

FEMALES ALSO RUN BUSINESS. MERCHANTS' WIVES AND FEMALE MERCHANTS IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON (FOURTEENTH-FIFTEENTH CENTURY)

MARÍA DOLORES LÓPEZ PÉREZ, CORAL CUADRADA MAJÓ AND ESTHER TRAVÉ ALLEPUZ
UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA, UNIVERSITY ROVIRA I VIRGILI AND UNIVERSITAT DE BARCELONA
SPAIN

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the involvement of women in business during the Late Middle Ages. Our research has focused on the activities undertaken by women living in the most important economic centres of the Crown of Aragon, taking into consideration the contributions made by female historians who have carried out their studies in other areas. The research hypothesis is that mothers and wives took over businesses in critical periods with such efficiency that they became a threat to the interests of their merchant fathers and husbands. To demonstrate this, unpublished records preserved in the Historical Protocols Archive of Barcelona, the Historical Notarial Protocols Archive of Zaragoza, the Crown of Aragon Archive, and the Archivio di Stato di Prato have been studied together with other published references. Data arising from these files demonstrate that, in the absence of men, women carried out efficiently the management functions of the companies. Wives, widows, and daughters of merchants, were independent women that actively participated in running the family businesses. The increase in women's involvement was at the root of men's unease and provoked a strong reaction from the male market sectors.

KEYWORDS

Mediterranean, Middle Age, Wife, Widow, Business

CAPITALIA VERBA

Mare Mediterraneum, Mediaevum, Mulier (coniux), Vidua, Negotium.

1. Introduction¹

In the early 1400s, the distinguished artist Jan van Eyck accepted a commission to paint a portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini², an Italian merchant from Lucca, and his partner Giovanna Cenami, also from the Tuscan city³. In the picture, Arnolfini arrogantly looks straight ahead while appearing to bless his wife who submissively bows her head as she is taken by the hand. Both members of the Tuscan community living in the city of Bruges exemplify the migration of the business elite.

It was the responsibility of all merchants' wives, such as Giovanna, to look after the family home, take care of both the children and the business, manage the servants, and watch over the apprentices. The reality of these women was far from the submissive figure represented in the portrait of Arnolfini's wife. In the mercantile, medieval world, the women, widows, wives, and daughters, of merchants, were closely involved in trade, the market and negotiations. Information discovered in account books, commercial correspondence, and notary contracts, reveal how the wives and widows, and often also the daughters and mothers, of merchants, knew the financial movements of their husbands and actively participated in the management of their companies.

1. This article is part of the research projects: "FENICE. Markets and economic spaces in the Western Mediterranean: The formation of an international environment for European Trade at the beginning of Modernity" (HAR2015-65285-R MINECO/FEDER, UE) and "GENESIS. Economic globalisation and new International frameworks: European Markets and Late Medieval trade networks in Western Mediterranean" (PID2019-104157GB-I00/ AEI/10.13039/501100011033), funded by the Ministerio de Economía y Empresa (Spain); funded by Fundació "la Caixa" (Spain). It also benefited of a fellowship founded by Fundació "La Caixa" (ID 100010434); "FENIX. The formation of an International Trade Network: the business of a Catalan merchant at the dawn of Modernity (2017ACUP0195)", and the research has taken place within the "Medieval and Postmedieval Archeology Research Group GRAMPMed (2021SGR00236)" of the University of Barcelona, as member of the Institute of Archaeology (IAUB). Used Abbreviations: AHPB, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Barcelona; AHPNZ, Archivo Histórico de Protocolos Notariales de Zaragoza.

2. A work involved in a long controversy among art historians due to the difficulty of interpreting the elements contained in the painting, a controversy that even surrounds the identification of the characters. It is not, however, our aim to address this debate. It is just the image of the couple itself that requires our attention. Regarding the link between the pictorial work and the merchants, see: Cuadrada, Coral. "Volen instroyr e informar los mercaders, aquells qui d'aquest art de mercaderia volen usar". *Revista d'Història Medieval*, 5 (1994): 113-114.

3. The question of the identification of the female figure remains open. We certainly know that Giovanni d'Arrigo Arnolfini, an important businessperson with positions in the court of the Duke of Burgundy, governor general of finance in Normandy and ambassador of the king of France Louis XI, married Giovanna, daughter of Guglielmo Cenami and Pippa Raponi. But, is she the woman in the painting? Laura Galoppini's hypothesis (Galoppini, Laura. "Gli Arnolfini a Bruges nel Quattrocento", *Un filo rosso. Studi antichi e nuove ricerche sulle orme di Gabriella Rossetti in occasione dei suoi settanta anni*, Gabriella Garzella, Enrica Salvatori, eds. Pisa: Gisem Edizioni, 2007: 284; and also Galoppini, Laura. "Di mercantia et alter cose. Gli Arnolfini nella Bruges del Quattrocento", *Saggi di storia offerti a Michele Luzzati*, Silio P.P. Scalfati, Alessandra Veronese, eds. Pisa: Pacini, 2008: 117) raises the possibility that the woman in the painting was Elena, who she thinks could be Arnolfini's first wife.



Women who found themselves working alone, whether because they were widowed or due to the temporary absence of their husbands, were fully capable of running the family business. They took control of managing the business, keeping the accounts, making purchases, watching over the apprentices, and monitoring the factors and servants. All of the widows, wives, and daughters, therefore, had close ties to the commercial world, all of them were *merchant women*.

But was this only ever the case when men were absent? Without ruling this out, recent advances in the research of mercantile sources, have identified female entrepreneurs who were competent and experienced in taking economic initiatives. However, specific examples are still limited. The wall of silence in legal documents, the tendency for literary works to be of male authorship, and the non-existence of documented collections mean references to women merchants are difficult to find. When they do appear, however, they show independent women —married, widowed, and single— who have capital at their disposal and invest it even outside the intervention of husbands and sons. Women who participate as managing partners, capitalists, or factors in companies that are not always the family business, who speculate with maritime insurance, negotiate merchant orders, manage stalls, and act as witnesses in notary acts. Women who were both procurators and who appointed procurators⁴. Women, therefore, with a high level of responsibility and who were professionally capable to take on the management of their businesses.

Martín Romera⁵ differentiates between “merchants’ wives” and “female merchants” the former being understood as any female belonging to a merchant family environment, while the latter would participate in commercial trading activities autonomously. We opted not for the distinction based on kinship —an ambiguous label that continually changed over the course of a lifetime— but for professional dedication regardless of marital status. We refer to these women as merchants.

4. Kathryn L. Reyerson’s work on the participation of self-employed women, both widowed and married, in the commercial sphere of Montpellier, continues to be a reference point: Reyerson, Kathryn L. “Women in Business in Medieval Montpellier”, *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe*, Barbara Hanawalt, ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986: 117-144. See also: Hanawalt, Barbara. *The Wealth of Wives: Women, Law, and Economy in Late Medieval London*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007; and Beattie, Cordelia. *Medieval Single Women. The Politics of Social Classification in Late Medieval England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

5. Martín Romera, María Ángeles. “Mujeres de mercaderes, mujeres mercaderes. Testimonios de iniciativas femeninas en el ámbito comercial a finales del siglo XV”. *En la España Medieval*, 32 (2009): 273-296 (especially 282).



In Spain, the research carried out in recent years by Coral Cuadrada⁶, Gemma Colesanti⁷, Angela Orlandi⁸, Teresa Vinyoles⁹, M^a Carmen García Herrero¹⁰, M^a Ángeles Martín Romera¹¹, María Isabel del Val Valdivieso¹², María Asenjo¹³, Janire Castrillo Casado¹⁴, Mireia Comas¹⁵, and Sandra De la Torre¹⁶, among others, has led to notable advances in the understanding of the role of the female in mercantile business. These merchants were women who had assets, managed them, controlled them, and passed them on to future generations. Due to our field of research, our focus here is on activities developed by women who lived in the most important business centres of the Crown of Aragon. Nevertheless, we also take into consideration contributions made by historians who have carried out their studies in other areas.

6. Cuadrada, Coral. "Notas sobre la mujer en la economía". *Historia social*, 5 (1989): 159-164; Cuadrada, Coral. "Les dones en el treball urbà (segles XIV-XV)". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 29 (1999): 219-234; Cuadrada, Coral. "Mujeres medievales. Labores, vidas y trabajos". *Oikonomía, cuidados, reproducción, producción*, Coral Cuadrada, Ada Lasheras, Roser Marsal, Carlota Royo, eds. Tarragona: Publicacions Universitat Rovira i Virgili, 2015: 147-272.

