

Il doge Ludovico Campofregoso ed il Consiglio degli Anziani di Genova decretano che nessun ambasciatore, il quale, inviato in missione in terra straniera, abbia ricevuto in dono dai governanti del luogo il saldo delle spese per vitto e alloggio, possa richiedere per esse, una volta rientrato in patria, un nuovo pagamento dall'Ufficio di Moneta (14 novembre 1449, Genova).

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Illustis et excelsus dominus Ludovicus de Campofregoso, Dei gratia dux Ianuensium, et magnificum Consilium dominorum Antianorum Communis Ianue, in integro numero congregatum, considerantes quod persepe mittuntur oratores ad certas dominationes, pro agendis nostre Reipublice, quibus interdum, ab eis dominationibus ad quas emittuntur, confertur expensa tam habitationis quam victus pro talibus oratoribus et eorum familiis, et dicto casu non decet nec debito convenit quod, in eorum legatorum reditu, ipsi oratores repetant expensas postulentque eas persolvi a spectabili Officio Monete pro magnifico Communi nostro, ut, retroactis temporibus, per aliquos ex ipsis oratoribus factum fuit, licet iniuste, et propterea volentes consulere bono publico ne deinceps tale indebitum committatur, omni modo, via, iure et forma quibus melius potuerunt et possunt, auctoritate presentis decreti ab hodie in antea inviolabiliter observandi, deliberaverunt, sanxerunt et decreverunt quod nulli oratori mittendo ad aliquos reges, duces, principes, dominos et communia, cuiusvis gradus, status et dignitatis existat, cui contingat expensas sibi persolvi aut conferri per illud dominium ad quod emitteretur per sepedictam nostram comunitatem, liceat quoquomodo repetere expensas ipsas, sibi et comitive sue factas, dicto Officio Monete pro ipso Communi, ymmo ex nunc prout ex tunc intelligatur tali oratori fuisse pro ipsis expensis sic ut supra fiendis a dicto Officio Monete seu Communi nostro debite satisfactum, non obstantibus obstantiis et exceptionibus quibuscunque, ne pro una eademque re dictus orator in preiudicium Communis binam solutionem et provisionem consequatur.

Extractum est ut supra de actis publicis cancellarie Communis Ianue.

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PEDRO BOCANGELINO: A GENOESE MERCHANT IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TOLEDO

When the first Genoese immigrants arrived in the Iberian Peninsula is uncertain, though there are records of there being some families in Seville, Tortosa and Galicia from as early as the twelfth century. After the reconquest of much of Western Andalusia by Ferdinand III in the early thirteenth century, the Genoese established permanent commercial colonies in many towns there. Up until the fifteenth century their numbers were probably quite small, but from the middle of that century onwards they experienced steady growth; indeed, between 1450 and 1500 their numbers almost doubled in Seville. The early sixteenth century saw another wave of immigration from Genoa. Political and economic factors led many Genoese families to leave their native land and try their luck in Spain. The political instability that had characterised the Ligurian Republic for many years reached a head with the triumph of the Doria over their many enemies in 1528, and those who could not stomach this left for safer lands. The failure of the Fieschi Conspiracy in 1547 — an attempt to overthrow Andrea Doria's government — also led to the renewal of immigration to Spain.

Economically too there were sound reasons for the Genoese to penetrate the commerce of Spain. The loss of most of her Eastern trade and colonies to the Turks in the course of the fifteenth century meant that Genoa had to look elsewhere for markets. At the same time, the axis of European trade had shifted somewhat to the west with the Portuguese penetration of Africa and the consequent opening up of new markets there as well as in the Azores and Canary Islands. Lisbon, Cadiz and Seville were going to be the new centres of European trade and the commercially-minded Genoese were not slow to recognise their potential. The discovery of the New World and the centralization of all trade with it through the port of Seville further consolidated the Genoese hold on the Spanish economy in the early sixteenth century; indeed, they were instrumental in developing and financing the early voyages, and it

is doubtful whether the later penetration of the New World and the establishment of colonies there could have been possible without their finance and mercantile skills.

Because of the importance of the Genoese in trade with the New World and with North Africa, their activities in Seville, Cadiz, Jerez de la Frontera and the surrounding hinterland have been quite well documented.⁽¹⁾ Somewhat less is known, however, about their activities elsewhere in the Spanish Peninsula — apart from their being the principal bankers to the Spanish Crown for over a century —, in particular their involvement in, and in some cases virtual monopoly of, certain commercial areas such as trade in wool and grain and the manufacture of silk goods.⁽²⁾

The case of Toledo is a pertinent one. Although little has been written on the Genoese in Toledo, there seems little doubt but that they formed a powerful and wealthy middle class of bankers, merchants, traders, who certainly controlled the wool trade of the city and its surrounding countryside (one of Toledo's most important commercial activities),⁽³⁾ if not other areas too. It is not known when the Genoese first settled in the Imperial City, but they were certainly there by 1511 and had even established a hermitage known as the *Capilla de los Genoveses* by the bridge of San Martin.⁽⁴⁾ The Genoese colony of Toledo numbered among its members some of the most illustrious families of Genoa: the Imperiale, Centurione, Cibo, Gentile, Fornelli, Lomellini, Pinello, Vivaldo, Salvi, Marín, Gallo, Doria, Cernásculo, Espínola and Salvago.⁽⁵⁾ They tended to live in the southern half of the city, in the wealthiest parishes, which included within their limits the two *Alcanás*, the market sites of what had once been the *Judería Mayor* and the *Judería Menor*.⁽⁶⁾ These areas continued to be inhabited by great numbers of *conversos*, who formed a powerful middle-class of professional and commercial families in sixteenth-century Toledo, and the attraction of them to the Genoese immigrants with their own mercantile outlook is understandable enough.⁽⁷⁾ Moreover, the recent expulsion of the Jews had left many houses empty and rents, as a consequence, were low.⁽⁸⁾ Enticed to Spain by the tax-free incentives the monarchs had had to offer to fill the gap left by the expulsion of the Jews, many Genoese would be drawn to the *Alcanás* of old Toledo to continue there the occupations of their Jewish predecessors: banking, moneylending and commerce.

It is in the parish of Santo Tomé (site of the *Judería Mayor*) that we catch our first glimpse of Pedro Bocangelino, grandfather of the Spanish seventeenth-century court poet Gabriel Bocángel y

Unzueta and patriarch of the Hispano-Genoese family that is the subject of this study. But before we anticipate events any further, let us retrace our steps back to the family origins in Pedro Bocangelino's native city of Genoa.

There, if we are to believe later reports, made by the family and by other Genoese witnesses, the *Casa Bocangelina* was considered one of the noblest and most ancient of families.⁽⁹⁾ Audino Bocangelino (father of Pedro) had married Madalena of the noble house of Franchi,⁽¹⁰⁾ and both he and his father Angelo «gozaron de diferentes cargos y magistrados, y otros oficios de que no gozan sino los caballeros nobles de sangre de dicha ciudad» (Doc. 92). Although Audino Bocangelino died before 1528, the year in which Genoa's *Libri della Nobiltà* was begun, and could not therefore be included in it,⁽¹¹⁾ he was an «hombre de gran cuenta en la república» and had held «muy grandes cargos y oficios, y magistrados» (Doc. 92). Indeed, by all accounts the family had enjoyed some of the highest offices that Genoa could confer on its citizens «como son Dux de Génova, Senadores y Patricios» (Doc. 92).

On the death of Audino Bocangelino it appears that one of his sons, Pedro, decided to try his luck away from Genoa. Why he should have wanted to leave and settle elsewhere is a mystery to us, but perhaps he was a younger son with few prospects at home, or, like many others at that time, he wanted to flee the internal strife of his native city. As we shall shortly see, it is more than likely that the Bocangelino family was allied to the Fieschi and therefore political opponents of the Doria faction which, during the 1520s, dominated the political life of Genoa. Pedro Bocangelino's later connection with the wool trade adds strength to the hypothesis since the part of Genoa under Fieschi control in the early sixteenth century (parish of St. Stephen) was where most of the activities associated with the wool trade (washing, dyeing, carding, etc.) were carried on.

