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E LINGUAGGI **FASCICOLO 1**

**STORIE E LINGUAGGI RIVISTA
DI STUDI UMANISTICI FONDATA
DA FRANCO CARDINI E PAOLO**

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THE *RACIONE DE ALEXANDRIA*: A VENETIAN ANONYMOUS MERCHANT MANUAL ON MEDITERRANEAN TRADING IN THE LATE XIII CENTURY

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Abstract (ITA)

Nel 1986 David Jacoby annunciava la scoperta di un importante documento inedito sul commercio veneziano tra i porti del Mediterraneo durante l'ultimo periodo del regno crociato ("A Venetian Manual of Commercial Practice from Crusader Acre", ovvero il

ms conservato presso la Biblioteca Marciana It. XI, n. 87). Purtroppo non l'ha mai pubblicato. Questo lavoro descrive il manuale e la sua struttura, propone una contestualizzazione tanto dell'opera quanto delle informazioni che offre, e ne fornisce un'edizione.

Abstract (ENG)

In 1986, David Jacoby announced his discovery of an unpublished important document about Venetian trade among the Mediterranean ports during the last period of the Crusader kingdom, i.e. the MS Venice, Biblio-

teca Nazionale Marciana, It., Cl. XI, n. 87, fols. 1r-7r. Unfortunately, he never published it. My paper will describe its structure, try to put in context the information the manual offers, and propose an edition of the text.

1. Introduction and state of the art

In 1986, the late David Jacoby announced his discovery of an unpublished document about Venetian trade among the Mediterranean ports during the last period of the Crusader kingdom, which begins:

Racione de Alexandria, In Alexandria si è .j. cantero lo qual ven clamato geroin, alo qual cantero ven venduto tute quelle cause le qual ven dute inn Alexandria. Et si è quello cantero lib(re) .cc. // a grosso a

KEYWORDS: Medieval Economics / Mediterranean History /
Medieval Venetian Trade / Medieval Commercial Manuals

lib(re) de Venecia.

Cui porta rame e stagno e plonbo o altre merçe si geta lo mill(iar)o cantera .v. et logo ven / pesato a questo cantero...

Unfortunately, he never published this text, which seems convenient to title according to its first words, i.e. *Racione de Alexandria*. Thus, I offer here the first edition of this important source, accompanied by a short description of the *Racione*'s structure, its contents, and some reflexions on the information it offers.¹

The *Racione* occupies the first folios of a miscellaneous codex of 195 folios, that has neither authors nor date, the MS Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, It., XI, 87 (= 7353), fols. 1r–7r (henceforth: V).² The manuscript catalogue of the librarian Pietro Bettio (beginning of 19th century) distinguishes in V the following items:

Tariffa di pesi e misure in Alessandria. Imperfetto [Tariff of weights and measures in Alexandria. Fragment].

Portolano per Alessandria relativamente a Venezia. Imperfetto [Portolano for Alexandria relatively to Venice. Fragment].

Eutropio – *Istorie* tradotte da Gio. Francesco Corniani [1581-1646]. Non è che il solo principio, in due copie [Eutropius – *Histories* translated by Gio. Francesco Corniani [1581-1646]. It is but the beginning alone, in two copies].

Giovita Rapicio [1476-1553] – *Lettera ad Alvise Sagondino* [*Letter to Alvise Sagondino*].

Dispacci d'un bailo veneziano a Costantinopoli nel 1539 mancanti al principio [*Dispatches from a Venetian bailo at Constantinople in 1539* missing from the beginning].

1 While I was working at the present paper (scheduled to be read during the SMS Conference of 2020 in Nicosia, postponed for covid-19 pandemic emergency in July 2021), I happened to know that Prof. Vittorio Formentin announced in 2015 the forthcoming edition of this and other very ancient Venetian documents (Formentin 2015, p. 33). So far this edition has not yet appeared and I am confident that, due to the totally different frameworks of our disciplines (medieval history vs history of Italian language), it will not be a complete waste to offer here, in the meanwhile, a complete transcription of the *Racione*, with a few historical notes, for the sake of Mamluk and Mediterranean studies.

2 Jacoby 1986. He announced his edition both in Jacoby 2001 and Id. 2018.

Conclavi de' papi Giulio III, Paolo IV, Pio IV e Pio V [Conclaves of Popes Julius III, Paul IV, Pius IV and Pius V].

Constituzioni, ovvero Mariegola della Scuola dello Spirito Santo in Caorle nel 1586 [Constitutions, or Mariegola of the School of the Holy Spirit in Caorle in 1586].

Luigi Grotto – *Oratio in funere Dominici Contareni Ducis Venetianum* [Luigi Grotto –Funeral Oration of the Doge of Venice Domenico Contarini].

Morandus Morandi – *Arbor foecunda, allocutio ad Ioannem Baptistam Sanutum D. Marci. Venetiarum Primicerium* [Morando Morandi, *The fruitful tree, address to Giovanni Battista Sanudo primicerius of St. Mark*].³

The first two items, written in parchment by the same thirteenth century hand (fols. 1r-7r, 7v-8v), are followed by several sixteenth and seventeenth century works written in paper of a wider size by different hands, which refer mostly to Venice and important Venetians, such as the Doge Domenico Contarini or the Bishop of Treviso Giovan Battista Sanudo. Therefore, about 300 years separate the unpublished *Racione* and the published fragment of *Portolano*⁴ from subsequent writings. Like other MSS of the XI class, V comes from the Consiglio dei X in the year 1795 and it is likely that its quires were bound, to some extent at random, just before entering the Biblioteca di San Marco and before moving to Palazzo Ducale in 1811. For these reasons, the manuscript does not provide further information on the textual history of the *Racione*.

Almost all the things that we know about the *Racione* date back to the seminal study of Jacoby, which requires a twofold approach. As Jacoby has already noted, the *Racione* does not mention gold florins or Venetian gold ducats.⁵ It mentions other types of coins, gold and silver, and discusses the possibility of minting coins at the Acre Mint; therefore, summarizing the most, he deduced that:

1. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem still existed.

³ *Codici italiani. Appendice*, VI, pp. 44-45.

⁴ The fragment was published both by Kretschmer 1909, pp. 235-237, and Gautier-Dalché 1995, pp. 181-182.

⁵ Jacoby 1986, pp. 411-412.

2. the absence of gold florins and ducats placed the situation captured in the *Racione* before 1285, and more likely, as Jacoby believes, in the early years of the decade 1270-1280.
3. References to ports on the Black Sea are almost absent in the *Racione*.⁶
4. In the *Racione*, the role of Cyprus is still limited, and in connection with other ship operators (Montpellier, Puglia).⁷
5. The *Racione* provides interesting data on the silk sold in Montpellier.⁸
6. The *Racione* testifies to the movement of precious metal from the West to the Levant.⁹

Some other assessments of the great scholar on the *Racione* lack any confirming evidence. This is true for the following hypotheses:

1. The high occurrence of data on Venice and Acre, together with the Venetian language, reasonably suggest that the *Racione* was written in Acre by a Venetian.¹⁰
2. “There is a striking contrast in our text between the well-organized, compact and detailed sections of Alexandria, Montpellier, Genoa, Apulia... and the short, isolated entries referring to various other cities... the distracted or rather stupid copyist who executed our manuscript wrongly inserted the marginal annotations found in his model between the entries of the list. Yet by so doing he provided us with a definite proof that our manual has come down to us in a copy.”¹¹
3. “It seems likely that our author had at his disposal a copy of the complete list written on loose, separate sheets which he kept with his manual.”¹²
4. “It was most probably a merchant from Montpellier who provided the detailed information on this city at the request of our manual’s author.”¹³

6 Id 1986., p. 407.

7 Id. 1986, p. 412

8 Id. 1986, p. 425.

9 Id. 1986, p. 427.

10 Id. 1986, p. 405.

11 Id. 1986, pp. 418-419.

12 Id. 1986, pp. 421-422.

13 Id, 1986. p. 423.

5. “It is obvious that our author was eager to collect new data even if were of no direct use to him.”¹⁴
6. “In our early Venetian manual, however, we find none of the personal touches or didactic undertones so typical of these as well as other fourteenth-century manuals. The more rudimentary organization of the data, the large number of entries unrelated to the compact sections and above all the objective phrasing of the information all imply that our manual was basically meant for private use.”¹⁵

2. The *Racione*'s dating and structure

Two palaeographers, to whom I submitted photos of the MS, confirm that the handwriting belongs to the late thirteenth century. These are their respective assessments: “I would date this script to the last quarter of the thirteenth century” (prof. Sandro Bertelli); “if the copyist was young and learned to write in the mid-thirteenth century or in the following decade, this may allow a dating before 1278, if the text were later it would be a rather old copyist” (prof. Stefano Zamponi).¹⁶

If we except diplomas and the like, we historians often work with copies of documents which can be written many years later than the lost original (e. g. the older section of the *Zibaldone da Canal* is a copy written in the second half of 14th century of a text which probably dates back to the beginning of the century). Such datings of the *Racione* means that the text is important not only for information on the economy of the Mediterranean, but also for the history of the Italian language, because it is among the earliest documents written in Venetian. Nevertheless, the linguistic features and the antiquity of the text add further difficulties to our understanding.

For a correct interpretation of the text, it is crucial to assess whether the *Racione* as we read it reflects the will of its authors or whether, on the contrary, it is the accidental result of the loss of a large amount of text. The abbot Pietro Bettio (1769-1846), i.e. the learned librarian to whom the above summary description goes back, judged the text ‘Imperfetto’, namely a fragment, not unlike the *Portolano* that follows it.¹⁷

14 Id.. 1986, p. 423.

15 Id. 1986, p. 424.

16 Also Formentin 2015, p. 34, proposes the same dating.

17 A rich entry on the librarian is available in the DBI: Ferrari 1967.

Provided that in this context *racione*, *raxon*, etc (latin *ratio*) means ‘list of tariffs and commercial uses’, the *Racione* has this structure (I refer to the paragraph numbers of my edition below):

Racione of Alexandria: §§ 1-34.

(Section without title): equivalence of weights and currencies from Alexandria to Acre: §§ 35-47

(Section without title): list of the way in which the goods are shipped from Alexandria respectively to Acre, Messina, Armenia, Marseille, Puglia, Tunis, Romania and all of Soria:¹⁸ §§ 48-68

(Section without title): equivalence of weights and currencies among Bugia, Tunis, Venice, Pisa, and Sicily: §§ 69-75

Racione of Montpellier: §§ 76-112

(Section without title): equivalence of weights and currencies from Genoa; §§ 113-118

(Section without title): equivalence of weights and currencies between Puglia’s places and Acre: §§ 120-126

(Section without title): equivalence of weights and currencies between Constantinople, Acre, Negroponte, and Cyprus: §§ 127-134

Racione of Negroponte – §§ 135-147

Racione of Messina – §§ 148-163

(Section without title): units of measures compared to type of goods in Venice: §§ 164-166

Racione of Venice – §§ 167-182

Racione of Aleppo – §§ 183-230.

I offer here also some hints on the structure of the *Portolano* which immediately follows in V:

Instructions on the route Acre-Venice (“Si vis navigare de Acre per venire inver Venecia...”: Kretschmer 1909, I, p. 235)

Instructions on the route Acre-Alexandria (“Si vis navigare de Acre per andar ad Alexandria...”: p. 236)

18 It is well known that during Middle Ages Syria was a region containing Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Jordan and the south-eastern extremity of Turkey.

Instruction on the route Alexandria-Venice (“et dalexandria accaput selmone navega per maistro...”) which are interrupted abruptly at the end of fol. 8v after some words about Ragusa (“et ven for a delagosta miliaria XV usque XX et per ponente ven usque...”: pp. 236-237).

In addition to content, it is also important to analyze the material aspect of the manuscript. Palaeographic evidence points to a single hand for fols. 1r-8v. But the management of space is uneven: fols. 1r-2v contain 24 lines; fol. 3r, 25; fol. 3v, 20; fol. 4r, 21; fol. 4v, 17; fol. 5r, 27; fol. 5v, 29; fol. 6r, 29; fol. 6v, 27; fol. 7r, 28; fol. 7v, 24; fol. 8r, 24; fol. 8v, 27. These differences could result from inserting portions of text into pages at different times, but the fact that almost all folios have a different number of lines, even those that contain the beginning of a *Portolano* (fols. 7v-8v), does not help to explain the issue.

I also point out that the longest piece that V has in common with the *Zibaldone da Canal* (which will be discussed shortly) – §§ 203-230, which occupy the entire fol. 7r – has no relation to the text preceding it (§§ 191-202). Fol. 6v ends with a list of the customs fees to be faced by those buying bambagia in Aleppo, while fol. 7r begins with a list of goods (“lançe .cc. p(er) mill(iar)o,” etc.). In the *Zibaldone*, the same text appears under the heading *Queste si è le merchadantie scrite qua de soto como elle se de’ metere in nave* [These are the goods written below as they are to be boarded], after 68 lines (and 3 fols.) of other goods. As already reiterated, we do not know the history of V. In any case, it is likely that even if the copyist had voluntarily omitted the long list of previous goods to start with the *lançe*, he would have had to explain to the reader the meaning of the proposed list. This makes me speculate that the *Racione* has lost at least one bifolio:

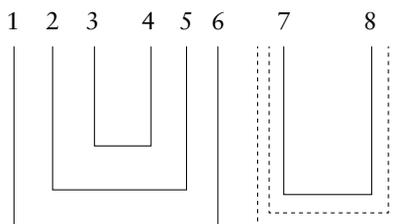


Fig. 1. Structure of the quires of fols. 1-8 (ms. V). the dotted lines stand for one or more missing bifolios.

A further incontrovertible fact is that the copyist uses and tries hard to carefully reproduce different sources. The *Portolano* in fols. 7v-8v is

written seamlessly and breaks on the conjunction *et*. The initial letters of the main paragraph on fols. 1r are protruding and written in brown, while on fols. 5r-7r all initials respect the straightness of the page and are touched in red. If we compare the *mise en page* of V with that of the MSS containing the *Raciones pannorum* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. V 130 = 3198; henceforth: V2) and the *Zibaldone da Canal*, we note that they seem to follow different models. MS V2 has, in the portion in common with V (see figs. 2 and 4), neither strokes in red ink, nor particularly large *capilettera* (which in V, although provided for, have not been included: see figs. 3 and 5-6).

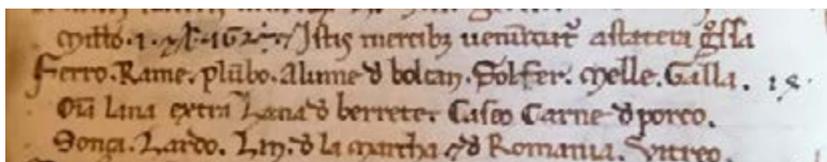


Fig. 2. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. V 130 (= V2), fol. 38r (*Raciones pannorum*).

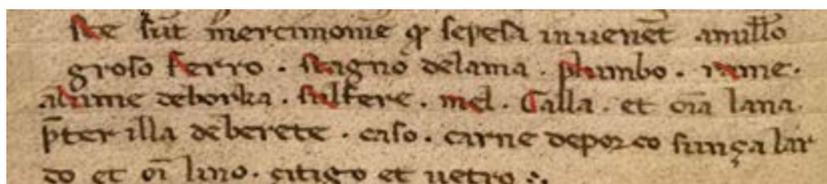


Fig. 3. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. XI 87 (= V), fol. 5r (*Racione de Alexandria*).

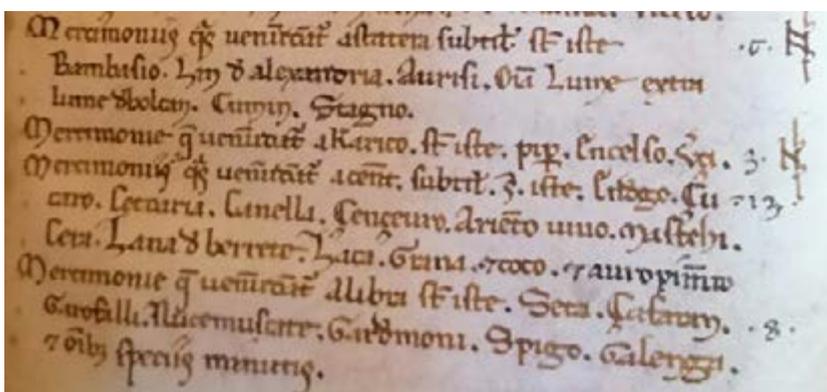


Fig. 4. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. V 130 (= V2), fol. 38r (*Raciones pannorum*).

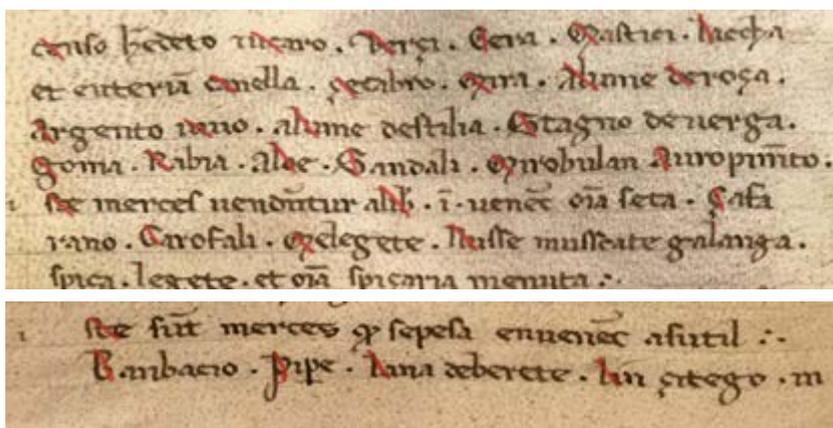


Fig. 5-6. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. XI 87 (= V), fols. 5r-v (*Racione de Alexandria*).

The same argument applies to the Yale manuscript, which, however, being much later, may itself derive from V.

Paredane cuminal	xxl.	p.	ozillo ::
Remi de galea	xxv.	p.	ozillo ::
Remi de barca. et de gondola	xl.	p.	ozillo ::
castelle laborate i falsis et tabulis de nuçe			ozilla v. ptbr ::
asse cuminal de istria	xxx.	p.	ozillo ::
Terre dogene	v.	p.	ozillo ::
Agnelline mitli	viij.	apelo	facit viij. ::
Becme cuminal	cc.	p.	ozillo ::
filacta	cc.	p.	ozillo ::
Exoltolme	cc.	p.	ozillo ::

Fig. 7. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. XI 87 (= V), fol. 7r (*Racione de Alexandria*).

