crossbowmen must have two crossbows in this farmstead...<sup>63</sup>*

It is important to note the restrictions imposed on them in terms of movement. These restrictions were enforced on the other residents as well but, these did not prevent the depopulation of the region in the years to come. As mentioned, similar regulations also affected some of other residents of Seville. The city itself would be well endowed, which will be discussed in the next section of the *Repartimiento de Sevilla*:

*This inheritance gave the king to the populace of Seville, to be divided amongst knights and pawns; and they are the farmsteads in which there are olive groves and figs and vineyards and gardens [...]. And [they] should not sell until five years have passed, and the farmsteads that were given are these which follow, as is noted by writing which is below in paper.<sup>64</sup>*

These donations are followed by a list of all farmsteads, towns, villages, towers, etcetera, donated to the city, listing the amount of land and purpose at each location. This is then followed by the register of donation, or letter, of the king with his lead seal (*'porque este mio donadio sea firme et estable pora siempre mandé hi poner en ester privilegio el mio seello de plomo'*) and *'dated in Seville, by order of the king, XXI days having passed in the month of July, in the era of one thousand two hundred and ninety one.'*<sup>65</sup> The city itself, just like the countryside of the Kingdom of Seville, had to be repopulated and for that purpose the city was divided into parishes, and for each parish, three men were assigned to split it *'loyally.'*<sup>66</sup> The new map of the city had, apart from the parishes, the

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<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 79-81.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 109.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 119.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 120.

two commercial districts created by the *Fuero de Sevilla*, as the Genoese section, which was accomplished, thanks to a royal charter. These divisions were achieved by men known as *partidores*, literally the dividers. The special districts, even though they were inside a parish, had their own dividers.

The countryside was apportioned and populated with new residents, some of whom were unable to move to another location, and the city too was now divided. The new residents of the city were, in part, those who had received grants after the re-conquest. The estimated population from this group is about 4,800 people and, to this group must be added the most important group to the city of Seville, the 200 *caballeros hidalgos*.<sup>67</sup> These knights were also placed under restrictions and thus they were not able to relocate outside the city, or to new re-conquered cities south of Seville. They were given land within the city, as well as around the city wall along the banks of the river. Each knight would have had a retinue of servants, and they too were granted land, six acres of olive groves and figs, two bovates of land, and one acre of vineyard, accordingly. Although this was a generous amount, they were forced to always live at the castle (*'y los peones vivan siempre dentro del castrelo'*) and were not able to live in the city like their masters, at least not originally.<sup>68</sup> Although we cannot be sure that every single person who participated in the re-conquest was granted a piece of land, it is true, however, that the *Libro de Repartimiento* covers a wide range of people. People that regardless of sex (widows received land), birth, status or power, received land in the Kingdom of Seville. The only group yet to mention were those who participated in the naval force that attacked the city. These men eventually moved into the *cal de la Mar*, and many of the *cómitres* or boatswains were also granted land. Of course, as in the case in Almería in 1147, the Genoese naval help provided a strong ally for the Christian kings. However, unlike Almería, there are no documents that specifically mention Genoa providing naval help during the re-conquest of Seville. Taking into account the history of naval support provided by the Genoese, and that the person in charge of sailors was a Genoese, in fact sources tell us that many of the sailors and naval officers were Genoese, it would be safe to assume that the Genoese, at least, had a naval force during the re-conquest. Sources

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<sup>67</sup> Also *caballeros de linaje*. González, *En Torno a los orígenes de Andalucía*, p. 56.

<sup>68</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, pp. 138-139, see note 704 on same page.

tell us that sailors and other people in the donations of the *Galeas del Rey*, or the donation for the King's ships were actually Genoese. Nicolás de la Torre del Oro, formally Nicolás the Genovese, received the Golden Tower, hence his name change. The king ordered him to divide one thousand acres of land amongst different naval officers of the ships. ('*maestres calafates e a los galeotes de las galeas, e a todos los otros menestrales otrosí de las galeas*'), many of which were from outside the Iberian Peninsula; such as Pedro de Bayona and Arnal Caorçi.<sup>69</sup> The Catalans, as before, received an entire village, in this instance Coria [Coria del Río], which was an important entrance port before arriving in Seville. Among the naval officers and merchants, there were Bernal Mercader or Merchant, Berenguel Rox, Arnal de Çias.<sup>70</sup> Many boatswains were in partnership with the Genoese Ambassadors to the King, such as *Guillén Estart es cómitre*, and *Guillelmo Musso es cómitre* who are both listed as Miçero, being their *fiador* or guarantor, or '*Niculoso Taxo es cómitre, e es su fiador don Ensalt.*'<sup>71</sup>

This ends the resettlement of Seville, but in the years that followed, in the fourteenth and fifteenth century there would be a depopulation process that would affect both the region and its inhabitants. There were different causes for this process. Many of the large donations of land, as one would expect, were given to the great men of the realm: the families of Haro, Mendoza, Froilaz, Lara, Castro, etc. Even though they received large amounts of land, their interests lay in their ancestral family estates in the north and thus, many left. The palatine nobility, as well as the other Iberian Royal Houses would quickly leave Seville for their other interests. Their donations were simply passed down to other junior lines in their family and, in some instances their land would revert back to the Castilian monarchs. The many monasteries, military orders, and the Cathedral of Seville became beneficiaries of those donations. On the other hand, the 200 knights which were subjugated, in life and in death, to their new land became the backbone of the population of the city.<sup>72</sup> The estimated population of Seville in the mid-thirteenth century was 24,000 inhabitants. This figure included the 200 knights, but it

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<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 157-158.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 162-163.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 167-168.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 323.

probably excluded religious minorities as well as many of the foreigners.<sup>73</sup> At the time of the first census of the city in 1384, the population was less than 15,000: the depopulation had started.

## II. Depopulation and resettlement of the Kingdom of Seville, 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> centuries

The event that brought the resettlement process to complete failure was the *mudéjar* revolt of 1261 to 1266. After the re-conquest of Seville, the city was left empty of residents. The vast majority of Muslim residents of Seville had left the city via land towards Granada or via the river towards Jerez but an important minority remained in the countryside. These groups were large enough to warrant that, in certain villages, Muslim quarters had to be created, as in the case of Carmona or Morón de la Frontera, for example. Within a year of the re-conquest of Seville, some of these Muslims from the countryside started to move within the city walls. There are no surviving documents relating to the creation of a *Morería*, or Muslim quarter, but it must have been at an early stage, as Fernando III appointed an *alcalde* or judge, for this district, who came with the king for the re-conquest. The *mudéjares* were Muslims living under Christian rule and, in the case of Seville, they were not only living in their own quarter, but some had houses in different parts of the city, such as Mahomat, the judge for *Morería*, who was living in the parish of San Pedro.<sup>74</sup> Apart from the city of Seville, in 1255 the *mudéjares* also received a quarter of their own in Morón de la Frontera, which was located in the first line of defence on the frontier with the Kingdom of Granada.<sup>75</sup> Even after the revolt of the 1260s, there were still *mudéjares* living in Seville, at least until the 1310s, but by this time it should be considered to be an exception, rather than a rule.<sup>76</sup> Regardless, the revolt was a massive blow to the *mudéjar* population of the countryside of Seville. Even

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<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 310, vol. II, 316. Cited from AHN, Ordenes Militares, Calatrava, Regisro de Escrituras, t. III, fol. 68.

<sup>75</sup> González, *En Torno a los orígenes de Andalucía*, pp. 187-190. Document edited from AHN, Ordenes Militares, Calatrava, ms. 1343 C, fol. 110r-111r.

<sup>76</sup> ACS, Sección IX: Fondo Histórico General, (31-1-19). Cited in González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 311.

in villages as far away as Constantina, there was news of *mudéjares* leaving the area.<sup>77</sup> Although the reasons for the revolt are unclear, perhaps the breaking of grants with regards to the *Morerías*, the ultimate consequence was the depopulation of a large area, a phenomenon known as *despoblados*, or lost villages.<sup>78</sup> This event combined with the different plagues that affected Seville in a short period of time, in 1311, 1363, and 1383, decimated the region.<sup>79</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction, the historiography of the Black Death is very limited. In fact, for the case of Seville, the plague of 1348-1350 barely makes it in most texts, even as a footnote. Of the records consulted for this work, both secular and religious, there are no mentions or accounts of the events of 1348-1350. Even if the sources are unclear, we must assume that the Black Death had somewhat of an effect. The plague, in fact, killed Alfonso XI in 1350 during his siege of Algeciras. The same chronicle that relates his death barely mentions the effects of the plague, and just noted the fact that it had arrived to Castile and León.<sup>80</sup> It was his son, Pedro I, in 1351 who took the first measures to overcome the problems that the plague brought, such as a shortage of manual labour and the rise in prices.<sup>81</sup>

About seventy years later, between 1363 and 1364, and again in 1374, another plague did had a major effect in the in the minds of the people of Seville. During those years, the convert and doctor, Juan de Aviñón, who was a resident of Seville, wrote about the medical effects of the Plague, even noticing that the plague ‘arrived in March [...] and lasted until August [of 1374].’<sup>82</sup> During the first wave, in 1363-1364, once again Pedro I dealt with a short supply of men. Finally, the last mayor plague to hit the Kingdom of Seville, was during the war with Portugal, between 1383 and 1384, but the chronicles and other sources are too preoccupied with the war to mentioned the effects (if any) of the plague.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> González, *En Torno a los orígenes de Andalucía*, p. 73.

<sup>78</sup> English definition based upon, M.W. Beresford, *The Lost Villages of England*. (New York, 1954).

<sup>79</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>80</sup> *Crónica del rey don Alfonso, el Onceno*. In *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*. BAE, Tomo I. (Madrid, 1953), p. 365. See Chapter CCXXXVIII, pp. 173-392.

<sup>81</sup> Emilio Mitre Fernández, ‘La epidemia arrasa Europa’ in *La Peste Negra*. n. 17 Historia 16, (Madrid, 1985), p. 18.

<sup>82</sup> Juan de Aviñón, *Sevilla medicina*. (Sevilla, 1885), pp. 35-38.

<sup>83</sup> Julio Valdeón, ‘La muerte negra en la Península’ in *La Peste Negra*, p. 27.

How did the plague reach Seville? Some historians have argued that the plague of 1348-1350, first devastated the Genoese colony of Caffa, and from there it spread to wherever the Genoese traded, which is to say, almost, the entire Mediterranean Sea.<sup>84</sup> Did the Genoese colony of Seville introduce the plague into the city? Sadly and as mentioned in the introduction, the port of Seville lacked any method of recordkeeping; furthermore, there are no surviving documents from the Genoese *Lonja*. Although it is a mere speculation, one would not be surprised that, along with other seaports, Seville may have been one of the entry ports of the Black Death.

In the 1400s, the sources dealing with the plague are also limited and spare. For example, if we look at the *Actas Capitulares*, which once again recorded the daily activities of city hall, the period between 1418 and 1474 saw only two surviving documents that mentioned the plague.<sup>85</sup> One of them, dated in 1453, is very peculiar, especially for those interested in commerce and trade. In the manuscript, a series of tax collectors (*alcabala*, *almojarifazgo*, etc.) complaint to the council of Seville since the latter refused entry to the port of Seville of certain ships that arrived from Galicia. The reason was that the council was informed that the ships came from a place affected by a plague.<sup>86</sup> Perhaps the council of Seville had learnt from experience not to let “infected” ships into its port.

In addition to those events there was the continuous and prolonged movement of people. The first movement, especially under Fernando III, was the slow return “home” of many Castilian nobles and soldiers. The second movement was the continued process of the re-conquest, recommenced by Alfonso X shortly after the end of the *mudéjar* revolt. Some of these movements were closer to the area controlled by the council of Seville, in parts of Huelva, such as Niebla, but others were further away towards the south and especially southeast, towards Granada.

The area most affected by this depopulation, and perhaps the most important to the commercial growth of the city, was the Aljarafe.<sup>87</sup> This area was considered to be a vital point for the city but, by the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the

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<sup>84</sup> Mitre Fernández, ‘La epidemia arrasa Europa’ in *La Peste Negra*, p. 12.

<sup>85</sup> AMS, X, 1446: fol. 1. Document dated May 31st, 1446.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1453: Ene.-Mar., fol. 27.

<sup>87</sup> See Introduction for importance of the Aljarafe.

fourteenth century, this area had ‘one of the largest concentrations of *despoblados* of the entire peninsula.’<sup>88</sup> Between the thirteenth century and until 1533, large areas were classified as *despoblados*. In 1533, well after the period of this investigation, the first “modern” census, known as *encabezamiento*, was completed and indicated that there were some areas, which were remained empty.<sup>89</sup> Although we lack a complete census for the area for post-*despoblados* period, we know that those who left, with the exception of *mudéjares*, were from the Iberian Peninsula, mainly from Castile.

With so much to repopulate, many councils ended up donating more lands to city residents, creating an urban landed elite. This group also included foreigners, which as seen in the *Repartimiento*, already owned olive groves. By the same token, this process allowed the rapid growth of the Andalusian *latifundios*, or large estates owned by a few, many of which lasted until the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Another factor that contributed to the depopulation process in the fourteenth century, as well as the principal cause of the creation of large estates, was the ascension of Enrique de Trastámara to the Castilian throne.

Under the Burgundian dynasty, Seville was, in general terms, a region full of small and medium landed lords, including the urban-landed elite. With the death of Pedro I by the hands of his half-brother, Enrique II had to return the favour to the nobility who supported his claims to the throne. Hence, the dislike towards Enrique II by many Castilian cities; this situation repeated itself in the region known as the four kingdoms.<sup>90</sup> The resistance by of the Kingdom of Niebla, ended with its disappearance, becoming a large county under the control of the Guzmán family, within the Kingdom of Seville. While the large town of Carmona (also within the Kingdom of Seville) resisted the new monarch for almost two years, eventually becoming part of the dominions of Enrique Enríquez, the bastard son of the new monarch; these donations become known as *mercedes enriqueñas* or the thanks by Enrique. These acts created large estates, most famous, perhaps, the county of Niebla, whose benefactor was known to the region; some on the other hand were outsiders. The Galician Per Afán de Ribera was one of many

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<sup>88</sup> Nicollás Cabrillana, ‘Villages désertés en Espagne’, in Fernand Braudel, ed., *Villages désertés et historia économique, XIe-XVIIIe siècles*. (Paris, 1965), pp. 461-512, p. 482.

<sup>89</sup> AMS, I: Carpeta 125, n. 109.

<sup>90</sup> Kingdom of Seville, Cordoba, Jaen, and Niebla. After 1492, Seville, Cordoba, Jaen, and Granada.



outsiders who benefited from his friendship with the new monarch. This surname (Ribera o Rivera) from this point on would be associated with the new large landed elites. It has been calculated that under the first Trastámara, 6,500 km<sup>2</sup> of the *alfoz* or district of Seville (of a total of 12,000 km<sup>2</sup>) were controlled by *señorios* or lordships.<sup>91</sup>

Sources suggest that the resettlement process of these two centuries did not bring new residents to the area. In fact, most of the people who repopulated the area came from within Seville, even new lords (like in Niebla), came from the region (the Guzmanes). In fact, most of the people who repopulated the area came from within the Kingdom of Seville or from within the city, creating a small urban-landed elite.<sup>92</sup> An example of these small urban-landed elites was Juan Martínez, who had the *señorío* or lordship of Benacazón. In 1322, Juan Martínez, who was a resident of the *Barrio de Francos*, granted a number privileges to certain people and ‘all the other farmers [*labradores*] who will come from now on’ to repopulate the farmstead of Benacazón.<sup>93</sup> A resident of the city did not always own this farmstead. At first, as many other farmsteads, it was donated by King Alfonso X to various people during the *Repartimiento de Sevilla*. The King was not the only person interested in the advantages of repopulation. The council of Seville authorised the resettlement of the many farmsteads and villages under their control, as the case of Alcalá del Río. In this instance, it was the council that issued grants to the settlers to ensure a steady population.<sup>94</sup> Until the arrival of the Trastámara, in 1369, the region was still controlled by the individual councils and the small-landed elite.

After Enrique II’s redistribution of land, the region still did not receive a large influx of new residents from outside the Kingdom of Seville. The census of 1384, notes at least 100 families had come into Seville from the villages and towns of its surrounding it. There were also some new residents from overseas that had arrived in the city for commercial reasons but, since they were not necessarily permanent residents of the city, they did not appear in the census.

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<sup>91</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, ‘El Reino de Sevilla en Castilla’ in Rafael Valencia, ed., *Sevilla, Siglo XIV*. (Sevilla, 2006), p. 62.

<sup>92</sup> González, *La repoblación de a zona de Sevilla durante el siglo XIV*, pp. 90-96.

<sup>93</sup> AAS, Leg. historico 484, ff. 89-96. Edited version published in González, *La repoblación de a zona de Sevilla durante el siglo XIV*, pp. 173-178.

<sup>94</sup> AMS, I: Carpeta 1, n. 19.

The depopulation in some areas, while repopulating other, continued well into the latter half of the fifteenth century. For example, in 1473, Enrique IV requested that certain villages be populated. This was of importance since they were in a recently re-conquered area or near the frontier, as in the villages of Cañete and Tore Alhaquín.<sup>95</sup> This of course ended in 1492, not only because there was no longer a frontier in the peninsula but also because of the influx of people from everywhere interested in the New World or returning to the Old World, who landed in the port of Seville, known by then as the Gateway of the Indies.

### III. Conclusion

Within fifty years, Seville had gone from a Muslim city with a population, according to the Christian chronicles, of 400,000 people, to a Christian city of about 24,000. However, within a century, the population had diminished to around 15,000. If the city's population had been suffering, one must assume that the countryside would have suffered equal, if not worse, consequences. Although these numbers are estimates and one will never be sure of the real population numbers of Seville and its surroundings, certain points are clear. There are no indications that the commercial class, the Genoese and others, diminished during this period. In fact, their power actually grew over this time. For example, many of their privileges were reconfirmed and extended by 1312, under Alfonso XI, and there were a higher number of ships recorded calling at Seville's port.<sup>96</sup> The sources are unclear in this respect, but it would have been logical that ships calling at Seville would have increase after the news spread about its re-conquest, fifty years earlier; for example a manuscript from St. Albans Church, in Hertfordshire, dates the re-conquest a few years after it did occurred and under Alfonso X.<sup>97</sup> Of the remaining sources we have more information of the post-1300 period than that of 1250-

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, X: 1473: Ene.-Abr., fol. 53.

<sup>96</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>97</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, 'Conquista y repoblación de la ciudad de Sevilla: de Fernando III a Alfonso X. Las bases demográficas, económicas y sociales.' *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII. La Torre de Abd-el-Aziz y su época*. Curso de Libre Configuración, Universidad de Sevilla. (Sevilla, 30/XI/2004).

1300.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, the attitude of Genoese merchants had not been one of alarm, during a period 1248-1492 when the frontier of Granada was still close by, and where daily raids were still common. This lack of alarm is evident in the request for similar commercial privileges as they had had during the Almohad period.<sup>99</sup> A change of dynasty or religion did not equate a setback and, once again, the merchants were able to avoid a setback.

It is also important to note that the kind of depopulation that occurred had not been just a local phenomenon but it had also occurred in other parts of Europe. Even with an increase number of lost villages under its jurisdiction, Seville was able to maintain its reign as the most important port between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Therefore, and to better understand how Seville survived this period, it is important to take a closer look at the different commercial districts that were active in the city, between the periods of the re-conquest in 1248 until 1492.

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<sup>98</sup> See Appendix I

<sup>99</sup> See note 33.

## CHAPTER 2

### Commerce and commercial districts of Seville

#### I. *Barrios* and *Calles*: merchants and foreigners living in Seville

The following section attempts to give a history of the different commercial districts of the city. This includes those which had achieved the status of *barrio* or district, as well as the smaller sections that had never been able to acquire a district, but were just called *calles* or streets. The latter were not commercial districts per se, although many did have relations with merchants, or were the street on which these merchants resided. This section demonstrates how the creation of the different merchant districts, by the Crown, allowed Seville to become an important port just a few years after the re-conquest. It will show how districts and streets were created as part of the initial push by the Crown for overseas trade. The Castilian-Leonese monarchs made Seville their overseas trading port, at a time when the other Christian Kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula already had important ports for themselves, such as Barcelona in Aragon and Lisbon in Portugal.

With the creation of these districts, and with their merchant population living within them, it can be argued that Seville soon rose to become as important a port in the overseas trade as Barcelona or Lisbon, even though until the mid-thirteenth century it was relatively isolated from larger European overseas trade. With the help of the Monarchs, and, more importantly, with the effort made by the foreign merchants and their colonies, Seville is a prime example of the expansionary movement of thirteenth century Europe. This, in turn, allowed Seville to become one of the most important ports, if not the most, in the European expansionary movement of the fifteenth century.

The *barrios* were not only sectors of the city, they were also political entities with their own rights and privileges and, above all, their own *alcaldes*, or judges. The *barrio* had a main street named after itself thus *Barrio de Génova*'s main street was *calle de*

*Génova*, which kept that name until the 1930s. The same can be said about *Barrio de Francos*, having a main street called *calle Francos*, as it remains to this day. A peculiar situation arose with this naming pattern, for example, with *calle de Catalanes* and *calle de Castilla*. The Catalans never acquired a *barrio* of their own in the city, but eventually a district was given to them at the end of *Barrio de Francos*. At the same time, there was already a street named after them in Seville where Catalanian forces had settled in the post conquered city. Thus, the Catalans who asked for a commercial district did receive one in a different part of the city from where *calle de Catalanes* was, having been given its name after the re-conquest. A similar situation arose with the Castilians. The great majority of new residents of Seville were from Castile, and thus many streets could have been named after them. Seville thus had a *Barrio de Castellanos* at the same time that there was a *calle Castilla*, although the latter was across the river in Triana, as still exists to this day. Officially, Seville had only four *barrios*, and many streets named after their residents. The only ambiguous situation was the case of the Catalans, who acquired privileges but never the *alcaldes* to make it a distinct district. The Genoese district will be explored in more detail than others for two reasons. The first was that the Genoese had the most powerful merchant district from 1248 until the disappearance of all districts in the sixteenth century and the city of Genoa kept the property of their palace until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The second, due to their importance, was that most of the surviving commercial documentation relates to them.

