



# VIATJAR

A L'EDAT MITJANA

TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES



# VIATJAR

A L'EDAT MITJANA

TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

INSTITUT EUROPEU DE LA MEDITERRÀNIA

**IE**Med.

*Consorci format per*



*Empreses patrocinadores*



*Institucions col·laboradores*



# VIATJAR A L'EDAT MITJANA

## TRAVEL IN THE MIDDLE AGES

### EXPOSICIÓ / EXHIBITION

#### **Organització / Organized by**

Museu Episcopal de Vic  
en col·laboració amb  
Musée de Cluny, París  
Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florència  
Museum Schnütgen, Colònia  
membres de la Xarxa de Museus d'Art  
Medieval d'Europa

#### **Amb el suport de / Supported by**

Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (IEMed)  
Diputació de Barcelona  
Cercle del MEV  
Esclat Bonpreu

#### **Comissariat / Curator**

Benedetta Chiesi  
Doctora en Història de l'Art, Florència  
Michel Huynh  
Conservador en Cap, Musée de Cluny, París  
Marc Sureda  
Conservador, Museu Episcopal, Vic

#### **Comissariat general al Museu Episcopal de Vic / Museu Episcopal de Vic General Curator**

Marc Sureda

#### **Coordinació / Coordination**

Judit Verdaguer, conservadora, Museu Episcopal de Vic

#### **Documentació i conservació preventiva / Documentation and Preventive Conservation**

Anna Homs, Àrea de Registre d'Obres d'Art i Documentació, Museu Episcopal de Vic  
Francesc Tornero, conservador-restaurador

#### **Comunicació i activitats /**

##### **Communication and Activities**

Carme Comas, cap de l'Àrea de Difusió i Acció Cultural, Museu Episcopal de Vic  
Maria Genís, Museu Episcopal de Vic  
Umàtic Comunicació

#### **Manteniment / Upkeep**

Fèlix Juste, Xavier Furriols  
Museu Episcopal de Vic

#### **Administració / Management**

Núria Barniol, Museu Episcopal de Vic

#### **Projecte expositiu i disseny gràfic / Exhibition Design and Graphic Design**

Albert Vallverdú Colom  
WHADS | ACCENT

#### **Producció, muntatge i transport / Production, Assembly and Transport**

Feltrero División Arte, SL

#### **Correcció de textos / Proofreading**

Mercè Rial

#### **Prestadors / Lenders**

##### **Alemanya**

Museum Schnütgen, Colònia

##### **Catalunya**

Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic  
Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona  
Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona  
Biblioteca de l'II llustre Col·legi d'Advocats de Barcelona  
CRAI-Biblioteca de Reserva (Universitat de Barcelona)  
Capítol de la Catedral de Girona

Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya-Girona

Museu Frederic Marès, Barcelona

Museu d'Art de Girona

Museu de Lleida: diocesa i comarcal

Museu Marítim de Barcelona

Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona

Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona

##### **França**

Musée de Cluny – Musée National du

Moyen Âge, París

Musée du Louvre, París

##### **Itàlia**

Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florència

#### **Agraïments / Acknowledgements**

Rachel Beaujean-Deschamps, Marta Benicini, Damien Berné, Ramon Buxó, Jordi Camps, Ilaria Ciseri, M. Antònia Clarà, Carme Clusellas, Marie-France Cochetoux, Philippe Cordez, Alain Decouche, Daniel Duran, Mercè Durfort, Cèsar Favà, Adelaida Ferrer, Maite Franch, Enric Garcia, Magda Gassó, Rafel Ginebra, Joaquim Giol, Josep Giral, Rosa Gregori, Miquel dels S. Gros, Anna Gudayol, Joan Jofre, Jaume Julià, Isabel Juncosa, Dolors Jurado, Dolors López, Roger Marcet, Marino Marini, Josep M. Martí, Lourdes Martín, Rosa M. Montserrat, Antoni Monturiol, Joan Nasplesa, Beatrice Paolozzi-Strozzi, Ramon Pascual, Neus Peregrina, Joan Piña, Cristina Portell, Claire Seguret, Eugènia Serra, Pepe Serra, Carina Soriano, Elisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, Laura Taibo, Alberto Torra, Gustavo Torres, Virtu Torres, Josep M. Trullén, Anna Vargas, Alberto Velasco, Neus Verger, Moritz Woelk.

### CATÀLEG / CATALOGUE

#### **Edició / Edition**

Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània (IEMed)

#### **Coordinació científica / Scientific Coordinator**

Marc Sureda, MEV

#### **Coordinació tècnica / Technical**

##### **Coordinator**

Carina Soriano, IEMed

Daniel Duran, IEMed

#### **Disseny de coberta / Cover Design**

Carla Rossignoli

#### **Realització i producció / Production**

Sintagma, Edicions corporatives

Sílvia Valls

#### **Disseny i maquetació / Design and Layout**

Carla Rossignoli

### Traduccions / Translations

Joana Artigas (francès), Simon Berrill (anglès), Lluís Cavallé (francès), Genoveva Gómez (italià), Marta Roigé (francès), Mireia Ulldemolins (castellà)