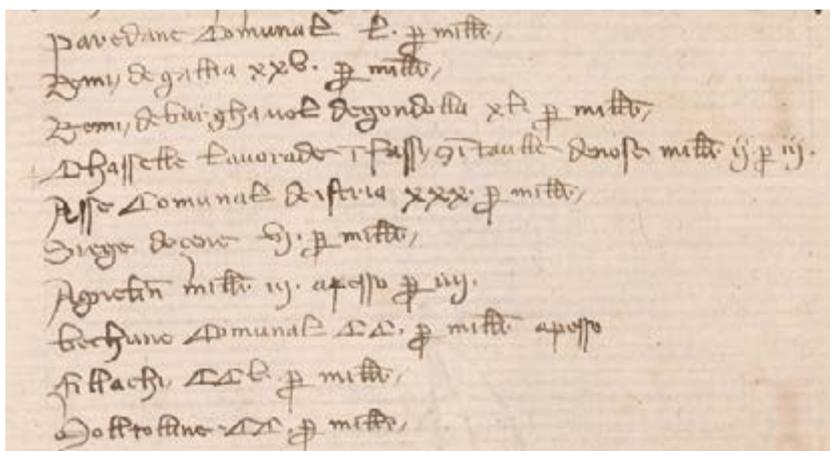


Fig. 8. Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 327, fol. 26r (*Zibaldone da Canal*).

In some places (§§ 63-68, fol. 3r; §§ 84-94, fol. 3v; §§ 97-108, fol. 4r; §§ 203-230, fol. 7r) the writer of the *Racione* puts the text in two or more columns: §§ 84-94 and 97-108 are in two columns, while §§ 63-68 and 203-230 are in 4 columns. While for 4-column text the arrangement is functional, because it serves to handle more information (see fig. 7), in the case of the two-column texts these are mere lists of goods, which elsewhere in the *Racione* are listed on the same line (for example in § 110, which contains references to 9 different spices, or § 112, which lists 11 types of silk). Maybe, in the future it will be possible to identify manuscripts with a mise en page similar to V. In section 4, I will show in detail some noticeable textual relationships between the *Racione* and other trade manuals, and in 4.e I will discuss a *Racione* passage that I believe shows its derivation from a specific model.

3. The issue of equivalences of measures

The *Racione* deals with few goods and focuses mostly on some of them, but, being a list of tariffs, does not provide any information on the volume of trade relating to the named goods. At various points the text describes broad categories of goods that were measured in the same way (e.g. “Lo cantero d’Acre de mel e de savon et kaso fase ad Alexandria /

kantera ij e quarta mondo” [“the Acre *qinṭār*¹⁹ of honey and soap and cheese is worth two and a quarter net *qinṭār* in Alexandria”]). Other data concerns the unit of measure used for storage of goods in the departure port and the equivalent weight or measure of capacity employed at the port of arrival. Yet sometimes it is impossible to establish the equivalence. The data contained in the *Racione* are not homogeneous, and to make them homogeneous is a mandatory to compare the content of the *Racione* with other later manuals (the topic of next section). Unfortunately, as discussed below, “for most of the Middle Ages and for most places, records of exchange rates are not available, and when they are, they merely add a new dimension.”²⁰

In short, an analysis of the document offers great pitfalls, to be faced with extreme caution and precision. We also need to consider a further problem, that is, the text is not free from copying errors. Furthermore, since the units of measurements are approximate and sometimes conjectured, the number of errors in their magnitude increases with each calculation step performed.²¹

19 The *qinṭār* is an Arabic term derived from the Latin *centenarius*, and the *rotolo* (*ratl*) was the hundredth part of it: Ashtor 1991.

20 Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 45.

21 Hocquet 1999, p. 248.

4. The *Racione*'s intertextual links

I devote a few notes to some major textual correspondences between the *Racione* and other trading manuals of the late thirteenth and fourteenth century.

a) Ms. Lat. V 130

The oldest text which presents passages almost identical to the *Racione* is a Latin one, which is found in MS. Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Lat. V 130 (= 3198), henceforth: V2.²² There is no reason to accept the speculations of Enrico Besta and Giuseppe Gelcich, who thought that the MS had belonged to an official in charge of one of the many localities in Dalmatian *Romania*, or to a priest. For both historical and palaeographic reasons, V2 dates to the mid-thirteenth century.²³ The MS contain relevant Venetian merchant texts:

Racio lombardi seu francisci, quod debent solvere per pecias draporum [List of how much you pay for Lombard and French pieces of fabric]: fols. 36v-37r

Raciones pannorum quod debeant habere per pecia [quantity of cloths that make up a piece of fabric]: fols. 37r-38r

Raciones stateris Venetorum: et istis mercibus venundatur a statera grossa [Value of Venetian pounds: and what goods are sold in big pounds]: fol. 38r

Mercimoniis quas venundantur a statera subtilis [Goods sold in thin pounds]: fol. 38r

Mercimonie que venundatur a karico [Goods sold in load]: fol. 38r

Mercimoniis quas venundantur a centenario subtilis [Goods sold in thin *centenario*]: fol. 38r

Mercimoni eque venundantur a libra [Goods sold in pounds]: fol. 38r

La marcha de Venetia [The mark of Venice]: fol. 38v.

The remaining 10 folios contain texts which have no relation with the *Racione*: *Regola ad inveniendum quod valet libra* ("Rule for finding how much the pound is worth", fol. 38v, 14 lines, written by two different copyists), *Triplex est excommunicatio* ("Excommunication is triple", fols. 38v-41v, same hand of fols. 36v-38r), and various diplomatic documents (fols. 42r-48v). I collect below the most striking textual contacts:

22 Besta-Predelli 1901, pp. 14-15; Formentin 2015, p. 24.

23 Ciaralli 2015, in Formentin 2015, p. 48.

Table 1. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Racione stateris Venetorum*

<i>Racione de Alexandria</i> (ante 1278)	<i>Raciones stateris Venetorum</i> (ante 1251) ²⁴
<p>¹⁶⁴[I]ste sunt mercimonie q(ue) se pesa in Venet(ia) a mill(iar)o grosso: ferro, stagno de lama, plumbo, rame, alume de Borka, sulfere, mel, calla et omnia lana, pr(ae)ter illa de berete, caso, carne de porco, sunça, lardo et o(mn)i lino çitigo et vetro.</p> <p>¹⁶⁵[I]ste sunt merces q(ue) se pesa en Venec(ia) a sutil: banbacio, pip(er), lana de berete, lin çitego, incenso, he(n)deco, zucaro, verçi, cera, mastici, laccha e teneria, canella, çecabro, mira, alume de roça, argento vivo, alume destilia', stagno de verga, goma rabia, aloe, sandali, mirobulan, auro pimento.</p> <p>¹⁶⁶[I]ste merces vendu(n)tur a lib(ra) in Venec(ia): o(mn)ia seta, çafarano, garofali, mel-egete, nusse musscate, galanga, spica, legete et o(mn)ia spiçaria minuta.</p>	<p>(Et) istis mercib(us) venu(n)dat(ur) a statera g(r)ossa: ferro, rame, plu(m)bo, alume d(e) Bolcan, solfer, melle, galla, o(mn)ia lana extra lana d(e) berrete, caseo, carne d(e) porco, sonça, lardo, lin d(e) la Marcha (et) d(e) Romania, vitreo.</p> <p>Mercimoniis q(u)as venu(n)da(n)t(ur) a statera subtil(is) s(un)t iste: bambasio, lin d(e) Alexandria, aurisi, o(mn)ia lume extra lume d(e) Bolcan, cumin, stagno.</p> <p>Mercimoniis q(u)as venu(n)da(n)t(ur) a cent(enario) subtil(is) s(unt) iste: end(e)go, çucaro, cetoaria, canella, çençevro, arie(n)to vivo, mastehi, cera, lana d(e) berrete, laca, grana (et) coco (et) auropim(en)to.</p> <p>Mercimonie q(ue) venu(n)da(n)t(ur) a libra s(un)t iste: seta, çafaran, garofalli, nuce muscate, gard(e)moni, spigo, galenga (et) o(mn)ib(us) speciis minutis.</p>

Please note that, differently from *Racione*, §§ 1-130, where no Latin word is found, in this section several lists begin with Latin words (e.g.: ¹³⁵*Ista est racio de Negrepò*, ¹⁴⁸*[I]sta racio est de Mesina* versus ⁴⁸*Queste s'è la rasone in qual modo le merçe se mete / i[n] nave in Alexandria*, ⁹⁶*Queste s'è le mercadantie ke se vende a Mo(n)pollero a calega*). This partial code switching begins at fol. 5r, that is, exactly where the scribe begins to touch in red some letters (“¹³⁰Si quis portaveri(n)t b(e)z(anti) d’Acre ad Constantinopoli et volu//eri(n)t vendere alla cecha de Custa(n)tinopoli et li darà de b(e)z(anti) / lo sazo k(arati) xvj et quarta”). Very likely who is assembling the text of the *Racione* follows here a text near

24 I quote fols. 36v-38v from the edition by Formentin 2015, pp. 24-27, without reproducing their line breaks.

to the *Raciones stateris Venetorum*, but already simplified (*mercimonie > merces, venundantur > venduntur* etc.). It seems impossible to say if what we read is an impromptu translation from a Latin text or the copy of a previous translation which preserves some Latin sequences.

b) *Memoria de tucte le mercantie*

Another important trade manual, the Pisan *Memoria de tucte le mercantie*, is preserved in a single 17th-century copy.²⁵ The *Memoria* contains the date of writing: January 1279 (i.e. 1280, according the *more pisano*). In my opinion, comparing the two texts, we cannot find traces of a textual relationship. I rather believe that, as Tucci puts it speaking of other “pratiche di mercatura”, similarities are “only general, and determined to a considerable extent by the fact that they describe the same things”.²⁶ E.g., the *Memoria*, like the *Racione*, begins with the equivalence between weight measurements in Alexandria and *sporte* of spice, converted into local (i.e. Pisan) pounds. It is obvious that such an information is most important for both Pisan and Venetian merchants.

The *Memoria* occupies the last 2 lines of p. 349, and pp. 350-360, so it is not too different in scope from *Racione*'s (7 fols.). To better compare the texts, I list the topics of the work here.

Equivalence of weights and how they load ships from Alexandria to other countries: pp. 349-351

How and at what weight one buys goods in Alexandria: pp. 351-356

Flanders' fairs: p. 356

Length of fabrics from France: p. 357

Equivalence of weights and lengths among French places, Acre, Pisa, Turkey, and Genoa: pp. 357-358

Tariffs and weights in Aiàs, Armenia: p. 358

Trades and goods being brought to Alexandria: pp. 358-360.

I provide here the most striking coincidences between the two texts.

25 Biblioteca Comunale di Siena, ms. C. VI. 8, fols. 349-363.

26 Tucci 1968, p. 72 (my translation).

Table 2. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Memoria de tucte le mercantie*.

<i>Racione de Alexandria</i> (ante 1278)	<i>Memoria de tucte le mercantie</i> (dated 1280)
⁶ [...] e questo rotollo de questo cantero se pesa, a peso de migaresi, pesi cccxii	Lo rot. gerovi pesa m. cccxii
¹² Questo cantero supradito s'è la rotolla a peso de migaresi pesa pesi cxliiii a pesi de migaresi	Lo rot. fulfuli pesa m. cxliiii
¹⁷ Et in Alesandria ven venduto lin çitigo a questo cantero e pesa lo rotolo de questo a peso de migaresi cc	Lo rot. leuti pesa m. cc
²⁰ Et a questa mena s'è se compra garofali et nose muscate et galanga, gardamomi, et folio et chanela	Cassia et cardamone e garofali e noci muscate e cubebe e camphora e fusti di garofani e flobalismo et zaffarano si vendono a dicine di menne
³⁹ Mene c de canella d'Alexandria fa in Acre mene çj	Canella si compera anco a cent. di menne
⁴¹ Lo cantero d'Acre geta in Alexandria allo cantero çe[r]oin kantari ij e rotoli xxxv, çoè rame e stagno	Lo cant. d'Acchari de la catena torna in Alexandria, al cant. gerovi, cant. ii et rot. xxxiii
⁴⁵ Rotolle iij men terça de seta d'Acre fase ad Alexandria desena .j.	Lo rot. de la seta d'Accari torna in Alexandria rot. iii et uncie xv d'Alexandria, a rot. che si pesa la seta
⁴⁹ Piper, cantera v forfolin per sportada	Pepe, cant. v fulfuli per una sportada
⁵⁰ Cençevro, endego, lacha, mira, se mete s'è co' lo piper	Gegnavo, cant. v fulfuli per una sportada
⁵¹ Canella, mene cc per sportada	Sannella [<i>corrigere</i> : cannella], menne ducento per una sportada
⁵³ Çucarò in capelli, cantera iij çeroïn per sportada	Succaro, cant. iii gerov' per una sportada
⁶¹ Canafistola mene cc per sportada (§ 60)	Cassia, menne ducento per una sportada

c) The *Zibaldone da Canal*

The closest textual relationship is certainly that between *Racione* and the thoroughly analyzed Venetian *Zibaldone da Canal*. The *Zibaldone*

(henceforward: *ZdC*) is preserved by a single witness,²⁷ and its dating is not certain. The most common opinion is that the text dates back to the first decades of fourteenth century, but the copy that preserves it is of the end of the century.²⁸ It occupies an entire manuscript of 67 folios, which contains mathematical exercises, data for many ports, advice to evaluate the quality of commodities (for example, it explains that quality nutmeg can be recognized by the water it emanates by pricking it with a needle). It also has contents that go beyond the trade: recipes and medical remedies, prayers, prose and rhyme compositions, moon phases. The part containing information about trading is mainly in fols. 23v-43v: about three times the extension of the *Racione*.

As for the Pisan *Memoria*, I list here the structure of the part of *ZdC* regarding trade:

Teaching to calculate the weight of gold as used in Venice: fols. 7v-8r
Equivalences between Venice and Apulia: fols. 8r-10v
Fabrics being brought to Venice: fols. 23v-24v
Way of embarking goods in Venice: fols. 24v-26r
Equivalences of weights and measures from Venice to Tunis: fols. 26v-28v
Equivalences from Algeria: fols. 28v-30r
Equivalences from Africa (Tripoli, Barbaria): fol. 30v
Equivalences from Tunis to Sicily: fols. 31r-32r
Equivalences from Naples: fols. 32r-32v
Equivalences from Sicily: fol. 33r
Equivalences from Zara, Chiarenza, Morea: fol. 33r-v
Equivalences from Negroponte: fol. 33v
Equivalences among Venice and Cyprus's ports: fols. 33v-34v
Equivalences from Cyprus to Venice: fols. 34v-35r
Equivalences from Ancona to Venice: fols. 35r-36r
Equivalences from Chandia to Venice: fols. 36r-37r
Equivalences from Armenia to Venice: fols. 37r-39r
Equivalences from Alexandria: fols. 39v-41v
Equivalences from Thessaloniki and Antalya: fol. 41v
Equivalences from Constantinople to Venice: fol. 42r
Equivalences from Antalya to Venice: fols. 42r-43r
Equivalences from Milan to Venice: fol. 43r
Equivalences from Cremona to Venice: fol. 43v.

27 Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, ms. 327; Stussi 1976, pp. IX-XIV.

28 Stussi 1976, pp. XIII-XIV; Giagnacovo 2014, pp. 15-16.

The following table compares the most evident correspondences between the *Racione* and the *Zibaldone*.

Table 3. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Zibaldone da Canal*.

<i>Racione de Alexandria</i> (ante 1278)	<i>Zibaldone da Canal</i> (1311-after 1320)
<p>¹[...] In Alexandria s'è j cantero lo qual ven clamato [ç]eroim, alo qual cantero ven venduto tute quelle cause le qual ven dute in Alexandria.</p> <p>²Et s'è quello cantero libre cc a grosso a libre de Venecia.</p>	<p>Mo' ve faço asaver ch'ello s'è in Allexandria un canter lo quall vien apellado canter çeruin, a lo qual canter se pesa tute le merchadantie che va da ponente in Allexandria, çìò s'è tuto quello che intra in Allexandria.</p> <p>E sapié che quello canter s'è rotolli 100, lo qual canter torna in Venexia libre 200 al pesso grosso</p>
<p>³Cui porta rame e stagno e plonbo o altre merçe s'è geta lo milliaro cantera v et l'ogo ven pesato a questo cantero et geta cantera vj me(n) terça lo mill(iar)o de l'ogo de Venec(ia) p(er)ké lo s'abate p(er) li vaxelli lo quarto, e se li vaxelli s'è greve, s'è geta meior rasone.</p>	<p>Rame e stagno e tute cosse che se pesa a Venexia a grosso geta in Allexandria cantera v çeroim [...]</p> <p>L'oiò se pexa a questo canter e lo mill(ie)r de Venexia torna in Allexandria canter 5 1/3.</p> <p>E sapié che in Allexandria se abate per li vaxelli lo ¼ de çìò che che pexa tuto lo vaxello cum l'oiò perhò è ben aver boni vaxelli, grevi</p>
<p>⁴Melle s'è geta s'è co' geta l'ogo</p>	<p>Mielle se vende a lo dito canter</p>
<p>⁵A questo cantero s'è vende p(er) la tera tute le cause ke se conpra p(er) mançar. ⁶Et comprasene lana e çucarò, e datali e lume gatina et non altre merçe p(er) trare fora dela tera e questo <i>rotollo</i> de questo cantero se pesa, a peso de <i>migaresi</i>, pesi cccxii.</p>	<p>A questo canter se vende tute cosse da mançar e çucharò e datalli</p> <p>E lo rotolo de questo canter si è lbr. 2 de Venexia al peso grosso, le qual sono de pexo miarexi 312.</p>

