

Rafał Hryszko (Poland)

GENOESE COLONIES IN THE BLACK SEA AREA. THEIR ROLE IN THE TRANSFER OF REGIONAL PRODUCTS IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES (the 14TH–15TH centuries AD)



This paper addresses the problem of the economic presence of the Genoese merchants on the north-west coast of the Black Sea in the times of the weakening economic ties of the region with the Far East, and the simultaneous enlivening of the trade with the areas close to the Black Sea coast.

The work outlines diverse aspects of Genoese activity in the Black Sea region in reference to its economic and transportational conditions, as well as aspects concerning the organisation of trade.

The paper approaches the problem of the development of Genoese regional trade, concentrated in Crimean Caffa. It depicts the policy of exchange between Caffa and other regions, emphasising the mutual relationships of Crimean colonies with trade centres on the Danube. The role of particular goods and resources exported from the Black Sea outposts has been described (grain, wine, skins of fur-bearing animals, honey, wax, timber, fish, salt, alum, mineral resources).

Presenting the scale of the Genoese merchants' involvement in trade activity in the Black Sea region provides a wider context for the economic activity of the citizens of the merchant Republic, concentrated in the Pontus areas in the late Middle Ages.

Key words: Republic of Genoa, Black Sea, Genoese colonies, regional trade, the 14th–15th centuries.

The year 1261 constitutes the crucial date not only in the political history of the Byzantine Empire, but in the economic history of the Black Sea region as well. After the decline of the Latin Empire, which was built and functioned on the basis of the great trading power, Venice, an occasion arose for the age-long enemy and rival of *Serenissima* to grow in strength. The Republic of Genoa was finally able to boost its economic activity in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine regions. The Genoese economy consisted of long distance trade based on numerous trading posts. Since the second half of the 13th century the Genoese managed to create a whole chain of trading posts along the Black Sea coastline – on the Crimean Peninsula: Caffa (today Feodosia), Soldaia (today Sudak) and Cembalo (today Balacalava); in the mouth of the Don at Tana (today Rostov-on-Don); Kiliya and Licostomo on the Danube, Belgorod on the Dniester, Trebizond (today Trabzon) on the north coasts of Asia Minor, and in Constantinople itself (Pera-Galata) [9; 83].

In the early stage of their existence, the Genoese colonies – at the turn of the 13th and 14th century – played an important role in mediating the import of Levantine goods to Europe, (spices, silk, cotton or jewellery). In the first part of the 14th century contacts with the Far East declined, and at the end of that century they were strongly limited. The situation was caused by the continuing collapse of the Golden Horde and the conquests of Timur – commonly called Tamerlane [4; 7, p. 149-161; 9, p. 136, 202-204, 684-686; 12, p. 31-40; 22, p. 315-316; 48, p. 21-23; 59, vol. II, p. 176-177; 75, p. 112-113; 84, p. 479-480; 85].

This led to a serious economic crisis in the middle of the 14th century in Genoa and Western Europe. Considerations of the economy at this time must note the fall in sales, the public financial crash and the need to find new sources of income for the Genoese and other citizens [37; 78; 101, p. 48-49; 103, p. 45-73]. The economic crisis also influenced all of the Genoese connections within the Black Sea region. The merchants were made to find new sources of income and to intensify their sales of regional goods and natural resources [7, p. 149-151; 8; 9, p. 143-147; 12, p. 32-34, 40-46; 34; 66, p. 113-114; 67, p. 229-231; 71; 89, p. 47-54; 116, p. 427-428]. What was the role of this group of products in the general exchange of goods in the Black Sea basin in the Late Middle Ages? What was the level of their sales? Was it a business activity giving any measurable profit? – These questions are discussed in the present thesis.

In the first years of economic activity in the Black Sea regions, the Genoese became strongly interested in the productive strength of the Crimean Peninsula, the Sea of Azov, neighbouring Transcaucasia, the South regions of Pontus and the areas at the mouth of the Danube [10; 14; 28, p. 133-134; 33; 52; 54; 65, p. 214-262; 74; 88; 93; 100]. From the available sources we know that by the end of the 13th century, merchants from Genoa, arriving in the regions of Pontus, willingly introduced the sales of agricultural products. These were the goods produced in the Black Sea basin, or imported from lands neighbouring with Pontus. There are four categories of products: 1) products of agricultural origin (grains, wine); 2) products of woodland origin (skins of fur-bearing animals, honey, wax, timber); 3) materials obtained from coastal waters or the mouths of rivers (fish, caviar); 4) the mineral materials obtained from the soil itself (mainly salt, alum, copper, tin and iron). We will examine each of these products that were being exchanged in the Black Sea basin in depth.

The basic consumer product in the world of the Genoese colonies of Pontus was grain. The merchants from Genoa obtained it from four areas: the Crimea, the Sea of Azov, the Caucasian coasts of the Black Sea and along the valley of the river Danube.

Contemporary researchers (H. Schiltberger, G. Barbaro) agree that the grain from the Crimea was of the greatest quality. The statute of Caffa from 1449 states the same. There wheat, barley, oats and millet were named together with so called *mixtura*. The last could mean either barley or oats or their *mixture*. The most precious grain was the wheat that originated from Caffa and Lefeti in the western part of the peninsula [5, p. 185; 6, doc. 7, 70, 107, 184, 335, 379, 380, 404, 409-412, 419, 423, 428, 430, 502, 505, 703, 886; 13, p. 66-67; 47, p. 107-109; 48, p. 42, 54-55; 68, p. 34, 56; 86, p. 49; 95, p. 152, 161; 112, p. 150-152; 120, *Statuto di Caffa*, chap. LXVIII: *De his que percipere potest jhegatarius victualium*, no 438-448, p. 647-649; chap. LXXXI: *De ordine cimballi*, no 541, p. 662; chap. LXXXIV: *De balia et obuentionibus ministralis cimballi*, no 592, p. 668]. It is also connected with the fact that the bushel (*modius/modium*) of Caffa was a commonly used measure in other ports of the Black Sea (bushel (*modius/modium*) of Caffa = 281,51 kg = 4 *quartae* = 16 *capicii*) [9, p. 897-898; 48, p. 25-26, 42, 53, 54, 223; 56, p. 368; 99, p. 239-240, doc. 7, 87, 95, 96, 98; 110, p. 98-99, 109; 121, p. 214, 222, 224].

Among the grains imported from regions neighbouring with the Sea of Azov, wheat and rye attracted the attention of merchants. These types of grain were cultivated on the fertile soils near the river Volga. From there, small vessels floated it down the Don to Tana. Tana was one of the most important settlements in the region of the Sea of Azov, but it wasn't the only grain port. Other important ports for the Genoese merchants were: Porto Pisano, Kabardi, Balzimaki, Rosso and Polonisi on the north-western coast and San Giorgio, Tar and Zakaria on the south-eastern coast. These centres were named *carricatoria frumenti* by F. B. Pegolotti. Unfortunately, due to the lack of sources we are not able to evaluate the factual numbers relating to exported grain [9, p. 754, 759; 12, p. 42; 13, p. 66-67, 73; 47, p. 79; 48, p. 42, 54-55; 65, p. 217; 113, p. 52-53].

The situation was similar in the region of the Caucasian coast. We can assume that these areas had a smaller share in supplying farming products than the Crimea or the South coasts of the Sea of Azov. This circumstance was probably connected with the contemporary opinion that the Caucasian grain was of worse quality. F. B. Pegolotti confirms this fact, as does the lower price of wheat and millet from the Caucassian region called *Zichia* in Italian. The value was set by the *Officium Victualium* of the colony in 1433 [9, p. 398-400, 754; 12, p. 42; 13, p. 76; 16, p. 63-64; 38; 48, p. 54; 52, p. 48; 65, p. 220; 91, doc. 5; 95, p. 160-161; 99, p. 239, doc. 114; 118, doc. 152, p. 368].