R. Benitez Claros suggested that Pedro Bocangelino «debió de asentarse en Toledo a comienzos del siglo XVI».⁽¹²⁾ This was, it would appear, as he produced no evidence for the claim, a guess on his part, but an inspired one as it happens since we now know that Pedro Bocangelino arrived in Spain in the year 1524: «asimismo sabe de cierto... que dicho Pedro Bocangelino... vino de Génova a España a vivir por el año de mil y quinientos y veinte y cuatro... y con su venida se acabó esta familia por no haber en Génova otro descendiente de ella sino el susodicho» (Doc. 92). Another source states that Pedro Bocangelino «vino a España siendo muy muchacho»

(Doc. 92), as indeed he must have done since he died in November 1601 at the age of ninety years or more.⁽¹³⁾ This would give him a probable age of seventeen or eighteen when he arrived in Toledo for the first time. That the Bocangelino line ended in Genoa with Pedro's departure is a point emphasised in a number of documents. The evidence is not clear-cut, however, for we learn that an Antonio Bocangelino was a member of Genoa's Senate at the end of the sixteenth century, as were two brothers of Pedro himself.⁽¹⁴⁾

Before we go any further, the first thing that has to be said is that there is no trace whatsoever of a Bocangelino family in Genoa or the surrounding area.⁽¹⁵⁾ The family name there was quite definitely Bocca, as is shown by the surname of one of Pedro's nephews, Domingo Boca (mentioned in Pedro's last will and testament, Doc. 17). The Bocca family were «molto antichi cittad[in]i Gen[ove]si»⁽¹⁶⁾ and interestingly there are records of some of them — Lanfranco and his brother Guglielmo — trading with Tortosa in the twelfth century.⁽¹⁷⁾ Others were *consiglieri* and many of them were involved in trade, as for example Gianone Bocca «Drapero Consigliero» in 1368 and Matteo Bocca who can be found «nominado in Cartulario di Meliaduce Salvago e Compagni» in 1449.⁽¹⁸⁾

The problem remains of course the change of name. The change must have occurred in Spain and been carried out by Pedro himself. It is possible that Pedro changed his surname to avoid confusion with someone else; it is equally possible that he changed it to avoid detection, particularly likely if he left Genoa to save his life during the mayhem of the 1520s, or because he was of Jewish/*converso* origin, as a number of Genoese who moved to Spain in the sixteenth century were. In either case he might have decided to join his surname Bocca to one of the family's recurrent Christian names Angelo or Angelino, thus producing «Pedro Bocca [figlio] di Angelino», which eventually telescoped into Bocangelino. Another possibility, though less likely in my opinion, is that Bocca joined with another Genoese surname d'Angelo to produce the new Bocangelino. In this connection, it is worth noting, given the name and profession of one of Pedro's sons (Nicolás), that in 1385 Nicolao d'Angelo *médico* was one of the twelve «Anziani del Comune».⁽¹⁹⁾ All of this is pure guesswork, of course. No documents from Pedro Bocangelino's early years in Spain have survived that would allow us any possibility of corroboration.

If the family were of *converso* origins, then they covered their tracks really well. And they managed to get numerous well-known and highly-placed Genoese to perjure themselves for them by

swearing that they were «limpios cristianos viejos de toda mala raza moro, judío convertido a nuestra santa fe católica... y le parece a este testigo que con las muchas y particulares noticias que tiene de las casas de aquella República si hubiera cosa en contra le parece lo supiera» (Doc. 92, witness Angelo Lomelín). People did of course perjure themselves frequently in the «Pruebas de limpieza de sangre», but that does not mean that some times they were not actually telling the truth. However, as we shall see, Pedro Bocangelino's later activities placed him firmly alongside the local *converso* population in Toledo and there were rumours about the «limpieza de sangre» of his first wife Teresa de Mejía, but since rumours were rife about almost anyone from Toledo in the sixteenth century, we should not place too much credence on that. At this distance in time we simply cannot tell.

Another factor to take into account is the emphasis many witnesses to the family's «limpieza de sangre» place on their marriages. As Juan Andrea Ayrolo put it, «si dicho Audino [Bocangelino] no fuera tan noble como [a] este testigo le consta que es, no casara tan noblemente como casó» (Doc. 92), that is with Madalena de Franchi. The same is true with the Sanguineto family into which one of Pedro's daughters later married; they too were well placed in Genoa, forming part of the powerful Imperiale family, and they claimed their descent from Esteban Sanguineto who appears in the *Libri della Nobiltà* of 1528.⁽²⁰⁾

It seems almost inevitable that a question mark will hang over the origins of the *Casa Bocangelina* but, be that as it may, our interest must now turn to Toledo where the young and obviously self-assured and go-ahead Pedro Bocangelino had decided to make his home. That he chose Toledo for his home is not surprising. As we have noted, it already had a nucleus of Genoese immigrants; more pertinently, however, Toledo in the 1520s was a city that was reaching the height of its glory and brilliance, and as such must have acted as a powerful magnet to would-be settlers. Toledo was a busy, bustling city, an important industrial and commercial centre, particularly of silks and woven goods. Its narrow streets were packed with the shops and goods of all nations. And although decrees and pragmatics may have superficially produced a homogeneous nation, Toledo remained as heterogeneous as ever in its mixture of races and creeds. There were still great numbers of «moriscos» and «conversos» there, now swelled by foreign immigrants, particularly the North Italians, Milanese and Genoese.⁽²¹⁾ Pedro Bocangelino would have been one of many Genoese drawn there by reports of

its wealth and its good prospects for employment and by the fact that it was such an heterogeneous community.⁽²²⁾ No doubt the Genoese already settled there provided a welcome and shelter for the new immigrants, and it is not impossible that Pedro had some relative or contacts there ready to take him in. It is likely that he had entered Spain by the port of Valencia, where a substantial Genoese community played a large role in that city's commercial prosperity. Among the Genoese merchant who figure in the *Manifest de mercaderies* for the later years of the fifteenth century are Bernardo and Augusto de Franchi.⁽²³⁾ In 1490 Bernardo de Franchi organized a passage of safe-conduct from Genoa for one Jacobo Bocci; two years later another safe-conduct pass was gained for Ambrosio Bocci.⁽²⁴⁾ When we recall that Pedro Bocangelino's mother was a member of the illustrious de Franchi family and we note the remarkable similarity between Bocci and Bocca, one cannot help but wonder whether we are not dealing with members of the same family group, already settled in Spain before the arrival of Pedro.

As we have seen, in Toledo the Genoese inhabited the commercial areas of the town situated around the two *Alcanás*. And it is as a resident in the *alcaná* of the old *Judería Mayor* that Pedro Bocangelino appears in the first real documented evidence of his existence in Toledo. In the 1561 census of population for the city he is listed among those residing in the *Plaza de San Benito*, that is, in the square next to the Synagogue of the *Tránsito*.⁽²⁵⁾ Although Pedro Bocangelino's occupation is not given in the 1561 census, we know from other sources that at one stage he was a pharmacist, owning a *botica* in the *Barrio del Arquillo*. This presumably corresponds to the period when he was living in the Parish of Santo Tomás, since the *Barrio del Arquillo* was the name given to the area around the famous «*arquillo de la judería*», the present-day *Travesía del Arquillo*.⁽²⁶⁾ Whether pharmacy was a trade he had already learnt before leaving Genoa or was one he acquired in Toledo is uncertain; however, for a recently arrived Genoese immigrant it offered much scope. Ever since the expulsion of the Jews this profession had experienced some difficulties: pharmacy was one of the trades specifically linked with the Jews in the popular mind and this had tainted it somewhat for native Castilians. The Genoese ran no such risk, at least in theory.

By this time Pedro Bocangelino was a married man with a family, having married a local girl, Teresa de Mejía, probably some time in the 1540s or early 1550s.⁽²⁷⁾ Although resident in Toledo,

she originally hailed from the village of El Toboso, of subsequent literary fame.⁽²⁸⁾ This marriage to a Castilian girl may be indicative of a desire to be considered a native and not a newcomer, or it may simply be the result of Pedro's marrying the girl next door, since his immediate neighbour in the *Plaza de San Benito* was a Juan Mejía, *promotor*. Four children were born to them: Audino Angelo, Pablo, Anastasia and Angela.

