

The Nasrid Kingdom of Granada between East and West

(Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)

Edited by

Adela Fábregas

Translated by

Consuelo López-Morillas



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Contents

Preface IX

List of Figures and Tables XII

Introduction. The Nasrid Kingdom in the History of al-Andalus 1
Pierre Guichard

PART 1

Political and Institutional Aspects

- 1 The Banū Naṣr: The Founders of the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada
(Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries) 39
Bárbara Boloix Gallardo
- 2 Political Structures 73
Antonio Peláez Rovira
- 3 Islamic Law and Religion in Nasrid Granada 100
Amalia Zomeño
- 4 Granada and Its International Contacts 124
Roser Salicrú i Lluch

PART 2

Socioeconomic Structures

- 5 The Nasrid Economy 155
Adela Fábregas
- 6 The Nasrid Population and Its Ethnocultural Components 177
Bilal Sarr
- 7 Families and Family Ties in Nasrid Granada 195
Amalia Zomeño

PART 3***Spatial Organization and Material Culture***

- 8 Organization of Settlement and Territorial Structures in the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada 219
Antonio Malpica Cuello
- 9 The *Madīna* and Its Territory: Urban Order and City Fabric in the Nasrid Kingdom 237
Christine Mazzoli-Guintard
- 10 Domestic Spaces during the Nasrid Period: Houses 263
María Elena Díez Jorge
- 11 Productive Activities and Material Culture 304
Alberto García Porras
- 12 The Palatine City of the Alhambra, Seat and Center of Power 327
Antonio Malpica Cuello

PART 4***Modes of Thought and Artistic Creation***

- 13 Art and Architecture 341
Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza
- 14 The Cultural Environment 368
María Dolores Rodríguez Gómez
- 15 Nasrid Literature: Ascesis, Belles-Lettres, and Court Poetry 393
José Miguel Puerta Vilchez
- 16 Science and Knowledge 413
Expiración García Sánchez

PART 5***Posterity: The Conquest and Incorporation of Granada into the Crown of Castile***

- 17 Granada and Castile: A Long Conflict 441
Daniel Baloup
- 18 A New Society: The Castilians 467
Rafael G. Peinado Santaella
- 19 An Old Society. Mudejar Neighbors: New Perspectives 495
Ángel Galán Sánchez
- 20 The Christianization of the Mudejars of Granada and the Persistence of Islam after the Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain (1492–ca. 1730) 519
Gerard Wiegers

PART 6***Sources for the Study of the Nasrid Kingdom***

- 21 Arabic Sources for the History of Nasrid al-Andalus 547
Francisco Vidal Castro
- 22 Christian Sources for the Last Muslim Kingdom in Western Europe 589
Raúl González Arévalo
- 23 Archaeological Sources 630
Alberto García Porras
- Index Nominum 657
- Index Locorum 667

The Nasrid Economy

Adela Fábregas

This review of the structure of the Nasrid economy seeks to go beyond a simple description of a series of productive activities.¹ We believe that economic behaviors, understood as reflections of social dynamics, serve as an important tool for interpreting the Nasrid world and understanding the transitional nature of its society.

Many years ago Pierre Guichard identified Andalusí society as a structure with Islamic characteristics, clearly differentiated from those of the other Western societies with which it shared time and space. It retained strong principles of community cohesion that were capable of exerting resistance against the hegemonic pressure of the state.² These community dynamics could be viewed as reminiscences of the kinship systems that had arisen in Eastern societies and Berber groups and lived on particularly among the inhabitants of rural areas. Guichard's work served as a milestone from which the study of all Andalusí societies, including the Nasrid, has developed. For the Nasrid world in particular, Guichard's thesis marked a real turning point in reinforcing, even confirming, its nature as an Islamic society. The Nasrid kingdom, despite its evident anomalies, remained basically true to the anthropological model of a kinship-based structure, and thus Nasrid history was integrated into the history of Peninsular Islam.

At the same time, however, it was clear that this model of a traditional Islamic society as applied to the Andalusí world was far from immutable, but would undergo perceptible evolution in the course of its history. Here we begin to perceive the role that Granada might play in the history of al-Andalus. One way to determine the true degree of Islamization of that society, and of its evolution toward new formulas, will be to explore the strength and cohesion of its kinship system in the face of legal authority as represented by the Islamic state.

As scholars began to study the Nasrid economy, one of their first objectives was to clarify the forms of organization and survival, both social and economic, of those peasant communities: they focused on the structuring of agricultural space and above all on irrigation systems. This line of research is far from being

1 This essay is included in the framework of the Research Project "Industria y Comercio en al-Andalus: siglos XI–XV. INCOME" (A-HUM-040-UGR18/P18-FR-2046), funded by Junta de Andalucía.

2 Guichard, *Al Andalus. Estructura antropológica* and *Al Andalus y la conquista*.

exhausted but has led to new lines of inquiry, and studies once carried out in more traditional fashion have been enriched with ever-more-sophisticated types of analysis. In our opinion the most significant example has been the study of Nasrid commerce. We believe that trade may have been one of the elements that accelerated change: it was understood that state power would find opportunities for direct control in rural areas, channeling it through local systems of authority. The place where the hand of power, the hand of kings and perhaps of other external forces, would intervene most forcefully would be in the network of production, the economic configuration that supported Nasrid society – there its presence, or influence, sought to be ever greater. We should understand that the state's mechanisms of penetration and control were principally, though not exclusively, economic. Their first objective would be to capture rural resources through control of the inhabitants' productive activities. Whether they succeeded, or how far they were able to advance, is another question. We shall discuss all this in the pages that follow.

1 The Agrarian Economy

The Nasrid economy was basically agricultural, ruled by the internal norms of the peasant world. Groups of free peasants who lived and worked in small farmsteads were chiefly engaged in direct cultivation, with a productive strategy clearly directed toward self-sufficiency. Their priority was to produce goods for immediate use, preferably for supplying the farmer and his family.³ This peasant economy showed considerable diversity in its means of production: agriculture, cattle-raising, pasturing. Even crops that might be commercialized, such as dried beans, nuts, and fruits, became food reserves for lean times. In principle this model acted in detriment of goods that were not meant to support the peasant group – for instance, those that could be exchanged or sold for profit. But as we shall see, this was not exactly the case.

