

## **A Genoese Perspective of the Third Crusade**

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The Genoese author of 'The Short History of the Kingdom of Jerusalem' relates the story of a Genoese ship that sailed into the harbour of Acre in the summer of 1187. It was not long after the battle of Hattin and rumours had already spread about the devastating results of the battle for the Christians: the deaths of hundreds of knights and the capture of the Holy Cross and the King of Jerusalem. As the ship entered the harbour, the sailors sensed that things were not as usual. They quickly realised that Acre, too, had been seized by Saladin. They feared for their fate but, luckily, a great nobleman, Marquis Conrad of Montferrat, was among the passengers.<sup>1</sup> When he saw a Muslim patrol boat approaching their ship, he warned the crew and his fellow passengers that no one should speak but him. He instructed the Muslim guards to sail back to shore and tell Saladin that the ship was full of Christians, 'and specifically Genoese merchants'. He then added that 'as soon as we heard of Saladin's victory, we came to his land safely and with trust; we pray and ask that he (Saladin) present us an arrow, as a token of trust.'<sup>2</sup> Conrad cunningly obtained Saladin's permission and saved the ship, which quickly turned back and sailed to Tyre in time to save the last Latin stronghold of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Conrad assumed command of the remaining forces and some of his Genoese companions stayed on to help him in the battle against Saladin.

Conrad's arrival signalled the beginning of the Frankish resistance and the establishment of a new leadership in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It also presented exciting opportunities for the adventurous knights who came to help. The limited forces that arrived joined the survivors of Hattin and refugees from Jerusalem and other cities;

together, they were to hold on for three more years until the arrival of the main contingents of the Third Crusade.

While the author of the chronicle clearly enjoyed telling the story of Conrad's first encounter with Saladin's forces, today's historians can appreciate an additional aspect of this episode. The battle between the Muslim and the Christians was a kind of medieval warfare in which merchants were able to play two roles simultaneously - trading with the Muslims while fighting them. Saladin authorised merchants' access to his territory and the continuation of trade. Did the Genoese merchants capitalise on this commercial opportunity? How did it reflect on their loyalties to the crusade and to the sustainability of the kingdom of Jerusalem? This paper focuses on the Genoese community during an unusual period in the history of Western European and Mediterranean societies. It makes particular use of a surprising number of commercial contracts that provide new perspectives on the Third Crusade as they emerge from the accounts of the people who were positioned at the backstage of the crusades.

Thousands of such contracts exist in the archives of Genoa and they enrich the historical sources of the Third Crusade. Among these documents are contracts and wills that were registered by the local notaries in their cartularies and later deposited in the city's archives. They provide an incomparable wealth of information about life at the time of the Third Crusade. While these documents are usually short, and rarely provide background information or explain the circumstances for each deed, when studied in large numbers and in the context of Genoa's general commercial activities, they provide a detailed picture. Furthermore, as they tell the stories of individuals, they reveal, between the lines of their wills and other legal documents, the fears and hopes of these crusaders and merchants. Three cartularies survive from the time of the Third Crusade, containing documents from January 1190 to April 1192. The documents were registered by the notaries Oberto Scriba da Mercato, Guglielmo Cassinese and Guglielmo di Sori.<sup>3</sup> Hundreds of deeds from this period mention the Kingdom of Jerusalem, or 'Ultramarè' as they called it.<sup>4</sup> Many documents in which Ultramarè is not mentioned are also relevant to this study because they provide information about the preparations for the

crusade in Genoa during this period. Through them, we may better understand Genoa's policies and plans, including those not specified in its official documents. For example, it will be demonstrated that, as part of its involvement in the planning of the crusade, in the year 1190, Genoa established a precedent – later followed by the Venetians during the Fourth Crusade - by committing its entire fleet to the purpose of the crusade. The popular reaction in Genoa to Saladin's defeat of the Latin forces was remarkably strong, and encompassed all social strata: all usual activities in politics and business were interrupted to come to the aid of the Latin kingdom.

It will be demonstrated that the charitable activities of individual Genoese formed part of their crusading activities, thus revealing a personal devotion that far surpassed mere compliance with the city's general policy. While many benefited from the commercial opportunities that opened on both sides of the battlefield, any attempt to polarise the motivations of the Genoese into either piety or profit would be a misinterpretation of the real nature of their conduct.

### ***Diplomatic efforts and military preparations for the crusade***

Genoa received early news of the Frankish defeat at the battle of Hattin in 1187.<sup>5</sup> Initial reports did not convey the full scale of what had happened, including the loss of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Genoese were determined and motivated: 'for the sake of God and piety not to let the land be subjugated by the Saracens,' and they assumed leading positions in the diplomatic activities necessary to organise aid and to plan a wide military response.<sup>6</sup> Among the first actions taken by the commune was to send Rosso della Volta to England to discuss the reaction to the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>7</sup> Based on the annals and chronicles of the time it was apparent that Rosso was one of Genoa's most experienced diplomats in eastern Mediterranean matters. He even met Saladin in Alexandria in 1177, when they concluded the terms of peace between Genoa and Egypt.<sup>8</sup> Rosso's mission to England was successful and was followed by another mission, in which two other senior diplomats were sent to France to attend the summit between the kings of England and France at the end of 1189. This was the

first of a trio of meetings in which the terms of the crusade were designed and finalised.<sup>9</sup> Rosso, who is mentioned in the French chronicles as the captain of King Philip's ships, continued to play a central role in this matter the following year.<sup>10</sup>

In Genoa, the preparations for the crusade lasted from 1187 until the departure of the first Genoese contingent in 1189, while cooperation with the French and the English forces continued until they sailed in 1190. As the management of commerce and shipping played a significant part in the preparations, evidence of commercial activities opens a small window onto this busy time. The notarial evidence, derived from intensive study of the cartularies, shows that Genoa secured its entire fleet for the crusade and withheld all major commercial activities, including ventures to all long-distance destinations.<sup>11</sup> Every year between March and May merchants registered their investments in planned commercial journeys, mainly to North African destinations - Ceuta, Bougie and Tunisia.<sup>12</sup> In the first half of 1190, no such commercial or military ventures were planned to any long distance destinations. The ships were kept in harbour or sent out on short circular routes to nearby destinations, such as Sardinia, Sicily, Marittima (south of Livorno, on the Maremma coast), Marseilles and even to Genoa's longstanding rival Pisa, following a temporary peace concluded for the sake of the crusade. This important success was credited to Pope Clement III who, as part of his own crusading efforts, pressured the maritime cities to put their conflict on hold. This aim was achieved, however, only after the Genoese destroyed Pisa's newly-built stronghold at Bonifacio in Corsica.<sup>13</sup>