From Santo Tomás the family moved to San Cristóbal, a smaller parish on the edge of Santo Tomás. The move, which must have taken place between 1561 and 1562, was not destined to be a happy one for long, for soon after settling there Teresa de Mejía died. She wrote her last will and testament on 21 January 1562 and was buried in the parish probably in the same year.⁽²⁹⁾

With three young children to look after it is doubtful whether Pedro Bocangelino remained a widower for long. Within a year or two of Teresa's death he married again, but this time it was to a Genoese girl, Antonia Merelo, «*de casa conocidamente noble*» (Doc. 92) from the town of Rapallo.⁽³⁰⁾ He may have gone to Genoa himself to marry her or, more likely, was married there by proxy, for she was later to say: «*quando vine de Génova casada con el dicho Pedro Bocangelino*» (Doc. 25). Late in Pedro's life she was to provide him with three more children: Nicolás (born in the mid 1560s),⁽³¹⁾ Mariana, and Juliana (born September 1579).

The family's final move was to the parish of San Ginés in the commercial heart of Toledo. Pedro Bocangelino still retained his pharmacy in the old Jewish quarter of the *Barrio del Arquillo*, but he now added to it another in the *Calle del Hombre de Palo*. This *botica* must have been near his home or may even have formed part of it, since we are told that he lived in the *Calle del Hombre de Palo*, at the end nearest to the church of San Juan Bautista.⁽³²⁾ There he owned some «*casas principales*» which, as it happened, were next door to houses of Juan Pinillo Salvago, another Genoese. With the aid of El Greco's famous *Plano de Toledo*⁽³³⁾ and J. Porres's *Historia de las calles de Toledo*, there seems little doubt that Pedro Bocangelino's houses stood on the corner formed by the *Calle del Hombre de Palo* and the *Calle de la Granada*, facing the *Calle Real* (present-day *Calle del Nuncio Viejo*).⁽³⁴⁾ According to Porres, all the houses in the *Calle del Hombre de Palo* formed part of the parish of San Pedro, all, that is, except the first which belonged to the parish of San Ginés and stood on the corner of the *Hombre de Palo* and the *Calle de la Granada*.⁽³⁵⁾ That house was, and still is, a pharmacy. In the 1561 census we find a *boticario*

listed for San Ginés —melchor de la Peña —, but no indication unfortunately as to the street in which he exercised his profession.⁽³⁶⁾ Given however that this sort of building frequently changes hands but rarely alters its business function, there are good reasons for believing that Pedro Bocangelino took over this pharmacy from Melchor de la Peña or his successors, some time in the last third of the century.⁽³⁷⁾

Among his customers was the Convent of Santo Torcuato. On 7 November 1588 its Augustinian nuns signed a *Carta de obligación* by which they agreed to pay «Pedro Bocangelino boticario» 30,000 maravedies for medicines he had supplied.⁽³⁸⁾ Although Pedro Bocangelino was clearly running a profitable business, if he could own two *boticas*, he could never hope to become rich through his pharmaceutical activities alone, and so, some time towards the last decade of the century, he decided to expand his business, to branch out into other commercial and financial areas. In 1589 he was working, together with his Genoese sons-in-law Pablo Bava (married to Angela) and Juan Segundo de Ranolis (married to Mariana), for Alessandro Spínola, collecting debts owed to this latter by various persons in Toledo and Madrid. A year later we find Pedro Bocangelino and Pablo Bava (by now his inseparable business partner) signing contracts with the Monastery of San Pedro Mártir in Toledo to supply it with 10,000 reams of paper per year.⁽³⁹⁾ The Monastery of San Pedro Mártir was the seat of the Inquisition in Toledo and a place renowned for the learning of its friars.⁽⁴⁰⁾ To have gained such a lucrative contract to supply this monastery with substantial amounts of paper each year was clearly no small achievement and evidence that Pedro Bocangelino's affairs were indeed expanding.

But all of these were but minor activities compared with the direction their business affairs were soon to take. Living and working a stone's throw from the *Plaza de las Cuatro Calles*, Pedro Bocangelino was right next to the commercial and mercantile heart of Toledo, an area undoubtedly dominated at this time by the Genoese. Certainly by the middle of the century the Genoese had become a force to be reckoned with in Toledo: «Los mercaderes llamados de escritorio eran muchos en tiempo de Felipe II, los más extranjeros; sólo los genoveses excedían de doscientos establecidos, que llevaban telares por su cuenta y formaban comunidad aparte».⁽⁴¹⁾ The principal activities of the merchants grouped around the *Cuatro Calles* concerned trade in wool and woven goods. By the end of 1591 we have firm evidence that Pedro Bocangelino and

Pablo Bava, no doubt following the example of these merchants, had set up a trading company, the main concern of which was the export of wool to Italy. By reason of his age (he must have been in his eighties) Pedro Bocangelino can have played but a minor role in the company's affairs, and it is more than probable that while he provided the bulk of the finance Pablo Bava ran the business side;⁽⁴²⁾ this would conform to the pattern of *compañías* noted by Ruth Pike for the Genoese in Seville, which in its simplest form was an association between two individuals in which one party furnished the capital while the other concerned himself with the actual business of trading, often accompanying the goods to their final destination.⁽⁴³⁾ Interestingly, such an arrangement also fits well the general description given of such ventures by Gómez-Menor in respect of Toledan converso merchant families: «Lo formaban generalmente varios miembros de una misma familia, sobre todo hermanos; en otros casos, dos o más mercaderes en plano de igualdad, o bien un mercader y otra persona que aportaba el capital».⁽⁴⁴⁾ In true Genoese (and *converso*) fashion, the Bocangelino-Bava *compañía de negocios* was very much a family venture; Pedro's eldest son, Audino Angelo, spent some years working for his father before branching out on his own in the mid 1590s; a nephew, Domingo Boca, was long associated with the firm, even after Pedro Bocangelino's death; a son-in-law, Antonio Sanguineto, was brought into it in the 1590s; and another son-in-law, Juan Segundo de Ranolis, worked on and off in a financial capacity for the company for many years; finally, Pablo Bava's eldest son, Juan Bautista, was put in charge of the accounts, with his own office in the firm by the end of the sixteenth century.

In many ways their decision to set up a trading company at that particular time, and in wool of all things seems a strange one. A combination of short — and long — term changes in wool production and demand (poor weather and harvest conditions in Spain, for example), and the Revolt of the Netherlands had, by the late 1570s, all but destroyed the prosperity of Burgos which, during the first half of the century, had dominated the Castilian wool trade with Flanders.⁽⁴⁵⁾ And yet, by any standards, the company of Pedro Bocangelino and Pablo Bava was a successful enterprise employing at any one time some one hundred and fifty people. They soon built up a local trade buying their fleeces from all over the present-day provinces of Toledo and Ciudad Real (and as far afield as Segovia).

Once in Toledo, the wool was washed, dyed and prepared,

during the months of April to September, in probably the best *lavadero* on the banks of the Tagus outside Toledo. The wool was then weighed, put into sacks with the company trademark (a P over a B in an oval) stamped on them, and sent via the inland customs post of Yecla to Alicante and thence to Rome, Venice, Genoa and elsewhere in Italy. And it is the destination of the Bocangelino-Bava wool that helps in part to explain their success. For although the Revolt of the Netherlands had ruined Burgos and the wool trade of the north, it had helped in the partial recovery of those Italian states and cities trading in wool and woollen goods. Thus Florence, Como, Bergamo, and, to a lesser extent, Venice, experienced a boom in woollen production in the last twenty years or so of the sixteenth century, as Spain diverted much of its wool trade away from the Netherlands and towards the Mediterranean, particularly via her client states of Genoa, Lombardy, Naples and Sicily.⁽⁴⁶⁾ Pedro Bocangelino was ideally placed to profit from these fortuitous circumstances: operating from Toledo in the very centre of the country, with large flocks pasturing both in the province and in nearby ones, he could as easily send his wool south as north; furthermore, he was able to make use of valuable family contacts and Genoese banking expertise in Italy, and we find numerous references in his sales documents to persons carrying the surnames Merelo (that of his second wife), De Franchi (his mother's name), Bava, Sanguineto.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Other sources show that they traded with Pedro and Agustín Durazos, Cristóbal Saoli, Gentil Garalose, all resident in Genoa, and with Mario Lacarno of Milan.