In this period the basic unit of population and cultivation continued to be, as it had always been in al-Andalus, the *alquería* (farmstead or small agricultural community).⁴ It was usually inhabited by free owners who based their economy on full exploitation of the cultivated land. The *alquería's* agricultural terrain might include different types of land depending on the prevailing model of ownership. According to the Maliki legal tradition predominant in the kingdom, land could be held by individuals, in common (particularly for pasturage or forest management), or unassigned in the case of areas left

³ Malpica, "El mundo rural nazari."

⁴ Guichard, *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista*; Lagardère, *Campagnes et paysans*.

fallow or abandoned. These last, however, could be placed under cultivation and revived, with the cultivator becoming their legal owner.⁵ Those spaces became capable of extension or agricultural colonization, even, in some cases, in ways unknown to the traditional peasant system. The formation of great estates, their ownership by entities outside the rural world, the introduction of new methods of cultivation, the development of concentrated monocultures, the introduction of plants meant for commercialization (mulberry trees, sugarcane, dried beans and fruits) – all these variations on the traditional peasant economy could grow into new options.

In any event, most of Andalusí and Nasrid agricultural lands were organized into small and medium-sized properties that typified the unit of cultivation in rural areas. Large holdings were restricted to certain areas, usually in periurban zones where, especially in the last decades of Nasrid rule (we do not know about earlier times) there were some *alquerías* that belonged to noble families or members of the urban bourgeoisie.⁶ But I repeat that in general, Nasrid agriculture preferred cultivation on a small scale that could best adapt to the needs of a peasant society.

One of the most characteristic elements of Nasrid cultivation was intensive irrigated polyculture. The establishment of irrigation systems in al-Andalus – which were so complex in their creation and maintenance that they required coordinated, communitarian strategies of labor⁷ – was possible only in cohesive groups that showed a high degree of solidarity,⁸ and would profoundly alter the Andalusí agricultural landscape. Irrigation permitted, among other things, the introduction of many previously unknown plants, species whose growth was limited by ecological requirements usually absent in the Mediterranean environment. Therefore in the Nasrid period we can speak of an agriculture of gardens or orchards (*huertas*) which, though not typical of the Mediterranean ecosystem, would take firm root. In addition there were other species such as rice, certain types of cereals (sorghum, durum wheat), plants with industrial uses such as those that produced textiles, or others with secondary uses (sugarcane, employed in foods and pharmaceuticals), all of which would prove fundamental to the Nasrid economy.

These irrigated systems required intensive cultivation in both the preparation of the soil and the actual exploitation of surface areas. Farmers, heirs to a

5 Trillo, *Agua, tierra y hombres*.

6 Peinado, *Aristócratas nazaries*.

7 See in this same volume Malpica, "Organisation of Settlement" (ch. 8)

8 Malpica, "La vida agrícola y la ganadería" and "Formación y desarrollo del agroecosistema irrigado."

wise agronomic tradition, could exploit the land's productive capacity to the maximum by combining fertilization and crop rotation.⁹ The soil was rarely rested by allowing it to lie fallow: farmers preferred to rotate crops like cereals and pulses on a four-year schedule with textile-producing plants such as flax, as was done in the *Vega* or fertile plain of Granada. Careful and constant enrichment of the soil kept it productive and took fullest advantage of complex irrigation systems. The result was a rich, varied, and abundant agricultural production that surpassed the basic subsistence needs of the rural world and could be directed to other consumer ends, particularly through exchange.¹⁰ But introducing market dynamics into this peasant agricultural economy proved much more complicated than one would expect.

Of course dry farming existed also; it was better suited to the Mediterranean ecosystem and perhaps more significant than has long been thought. It was generally associated with lands held in common, which required less maintenance and care and were worked less intensively. Its role in Nasrid agriculture is gradually being reevaluated, as we shall see below. These lands could be cultivated in case of need by planting cereals that were basic to human nutrition but required little care, or could sustain secondary crops such as pulses and mulberry trees. Such spaces might be irrigated occasionally, and if adjacent to irrigated tracts might eventually be incorporated into them.

We have described Nasrid agriculture, the chief sector of the kingdom's economy, in general terms. At the present time, our more specific knowledge of how the fields of Nasrid lands were cultivated is based only on later sources – the famous *Libros de Apeos* and *Repartimientos* (ledgers of distribution and reapportionment) compiled immediately after the Christian conquest – and on archaeological discoveries. When we examine in closer detail the broad areas that made up the kingdom we find important divergences from the overall picture, and above all nuances that are significant for a better understanding of its economic dimensions.

First of all, there seem to have been different uses of irrigated and dry farming in different parts of the kingdom. The traditional opposition between the two types was not absolute in al-Andalus, and in fact we should call the dichotomy into question. Some crops might be grown on either variety of land, depending on the area and the kinds of productive strategies used. For instance, in places less exposed to commercial influence – in the interior and rural areas farther from cities – we find species that could survive on both kinds of land. Cereals, grapevines, and almond trees occupy many irrigated zones, sometimes

⁹ Watson, *Innovaciones agrícolas*; Bolens, *Agrónomos andaluces*.

¹⁰ Malpica, “La vida agrícola y la ganadería.”

in proportions that match those of other crops that can survive only under irrigation. In contrast, on lands that surrounded important markets, irrigated fields would bear crops that could bring the greatest profit. Therefore cereals, a crop always destined for personal consumption or at best for internal markets, were relegated to dry tracts; those fields might be greater in extent but of much less qualitative value, since their indices of productivity would be a good deal lower.

We shall first look at areas along the frontier. A generally accepted principle has been that zones exposed to border raids had very limited opportunities for agriculture, but that view is now being modified. In these areas dry farming was much more common than irrigation,¹¹ but the latter existed as well. The only objective of frontier agriculture was to support the peasant community that practiced it, so cereals, vines, and orchards predominated. Cereals that could be made into bread, such as wheat and rye, were far more common than those meant for animal feed, such as barley. Most irrigated parcels close to residential areas were occupied by gardens, and were sometimes attached to specific houses. We find only occasional mention of marketable crops such as flax and mulberry trees.