7. Colesanti, Gemma. *Una mujer de negocios catalana en la Sicilia del siglo xv. Caterina Llull i Sabastida: estudio y edición de su libro maestro, 1472-1479*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008; Colesanti, Gemma; Del Popolo, Martina. "Caterina Llull i Sabastida: il suo spazio economico e familiare tra la Sicilia e la Catalogna della fine del XV secolo", *Mercados y espacios económicos en el siglo XV. El mundo del mercader Torralba*, David Abulafia, María Dolores López, eds. Barcelona: Publicacions Universitat de Barcelona, 2020: 539-559.

8. Orlandi, Angela. "Le merciaie di Palme. Il commercio dei veli nella Maiorca di fine Trecento", *Dare credito alle donne. Presenze femminili nell'economia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Giovanna Petti Balbi, Paola Guglielmotti, eds. Asti: Centro Studi Renato Bordone sui lombardi, sul credito e sulla banca, 2012: 149-166.

9. Vinyoles, Teresa. *Història de les dones a la Catalunya medieval*. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2005; Vinyoles, Teresa; Muntaner, Carme. "Affari di donne a Barcellona nel basso medioevo", *Dare credito alle donne. Presenze femminili nell'economia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Giovanna Petti Balbi, Paola Guglielmotti, eds. Asti: Centro Studi Renato Bordone sui lombardi, sul credito e sulla banca, 2012: 179-194.

10. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza en el siglo XV*. Saragossa: Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1990.

11. Martín Romera, María Ángeles. "Mujeres de mercaderes"...

12. Del Val Valdivieso, María Isabel. "Mujeres y desigualdad en la Castilla del siglo XV", *Comercio, finanzas y fiscalidad en Castilla (siglos XV-XVI)*, Hilario Casado Alonso, ed. Madrid: Dykinson, 2019: 323-340, especially 329.

13. Asenjo, María. "Participación de las mujeres en las compañías comerciales castellanas a fines de la Edad Media. Los mercaderes segovianos", *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media hispana*, Ángela Muñoz, Cristina Segura, eds. Madrid: Asociación cultural Al-Mudayna, 1988: 223-234.

14. Castrillo Casado, Janire. "Mujeres, negocio y mercadería a finales de la Edad Media: Algunos apuntes sobre el país vasco". *Edad Media: revista de historia*, 22 (2002): 95-101.

15. Comas, Mireia. *Les dones soles a la Baixa Edat Mitjana: una lectura sobre la viduïtat*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2012. 2 November 2021: <<https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/82146>>; Comas, Mireia; Muntaner, Carme; Vinyoles, Teresa. "Elles no només filaven: producció i comerç en mans de dones a la Catalunya baixmedieval". *Recerques*, 56 (2008): 19-45.

16. De la Torre, Sandra. "Mujeres de la élite de negocios de Zaragoza alrededor de 1400", *Mujeres de la Edad Media: actividades políticas, socioeconómicas y culturales*, María del Carmen García Herrero, Cristina Pérez Galán, eds. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2014: 199-216.



Our hypothesis, supported by enduring written evidence, suggests with conviction that during critical periods, mothers and wives, driven by the need to save their families, took the reins of the business with such determination, such impetus and efficiency, that they became a threat to the traditional patriarchal order. Was it always like this? Perhaps not, but the answer is possible only by questioning the sources, what they explain, what they keep hidden, and what they reveal. Did women only take control in times of desperation? Did they take responsibility only when they were widowed? Were they capable enough to run the business? Did the authorities look favourably at the initiatives of these women? This study aims to shed light on some of these questions.

2. Materials and methods

We have based our research on the published and unpublished documentation preserved in the archives of the Crown of Aragon. Of particular use to us in the Notary Archives were the inventories of goods, wills, private correspondence, and mercantile orders. Our investigation has also focused on the documentation kept in the Historical Protocols Archive of Barcelona and the Historical Notary Protocols Archive of Zaragoza. From the archives of the Crown of Aragon, we have studied the Mediterranean customs registers, tax exemption concessions for foreigners, and shipping licences granted for the export of *coses vedades*, which are kept in the Royal Heritage collection. At the same time, we have used the records of the Datini Archive (Prato, Italy), in which all the documentation generated by the company is preserved¹⁷. We have examined commercial letters exchanged between associates, business agents, and delegates, among which are those of Francesco di Marco and his wife, Margherita¹⁸. This correspondence is of particular interest to us for revealing the involvement of women in the company's business.

We have also taken into account published works and doctoral theses, which provide us with information that can be analysed when comparing the archive data with the bibliographic data. We alternated this approach with the prosopography information when the preserved documentation facilitated this.

17. The importance and originality of the Datini Archive is unquestionable. The bibliography concerning the company is considerable. We refer to the bibliographical synthesis made by the "Fondazione Istituto Internazionale Francesco di Marco Datini". 2 February 2019. <<http://www.istitutodatini.it/schede/archivio/htm/bibliof1.htm>>.

18. Rosati, Valeria. *Le lettere di Margherita Datini a Francesco di Marco (1384-1410)*. Prato: Cassa di Risparmio e Depositi, 1977; Cecchi, Elena. *Le lettere di Francesco Datini alla moglie Margherita (1385-1410)*. Prato: Società Pratese di Storia Patria, 1990; Toccafondi, Diana; Cascone, Gianni. *Per la tua Margherita. Scrittura della distanza, lettere di una donna del Trecento al marito mercante: 32 lettere scelte di Margherita a Francesco Datini*. Prato: Archivio di Stato di Prato, 2001.



3. Results: Women running businesses according to the written evidence

3.1. Merchants' wives vs female merchants

The wife of the Tuscan merchant Francesco di Marco Datini remains the most widely known reference. Considerably younger than her husband, Margherita Bandini was barely twenty years old when she married Francesco di Marco who was over forty. This significant age gap was quite common at the time. Margherita, a descendant of a noble Gherardini family, was born in Florence but met her future husband in Avignon, where she lived with her mother and brothers. Once married, she returned with Francesco to Prato in Italy, where her husband was from. With his accumulated fortune, they had a palace built, which would be both their residence and a symbol of their high status. When they had settled in Prato, Di Marco, who was dedicated to the management of their estates, became frequently absent from the home, and for increasingly longer periods and the spouses found themselves in what was effectively an epistolary relationship. Being illiterate, Margherita used scribes to write the letters she would send to her husband. Gradually she learned to write and she finally recorded the details of her daily life. Ser Lappo Mazzei, a friend of the family, expressed his admiration for her and congratulated her on the achievement: *M'è detto ch'avete bene apparato, che è una meraviglia nell'etade che siete, nella quale l'altre sogliono dimenticare*¹⁹.

More than 200 letters, which Margherita Datini sent to her absent husband²⁰, inform us about her duties and obligations, her commitment to business tasks, and the needs of the home. However, they also reveal her feelings, her concerns, her fears, and her pain of not being able to conceive and yet having to foster her husband's illegitimate daughter, Ginebra, who was the fruit of a relationship with a slave. The distance of her husband meant that Margherita had to get involved in the administration of the closest businesses, keep the accounts, manage the purchases of the estate, as well as look after and supply the house, and pass on values and knowledge. The content of the letters highlights the enormous responsibilities she was entrusted with²¹. A parallel can be found in Violante de Heredia, wife of Ramón de Torrellas, whose letters sent to him around 1424, show, just like Margherita, both a wife and business partner who addressed the imperative need to manage and control the family business²².

Margherita is not the only woman involved in the Datini business. The company counted among its economic agents women who practised the *arte de la mercadería*.

19. "I have been told that you manage so well, that is wonderful at your age, when others usually forget": Guasti, Cesare. *Ser Lappo Mazzei. Lettere di un notaro a un mercante del secolo XIV con altre lettere e documenti*, vol. II, Firenze: Succesori Le Monnier, 1880: II. 21 January 2022. <<https://warburg.sas.ac.uk/pdf/hnh1675b2480382v1.pdf>>.

20. See note 13.

21. Cuadrada, Coral. "Mujeres medievales" ...: 216-229.

22. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza...*



Cuadrada locates in the *carteggio*, women who acted as correspondents and agents for Datini, effectively full-time merchants. This is the case of Donna Dianora who, in 1383, communicated to Francesco di Marco the constitution of a partnership with a Milanese merchant, dedicated to the importing of weapons and metal goods from the Italian city. It is also the case of Donna Usa, Marco Giovanni's widow, who ran her husband's old business from Avignon, importing products from all across Italy and even from Germany, and selling silk, paper, and thread under Datini's name. Donna Caterina da Basigniate, active from 1380 to 1393, exercised sole control of the import business from Germany after losing her male trading partner. Also, the widow Donna Duccia, a delegate of the Datini company in Montpellier, maintained a considerable volume of trade with Paris and Barcelona, as well as Provence, England, and Castile²³.