## II. The commercial districts under the Houses of Burgundy and Trastámara, 1248-1474

### Barrio de Francos

This commercial district was established immediately after the re-conquest of Seville, when, on 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1251, Fernando III granted Seville the *Fuero* of Toledo. As in Toledo, their privileges had different parts. Firstly, their residents had the right to buy and sell 'in liberty and freely' all merchandise, including cloths. These could be bought or sold individually, or in bulk. Secondly, their residents were free from providing military service or duty at the *alcazar*, or palace, *alçaicería*, or principal market, and they

were free of this service even by force, since they were knights (*'les otorgamos que non sean tenudos de darnos empréstido nin pedido por fuerça et dámosles que ayán ondra de caualleros.'*)<sup>1</sup>

As a distinct commercial area of the city, this district also had the right to divide amongst themselves the land received by King Fernando III. There were always three *partidores*, or dividers, per *barrio*. It is important to note that not all residents were necessarily of the same group, thus, in the *barrio de Francos*, there were Castilian residents. This has led to discussion with regard to whether or not this district was named after its residents or not. Unfortunately, there is no specific data on the percentage of Castilian versus French residents of the district. In any case, many of its residents were from across the Pyrenees and eventually their street was known for French goods and French residents. Of the three dividers, two were Castilian (Domingo Martín and Remondo Gil) and the third was a Frenchman (Per or Pedro Gasth).<sup>2</sup> Other French residents at the time included Sir or don Bernalt d'Orellac, who died in 1255 leaving a plot of land between the houses of fellow countrymen Guiralt Johan and don Bernalt Artambal.<sup>3</sup> With the re-conquest, other Frenchmen settled in the city, probably following the French-born Castilian Queen, Juana of Ponthieu. These include don Guillén Bec from the family of the Counts of Limoges, Thomás Pontis, Bonfilleul, etc.<sup>4</sup> Also a falconer of the King, don Franco, who received more than 20 acres of land was French.<sup>5</sup> Many Catalans settled in the area, and in the years to come their district was to be located in this area. These were not, at least at first, merchants but some did live there at the time, for example, Ramón de Tolosa, who received certain houses, between those of Per de la Çisa and don Gonzalo de Raue, in this district.<sup>6</sup> Many other men from across the Pyrenees resided in the *calle de Bayona*, or Bayonne, but like many other parts of France at the time, they were under English control. Thus in Bayonne Street, we find both

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<sup>1</sup> *El Libro de Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, pp. 138-139.

<sup>2</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> ACS, IX, (37-3-60). Cited in González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII*, p. 46; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 315.

<sup>5</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 91.

<sup>6</sup> ACS, IX, leg. 33, n. 2.

Englishmen and Frenchmen. Another resident was the nobleman don Olín de Burdel, who had been well endowed in the land distribution process.<sup>7</sup>

Just as in the case of Toledo, this district was characterized by its commercial activities. Many of the buildings soon became stores, where cloths were sold, as in the case of ‘Pedro de la Rochela and don Arberat merchants of Seville, who formed a society for ten years, to buy [...] and sell [cloths] in the *rua de los Francos* of Seville.’<sup>8</sup> Other stores belonged to Per de la Çisa or dame Alda, and even the Genoese were active in this district, people such as Nicolás de la Torre del Oro, who owned a bakery.<sup>9</sup>

By the fourteenth century, this district no longer had a French identity, and many residents from across the city had come to live there. Dame Alda continued to live there, but the census of 1384 shows the changes to this district, including new residents and also some Franco-Castilian residents through the years of mutual coexistence. In other words, it had lost its character of a foreign district.<sup>10</sup> It is important to note that the census of 1384 was created as a tax assessment for King Juan I’s wars against Portugal, therefore, its usage was very limited since many of the merchants of Seville were not actual residents. For example, in a census of 1409, a merchant complained to the council of the city that he should be removed from the census since, as a foreign merchant, he was exempt from paying taxes.<sup>11</sup> In 1384, there were 83 residents, or heads of household, or 3’18% of the city’s population residing in the *Barrio de Francos*. In the census, many names appear to be Castilian, but not all, such as the case of Johan Ynglés, or Johan de Saboya. The identity of others by their name is too ambiguous to be sure, such as Grauil Garobien, while others were Italians, probably Genoese whose own district lay further down the street, such as miçer Jaco, miçer Grauiel, miçer Quirigo, or miçer Nicoloso Bonel.<sup>12</sup> Unlike other merchants, much of the commerce done in this district came via land, which neither the Genoese nor English could do. Cloth and other garments were the main goods sold in this district, with many merchants dedicated to the importation of

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<sup>7</sup> See Chapter 1, note 52.

<sup>8</sup> Alfonso X, *Las siete partidas*. Gonzalo Martínez Díez, ed. (Valladolid, 1988). Partida III, título XVIII; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 336.

<sup>9</sup> ACS, IX, (3-3-27; 1-7-181; 31-2-58); *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 335.

<sup>10</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 336.

<sup>11</sup> AMS, X, 1409: 130.

<sup>12</sup> AMS, Sección XVI: Diversos, doc. 14; *Un padrón de Sevilla del siglo XIV*. Manuel Álvarez et al, ed. (Sevilla, 2001), pp. 60-63.

these goods from France.<sup>13</sup> The officials of the city were actually among the main buyers of cloth and especially liked those from Contry (Courtrai) in southern Flanders and Cominas (Cominges) in France.<sup>14</sup> From this year, 1384, until the beginning of the fifteenth century, information about this district is sporadic, especially after the 1500s when many of the districts of the city lost their own commercial and judicial identity. In 1412, one of the district officials was French, or at least of French descent.<sup>15</sup> He still resided in this district in the late 1420s, along with Per de Tour, guard of the City Gate of olive oil into the city, and his wife María de Monsalve.<sup>16</sup> Still in 1450s, the majority of residents were Castilians, for example, Pero Jiménez made sure that the Council of Seville knew that he still lived with his mother in this district and that it was she who was supposed to pay taxes and not him.<sup>17</sup> Some of the property eventually ended up in the possession of the church.<sup>18</sup> There is an example in 1470 of a merchant of Marseille asking permission from the council to bring his family to the city, along with the families of his fellow countrymen, Rostando Blancardo and Alberto Barrera.<sup>19</sup>

### Barrio de la Mar

As with the *Barrio de Francos*, this district was created with the *fuero* on 15<sup>th</sup> July, 1251. However, unlike *francos*, the *Barrio de la Mar* was truly a cosmopolitan neighbourhood. It was the only district where residents from many nations lived, and mostly worked, as it was a safe haven for merchants and sailors alike. The warehouses, for the goods that entered and left the city, were located there, together with the Royal Dockyards, the Royal Warehouses and merchants' homes. If Seville was the axis between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, then this district is what made it a reality.

According to the *fuero*, this district had the right to have their own '*alcalde de la mar*' (judge of the sea), and it was also the location of the Castilian Almirantazgo, or naval headquarters. They also had the right to sell and buy freely their merchandise; the

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<sup>13</sup> AMS, Sección XV: Mayordomazgo, 1384-1386: 2, 13, 127.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1384-1386: 69 & 74.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1412: 83.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1427: 24, 43.

<sup>17</sup> AMS, X, 1450: fol. 61.

<sup>18</sup> ACS, IX, (3-3-27).

<sup>19</sup> AMS, X, 1470: Mar.-May., fol. 24.



Fernando III also gave them ‘twenty carpenters which would work on your ships in your *barrio* (district). And [we] give them three blacksmith and three barbers [...and we...] give them a butcher in your *barrio*.’<sup>20</sup> While the *fuero* notes that the *Barrio de la Mar* received the services of knights, it also mentions that they must provide, for at least three months of each year, their bodies, arms, food, and ships to the service of the king or villages that requested it. Apart from these rights, as with the previous district, their section had to be divided, and thus three dividers were in charge of that task: Pero Juanes; Pero Garcías; and the Genoese Bernal Pelegrín, who was a boatswain.<sup>21</sup> Many early residents of this district were, of course, men of the sea: *cómitres*, or boatswains, *fiadores*, or guarantors, merchants, sailors, able seamen, masters, patrons, etc. Many of these were Genoese, who not only had their own district, but many of them also owned property in this district. Just by looking at some of the names of the men dwelling in this district, it can be argued that the policies of Fernando III and Alfonso X were good enough to bring a steady flow foreign population to this city. It is information like this which allows the reader to better understand how the monarchical policies work, even in a city that was on the frontier of Christian Europe. These residents included:<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *El Libro de Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla*, p. 139.

<sup>21</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 121.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 167-174.

Guillén Estart, cómitre.	Arnal Campana, fiador.
Guillén de Mians, cómitre.	Juan Carriço, fiador.
Guillermo Musso, cómitre.	Gelit Curat, fiador.
Pero Malgraner, cómitre.	Alfon Durac, fiador.
Domingo Juan el ciego, cómitre.	Luquet, fiador.
Joan Ruiz, cómitre.	don Ensalt, fiador.
Juan Romo, cómitre	Pero Andrés de Laredo, fiador.
Arnal Caorci, cómitre.	Bernal de Villa, fiador.
Amad de la Çinca, cómitre.	Miguel Çagrande, fiador.
Bernal Pelegrín, cómitre.	Juan Batalla, cómitre.
Martín de Escalante, cómitre.	Jayme de Barea, fiador.
Garcí Pérez del Pino, cómitre.	Bernal mercader, cómitre.
Bernal Malgraner, cómitre.	Guillén Pasqual de Tarragona, fiador.
Niculoso Taxo, cómitre.	Berenguer Rox, cómitre.
Pes de Bayona, cómitre.	Esteban Fernández.
Martín Sanchez, cómitre.	Per de Garvie, fiador.
Miguel calafate, cómitre.	Remón Arnal, fiador.
Arnal de Henamoros, cómitre.	Pero Botín, fiador.
Pedro Arnau de Burdel, cómitre.	

These were some of the residents after the re-conquest, but it is important to point out that many of these, especially the Genoese, may have owned houses in their own district as well. A few years later, another merchant moved into the *barrio* after purchasing a mosque from Don Remondo, archbishop of Seville: his name was Johan Adams and he was married to María Martinez.<sup>23</sup>

One of the main purposes of this district was ship building, both for commerce and for war. This is evident from in the 1260s and continued during the wars of Pedro I and especially under Juan II. During these periods the royal dockyards, located in this

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<sup>23</sup> ACS, IX, leg. 33, n. 4. This person may have been an Englishmen, but this is not certain. In a 1611 copy of this document his name is written as Johan Adames.

district would be employed.<sup>24</sup> The first Admiral of this district was Ruy López de Mendoza, although soon the Genoese would hold this post.<sup>25</sup> This also included the payment and maintenance of both the ships and crews, as was the case with Diego Bernal. He was a Genoese boatswain and master who lived between his countrymen's district and this one in the 1380s.<sup>26</sup> The other main usage for this district was for warehouses, including the most important one which was constructed by order of Alfonso X, the *Reales Atarazanas* or Royal Warehouses, the majority of these warehouses were used to hold the main export of Seville: olive oil.<sup>27</sup> The census of 1384 indicates that there were 152 families or 5'86% of the total population of the city, residing in this district. At the time, the majority were Castilians, but foreign merchants especially the Genoese, were also in residence; such as miçer Nicoloso Bonel, miçer Alfonso Bocanegra, miçer Françisco Enperial, miçer Nicoloso Bocanegra, the sons of Ruy Bernal, miçer Bartolomé, and others such as Johan Martín de Beredo, Johan Lloreyente, and Johan Matheus.<sup>28</sup> The total population for this district appears smaller than it should have been especially considering how important it was. The reason was that the census of 1384 only recorded those people who were actual tax paying residents, and as we shall see many foreigners were granted the right not to pay any tax. Added to this, there must have been a steady population of seamen that were in and out of the city and were never recorded in any documents, at least until the mid fifteenth century when ship information began to be kept.

Apart from Genoese residents, this district had a special economic relationship with the Italian traders. Some of the tax collectors and customs workers of the district were quick to realise that they had to protect the merchants from assault if they wanted to collect their taxes. This may have been the reason why the customs officials of the port of Seville (*arrendadores de las rentas de las mercancías*) complained to the Council of Seville when a group of Genoese merchants were robbed at the port.<sup>29</sup> Although we lack

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<sup>24</sup> AMS, XV, 1429: 130.

<sup>25</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 208.

<sup>26</sup> AMS, XV, 1384-1386: 44, 63, 67, 84.

<sup>27</sup> ACS, IX, (11-7-43).

<sup>28</sup> *Un padrón de Sevilla del siglo XIV*, pp. 64-70.

<sup>29</sup> AMS, X, siglo XV (sin fechas): fol. 61.

any sources on the outcome of this type of complaint it may have been resolved, since no other complaint appeared at the Council of Seville, at least during the fifteenth century.

Unlike the other districts that were absorbed into sixteenth century Seville, the *Barrio de la Mar* continued to play an important role, by then with New World commerce.

### Barrio de Génova

The creation of a Genoese merchant district in Christian Sevilla was unavoidable. The establishment of this district, by a Royal Charter, demonstrates the interest of the Castilian monarchs in overseas trade, placing Seville as its central port. Unlike the previous two *barrios*, one of the surviving documents tell us that the Genoese district was created in May of 1251, sometime between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 22<sup>nd</sup> of that month. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Genoese interest in the Iberian Peninsula dates from the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, the Spanish Muslim geographer, al-Zuhrî, wrote that ‘the city of Genoa is among the greatest cities [...] they are a merchant people [trading] by sea between Syria and Spain. They have control of the sea.’<sup>30</sup> This influence was evident in the help provided to different Christian kings when attacking coastal cities of the Iberian Peninsula – this resulted in a Genoese having been in charge, on more than one occasion, of the Castilian navy, starting in 1264 when Alfonso X placed Hugo Vento in command.<sup>31</sup>

The Italian merchants were the first foreigners to arrive in the city of Seville, probably as early as 1167, and the Genoese were certainly in Seville after 1231, when both Muslim rulers and merchants signed a peace treaty. Shortly after, the Genoese were no longer in the city, having probably been made aware of the military successes of Fernando III, but were soon on the side of the Christian king. In fact, many of the men of the sea that participated in the re-conquest, and who were later to be found in the *Barrio de la Mar* were Genoese. The Ligurian city had, along with other rival Italian cities, controlled the Mediterranean Sea routes since the early Middle Ages, eventually becoming one of the most powerful naval forces in the Mediterranean World, which was

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<sup>30</sup> Constable, ‘Genoa and Spain in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,’ p. 636.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 636.

so familiar to them.<sup>32</sup> Their naval support was sought later, and in the case of the Iberian Peninsula they were active participants on more than one occasion, providing naval support for the Christian kings.<sup>33</sup> Even before the fall of Seville, Genoa had sent ambassadors to make sure that their merchants would receive privileges. The members of this embassy, as well as other Genoese, received land in the redistribution of Seville.

In May 1251, the ambassadors Nicolás Calvo and Petraço de Musso were granted certain commercial and judicial privileges in the name of Genoa; most important amongst them was the establishment of a specific district, or *barrio*.<sup>34</sup> This was not the only right granted to the Genoese; they would also amass certain commercial privileges, starting with these:<sup>35</sup>

1. The right to possess their own barrio, *alhóndiga*, oven, and baths.
2. The right to possess their own church, and to present chaplains to the archbishop.
3. The right to appoint their own judges.
4. The right to enter and exit the Kingdom with protection from the crown.
5. Protection of the Genoese against reprisals due to Genoese pirates.

In addition to these the Genoese were also granted the right to pay specific amounts of tax, a privilege that not all merchants of the city were able to acquire. These included the payment of 5 per cent of the value of imported goods and 2.5 per cent of the value of exported goods. These taxes were to be paid to the Castilian monarch but, in the case of the most important commodity of Seville, olive oil, they were only required to pay one silver coin as the payment for the *portazgo*, at a rate of one coin per one *jarra*.<sup>36</sup>

These, and many others rights, were recorded in the *Libro de los Privilegios*, or Book of Privileges, a fundamental source of information that enables the study of the Genoese colony in Seville. As with the *Barrio de Francos* and *Barrio de la Mar*, the Genoese themselves were in charge of the partition of their district, a task given to don

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<sup>32</sup> Jacques Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle*. (Paris, 1961), pp. 19-20.

<sup>33</sup> González Gallego, 'Los genoveses en la Castilla medieval,' p. 84; Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*, p. 71.

<sup>34</sup> *El Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. VI verso. See also Chapter 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. VIIv-Xv; Manuel González Jiménez, 'Genoveses en Sevilla (Siglos XIII-XV)' in *Serta Gratulatoria in honorem Juan Régulo*. Vol. III. (La Laguna, 1988), pp. 421-431, pp. 423-424.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 424. See also Appendix II.

Yguichán, don Jaymes, and Seygayardo; these men were the first of many Genoese residents to come to Seville.

Apart from the members of the embassy, Nicolás and Petraço, other Genoese who most likely were involved in the request of privileges were miçer Uberto and miçer Enrique, or Ensaldo, envoys of Pope Innocent IV, a Genoese himself. The redistribution of land was completed by Alfonso X, who, on the 24<sup>th</sup> August, 1261, gave the mosque that once belonged to Domingo Balbastre, located in the Plaza of San Francisco near the Genoese district, to the council of Genoa so ‘...they can make a palace there.’

(‘...dámosles et otorgámosles una mezquita, en sevilla, que es cerca del su barrio, en la plaza de sant francisco, et sennaladamientre aquella que fue de domingo balbastro, nostro ome, e ha por linderos, de todas partes, las nostras calles; e esta mezquita les damos para hacer palazo en ella, en que se alleguen a librar sus pleitos...’).<sup>37</sup> This building, which essentially was a palace and the court of justice, belonged to the city of Genoa until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Bank of Spain bought the property.

From 1261, the Genoese and the council of Seville would be at odds, mainly due to the fear on the part of the council of Seville of the many powerful Genoese of the city, many of whom had the privilege to pay no tax to the city (*diezmo*), or taxes on goods entering or leaving the city (*almojarifazgo*). In 1281, the Genoese, Rossa de la Turca and Preçival de Camilla, went to the King to ask for certain concessions and Alfonso X gave them the following: that all the ‘Genoese who came to the city of Seville must pay five *maravedis* per one hundred goods.’<sup>38</sup> The exception being the export of olive oil, as mentioned earlier, since ‘for each hundred *jarras* of oil that the Genoese merchants buy in Seville they must give two and haft ounces of fine silver [...or...] a mark of silver per three hundred and twenty *jarras*,’ (‘...que de cada jarra de azeyte que los mercadores *genueses* compraren en Sevilla que den al ciento de las jarras dos onças e media de plata fina [...o...] el marco a trezientas e veynte jarras’).<sup>39</sup> Concessions such as this may have bothered the council of Seville, which like any other council saw a great source of revenue disappear with this exemption from taxes. In the years to follow, the Genoese exemptions from taxes increased. The relationship between Seville, rival merchants, and

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<sup>37</sup> Charter published in Carande, *Seville, fortaleza y mercado*, p. 79.

<sup>38</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. IIIr.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. IIIr-IVv; González, ‘Genoveses en Sevilla (Siglos XIII-XV),’ pp. 423-424. See Apendix II.

the Italians led, in 1296, to an attack on the Genoese district. Peace was finally reached in 1303.<sup>40</sup> No other merchant district had as many tax-exempt privileges as they Genoese nor does any surviving record points to any major dispute between the tax collectors and other merchants, only with the Genoese. City quarrels such as this were frequent at times and usually involved the Genoese and the Catalans, who were also rivals in the Mediterranean Sea. In addition to these two enemies was the council of Seville, which was not a neutral force, but rather sought after its own interests. The only neutral judge in the matter was the crown, whose involvement was required on more than one occasion. This is clear from an incident in 1316 when the Genoese of Seville outsmarted the city council and, once again, the Italians would go tax-free.

In this year, Alfonso XI presided over a lawsuit brought by Martyn Yannes, tax collector for the sale of animals (*alcabala de las bestias*), against ‘*miçer Bernaldo de Bergay e miçer Bartolomo Roxo consules de los ginoeses.*’<sup>41</sup> Also present was Sancho Lopes, the *alcalde*, or judge, for the sale of animals, who had judged this case previously. Early, a Genoese man had gone to the market, purchased some animals and refused to pay the tax (*alcabala*) because he was a Genoese and had a privilege allowing him to refuse to do so. However, Martyn Yannes ‘said that by that the Genoese are not excused from paying the *alcavala*,’ (‘*dixo que por esso non se escusavan los ginoeses de pagar el alcavala*’).<sup>42</sup> The dispute ended up in front of judge *alcalde* Sancho Lopes. The judge ruled in favour of Martyn Yannes, he won this battle, but not the war, as the Genoese appealed to the King. As a consequence, not only did the King overturn the first judgement, but he also made sure that everyone knew that the Genoese were exempt from paying the *alcabala*, and that only he, the King, could rule in matters dealing with the Genoese: ‘[I, Alfonso XI] ruled that the *alcalde* Sancho Lopes ruled badly since not this one but all the lawsuits regarding Genoese are mine to judge.’ (‘*Falle que el alcalde Sancho Lopes que juzgo mal porque este pleyto es non solamente destos mas es de todos los genueses e es mio de librar*’).<sup>43</sup> These events led to the envy of other merchants of

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<sup>40</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, pp. 340-341; Luis Nuñez Contreras, ‘Aspectos de Sevilla en el siglo XIII’ *Las Españas del siglo XIII*. Diputación de Zaragoza, ed., Institución Fernando el Católico, n. 516. (Zaragoza, 1971), p. 89.

<sup>41</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. IIIv-IVr.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IIIv.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. IIIv.

the city, above all the Catalans, who had already attacked the Genoese in 1296. The Genoese, not satisfied with the peace treaty of 1303, took revenge by taking some of the goods belonging to the Catalans. In turn the Catalans, who were jealous, threatened to 'leave the land [of Alfonso XI] with all their goods.'<sup>44</sup> Finally, Alfonso XI, good politician that he was, gave the merchants a safe-conduct for two years by land and by sea. (*'Tengo por bien que sean salvos e seguros ellos e todas sus cosas asi en mar como en tierra en la çibdat de Seuilla.'*)<sup>45</sup>

The safe-conduct provided by Alfonso XI led to the near disappearance of the Catalans' district, an event that occurred with his son Pedro I, a few years later. This new founded friendship between the Genoese and Alfonso XI was not wasted by Genoa. Between 1326 until his death in 1350, the Genoese were to acquire at least five more privileges and confirmations. In 1327, the Genoese made sure that they did not suffer reprisals in the city of Seville because of Genoese piracy in other locations. This protection against reprisals for Genoese piracy was at a time during which the usual restitution from piracy was to give to the victim the goods from the colony of the pirates' nation, even if there was no connection between the pirates and their nation's merchant colony. This protection was a very important privilege. For example in 1307, two Genoese merchants were attacked by Flemish pirates in English waters, losing 522 marks in goods; and thus, 'the king commanded the mayor and sheriffs of the City of London to arrest goods to that amount in London of Flemish merchants.'<sup>46</sup> This privilege was not always fully acknowledged, as in the case of a piracy incident in the last few years of the fifteenth century, which will be explored later on. On the 25<sup>th</sup> August 1346, six years before he died, King Alfonso XI, not only re-enforced the right of the Genoese to have a *barrio*, but also added a new decree: that only the Genoese were allowed to own property there. This decree ordered the non-Genoese residents to sell their property to the Genoese (*'...a los sennores de las dichas casa que ge las dexen e desenbarguen para en que moren los dichos mercadores guinoueses...'*) at a price set by a commission.<sup>47</sup> A day later the king extended the privileges on the non-payment of the animal tax (*alcabala*) in

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<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. Vr.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. Vr.

<sup>46</sup> *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 243.