### Correccions / Proofreading

Daniel Duran, Marta Roigé, Marc Sureda, Mireia Ulldemolins, Sílvia Valls

### Autors / Authors

Lluïsa Amenós, Francisco Apellániz, Jaume Barrachina, Damien Berné, Almudena Blasco, Béatrice de Chancel, Benedetta Chiesi, Illaria Ciseri, Rafael Cornudella, Cristine Descatoire, Joan Domenge, Daniel Duran, Isabel Escandell, Anne-Claire Garbe, Miquel Gros, Michel Huynh, Herbert L. Kessler, Montserrat Pagès, Ramon J. Pujades, Éric Rieth, Roser Salicrú, Albert Soler, Marc Sureda, Francesc Tous, Joan Valero, Alberto Velasco, Judit Verdaguer, Saskia Werth

### Impressió / Printing

Agpograf Impressors

### Agraïments / Acknowledgements

Annalisa Battini, Claudia Bettini, Bibliothèque National de France – Département de la Reproduction, Florence Briand, Ramon Buxó, Jovita Callueng, Hugues Charreyon, M. Antònia Clarà, Mónica Colucho, Sílvia Dahl, Rafel Ginebra, Josep Giralt, Giunti Editore S.p.A., Firenze, Mohamed Graine, Alba Hernández, Anna Homs, Isabel Juncosa, Clotilde La Batide-Alanore, Norbert Ludwig, Madre Maria Stefania Robione OSB, D. Nicole, Claudio Pescio, Joan Piña, Susi Piovaneli, Laurence Posselle, Ulla Prigge, Ramon Pujades, Graziano Raveggi, Réunion des Musées Nationaux-Grand Palais, Paris, Marga Ruiz, Carmen Salvador, Servei fotogràfic del MNAC, Jérôme Sirdey, Montserrat Torras, Alberto Velasco, Neus Verger, Vera Laura Verona, Joan Villar, Cathleen Walther

### © de l'obra editorial / Editorial Work

Institut Europeu de la Mediterrània  
Carrer de Girona, 20  
08010 Barcelona  
<http://www.iemed.org/>

Museu Episcopal de Vic  
Plaça bisbe Oliba, 3  
08500 Vic  
<http://www.museuepiscopalvic.com>

© **Textos originals francesos / French Original Texts Estudi 1, Estudi 2, Estudi 3, Estudi 10, Secció I, Secció II, Secció III, Secció IV, Secció V, Secció VI, Secció VII,**

**Secció VIII, cat. 3, cat. 4, cat. 5, cat. 13, cat. 14-15-16, cat. 19-20, cat. 28, cat. 56-57-58, cat. 72, cat. 95, cat. 96, cat. 97**

Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux – Grand Palais, Paris 2014, [www.rmngp.fr](http://www.rmngp.fr)

© **Textos originals italians / Italian Original Texts cat. 1, cat. 6, cat. 17, cat. 22, cat. 23, cat. 24, cat. 27, cat. 29, cat. 32, cat. 33-34, cat. 36, cat. 37-38, cat. 39, cat. 41, cat. 42, cat. 62, cat. 63, cat. 64, cat. 67-68, cat. 69-70, cat. 71, cat. 73-74-75, cat. 77, cat. 78-79, cat. 84-85, cat. 90**

2015 Giunti Editore S.p.A.  
via Bolognese 165- 50139 Firenze - Italia  
piazza Virgilio 4- 20123 Milano - Italia  
[www.giunti.it](http://www.giunti.it)

Exhibition in Florence  
“Il medioevo in viaggio”,  
Museo Nazionale del Bargello  
March, 20 – June, 21 2015

© **dels textos, els seus autors / The Texts, Authors**

**Primera edició: octubre de 2015 /**

**First edition: october 2015**

ISBN: 978-84-393-4349-8

Dipòsit legal: B 25598-2015

**Crèdits fotogràfics / Photographic Crèdits**

**Albi:**

© Réseau des médiathèques de l'Albigeois (médiathèque Pierre-Amalric d'Albi): p. 52-53

**Barcelona:**

© Biblioteca de Catalunya: p. 133 (cat. 12)

© Biblioteca de l'Il·lustre Col·legi d'Advocats de Barcelona: p. 212 (cat. 82)

© CRAI Biblioteca de Reserva. Universitat de Barcelona: p. 66; p. 67; p. 76-77; p. 78; p. 213 (cat. 83); p. 228 (cat. 95)

© Daniel Duran: p. 96; p. 97; p. 101

© Museu Marès: p. 214 (cat. 103)

© Museu Marítim de Barcelona: p. 142 (cat. 18)

© Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya, Barcelona (2015). Foto: Calveras / Mérida / Sagristà: p. 29; p. 40; p. 47; p. 48; p. 119; p. 238 (cat. 101)

© Reial Acadèmia de Ciències i Arts de Barcelona: p. 143 (cat. 19)

© España. Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón: p. 75, p. 132 (cat. 11), p. 145 (cat. 21); p. 195 (cat. 66); p. 210 (cat. 80); p. 211 (cat. 81)

© Album Archivo Fotográfico, S. L.: p. 42; p. 44; p. 183

**Berlín:**

© bpk – Bildagentur für Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte: p. 233

**Ciutat del Vaticà:**

© 2015 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat.1362A.-ff.7v-8r – per concessione della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ogni diritto riservato: p. 58-59

**Colònia:**

© Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln / Museum Schnütgen: p. 127 (cat. 6); p. 150 (cat. 26); p. 162 (cat. 32); p. 164 (cat. 34); p. 171 (cat. 42); p. 229 (cat. 96)