In Majorca, the accounts in two ledgers of the Majorcan branch of the Datini Company, analysed by Orlandi, document thirty-three women who had commercial dealings with the business in just four years—between 25 March 1396 and 31 January 1400²⁴. Female apothecaries, dyers, tailors, drapers, and shopkeepers, usually alone, sometimes with their children and husbands, negotiated the purchase of goods from Francesco di Marco's company. Cotton, silk and linen fabrics, knives, swords, gloves, and buttons were all purchased by these women and then resold in their shops in the city of Palma. These were women with their own businesses whose knowledge was passed down from mother to children²⁵. The inventory of goods by the Mallorcan merchant Joan Bartomeu shows how his children learnt to read and write—*hun libre saltiri en pergamins en que haprenen los infants*—under the watchful eye of their mother, Eleonor, who managed the house and businesses in her husband's absence²⁶. Mallorcan women, therefore, carried out maritime activities in the port of Palma and in faraway enclaves, such as Lisbon, Seville, and Morocco²⁷, where they negotiated through agents.

Just as in Barcelona where Serena, the wife of spice trader, Ramon de Tous was aware of the market prices and invested in commercial orders to sell clothes in Sicily²⁸. Also Valençona, wife of Francesc Despuig, who invested part of her personal assets in her husband's business while he was away; while Joan Ferrera's wife also took responsibility for the trade-in his absence²⁹.

There are the Genoese too, who not only take care of raising their offspring and running the household but also actively collaborate in the husband's business.

23. Cuadrada, Coral. "Les dones en el treball urbà"...: 230-231; Cuadrada, Coral. "Mujeres medievales"...: 250-251.

24. Orlandi, Angela. "Le merciaie di Palme"...: 150.

25. Orlandi, Angela. "Le merciaie di Palme"...: 157.

26. "In a parchment book that kids use for learning": Sastre, Jaume. "La actividad comercial del mercader mallorquín Johan Barthomeu a mediados del siglo XV". *Mayurqa*, 31 (2006): 251-273.

27. Ortega, Antonio. "El trabajo femenino en Mallorca. La labor de la mujer en la actividad marítima de la primera mitad del siglo XIV". *Espacio, tiempo y Forma. Serie III, Historia Medieval*, 17 (2004): 461-469.

28. Comas, Mireia; Muntaner, Carme; Vinyoles, Teresa. "Elles no només filaven"...

29. Comas, Mireia. *Les dones soles a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*...: 243.



Much younger than them, the women come from mercantile families, so they know the ins and outs of the world of commerce: they pay debts, make purchases, act as guarantors and, in particular, sell slaves imported from Mediterranean shores at the local markets³⁰. Likewise, bourgeois, artisan, and noble, women appear in the merchant's account of the treasurer of the *almojarifazgo* tax in Seville³¹.

3.2. Wives and widows

Different cases can be identified in various studies, which almost always highlight the state of widowhood as the cause that forces many women to take over the family business and thus safeguard the patrimony, or of wives who assumed the role of the merchant husband in his temporary absence. Thus, for many women, an early widowhood opens the door into the commercial world in the face of the need to look after the interests of their children who are too young to take responsibility for the family's finances. They have become expert businesswomen after years of sharing, observing, and learning from their husbands who are experienced in trading, and acting as procurators in the absence of the male merchant³². García Herrero³³ lists numerous examples of wives of important Zaragozaan merchants whose husbands, instead of turning to seasoned tradesmen, delegate their representation to their wives. Gracia Ximénez de Sinués, Domingo Lanaja's wife, and Yolanda Sánchez de Calatayud, a Jew married to Bernard de la Cavalleria, are just some of the examples of wives who manage the family business, not just in the absence of their husbands, but as lifelong business partners.

Take the example of Gracia Lanaja, who found herself a childless widow shortly after marrying for the first time in 1411 to a merchant from Zaragoza, Bartolomé Palacio. She then married again in the 1430s to the merchant, Juan de Berlanga, with whom she had two sons. A lifelong business associate of her husband, she accompanied him before the notary on numerous occasions, placing herself at the head of the family business following his death. She was a powerful widow, managing two estates—her own and her husband's—she bought houses that she leased out, collected census tax, rented out kilns, vineyards, and olive groves, and she granted loans.

García Herrero³⁴ also identifies widows in Zaragoza who are at the head of the family business, and not only Christians but also Jews. They continued to operate the

30. Tudela, Luis. "Les dones dels mercaders genovesos i mallorquins a la primera meitat del segle XIV". *Mayurqa*, 28 (2002): 223-239.

31. Bello, Juan Manuel. "La cuenta de mercaderes y las rentas menudas del almojarifazgo mayor de Sevilla a finales del siglo XV". *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos*, 43 (2016): 31-70.

32. See: Goldberg, Peter J. P. *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire, c. 1300-1520*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992, who as early as 1992 wondered to what extent marriage was an economic necessity for medieval women.

33. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza...*: 470.

34. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza...*: 444-451.



enterprise in the same way and were supported, at times, by the same collaborators. Batlle³⁵ details some examples of these widow merchants in Barcelona in the 13th century. Not all of them were successful, however. She also documents the failures of inexperienced, young women who were forced to manage the family estate after the early death of their husbands. This is the case of Berenguera, the fourth wife of Bernat Durfort, who died in 1285, and the mother of his three children. Unable to properly manage a large estate, she passed away shortly after, leaving behind numerous debts. Studies carried out in the Basque Country also identify women who ran the businesses of their deceased husbands and had shares in the ownership of boats³⁶. It is most likely that, when they were alive, these females controlled the sardine fishing trade and held considerable power in their communities³⁷.

3.3. Marriage strategies: the case of Teresa and Inglesa

A paradigmatic case is that of the sisters Inglesa and Teresa, daughters of Pedro López de Quinto —a squire who died after both his daughters had married— and Isabel Tharin Duenya, residents of the Aragonese town of Quinto³⁸. The López-Tharin family designed a well-thought-out marriage policy that facilitated their marriage into influential families in the merchant sector in Aragon. Inglesa married Salvador de España, a merchant from Alcañiz closely linked to the merchant Joan de Torralba from Barcelona³⁹. In April 1433, both Salvador de España and Joan de

35. Batlle, Carme. “Noticias sobre la mujer catalana en el mundo de los negocios (siglo XIII)”, *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media hispana*, Ángela Muñoz, Cristina Segura, eds. Madrid: Asociación cultural Al-Mudayna, 1988: 209-211, 214.

36. Ayuso, Cristina. “El mundo laboral femenino en el País Vasco Medieval”. *Sancho el Sabio: Revista de cultura e investigación vasca*, 30 (2009): 126.

37. Del Val Valdivieso, María Isabel. “Bilbao en la Baja Edad Media (desde la perspectiva de género)”. *Bidebarrieta. Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales de Bilbao*, XII (2003): 133-153.

38. Lozano, Susana. *Las élites en la ciudad de Zaragoza a mediados del siglo XV: la aplicación del método prosopográfico en el estudio de la sociedad*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza (PhD Dissertation), 2007: 309-310. 15 October 2021. <<https://zaguan.unizar.es/record/7400/files/TESIS.pdf>>

39. Joan de Torralba is one of the founding partners of an important Catalan company created at the end of 1425 and which was in existence for more than twenty years. Initially, the company was made up of Torralba and Fortuny de Manariello, both Aragonese merchants and citizens of Barcelona, and Juan Feixas from Zaragoza. The importance of the Torralba Company lies in the exceptional conservation of eleven of the accounting books, as well as commercial letters and loose deeds, which include the company's founding minutes and statements of accounts, corresponding to the management of Torralba. The scarcity of accounting books that have survived in the archives of the Crown of Aragon make this collection significant. It is for this reason that, aware of the undeniable importance of these sources, our research group has undertaken the publication of the eleven books that have been preserved. Three of them have already been published: López, María Dolores; Basso, Enrico; Marí, Gerard; Travé, Esther. *De Aragón a Venecia. El “Llibre major de comerç de llana blanca amb Itàlia” de la companyia Torralba (1433-1434)*. Barcelona-Torino: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona - Università di Torino, 2019; Benavides, Jesús; Casado, Iván. *La memoria del mercader. El “Manual honzè” de la companyia Torralba (1434-1437)*. Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 2019; Viu, María. *La contabilidad privada del mercader barcelonés Joan de Torralba. El “Llibre de comtans” (1430-1460) y el cuadernillo de deudas con Pere de Sitges (1432-1448)*. Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, 2021; Viu, María, *Los libros secretos de la compañía comercial*



Torralba, along with the merchants Juan de España and Juan de Palos, leased the income and rights to the chamber of Zaragoza cathedral for a period of five years⁴⁰. As reflected in the contracts agreed by España, written according to the charters of Aragon, Inglesa had 21,000 *sueldos jaqueses* at her disposal. This was España's second marriage, and he already had three daughters which were the fruit of a previous union with Isabel Hiçart. She died early, which left Salvador alone in charge of the small girls, and without a male heir, circumstances that would have undoubtedly conditioned the negotiation of a second, albeit short, marriage. Salvador then died intestate which meant electing a guardian to look after the interests of the children. A document signed on 19 February 1438 specifies that all the children, with one being from his new marriage, were under 14 years of age⁴¹. Juan de Cervera, a jurist from Alcañiz, determined the suitability of Salvador's brother, Juan de España, to act as his nephews' guardian, according to a public letter dated 11 December 1436.