On the other hand a typical feature of frontier areas, though it also existed elsewhere, was animal husbandry. It was a versatile activity that could be mobile in times of danger, and was the only one that could be carried out on extensive *dehesa* (agropastoral) lands; therefore conditions on the border favored its development. It could even supply a type of income free from Nasrid fiscal control, since pasturelands might be rented from Christian towns across the border.¹²

Herding was common across all Nasrid agricultural lands, which included many common pastures as well as fields owned by each *alquería* or rural community.¹³

For some time now scholars have been questioning the majority opinion about herding in al-Andalus. It was traditionally asserted that irrigation agriculture and herding were incompatible, based on the fragility of the hydraulic structures needed to sustain irrigation, whose intensive nature excluded the presence of animals. The principal proof offered was that the main sources on Andalusí agriculture, the *Kutub al-filāḥa* (Books of Farming) made no mention

11 Alfaro Baena, *El repartimiento de Castril*.

12 Quesada, *La Serranía de Mágina*; Carmona, "Ganadería y frontera."

13 Malpica, "La vida agrícola y la ganadería," 226–28.

of animal husbandry.¹⁴ But this view ignores the large spaces available for dry farming and above all certain communal practices that could favor the use and public maintenance of pasturelands. Still, there was recognition that a consistent role for livestock existed and required satisfactory explanation; it was a question of identifying its true role in the overall Nasrid peasant economy.¹⁵ In recent years this revision of the traditional parameters regarding Nasrid pasturing has been offered with greater force.¹⁶ The logic of rural life requires minimizing risks to productivity and seeks maximum diversification of production within agriculture as a whole; we have seen, for instance, how frontier regions encompassed broad areas suitable for dry farming.

Finally, smaller animals (sheep and goats raised in limited numbers), which predominated in the kingdom, were not only compatible with but even convenient for irrigated lands, which could be enriched with their fertilizer. The few studies to date of animal remains found in archaeological digs for the Nasrid period show that ruminants were slaughtered at a very young age; this suggests that herds, usually raised outside cultivated areas, were carefully controlled so as not to damage those fields. Plowing would not employ large animals because neither the topography nor the size of individual holdings would allow it. It is possible that manure was employed, however: it could be collected when stables were located close to settled areas. Animal husbandry, therefore, formed part of the kingdom's overall economy but chiefly as a complement to organized peasant agriculture.

The Alpujarra region, an area of rural agricultural communities, presents a classic case of mixed irrigated and dry farming in a peasant economy.¹⁷ Its geographic and topographic conditions made it a significant source of supply for the city of Granada in cereals, olive oil, dried fruits, and other foods. That fact favored production destined for other areas, cities, and zones of the kingdom that in turn would influence its agricultural space. It became one of the chief areas of cereal cultivation for the Kingdom of Granada: it raised wheat, barley, millet, and rye, all ingredients for breadmaking and all raised in irrigated zones of intensive polyculture, just as in the Vega of Granada, at least in the years immediately prior to the Spanish conquest.

Other kinds of crops traditionally considered suitable for commercialization also entered into the agricultural system. Mulberry trees were essential to

14 The general case was made by Watson, "A Case of Non-Diffusion." Trillo, "La ganadería en el reino de Granada," argued for the Nasrid case with special force.

15 Malpica, "Poblamiento, agricultura y ganadería."

16 García García and Moreno García, "De huertas y rebaños."

17 Cressier, "L'Alpujarra médiévale," 114–17; Trillo, *La Alpujarra*.

the silk industry and were the commonest local tree: they grew in both dry and irrigated areas and even along city streets. Fig trees, however, were less common and probably harvested for direct consumption, as were grapevines; figs and grapes were popular in Granada, and their high energy value and ability to be dried and preserved made them a good complement to the rural subsistence economy. Outside Granada they seem to have been cultivated more with a view to their marketability.

Finally, there were regions where agricultural space was planned in an entirely different way: agricultural labor was specialized within a more diversified economy so that at least part of the product could be exploited commercially. These lay on the coasts, close by cities from which goods were exported and which were easily accessible to merchants. In these areas, irrigated plots were cultivated intensively and commercial agriculture was favored over that designed for mere subsistence.

Cereals were scarcely grown along the coasts. While they could be adapted to either dry or irrigated farming, 95.81% of grains grew in dry areas and only 4.19% in irrigated ones, where other crops were preferred – either because they were more profitable or to provide basic support for a population that enjoyed greater access to imports from outside.

Further – and leaving aside the more precarious nature of dry farming – coastal agriculture clearly differed in its types of crops from what we have seen so far. There were plants that were consumed less for food in Granada but that grew in valuable irrigated parcels: mulberry trees, for example, which were abundant in *alquerías* such as Torrox, Turillas, and Almuñécar without apparent negative impact on their cultivation in general.¹⁸ Sugarcane was grown on private lands belonging to the Nasrid sultans, not in peasant areas. Pulses and beans, raised on dry lands, provided much labor for farmers in areas such as that of Vélez-Málaga.

Therefore, in spite of what we have said about the basic principles of rural economy, some portion of Nasrid agricultural production was clearly destined for sale. As a result the general principles by which rural communities enjoyed strength and autonomy in the face of external forces would be subject to a greater or lesser degree of subversion. There were, logically, outside pressures brought to bear by external economic agents of the great mercantile powers then emerging in the Mediterranean world; these were beginning to reach the Peninsula in search of goods that were in great demand in the larger Western markets. This demand could serve as a strong incentive for the insertion of speculative forces into systems of production. The Nasrid rulers themselves

18 Malpica, *Turillas, alquería*, 90; Martínez Enamorado, *Torrox, un sistema de alquerías*.

may have adopted the commercial option as a strategy for political and economic survival within the international balance of power. Finally, the state's power of taxation forced rural communities, one of its chief sources of income, to join the market economy.¹⁹ Farmers would sell a portion of their crops as the only way to raise money to pay their taxes; they were able to do so thanks to the high yields from intensive, irrigated polyculture. The introduction of speculation distorted the traditional model of agriculture and modified substantially its productive options and methods of labor. We still do not know in detail how quickly these changes took place – how, where, and in what proportion crops meant to fulfill these new needs were introduced, and above all how the rural world, with its ability to manage its own resources, was affected. In principle it is difficult to make a clear, definitive turn toward commercial agriculture, since however favorable the exchange, no farmer could risk producing exclusively for the market. That would result in a significant shift in the peasant's regime of self-sufficiency, which could not continue to exist.

We are ever more conscious, however, of the increasing force of this commercial option in the Nasrid economy. Another question is how to determine how far it went, or how far it was allowed to go.

We now turn to the second important development in the Nasrid economy, which has to do with international trade and the speculative activities connected to it.

2 The International Dimension of the Nasrid Economy

It is undeniable that the socioeconomic structure of the Nasrid kingdom had its commercial aspect. This was logical if we consider the economic situation of the West at the end of the Middle Ages: there was growth and expansion on every level, spurred in large measure by the dynamics of feudalism. Particularly from the twelfth century onward this growth showed strongly in certain well-established sectors such as agriculture; in others that were undergoing renewal and revitalization, such as urban areas and all their associated economic activity; and finally in wholly new ones unknown before, such as systems of interchange and trade.