<sup>47</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. Xv-XIv.



recognition of the naval support provided in the siege of Algeciras.<sup>48</sup> Alfonso XI died during that same siege. In 1350, a transitional privilege was issued by the son of Alfonso XI, Pedro I.

Pedro I re-issued all prior privileges and added more, one of which was another economic blow to the council of Seville. On November 1356, Pedro I struck down a law by the council of Seville in which the re-sale of olive oil within the city, by others not associated with the office of sale of olive oil, which was controlled by the council of Seville, was prohibited. Thanks to this, the Genoese were the only group (apart from the council) which was allowed to make a large profit by re-selling olive oil.<sup>49</sup> This privilege came at a time of open conflict between the Genoese, Pedro I, and England on one side versus the Catalans, Enrique II, and France on the other. The war between the two brothers led to the disappearance of the Catalans' district in favour of the Genoese.<sup>50</sup> The Genoese were aware of the situation but were able to maintain their privileged position, regardless of the political situation. This was accomplished with a dangerous political move. Before Pedro I died, the Genoese Gil Boccanegra, who was Admiral of the Castilian navy, chose to support Enrique II.<sup>51</sup> Three years before Pedro I died, Enrique II was in Seville and the Admiral did not waste this great opportunity to meet with the soon-to-be king. The same could be said about other Ligurian officials.

In 1366, miçer Perian de Negro, counsel of the Genoese merchants' residence in the city of Seville, approached Enrique II and submitted to him details of the 'privileges and charters which they had from don Alfonso my father [...] and King don Fernando and of other kings from where I come' in the hope that Enrique II would continue the good relations between the merchants and the crown.<sup>52</sup> Perian de Negro was not disappointed, the king re-confirmed all prior privileges issues by all kings, omitting, of course, his half-brother Pedro I who, at the time, was in northern Castile with his English allies. Pedro I died in 1369.

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XIv.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XXv.

<sup>50</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 343.

<sup>51</sup> Pedro López de Ayala, *Coronica del rey don Pedro*. C. Wilkins & H. Wilkins, eds., (Madison, 1985), capitulo xij, p. 153.

<sup>52</sup> *Libro de los privilegios...*, p. XXIv.

The new dynasty, the Trastámara, had an effect in the commercial relations between Seville and the major importation ports, such as Flanders and England. In the case of England, where the former court went on exile, the relationship between Enrique II and England had a negative effect on the prior good commercial relations. Furthermore, the merchants from the Crown of Aragón who had supported Enrique II returned to the city, the Catalans would not forget their rivalry with the Genoese. During the next twenty years, the Genoese would receive and lose some of their privileges and their *barrio* would become inhabited by non-Genoese. This period also saw most Genoese merchants of the city become bankers, making Seville the capital of gold.<sup>53</sup> This was perhaps more evident after 1392, since in 1377 the Genoese lost the privilege that allowed them to export gold out of the city, although they were still able to trade with silver.<sup>54</sup> During this period the Genoese began moving into other parts of the city, not simply geographically, but politically as well, perhaps representing a move to help their colony stay afloat during a period of uncertainty. Perhaps the most important privileges issued during this period were the re-confirmation of old privileges, such as the right to keep their palace and plaza, or the protection of Genoese ships and goods, unless these goods were English or Portuguese.<sup>55</sup> This might have been difficult as so many Genoese ships travelled to those places.<sup>56</sup> In any case, the problems that the Genoese faced become evident by simply looking at the census of 1384, where many of the residents were no longer Genoese.<sup>57</sup> Some, such as miçer Jacomo de Bergayn, miçer Francisco (married to Castilian women), miçer Johan Picardo, Grauiel, miçer Guillelmo, miçer Loquini, miçer Grauiel, miçer Nicoloso, miçer Gruiel de Portoffy, miçer Ximón still were. However, the census can be misleading as many of the Genoese were merchants who paid no tax and thus, were not recorded. The census does, nevertheless, show two things: that many non-Genoese lived in this *barrio* at that time, such as Castilians and other foreigners, such as master Johan of Burgundy. It also shows that the Genoese listed were there because they had become residents or were married to Castilians and so were recorded. Examples of such residents included miçer Francisco, or miçer Luis

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<sup>53</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, p. 148.

<sup>54</sup> *Libro de los privilegios...*, p. XLViv.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. LVv-LIXv.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix I.

<sup>57</sup> AMS, XVI, doc. 14; *Un padrón de Sevilla del siglo XIV*, pp. 55-57.

Bocanegra, who became a member of the council of Seville, as well as head of the council of the city (*veintecuatro y mayordomo de la ciudad*).<sup>58</sup> Becoming active in the politics of the city, as well as banking, would eventually cause problems between the Genoese and the council of Seville. On the other hand, the council of Seville would, on more than one occasion, be in need of Genoese bankers.

In the 1380s, miçer Gaspar Gibon *genoves* became a banker and tax collector of the city. He was in charge of collecting the tax from the butchers of the city, which he then deposited in a bank on behalf of the council of Seville. The bank, of course, was owned by him.<sup>59</sup> Another banker, miçer Querido Doria, received money from the chief tax collector of the city, Alfonso Fernandez de Marmolejo (*contador mayor de la ciudad*), to pay a debt from the council to the city. The debt was accrued after the banker changed some golden *doblas* to make 300 marks of silver, at a price of 64 to 78 *maravedís*, 5d per *dobla*.<sup>60</sup> Meanwhile, the problems between the Genoese, the Catalans, and the council continued until the relationships between Castile, England, and France improved. Peace was finally achieved in 1388 for all, and for the Genoese of Seville, it arrived in 1393.

In 1392, miçer Ambrosio de Marines, the ambassador from Genoa, arrived in Castile to negotiate and continue the good relationships between the merchants of Genoa residing in Seville and the Castilian monarchy. Thus, in 1393, the young Enrique III issued a pardon to all the Genoese for the wrongs committed during ‘the time of King don Enrique my grandfather and of King [Juan I] my father...,’ this act became known as the *perdón de 1393*.<sup>61</sup> This event led to the re-issue of certain privileges lost during the previous twenty years, such as the right to use any ship and to charter their own ships for the purpose of commerce.<sup>62</sup> During the remainder of the fourteenth century, the Genoese would slowly regain their privileges, including the financial privileges, which would once again bring about fewer conflicts with the council of Seville, safe-conducts for their ships, and protection against pirates.

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<sup>58</sup> AMS, XV, 1389-1390: 4, 72.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 1377-1380: 13, 14; 1381-1382: 3, 6, 15.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 1387-1388: 11

<sup>61</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. LXVIv-LXVIIr.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. LXVIIIr.

The 1400s started better than had the previous thirty years, with a Genoese of Seville becoming the admiral of the Castilian navy although his new home, as admiral, was in the *Barrio de la Mar*.<sup>63</sup> The council of Seville was forced, by necessity, to use the many bankers located in the Genoese's district to repair much of the city on more than one occasion; in fact, the council of Seville would be indebted to the Genoese little by little during the next decade.<sup>64</sup> During the first two decades of the 1400s, the Genoese would be in office in both the council of the city and the crown and another Boccanegra, miçer Sologrus, became Head Treasurer of the king's household.<sup>65</sup> During the shortage of bread in the 1410s, the council of Seville placed a juror of the *Barrio de Génova*, miçer Nicolas Bernal, in charge of the entrance, delivery, and distribution of bread in the city for three months.<sup>66</sup> The city depended upon the Genoese merchants to bring bread into the city, and was more than willing to help the Genoese who were doing this service.<sup>67</sup> Apart from bread, the council also used the Genoese to conduct business for the city when, for example, miçer Jacomo de Bargay visited the king on behalf of the city.<sup>68</sup> Still, the Genoese had to continue to ask for safe-conducts from the king, as they were still being attacked, at times by false accusations.<sup>69</sup> These attacks did not always occur within the city; for example, in one instance when certain evildoers took possession of a Genoese ship.

In 1432, the Genoese requested and received a privilege, which dictated that the goods loaded on their ships remained their property, even if a ship sank or ran aground. This was requested after a ship going to Flanders loaded with goods was spoiled after it ran a-ground in Sanlúcar de Barrameda.<sup>70</sup> This was very important, since Sanlúcar de Barrameda (literally of the Sand) was the only entry point to the river from the Atlantic. Its many sandbars and meanders made the journey up the river a strenuous task, were many ships could and did run aground. Situations such as these would continue during the years to follow and, by the mid fourteenth century, the *Barrio de Génova* was still

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<sup>63</sup> AMS, XV, 1402: 130.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 1403: 37; 1404: 100; 1406: 19; 1411: 93; 1414: 93.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 1404: 93; 1405: 30; 1406: 167.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 1413: 49.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 1413: 22.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 1416: 62.

<sup>69</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. XLIVr.

<sup>70</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. XLr.

inhabited by non-Genoese and Genoese, and the conflicts with the council continued to grow.<sup>71</sup>

In 1454, because of the ongoing issue of payment of taxes, some tax collectors of the council of Seville arrested certain Genoese merchants and, in return, the Genoese consuls of the city asked for them to be freed, according to their privileges.<sup>72</sup> Conflicts between both judicial entities continued. The council tried to push their own rights over the Genoese and, in the same year, the council made certain that no Genoese could become the chief officer at the custom house.<sup>73</sup> The Genoese instead became bankers, a profession that had once again conflicted with the council, even though the council had used them considerably in the past. In this instance, the council of Seville made sure that all banking was conducted within the *calle de Génova* and nowhere else.<sup>74</sup> The Genoese, aware of the situation with the growing conflicts and problems, received a safe-conduct in 1451 from the King, for their merchants residing in Seville. This safe-conduct was ratified in 1454 under Enrique IV.<sup>75</sup> Still, the Genoese ships would continue to suffer attacks, especially around Sanlúcar. For that reason, the Genoese colony of Seville made sure that the council of the city knew about the situation and paid the appropriate restitution.<sup>76</sup> A specific example of this occurred when a ship, whose master was a man by the name of Baeza, attacked the Genoese on the river.<sup>77</sup> Attacks such as these not only occurred at sea, but on land, as well.<sup>78</sup> At least they were not the only ones suffering attacks, so did the merchants of Galicia, who sometimes carried goods for the Italians.<sup>79</sup> Regardless, these attacks led the city of Genoa to inform the city of Seville that they would send ships to protect their merchants.<sup>80</sup> This was not only to protect against locals

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<sup>71</sup> For example, in 1437 Leonor Rodríguez claimed that she has been living there for 20 years. AMS, X, 1437: abr., fol. 49.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 1454: Sep.-Nov., fol. 53.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 1454: Sep.-Nov., fol. 58.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 1459: Ene.-Mar., fol. 28.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1455, Ene.Mar., fol 49-50.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1454: Sep.-Nov., fol. 92.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 1454: Sep.-Nov., fol. 98.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 1459: Ene.-mar., fol. 44-45.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1455: Ene.-Mar., fol. 95; fol. 101.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1472: Feb.-May., fol. 60.

from Sanlúcar, for example, but also from English residents, who had also taken over a ship on more one occasion.<sup>81</sup>

By late 1473, the Genoese colony in Seville had suffered enough attacks to ask Genoa itself to intervene in the matter. On February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1474, Genoa issued a formal complaint against the council of Seville over the ill treatment that their Genoese merchants were suffering in the city. They asked for restitution upon the threat of breaking the traditionally friendly relations that united both cities.<sup>82</sup> In that same year, Enrique IV died leaving the princess of Castile, Isabel (I) as the new Queen of Spain.

### Calle de Catalanes & Barrio de Catalanes

The most powerful rivals of the Genoese in the Iberian Peninsula were the Catalans and because of this, the problems between the two merchant groups also occurred in the streets and the river of Seville. This is the reason for both a *calle* and a *barrio*. The first was created by Alfonso X, who did not grant the Catalans the right to have a *barrio*, when it was requested on 11<sup>th</sup> October, 1281. Within three years, however, the Catalans were able to acquire a district on their own which lasted until 1369 when, by order of Pedro I, it was confiscated.

The Catalans, just like the Genoese were probably trading with Muslim Seville as early as 1177. With the re-conquest the Catalans were very well endowed, receiving the entire villages of Camas and most importantly Coría del Río, which was an entrance port of Seville. Just like the Italians, they had a consul that negotiated with the king certain rights. The consul of the Catalan merchants, Pedro de Cardebol, approached Alfonso X requesting the same rights that the Genoese had. The king, however, did not agree and only commercial privileges were given. These were the right to pay only 5 per cent of the total value of imported goods into the city, the right to pay a lower tax on exported goods, a safe conduct in all the kingdom of Castile, etc.<sup>83</sup> These were similar to the Genoese privileges, however, they did not run to having a market house, baths, a judge, etc., like the Italians. Catalan merchants were very active in the politics of the day, which had mix results for them.

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<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 1473: Abr.,-Jul., fol. 7.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 1474: marzo, fol. 17.

<sup>83</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, pp. 341-342; vol. II, p. 359.

During the war between Alfonso X and his son, Sancho (IV), the Catalans, through the crown of Aragón supported the claims of Sancho. This political move was later repaid, when Sancho IV, then King, gave the Catalans, on 25<sup>th</sup> August 1284 ‘the houses that belonged to Pedro Bonifaz with all its shops, with are at the end of *rua de Francos*, up to the square of Santa María’ to make their own barrio.<sup>84</sup> They finally had a commercial district of their own, but would soon lose it (in 1292), as their political and commercial rivals in the city had, for a time, more powerful friends. The constant skirmishes between the Catalans and the Genoese reached further than just Seville and its river. In 1296, the Catalans attacked and sacked the *Barrio de Génova*, but peace was reached in 1303.<sup>85</sup> Two years after the signing of a peace treaty in Seville, both groups were attacking each other once again, but this time as far away as one could get from Seville, in the eastern Mediterranean. Between 1305 and 1306, the Genoese allied themselves with the commercial commune of Pera by Constantinople, against the Catalans.<sup>86</sup> But the Catalans problem was their lack of friendship with the Castilian monarchs, a fact that was more than evident in an incident involving the Catalans, the Genoese, and Pedro I. The Castilian civil war of 1366-69, between Pedro I and Enrique II, led to the involvement of the Crown of Aragón and Genoa. Enrique II was supported by both France and Aragón, while Pedro I was supported by England and, more importantly, the Genoese. This political situation led to an attack of Catalans merchants against a ship of Lombardy that was in the river, loaded with Genoese olive oil. In turn, Pedro I openly supported his allies and, as restitution the Catalan lost all their houses and rights, and their merchants were imprisoned.<sup>87</sup> This situation would persist until a new dynasty arrived on the Castilian throne. In 1369, with Enrique II on the throne the Catalans were back in the city, in their *barrio*; this time the Genoese were on the losing end of the new political situation. The Catalan *lonja* or merchant house reappears in 1409 and continued functioning in 1451.<sup>88</sup> And since at least 1362, they also had a butcher of their own.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 342; vol. II, p. 362.

<sup>85</sup> Nuñez, ‘Aspectos de Sevilla en el siglo XIII,’ p. 89.

<sup>86</sup> G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce Génois*. (Paris, 1929), pp. 276-281

<sup>87</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 343.

<sup>88</sup> Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, pp. CCCXXXIX, CCCXXIV.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, p. CCCXXXIV.

However, by 1455, this district was just referred to as *calle de Catalanes*, not as a *barrio*.<sup>90</sup> Also, in the mid-fifteenth century, their Genoese rivals were once again the most powerful merchants of the city. Eventually, the new dynasty could not ignore the monetary help that the Italians could provide.

### Barrio de Castellanos

This is a peculiar district, as it was not involved in commerce, nor did it have specific commercial privileges. The establishment of this district was the direct result of the creation of the other three *barrios* located within the parish of Santa María. This parish was the largest and most important of the entire city. In it there were not only many *barrios* and *calles*, but also the Cathedral; the Archbishop's Palace; the Royal Palace, and other important political buildings of the crown and council. Unlike the previously mentioned districts, this one does not appear in any thirteenth century document. In fact, the first sources that mention this district date from the mid-fourteenth century. It lacks a central organization and identity and unlike the rest of the parish, this *barrio* lacks a steady population influx from Castile, as Castilian residents were arriving in Seville little by little after 1248 and, furthermore, it was probably affected by the depopulation process. The other districts did not suffer from the depopulation process, since their interest was with overseas trade. It seems that the establishment of this district was a result of the majority of its residents, Castilians who had sought, at least in part, certain privileges that would allow them to have a similar political organization or recognition as the others in this parish. It was listed in the census of 1384, showing 92 heads of households.<sup>91</sup> The lack of commercial activity did not mean that this district lacked the officials needed to run a district. In 1454 Juan González and Cristóbal González residents of the *Barrio de Castellanos*, hoped to become judge and scribe.<sup>92</sup> Certainly, they were trying to imitate the comprehensive organization of nearby districts. In any case, it did not represent an important *barrio* for overseas trade, and no commercial activities or guilds appear to have been involved there according to the sources.

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<sup>90</sup> AMS, X, 1455, Ene.-Mar., fol. 105.

<sup>91</sup> *Un padrón de Sevilla del siglo XIV*, pp. 57-60.

<sup>92</sup> AMS, X, 1454: Jul.-Sep., fol. 25.



### III. Other *Calles*

#### Calle de Bayona

Bayonne Street is one of the earliest streets named after their residents' nationality. It was probably named so immediately after the re-conquest, although the first information about it dates from the 7<sup>th</sup> July 1260. In that year, Alfonso X donated certain houses to Ruy Díaz on *cal de Bayona*. These houses were located between the houses and stores of Pedro Arnalt de Londres (of London), Pedro Perpunter, William Perpunter, Johan Zapatero (shoemaker), and Sir Mayat.<sup>93</sup> Together with Oliver de Burdel, many of these men were considered to be English, from the English possessions on the continent.<sup>94</sup> Commercial relations between this street and England are recorded in 1394, although there may have been earlier contacts.<sup>95</sup> Another resident, of more obvious English origin, was William Spencer or Guillén Aspencer, who after passing through English possessions in France was known as Baron of D'esclefor, a person who was in the city in the 1380s.<sup>96</sup> This street never received rights or privileges like the *barrios*, with one exception. In 1423, a document shows that the residents of this street had the privilege not to let outsiders reside on their street. The document, however, does not specify who the outsiders are.<sup>97</sup> A few years later, in 1430, a fellow by the name of master Johan de Langueriy was in the city, teaching the children of rich men ('*ricos hombres*') and others the art of rowing, an English pastime not found in the fifteenth century in Seville.<sup>98</sup> By this time, however, this street had become just another street in the city of Seville with no distinct rights or commercial characteristics.

#### Calle de Gallegos & Calle de Gaiteros

These streets were named after the origin of their residents, from Galicia and their famous *Gaiteros*, or bagpipe players, who received a street of their own after the re-conquest. The earliest sources that mention either of these streets date from 1260. It was

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<sup>93</sup> ACS, IX, leg. 34, n. 6

<sup>94</sup> Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el siglo XIII*, p. 47.

<sup>95</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 346.

<sup>96</sup> AMS, XV, 1384-1386: 40.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 1423: 24.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 1430-1431: 35.

not a commercial district, nor did it have commercial privileges, at least not until the 1470s. Unlike the Genoese, Catalans, French, etc., the names of the residents of this street were not distinctive enough to differentiate between them and those from other parts of León or Castile.

Juan González, merchant, resided in this street along with Alfonso Rodríguez in the 1380s.<sup>99</sup> Juan Sanchez was a cloth merchant that dealt with Domenego Grillo of Genoa.<sup>100</sup> By the fifteenth century, many of the businesses in these streets were inns.<sup>101</sup> There were, however, active commercial relations between Seville and Galicia, which served as a stop for ships going to England. Sources do not indicate whether or not ships arriving from this area just dealt with the *Barrio de la Mar* or with their own street. For example, in 1453 a ship from Galicia arrived in the port of Seville, but their commercial transactions were done within the *Barrio de la Mar*.<sup>102</sup> These transactions took place in the port, perhaps, because there was a fear that the ship may have been infected with the plague. There were other transactions between Galician merchants and the council of Seville, but the surviving records indicate that the transactions were performed directly between the merchant and the council of Seville. For example, between February and March 1455, Antón Domínguez of Galicia was in Sanlúcar de Barremeda waiting for a resolution from the council of Seville on the matter of his stolen goods.<sup>103</sup> A few years later, in 1472, some Galician merchants claim that they had safe-conducts from the council of Seville for their ships.<sup>104</sup> The document, however, does not specify if these merchants were residents of the city or just passing merchants.

#### Calle de Placentines & Milaneses

Merchants from Lombardy were never able to gain as much privileges as did those from Liguria, and their stay in Seville was overshadowed by the powerful Genoese. Ligurian merchants were present in the city as early as 1300, perhaps even earlier. In 1306 miçer Lombardín Gato and his son, *maese* Pedro, sold to ‘*Almeriego de Valerosa*,

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<sup>99</sup> AMS, XV, 1384-1386: 99, 104; *Un padrón de Sevilla del siglo XIV*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 1410: 37.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 1409: 104; 1410: 177.

<sup>102</sup> AMS, X, 1453: Ene.-Mar., fol. 27.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 1455: Ene.-Mar., fol. 87 & 101.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 1472: Feb.-May., fol 23v.

*mercador de Plazençia de Lonbardía, vn par de casas*’ in the *Barrio de Castellanos*.<sup>105</sup> Some forty years later, Almeriego de Valerosa’s daughter, Brigida, also lived in the same *barrio* when she sold certain houses to Tello García.<sup>106</sup> However a street named after these merchants did not appear until 1359, when miçer Bartolomé *placentín* rented certain houses in what would later be known as *calle de Placentines*. Certainly, there was such a street in the city by 1368, when a document lists the warehouses located there, and in 1369 when it was listed in that year’s census.<sup>107</sup> Nonetheless they were still able to ship goods from Seville to English ports. For example, in 1403 merchants from Piacenza and other Lombards living in Seville, working under the Albertini Society of Florence, found themselves in England with good Seville olive oil and soaps.<sup>108</sup> In that same year, these Italians living in Seville hired a Castilian vessel, the *St. Pier*, along with a Castilian master, to transport 49 tons of oil to be taken to English ports.<sup>109</sup> Some of these vessels going for England were loaded by the Berru family and a miçer Miguel Berru *piamontes* was in Seville, at least in 1409. Although the information is limited for this merchant, it is very likely that as a merchant of the Berru family, he probably was involved in shipping to the North Sea. Apparently he stayed enough time in Seville for the council to believe, as a resident, that he should pay tax. However, he requested to be removed out of the *padrón de cuantias* or census or resident account book, since he and others from Piedmont, Lombardy, etcetera, even if they had wives and children in city are exempt of paying tax.<sup>110</sup>

Another Lombard was *maese* Francesco, who was the king’s representative in Seville during the 1450s, although the sources do not specify if he was involved in commercial dealings or not.<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, Antonio Pasaliago, who appears in the sources as resident of Seville as well as merchant of Milan, had commercial relations with the Genoese, Bernabé de Sisto.<sup>112</sup> Overall, the Lombardis’ stay in Seville was short lived, compared to other Italians. By 1480, their *lonja*, or market house, was owned by

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<sup>105</sup> ACS, IX, c. 116, doc. 15/1 & 2.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 106, doc. 11.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, leg. 33, n. 18.

