

# The Identity of Jaume Ferrer, The Seafarer (1346)\*

By

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Translated<sup>i</sup> by Juan Ceva<sup>ii</sup>

Two Majorcan characters are omnipresent in the European annals of the XX century. They even surface in high school and college textbooks of certain breadth. Their names are Ramon Llull and Jaume Ferrer. They are always mentioned during the transition from the middle ages to the modern age. This is the period when the world opens up to new geographical discoveries, and navigation starts to use the nautical chart and the magnetic needle or compass in a significant way.

It is interesting that these two Majorcans have been so renowned internationally. They both were shrouded in a certain fog that made them fall in a category—as our poet would say—of “living ancient prophets”<sup>iii</sup>. Ramon Llull acted as an indefatigable traveller no sooner interested in alchemy than modern nautical instrumentation. Regarding Jaume Ferrer, no sooner would he appear than disappear piloting a ship to open the maritime route for the Portuguese toward the Indies, finding the path to the River of Gold along the way. They were two legendary figures leaving the Middle Ages to enter the Modern Age, but remaining in the threshold of that transition. They were two shadows in the rising sun of the Renaissance.

As the XX century has progressed, Ramon Llull has been shaped more as the lay missionary he truly was and has ended up being placed in the wing of characters that invigorated contemporary Christianity. As far as Jaume Ferrer is concerned, he has faded away and almost no one knows what happened to him. I am afraid there has been such a case of misidentification that by the time it was resolved it seems he was forgotten.

We will try to clarify the nature of this unfortunate sailor. We will start by emerging ourselves in the old city of Mallorca in search of his record.

If we place ourselves in front of the church of San Joan de Malta [St. John of Malta], previously known as Sant Joan de Mar [St. John of the Sea], we will find ourselves next to a side street that nowadays connects the square of la Drassana [shipyard] with the Hort del Rei [King's garden]. In the XVIII century this side street had three sections all named differently: Carrer ample de Sant Joan [broad street of St. John], Carrer estret de Sant Joan [narrow street of St. John] and Carrer de Troncat [truncated street]. The modern nomenclature of the streets originates—as Josep Maria Quadrado explains in an autograph

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entitled “Observaciones sobre la titulación de las calles [Observation on the naming of streets]” (1865)—from a report commissioned by the civil governor from the Academia Provincial de Ciencias y Letras [The Regional Academy of Science and Liberal Arts]. This report proposed the name of Jaume Ferrer for the broad street of Sant Joan and the name Vallseca—just like that<sup>iv</sup>—for the narrow street of Sant Joan and its extension into the Carrer Troncat.<sup>1</sup>

Many years ago, when I started to untangle the ball of yarn of medieval cartographers that had worked in the old port of Majorca, I found half a dozen draftsmen that lived in the XV century between the Carrer del Mar and the old Drassana [shipyard].<sup>2</sup>The obvious question given this list of names was the following: Why has only one name, that of Gabriel de Vallseca, survived when so many professional colleagues lived in the neighboring blocks? Now we have the ability to respond to this question. The fact is that in Majorca we had lost track of the social class of sailors that operated in the island and their memory had to be brought back to us from abroad to be learned anew.

The monument to Jaume Ferrer seems to be the first one that the City Hall administrators of the XIX century used to ornament the city. It is possible that this was due to the law by Medizábal (1836) which elevated the importance of civic figures and it was thought that they could start with the sailor in question. The current statue presiding the Plaça de la Drassana [Shipyard's Square] is a reproduction, albeit a bit divergent, from the original commissioned by City Hall and carved by the sculptor Jacint Mateu around 1843. The original statue is under the rib vault of the old Consolat de Mar [Consulate of the Seas], at the footsteps of the spiral staircase that climbs to the halls of the Presidency of the Government. Both statues present a tall and skinny man—the one in the original statue wearing Hasburg-period clothes, the one in the reproduction with a medieval appearance. An anchor and some lines defined him as a seaman. Miquel dels Sants Oliver described the figure in the statue as scrawny and mutilated in his book “Treinta años de Provincia” [Thirty years as a Province]. Thus in 1914 it was substituted by a copy, in an enhanced and augmented second edition, by Joan Grauches. Both statues are made from stone of Santanyí, the second one being from a better quarry and with a better stone streak.<sup>3</sup>

Where did the idea of erecting the monument come from?

It seems that it all started half a century before with the revision of history executed by Spanish Jesuit historians exiled in Italy. Italy provided a breath of fresh air, first to the exiled members of the religious order, and second—in an incredible paradox—to the very encyclopedist that had cause their exile. Fr Juan Francisco Masdeu wrote in his *Historia Crítica de España y de la cultura española*, [Historical

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscript from the Biblioteca Gabriel Llabrés, Palma.

<sup>2</sup> LLOMPART MORAGUES, G., *La pintura medieval mallorquina, su entorno cultural y su iconografía*, I, Palma, 1977, pp. 176-179.

<sup>3</sup> VIDAL ISERN, J., *La escultura mallorquina en el siglo XIX*, Palma, 1963, p. 9.