The force of these changes could prove profoundly destabilizing. Unstable periods, for instance the fourteenth century, have traditionally been recognized as a severe crisis in the history of the West; but it was not necessarily a

¹⁹ Malpica, "La vida agrícola y la ganadería."

crisis of decadence, rather the contrary. For some time now that crisis has been associated with dynamic forms of growth that led to fundamental change. For the first time we see tendencies toward economic integration that transcend regional, political, and cultural differences and would lead to the first forms of capitalism in the Early Modern world. At some point trade began to act as a means of connection, development, and integration of the various regional economies of the West, generating for the first time broad platforms of international relations within which those regional economies could interact and grow.

Within this general picture there were events, situations, and moments that acted with truly catalyzing force. One was the opening of the Strait of Gibraltar to commercial navigation at the end of the thirteenth century; it would prove to be a turning point, absolutely essential for creating one of those great commercial platforms. On the one hand it created a direct connection between the two principal economic poles: Flanders in northern Europe and Italy and the Catalan-Provençal region in the Mediterranean. On the other it encouraged maritime transport through circumnavigation of the Iberian Peninsula, which proved faster and cheaper and favored commercial relations enormously. This incentive would consolidate the Western Mediterranean region as a broad commercial space. The area had already played a dynamic role in trade, but now the great artery of communication that traversed it helped all the lands on its shores to blossom as commercial spaces. Among them was the recently constituted Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

The great mercantile cities of Italy (Genoa, Venice, Florence) and the Kingdom of Aragon (which included Catalonia) realized the tremendous possibilities offered by their central location in the new currents of international traffic. They had already been aware of the commercial opportunities to be found in these territories – this knowledge underlay the raid by a combined Castilian-Catalan-Genoese army on the city of Almería in 1147²⁰ – but in the Nasrid age this type of trade accelerated. Its territory offered ideal conditions: it was a dynamic space for transit and mercantile interchange, and added to its own wealth a platform for penetrating North African markets. Above all it could provide goods that European merchants had previously gone to seek in the East. Islamic tradition had endowed the Nasrid kingdom with a form of agriculture and a technology of production that offered the West items formerly available only in the Orient. Europeans had been incapable of producing them either through ignorance of the necessary technology or through lack of the

20 Montesano, *Caffaro*.

proper ecological conditions. Therefore this small kingdom became a highly attractive provider of goods still exotic in the West: sugar, silk, and manufactures such as luxury ceramics. All became a notable source of commercial profit, protected by the Nasrid authorities, whose commercial value increased local wealth and solidified the economic foundations of the new state.

The Mediterranean mercantile powers lost no time in seizing this attractive opportunity, the best-known case to date being that of Genoa. Merchants from that city soon established centers of trade and activity in the chief Nasrid cities and ports, marking the beginning of a strong presence of foreigners in the kingdom.²¹

By the mid-twelfth century the Genoese had initiated a policy of economic control of the western Mediterranean that included all the lands along its coasts, and which they would sustain in one way or another throughout the late Middle Ages.²² Their relations with the Nasrid kingdom were dictated by the same strategy they used everywhere: only after a prudent waiting period to determine that the small kingdom would survive did they begin official contacts, establishing a relationship that would always work in their favor. A succession of bilateral agreements, beginning with a treaty signed by both powers in 677/1278-79, provides the most continuous proof of the Genoese presence and influence in the Nasrid kingdom.²³ In a series of measures meant to protect the Genoese community in Granada, its institutional and spatial existence was assured by the assignment of the Inn of the Genoese (*Alhóndiga de los genoveses*) in their name, with its associated buildings, in the kingdom's capital and principal cities;²⁴ certain fiscal arrangements gave the Genoese greater privileges than those allowed to other foreign merchant communities; and men from Genoa were allowed freedom of movement within the kingdom and in their travels to neighboring territories.

These basic arrangements led to a current of relationships that, if not entirely stable, were solid enough to last for centuries, up to the fall of the Nasrid kingdom. Though the Genoese were not extremely numerous, their presence was marked by its ability to penetrate Granada's mercantile network, leading them to be active in at least its principal centers. They developed a dense web of collaborators, both Italian and Nasrid, that encompassed the whole territory and its society: it included small-scale local merchants, both Muslim and

21 Malpica and Fábregas, "Los genoveses en el reino de Granada"; Salicrú, *El sultanato nazarí de Granada*.

22 Petti Balbi, *Negoziare fuori patria*; Basso, *Insedimenti e commercio*.

23 Garí, "Génoa y Granada en el siglo XIII" and "La advertencia del fin"; Pistarino and Garí, "Un trattato fra la repubblica di Genova e il regno moresco di Granada."

24 We know that there were *alhóndigas de genoveses* in Málaga, Granada, and Almería.

Jewish, local trade associations, and even members of the highest circles of power. Their actions were coordinated through head offices – the most important in Málaga, followed by Granada and Almería²⁵ – from which they sent out their associates to the rest of the territory. Of special interest is how they expanded their sphere of activity to small towns in the interior, through itinerant traders and junior members of their companies.²⁶ These individuals cultivated flexible and continuous contacts with local merchants and could offer attractive terms to local businessmen. We have many examples of deals made on the basis of barter or purchase on credit; through them the local merchant could acquire foreign goods – English or Flemish cloth, for instance – in exchange for silk or sugar, and then sell them in the internal market. For the Genoese these were the chief means of contact with the productive population. When an important business operation or agreement required a high level of organization, there were Nasrid merchants who specialized in establishing relations with local producers and acquiring the goods the foreigners sought through a contract of sale or in cash. These “collectors” were men from the local society who enjoyed a relationship with a foreign businessman or merchant association such as the famous Fruit Society (*Sociedad de la Fruta*).²⁷ Their ties would be maintained through associations marked by trust and a deep knowledge of their milieu; in this way they became the local trade representatives for the interests of foreign businessmen.

This mediation by Nasrid traders was absolutely essential: in no case could a foreign man of business have direct access to the local system of production. He was allowed neither to establish direct contacts nor, of course, to take part in producing the goods that he wished to acquire in those areas.²⁸

This does not mean that Genoese traders exerted no influence on the speculative and commercial aspects of the Nasrid economy – in fact they did, at least indirectly. For example, they helped to promote the production of goods such as sugar: it had been made in Granada for centuries but now, much in demand on the international market, became a product destined directly for international sale in a way not seen before in the economy of the Nasrid kingdom.