<sup>108</sup> NA SC 8/181/9011.

<sup>109</sup> NA SC 8/216/10799.

<sup>110</sup> AMS, XV, 1409: 130.

<sup>111</sup> AMS, X, 1452: Nov.-Dic. Fol. 48.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 1453: Oct.-Dic., fol. 4 & 5.

two Spaniards who sold it to the city of Seville. This marked the end *calle de Placentines* and *Milaneses* as a commercial street, although the street remains to this day.<sup>113</sup>

Apart from the above mentioned *calles*, there were others of lesser importance, for example, *calle de Vizcainos* and *de Vitoria* (ca. 1345), the latter would disappear early and be renamed *calle del aceite* (oil street) because it was near to the city gate and warehouses for this commodity. There were active commercial relations between Seville and these northern ports, but there is no indication that at the time they had merchants living on that street, although there were some Basques residents in the city.<sup>114</sup> According to Antón de Leura, master of the ship *San Antonio*, he claimed that there were merchants from Biscay who were residents of Seville who also had privileges. More especially, since his ship had been plundered in El Puerto de Santa María and he asked restitution from the council of Seville according to such privilege.<sup>115</sup>

Other streets were probably named after their residents and did not have much commercial relationship, at least not any that were documented. Such is the case of the *calle de Alemanes* (Germany) and *calle de Portugales* (Portugal). The latter one had residents from Portugal, at least up to 1467, when Portugal sent an ambassador to Seville to investigate certain crimes against the Portuguese residents of the city.<sup>116</sup> The ambassador and secretary to the King of Portugal, Enrique de Figueredo, presented himself and a letter to the council of Seville on November 1467.<sup>117</sup> Thus far all these streets are named after the nationality of their residents, which was the pattern in Seville for at least the first one hundred years after the re-conquest. Streets named after commercial organizations and guilds arrived very late in Seville, and for certain professions, this practice was nonexistent. This is due to the fact that certain trades were controlled by foreigners, and thus were within their own street.<sup>118</sup> In other instances, streets named after professions were located outside the walls of the city. The most

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<sup>113</sup> Santiago Montoto, *Las calles de Seville*. (Sevilla, 1940), p. 367, cited in González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 344.

<sup>114</sup> AMS, X, 1472: Feb.-May., fol. 40-41; 1472: Ago.-Dic., fol. 73.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 1472: Ago.-Dic., fol. 54.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, 1467: fol. 62.

<sup>117</sup> The letter of presentation still survives, AMS, X, 1467: fol. 63.

<sup>118</sup> González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, p. 274.

famous of these is the case of Alfarería or Pottery Street in Triana, where the soap factories were also located.

One street that seems to be missing would be *calle de flamencos* or Flemish Street. In fact, this street never existed even though there were active commercial relations between Seville and Flemish ports, all though mostly conducted by Genoese merchants. At least in 1301 Pero de Brujas and Johan Arnalt were in Seville purchasing twenty-two *quintales* or 2200 pounds of good and clean olive oil.<sup>119</sup> But the documents recorded them as merchants from Flanders and not as residents. Four years later, both merchants appeared in the Cathedral documents as owners of property in Seville. The property was quickly sold to the Cathedral, since, perhaps, they did not wanted to settle in Seville.<sup>120</sup> Regardless, the appearance of sporadic merchants from Flanders did not resulted on a street.

#### IV. The end of the mediaeval period, the last Trastámara and first Hapsburg, 1474-1516

It is under the order of Isabel I that the *Libro de los privilegios concedidos a los mercaderes Genoveses establecidos en Sevilla* was composed. With the marriage of Isabel and Fernando their political policies led to the re-structuring of their monarchies and the entire Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of Portugal, under the same dynasty. This not only included advancement towards Granada, but political and economic reforms which affected the palatine nobility and, most importantly for this study, the municipal councils. This included the limitation of grants and privileges for specific groups which, in the case of Seville and its merchants, were abundant. One of those privileges, at least from the thirteenth century, which was one of the most important that the Genoese residing in Seville had, was the exception from reprisal due to Genoese pirates. They may have had this privilege, but it did not stop the Catholic Monarchs from ignoring it after an event of piracy. In early part of 1487, the Genoese pirate, Montenegro Bugel, took a ship from the Castilian admiral, don Fadrique Enriquez which

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<sup>119</sup> ACS, IX, c. 41, doc. 12.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 41, doc. 13.

was loaded with gold, silver, slaves, and other goods which were then sold in Genoa. The admiral formally complained to Isabel and Fernando who, in turn, gave the city of Genoa four months to return his goods. If this situation was not amended the Genoese would lose their safe-conducts and privileges.<sup>121</sup> If these were to be revoked, Fernando and Isabel needed to know what privileges they had, and thus the *Libro* was created. Thanks to this event of piracy, the many privileges were copied, recorded and, most importantly, survived.

The *Libro* is a beautiful codex made from two translations, one after the event of 1484 and completed in 1491, and the second in 1537. The first part is composed of 57 privileges issued to the Genoese, starting with the first grant by Fernando III, in 1252, and ending with the translation of 1491. Actually, the first document is from Alfonso X, who saw the charter issued by his father and ordered it translated from Latin to Castilian so that his officials and others could understand it better (*'quelos alcaldes e los almoxarifes e los otros omes legos de nuestra tierra lo entendiesen mejor.'*)<sup>122</sup> The second and only post mediaeval addition was made under the last Trastámara, Juana I (1504-1555), who signed the documents as Queen along with her son's name, the first Hapsburg, the Emperor Charles I of Spain or V of Germany. One must assume that this book was composed by copying all the privileges that the Genoese must have kept in their palace, none of which survive in their original format. Furthermore, the Genoese must have also kept large amounts of records dealing with day-to-day business and transactions, but, after the disappearance of their palace none of these records survive.

Although as previously noted, the Genoese kept their palace until modern times, their *barrio* had a different fate. It is under Isabel and Fernando that the basis for the modernisation of Spain was laid.<sup>123</sup> This included the reformation of the municipalities and the creation of powerful institutions controlled by the monarchy, most famous among them was the Inquisition. This included, however, the slow disappearance of the special districts of the city which became just the names of streets, as Mordago noted in 1587, and as many remain to this day. The only group that would remain powerful in the city

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<sup>121</sup> AGS, RGS, VII: 1487, f. 344; Isidoro González Gallego, 'El Libro de los Privilegios de la Nación Genovesa' *HID*, n. 1. (Sevilla, 1974), pp. 357-358.

<sup>122</sup> *El Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. VIIv.

<sup>123</sup> John Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598*. (Oxford, 1994), pp. 1-32.

were the Genoese, due not to their many privileges, but instead to the slow inter-marriage of the Genoese into the urban elite to the point that many of the Genoese names became integrated into the local society: Spinola to Espinola, Negri to Negrón, Catanno to Catan, etc. After 1493, the Castilian admiral was once again a Genoese, perhaps the most famous Genoese to have ever left Seville – Christopher Columbus. With the Hapsburgs, Seville was no longer politically divided into *barrios*, and commerce was redirected to the royal favourites, who controlled the institutions created by the Catholic Monarchs, such as the *Casa de la Contratación* (House of Trade) and the *Casa de la Moneda* (The Mint). Still, many of these men had Genoese names, as they were descendants from the many Genoese who had previously gained rights and privileges.

## V. Conclusion

If the repopulation process saw the arrival of many foreigners to Seville, which resulted in the beginning of overseas trade, the creation of special districts saw the birth of Seville as an important port. The establishment of these districts, which was pushed both by royal policies and, at times, by the merchants themselves, allowed Seville to be added to the overseas routes of European trade of the time, a shift from the earlier and overall isolation of the Muslim city for which Seville was a port of it prior to 1248. More importantly, however, the Genoese established themselves as the most prominent merchant group of Seville but they were not the only ones. Merchants from other Italian cities were also represented in the city, as well as merchants from other parts of Europe, such as the French and the English. The last two were not as prominent in Seville as the Italians, but nor were they strong commercial and naval powers as many of the Italian cities were at the time.

The creation of these distinctive but intertwined commercial districts in the city is what had allowed it to grow. The policies of Fernando III, his son, and other monarchs who followed were important, however, it was the internal affairs within each district that allowed commerce to establish itself in Seville. Even the council of Seville was aware of the importance of these districts, especially the Genoese and *Barrio de la Mar*. Although

relations between these two groups were not always good, nevertheless, the needs of the city council for income and other goods made them dependent on this new emerging merchant class. The Genoese were a group of merchants which soon realized that controlling certain offices in the council was as profitable as being a merchant. This was the case with many Genoese who, as we have seen, became both bankers and tax collectors.

The importance of banking in Seville has been pointed out by many, stating that 'Seville was a merchant and banking capital' of the Iberian Peninsula, at least, but the surviving documentation are also clear in this matter.<sup>124</sup> For example Gaspar Gibon was not only a Genoese tax collector for the city of Seville; he was also active in banking, along with fellow Ligurian Querido Doria.<sup>125</sup> It is discouraging that none of the account books from the Genoese *lonja* survive, since they may have been able to give a clearer picture of the banking importance that Seville had for the Genoese. On the other hand, we can look at other surviving accounts books, such as those in the case of the Genoese, Giovanni Piccamiglio, whose family had commercial affairs in Seville, but his account book mostly relate his banking transactions, using the *dobla* and *tarino* of Seville as his exchange rate.<sup>126</sup> As any good merchant and banker of his time, his account book relate to transactions in the East Mediterranean, in Alexandria and Chio, and also in Barcelona, Seville, Cádiz, as well as the English ports of Middleburg, Sandwich, Southampton, and above all London. Some of the bankers' names are familiar, such as the 'Centurioni, Spinola, and Grimaldi.'<sup>127</sup> The account book demonstrate how important, at least for the Genoese, Seville was for their banking.<sup>128</sup> However, we are unable to cross-check the names of the men involved during the period of the surviving account book, 1456-1459, as no account of Genoese affairs survives in Seville. On a final note on banking, the Genoese Centurioni and Giuliano Calvo, were powerful bankers of Seville at the end of the Middle Ages, their importance having been derived from being the private bankers of

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<sup>124</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, pp. 146-148. See also Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle & Carande, Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*.

<sup>125</sup> See notes 59 and 60.

<sup>126</sup> Jacques Heers, *Le Livre de Comptes de Giovanni Piccamiglio home d'affaires Génois 1456-1459*. (Paris, 1959).

<sup>127</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, p. 146. *Le Livre de Comptes...*, p. 88.

<sup>128</sup> *Le Livre de Comptes...*, pp. 332-333.



Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, lord of Aguilar and the largest owner of cereal of all Andalusia.<sup>129</sup>

The Italians were already important merchants in both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, but thanks to Seville, they were finally able to pass through the Strait of Gibraltar with the knowledge that they could soon rest and gather more goods in their most important colony in the Atlantic. Seville was now prepared to receive ships sailing for the east and the west.

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<sup>129</sup> Enrique Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', pp. 208-209.

## CHAPTER 3

### International trade and commercial routes

#### I. Between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean

The following section attempts to bring together the previous two chapters, by showing how ships were arriving at, leaving from, and calling at, the port of Seville, thanks to the efforts of both the monarchy and the merchant classes. Their work led to a new re-structuring of the city's organisation of the *barrios* and institutions achieved during the Middle Ages. This, in turn, will show the importance of this port, as an axis between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. In addition, this chapter attempts to explore how the political policies of the Castilian monarchs and other continental monarchs could affect commerce. In fact, the following pages will demonstrate how, even during war and political instability, Seville maintained its prominence as the most important port between these two bodies of water. This was accomplished, not only because of monarchical policies, but above all, by the ability of the merchant classes to seek new markets and to trade despite danger. For example, merchants who dealt in Seville were able to ask for safe-conduct, and the city itself, on more than one occasion, asked for safe-conduct for its merchants trading with English ports.<sup>1</sup> It was indeed the only friendly and active port in the Strait of Gibraltar, during most of the mediaeval period, and which sources also called the Strait of Marrok, or the Pillars of Hercules.

In fact until 1474, the prosperity of the self-controlled *barrios* was itself a promoter of commerce within Seville. The council of Seville was another institution that was able to develop this situation. In Chapter I, one of the key points issued by Fernando III in his *fuero* and also in the re-distribution of land, was the donation of large amounts of workable land, *alquerías*, castles, and other properties to the council of Seville.<sup>2</sup> In

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<sup>1</sup> See below, part III.

<sup>2</sup> See Chapter 1 & Appendix II.

turn, the council had to give the tithe to the crown, instead of the church as was the custom. Although the monasteries, holy orders, bishops, etc, were able to acquire large donations as well, it was the council of Seville that manipulated and profited from the majority of them. The result of this profit was the agricultural goods that were, as shall be seen, controlled and traded by the different commercial groups of the city, above all the Genoese. It is not until 1474 that the different reforms accomplished by the Catholic Monarchs would have a negative impact in Seville. However, the impact of these reforms would be evident until, at least, the sixteenth century.

## II. The fortunes of trade under the House of Burgundy, 1248-1369

There have always been international commercial dealings of some sort happening within the walls of Seville, from the Roman period to the early Middle Ages, much of which came from its olive oil, other agricultural goods, and even horses. However, none of these periods can be compared to the sudden growth of commercial activity that occurred during the middle of the thirteenth century, after the city came under Christian control. Obviously, commerce was able to grow thanks to its river and the city's geographical location, as this had been the route taken by merchants that was 'half way in the long sea route that united the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and was, at the same time, the major bridge for the North African markets.'<sup>3</sup> The first to exploit this commercial route were, once again, the Italian merchants - chief amongst them, the Genoese. The first document relating to the increase in commercial activity in the port of Seville comes from King Alfonso X's *Primera Crónica General de España*:<sup>4</sup>

*[...] a village from which the ships of the ocean come by the river every day; from naos and the galleys and other ships of the sea, until within the walls, [they] dock with all their goods from all parts of the world: from Tangier, from Ceuta, from Tunisia, from Bougia, from Alexandria, from*

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<sup>3</sup> Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, 'Canarias y América antes del Descubrimiento: la expansión europea' in *La corona de Castilla en la Europa del siglo XV: de la crisis bajomedieval a la expansión*. (Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1985), pp. 61- 77, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *Primera crónica general de España*, Charter 1128, cited in González 'Genoveses en Sevilla (Siglos XIII-XV),' p.419.

*Genoa, from Portugal, from England, from Pisa, from Lombardy, from Bordeaux, from Bayonne, from Sicily, from Gascony, from Catalonia, from Aragon, and even from France, and even from other far away seas, from lands of Christian and Muslim, from many places many times and continuously...*

This period saw a marriage alliance established between England and Castile, as well as the establishment of peaceful commercial relations. The marriage treaty of 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1254, between Edward (I) and Alfonso's sister, Eleanor, provided a peaceful period between the two realms<sup>5</sup> but the well-established trade was only relevant to the Castilian ports found in the Bay of Biscay. In the 1250s, there was only one documented voyage, when the *Buenaventura* left Seville for La Rochelle loaded with wax and leathers owned by Alemán Andeguer. The cost of the voyage was 200 silver marks, and the ship stopped at Lisbon, Coruña, and Santander, before sailing northward. However, there are no surviving sources with regard to a return trip, if there ever was one.<sup>6</sup> Although Alfonso X mentioned many different ports in the *Crónica General*, the first documentation to link a commercial route between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic via Seville, appears in the year 1277, during his reign, and as a result, by 1278 the route was well established. On 17<sup>th</sup> April, 1277, a Genoese galley crossed the Strait of Gibraltar on its way to Flanders, with Nicolosus Dugus Spinola as master.<sup>7</sup> Although there had been a sea route in classical times, this was the first recorded ship that had left the Mediterranean for the Atlantic, prior to this the most likely route would have been over land. It is very important to note that this ship was under the control of a Spinola. This family would later become one of the most important families in the Genoese colony of Seville. Although the document does not mention a stopover in the port of Seville, even though one was likely, it does prove the possibility of a passage through this area which may have led to another and more important voyage.

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<sup>5</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *Las siete partidas*, Partida III, título XVIII, ley LXXVII; González, *Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. I, pp. 335-336.

<sup>7</sup> ASG, *Notarii Parentinus de Quinto*, n° 2. Published in Renée Doehaerd 'Les Galères génoises dan la Manche et la Mer du Nord à la fin du XIIIe et au début du XIVe siècles' in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*, XIX. (Rome, 1938), p. 32, document XII.

On 12<sup>th</sup> May, 1278, three Genoese galleys left Genoa en route to England, this time sources do mention a stopover at the port of Seville. These ships were the *Sanctus Johannes*, the *Sanctus Anthonius*, and the *Alegrancia*, the owners of which were *Nicolinus Iacharias*, *Ugetus Ebriacus*, and *Benedictus Iacharias*, respectively.<sup>8</sup> The latter more famously known as Benedetto Zaccaria, later admiral of Castile and Lord of the Island of Chios.<sup>9</sup> Benedetto, together ‘with his brother Manuel, owned and operated the rich alum factories in Phocaea (Foglia) near Smyrna which was under Genoese control from 1275 to 1455.’<sup>10</sup> Perhaps this had been the origin of the 1,297 *cantaros*, or containers of alum, that they were carrying aboard those three ships that had Seville as the only stopover between Genoa and England. These three ships followed the practice of the time in which two of the ships were loaded with alum, whilst the third had goods for Seville, which was its final destination. Once the ships had arrived in the port of Seville, if the Genoese saw goods there from which they would be able to make a profit in England, they then would reload the now empty third ship. If not, they would leave the third ship in Seville.<sup>11</sup>

Seville’s commercial activities were now growing fast and, by 1280, it had become a commercial and banking capital where large numbers of ships, from both sides of the Strait, now arrived. There were the powerful Italian bankers, such as the Centurioni, the Spinola, and the Grimaldi, the same families who would later be associated with the opening up of the Indies.<sup>12</sup> All this increase, of course, led to the growth of the commercial districts of the city most involved in this new international sea trade, such as the *Barrio de Génova* and, above all, the *Barrio de la mar*.<sup>13</sup> Although Benedetto’s name has survived in the sources, thanks to his position as admiral, other Genoese must have been involved in commerce and later in the politics of Seville, and probably even of Castile. The policies of the Monarch to bring people, like the Genoese, to Seville were working.

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<sup>8</sup> ASG, Notarii Ignoti. Doehaerd, ‘Les Galères génoises...,’ pp. 33-36, documents XIII and XIV.

<sup>9</sup> Enrique Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, (Sevilla, 1996), p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. (Cambridge, 1930), p. 65.

<sup>11</sup> Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 185; see also AGS, *Notarii Ignoti.*, Doehaerd, ‘Les Galères génoises...,’ pp. 33-36, documents XIII and XIV.

<sup>12</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, p. 146.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146; Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado*, p. 72.

As discussed earlier, during the twelfth century under the Almohads, Seville was already attracting Italian merchants to the city by the Great River. At the time that Niccolus Dugus Spinola arrived in England, in 1277, the Genoese had already established a commercial route within the Mediterranean, having added Seville on their way to the Atlantic ports, thanks to their powerful colony in the city,. The Genoese commercial routes involved connecting the Pillars of Hercules in the west to as far as the Black Sea, competing not only with other powerful Italian cities, but also, as mentioned in the previous chapter, with other Iberian naval powers such as the Catalans. From there, the Atlantic ports of Europe and North Africa were included in their routes, with some of their ships calling at the port of Seville. In any case, by the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, Seville already appeared in the list of ports that the Genoese had an interest in. The typical commercial route began in the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Crusader States, and from there to Genoa, perhaps calling at the ports of central North Africa, such as Tripoli or Bejaia [Bugia]. From this central location, the route took a northward direction towards Genoa. Once in Genoa, the arrangements were made for the voyage past the Pillars of Hercules into Seville, and then towards England and the other ports of northern Europe.

This last portion of the voyage may have consisted of three ships, although not all of these always arrived at the same final destination. To this route must be added the region of Galicia in north-western Spain. The Galicians, who were well rewarded and possessed two streets in the city, were active merchants between the northern Spanish ports and the English, as well as other European ports. Typically, their input in mediaeval commerce has always been linked only to northern ports and has never been credited with having reached as far south as Seville. However, this theory must be re-examined, since some of the ships heading from Galicia to, for example England, may have originated in Seville, especially those ships under Genoese masters.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> See Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade....*. Elisa Maria Ferreira Priegue, 'Galicia en la Redistribución de Productos Andaluces' in *Actas del II Coloquio...*, on pages 242-243, the author writes about Childs' statement on the Seville-Galicia-English connections made in *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, stating: 'Childs señala su escasez; sin embargo, es posible que fueran andaluces muchos de los *hispani* no identificados. [...] Es muy fácil confundir sus nombres con los de los gallegos y castellanos de la costa cantábrica. En el caso de una nave [...] de 1391, lo que es indudable es que al menos su última escala ha sido Andalucía.' This is more evident if we look at the ship's cargo (olive oil, soap, etc.) and masters, such as a Spinola; clearly some common goods and Genoese name of Seville.

During this period, and until the death of Alfonso X, commercial relationships between Seville and northern European ports were active. These relationships were not always conducted by the English or Castilians but were, above all, conducted by the Genoese. Three years after the Zaccaria brothers sailed to England in 1281, another ship set sail from Genoa to northern Europe with the cargo of, once again, alum. The Genoese sources tell us that Bolianos Spinola hired the master, Petrus Lercarius, to send 700 Genoese pounds worth of alum to be shipped to Bruges.<sup>15</sup> Although the ship's scribe does not mention a stopover in Seville, due to the distance and the voyage pattern at the time, a stopover somewhere near the Pillars of Hercules would have been likely. More palpable is the voyage taken by a Genoese carrack in 1299 to Bruges loaded with alum, as well. In this instance, Enricus Suppe and Balianus de Grillo purchased 650 *cantaros*, or containers of alum, from none other than Benedetto Zaccaria, who a few years earlier had made a stopover in Seville on his way to England.<sup>16</sup> In the same year, there had been another ship, the *Santa María*, which had also made the trip from Genoa to Bruges loaded with alum. However, once again the Genoese sources are unclear as to whether or not this vessel had used Seville as a mid-voyage stopover.<sup>17</sup>

Alum, of course, was not the only commodity to have been imported by the Italians. The Spinola brothers, Guidettus and Janotus, travelled back and forth between Genoa and Southampton between 1303 and 1305. This family was one of the most important Genoese families in their colony in Seville. In 1303, their ship containing goods worth 522 marks was attacked and despoiled at the mouth of the port of Sandwich, by 'malefactors from Flanders.'<sup>18</sup> Once again, the sources are unclear as to whether or not there was a stopover in the port of Seville. However, the merchants' method of transport would have indicated a stopover and furthermore, their cargo, which at first may indicate otherwise, may have originated, in part, in Seville. Ships carried items not usually associated with Seville, such as horses. English kings had been buying horses from Muslim merchants since the early Middle Ages. In the thirteenth century, there was a growth in the purchase of horses and by that time, the animals were being purchased

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<sup>15</sup> ASG, *Notarii Nigritus Leonardus.*, Doehaerd, 'Les Galères génoises....,' p. 36, document XV.