**Florència:**

© Ex Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze – Gabinetto Fotografico: p. 120-121 (cat. 1a i b); p. 140 (cat. 16); p. 185 (cat. 58); p. 197 (cat. 67); p. 209 (cat. 79)

© Ex Soprintendenza Speciale per il Patrimonio Storico, Artistico ed Etnoantropologico e per il Polo Museale della città di Firenze – Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo – divieto di ulteriori riproduzioni o duplicazioni con qualsiasi mezzo: p. 146 (cat. 22); p. 148 (cat. 24); p. 153 (cat. 29); p. 165 (cat. 36); p. 168 (cat. 39); p. 170 (cat. 41); p. 185 (cat. 57); p. 187 (cat. 60); p. 191 (cat. 64); p. 197 (cat. 68); p. 201 (cat. 71); p. 208 (cat. 77); p. 209 (cat. 78); p. 216 (cat. 87); p. 217 (cat. 88)

© Alinari Archives, Florence: p. 27; p. 207

**Girona:**

© Arxiu Capítular de la Catedral: p. 239 (cat. 102)

© Capítol Catedral de Girona – Tots els drets reservats: p. 130 (cat. 9a i b)

© Bisbat de Girona – Tots els drets reservats: p. 186 (cat. 59)

© Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya – Girona: p. 173 (cat. 44)

**Karlsruhe:**

© Badische Landesbibliothek “Cod. St. Peter” perg. 92, fol. 1v bzw. 9v bzw. 10r: p. 85; p. 82; p. 88

**Lió:**

© Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon: p. 160

**Lleida:**

© Museu de Lleida: diocesà i comarcal (fotògraf): p. 179 (cat. 55)

**Londres:**

© The British Library Board, Cotton Julius E.IV art. 6.f25v: p. 32; Cotton Nero D V f1v: p. 54

© V&A Images / Victoria and Albert Museum, Londres: p. 30

**Mòdena:**

© Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena – su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo: p. 50; p. 61; p. 64

**París:**

© Bibliothèque nationale de France: p. 57; p. 94; p. 104; p. 110; p. 112; p. 114; p. 115; p. 135; p. 159; p. 181; p. 219

© RMN-Grand Palais (musée de Cluny – musée national du Moyen-Âge) / Thierry Ollivier: p. 141 (cat. 17), p. 217 (cat. 89); Jean-Gilles Berizzi: p. 124 (cat. 3), p. 125 (cat. 4), p. 126 (cat. 5), p. 131 (cat. 10a i b), p. 163 (cat. 33), p. 187 (cat. 61), p. 184 (cat. 56), p. 189 (cat. 63), p. 198 (cat. 69), p. 199 (cat. 70), p. 230 (cat. 97); Michel Urtado: p. 138 (cat. 13), p. 144 (cat. 20), p. 151 (cat. 27), p. 175 (cat. 45, 47, 49, 50), p. 177 (cat. 51, 53), p. 222 (cat. 90); Gérard Blot: p. 147 (cat. 23), p. 167 (cat. 38a, 38b, 38c; p. 175 (cat. 46, 48); Adrien Didierjean: p. 141 (cat. 17); Frank Raux: p. 139 (cat. 14); Stéphane Maréchalle: p. 72; p. 214 (cat. 84)

© RMN-Grand Palais (musée du Louvre) / Jean-Gilles Berizzi: p. 152 (cat. 28); Daniel Arnaudet, p. 167 (cat. 27); Frank Raux: p. 188 (cat. 62)

**Rignano sull'Arno (Florència):**

© Abbazia S. Maria di Rosano – Rignano sull'Arno (Firenze) – Italia Croce dipinta – sec. XII: p. 24

**Rotterdam:**

© Maritiem Museum / Foto: Erik en Petra Hesmerg; p. 35

**Tolosa de Llenguadoc:**

© Archives municipales de Toulouse: p. 193

**Vic:**

© Museu de l'Art de la Pell: p. 202 (cat. 72); p. 203 (cat. 73); p. 204 (cat. 74, 75); p. 223 (cat. 91)

© Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic: p. 225 (cat. 93), p. 226-227 (cat. 94), p. 236-237 (cat. 100)

© Museu Episcopal de Vic, foto Gabriel Salvans: sobrecoberta; p. 37; p. 123 (cat. 2); p. 155 (cat. 30); p. 224 (cat. 92); Joan M. Diaz: p. 26; p. 128 (cat. 7); p. 129 (cat. 8); p. 140 (cat. 16); p. 149 (cat. 25); p. 157 (cat. 31); p. 165 (cat. 35); p. 169 (cat. 40); p. 177 (cat. 52); p. 178 (cat. 54); p. 194 (cat. 65); p. 205 (cat. 76); p. 214 (cat. 85); p. 216 (cat. 86); p. 235 (cat. 99); p. 243 (cat. 104)

**Viena:**

© ÖNB Vienna: Cod. 3044, fol. 34v: p. 137

- 2007, p. 128-181.  
 15 Pujades 2007, p. 79-125; Pujades 2012.  
 16 Pujades 2007, p. 79-125 and p. 290-303; Pujades 2012.  
 17 Allen 2004, p. 107-155 and Pujades 2013, p. 139-147.  
 18 Harvey 2012, p. 94-127.  
 19 Harvey 2012, p. 94-154; Arad 2014.  
 20 Pujades 2013, p. 139-164.  
 21 *El món i els dies*, 2005, p. 15-43; Pujades 2007, p. 278-289; Kupfer 1996.  
 22 Tolia 2007.  
 23 Ramon J. Pujades i Bataller. Museum of the History of Barcelona