Critique of Spain and the Spanish culture]<sup>4</sup> the following words that were later underlined by the Majorcans at the city of Palma: *The origin of all modern nautical science is without any doubt the famous academy opened by Prince Henry, son of John [I] of Portugal. For this academy he chose excellent masters among whom History mentions with great distinction a certain Jayme of Majorca, a very skilled mathematician, well versed in seamanship and in the use of instruments and nautical charts.*

Fr Antoni Ramon Pascual, Cistercian monk of La Real of Palma de Mallorca and professor at the Universitat Literària, acknowledged receipt of such precious information in his book *Descubrimiento de la aguja náutica* [The Discovery of the nautical magnetic needle] (1789), where he dedicated a chapter entitled “It is to a Majorcan raised in the Lulian School of Mathematics of Majorca that we owe the great rise of navigation that led to the discovery of new routes to the Eastern and Western Indies.”<sup>5</sup>

Who was this Majorcan? It seems that Fr Pascual did not know where to start looking. This is because he had seen firsthand the nautical chart of Gabriel Vallseca just purchased in Florence by the future Cardinal Despuig, at the time Auditor of the Rota. Fr Pascual would have liked to connect the learned man mentioned by Fr Masdeu [Jaume of Majorca] with the author of the chart shown to him by Despuig. But documentary evidence trumps verbal assertions<sup>v</sup>: it is obvious that a Jaume [James or Jim] cannot be a Biel [Gabby or Gabriel]. He concludes that “Gabriel Valseca retains the glory of having deserved being the Chief of the Academy, and short of chief, one of its principals”. “All doubles the glory of Majorca” he further writes. There is definitely consolation for everybody...

With all this in mind, we already have two beads of this rosary provided by the brotherhood of the intellectual Majorcan romanticism [Pascual and Masdeu]. They bring to public light two important names: I) master Jacome of Majorca derived from the Chronicles of Eanes de Azurara, known to Masdeu via the biography in English he used ; and ii) the master of nautical charts Gabriel Vallseca—who by the way signed his chart [of 1439].

In 1806 the press of Jaime de Villanueva publishes one of the volumes devoted to Valencia from the *Viaje Literario a las Iglesias de España* [Literary Journey through the Churches of Spain]<sup>6</sup>. This volume mentions the finding of a map signed by someone called Macià de Viladesters in the Carthusian monastery of Valdecristi (Segorbe). In this map there is an annotation that in the year 1346 a vessel commanded by Jaume Ferrer of Majorca made the route of the River of Gold in the occidental African coast. Villanueva speculates: Wouldn't this Jaume Ferrer, sailor, not be the master Jaume contracted by Portugal mentioned by the learned exiled Jesuits?...we already have the third bead of this rosary...

I have read somewhere that a long time ago the British Navy wove a decorated thread through all the lines of its ships. I am not sure whether it is true, but it is certainly true is that everything that happened

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<sup>4</sup> MASDEU, J.F., *Historia Crítica de España y de la cultura española*. I, Madrid, 1783. p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> PASCUAL, A.R., *Discovery of the nautical magnetic needle*, 1789, p. 81.

<sup>6</sup> VILLANUEVA, J., *Viaje Literario a las Iglesias de España*, IV, Madrid. 1806. pp. 24-30.

in the island of Majorca in the previous century can be found woven in the writings of Joaquim Maria Bover.

In the year 1842, our man Bover publishes *Memoria biográfica de los mallorquines que se han distinguido en la antigua y moderna literatura* [bibliographical records of distinguished Majorcans of ancient and modern literature]. In this work there is an article about *Ferrer, Jaime* “a Majorcan highly expert in navigation” that is also repeated in the *Biblioteca de Escritores Baleares* [Library of Balearic Writers].<sup>7</sup> Bover mentions in the aforementioned article his speech written or delivered in the year 1842 entitled “Valseca, Estudios Hidrográficos [Valseca, Hydrographic Studies]” and that he had included in the journal “Almacén de frutos literarios”<sup>8</sup>. It is in this speech where Bover finally brings together Macià de Viladesters, Gabriel Valseca and Jaume Ferrer. He also pointed out the wonderful Majorcan map from 1375 housed in the National Library of Paris [The Catalan Atlas] as reported by monsieur J. Tastu during his visit to Majorca in 1837. However, from all this material we could not conclude anything for sure beyond the fact that Bover was keenly interested in the glory of Majorca.

The Majorcan chart of 1375 is the one that much later was attributed to Cresques Abraham and prior to that to his son Jafudà Cresques. However all this was still very green, so green that the first encounter that Tomàs Aguiló had with the name Jafudà Cresques resulted in some misinformation. The paleographic text was so cumbersome that instead of Jafudà Cresques or Jehuda Cresques, the erudite Aguiló transcribed the name as *Benda Crescas*.<sup>9</sup> This made its way to the important work on the history of Majorca, the *Cronicón Mayoricense* by Alvaro Campaner.<sup>10</sup> *Nihil simul inventum et perfectum*.

Let us go back to the subject at hand now that we better understand what the well-intentioned citizenship of the XIX century knew about the streets and monuments that beautified the surroundings of Sa Llonja [The Maritime Stock Exchange]; how they knew it and why.

What we still have to sort out once and for all is what we ourselves can and should know given that we are the heirs and transmitters of our patrimony.

We want to focus on the sailor Jaume Ferrer whom our liberal political class wanted to honor. We will leave aside the medieval cartographers who made a living in the port of Majorca and who were the focus of Dr. Gabriel Llabrés Quintana, teacher of Pedro Aguado Bleye and great author of reference books as well as promoter of the history of Spain and Europe during the Second Republic.