The good quality grain acquired by the Genoese came from the lands on the middle and lower course of the Danube. That's why in the second part of the 14th and during the 15th century, it became the main reason for the Genoese merchants to trade in the region of the Danube [53, p. 25; 65; 115, p. 58]. Moreover export of the valuable grain achieved wholesale scale. On account of M. Balard's calculations and the detailed analysis of Antonio di Ponzò's acts from 1360–1361, the Genoese notary from Kiliya, we know that in 1360, within only two and a half months, 10,200 bushels, equivalent of 2,522.5 tones of grain was exported from Kiliya [11, doc. 13, 16, 29, 30, 34, 37, 44, 47, 49, 53, 54, 62, 65, 75, 78, 89, 92, 93, 97, 101, 102, 103, 114; 13, p. 79; 14, p. 37; 62, p. 9-25; 88, annex nr. 2, p. 564; 104, doc. 4, 17, 18, 20, 26, 31, 32, 40, 41, 47, 48, 52, 59, 62-65, 68, 69, 70, 75, 78, 86, 88, 96].

It is not known if the export of Moldovan grain remained at the same level in the next decades. The authorities of Caffa, being aware of the fact that in Moldova there was grain in abundance (*Maocastro et Locostomo, a quibus locis hec civitas solebat extrahere multa victualia*), sent ships twice to Belgorod in 1455–1456, and they returned to Caffa with cargoes of Moldovan grain. It was stated in one of the letters sent to protectors of Saint George's Bank, that this grain was very expensive as its price was 50–55 aspers per bushel (called *Berbeniza*) (*Cum et Moncastrum et Licostomum caristiam victualium patientur. Valent in ipsis locis aspri L in LV la berbenitia et per plus valerunt*) [20, p. 25; 44, p. 336-337; 46, p. 233-256, 238; 63; 65, p. 237; 70, p. 105-106; 86, p. 61-62, 192; 88, p. 556; 98, p. 188-190; 118, doc. 36, 125]. To the last days of the Crimean colonies it was known that the regions of the Dniester were abundant in grain. In 1474, right before the Ottoman aggression, the consul of Caffa, Antoniotto Cabella, informed the authorities of Genoa and wrote: *moti mercati e padroni de nave e navili ... vadan per grani in altre parte, zoe a Mocastro, unde ne asat e de quello lodio speremo averne a sufficientia* [88, p. 556; 118, cz. 2, p. 121].

Grain from the coasts of the Black Sea was one of the basic regional products exported by the Genoese to the metropolis. Transport of wheat and other grains, such as rye, barley or millet was connected with the needs of the citizens for food supplies. The number of people waiting for the supply was constantly growing, reaching 120,000 in the 15th century (according to the calculations only 50 000–60 000) [9, p. 817, przyp. 72; 49; 57, p. 45; 102, p. 354]. The beginnings of this grain trade to Genoa dates back to first years of the Genoese presence on the Black Sea, though in this period exports were limited due to the Byzantine attitude. The Byzantine Empire considered this region to be its own economic monopoly. That's why in the first part of the 14th century

authorities of the Republic tried to gain control over the grain production and trade in the Black Sea region. They finally achieved success in the middle of the 14th century. The Byzantine and Genoese treaty from 1352 stated that from that moment on all people subject to the emperor must get an agreement with the Genoese doge for grain acquisition in the Black Sea region. It meant freedom and unrestricted export of grain to the metropolis [9, p. 756-757; **31**; **32**; **34**, p. 36-38; **47**, p. 113; **65**, p. 252-255; **80**; **87**, p. 711].

From saved treasury accounts of the Republic from 1358, we know that about 868 tones of grain, including 675 tones from Licostomo itself, were imported from the western coasts of the Black Sea to Genoa. In this period, the war between Venice and Genoa in 1378–1380 stopped the grain exchange from the Black Sea. Export on a wholesale scale was resumed only in 1381–1382. In 1384 Caffa supplied the metropolis with 31,344 minas, equivalent to 36% of the whole grain import to Genoa. It is vital that in the next year – 1385, Genoa received similar amounts of grain in spite of poor crops in the regions around the Black Sea. In 1386–1387 the export from Caffa became limited due to the conflict with the Tatars from Solgat. Additionally, it caused the disaster of bad crops. Caffa was forced to import grain from the coast of Bulgaria (*de Zagora grain*). Transport was resumed in 1387. In the next, but last, similarly favourable year Genoa received *circa* 30,000 minas. From the 1380's and 1390's less and less grain was transported to Genoa. In 1390 and 1391 about 9,402 and 3,578 minas were imported, which, according to M. Balard, met only 14% and 10% of the demand of the metropolis [9, p. 761-764; **13**, p. 73-75; **95**, p. 145-147, 152].

At the turn of the 15th century, the Pontus grain export was stopped on account of poor crops. Delivery was only resumed in 1405–1406, and then only in very limited quantities. Every year Genoa received three or four ships, which according to M. Balard supplied the metropolis with only 1/5 of the grain share in comparison with 1386. We can see a proceeding recourse in the trade of this product in the first half of the 15th century. In 1406 about 36% of the grain originated from Pontus, two years later only 22.5%. This downward tendency lasted for a few years. The Genoese authorities tried to maintain their imports, and were looking for new regions of supply. In this situation grain was not only obtained in the Crimea but also in Moldavia, with certain amounts coming from regions of Bulgaria and the coast of the Sea of Marmara. Such information can be found in the merchant manual by Giovanni da Uzzano from 1442 [9, p. 764; **13**, p. 75; **57**, p. 342-343].

More restrictions occurred in the grain export in Caffa in the 15th century. The political situation got worse due to the Ottoman-Turkish actions in that region. Export of grain from the Crimea became more and more impossible, and eventually completely impossible as they took over the Bosphorus strait and Dardanelles. In the 1450's the scant crops made it impossible for the Crimea to meet its own demand for grain. Supplies from other regions became insufficient, as the other Black Sea regions had similar food supply difficulties. In the second half of the 1450's, it became clear that grain export from Eastern Europe to Caffa was necessary. The situation got marginally better in the next decade. In 1465–1466 there were some attempts to send a surplus of Black Sea grain to the metropolis in the amount of 10,000 bushels. Talks held with the sultan in Istanbul, however, proved disastrous. Transport at a greater scale was impossible. While single vessels were reported to transport Black Sea grain to Genoa, it was only in incidental cases [**13**, p. 75-76; **111**, p. 215-216; **119**, doc. 658, 659, 670, 675].

The next product of an agricultural origin in the Genoese trade was wine. The local types of wine originated from the Crimea, the Caucasian coasts and regions subject to Trebizond. Towards the end of the 14th century the viticulture in the Crimea was concentrated in Soldaia, Cembalo, eighteen villages of so called Gotia and in the vicinity of Caffa [9, p. 702; **17**]. The previously mentioned Hans Schiltberger described the northern and western parts of the Crimean Peninsula, saying that the Greek Christians who lived there produced splendid wine. From the statute of Caffa from 1449 it is known that the distribution of liquors was restricted by regulations. Only the Genoese or those subjected to the Commune could trade in wine, although in justified cases exceptions occurred. This could happen in the case of the beneficiaries of the international agreements signed by the Republic authorities or when the Venetian merchants travelling from or to Tana took part in retail sale (*ad minutum*) [**120**, *Statuto di Caffa*, chap. XXVII: *De pulsatoribus et certis alijs stipendiatis a comune*, no 234, 235, 244, 251, 256, 263, 265, 268, 273; chap. XXX: *De obuentionibus et balia ministralis*, no 335, p. 626; chap. XXIX: *Do capitaneo burgorum caphe et ejus balia ac obuentionibus*, no 294, p. 621; chap. LXXVI: *Ne forenses vendere possint ad minutum*, no 465, p. 651-652].

Wine was also exported from the Caucasian coasts of the Black Sea. In the middle of the 14th century there must have been significant supplies as the authorities set duty in the amount of 10 aspres per one *botte* [**23**, doc. 57; **24**, p. 249; **65**, p. 221; **75**, p. 129, 132].

However, in the area of the Great Comnenus State the viticulture was centred around the areas of Pharos, Christocephalos, Lemnos and Giresun. The travellers of those times (Hans Schiltberger, Giosafat Barbaro) underlined

in their works that the local wines were cheap and in huge quantities [6, doc. 768; 47, p. 120-121; 65, p. 226; 75, p. 127-129; 96, p. 95-97; 113, p. 151-153]. The fact is confirmed by the amounts recorded in the trade treaty of Genoa and Trebizond from 1417. In this document it is said that the importation of white (*leisi*) and red (*ihamora, camorro*) wine to Caffa reached the number of 2,500 barrels – *vegete* (equivalent of 1,312,500 litres) within two years. Consequently the amount of supply was diminished to 2,000 barrels (equivalent of 1,050,000 litres) which according to S. P. Karpov met only a half of the yearly demands of Caffa for this liquor.