## THE FUNDUQS OF DAMASCUS SEEN BY FRANKISH NOTARIES AND MERCHANTS

*Francisco Apellániz*

Syria was a region much frequented by merchants and both travelogues and their Renaissance publishers usually excluded it from their accounts. However, there is extensive Late Medieval travel literature on journeys to Egypt and Syria thanks to the texts left by the pilgrims who went to the Holy Sepulchre. In the following pages, I will attempt to offer new information from atypical travellers, such as Latin notaries public, on the structures hosting European merchants in cities like Alexandria and, above all, Damascus.

The Venetian government provided its consuls in far-off lands with a cleric who worked as priest and notary public. Dozens of records from these notaries have come down to us in the archives of Venice, including hundreds of official documents drawn up in Syria and Egypt, regions governed by the Mamluk sultans (1251-1517) and largely dating from the period between 1360 and 1460.

As well as businessmen, travellers appear in their pages, such as Ghinazzone da Siena and the merchant Beltramo Mignanelli, who wrote about the Middle East and Asia and travelled to the Persian Gulf.<sup>1</sup>

Scholars have concerned themselves with references to funduqs (residences with attached warehouses) and other places made by notaries public in dating their documents, hence reporting plenty of detail relating to the buildings of the various “nations” in Egypt. In Alexandria there were funduqs for the Neapolitans and the Crown of Anjou, those of Ancona, Florence, Genoa, France (and, depending on the period, also of Montpellier and Avignon), Catalonia, Rhodes and Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> This has led to a view of the city according to which the Islamic authorities grouped Europeans into political communities and closed merchants and travellers off during festivities and at night. These funduqs, which belonged to the sultans, therefore appear as places where foreigners were supervised, their mobility controlled and where exchanges with the infidels were structured.<sup>3</sup> The funduq was the trading place par excellence and the current interest in cultural exchange has focused even more attention on them. In fact, as we will see, a systematic study of the mentions made by Venetian notaries invites us to rethink rigid views of the functions of these spaces, the agents involved, and the kind of control they exerted on the exchanges.<sup>4</sup>

Both the Latin notaries public and the Syrian chroniclers of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, on which we will base ourselves, use rich but often ambiguous terminology. The former wrote in Italianised Latin impregnated with Venetian, transcribed documents in Catalan and other languages, and Latinised Arab words. Despite the fact that they left almost no personal testimony other than their notarial deeds, some reveal an academic knowledge of Arabic, and they undoubtedly spoke it

Both of them – notaries public and chroniclers – referred to those places as *qaysariyyas* (*capsaria* in the notary’s Latin), and sometimes, although not so often, as funduq (*fonticum*), which they used to refer to buildings providing accommodation and warehouses for valuable goods. The popular variant in Damascus of this same word, *khan*, became *canis* and, sometimes, *canum* in the notary’s Latin. The Franks used the word “bazaar” (*bazaro*) to refer to the place where many of them lived in Damascus, although they also stroke business deals there. The term, of Persian origin, was unknown in the Arabic texts of the period (in modern Syrian it evokes the idea of a second-hand market or flea market rather than an urban *souq*). One notary also uses *seraglio* as a synonym for bazaar. The word, which was also not used in medieval Syria, may have arisen through polygenesis, as it is based both on the Persian *sarai* and the Latin *serraculum*. The local word to refer to this bazaar was probably *suwaiqa*, or “small souq” which appears in the chronicles.

Most of the official documents in Alexandria were written in the funduqs, particularly in the two available to the Venetians, a configuration already mentioned by one of the oldest notary’s records in 1357.<sup>5</sup> Despite this, the clerics went where their clients asked them to and some official documents were drawn up “*in via publica*”. In exceptional situations, and when they had to draw up an important official document, the notaries public had access to places that would otherwise be unknown to us. For example, the Venetian priest Niccolò Turiano placed himself at the orders of the Florentine consul, who was investigating certain debts left by a merchant who died in Cairo. The investigation required the testimony of the dragoman Feres, the Sultan’s official translator. As the notary public and the consul knew he was passing through Alexandria, they went to find him. This circumstance led

the Venetian notary public to draw up what is probably a unique official document among thousands in an unknown “Dalmatian funduq” which was also probably in the “street of the Maghrebis” (“*in fontico delmati posito in carasio magabrinorum*”).<sup>6</sup> On 20 November 1405, the notary public Antonio Vatazio drew up a power of attorney for the Venetian Jew Sabbatay Capsali in favour of Salomon Anatoli in a “funduq of the Jews”.<sup>7</sup> Although they are much less reliable than that the references included in the notarial deeds, other travelers make sporadic mentions of a “funduq of Crete” (under Venetian control) and another for Constantinople.<sup>8</sup>