<p>⁷Inn Alexandria si è un altro cantero, lo qual ven clamato <i>forfolin</i>.</p> <p>⁸A questo cantero no ven venduto merçe le qualle ven dute in Alexandria.</p> <p>⁹Si ven pesato a questo cantero le merçe le qual ven trate de Alexandria, çoè piper le v cantera si è j calega.</p> <p>¹⁰Verçi, a questo cantero le vj cantera si è j calega. ¹¹Encenso ven venduto a questo cantero, et çençevro, endego, çeroada et lacha.</p> <p>¹²Questo cantero supradito si è la <i>rotolla</i> a peso de <i>migaresi</i> pesa pesi cxliiii a pesi de migaresi.</p>	<p>Anchora sapié che in Allexandria si è un alltro canter, lo qual vien apellado canter forfori.</p> <p>A questo canter se vende tute le merchadantie che sé d'Allexandria e pevere e tute le alltre merchadantie, sallvo lin. Et in Alexandria se vende lo pevere a un pexo al qual vien dito carga e le 5 cantera folfori si fa carga j.</p> <p>Anchora sapié che 'l verçi se vende in Allexandria a carga e la carga del verçi si è cantera 6 forfori.</p> <p>[...] e lo rotollo de questo canter forfori si pesa miarexi 144.</p>
<p>¹⁶In Alexandria si è j certo cantero lo qual ven clamato <i>lentin</i> [...] ¹⁷e pesa lo <i>rotolo</i> de questo a peso de <i>migaresi</i> cc.</p> <p>¹⁸E questo cantero si geta a Venecia libre cc a sotile.</p>	<p>In Allexandria si è un canter a lo qual vien dito canter leudin e questo canter torna in Venexia libre 200 al pexo sotile e la libra de Venexia pexa miarexi 100 e llo rotollo de questo canter pexa miarexi 200.</p>
<p>¹⁹In Alexandria si è un quarto cantero ke [à] nome <i>mena</i>, ad la qual <i>mena</i> se vende çafaran, et vol de ad la desena de quela <i>mena</i> libre xxvi a sotile ala libra de Venecia, perché li saraçini ne tole per lo pesare e per do[a]ne. ²⁰Et a questa <i>mena</i> si se compra garofali et nose muscate et galanga, gardamoni, et folio et chanela.</p> <p>²¹Questa <i>mena</i> si pesa alo peso de <i>migaresi</i> pesi ccxl.</p> <p>²²Geta questa <i>mena</i> a Venecia libre ij ÷ a sotile.</p>	<p>In llexandria se vende tute speçarie e çaforan a dexene de mene e lle x mene d'Allexandria si è libre 25 al peso sotile de Venexia.</p> <p>La mena d'Allexandria si pexa miarexi 240 al pexo d'Allexandria.</p>
<p>²³La marcha del argento de Venecia si geta in Alexandria alo peso de <i>migaresi</i> pesi lxxviiiij, et la marcha d'auro geta alo peso de besanti de Alexandria pesi de besanti lv.</p>	<p>La marcha da Venexia a la qual se pexa l'arçento torna in Alexandria pexi 78. [...] e la marcha d'oro de Venexia de carati 23 e grane 3 ½ si fasse bexanti 55 vei de pexo.</p>
<p>⁷⁰Angastere comunal cc p(er) m(illiaro).</p>	<p>Angastere CC per millier</p>

125La salma de grano de Manfredonia çeta cafessi lxiiij in Cepro.	La salma de Puia torna in Famagosta cafessi lxiiij e li viij cafessi si è un moço e li xxj cafesse torna in Venexia j stero.
134La libra de Costantinopoli è tale qual la libra de Stive.	La libra de Costantinopoli è tal como quella de Stive.
139La vala[n]ia se vende a centenero et çeta a Venecia lo centenero de Negrepò modia lx.	La vellania se vende a Negreponte a moçia c, lo qual torna in Venexia moçia vj.
140Unçe x ½ de seta de Negropò fa libre j a Venecia.	Ancora once x ½ de Negreponte torna in Venexia libre j sotil.
141Lo braço de Negropò est maior de illo de Venecia bracia iiij per centenario.	Ancora braça cxiiij de tella de Venexia geta a Negreponte braça c.
142La libra de Negropò est tal quall la libra de Breydes.	La libra de Negreponte è tal como quella de Brandiço a ponto
144Perperi c de Stive est in Negrepò perperi c et carati xxv.	Perperi c de Stive si è in Negreponte iperperi c carati xxv.
203Lançe .cc. p(er) mill(iar)o	Lançe cc per millier
204Circhi destesi da olleo .d. p(er) mill(iar)o	Çerclli destessi da olleo V ^c per millier
205Circhi de biga .ccl. p(er) mill(iar)o	Çerclli de biga ccl per millier
206Canestri grandi .xx. p(er) mill(iar)o	Chanestri grandi xx per millier
207Cadeleti grandi .v. p(er) mill(iar)o	Chadelleti grandi v per millier
208Cadaleti piçoli .vi. p(er) mill(iar)o	Chadelleti piçiollli vj per millier
209Paredane cumunal ccl p(er) mill(iar)o	Paredane comunal l per millier
210Remi de galea .xxv. p(er) mill(iar)o	Remi da gallia xxv per millier
211Remi de barcha et de gondola .xl. p(er)mill(iar)o	Remi da bargha vol de gondolla xl per millier
212Casselle laborate i(n) fassis et tabulis de nuçe mill(iar)a ij p(er) trib(u)s	Chasselle lavorade in fassi et in taulle de nose millier ij per iij
213Asse cumunal de Istria xxx p(er) mill(iar)o	Asse comunal de Istria xxx per millier
214Serre doçene .vi. p(er) mill(iar)o	Siege doçene vj per millier
215Agneline mill(iar)a .iij. a peso facit iij	Agneline millier iij a pesso per iij
216Becune cumunal .cc. p(er) mill(iar)o	Bechune comunal cc per millier a pesso
217Filachi .ccl. p(er) mill(iar)o	Fillachi ccl per millier
218Moltoline .cc. p(er) mill(iar)o	Moltolline cc per millier
219Pestave grande .xl. p(er) mill(iar)o	Pestave xl per millier
220Manti .lx. p(er) mill(iar)o	Manti lx per pillier
221Percovi .lxx. p(er) mill(iar)o	Percovi lxx per millier
222Levorine .m.m. p(er) mill(iar)o	Levorine mm per millier

²²³ Cera i(n) fornellis i(n) sachi duo mill(iar)a p(er) tria	Çera in formelle, in sachi millier ij per ij
²²⁴ Scuti .xx. p(er) mill(iar)o	Schudi xx per millier
²²⁵ linu(m) sença cavaça a sutil mill[iar] um p(er) mill(iar)o	Lino sença cavaço a sotil millier per millier
²²⁶ linum co(n)çatu(m) mill(iar)a .iii. ad grosso p(er) .iiij. a meter i(n) nave	Lino conçato millier ij a grosso per iiij in nave
²²⁷ Cori proti .xl. p(er) mill(iar)o aud pesar	Cori proti xl per millier vol pessar
²²⁸ Coiri cumunal in balla mill(iar)a .v. p(er) .vj.	Cori in balla comunal millier v per vj
²²⁹ Roiba mill(iar)a .ii. p(er) iii	[Manca]
²³⁰ Coiri cumunal .l. p(er) mill(iar)o aut pesar.	Cori comunal l per millier vol pexar

Please note that in the *ZdC* the data concerning the tariffs and commercial uses of Alexandria and other ports of the Mediterranean follow, from West to East, analogous information about north west African coast ports such as Tunis (*Tonisto*) and Bona; Sicilian ports such as Trapani and Messina; Southern Italy's ports such as Barletta and Naples, Adriatic ports such as Zara; Greek ports and islands such as Cyprus and Crete (*Candia*), and the markets of Armenia.

d) The *Zibaldone Riccardiano*

Another Venetian text recently edited, the *Zibaldone Riccardiano*, is datable to the first third of the fourteenth century.²⁹ The *Zibaldone Riccardiano* (henceforward: *ZR*) alternates data on tariffs and exercises in calculating the tariffs themselves throughout its scope. On 76 fols. of the manuscript only 8 (fols. 24r-31r) concern business rates; the others offer calculus exercises, zodiacal notions, and geometry treatises. The list I provide here does not include computational problems, which would double the lines.

Weights, measures, and goods of Puglia: fols. 24r-25r

Weights, measures, and goods of Chiarenza: fol. 25v

Weights, measures, and goods of Arta: fol. 26v

Weights, measures, and goods of Tunis: fol. 27r

Weights, measures, and goods of Armenia: fol. 27v (one line only)

²⁹ Bocchi 2021, p. 7. The MS is preserved in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 2161.

Weights, measures, and goods of Alexandria: fols. 27v-29v
 Equivalences of the French tournois: fol. 30v
 Flanders drapery prices and their conversion: fol. 31r.

Table 4. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Zibaldone Riccardiano*

<i>Racione de Alexandria (ante 1278)</i>	<i>Zibaldone Riccardiano (1300-1330 ca.)</i>
¹ [...] In Alexandria si è .j. cantero lo qual ven clamato geroin, alo qual cantero ven venduto tute quelle cause le qual ven dute inn Alexandria.	Allesandria [...] qual cha(n)t(er)o se ve(n) de tute chosse che se duse i(n) Allesandria
² Et si è quello cantero lib(re) .cc. a grosso a lib(re) de Venecia.	questo k(a)nt(er)o pexa lb. 200 dello pexo g(r)oss(o) de Venesia
³ Cui porta rame e stagno e plonbo o altre merçe si geta lo mill(iar)o cantera .v.	e çeta lo mier g(r)oss(o) de Venesia de rame e de stagno e de plonbo chantera 5 çenoine.
³ et l'ogo ven pesato a questo cantero et geta cantera vj me(n) terça lo mill(iar)o de l'ogo de Venec(ia) p(er)ké lo s'abate p(er) li vaxelli lo quarto, e se li vaxelli sè greve, si geta meior rasone.	lo M dello melle de Venesia e del'olio i(n) Alesandria [çeta] vj k(a)nt(er)a m(en) 1/3 e de questo s'abate lo 1/4 p(er) li vaxeli e se li vaseli sono grevi çeta mior raxo(n)
⁴ Melle si geta si co' geta l'ogo.	a questo cha(n)t(er) se pexa melle e olio e çera
⁶ Et conprasene lana e çucaro e datali e lume gatina et non autre merçe p(er) trare fora dela tera	I(n) Allesandria a questo k(a)nt(er)o se ve(n)de çucharo e lana e datali e no alltre marchada(n)tie, nesuna che se poxa tra[r] da fora d'Allesandria.
⁶ e questo rotollo de questo cantero se pesa, a peso de migare[s]i, pesi cccxii.	E questo k(a)nt(er)o pexa r(otoli) e pexa lo rotollo de questo k(a)nt(er) o ccclxij miliaresi
¹⁶ In Alexandria si è .j. certo cantero, lo qual ven cla/mato lentin, alo qual cantero niente no ven ven(d)uto dele cause le qual ven dute in Alexandria. ¹⁷ Et in Alexandria ve(n) venduto lin çitigo a questo cantero e pesa lo rotolo de questo a peso de migaresi .cc. ¹⁸ E questo cantero si geta a Venecia lib(re) cc a sotile.	In Allesandria si è uno alltro k(a)nt[er]o che se clama cha(n)t(er)o vetrano allo qual k(a)nt(er)o se ve(n)de lino e no altra ma(r) chada(n)tia veruna; e questo k(a)nt(er)o çeta a Venesia lb. cc d. al pexo sotille d(e) Venesia; lo rotollo de questo chant(er)o cc miaresi, do(n)cha li c miaresi pexa lb. J sotille de Venesia.

<p>¹⁹In Alexandria si è un quarto cantero ke [à] nome mena, ad la qual mena se vende çafara(n), et vol de ad la desena / de quela mena lib(re) xxvi a sotile ala lib(ra) de Venec(ia), p(er)ké li Saraçini ne tole p(er) lo pesare e p(er) doane.</p>	<p>lle x mene sono xxv lb. del pexo sotille de Venesia e questa mena se vende lo çafara(n) e valle alle x mene lb. Xxvj de çafara(n) allo pexo sotille de Venesia p(er) chaxo(n) che li sarasini ·de to' p(er) done e p(er) lo pexa(r), e pexa questa mena ccxl miasesi.</p>
<p>²⁰Et a questa mena si se compra garofali et nose muscate et galanga, gardamoni, et folio et chanela.</p>	<p>[...] se clama mena la quall se vende garoffali e noxe moscate e maçi e folio de garoffali e galla(n)ga e spigo e gardamoni e ga(n)fora e tute spliçiarie menude.</p>

e) *The Pratica della Mercatura* by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti

It is mandatory to compare with the *Racione* also the famous *Pratica della Mercatura* of the Florentine Pegolotti, written during 1330-1340. The text is preserved in a single copy at the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence and is the longest (fols. 241) and most accurate of the manuals mentioned so far.³⁰ I list the contents here, extremely summarized because almost to each place the author devotes several paragraphs: one to local units of measurement, one to the monetary system, sometimes one to mint relations, one to customs tariffs, and one to equivalences with other localities.

Catai: fol. 13v	Negroponte: fol. 85v
Tana: fol. 16r	Sardinia: fol. 85v
Caffa: fol. 17r	Majorca: fol. 87v
Torisi: fol. 17v	<i>Arzilla</i> of Spain: fol. 92v
Trebizond: fol. 21r	Tunis: fol. 93r
Constantinople and Pera: fol. 21v	Tripoli: fol. 97v
Black Sea: fol. 38v	Djerba: fol. 97v
<i>Altoluogo</i> (Ayasuluk Hill, Turkey): fol. 39v	Types of copper: fol. 98r
Antalya: fol. 41r	Where the copper comes from: fol. 98r
Armenia: fol. 42r	Types of silks and which is best: fol. 98v
Acre: fol. 45v	Grit for dyeing: fol. 99r
Alexandria: fol. 50r	How evaluate the convenience of ship chartering: fol. 99v
Cyprus (Famagusta): fol. 55v	Venice: fol. 101r
Rhodes: fol. 74v	Friuli: fol. 111v
Candia: fol. 76v	Ancona: fol. 112v
Sicily: fol. 78r	Types of gold and silver, how it is the best and the worst: fol. 115r
Chiarenza: fol. 84r	
Štip: fol. 85v	

30 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, ms. 2441.

- Catai: fol. 13v
Tana: fol. 16r
Caffa: fol. 17r
Torisi: fol. 17v
Trebizond: fol. 21r
Constantinople and Pera: fol. 21v
Black Sea: fol. 38v
Altoluogo (Ayasuluk Hill, Turkey): fol. 39v
Antalya: fol. 41r
Armenia: fol. 42r
Acre: fol. 45v
Alexandria: fol. 50r
Cyprus (Famagusta): fol. 55v
Rhodes: fol. 74v
Candia: fol. 76v
Sicily: fol. 78r
Chiarenza: fol. 84r
Štip: fol. 85v
Negroponte: fol. 85v
Sardinia: fol. 85v
Majorca: fol. 87v
Arzilla of Spain: fol. 92v
Tunis: fol. 93r
Tripoli: fol. 97v
Djerba: fol. 97v
Types of copper: fol. 98r
Where the copper comes from: fol. 98r
Types of silks and which is best: fol. 98v
Grit for dyeing: fol. 99r
How evaluate the convenience of ship chartering: fol. 99v
Venice: fol. 101r
Friuli: fol. 111v
Ancona: fol. 112v
Types of gold and silver, how it is the best and the worst: fol. 115r
Apulia: fol. 116v
Cutrone (Calabria): fol. 125v
Salerno: fol. 125v
Naples: fol. 126v
Gaeta: fol. 134r
Florence: fol. 134v
Pisa: fol. 141v
Genoa: fol. 147r
Nimes and Montpellier: fol. 152r
Avignon and Marseille: fol. 154v
Aigues-Mortes: fol. 155r
Ibiza: fol. 156r
Burgundy: fol. 156r
Champagne Fairs: fol. 157r
Paris: fol. 159r
Flanders: fol. 159r
Flanders Fairs: fol. 159v
Bruges: fol. 160r
Brabant: fol. 166v
Antwerp: fol. 166v
London: fol. 169r
England wool: fol. 169v
La Rochelle: fol. 177r
Seville: fol. 177v
Çafi: fol. 179v
Niffe (Casablanca): fol. 180r
Asilah: fol. 180v
Lengths of cloths from France, Flanders and Brabant, and their prices: fol. 181r
Merchants of Florence in relation to French drapes: fol. 184v
Alloys of gold and silver coins, and of small coins from different parts of the world: fol. 185r

The structure of the *Pratica* (henceforward: *PdM*) follows a strict geographical order, from the extreme east to the extreme west, and shows a much wider area of interest than late thirteenth-century texts such as the Pisan *Memoria* and the *Racione*, in which the southwestern boundary is Algerian Bugia, the northern boundary is Paris, while to the east are Ayas (Yumurtalık), Sivas and Aleppo. Perhaps because the perspective of the *PdM* is Florentine, there is no mention of how the goods were em-

barked in Venice. Therefore, the perfect overlap between data from the *Racione* at §§ 64-68, is even more significant. It should be specified that the corresponding section in the *Racione* begins at § 48, with the title *The way in which the goods are shipped from Alexandria respectively to Acre, Messina, Armenia, Marseille, Puglia, Tunis, Romania and all of Soria*. The following list, from §§ 49 to 61, is about how goods from Egypt are shipped, since Mamluk units of measure are used for goods typical in Mamluk trade: spices, sugar, dates... But § 62 deals with *albolli* or *conche*, which no trading manual mentions among the goods sold in Alexandria. In *PdM* the text which is found in *Racione*, §§ 64-68, refers to an entirely different context, under the title: *In Venice [these goods] are sold by the weight of staia*. In *Racione*, §§ 69-75, we find inconsistent data: first an equivalence between Bugia and Tunis (§ 69), then the way to embark *angastere* (§ 70), which, however, appears in the *ZdC* under the title *How merchandise should be put on a ship in Venice*, then two equivalences between Tunis and Venice (§§ 71-72) and one between Pisa and Sicily (§ 73), then two other types of goods to be boarded (*cofani* and *frasconi*: §§ 74-75). None of the consulted manuals mentions *cofani* or *frasconi*, as goods to be embarked both in Alexandria and Venice. Thus the text that *Racione* shares with the *PdM* is another portion inconsistent with the title at § 48; chestnuts, walnuts, and hazelnuts are not goods from Alexandria. The *ZdC* mentions twice, walnuts, hazelnuts, and chestnuts. The first (fol. 26r) in relation to how to embark various types of goods in Venice, the second mentioning walnuts and chestnuts from Irpinia (fol. 32v) to be sold in Tunis. The *Memoria*, p. 354, also mentions walnuts, hazelnuts, and chestnuts from Naples. In the *ZR*, fol. 27r, the only reference to walnuts, hazelnuts and chestnuts sees them collected from Naples but traded by Venetian ships. The different treatment of some information seems to support the hypothesis that one or more folios are missing in the *Racione*.