Mainly the commercial companies from Genoa traded in wine from Trebizond. They obtained this liquor from local Greek merchants. The trade of this wine, however, was deeply dependent on present relationships between Genoa and the Great Comnenus State. The present rate of duty for this wine was 10 aspres per one *botta*, but in 1449 the authorities from the metropolis threatened to raise it six fold. It is hard to say if this warning actually was introduced. Thanks to S. P. Karpov's research we know that one *botta* (482 litres) sold in Caffa was equivalent to 310 aspres [47, p. 120; 68, p. 589, 619; 75, p. 127-128] 1 *vegeta* = 525 l, 1 *botta* = 482 l [9, t. 2, p. 844, 846; 75, p. 127, przyp. 131].

We can be sure that the wines from the region of the Black Sea were transported to many places in the colonies situated far from the coast of the Crimea, and from there to remote places on the Black Sea coast. It is obvious that the merchants working in Kiliya on the Danube in 1460s owned cellars where they stored goods, i.e. wine in barrels. Similar information can be associated with the Genoese present in Lviv in the beginning of the 15th century. Francesco de Cantello, one of the merchants, rented a cellar from the local authorities for his warehouse where he kept liquors from the East [11, doc. 51, 81, 107, 108; 36, p. 72-73; 41, doc. 225, 331, 332; 42, doc. 28, 60, 191, 341; 43, doc. 841a; 65, p. 235, 244; 88, p. 554; 104, doc. 23, 60, 94; 107, p. 92]. This information leads us to the conclusion that wine played one of the important roles in consumption and sales in the markets of the Genoese colonies, and could give certain profits [88, p. 554; 108, doc. 3, 8].

Skins of fur-bearing animals are the next profitable branch of trade in Genoa and in the region of the Black Sea. These goods were mainly imported to the region of the Black Sea from remote places such as Russian lands and Siberia. The huge Russian territory could provide ermine, squirrel, marten, beaver, otter, fox, lynx, sable, hare and other animals [3, doc. 22, 35, 63; 17; 45; 47, p. 23-28; 48, p. 124; 55; 75, p. 152-154]. The most popular were sable furs [12, p. 45; 15, doc. 40; 17; 25, p. 89-90; 45; 47, p. 22; 51, p. 56-57; 65, p. 217; 72, p. 105, 106, 121, 194, 219, 220, 420; 75, p. 153; 113, p. 15]. They were the most precious and the Genoese bought them in Rosso and other settlements on the north-west coast of the Sea of Azov. Later they sold them to merchants from the south coast of the Black Sea [15, doc. 40; 47, p. 22, 24; 65, p. 227-229; 92, p. 291; 117, p. 21-22]. Ermine furs were also popular and the first information on their presence in the market in Caffa can be found between the 1280's and 1290's. In Lamberto di Sambuceto's acts we find information on the purchase of 400 items of this type of fur, and in 1344 Bernardo di Manzodeo was to export 625 ermine skins to Cyprus [6, doc. 357; 15, doc. 15; 47, p. 23].

The merchants from Genoa traded animal furs far from the basin of the Black Sea. The preserved evidence shows that under the conditions of the trade treaty from 1290 the Genoese sent skins to Mamluk Egypt [36, p. 56; 39, doc. 53; 40, doc. 3219, 3220, 3284, 3285, 3286, 3308, 3309, 3310, 3314, 3315, 3321, 3222, 3223, 3224, 3329, 3330, 3331; 47, p. 25-26, 129; 79, p. 69, note 4; 86, p. 83; 97, p. 73; 107, p. 99-100, note 28, 29]. They also took part in the skin transport which reached Polish regions, as is confirmed by the trade activity of a merchant family from San Remo in the 1460's [61].

Animal skins were one of the most important product imports from the Black Sea regions to the metropolis. Close to the end of the 13th century the export of this product in Caffa was limited. Early in the next century, it reached a greater scale. While animal skins were quite luxurious goods and designed only for a narrow group of receivers, the demand for them was maintained at a high level. The skins were sold in units called *corabie* for 2,400 pieces, or *balle* for 1,000 pieces. According to A. G. Emanov, the export from Caffa reached its saturation at the turn of the 1390's. The Russian researcher calculated that in 1388 alone about 70,000–80,000 pieces of fur were exported to Genoa. In later periods the scale of export changed and was reduced. The fur trade could only exist with some capital commitment, but it could render visible profits. Sometimes, the merchants could achieve 100% profit [9, p. 740-741; 26, p. 206, 432; 47, p. 25; 55, p. 169, 173; 65, p. 256-257; 91, p. 16-20]. According to M. Balard the fur trade had the character of a Genoese monopoly [15, doc. 40; 17; 25, p. 89-90; 45; 12, p. 45; 47, p. 22; 51, p. 56-57; 72, p. 105, 106, 121, 194, 219, 220, 420; 75, p. 153]. It caused animal furs to become one of the most profitable goods in the Genoese regional exchange.

The merchants trading in wax and honey in the Black Sea region achieved profits similar to those of the previous product. These goods came mainly from the Crimea, regions near the Don, the Caucasian coast (Sevastopoli, Lo Vati and Fasso) and the regions near the Danube [9, p. 140-141; 26, p. 88; 58, p. 226–227; 59, p. 107-119; 65, p.

257; **75**, p. 132]. The honey was a top quality product. The transported wax initially arrived at Caffa (*cera Gazarie*, *cera de Caffa*), Tana (*cera de Tana*), Kiliya and Licostomo (*cera de Zagora*) [**12**, p. 40; **22**, p. 315; **47**, p. 32]. From these locations and thanks to the mediation of Pera the goods were transported to the metropolis itself and from there they were transported throughout western Europe, mainly to Champagne and Provence [**3**, doc. 27, 28, 32, 34; **22**, p. 314; **47**, p. 32; **48**, p. 43; **52**, p. 42-43; **90**, doc. 317, 318, 258; **114**, nr. 2349].

According to the anonymous author of a merchant manual from Florence and F. B. Pegolotti mentioned above, wax was one of the most important trade goods. Purchases of it in Caffa could guarantee profits through sales in the West [**12**, p. 40; **22**, p. 315; **47**, p. 32; **65**, p. 217]. In most cases it is not possible to tell the numbers and rates of export of this product. We have only the small quantities of data which refer to the Danube region and they seem to be vaster. As we look at Antonio di Ponzò's acts we can find that in 1360 and 1361 the amount of honey transported through Kiliya was 121.5 hundredweights – including 81.5 hundredweights described as de Zagora, and over 19 hundredweights of wax – including 5.5 hundredweights de Zagora. According to the Romanian historian R. Manolescu's calculations, the general amount of these goods could be about 5789.5 kg of honey and 1382 kg of wax. The precise value of both products is not known. Making an analogy with the market in Caffa, we can assume that one hundred weight of wax was probably equivalent to 17 lire – liras and 7 solidi, which was about 30 hyperpers and 11 carats. The costs of transport and the growing demand made the price even higher. Two years later in Genoa one hundredweight of wax cost 18 lire – liras and 7 solidi, which was 32 hyperpers and 5 carats [**9**, p. 736; **11**, doc. 122; **51**, p. 59; **65**, p. 220, 234; **88**, p. 553, 564-665; **104**, doc. 5, 8, 12, 14, 16, 19, 25, 35, 39, 42, 44, 46, 49, 53, 56; **105**, p. 43-45]. According to M. Balard, the wax trade was one of the most important branches of the Genoese exchange. The export of these products lasted even after the fall of Caffa and flourished in the 16th century [**9**, p. 140-141; **26**, p. 88; **58**, p. 226-227; **59**, p. 107-119; **75**, p. 132].

Among other forest products in the Genoese exchange in the Black Sea region there were also different types of timber. The interest of the Genoese merchants was focused on the timber used for the construction of ships hull planking or pine – wood useful for building masts. This product came from both the Crimea and Russian areas – like the regions near the Don and the Volga [**47**, p. 129; **65**, p. 217; **120**, *Statuto di Caffa*, chap. LXIX: *De his que percipere potest jhegatarius lignaminum herbarum et carbonum*, no 453–456, p. 649]. It was also exported to Egypt and first of all to the metropolis. The timber which was exported to Genoa was mainly the buxus wood obtained on the Caucasian coast [**17**; **47**, p. 129; **65**, p. 258]. The amount and quantity of exported wood is not known.