From the notarial documents preserved in Toledo, we can gain some idea of the volume of this trade. In 1594, for example, Bocangelino and Bava claimed to have paid the Royal Treasury more than 10,000 ducats in tax on their wool shipment, collected at the customs house of Yecla. At the official rate of four ducats per sack, this represented a total of some 2,500 sacks or 25,000 bushels of wool.⁽⁴⁸⁾ The following year they paid approximately 7,000 ducats in tax (representing some 1,750 sacks of wool).⁽⁴⁹⁾

No doubt taking full advantage of the network of buyers and sellers they had set up for their wool trade, they also traded locally in grain, another area which the Genoese had come to dominate in Spain at this time.⁽⁵⁰⁾ In addition, they imported cochineal from the New World, swords from Milan, paper from Genoa, and they remitted books to various booksellers and merchants in Spain and Italy.⁽⁵¹⁾ And like so many other Genoese merchants, Pedro Bocangelino was not adverse to lending out money at interest and

providing loans on security, as his will makes clear: «declaro que yo tengo en mi poder algunas prendas de diversas personas que les he prestado dinero sobre ellas» (Doc. 17). Indeed, one of those to whom he lent money was El Greco: among the effects left on Pedro Bocangelino's death were a painting of St. Francis and one of the Saviour, both done by El Greco, perhaps as a form of remuneration. In short, Pedro Bocangelino acted at times as a typical Genoese *cambiador* and *asentista*, preferring in general to deal with the religious authorities, and often using his correspondents in Rome to transact business between the Episcopate in Toledo and the Vatican.

One activity of Pedro Bocangelino and Pablo Bava which one would like to know a lot more about concerns their efforts to improve the navigational possibilities of the River Tagus as far as Lisboa, for which service the King, Philip II, who took a keen interest in the project, had granted them their rights to part of the river bank for their *lavaderos*.⁽⁵²⁾ Such an action must certainly have brought considerable benefits for the Bocangelino family, and not only economic ones. Their acceptance into Toledan society would now be that much easier.

The family had indeed risen and was beginning to hold the sort of position and social standing in Toledo that it claimed it had traditionally held in Genoa. In numerous documents Pedro Bocangelino is referred to as «caballero hijodalgo notorio de sangre» and «hombre noble y muy rico», who behaved «con porte de caballero y por tal fue tenido y reputado comúnmente», while the family in Toledo were considered «gente noble y principal y como tal se trataron y tuvieron oficios de tales».⁽⁵³⁾ Now that he was firmly established in the mercantile middle class, Pedro Bocangelino's next obvious move was to invest his money in tangible assets that would demonstrate to all his wealth and social standing. Thus he did what the majority of Toledo's middle-classes were accustomed to doing: he bought a *cigarral* or country house on the banks of the Tagus outside Toledo.

The *cigarral*, a mixture of «dehesa, huerta y jardín»,⁽⁵⁴⁾ had become by this time a weekend retreat for tired businessmen and a centre of recreation for prosperous noblemen. The very nature of Toledo with its crowded streets and its lack of fresh air and amenities meant that all who could bought or built these country retreats outside the city walls on the other bank of the river. Pedro Bocangelino's *cigarral* lay next to one owned by Pablo Bava, by the side of the stream of Valdelobos as it ran into the Tagus, and

consisted of «casas, huerta y arboleda» and «un cercado y otros pedazos de tierras calmas con algunos árboles frutales» (Doc. 18).

Now although originally bought as a means of investment, the *cigarrales* usually involved more expense than profit,⁽⁵⁵⁾ and Pike has observed that, as regards the Genoese in Seville, while the purchase of a country estate by newly ennobled merchants was a manifestation of their having arrived, it was rarely a sound investment and one which the Genoese were unwilling to risk for a symbolic importance that bore no relationship to market value.⁽⁵⁶⁾ However, in Pedro Bocangelino's case we see business acumen tempering the rash outlay on a leisure retreat, for his *cigarral* was where he had his fleece-washing facilities, the «lavadero de San Julián», probably the best in Toledo. Again like many other Genoese, he also invested some of his capital in urban real estate, then a popular form of investment. Aside from the «casas principales» he owned on the corner formed by the present-day *Calle del Hombre de Palo* and *Calle de la Granada*, houses where he and his family lived and from which they carried on their business, he also owned property in the *Calle de las Carretas* in the heart of Madrid.

All the information we have about Pedro Bocangelino and his affairs suggests that he formed part of a strong and prosperous Genoese business community in Toledo. To begin with, the family kept numerous Genoese servants among its household, one of whom, Marieta, stayed with them for over thirty years. And although Pedro had married a local Castilian girl for his first wife, his second, as we have seen, had come from Genoa. The marriages of most of Pedro's children underline this latter link with the Ligurian Republic. Angela, his eldest daughter, married Pablo Bava from Genoa, thus bringing about the future alliance of the father's money with the son-in-law's merchant skills. Members of the Bava family, inscribed in the family Cattaneo since 1528, had taken part initially in the Fieschi Conspiracy of 1547; as a result it is possible that Pablo Bava among others had had to escape to Spain to avoid punishment.⁽⁵⁷⁾ Since it is also likely that Pedro Bocangelino had arrived in Spain in 1524 for similar motives (allied to the Fieschi against the Doria), it is not surprising that the two families should unite via marriage. Genoese refugees from the power of the Doria would almost certainly come together in mutual protection in a foreign country. A similar marriage was made by Juliana in 1592 when she married Antonio Sanguineto, another wool merchant who traded with Italy.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Mariana also married a Genoese, Juan Segundo de Ranolis.

His early career was, like that of his father-in-law, as a *boticario*⁽⁵⁹⁾ and he too was involved with the Bocangelino-Bava trading company at an early stage, receiving on many occasions powers of attorney to act on their behalf.

Audino Angelo, Pedro's eldest son, married another Antonia Merelo from Genoa in 1594. Like Pedro Bocangelino's second wife she too had a brother called Cipión and a father called Felipe, and one is led to suspect that she was a close relation to her namesake, perhaps a niece or second cousin. The only one of Pedro Bocangelino's children not to marry a fellow Genoese (apart from Anastasia, who was a «religiosa beata de la compañía de Jesús») was Nicolás. In 1588 he married Teresa de Unzueta y Ribera, a local girl from Toledo whose family had lived in the province for generations. In general terms, though, the marriages of Pedro Bocangelino's children underline both his attachment to the Genoese community in Toledo and his desire not to relinquish links with his former *patria*. Both Pablo Bava and Antonio Sanguineto were merchants and both came from families of lustre and nobility back in Genoa. Juan Segundo de Ranolis, also Genoese, exercised the same profession as Pedro Bocangelino, pharmacy, and his later career as a financier fully justified him as a suitable son-in-law for the commercially-minded Pedro.

These endogamous marriage patterns suggest that the Bocangelinos retained in Toledo some of the characteristics of a typical merchant family to be found back in Genoa itself, where endogamy, though of a more restricted sort, was widely practised. Documentary evidence also points to their constituting a patriarchal family on the Genoese model analysed by Diane Owen Hughes in various publications.⁽⁶⁰⁾ They appear to have lived together in the houses and workshops owned by Pedro Bocangelino in the *Calle del Hombre de Palo*, and Pedro's hold on the family was clearly quite strong. For example, when Audino Angelo married in 1594, by which time he was in his late 30s or early 40s, we find an interesting reference to his emancipation from his father's *potestas*: «Angelino Bocangelino por lo que a él toca y como persona libre y usando de la emancipación y libertad que tiene y cumplida y plena potestad del dicho su padre» (Doc. 12). Hughes also found that daughters tended to be married when quite young, «anywhere from twelve to eighteen»,⁽⁶¹⁾ thus bringing the young couple firmly under the control of the husband's father. Juliana Bocangelino was married to Antonio Sanguineto when she was not yet thirteen years of age, but, since her husband had come to Toledo on his own, leaving

his parents behind in Genoa, this young couple had no choice but to live with the bride's family, under father's control. In relation to the marriage of daughters and their dowries, Hughes has noted: «men chose to endow the female members of their own descent group rather than their own wives, who were necessarily alien members; for families identified by a particular name were strictly exogamous. Property given as a dowry to a daughter, they probably reasoned, remained closer to the newly strengthened family than property alienated to a wife». ⁽⁶²⁾ Pedro Bocangelino gave Juliana 3,000 ducats for her dowry but with the stipulation that two-thirds of it should be reinvested in the company. That way the money was not lost to the family or company. Pedro's own marriage to Antonia Merelo further highlights this complex area of family and finance. One of the conditions of the marriage was that Antonia, following Genoese custom, should waive her right to any capital gains to be bestowed upon her by her husband at marriage. This would clearly benefit Pedro Bocangelino's business affairs, as he would not have to settle a large sum of money on her at their marriage. For the part, she brought to the marriage a dowry of approximately 3,500 ducats, a more than reasonable sum. One cannot help but wonder whether Pedro Bocangelino did not decide to marry this girl principally because she was Genoese: since the financial position of married women in Genoa had been successively weakened to the benefit of the husband, marriage to a Genoese girl might have considerable economic advantages over one to a Castilian girl. ⁽⁶³⁾