Table 5. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Pratica della mercatura*.

<i>Racione de Alexandria</i> (ante 1278)	Pegolotti, <i>Pratica della mercatura</i> (1330-1340 ca.)
⁶⁴ Castagne lib(re) cc pro stero	Castagne, e dassi libbre 200 grosse per 1 staio.
⁶⁵ Mandole lib(re) cxxxx pro stero	Noce e mandorle col guscio si da libbre 140 grosse per 1 staio.

⁶⁶ Noselle lib(re) cxij pro stero	Nocelle e senape, e dassene libbre 112 grosse per 1 staio.
⁶⁷ Fige lib(re) ccxx pro stero	Fichi secchi, e dassi libbre 220 grosse per 1 staio.
⁶⁸ Uca pasa lib(re) cclx pro stero	Uve passe, e dassene libbre 260 sottili per 1 staio.
¹²⁰ Mill(iar)o j de Puia de carne e de kasso se çeta in Acre cantera ij e q(uarta).	Il migliaio della carne e del formaggio di Puglia, ch'è cantare 6 di Puglia, fae in Acri cantare 2 e ruotoli 50.
¹²² Sallme c de gran e de fave de Barleto çeta in Acre moça cl.	Salme 100 di grano alia misura generale delle piagge di Cicilia fanno in Acri moggia 148 in 150.
¹⁶⁹ Libre dccl a sutil de Venec(ia) fac(it) in Acre cantar(o) .j.	Cantaro 1 d'Acri di spezieria fae in Vinegia libbre 750, e di cotone 760 in 775 sottile.
¹⁷⁴ La marcha de Venec(ia) est maior dela marcha d'Acra / unçe .i. et car(a)t(i) vj.	Marchio 1 d'argento al peso di Vinegia fae in Acri marchio 1 e sterlini 10.
¹⁸⁶ Lo ca(n)tero de Adelapo e(st) maior de illo d'Acra rotol(i) xij.	Cantaro 1 d'Acra fae in Aleppo cantaro 1 e ruotoli 10.

f) The *Tarifa zoè noticia dy pexi e mexure*

The *Tarifa zoè noticia dy pexi e mexure*, of Venetian ambience, mentions trade treaties between the Republic of Venice and the Mamluk Sultanate in 1345, thus we can consider this date as a *terminus ad quem*. The *Tarifa* (henceforward: *TzN*), preserved in the State Archive of Venice, has only been published once, and badly: “the philological procedures, the critical apparatus and the indispensable index and glossaries are missing [...]. The text is also incomplete, and no account is given of the mutilations or the reasons for them.”³¹ Among the edition’s serious flaws is the total absence of references to the manuscript: it is not known whether it is an unbound fascicle, or bound together with other texts, or individually; it is not known which card numbers contain the *Tarifa*, or the lines of writing per sheet. Nevertheless, I am forced to refer to the text as it appears in the edition, since the archival shelf mark proposed in the edition is incorrect.³²

This is the *Tarifa*’s structure:

31 Tucci 1968, pp. 66-67.

32 Anonymous, *Tarifa*, p. 4: “ASVe, Procuratia de Ultra, b. 145, f. 3.”

Equivalences of weights in Venice
Equivalences of weights from Constantinople to Venice, other places,
and Alexandria
Equivalences of weights from Trebizond to Toresi
Equivalences of weights from Sarai and Astrakhan to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Constantinople to Tana to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Tana to Constantinople
Equivalences of weights from Famagusta to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Damascus to Venice, and to Famagusta
Equivalences of weights in Alessandria
Pacts between Venice and the Sultan of Alexandria
Equivalences of weights from Candia to Venice
Equivalences of weights among Naples, Venice, and Famagusta
Equivalences of weights from Sicily to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Venice to Messina
Equivalences of weights from Ancona to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Majorca to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Flanders to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Nimes and Montpellier to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Venice to Flanders' fairs and to Paris
Equivalences of weights from Alexandria to Ancona, Messina and
Famagusta
Goods of Chiarenza
Goods of Negroponte
Equivalences of weights from Constantinople to Venice, Sorgati, and
Tana
Equivalences of weights from Tana to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Constantinople to Famagusta, and Ale-
xandria
Equivalences of weights from Sarai to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Negroponte to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Modone and Corone to Venice
Chiarenza and Patras to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Famagusta to Venice, Candia, Dama-
scus, and Alexandria
Equivalences of weights from Candia to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Alessandria to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Damascus to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Majorca to Venice
Equivalences of weights from Genoa to Venice
Equivalences of weights in Venice
Equivalences of weights from Gaeta to Venice
Types of spices and other goods.

Table 6. Textual correspondences between the *Racione de Alexandria* and the *Tarifa zoè noticia*

<i>Racione de Alexandria (ante 1278)</i>	<i>Tarifa zoè noticia (post 1345)</i>
⁹ Sì ven pesato a questo cantero le merçe le qual ven trate de Alexandria, cioè pip(er), le v cantera si è .j. calega	[...] piper se vende in Alexandria ad una vendeda, che vien clamada chalega, e clamase sporta, e pexase a kanter forforin, e kantera 5 è sporta 1
¹⁶ In Alexandria sì è .j. certo cantero, lo qual ven clamato lentin [...]. ¹⁷ Et in Alesandria ve(n) venduto lin çitigo a questo cantero	Item è uno altro pexo, lo qual se clama leiti, a lo qual se vende lin zitico zeflor e non altro
²⁰ Et a questa mena sì se compra garofali et nose muscate et galanga, gardamomi, et folio et chanela	Item se vende a mena garofali, nuoxe moscà, maçis, fusti de garofali, spigo, cubebe, ganfora, boraxo
²¹ Questa mena sì pesa alo peso de migaresi pesi ccxl	La mena è pexi 200 de miarexi
²³ La marcha del'argento de Venec(ia) sì geta in Alexandria alo peso de migaresi pesi lxxviiiij, et la marcha d'auo geta alo peso de besanti de Alexandria pesi de besanti lv. ²⁴ Qui porta argento de denari grossi, venderali a pesi de migaresi xvi a besante	Ancora se vende in Alexandria tuto arzeno a pexo, e dase, ponamo, pexi 14 a livra 1 d'oro, e secondo come xe l'arzeno, et eziandio como è fato lo mercado, dati a luy, e pexi 78 2/3 de Alexandria geta a Veniexia marca 1
¹³⁶ Lib(re) dcl de cera fae kanta(ra) j in Acre	In prima livre 650 de Nigroponte si è 1 kanter in Acre
¹³⁸ Mill(iar)o .j. de fero de Venecia fac(it) i(n) [N]egrepò lib(re) dccclx	E miero 1 de fero xè livre 860 da Veniexia
¹⁴⁰ Unçe x 1/2 de seta de Negropò fa lib(re) .j. a Venecia	Honze 9 ½ de seda xè livra 1 da Veniexia
¹⁴¹ Lo braço de Negrepò e(st) maior de illo de Venecia brac(ia) iiij per centenario	Braze 100 de Veniexia geta in Negroponte braze 104
¹⁴² La lib(ra) de Negropò e(st) tal qualla lib(ra) de Breydes	E livre de Nigroponte è tal qual è quella de Brandizo
¹⁴⁴ Perperi .c. de Stive est in Negrepò p(er)p(eri) c et k(arati) xxv	Livre C de Schive [<i>corrige</i> : Stive] si è a Negroponte livre C, karati 250
¹⁵² Lo mill(iaro) de Venec(ia) a grosso fac(it) a Messina ka(n)t(ar)i vj et rotoli viij	Lo miero grosso da Vieniexia torna in Misina kantera 6 grosse, livre 250 a sotil de Veniexia è in Misina kanter 1
¹⁵⁵ Braza cccxlviiij de Venec(ia) fac(it) a Messina kan(n)e .c.	Braza 350 de Veniexia è in Misina chane 100
¹⁵⁷ La marcha de Venec(ia) e(st) maior de quella de Messina sterlini .iij.	Marca 1 de Veniexia è mazor de quella de Misina livre 15 ¼

<p>¹⁵⁸Lxxij mesure de olleo de Mesina ven a Ve(ne)c(ia) mill(iar)o .j.</p>	<p>Ojo se vende a mexura, e mexure 10 è kanter 1, e mexure 72 è a Veniexia miero 1 d'ojo</p>
<p>¹⁶⁴[I]ste sunt mercimonie q(ue) se pesa in Venet(ia) a mill(iar)o / grosso: ferro, stagno de lama, plumbo, rame, alume de Borka, sulfere, mel, calla et omnia lana, pr(ae)ter illa de berete, caso, carne de porco, sunça, lar/do et o(mn)i lino çitigo et vetro</p>	<p>Al pexo grosso se vende fero, rame, stagno, plumbo, lana e oro (<i>sic</i>), charne, chaxo, miel, sonza, e tute frute e pegola</p>
<p>¹⁶⁵[I]ste su(n)t merces q(ue) se pesa en Venec(ia) a sutil: banbacio, pip(er), lana de berete, lin çitigo, incenso, he(n)deco, zucaro, verçi, cera, mastici, laccha e tenteria, canella, çecabro, mira, alume de roça, argento vivo, alume destilia', stagno de verga, goma rabia, aloe, sandali, miro-bulan, auro pimento.</p>	<p>Et a l'altro pexo sotil se vende [...] bombaxo, piper, inzenso, zucaro, zinzevero, canela, endego, verzij, seda, grana, e tute gome, zera e ziafaran, garofali, lume de roche, uva pasa, lin zitego e tute spezie menude</p>

To conclude this review, it is useful to verify which steps are common to multiple texts, and which texts share more portions in common with the *Racione*. The numbers in the table refer to the paragraphs of the *Racione* edited below.

Table 7. Textual correspondences between trade manuals and the *Racione*'s paragraphs.

Lat. V 130	Memoria	ZdC	ZR	PdM	TzR
		1	1		
		2	2		
		3	3		
		4	4		
		5			
	6		6		
		7			
		8			
		9			9
		10			

Lat. V 130	Memoria	ZdC	ZR	PdM	TzR
					136
					138
		139			
		140			140
		141			141
		142			142
		144			144
					152
					155
					157

Lat. V 130	Memoria	ZdC	ZR	PdM	TzR
		11			
	12	12			
		16	16		16
	17		17		
		18	18		
		19	19		
	20	20	20		20
		21			21
		22			
		23			23
	39				
	41				
	45				
	49				
	50				
	51				
	53				
	61				
				64	
				65	
				66	
				67	
				68	
		70			
				120	
				122	
		125			
		134			

Lat. V 130	Memoria	ZdC	ZR	PdM	TzR
					158
164					164
165					165
166					
				169	
				174	
				186	
		203			
		204			
		205			
		206			
		207			
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		221			
		222			
		223			
		224			
		225			
		226- 230			

5. Route Hints

The section of *Portolan* written below the *Racione* (cc. 7v-8v) has been dated to the late twelfth century,³³ but this dating had been heavily criticized in 1995 by Patrick Gautier-Dalché, who suggested instead the time span 1211-1270.³⁴ Obviously, since the *Racione* and the *Portolan* are written by the same hand, this means that the copy must be dated around 1270-1280, but the date of composition may be much earlier. It is also opinion of Gautier-Dalché that the *Portolan* is not a portion of a more extensive work, but rather a memorandum written by a merchant for his own use.³⁵ Indeed, the text starts with the phrase (“Si vis navigare de Acre per venire inver Venecia, navega per tramontana” [if you want to sail from Acre to come to Venice, sail to the north wind ...], confirming the focus of interests of the *Racione*. After the route Acre-Venice, it describes the way to reach Alexandria from Acre, then to reach Venice from the cape of the island of Zakynthos. The last lines dwell with warnings to navigate between Kefalonia, Sazan, Santa Maria di Leuca, and Ragusa. Unfortunately, the text stops abruptly due to the loss of the following folio or folios, so it lacks descriptions of the Syrian and other Mediterranean routes, which would have helped to clarify any port stops not specified in the *Racione*.

6. The goods

Which goods attract the attention of the *Racione*'s compiler? Out of 80 exchange values and equivalences between measures of weight, length, and volume, 25 concern measures not applied directly to goods, and 6 regard marks (without specifying of which precious metal). Of the remaining 49 occurrences, 7 concern wheat and barley, 6 coins (bezants, hyperpyron, dirhams). 4 gold, 4 iron/copper/lead; 4 silk; 3 silver; 3 oil; 3 honey/soap/cheese/meat; 2 saffron; 1 each salt, mustard, Brazil wood, almond, piper, 'spices', ginger, sugar, incense, valania, linen, canvas, cotton wool.

The *Racione* does not indicate specific types of fabrics such as canvas and linen; various types of silk are indicated, but only if embarked from

33 Motzo 1942, pp. XXXIV-XL.

34 Gautier-Dalché 1995, pp. 40-41.

35 Gautier-Dalché 1995, pp. 40-41.

the port of Montpellier. In general, much attention is paid to precious metals, alloy of currencies, monetary exchanges; the other commodity that occurs most often is wheat, which together with other cereals is mentioned 7 times.

The origin of the product is indicated only in rare cases:

1. Baghdad indigo
2. Labdanum of Cyprus
3. Soap of Acre
4. Soap of Venice
5. Silk of Antioch
6. Silk of 'Romania'
7. Salt of Sardinia
8. Fava beans of Barletta
9. Almonds of Barletta
10. Wheat of Manfredonia
11. Mustard of Puglia
12. Cotton wool of Acre
13. Alum of *Borka*³⁶
14. Boards of Istrian wood
15. Salt of Vença (*sic*).³⁷

Reading with attention the *Racione*, however, goods are much more: more than a hundred. What we should deduce from the fact that, for example, the *Racione* describes how to measure the weight of goods such as grey pepper, aloe, sandal wood, Arabic gum, galangal, mace, and many others, but it never specifies their price or the equivalence of their weight measure from one port to another? It seems better suspending the judgment.

36 The manuscript reads clearly *Borka*. Nevertheless, ms. V2 reads *Bolcan*, and the *ZdC Bollchan*. Pegolotti quotes *allume bolgano*. Thus, the reference seems to be to Vulcano island. The allume from Vulcano was of bad quality (gloss. Evans 1936, s.v. *allume bolgano*).

37 Maybe the copyist did not read a 'p' with a cut before the word; in this case the salt would come from Provence.

7. Ports and markets

Which are the most cited ports in the *Racione*? As for other manuals, there are no references to intermediate routes, and this inhibits more elaborate data considerations. The compiler’s perspective is focused on some ports – except for Aleppo, the only market outside a port. The port of departure par excellence is Venice, followed by Acre. All the other ‘starting points’ follow at a great distance; 7 ports are mentioned only once.

The most common port of arrival is Acre (29 times), and this suggests, as Jacoby noted, that the *Racione* was addressed to Venetian traders active in Acre. The second port of arrival, and not surprisingly, is Venice (18 occurrences). The ports where the Venetians had bases or facilities are as much as 85% of the total: after Acre, Negroponte, Alexandria, and Sicily.

In this regard, I would like to point out an interesting information in the *Racione*: in Messina “de domo ubi stamus de cantera iiii paga tarì j” (§ 151). The information is perhaps due to the availability of the Venetian warehouse by Federico Lancia in the 1260s: it seems likely that the anonymous author of the *Racione* thought it useful to describe the conditions of use of the warehouse precisely because it was a recent asset of Venetian traders.³⁸

Table 8. Occurrences of ports of departure in the *Racione*

	Departure	occurrences
1	Venice	20
2	Acre	11
3	Alexandria	9
4	Puglia	6
5	Negroponte	6
6	Constantinople	6
7	Sicily	5
8	Montpellier	4
9	Aleppo	4
10	Genoa	2
11	Sardinia	1
12	Pisa	1
13	Tunis	1
14	Bugia	1

Table 9. Occurrences of ports of arrival in the *Racione*

	Arrival	occurrences
1	Acre	29
2	Venice	18
3	Alexandria	8
4	Sicily	8
5	Negroponte	5
6	Montpellier	1
7	Genoa	2
8	Cyprus	2
9	Constantinople	2
10	Tunis	2
11	Stive	1
12	Savaste	1
13	Brindisi	1

³⁸ Catalioto 1955, p. 124.

15	Crete	1
16	Damascus	1
17	Sivas	1

The ports of arrival of goods are fewer than the ports of origin; this could perhaps suggest that there were not many occasions in which the Venetian merchants engaged in intermediate trade outside their main routes. Another useful work is the analysis of the ports cited as recipients of goods loaded (or packed) in Venice. According to the data contained in the *Racione*, they are only the ports of Acre (quoted 9 times), and very few others, among which Messina appears 6 times. Considering instead the goods weighed in a port, and arriving in Venice, provenances (or rather, the range of possible provenances) multiply. It must be added that, if we distinguish cases in which the *Racione* mentions goods or units of measurement, the proportion between the ports in the Western and Eastern Mediterranean varies greatly. Quoting only measures, West places count 10, and East 8; quoting goods, the gap is larger: 7 versus 3. If we perform the same analysis for Acre, the trend is confirmed; as Jacoby has already noted, Marseille is not mentioned.