25 Garí and Salicrú, “Las ciudades del triángulo.”

26 Fábregas, “El mercado interior nazarí.”

27 Heers, “Le Royaume de Grenade”; López de Coca, “La *Ratio Fructe Regni Granate*.”

28 Only in exceptional cases (Salicrú, “Genova y Castilla”), at a very late date (González Arévalo, “Un moline en Deifontes”), or in not clearly defined cases (Malpica and Fábregas, “Los genoveses”) do we find foreigners participating in a local system of production. They would help to produce these only immediately after Castilian resettlement: Fábregas, “Commercial crop.”

These Italians may also have helped to create new areas of production. Genoese commercial interests doubtless spurred the increased production of luxury ceramics meant exclusively for export, favoring the transmission of certain types of ceramics from Tunis to Granada.²⁹

Above all, we perceive through this activity a new willingness to take part in complex systems of interchange that favored the birth of complementary economies, even in embryonic form, as we see in the Granadan case.³⁰ These exchanges took place in the Mediterranean in particular and involved both Latin Christian and Islamic markets, their common denominator being a strong tie to the Genoese business world. Sicily, Naples, and the Maghreb, in all of which Genoa was firmly established, showed a new inclination to participate in complex systems of exchange initiated and developed by the Genoese, who may have encouraged their mutually complementary economies.

One key element in this system, though not the only one, was the supplying of grain to Granada. From at least the final quarter of the fourteenth century we are aware of imports of Sicilian grain to the kingdom, and into the early fifteenth century the plan was the same: a ship chartered in Genoa would sail to Sicily, normally to the port of Messina, and from there begin to circumnavigate the island. Stopping in one or two ports, it would load the agreed-on quantity of wheat destined for sale either in Genoa or farther west, including in Almería, Almuñécar, or Málaga. Ships also visited Maghrebi markets, although there the role of Genoa was not so clear or at least was not unique.

This situation does not mean that the Nasrid economy depended heavily on imports of foreign grain to the extent of threatening its internal equilibrium. On the contrary, it is interesting that the areas receiving grain were usually located along the coasts, near urban areas and ports of international trade, and could have been important sources of production for sale. We are even more convinced, therefore, that these imports of grain formed part of a well-designed system of complementary productive spaces in the region; at least in the case of Granada, if they were not a direct response to Genoese initiative and guidance they obviously worked to the benefit of Genoa's international interests.

The Genoese were not the only international merchants operating in Nasrid lands; there were also smaller and probably less active foreign colonies of

29 García Porras, "La cerámica española importada" and "Transmisiones tecnológicas."

30 Fábregas, "Other markets."

Florentines,³¹ Venetians,³² and Catalans.³³ Venice, for example, showed a clear interest in establishing diplomatic contacts with Granada in order to protect its citizens' commercial affairs. Those contacts developed in the Nasrid kingdom thanks to the inclusion of its coastline in the famous Venetian system of *mude*, galley fleets that connected the city to ports all over the western Mediterranean and beyond. We know that a Venetian consulate was active in Málaga before 1400, and by 1403 men of Venice had established regular relations with other merchant communities in the kingdom. Another question is how deeply Venetian commercial interests penetrated there, what was their level of organization in the interior, and how far they could influence its economic structure. We do not know, for example, whether the community's membership was stable (apart from members of the official delegation), and we know of no organized business structures in the kingdom to advance the interests of Venice, such as the Genoese possessed; many such businessmen stayed for only short periods. This topic, like many others, requires further study. Some contacts must have prospered even at late dates: we know that galleys from Flanders reached Málaga in the 1430s. And even *mude* established later, like the *Muda de Berbería* formed in 1437, made increasing numbers of stops in Nasrid ports: from 1454 in Málaga and Almería, where the usual lay-over was of two days or more, to the detriment of more westerly Castilian ports such as Cádiz and Sanlúcar de Barrameda.³⁴

Other communities, from nations that had no direct dealings with the Nasrid state and therefore offered less protection, might take advantage of the organization, infrastructure, and contacts of more established communities to develop their own trade. For example they could work surreptitiously under the auspices of the Genoese colony, and a merchant with interests in Granada might associate himself with Genoa's prerogatives and explore, from that vantage point, dealings that would favor his compatriots. This practice was not unknown even for Florentines, who in other ports acted under statutes that allowed for just this possibility,³⁵ nor for other merchant groups. Sánchez

31 Melis, "Malaga nel sistema economico"; Fábregas, "Estrategias de actuación de los mercados toscanos"; González Arévalo, "Apuntes para una relación comercial velada."

32 López de Coca, "Sobre las galeras venecianas de Poniente"; Fábregas, "Acercamientos y acuerdos comerciales."

33 Sánchez Martínez, "Mallorquines y genoveses en Almería"; Salicrú, "La Corona de Aragón y Génova en la Granada del siglo xv."

34 López de Coca, "Granada, el Magreb y las galeras mercantiles de Venecia."

35 Masi, *Statuti delle colonie fiorentine all'estero*, xiii. Although Florence had established no trade agreements with the Nasrids it was able, throughout the fifteenth century, to make

Martínez has written about the Majorcan Jaume Manfé in this regard.³⁶ The presence of these other Italians, though less obvious, was equally significant: it confirms that the Nasrid economy was not wholly controlled by Genoese commerce but retained a wider field of action, marked by the interests of the Nasrid state.

The Nasrid coasts opened their ports to international maritime traffic. We know that the state established a network of maritime connections (about which we are constantly learning more), creating a system of ports and landing places capable of sustaining a web of local, regional, and international exchanges.

Its three most active nuclei were Málaga, Almería, and Almuñécar. It is increasingly clear that the first two, the principal Nasrid ports, each operated in a different sphere and community of influence. Málaga played a well-defined role in the great international routes that traversed the central Mediterranean, linking it to ports in the North Atlantic, while Almería operated in a more restricted regional orbit that included the Catalan-Aragonese area and its Maghrebi connections. Almuñécar seems to have served as a support to Málaga and to the interregional traffic between Almería and Málaga.

These principal ports rested on a system of coastal enclaves, active anchorages, or harbors that facilitated the kingdom's communications by sea.³⁷ The Nasrid coastline was in perpetual movement along every kilometer of its length. Among its small anchorages or loading ports were Porto Genovese, Dalías, La Rijana, Motril, Salobreña, Vélez-Málaga, Marbella, and Gibraltar; some of these appear in foreign mercantile documents under the category of *Loca Caricatoria Regni Granate*. In addition there were beaches and anchorages spaced all along the coast (Castell de Ferro, La Herradura, Nerja, etc.) that could support the other centers, as well as regional stopping-places that, though they are not documented as participants in international traffic, still give evidence of a fluid system of communications.