Genoa saved its navy for the shipping of the French crusaders in the spring of 1190. The first wave of Genoese crusaders, however, sailed out in the autumn of 1189 and brought military help and supplies to the East in advance of the French and the English.<sup>14</sup> The early departure was perhaps also intended to free more space on the ships for the transportation of the French the following spring. These Genoese contingents were headed by some of the city's leading figures, including the troop commander and acting consul Guido Spinola, who later remained in the Latin East to re-establish and govern the local Genoese community, and to acquire vast legal and

commercial rights for the commune. In addition to Guido Spinola, the annals mention six other nobles who formed the Genoese leadership of the crusade: Nicola Embriaco, Fulcone da Castello, Simone Doria, Baldovino Guercio, Spezzapietra and Rosso della Volta. This very impressive list consisted of former consuls of the commune, highly respected diplomats and naval commanders. Their commercial activities are well recorded in the notarial archives and they often appear in the Genoese annals and in diplomatic acts. In addition to Rosso della Volta, whose activities in Egypt and England have already been mentioned, the former consul Fulcone da Castello was Rosso's brother-in-law and the commander of the Genoese fleet that fought the Pisans off the shores of Corsica in 1188.<sup>15</sup> Baldovino Guercio was another naval commander who acted as a senior diplomat in Constantinople on several occasions, before and after the Third Crusade.<sup>16</sup>

Many other citizens of Genoa - nobles, soldiers and infantry-, joined the Genoese leadership and took part in the military efforts in the Latin East. They were praised by Conrad of Montferrat in his charters of 1190 and 1192 in which he rewarded the commune with privileges and possessions in Tyre, a city in which Genoa had never possessed property before.<sup>17</sup> Similar commendations were repeated in letters of concession granted by Guy of Lusignan and Henry of Champagne.<sup>18</sup> This period was one of constant fighting under severe weather conditions and famine. Many nobles died, especially during the arduous siege of Acre, which lasted from the summer of 1189 to 1191.<sup>19</sup> Roger of Howden listed many of them by name but he did not include the Genoese nobles in his records, and we learn about the price they paid only indirectly. Two of the above mentioned leaders seem to have perished or perhaps were captured by the enemy. Nicola Embriaco and Spezzapietra, often mentioned in documents and annals prior to the crusade, were clearly absent in the years that followed it. Spezzapietra was a consul in 1182 and 1188, and Nicola Embriaco served as consul four times.<sup>20</sup> Another Genoese noble, an important merchant by the name of Rubaldo di Buontommaso, was in an Egyptian prison during the same period. The notarial documents show that his wife, Leona, had learnt about his imprisonment at the

beginning of 1192 and hastened to ransom him while the war was still being fought. She empowered a messenger to pay a large sum of money for her husband's release.<sup>21</sup> Rubaldo's name is absent from the records in later years, which suggests that the mission was most likely unsuccessful. When, a few years later, his grand-daughter Mabilia married Filippo Spezzapietra the contract gives details of the investment made with her dowry but says nothing about the crusade in which their relatives seem to have perished.<sup>22</sup> We see how the legal nature of most of the remaining sources from medieval Genoa left no room for storytelling or for the display of emotions.

Under the leadership of Guido Spinola the Genoese continued fighting in Acre and established a permanent base for the Genoese in Tyre, a community which enjoyed many commercial and legal privileges. At the same time the preparations in Genoa for the shipping of several thousand crusaders continued the following spring. In February 1190, at a ceremony attended by all six consuls of the commune in Genoa, as well as the city judges and another three dozen Genoese nobles, a contract was signed between Genoa and France.<sup>23</sup> King Philip of France, represented by Duke Hugh III of Burgundy, his closest ally in the organisation and launching of the crusade, agreed to a fee of nine marks of Troyes for the transportation of each knight with his two horses, escorted by two squires. Provisions included food for eight months and wine for four months. The consuls were paid 2000 silver marks in advance of the total fee of 5850 marks. The value of the mark was between 45s and 48s Genoese in this period, so that the advance payment for the 650 French knights they expected to come was between £4500 and £4800 Genoese.<sup>24</sup> This was a substantial amount of money,<sup>25</sup> but the investments required of the Genoese were sizable as well. For example, evidence shows that the value of one large ship built in Genoa on the eve of the Third Crusade amounted to £1920 Genoese.<sup>26</sup> It is not surprising to find in the French chronicles of the crusade praise for the Genoese for their hard work in preparation.<sup>27</sup>

For common people, nine marks or £20 5s Genoese was a large amount of money, well beyond their annual salary. The wages of professional people had not been much more than 2s a day, which is what Baudizio da Ripa, a professional caulker - a

skilled and dangerous occupation - received in 1191 to complete the work on a large crusader ship.<sup>28</sup> The mariners and sailors who went to the battle zone in Acre in 1191 were paid between £2.5 and £7 for the return journey, except for the captain who received £15 for navigating the ship.<sup>29</sup> The knights had many other expenses to take into account, such as the wages of their squires, their weapons and horses and many other additional travel costs. Some wealthy crusaders were escorted by a large number of people. The bishop of Liège, for example, brought with him an entourage of at least eight people, including his seneschal, chaplain, chamberlain, nephew and personal butler. By the end of his journey he was in such deep debt that he was forced to borrow 200 marks in Genoa to help him get back home, asking his staff to pledge for him as guarantors.<sup>30</sup>

We have additional evidence of preparations for the expedition in the winter of 1190: Many Genoese crusaders had sailed ahead of the French, and yet more ships were required. Groups of investors had signed detailed contracts with shipbuilders in which deadlines were specified to ensure that the vessels would be ready for the summer. For example, three shipowners had ordered 54 beams of beech tree (*serras de fago*) and an additional 20 oak plates (*quadrales quercus*) for their ship. Another contract detailed the work expected of the contracted carpenter.<sup>31</sup> The largest ship contracted was under construction in April 1190 in Finale Ligure, 52 km west of Genoa. A quarter of this vessel was sold for £480. The ship had two castles and other features that resemble the specifications made for crusader ships.<sup>32</sup> Other arrangements made by the French representatives included the order of a large amount of local wine for the king. The cartularies contain a contract signed with Mabilia Leccavella, a Genoese business woman, who promised to supply 13 barrels - thousands of litres of wine (*vegetes*), which she sold for a handsome profit.<sup>33</sup> Interestingly, although the crusade is not mentioned in the document itself, the contract was obviously related to it. Why else would the king of France buy Ligurian wine, and ask it to be ready for the time of his departure?