Inglesa's sister, Teresa, also married an Aragonese merchant, Juan Ferriz, linked to the Casaldáguila Company. Widower of Catalina Sánchez de Ágreda, with whom he had a son, Juan had a further six more children with Teresa —Miguel, Isabel, María, Violante, Inglesa, and Constanza⁴²— according to his will. Inglesa was married for barely a year—the marriage contract dates from December 1435, and in December 1436 Juan de España was appointed guardian of the children of his late brother Salvador⁴³. Teresa was married a few years longer. The widowhood of both sisters facilitated their entry into the world of business, as they were required to assume management and look after the interests of the family. The accounts books that España and Ferriz kept⁴⁴ would no doubt have been indispensable, although the sisters soon started using their own initiative too. Shortly after the death of her husband, Teresa sold wool and skins to a neighbour in Zaragoza, the tanner Juan de Antiença, respecting the agreements negotiated with her husband. These were goods that had been acquired by Ferriz from butchers in Cariñena, with an advanced deposit order payment. This must have enabled her to pay a deposit of 600 gold florins, the amount that her husband owned by the butchers Martín Xortano and Antonio Polo, from Cariñena. He also owed an amount to Pascual López from Aguarón which Teresa recovered with the delivery of corambres (tanned leather).

Torralba-Manariello Corona de Aragón 1430-1437, Barcelona: Edicions Universitat de Barcelona, Universitat dell'Aquila, 2022 and the others are soon to be published.

40. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2399, f. 124r (Saragossa, 31 August 1433).

41. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 60v-61r (Saragossa, 28 May 1437); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 13r-16r (Alcañiz, 19 February 1438).

42. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 49r-50v (Saragossa, 15 April 1436).

43. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, loose papers (Saragossa, 2 December 1435); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 60v-61r (Saragossa, 28 May 1437). His widow, Inglesa, was pregnant with a son, Juan.

44. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 77v-78v (Saragossa, 23 May 1436); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 165r-v (Saragossa, 5 December 1436); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 119v-121v (Cariñena); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 122r (Cariñena, 4 December 1347); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 122v (Cariñena, 4 December 1437); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 123r-v (Saragossa, 16 December 1437).



Also, the tailor Juan Pérez and his wife, Catalina Dalmacia, also from Cariñena, had in the concept of deposit order, 122 *sueudos jaqueses* that Ferriz had obtained for them.

Teresa, appointed lifetime beneficiary of her husband's assets⁴⁵, quickly took control of the economic reins of the family, from the management of the census income acquired by Ferriz, to its involvement in the loan market. In March 1437, Teresa advanced significant sums to Pedro Navarro, an innkeeper in Cariñena, and to her husband's former client, Juan de Antienza⁴⁶. Teresa received considerable amounts from the annual pensions of various censuses acquired by her husband⁴⁷. However, what is apparent are the investment initiatives once she was widowed, which are reflected in her actions as procurator for the Aragonese nobility⁴⁸. Among these was Arnau de Novallas, a knight living in Zaragoza, who in 1438, commissioned her to receive an annual census from the Muslim community in the city. This was not a spontaneous action, as the procurement had been arranged more than a year previously, demonstrating the confidence Novallas had in Teresa. Along with her activities as a procurator, Teresa invested in the acquisition of new census entitlements which increased her annual income, among them one inherited by the daughters of the first marriage of Salvador de España, the deceased husband of her sister Inglesa⁴⁹.

Censuses, property leases, loans, and investment loans, become the principal incomes of some widows, especially those who did not have male children of a certain age, who withdraw from commercial business, and who opted for the security of an income as owners or life beneficiaries. Those women consolidated their position as renters.

3.4. Home-based activities and travelling

It is widely understood that independent female mobility over long distances was not common, although the possibility always existed. Some of them moved around autonomously, the majority being nuns⁵⁰, beguin heretics⁵¹, and prostitutes. However, the majority of females who found themselves travelling did so with

45. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 26r-v (Saragossa, 3 April 1438). Witness given in 15 April 1436.

46. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 27v (Cariñena, 7 March 1437); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 28v-29r (Saragossa, 18 March 1437).

47. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 2r-v (Saragossa, 17 January 1439).

48. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 62r-v (Saragossa, 18 June 1438).

49. AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 26r-v (Saragossa, 3 April 1438); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, f. 27r (Saragossa, 4 April 1438); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 27v-28r (Saragossa, 4 April 1438); AHPNZ, Antón de Aldovera, 2400, ff. 3r-4r (Saragossa, 17 January 1439).

50. Makowski, Elizabeth. *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and its Commentators, 1298-1545*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1997.

51. Hanawalt, Barbara. "At the Margins of Women's Space in Medieval Europe", *Of Good and Ill Repute: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England*, Barbara Hanawalt, ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998: 72.



goods and family, as was the case in Mallorca in the second half of the 15th century, when some Flemish or Sicilian women emigrated to the island. This is not including slaves, who were registered in a much more considerable number (37.6 % of the total slavery registered)⁵². Something similar happened in Seville at the beginning of the 16th century): Flemish women were living there, recorded as the wives or daughters of artisans and merchants⁵³. Some women also undertook pilgrimage⁵⁴; and some went abroad, accompanying their husbands after getting married. Despite all this, the vast majority of women did not risk the dangers of travelling, which was synonymous with its present threat of sexual violence.

The task of a merchant's wife was therefore to look after the family, care for the children, control the maids and apprentices, as well as to keep an eye on the business. Her main function, as a consequence of gender, was the management of the *oikos* —the house and family— hence her sedentary nature. This was women's traditional destination, as far as the wife of a prosperous merchant was concerned. The husband, however, was frequently travelling⁵⁵. Even if the women's management role took place within the house, this did not mean it was a private act. These women ran large businesses from their homes and most of them never travelled to the export destinations of their goods. Nevertheless, they managed them just as effectively, if not more so, than their husbands did when they were not absent, or when they had been alive. So, the wife had access to the most public, social, and economic aspects of the outside world, from the intimacy of their homes⁵⁶.

Despite it being a widely established fact that men travelled and women did not, there are also reports of single women living, and doing business, in locations far from their place of origin. It is possible that they arrived there accompanying their husbands, but we cannot say for certain. The written records are sparse in detail in regard to this. Such is the case of Juana Marina, originally from the Aragonese town of Alcañiz, but resident in the city of Palma. On 21 February 1437, she acknowledged the order of 10 pounds, which she possessed from a squire of the notary and royal secretary, Francesc Aixaló. Others, who did not move location, would send their agent to the point of trade to negotiate on their behalf, as Maria, the wife of Zaragozaan *pelaire* wool dresser Guillermo de Sabia, did in 1460⁵⁷.

Regarding the presence of the wives of Christian merchants in Muslim territories, the documentation has provided us with a perfect example —a woman named

52. Vaquer, Onofre. "Inmigrantes extranjeros en Mallorca, 1448-1589", *I Coloquio Internacional. Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2003: I, 657-666.

53. Fagel, Raymond. "En busca de fortuna. La presencia de flamencos en España, 1480-1560", *I Coloquio Internacional. Los Extranjeros en la España Moderna*. Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 2003: I, 325-335.

54. Morrison, Susan Signe. *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England. Private piety as a public performance*. London - New York: Routledge, 2000; Clement, Claire: *Mapping Women's Movement in Medieval England*. Virginia: Virginia Commonwealth University (PhD Dissertation), 2012. 24 December 2021. <<https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1366&context=etd>>.

55. Cuadrada, Coral. "Mujeres medievales" ...: 329-343.

56. Vickery, Amanda. "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History". *The Historical Journal*, 36/2 (1993): 412.

57. Barceló, Maria. "Aragoneses en Mallorca bajomedieval". *Aragón en la Edad Media*, 19 (2006): 56-57.



Marquesa married to a Valencian merchant, Joan Felip. The couple, who had four daughters, owned a house in Constantine which continued to be the family home after the merchant's death. Marquesa not only took care of her daughters and provided for their welfare thanks to the goods inherited from her husband, but also endowed two of them and negotiated their marriages with two Valencian merchants who were also established in Constantine. There is clear evidence in the documentation that she had her own economic means. We can therefore assume that if she remained in the Maghreb city after the death of her husband, it was not because she could not afford to return to Valencia, but that, probably, Marquesa and her daughters continued to run the family business⁵⁸.