To all intents and purposes, therefore, the Bocangelino family lived in Toledo much as they would have done in Genoa, retaining for many years a Genoese style of life and Genoese customs. And by the end of his long life Pedro Bocangelino could feel justly proud of his achievements: from and obscure and relatively humble beginning in Toledo the Bocangelinos had risen to become an important and wealthy family, well established as a member of the Toledan merchant class and with all the trappings of riches and high social status that went with it. The dispositions of his will regarding religious donations emphasize this desire to make manifest his «having arrived». He enjoined an impressively long list of clerics and monks (from the convents of San Francisco, San Pedro Mártir, San Bartolomé de la Vega, and Nuestra Señora del Carmen) to attend his funeral, and an equally large number to say masses for his soul, all of whom were to be handsomely paid. However, as Pike has reminded us, the Genoese employed towards religion the same

calculating attitude they did towards all aspects of life. ⁽⁶⁴⁾ They might be generous towards religious and pious foundations, but economic interest played a large part too. Thus we notice two convents in particular from the list mentioned in his will: the Monastery of San Pedro Mártir (with which he had dealings in the early 1590s) and the Carthusian Monastery of Nuestra Señora del Paular in Segovia (one of the most important sheep breeders in the whole of Spain in the sixteenth century). ⁽⁶⁵⁾ Was he, one wonders, even at the end still attempting to protect the interests of his company with two of its biggest customers and wholesalers?

When Pedro Bocangelino ordered his last will and testament on 1 December 1600 he was already an ill man and in his nineties. ⁽⁶⁶⁾ But such was his strength and tenacity that he lived a further eleven months before dying on 24 November 1601. He had asked to be buried in a vault that he had especially commissioned for the family in the Convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes in Toledo; his only request regarding his final resting place was that «se ponga encima una losa de mármol blanco fino con mis armas» (Doc. 17). ⁽⁶⁷⁾ Two years later his second wife, Antonia Merelo, was buried in the same vault. The royal convent of Santa Isabel was in the parish of San Antolín, a parish noted for the quality of its residents (though less so for their wealth), and its choice says much for the social ambitions of Pedro Bocangelino. ⁽⁶⁸⁾

Though we have no portrait of Pedro Bocangelino, no description even of him, nonetheless something of his character comes through to us. Physically he must have been a strong man; to survive into his nineties in those times was in itself no small achievement, and to live another eleven months after signing his last will and testament says much for his stamina and will to live. He was a determined man, one accustomed to having his wishes carried out. He was also a relatively cultured man: we have already noted his possession of two paintings by El Greco. He left a number of other paintings to his heirs and a small but interesting collection of books, among which we might note the *Disticha moralia* or *Suma de Catón* (by an anonymous writer of the second or third centuries A.D., commonly, though erroneously, known as Dionisius Cato), a Virgil and a Dante (no titles given), Valerius Maximus, a History of Bohemia, and some books of poetry. ⁽⁶⁹⁾

Pedro Bocangelino had been fortunate to arrive in Toledo when the city was reaching the peak of its commercial greatness. A shrewd businessman, he bought where property was cheap when he started out, then he steadily built up his business, acquiring further premises,

all the while moving nearer to the heart of commercial Toledo; by the end of the century he had property in the centre of Madrid, houses in the very heart of Toledo, a *cigarral* outside the crowded city, plus numerous workshops and *lavaderos*. In his first son-in-law Pablo Bava he recognised a good investment for his savings, and together they established a prosperous and thriving commercial enterprise with contacts and deals all over Spain and Italy. By the end of his long life Pedro Bocangelino could justly feel that he had acquired for this family in Spain the social standing and respect that they had once enjoyed in Genoa. Moreover, he left his descendants a considerable fortune (well over 40,000 ducats) which would ensure that they would start out on a higher rung of the social ladder of their adopted country. It was perhaps fortunate for him that he did not live long enough to see all his commercial efforts spurned by his heirs who preferred to live off rents and investments rather than follow Pedro's instructions and carry on with his *compañía de negocios*. But their history (which is in many ways a history of the socio-economic changes that came over Spain in the seventeenth century) would require another paper and another *Convegno*.

Notes

- (1) The information for these opening paragraphs has been taken substantially from H. Sancho de Sopranis, «Los genoveses en la región gaditano-xericiense de 1460 a 1800», *Hispania, Revista Española de Historia*, VIII (1948), 355-366; R. Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure. The Genoese in Seville and the Opening of the New World* (Ithaca, New York, 1966); J. Larraz, *La época del mercantilismo en Castilla (1500-1700)* (Madrid, 1943); J. Edwards, «Italians in Córdoba and Jerez» (unpublished paper). I am extremely grateful to Dr. Edwards (University of Birmingham) for allowing me access to this important study of his.
- (2) For the role of the Genoese in Spanish finance, see R. Carande, *Carlos V y sus banqueros*, 3 vols (Madrid, 1949-1967) and A. Domínguez Ortiz, *Política y hacienda de Felipe IV* (Madrid, 1960).
- (3) Cf., for example, D. Ringrose: «Toledo, through a highly developed guild system, produced quality steel, linens, silks, and, above all, woollens. The city exported quantities of these items out of the regional economy and was a focal point for redistribution of imports into the region». («The Impact of a New Capital City: Madrid, Toledo, and New Castile, 1560-1660», *Journal of Economic History*, 33 [1973], p. 761); cf. also P. Iradiel Murugarren: «La industria textil de Toledo... destaca en esta época por el grado de organización. A juzgar por las ordenanzas que ha editado el profesor Sáez, se trata de la industria textil mejor estructurada de Castilla a principios del siglo XV» (*Evolución de la industria textil castellana en los siglos XIII-XIV* [Salamanca, 1974], p. 41).
- (4) See J. Porres Martín-Cleto, *Historia de las calles de Toledo* (Toledo, 1971), I, 439-441.
- (5) Some of these names appear in the 1561 census of population carried out in Toledo and reproduced by L. Martz and J. Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos en 1561* (Toledo, 1974). Others, such as Juan Bautista Imperial, can be found as witnesses to legal documents drawn up by the Bocangelino family. For Cenúscolo and Espínola, see J. Sánchez Romeralo, «Ascendencia genovesa de Gabriel Bocángel», *Actas del Séptimo Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, celebrado en Venecia del 25 al 30 de agosto de 1980 (Roma, 1982), p. 931. From 1529 to 1531 a Genoese printer, Lázaro Salvago, worked in Toledo. Three works are known to have been printed by him (see C. Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo* [Madrid, 1887], nos 153, 156, 158). Later on in the century, we find a Juan Pinillo Salvago living next door to Pedro Bocangelino in the *Calle del Hombre de Palo*.
- (6) On the *Alcanás* of Toledo, see R. Amador de los Ríos, «La alcaná de Toledo», *RABM*, XXIV (1911), 48-77.
- (7) On the *converso* merchants of Toledo, see J. Gómez-Menor Fuentes, *Cristianos nuevos y mercaderes de Toledo* (Toledo, 1970).

(8) See Martz & Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos*, p. 141.

(9) Cf. Document 92: «familia noble de sangre y antigua en Génova». Document numbers refer to the «Appendix of Documents» of my *La Casa Bocangelina: Una familia hispano-genovesa de la España del Siglo de Oro* (Pamplona, 1990; in press). For ease of reference I have modernized all quotations.

(10) Juan Félix Rivarola Pineda refers to the *Casa Franchi* as «Noble Patricia Genovesa» (*Description historica, chronologica, y genealogica, civil, politica, y militar de la serenissima republica de Genova* [Madrid, 1729], p. 145), and in BNM MS 11,169 («Relacion de el estado de la Republica de Genoba... año de 1591») the *Casa Franchi* is listed as one of the twenty-eight noble families of Genova; as such it is inscribed in the *Libri della Nobiltà* of 1528.

(11) See C. Cattaneo Mallone di Novi, *I «Politici» del Medioevo Genovese (ricerche d'archivio), Il Liber Civilitatis del 1528* (Genoa, 1987).

(12) R. Benítez Claros, *Vida y poesía de Bocángel* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 20-21.

(13) See Document 92: «murió en Toledo de más de noventa y tantos años». The date of his death is given in Document 18.