## **The delay in the embarkation on the crusade**

The bustling atmosphere in Genoa during these months of preparations was interrupted when it became clear that the proposed departure date was slipping. On 1 August 1190, King Philip Augustus finally entered Genoa escorted by the Duke of Burgundy and other barons and knights. He had already missed the favourable spring winds, and because he was taken ill he decided to remain in the city to recover until St Bartholomew's day on 24 August. King Richard I arrived even later, two weeks after Philip. His fleet entered the port of Genoa on 13 August. A ceremony was held in the city on that day, but King Richard did not stay in Genoa itself, preferring to rest at the picturesque Ligurian village at the Portofino bay.<sup>34</sup> Another month would pass before the kings met again in Messina. Shortly afterwards they decided that it was better to wait until the following spring to set sail, a decision that had great repercussions for business in Genoa. One such consequence was the unexpected registration of approximately thirty private contracts. Starting in July 1190, citizens of Genoa and other travellers and crusaders ventured to the kingdom of Jerusalem independent of the kings' fleet. It is not easy to distinguish between the roles that the Genoese assumed on these ventures when they travelled as merchants, shipowners, diplomats and crusaders, often combining these roles. As we will see in the following paragraphs, sons and relatives of the Genoese leaders of the crusade were among the investors and travellers in the late summer of 1190.

### ***The Role of the Genoese during the Crusade: Crusaders, Suppliers, Negotiators and Mediators***

The contracts signed in Genoa on the eve of the crusade in 1190 reflect the preparations required for such a complex venture involving a diverse group of travellers. They were written to protect the various interests of the individuals and groups taking part - namely, the crusaders, the merchants, the mariners as well as the bankers, investors

and shipowners. In the following paragraphs an attempt will be made to explain their respective perspectives, interests and concerns.

Few contracts were drawn by the crusaders themselves, but several records dictated by crusader travellers are of particular interest. Anselmo Burone (or Buxono), one of the Genoese crusaders in the expedition of 1190, drew up his last will prior to the departure. Amongst other things, he wrote that, in the event that he should die before embarking from Genoa, £10 Genoese be bequeathed to Simone Vento to support Simone's travel to the Latin East (*ad suum pasare (sic) de Ultramare*).<sup>35</sup> Since Simone was one of the two commanders of the Genoese forces, this money was actually bequeathed for the crusade.<sup>36</sup>

From the crusaders' point of view, one positive outcome of the delay was that they were able to reduce the price of their journey. Thus, several days after the arrival of King Philip Augustus, two Genoese shipowners, Lanfranco Malfigliastro and Ansaldo Mallone agreed to transport Guacher, lord of Salins and his thirteen knights for the reduced fee of eight-and-a-half marks per knight.<sup>37</sup> The contract repeated the conditions of the general contract between France and Genoa, with one important addition: the destination was spelled out more precisely, being either Acre or Tyre, depending on the crusaders' decision. This clause was added to reduce misunderstandings or potential tensions between the crusaders and the captain or the travelling merchants. Sixty years later, in 1250, an argument between shipowners and crusaders concerning the route and the ports of destination was adjudicated in the court of Messina.<sup>38</sup>

The shipowners Lanfranco Malfigliastro and Ansaldo Mallone also signed a contract with the mariners who joined this venture.<sup>39</sup> Here, we find another unusual clause, which specified, presumably at the crew's request, that the return trip from the Latin East be limited to ports in Christian territory. Did the mariners have a particular concern in mind? It seems unlikely that they should have been worried about travelling to destinations in the Almohad realm because Ceuta, Bougie and Tunisia maintained their popularity among the Genoese as commercial destinations even at the time of the crusades. More likely, they preferred to avoid the Egyptian port of Alexandria, as many,

though not all, Genoese merchants did for as long as the war lasted. In previous years we find about a dozen contracts to Alexandria in each cartulary. Twice in 1184, in March and September, merchants set out from Genoa to Alexandria; some went via Sicily, while others sailed first to Ceuta or Tunisia or to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>40</sup> The shipowner Enrico Nepitella was a frequent visitor in Alexandria. In September 1184 he warned the merchants on his ship that he might sell the vessel in Alexandria.<sup>41</sup> In 1186 a merchant who travelled to Ceuta planned to meet Enrico in Alexandria.<sup>42</sup> Interestingly, between 1190 and 1192 there are no records of Enrico's own international ventures. Enrico Napitella and other Genoese merchants who left their destinations unspecified in the contracts may, however, have travelled to Alexandria without making it a binding commitment in their legal contracts. There is only one document from 1190 in which a returning merchant mentions his visit to Alexandria, post factum, and several documents of 1191 explicitly excluded Alexandria, suggesting that it may have still been visited by others. News coming from captives in Alexandria and evidence of the first merchant who was sent there from Genoa in 1192 are further evidence of continued communication and commercial interaction, as will be discussed below.

## Supplies

In addition to human resources, the Genoese ships that sailed to Acre and Tyre between 1189 and 1192 brought supplies on board. There was, in fact, particular urgency in getting food to the crusaders following a period of famine in the Levant. The first evidence of Genoese food sent to Franks and crusaders is found in the cartulary of Oberto Scriba from January 1190. At the beginning of that winter, after the first wave of Genoese crusaders had been transported to the Tyre, returning ships brought news of the food shortage. There are many detailed and lengthy descriptions of the hunger and suffering of the Christians in the *Itinerarium*. The titles of some of the chapters described the harsh situation: 'perishing with hunger, our people devour the corpses of their horses' (ch. 67); 'even noblemen steal when they cannot afford to buy bread' (ch. 73); 'the starving... die from drinking wine' (ch. 76).<sup>43</sup> The full description of the grave

circumstances covered several pages, and also mentioned the arrival of Italian supply-ships, including one full of grain that provided some relief.<sup>44</sup> There is a story in the same narrative about an avaricious Pisan merchant who hid large quantities of grain in his house in expectations of greater profit later on in the year. The merchant was miraculously punished when fire burnt down his house.<sup>45</sup> The Genoese cartularies from the years 1190 to 1192 repeatedly noted merchants who purchased wheat and barley and shipped it to Ultramar. In the case of the first supply ship, whose venture was planned in January 1190, the Genoese shipowner Bernardo Riccio had drafted a contract with two mariners from the neighbouring communities of Noli and Camogli.<sup>46</sup> The ship itself was berthed not in Genoa, but in the port of Gaeta, possibly because Genoa sought to keep its own ships for the French crusaders. The entire crew had agreed to assemble in Gaeta and thence sail to Sardinia to buy grain and ship it to the Levant. Each mariner was promised wages of 14 besants (nearly £5 Genoese) and the right to ship 10 *minas* of wheat or barley. Bernardo promised to pay part of the salary in Sardinia, presumably so that they could purchase the grain they wanted to ship. Bernardo signed a similar contract with Ansaldo di Sori, a more professional seaman, possibly even the captain, judging by his wages. Bernardo promised to pay him 20 besants and allow him to carry 20 *minas* of wheat or barley for him. Finally, Bernardo also agreed that, if for any reason the ship remain in Ultramar during the summer, Ansaldo would be allowed to take his leave and depart on another ship.<sup>47</sup> Both contracts include the condition discussed previously, that the return journey would be to whatever Christian land the ship-captains selected. This specification of 'Christian land' in the terms of the contracts was the only indication that the planned journey took place under exceptional conditions.