<sup>16</sup> ASG, *Notarii Andreolus de Laneris.* *Ibid.*, p. 37, document XVI.

<sup>17</sup> ASG, *Notarii Andreolus de Laneris.* *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41, document XVII.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR 1301-1307*, pp. 245-246.

from Castile and thus, were transported almost entirely by Spaniards from the Bay of Biscay.<sup>19</sup> However, any ship that had originated in Genoa and did not stop in northern Spain was likely to have purchased animals, such as horses, in Seville where the Genoese had privileges on the purchase of animals.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, some of the merchants that would later be sent to purchase animals in Spain may have been of Andalusian origin, especially if we look at the use of the word *Ispannia*. Although certain English documents used the term *Ispannia* to refer loosely to parts of the Iberian Peninsula, it has also been argued that they were used for Andalusia, as in the case of Castilian documents.<sup>21</sup> In any case, after the minor incident in Sandwich, the two Spinola brothers loaded a ship with English wool and returned to Genoa in 1304 and a year later Janotus Spinola returned to Southampton.<sup>22</sup>

A few months before Janotus sailed for Southampton, a ship from Seville, en route from the port of St. Matieu in Brittany to England, was plundered by some merchants from several locations, including Yarmouth. The ship's merchandise, to the value of 4,200 pounds of Tours, was taken to England and her goods were moved to several locations.<sup>23</sup> The merchants were able to request restitution for their goods, according to merchant law, although no surviving records indicates the amount of the compensation, if any. The attack on this ship, which had two merchants, one from Seville and one from Majorca, occurred at a time when Anglo-Castilian relations were still somewhat cold. This had occurred due to the uprising of Alfonso's second eldest son, Sancho (IV), who had been supported by France, whilst England supported Alfonso X, and his grandchildren by his eldest son. Thus, the time between 1284 and 1310 saw a period of mixed fortunes for Anglo-Castilian trade. Not even the truce between Sancho IV and the merchants of Bayonne of 1293 lasted long, and by 1299 there were attacks upon the merchants of Bayonne in Castile.<sup>24</sup> When Edward I acceded to the throne in 1272, and thanks to the marriage alliance of 1254, both Anglo-Castilian trade and relations flourished to the degree that Edward I requested his subjects of Bayonne to help

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<sup>19</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 120.

<sup>20</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. XIv-XIIv. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>21</sup> See note 14.

<sup>22</sup> *CPR 1301-1307*, p. 144.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 286.

<sup>24</sup> *CPR 1292-1301*, pp. 34, 411.



with their shipping against the Muslims in 1276.<sup>25</sup> When Sancho IV became King, he was not too happy with the support of Edward I for his father.<sup>26</sup> As with the previously mentioned ship from Seville, other ships and goods were confiscated or plundered by both sides during this period.<sup>27</sup> After the death of Sancho IV, the young Fernando IV's internal problems with his uncles overshadowed any interest in commerce. Still, the 'early fourteenth century saw the recovery of the trade route and the first thirty years saw a time of particular prosperity, backed by reasonably stable diplomatic relations.'<sup>28</sup> These relations improved with the policies of Alfonso XI, who was crowned in 1310.

This time of trouble, however, did not deter the always aggressive merchants of Genoa. In 1306, the Genoese sent two galleys to England to transport 2,700 *cantaras* of English wool back to Genoa.<sup>29</sup> Between 1306 and 1308, there were four more galleys travelling from Genoa to England and Flanders, carrying a total of 2,500 *cantaras* of alum.<sup>30</sup> Two of these vessels, the *Sanctus Christoforus* and the *Sanctus Johannes*, had an atypical route plan, having left Genoa for Majorca or perhaps even Catalonia, then south to Cadiz, into the important stopover of Sanlúcar de Barrameda, before entering Seville, and then to Flanders and England before returning back to Genoa immediately before smooth negotiations were to resume with Alfonso XI.

The years 1316 and 1317 saw an increase in commercial activity between Seville and England, due to the famine that affected England at the time. During this period, a number of ships were requested by the English monarch to bring grain. Although the sources do not specifically mention a lay-over in Seville, much of the grain was indeed from this city. Although Seville had become famous for its olive oil, it was also an important producer of grain. In fact, most historians who have studied the agricultural elements of Seville pointed out that the best lands of Seville's countryside were reserved for the plantation of this commodity.<sup>31</sup> After olive oil, it was also the most important commodity that Seville exported to places like England and Flanders and for the English

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<sup>25</sup> CPR 1272-1281, p. 128.

<sup>26</sup> CPR 1281-1292, pp. 113, 122.

<sup>27</sup> CCR 1288-1298, p. 324; CPR 1281-1292, p. 509.

<sup>28</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> ASG, *Notarii Andreolus de Laneris.*, Doehaerd, 'Les Galères génoises...', p. 40, document XIX.

<sup>30</sup> ASG, *Notarii Durante Dominicus and Osbergenus Obertus, Notarii Joachinus Nepitella, Ibid.*, pp. 52-54, documents XXI, XXII, and XXIII.

<sup>31</sup> Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', pp. 193-240, p. 205.

writers of the time, grain was associated with Seville.<sup>32</sup> In 1316, a great Genoese ship, first called *le Dromound* but later identify as the *St. John of Genoa*, whose master was James de Roco, a merchant of Genoa, was carrying certain merchandise, all of which were typical goods from Seville. This included a total of 2,100 quarters of wheat worth 2,362 pounds sterling and two shillings, according to a sale made in Sandwich. It also contained: six cases of soap, worth 6*l.*; six baskets of almonds, 12*l.*; two casks of honey, 17*l.*; 20 casks of oil, 4*l.* 10*s.*; and other goods.<sup>33</sup> On 28<sup>th</sup> March, 1317, Nicolino Usodimare and Antonio Pessagno met at their Genoese *alhóndiga* in their barrio where they arranged for the ship owned by Scipione de Niegro, to transport grain to either Southampton or Sandwich.<sup>34</sup> A year later, a ship from San Sebastian, the *St. Julian*, was also taking grain to England, although the origin of the grain is uncertain as the term Spain could mean both Andalusia and Castile, even if in other English *Rolls* the term Castile does appear.<sup>35</sup> In January 1317, Edward II ordered the Genoese, Antonio Pessagno, to provide up to 1,000 bushels of wheat.<sup>36</sup> By March of that same year, the galleon *Sanctus Nicolaus*, which was at the port of Cadiz, left for Seville and then for Southampton and Sandwich with a total of 8,000 Genoese pounds worth of wheat, before returning to Genoa. The ship's masters were Sepionus de Nigro and Octavinus de Nigro, and their trip was overseen by none other than Edward II's man, Antonio Pessagno of Genoa.<sup>37</sup>

The 1310s and the 1320s saw the return of normal relations, enough so that restitution could be made in cases of lost goods. For example, in March 1320, Domingo Perez, Alfonso Perez, and Fernando Martin lost their ship en route to La Rochelle, which was loaded with merchandise from Seville.<sup>38</sup> In 1323, Peter Gerveys de Hispannia, who was probably from Seville, was selling another typical produce of the Seville countryside - figs.<sup>39</sup> In both instances, when the merchants lost their goods due to attacks, they were

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<sup>32</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 104, 106.

<sup>33</sup> *CPR 1313-1317*, p. 466, pp. 571-572.

<sup>34</sup> Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 185.

<sup>35</sup> *CPR 1313-1317*, p. 624.

<sup>36</sup> *CCR 1313-1318*, p. 452.

<sup>37</sup> ASG, *Notarii Johanes Gallus n° 2.*, Doehaerd, 'Les Galères génoises...', pp. 69-71, document XXXIV.

<sup>38</sup> *CPR 1317-1321*, p. 481.

<sup>39</sup> NA E 122/39/6. Although in *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 21, Childs implies a northern origin, the merchant's name may indicate an origin from Seville. See note 14.

able to request restitution. Even the Genoese were able to regain their lost goods when William de Meret, in 1326, went to Southampton in order to recover goods belonging to himself and his fellow merchants.<sup>40</sup> With the accession of Edward III in 1327, relations slowly declined and peaceful trade ended with the Anglo-French war, which began 10 years later and thereafter, both monarchies were requesting the right to use Castilian galleys.<sup>41</sup> However, Alfonso XI was an astute diplomat and kept clear of the Anglo-French conflict and made peace with the Catalans with the re-issuance of their right to have a *barrio* in Seville.<sup>42</sup> During these times, ships continued to make the trip from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic with the occasional stopover in Seville. For example, in 1337, Peter Willelmi and Arnold Tolosan, both merchants of Seville, were taking goods to England, Gascony, Brabant or Ireland.<sup>43</sup> The 1330s and 1340s saw a period of continued attempts at an alliance between Castile and both England and France. The Castilian admiral, based in Seville and a Genoese, also sought to negotiate with both monarchies.<sup>44</sup> In any case, commercial relationships continued, especially with Genoese ships travelling to and from England.<sup>45</sup> Alfonso XI, however, continued his neutral position with both sides until he unexpectedly died of the plague, during the siege of Gibraltar in 1350.

With the death of Alfonso XI and the accession of Pedro I, Anglo-Castilian relations, although distant, improved to the point that his troubled twenty-year reign ‘also saw a marked increase in the numbers of Englishmen and English ships going to Spain,’ in addition to an increase of Genoese and Castilians sailing to the North Sea<sup>46</sup>. In 1352, the powerful Spinola of Genoa returned home from a voyage to England.<sup>47</sup> In 1353, Pedro Guillelmi of Seville was exporting 30 sacks of wool from England to Seville, and the *St Mary Coronade* was sent to Bristol with both Genoese and Castilian merchants loaded with wines from La Rochelle.<sup>48</sup> That same year, the Genoese merchant, Galeotus

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<sup>40</sup> *CPR 1324-1327*, p. 315.

<sup>41</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 22.

<sup>42</sup> González, *Libro de Repartimiento de Sevilla*, vol. II, p. 362. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>43</sup> *CPR 1334-1338*, pp. 546, 554, 556.

<sup>44</sup> The Castilian admiral was a Boccanegra at the time. *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 456.

<sup>45</sup> *CPR 1343-1345*, p. 550. In 1345 two ships, both called St. John were active between England and Genoa.

<sup>46</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 31.

<sup>47</sup> *CPR 1350-1354*, pp. 122, 283.

<sup>48</sup> *CCR 1349-1354*, p. 537; *CPR 1350-1354*, p. 543.

de Camilla, in a 'great Castilian ship', was driven into Bristol by a storm on the way to Sluis in Flanders from Seville, loaded with wares, honey, and other goods.<sup>49</sup> He was allowed to sell all his goods, with the exception of 20 casks of honey, in order to pay for the repairs to the ship, the *Santa Maria la Rosa de Castro*. Although a dispute arose between the ship's master, Fernando Sancho de Arrieta, and the Genoese merchants over their right to sell the goods, eventually the council of Bristol sided with the Castilian.<sup>50</sup> During this period, the Genoese, Casanus de Mari, had two ships which arrived in Southampton from Genoa, loaded with wool. Perhaps these two ships, although the sources do not indicate this, were part of the typical three-ship system leaving Genoa and then arriving in Seville, before departing for Southampton. In this instance, one of the ships, the *Seinte Marie Magdalene*, was from Genoa, the master of which was John de Caparagia, whilst the other ship was the *Seinte Katelyne*, whose master was Martín de Laparada of Santander.<sup>51</sup>

If Anglo-Castilian relations were good, quite the opposite can be said with regard to relations with France. In any case, the Genoese were able to trade between Flanders, France and Seville, and were able to request restitution if needed. In 1354, just 14 years after the English defeated the French at Sluis, the ship *Seint Michel* of Normandy, loaded with hides from Seville, was taken by 'evildoers of England' on the way to Champagne from Sluis. Nevertheless, the Genoese merchant Bartholomew de Camilla was able to request restitution.<sup>52</sup> A similar situation occurred with the merchant Cosanus de Mari, whose ship was also plundered by the English. Between 1360 and 1364, there were a number of ships travelling between Flanders and Genoa, perhaps many stopping in Seville, that were plundered and the Genoese were still able to request restitution.<sup>53</sup>

These commercial problems were caused by the War of the Peters (Pedro I of Castile and Pedro IV of Aragón), which in turn caused the Castilian civil war of 1356. These events became embroiled in the continental Hundred Years' War, when Pedro I aligned himself with England, while his half-brother, Enrique (II), had strong allies in

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<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 441-442.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 472.

<sup>52</sup> *CPR 1354-1358*, pp. 66-67; p. 92.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 482-483; *CPR 1361-1364*, pp. 109-110, 239, 268, 492.

both Aragón and France.<sup>54</sup> In 1359, the Anglo-Castilian alliance was in the making and had been formalized by 1362 but, by 1365, Pedro I had to travel to the ‘Bayonne of the English’ to ask the Prince of Wales to ‘help to regain his kingdom.’<sup>55</sup> This period not only saw active commercial growth, but the royal dockyards of Seville also experienced an incredible amount of ship building, due to the war operations against both France and Aragón.

The Genoese were also more than happy to provide naval support against their Mediterranean rivals, the Catalans. Thus, Pedro I ordered the construction and arming of twelve galleys in Seville, which were then supported by six Genoese galleys that arrived in the port.<sup>56</sup> On more than one occasion, Pedro I used the resources of the *Barrio de la Mar*. Regardless of the large amount of ships produced in Seville’s royal dockyards, Pedro I was unable to gain control of his kingdom and was finally assassinated by his half-brother Enrique in 1369. These events were most prejudicial to Anglo-Castilian relations as the new king was bound to France, and the court in exile sought refuge in England. ‘This turn of events brought twenty years of very flourishing trade to an abrupt halt.’<sup>57</sup> Although these events had been prejudicial, Seville was nevertheless able to maintain its position, no doubt thanks to its merchant classes that continued to trade there. These included the Genoese, who were very much aware of the political situation.

### III. The fortunes of trade under the House of Trastámara, 1369-1474

One of the earliest and strongest supporters of Enrique II, even before Pedro I died, was Gil Boccanegra, the Genoese admiral of the Castilian navy. The admiral seemed to have been aware of events turning against Pedro I, and thus decided to take immediate action. He ordered a galley to leave Seville to apprehend and arrest the King’s Treasurer, Martin Yannez, who a few days earlier had left Seville with the king’s wealth,

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<sup>54</sup> For an introduction on these events see Emilo Mitre, *La España medieval*. (Madrid, 1999), pp. 267-271.

<sup>55</sup> *Coronica del rey don Pedro*, capitulo xiiij, p. 153.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, capitulo ix, pp. 93-94.

<sup>57</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, p. 33.

by order of Pedro I.<sup>58</sup> A change of dynasty did not mean failure, and the Genoese colony of Seville, starting with the admiral, was already aware of the events to come and thus acted to ensure their dominant political position. However, even they would suffer from the attacks of the Catalans, who had found a friend with the new dynasty<sup>59</sup> and, in turn, the Genoese attacked their Mediterranean rivals. These events would continue until the “peace treaty” of 1393 but first we should look at the events surrounding Enrique II and his son, Juan I.

Enrique II’s accession in 1369 marked an abrupt end to trade. In that year, at least three English vessels were taken and plundered by ‘Henry the bastard of Spain and his people and in turn, Castilian ships began to be seized in the channel.’<sup>60</sup> Events such as these prompted an attempt at negotiation, just months after Enrique II’s assassination of Pedro I. The agreement between France and England for a truce obviously involved Castile as well, where England ‘endured many grievances [...] taking as well their goods, ships and vessels as their men [...] who were barbarously murdered, some yet imprisoned at Sibille.’<sup>61</sup> These talks failed, and so did trade. Ten years later, with Juan I, relations improved as a consequence of the war with Portugal.

In 1379, Juan I became King of Castile, but was still in need of French support and the alliance which his father had begun just ten years earlier. A few years later, however, his attempt to annex the kingdom of Portugal led to England’s support for Portugal and the invasion of Galicia by John of Gaunt, son of Edward III, to claim the throne of Castile (Pedro I was his father-in-law). This period also led to the creation of the *padrón*, or census, of 1384.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, there was an increase in the amount of ships leaving Seville for military, instead of commercial, use. The Genoese, Venetians and Catalans of Seville were required to provide ships for the forthcoming siege of Lisbon.<sup>63</sup> Eventually, both John of Gaunt and Juan I failed to gain their sought-after kingdoms, and a truce was arranged. In the Treaty of Bayonne (1388), both the English and Castilians renounced the thrones of Castile and Portugal, respectively, and a marriage

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<sup>58</sup> *Coronica del rey don Pedro*, capitulo xiiij, p. 153.

<sup>59</sup> See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>60</sup> NA SC 8/86/4262; *CCR 1369-1374*, pp. 30, 277, 300, 307.

<sup>61</sup> *CCR 1369-1374*, p. 112-113.

<sup>62</sup> AMS, XVI, doc. 14. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>63</sup> AMS, XV, 1396-1400: 11.

alliance was agreed. Juan's son, Enrique (III), married Catherine, the daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.<sup>64</sup> This marriage alliance was the beginning of the gradual rebuilding of Anglo-Castilian trade, especially after 1390, when Enrique III became King. Still, Genoese merchants travelling north suffered from English attacks, such as Barnabo Centurion, but not without asking for restitution.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, after 1388, English ships were arriving in Seville, and vice-versa. For example, in 1389, the *Seinte Johan* of Genoa, whose master was Anthony Spinola, left Seville for Middleburgh.<sup>66</sup> The ship was carrying: 115 tons of oil, valued at 805*l*; 41 bales of wax, valued at 428*l*; 19 bales of cumin, at 20*l*; 2 tons of honey, at 15*l*; 72 bales of sugar, at 150*l*; 5 bales of tallow, at 20*l*; and, 2,000 corks valued at 7*l* and 10*s*.<sup>67</sup>

With Enrique III, relations finally entered a stage of normalization. In 1392, Thomas Lynne of Dartmouth was in Seville to make an agreement with the Genoese merchants of the city. The Genoese, however, had suffered greatly under the previous two monarchs, and thus, the Genoese ambassador in Seville and Enrique III entered an agreement to restore good relations between the Genoese merchants and the crown, known as the *perdón de 1393*, or pardon of 1393.<sup>68</sup> With England at peace and the powerful Genoese back on good terms, commercial relationships continued to advance - at least temporarily. Attacks, however, were still frequent and ships such as the *Trinidad* and *Mary* suffered from attacks on their way from Seville.<sup>69</sup> In April 1403, the *St. Pier* was transporting 49 tons of oil owned by the Lombards of Seville from Seville to Bayonne, Dartmouth, London and other English ports.<sup>70</sup> In June, 56 tons of wine from Lepe, to the west of Seville, were being transported by the *St. María* towards London or Flanders.<sup>71</sup> Later the same year, more inhabitants of Seville from Piedmont were transporting 196 cases of white Seville soap, 96 bales of tallow, and 87 tons of oil from Seville to northern ports, but were taken to Bristol. These goods were owned by the

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<sup>64</sup> Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*. (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 203-206.

<sup>65</sup> *CPR 1388-1392*, p. 27.

<sup>66</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 42; *CPR 1389-1392*, p. 250.

<sup>67</sup> *CPR 1388-1392*, pp. 173-174.

<sup>68</sup> See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>69</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 45.

<sup>70</sup> NA SC 8/216/10799; *CPR 1401-1405*, p. 277; *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 228.

<sup>71</sup> *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 228.

Albertini society.<sup>72</sup> In July of 1404, Philip Albertin, of the Albertini society, was transporting 124 cases of white Seville soap to London<sup>73</sup> and in the last month of 1404, Anthony Garcia was transporting 30 tons of Seville oil, worth 210 pounds, to Flanders.<sup>74</sup> Enrique III died in 1406, leaving a one year old King, Juan II, under the influence of his mother, Catherine of Lancaster, and later his uncle, Fernando de Antequera.

Under Juan II, the peace with England, Portugal and France begun by his father was continued. However, his reign saw the establishment of his dynasty, the Trastámara, in Aragón, when his uncle, Fernando de Antequera, was elected King of the Crown of Aragón.<sup>75</sup> This event brought the two monarchies closer together, which culminated when two cousins married each other in the subsequent year: Isabel and Fernando. Between 1406 and 1474, the port of Seville grew to the proportions that later made it the Gate of the Indies, especially the growth of shipbuilding in the Royal Dockyards, as well as an increase in the usage of the *Atarazanas Reales* or Royal Warehouses in the *Barrio de la Mar*.<sup>76</sup> This period also saw a steady growth in ships calling at Seville, and ships leaving Seville for the Mediterranean and the North Sea. For example, in 1412, Juan Rodriguez of Seville was transporting 85 tons of wine from Lepe to London, and a year later he is recorded as having arrived in London with goods.<sup>77</sup> This period also coincided with a shortage of grain and bread in the city of Seville, between 1410 and 1414. To overcome these shortages, the council of Seville ordered merchants of 'Piacenza, the Genoese, Catalans and from other nations that are in this city' to import grain and bread into the city. However, the surviving sources only indicate the amount imported by the Genoese and not the other merchants.<sup>78</sup> On 16<sup>th</sup> December, 1412, five officials of the council of Seville were sent to purchase bread for the city, which was delivered 'by sea' between 17<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> December, and was given to Luis Fernandez de Marmolejo, a member of the council known as the Twenty-Fours of the city.<sup>79</sup> In May of 1413, the

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<sup>72</sup> NA SC 8/181/9011; *CPR 1401-1405*, pp. 357, 360-362.

<sup>73</sup> *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 228.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>75</sup> Reilly, *The Medieval Spains*, pp. 206-207.

<sup>76</sup> AMS, X, 1437: Nov.-Dic, .fol. 31.

<sup>77</sup> *CPR 1408-1413*, p. 474; *CCR 1409-1413*, p. 381.

<sup>78</sup> AMS, XV, 1412-1413:138.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*, 1412:189, n. I-III.



same member of the council delivered 500 bales of grain to be divided up in the city.<sup>80</sup> The origins of the shipments, however, are unknown; yet by the mid to late 15<sup>th</sup> century, the sources that contained information about international commerce increased dramatically. On the other hand, Juan II had to deal with the problems brought up by the Genoese, which he inherited as a Trastámara. In 1429, Juan II ordered that a permanent representative of the king be in Seville at all times, as requested by the Genoese. This representative would serve as a mediator between the council of Seville and the *Barrio de Genova*.<sup>81</sup> Problems such as this would persist in the years to come.