One of the most basic economic branches in the Crimean colonies was fisheries and the harvesting caviar. The fish, like sturgeon and beluga sturgeon obtained in the coastal waters of the Crimea and settlements on the coast of the Sea of Azov, together with caviar obtained at the markets in Lo Copa and Tana were precious products [**65**, p. 214-215]. The Genoese fish and caviar trade was on the wholesale scale. The number of caught fish was counted in thousands (*miliarium*). They were exported from Tana and Lo Copa to markets in Caffa and from there to the West. The scale of this fish export in the region of the Black Sea conducted by the Genoese was counted in the calculations of A. G. Emanov. He counted it based on Lamberto de Sanbuceto's contracts from the period of 1289–1290. The Russian researcher assumes that the average weight of the sturgeon was 16,75–19,7 kg, the starry sturgeon from the Don 15,15 kg and sturgeon from the Kuban river about 7,4 kg. He also established that in that period about 31,492–31,793 tones of fish were exported of which 32% reached Constantinople or Pera, 31% Trebizond, 23% Simisso, 9% Smyrna, 2% Fasso and Lo Vati and 3% to other cities in the region of the Black Sea [**9**, p. 706; **12**, doc. 438, 442, 467, 470, 471, 480, 484, 501, 526, 740, 783, 903; **18**, p. 194; **26**, p. 416, 453; **29**, p. 262, 266, 275-277, 279, 283, 291; **30**, p. 245; **47**, p. 122-123]. It's hard to state whether the fish export in the region of the Black Sea maintained the same level in the next centuries. The present evidence, though not detailed, tries to confirm this theory. What is more, we are informed that the fish and caviar trade went beyond the basin of the Black Sea and in the first part of the 14th century F. B. Pegolotti wrote that the caviar reached Bruges, where its price at market was 8–9 denarii per lira, higher than the price of silk, which was on the level of 8 denarii *per lira* [**18**, p. 196; **48**, p. 24, 102, 243]. Next, the evidence of the 15th century travellers (Pero Tafur and Hans Schiltberger) shows that the sturgeon from the Don and the waters of the Sea of Azov was exported not only to Flanders, but also to Venice, Castile and islands of the Aegean Sea. In the 1440s about 865–1,035 kg of the Azov fish, mainly sturgeon, were exported to Venice and in 1401 a cargo of fish in 2 cogs arrived in Genoa [**5**, p. 186; **18**, p. 196; **47**, p. 122-123; **55**, p. 186-190; **65**, p. 216, 255; **81**; **92**, p. 272].

Fishing on a large scale made the Genoese form not only an efficient network of distribution but also some effective ways for preserving fish to be transported long distances. It was possible because of the supply of salt obtained from lakes in eastern parts of the Crimea. People working in this area based their job on the regulations of the authorities from Caffa, regulating the salt supplies. The statutes from Caffa from 1449 provided for only such

quantities of salt as were indispensable to preserve the caught fish. Each time there was a salt surplus, it had to be taken back to Caffa or thrown back into the sea [18, p. 195; 47, p. 126; 55; 113, p. 153; 120, *Statuto di Caffa*, chap. LXV: *De non appaltando sal*, no 428-432, p. 645-646; chap. LXXXVII: *De his que facere habet consul de lo coppa*, no 649, p. 675, no 624, p. 672; chap. XLVIII: *Ne quis se intromittat in commercio canlucorum*, no 390-392, p. 637].

These sources and other evidence show that salt was a highly precious product for the Genoese. Taking control of the salt mines in the Crimea, in the regions of Chiprico – in the south-east part of the peninsula – allowed traders from Genoa to introduce a quasi-monopoly on the salt trade in the area of the Black Sea. Supplies of Crimean salt reached not only other places where the Genoese traders worked but was also an important product for regional exchange. The Crimean salt was supplied to the Russian regions and also those near the Danube [47, p. 126; 65, p. 231, 235]. The fact that the Genoese used to trade with salt for a long period can be confirmed with the long renting of the salt mine in Wieliczka, near Krakow [60, *passim*; 61, *passim*; 64; 65, p. 245; 107, *passim*]. In this last situation we know its price. In 1361 one bushel of salt, according to the measurements valid in these times in Kiliya (*ad modium consuetum in Chili in quo mensuratur sal*), costed 9 *sommi* [88, p. 554; 104, doc. 76, 77]. While salt, however, was one of the important export products in the local exchange, it played a secondary role in exports to Genoa [9, p. 710; 50, p. 9; 65, p. 256].

Alum also held quite an important place among the products obtained in the region of the Black Sea. It was obtained in Genoese's Fokaia, in Chios and also from areas in the south including Kerason (today Giresun) and in the vicinity of Kolonea (today Şebinkarahisar), in the south-east part of Asia Minor [9, p. 769-770; 35, p. 146-147; 54, p. 31; 59, p. 565-570; 65, p. 222-223; 76, p. 25-28; 75, p. 134-135; 73, p. 82-83]. These areas provided the best quality of alum, while more widespread alum from Fokeia in Europe was assumed to be of a secondary quality [6, doc. 574; 9, p. 772-773; 47, p. 106; 48, p. 43, 293, 369; 54, p. 32; 59, p. 94, 569; 75, p. 134-135; 82, p. 101-102]. It is not surprising that the advantages of alum from southern Pontus caught the attention of the Genoese [6, doc. 180, 200, 276, 574, 647, 652, 666, 671, 813; 9, p. 770-773; 12, p. 44; 35, p. 146-147; 54, p. 43; 75, p. 137; 73, p. 83; 109, p. 124-131]. In the second part of the 14th and during the 15th century the alum trade in the areas of the Black Sea became an important domain of the merchants from the Republic of Genoa [1, doc. 1, p. 106-107; 9, p. 779-781; 75, p. 139-140]. We know that it was exported to Caffa and from there to Russian [9, p. 779-781; 47, p. 26, 105] or Polish grounds [40, doc. 2127, 2128, 2181; 79, p. 59, 60; 97, p. 70; 107, p. 92]. The main direction of its export was the metropolis. In 1290 alone about 8,900 hundredweights of this material was brought from Kolonea to Genoa, the equivalent of 423 tonnes. This resource was also exported during the following centuries. Many times in the 14th century it was directly transported from Caffa to France, Flanders or England where the demand for this product was constantly growing in connection with the developing textile industry. In one of the documents made by Niccolò Beltrame in 1343, Aigues Mortes was the port of destination where 133 hundredweights (6,337.5 kg) were delivered. It was stated by F. B. Pegolotti that the annual export of alum in the beginning of the 14th century was 14,000 hundredweights (665.7 tones). This opinion is shared by the merchant manual author S. P. Karpov who assumes that the annual amount of alum exported by the Genoese and Venetians was 600–700 tones [6, doc. 180, 200, 276, 574, 647, 652, 666, 671, 672, 813; 9, p. 775, 780-781; 15, doc. 15; 37, p. 597; 48, p. 43, 369; 65, p. 258-259; 75, p. 138, 140]. It is hard to state if this activity remained at the same level in later periods. The information on the export of this material in the 15th century is scarce; however it shows that destinations were maintained. It is known that the alum from Trebizond was transported to Flanders which confirms the fact that this material was transported to Bruges in 1464 [1, doc. 1, p. 106-107; 9, p. 779-781; 75, p. 139-140].

In the second part of the 14th century the price of good quality alum was maintained in Genoa at the same level, at most 60–70 pennies per one hundredweight. Significant, but short term falls in price were visible in the second half of 1490s when the same previously mentioned amount cost 27–28 pennies. At the turn of the century the policy became destabilized in this region, causing a significant rise in prices – one hundredweight of the best quality alum (*di rocca*) cost about 100 pennies. According to M. Balard the export of this product didn't give the traders any significant profits because of the small difference between its value in the market in Caffa and the Metropolis. The export of a far greater quantity of this material, however, solidified its earning power [9, p. 780-781; 55, p. 209].