8. Customs duties and procedures

The *Racione* provides customs information only in two cases: Venetian ships arriving at Messina (§§ 150, 161), and cotton wool buyers in Aleppo (§§ 191-202). As regards Messina, it seems that there was no difference between Venetian ships arriving from Venice or other ports; in any case they must pay a toll of 3 %. At the customs merchants must pay 2 and a half *grane* each *qinṭār* of iron, and 4 *grane* each *qinṭār* of cotton wool.³⁹ Information about Aleppo is more detailed. Some rates relate to a service (or a tax), others to the staff to be paid. At the customs it is expected that the trader pays the interpreter, the ‘saccatore’ (that is, the person in charge of bagging goods), the *saumere* (i.e. ‘pack animal’ and also ‘driver of pack animals’); ‘who binds the sacks’ (a person who is not indicated with a specific professional name), the doorman; for rope and for twine; customs tax; for the weighing of camels; at “the door of the sultan’s warehouse” (§ 199; maybe a tax specifically intended for the

³⁹ The *grano* was the six hundredth part of an ounce, whose value during the thirteenth century was about 29 grams of gold (Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 526).

sultan's treasure?). Finally, *deselmene* (§ 200), *banbe* (§ 201) and *riale* (§ 202) are words whose meaning is unknown. A comparison with the *Memoria* suggests that *banbe* corresponds to *buebe* in the Pisan *Memoria*, even if referred to the customs of Alexandria (“to the buebe of the customs...”),⁴⁰ but no additional information is provided on what job he performed. The fact that it is written ‘a’ and not ‘alo’ o ‘alli’, as for the doorman, the interpreter and the other figures, may suggest that the *Racione* – at least in the case of *deselmene* and *riale* – refers to a tax, and not to a human being. The unit of measure for the cotton wool is the *sauma* (*soma*), i.e. the standard unit for weight carried by a camel (*ħiml* in Arabic). For a single load, the sum of money to be paid is 36 dirhams and ¼. Yet, it is not clear if the tax to be paid every six load (to the doorman, and for the weighting of camels) and every three (at “the door of the sultan’s warehouse”) does or does not apply to cases in which loads are less than six or three. The Republic of Genoa, not much later (1288), will reach a better commercial agreement with the King of Armenia Aitone II: the toll for a *ħiml* of silk, between Lajazzo and Goulag, was of 25 dirhams; for a *ħiml* of pepper, ginger, valonia, or French fabrics, 20.⁴¹

9. Units of measure among Mediterranean routes

With the aim of presenting the data offered by the *Racione* in a clear appearance, I offer here a prospectus of every used unit of measure, specifying in which port the measure was used, for which goods, and in relation with which other measures.

The following table shows the equivalences of units of measurement contained by the *Racione*. In addition to the unit of measurement, a further specification is sometimes indicated (*grosse*, *lentin*, etc.). In case of more than one unit of measure for equivalence, I use + (= *cantero+rotolo*). The *Table* does not contain correspondences for which the quantities or units cannot be precisely identified or data on precious metal or coins.

40 Anonymous, *Memoria*, p. 126. Despite the term’s similarity to Arabic *bawwāb* (‘porter’), the fact that a porter is already named in Venetian (*portenaro*) at § 197 makes me suspect a different meaning of *banbe*.

41 Canale 1846, pp. 357-360.

Table 10. Equivalences of units of measurements in the *Racione*. U = unit. Q = quantity.

U. of measure	§	Place	Q	Good	Correspondent unit	Place	Q
<i>Barile</i>	114	Genoa	1	Oil	<i>meri</i>	Venice	4
<i>Braço</i>	155	Venice	348	(not specified)	<i>canna</i>	Messina	100
<i>Braço</i>	173	Venice	195	(not specified)	<i>torsello</i>	Acre	1
<i>Braço</i>	172	Venice	315	Canvas	<i>canna (kanna)</i>	Acre	100
<i>Cafesso</i>	125	Cyprus	64	Wheat	<i>salma</i>	Manfredonia	1
<i>Cafesso</i>	128	Cyprus	62	(not specified)	<i>moço</i>	Costantinople	1
<i>Calega</i>	9	Alexandria	1	Pepper	<i>cantero forfolin</i>	Alexandria	5
<i>Calega</i>	38	Alexandria	1	Brazilwood	<i>cantero + rotolo</i>	Acre	1+14
<i>Calega</i>	77	Montpellier	1	(not specified)	k() ⁴²	Acre	55
<i>Calega</i>	78	Montpellier	1	(not specified)	<i>libra grossa</i>	Venice	412 1/2
<i>Calega</i>	78	Montpellier	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Montpellier	3
<i>Calega</i>		Acre		Canvas	<i>braço</i>	Venice	
<i>Canna (kanna)</i>	173	Acre	60	(not specified)	<i>torsello</i>	Acre	1
<i>Canna (kanna)</i>	155	Messina	100	(not specified)	<i>braço</i>	Venice	368
<i>Cantero - çeroïn (geroïn)</i>	1, 2	Alexandria	1	imported goods only: wood, sugar, dates, vegetable ash, copper, tin, and lead	<i>libra grossa</i>	Venice	200
<i>- çeroïn +rotolo</i>	41	Alexandria	2+35	copper and tin	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1
<i>- çeroïn</i>	42	Alexandria	3 1/3	Oil	<i>cantero (not specified)</i>	Acre	1
<i>- çeroïn</i>	44	Alexandria	2 ¼	honey, soap, cheese	<i>cantero (not specified)</i>	Acre	1
<i>- çeroïn</i>	35	Alexandria	2 ½	Sugar	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1

42 Abbreviation not identified.

- <i>forfolin</i>	7, 8	Alexandria		exported goods only: pepper, Brazil wood, ginger, indigo, white turmeric, lacquer			
- <i>forfolin</i>	10	Alexandria	6	Brazilwood	<i>calega</i>	Alexandria	1
- <i>forfolin</i>	36	Alexandria	5 ¾	Incense	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1
- <i>forfolin</i>	37	Alexandria	5 1/3	Ginger	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1
- <i>forfolin</i>	38	Alexandria	6	Brazilwood	<i>cantero + rotolo</i>	Acre	1+14
- <i>lentin</i>	17, 18	Alexandria	1	Linen	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	200
- (not specified)+ <i>rotolo</i>	137	Acre	1+60	cotton wool	<i>milliaro</i>	Negroponte	1
- (not specified)	118	Genoa	1	(not specified)	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	150
- (not specified)	160	Messina	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Tunis	1 1/5
- (not specified)	79	Montpellier	1	(not specified)	<i>rotolo</i>	Acre's <i>catena</i>	18 1/3
- (not specified)	78	Montpellier	3	(not specified)	<i>libbra grossa</i>	Venice	412 1/2
- (not specified)	115	Sicily	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Genoa	1 2/3
- (not specified) <i>centenero</i>	71 139	Tunis Negroponte	9 ½ 1	(not specified) <i>Valania</i>	<i>milliaro grosso</i> <i>moço</i>	Venice	1 60
<i>Libra</i> - <i>sottile</i>		Venice		Linen	<i>rotolo lentin</i>	Alexandria	
- <i>sottile</i>	169	Venice	750	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1
- <i>sottile</i>	153	Venice	150	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Messina	1
- (not specified)	134	Constantinople	1	(not specified)	<i>libra</i> (not specified)	Thebes	1
- (not specified)	81	Montpellier	24 ¼	(not specified)	<i>libra</i> (not specified)	Venice	25
- (not specified) + <i>unça</i>	145	Negroponte	1+1/2	Silk	<i>unça</i>	Acre	1
- (not specified)	136	Negroponte	650	Wax	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	1
- (not specified)	142	Negroponte	1	(not specified)	<i>libra</i>	Breydes	1
- (not specified)	170	Venice	11	Saffron	<i>mena</i>	Acre	10

<i>Mena</i>	19	Alexandria	10	Saffron	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	26
<i>Mena</i>	22	Alexandria	1	Saffron	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	2 1/2
<i>Mena</i>	39	Alexandria	100	Cinnamon	<i>mena</i>	Acre	101
<i>Mena</i>	80	Acre	10	(not specified)	<i>libra</i> (not specified)	Montpel-lier	24 1/4
<i>Mena</i>	179	Acre	1	(not specified)	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	2 1/2
<i>Mena</i>	188	Aleppo	1	(not specified)	<i>libra sottile</i>	Venice	2 1/2
<i>Milliario</i>	147	Crete	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	2 1/5
<i>Milliario</i>	73	Pisa	1	Lead	<i>cantero + rotolo</i>	Sicily	4+14
<i>Milliario</i>	120	Puglia	1	meat, cheese	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	2 1/4
<i>Milliario</i>	3, 4	Venice	1	oil, honey	<i>cantero çeroïn</i>	Alexan-dria	5 2/3
<i>Milliario</i>	171	Venice	1	Honey	<i>cantero</i>	Acre	2 1/3
<i>Milliario</i>	138	Venice	1	Iron	<i>libra</i>	Negro-ponte	860
- <i>grosso</i>	168	Venice	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero + rotolo</i>	Acre	2+12
- <i>grosso</i>	152	Venice	1	(not specified)	<i>cantero + rotoli</i>	Messina	6+8
<i>Mina</i>	117	Genoa	1	Salt	<i>cantero + rotolo</i>	(not specified)	2+30
<i>Moço</i>	127	Constantinople	100	Wheat	<i>moço</i>	Acre	145
<i>Moço</i>	128	Constantinople	1	(not specified)	<i>cafesso</i>	Cyprus	62
<i>Moço</i>	146	Negro-ponte	100	Wheat	<i>moço</i>	Acre	27
<i>Quartino</i>	119	Sardinia	1	Salt	<i>libra grossa</i>	Venice	270
<i>Rotolo</i>	45	Acre	2 2/3	Silk	<i>desina</i>	Alexan-dria	1
<i>Rotolo</i>	178	Acre	1	Silk	<i>libra</i> (not specified)+ <i>unça</i>	Venice	7+1
<i>Rotolo</i>	79	Acre's <i>catena</i>	18 1/3	(not specified)	<i>libra</i> (not specified)	Venice	137 1/3
<i>Rotolo</i>	182	Savastia (Sivas)	1	(not specified)	<i>libra</i> (not specified)	Venice	3 3/4
<i>Salma</i>	122	Barletta	100	wheat, broad bean	<i>moço</i>	Acre	150
<i>Salma</i>	123	Barletta	100	Barley	<i>moço</i>	Acre	135
<i>Salma</i>	124	Barletta	1	Almonds	<i>moço</i>	Acre	1 1/6
<i>Salma</i>	125	Manfredonia	1	Wheat	<i>cafesso</i>	Cyprus	44

<i>Salma</i>	116	Sicily	1	Wheat	<i>mina</i>	Genoa	2 1/2
<i>Salma</i>	126	Puglia	1	Mustard	<i>moço</i>	Acre	1 1/4
<i>Staro</i>	129	Venice	2	Wheat	<i>moço</i>	Acre	1
<i>Torsello</i>	173	Acre	1	(not specified)	<i>braço</i>	Venice	195
<i>Unça</i>	72	(not specified)	17 ¼	Silver	<i>rotolo</i>	Tunis	1
<i>Unça</i>	140	Negro-ponte	10 ½	Silk	<i>libra</i>	Venice	1
<i>Unça</i>	156	Venice	12 ½	(not specified)	<i>libra</i>	Messina	1

10. Embarking goods in Alexandria

The methods of embarkation of goods departing from Venice are well known as they were subject of legislation by the Venetian Senate already in the mid-thirteenth century.⁴³ We do not have similar sources for Alexandria, but we can obtain information on the management of goods from the *Racione*. A first observation concerns the localities towards which *Racione* declares the goods to be directed: Acre, Messina, Armenia, Marseille, Puglia, Tunis, Romania ‘and all Soria’ (§ 48). No mention is made of Sardinia, Naples, or ports of Campania.

Table 11. Weight of different types of *sporte* at Alexandria’s port according to the *Racione di Alexandria*.

Good	unit of measure	weight in kilos
Pepper, ginger, indigo, myrrh, lacca	Sporta	216,85
Cinnamon, spigo, folio, golden shower	Sporta	156,66
Cotton wool	Sporta	151,79
Sugar in pani, dates	Sporta	286,24
Sugar in casse, dirty wool	Sporta	190,83
Pepper	Sporta	180,75
Washed wool	Sporta	143,12

For the reasons stated introducing *Table 5* in § 4, I preferred not to include the values of the goods listed in §§ 63-68.

43 I refer, for instance, to the *Statutes* of Raniero Zeno, dated 1255, in Predelli-Sacerdoti 1903, pp. 115-116.

11. Mediterranean mints for Venetian gold

The description of procedures to be carried out to mint coins can provide new insights into an important period in economic history. The *Racione* throws light on how Western merchants could mint gold coins at the mint of Alexandria (§§ 27-32) and sell coins to the mints of Constantinople (§ 130) and Acre (§ 175). As far as I know, these instructions are the oldest with regards to Italy.⁴⁴ The *Racione* suggests presenting gold almost pure to the mint of Alexandria (23 and $\frac{3}{4}$ carat), in the form of *verghe* (rods), and letting it be checked by the officials. If they approve the gold, it can receive the *bolla*, that is the mark certifying its adherence to the local standard. Otherwise, the merchant will have to refine the gold, again and again, to reach the approval. To do this, he needed pots, salt, cement, and firewood: the operation took place in an oven and lasted 24 hours.⁴⁵ The procedure is described more in detail by Francesco Pegolotti half a century later.⁴⁶ Pegolotti describes with extreme precision every step and every necessary tool, the gestures to be done and to avoid, and the ingredients to use. It is likely that Pegolotti's recipe for cement is the same one that *Racione* refers to, without explaining its composition,⁴⁷ since the method was already described by Pliny in his *Naturalis Historia*.⁴⁸ Since no minting

44 The Treaty of Venice with the Ayyubid Sultan al-'Adil II, dated November 14, 1238, does not enter into the merits of the agreements in force at the time, which are not specified: Tafel-Thomas 1856, pp. 336-341.

45 Stahl 2008, pp. 515-517.

46 “Togli una pignatta di terra nuova, e quando ai la detta pignatta prendi lo cemento e colla mano lo gitta nella detta pignatta come gittassi formaggio grattugiato sopra lasagne, e fae uno suolo dell'oro granato e poi uno suolo di cemento, e poi uno suolo dell'oro granato e poi uno suolo di cemento, non troppo grosso se non tanto che sia ricoperto l'oro [...] e poi cuopri la detta pignatta di sopra con uno testo di terra [...] e la metti a fuoco in uno fornello [take a new earthenware pot, and when you have it take the cement and with your hand put it in the said pot as if you were putting grated cheese on top of the lasagna, and make a layer of gold in grains and then one of cement, and then one of gold in grains and then one of cement, obtaining a thickness sufficient to cover the gold, but no more [...], then cover the said pot with a crock lid [...], and put it to cook in an oven]”, Pegolotti, *La pratica*, in Evans 1936, p. 331.

47 “Ricetta di cemento: cemento si è di due cose, cioè mattone e sale [...], ed abbia a mente che quanto più sale tiene il cemento tanto è più forte cemento [Cement Recipe: Cement is made up of two things, namely brick and salt [...] and keep in mind that the more salt the cement contains, the stronger the cement is],” in Evans 1936., p. 333.

48 Pipino 2003, p. 161.

manual from the Mamluk era survives,⁴⁹ it seems convenient to draw from the *Racione* all possible information on the workers and on the operations carried out within the mint of Alexandria. After having brought the gold, in a rod, in front of witnesses, ‘he’ (*lui*) will take a portion of gold from both ends of the rod. The ‘masters’ are not linked to any mint activity (§ 30), their number it is not specified, and they are quoted just to warn the merchant that they must be paid. We have no element to establish whether “lo pesatore de doana (the weigher of the customs)” is a weigher of any kind of goods, or if he only deals with precious metals. The *Racione* cites also “the merchant of it (i.e.: the gold)”. Making a parallel with the Venetian mint, studied in great depth by Stahl, it may be that “the merchant” was the one in charge of the gold procurement for the Alexandria mint, but this is only a hypothesis. Another term must be cleared: the *arbaro*. I would say it is a Venetian form for *arbitro* (i.e. arbiter), that is, a role which occurs in several commercial situations and documents, but in the absence of *loci paralleli* and information on the mint officials I think more correct to point out its merely conjectural interpretation.

The hunger for gold in thirteenth century was common in Europe as well as in the East, and both in Tunis and in Egypt the trade agreements with Venice did not include customs taxes on gold (a similar policy in Venice concerned the Germans, the main importers of gold and silver).⁵⁰ For this reason, provided that bezants was the Frankish name of the *dīnār*, Venetian merchant has to pay “the right and other expenses,” to the witnesses (6 % of the mark of bezants), the masters (16 % of bezants’ carats), the weigher (6 carats), the merchant (not specified). Once accepted the gold, the *Racione* suggests to “make the bezants beat”, but it seems to warn that, compared to the weight of the Venetian gold mark, the merchant’s net income consists of only 55 bezants. Assuming that the mark of Venice was about 238,5 grams,⁵¹ and the *dīnār* 4,25 grams, the merchant would have handed the mint gold in rod for 238,5 grams to receive 216,79 in the form of Mamluk coins; a ‘loss’ of 21 grams, about 10 %.

The mint of Constantinople occupies only few words. Even if the principal interest of trade in the city seems to be coins, in relation to the mint the *Racione* only deals with bezants from Acre (§ 130). In this case,

49 Schultz 1999, p. 184.

50 Stahl 2008, p. 218.

51 Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 526; Jacoby 2018, pp. 122-123.

I assume that the bezants are the Frankish imitations of the Mamluk *dīnār*.⁵² The *Racione* provides a change between a *saço* of bezants and 16 and quarter carats. The *saço* (o *sazo*, i.e. ‘sage’) was the sixth part of an ounce.⁵³ Using the values of Lane and Mueller (1 *sazo* = 1,520 g.; 1 carat = 0,207 g.), the *Racione* would inform of this equivalence: giving the mint 1,520 grams of bezants, the merchant would have back more than 3 grams. Nevertheless, Lane and Mueller specify that the *ZdC* proposes the equivalence 1 *sazo* = 24 carats.⁵⁴ In this case, the 1,520 grams of bezants would be worth 1,01 grams in Constantinople. Two hypotheses seem possible: 1. the text is corrupt; 2. At the time of the drafting of the *Racione* the values were different. It is known that the hyperpyron under Michael VIII Palaeologus had only 15 carats of gold,⁵⁵ so it is also not clear the reference to 16 and ¼ carats.

As for Acre mint, giving 20 carats “of Venice” of gold to the mint, the merchant would receive 3 bezants in exchange (§ 175). As stated by Kool, “very little can be attributed to the years after 1258”.⁵⁶ I offer readers a further, extremely brief reference which I believe concerns a mint: “of the fine silver for the *aspri* [they] retain 4 percent (§ 143).” This detail is quite interesting, because it shows that the Venetian trading area of gold and silver reached, about the mid-thirteenth century, the Seljuk Turkey (see below section 13).

12. Marks of gold and silver among the Mediterranean area

“In northern Italy, the mark rather than the pound was the most important unit of weight for coinage [...] and mint instructions generally defined the weights of coins in terms of the number to be struck to the mark”.⁵⁷ The mark of Venice was approximately 238,5 grams. The *Racione* quotes the marks of Acre (§§ 47, 174), Montpellier (§ 82) and Messina (§§ 157, 162), and provides the equivalences between the mark of Venice and another not named weight of Alexandria. In fact, the *Ra-*

52 On the monetary history of the Crusader kingdom, the reference to Kool 2013, is essential (in particular, pp. 60, 78-80, 85-88, 202-206).