(14) Evidence to be found in Document 92. Antonio Bocangelino would appear to have been a cousin of Gabriel Bocángel's father Nicolás.

(15) Cf. Francesco Grillo, *Origine Storica delle Località e Antichi Cognomi della Repubblica di Genova* (Genova, 1965), where there is no mention at all of the surname Bocangelino.

(16) Agostino della Cella, *Famiglie di Genova antiche, e moderne, estinte, e viventi, nobili, e popolari, delle quali si trovi Memoria negli Annalisti, Storici, o notorij Scrittori Genovesi...* MDCCLXXXIII, 3 vols. Biblioteca Universitaria di Genova: MS C.IX.19, fol. 89r.

(17) Federico Federici, *Famiglie che sono state in Genua prima dell'anno 1525 con molte altre delle due Riviere di Levante, e Ponente raccolte dall'Archivij della Repubblica di Genova*, 2 vols. Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, MS «Graberg», vol. 1, fol. 121r, under Bocca.

(18) Federici, fol., 121v.

(19) A. della Cella, fol. 32r, under D'Angelo.

(20) See C. Cattaneo Mallone, p. 236.

(21) Cf. a poem by Sebastián de Horozco on the influx of foreigners in Toledo about the year 1560:

Según tan diversas son
las condiciones y trajes,
cada qual de su nación,
parece la confusión
de Babilonia en lenguaje.

Lombardos, italianos,
gallegos y portugueses,
venecianos y romanos,
turcos y napolitanos,
navarros y aragoneses...

Españoles y franceses,
y tudescos y alemanes,
ungaros, sardos, ingleses,
florentinos, ginoveses,
valencianos, catalanes.

Y de otras muchas naciones
como arroyos a la mar,
con diversas intenciones
embaxadas, legaciones,
todos, en fin, a medrar.

(Quoted by J. Porres, «La población de Toledo en el siglo XVI», in *Toledo renacentista* [Madrid, 1980], II 44).

(22) Should such have been the case, then Pedro Bocangelino was simply showing typical Genoese characteristics: «Her entire population was either actively engaged in commerce, or dependent upon it for a living. In this type of society a spirit of initiative, a sense of adventure, and a disdain or risk were all essential characteristics necessary for survival» (R. Pike, «The Images of the Genoese in Golden Age Literature», *Hispania*, XLVI [1963], 707).

(23) J. Hinojosa, Montalvo «Sobre mercaderes extrapeninsulares en la Valencia del siglo XV», *Saitabi*, XVI ((1976), 59-92 [64-66]. Members of the De Franchi family had also been settled in Cadiz since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see Sancho de Sopranis, *art. cit.*, pp. 373 and 386-387). And F. J. Norton notes the presence of a Genoese merchant Petrus de Franquis in Valencia in 1504 (*Printing in Spain 1501-1520* [Cambridge, 1966], p. 81). Perhaps some had also moved to Toledo by the early sixteenth century.

(24) Hinojosa Montalvo, pp. 89-90.

(25) See Martz & Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos*, p. 184.

(26) See Porres, *Historia de las calles de Toledo*, I, 137-138. Four *boticarios* are listed for Santo Tomé in the 1561 census, but none for that area.

(27) It has proved impossible to find confirmation of the date of their marriage since parish records for these years are generally missing in Toledo.

(28) We are of course thinking of Dulcinea del Toboso from Cervantes's *Don Quijote*.

(29) The date of her will, according to a copy made one hundred years later was 21 January 1572. This must, however, be an error since Nicolás Bocángel, Pedro Bocangelino's son from his second marriage, was born in the mid 1560s. Given the similarity between *sesenta* and *setenta* in sixteenth-century notarial handwriting, it seems reasonable to assume that the scribe simply mistook the «s» for a «t». Unfortunately, the original documents that would confirm or refute this supposition — the last will and testament and death certificate of Teresa de Mejia — have not come to light.

(30) The *Casa Merelo* is listed in Rivarola's *Descripción* among those «que han obtenido la Dignidad Senatoria, desde el año 1576» (p. 450). Indeed, Agostino Merello, Antonia's great-grandfather, appears in the *Liber primus civilitatis nobilitatis anni 1528* inscribed in the family Nigrone or Negrone; see C. Cattaneo Mallone, *I «Politici» del Medioevo Genovese*, p. 240. I am very grateful to the descendants of the Merello family in Genova for having furnished me with this information and shown me the family tree where Antonia Merello's branch appears.

(31) The matriculation records of the University of Alcalá make him twenty-one years of age in 1585; furthermore, it seems reasonable to assume that he was born no later than 1564 if in 1581 he gained his M.A.

(32) Document 92: «dijo que tiene particular noticia del dicho Pedro Bocangelino el cual tuvo sus casas en la Calle del Hombre de Palo junto a San Bautista como subimos a su calle».

(33) Reproduced by J. Pores and the «Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos» (Toledo, 1967).

(34) See Porres, *Historia de las calles de Toledo*, II, 12.

- (35) Porres, *Historia de las callas de Toledo*, I, 466.
- (36) See Martz & Porres, *Toledo y los toledanos*, p. 194.
- (37) Significantly, one of the witnesses to a pharmaceutical transaction of Pedro Bocangelino's in 1588 was Melchor de la Peña. See the following reference.
- (38) Archicío Histórico de Protocolos de Toledo (AHPT): Fernando Ruiz de los Arcos, *protocolo* 2310, fols. 1538r-1539r.
- (39) AHPT, prot. 2312, fols. 671r-672v.
- (40) On the Monastery of San Pedro Mártir, see Francisco de Pisa, *Apuntamientos para la II Parte de la «Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo»*, ed. J. Gómez-Menor Fuentes (Toledo, 1976), p. 57.
- (41) J. López de Ayala y Alvarez de Toledo, conde de Cedillo, *Toledo en el siglo XVI, después del vencimiento de las Comunidades* (Madrid, 1901), p. 58. Cf. also the following description of Toledo's Genoese merchants' given by a contemporary, Juan Vásquez Belluga, in 1575: «entonces los Ginobeses se juntaban en la plaza del ayuntamiento poco antes de anochecer a tratar de sus negocios y porque solían estar solos ellos en aquella sazón eran muy conocidos y por ser gente tan lucida y particular en esta ciudad» (quoted by Sánchez Romeralo, «Ascendencia genovesa», p. 930).
- (42) The vast amount of notarial documents relating to the company and preserved in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Toledo*, are all signed by Pablo Bava though taken out in the names of both partners.
- (43) For these arrangements, consult R. Pike, «The Image of the Genoese», p. 107 n. 29.
- (44) Gómez-Menor, *Cristianos nuevos*, p. 95.
- (45) In 1571 Simon Ruiz wrote to one of his correspondents: «el comercio de Burgos está completamente agotado» (H. Lepeyre, *Una famille de marchands, les Ruiz de Medina* [Paris, 1955], p. 485). On the wool trade and its inland and overseas routes see L. Reitser, «Some observation on Castilian commerce and finance in the sixteenth century», *Journal of Modern History*, XXXII (1960), 217-218; Carla Rahn Phillips, «The Spanish Wool Trade, 1500-1780», *Journal of Economic History*, XLII (1982), 775-795; and P. Iradiel Murugarren, *op. cit.*
- (46) See D. Sella, «The Rise and Fall of the Venetian Wollen Industry», in B. Pullan (ed.), *Crisis and Change in the Venetian Economy in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1968), pp. 115-116; and Phillips, «The Spanish Wool Trade», pp. 783 and 790, where she notes that «Spaniards had the least influence on the southeast coast, where the wool trade of Italy was mostly in the hands of Italian residents (including some naturalized citizens of Spain)». See also J. Hinojosa Montalvo, «Sobre mercaderes extrapeninsulares».
- (47) Cf. the following: «Una cuenta con Cipión Merelo de diverses lanas que se le han remitido a Genova»; «A Jácome de Franchi se le han remitido veinte y ocho sacas de lana que no dice ha vendido»; «Con Esteban Sanguineto hay una cuenta para efectos que ha remitido por la cual se la debe mil ciento y veinte y ocho reales» (AHPT, prot. 50, fols. 958v-959r).