Written outside the large emporia of the ‘nations’, and although they may seem insignificant compared to the dozens of official documents produced within the funduqs, these official documents suggest that we have perhaps placed too much importance on a model of an establishment belonging to the sultans and granted according to capitulations and treaties. In Alexandria there are not only markets associated with North Africans, Jews and other groups that did not form political communities, there are also exchanges for Franks – the Dalmatians – not belonging to the “nations”. The official documents preserved from between 1361 and 1363 mention many private houses and funduqs, suggesting that the rigid conditions for closing off nations were a reaction to the Crusade of 1365 with little effect outside Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> In 1435, the debts a Pisan had contracted with several Muslims lead to the resignation of the consul, the Florentine Francesco Mannelli. The notary examines the contracts in Arabic and draws up an official document in another hitherto unknown funduq known as the “Turks’ funduq” (“*in fontico turchorum*”).<sup>10</sup>

Unlike their colleagues in Alexandria, the notaries public of Damascus drew up official documents anywhere deals were done, or disputes arbitrated. Damascus notaries public often went to

shops and barbers’ establishments, although also to markets or *qaysariyyas* and *funduqs*. They went to many private residences, belonging both to consuls and great Venetian and Genoese merchants. Religion was no obstacle to drawing up official documents, which they concluded in places such as the office of a Jewish moneychanger (“*pro medium ypotecha azedini iudei campsatoris*”) or the houses of Arab merchants like Shams al-Din Ibn al-Muzalliq (1353-1444).<sup>11</sup> Some notaries public worked with Mamluk officials who were resolving disputes between Arabs and Franks, and some official documents are dated in the commercial courts. The notary public Nicolo Venier describes the Hajib court, a wooden platform built in front of the Emir’s house, where he heard the parties to disputes and issued decisions.<sup>12</sup>

The records complete what the Arabic sources tell us about the topography of the city with hitherto unknown information, and, above all, they offer us another way of understanding the Sultanate’s places of commerce and its particular way of hosting foreigners and merchants. While they were not exclusive in Alexandria, in Damascus the *funduqs* never followed the model of spaces granted to “nations” through capitulations and treaties. The use made of them by the Franks reflect greater integration into the city, as they not only provided accommodation, they also belonged to individual merchants or were linked to guilds and trades, and they often appear associated with other structures.

In the Mamluk *kbans*, the Franks not only had residences and warehouses, but also chapels, taverns and notaries’ offices, and these are mentioned by the Arab chroniclers in connection with fires, thefts and everyday disorder. Inevitably, merchants died there, and this meant the notary public had to draw up a *post mortem* inventory *in situ*, which is where most of the references appear. If we concentrate on the mentions for buildings providing residences and hostels for Franks, we ob-

tain the image of a new business zone to the north west of the Medina, outside the walls and the Bab al-Faraj gate, promoted by the sultans Sayf-ad-Din Barquq (1382-1399), al-Mu’ayyad Shaykh (1412-1421) and Sayf-ad-Din Barsbay (1422-1437). The urban development of this area reflects the interest of the Circassian sultans (1382-1517) in capturing global trade and attracting European capital.

A Damascus chronicler mentions the rope-makers’ funduq among the places where the Franks lived and kept their merchandise. In March 1396, the notary public Francesco Novello went to this *canis cordarum* to draw up the will of a Frank who had been living there. In a subsequent one, he informs us that the Genoese had a chapel in the *funduq*. The term leaves no room for doubt, as the official document takes oaths from several Genoese people before a Franciscan monk. We would say that the building has passed from being associated with a local guild into Genoese hands. Similarly, judging from the chapel, it seems improbable that it is shared with non-Genoese, or at least with non-Christians. The “Muslim” *kbans* of Damascus also include oratories.<sup>13</sup> Despite this, the building burned down just two months later, on 5 May, in the first of several fires that devastated the whole area, bitterly described by Ibn Sasra, Ibn Qadi Suhba and Ibn Furat, all in very similar terms.<sup>14</sup> The *funduqs* of the silk, cotton, soap and flour merchants were burned down, together with many others, including the Khan al-Habbalin (our rope-makers’ *khan*) and another unknown *funduq* referred to as that of Ibn Bani “where the Franks stay”. The texts coincide that the Franks lived in certain buildings in the area around Bab al-Faraj and the al-Bizuriyya *souq*. Some add that they are guilty of starting the fire. The fire caused death (women, children) and huge losses among the Damascene merchants, as some large khans used exclusively as warehouses disappeared. The notary public Novello does not mention the Khan

al-Habbalin again and, in fact, he does not work again until almost the summer. As well as the Khan al-Habbalin, other places mentioned by this clerk before the fire include the *canis Mariani*, where the Genoese live.<sup>15</sup> This *khan* is probably one of the markets associated with the neighbouring Church of Mary (*kanisat Maryam*) which Ibn Furat mentions as one of the buildings falling victim to the fire.

After the fire, Francesco Novello began working in the “New Khan” (“*in cane novo*”), with two official documents dated between June and July 1396 referring to Provençals and merchants from Languedoc, some of whom were living there.<sup>16</sup> This khan interests us because it represents the fulcrum of the business district that would emerge around Bab al-Faraj: an area that would continue to be marked by commercial activities associated with foreigners. According to a letter written by Beltramo Mignanelli from Damascus, Catalans, Genoese and Venetians “are more numerous than ever in the last twenty-five years”.<sup>17</sup> Although the building continued to be called the New Khan for many years, it is definitely the same khan built by the sultan then in power: al-Zahir Barquq. The founder of the dynasty, a Sultan who had to deal with countless attempts to depose him, Barquq was a “friend of the Franks” or, rather, his policy involved a financial alliance with the European merchants and the capital they invested. The al-Zahir Khan is mentioned in this area of Damascus in 1384 and in a document of great topographical value: a description of Waqf goods from 1430. The French traveller Bertrandon de la Broquière mentions Barquq’s Khan as one of the places the Franks used to stay. The khan has a small market annex (*smaïqa*), to which we will return, as, during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, an adjacent building is mentioned as the “Franks’ bazaar”.