Women, therefore, are involved in negotiations during their trips and stay-outside their places of origin, but also at home, where their involvement in business led to legislation attempting to control their activities and subordinate their actions to the male figure. One of the paragraphs of the Charter of Urban Liberties, granted to the city of Haarlem in the Netherlands in 1245, deals with the debts incurred by women vendors⁵⁹. It says that the husbands of women who sell beer, bread or yarn, are responsible for the risks of their wives' business transactions to the equivalent of a bread kiln, a beer vat, or a grinder. For the husbands of non-trading women, the liability was more restricted: they could be liable for losses of up to 4 pennies. This section of the charter should be considered in the light of the wives legal situation: women were —theoretically— under the control of their husbands and did not have full legal capacity. This brings to mind Catalan law, specifically *Usatge 22: cascuna fembra sie esmenada segons la valor de son marit, e si marit no ha ni n'ach, segons la valor de son frare ho de son pare*⁶⁰.

In London, despite the prevailing concept of *marital unity*, the law made some provisions for the married woman —known as a *femme couverte*— to be able to act independently of her husband, allowing her to work exclusively —as if she were a single woman or widowed— if her husband was permanently elsewhere⁶¹. It appears to be mainly married women who chose to claim the economic status of a *femme sole*, as it was called. Those known to have developed as such were craftswomen, embroiderers, fabric weavers, brewers, upholsterers, and predominantly, street vendors. The married women who decided to claim this status

58. López, María Dolores. "Aux portes du Sahara: l'établissement de colonies marchandes européennes dans le Maghreb médiéval", *Le Sahara et l'homme. Un savoir pour un savoir faire*, Mohamed Hassine Fantar. Tunis: Université de Tunis El Manar, 2005: 137-138.

59. Dijkman, Jessica E. E. *Medieval market institutions. The organisation of commodity markets in Holland, c. 1200 – c. 1450*. Utrecht: University of Utrecht (PhD Dissertation), 2010. 2 November 2021. <<https://dspace.library.uu.nl/bitstream/handle/1874/44850/dijkman.pdf?sequence=1...>>.

60. "Each woman should be compensated in accordance to her husband's wealth; and if she is single, in accordance to her brother's or father's wealth": Bastardas, Joan. *Usatges de Barcelona. El codi a mitjan segle XII*. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1991.

61. "Where a woman, *couverte de baron* (covered by her man, for example: married) follows a craft of her own in the city in which the husband does not intermeddle, such a woman shall be bound as a single woman as to all that concerns her craft": Barron, Caroline M. "The 'golden age' of women in medieval London". *Reading Medieval Studies*, 15 (1989): 40.



enjoyed independence: they could run their own business, rent a shop, accumulate money—and debts—, pay taxes and were competent masters of their apprentices and servants⁶². Chancellery records also identify female silk dealers, trading in headwear and other goods, which were imported to be sold at trade fairs⁶³.

We also know of the existence of silk guilds in Rouen, Paris, and Cologne, which traded in, among other things, luxury textiles. In Rouen, it was specifically linen, one of the major exports from the Norman capital. In Paris, these trade associations were specialised in high-quality fabrics: silk spinning, silk ribbons, hats and bags of silk and pearls. In Cologne, three women's guilds are reported: silk spinning, linen spinning and gold thread spinning, all of which produced and marketed exquisite fabrics and objects⁶⁴.

3.5. Long-distance trade and women overseas

The documentation sometimes provides us with information about female involvement in large-scale trafficking. Mallorcan women entrusted their money to merchants who negotiated in the south of the peninsula⁶⁵: for example, Jacomina, married to the Italian merchant Guioto Asbergueri, invested in orders that were to be negotiated in Seville. The seizure of the Majorcan vessel from her partner, Osbert Dast, by corsairs from Ceuta, caused Jacomina to put forward a claim for damages. The proceedings, which took place in 1300, tell us how three years earlier Mallorcan and Genoese merchants from Seville, including Dast, were detained in the port of Salé. The loss of the Arrás textiles and gold doblas, goods in which Jacomina's order had to invest, generated considerable damages to the entrepreneur. At the same time, it is recorded that, in the city on the banks of the Guadalquivir, the Majorcan Miguel Vilagne had to negotiate the 20 fig baskets, valued at 7 pounds, 3 *sueldos jaqueses*, which were entrusted to him by Gerarda.

Others were active on the Maghreb coast. In Honaine, in 1341, the wives of Mallorcan merchants delivered considerable quantities to a Mallorcan, Pere de Puigmalver⁶⁶. Also, in the Moroccan Atlantic in 1349, Blanca, both a sister and wife to merchants, invested 150 pounds in an order that was to be negotiated by Francesc Angeli on the trip he was to make to Nife. Sancha delivered a consignment of fabrics to Guillem Mel, with a value of 187 pounds, so that he could manage them in Arcila. Mel's death and the subsequent reclamations of Sancha to the deceased's business partners have left us a detailed account of the terms of the agreement.

62. M. Barron, Caroline. "The 'golden age' of women" ...: 35-58.

63. Lee, John S. *Cambridge and its economic region, 1450-1560*. Cambridge: Corpus Christi College (PhD Dissertation), 2000. 27 October 2021. <<https://www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/244689>>.

64. Kowaleski, Maryanne; Bennett, Judith M. "Crafts, Gilds, and Women in the Middle Ages: Fifty Years after Marian K. Dale". *Signs*, 14/2 (1989): 474-501.

65. Ortega, Antonio. "El trabajo femenino en Mallorca" ...: 464-465.

66. Tudela, Luis. "Les dones dels mercaders" ...: 232.



As far as the market of Barcelona is concerned, the study of the shipping licences granted for the export of *coses vedades* shows that at the start of the 15th century, three women were granted authorised permits. Elisenda, the wife of merchant Jaume Texender, sent arms to Valencia; Eulàlia, married to Arnau Serra, delivered knives to Tarragona; and Sança, married to Jaume de Vic, exported salted sardines to Colliure⁶⁷. These are sporadic but significant examples of married women participating in the commercial world without the intermediation of their husbands. According to the mercantile orders gathered from an examination of Barcelona's notarial protocols, we see investments made by women in trips not only mid-range but also long distances (see annexe 1). The absolute data greatly puts into perspective the true incidence of female partners from the total obtained: 116 mentions out of 3,625, which means a presence of 3.2%⁶⁸. An undeniable minority, which echoes the findings in the document issued by Francesc Salavert and Guillem Queralt on March 1, 1415, in which 58 associates were listed for a trip to Constantinople and Romania, only one of which was a woman: Caterina, wife of Gerardo di Doni⁶⁹. The frequency of mercantile commands made by women over time is summarised in Illustration 1.

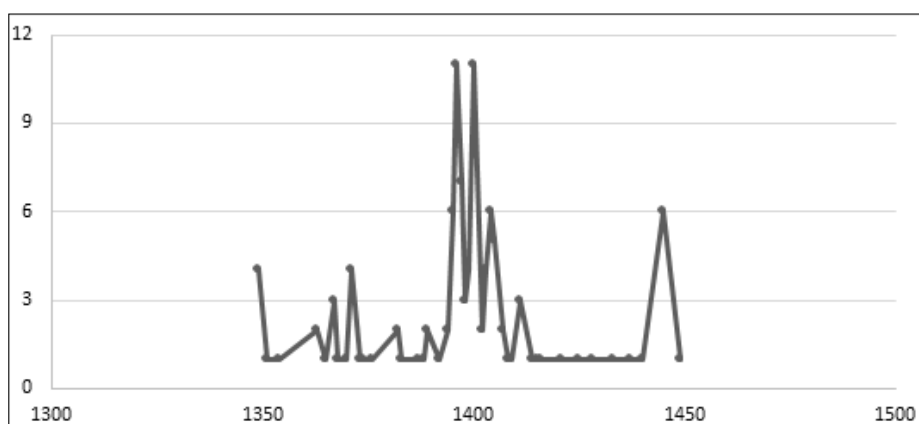


ILLUSTRATION 1. FREQUENCY OF MERCANTILE COMMANDS MADE BY WOMEN OVER TIME. DATA USED TO PRODUCE THE GRAPH ARE PROVIDED IN THE APPENDIX. ILLUSTRATION PROVIDED BY THE AUTHORS.