- (48) For the tax on wool, see Larraz, *La época del mercantilismo en Castilla*, p. 62.
- (49) These figures are taken from AHPT, prot. 2317, fol. 173r and prot. 2318, fol. 204r.
- (50) For the role of the Genoese in the Sevillian grain trade, see Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, pp. 17-18; for Córdoba, see J. Edwards, *Christian Córdoba, The city and its region in the late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 111-112.
- (51) Sánchez Romeralo, «Ascendencia genovesa», p. 932.
- (52) On Philip II's interest in this project, see J.P. Oliveira Martins, *História de Portugal*, 2 vols (Lisbon, 1927), II, 110.
- (53) These quotation are taken from Document 92 and T.J. Dadson, «Poesías inéditas de Bocángel: Poesías nupciales», *BBMP*, LII (1976), 169.
- (54) A. Martín Gamero, *Los cigarrales de Toledo* (Toledo, 1857), p. 18 *passim*.
- (55) «Los Cigarrales, por lo tanto, eran ordinariamente una verdadera caja de amortización en que se enterraban los ahorros del artesano, las sobras del peculio del clérigo y los residuos del capital de los ricos, aunque esto redundaba muchas veces en beneficio de los pobres, a quienes se facilitaba de esta manera un medio de ganar jornales todo el año. Así se comprende bien que fueran unas fincas de mayores gastos que productos» (Martín Gamero, *Los cigarrales*, pp. 130-131).
- (56) Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, p. 16.
- (57) In 1547 Bautista Bava «venne con altri giovani Nobili condotto dal Conte Gio Luigi Fiesco nel suo palazzo di Violaro la notte della atroce Congiura, ma il Bava virilm[en]te ricusò di aderire ad un'impresa così empia e temeraria, né volle unirsi con li altri armati del proditorio partito» (A. della Cella, *Famiglie di Genova antiche*, fol. 69r).
- (58) Document 109: «Antonio Sanguineto... había sido mercader de lonjas vendiendo en su casa diferentes géneros de Italia que le conducían y compraba lanas y la remitía a sus correspondientes». He was born in Genoa and baptised in the Church of St. Stephen on 23 February 1568. In Toledo he lived in the wealthy parish of San Nicolás. It is worth pointing out that the Church of St. Stephen in Genoa was located in Fieschi territory, a family with close links to the wool trade. Perhaps we have here another refuges from the effects of the Fieschi Conspiracy.
- (59) Thus is he described in the early years of the seventeenth century. With Juan Segundo de Ranolis we also have problems of nomenclature. The surname de Ranolis (or de Renoles, as it is sometimes written) is not found in Genoa (see F. Grillo, *Origine Storica*, *passim*). The name may have been di Raviolis, inscribed in the family Pinello in 1528 (see C. Cattaneo Mallone, *I «Politici» del Medioevo Genovese*, p. 255). Bearing in mind that Juan Segundo de Ranolis's son-in law was Bartolomé Pianelo, almost certainly a corrupt form of Pinello, the hypothesis of *di Raviolis* could well be the correct one.
- (60) «Domestic Ideals and Social Behaviour: Evidence from Medieval Genoa», in C. E. Rosenberg (ed.), *The family in History* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), pp. 155-143, and «Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa», *Past and Present*, 66 (1975), 3-28.

(61) «Family Structure», p. 18.

(62) «Family Structure», p. 15.

(63) See Hughes, «Family Structure», pp. 13-15. Francesco Guicciardini, the Florentine ambassador to the court of Ferdinand the Catholic in 1512 and 1513, was struck by Spanish customs regarding widow's rights to their late husband's estates; not only did they recoup their dowry but they also had a right to one-half of any capital gains made during the marriage. (Quoted by C. Griffin, *The Crombergers of Seville, The History of a Printing and Merchant Dynasty* [Oxford, 1988], p. 24, n. 20).

(64) Pike, *Enterprise and Adventure*, p. 14.

(65) In his will Pedro Bocangelino asked his heirs to send «un propio al Monasterio del Nuestra Señora del Paular de la ciudad de Segovia que lor religiosos de él son Cartujos a los cuales se les haga saber mi muerte para que ruegen y hagan rogar a Dios por mi ánima come se lo tengo comunicado y pedido por cartas» (Doc. 17). Given that the Convent of the Paular was a foremost sheep breeder and supplier of raw wool in this period (see B. Bennassar, *Valladolid en el Siglo de Oro. Una ciudad de Castilla y su entorno agrario en el Siglo XVI* [Valladolid, 1983], p. 100, it seems likely that Pedro Bocangelino had had some commercial dealings with it, hence the reference in his will. Further evidence of such a commercial link comes from a *Carta de poder* drawn up in 1595 in which Pedro Bocangelino gave his power of attorney to Alonso Vázquez of Segovia to collect money owed to him: «de todas las cantidades de arrobas de lana que le son debidas» (AHPT, prot. 2317, fol. 793r-v).

(66) Longevity seems to have run in the family: Pedro's father, Audino Bocangelino, also lived to an advanced age: «llegó a ser my viejo» (Doc. 92), and his daughter Anastasia (who died in 1648) must have been well in her eighties.

(67) Unfortunately, there is no record of his burial in the Convent since most of its documents have been lost over the years. For a brief history of this royal convent, see Balbina Martínez Caviro, «El Monasterio de Santa Isabel de los Reyes. Cinco siglos de historia», separata de la revista *Provincia* (Toledo, 1977).

(68) Thus Pisa: «En la iglesia latina de San Antolín hay lo mejores vecinos, digo de más autoridad, que se hallarán así juntos en ninguna otra parroquia» (*Apuntamientos para la segunda parte de la «Descripción de la Imperial ciudad de Toledo»*, pp. 76-77), and Porres: «però esta selección de feligreses, los más distinguidos de la ciudad, no tenía eficacia práctica ni tampoco económica» (*Toledo y los toledanos* p. 58).

(69) AHPT, prot. 50, fol. 942r-v.

RIASSUNTO A CURA DEL DR. G.C. GUERRIERI-TISCORNIA

Fin dal 1000 compaiono in Spagna i primi genovesi con insediamenti di carattere permanente, sempre più numerosi nei secoli successivi, specie nel '300 per cercare di bilanciare le disavventure economiche con i Turchi in Levante; e così pure nel '500 per vari motivi, cui non pare estranea per molti genovesi la necessità di sottrarsi al clima politico, divenuto pericoloso a seguito della congiura dei Fieschi.

Già nel '500 a Toledo troviamo riccamente stanziati rappresentanti quali i Centurione, Cernasculo, Cybo, Doria, Fornelli, Gallo, Lomellini, Marin, Pinello, Salvago, Salvi, Spinola, Vivaldo: i genovesi erano facilmente subentrati, nella zona dei mercati Alcanàs, nelle Juderías, nei vuoti lasciati da ebrei e convertiti, e ciò sia come attività commerciale, o puramente finanziaria, sia come ubicazione fisica dei loro centri di abitazione e di attività, dunque nel cuore di una Toledo popolosa di prosperi commerci (specialmente lana) e fortemente internazionale.

Di Gabriele Bocángel y Unzueta, noto poeta di corte nella Spagna del 1600, era avo Pedro, nato a Genova da Audino Bocangelino e da Maddalena de Franchi; le documentazioni citate indicano per la casa di Bocangelino a Genova l'elevata qualità delle attività e cariche ricoperte e lo stato di nobiltà, per quanto il Libro della Nobiltà iniziato nel 1528 non potesse includere Audino, morto appunto in quell'anno. L'emigrazione in Spagna del giovane Pedro venne forse dettata da certi motivi politici e dall'opportunità del supporto dei de Franchi, già a Toledo, e ciò per conseguire un più interessante consolidamento economico in attività già ben sperimentate in Genova, probabilmente negli ambiti commerciali (specialmente lana) di forte interesse per i Fieschi.

Ma il nome originale della stessa casata a Genova, chiaramente, era Bocca (e venne anche ripreso nel testamento di Pedro), famiglia già da secoli ben nota per le attività e per lo «status», e in proposito vengono espone e discusse alcune ipotesi circa questa modifica, probabilmente intenzionale.

Ben individuate le residenze di Pedro a Toledo e l'ubicazione delle sue boticas (una farmacia è tuttora in esercizio!). Si descrive il suo primo matrimonio con Teresa de Mejias e la nascita ed evoluzione dei loro quattro figli Audino Angelo, Pablo, Anastasia e Angela. Morta Teresa nel 1562, Pedro ebbe ancora Nicolò, Mariana e Giuliana da un secondo matrimonio, con Antonia Merello da

Rapallo; si trovò recentemente a Genova conferma del collegamento tra questo ramo della famiglia Merello (iscritta nell'Albergo dei Negrone) e lo stesso Pedro.