The same year a second fire destroyed the area outside Bab al-Faraj, although

the sparks leapt over the wall and once again burned the *intra muros* district between the gate area and as far as the Umayyad Mosque. However, Barquq’s Khan survived and, if it was not attracting Franks before the fire it certainly was afterwards. The *cane novo sultani* thereby became the refuge of the spice merchants in a devastated area, the victim of two fires in 1396 which, according to Ibn Qadi Suhba, lit up the city like a night with a full moon. This was the situation in the last few years of Barquq’s reign, but when the Sultan died a worse calamity befell Damascus. In 1401, Tamerlane’s army besieged the city, as Mignanelli bitterly explains in his *De Ruina Damasci*. In the same place there was a third fire, probably the worst of all and certainly the one most talked about because, as it destroyed holy places like the Umayyad Mosque, it was traumatic even for the perpetrators. Nevertheless, Barquq’s Khan was saved once more, generating legends about its construction. The French traveller De la Broquière declared that the funduq was respected by Timur in person, out of respect for Barquq, who, in life, was able to defend his land from his enemies.

Il y a en ceste ville de Damas une maison où plusieurs marchans mettent leurs marchandises pour estre seurement, et l’appelle on le Kan Berkoc la quelle le dict Tamburlant fist garder, quant il fist bruler le demourant, pour honneur de celluy Berkoc.<sup>18</sup>

However, when the inevitable reconstruction begins its course under al-Mu’ayyad, the Sultan chose this area to express the fortune of the new regime and its partners. During his reign the destroyed area was considerably rebuilt. Many new schemes also tended to avoid the inside of the Medina. A Mamluk acquired by Sultan Barquq at the age of nine and an heir to his political project, al-Mu’ayyad was governor of Damascus for ten years, during which he left his

mark on the city’s architecture, founding markets and residences for traders in the area or incorporating them into his property. The suburb beyond the walls continued to grow under Sultan Barsbay, who included a new khan, shops and markets outside Bab al-Faraj among his waqf properties.<sup>19</sup>

Now in the Shaykh era, the notary public Giacomo dalla Torre mentions a *canum tenem* in an official document from 1412. We do not know how often Europeans used to go there, although it is the place chosen by a renegade Genoese – now the Sultan’s chief interpreter – to make a statement on a legal matter.<sup>20</sup> This *qaysariyya* of Tanim, mentioned by Ibn al-Himsi, is in the same business area, near al-Bizuriyya market and the Great Mosque, and it survived the calamities of the beginning of the century. At the end of the century, according to Ibn al-Himsi, the porter’s wife caused another violent fire in the area, when she was cooking on the flat roof one Friday in 1497. The roofs of neighbouring buildings caught fire and the blaze spread, causing panic among the faithful attending the Friday *khutba* in the Umayyad Mosque.<sup>21</sup> The chroniclers tell us bitterly of the loss of money and cloth due to these fires, indignantly describing the looting that occurred after the fire, sometimes perpetrated by Mamluk recruits, who not only attacked the burned buildings but also stripped warehouses untouched by the fire. People slept on the flat roofs of the buildings, something that cost many of them their lives and also appears to have caused the start of many fires.

It is difficult to be sure about the boundaries of this business quarter, although it is clear that it includes the *bazarío francorum*, which is mentioned as a separate place, adjoining Barquq’s Khan, after 1413.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, since the 1420s, the scribes point out that the khan in question, where “there is the bazaar” or market of the Franks, belongs “to the sultan”, probably forming part

of the *khass* or royal property. At the end of the century Ibn al-Himsi also uses the name “sultan’s new khan”, which confirms that this is Barquq’s Khan which has maintained this name among Arabs and Franks for a century. While the bazaar maintained its function as a residence for foreigners throughout the century, Muslims also stayed in the attached khan, such as a soldier passing through Damascus and his Ethiopian slave in 1482.<sup>23</sup> Contrary to what has been said, al-Mu’ayyad did not build the New Khan, although the many references to this building made by the notary public Niccolò Venier between 1417-1419 may have led to errors in this respect.<sup>24</sup> However, the “Franks’ bazaar” does seem to date from al-Mu’ayyad’s period as local governor. It should perhaps be identified with the *sumayqa* or even a certain “*sumayqa* of the qadi”: a market in the form of a street mentioned in Barsbay’s official *waqf* document and by the chroniclers.<sup>25</sup>