An important element in maintaining these connections was the system of cabotage or coastal trade (*per costeriam*), which was significant throughout the Mediterranean at the time. The heavy ships that traveled between the Mediterranean and the Atlantic acted, especially on the eastward journey, as

strategic contacts in their ports thanks to official sites established by the “*muda* of the West”: González Arévalo, “Las galeras mercantiles de Florencia.”

36 Sánchez Martínez, “Mallorquines y genoveses en Almería.”

37 Malpica and Fábregas, “Embarcaderos y puertos”; González Arévalo, “La costa del reino de Granada.”

large traveling bazaars: beside carrying wholesale merchandise, they allowed for buying and selling smaller shipments of goods.

Definitive proof of the commercial strength of the Nasrid kingdom was the presence of its products in principal European cities. The Nasrid goods in greatest demand on the international market were the famous triad of dried fruits (raisins, figs, and almonds), several grades of sugarcane, and silk thread.

Sugar production in the West was limited by the very narrow environmental requirements of its plant of origin, sugarcane, which grew in certain coastal areas of al-Andalus. Besides, the technology required was complex, had developed under Islamic culture, and would spread slowly to other areas only toward the end of the Middle Ages. These factors made sugar an exotic and limited item, associated in the West with luxury consumption in late medieval times. Sugar entered European markets no earlier than the thirteenth century. As a taste for sweets increased in Latin culture, Nasrid sugar found itself in a strong position, as it had enjoyed at least three centuries of production in al-Andalus. European merchants could obtain it easily from the Nasrid market – which was close by, easy of access, and open to all kinds of commercial arrangements – and introduce it into Europe as a luxury article. Later its forms would diversify (into sugarloaves that had been baked one, two, or three times, and powdered sugar), making it available for enjoyment by new groups of consumers. Another key to its success was the commercial strategy of its chief purveyors in Europe, the Genoese: by skillful marketing they even managed to saturate and collapse the European market with Nasrid varieties more than once. All this made sugar a stellar commercial article: the Genoese Fruit Society was the best-organized and most active mercantile organization in the world of Nasrid commerce. Controlled by the Spinola family, it ensured the availability of Nasrid dried fruits and sugar in the main European markets, those that faced the Atlantic as well as those that traded in the Mediterranean.

Silk was another product with a solid history of production in al-Andalus, and silk cloth became one of its first commercial goods to circulate on the European luxury market. But Nasrid silk, famed for its rich fabrics, underwent a decisive change in its international demand. Once a silk industry had become active in European (especially Italian) textile centers, producers began to seek primarily the raw material from the kingdom. Genoese merchants obtained large quantities of silk thread for their domestic textile industry, as did Tuscans, who made it the main focus of their interest.³⁸ And Catalans famously tried to gain a monopoly of Nasrid silk in the early fifteenth century,

38 Fábregas, “Estrategias de actuación.”

at an early stage of their commercial dominance, to satisfy the needs of their nascent textile industry in the Valencia region.³⁹

3 The Impact of Commerce

As the fortunes of Granada converged with the principal Western markets of the time, the kingdom would play a role in the two great contemporary areas of commerce: the Northern or Latin bloc of nations, and the Mediterranean or Islamic one. We do not yet possess a full picture, or a sense of the relative strength, of either of these. But one constant appears to be the participation of foreign merchants as agents of mediation as Granada looked outward, especially to Christian lands, for commercial relations. As a result, historians have long considered the Nasrid kingdom economically dependent on the Latin powers, fitting the profile of a commercial colony. For some time now, however, nuances have been introduced into the traditional concept of late-medieval development as a matter of center vs. periphery, dominant vs. dominated economic systems, linked in a somewhat facile way to theories of commercial colonialism. In our opinion the case of Granada is better understood as a space in which diverse developing economies converged; some of its aspects are incompatible with a state of colonial dependency. For example, neither Genoa nor any other power was present or intervened directly in the kingdom's internal politics. While good relations existed between the most influential men of business and the highest levels of Nasrid power, and while rarely and exceptionally international businessmen might act in representative or diplomatic roles, no foreign court ever tried to control the political direction of the kingdom.

Nor was there the slightest interest in introducing, facilitating, or imposing any foreign cultural practices, much less in participating or mixing in local society.⁴⁰

Above all, the capacity of these communities to dictate the economic direction or future of the kingdom was limited. Neither the powerful Genoese community nor any other foreign mercantile group ever enjoyed direct possession of any Granadan territory; they did not manage or exploit any of its natural resources; only with difficulty could they impose conditions on exchanges in the international markets – and never could they do so in the areas that supplied goods to Granada. The aforementioned cases of sugar and silk are instructive

39 Navarro, "Los valencianos y la seda"; Salicrú, "La Corona de Aragón y Génova."

40 Petti Balbi, "Las ciudades marítimas italianas."

in this regard. We recall that, although foreign merchants were clearly interested in these products, sugar production did not increase throughout Nasrid history. By contrast, immediately following the Castilian conquest sugarcane and other crops began to be grown with increasing intensity. And there is no possible comparison to Atlantic sugar production, soon imbued with the speculative-mercantile logic of precapitalism. In searching for the causes of this limit on production we observe, among other things, that there is no direct or indirect evidence that any foreign mercantile capital was introduced, either in the cultivation phase or in the transformation of the source material (cane juice into sugar, cocoons into silk). Yet that intervention was taking place elsewhere, in Sicily, Valencia, and of course the islands of the Atlantic; therefore we cannot assume that this absence of foreign commercial capital from Nasrid processes of production arose from lack of interest. We can only conclude that such intervention was not permitted. It was the Nasrids – the authorities and the society as a whole – who established their own rhythms of production, forms of expansion, and limits to participation in the system. Nonetheless we believe that foreign mercantile communities were able to incentivize, encourage, and support the introduction of new forms of speculation into the local economic fabric.