In 1432, a Genoese galley left Seville bound for Flanders with certain goods. However, the vessel had not made it out to sea when it ran aground in Sanlúcar de Barrameda. This event led the Genoese to ask for privileges that would guarantee the safety of the ship and cargo, both in this instance and in the future.<sup>82</sup> Apart from such information, the record keeping in the port of Seville was not so advanced compared, for example, to English ports. It would be another 40 years before extensive record keeping began, around the same time as the reform of Castile by the Catholic Monarchs. Before then, between 1435 and 1440, the Alien Book of the port of Southampton recorded both powerful Genoese families of Seville (Spinola, Catan, Negron, etc.) along with goods associated with Seville. For example, in 1435, Andrew Spinola imported 135 barrels of soap worth 135*l*. The same Italians also exported large amounts of wool, and in the same year, Christopher Catan was exporting more than 60 sacks of wool.<sup>83</sup> In April of 1436, there were 335 tons of oil imported into the city, 63 tons of which was purchased by Andrew Spinola. In the same shipment there were soaps, cumin, alum, wax, and other goods. Between 1439 and 1440, Andrew, along with other Spinolas and Catan, were importing oil, fruits, alum and exporting wool, yet still the only information available is that the entry port was Southampton. None of the sources are clear on the origin of the ships or the goods, but both the cargo and the merchants could have a relationship with Seville.

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<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 1412:189, n. IV.

<sup>81</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, pp. XXXVv-XXXVIv. See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

<sup>82</sup> *Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. XL.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89; pp. 93-95.

Another source that is as unclear as the previous one is the ship of Gregoery de Negri, which entered the port of Southampton in July 1440, with seven barrels of white soap (*'saponis albi'*). White soap was one of the major goods produced in Triana, just across the river from Seville. On the same ship, Henrico de Lera (perhaps a Castilian) was on board along with Juan García 'de Spayn' who was importing wine. Of course, there were also Catan and Spinola, importing wine, grain, oil, and other goods.<sup>84</sup> The 1430s, 1440s and 1450s provided a time of commercial growth between Seville and the North Sea, although there were still occasional problems.

In 1449, the galley *Maria de Motrico* left Seville for Flanders, but was taken to Bristol by 'evildoers.' In spite of this, and as these were times of good relations, restitution was made. The ship was loaded by the same families that are recorded in the Alien Book of the port of Southampton, and at least in one instance one merchant had a non-Genoese name, Lewis Scott, who owned at least 12 tons of olive oil of 'Syvyle.' The entire amount of the cargo was, approximately, 181 tons of olive oil from Seville, 38 bales of cumin, 10 sacks of wool, and seven cases of Seville's white soap, all of which was divided between each merchant.<sup>85</sup> Ten years later, Simon of the Catan family was shipping 27 tons of 'good oil of Seville' to England, where it was sold to Robert Symon, a draper of London, at 9*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a ton. A few years later, once again, Simon Catan, and George Catan arrived in Southampton with more goods.<sup>86</sup> Also during this period Bernabé de Sisto, a Genoese resident in Seville, and Antonio Pasaliago Milanese, also resident in Seville, received pastries from Genoa. On more than one occasion, the king himself ordered that olive oil, soap, fruit, and other goods should be loaded onto his ship, which was going to Flanders. From Genoese, Venetians, and Florentines of the city, the King requested that their goods should be loaded onto his ship.<sup>87</sup> In 1454, Juan II died leaving the throne to his son Enrique.

During the reign of Enrique IV, commercial relationships continued the trend started by his father. Even though internal problems would plague his monarchy, it was not until the last few years of his life that problems arose in the commercial city of

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<sup>84</sup> SPB 1439-1440, *Liber Alienigenus*, pp. 55-60; p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> *CPR 1446-1452*, p. 238.

<sup>86</sup> *CCR 1454-1461*, pp. 333-334, p. 455.

<sup>87</sup> AMS, X, 1452: fol. 129-130; fol. 127-128; 1453: Oct.-Dic., fol. 4; fol. 5.

Seville, a city that by the mid-fifteenth century had grown to become a very important port. By the 1450s, Seville was the transit port of orchell dye, which was harvested in the Canary Islands, for export to European ports.<sup>88</sup> In 1458, Genoese merchants were granted the right to export 2,400 sacks of wool from the port of London, during the next two years, to be shipped ‘through the straits of Marrok.’<sup>89</sup> The Strait became more common as a geographical location in English sources after the 1450s, as did the other ports controlled by Seville, chief amongst them Sanlúcar de Barrameda. English sources were not concerned with the stopovers conducted by merchants, and there is no proof that a long voyage from the Mediterranean to northern European ports may have resulted in some ships stopping at Seville or Sanlúcar.

In 1466, for a term of five years, Philip Lomelinus of Genoa was allowed to export 12 ½ sacks of wool from Southampton and Sandwich, which were to be taken once again to Italy, through the straits of Marrok without payment of custom duty.<sup>90</sup> Around the same time, the Genoese installed representatives from Seville in Sanlúcar de Barrameda because of the many problems between the Genoese and that town. From that time onwards, they controlled the commercial traffic.<sup>91</sup>

In 1470, a ship from Flanders whose owner was Pedro del Valle, resident of Burgos who had problems with the council of Seville, arrived in Seville with copper.<sup>92</sup> However, the problems could go both ways. In 1471, the *St. James* left Seville for England and Flanders but pirates seized their goods while in transit.<sup>93</sup> That same year the *Sant Bartholomeo* left Lepe, a port under the jurisdiction of the Kingdom of Seville, for London with 31 tons of wine. From another port under the jurisdiction of Seville, two ships from San Sebastian, the *Michell* and the *María*, were loaded by John Mott in ‘the port of Civile called San Lucar de Barmede,’ on the way to Southampton.<sup>94</sup> In the early part of 1472, there were three vessels that left Seville, one for Southampton while the others left for a new destination. In February 1472, the *San Antonio* left Seville for

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<sup>88</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle*, p. 494.

<sup>89</sup> *CCR 1454-1461*, p. 309.

<sup>90</sup> *CCR 1461-1468*, p. 275.

<sup>91</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle*, pp. 484-485; AMS, X, 1454: Sep.-Nov., fol. 92.

<sup>92</sup> AMS, X, 1470: Mar.,-May., fol. 1a-1b.

<sup>93</sup> NA C 1/43/1474.

<sup>94</sup> *CCR 1468-1476*, p. 192; p. 282.

Madeira, Lanzarote, and Fuerteventura.<sup>95</sup> In December of that year, Princess Isabel (I) requested that the council of Seville allow Friar Alonso de Bolaño to leave Seville to convert the inhabitants of the Canaries, amongst other places, to Catholicism.<sup>96</sup> This was one of the earliest recorded Castilian ships to have left Seville for the Atlantic islands which would one day become part of the route to the Americas. The Genoese were active in the Canaries during this period, and there was even an exploration voyage which left Seville in 1393.<sup>97</sup> The third vessel was rather unique, as the owner of both the vessel and the merchandise was not an Italian, or a Castilian merchant, or any other merchant. Instead, the owner had been a member of the powerful Castilian nobility, the Duke of Medina Sidonia.<sup>98</sup> It is, however, after the 1470s, that there was growth in commerce between the Atlantic Islands and Seville and, slowly, masters, owners, and merchants were changing their destinations for the west. In the last few years of the reign of Enrique IV, Castile was concerned with internal issues, which had plagued his reign in the past, but now new problems arose in Seville. By late 1473, the Genoese colony in Seville had suffered enough attacks to ask Genoa to intervene in the matter. On 3<sup>rd</sup> February, 1474, Genoa issued a formal complaint against the council of Seville over the 'ill treatment that their Genoese merchants' were suffering in the city.<sup>99</sup> In that same year, Enrique IV died, leaving his sister, Isabel (I), as the new Queen of Castile.

#### IV. The end of the medieval period, the last Trastámara and first Hapsburg, 1474-1516

As seen in the previous chapter, it was during the reign of Isabel and Fernando that many of the reforms that affected Castile were put into place. These included the reform of the municipalities, and the slow disappearance of the distinct merchant districts, including many of the *barrios*. Apart from the creation of the *Libro*, it was during this time that the Protocols of Seville, which recorded the events of the port of

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<sup>95</sup> Otte, 'Sevilla y sus mercaderes...', p. 233.

<sup>96</sup> AMS, X, 1473: Abr.-Jul., fol. 22.

<sup>97</sup> Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, 'Las Relaciones Comerciales entre Andalucía y Canarias' *Actas del II Coloquio...*, p. 269.

<sup>98</sup> AHPS, Protocolos. Oficio III, 1472-1499; *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 233.

<sup>99</sup> AMS, X, 1474: Marzo, fol. 17.

Seville, were expanded after they had been begun in the early 1470s. These reforms also led to the growth of the port. In 1474, the *Marie Redeclyff*, *Marye Grace*, *Trynyte*, and *James*, all from Bristol, were loaded with ‘goods and merchandise’ to be taken to Seville and other ports.<sup>100</sup> By 1487, Nicholas Browne, whose first dealings were in 1477, had imported 1,305 pounds worth of cloth into Seville from Bristol.<sup>101</sup> Between 1487 and 1491, all the ships recorded in the protocol documents of Seville left the city for African ports, including islands in western Africa, or other parts of Castile.<sup>102</sup> There are no records of any ships leaving in 1492 for ports in the North Sea. However, between 1493 and 1496, the Italian families of Doria, Grimaldi, and Soprani, among others, shipped more than 90 tons of olive oil from Seville to Flanders and other locations.<sup>103</sup> In 1497, the Catholic monarchs sent five ships with supplies of wheat and other grain from Seville to Perpignan, which was in need of grain. At that time, Perpignan was a possession of the Crown of Aragón.<sup>104</sup> During the following years, merchants from other parts of the Iberian Peninsula were in Seville loading goods for ports in northern Europe. The *San Pedro* was taking fruit and wine to Flanders and the *Santa María* was taking 55 tons of wine and other goods to Galway in Ireland.<sup>105</sup> With the turn of the century, the *Santa Catalina* from San Sebastian left Seville with olive oil for Middleburg.<sup>106</sup> Although the Indies had become the new commercial market, the early 1500s still saw ships leaving Seville for northern European ports. For example, in May 1504, the *San Lorenzo* left Seville with 100 tons of olive oil for Flanders<sup>107</sup> and a month later, 131 tons of olive oil was shipped in the *Santa María Guadalupe* to London, by English merchants dwelling in Seville at the time.<sup>108</sup> Commercial relationships were still active. However, with the opening of the New World, a new period of history began.

This period, unlike that with the previous Trastámaras, saw a fairly peaceful time for merchants.<sup>109</sup> Even when confusion arose, Seville itself requested safe-conduct for its

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<sup>100</sup> *CPR 1467-1477*, p.471.

<sup>101</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, pp. 207-208; NA E 122/66/12; E 122/19/13-14.

<sup>102</sup> AHPS, Protocolos, Oficio IV, 1441-1494; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 233.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, Oficio III-V, 1493-1496; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 234.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, Oficio IX, 1497; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 235.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, Oficio III, 1472-1499: 51v; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 235.

<sup>106</sup> Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 236.

<sup>107</sup> AHPS, Protocolos, Oficio VII, 1480-1485: 196; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 237.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, Oficio XV, 1504: 279v; Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 238.

<sup>109</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 55.

merchants in English waters.<sup>110</sup> The pattern of Anglo-Castilian trade under the early Tudors saw a general expansion of trade and with the marriage alliances, ‘the English and Spanish merchants entered a period when they could expect nothing but a steadily increasing amount of trade.’<sup>111</sup> Relations may have been good, but little by little commerce was redirected to new markets, like the Canary Islands. The last few years of the fifteenth century saw two important events in Spanish history. Granada finally fell to the Catholic monarchs, and a group of three vessels, just as in 1277, left Seville for the Atlantic. This time, *la Santa María*, *la Pinta*, and *la Santa Clara* (more famously known as *la Niña*) left Seville, not for the North Sea, but unknown to them, for the Caribbean Sea. Without doubt, these are the most famous ships to have ever left the port of Seville. In the years following, Columbus made three more voyages to the Indies, dying in 1506. A year earlier, Isabel I died and for the next decade Fernando the Catholic became Regent of Castile, dying eventually in 1516. Commerce in Seville continued, but it had definitely been shaped by the events of 1492. .

A year later, Charles I arrived in Asturias, scaring the local inhabitants into hiding out of fear of a pirate attack.<sup>112</sup> At the time that Charles I had become ruler, Seville was still, geographically speaking, the link between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. However, by 1516, Seville had instead become the European gateway or, as it was more commonly known, the Gate to the Indies. The new commercial links now lay in the Atlantic in places such as the Canary or Madeira Islands. Although there was still the occasional voyage from Seville to other northern European ports, it was no longer its primary destination. On the other hand, the Atlantic islands were the new axis and, for Spain, the most important among them were the Canary Islands. At the forefront of the opening of new commercial markets were, of course, the Italians of Seville. The Genoese colony in Seville participated in the commercial route to the Canary Islands almost from the beginning.<sup>113</sup> Between 1505 and 1526, there were 62 recorded voyages from the Canaries, 19 of those (31 per cent) were to ports controlled by Seville, while the rest were to places like Portugal, North Africa, other islands, Flanders, the Americas,

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<sup>110</sup> NA C 76/154/m.2-20.

<sup>111</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 65.

<sup>112</sup> Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598*, p. 49.

<sup>113</sup> Aznar, ‘Las Relaciones Comerciales...,’ pp. 272-273.

Galicia, Genoa and Castile.<sup>114</sup> Furthermore, between the death of Enrique IV in 1474, and 1492, there were only two voyages that were embarked upon from Seville to the Canaries. In contrast, between 1492 and 1516, there were at least 81 voyages between Seville and the Canaries, not including the lay-over of Columbus.<sup>115</sup>

## V. Commercial goods imported to and exported from Seville, 1248-1492

Olive oil: It is impossible to calculate the amount of olive oil that left Seville for either the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. It is clear, however, that it was an important commodity sought in places like England, Flanders, etc. The first to export olive oil in the Middle Ages were the Genoese, perhaps as early as 1161 or 1164.<sup>116</sup> During the *Repartimiento*, olive groves were important lands to have and by then, olive oil was a significant commodity.<sup>117</sup> By the fourteenth century, olive oil from Seville was one of the most important goods of Genoese commerce. Merchants there bought it for their own city for use in the production of soaps and, of course, for exportation to Flanders, England and far away places like Chios where, 825 jars of olive oil arrived in 1464.<sup>118</sup> The surviving contracts show the importance of this commodity which came from the area around Seville: the Aljarafe.<sup>119</sup> The olive oil produced in this area entered the city by the *Postigo del Aceite*, or Gate of Oil, which still exists to this day. From there, in the *Barrio de la Mar*, the oil was stored in the many warehouses in this district, such as those located in the *calle del aceite*, or street of oil.<sup>120</sup> From here, they were loaded and shipped. Flanders was the main destination for olive oil and, between 1493 and 1494 at least 85 tons of olive oil had been imported there by the Genoese.<sup>121</sup> This port was followed by various English ports, although the *Liber Alienigenus* of the Southampton Port Book does not specify the origins of the olive oil imported by the Genoese. It was

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<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>115</sup> Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, pp. 233-266.

<sup>116</sup> Carande, *Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado.*, p. 71; Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 194.

<sup>117</sup> Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII.*, Documentos. See Chapter 1 of this thesis.

<sup>118</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, pp. 361, 401, 405, 488.

<sup>119</sup> AHPS, Protocolos, III, 1472-1499: 53; IV, 1441-1494: 167v; Mordago, *Historia de Sevilla*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>120</sup> Ballesteros, *Sevilla en el Siglo XIII.*, pp. CLXXXV, CXCIV, CCLXXXVI.

<sup>121</sup> AHPS, XV, 1514; Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 204.

probably not from Genoa as Genoa did not produce enough oil for exportation, but rather from Seville.<sup>122</sup> In Bristol in 1473, two ships imported 275 tons of olive oil, valued at 1,101*l*.<sup>123</sup> Between 1485 and 1486, olive oil had been third among the items imported into Bristol, with a total value of 277*l*. In the following years this amount increased and, by 1503, it was the second most imported item after iron, with a total value of 249*l*.<sup>124</sup>

Grain: Seville was a major producer of grain on the Iberian Peninsula. Andalusian grain was, however, rarely exported to places like England. Apart from the famine that had affected England in 1316-1317, the only other occasion in which there was a possible shipment of grain was in 1441.<sup>125</sup> According to González Jiménez, the best lands were reserved for grains, but unlike olive oil, it was not meant to be exported.<sup>126</sup> With the exception of the famine that affected England, Seville itself suffered from such problems in the 1410s, 1420s, and 1450s. As grain and bread were a necessity of life, during the 1450s, the council of Seville did its best to make sure that these goods never left the city. The result was the limited export of grain and bread out of the city. In fact, in 1418 and 1420, ships were stopped before they reached the Atlantic if they were loaded with bread which was not to be exported.<sup>127</sup> In the 1450s, grain never made it onto ships.<sup>128</sup> Just east of Seville was Cordoba, which was a major producer of grain and on more than one occasion, ships arrived from Cordoba with bread for Seville.<sup>129</sup> After 1475, with the reconquest of Malaga, the majority of grain, including that from Cordoba, was redirected to this new port.<sup>130</sup>

Wine: Sherry wine was a staple at the English table. However in the Middle Ages, it was the wine from Alanís (Sierra Norte region of Seville), the Aljarafe, and from locations in

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<sup>122</sup> SPB 1435-1436, *Liber Alienigenus*, pp. 93-95; SPB 1439-1440, *Liber Alienigenus*, pp. 55-60.

<sup>123</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 110.

<sup>124</sup> Gordon Connel-Smith, *Forerunners of Drake. A Study of English trade with Spain in the Early Tudor period*. (London, 1954), pp. 208-210.

<sup>125</sup> NA C 76/123/ m. 12.

<sup>126</sup> Manuel González Jiménez, 'Aspectos de la economía rural andaluza en el siglo XV' in *Huelva en la Andalucía del siglo XV*. (Huelva, 1976), pp. 31.

<sup>127</sup> AMS, XV, 1418:37, 1420:48.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1450: fol. 64; fol. 66-67.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, X, 1467: fol. 70v.

<sup>130</sup> Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 207.



Huelva (Lepe, Almonte, etc.) that dominated the wine trade of Seville.<sup>131</sup> Indeed, wine was an important commercial commodity, third in importance with regard to the amount exported.<sup>132</sup> The earliest surviving documents from the Protocols Archives on wine exportation dates from 1472, and shows the purchase of wine in Seville by Joan Artanulfi, a merchant from Marseille dwelling in Seville (*'estante en Sevilla'*).<sup>133</sup> Once again, the most important buyers and exporters of wine were the Genoese.<sup>134</sup> However, the majority of exports never matched those of olive oil. By the sixteenth century, the principal destination, as with many other ships, was the Canary Islands.<sup>135</sup>

Soap: Thanks to its countryside and olive oil, Seville was able to produce white soap, or *saponis albi*, a by-product of olive oil, which eventually became the monopoly of a Genoese family, the Ripparolios.<sup>136</sup> The soap of Seville may have been exported to England as early as 1316 by the Genoese.<sup>137</sup> Although the Italians produced their own soap in Chios, they also had the monopoly on soap production in Seville.<sup>138</sup> In 1403, the Albertini Society of Genoa exported soap to England and Flanders, and a year later they exported 124 cases of white soap from Seville worth 620*l*.<sup>139</sup> An event that pushed the growth of the soap industry in Seville occurred in 1455. In that year, the Genoese lost their possession of Foglia which, at the time, was their major producer of soap.<sup>140</sup> White soap was not manufactured in Seville, but manufactured across the river in Triana.<sup>141</sup>

Alum: Although no alum is found in Seville or its countryside, many ships that arrived in Seville did carry this salt. Alum is very important in the dyeing industry and is mostly used for wool. Thus the Genoese saw in it an important commodity to export to England. This natural resource was mostly found in the Near East, where Italians had been

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<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212.

<sup>132</sup> Childs, *Anglo Castilian trade...*, p. 127; Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 213.

<sup>133</sup> AHPS, Oficio III, 1472-1499: 31.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, Oficio XV, 1508: 645-645v.

<sup>135</sup> Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 215.

<sup>136</sup> Otte, *Sevilla y sus mercaderes...*, p. 67.

<sup>137</sup> *CPR 1313-1317*, pp. 571-2.

<sup>138</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, p. 401; Otte, 'El Comercio Exterior Andaluz...', p. 227.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR 1405-1408*, p. 228.

<sup>140</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, p. 467.

<sup>141</sup> AMS, X, 1448: fol. 36.

exporting it since at least the early Middle Ages. As the Genoese were the primary exporters of this commodity to English markets, many ships called at Seville's port on their way to England. Genoese merchants residing in Seville were important owners of alum factories in the Near East.<sup>142</sup> This made alum, along with olive oil, one of the goods that can better demonstrate the position of Seville as the axis of Atlantic-Mediterranean overseas trade. There were other commodities used in the textile industries arriving at Seville on their way to England.<sup>143</sup> In the late fifteenth century, with the growth of trade with the Atlantic Islands, the famous Canary orchell dye began to be exported via the North Sea and, just like other commodities, this dye became the sole monopoly of Genoese merchants. This was documented by the Genoese, Ca da Mosto, in 1455, by which time, Seville was well established as the axis of this commercial traffic. Ships would leave the islands, to then travel 'to Cadiz and Seville's river' and then to other ports.<sup>144</sup>

Legumes were another important commodity for the Genoese. These produce, although not as important for markets in northern Europe, were a basic staple of the Genoese, and the Genoese colony in Seville made sure it was important.<sup>145</sup> There were other goods, but their commercialisation was, at best, sporadic: fruits, dry fruits, cumin, salt, different types of dyes (orchell, kermes...), ceramics (tiles, pottery...), cloth, textiles, metals, wood, etc.

## VI. Conclusion

Childs, in *Anglo-Castilian trade in the later Middle Ages*, clearly points out how the political situation on the continent could interfere with commercial relationships. However, her research also points out that trade was able to continue, even during precarious years. It is important to note, however, that her research is mostly based on

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<sup>142</sup> Byrne, *Genoese Shipping...*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>143</sup> See for example NA E 122/137/16.

<sup>144</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, pp. 489-490; p. 494.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323

the commercial relationships between England and the ports located in the Bay of Biscay. On the other hand the policies, in place in Seville, concerning both the re-population and commerce, allowed Seville to maintain a steady growth in overseas trade. These added to the ever expanding commercial class of Seville, which sought after new markets and allowed Seville to be somewhat spared of any political instability. Even with instability, maritime traffic between the North Sea and the Mediterranean continued to be monopolised by the Italian merchants.<sup>146</sup>

Between 1248 and 1369, the Castilian monarchs and the merchants living in Seville were able to establish and maintain overseas trade, even when the population was diminished, which mostly affected the agricultural regions of Seville. Even during the unstable period of 1369 to 1390, the Italians were able to continue trading, using Seville as the axis between their resources in the Mediterranean and their buyers in England and Flanders, although officially, Seville was under a Trastámara. The goods that merchants would bring to those northern ports from Seville, such as oil, grain and wine, were produced in the region. However, certain items continued to be brought from other places, such as the Near East with ships still calling at Seville, before passing the Cape of Saint Vincent on the Portuguese coast, on their way north. 'In short, their itinerary went directly from the Guadalquivir to Southampton, in many instances without an intermediate lay-over.'<sup>147</sup> Regardless of the political situation of the time, just as with the concession of privileges for their *barrio* in Seville, the Genoese were always able to stay at the margin of political problems and continue to profit, especially after the 1390s.