Silver, copper, tin and iron were among the metals traded in Genoa. In the Black Sea region silver was excavated both on the Caucasian Coast (in the vicinity of the Sant'Angelo and Savastopoli ports) and in the area of the Trebizond Empire (near contemporary cities like Gümüshane and Bakburt) [2, p. 379; 15, doc. 22, p. 51; 47, p. 53; 65, p. 221, 223; 94, p. 109; 106, p. 62]. There is a high probability that the silver from Trebizond got to the Genoese merchants in the form of rods or bars. From the works of F. B. Pegolotti it is known that it was sold "by the weight"

measuring its weight in *libbre sottili*. Sometimes in this form it was used as the monetary equivalent. The citizens of the Republic paid taxes in bars and coins from Trebizond to the local Genoese administration, which sent the collected silver to Caffa [9, p. 782; 12, p. 44; 26, p. 133, 146; 35, p. 139-145; 59, p. 94; 75, p. 141-142; 122, p. 103-104].

The Genoese merchants also traded in copper. This was on account of regular contacts maintained both by Caffa and other cities in the region of the Black Sea with Turkish States like Synopa, Simisso and Samastris. The copper ores were excavated in the Black Sea regions of Asia Minor near Kerasont and also in Anatolian Kastmon. The excavated mineral, in clear form (*rame in panni*), was transported by land to Synopa where it was reloaded on ships and then sent in different directions, most commonly to Pera and particularly to Caffa, where in 1394 the transport of 100 hundredweights of copper (4,765 kg) was noted [9, p. 783-784; 12, p. 44; 22, p. 315-316; 27, p. 61; 47, p. 39; 55, p. 173; 65, p. 225-226; 75, p. 142-143; 118, doc. 136, p. 333]. Later in 1410, 146 hundredweights of metal (6 957 kg) were transported to Caffa. Next in 1,425.5 *colli* (455 kg) of copper owned by the Venetian merchants were supplied to the city, transported on a Greek ship. This vessel was operating under the mask of the trade ban with Synopa and was caught by the Genoese; the cargo, including the copper, was transferred to Caffa. In a similar way in 1455 a cargo of the same mineral was seized from Synopa. In that time sailors from the Genoese vessels sailing to Caffa under Tomasso Domoculy's command took possession of 450 hundredweights of copper and iron (2,144.5 kg) [9, p. 784; 12, p. 44; 19, doc. 63, p. 78; 21, doc. 55, p. 245-246; 47, p. 39, 107; 69 p. 189-190; 75, p. 143, 148; 77, p. 54; 95, doc. 10, p. 249; 114, doc. 278, 311; 118, doc. 134, 150, 226].

Apart from copper these Genoese ports supplied the ores of other metals like tin, which was transported in rods, bars (*stagno in verge*) or plates (*stagno in pistra*) and iron. We cannot precisely know the exact amounts of this product which were exported [48, p. 26; 59, p. 94; 75, p. 144]. Some part of the non – ferrous metals imported to Caffa met the local demand entirely and the rest was sent to the metropolis in the form of purified metal (*rame in panni*). It is hard to evaluate the amount of copper imported to Genoa on a global scale as we know only about certain cases, like that in 1389 a cargo of 880 *pondi* of copper (about 80 tones) was imported to Pera, and a year later about 4,000 hundredweight (190 tones) [9, p. 783-784; 12, p. 44; 22, p. 315-316; 47, p. 39; 55, p. 173, 183; 65, p. 259-260; 75, p. 142-143; 118, doc. 136, p. 333].

Besides copper, the Genoese merchants also obtained tin ores transported in rods, bars (*stagno in verge*) or plates (*stagno in pistra*). In 1425 about 5 *collo* of this metal (455 kg) were transported from Caffa to the West [21, doc. 55; 47, p. 39]. A certain number of shares in this export were meant for silver and mercury, but we cannot tell the numbers exactly [48, p. 26; 59, p. 94; 75, p. 144].

Taking into account all the information stated above, we can assume that the Genoese trade in goods and natural resources in the basin of the Black Sea, their redistribution in the region and also their transport to the metropolis or other cities in western Europe circulated in wholesale amounts, and that this kind of activity was bringing the highest profits. The statement of certain data allows us to say that wine and animal fur sales could bring almost 100% profit, wax about 35%, alum about 10–33% and grain 12%.

The main site for Genoese trade was concentrated in Caffa. The products obtained in different Genoese cities were often transported directly to Pera, Genoa or other European centres.

The trade in the region of the Black Sea and its significant links in the form of the Genoese colonies created new directions for the economic connections between East and West. At the same time it boosted imports to the colonies. The demand that caused this is thanks to the Black Sea colonies' intervention in the East: a great market of ready-made goods was developing. The most important among these products were cloth and linen, produced in the region of Flanders together with different fabrics manufactured in France, England or in the Empire. The goods imported from these regions generally reached Genoa and from there they were transported further to the East.

Other important aspects were the economic contact between the metropolis and its colonies, which was some kind of forcing factor for the changes in the seamanship and the greater volume goods transported (grain, alum), which in turn made the Genoese boat builders produce new types of units, like cogs – vessels of greater capacity than galleys.

The presence of the Genoese during two centuries seriously influenced the regional economy. The demand for agricultural crops in the West highlighted production in the Pontic region. This was the reason why the whole flow of goods was directed on different routes to the metropolis or the northern ends of Western Europe. In this way they passed through Crimean Caffa – the most important economical and administrative centre on the continent. The most important regional market was created there, and was not without influence on the neighbouring states. Its great economic contacts allowed it to influence more remote places, far from the coast of the Black Sea. We even talk about Polish areas which quickly became one of the most important links between the East and the

West. We can say that the activity of the Republic merchants was deeply stimulating for far more than just the local economy.

The Genoese merchants were an ideal example for local traders thanks to their capital and professional actions. The local merchants also played the role of mediators while delivering goods from remote places far from the coastal areas. The Greeks and the Armenians who owned the ships used the same buying and selling techniques, which is why it shouldn't be surprising that the Genoese treated them as important economic partners even though they didn't possess any great cargo resources. According to M. Balard, the activity of these groups was determined by the Genoese who mediated the dissemination of the eastern and western European models of trade. It was common practice to use loan and warrant trade agents in their activities.

Translated by Aleksandra Polanska

References:

1. **Agosto A.** Nuovi reperti archivistici genovesi dell'Officium Provisionis Romaniae sulla guerra di Cembalo (1434) // *Genova, la Liguria e l'Oltremare tra medioevo ed età moderna. Studi e ricerche d'archivio* / Ed. R. Belvederi. – Genova, 1981. – Vol. IV. – P. 103–108.
2. **Agosto A.** Orientamento sulle fonti documentarie dell'Archivio di Stato di Genova per la storia dei genovesi nella Russia meridionale // *Cinquant'anni di storiografia medievistica italiana e sovietica: Gli insediamenti genovesi nel Mar Nero, Atti del Convegno storico italo-sovietico e della Tavola Rotonda, Genova 11–13 novembre 1976.* – Genova, 1982. – P. 352–379.
3. **Airaldi G.** Studi e documenti su Genova e l'Oltremare. – Genova, 1974.
4. **Ashtor E.** Il volume del commercio levantino di Genova nel secondo Trecento // *Civico Istituto Colombiano, Studi e Testi. Saggi e documenti* / Ed. G. Pistarino. – Genova, 1978. – P. 2. – Vol. I. – P. 391–432.
5. **Badjan V. V., Ciperis A. M.** Torgovlja Kaffy v XIII–XV veka // *Feodal'naja Tavrika, materialy i issledovania po archeologii Krimea.* – Kiev, 1974. – P. 174–188.
6. **Balard M.** Les actes de Caffa du notaire Lamberto di Sambuceto 1289–1290 // *Genes et l'Outre-Mer* / Ed. M. Balard. – Paris, 1973. – Vol. I.
7. **Balard M.** Precursori di Cristoforo Colombo: i Genovesi in Estremo Oriente nel XIV secolo // *Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Colombiani, Genova 13–14 ottobre 1973.* – Genova, 1974. – P. 149–164.
8. **Balard M.** Les Genoïs dans l'Ouest de la mer Noire au XIVe siècle // *Actes du XIVe Congrès Internationale des Etudes Byzantines, Bucharest 6–12 septembre 1971.* – Bucharest, 1975. – Vol. II. – P. 21–32.
9. **Balard M.** La Romanie génoise (XIIIe–début du XVe siècle) // *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, n.s., XVIII (XCII).* – Genova, 1978. – Fasc. I. – P. I–II.
10. **Balard M.** Notes sur le ports du Bas-Danube au XIVe siècle // *Sudost-Forschungen.* – 1979. – Bd. 38. – Part. 1–2. – P. 1–12.
11. **Balard M.** Actes de Kilia du notaire Antonio di Ponzò, 1360 // *Genes et l'Outre-Mer.* – Paris, 1980. – Vol. II.
12. **Balard M.** Genes et la mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe siècle) // *Revue Historique.* – 1983. – V. 270. – P. 31–54.
13. **Balard M.** Le commerce du blé en mer Noire (XIIIe–XVe siècles) // *Aspetti della vita economica medievale. Atti del Convegno di Studi nel X° Anniversario della morte di Federigo Melis, Firenze–Pisa–Prato, 10–14 marzo 1984.* – Firenze, 1985. – P. 64–80.
14. **Balard M.** L'activité économique des ports du Bas–Danube au XIVe siècle // *Travaux et Mémoires du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance* / Ed. M. P. Lemerle. – Paris, 1987. – V.8. – P. 35–43.
15. **Balbi G.** Atti rogati a Caffa da Niccolò Beltrame (1343–1344) // *Notai genovesi in Oltremare: Atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo (sec. XIV)* / Eds. G. Balbi, S. Raiteri. – Genova–Bordighera, 1973.
16. **Balletto L.** Commercio di grano dal Mar Nero all'Occidente // *Critica Storica.* – 1977. – V.14. – Part 1. – P. 57–65.
17. **Balletto L.** Genova sul mare // *La storia dei genovesi.* – Genova, 1985. – Vol. V. – P. 345–375.
18. **Balletto L.** Pesca e pescatori nella Crimea genovese del secolo XV // *Atti dell'Accademia Ligure di Scienze e Lettere.* – 1986. – 42. – P. 189–199.