Seamen were often paid half their wages before departing from Genoa, probably so that they could invest the money in commodities.<sup>48</sup> This particular allocation of space on the ship for grain, however, can be understood in light of the severe food shortage in the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was an opportunity for the seamen to achieve both goals: assist the crusaders and make extra profit. This is an example of how crusade and

commerce could be integrated. Indeed, there is evidence that other Genoese merchants invested large amount of money in the purchase of grain at that time, some explicitly to ship it to the Latin East. One such case involved two women, Ricomanna and her daughter Agnese, who invested £20 each in the shipping of grain.<sup>49</sup> As there is no evidence that either of them was otherwise engaged in this trade, it is quite likely that this may have been their way of providing help and support for the crusaders. This hypothesis is supported by a will written at the time by Agnese's newlywed husband, Guglielmo Gallo, who bequeathed £7.5 'for the service of God and Ultramare', thus revealing his concern for the fate of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.<sup>50</sup>

There are several other cases of Genoese merchants who allocated profit or commodities to help the crusade. For example, in 1191 the Genoese merchant Guido Bonaventura carried with him a substantial amount of money - £411 Genoese - to Sicily. Guido was given various instructions concerning this investment but he could also make his own choices, especially with respect to his travel route and destinations. One explicit request of his business associate Ruggero Noxenno was that £20 should be used 'for the service of God and Ultramare'.<sup>51</sup> As mentioned above, in several cases, people mentioned the Kingdom of Jerusalem in their wills and the notaries employed standard phrases to this effect. A similar formula used in such bequests was that the money be used *in recuperare Terram Ultramaris*.<sup>52</sup> Such phrases and bequests are commonly found in wills written during later crusades in the thirteenth century,<sup>53</sup> and appear alongside other charitable bequests, such as donations to hospitals and the building of bridges and churches. The wide range of donations to the Third Crusade, and especially the shipping of supplies, demonstrate the heightened public concern for crusading goals, as expressed through their involvement in the preparation and progress of the campaign.

Many Genoese citizens, including merchants, travellers, seamen and crusaders benefited from the Third Crusade. Mabilia, the wine merchant, was one of many. Other examples included relatives of the crusade leaders who engaged in trade in Tyre between the years 1190 and 1192. For example, three brothers of the Spinola family

sailed to the Levant in August 1190 carrying an investment of £897 Genoese.<sup>54</sup> The extensive privileges secured for the Genoese in Tyre by Guido Spinola must have played a considerable role in their commercial plans.<sup>55</sup> The rivalry between Conrad of Montferrat and Guy of Lusignan allowed some Genoese nobles and businessmen to create and capitalise on new opportunities.<sup>56</sup> The most remarkable case was that of Ansaldo Bonvicino, who accompanied Conrad of Montferrat from Constantinople in 1187 and stayed on to assist him in the defence of Tyre. Conrad appointed him castellan of Tyre and granted him property.<sup>57</sup> Another Genoese noble who benefited from the situation was Marino Rocia whom Conrad granted a house in Tyre in recompense for his 'good service and great fidelity.'<sup>58</sup> Both men linked their future with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem when they decided to permanently settle in Tyre.<sup>59</sup>

### **Mediators and negotiators**

Genoese also played a significant role during the crusade as negotiators or mediators especially in the case of ransom and exchange of captives. An interesting anecdote found in *The Continuation of William of Tyre* mentions that in 1187 Latins who surrendered in Gaza, Ascalon and Jerusalem were brought to Alexandria under Saladin's special protection and were given his word that they would not be sold into slavery. According to the chronicler, they were fed and carefully protected by the governor of Alexandria throughout the following winter. 38 foreign ships were berthed in Alexandria at that time, most of them Italian: Venetian, Pisan and Genoese. In March 1188, when the captains were about to depart, the governor of Alexandria summoned them and proposed that they took the poorer captives with them. They declined at first, claiming that these people were too impoverished to pay for their own provisions, let alone the transport fee. The governor, appalled by their merciless attitude towards their Christian brothers, insisted and in the end he even agreed to provide the food for these passengers on condition that they be taken care of and brought to safety in Christian land. He further threatened the captains that if he should learn that they did not honour their word, he would 'seize the merchants of your land who come to this country'.<sup>60</sup>

Evidence of refugee presence in Genoa is almost nonexistent in the sources. One exception is a contract registered by a family who were either travellers or refugees. In this deed, of 8 April 1190, a certain *Magdala* of Jerusalem and her son *Wuilielmus* appointed another son named *Martinus* to travel to the Latin East and deliver a large sum of money, £370 Genoese, to his three siblings: his sister *Adalaxia* and his two brothers *Iohannes* and Symon in Ultramare.<sup>61</sup> He presumably hoped to find his brothers and sister amongst the refugees that Balian of Ibelin had managed to rescue at the end of the siege of Jerusalem in 1187, and whom he later escorted to Tyre and Tripoli.<sup>62</sup> As we will see in the following paragraphs, this sum would have sufficed to ransom them.

In the spring of 1191 Genoa's merchants resumed their travels on some of the peace-time trade-routes including the North African Almohad cities. Alexandria, however, was explicitly excluded from many merchants' destination-lists, including those of ships departing for Sicily, Naples and Bougie, as well as the kingdom of Jerusalem. While the travel instructions of this period often included permission for ships to continue their ventures in all destinations, these contracts specifically excluded Alexandria.<sup>63</sup> Alexandria reappeared as an explicit destination in travellers contracts only in January 1192; the crusade would not end for another eight months, yet exceptional circumstances led to this revival of contact:<sup>64</sup> Leona, the wife of Rubaldo di Buontommaso, acting under emergency conditions, had sought to rescue her husband from Egyptian imprisonment. This unique document begins with an explanatory statement, a rare phenomenon in such contracts, explaining that it was written 'because it is believed that Rubaldo di Buontommaso is in prison in the region of Alexandria'. While this may be an apologetic note, the contract elaborates no further. It is also not known who brought Leona this news from her husband. Leona then commissioned Ansaldo da Castello to pay 200 besants, a very substantial sum, to ransom her husband, authorising him to double it if her husband should instruct him to do so. She also promised to pay Ansaldo's travel expenses to Alexandria, apparently via Marseille.<sup>65</sup> There are no means to estimate how many other Genoese were able to cross the lines and transfer information and money between the Christians and the Muslims. The

restrictions in the contract on travel to Alexandria do not suggest that all merchants avoided the Egyptian seaport; if so, no preclusion would have been needed. Rather, it would seem that in times of war merchants were granted even greater freedom of action and trusted to make the right decision in the best interest of their investors and their commercial partners.