During the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the merchants of Seville were able to position themselves in certain municipal offices, even with a history of conflict between merchants and council. Furthermore, despite the reforms carried out by the Catholic Monarchs, the Genoese were able to gain their trust and keep Seville as active as ever in overseas trade.

With the opening of the New World, all international commerce was redirected, and the once powerful merchant districts slowly disappeared. The Catholic Monarchs, and later the Hapsburgs, were able to directly control commerce with the Americas

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<sup>146</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV.*, p.144. See also Appendix I.

<sup>147</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, p. 483.

through the institutions placed in Seville, the most famous among them was the *Casa de la Contratación*, today the Archive of the Indies. There was no longer a need for a judicially independent district within a city, and the Crown realised that, with direct control, the influx of income would be substantially larger. The monarchs failed to note, however, that the Genoese would be in control of such institutions. As the popular saying goes: *el oro nace en América, muere en Sevilla y es enterrado en Génova* (gold is born in the Americas, dies in Seville, and is buried in Genoa).

By the 1530s, the Mediterranean rivals of the Genoese, the Catalan merchants, had begun trading with America via Seville,<sup>148</sup> but they were not the only ones. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Seville had become a modern metropolis.

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<sup>148</sup> Lynch, *Spain 1516-1598.*, p. 26.

## CONCLUSION

### The end of the Middle Ages, Seville in a post-1492 world

It has been said that Seville owes everything to its river. However, what made Seville the axis between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean was not just its river. This study has shown that the initial policies of Fernando III and Alfonso X allowed the city to be re-populated. For this repopulation to be effective, the settlers who came ‘had to be given special conditions and privileges, both to encourage them to come and to enable them to establish themselves.’<sup>1</sup> The best simplified description of the events surrounding both monarchs in the period of 1248 to 1252 can be found in *The Making of Europe* (1993), when the author wrote:

*Seville fell to the king of Castile [Fernando III] in 1248. Most of the Muslim population was expelled. In the following decade royal commissioners [appointed by Alfonso X] allocated the property in and around the city: 43 princes, magnates, bishops, and military orders received very large estates, 200 knights were granted small estates, and even smaller ones were awarded to the footsoldiers. The king, the newly appointed archbishop and the city council also got their share. The new lords recruited a new population. Immigration into Reconquest Seville touches virtually every part of the Iberian peninsula and areas as distant as Galicia and Old Catalonia supplied many new settlers. The majority of immigrants came from Old Castile, with large numbers also originating in León and New Castile. These three regions formed a massive block of land in north-central Spain, from the Tagus to the northern mountains, that acted as a vast human reservoir, supplying a new Christian population for the city.<sup>2</sup>*

Among those princes and magnates were of course the merchants that were so important in placing Seville in the larger European context, including the very important trade routes. This was accomplished thanks to the policies exercised by these monarchs for

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change: 950-1350*. (Princeton, 1993), p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 179.

foreign merchants, chief among them the Genoese. The merchant class, in turn, was able to manipulate the municipal policies for their own benefit. Here we see how Seville's merchant class was able to profit and to stay afloat during periods of instability. It is true, however, that the council of Seville and the merchants were sometimes at odds, but as shown, these situations were resolved by the monarchy, once again in favour of the merchant class. Aware of the advantage of controlling municipal offices, by the late fourteenth century, and especially the fifteenth century, many merchant families had become involved in municipal politics. This was more evident with Italian bankers, many of whom were able to control some of the tax-collecting offices.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that Seville had been part of the commercial links with the Muslim world from at least the 9<sup>th</sup> century and that non-Muslims were active in the city. However, it was still isolated from most of the Christian European commercial routes, although it was not isolated from the North African and, more importantly, the eastern Mediterranean trade. Seville's first exchange-house, or *funduq*, was created well before the Christian re-conquest and it functioned from at least, the early eleventh century. Seville, 'and other Islamic ports facilitated inter-religious trade in a way that was unknown in Europe.'<sup>4</sup> With the re-conquest, in 1248, the city of Seville was transformed not into an isolated mediaeval town but rather it was re-drawn, almost, as a merchant-colony. Seville was able to make a shift into the new Christian system of exchange. This system, in turn, was modernised by the arrival of the Genoese, which were able to maintain some of the pre-conquest systems of Seville, such as the exchange-house but, more importantly shipping, and an active trade with the eastern Mediterranean.

With the arrival of the Genoese and other Italians, Seville was no longer isolated from the rest of the European commercial routes, but rather became a port that was strategically placed between the entrance to the Mediterranean from the Atlantic, and vice versa. As a result of the settlement of traders, and the awarding of numerous sets of privileges and grants by monarchs, the port of Seville grew to become one of Europe's most important ports well before 1492. The arrival of these Italians brought to Seville a level of commercial organisation unknown to Castile at that time. In the Iberian

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<sup>3</sup> AMS, XV, 1377-1380: 13, 14; 1381-1382: 3, 6, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82; p. 110.

Peninsula, only Barcelona had a specialised merchant class that could rival Seville. And even with further re-conquest by Castilians in the coastal areas of Huelva, Murcia, Cádiz, and later Málaga and Granada, Seville maintained its commercial hegemony. Only Cádiz would eventually surpass Seville, but this is well beyond the period of investigation. No other Castilian city had as many Italian bankers as Seville did, or such an impressive port district. These would have made Seville an important banking city, with the vast influx of gold and silver, even prior to 1492. The typical overseas trade which we are examining usually involved commercial routes between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, or ships leaving English, Flemish, and other northern European ports for places like Genoa. Which other place could have served the Genoese merchants better, than their powerful and semi-autonomous colony in Seville? The Italian merchants also had an important presence in Lisbon, which could have also serve as a mid-point colony, however they were significantly fewer in number, and of less importance, due in part to their distance from the Italian peninsula.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it was important for the Genoese to have a powerful enough colony, strategically placed almost at the mid-point of what was at the time, a long sea voyage.

The re-conquest of Seville, and the arrival of the Genoese and other merchants, coincided with the overall pattern of European economic expansion of the thirteenth century, which continued in the early part of the fourteenth century.<sup>6</sup> In the overall trade with Europe, Seville suffered the consequences of continental politics, which was perhaps most evident during the period from 1369 to 1390. On the other hand, the Anglo-Castilian economic contraction of the fifteenth century never affected Seville in the way that it did the northern Iberian and English ports, although there was an increase between the 1480s and 1490s. It has been pointed out that in some towns, during those years, their commercial activities slumped while in others they grew and grew.<sup>7</sup> This was the case, for example, in London, while in the Iberian Peninsula, Seville was also able to overcome this recession. Why was Seville spared from this contraction? It is true that Seville suffered the effects of continental policies but, unlike English, Flemish, and

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<sup>5</sup> M. Nuñez Dias, *O Capitalismo Monárquico Português (1415-1549)*. (Coimbra, 1963-1965). Cited in Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> For general overview of European expansion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, see *The Making of Europe...*

<sup>7</sup> Childs, *Anglo-Castilian trade...*, pp. 221-222.

northern Iberian ports, Seville had the advantage of being between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic and, more importantly, it had the advantage of having a large and powerful merchant class, semi-autonomous districts and an active shipping industry. As seen, and prior to 1492, ships sailing from Seville to the Atlantic islands slowly outnumbered those sailing north. The ability of the merchant class of Seville to re-direct trade led to continued, albeit slow, commercial growth, during a period of economic contraction, prior to the opening of new markets.

It is no coincidence, then, that more than two centuries after the re-conquest of Seville, it continued to be Castile's principal port. With Isabel and Fernando, the Christian Kingdoms would undergo important reforms that affected the autonomy of many municipalities. This was true for Seville as well, but unlike other cities, the Catholic monarchs, aware of the powerful residents of the city, such as the Genoese merchants, decided to establish there many of the institutions there that would become associated with the race for the Americas. Institutions such as the *Casa de la Moneda*, *Casa de la Contratación*, *Casa de la Fundición*, which were added to the already active port. By the time the Genoese, Christopher Columbus, landed at the wrong place in 1492, Seville had a history of being the axis for the overseas trade of both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. The great Italian families that opened the New World had already been well-established in Seville. The Centurioni, Grimaldi, Spinola, Doria, families, etc., were extremely successful, commercially, in mediaeval Seville, a fact that pre-dated their commercial steps in the Americas.<sup>8</sup>

By 1492, Seville was already the capital of gold and one of the most important banking centres of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>9</sup> This privileged situation, including the agricultural goods and shipping found in the area, can further explain the birth of Seville as a commercial link between the Mediterranean Sea and northern European ports located in the Atlantic. Eventually, more and more ships left Seville for the ports located in the Atlantic, but by this time the majority of these were not located in Europe, but rather Africa and other islands of the Atlantic. It was just a matter of time before Seville became known as the Gateway to the Indies.

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<sup>8</sup> Heers, *Gênes au XV siècle.*, p. 497.

<sup>9</sup> Heers, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, p. 18.



It can be argued that the Age of Exploration was the end of Seville as the axis between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic. By then, Seville was the entry port for new goods, such as chocolate, tobacco, tomatoes, etc, and the Mediterranean Sea was slowly ignored by Seville's merchant class, allowing Barcelona to become the most important port of the Iberian Peninsula to deal with this region. Slowly, and more especially after the Bourbons in the 1700s, Cádiz would become the new Gateway of the Indies. However, even then, many of the merchants, and especially the banks, were still located in Seville, with branch offices in Cádiz. The decline of Seville in the early modern period was due to both internal and external factors. The policies of the Catholic Monarchs against the commercial districts in favour of more modern-like institutions, undoubtedly led the merchants to desire control of those institutions, as they could no longer control their own district in the city. This led to corruption, which was also helped by the influx of riches from the new Atlantic markets. Another factor that led to the economic move to Cádiz was the natural processes of the Guadalquivir River, which continued to shift, silting up and losing some of its tributaries. This was certainly the case around the mouth of the river at Sanlúcar de Barrameda. The move to Cádiz, however, came at a time of the overall decline of the Spanish Empire. The Genoese, who no longer were 'isolated' in their district, but were intermingling with the Crown's institutions, would also suffer a commercial decline alongside the Spanish Empire.

Seville's Golden Age, thus, was probably the period between 1248 and 1492. With Columbus came the fame, but also havoc. After 1492, the Genoese were still chief among the traders between the New and the Old Worlds, using Seville as their headquarters.<sup>10</sup> But, just like Seville, their years were numbered.

Eventually, the Genoese golden age would also come to an end, but Seville was still there, funded by new sponsors. By the end of the sixteenth century, just a hundred years after Columbus' voyage, the Genoese were no longer the main commercial sponsors in Seville, northern Europeans had taken over. Neither was olive oil the main reason for commerce, it was silver - American silver. In the words of Braudel: 'A whole

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<sup>10</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Phillip II*, trans. Siân Reynolds (Berkeley 1995; originally published in French in 1949), vol. I, p. 637.

book could be written on Seville, the city of corruption, of vicious denunciation, of prevaricating officials, a city in which silver had wrought havoc.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 640.

## APPENDIX I – SHIPS

### A. Shipping and the Port of Seville, 1252-1508

*The following list, which by no means is complete, is an attempt to give the reader an idea of the amount of ships that may have had any link with the port of Seville. The information on the ships listed below has been gathered from different sources, two of which are predominant, the English Rolls and the Protocolos of the port of Seville. On occasions when other sources, which may have not had any relationship with shipping, mentioned ships those have also being included; these included ships mentioned in the Actas Capitulares for example.*

*Since it is impossible to have accurate information on the port of Seville, many of the entries are followed by (?), to simply note that either the author or other historians may feel that the information given is correct, although no proof can be given. At times, the freighter, patron, and merchant could be the same person. Only when the sources specifically mentioned a distinction, has that distinction been made, thus if the sources mentioned ‘merchant of...’ it is assume that the person was the freighter, ‘patron/master of...’ would be a patron of the ship, while the ‘owner of...’ it is assume to be the owner of the ship, and not necessary of the cargo, which in theory was owned by the merchant or at least the merchant was in charge of those goods.*

*Furthermore, and due to space limitations, the sources of the information is not provided, since all the ships mentioned are also mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3. This is the case for all entries with the exception of the year 1492. No source has been provided for the ships that left the port of Seville in that year, since that information is of general knowledge even for those who are not historians.*

*APPENDIX I*

Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner(s)
1252	Buenaventura	Seville	Lisbon, Coruña, Santander	La Rochelle	don Aleman	wax & leather	don Jordán	
1277		Genoa		Flanders	Jacobus de Besi de Sori		Nicolus Dugus Spinola	Jacobus de Besi de Sori
1278	St. Johannes	Genoa	Seville	England	Ugoilius Bucuius/Manuel de Anelizano		Urguetus Embriacano	
1278	St. Anthonius	Genoa	Seville	England	Percivalis Embronus/Mathheus Rivarolia	1297 containers of alum	Nicolinus Lacharias	
1278	Alegrancia	Genoa	Seville	England	Vivaldus Belle de Castro		Benedictus Lacharias	
1281		Genoa	Seville (?)	Bruges	Petrus Lercarius	alum	Bolianus Spinola	
1299	Santa María	Genoa	Seville (?)	Bruges	Lafranchus de Nigro Zimernus de Lucullo Guilielmus de Levanto	alum		Franceschinus de Mangano
1303		Genoa	Seville (?)	Southampton	Guidettus & Janotus Spinola	horses, armor, cloth, velvet		
1304		Southampton	Seville (?)	Seville	Guidettus & Janotus Spinola			
1304		Seville	St. Matieu, Brittany	England	Domingus Peris of Sera William Pierre			
1305	St. Nicholas	Genoa	Seville (?)	Southampton	Janotus Spinola Peter of Malosellini		Hugh Vyntemile Raffo Traverii	
1306		England	Seville (?)	Genoa	Manuel Pezagnus Leonardus Pezagnus	2700 containers of English wool	Janitus Marocellus/Leo Morigia Loterius de Ajoguerigo	Manuel Pezagnus Leonardus Pezagnus
1308	St. Christofonus	Genoa	Majorca, Catalonia, Seville (?)	England	Graciadeus de Nigro	2500 of ?		
1308	St. Johannes	Genoa	Cadiz, Sanlúcar, Seville	Flanders	Obertus Pecolus/Andalo Zurlus	alum		
1316	St. John of Genoa	Genoa	Sevilla (?)	Sandwich	James de Roco	wheat, soap, almond, oil (from Seville)	James de Roco	
1317	St. Julian	Seville (?)	San Sebastian	England	Laurence de Poyhane	wheat (from Seville?)		
1317	St. Nicholas	Genoa	Seville	Southampton	Anthollinus Pezagnus	wheat (from Seville?)	Nicolinus Usumaris	Sepionus & Octavinus Nigro
1317		Genoa	Seville (?)	England	Anthony Pessaigne	wheat from Seville		
1320		Seville	(Cornwall)	La Rochelle	Domynges Peres/Fernandus de Sancta Maria Alphonsu Peres/Peter Domynges Fernandus Martyn/Vincent Jones			
1323		Seville (?)		Fowey	Peter Gerveys	figs		
1326		Genoa	Southampton		William de Meret			William de Meret
1364		England	Gascony/beyond the seas-Seville(?)	England	Henry Wyvelescombe	100 Cloths for wine; 100 cloths for olive oil		
1337		Rome (?)	Seville (?)	Southampton (?)	Peter Willelmi (of the city of Seville)	Wine & other goods		
1337		Lombardy	Seville (?), Gascony	Ireland	Arnold Tolosan (of the city of Seville)			
1337	St. Marie	Southampton	Seville	Lombardy	Dinus Forcetti-Society of Bardi		Martin Igsines	Society of Bardi
1337	St. John				Peter Biny-Society of Bardi		Sebastian de Nordyncho	Society of Bardi
1345	St. John	Genoa (?)	Seville (?)	England	Columbanus Lercarius Baronel Cantelo			
1352	"caryk" of Genoa	Jersey	Islands, Seville (?)	Genoa	Francisco Spinola			

Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
1353		Bristol		Seville	Pedro Guillelmi of Seville	30 sacks of wool		
1353	St. Mary de Coronade	Seville (?)	La Rochelle	Bristol	Merchants from Castile & Genoa	wine		
1353	St. Marie la Rose	Genoa	Seville	Flanders (Bristol)	Ferrandus Sanchos de Arrieta	20 casks of honey, wine, wares, etc.		Galeitus de Camilla

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1353	St. Marie Magdalene	Southampton	Seville (?)	Genoa	Casanus de Mari	wool	John de Caparagia	
1353	St. Katelyne	Southampton	Seville (?)	Genoa	Casanus de Mari	wool	Martin la Parada	
1354	St. Miche of Depe	Seville (?)	Normandy (?)	Sluis	Bartholomew de Camilla	hides from Seville		
1354		Southampton	Seville (?)	Genoa	Casanus de Mari NicholIni Usus Mari	300 sacks of wool 700 sacks of wool		
1360	St. Marie	Genoa	Seville (?)/Flanders	(boarded at sea)	Peter de Menola/Agamelo Cibo			Peter de Menola/Agamelo Cibo
1360	St. Katerine	Genoa	Seville (?)/Flanders	(boarded at sea)	Andrew de Mari/John de Caparalia			Andrew de Mari/John de Caparalia
1360	St. Domenic	Genoa	Seville (?)/Flanders	(boarded at sea)	George de Mari/John de Mari			George de Mari/John de Mari
1360	St. Juliane	Genoa	Seville (?)/Flanders	(boarded at sea)				
1361	St. Marie	Genoa	Seville (?)	Sluis	John de Mari	wool, cloth & other goods	Nicholas Spinola	
1362	St. Cristofre	Genoa	Seville (?)	Yarmouth	John de Mari		Tropus Marcellus	
1369	Welefare	England	Lisbon	Seville				
1369	Margarete	England	Lisbon	Seville				
1369	St. María de Vizcaya		Seville, Lisbon	Flanders				
1369	various	Seville	Flanders	Seville			(treaty)	
1388		Genoa	Portugal	Southampton	Barnabo Centurion			
1389	La Seine Johan	Seville		Middelburg/ Sandwich	Reginald Grill/Ciprian de Mari Lionel de Vyvalde/Benedict Lomely	115 tuns of oil 41 bales of wax	Antony Spinola	
1391	Sta María de Sevilla	Seville		England	Pedro Martin de Bermeo			
1402	Trinidad	Seville		Bristol				
1402	Mary	Seville		Bristol				
1403	St. Pier	Seville	London	Flanders	Ochea Sanchez	49 tuns of Seville oil	Pedro Lopez	Blaise Berru of Piedmont
1403	St. John (?)	Florence	Seville, England	Flanders	Philip Albertis-Society of Albertini	soap of Seville	Society of Albertini	
1403	St. Mary	Seville (?)	Lepe (west of Seville), London	Flanders		56 tuns of bastard wine		
1404	St. Anthony	Venice	Seville, Lisbon	London	Philip Albertis-Society of Albertini	124 cases of soap	Society of Albertini	
1404		Seville	Lepe (west of Seville), London	Flanders	Anthony Garcia	30 tuns of oil		
1412		Seville	Lepe (west of Seville), London	London	Juan Rodriguez de Sevilla	85 tunf of wine & other goods	Pedro Gonzalez	
1432		Genoa (?)	Seville/grounded in Sanlúcar	Flanders				
1434			Seville (?)	Southampton	Andree Spinola	150 barrels of soap		
1436			Seville (?)	Southampton	Stephen Dore Stephen Dore Frank Fournar	335 tuns of oil 108 bales of wax 144 bales of cumin	Baptiste Flisco	
1437		Seville	Valencia	Barcelona	Pedro & Juan Rodríguez/Alvar González	olive oil valued at 600 golden doblas		
1440		Genoa	Sevilla (?)	Southampton	Gregorio de Negri			
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner

Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
1449	María de Montrigo	Genoa	Seville (?)	Flanders (Bristol)	Tiram Chibo Ciprian Spinola Christopher Catayn John Clavero Girous de Piliis Nicholas de Furnariis Lewis Scott	31 tons of oil from Seville 10 tons of oil from Seville ? tons of oil from Seville 40 tons of ? 7 cartels of soap from Seville 10 tons of oil from Seville 20 tons of ?, 12 tons of oil from Seville		

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					John Specia John & Andrews de Nigro	& 32 bales of cumin of Seville 18 tons of oil of Seville & 6 bales of cumin of Seville 10 sacks of Spanish wool		
1452		Seville		Flanders		oil, soap, fruit		King Juan II
1452		Seville	Santander	Flanders				King Juan II
1453	carraca Santiago	Seville	(in port for repairs)					Juan Sánchez de Mendoza
1458		Genoa	Seville	England	Simon Cataneus/Benedict Larcarius Simon Larcarius/John Lomelyn	27 tons of good oil of Seville		
1458		Bristol	Straits of Marrok	Italy	Homo Bonegrete/Lawrence Barbarigo	1200 sacks of wool		
1459		Bristol	Straits of Marrok	Italy	Homo Bonegrete/Lawrence Barbarigo	1200 sacks of wool		
1460	carrack of Genoa	Genoa	Seville (?)	Southampton	George & Simon Catan	wares & other goods	Thadeus Spinola	
1466		Southampton	Straits of Marrok	Italy	Philip Lomelinus	25 sacks of wool		
1470		Flanders		Seville	Pedro Valle de Burgos	cooper		
1471	St. James	Seville	England	Flanders	Bartolomeo Caretto	goods from Seville	Juan Perez de Bermeo	John Piers de la Rawley
1471	St. Bartholomeo	Seville (?)	Lepe (west of Seville)	London	Martín Ibañez	31 tons of wine	Juan de Medina	Juan de Medina
1472		Vizcaya		Seville		iron		
1472	Stma. Trinidad	Seville		Southampton			Juan Gomez Catalan	
1472	San Antonio	Seville	Madeira, Lanzarote	Fuerteventura			Antón de Leura	
1472	San Antonio	Seville					Antón de Leura	
1472		Seville		London			Fernando Martinez de Serpa	Duque de Medina Sidonia
1472	Michell	Seville	Sanlúcar	Southampton	John Mott		Juan Lopez	
1472	María	Seville	Sanlúcar	Southampton	John Mott		John Chyvey	
1472		Seville	Sanlúcar	Ondárrroa				
1474	Marie Redeclyff	Bristol		Seville	Thomas Hexton/John Peuke/John Henmyg			Thomas Hexton/John Peuke/John Henmyg
1474	Marye Grace	Bristol		Seville	Louis Johns/John Fuyster/John Wythepoll			Louis Johns/John Fuyster/John Wythepoll
1474	Trynyte	Bristol		Seville	Will Wodyngton/John Jay/William Bryd			Will Wodyngton/John Jay/William Bryd
1474	James	Bristol		Seville	John Skryven/Wiliam Byrd			John Skryven/Wiliam Byrd
1477		Bristol		Seville	Nicholas Browne	190 cloth of Bristol		
1479	La Bolandera	Seville	Palos	Guinea	Juan de la Monja		Cristobal Perez Chuchero	
1480	San Cristobal	Seville		Gran Canaria	Antonio Sanchez	4 tons of oil	Alfonso Cano	Duque de Medina Sidonia
1485		Bristol		Seville	Nicholas Browne	190 cloth of Bristol		
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
1489		Seville		Almeria	Gutierrez de Prado	31 bundles of wheat	Alfonso Martinez de Cordba	
1489	San Gines	Seville		Cape Verde			Domingo Rodriguez de la Mezquita	
1489		Seville		Gran Canaria			Juan Fernandez del Alcoba	
1492	Santa María	Seville	Palos, Canarias	Bahamas (?)			Christopher Columbus	Juan de la Cosa
1492	La Pinta	Seville	Palos, Canarias	Bahamas (?)			Martin Pizón	Martín & Vicente Pizón
1492	"La Niña"	Seville	Palos, Canarias	Bahamas (?)			Vicente Pizón	Juan Niño
1493		Seville		Arnemuiden	Pietro Vicenzo Doria Bernardino Grimaldi Genronimo & Pietro	salt 25 tons of oil 50 tons of oil	Pedro Gueldo	
1493	Stma. María de Gracia				Bernardino Grimaldi	wool	Antonio de Gostralay	
1493	Stma. Trinidad			Genoa (?)	Bernabe Aimri	sugar	Domingo de Arrona	