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<sup>7</sup> BOVER, J. M., *Biblioteca de escritores baleares*, I, Palma, 1864, pp. 283-284.

<sup>8</sup> BOVER, J. M., “Valseca. Estudios Hidrográficos”, *Almacén de frutos literarios*, 74, Palma (9-X-1842 [10/9/1842]), pp. 1185-1187.

<sup>9</sup> AGUILÓ, T., *Almanaque de las Islas Baleares*, Palma, 1877, p. 88.

<sup>10</sup> CAMPANER, A., *Cronicón mayoricense*, Palma, 1881, p. 76.

One of the more prominent members of the incipient Arqueològica Lul·liana [Lulian Archaeological Society] was Miquel Bonet Ferrer. He published in 1895 a note in the BSAL with the significant title “Jaime Ferrer (¿Ferrer nuestro célebre navegante?) [Jaume Ferrar (Ferrer our famous seafarer?)]”<sup>11</sup>. In this note he mentions having found evidence of a merchant named Jaume Ferrar who sailed the Mediterranean a few years before the plague of 1348.

This evidence consists first of a petition to the lieutenant of King James III in Majorca by two citizens of Majorca<sup>12</sup>—Simó Branxifort and Jaume Ferrar—dated February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1341. They request that he mandates the magistrates to carry out the established agreement of loaning them 700 pounds to charter their coca [cocche] called “Sant Joan [St. John]” to transport seven thousand *quarteres* of grain from Sicily to Majorca. Apparently the cereal was lacking in the island at the time. We do not know what the outcome of the petition was. Secondly, we have four missives from the magistrates of Majorca addressed to Jaume Ferrar, skipper. One dates from July 5<sup>th</sup> and a second one from August 11<sup>th</sup> of 1342. A third letter is addressed to the crew and a fourth one to the Mayor of Calvià with the same date. All four have the purpose to assure that the grain cargo transported by the ship from Sicily would make its way to the port of Majorca.<sup>13</sup>In the third instance, we have a letter of presentation from the Royal Lieutenant of Majorca, in the name of Pere IV of Aragon, dated September 17<sup>th</sup> 1343. The letter seeks the favor of the Vice Admiral Mateu Mercer, who was sailing with the Valencian galley fleet, to assist the vessel of Jaume Ferrer which is starting to sail the route to Flanders.<sup>14</sup>

The aforementioned researcher, Miquel Bonet, believed that this “Jaume Ferrar” was “Jaume Ferrer” who appears mentioned in the chart of Macià de Viladesters, convert Jew, dating from 1413. We see the following legend in the vicinity of Western Africa illustrated in Viladesters' chart: “The vessel of Jaume Ferrer departed for the River of Gold the day of Saint Lawrence, that is on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, and it was the year MCCCXLVI.”<sup>15</sup>

We now know that Macià de Viladesters simply copied the miniature of the ship and its legend that appeared in the model geographical chart made by his master, the also convert Jaume Ribes [Jafudà Cresques prior to conversion] and Ribes' father, the Jew Cresques Abraham, dating from 1375.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> BONET, FERRER, M., “Jaime Ferrar (¿Ferrer nuestro célebre navegante?), *BSAL*, VI (1899), pp. 55-56.

<sup>12</sup> We have organized, completed and reproduced those documents collected by M. Bonet in the appendix. See the documental appendix document I.

<sup>13</sup> See documental appendix documents II and III.

<sup>14</sup> See documental appendix document IV.

<sup>15</sup> There are no modern reproductions of this piece. I use the one of the Institute Milà i Fontanals (CSIC) of Barcelona.

We know today that the map of Cresques Abraham from 1375 is based in great part on the map by Angelí Dulcert signed in Majorca the year 1339. We also have located the cartographer Dulcert in Majorca around 1340.<sup>17</sup> However, the miniature does not appear in Dulcert's chart. Nevertheless, it is interesting that Pere Rossell—a Majorcan cartographer from the XV century—places in his chart (that resides in the the Estense Library in Modena<sup>vi</sup>) a vessel in the same location as the works belonging to the Cresques atelier, but without a legend. Apparently the trip of Jaume Ferrer was no longer news.

Be that as it may, the fact that the expedition stopped being news in the XV century does not mean that it had stopped being news a hundred years earlier in 1375. The Cresques<sup>vii</sup> do not mention in their charts the expeditions of the Majorcan sailors to the recently discovered Canary Islands around 1342. Furthermore, the reference to the expedition of Jaume Ferrer to the River of Gold with the exact date of 1346 makes us think on one hand that he wanted to stimulate the curiosity of his readers in the Subsaharan region, and on the other hand that the reference is based on another previous chart now lost. It seems strange that all of a sudden a map from 1375 wit many curiosities does not carry any dates [in the legends] except for that of 1346, from thirty years earlier.<sup>18</sup> There is something fishy going on!

In any event, the piece of news is so scanty that after mentioning such an exciting matter like that of a medieval European gold mine, it leaves us with the desire to know more: —so teacher, he did depart, but did he arrive to the River of Gold? Yes or no?...