### ***The Aftermath of the Crusade and its Impact:***

On 2 September 1192 a truce was signed between Saladin and Richard I that officially ended the Third Crusade.<sup>66</sup> One month later, King Richard, together with his knights and soldiers, embarked on their ships and began their long journey home.<sup>67</sup> From Genoa's perspective, the departure of King Philip II in the summer of 1191 held more significance than the date of the truce for two reasons: first, the liberation of Acre implied the restoration of Genoa's commercial privileges in this important city and, secondly, because they were in charge of the transportation of the King Philip's army back to Europe.

Genoese merchants and crusaders at the time of the Third Crusade were at the heart of great changes, which affected life in the Mediterranean in many ways. It has been long demonstrated that these were critical years for the commercial and technological revolution of the Middle Ages.<sup>68</sup> As a result of the crusade, Genoa underwent major political transformations while its commercial world changed and expanded.

With the absence of many leading figures, including the city's consuls, on crusade the commune resolved to appoint its first *podestà*. This individual was an elected governor, a citizen of another city, who was invited to rule Genoa for a limited period of time in exchange for a substantial salary. At the height of civil strife in the city, this solution proved to be very effective. The *podesteria* was one of the main reasons for Genoa's economic prosperity in the years that followed.<sup>69</sup> The first *podestà*, Manigoldo Tetocio of Brescia, who governed during the time of the Third Crusade, was highly commended in the Annals for his efficient governance of the city and his ability to

maintain order. In the year 1192 the consular system was re-introduced, but it was not easy for these men to keep the peace and both internal and external conflicts quickly resumed after the crusade. The renewed hostility between Genoa and Pisa demanded much attention, while in the streets of Genoa itself internal fights became even more violent and more devastating as a result of the introduction of a new war-machine, the *bolzone*, a powerful wooden weapon bow, which was now used to fight at home. The della Volta family led a series of attacks on the Bellobruno clan, while the two families set fire to each other's compounds, using such machines to destroy their enemies' houses and towers.<sup>70</sup>

Naval commanders who excelled during the Third Crusade were acknowledged and rewarded. Margarito of Brindisi, admiral of the Sicilian fleet, who came to rescue the Latin East in 1187 with 200 galleys, later became the first count of Malta.<sup>71</sup> His own successor was the Genoese pirate, Guglielmo Grasso; he, in turn, was succeeded by Enrico Pescatore, also known as Count Henry of Malta.<sup>72</sup> In both medieval and modern literature we find an ambiguous treatment of pirates who on some occasions were valiant heroes, while on others they were feared and despised.<sup>73</sup>

At the time of the Third Crusade, and in the decade that followed it, piracy entered its 'Golden Age' and began to play a dominant role in the international world of power and prestige.<sup>74</sup> The pirates, with their small independent fleets, were able to provide faster assistance to the Latin East than many institutionalised powers. Guglielmo Grasso, for example, had collaborated with a Pisan pirate during the Third Crusade. Together they launched an attack on the ship in which Saladin sent a fragment of the Holy Cross to Constantinople. Bringing the Holy Cross to Genoa was perceived as a heroic moment for the whole city.<sup>75</sup> The Third Crusade proved that these ferocious pirates were also faithful Christians and Genoese patriots who could be relied on in moments of crisis. For them, it was a unique opportunity to jump up the social ladder from its very bottom to the top ranks of the nobility.

While, for the most part, life returned to normal, the Third Crusade did create a lasting legacy. New commercial relations formed between Genoa and England that

would prosper for centuries afterwards. Aboard the crusader ships from England were English merchants with their merchandise, including some Jewish merchants. One of them, *Abram de Stanforti* was a particularly interesting case, as a large number of the Jews of Stamford had been massacred in the spring of 1190 by the English crusaders on the eve of their departure.<sup>76</sup> In the absence of any other documentation, one can only wonder how they ended up sailing together on the same ships. Certain English commodities, especially Stamford threads, are often mentioned in the Genoese documents from the time of the Third Crusade onwards. There is evidence of professional exchange during the years of the crusade, exchange which evolved further in the next century when the Genoese were given the right to an independent quarter in Southampton.<sup>77</sup>

It is interesting to consider who profited most from the crusade. It has been claimed that every aspect of Genoa's commercial activity profited from St Louis' crusade in 1248 to 1254.<sup>78</sup> The same may be said about the Third Crusade. Genoa as a city, as well as its individual merchants, benefited from the growing demand for its commodities and leading to expansion of its commercial horizons; for example, in its trade with England. Shipowners and even sailors were able to draw significant profit from trade in a large variety of goods, including grain, alcohol and weapons in addition to the usual merchandise. Some of the Genoese warriors and settlers obtained property and fame, and the commune acquired unprecedented privileges in the major cities along the shorelines of the Latin East. While wars often provided opportunities for the Italian merchants seeking privileges in commercial sea-port cities in the Mediterranean, it seems that the Third Crusade was especially rewarding for the Genoese.<sup>79</sup> The greatest profits were made by the bankers who were able to lend money to the crusaders and the pilgrims on their way east, as well as to some of the unfortunate individuals who lost all they had and needed financial help on their way back home. Bishop Raoul of Liège was among those who had to borrow money on his way back to cover his 'great expenses and loss of money' overseas.<sup>80</sup> In June 1191 the Genoese banker Nicola Blondo lent the poor bishop a large amount of money for his travel - 200

silver marks. It may be useful to compare this sum with the 9 marks that the Genoese asked for the transportation and provisions of a knight accompanied by two squires and a pair of horses. One of the clauses of the contract between them specified that this loan was to be repaid by August in the land of the count of Flanders '*in seculare loco*'. Sea-loans were given to all destinations, and the bankers and merchants accepted all the usual currencies.<sup>81</sup>

While the bishop of Liège returned from his journey much poorer than when he left, it is impossible to estimate how much other people lost as a result of the Third Crusade. Did the collection of the Saladin tithe make the lives of people in western Europe ten percent worse than it was previously? Can one estimate how much was gained due to the absence of the kings from Europe and from the peace imposed in western Europe during the crusade?