The Nasrid monarchs, perhaps following a strategy begun by the Almohads, also proved to be a prime mover and active protagonist (though obviously not the only one) of the burgeoning Western system of international exchange. We have long known of the Nasrid's state's inclination for commerce, as it facilitated its establishment and development to the best of its ability. From the beginning, trade was the fruit of a political and economic strategy designed by the Nasrid authorities, who wished to establish contacts and diplomatic agreements to buttress the balance of powers within the Peninsula. At the same time, trade represented a significant outlet for a recently created state. We are aware of official support, from an early date, for initiatives that came from the Italian mercantile powers and the Crown of Aragon, facilitating the implantation of commercial enterprises in the kingdom. The Nasrid monarchs served as trading partners for some of Genoa's chief businessmen, who were responsible for introducing Granadan products into Europe. And we are beginning to understand how the Nasrid court may have encouraged certain changes in the kingdom's systems of production: by creating new activities designed to produce goods meant for export, making it easier for the market to set rhythms of production different from those of traditional peasant economies. Beside tracts called *mustakhlās*⁴¹ where sugarcane or nuts were cultivated, previously

41 Molina López, "Más sobre el *mustajlas*."

fallow lands were put to use in accordance with Maliki law near the city of Granada, in the Albaicín, and on the coast of Málaga. The object there was exclusively to produce crops that satisfied the new commercial demand.⁴² This area of research is worthy of further study.

All these stimuli may have exerted steady pressure on the productive horizon of a peasant society, stretching to the limit its capacity to generate goods not directly related to its own subsistence. At present, a prime area of interest is to detect possible changes in the structures of production, both agricultural and artisanal, that may have been occurring in the Nasrid economy to allow new models of productive specialization that would favor commercial speculation. The issue is that, if this commercial and speculative aspect penetrated fully into agricultural production, the characteristic features of the Nasrid agricultural economy that we have described would cease to exist, and with them, perhaps, the type of society that the economy supported.

Bibliography

- Alfaro Baena, C. *El repartimiento de Castril. La formación de un señorío en el reino de Granada*. Granada: Editorial Universitaria de Granada, 1998.
- Basso, E. *Insediamenti e commercio nel Mediterraneo bassomedievale. I mercanti genovesi dal Mar Nero all'Atlantico*. Torino: Università di Torino, 2008.
- Bolens, L. *Agrónomos andaluces de la Edad Media*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994.
- Carmona Ruiz, M.A. "Ganadería y frontera: los aprovechamientos pastoriles en la frontera entre los reinos de Sevilla y Granada. Siglos XIII al XV." *En la España medieval* 32 (2009): 249–72.
- Cressier, P. "L'Alpujarra médiévale: un approche archéologique." *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 19 (1983): 89–124.
- Fábregas, A. "Estrategias de actuación de los mercaderes toscanos y genoveses en el reino nazarí de Granada a través de la correspondencia Datini." *Serta Antiqua et Medievalia* 5 (2001): 259–304.
- Fábregas, A. "Acercamientos y acuerdos comerciales entre Granada y Venecia al filo de 1400." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 40 (2010): 643–64.
- Fábregas, A. "Other Markets: Complementary Commercial Zones in the Nasrid World of the Western Mediterranean (Seventh/Thirteenth to Ninth/Fifteenth Centuries)." *Al-Masaq* 25, no. 1 (2013): 135–53.

⁴² Malpica, "Las tierras del rey"; Martínez Enamorado, *Torrox, un sistema de alquerías*.

- Fábregas, A. "El mercado interior nazarí: bases y redes de contactos con el comercio internacional." *Hispania* 77, no. 255 (2017): 69–90.
- Fábregas, A. "Las industrias y los mercados rurales en el reino de Granada." In *Industrias y mercados rurales en los reinos hispánicos (siglos XIII–XV)*, edited by G. Navarro and C. Villanueva, 63–91. Murcia: Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, 2017.
- Fábregas, A. "Commercial crop or plantation system? Sugarcane production from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic," in *From Al-Andalus to the Americas (13th–17th centuries). Destruction and construction of Societies*, edited by Th. Glick, A. Malpica, F. Retamero and J. Torró, 301–331. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018.
- García García, A. and M. Moreno García. "De huertas y rebaños: reflexiones históricas y ecológicas sobre el papel de la ganadería en al-Andalus y aportaciones arqueozoológicas para su estudio." *Historia Agraria* 76 (2018): 7–48.
- García Porras, A. "La cerámica española importada en Italia durante el siglo XIV. El efecto de la demanda sobre una producción cerámica en los inicios de su despegue comercial." *Archeologia Medievale* 27 (2000): 131–44.
- García Porras, A. "Transmisiones tecnológicas entre el área islámica y cristiana en la Península Ibérica. El caso de la producción de cerámica esmaltada de lujo bajomedieval (ss. XIII–XV)." In *Atti XXXVII Settimana di Studio: Relazioni economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico. Secc. XIII–XVIII*, edited by S. Cavaciocchi, 827–43. Florence: Firenze University Press, 2007.
- Garí, B. "Génova y Granada en el siglo XIII: los acuerdos de 1279 y 1298." *Saggi e documenti* 6 (1985): 175–206.
- Garí, B. "La advertencia del fin. Génova y el reino de Granada a mediados del siglo XV." In *Presencia italiana en Andalucía. Siglos XIV–XVII. Actas del III Coloquio Hispano-Italiano*, 179–89. Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989.
- Garí, B. and R. Salicrú. "Las ciudades del triángulo: Granada, Málaga, Almería, y el comercio mediterráneo de la Edad Media." In *En las costas del Mediterráneo occidental. Las ciudades de la Península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio mediterráneo en la Edad Media*, edited by D. Abulafia and B. Garí, 171–211. Barcelona: Omega, 1996.
- González Arévalo, R. "La costa del reino de Granada en la documentación náutica italiana (siglos XIII–XVI)." *En la España Medieval* 31 (2008): 7–36.
- González Arévalo, R. "Las galeras mercantiles de Florencia en el reino nazarí de Granada." *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 41, no. 1 (2011): 125–49.
- González Arévalo, R. "Apuntes para una relación comercial velada: La República de Florencia y el reino de Granada en la Baja Edad Media." *Investigaciones de Historia Económica* 8 (2012): 83–93.