When the historian Pierre Chaunu talks about the Majorcan Jaume Ferrer the Seafarer of 1346, he mentions him next to the Genoese expedition of the brothers Guido and Hugo Vivaldi of the year 1291.<sup>19</sup> According to the chronicler Jacopo Doria, the Vivaldi brothers set sail from Genoa, made landfall in Majorca and Gibraltar and rounded Cape Bojador. They wanted to arrive to India rounding Africa. These brothers were not thinking of gold but of spices, that were dwindling and lacking due to the conquest of St. John of Acre by the Turks that same year of 1291. Nobody in Genoa knows how the expedition of the Vivaldis ended up, because Jacopo Doria does not say. Neither do we know in Majorca how the expedition of Jaume Ferrer ended, because Cresques Abraham does not tell us either.

When Pierre Chaunu mentions these two enigmatic voyages together, he describes them with the term “failure”. Maybe it would be more realistic to use a different term: “a sounding out”. The gate of the

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<sup>16</sup> I am using the reproduction of the third sheet of the Catalan Atlas, *El Atlas Catalán de Cresques Abraham*, Barcelona, Diáfora, 1975.

<sup>17</sup> LLOMPART, G., “Registro de los cartógrafos medievales activos en el Purto de Mallorca”, *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 27 (1997), pp. 1118-1148. Documents 1-3 dated 1344 and 1345.

<sup>18</sup> “Partich l'uxer d'en Jacme Ferrer per anar al riu del or al gorn de Sen Lorens qui es a X de agost qui fon en l'any MCCCXLVI [The vessel of Jaume Ferrer departed for the River of Gold the day of Saint Lawrence, that is on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August, and it was the year MCCCXLVI.]”, Transcription from *El Atlas Catalán...*, p. 98.

<sup>19</sup> CHAUNU, P., *La expansión euorpea (Siglos XIII al XV)*, Barcelona, 1972, pp. 38-40.

great discoveries refused to be forced and demolished. Around 1450 Prince Henry the Navigator would use method and patience. At the end, his locksmiths trying the keys of his highness found the fitting key to open the gate to Africa and soon thereafter to India and Asia.

Let us return to our fellow citizen and protagonist: is it Jaume Ferrer or Jaume Ferrar? We have seen that the fellow member of the Lulian Archaeological Society had questioned whether the merchant Jaume Ferrar was the same as Jaume Ferrer. In fact, he alone knew of a Jaume Ferrar being mentioned. Now we have a handful more of those mentions. However, to speak bluntly, nothing conclusive or definitive.

To begin with, in the the XIV century, half—at the very least—of the documentation is in Latin, thus half of the documentation does not allow us to discern a Ferrar from a Ferrer. In Latin both are called *Ferrarius*. And who in this city can tell us whether the name of the street Farreria comes from *Ferrarius* if he has not studied Latin?...To make matters more complicated, the name Ferrer in Romance language is abbreviated with one or two letters “f” ...

The *Corpus d'antropònims mallorquins del segle XIV* de Joan Miralles (Barcelona, 1997) mentions, prior to the Black Death, many Ferrer and a few Ferrar. If we gather the data collected by Bonet, the data collected by Miralles and the documentation slowly gathered by myself, we can arrive at this conclusion: we know who his family was: the Genoese family Ferrar present in the island since the end of the XIII century and naturalized in the XIV century as so many emigrants were.

On July 27<sup>th</sup> 1293, Giacomino Ferrar de Casamaveri and his wife Benvenguda, Genoese and citizens of Majorca, sell some houses located near the baths of Xiprès de Riglos, next to the Riera, to Gandolfo Daxani, Genoese, occupation biscuit maker, absent.<sup>20</sup> Forty years later in 1336, the wife of Ferrara and the wife of a so-called Gandolfa are still living next to La Lotja in the block of the Llotja dels Genovesos [market/guild of the Genoese]. There is no mention of their husbands.<sup>21</sup>

On June 16<sup>th</sup> 1346 Jaume Ferrer, merchant, citizen of Majorca and son of Jaume Ferrer deceased, sells a house given to him by his mother, located next to his mother's house and very close to the Llotja of the Genoese.<sup>22</sup>

On October 27<sup>th</sup> 1347, an annuity associated with a neighboring house is sold. According to the document, the house is adjacent to the one that used to belong to Jaume Ferrer (*Iacobi Ferrarii*, sic) and

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<sup>20</sup> A.R.M., E.C.R. 354, ff. 109 ss.

<sup>21</sup> MIRALLES, J., *Corpus d'antropònims...*, pp. 224-225.

<sup>22</sup> A.R.M., E.C.R. 367, f. 237v.

is very close to the Pont de n'Escala [bridge of Escala], above the Riera. The annuity is bought precisely by Juliana, widow of Andreu s'Escala.<sup>23</sup>

The document that lets the cat out of the bag is the division of the inheritance of Jaume Ferrar *senior*.<sup>24</sup> In this document we see that the head of the household married twice: the first time with Perrina (or Pierina) daughter of a biscuit maker named Mercanti. Out of this marriage were born, and died shortly after, a son named Lanfranco, and a daughter named Margherita. Out of the second marriage with Benvenguda (Benvenuta) would have been born Antoni, who died young, Bartomeu, who became a Dominican friar and made it to Counselor Royal of Pere IV el Cerimoniós [Peter IV of Aragon, the Ceremonious],<sup>25</sup> Joan and Giacomino. This Giacomino has to be the protagonist of the sea adventure that concerns us. His brother Joan is probably the skipper who in the works of Joan Miralles appears as having a house in the block of Beneito di Levanto near the Plaça Vella de Santa Margalida [old square of St. Margaret].<sup>26</sup>

In summary, Jaume Ferrer turns out to be Giacomino Ferrar di Casa Maveri, second-generation immigrant, of Genoese descent and Majorcan by birth and citizenship.