However, Al-Mu’ayyad acquired an exceptional building near Barquq’s Khan: the Emerald House (Ar. Dar al-Zumurrud), with a vestibule alternating yellow and black stones and from which hung stalactite work. It had two large open rooms as iwans separated by a courtyard with a pool and nine residences on the main floor, although four independent warehouses had been built on the ground floor. Al-Mu’ayyad endowed the house to his *waqf* goods: inalienable properties which, together with other commercial buildings around Bab al-Faraj, were used to maintain the ruler’s pious foundation. The Dar al-Zumurrud, one of the former residences of Tankiz, a former governor of Damascus (1312-1340), was valued at 270,000 dirhems in its day, in the document establishing al-Mu’ayyad’s *waqf* properties. It was associated with serving the Franks’ residence.<sup>26</sup> It was a luxury residence and, while firstly it provided a clear benefit for the religious foundation, it also removed the stain represented by

the presence of infidels in the city in the eyes of many Muslims. We know the Emerald House was near to another palace, the Golden House or Dar al-dahab, also built by Tankiz, although that one was worth more than twice as much: 600,000 dirhems. The dwelling impressed the Venetian notary Cristoforo del Fiore, usually reluctant to give detailed descriptions and who produced two deeds in June 1463. Although it continued to be a residence for military elites, the palace also accommodated Venetian businessmen (“*in domo habitationis viri providi ser Antonii de Ubertis [...] que domus in ydiomate arabico nuncupatur dareldeeb?*”).<sup>27</sup>

A very considerable series of documents shows us that, for several generations, merchants from many places shared a residential area formed by both the New Khan and the Franks’ bazaar. The place has many different names and it seems that the notaries public could not find the right word. The two spaces are contiguous, as shown by some of the formulas used by the clerks to date their official documents “*in chane novo Soldani prope bazarium Franchorum; in chane novo soldani in quo morantur mercatores franchi?*”, etc.<sup>28</sup> Cristoforo del Fiore mentions it in his records for the years 1454-1457 and 1460-1463, calling it the “seraglio”. In this space, the consul had his residence and, inside, the notary public had his alcove and chancery. On one occasion an official document is dated “in our seraglio, that is, bazaar” (“*in seralea nostra sive bazaro?*”).<sup>29</sup> As well as the seraglio, del Fiore mentions a chapel known as Saint Mark of the Venetians which, however, does not seem to have belonged to any funduq.<sup>30</sup> The impression is given that it is a closed place, as evoked by the Italian word seraglio: probably an enclosed street, as we know from the descriptions of the common night-time burglaries on markets during the Mamluk period. We know that a department called *mu’ammariyya* reconstructed the burned

down khans, probably recovering the ground floors covered with stone vaults and resistant to fire. In fact, some Mamluk decoration remains in the lower parts of later *khans*.<sup>31</sup>

The bazaar survived the fire of November 1489, mentioned by Ibn Tulun and al-Busrawi, that spread to the neighbouring buildings: the former calls it Qaysariya al-Franj and the second simply “accommodation (*masakin*) of the Franks”.<sup>32</sup> Shortly beforehand, in June 1489, the sultan’s New Khan had burned down, according to Ibn al-Himsi, in the worst fire of the end of the century that destroyed mosques, baths, shops, loggias, alcoves and souqs like the *qadi’s sumayqa*. It destroyed a great deal of property, killed children and baggage animals and ended in looting.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, there were other places in the Bab al-Faraj suburb frequented by travellers and traders, almost invariably called *qaysariyyas*, which belong to great merchants associated with the sultan. These are the inns of Ibn al-Sabuni, al-Is‘ardi, Ibn al-Hara, and, above all, Banu Muzalliq, all known by the title of *khawaja* and who represented the sultan’s commercial interests. In about 1490 the New Khan itself even became known as Ibn Dulama’s Khan - another Khawaja Merchant - and who probably managed it. Shams al-din Ibn al-Muzalliq, who financed al-Mu’ayyad’s arrival in power and whose house had already appeared in notary’s documents in 1413, built his *qaysariyya* near the New Khan, with a clock decorating the gate. The building, which according to the references must have been impressive, formed part of a network of funduqs the family built between Syria and Egypt.<sup>34</sup> Affected by the 1489 fire, the building suffered a burglary organised by a gang consisting of Franks and Mamluk recruits (which did not exclude a possible European origin), perhaps taking advantage of a weakness in the structure. The thieves entered the building taking advantage of

the proximity of the “Franks’ houses” and stole a real fortune: 4,000 dinars. There was an investigation, with arrests and torture among the Franks, which led to the sultan’s intervention in favour of the foreigners.<sup>35</sup>

The final reference to this building – and it was a significant one – comes from a will drawn up in Damascus in 1491. Pietro Spiera, a Venetian with very considerable interests, above all in diamonds, mentions some goods he is leaving in the “*can del muselaco*” undoubtedly Ibn Muzalliq’s Khan. Spiera’s trade – ranging from Asian gems to pearls from the Indian Ocean – and the interests linking him to the Venetians of Lisbon, tell us of the building’s role in the period of the opening up of new global routes.<sup>36</sup> In addition to accommodation, these *qaysariyyas* of the great Arab merchants offered secure warehouses on the ground floor, attracting many European merchants referred to as “jewellers” by the notaries. A merchant who died in 1455 in the *qaysariyya* of Khawaja Ibn al-Hara sublet his room from a Venetian, so that he could have a secure place for the pearls, golden jewels, diamonds, rubies and large quantities of cash mentioned in his post mortem inventory.<sup>37</sup>

Throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Syria confirmed itself as the crossroads of the silk and spice routes and the number of commercial buildings – of which those frequented by the Franks represented only a small fraction – multiplied.<sup>38</sup> Yet the khan-bazaar complex remained an important symbol of the Circassian sultans’ power, together with other structures financed by men close to the regime. The complex, which showed monumental elements such as the room above the gate mentioned in the official documents,<sup>39</sup> reflected the sultans’ protection of the Franks and the importance they placed on the spice trade. The expansion of Bab al-Faraj, with new sultans’ *khans*, and the endowment of the

sovereigns’ pious legacies with funduqs and souqs linked the cosmopolitan presence of travellers and traders to the legitimacy of the Cairo sultan and symbolically counteracted the Syrian elites. In cities like Damascus, and, to a point, Alexandria, the gates of the funduq did not “separate two worlds that knew nothing of one another”,<sup>40</sup> nor did they serve to classify identities and control presences. The funduqs joined hospitality and commercial exchange to the image of a just, cosmopolitan Islamic ruler.<sup>41</sup>

#### notes

- 1 Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cancelleria Inferiore, Notai (hereafter ASVe, CI, N) B. 185-6, Notary F. Novello, 10 April 1396, f. 13v-5r. ASVe, CI, N, B. 22, Notary V. Bonfantin, 15 September 1419, for Mignaneli, Mahmoud, 2013.
- 2 D. Jacoby 2011, p. 403-426; Ashtor 1983.
- 3 Balard 2007, p. 193-218; Valérian 2005 p. 107-110.
- 4 Remie Constable 2003; K aiser 2014, p. 9-13.
- 5 ASVe, CI, N, B. 185-6, Notary S. Soresino, will dated 23 July 1357.
- 6 ASVe, CI, N, B. 211, Notary N. Turiano, f. 40r-v, 17 September 1455.
- 7 ASVe, CI, N, B. 222, Notary A. Vactaciis, f. 99v, 20 November 1405.
- 8 Jacoby 2011, p. 413-414.
- 9 Apell niz 2012, p. 195-212.
- 10 ASVe, CI, N, B. 211, Notary N. Turiano, f. 36v, 2 August 1435.
- 11 ASVe, Notai di Venezia, 14832, Notary I. Dalla Torre, f. 8r-v, 14 June 1413 and, among others, f. 10v-11r, 22 September and 5 October 1413.
- 12 ASVe, CI, N, B. 230, Notary N. Venier, f. 10v-11r, 12 February 1419.
- 13 Ibn  awq 2000, p. 203.
- 14 Ibn Q d  Shuhbah 1977, p. 583; Ibn al-Fur t 1936-1942, p. 307; Ibn  a r  1963, I, p. 227-230.
- 15 ASVe, CI, N, B. 185-6, Notary F. Novello, f. 8v, 23 January 1396.
- 16 ASVe, CI, N, B. 185-6, Notary F. Novello, f. 15r-16r, 8 June 1396 and f. 16r-v, 12 July 1396; Ibn Q d  Shuhbah 1977, p. 130.

17 Archivio di Stato di Prato, Datini collection, *fondaco di Barcellona*, letter from Damascus, 2 August 1395: *qui sono poche spezie con saraini e tute in grande inchiesta e carestia salvo pepe e ogni di per montare ogni cosa fino aldicembre pero che ora qui trovara tra catelani et genovesi e con veneziani piu cristiani ci fusono 25 anni.*

18 Scheffer ed. 1892, p. 36.

19 Darr j 1963.

20 ASVe, Notai di Venezia, 14832, Notary

I. Dalla Torre, f. 2r, 30 May 1412. 21

Ibn al- im i 1999, III, p. 57.

22 ASVe, Notai di Venezia, 14832, Notary

I. Dalla Torre, f. 10r, 12 September 1413.

23 Ibn  awq 2000, p. 115.

24 Loiseau 2012, p. 173.

25 Darr j 1963, p. 47, p. 7 (text in Arabic).

26 Loiseau 2012, p. 172-173.

27 Ibn Q d  Shuhbah 1977, *Ta’rikh Ibn Q d  Shuhbah*, I, p.261.

28 ASVe, CI, N, B. 23, Notary N. Venier, f. 18v, 27 May 1419.

29 ASVe, CI, N, B. 83II, Notary C. Del Fiore, f. 15v-16r, 20 May 1456, in seraia, and 24 October 1463.

30 ASVe, CI, N, B. 83II, Notary C. Del Fiore, f. 3v-4r, 24 April 1455.

31 Ibn  awq 2000, I, p. 65.

32 al-Bu rawi 1988, p. 137; Ibn  ul n 1962-1964, p. 112.

33 Ibn al- im i 1999, I, p. 316; Ibn  ul n, p. 106.

34 Sauvaire, *Journal Asiatique*, s rie 9, 6, 1895, p. 261-263.

35 Ibn al- im i 1999, I, p. 339.

36 ASVe, *Notarile Testamenti*, B. 750, Notary Cristoforo de Persicini, 9 September 1491.

37 ASVe, CI, N, B. 83II, Notary C. Del Fiore, f. 4r-5v, 17 August 1455; Ibn al- im i, I, p. 148.

38 Wirth 1990.

39 ASVe, CI, N, B. 230, Notary N. Venier, f. 10r, 18 October 1418b.

40 “Le funduk [...] s pare occidentaux et indig nes, plut t que d’en favoriser les contacts. Il est une fronti re entre deux mondes qui s’ignorent”, Balard 2007, p. 218.

41 Francisco Apell niz. Post-doctoral researcher – Universit  Paris I (Panth on-Sorbonne).