53 Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 526.

54 Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 526.

55 Grierson 1982, p. 12.

56 Kool 2006, p. 304.

57 Day *et al* 2016, p. 740.

cione does not quote a mark of Alexandria, or any other type of measure of precious metals.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, it compares the weight of the Venetian mark with the sum of 9 ounces and 26 carates – still Venetian units of measure –, an entity without a name but heavier than the mark about 40 grams (§ 180). Since Schultz states that in the first decades of minting, the Mamluk *dīnārs* were “of such highly irregular weights that they clearly were weighed in any transaction,”⁵⁹ maybe the weight considered as a mark in the *Racione* could have been a unit of weight in the period. Considering a standard *dīnār* of 4,2 grams, the ‘mark’ described by the *Racione* would contain 65 coins.

The mark of Acre was equal to 51 *bb* (an abbreviation) and 10 carats in Alexandria (§ 47). This is the only occurrence of this abbreviation, and it is not clear at which term it refers; if bezants, the value of the mark would be enormous, about 216 grams. At § 82, the mark of Acre is compared to that of Montpellier and that of Venice. As far as I know, the mark of Montpellier had a value almost equal to that of Venice (239 grams);⁶⁰ then it is not easy to explain why the *Racione* reports that it was 6 carats less heavy than the Venetian one. In any case, it is a gram and a half of difference with respect to known data. Another problem is the term *sterlini*: “the mark of Montpellier is 10 sterlini heavier than Acre’s mark.” The term *sterlino* has two very different meanings; or the twentieth part of the ounce when measuring the percentage of silver in coins,⁶¹ or the English coin.⁶² The *Racione* does not mention any British goods, nor any British location. Therefore I find it more likely that the reference is to a weight. The *PdM*, wrote about half a century later, states that a *sterlino* is the third part of the Venetian *grosso*. If this was valid also when the *Racione* was written, the *sterlino* would have the value of 0,71 grams. Below, I provide the value of the marks according to the equivalences proposed in the respective passages of *Racione*.

58 The term used was *mithqal*. “The word just indicates ‘a means to weigh’. As such, it became the standard unit for many commodities, including the precious metals used for coinage” (Kolbas 2020, p. 168).

59 Schultz 1999, p. 186.

60 Berlow 1979, p. 351.

61 Travaini 2003, p. 57. Numerous occurrences of *sterlini* as a measure of weight in 1282 in Barone 1886, pp. 8-11.

62 Stahl 2001, p. 201.

Table 12. Equivalences of marks according to the *Racione di Alexandria*.

Market	Weight of mark	<i>Racione's</i> weight I	<i>Racione's</i> weight II	<i>Racione's</i> weight III
Venice	238,5 g. ⁶³			
Montpellier	239 g.	237,3 (§ 82)		
Acre		226,4 (§ 47)	230,2 (§ 82)	207,4 (§ 174)
Alexandria (not defined 'mark')		273,5 (§ 181)		
Messina		237,4 (§ 157)		

13. Coins references

In the *Racione* the type of equivalence adopted between two coins is mostly their weight. As said above, the most important element of the framework described in the text is the absence of Italian gold coins; the only quoted ones are bezants and *perperi*. In general, the coins mentioned are only four: bezants, *perperi*, *aspri* and *deremi* (dirhams). In Alexandria, the Venetian mark of silver is worth 79 weights of *migaresi*, and the mark of gold 55 weights of bezants (§ 23). It is well known that the mint of Venice had a policy particularly attentive to the homogeneity of the weight of its coins. Nonetheless, even silver in *denari grossi* is sold by weight: at the weight of *migaresi*, it takes 14 for a bezant (still in Alexandria, § 24). In Alexandria, 102 and 1/3 bezants of Acre are worth 100 bezants (§ 46). The equivalence suggests that gold was more valued in Alexandria than in Acre, or that in Acre it was less fine. No need to say that even in the same geographical area we can find significant differences. E.g., 100 *perperi* of Constantinople are worth 105 and a quarter in Negroponte (§ 131), and 100 *perperi* of Stive (Thebes) are worth 100 *perperi* and 24 carates in Negroponte (§ 144).

The reference to *aspri* of Sivas (§ 143) is the only contact, in the whole text, between Venice and the Sultanate of Rum. "The term aspron was mostly applied to the various Anatolian and Black Sea silver denominations minted from the twelfth century onwards, but also to some particular coins of Byzantium and of the Latin allies of Byzantium in the eastern Aegean."⁶⁴ Since the first *aspra* were minted in the context of the

⁶³ Lane-Mueller 1985, p. 526.

⁶⁴ Baker 2021, p. 1275.

monetary reform of John V in late fourteenth century, this is an evidence that the *Racione* refers to a seljuk coin.⁶⁵ Another interesting datum is the reference to two different types of dirham: the Aleppo and the Damascus one. The reader will find an exact correspondence between the dirham and the weight measured with Venetian measures: “100 dirham of Damascus weight one mark (238,5 grams), two ounces (59,62 grams) and four carats (0,8 grams)” (§ 181). The sum, about 299 grams, differs very slightly from the value of the single dirham: 2,97 grams.⁶⁶ The Aleppo dirham seems lighter than that of Damascus: depending – according to the *Racione* – on the value attributed to the mark of Acre, its value fluctuates between 2.7 and 3 grams (§ 187). In my opinion, a hypothesis to be considered is that the author of *Racione* is meticulous on the question because right in the middle of the century, both in Aleppo and Damascus, took place the transition from the Ayyubid to the Mamluk government, implying (among other things) the issuance of new coinage.⁶⁷

14. The trading network

The equivalences between measures of different places are about 80 (I use ‘about’ because in some places the text does not seem fully intelligible). There are 23 named locations, and how many times they appear in equivalences can be considered an eloquent metric of business interests for the *Racione* or at least for what survives of the *Racione*. Places named only once do not appear in the list.

Acre: 45
Venice: 44
Alexandria: 20
Sicily: 14
Negroponte: 11
Constantinople: 8
Montpellier: 7
Aleppo: 4
Tunis: 3
Cyprus: 2
Genoa: 2

65 Grierson 1999, p. 37, states that the weight of the *aspri turci* was 3 grams each.

66 Mujani 2011, pp. 1896.

67 Schultz 2020, p. 254.

Stive: 2.

The main routes are among Venice, Acre, and Alexandria. Residual interests remain in the Mediterranean, between Sicily, Greece, and Constantinople, with a relevant focus on Montpellier market.

a) Algeria and Tunis

The commercial space drawn by what remains of the *Racione* does not seem to give relevance to the western Mediterranean. Bugia (Béjaïa) is quoted once, relating to Tunis, comparing the values of their respective *qintār* (§ 69). Another reference on Tunis is the comparison of its *qintār* to the *milliaro* of Venice (§ 71), and the very last informs of the equivalence between a *raṭl* of silver in Tunis and 17 ounces and $\frac{1}{4}$ in Venice (§ 72). So little attention towards the Tunisian market is quite peculiar; the first commercial treaty between Venice and the Hafsid ruler was signed in 1231, and in 1257 Venice allied with Pisa to annihilate the maritime power of Genoa, especially in Ifriqiyya.⁶⁸ Certainly Venice arrived late, compared to Genoa, and even more so to Pisa, the first to undertake trade links with Tunis. In any case, throughout the thirteenth century Europe bought Tunisian wool and wheat,⁶⁹ and the scarcity of data on the Venetian trade in the Maghreb is perhaps attributable to the specific and limited traffic of the single author of the *Racione*.

b) Montpellier and the French connection

The *Racione* devotes an in-depth look to commerce in Montpellier: from § 76 to § 112. This is the most accurate description of goods and equivalences of measures, second only to Alexandria. The *Racione* quotes in these passages 10 different types of silk, apart from the silk made in *Romania*.⁷⁰ Most of the mentioned types of silk are not identifiable: *manṣea*, *maria* and *calloida* silk. Provide that, in general, types of silk were defined by their provenience (Antioch, *Romania*, etc.), I was not able to find acceptable connections.⁷¹ It is relevant that the *Racione* quotes many goods only referring to the Montpellier's market: elephant

68 Sacerdoti 1966; Doumerc 1999, pp. 9-24.

69 Valerian 2009, pp. 226-228.

70 For the trading of silk in Montpellier see Reyerson 1982.

71 Despite the accuracy of Jacoby 2004, pp. 227-230, none of the terms listed appear there. I do not find matches either in *PdM*, p. 297, where Pegolotti lists names of silk (*Nomora di seta*).

teeth, rose water, ladano from Cyprus, myrobalan plums, licorice and tragacants. Also two types of sugar, *nebet* and *candi*’, are mentioned only for Montpellier. While running the risk of overinterpreting, the abundance of references to specific goods could suggest the importance of Montpellier as a marketplace for the Venetian trade in exotic goods. In fact, almost all mentioned goods are exotic: pepper, cinnamon, ginger, indigo from Baghdad and so on. To the list may be added only one Venetian product: soap.

c) Genoa and Pisa: a silent competition

The two rivals of Venice are almost absent from the *Racione*. Genoa is quoted 6 times (§§ 113-118), in relation to silver, oil, wheat and salt. The equivalences made with Genoa measures refer only to Venice and Sicily. This detail is interesting, since in the 11 pages of the *Memoria* dealing with Pisa’s trading in the Mediterranean, Genoa and Venice are never mentioned. The only mention of Pisa refers to the equivalence of weight between the *milliaro* of Pisa and the *qintār* of Sicily (§ 73), with regards to lead. The data confirms the presence of consolidated areas of influence among Italian traders. Areas that gaze each other’s but remain separate. Nevertheless, it can be noted that the commercial power of Genoa in the western Mediterranean does not allow the author of the *Racione* to completely ignore it.

d) Southern Italy

The south of Italy is well represented in the *Racione*, mostly Puglia (§§ 120-126) and the port of Messina (§§ 148-163). Of course Puglia, which seems to have here the medieval wide meaning of ‘Southern Italy (without the islands)’, even if the ports quoted are Barletta, Manfredonia, Brindisi (on the Adriatic route) appears a sort of food reservoir. Food is not the most quoted good in the *Racione* yet is the only good traded from Puglia. In detail, the *Racione* refers to meat, cheese, fava beans, wheat, almonds, mustard, and barley. Messina has a very different position inside the economic relations that can be glimpsed in the *Racione*. There are 11 references to equivalences between Messina measurements and other localities, and 8 refer to Venetian measurements. References concern measures, and not measured goods, that is the opposite of what happened for Puglia’s ones.

Maybe a further analysis, which I intend to carry out in conjunction with experts in ancient Venetian, will perhaps allow an interpretation to be given to this and other aspects of the text. The only goods quoted

in Messina by the *Racione* are silver, iron, oil, and cotton wool. A clue that would confirm the increasing importance of Messina in the Venetian commercial network is the reference, noted above, to a building used by Venetian traders. Apart from Venice, the only cities cited in relation with Messina are Acre and Tunis. In this framework, as said before, many geographical areas are scarcely represented. The only mention of Sardinia is at § 119: “a quartino of salt of Sardinia is worth 270 ‘big’ Venice pounds” (about 128 kilos). The regions of Campania and Calabria are never explicitly mentioned in the *Racione*. Some decades later, the *ZdC* will devote ample space to trade with Naples, and will quote the measures of Trapani and Palermo, while in the *Racione* Messina was the only quoted place of Sicily.

e) Cyprus in the *Racione*

Cyprus is almost completely absent from the *Racione*. It is quoted only in relation to wheat trade: from Manfredonia to Cyprus (§ 125), and from Constantinople to Cyprus (§128). The scarcity of trade with Cyprus is in common with the *Memoria*. This sounds as a further confirmation about the period of composition of the *Racione*: in the early 1270s, Cyprus was not yet so relevant because the Syrian-Palestinian port cities had not yet fallen into Mamluk hands.

f) Greece and Turkey

Considering the places named by the *Racione*, and ignoring the amount of the missing folios of V, it seems that the author was not interested in a detailed description of the Mediterranean ports, but only to the main commercial hubs in the Venetian view of the second half of thirteenth century. This can be said also considering the rarity of information regarding goods from Venetian *Romania* traded in the Byzantine enclaves, or on the Syrian and Thyrrenian coasts. It is known that, after the fall of the Latin empire, emperor Michael Palaeologus III renewed the previous trade treaties of Byzantium with Venice (1265). Greek places in the *Racione* are Crete, Negroponte, and Thebes. Negroponte is the most quoted: it is linked to the trade of wax, cotton wool, iron, valonia, silk and wheat. Thebes is quoted twice, in relation with the pound of Constantinople and the *perperi* of Negroponte (§§ 134, 144); Crete appears just once, comparing its *milliario* with the *qinṭār* of Acre (§ 148). Turkey places are Constantinople, and twice Sivas (Sebaste). Most of the references to Constantinople refer to precious metals or coins, and the

rest to wheat. Even the economic interests suggested by the references to Sivas – as seen above, in the paragraph dedicated to coins – are monetary, regarding *aspra* of Sivas.

g) The Syrian-Palestinian area: Acre and Aleppo

The situation that seems to emerge from the *Racione* confirms the dependence of Acre, and therefore of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, on external resources.⁷² The only goods exported from Acre are silk (towards Venice), soap, honey, cheese (towards Alexandria), cotton wool (towards Negroponte) and coins (towards Constantinople). The goods that travel to Acre, in addition to the always intense traffic of spices that affect the entire Mediterranean, are food: almond, mustard, wheat, meat and cheese. Aleppo has already been mentioned in connection with the trafficking of cotton wool; besides this, only weights and coins are named, and only in relation to Acre.

15. The *Racione* among other trade manuals

This is not the place to deepen the cultural and stylistic aspects of the trading manuals of which both the *Memoria* and the *Racione* are – because chance made them survive – the most ancient representatives.⁷³ Scholars coined the term ‘sedentary merchant’ to describe a type of commercial entrepreneur who managed his trades from home, delegating travel to his agents, and who needed a new tool for this approach, namely the trading manual.⁷⁴ This figure is said to have emerged at the dawn of the fourteenth century, but the *Racione* belongs to an earlier period, and no other similar texts are known at present. The manuals, as summarised by Tucci, would be composed of one part resulting from the direct experience of the trader, and two other earlier portions, one updated and the other kept anachronistic.⁷⁵ Of course V is a copy, therefore contains material already circulating in another form. Furthermore – as deduced in the first paragraphs – it is also incomplete. What, then, is the *Racione*?

72 «The strengthening of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and its very survival depended on the maintenance of maritime communications with the Christian West», Jacoby 2017, p. 328.

73 Despite being dated, Tucci 1968, remains the reference point on the subject.

74 Tucci 1968, p. 74; Lane 1967, pp. XLVII-XLVIII; Kedar 1981, p. 47; Giagnacovo 2014, pp. 7-15.

75 Tucci 1968, p. 74.

The first surviving trading manual, or something else? I feel it is appropriate to elaborate on the comparison with the *Memoria* and the *Zibaldone*, but not to dwell here on later manuals.

The *Memoria* is about twice as long as the *Racione*, and many of the routes it deals with are different. The hub of traffic is Pisa, Marseille plays an important role, but also the system of French fairs, Campania (both ports and products), Puglia and Sicily have a considerable weight. Within the Pisans' range of action, the Maghreb plays a leading role with exchanges between Tunis, Bugia, and southern Italy as regards foodstuffs: oil from Tunis to Acre, Italian oil to Tunis, walnuts, hazelnuts, chestnuts from Naples to Tunis, wheat to and from Tunis. It's interesting the fact that the *Memoria* quotes three types of wine (from Messina, Scalea and Calabria) to sell... in Tunis.⁷⁶ Given that the local population was Muslim, whom would the Pisan merchants have sold wine to, if the Christians in Tunis were merchants just as tough as they were? The data denote a much more complex network than the *Racione* as regards the commercial hubs (numerically greater), and a range of products more geared towards the food sector – while fruit and wine are completely absent from the *Racione*. A feature that differentiates the Pisan trade from the Venetian one is the reference to pearls, which appears only in relation to Armenia. Like the range of places mentioned and the product categories, in the *Memoria* there are more coins than in the *Racione*, and they belong to more geographical areas: *doppi* from Mira, Dacerai and Aragon,⁷⁷ Florence florins, *aspri* of Turkey, dirhams, bezants, hyperpyron, *alfonsini*.⁷⁸

The trading section of *ZdC* contains references to ports on the Adriatic, such as Ancona, Fermo and Zara, but also to the market square in Milan. It mentions Palermo and Trapani, absent both in the *Memoria* and in the *Racione*. Cyprus has become a cumbersome presence, and many of its ports are mentioned: Famagusta, Limassol, Paphos and the capital, Nicosia.⁷⁹ Even though the *ZdC* was written in and regards the early fourteenth century, it dedicates space to Acre, Tripoli, Tortosa, and

76 Anonymous, *Memoria*, p. 122.

77 Lopez-Airaldi 1983, p. 132n, hypothesize that Mira identifies Morocco, but they make no assumptions about the meaning of Dacerai.

78 Since the *Memoria* does not specify whether the *alfonsini* are gold or silver, we do not know if it refers to Aragonese or Castilian coins (Travaini 2003, pp. 237-238).

79 This is the interpretation of the toponym Urossia (not identified by Stussi 1967, p. 55) given by Cortelazzo 1995, p. 474.

Latakia. I can't explain why the anonymous author of the text considered it appropriate to report equivalences and rates, specifying that they were no longer in force. It mentions some measures perhaps because they are the same elsewhere (such as the *ratl* of Acre, equal to the current one of Limassol). Anyhow, it is certain that the *ZdC* – in addition to describing situations of the past – deals with commercial exchanges with Mamluk towns. In Tortosa “are sold *tripollati* bezants, as happened in Tripoli”, *callafeti* dirhams are used throughout the area between Acre and Tiberias and are the most common coins in Latakia, and the qintar of Latakia is equivalent to 735 thin pounds of Venice. Of the Byzantine Empire only Constantinople and the Morea are mentioned; the remaining references are to Venetian possessions: Candia, Corone, Negroponte. The *ZdC* almost never specifies if the goods were sold or purchased in the locations indicated. It is certain that the merchandise it deals with includes a wide range of types: from heavy to precious metals, from spices to fabrics, from food to spices, from leather to utensils. Pearls are also mentioned, and, as in the Pisan *Memoria*, only in the Armenian market.