If we accept this conclusion, it seems that we can successfully put together the facts that we have: the seamanship experience, the royal protection, his relation with the Genoese colony that was mostly centered around its own guild [lletja]. The sale of his house in the month of June of 1346 even makes sense given that his ship set sail the following August.

Two years earlier, in 1344, Benecasa (daughter of another Genoese Jaume Ferrer, and widow of the famous skipper Daniel Ca, or Daniele Cane, a naturalized Majorcan citizen) thanks a signatory witness in the royal notary office during a real estate transaction.<sup>27</sup> The witness was named Angelino Dulcert, author of the first signed map of the Majorcan School (1339). We are witness to another illustrious Genoese immigrant and citizen of Majorca.

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<sup>23</sup> A.R.M., E.C.R. 369, f. 176v.

<sup>24</sup> See documental appendix document V, [VI & VII]

<sup>25</sup> Bartomeu Ferrar, op. Cit., : *“Dominus reformatore Gilabert de Centelles ibat patuum castris [of the Almudaina] loquendo cum fratre Bartolomeo Ferrarii, predicatore”* A.R.M., AH-6600, s.f. Ad diem 31-10-1358 [10/31/1358]. The attribute of Royal Counselor is implicit in the tenor of the document.

<sup>26</sup> MIRALLES, J., *Corpus d'antropònims...*, p. 211.

<sup>27</sup> LLOMPART, G., “Registro...” pp. 1130-1131. This other Jaume Ferrar—married to Alegre and father of Benecasa, the wife of the skipper Daniel Ca—worked as a biscuit maker (*biscocterius*) and died in 1314. In that year his widow Alegre houses in her residence, near the shop of the important merchant Bernat des Portell, a person named Pere Bonifaci (document dating July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1314 in A.R.M., E.C.R. 419, f. 180).

We end with the desire that the immigrants of Majorca of the XXI century will not judge as inferior those of the XIII and XIV centuries and their splendid works. Works which we cannot say are Italian or our own. Ladies and gentlemen, I would say they are works of Europe, the Europe of yesterday that we wish to be the Europe of the future.

## DOCUMENTAL APPENDIX

### Document I

1341, February 13<sup>th</sup>, City of Majorca [Ciutat de Mallorca]

*Plea by the citizens Simó de Branxifort and Jacme Ferrar to the Royal Lieutenant Roger de Rovenach.*

A.R.M., AH. S-15, f. 53.

Comparuerunt coram honorabili domino Rogerio de Rovenacho, milite, camerlengo ac locumtenenti regio in Maioricis, Simon Branxifort et Iacobus Ferrar, cives Maioricarum, et presentarunt dicto domino locumtenenti supplicationem sequentem:

Dominationi vestre humiliter supplicant Simon Branxifort et Iacobus Ferrar, cives Maioricarum, quatenus dignetur compellere iuris remediis opportunis venerabiles iuratos Maioricarum ad dandum eisdem supplicantibus et ex causa mutui numerandum DCC libras regalium Maioricarum minorum.

Etenim ipsi venerabiles iurati predecessores sui in eorum officio, sollemniter et efficaciter, convenerunt eisdem supplicantibus dare et numerate ex dicta causa mutui duos solidos pro qualibet quarteria ex septem millibus quarteriis frumenti quas iidem supplicantes convenerunt ipsis venerabilibus iuratis reifacere et aportari de Sicilia huc Maioricis, cum quadam ipsorum navi vocata "Sanctus Iohannes", in cuius rei auxilium iidem iurati promisserunt facere supplicantibus ipsis mutuuum memoratum, capiens summam in universo dictarum DCC librarum.

Et ipsum mutuuum fecisse debuissent tempore diu est lapso in videlicet XVI kalendas ianuarii proxime preteritis, quo tempora dicta conventio fuit facta et de presenti ipso eodem tempore conventum fuit mutuuum fieri antedictum.

Item, quia in predictis pena mille librarum dicte monete fuit apposita dicta conventionem de dicto mutuo rata nihilominus permanente, et dicti venerabiles iurati, a dicto tempore citra per eos conventa venientes distulerunt et adhuc differant et contendunt facere ipsis supplicantibus mutuuum antedictum, quamvis inde fuerint et verbis et scriptis pluries revisitis sic quod, procul dubio, ipsi iurati in penam inciderunt antedictam, quam ex pacto est, ipsis supplicantibus, applicanda, idcirco petunt et humiliter supplicant per vestram dominationem declarari ipsam penam commissam fuisse, et ad eam ipsis supplicantibus solvendam dictos iuratos condemnari et eosdem condemnatos compelli.

Item, quod dicti supplicantes, ut convenerunt, dictam suam navem prepararunt quae etiam diu est hinc recessisse causa aportandi dictum frumentum, si dicti venerabiles iurati eis complevisset mutuuum sepe dictum, et, ob moram ipsorum iuratorum in premissis adhibitam, iidem supplicantes maximos sumptos fecerint damnaque ac interesse sustinuerunt, ideo supplicant quod, dictos iuratos, per vestram dominationem in dictis sumptibus dampnis et interesse solvendis eisdem condemnatos compelli, super faciendis et sustinendis, vestrum officium impleatis.