Genoa was one of the Third Crusade's main crossroads for moving crusaders, merchants, supplies and substantial sums of money. The city had benefited greatly from this expedition. Some of these advantages cannot be easily substantiated because they included matters such as the form of citizens' identity, the experience gained and the lessons learnt from the encounter with different cultures, languages, religions and customs. In other words, the profit is the sum of what people gain from travels under extreme situations of war, death, captivity, illness and hunger. These experiences influenced their identities and redefined their hopes and fears. Some of the Genoese encountered in this paper found new homes in the Latin East, making new alliances and rising to power. The leaders of the Kingdom of Jerusalem encouraged their enthusiasm and offered a variety of exciting opportunities, perhaps similar to those that so attracted the first crusaders who had settled in the Holy Land after fulfilling their vows. Higher social status, wealth and, perhaps, the joy of risk and adventure that could only be weighed against what they had been familiar with back home. Some met the challenge and faced it willingly, while others turned back to tell their stories from the safety of their daily routines at home. Through this study of scattered evidence found in numerous notarial documents from Genoa of the time of the Third Crusade, we have

obtained some insight into the meaning of this crusade to many such people of various nationalities and social ranks who lived in Genoa or passed through the city during those years - those who risked their lives *and* wealth in order to save the Latin East.

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<sup>1</sup> *Regni hierosolymitani brevis historia*, in Caffaro, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori: dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, ed. Luigi T. Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Genoa and Rome, 1890-1929), (hereinafter cited as *Ann. Ian.*), 1:145. On Conrad of Montferrat and his family ties with the Latin East, see: David Jacoby, "Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187-1192)," *Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani*, ed. Laura Balletto, *Biblioteca della società di storia, arte e archeologia per le province di Alessandria e Asti*, 27 (1993), 187-238.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Oberto Scriba de Mercato (1190)*, ed. Mario Chiaudano and Raimondo Morozzo della Rocca, *Notai Liguri del secolo XII*, 2 vols. (Turin, 1938) (hereafter cited as OS); *Guglielmo Cassinese (1190-1192)*, ed. Margaret W. Hall, Hilmar C. Krueger and Robert L. Reynolds, *Notai Liguri del secolo XII*. 2 vols. (Turin, 1938) (hereafter cited as GC); Guglielmo di Sori: Mss. in the Archivio di Stato di Genova, *Cartolare notarile 3/ii* and *MS Diversorum 102* (hereafter cited as GS).

<sup>4</sup> While "Ultramarè" means "beyond the sea" and may apply to all regions from Alexandria to Antioch, several documents confirm that Genoese notaries used this term specifically in relation to the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. In all the documents written during the 25-year period studied in this research, the notaries never employed this term to refer to cities outside the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Moreover, wills written at the time of the crusades include bequests for the aid of Ultramarè leaving no doubt as to the meaning of the term in Genoese writings.

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<sup>5</sup> 'Epistola Januensium ad Urbanum papam' in *Gesta regis Henrici secundi, The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, A.D. 1169-1192*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 (London, 1867), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> 'pro Deo et intuitu [sic] pietatis terram non permetterent subiugari a Sarracenis', *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia, Ann. lan., 1, p. 143*.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. lan., 2, p. 29*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>9</sup> These meetings are mentioned in the French, English and Genoese sources. The first took place shortly after Christmas 1189, followed by another on 13 January 1190 and again in March 1190. See *Ann. lan., 2, pp. 30-31*; Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, *ibid.*, pp. 30-31, 105; Guillaume le Breton, *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, in *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume Le Breton*, ed. H. F. Delaborde (Paris, 1882), p. 41. Rigord, 62, pp. 244-5. In the diplomatic archives of Genoa, the earliest record in which the shipping terms were concluded between France and the consuls of Genoa is from February 1190. See Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, ed., *Codice diplomatico della repubblica di Genova, Fonti per la storia d'Italia*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1942), (hereafter cited as CDG), 2.192: 366-368.

<sup>10</sup> *Ann. lan., 2, p. 11*. Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, éd. É. Carpentier, G. Pon et Y. Chauvin (Paris, 2006), 88, pp. 306-7.

<sup>11</sup> There are many studies on the patterns of commerce of this period in the Mediterranean in general and in Genoa in particular, as well as on shipping and on naval transportation. Some of the major works include monumental works applying wide

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perspectives, while some are more detailed. Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge* (Munich, 1906). Wilhelm von Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-6). Robert S. Lopez and Irving W. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World: Illustrative Documents Translated with Introduction and Notes* (London, 1955). Geo Pistarino, "Genova e il Vicino Oriente nell'epoca del regno latino di Gerusalemme", *I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme*, ed. Gabriella Airaldi and Benjamin Z. Kedar, (Genoa, 1986), 57-139. John H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War: Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649-1571* (Cambridge, 1988). The following works relate more specifically to the Genoese: Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge Mass., 1930). Michel Balard, "Le film des navigations orientales de Gênes au XIIIe siècle," *Horizons marins: Itinéraires spirituels*, 2, ed. H. Dubois, J-C Hocquet and A. Vauchez (Paris 1987), pp. 99-122.

<sup>12</sup> Oberto Scriba da Mercato from 1182, 1184, as well as 1186 (the documents from 1182 and 1184 have not been published yet).

<sup>13</sup> The battle between the two cities continued in 1187 and at the beginning of 1188. The final truce was achieved only under massive pressure. Two cardinals were sent to mediate between the enemies. When the pact was eventually concluded they asked one thousand Genoese citizens whose names were recorded in the document, to take a personal oath to keep the peace. *Ann. lan.*, 2, p. 26; CDG 2.171-3, pp. 320-33.

<sup>14</sup> *Ann. lan.* 2, pp. 32-3.

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25. On the family relationship see OS:26, 24 September 1186 and Diane Owen Hughes, "Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa," *Past and Present*, 66 (Feb., 1975), 3-28.

<sup>16</sup> *Ann. lan.*, 2, p. 12-14 and Pasquale Lisciandrelli (ed.), *Trattati e negoziazioni politiche della repubblica di Genova (958-1797)*, *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* (hereinafter cited as ASLSP), n.s. 75 (1960), 161, p. 37. See also Paul Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143-1180* (Cambridge, 1994), 222.

<sup>17</sup> On the location and history of the Genoese quarter in Tyre see Merav Mack, "The Italian Quarters of Frankish Tyre: Mapping a Medieval City," *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007), 147-65.

<sup>18</sup> Dino Puncuh ed., *I Libri iurium della repubblica di Genova*, I/2.331-6 (Rome, 1996), pp. 137-152.

<sup>19</sup> Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, pp. 147-150.

<sup>20</sup> Nicola Embriaco was consul in 1176, 1179, 1185, 1188. Unlike the consuls Nicola Embriaco and Spezzapietra, we find that Rosso della Volta and Baldovino Guercio continued to be engaged in commercial and diplomatic activities for many more years.