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1493	Espiritu Santo	Seville		Valencia	Gabriel Mas	100 bundles of wheat	Antonio Jeronimo	
1494	San Blas	Seville		Sluis	Jacopo Sopranis	10 tons of oil	Fernandez de Hoz	
1495	Stma. María de Piedad	Seville		Arnhemuiden	don Diego de Deza	28 tons of oil	Ochoa de Orchondo	
1496	San Cristobal	Seville		Cadiz	Pietro Vicenzo Doria	circa 1 tons of oil	Martín Fernandez Pacho	
1496	Buena Ventura	Seville		Tarifa	Jacopo Sopranis	60 jars of oil	Juan de Valencia	
1497	Santa Catalina	Seville		Perpignan	RR.CC. (Isabel & Fernando)	wheat	Diego Rodriguez	
1497	Santa Catalina	Seville		Perpignan	RR.CC. (Isabel & Fernando)	barley	Aparicio Sanchez	
1497	Santo Domingo	Seville		Perpignan	RR.CC. (Isabel & Fernando)	barley		
1497	Espiritu Santo	Seville		Perpignan	RR.CC. (Isabel & Fernando)	barley		
1497	La Roncala	Seville		Perpignan	RR.CC. (Isabel & Fernando)	barley		
1498	San Pedro	Seville		Flanders	Pedro de Miraga	fruits & wine	Pedro de Arrona	
1499	Santa María	Seville		Galway	Stefano Gentile Gonzalez Suarez	55 tons of wine 29 tons of (?)	Fernando de Hoyo	
1501	Santa Catalina	Seville		Middelburg	Alvaro de Vallalodid	olive oil	Bartolome de Aliri	
1504	San Lorezno	Seville		Flanders	Antón de Novia	100 tons of oil	Juan Fernandez de Yzate	
1504	Sta. M. de Guadalupe	Seville		London	Thomas Malliard	58 1/2 tons of oil	Martín de San Juan	
				London	John Gines	50 tons of oil		
				London	Raffael de Niel	7 1/2 tons of oil		
				London	George Bolestrad	6 1/2 tons of oil		
				London	Roger Draygot	3 tons of oil		
				London	Francis Bawdwyn	2 tons of oil		
				London	William Appleton	2 tons of oil		
				London	John Bayaton	1 1/2 tons of oil		
1504	Sta. María de Valdeflores	Chios	Alexandria, Cadiz, Seville, England	Flanders	Francesco Pinello	fruits & wine	Fernando de Castro & Juan Pita	
1505	Santa María	Seville		London	Alvaro de Sandoval	65 tons of oil	Fernando de Alcebo	
1506	Santa María	Seville	Antwerp	Seville	Bernardino de Isla	60 tons of oil	Andres de Laranga	
1508	María	Seville		Genoa/Palermo	Jacopo Sopranis	wool	Guillen Ricuistra	
1508	María	Seville			Jacopo Sopranis	wheat	Miguel Trujillo	
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner
1508	Santa María	Seville		Genoa	Francesco Doria/Stefano Centurione	salt	Tomas Matteo de Peregrino	
1508	San Anton	Seville		Antwerp	Bernardino de Isla	100 tons of oil	Miguel de Arriola	
1508		Seville		Flanders	Gaspere Spinola Nicola Spinola Dimitri Italiano Jacopo Italiano	alum cotton salt	Pablo de Aliona	
1508	St. María Magdalena	Galicia	Seville	Galicia	Diego Farto Fernando Lopez Pablo Canel	wine & timber	Pablo de Os Canales	
Date	Ship Name	Origin	Transit	Destination	Freighter	Cargo	Patron/Master	Ship Owner

## APPENDIX II – DOCUMENTS

### A. The Code of Toledo given to Seville (1251) Translated from Castilian and Latin by Dan Manuel Serradilla Avery

*Unlike other codes or fueros, the Code of Seville was not a fully developed municipal code, especially if compared to more complete ones, such as the fuero conquense or Code of Cuenca (ca. 1190). The initial Code of Seville was based upon that of Toledo, with many of the privileges granted being the same as those in Toledo. But unlike Toledo, Seville's important sea port had to be included. The creation, and thus inclusion of this new privileged district, made the Code of Toledo, henceforth, the Fuero de Sevilla. If compared to the Code of Cuenca which was fully completed at the time, in the twelfth century, the Code of Seville would continue to have additions until 1475. The original and most important part created the different commercial districts of the city, as well as providing its residence with certain rights and privileges. This original fuero was given to Seville on the 15<sup>th</sup> of June 1251 by Fernando III, and it is translated below.*

*After the many additions during the following two hundred years, the Catholic Monarchs, in 1492 and probably as part of their continued efforts to reform the Spanish kingdoms, ordered the council of Seville to record and copy all of the city's privileges, starting with the fuero de Toledo and ending with the reconfirmation of all the privileges up until 1475. These documents came together into one book after 1508, when the council agreed to pay for its creation.<sup>1</sup> From this point onward, it became known as the Libro de los Privilegios de la Ciudad de Sevilla, a beautiful book illustrated and illuminated by Nicolás de Monguía, and having the Giralda or Cathedral bell tower carved onto the back of the leather book.*

*Overall, the text is writing in old or mediaeval Castilian, although some authors dislike this usage, and thus it may be labelled as mediaeval Spanish.<sup>2</sup> Still, some Latin is*

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<sup>1</sup> AMS, X, 1508: fol. 4 verso.

<sup>2</sup> See the interpretation between Castilian & Spanish by Ramón Menéndez Pidal, *Crestomatía del español medieval*. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1965-1966).



*found within the text as well. Regardless of language, the text is written in gótica textual formada (also known as Gotica Libraria) at a time, 1508, when the Humanistic Book Script has already arrived into the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>3</sup> Finally, on an artistic note, the Book itself is in very good condition, which includes de original mudejár style bookbinding.*

*The original fuero is located in the Archivo Municipal de Sevilla (AMS), Sección I: Privilegios, carpeta 4, document n. 1; I recto-III recto:*

[1r] In the name of the true and everlasting God whom with his Son and with the Holy Spirit are one Lord with three people and of one substance, and that which He discovered for us in his glory and we believe in the same, believing in that which was discovered for us and for the glory of his Son and the Holy Spirit. And thus, those of us who believe and grant the everlasting truth, adore the property of people and the unity of the essence in that which is divine and in the name of this Holy Trinity which cannot be separated in essence, with which we commence and finish all the good deeds that we did, we clamour it to be the commencement and the ending of this our work. Amen.

Let it be known to all those who this writing should see that the great goods and great thanks and great mercies and great honour and great fortune that was shown by whom in the beginning and the fountain of all the goods in all of Christianity, and specifically to those of Castile and of Leon in the days and in the time of I, don Fernando, by the grace of God king of Castile, of Toledo, of Leon, of Galicia, of Sevilla, [1v] of Cordoba, of Murcia, and of Jaen, and understand and recognize these such goods and these thanks and these mercies were bestowed and were shown against Christians and against Moors. And this not because of our worthiness, but because of his great kindness and because of his great mercy, and because of the prayers and worthiness of Saint Mary, whose servants we are, and because of the help that she has provided with her blessed Son, and because of the prayers and worthiness of Saint James, whose knights we are, and whose standard we have and who has always helped us overcome.

And to do good and to show mercy upon us and our sons and upon our great men and our vassals and to all the people from Spain, [I] wanted and ordered and completed as we are knights and because of our work. With the help and the council of don Alfonso, our first son, and don Alfonso, our brother, and from our other sons, and with the help and council of our great men and our loyal Castilian and Leonese vassals who

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<sup>3</sup> María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, 'Escritura latina en la Plena y Baja Edad Media: la llamada "Gótica libraria" en España' in *HID*, XII. (Sevilla, 1985), pp. 377-410, pp. 397-398.

conquered all of Andalusia, to the service of God and the enlargement of Christianity more generally and finished that which was never conquered by any other king or man. And although honour and great mercy was shown in the conquests of Andalusia, with more abundant and general grace and mercy were shown in the conquest of Seville, which [we] did with His help and His power, as to the greatest and most noble Seville is from all other cities in Spain.

And because of this, I king don Fernando, servant and knight of Jesus Christ, since so many goods and so many mercies and many which we received from Him which is all good, [we] have by right and by reason and to do good in the parts that God gave to our vassals and the people who will populate Seville. And because of this, I, King don Fernando, in one with the Queen, doña Juana, our wife, and with the prince, don Alfonso, our first son and heir, and with our other sons, don Fabrique and don Enrique, [we] give and grant this *fuero* and these mercies that this letter states.

[We] give to all the residents of Seville commonly the *fuero de Toledo*, and [we] give and grant to all the knights all the liberties that the knights of Toledo have, as they have there or as the *fuero de Toledo* states that whomever has a horse eight months of the year is worth thirty maravedies, will be [2r] excused from the *fuero de Toledo*, [we] order that according to the *fuero* of Seville whomever has a horse which is worth fifty maravedies, let it be excused of the things that are excused in Toledo.

Another, [we] give and grant to those in the *barrio de Francos*, by mercy that [we] grant them, that they can buy and sell in liberty and freely in their homes their cloths and merchandise in bulk and by sections and by pieces, and any other things that [they] wish to purchase and sell in their homes that they can make, and there will be tanners and tailors just as they are in Toledo, and that [they] can have exchange in their homes. Another, [we] give them this mercy furthermore they are not obligated to safeguard our *alcázar* nor the *alcaçería* nor any other thing, as well as they are obliged to do as those of the *barrio de Francos* of Toledo. Another, [we] grant them that they are not obligated to give us service nor even if requested by force and we give them the honour of knights, according to the *fuero de Toledo*, and they must provide us with an army just as in the care of the knights of Toledo.

Another, [we] give and grant to those of the Sea by mercy that we grant them the right to have an *alcalde* that should judge the matters of the sea, excluding homicides and calumnies and inheritance and debts and pawns. And all other matters which belong to the *fuero* of land and are not of the sea then they must be judged by the *alcaldes* of Seville by the *fuero de Sevilla*, which we have given from the one of Toledo, and to this *alcalde* we grant [him] power or from those who should ruled after us. And if any one should not pay for the judgement from this *alcalde*, let the *alcalde* find six good men that have knowledge of the *fuero de la mar* and in accordance with him, let them show the plaintiff what he and those six

good men have as a right, and if the plaintiff does not pay for the judgement, let the *alcalde* in accordance with those six good men, raise him to be arrested by us or those that should reign after us. And [we] give and grant that they can buy and sell in their homes cloths and other merchandise in bulk and by sections in your *barrio*. And [we] grant them three blacksmiths and three barbers, and [we] give them the honour of knights, according to the *fuero de Toledo*.

And you must provide us with an army for the sea for three months of the year at your own costs and mission, with your bodies and your weapons and your provisions, giving us your ships. And from the three months forward if [we] wish for you to service us, we must give a reason. And this army that you must provide by sea is excused [2v] of providing an army of land for the council of the city unless this council asks for an army for matters in the territory of the city and for the city, and the said army must provide help to the council and must travel with them. Another, [we] give a butcher-shop for your *barrio* and our right is given to you.

And [we] order jointly to all those who are residents and dwellers in Seville, including knights as well as merchants as well as those of the sea as all those others of the village that they [should] give us the tithe of land and of figs. And if any of you demand more of that tithe that you must give us from the land and the figs, that [we] will not be obligated to defend you or to protect you against anyone one that you ask for, because this [tithe] of land and figs belongs to *almoxarifadgo* and is our right.

And [we] order that the bread and the wine and the cattle and all other things, that you give the church their right. And the labourers must give into your rights and to us and to the church, just as in Toledo.

And this *fuero de Toledo* and these commercial liberties we give and we grant as *fuero de Sevilla* and you have [it] from now on, God willing.

And [we] order and firmly defend that no one should dare come against this our privilege or against this *fuero* or against these liberties which are here written in this privilege, which are given to as *fuero de Sevilla*, nor to diminish anything from here, because the one who should dare should incite our anger and that of God and the prohibition [we] will tax or whom ever should reign afterwards the amount of one hundred marks of gold.

*(Followed by the dating clause, confirmation, and signatures)*

B. Principal Privilege given to the Genoese of Seville (1252)  
Translated from Castilian and Latin by Dan Manuel Serradilla Avery

*Just like the fuero, which established two commercial districts in Seville, the Principal Privilege given to the Genoese also created a distinctive commercial district. But unlike any other fueros, this document shows the intention of a specific group to gain rights and privileges and the results of this intent. The powerful Genoese, who had commercial relations prior to the re-conquest, became the most powerful merchants, and at times, political group of medieval and early modern Seville. The so-called Principal Privilege is just the first—which created their barrio—of many privileges and grants given to the Genoese between 1251 and 1508. And just like the fuero de Sevilla, in the same year, 1508, both the Code of Seville and the Principal Privilege became part of their respective books or Libros, by order of the Catholic Monarchs; once again, their reforms lead to the creation of another important document for the study of mediaeval Seville. This new book became known as the Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses Establecidos en Sevilla. The Principal Privilege lies within its pages; however, the original copy that the Genoese had in Seville no longer survives. The original document which was sent to Genoa does survive, located in Archivio di Stato di Genoa (ASG), Materia Politiche, Mazzo 5. From this original document, a copy appears in Liberiurium Reipublice genuensis, HPM, 1854, Tomus I, fols. 1060-1064. Ramón Carande used both of these two documents to then publish an edited a version of the Principal Privilege in Sevilla, fortaleza y mercado (Sevilla, 1972). Another version of the document, however, exists thanks to Alfonso X. Shortly after the death of his father, Alfonso X saw this document and ordered the following: ‘that privilege that our father, the very noble, and very high king don Fernando, gave them in Latin that we order to be translated into the romance so that our alcaldes and almojarifes and the other uneducated men of our lands can understand it better [...] here is the translation.’<sup>4</sup> The document translated below is based upon the translation by Alfonso X, as well as the other versions that exists. The documents are dated between the 12<sup>th</sup> and the 22<sup>nd</sup> of May depending on which of the surviving copies is used.*

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<sup>4</sup> *El Libro de los Privilegios...*, p. VI recto.

*In terms of language, and just like the previous document, this Libro is written in old Castilian using a Gothic script; however, unlike the privileges given to the city, this Libro has a second translation dated 1537. This second part, which is also in Castilian, has a more cursive script of ‘clear humanistic influence.’<sup>5</sup> However, any reader is able to note the tightness of the lines, clearly due to space limitations – perhaps due to the second writer usage of the remaining seven blank folios of the first part, dated 1508. Some clauses are in Latin, however they are very sporadic.*

*The Libro de los Privilegios... itself is located in the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS), Sección de Patronato Real, Diversos de Italia: 46/73:*

[7r] Don Fernando by the grace of God, king of Castile, and Leon, and Galicia, and Seville, and Cordoba, and Murcia, and Jaen, to all those who should see this letter, health and love. Let it be known that the council and the commune of Genoa sent to us to ask for mercies with Nicolas Calvo, their ambassador, that we shall grant them *fueros* and rights so that they should come and trade in this said city of Seville when they should like to come and to trade.

And [we] with the Queen doña Juana and with our sons prince don Alfonso, first heir, and with don Fabrique and don Enrique, having had council with our bishops and rich men and other good men of Castile and Leon which I know, we grant them these *fueros* and rights which are written in this letter and are these; we grant them the right to have a district [*barrio*] and an exchange house [*alhondiga*] and an oven and a bath in the city of Seville and let them work there at their cost and commission, and if they receive [any income] from their exchange house due to a guest let them keep it, but if someone wishes to purchase or to sell things in it let them give us, or to all our heirs that should reign afterwards in Castile and in Leon, our royalties.

Another, [we] grant them their right to have a church and to present a chaplain to the archbishop of Seville and let the archbishop give their rights just as with any other of the churches of this city. And another, let us receive our royalties from all those things that those of Genoa should sale or purchase in the city of Seville in this matter: from all the merchandise that they should bring and sell let them give us from each one hundred *maravedis* of whichever currency five *maravedis* starting in the feast of Saint John forward which is the era of this letter, and if they bring their currency and use it in their merchandise in Seville or other

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<sup>5</sup> Javier Álvarez, ‘El Libro de los privilegios de los genoveses del Archivo de Simancas. Descripción’ in *El Libro de los Privilegios Concedidos a los Mercaderes Genoveses Establecidos en Sevilla*, Camarero Bullón, ed. (Madrid, 1992), pp. 18-32, p. 19.

places of our land, let them give us from each one hundred, two and half *maravedis* of whichever currency those *maravedis* are in, and of the trade with [olive] oil they must pay *portazgo*, per each jar, at a rate of a silver coin from the currency of Seville, and if they imported [7v] some goods and could not sell it, let them export it to wherever they wish without paying us any right for those [goods], unless these imports were bread or wine which are not to be exported thenceforth.

Another, [we] grant them that they should not give us any price for their ships and if any merchant of Genoa wishes to sell their ship or to purchase another, let them not give us any duties. Another, [we] grant them that the Genoese must choose two good men from Genoa or from wherever and to send them to us or to those that should reign afterwards in Castile, and we grant them by our power and our warrant that they should be made consuls, and if we were not to be in our lands, let them send [the consuls] to whomever we should leave in our place and let him have the power to receive and confirm them.

And these consuls shall not be able to judge any crime of blood nor judge anyone who is a resident of the city of Seville, but let them judge between the Genoese who should come from outside and that are not residents of Seville; and if by the affairs of a Genoese who comes from outside has a dispute with a resident of Seville let the dispute be judged by the *fuero* [of Seville] and the judges of Seville, and if the resident of Seville has a dispute with a Genoese who should come from outside let them dispute in front of the consuls [of Genoa]; and if the resident of Seville is wronged by the sentence of the consuls, let him go to the judges of Seville, if he wishes, and let the judges judge according to their rights, but the Genoese who is not a resident cannot appeal the sentence of the consuls; and another, when these consuls judge between the Genoese that are not residents, that they cannot appeal against the sentence of the consuls, but let it be firm and stable, and if the Genoese who comes from outside has a dispute with men from other places or if men from other places have a dispute with the Genoese who come from outside, let this suit be judged by us or whomever we leave in our place and let us judge it in front of the consuls, and if one of them is wronged, let him appeal to the [8r] judges of Seville.

And if any merchant of Genoa who is not a resident of Seville should die in Seville and leave all his goods in our land, that the Genoese consuls can take those goods. And if any privateer of Genoa, who is disobedient or rebels against Genoa, should do harm to or rob the man of our land or to take weapons or help the Moors, that the Genoese who are in our land under our lordship shall not receive any harm because of this in their homes nor in their person, but let those evil-doers receive the punishment of the wrong-doing they have done; and if the said privateers or any other should do harm or evil to our land taking the ship, or whatever they should take from our kingdom to the city or to the lordship of Genoa, that the city of Genoa must return it and give us those goods

which the evil-doer [has taken] and to do unto him whichever justice they deliver.

Another, [we] grant that if any men of our lordship should do harm or rob by sea or by land against the men of the city and the lands of Genoa, that we should take as a guarantee their body and whatever he has, and we should make him come to answer in our court in the established period of time for this matter and when he comes and knows that he did wrong or injustice, that we will do justice as we must according to the *fuero* and with rights, and we will give to the plaintiff those damages and those costs and the works that because of these reason shall be taken from the evildoer but if he refuses we should investigate about this subject and if after the investigation we find that he did what he is accused of doing, let us give him our justice both in person and in his goods and we shall give those [goods] to those who suffer from the offence as soon as the acts that were done and the damages and the expenses as noted above [are proven]; And if after the sentence and in the given time, the [accused] does not show to deal with the sentence handed down to him and if he does not show a valid reason for why he could not [8v] come, let him lose of his goods to the plaintiff fulfilling that way our justice, as is noted above, but if some outsider or from another land steals or should do harm to the Genoese in their persons or to their goods in our lordship, or in our realm, and should come to do harm into parts of our kingdom or in our realm and if the case should be presented to us or to whomever is our representative, let us do [justice] and let them receive our justice to those people and to those evildoers in accordance with the rights and reasons and the *fuero* that the land has.

And another, [we] grant that when men from the city or the land of Genoa come to the city of Seville or the land of Castile or of Leon or to another place of our lordship, let them be safe and secure with all their goods giving us our royalties and having their [own privileges] as noted above and if they should arrive into the lands of the King of Granada or of Murcia or of Xerez or any other land that we are conquering and if they should bring lawsuits, let them have their rights in those places and let them have their lawsuits in accordance with their privileges; and let them be safe and secure in all our lands, and if they choose to return to Genoa by sea or by other means as they choose, let them not give us anything upon arrival in our ports of Castile and Leon that belongs to Christians. And if they were to arrive in any port of Castile or Leon that belongs to Christians and were to sell, let them have their rights; and if by any adventure by land or in any port of the sea we were to win it free from the Moors with no reprisal [to the Genoese] from the said port or land that their rights that are given in the city of Seville not only but all the ports and lands that during the conquest [9r] were under the Moors.

And [we] grant and promise for us and by our descendants that we may have that which is stated in this letter, and let this be as such forever, firmly and stable. We firmly defend that no one should dare come against

this letter nor break it nor diminish it, nor any other thing what so ever, which should bring the wrath of God and ours, and should pay the king a fine one thousand maravedies and to them double the damage done. Letter dated in Seville by order of the King twenty two days having passed of the month of May in the era of one thousand two hundred and eighty-nine years in the third year that the victorious King don Fernando laid siege to the noble city of Seville and won it for the Christian faith. And this translation was done in Seville by our order twenty-eight days having been passed of the month of August of the era of one thousand two hundred and ninety-nine...

*(followed by another privilege issued by Alfonso X)*



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