Et incontinenti dictus dominus locumtenens commissit dictam cognitionem venerabili assessori suo.

## Document II

1342, July 5<sup>th</sup>, City of Majorca [Ciutat de Mallorca]

*Royal decree requesting the landing of the ship of Jaume Ferrer in the port of Majorca.*

De nós, en Roger de Rovenach, cavaller, lochtinent ... al amat en Jacme Ferrar, patró de nau e ciutadà de Mallorques, saluts e dilecció.

Com nós aiam entès que vós avetz carregada la vostra nau de forment en Sicília per portar en altres parts e non en Mallorches, e nós aiam mester i necessari lo dit forment en Mallorches, empersò manam vos, expressament sots la major pena que posar vos podem, que vós encontinent lo dit forment vengats descarregar assí en Mallorches.

Certificam vos, de part dels jurats de Mallorches, que eyls vos daram per carta de ajuda XII diners, la qual ajuda és major que eyls molta aien dada.

Encara si mester hi serà vos daran alcuna cosa més.

*Datum ut supra.*

## Document III

1342, August 11<sup>th</sup>, City of Majorca [Ciutat de Mallorca]

*Another similar decree addressed to the crew.*

De nós, en Roger de Rovenach, etc. als amats nauers, scrivà, pavesers, balesters servicials e mariners i altres quals que quals sotmeses del dit senyor nostre rey, anans ab la nau den Jacme Ferrar de Mallorca, als quals les presents pervindran, saluts e dilecció.

Com nós aiam entès de cert que la dita nau és en les mars de la yla de Mallo[r]cha, carregada de gran, i per als cuns negocis nós aiam mester aqueyl en Mallorca. en per amor d'assò, de part del senyor nostre rey, vos deim e us manam a cascun, sots pena do cos i d'haver i de la feultat en que sots tengutz, no contrestant lo sagrament i homenatge que sots tenguts a seguir en la nau, que vosaltres ab tot vostre poder, de grat o de forçca, fets en tal manera que la dita nau ab tot to càrrech de gran qui y és, menets assí en Mallorca i assò no triguets en ninguna manera.

*Datum ut supra*<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Other similar letters are addressed to the “esteemed” [amat] Jacme Ferrar, skipper and to the Mayor of Calvià (given that, according to the communication, the aforementioned vessel—*navis Iacobi Ferrar*—was moored at the beach of Paguera [municipality of Calvià]).

## Document IV

1343, August 16<sup>th</sup>, Majorca<sup>viii</sup>

*Introductory letter of Jaume Ferrer signed by the Royal Lieutenant of Majorca and addressed to Vice Admiral Mateu Mercer.*

A.R.M., Lletres Comunes [Common Letters] AH-4, f. 71 v.

De nós, Amau d'Erill, et cetera, als honrats en Matheu Mercer visalmirayll del senyor rey e en Jacme Scrivà, capità de les galeras de València, salut ab tote honor.

Com en Jacme Ferrar, ciutadà de Mallorques, ab una cocha sue, parten de Mallorques carregada de diverses mercaderies vaia en navech a las parts de Frandres, ab sabuda e volentat nostra. Emperamor d'assò, a instància del dit Jacme, de part del senyor rey, vos requerim, e de la nostra, vos pregam, que al dit patró e a aquells de la dita coca siats favorables e ls reebats axí com a amics vostres e sotsmeses del dit senyor nostre e nangun embargament a ells ne a la dita cocha no donets, ne lexar donets, mas tota favor e tote cortesia los fassats per honor del dit senyor rey nostre.

Dat en Mallorques, XVII kalendas septembris.

## Document V

1325, May 30<sup>th</sup>, Ciutat de Mallorca [City of Majorca]

A.C.M., Notary n. 14.554, ff. 32 v-33.

Bevenguda, uxor Iacobi Ferrar de Casa Maveri quondam, heresque universalis ex testamento Antonii Ferrar, filii mei quondam, necnon ac donataria fratris Bartholomei Ferrar, de ordine predicatorum, filii mei viventis. heredis universalis pro medietate predicti Iacobi Ferrar patris eorum virique mei quondam, confiteor et recognosco in veritate vobis, Iohanni et Iacomino Ferrar, filiis meis presentibus heredibusque ex testamento pro alia dimidia dicti Iacobi Ferrar patris vestri quondam, me habuisse et recepisse, a vobis, plenariam et integram satisfacionem quantum ad medietatem videlicet et partem vobis contingentem pro dimidia dicte hereditatis paterne, scilicet totam dotem et donationem propter nuptias quam habebam et habere debebam in et super bonis quae quondam fuerunt dicti viri mei cuique vos ambo heredes estis universales pro dimidia et pro quibus omnia bona quae fuerunt dicti viri mei erant mihi expresse et tacite obligate, cum in alia residua medietate contingere predictis fratri Bartholomeo et Antonio Ferrar fratribus vestris heredibusque universalibus dicti patris eorum pro alia dimidia succedenda, ego tam ex cause predicti fratris Bartolomei, quam ex successione predicti Antonii quondam.