- González Arévalo, R. "Un molino en Deifontes (Granada) de Yuça de Mora a Ambrosio de Espindola (1494)." *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino* 26 (2014): 459–72.
- Guichard, P. *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*. Barcelona: Barral, 1976.
- Guichard, P. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI–XIII)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2001.
- Heers, J. "Le Royaume de Grenade et la politique marchande de Gênes en Occident (xve siècle)." *Le Moyen Age* 1–2 (1957): 87–121.
- Lagardère, V. *Campagnes et paysans d'Al-Andalus VIIIe–XVe s.* Paris: Maissonneuve & Larose, 1993.
- López de Coca, J.E. "Granada, el Magreb y las galeras mercantiles de Venecia en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos y Carlos I." In *1490 en el umbral de la Modernidad. El Mediterráneo europeo y las ciudades en el tránsito de los siglos XV–XVI*, edited by J. Hinojosa Montalvo and J. Pradells Nadal, 1:23–55. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1994.
- López de Coca, J.E. "Sobre las galeras venecianas de Poniente y sus escalas ibéricas (siglo XV)." In *Homenaje a Tomás Quesada*, 401–16. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1998.
- López de Coca, J.E. "La Ratio Fructe Regni Granate. Datos conocidos y cuestiones por resolver." In *Aragón en la Edad media: rentas, producción y consumo en España en la baja edad media*, 121–31. Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 2000.
- Malpica, A. *Turillas, alquería del alfoz sexitano. (Edición del Apeo de Turillas de 1505)*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1984.
- Malpica, A. "Las tierras del rey y las Ordenanzas de la acequia del Río Verde en Almuñécar." In *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, edited by M.I. del Val and P. Martínez Sopena, 167–178. Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, 2009.
- Malpica, A. "Poblamiento, agricultura y ganadería en el reino nazarí de Granada." In *La pastorizia mediterranea. Storia e diritto (secoli XI a XX)*, edited by A. Mattone and P.F. Simbula, 41–54. Rome: Carocci, 2011.
- Malpica, A. "La vida agrícola y la ganadería en al-Andalus y en el reino nazarí de Granada." In *Homenaje al profesor Dr. D. José Ignacio Fernández de Viana y Vieites*, edited by R. Marín López, 213–28. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2012.
- Malpica, A. "Formación y desarrollo del agroecosistema irrigado en al-Andalus." *Norba, Revista de Historia* 25–26 (2012–2013): 41–60.
- Malpica, A. "El mundo rural nazarí y su conexión con el mundo urbano." In *De la alquería a la aljama*, edited by A. Echevarría and A. Fábregas, 17–36. Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2016.

- Malpica, A. and A. Fábregas. "Los genoveses en el reino de Granada y su papel en la estructura económica nazarí." In *Genova. Una "porta" del Mediterraneo*, 227–58. Cagliari: ISEM, 2005.
- Malpica, A. and A. Fábregas. "Embarcaderos y puertos en la Costa del Reino de Granada." In *Navegación y puertos en época medieval*, 73–107. Granada: THARG, 2012.
- Martínez Enamorado, V. *Torrox, un sistema de alquerías andalusíes en el siglo XV según su libro de repartimiento*. Granada: THARG, 2006.
- Massi, G. *Statuti delle colonie fiorentine all'estero (sec. XV–XVI)*. Milan: Giuffrè, 1941.
- Melis, F. "Malaga nel sistema economico del XIV e XV secolo." In *Mercaderes italianos en España (siglos XIV–XV)*, 3–65. Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1976.
- Molina López, E. "Más sobre el mustajlas nazarí." In *Estudios dedicados a D. Luís Seco de Lucena (en el treinta aniversario de su muerte)*, edited by C. Castillo Castillo, I. Cortés Peña and J.P. Monferrer, 107–18. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999.
- Montesano, M. (ed.). *Caffaro. Storia della presa di Almeria e Tortosa (1147–1149)*. Genoa: Fratelli Frillo, 2002.
- Navarro, G. "Los valencianos y la seda del reino de Granada a principios del Cuatrocientos." In *Actas del VII Simposio Internacional del Mudejarismo*, 83–93. Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1999.
- Peinado Santaella, R.G. *Aristócratas nazaríes y principales castellanos*. Málaga: Diputación, 2008.
- Petti Balbi, G. "Las ciudades marítimas italianas y el Norte de África en época medieval: relaciones políticas y económicas." In *Relaciones entre el Mediterráneo cristiano y el norte de África en época medieval y moderna*, edited by C. Trillo San José, 17–51. Granada: THARG, 2004.
- Petti Balbi, G. *Negoziare fuori patria. Nazioni e genovesi in età medievale*. Bologna: CLUEB, 2005.
- Pistarino, G. and B. Garí. "Un trattato fra la repubblica di Genova e il regno moresco di Granada sulla fine del Quattrocento." *La Storia dei genovesi* 10 (1990): 395–412.
- Quesada Quesada, T. *La Serranía de Mágina en la Baja Edad Media. Una tierra fronteriza en el reino nazarí de Granada*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1989.
- Salicrú, R. "Génova y Castilla, genoveses y Granada. Política y comercio en el Mediterráneo occidental en la primera mitad del siglo XV (1431–1439)." In *Le vie del Mediterraneo. Idee, uomini, oggetti (secoli XI–XVI)*. (Génova, 1994), edited by Gabriella Airaldi, 213–57. Genoa: ECIG, 1997.
- Salicrú, R. "La Corona de Aragón y Génova en la Granada del siglo XV." In *L'expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, edited by M.T. Ferrer i Mallol and Damien Coulon, 121–44. Barcelona: Centro Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1999.

- Salicrú, R. *El sultanato nazarí de Granada, Génova y la Corona de Aragón en el siglo xv*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2007.
- Sánchez Martínez, M. "Mallorquines y genoveses en Almería durante el primer tercio del siglo xiv: el proceso contra Jaume Manfré (1334)." *Miscellanea de Textos Medievales* 4 (1988): 103–62.
- Stöckly, D. *Le système de l'Incanto des galées du marché à Venise (fin XIIIe–milieu xve siècle)*. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Trillo, C. *La Alpujarra antes y después de la conquista castellana*. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1994.
- Trillo, C. *Agua, tierra y hombres en al-Andalus. La dimensión agrícola del mundo nazarí*. Granada: THARG, 2004.
- Trillo, C. "La ganadería en el reino de Granada: transformación de una actividad económica del dominio islámico al cristiano." In *La pastorizia mediterranea. Storia e diritto (secoli XI a XX)*, edited by A. Mattone and P.F. Simbula, 629–43. Rome: Carocci, 2011.
- Watson, A. *Agricultural innovation in the early Islamic World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Watson, A. "A Case of Non-Diffusion: The Non-Adoption by Muslim Spain of the Open-Field System of Christian Europe. Causes and Consequences." In *Relazioni economiche tra Europa e mondo islamico. Secc. XIII–XVIII. Atti della "XXXVIII Settimana di Studi."* Fondazione Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica "F. Datini," edited by S. Cavaciocchi, 242–65. Florence: Le Monnier, 2007.