Questi, nel frattempo, aveva reso gradualmente sempre più floride le proprie condizioni economiche e sociali, estendendo e diversificando le proprie attività ben oltre l'esercizio della prima poi della seconda farmacia: provvedeva svariati generi di consumo, in quantità spesso anche ingenti, a privati, principalmente ad istituti religiosi, e commerciava soprattutto in lane e filati.

Svolgeva inoltre attività di tipo più prettamente bancario e finanziario, entro una vasta gamma, da semplici prestiti a privati a quella di finanziatore: aveva prestato denari, tra gli altri, a El Greco (del quale aveva conservato fino alla morte due dipinti: uno di San Francesco e uno del Salvatore); era divenuto collettore di debiti per Alessandro Spinola a Toledo e a Madrid; operava vari tipi di assicurazione e fu anche anello per le transazioni tra l'episcopato di Toledo e il Vaticano; commerciava anche in grano, tipico campo delle predominanze genovesi in Spagna a quell'epoca.

Importava cocciniglia dal Nuovo Mondo, spade da Milano, carta da Genova; esportava in Italia libri, che forniva anche agli stessi mercanti spagnoli.

I suoi contratti locali avevano avuto controparti di particolare prestigio, come quelli delle forniture annuali di consistenti quantità di carta ai dotti frati dell'Inquisizione, che a Toledo avevano sede nel Monastero di S. Pedro Mártir; analogamente per il rifornimento delle medicine alle Monache agostiniane del Convento di Santo Torcuato.

Circa la situazione del commercio locale e internazionale della lana a quel tempo, vengono ampiamente illustrate le grandi difficoltà che Pedro, con mirate strategie, riuscì brillantemente a superare.

È chiaro come automaticamente e gradualmente si fossero elevati a Toledo il suo prestigio e la considerazione nei substrati sociali.

Di particolare rilievo viene sottolineato il sistema patriarcale con cui aveva gestito i propri affari, secondo impostazioni in effetti abbastanza solite a Genova: la stretta (e controllata) collaborazione dei figli e delle famiglie ad essi consorziate per matrimonio, nonché dei parenti in Italia, in modo particolare. (Risulta tra l'altro dalle testimonianze in occasione di processi di nobiltà, di «purezza di sangue», in Spagna per i Bocangelino, che un Antonio Bocangelino e due fratelli dello stesso Pedro erano stati membri del Senato genovese).

Infatti tra i discendenti di Pedro si nota che il primogenito

Audino Angelo aveva sposato nel 1594 un'altra Antonia Merello, di Genova, ma poi finì per lasciare la collaborazione col padre; il nipote Domingo Boca invece aveva continuato la collaborazione negli affari anche dopo la morte di Pedro; Angela aveva sposato il genovese Pablo Bava che fu consorziato da Pedro più strettamente di ogni altro e continuò a gestire brillantemente l'impresa anche quando Pedro stesso era divenuto molto anziano: la famiglia Bava (iscritta nel Cattaneo), come molti nobili, aveva avuto problemi politici in Genova in relazione alla congiura dei Fieschi; richiama ancora i Fieschi un commerciante (soprattutto di lana), marito di Giuliana, cioè Antonio Sanguineto, battezzato nel 1568 a Genova, nella chiesa di S. Stefano, dunque in pieno territorio Fieschi. I Sanguineto di Toledo si consideravano compiaciuti discendenti di Stefano Sanguineto, iscritto a Genova nell'Albergo degli Imperiali.

Anche la figlia Mariana aveva sposato nel 1592 un genovese: Giovanni Secondo de Ranolis (o più probabilmente de Raviolis), il quale ben presto lasciò l'iniziale attività di boticario farmacista a Toledo, per collaborare alla «compañía de negocios» (che usava il marchio PB) di Pedro Bocangelino e Pablo Bava, e fu spesso fiduciario dotato di pieni poteri di rappresentarli legalmente.

Tutti questi cognomi coincidono con quelli che a Genova furono frequenti collaboratori esterni dell'impresa PB, ma ve ne erano ovviamente poi altri, come ad esempio Agostino Durazzo, Cristóbal Saoli, Gentil Garalose, tutti residenti in Genova, e Mario Lacarno o Larcano (o Lercaro?) di Milano, a parte quelli di Roma, Venezia, ecc.

I singoli, numerosi, documenti notarili di Toledo in definitiva indicano chiaramente il ragguardevole volume di questi affari e ciò trova riscontro nell'entità delle tasse pagate al Tesoro Reale spagnolo.

Un aspetto diverso e ancora di rilievo è costituito da un progetto dei PB per migliorare la navigabilità del fiume Tago fino a Lisbona: l'interesse per questo progetto fu grande per Filippo II, che finì per concedere privilegi per una porzione costiera destinata ai «lavaderos» di Pietro, per la lavorazione della lana.

Il prestigio sociale ormai raggiunto e la considerazione di «caballero hijodalgo notorio de sangre» e «hombre noble y muy rico» forse indussero Pedro all'acquisto del suo «cigarra», un tipo di residenza di piacere sussidiaria, nelle immediate vicinanze di Toledo, probabilmente una doverosa esibizione del prestigioso livello sociale ormai raggiunto: di solito questi investimenti non erano da reddito, al contrario; ma in questo sito l'accorto Pedro vi teneva anche il

suo lavadero di S. Julián, probabilmente il migliore di Toledo.

In linea con quanto sopra e con i costumi genovesi non mancarono generose donazioni religiose nel testamento (dicembre 1600) del forte, anche se ultranovantenne, Pedro, che in previsione del proprio funerale, che avvenne un anno dopo, aveva lasciato precise istruzioni per preorganizzare un impressionante corteo, assieme a molti dettagli.

Infine, ancora dalle circostanze della sua morte, emerge un ulteriore aspetto della sua personalità: cioè si può illazionare per Pedro almeno una certa inclinazione ed apprezzare anche altri aspetti della vita, dati i numerosi dipinti e i libri, non moltissimi, ma di scelte raffinate, tra quelli culturali classici, morali e di poesie.

Il testo è corredato da una settantina di note per i richiami bibliografici alle fonti consultate, in Italia e in particolar modo in Spagna, integrate da numerosi commenti e dettagli pertinenti al testo stesso.

PATRIZIA SCHIAPPACASSE

PATRIZI MERCANTI GENOVESI
NELLA PRIMA ETÀ MODERNA

La corrispondenza della famiglia Oncia.

«Fonte principale di informazione dei mercanti del tempo... preziosa e attendibile fonte d'informazione anche per lo storico d'oggi giorno»: così Carlo Cipolla ha tratteggiato il valore delle corrispondenze mercantili nel suo recente panorama delle fonti della storia economica. Ad esemplificarne la ricchezza per la ricerca, basti soltanto ricordare l'interesse delle lettere commerciali conservate nell'archivio Datini di Prato, per la seconda metà del Trecento, e dei carteggi di Simon e Cosma Ruiz, conservati nell'Archivio provinciale e universitario di Valladolid, per la seconda metà del Cinquecento. Anche gli archivi familiari genovesi hanno tramandato materiale documentario di questo tipo, benché in misura inferiore alle aspettative, se si considera la rilevanza che il ceto mercantile ebbe nella vita economica e politica della Repubblica⁽¹⁾. Il ritrovamento di una consistente corrispondenza mercantile riguardante alcuni operatori genovesi in Spagna ci sembra perciò del massimo interesse. Tanto più che, se di documenti sulla presenza mercantile genovese nella penisola iberica abbondano ovviamente gli archivi spagnoli, più difficile è reperire questo tipo di fonte negli archivi genovesi. In questa sede mi limito ad anticipare i primi risultati dell'inventariazione e dello studio, ancora in corso, della corrispondenza commerciale di alcuni membri della famiglia Oncia: una testimonianza sulla presenza di patrizi mercanti genovesi in Spagna nel periodo compreso tra il 1570 e il 1582⁽²⁾. Questo epistolario appare importante non solo perché è uno dei più ricchi carteggi mercantili genovesi cinquecenteschi sinora noti, ma anche perché si presenta concentrato nel tempo, e per giunta riguarda un decennio nel quale ebbero luogo profondi rivolgimenti nella vita politico-economica della Repubblica. Anche se mancano i registri delle lettere in partenza, la corrispondenza in arrivo permette di gettare uno sguardo ravvicinato su alcuni esponenti del ceto mercantile