Unde quia tam de tota predicta medietate, in parte vobis contingente in solutionem predicti, a vobis bene paccatam sum et contentam volunlati mee, renunciando exceptioni [...] facio vobis et vestris bonum finem et irrevocabilem finem perpetuum [...].

Item confiteor quod habui et recepi a vobis plenam et integram satisfactionem super aliquibus bonis parafernalis quae mihi obvenerunt ex personis aliquibus et etiam super omnibus legatis sive laxiis mihi actis a quibuscumque personis usque nunc... cum cartis et sine cartis.

Testes Paschasius Martini, Benedictus de Puteo, Iohannes Cocha et A. Arnosti.

## Document VI

1325, May 30<sup>th</sup>, Ciutat de Mallorca [City of Majorca]

A.C.M., Notary n. 14.554, ff. 33v-34.

Nos, Iohannes Ferrar et Iacominus Ferrar, fratres, filii et heredes per dimidia ex testamento Iacobi Ferrar de Casa Maveri, patris nostri quondam, asserentes nos esse maiores viginti V annis, attendentes quod dictum quondam Iacobus Ferrar, pater noster, dedit et assignavit, nobis et ceteris filiis suis et bonis nostris, in tutricem et curatorem, vos, dominam Bevingudam, matrem nostram infrascriptam, sub conditione quod de gestis et administratis per vos non teneamini alicui reddere rationem, prout, in testamento predicto quondam patris nostri haec et alia latius continentur, attendentes etiam vos, post susceptam administrationem predictarum tutelle et cure diligenter et sollicite procurasse, regisse, tenuisse et administrasse nos et omnia bona et iura nostra hucusque idcirco gratis et ex certa scientia, non dolo, vi vel metu inducti sed spontanea voluntate certificati diligenter, de iure nostro et de viribus hereditariis quae fuerunt dicti patris nostri quondam, cuius heredes sumus universales per dimidia, per nos et nostros presenter et futuros, confitemur et recognoscimus in veritate vobis dicte domine Bevingude, matri nostre, presenti et notario infrascripto, vestro nomine et illorum quorum a nobis legitime stipulanti et recipienti et vestris, vos reddidistis nobis quantum ad dimidiam hereditatis, iustum et legale computum et rationem supra omnibus videlicet hiis quae ratione et occasione predictarum tutele et cure recepistis de bonis nostris, tenuistis et rexistis procurastis et administrastis a tempore mortis predicti patris nostri quondam citra quae vos inmiscuistis in administratione predicta, in quo quidem computo fait et est deductum id totum et quantum nobis obvenit ex personis Lanfranco Ferrar et Margarite, fratrum nostrorum quondam, ex parte patris.

Quo computo per vos nobis reddito in quantum nostra interest et diligenter examinato semel videlicet secundo tertio et pluries compensatis [...] ideo, certificati diligenter de omnibus et singulis supradictis, per nos et nostros facimus vobis et vestris et bonis vestris, tam de predicta administratione quam de omnibus aliis et singulis supradictis, absolutionem, definitionem et bonum finem [...]

Firmavit dictus Iohannes III cal. junii anno predicto presentibus testibus P. de Villalonga, Dominicus Pucululli et A. Arnosti.

Testes : A. de Vernetto. Arnaldus Arnosti.

## Document VII

1325, May 30<sup>th</sup>, Ciutat de Mallorca [City of Majorca]  
A.C.M., Notary n. 14.554, ff. 34v-35.

Bevenguda, uxor Iacobi Ferrar de Casa Maveri, ianuensis quodam, heres universalis ex testamento Antonii Ferrar, filii mei quondam, necnon et donataria fratris Bartolomei Ferrar, filii mei, de ordini predicatorum, qui in ingressu ordinis fecit mihi donationem de universis bonis et iuribus suis, heredum universalium pro dimidia predicti Iacobi Ferrar patris eorum quondam, ex testamenti, et nos, Iohannes Ferrar et Iacominus Ferrar, fratres, filii et heredes universales predicti quondam Iacobi Ferrar, patris nostri, pro alia dimidia, attendentes quod omnia bona mobilia et immobilia quae fuerunt dicti Iacobi Ferrar sunt communia inter nos dictos fratres, ratione succesionis predicti quondam patris nostri, et te dominam Bevengudam, matrem nostram, ex personis fratris Bartolomei et Antoni Ferrar quondam, fratrum nostrorum, heredum simul nobiscum predicti quondam patris nostri, attendentes etiam quod melius et utilius est nobis et cuilibet nostrum venire ad divisionem omnium predictorum bonorum et iurium paternorum et tenere quilibet nostrum per se partem suam divisam et terminatam de predictis omnibus bonis et iuribus mobilibus et immobilibus quam in comunione remanere. Ideo gratis et ex certa scientia venimus inter nos amicabiliter, in presentia proborum hominum affinium et amicorum comunium, ad divisionem perpetuam de omnibus bonis mobilibus et immobilibus et iuribus supradictis, de quibus quidem bonis immobilibus accipio ego, dicta Bevenguda, et venit ad partem meam in presenti divisione, quoddam hospitium quod est iuxta logiam ianuensium, quod fuit dicti defuncti, affrontatum, ex una parte in carraria publica et, ex alia, in hospitio Pagani Barberii et in domibus Otgerii Botar et, ex alia, in domibus quae veniunt ad partem dicti Iacomini Ferrar et in hospitio den Gandulfo, quod quidem hospitium dictus quondam Iacobus Ferrar habuit titulo donationis in dotem cum Perrina filia Mercanti, bescuyterii, defunctorum prima uxore sua, prout tenetur dictum hospitium per dominum regem ad censum quem ego et mei solvemus, in quo quidem hospitio includitur illa parte quam dictos quondam vir meus postea emit prout instrumentis inde factis continetur.