19. **Balletto L.** *Liber Offici Provisionis Romaniae, Genova 1424 – 1427.* – Genova, 2000.
20. **Bănescu N.** *Maurocastrum, Moncastro–Cetatea Alba // Académie roumaine. Bulletin de la section Historique.* – 1939. – 21. – P. 20–31.
21. **Bănescu N.** *Archives d'État de Gènes. Officium Provisionis Romaniae // Il. Revue des Etudes Sud–Est Européenes.* – 1967. – 5. – Part 2. – P. 235–263.
22. **Bautier R. H.** *Les relations économiques des Occidentaux avec les pays d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Points de vue et documents // Sociétés et compagnies de commerce en Orient et dans l'Océan Indien: Actes du 8e Colloque international d'Histoire maritime, Beyrouth 1966.* – Paris, 1970. – P. 263–331.
23. **Beldiceanu N.** *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque nationale à Paris.* – Paris, 1960. – Vol. I.
24. **Belgrano L. T.** *Cinque documenti genovesi–orientali // Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria.* – 1885. – 17. – P. 223–250.
25. **Berindei M.** *Le rôle des fourrures dans les relations commerciales entre la Russie et l'Empire ottoman avant la conquête de la Sibirie // Passé turco–tatar, présent soviétique: études offertes à Alexandre Bennigsen / Publiées par Ch. Lemerrier–Quelquejey, G. Veinstein, S. E. Wimbush.* – Louvain–Paris, 1986. – P. 89–98.
26. **Bertelè, T., Dorini, U.,** eds. *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436–1440) // Il Nuovo Ramusio.* – Roma, 1956. – Vol. III.
27. **Borlandi F.** *El libro di mercatantie et usanze de'paesi.* – Torino, 1936.
28. **Borlandi F.** „Futainiers” et fontaines dans l'Italie du Moyen Âge // *L'Hommage à L. Febvre.* – Paris, 1953. – Vol. II. – P. 133–140.
29. **Brătianu G. I.,** ed. *Actes des notaires génois de Pera et de Caffa de la fin du XIIIe siècle (1281–1290)* – Bucarest, 1927.
30. **Brătianu G. I.** *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la mer Noire au XIIIe siècle.* – Bucarest, 1929.
31. **Brătianu G. I.** *La question de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople à l'époque byzantine et ottomane // Byzantion.* – 1929–1930. – 5. – P. 83–107.
32. **Brătianu G. I.** *Nouvelles contributions à l'étude de l'approvisionnement de Constantinople sous les Paléologues et les empereurs ottoman // Byzantion.* – 1931. – 6. – P. 641–656.
33. **Brătianu G. I.** *Notes sur les Génois en Moldavie au XVe siècle // Revista Istorică Română.* – 1933. – 3. – P. 152–158.
34. **Brătianu G. I.** *La mer Noire, plaque tournante du trafic international à la fin du Moyen Âge // Revue Historique Sud–Est Européenes.* – 1944. – 21. – P. 36–69.
35. **Bryer A. A. M.** *The question of Byzantine mines in the Pontus: Chalybian iron, Chaldian silver, Koloneian alum and the mummy of Cheriana // Anatolian Studies.* – 1982. – 32. – P. 133–150.
36. **Charewiczowa Ł.** *Handel sredniowiecznego Lwowa.* – Lwow, 1925.
37. **Chiappa Mauri M. L.** *Il commercio occidentale di Genova nel XIV secolo // Nuova Rivista storica.* – 1973. – 57. – P. 571–612.
38. **Chotko S.** *Genueczcy w Czerkesii (1266–1475) // Elbrus.* – 1999. – T. 1.
39. **Czołowski A.,** ed. *Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tzw. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie.* – Lwów, 1876. – Vol. VI.
40. **Czołowski A.,** ed. *Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z Archiwum tzw. Bernardynskiego we Lwowie.* – Lwow, 1889. – Vol. XIV.
41. **Czołowski A.,** ed. *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z Archiwum miasta // Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta w latach 1404–1414.* – Lwów, 1898. – Vol. II.
42. **Czołowski A.,** ed. *Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa z Archiwum miasta // Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta w latach 1414–1426.* – Lwów, 1905. – Vol. III.
43. **Czołowski A.,** ed. *Pomniki dziejowe Lwowa z Archiwum miasta // Najstarsza księga miejska z lat 1444–48.* – Lwow, 1921. – Vol. IV.
44. **Dąbrowski J.** *Z rozważan nad genezą problemu czarnomorskiego // Pamiętnik VI Powszechnego Zjazdu Historyków Polskich w Wilnie.* – Lwow, 1939. – Vol. 2. – P. 73–75, 333–337.