<sup>21</sup> GC: 1504, 22 January 1192.

<sup>22</sup> Guglielmo di Sori MS., , fol. 158r.

<sup>23</sup> CDG 2.192, pp. 366-8.

<sup>24</sup> In most documents from the years 1190 – 1191, the exchange rate between the Genoese pound and the silver mark was 45s Genoese to a silver marc. Between July and

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September 1191 there were slight fluctuations in the mark's value, between 45s Genoese and 48s. See GC: 275, 423, 588, 828, 936, 963, 979, 1044.

<sup>25</sup> The transportation fee was much higher in comparison with later crusades. See Michel Balard, "Genova e il Levante (secc. XI-XII)," *Comuni e memoria storica alle origini del comune di Genova*, ASLSP, n.s. 42/1 (Genoa, 2002), p. 534.

<sup>26</sup> OS:355, 08.04.1190. A quarter of this ship was sold for £480.

<sup>27</sup> Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 76, pp. 274-5.

<sup>28</sup> GC: 1427, 19 December 1191. Caulking was a skilled profession involving some risk in handling highly flammable material in proximity to the newly built wooden-ships. See Hilmar Krueger, *Navi e proprietà navale a Genova seconda metà del sec. XII*, ASLSP, n.s. 25 (99) (Genoa, 1985), p. 164. Furthermore, in the year 1213, the Genoese annals describe a major caulking accident in which the *Contesa*, a large ship, was burnt to ashes together with two neighbouring ships. See *Ann. lan. 2.*, pp. 128-9.

<sup>29</sup> GC: 37, 07 January 1191, GC: 178, 04 February 1191, GC: 205, 12 February 1191, GC: 210, 13 February 1191, GC: 215-6, 15 February 1191.

<sup>30</sup> GC: 761, 21 June 1191, and GC: 828, 13 July 1191. The terms of the loan specify that it would be paid back in a secular location in Liège.

<sup>31</sup> OS:224,229, 07-08 March 1190.

<sup>32</sup> OS:355, 08 April 1190; CDG 2.192, pp. 366-8. See also, Krueger, *Navi e proprietà navale a Genova*, pp. 76-8.

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<sup>33</sup> OS:271, 20 March 1190. Mabilia charged the king's messengers 7s Genoese for each *meçarolia* (*mezzarola*) of wine. In total she sold him 8 *vegetes*. This measure is not very commonly used in the sources. John Pryor finds evidence that each *veges* contained either 6 or 12 *meçaroliae*. Each *meçarolia* of wine equals two *barili* of 100 pints each, a total of 148.86 litres. According to these figures, King Philip ordered from Mabilia a total of either 11,611 litres or 23,222 litres of wine and paid £27.30 or £54.60. See: Pryor, *Geography, Technology and War*, pp. 77-78. In the estimation of the *meçarolia* Pryor followed H. Doursther, *Dictionnaire universal des poids et mesures anciens et modernes* (Brussels, 1840), pp. 69, 432. Eugene Byrne followed Pietro Rocca's nineteenth-century dictionary of Genoese measures in which one *mezzarola* equals 91.480 litres. See: Eugene H. Byrne, *Genoese Shipping in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Cambridge MA, 1930), pp. 41-42; Pietro C. Rocca, *Pesi e misure antiche di Genova e del Genovesato* (Genoa, 1871), p. 108.

<sup>34</sup> *Ann. Ian.*, 2, p. 35; Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, p. 113.

<sup>35</sup> OS:609, 10 August 1190.

<sup>36</sup> This will may thus be added to Steven Epstein's list of crusaders' wills. Steven Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, MA and London, 1984), 187-8.

<sup>37</sup> OS:599, 06 August 1190. Jean Richard lists the lord of Salins in the contingent from Franche-Comté, along with the archbishop of Besançon and the lord of Champlitte. Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071-- c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge, 1999), p. 222;

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Donald Queller and Thomas Madden used an old reference to this document, and thus wrongly dated this contract to 1184. Donald E. Queller and Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: The Conquest of Constantinople*, second edition (Philadelphia, 1997), p. 12. David Jacoby, 'Conrad Marquis of Montferrat', pp. 219-20.

<sup>38</sup> Benjamin Kedar, "The Passenger List of a Crusader Ship, 1250: Towards the History of the Popular Element on the Seventh Crusade", *Studi medievali*, 13 (1972), 267-78.

<sup>39</sup> OS: 640, 16 August 1190.

<sup>40</sup> OS: Cart 2, 137V-143R; 189V, 1184.

<sup>41</sup> OS: Cart 2, 143R, 12 September 1184.

<sup>42</sup> OS: 171, 20 October 1186.

<sup>43</sup> '*Nostris, fame pereuntes, cadavera equorum...*', '*Nobiles etiam viri, cum non haberent unde panem emerent, furabantur*', '*Famelici...vinum potantes moriuntur*'. *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, ed. William Stubbs in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, 2 vols. (London, 1864), 1: 124-133. Translated by Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* (Aldershot, 1997), 126-137.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid*, 79.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*, 80.

<sup>46</sup> OS: 17, 16 January 1190.

<sup>47</sup> OS: 49, 25 January 1190. '*Si navis... staencaverit Ultramare in hac proxima estate... Ansaldus si voluerit possit ascendere in aliam navem et esse scapulus*'. According to

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Augustine Jal '*scapolo*' is a nautical term referring exactly to such cases of termination of contract, in which the mariner is freed from his contracted engagement on naval matters. Augustin Jal, *Nouveau glossaire nautique* (revised), ed. Michel Mollat (Paris, 1988).

<sup>48</sup> Byrne, "Commercial Contracts in Syria," p. 150

<sup>49</sup> GC: 1526, 27 January 1192.

<sup>50</sup> GC: 334, 21 March 1191. On the previous day, Guglielmo received a dowry of £150 from Ricomanna, Agnese's mother.

<sup>51</sup> GC: 320, 20 March 1191, quoting: '*in servicio Dei et de Ultramare, vel mittat.*'

<sup>52</sup> OS: 609, 10 August 1190.

<sup>53</sup> Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa*, pp. 186-188.

<sup>54</sup> OS: 642, 647,655.

<sup>55</sup> *I Libri iurium*, l/2, 331-2, pp. 137-142.

<sup>56</sup> Jacoby, "Conrad, marquis of Montferrat," pp. 193-211.