Reflecting the launch of new minting on the market, the *ZdC* gold coin exhibition is more varied than in the previous century: ducates, *carlini* and *genovini*, *saracinati* and *tripolati* bezants, white bezants of Cyprus. As for silver coins, in addition to the well-known dirhams are quoted *callafeti* ones, *riali*, *perperi* of Stive, *perperi palliologati*, *tornesi* of Montpellier. An element of novelty is the mention of the loan of bezants, even if it is not specified where.

16. Conclusions

Despite the numerous difficulties and unresolved issues that I have highlighted in these pages, some fixed points emerge from *Racione's* analysis. We can reiterate – if there was a need – that it is antecedent to the Pisan *Memoria*, as it does not contain references to the florin; that it seems to portray an underdeveloped situation of commercial relations with Tunisia and the Maghreb, and (it seems) that it still not very careful to exploit *Romania's* resources. The most intense traffic, interpreting the commercial value of the goods mentioned, is that towards the port of Alexandria. The market of Montpellier is also of high importance – since it appears as the only Venetian hub for the whole of France, and the markets of Messina and Negroponte. Not surprisingly, as the last two localities (albeit with different political and legal premises) guarantee privileged trading conditions.

One of the reasons for the extreme complexity of interpreting the *Racione* is the great political mutation taking place in the central decades of the thirteenth century: between 1260 and 1280 both the Greek peninsula, with its numerous islands, as well as Turkey and Syria, underwent profound changes of political regime. However, perhaps the main issue is that each manual is unique, and only in the most fortunate cases can we identify the provenance of some of its parts in earlier or contemporary texts. If common parts are identifiable, which is also the case with portions of the *Racione* (e.g. in the case of the Alexandria weights), the logic of many of the annotations in the manuals continues to elude us. In spite of many keen reflections on the subject, for example, we still do not know why the manuals retain anachronistic data despite having a practical purpose. Since we do not know how, in practice, hypothetical merchants made use of the *Racione* or the *Memoria*, comparing the texts seems so far to be insufficient. The consistency between the tariff and the very partial Portolan which follows in the MS suggests reading the noteworthy combination preserved in V in a different way, that is, as the first known example of a special kind of tariff not uncommon in Venice, but only in later examples: the tariff “for a single trip”:

A Venezia s’affermò anche un modello speciale di tariffa, che regolava il tipo di rapporto più frequente fra il “maestro” e i suoi agenti nelle varie piazze; quelle tariffe erano riservate ad un solo “viaggio” – ne abbiamo viste per Costantinopoli, per la Siria, per Alessandria – e indicavano gli usi che vi ricorrevano nella contrattazione e in particolare i limiti delle spese ammesse per ciascuna operazione.⁸⁰

This is a hypothesis that I find plausible but at present not demonstrable. I believe that in addition to a thorough analysis of the manuals, a greater understanding of these documents can only emerge through a wide-ranging comparison with every possible testimony describing business practices (notarial deeds, private deeds, correspondence). Surely scholarly editing these sources will contribute to increasing our knowledge.

80 «In Venice, a special *Tarifa* model was also established, which regulated the most frequent type of relationship between the ‘maestro’ and his agents in the various squares; those *Tarife* were reserved for a single ‘trip’ – we have seen them for Constantinople, for Syria, for Alexandria – and they indicated the uses to which they were put in the bargaining process and in particular the limits of the expenses allowed for each transaction» Tucci 1968, p. 91.

Racione de Alexandria

As told above, the *Racione de Alexandria* is preserved by one MS only: Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, ms. It. XI 87 (= 7353), or V. V presents many abbreviations, both by contraction and by truncation, which I extend in parenthesis. In few cases in which I am not sure of the extension (§§ 77, 154, 196), I kept the empty parenthesis next to the written letters. I have highlighted in italics what seems convenient to consider as titles of the paragraphs. I have capitalized the place names, modernized the punctuation, separated joined words. The sign / indicates the line change, the sign // appears every five lines. I indicated the folio in Arabic numerals between []. In order to better analyze the text, I have organized it into paragraphs and numbered them.

The sign * inserted between [] indicates the space of an unreadable letter due to a damage of the parchment.

The text inserted between [] indicates an integration hypothesized by the publisher.

The white space between [] indicates a gap (*lacuna*).

The sign + at § 107 reproduces a cross in the same position with respect to the text.

The intervention in § 13, which integrates both text and unknown signs, is a partial amendment suggested by the comparison of the *Racione* with the *Zibaldone*, 68, line 18.

¹*Racione de Alexandria* / In Alexandria sì è .j. cantero lo qual ven clamato geroin, / alo qual cantero ven venduto tute quelle cause le qual / ven dute inn Alexandria. ²Et sì è quello cantero lib(re) .cc. // a grosso a lib(re) de Venecia.

³Cui porta rame e stagno e plonbo / o altre merçe sì geta lo mill(iar)o cantera .v. et l'ogo ven / pesato a questo cantero et geta cantera vj me(n) terça lo / mill(iar)o de l'ogo de Venec(ia) p(er)ké lo s'abate p(er) li vaxelli lo quarto, / e se li vaxelli sè greve, sì geta meior rasone. //

⁴Melle sì geta sì co' geta l'ogo.

⁵A questo cantero sì se vende p(er) la / tera tute le cause ke se compra p(er) mançare. ⁶Et conprasene lana / e çucaro e datali e lume gatina et non autre merçe p(er) trare / fora dela tera e questo rotollo de questo cantero se pesa, a peso de / migare[s]i, pesi cccxii. //

6 migare[s]i] migareri V

⁷Inn Alexandria s'è un altro cantero, lo qual ven clamato for/folin. ⁸A questo cantero no ven venduto merçe le qualle ven dute / in Alexandria. ⁹Si ven pesato a questo cantero le merçe le qual / ven trate de Alexandria, çoè pip(er), le v cantera s'è .j. / . ¹⁰Verçi, a questo cantero le .vj. cantera s'è .j. ca//lega. ¹¹Encenso ven venduto a questo cantero, et çen/çevro, endego, çeroada et lacha.

¹²Questo cantero su/pradito s'è la rotolla, a peso de migaresi pesa pesi cxliiii / a pesi de migaresi. ¹³Questo cantero geta a Venec(ia) [libre ***] / a sotile. ¹⁴Lo verçi geta me(n), per lo mondar ke s'è mond[*****]. // [1v] ¹⁵Et incenso et endego geta men, k'el de va in polvere. /

¹⁶In Alexandria s'è .j. certo cantero, lo qual ven cla/mato lentin, alo qual cantero niente no ven ven(d)uto / dele cause le qual ven dute in Alexandria. ¹⁷Et in Ale/sandria ve(n) venduto lin çitigo a questo cantero e pesa // lo rotolo de questo a peso de migaresi .cc. ¹⁸E questo can/tero s'è geta a Venecia lib(re) cc a sotile. /

¹⁹In Alexandria s'è un quarto cantero ke [à] nome mena, ad / la qual mena se vende çafara(n), et vol de ad la desena / de quella mena lib(re) xxvi a sotile ala lib(ra) de Venec(ia), // p(er)ké li Saraçini ne tole p(er) lo pesare e p(er) doane. ²⁰Et a questa / mena s'è se conpra garofali et nose muscate et / galanga, gardamoni, et folio et chanela.

²¹Questa / mena s'è pesa alo peso de migaresi pesi ccxl.

²²Geta / questa mena a Venec(ia) lib(re) ij 1/2 a sotil. //

²³La marcha del'argento de Venec(ia) s'è geta in Alexan/dria alo peso de migaresi pesi lxxviiiij, et la marcha / d'auro geta alo peso de besanti de Alexandria pesi / de besanti lv. /

²⁴Qui porta argento de denari grossi, venderali a pesi // de migaresi xvi a besante. ²⁵Et s'elo s'è in cope de / argente indorade, venderase a pesi de migaresi xiiiij / a besante. ²⁶Et se le s'è indorade dentro e de fora, venderalle / a pesi de migaresi xiiij a besante, et no(n) paga dreto [2r] nesuno in Alexandria. //

²⁷Qui porta auro in Alexandria, s'è se vol portare afi/nato de karati xxiiiij me(n) quarta. ²⁸Et s'elo s'è fin, s'è lì lo / cove(n) gitare in v(er)ga e poi lo portare ananti li teste/moni, s'è lui farà tagare de cavo dele v(er)ge del'auro da/l'un cavo e dal'altro, et poi tole quello pocho d'auro // e fane fare una prova et bola lo to auro. ²⁹Et se la pro/va s'è bona, s'è te

13 Venecia [libre ***]] Venec V

19 ke [à] nome] ke nome V

fa bater li besanti, et se la sea rea, s'è te / coven bater l'auro in fogo et tagarlo menudo, e meter/lo in fogo et po' far gitare in verge, e poi far fare / unn'antra prova. ³⁰Et così c'è bisogno far infin k'elo // se trova bon, et poi k'elo s'è fin et batuti li besanti, li te/stemonii te torà dela marcha, p(er) c besanti, te torà / besanti .vi., e p(er) li maistri, te torà karati xvj p(er) c de be/santi de quello ke eli pesà inprima; et torate p(er) arbaro / e p(er) lo pesatore de doana karati .vi. e plu p(er) marchadante // d'elo. ³¹Val auro, se vol far rasonè k'elo n'ese dela marcha / del'oro fin, romane neti, pagando lo dreto et oltri spendii, / no li romane plue de besanti .lj. dela marcha d'auro de Venecia. /

³²Qui porta auro desafinato, s'è lo coven batre, e conprà // pignate et sal et çime(n)to et meterlo in fornello, et / conprà legne et farlo meter in fogo infin k'elo serà / fin. ³³Et se la prova se trova bona, non te nde farà antre [2v] spense. ³⁴Et chi lo pò portare afinado, no lo porte desafina/do p(er) lo meio. // ³⁵Cantera ii ½ de çucharo de Alexandria, fase cantero .j. / ad Acre, e volne un pocho plue.

³⁶Cantera .vj. me(n) q(uarta) de incenso / de Alexandria fa in Acre cantero .j. e questo s'è p(er) le petre k'è là / intro, e p(er) la polvere k'elo fase asai. /

³⁷Cantera v e terça de çençebro de Alexandria fa ad Acre kan//tero j, ed avançasene la polvere. /

³⁸Cantera vi de v(er)çil d'Alexandria, cho s'è calega j in Alexandria, / fa ad Acre kantero .j. e rotolle xiiij. /

³⁹Mene c de canella d'Alexandria fa in Acre mene c.j. /

⁴⁰La calega delo pip(er) d'Alexandria et rotolle x[*]v farà ad A//cre kantero .j. /

⁴¹Lo cantero d'Acre geta in Alexandria allo cantero çe[r]oi(n) ka(nta) r(i) / ij e r(otoli) xxxv, çoè rame e stagno. /

⁴²Lo cantero d'Acre de oleo fa ad Alexandria ka(nta)r(i) iij et terça / mo(n)do, e vendese a mesure. ⁴³In Acre le .xx. [boçe]⁸¹ s'è ka(nta)r(o) .j. //

⁴⁴Lo cantero d'Acre de mel e de savon et kaso fase ad Alexandria / kantera ij e quarta mondo. /

41 çe[r]oi(n)] çenoi(n) V

43 le .xx. [boçe] si è] le .xx. si è V

81 I emend on the basis of Anonymous, *Zibaldone da Canal*, p. 54, and Francesco Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, p. 64.

⁴⁵Rotolle iij me(n) terça de seta d'Acre fase ad Alexandria desena .j. /

⁴⁶Besanti cij e terça d'Acre fase ad Alexandria besanti .c. /

⁴⁷Marcha j d'Acre fase ad Alexandria b(esanti) lj e k(a)r(at)i .x. //

⁴⁸*Queste sè la rasone in qual modo le merçe se mete / i[n] nave in Alexandria ad portare in Acre, a Mesina, in Armenia, [3r] a Marsega, in Puga, a Toniso, in Romania e p(er) tuta Sorìa.*

⁴⁹Pip(er), can/tera v forfolin p(er) sportada.

⁵⁰Çençevaro, endego, lacha, mira, / se mete sì co' lo pip(er).

⁵¹Canella, mene cc p(er) sportada.

⁵²Banbasio, cante//ra iij 1/2 forfolin p(er) sportada.

⁵³Çucharò in capelli, cantera iij çeroin / p(er) sportada.

⁵⁴Çucharò i(n) chase, cantera ij çeroin p(er) sportada.

⁵⁵Spigo, / folio, mene cc p(er) sportada.

⁵⁶Aloe, spiçiarìa, secondo co' se mete. /

⁵⁷Pevere, le iij cantera lentin p(er) sportada.

⁵⁸Datali, cantera iij / geroin p(er) sportada.

⁵⁹Lana susa, cantera ij geroin p(er) sportada.

⁶⁰Lana // lavada, cantero j ½ p(er) sportada.

⁶¹Canafistola mene cc p(er) sportada. /

⁶²Albolli cumunalle o conche gra(n)de xx p(er) mill(iar)o. /

⁶³ Nose	lib(re)	cxx	pro stero /
⁶⁴ Castegne	lib(re)	cc	pro stero /
⁶⁵ Mandole	lib(re)	cxxxx	pro stero //
⁶⁶ Noselle	lib(re)	cxij	pro stero /
⁶⁷ Fige	lib(re)	ccxx	pro stero /
⁶⁸ Uca pasa	lib(re)	cclx	pro stero /

⁶⁹Lo k(ante)r(o) de Buçia est minore de quello de Toniso r(otoli) iiii / p(er) k(ante)ro. //

⁷⁰Angastere comunale cc p(er) m(illiaro). /

⁷¹Ka(nta)r(i) viii ½ de Toniso fase mill(ia)ro .j. a Venec(ia) a grosso. /

⁷²Unçe xvij e q(uarta) fase r(otoli) j d'arçento a Toniso. /

⁷³Lo mill(ia)ro de Pisa ke se pesa lo plonbo çeta en Cecillia / ka(nta)r(i) iiii e r(otoli) xiii. //

47 ad [A]lexandria] ade lexandria V

48 mete i[n] nave] mete inave V

⁷⁴Cofani lavorati xij p(er) m(illiaro). /

⁷⁵Frasconi comunalle cc p(er) m(illiaro). /

[3v] ⁷⁶Racione de Monpollero /

⁷⁷La calega de Mo(n)pollero vol k() lv dela cadena d'A/cre.

⁷⁸La calega sè kan(te)r(i) iij de Mo(n)pollero, ke sè sta // calega lib(re) cccxij ½ de Venec(ia) a grosso. / ⁷⁹Lo kantero de Mo(n)pollero vol r(otoli) xviii e terça de/la cadena d'Acre, ke sè lib(re) cxxxvij e terça de / Venecia.

⁸⁰Mene .x. d'Acre faxe ad Mo(n)pollero lib(re) xxiiiij e q(uarta). //

⁸¹It(em) lib(re) xxiiiij e q(uarta) sè lib(re) xxv a Venec(ia). /

⁸²La marcha de Mo(n)pollero est maior de quela d'Acre ster/lini .x., e sè minore de quella de Venec(ia) kar(ati) .vj. /

⁸³Queste cause se vende ad Mo(n)pollero a ca(nte)r(a). /

⁸⁴Endego de Bagade ⁹⁰Çeroada //

⁸⁵Draganti ⁹¹Canella de cabia /

⁸⁶Mastichi ⁹²Çençebrata /

⁸⁷Denti d'elefanto ⁹³Çucharò nebet, candi' /

⁸⁸Aqua rosa ⁹⁴Mirabolini de tute ville /

⁸⁹Ladano de Cipro //

⁹⁵Tute altre merçe se vende ad ka(nte)r(i) salvo spiçiarìa. /

⁹⁶Queste sè le mercadantie ke se vende a Mo(n)pollero a calega: /

[4r] ⁹⁷pip(e)r e lacha ¹⁰³çençebro /

⁹⁸banbasio de mapa e filato ¹⁰⁴verçi salvaço e mestego /

⁹⁹alume de roça ¹⁰⁵galla /

¹⁰⁰lin saidin e bairin ¹⁰⁶çucharò, chafichi e musuri /

¹⁰¹Cera d'ogna manera ¹⁰⁷e polvere de çucarò /

+ ¹⁰²Savone d'Acre e de Venec(ia) ¹⁰⁸requeleçia. /

¹⁰⁹Tuta spiçiarìa se vende ad lib(ra) sotil ad Monpollero:

¹¹⁰Garofalli, / nose moscata, galanga, gardamonii, cubebe, maçi, // reo-barbaro, ganfora, auropimento. / ¹¹¹Tute ste merçe se ve(n)de a Monpollero ad lib(ra) grossa: /

¹¹²Seta cat[a]ia, seta mança, seta liça, seta gelli, / seta d'Antioça, seta malmistra', seta cança, seta crusmia, seta maria, seta calloida e tute sede // de Romania.

¹¹³Pesa lo rotollo de Çenoa del'arçento saçi ciiiij ½. /

¹¹⁴Barille .j. d'olleo de Çenoa fase meri iiii in Venec(ia). /

¹¹⁵Kantera .j. de Cecillia façe ka(nte)r(a) ij me(n) terça a Çenoa. /

112 cat[ai]a cativa V

- ¹¹⁶Salma .j. de grano de Cecillia façe mine ij ½ a Çenoa. /
¹¹⁷Mina .j. de Çenoa de salle de Vença pesa ka(nta)r ij e r(otoli) xxx. //
¹¹⁸Lo ka(nta)r(o) de Çenoa si è lib(re) .cl. a sotille a lib(re) de Venec(ia). /
¹¹⁹Quartino .j. de salle de Sardegna pessa lib(re) cclxx alo pesso de Venec(ia) a g(rosso). /
[4v] ¹²⁰Mill(iar)o j de Puia de carne e de kasso se çeta in Acre cantera / ij e q(uarta). /
¹²¹Mill(iar)o j de []. //
¹²²Sallme c de gran e de fave de Barleto çeta in Acre / moça cl. /
¹²³Salme c de Barleto de orço çeta in Acre moça / cxxxv. /
¹²⁴Salma .j. de mandolle de Barleto çeta in Acre moço // uno e sesta p(er)ché lo se misura colme. /
¹²⁵La salma de gra(no) de Manfredonia çeta cafessi lxiiij in Cepro. /
¹²⁶Salma j de senavre de Puga çeta in Acre moço j e q(uarta) p(er)ché / lo se misura colme. /
¹²⁷Moça .c. de Costantinopolli de gra(no) çeta inn Acre moça // d'Acre cxxxxv.
¹²⁸Lo moço de Costantinopolli çeta en Cepre cafessi lxij, e cafessi / xxxxij si è lo moço d'Acre de grano. /
¹²⁹Stara ij de grano de Venec(ia) fase moço j in Acre. /
[5r] ¹³⁰Si quis portaveri(n)t b(e)z(anti) d'Acre ad Constantinopoli et volu//eri(n)t vendere alla cecha de Custa(n)tinopoli et li darà de b(e)z(anti) / lo sazo k(arati) xvj et quarta. /
¹³¹Perperi .c. de Constantinopoli fa in [N]egrepò p(er)p(eri) cv et q(uarta). /
¹³²La libra de Constantinopoli d'auro fa in [N]egrepò lib(ra) .j. et k(arati) xij. /
¹³³La marcha de Venecia fa in Constantinopoli sa(ra)ç(inati) liij 1/2.
¹³⁴La lib(ra) de // Constantinopoli è tale qual la lib(ra) de Stive.