45. **Delort R.** Quelques précisions sur le commerce des esclaves à Gênes vers la fin du XIVe siècle // *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* publiés par l'École Française de Rome. – 1966. – 78. – P. 215–250.
46. **Dziubiński A.** Drogi handlowe polsko-tureckie w XVI wieku // *Przegląd Historyczny*. – 1965. – T. 56. – P. 233–256.
47. **Emanov A. G.** Sever i jug v istorii komercii na materilach Kaffy XIII–XV vv. – Tiumen, 1995.
48. **Evans A.,** ed. Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. La pratica della mercatura. – Cambridge, 1936.
49. **Felloni G.** Per la storia della popolazione nei secoli XVI e XVII // *Archivio Storico Italiano*. – 1952. – CX. – P. 236–253.
50. **Gioffrè D.** Il commercio del sale e il monopolio fiscale nel secolo XIV // *Bollettino Ligustico per la Storia e la Cultura Regionale*. – 1958. – 10. – Part 1/2. – P. 3–32.
51. **Giurescu C. C.** Le commerce sur le territoire de la Moldavie pendant la domination tartare 1241–1352 // *Nouvelles Études d'Histoire*. – 1965. – 3. – P. 55–70.
52. **Gjuzelev V.** Du commerce genois dans les terres bulgares durant le XIVe siècle // *BHR*. – 1979. – An. VII. – N 4. – P. 36–58.
53. **Gjuzelev V.** Il Mar Nero ed il suo litorale nella storia del medioevo bulgaro // *Bulgaria Pontica Medii Aevi I: Premier Symposium International, Nessebre, 23–26 mai 1976* // *Byzantino–Bulgarica*. – Sofia, 1981. – VII. – P. 11–25.
54. **Heers J.** Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Âge // *Revue d'Histoire Économique et Sociale*. – 1954. – 32. – Part 1. – P. 31–53.
55. **Heers J.** Il commercio nel Mediterraneo alla fine del sec. XIV e nei primi anni del XV // *Archivio Storico Italiano*. – 1955. – 113. – Part 2. – P. 157–209.
56. **Heers J.** Le livre de comptes de Giovanni Piccamiglio, homme d'affaires Génois, 1456–1459. – Paris, 1959.
57. **Heers J.** Gênes au XVe siècle: activité économique et problèmes sociaux. – Paris, 1961.
58. **Heers J.** Genova nel '400. – Milano, 1991.
59. **Heyd W.** L'histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Âge. – Paris, 1936. – Vol. I–II.
60. **Hryszko R.** Działalność gospodarcza Genuńczyków w ziemi lwowskiej na tle kontaktów Polski z koloniami czarnomorskimi Genui w XV wieku: Master's thesis / Institute of History, Jagiellonian University. – Krakow, 1997.
61. **Hryszko R.** Cristoforo z San Remo – próba portretu genuńskiego kupca // *Studia Historyczne*. – 1999. – 42. – Issue 3 (166). – P. 331–347.
62. **Hryszko R.** Obraz Kilia – kolonii genuńskiej na nad Dunajem w świetle akt notarialnych Antonia di Ponzo // *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*. – 2000. – MCCCXXXVIII. – Prace Historyczne. – 127. – P. 9–25.
63. **Hryszko R.** Genuński rynek Licostomo nad Dunajem w latach siedemdziesiątych i osiemdziesiątych XIV wieku w świetle akt notarialnych Domenico da Carignano i Oberto Grassi da Voltri // *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego*. – MCCXLVIII. – Prace Historyczne. – 2001. – 128. – P. 59–69.
64. **Hryszko R.** Problemy żeglugi genuńskiej we wschodniej części Morza śródziemnego w XIV i XV wieku // *Portolana. Studia Mediterranea*. – 2004. – 1. – P. 137–152.
65. **Hryszko R.** Z Genui nad Morze Czarne. Z kart genuńskiej obecności gospodarczej na północno-zachodnich wybrzeżach Morza Czarnego u schyłku średniowiecza. – Krakow, 2004.
66. **Iliescu O.** Nouvelles éditions d'actes notaries instrumentés au XIVe siècle dans les colonies génoises des bouches du Danube. Actes de Kilia et de Licostomo // *Revue des Etudes Sud–Est Européennes*. – 1977. – 15. – Part 1. – P. 113–129.
67. **Iliescu O.** Nouvelles contributions à la géographie historique de la mer Noire // *Il Mar Nero. Annali di Archeologia e Storia*. – 1994. – 1. – P. 229–259.
68. **Iorga N.,** ed. Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XVe siècle // *Revue de l'Orient latin*. – Paris, 1896. – V. 4.
69. **Iorga N.** Acte și fragmente cu prizvire la istoria romanilor. – Bucharest, 1897. – Vol. III.
70. **Iorga N.** Point de vue sur l'histoire du commerce de l'Orient au Moyen Âge. – Paris, 1924.
71. **Iosipescu S.** Dans la mer Noire pendant l'antiquité et le Moyen Âge: en louchant à la recherche de l'ancienne bouche sud du Danube // *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*. – 1982. – 1. – Part 2. – P. 283–302.

72. **Karpov G. F.**, ed. Pamjatniki diplomatičeskich snošenij Moskovskogo gosudarstva s Krymskoju i Nogajskoju ordami i s Turciej (1474–1505). – Sankt Petersburg, 1884.
73. **Karpov S. P.** Italijskaja trgovlja v Trapezunde i ee vozdejstvie na ekonomiku pozdnevzantijskogo goroda // Vizantijskij Vremennik. – 1983. – 44. – P. 81–84.
74. **Karpov S. P.** Torgovlja zernom v Juznom Pričernomore v XIII–XV v. // Vizantijskij Vremennik. – 1989. – 50. – P. 26–35.
75. **Karpov S. P.** Italijskie morskije respubliki i Južnoe Pričernomore v XIII–XV v.: Problemy trgovli. – Moskva, 1990.
76. **Karpov S. P.** O torgovych privilegijach morskich respublik v Trapezundskoj imperii // Vizantijski Vremennik. – 1990. – 51. – P. 23–31.
77. **Karpov S. P.** La navigazione veneziana nel Mar Nero 13.–15. sec. – Ravenna, 2000.
78. **Kedar B. Z.** Mercanti in crisi: Venezia e Genova. – Roma, 1981.
79. **Kutrzeba S.** Handel Polski ze Wschodem w wiekach srednich. – Krakow, 1913.
80. **Kyrris C. P.** John Cantacuzenus and the Genoese 1321–1348 // Miscellanea storica ligure. – Milano, 1963. – Vol. III. – P. 7–48.
81. **Letts M.**, transl. Pero Tafur: Travels and Adventures (1435–1439). – New York-London, 1926; <http://chass.colostate-pueblo.edu/history/seminar/tafur/tafur3.htm>
82. **Lopez R. S.** Studi sull'economia genovese nel medio evo. – Torino, 1936.
83. **Lopez R. S.** Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo. – Bologna, 1938.
84. **Lopez R. S.** L'extreme frontiere du commerce medieval // Le Moyen Âge. – 1963. – Volume jubilaire, 1888 – 1963. – P. 479–490.
85. **Lopez R. S.** In quibuscumque mundi partibus // Miscellanea di storia italiana e mediterranea per Nino Lamboglia. – Genova, 1978. – P. 345–354.
86. **Małowist M.** Kaffa – kolonia genuenska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475. – Warszawa, 1947.
87. **Manfroni C.** Le relazioni fra Genova l'imperio bizantino e i Turchi // Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patrie. – 1898. – 28. – P. 575–856.
88. **Manolescu R.** Comerțul și transportul produselor economice agrare la Dunărea de Jos și pe Marea Neagră în secolele XIII–XIV // Revista Istorică. – 1990. – 1. – Part 6. – P. 545–570.
89. **Manolescu R.** Marea Mediterana și Marea Neagră în evul mediu (Schită a evoluției lor ca arii de supremație navală și comercială // Revista Istorică. – 1993. – 4. – Part 1–2. – P. 43–54.
90. **Mellis F.** Documenti per la storia economica secoli XIII–XIV. – Firenze, 1972.
91. **Morozzo Della Rocca R.** Lettere di mercanti a Pignol Zucchello (1336–1350). – Venezia, 1957.
92. **Morozzo Della Rocca R.** Notizie da Caffa // Studi in onore Amintore Fanfani. – Milano, 1962. – Vol. III. – P. 267–295.
93. **Musso G. G.** Russia e genovesi del Levante nel Quattrocento, Note su documenti // Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato. – 1965. – 25. – P. 2. – P. 227–244.
94. **Musso G. G.** Gli Orientali nei notai genovesi di Caffa // Ricerche di Archivio e Studi storici in onore di Giorgio Costamagna. – Roma, 1974. – P. 97–110.
95. **Musso G. G.** Navigazione e commercio genovese con il Levante nei documenti dell'Archivio di Stato di Genova (sec. XIV–XV). – Roma, 1975.
96. **Neumann K. F.**, ed. Johann Schiltberger, Reisen in Europa, Asia und Africa von 1394 bis 1427. – Munchen, 1859.
97. **Niemann J. W.** Der Handel der Stadt Lemberg im Mittelalter // Die Burg. Vierteljahresschrift des Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit Krakau. – 1941. – 2. – P. 4. – P. 69–92.
98. **Nistor J.** Die auswärtigen Handelsbeziehungen der Moldau im XIV, XV und XVI Jahrhundert. – Gotha, 1911.
99. **Origone S.** L'amministrazione genovese a Caffa nel secolo XV // Civico Istituto Colombiano, Studi e Testi / Serie storica a cura di G. Pistarino. Saggi e documenti. – Genova, 1983. – P. 4. – Vol. III. – P. 229–241.
100. **Patin E.** Le commerce des céréales dans le bassin du Bas-Danube. – Paris, 1933.