Item, veniunt ad partem mei, dict[i] Iohannis Ferrar, de predictis bonis immobilibus, quasdam domus quae sunt ante ecclesiam Sancti Nicolay civitatis Maioricarum, affrontate, ex una parte, in carraria publica et, ex alia, in quodam carrerono qui non transit et, ex alia, in hospitio Petri de Subirats infra duos terminos anni, prout in instrumentorum inde factis continetur.

Item, veniunt ad partem mei, dicti Iacomini Ferrar, et accipio ad partem meam, de predictis bonis immobilibus, quasdam domos quae sunt in vico ubi consueverunt esse balnea den Siprés, affrontatas ex una parte, in carraria publica et, ex alia, in domibus den Gandulfo et, ex alia, in domibus Nardi Iacobi et, ex alia, in domibus quae veniunt ad partem dicte Bevengude, cum onere tamem census quod ibi recipit Geraldus Adarroni, miles, et Na Ordis, in festo Pasche Domini, prout in cartis inde factis continetur.

De bonis autem mobilibus, iuribus et accionibus dicte hereditatis omnibus, venimus ad invicem ad divisionem perpetuam et partitionem amicabilem [...]

Ad haec, ego, Caterinam, uxor dicti Iohannis Ferrar, certificata diligenter de iure meo et de divisione bonorum omnium predictorum [...] promitto ipsam bonam et firmam habere [...]

Firmavit dictus Iohannes et dicta Caterina eius uxor dictum instrumentum tertio kalendas iunii anno predicto, presentibus testibus, Petro de Villalonga, Dominico Puculluli et A. Arnosti.

## 'TRANSLATOR's NOTES

English translation of G. Llopart, "La Identitat de Jaume Ferrer, El Navegant (1346)", Memòries de l'Acadèmia Malloquina d'Estudis Genealògics, Heràldics i Històrics, 10, Palma 2000.

<sup>ii</sup> I wish to thank Father Gabriel Llopart and Jaume Riera for their kind agreement to have me translate this and other documents into English and their assistance throughout the process. These translations were done with the idea of promoting their important research in the English-speaking world. I have done my best to stay faithful to the original text in Catalan. Where clarifications or cross references seemed pertinent, I have added those in brackets and endnotes. I have left names in Catalan such as names of kings in the original. The Latin and Catalan texts in the documental appendix have also been left un-translated as they represent the transcription of the original source documents. Any mistakes or omissions introduced in this translation are my own. Similar to the original, the following abbreviations have been utilized in the translation:

<i>AH</i>	Arxiu Històric
<i>A.R.M</i>	Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca
<i>BSAL</i>	Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana
<i>Cf.</i>	Confer
<i>CSIC</i>	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
<i>doc.</i>	document
<i>E.C.R</i>	Escrivania de Cartes Reials
<i>f.</i>	folio (and <i>ff.</i> for folios)
<i>Fr</i>	Father
<i>n.</i>	Number
<i>op. cit.</i>	<i>opus citatum</i>
<i>p.</i>	page (and <i>pp.</i> for pages)
<i>Prot.</i>	Protocols
<i>r.</i>	recto
<i>s.f.</i>	" <i>sin foliar</i> " (without page number)
<i>ss.</i>	"siguientes" (following)
<i>v.</i>	verso

<sup>iii</sup> A reference to the Majorcan poet "Miquel Costa i Llobera" (1854-1922) and his poem "L'Antich Poeta Vivent"

<sup>iv</sup> Gabriel de Vallseca would have been a more complete name for the street.

<sup>v</sup> Translating the meaning of the expression "canten papers i menten barbes", literally "text speak and beards lie"

<sup>vi</sup> This is referring to the anonymous Catalan circular world map at the Estense attributed to Pere Rossell.

<sup>vii</sup> It is interesting that Llopart uses the term "The Cresques" when he, and in particular his colleague Jaume Riera, have argued against this usage, as "Cresques" is not a family name but a Jewish patronymic, i.e., Cresques [son of] Abraham and Jafudà [son of] Cresques (See Jaume Riera i Sans' "Cresque Abraham, Jueu de Mallorca, mestre de mapamundis i de brùixoles" in "L'Atlas Català de Cresques Abraham", Diàfora 1975, p. 15. or Gabriel Llopart i Moragues' "Registro de los Cartógrafos Medievales Activos en el Puerto de Mallorca", Anuario de Estudios Medievales, 27/2, Barcelona, 1997, p. 1122). It is because of this misunderstanding that we continue to see, even in recent literature, Cresques Abraham incorrectly named Abraham Cresques. I acknowledge that the term "The Cresques" comes handy when referring to the father-son pair of mapmakers.

<sup>viii</sup> The date has been corrected from September 17<sup>th</sup> in the original to the correct August 16<sup>th</sup> ("*XVII Kalendas Septembris*")