¹³⁵*Ista est racio de Negrepò*
¹³⁶Lib(re) dcl de cera fae kanta(ra) j in Acre. /
¹³⁷Kantar(o) .j. et rotul(i) lx de banbacio d'Acre fa in [N]egrepò mill(iar)o .j. /

120 se] sie V

131 in [N]egrepò] inegrepo V

132 in [N]egrepò] inegrepo V

137 in [N]egrepò] inegrepo V

- ¹³⁸Mill(iar)o .j. de fero de Venecia fac(it) i(n) [N]egrepò lib(re) dccclx. /
¹³⁹La vala[n]ia se vende a centenero et çecta a Venec(ia) lo // centenero de Negrepò modia .lx. /
¹⁴⁰Unçe x 1/2 de seta de Negropò fa lib(re) .j. a Venecia. /
¹⁴¹Lo braço de Negrepò e(st) maior de illo de Venecia brac(ia) iiij / per centenario. /
¹⁴²La lib(ra) de Negropò e(st) tal quall la lib(ra) de Breydes. //
¹⁴³La lib(ra) de argento de Costantinopoli fac(it) a Savastia a/spri .cvj. minus quarta et tollet argent(um) fin per / aspri .iiii. men p(er) cent(um). /
¹⁴⁴Perperi .c. de Stive est in Negrepò p(er)p(eri) c et k(arati) xxv. /
¹⁴⁵La lib(ra) de Negrepò ke sse vende la setha è maior de quella // d'Acre ke sse vende la seta cruta meça unça. /
¹⁴⁶Modia .c. de formento de Negropò fac(it) in Acre modia xxvij. /
¹⁴⁷Lo mill(iar)o de Crede fac(it) i(n) Acre cantaria .ij. et quinta. /

¹⁴⁸[I]sta racio est de Mesina
¹⁴⁹O(mn)ia naves que ibi vadunt / paga unc(ia) .j. p(er) ancorantico. //
¹⁵⁰Si nave de Venec(ia) venisse a Mesina de allia parte [5v], non de Venec(ia), paga iii p(er) centenaro et tanto plus / quanto paga ille naves q(ue) venit de Venec(ia). /
¹⁵¹De domo ubi stam(us), de cantera iiij paga tar(ì) .j. /
¹⁵²Lo mill(iar)o de Venec(ia) a grosso fac(it) a Messina ka(n)t(eri) vj // et rotoli viij.
¹⁵³Libre .cl. a sutile de Venec(ia) fa a Mesina ka(n)t(ero) j. /
¹⁵⁴La v()ra de tr() de Ve(ne)c(ia) fa a Mesina u(n)ça j et g(rane) .xv. /
¹⁵⁵Braça cccxlviij de Venec(ia) fac(it) a Messina kan(n)e .c. /
¹⁵⁶Unçe xij 1/2 de Venec(ia) fac(it) a Mesina lib(ra) .j. //
¹⁵⁷La marcha de Venec(ia) e(st) maior de quella de Messina / sterlini .iiij. /
¹⁵⁸Ixxij mesure de olleo de Mesina ven a Ve(ne)c(ia) mill(iar)o .j. /
¹⁵⁹Mesure x de Mesina e(st) cantera .i. a Mesina. /
¹⁶⁰La cantera de tuta Cecilia è tanto gra(n)de qua(n)to illo // de Mesina et fac(it) lo cantero de Mesina cantero / 1 1/2 a Toniso. /
¹⁶¹Pagase in Mesina g(ra)ne ij 1/2 pesatura delo fero p(er) cantar(o) / et delo banbacio g(ra)ne iiij p(er) cantero. /
¹⁶²La marcha de Venet(ia) est in Mesina unçe viiiij et // tar(ì) xi e grane viiiij. /

139 vala[n]ia] valavia V

148 [I]sta] sta V

¹⁶³La lib(ra) de argento de Mesina çeta in Acre marcha .i. / et unçe iij ½.

¹⁶⁴[I]ste sunt mercimonie q(ue) se pesa in Venet(ia) a mill(iar)o / grosso: ferro, stagno de lama, plumbo, rame, // alume de Borka, sulfere, mel, calla et omnia lana, / pr(ae)ter illa de berete, caso, carne de porco, sunça, lar/do et o(mn)i lino çitigo et vetro. /

¹⁶⁵[I]ste su(n)t merces q(ue) se pesa en Venec(ia) a sutil: /

banbacio, pip(er), lana de berete, lin çitego, in[6r]censo, he(n)deco, zucaro, verçi, cera, mastici, laccha / e tenteria, canella, çecabro, mira, alume de roça, / argento vivo, alume destilia', stagno de verga, / goma rabia, aloe, sandali, mirobulan, auro pimento. /

¹⁶⁶[I]ste merces vendu(n)tur a lib(ra) i(n) Venec(ia):

o(mn)ia seta, çafa//rano, garofali, melegete, nusse musscate, galanga, / spica, legete et o(mn)ia spiçaria minuta. /

¹⁶⁷[I]ste su(n)t racio(n)es de Venec(ia):

¹⁶⁸Lo mill(iar)o grosso de Venec(ia) / fase i(n) Acre cantar(a) ij et rotol(i) xij. /

¹⁶⁹Libre dccl a sutil de Venec(ia) fac(it) in Acre cantar(o) .j. //

¹⁷⁰Libre xj de çafara(n) de Venec(ia) fac(it) i(n) Acre mene .x. /

¹⁷¹Lo mill(iar)o de mel de Venec(ia) fac(it) i(n) Acre cantar(a) ij et terça. /

¹⁷²Braça cccxv de tella de Venec(ia) fac(it) i(n) Acre can(ne) .c. /

¹⁷³Braça clxxxxv de Venec(ia) fa torsello .i. i(n) Acre que / est cane lx lo torsello. //

¹⁷⁴La marcha de Venec(ia) est maior dela marcha d'Acre / unçe .i. et car(a)t(i) vj. /

¹⁷⁵Cui porta auro in Acre de k(arati) xx et vendello / alla çeca, quill(i) dela çeca li dà d'elo k(arati) de Venec(ia) besa(n)ti / iii.

¹⁷⁶Et k(arati) .ij. et terça dali biz(anti) .j. spa(tia)tura.

¹⁷⁷La mar//cha et l'auro q(ue) est in Venec(ia) de k(arati) xx e(st) i(n) Acre / de k(arati) xx et grana .j. /

¹⁷⁸Lo rotolo de seta d'Acre çeta a Venec(ia) lib(re) vij et unça j. /

164 [I]ste] ste V

165 [I]ste] ste V

166 [I]ste] ste V

167 [I]ste] ste V

¹⁷⁹La mena d'Acre fa a Venec(ia) lib(re) ij 1/2 a sutile. /

¹⁸⁰La marcha de auro de Venec(ia) çeta in Alexandria // unc(e) viiij et k(arati) xxvj. /

¹⁸¹Deremi de Damassco li c pesa marcha j et unc(e) / ii et k(arati) iiiij ad la marcha de Venec(ia). /

¹⁸²La rotola gra(n)de de Savastia e(st) a Ve(ne)c(ia) lib(re) iiiij min(us) quarta.

[6v] ¹⁸³[I]ste sunt rac(ione) de Adelapo //

¹⁸⁴Lo peso de br(a)z(a) c de Adelapo e(st) maior de illo d'Acre br(a)z(a) i. /

¹⁸⁵La libr(a) de Adelapo se pessa en tal modo: q(ue) i(n) prima se pessa b(e)z(anti) / xv de per(peri), et postea se comple tuto de rotol(i). /

¹⁸⁶Lo ca(n)tero de Adelapo e(st) maior de illo d'Acre rotol(i) xij. /

¹⁸⁷Deremi de Adelapo intra i(n) la marcha d'Acre deremi // lxxv. /

¹⁸⁸La mena de Adelapo e(st) i(n) Venec(ia) lib(re) ij 1/2 a sutil. /

¹⁸⁹Si quis portaveri(n)t aliqua mercimonia i(n) Adelapo, pa/garè de ip(s)a merci[mon]ia dericto ala doana vj p(er) centenero, / tal(e) s'ello la ve(n)derà qual se el no la ve(n)derà. ¹⁹⁰Et se elo no la vo//lese vender, fali mester pagar de quella mercimonia .vi. / per centenero et no li laserà trare illa mercimonia de Ade/lapo in finatanto q(ue) ella serà venduta. /

¹⁹¹Si quis volueri(n)t conperare banbacio i(n) Adelapo, / isti su(n)t expendii:

¹⁹²Deremi xij all'atrapete p(er) sauma, et me//ço deremo p(er) sauma ali sachatori. /

¹⁹³Deremo .i. p(er) sauma ali saumeri che lo aduse alo fonticho. /

¹⁹⁴Quarta deremo p(er) sauma p(er) ligar(e) li sachi et p(er) iubiti. /

¹⁹⁵Deremi ij p(er) sauma e p(er) fune e p(er) spago. /

¹⁹⁶Deremi xvij 1/2 e dr() .j. p(er) sauma dreto ala doana. //

¹⁹⁷Deremo .i. de saume vi allo portenaro. /

¹⁹⁸Deremo .i. de saume vj pesadura alli ga(n)belli. /

¹⁹⁹Deremo .i. de saume iii alla porta delo fontego delo soldan. /

²⁰⁰Deremo j 1/2 p(er) sauma a deselmene. /

²⁰¹Meço deremo p(er) saume a banbe. //

²⁰²Deremo .i. p(er) saume a riale. /

[7r]	²⁰³ Lançe	.cc.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²⁰⁴ Circhi destesi da olleo	.d.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²⁰⁵ Circhi de biga	.ccl.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²⁰⁶ Canestri grandi	.xx.	p(er)	mill(iar)o //
	²⁰⁷ Cadeleti grandi	.v.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²⁰⁸ Cadaleti piçoli	.vi.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²⁰⁹ Paredane cumunal	ccl	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹⁰ Remi de galea	.xxv.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹¹ Remi de barcha et de gondola	.xl.	p(er)	mill(iar)o //
	²¹² Casselle laborate i(n) fassis et tabulis de nuçe			mill(iar)a ij p(er) trib(u)s /
	²¹³ Asse cumunal de Istria	xxx	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹⁴ Serre doçene	.vi.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹⁵ Agnelline mill(iar)a .iiij. a peso facit iiiij /			
	²¹⁶ Becune cumunal	.cc.	p(er)	mill(iar)o //
	²¹⁷ Filachi	.ccl.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹⁸ Moltoline	.cc.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²¹⁹ Pestave grande	.xl.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²²⁰ Manti	.lx.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²²¹ Percovi	.lxx.	p(er)	mill(iar)o //
	²²² Levorine	.m.m.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²²³ Cera i(n) fornellis i(n) sachi		duo	mill(iar)a p(er) tria /
	²²⁴ Scuti	.xx.	p(er)	mill(iar)o /
	²²⁵ linu(m) sença cavaça a sutil		mill[iar]um	p(er) mill(iar)o /
	²²⁶ linum co(n)çatu(m) mill(iar)a .iii. ad grosso		p(er)	.iiiij. a meter i(n) nave //
	²²⁷ Cori protii	.xl.	p(er)	mill(iar)o aud pesar /
	²²⁸ Coiri cumunal in balla	mill(iar)a	.v.	p(er) .vj. /
	²²⁹ Roiba	mill(iar)a	.ii.	p(er) iii /
	²³⁰ Coiri cumunal	.l.	p(er)	mill(iar)o aut pesar.

- crusmia* 112 (c. silk): (adj. s.) probably a phonetic variant from *colusmia*, i.e. type of silk made in Chalus, Iran (DeP, 99-128).
- conche* 62: (n. pl.) vases of large dimensions (Bo, s.v. *conca*).
- cope* 25: (n. pl.) cups (several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- cubebe* 110: (n. s.) a type of piper, said also ‘grey piper’ or ‘Giava piper’ (Me, 120: “noci muscate e cubebe [muscats and grey piper]”).
- deselmene* 200: (n. s.) not identified.
- draganti* 86: (n. pl.) rubber derived from the leguminous plant *astragalus* (Zib, 77: “draganti vuol esser bianchi e grossi [draganti should be white and big]”).
- endego* 11, 15, 50, 84: (n. s.) indigo (Zib, 77: “endego de Balldacho vuol esser de bon chollor vivo [indigo from Baghdad should have an intense color]”).
- filachi* 217: (n. pl.) strings (StZ, 160: “becune in filachis [sheepskin in strips]”).
- folio* 20, 55: (n. s.) leaf of the cinnamon plant (DeR, 181, several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- forfolin* 49, 52 (qintār f.): (adj. s.) ar. *fulfulī*. Type of qintār used to weigh spices in Alexandria (Me, 119: “indico, cant. V fulfuli per una sportata [indigo, 5 qintār fulfulī for one sporta]”).
- frasconi* 75: (n. pl.) large poles (several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- gelli* 112 (g. silk): type of silk made in Gilan, Iran (SchD, II, s.v. *Ghilan*; Pg, 208: “seta ghella”).
- ladano* 94: (n. s.) resin extracted from the shrub of *cistus cyprius* (Zib, 57: “mirabollani e ladano [myrobolan plums and ladano]”).
- lentin* 16, 57 (qintār l.): (adj. s.) type of qintār used to weigh linen (ar. *laythī*. Me, 119: “lino, cant. III leuti per una sportata [linen, 3 qintār laythī for one sporta]”).
- levorine* 222: (n. pl.) leather of hare (Zib, 41: “levorine MM per millier [2000 leather of hare for one millier]”).
- liçea* 112 (l. silk): (adj. s.) thin.
- lume gatina* 6: (n.) sodium-based vegetable ash (Zib, 66: “la lume gatina che si è çenere... [lume gatina that is ash...]”).
- maçi* 110: (n. pl.) maces, i.e. macerated and dried nutmeg shell (Zib, 76: “la chognossença de li maçi... [in order to recognize quality maces...]”).
- mançea* 112 (m. silk): (adj. s.) not identified type of silk.
- mapa* 99 (cotton wool of m.): (n. s.) cotton wool fabric (Pg, 85: “cotone mapputo, bisanti 1 per cantaro [cotton wool fabric is worth 1 bezant for one qintār]”).
- maria* 112 (m. silk): (adj. s.) not identified type of silk.
- melegete* 116: (n. pl.) cardamom (several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- mena* 19, 20, 21, 22, 179, 188: (n. s.) unit of measure to weigh some spices in Alexandria (Me, 119: “la menna d’Alexandria torna in Pisa libre II... [the menna of Alexandria is worth in Pisa 2 pounds...]”).
- mestego* 100: (adj. s.) domestic (Bo, s.v. *mestego*).
- migarese* 12, 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26: (n. pl.) unit of measure for weight (Zib, 48: “l’onça pexa miarexi 22 [the ounce weighs 22 migarese]”).

- mirabolini* 93: (n. pl.) myrobolan plums (lat. *prunus cerasifera*. Zib, 57: “mirabollani e ladano [myrobolan plums and labdanum]”).
- moltoline* 218 (or *montoline*): (n. pl.) leathers of ram (Zib, 41: “molltolline CC per millier [200 leathers of ram for one millier]”).
- musuri* 104: (n. pl.) not identified.
- nebet* 91 (n. sugar): (adj. s.) candy sugar (ar. *sukkar al-nabāt*. Zib, 66: “çucaro nebec... se vende in Allexandria [candy sugar... is sold in Alexandria]”).
- paredane* 209: (n. pl.) wooden boards (Gh, 112, Zib, 41: “paredane comunali L per millier [50 common wooden boards for a millier]”).
- percovi* 221: not identified.
- pestave* 219: (n. pl.) not identified.
- proti* 227 (*p.* leather): (adj. pl.) not identified (Zib, 41: “cori proti XL per millier [proti leathers for a millier]”).
- riale* 202: not identified.
- roiba* 229 (*robia*): (n. s.) madder (lat. *rubia tinctorum*. ZR, 67: “a Tonisso se porta da Venesia oro, roiba e savun [gold, madder and soap are brought to Tunis]”).
- saidin* 103 (s. linen): (adj. s.) not identified type of linen.
- salvaço* 99: (adj. s.) wild (Zib, 76: “gallanga ... lo salvaço si è liçer [galanga ... wild is light]”).
- sazo* 130: (n. s.) ‘sage’, unit of measure for precious metals (Zib, 6: “val lo saço de l'onça lo carato piçollo si valle ½ dir”).
- scuti* 224: (n. pl.) shields (several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- spigo* 55: (n. s.) spike lavender (Zib, 57: “çaforan e spigo e goton fillado [saffron and spike lavender and spun cotton]”).
- sunça* 164: (n. s.) set of fat and soft parts of the pig, spec. of those that surround the viscera (several examples in OVI, s.v., Zib., 71: “carne sallada, sonça e lardo [salted meat, *sugna* and lard]”).
- susa* 59 (s. wool): (adj. s.) dirty.
- valania* 139 (*valonia/vallonea*): tannin obtained from acorns of oak from Asia Minor and the Balkan Peninsula (Zib, 58: “millier J de vellania de Coron [one millier of *valavia* from Coron]”).
- vaxelli* 3: (n. pl.) containers for metal (several examples in OVI, s.v.).
- verçi* 10, 165 (*verçil*): (n. s.) sappanwood (lat. *biancaea sappan*. Me, 119: “verzi legato, cant. III fulfuli per una sportata [tied up sappanwood, 4 *qințâr fulfuli* for one *sporta*]”).

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