<sup>57</sup> Ansaldo is mentioned as Conrad's *privato* in *Regni Iherosolymitani brevis historia, Ann. Ian.*, 1, p. 144. According to a Venetian document from the thirteenth-century, Conrad of Montferrat granted Ansaldo a house that previously belonged to the Venetian commune. It is mentioned in a 13th century inventory by the Venetian official Marsilio Zorzi. See Oliver Berggötz, ed., *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 168, lines 14-7. Ansaldo witnessed one of Conrad's concessions to Genoa as the castellan of Tyre. Signed on 11 April, 1190, CDG 2.194, p. 371.

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<sup>58</sup> *'Pro bono servicio et maxima fidelitate, quam mihi in Tyro Martinus Rocia nobilis lanuensis civis exhibuit.'* Ernest Strehlke ed., *Tabulae ordinis Theutonici ex tabularii regii Berolinensis codice potissimum* 24 (Berlin, 1869; reprinted, Toronto, 1975), p. 21.

<sup>59</sup> For the location of their properties in Tyre see Mack, "The Italian quarters of Frankish Tyre" pp. 153-55, 162. David Jacoby, "Mercanti genovesi e veneziani e le loro merci nel Levante crociato", *Genova, Venezia, il Levante nei secoli XII-XIV*, ed. Dino Puncuh (Genoa, 2001), p. 226.

<sup>60</sup> M. R. Morgan ed., *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des Croisades*, 14, (Paris, 1982), pp. 74-5; Translation in Peter Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, (Aldershot, 1996), pp. 65-6.

<sup>61</sup> OS: 356, 08 April 1190.

<sup>62</sup> Morgan, *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, trans. Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, chs. 56-58.

<sup>63</sup> Ten documents repeating this prohibition, applying this standard formula, are found in the cartulary of Guglielmo Cassinese. GC: 8, 438, 601, 605, 920, 1197, 1198, 1200, 1310, 1313. The date range is from April to September 1191.

<sup>64</sup> This volume of the cartulary by Guglielmo Cassinese ends in the early part of 1192 - too early for the registration of the usual commercial contracts to the Latin East or Alexandria.

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<sup>65</sup> GC: 1503-4, 22 January 1192. The former document reveals Ansaldo's plan to travel first to Marseille.

<sup>66</sup> *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr*, 142.

<sup>67</sup> Rigord, *Histoire de Philippe Auguste*, 88, pp. 307-8.

<sup>68</sup> See for example, Robert S. Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Cambridge, 1976); Eugene Byrne, "Genoese Trade with Syria in the Twelfth Century," *American Historical Review*, 25:2 (Feb. 1920), 191-219; Michel Balard, *La Romanie génoise: XII<sup>e</sup>-début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2 (Rome, 1978), 505-531.

<sup>69</sup> Avner Greif discusses in detail the economic benefits of the *podesteria*, but mentions the role of the Third Crusade in the initiation of this position only in passing. 'On the Political Foundations of the Late Medieval Commercial Revolution: Genoa during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,' *Journal of Economic History* 54:2, (1989), 271-287.

<sup>70</sup> *Ann. Ian.*, 2, pp. 44-45, and Tav VI, fig. XXXIII.

<sup>71</sup> Hiroshi Takayama, "Familiares Regis and the Royal Inner Council in Twelfth-Century Sicily," *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), 369. Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, p. 54. See also Marie-Louise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im Heiligen Land, vom ersten Kreuzzug zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne (1098-1197)* (Amsterdam, 1989), 254-5. *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr* 73, pp. 83f; in a charter of 1194, Margarito is described in the following words: 'Margaritus de Brundusio, dei et Regia gratia Comes Malte et Regij uictoriosi storij amiratus ac domini Regis familiaris,' Gennaro Maria Monti, ed., *Codice diplomatico Brindisino* (Trani, 1940), 31, pp. 55-56.

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<sup>72</sup> On Guilelmo Grasso see J. K. Fotheringham, "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade," *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 28. On Henry of Malta see: David Abulafia, "Henry count of Malta and his Mediterranean activities : 1203-1230," *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean, 1100-1400* (London, 1987), Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2:589-590.

<sup>73</sup> Fotheringham portrays these pirates and corsairs in a darker, contemptuous light. While detailing their activities based on the sources, he does not attempt to explain their official appointments, honorary titles and the fiefs granted to them. See Fotheringham, "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade," pp. 28-30. Charles M. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade," *Speculum*, 37 (1962), p. 178. See also Pinuccia F. Simbula, "Îles, corsaires et pirates dans la Méditerranée médiévale," *Médiévales* 47 (2004), p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2: 587-98.

<sup>75</sup> *Regni hierosolymitani brevis historia*, *Ann. Ian.*, 1, p. 141. See Fotheringham, "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade," pp. 28-30. Brand, "The Byzantines and Saladin," p. 178.

<sup>76</sup> Abram is mentioned with a fellow merchant named Simon of Stamford. GC: 675, 03 June 1191. On the Jews of Stamford see Robin R. Mundill, *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262-1290* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 19-20. William of Newburgh describes the massacre: *William of Newburgh* (liber 4), ed., Richard Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I.*, 1 (London, 1884, repr. 1964), pp. 310-311, 322. See also Christoph Cluse, 'Stories of Breaking and Taking the

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Cross. A Possible Context for the Oxford Incident of 1268', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 90 (1995), p. 433.

<sup>77</sup> Edward Miller, "The Fortunes of the English Textile Industry during the Thirteenth Century," *Economic History Review*, New Series, 18: 1, (1965), p. 68; Robert L. Reynolds, "The Market for Northern Textiles in Genoa, 1179-1200', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 8 (1929), 495-533; About the Genoese community in Southampton see: David Abulafia, "Cittadino e "denizen": mercanti mediterranei a Southampton e a Londra', in *Sistema di rapporti ed élites economiche in Europa (secoli XII-XVII)*, ed. Mario Del Treppo (Naples, 1994), 273-292.

<sup>78</sup> Michel Balard, "Notes on the Economic Consequences of the Crusades," in *The Experience of Crusading: Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. Peter Edbury and Jonathan Phillips, 2 (2003), p. 237.

<sup>79</sup> Balard, "Genova e il Levante," pp. 527-49. Pistarino, "Genova e il vicino oriente nell'epoca del regno latino di Gerusalemme', pp. 98-107. On the Genoese privileges in Tyre see Mack, "The Italian quarters of Frankish Tyre," pp. 161-4.

<sup>80</sup> GC: 761, 21 June 1191.

<sup>81</sup> For example, see GC: 1134 25 September 1191. Baldovino Scoto received from Ogerio Porco a sum of £19 2s Genoese and promised to pay 2¾ hyperperon to the pound in Constantinople, or alternatively, a golden ounce in Sicily for every S42 Genoese, or if they end up in *Ultramar*e, at the ratio of 3 besants to the Genoese pound.