- 101. Piervigiovanni V.** Dottrina e prassi nella formazione del diritto portuale: il modello Genovese // Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. – 1989. – 27. – Fasc. I. – P. 9–49.
- 102. Pistarino G.** Tra liberi e schiave a Genova nel Quattrocento // Anuario de Estudios Medievales. – 1964. – 1. – P. 353–374.
- 103. Pistarino G.** Genova medievale fra Oriente e Occidente // Rivista Storica Italiana. – 1969. – 81. – P. 44–73.
- 104. Pistarino G.** Notai genovesi in Oltremare // Atti rogati a Chilia da Antonio di Ponzò (1360–1361). – Bordighera, 1971.
- 105. Pistarino G.** Mercanti del Trecento nel Levante Genovese // Clio. – 1974. – 10. – Part 1 (gennaio–marzo). – P. 33–66.
- 106. Pistarino G.** Le fonti genovesi per la storia del Mar Nero // Vizantijskij Vremennik. – 1981. – 7. – P. 43–73.
- 107. Ptaśnik J.** Kultura włoska wieków srednich w Polsce. – Warszawa, 1956.
- 108. Raiteri S.** Atti rogati a Licostomo da Domenico da Carignano (1373) i Oberto Grassi da Voltri (1383–84) // Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Caffa e a Licostomo (sec. XIV) / Eds. G. Balbi, S. Raiteri, – Genova, 1973.
- 109. Renouard Y.** Les hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Âge. – Paris, 1968.
- 110. Rocca P.** Pesì e misure antiche di Genova e del Genovesato. – Genova, 1871.
- 111. Roccatagliata A.** Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene. – Bordighera, 1982. – Vol. I: Pera, 1408–1490. – Vol. II: Mitilene, 1454–1460.
- 112. Romano R.** A propos du commerce du blé dans la Méditerranée des XIVe et XVe siècles // Hommage à L. Febvre. – Paris, 1953. – Vol. II. – P. 149–161.
- 113. Skrżinskaja E.** Barbaro i Kontarini o Rossii. – Leningrad, 1971.
- 114. Thiriet F.,** ed. Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Roumanie. – Paris, 1961. – Vol. III.
- 115. Thomas G. M.,** ed. Diplomatarium Veneto–Levantinum. – Venezia, 1899. – Vol. II.
- 116. Todorova E.** Gli insediamenti genovesi alle foci del Danubio: Vicina, Chilia, Licostomo // Genova e la Bulgaria nel Medioevo, Collana storica di fonti e studi diretta da G. Pistarino. – Genova, 1984. – Vol. 42. – P. 427–459.
- 117. Verlinden Ch.** La colonie vénitienne de Tana, centre de la traite des esclaves au XIVe et au début XVe siècles // Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto. – Milano, 1950. – Vol. II. – P. 1–25.
- 118. Vigna A.,** ed. Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro–liguri durante la signoria dell'Ufficio di San Giorgio (MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXV) // Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. – Genova, 1868. – T. I (anni 1453–1459). – V. 6.
- 119. Vigna A.,** ed. Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro–liguri durante la signoria dell'Ufficio di San Giorgio (MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXV). – Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. – Genova, 1871. – T. II. – Part I (anni 1460–1472). – V. 7. – Fasc. I–II.
- 120. Vigna A.,** ed. Codice diplomatico delle colonie tauro–liguri durante la signoria dell'Ufficio di San Giorgio (MCCCCLIII–MCCCCLXXV) // Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria. – Genova 1879. – T. II. – Part II (anni 1473–1475). – V. 7. – Fasc. I–II.
- 121. Wierzbowski T.** Vademecum. Podręcznik do studjow archiwalnych. – Lwow-Warszawa, 1926.
- 122. Zajczkowski A.,** ed. Ibn Batuta, Osobliwosci miast i dziwy podróży, 1324–1354. – Warszawa, 1962.

ГЕНУЕЗЬКІ КОЛОНІЇ НА ЧОРНОМУ МОРІ. ЇХНЯ РОЛЬ У МІСЦЕВІЙ ТОРГІВЛІ В ПІЗНЬОМУ СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧЧІ (XIV–XV ст.)

Предметом цієї публікації є вивчення присутності й ролі генуезького купецтва в період спаду торгівельних зв'язків цього регіону з Далеким Сходом і сплеск торгівлі на місцевому рівні. У другій половині XIII ст. Республіка Генуя досягла можливості активізувати свою економічну діяльність на Візантійських та пост-Візантійських територіях. Вздовж Чорноморського узбережжя генуезці закріплюють за собою низку торгівельних постів, серед яких Кафа, Солдайя, Чембало на Кримському півострові, Танаїс у гирлі Дону, Килія та Лікостомо на Дунаї, Білгород на Дністрі, Трапезунд на північному узбережжі Малої Азії та Пера-Галата у самому Константинополі. У XIII – на початку XIV ст. генуезькі колонії виступають посередниками у постачанні східних товарів до Європи, в основному таких, як спеції, шовк, бавовна, а також дорогоцінних металів та каміння. Однак порушення контактів з Далеким Сходом у XIV ст. спричинило серйозну економічну кризу в Генуї та Західній Європі й примусило купців Причорномор'я шукати нові джерела доходів та активізувати торгівлю місцевими товарами та природними ресурсами.

Публікація включає розгляд різних аспектів комерційної діяльності генуезців на Чорному морі в економічних та транспортних умовах, що склалися до XIV ст., а також аспекти, що стосуються організації цієї торгівлі на прикладі кримської Кафи (сучасна Феодосія). З Причорномор'я експортувалися, головним чином, місцеві товари та ресурси, а саме: зерно, вино, хутро, віск, ліс, риба, сіль, галун та мінеральні ресурси. Зерно, що мало особливе значення, вільно експортувалося генуезькими купцями в метрополію, особливо

після 1352 р., коли Візантійська імперія та Генуя підписали договір про надання останній повного контролю над торгівлею зерном у Чорноморському регіоні.

Двовікова присутність Генуї справила серйозний вплив на економіку Причорноморського регіону. Високий попит на місцеві товари, більшість з яких йшли через кримську Кафу, дозволили їй стати найбільш важливим економічним і торговим центром. Таким чином, ця публікація дає можливість розглядати економічну активність генуезців у більш широкому контексті.

Ключові слова: Генуезька республіка, Чорне море, генуезькі колонії, регіональна торгівля, XIV–XV ст.

ГЕНУЭЗСКИЕ КОЛОНИИ НА ЧЕРНОМ МОРЕ. ИХ РОЛЬ В МЕСТНОЙ ТОРГОВЛЕ В ПОЗДНЕЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЕ (XIV–XV вв.)

Предметом данной публикации является изучение присутствия и роли генуэзского купечества в период упадка торговых связей этого региона с Дальним Востоком и всплеском торговли на местном уровне. Во второй половине XIII в. Республика Генуя достигла возможности активизировать свою экономическую деятельность на Византийских и пост-Византийских территориях. Вдоль Черноморского побережья генуэзцы закрепляют за собой ряд торговых постов, среди которых: Каффа, Солдайя, Чембало на Крымском полуострове, Танаис в устье Дона, Килия и Ликостомо на Дунае, Белгород на Днестре, Трапезунд на северном побережье Малой Азии и Пера-Галата в самом Константинополе. В XIII – начале XIV вв. Генуэзские колонии выступают посредниками в поставках восточных товаров в Европу, в частности, таких как специи, шелк, хлопок, а также драгоценные металлы и камни. Однако нарушение контактов с Дальним Востоком в XIV в. спровоцировало серьезный экономический кризис в Генуе и Западной Европе и вынудило купцов Причерноморья искать новые источники дохода и активизировать торговлю местными товарами и природными ресурсами.

Публикация включает рассмотрение различных аспектов коммерческой деятельности генуэзцев на Черном море в экономических и транспортировочных условиях, сложившихся к XIV в., а также аспекты, касающиеся организации этой торговли, на примере крымской Каффы (современная Феодосия). Из Причерноморья экспортировались, главным образом, местные товары и ресурсы, а именно: зерно, вино, меха, мед, воск, лес, рыба, соль, квасцы и минеральные ресурсы. Зерно, имевшее особое значение, свободно экспортировалось генуэзскими купцами в метрополию, особенно после 1352 г., когда Византийская империя и Генуя подписали договор о предоставлении последней полного контроля над торговлей зерном в Черноморском регионе.

Двухвековое присутствие Генуи оказало серьезное влияние на экономику Причерноморского региона. Высокий спрос на местные товары, большинство из которых шло через крымскую Каффу, позволил ей стать наиболее важным экономическим и торговым центром. Таким образом, данная публикация дает возможность рассматривать экономическую активность генуэзцев в более широком контексте.

Ключевые слова: Генуэзская республика, Черное море, генуэзские колонии, региональная торговля, XIV–XV вв.