67. Frago, Pilar; López, María Dolores. "Barcelona i el comerç mediterrani i atlàntic a partir de les llicències de navegació (1400-1410)", *XIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó. El regne privatiu de Mallorca i la Mediterrània*. Palma de Mallorca: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics: III, 183; Cuadrada, Coral; López, María Dolores. "A la Mediterrània medieval: les societats mercantils a la Corona d'Aragó (s. XIV)". *Universitas Tarraconensis*, 10 (1991): 83.

68. Polonio, Gloria. *Exportación e importación en y desde el Mediterráneo en la Baja Edad Media. Mercaderes, mercancías y rutas comerciales (1349-1450)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2012. 27 September 2021. <<https://www.tdx.cat/handle/10803/80611>>.

69. Polonio, Gloria. *Exportación e importación...*: 456-457.



The data contained in the graph are highly revealing and reflect the adverse situation that women entrepreneurs had to face in Barcelona in the early fifteenth century. In 1402, the municipal authorities of the city banned women from managing textile workshops, a situation that particularly affected widows⁷⁰. Vinyoles and Muntaner conclude that these coercive measures were effective, arguing that there was a decrease in the number of documented reports referring to the involvement of women in the business world from the first years of the 15th century onwards. One year later, Martín el Humano's issued a decree, appearing in the *Furs de València*, making it impossible for women to work as merchants, cabalera, moneychangers, or draper, positions which were traditionally held by men⁷¹. The mercantile orders shown in the chart confirm this tendency: the most accentuated vertices appear around 1400, before falling dramatically.

Mercantile behaviour similar to that shown in Barcelona is documented in the markets of Genoa and Venice⁷²; likewise in Famagusta where in 1294, the widow Lionor ordered investments in Armenia, Anatolia, and Tabriz; Isabella sold slaves, just like Margarita, a widow living in Nicosia, who sent a slave to Zaragoza after receiving a hundred peasants. Others move important amounts of money —Donna Shiva of Tabaria; Donna Lis, wife of the Genoese Giacomo Porcus de Branducio; Donna Isabella, married to Ansaldo de Sexto; and Agnesia, daughter of Ruggero Carri of Nicosia and wife of Antonio de Coronato⁷³.

3.6. Merchandise and goods management

Negociorum gatrix —this is how Ramón de Torrellas, a lawyer in Zaragoza, defined the role of his wife, Juana de Altarriba, who was appointed procurator and guarantor of the family estate on behalf of his young children⁷⁴. *Regidora de mercaderias* is the name given to Tolosana, widow of the Jew, Benvenist de la Caballería⁷⁵. Both these titles appear in the documentation in reference to the women in charge of maintaining the family estate. These females were following the strategies that allowed them to achieve a certain status: managing the business, collecting the sums owed in the name of the children, and looking

70. Vinyoles, Teresa; Muntaner, Carme. "Affari di donne a Barcellona"....: 181.

71. Iradiel, Paulino. "Familia y función económica de la mujer en actividades no agrarias", *La condición de la mujer en la Edad Media*, Yves-René Fonquerne, ed. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1986: 255; Vinyoles, Teresa; Muntaner, Carme. "Affari di donne a Barcellona".... : 179-180.

72. Petti Balbi, Giovanna. "Forme di crédito femminile: osservazioni introduttive", *Dare crédito alle donne. Presenze femminile nell'economia tra medioevo ed età moderna*, Giovanna Petti Balbi, Paola Guglielmotti, eds. Asti: Centro Studi Renato Bordone sui lombardi, sul credito e sulla banca, 2012: 9-24.

73. Özkutlu, Seyit. *Medieval Famagusta: socio-economic and socio-cultural dynamics (13th to 15th Centuries)*. Birmingham: University of Birmingham (PhD Dissertation), 2014: 184-187. 27 September 2021. <<https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/6111/>>.

74. De la Torre, Sandra. "Mujeres de la élite de negocios de Zaragoza": 209-210.

75. De la Torre, Sandra. "Mujeres de la élite de negocios de Zaragoza": 210.



after their own interests. They were reluctant to marry again, especially if there were children, and many of them were named beneficiaries in their husband's will. These women were powerful enough to request that their husband's former business associates explain accounts that they considered dubious. This is the case of María Pérez de Salas, widow of the merchant Antón del Corral who, in 1443, requested the presence of her husband's business partner, the merchant Zaragoza, Pedro Cerdán, in order to clarify the state of the accounts⁷⁶.

In the sphere of activities developed by Catalan and Aragonese companies, a complex world is outlined in which women assume a decisive and fundamental role. Angelina Sessalls and Altadona de Mora, the wives of Beltrán de Coscó and Juan Donsancho —two clear exponents of Zaragoza's elite— have the full confidence of their husbands, carry out supporting and complementary work within the business, and act as their spouses' procurators⁷⁷. Altadona has no surviving children. The Sancho-Mora family did not have any descendants to whom the surname and the patrimony could be passed on⁷⁸, a situation that differed from that experienced by the Coscó-Sessalls family. Angelina, financial agent and guardian of her four children —Luis, Bernat, Constanza and Eulalia— was forced to take the economic reins of the family following the death of her husband. Her husband granted her considerable power through the will he left behind. He trusted in her ability, to the detriment of the men of the lineage, such as her sons-in-law, Ramon Mur, general representative of the kingdom of Aragon, and Juan de Moncayo, servant to the king. He considered his wife the best option, trusting her ability, not only to maintain the lineage but also to strengthen it. She is responsible for taking control, managing, reshaping, and adapting the company to the new situation⁷⁹, including the administration of its participation in Bernat Ninot's and Nicolau de Biota's companies.

These women intrude onto the pages of the notary documentation, sometimes already married, sometimes following the death of the husband, buying, selling, renting, managing money, and often acting in their own name, even as procurators⁸⁰. Fortuny de Manariello, a merchant from Barcelona, although of Aragonese origin, trusted his wife, Agnès, whom he appointed as his procurator, to represent him and claim and receive the sums owed to him⁸¹. And it is Agnès who, with her husband's approval, appointed first Joan de Torralba, then the royal porter Antoni Estaper, as procurators to manage and sell the assets inherited by

76. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza...*: 434.

77. De la Torre, Sandra. *Grandes mercaderes de la Corona de Aragón en la Baja Edad media. Zaragoza y sus mayores fortunas mercantiles, 1380-1430*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2018: 110.

78. Mainé, Enrique. *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza. La oligarquía zaragozana en la Baja Edad Media (1370-1410)*. Saragossa: Universidad de Zaragoza – CEMA, 2006: 50.

79. Mainé, Enrique. *Ciudadanos honrados de Zaragoza...*: 197-209; De la Torre, Sandra. "Mujeres de la élite de negocios"....: 210-213; De la Torre, Sandra. *Grandes mercaderes de la Corona de Aragón...*: 120-128.

80. García Herrero, María del Carmen. *Las mujeres en Zaragoza...*: 429.

81. AHPB, 58/14, f. 83r (Barcelona, 22 April 1395).



the Barcelona citizen Bernat Canals, a civil servant of the royal treasury linked to the courts, who had been appointed universal heir by her husband⁸². Torralba and Estaper were responsible for the management of the business in Barcelona. In Zaragoza, Agnès appoints other procurators: Salvador de la Foz, Joan de les Ceyles⁸³, and Miquel Duran, a priest of Santa Maria del Portell. Foz and Ceyles had to demand a deposit order of 100 florins, which belonged to Bernat de Canals⁸⁴, from Mirra, a Jew widowed to Alazaris Galluf, a relative of the teacher Jusef Almali and his son Jaffuda Almali. Agnès not only acted on behalf of her husband, but she also invested in the sale of censuses: in 1426 she is recorded as having received from the Barcelona merchant Antoni Bertran, 100 pounds of the 120 owed to her for the sale of a dead census of 150 *sueldos jaqueses*⁸⁵. Also, Bartolomé Fortuny de Manariello, a relative of Bertran, trusts his wife, Eulalia, and appoints her as his procurator to claim all debts and deposits that he has pending during a period of three years⁸⁶.

The examples published by Martín Romera⁸⁷, dated at the end of the 15th century and the first years of the following century, show enterprising women, from the small town of Almagro in the countryside of Calatrava, with proven expertise in the textile business. This is the case of Mari Prieta, who first married Antón de Villa Real, and then after being widowed, married Juan de Villa Real; the widow Elvira Alonso; and Mari Franca, married to the merchant Juan de Pisa. There is also evidence of women with experience as financiers. Aldonza de Pisa was a guarantor with her own assets from her husband Pedro Diaz Franco and his partners in the lease of several alcabala royal taxes. Juana Garcia was a widow of a member of the influent mercantile Pisa family. Pedro Caballero's widow Beatriz Gonzalez risked her capital by acting as guarantor for several businessmen from Almagro.

