wares sent from there to the province of Africa, Fes, Sus, and Agmat. All this, plus the farming of the mint, amounted to 400,000 dinars.

[North Africa, c. 977]

NAPLES AND AMAFI

The territory of Calabria borders on that of Lombardy,18 the first state of which is Salerno. Then there is Amalfi, the most prosperous town in Lombardy, the most noble, the most illustrious on account of its condition, the most affluent and opulent. The territory of Amalfi borders on that of Naples. This is a fair city, but less important than Amalfi. The main wealth of Naples is linen and linen cloth. I have seen there pieces the like of which I found in no other country, and there is no craftsman in any other workshop19 in the world who is able to manufacture it. They are woven 100 dhira20 [in length] by 15 or 16 [in width], and they sell for 150 ruba’i,21 a piece, more or less.

The Permanent Market in Milan in the Tenth Century

Trade in medieval cities was carried on from the windows of residential houses, in the homes of merchants, in front of craftsmen’s workshops, on docks of seas and rivers, and in many other places. The busiest center, however, was the public market. This usually was a square occupied by carts, removable stalls, benches (lanchi, tablone, etc.), or by semipermanent stands (stationes), and surrounded by buildings with the shops and the vaulted storage rooms of the more important merchants (apothecae, volcae, fundaci). As time went by, permanent structures tended to displace movable stalls, the single market branched out into many specialized markets and into district markets, and the shopping center spread over one street after another. In the tenth century, however, the public market still was the commercial core in the more advanced cities of Western Europe. We can form some idea of a public market by studying the market in Milan through the charter whereby Otto I granted certain plots of land to the Church of Saint Ambrose

18 This excerpt is translated from the Italian version by M. Amici in Biblioteca arabo-sicula, I, 24-25.
19 Lombardy, of course, here means primarily the Lombard principalities of Salerno, Benevento, and Capua, but it was also used to indicate the surrounding area, e.g., the Byzantine theme or province of Longobardia.
20 Troy. The color is not made by dyeing the wool; it is woven in with the fabric. Troy goods were manufactured around the city of Troy, and they were known throughout the Mediterranean.
21 The dhira’ was a coin worth one-fourth of a dinar.
22 The ruba’i was a coin worth one-fourth of a dinar.

[Como, February, 952]

In the name of the Holy and Indivisible Trinity, Otto, king ruling by divine clemency. Be it known to the diligence of all the faithful of the Holy Church of God and of our present and future [subjects], that by intervention and petition of our beloved wife Adelgida and of our dearest brother Bruno we concede, give, and bestow by this order, so far as we justly and legally may, to the monastery of the blessed confessor of Christ, Ambrose, where his venerable body lies buried, five plots of land appertaining to our crown, inside the city of Milan and lying in the locality where is the public market: One plot, where there are stands22 which Giovanni, son of the late Ambrogio, and also Giovanni, who is named Grasso, and Prando, son of Magno, are known to hold, borders on two sides the roads, on the third side [the property] of Saint Ambrose and of Armon, brother of Walcone, merchant, on the fourth side likewise [the property] of Saint Ambrose. Another plot where there are also stands, borders on the one side the sewer, on another side [the property] of the heirs of the late Aodolo, on the third side the road. Also, the third plot borders on three sides [the property] of Saint Ambrose, on the fourth the road. Also, the fourth plot nearby, where the well of the king is, borders on the one side [the property] of Saint Ambrose, on the other side [the property] of the heirs of the late Grisando, on the third side the road, on the fourth side the entrance. The fifth plot, indeed, borders on the one side the road, on another the entrance to the house of Ardunio, on the third side the land and house of the aforesaid Arunio, on the fourth side [the property] of Domenico, who is named Carlo. In addition we concede to the said monastery a hall23 together with the plot on which it is situated—likewise appertaining to our kingdom—being inside the aforesaid city in the market mentioned above, with the stands therein having before

18 On the Milanese commercial economy of that period, see A. Visconti, 'Ricerche sul diritto pubblico milanese nell'alto medio età,' Archivi della R. Università di Milano, III (1913), 101-212; VII (1917), 205-414, and, by the same author, 'Negotiorum de Mediolani,' Archivi della R. Università di Milano, V (1919), 177-252. See also A. Basili, Origini del Comune di Milano. 40 Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Diplomata regni et imperii germanorum, I, 236.
20 Nogazzanisi. The word refers to Walton.
21 A building with a large hall; it sometimes has not always the other rooms of smaller size.
them small benches, where the aforesaid sewer is the border on the one end, on another side our public property, on the two remaining sides the roads. And the above-mentioned five plots with the aforesaid [buildings], taken together, are by correct measure 24 tabulae.

**Trade in Lombardy Before the Rise of the Communes**

We have caught a glimpse of a small section of a market place. Let us now enlarge our perspective to watch the entire picture of commercial activity in Pavia and along the political frontiers of the Lombard kingdom of Italy in the tenth century. Wrathful Anglo-Saxons and other transalpine merchants clear their wares through the border customs houses, already mentioned in the law of Aistulf, and make ready to buy in Pavia the precious Eastern merchandise which Italo-Byzantine merchants carry on Lombard rivers and roads. The city itself bustles with the activity of merchants and craftsmen grouped in mysteries under the leadership of appointed masters. Royal officials seem to supervise the entire economic life in a way reminiscent of Constantinople.

They will not do so for long. Control by royal authority in Italy does not survive the dawn of the Commercial Revolution. The new economic forces help the bishops undermine the power of the emperor and king, but at the same time they also prepare the future downfall of both bishops and imperial officials and the victory of the free Commune. Document 20 is a nostalgic list of the rights and incomes lost by the royal treasury (camera) in Pavia. Compiled in the early eleventh century, it commemorates a régime which was already doomed even as the document was drafted.

20

**Regulations of the Royal Court at Pavia**

*From the Vulgar Latin*

[Pavia, between c. 1010 and c. 1020, based upon tenth-century sources]

2. . . . Merchants entering the kingdom [of Italy] were wont to pay the

**Bunculus.**


26 A. Solmi, ed., *Instituta regalia et ministeria camere regni Longobardorum et aliae honorantiae civitatis Papiae*, in *L'amministrazione finanziaria del regno italiano*, pp. 21–24. The document is also published by A. Hofmeister in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores*, Vol. XXX, Part 2, pp. 1450–57. The text of the eleventh-century document has come down to us as the central part of a fourteenth-century pamphlet. The later writer by his own mistakes in copying has made still more confused and ungrammatical a text which even in its original form must have been hard to interpret.