Women were also involved in the manufacture of goods, performed at home and sometimes helped by their daughters. Two women, Elena and Caterina, set up a company in Milan at the end of the 15th century where, for two years, they devoted themselves to the production and marketing of cotton *cuffie di cotone* hats. Male endorsement appears irrelevant. Neither Elena's husband nor the father of widow Caterina, interferes in the agreement between both partners who enjoy sufficient autonomy and financial capacity for their purposes⁸⁸.

82. AHPB, 130/01, ff. 20v-21r (Barcelona, 27 March 1417); AHPB, 130/01, f. 40r (Barcelona, 14 April 1414).

83. AHPB, 58/61, f. 6v (Barcelona, 8 November 1421).

84. AHPB, 58/63, f. 71v (Barcelona, 20 July 1424).

85. AHPB, 58/64, ff. 93r-94v (Barcelona, 16 April 1426).

86. AHPB, 165/26, f. 56r (Barcelona, 1454).

87. Martín Romera, María Ángeles. "Mujeres de mercaderes"....: 284-292.

88. Zanoboni, Maria Paola. "Milano 1481. Due donne imprenditrici". *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 81 (1997): 159-168.



María Asenjo⁸⁹ relates the case of a Segovian commercial company made up of fifteen partners, of which six were women. Among the women, there are four widows, two of whom are accompanied by their children. The other two females were single, presumably unmarried—one of whom is specifically the guardian and curator of the company. Similar cases can be found in Barcelona. In 1458, after the death of her husband—the *draper* Bernat Sarroca—Eulàlia decided to continue with the family business and invest her assets, of which she was the beneficiary, in a company with Jaume Gironella, also a *draper*. Caterina, married to the notable Bartomeu de Maçanet, a Mayor from Barcelona, and Eufrasina, wife of the honourable Galceran Salzet-Carbó participated as partners in this company. Both were the daughters of Eulàlia and heiresses of Sarroca. The three women decided to invest a considerable amount, 6,000 pounds, to which they added another 2,000 from Gironella. Two years later, in 1461, Caterina and Eulàlia increased their capital by 604 pounds and 11 *sueldos jaqueses*, while Gironella added another 550 pounds, raising the share capital to 9,150 pounds and 11 *sueldos jaqueses*⁹⁰.

4. Discussion

When men were absent, women, fully capable of running the family business, took on the roles of managing the enterprise, keeping the accounts, making purchases, looking after the apprentices, monitoring the factors and housekeeping. Information taken from account books, business letters, and notarial contracts, reveal how the wives and widows, and often daughters and mothers, were aware of the financial movements of their husbands, and actively participated in the management of their enterprises.

However, the increased involvement of women in the business world was unsettling and provoked a reaction from the male market sectors. This explains the coercive measures imposed by the city of Barcelona and the prohibition, promulgated by Martin of Aragon, of women exercising certain trades linked to mercantile business that was to only be carried out by men. All this occurred at the beginning of the 15th century.

Other analyses have shown that misogyny took hold in Catalonia in the 12th-13th centuries⁹¹, which could explain why it was more socially acceptable to have a widow running the family business in the 1200s than in later centuries⁹².

89. Asenjo, María. "Participación de las mujeres en las compañías comerciale"...: 223-234.

90. Carrère, Claude. *Barcelona 1380-1462. Un centre econòmic en època de crisi*. Barcelona: Curial, 1977: I, 548-549.

91. Cuadrada, Coral. "De las Feminae a las Fembres: la misoginia medieval en Cataluña y Provenza". *Medievalismo*, 25 (2015): 103-134.

92. Comas, Mireia. *Les dones soles...*: 240.



This happened not only in Barcelona, but also in Famagusta, Picardy⁹³, and many other places. The incipient male aversion to some activities carried out by women was undoubtedly encouraged by the traumatic psychological, personal, social, and institutional consequences, at every conceivable level, of the impact of the Black Death⁹⁴. It must be said that despite Cuadrada's very thorough study⁹⁵ of the effects of the plague, not everything was taken into account. We can highlight that this terrible experience also affected economic operations, especially its most relevant stratum: large-scale commerce and leading trade associations.

This does not mean that women of any marital status did not continue to manage their home—and with it their business. On the contrary. It is important to remember that marriage was conceived as an enterprise and, therefore, it was the will of both him and her to take it forward. This implies that women's actions were not driven by today's perspective of practising a profession or undertaking but as a family responsibility. We might even dare to say that they found it more tiring and unpleasant to take care of the business than many of their other domestic tasks. What is today viewed as an achievement, or emancipation, was not so for the women of that era. Their worldview was considerably different from ours. They regarded motherhood as their primary function and those who did not embrace divine marriage.

Any other professional work that they performed was highly useful and indispensable to the smooth running of the family, but not as a personal fulfilment of any kind. As Howell rightly pointed out when showing the women of the 15th-century Colony in the import-export trade: "the evidence about the nature and extent of women's work in this kind of commerce was merely anecdotal"⁹⁶. Their presence in terms of percentage might have been anecdotal, but it was not anecdotal regarding their personal worth and competence. If they had not performed so well, their exercise would not have been forbidden. To them, we give our most sincere admiration and tribute.

93. Özkutlu, Seyit. *Medieval Famagusta...*; Wacha, Heather G. *La puissance du choix: women's economic activity in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Picardy, France*. Iowa: University of Iowa (PhD Dissertation), 2016. 30 October 2021. <<https://ir.uiowa.edu/fullharvest/index.32.html>>.

94. Cuadrada, Coral. *El llibre de la pesta*. Barcelona: Dalmau, 2012.

95. López, María Dolores. "Book review: Coral Cuadrada, *El llibre de la pesta*". *Acta/Medievalia*, 32 (2016): 661-669.

96. Howell, Martha C. *Women, production and Patriarchy in late Medieval cities*. Chicago-London: The University of Chicago Press, 1986: 137.



Appendix. Mercantile commands made by women: Gloria Polonio. *Exportación e importación en y desde el Mediterráneo en la Baja Edad Media. Mercaderes, mercancías y rutas comerciales (1349-1450)*. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona (PhD Dissertation), 2012.

Name	Civil status	Product	Journey	Year	Reference
Agnès	widow	olive	Cyprus-Rhodes-Candia	1349	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Liber</i> 1349, f.97v
Constantina	widow	silver	Beirut-Syria-Cyprus	1349	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Libre comú</i> 1349, f.16v
Siurana and Eulàlia	widow and daughter	wheat and money	Sicily	1349	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Libre comú</i> 1349, f.5r
Francesca	single	money	Sicily	1349	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Libre comú</i> 1349, f.5r
Francesca	widow	money	Journeys on land and sea	1351	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Libre comú</i> 1351, f.45r-45v
Francesca	spouse	common fund	Salt water and freshwater journeys	1354	AHPB, Jaume Ferrer, <i>Libre comú</i> 1354, f.21v-22r
Alamanda	spouse	money	Cyprus	1363	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.6v
Caterina	spouse	saffron	Cyprus	1363	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.7r
Benigna	spouse	barley	Valencia	1365	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.11r
Esther	widow	money	Empúries	1367	AHPB, Pere Pujol, <i>Manual</i> 1366, f.54v-54r



Elisenda	widow	money	Empúries	1367	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.16v-17r
Eulàlia	widow	cloth	Sicily	1367	AHPB, Pere Martí, <i>Libre comú</i> 1367, f. 13v-136r
Elisenda	spouse	money	Cyprus-Sicily	1368	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.25v
Eulàlia	spouse	money	Sicily	1370	AHPB, Felip Gombau, <i>Libre comú</i> 1370, f.28r
Francesca	spouse	two pieces of cloth	Sicily	1371	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.36v
Bruniselda	widow	six wool cloths / ginger and clove	Alexandria	1371	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.38v
J. Sagarra's wife	spouse	pepper and clove	Alexandria	1371	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.39r
Caterina	widow	common fund	Cyprus-Ephesus-Romania-Sicily	1371	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.40v
Isabel	spouse	common fund	Sicily	1373	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.50r
Elisenda	widow	common fund	Sicily	1374	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.57r-57v
Constança	spouse	wheat	Sicily	1376	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.71v
Agnès	widow	clove	Cyprus-Beirut	1376	AHPB, Jaume Ballester, <i>Manuale</i> 1363, f.70v
Elisenda	widow	slave	Romania-Beirut-Cyprus	1382	AHPB, Felip Gombau, <i>Manual</i> 1382, f.10r



Antònia	widow	3 wool cloths / wheat	Sicily	1382	AHPB, Felip Gombau, <i>Manual</i> 1382, f.22v
Caterina	widow	common fund	Sicily	1383	AHPB, Felip Gombau, <i>Manual</i> 1382, f.66r
Constança	spouse	pine nuts, gold and silk fabrics / wheat	Sicily	1387	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual</i> 1387, f.4v
Constança	spouse	clove / wheat	Sicily	1388	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual</i> 1387, f.62r
Francesca	widow	silver / sugar, scammony, gold dye, lacquer	Cyprus- Beirut-Alexandria	1389	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1388, f.32r
Guillemona	widow	Mechlinian laken cloth and a quilt	Flanders	1389	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1388, f.65r
Eulàlia	spouse	money	Sicily	1392	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual</i> 1392, f.97r
Francesca	spouse	Vervins cloth	Flanders	1394	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.27v-28r
Elionor	spouse	common fund	Cyprus-Beirut	1394	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.48r
Constança	widow	wool cloth	Naples	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.70v
Constança	spouse	silver / nutmeg	Beirut	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.61v
Elisenda	widow	ginger	Beirut	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.74r
Elionor	widow	common fund	Beirut	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.63v



Francesca	single	common fund	Beirut	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.83r
Gueraldona	widow	cloth, tin	Sicily	1395	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.90r
Francesca	widow	common fund	Naples	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.105r
Agnès	widow	common fund	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.119r
Clara	widow	clove	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.120v
Francesca	widow	common fund	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.131v
Berenguera	widow	pepper, clove	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.134r
Elionor	widow	wool cloths	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.144v-145r
Constança	spouse	silver dinars – the currency of Damascus	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.146r
Angelina	widow	silver	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.146v
Constança	spouse	silver	Beirut	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.146v
Elisenda	widow	saffron / lacquer, ginger, clove	Levante	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.129v
Agnès	spouse	chain mail, woollen fabric clothing	Sicily	1396	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.129v



Elisenda	widow	common fund	Naples	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.151r
Clara	spouse	common fund / black slave	Sicily	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.165v
Constança	spouse	common fund	Cyprus-Beirut	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.172r-172v
Eulàlia	widow	three wool cloths	Cyprus-Beirut	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.164r
Eulàlia	widow	three wool cloths	Cyprus-Beirut	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.165r
Elionor	widow	bale of four wool cloths	Cyprus-Beirut	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.187r
Clara	spouse	common fund	Rhodes	1397	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1393, f.175r
Constança	widow	wool cloths / slaves	Sicily	1398	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f11v
Elionor	widow	wool cloths / lacquer, clove and ginger	Beirut	1398	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.29r
Elionor	widow	wool cloths	Beirut	1398	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f30v
Eulàlia	spouse	common fund	Rhodes	1399	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Manuala instrumentorum comunium</i> 1399, f.15v
Agnès	widow	common fund	Alexandria	1399	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Manuala instrumentorum comunium</i> 1399, f.44v



Francesca	widow	ginger, pepper and cotton	Alexandria	1399	HPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Manuala instrumentorum comunium</i> 1399, f.45v
Francesca	widow	olive	Alexandria	1399	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 48v
Elionor	widow	wool cloths	Sicily	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 59v
Eufràsia	widow	wax	Gaeta-Naples	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.65v
Berenguera	widow	pine nuts / pepper, linen and cotton	Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 72r
Agnès	widow	common fund	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 82r
Agnès	widow	silver / lacquer, clove, indigo	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 92r
Eulàlia	spouse	three wool cloths	Beirut-Sicily-Cyprus-Syria-Egypt	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 84v
Antígona	widow	wool cloths	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 93r
Francesca	widow	silver dinars – the currency of Damascus	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 91r
Angelina	spouse	silver dinars – the currency of Damascus / pepper	Beirut	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f 71v



Elionor	widow	goods	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.87r
Elionor	widow	silver dinars – the currency of Damascus	Beirut-Cyprus-Alexandria	1400	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.87r
Elionor	widow	wool cloths	Sicila-Calabria	1402	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.109v
Antígona	spouse	coral, furs, chamberpots	Alexandria	1402	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.113r
Eulàlia	grandmother	money / pepper	Alexandria- Beirut	1403	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.121r
Guillemona	widow	wool cloths / pepper, lacquer	Syria-Jaffa	1403	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1402, f.16r
Alamanda	widow	wool cloths / money	Caller-Sardinia	1403	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.124r
Bartomeua	widow	two cloths	Sicily	1403	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1402, f.37r
Eulàlia	spouse	pepper	Flanders	1404	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1402, f.49r
Eulàlia	widow	common fund	Cyprus-Beirut-Alexandria	1404	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.149r
Benvinguda	spouse	wool cloths	Sicily-Beirut	1404	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.154r
Caterina	widow	pepper	Cyprus-Beirut	1404	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.183r



Bartomeua	widow	wool cloths	Cyprus-Beirut	1404	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.2r
Anfígona	widow	common fund	Cyprus-Beirut	1404	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.184r
Eulàlia	widow	saffron / slave	Sicily-Jaffa-Candia	1405	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Secundus Liber comandarum</i> 1397, f.198r
Constança	widow	common fund	Rhodes-Alexandria	1405	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.15r
Clara	spouse	honey	Rhodes-Alexandria	1405	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.15v
Francesca	spouse	bale of six wool cloths / clove	Cyprus-Beirut	1405	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.21r
Caterina	spouse	aluminium / nutmeg	Cyprus-Beirut	1405	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.21r
Agnès	widow	cotton	Sicily-Rhodes-Cyprus-Beirut	1407	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.42r
Caterina	spouse	common fund	Alexandria	1407	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.45v
Constança	spouse	common fund	Alexandria-Beirut	1408	AHPB, Bernat Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum quintum</i> 1404, f.10r



Francesca	widow	olive / pepper and cinnamon	Alexandria	1409	AHPB, Arnau Lledó, <i>Liber quartus comandatarum de viagio</i> 1407, f.26v
Elisenda	widow	goods	Levante	1411	AHPB, <i>Documents mercaderies</i> 1400-1420.
Constança	spouse	wool cloths / pepper and cinnamon	Alexandria	1411	AHPB, Arnau Lledó, <i>Liber quartus comandatarum de viagio</i> 1407, f.34v
Francesca	widow	seven trumpets / pepper, clove and ginger	Sardinia-Sicily-Rhodes-Cyprus-Beirut-Alexandria	1411	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Tercium manuale comandatarum</i> 1406, f.76v
Beatriu	widow	coral, money / indigo, cinnamon and ginger	Rhodes-Beirut	1414	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Quartus liber manuale comandatarum</i> 1414, f.11r-11v
Beatriu	widow	wool cloths / lacquer, indigo, incense, ginger, pepper	Alexandria	1415	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Quartus liber manuale comandatarum</i> 1414, f.21v
Eulàlia	widow	hazelnuts, wool cloths / indigo, basil, ginger, clove	Rhodes-Cyprus-Beirut-Alexandria	1416	AHPB, Tomàs de Bellmunt, <i>Quartus liber manuale comandatarum</i> 1414, f.68r-68v
Caterina	widow	honey	Rhodes	1421	AHPB, Joan Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum comandatarum septimum</i> 1430, f.4v
Blanca	spouse	wool cloths / wheat, slave and ginger	Rhodes	1425	AHPB, Joan Nadal, <i>Manuale instrumentorum contractuum comandatarum septimum</i> 1430, f.19r-19v



Blanca	spouse	wool cloths / ginger, cinnamon, copper and pepper	Sicily-Rhodes-Constantinople	1428	AHPB, Bernat Sans, <i>Manual de comandes</i> 1428, f. 2r
Isabel	spouse	incense, ginger, ivory, cinnamon	Flanders	1433	AHPB, Pere Pau Pujades, <i>Manuale nomenum</i> 1433, f.52r-52v
Caterina	mother	silver	Tunisia	1437	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.16r
Felipa	spouse	six Frisian cloths	Rhodes-Alexandria	1440	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.43v
Beatriu	spouse	money exchange	Sicily-Rhodes-Alexandria	1440	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.45v
Elionor	spouse	cloths, escapolón	Naples-Sicily	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.49r
Eufràsia	widow	coral	Caller-Naples-Sicily-Rhodes-Alexandria	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.57v
Felipa	spouse	coral	Rhodes-Alexandria-Beirut-Damascus	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.52v
Elionor	spouse	teak haberdashery	Rhodes-Alexandria	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.54v
Elionor	spouse	coral	Rhodes-Alexandria	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.55r
Francesca	spouse	goods	Rhodes-Alexandria	1445	AHPB, Antoni Brocard, <i>Manuale comandarum</i> 1435, f.55r
Isabel	spouse	cloths and goods	Constantinople	1449	AHPB, Bernat Bastat, <i>Quintum manuale comune</i> 1449, f.27v-28r

