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Title

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Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/66b2v47c>

Journal

Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 12(1)

ISSN

0069-6412

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Publication Date

1981-10-01

Peer reviewed

A MEDIEVAL URBAN FRONTIERSMAN: PERE DE BARCELÓ*

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The Christians of Europe, stunned by the lightning Moslem strikes deep into the Gallo-Roman heartland, manned their bastions in Charlemagne's creation, the Spanish March. There the counts, royal deputies, controlled the borders of the Carolingian Empire from Toulouse, Narbonne and Barcelona. Centered around the city of Barcelona, reconquered from the Moslems in 801, the county of Barcelona grew into the dominant Christian force along the French-Spanish Mediterranean.¹ Barcelona's counts, allied with the great counties and viscounties surrounding it,² became the rulers of the neighboring landlocked kingdom of Aragón by the marriage in 1137 of Count Ramon Berenguer IV³ and the two-year-old queen of Aragón, Petronilla.⁴ Their son

*I wish to gratefully acknowledge a grant from the Institute of Medieval Mediterranean Spain for the year 1980-81 which enabled me to complete this paper.

¹For a history of the growth of Cataluña, see Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-76), Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Barcelona, 1964), Santiago Sobrequès i Vidal, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961). For a brief history in English, see J. L. Shneidman, *The Rise of the Aragonese-Catalan Empire, 1200-1350* (New York, 1970), v. 1, ch. 6.

²For the nature of these alliances, see Bonnassie, *Catalogne*, a masterly work on the growth and development of Cataluña in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

³I use Catalan name forms as they seem to have referred to themselves by those names. See vernacular documents in Ambrosio Huici, ed., *Colección Diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador* (Valencia 1916-1922, reedited by Maria D. Cabanes-Pecourt for Anubar press, vols. 1-3 to date, Valencia 1976 ff., vols. 4-6 forthcoming), e.g., no. 1156. All place names are in Spanish for ease of reference.

⁴Pedro Longás y Bartibás, *Ramiro II el Monje y las supuestos Cortes de Borja y Monzón en 1134* (Santoña, 1911); Sobrequès i Vidal, *Grans Comtes*.

Alfons *el Cast* (or *el Trobador*) and grandson, Pere el Catòlic, continued a policy of expansion into the area from Toulouse to Marseilles. In 1213, Pere died fighting with the Langue d'oc against the French Langue d'oui at Miret, and Catalan expansion northward was cut short. Pere's son and heir, the future Jaume *el Conqueridor*, was not yet six when he became the nominal count-king of Catalunya (greater Barcelona and its sphere of influence)⁵ and Aragón. The break in continuing Catalan expansion caused by Pere's death proved to be a turning point. Henceforth, Catalan expansion was to the south and east. The regency's battles to maintain young Jaume's throne, during the "most difficult minority in the history of the Spanish kingdoms,"⁶ combined with the emergence of French expansion into the south to make further Provençal expansion aleatory. To the west and south the Almohad Taifa kingdoms crumbled before their own internal disintegration and the might of San Fernando III of Castile, who swept across al-Andalus, seizing Córdoba (1236) and Sevilla (1248) as Jaume conquered neighboring Moslem kingdoms.

After an abortive attempt at the Moslem kingdom of Valencia in 1225,⁷ the twenty-one-year-old Jaume, encouraged by Catalan mercantile interests,⁸ conquered the Islamic island kingdom of Mallorca in 1229-1232. Pausing only to divide the booty and begin distributing land, Jaume entered into the great adventure of his life—the conquest of the Islamic kingdom of Valencia. In a

⁵The counties of Ampurias, Besalú, Cerdanya, Foix, Gerona, Roussillon and Urgell; the cities of Carcassonne, Lérida, Montpellier, Narbonne and Tortosa.

⁶Luis Gonzales Anton, *Las Cortes de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 1978), p. 47. See also James I, *The Chronicle of King James of Aragon*, trans. James Forster, 2 vols. (London, 1883); Jaume I, *Llibre dels feits*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (in *Els quatre grans cròniques*, Barcelona, 1971), pp. 1-402; Salvador Sanpere y Miquel, "Minoría de Jaime I," *Congrés d'història de la Corona d'Aragó dedicat al rey en Jaume I*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1909-13), v. 2, pp. 580-644 *passim*; and Ferran Soldevila, *Jaume I i Pere el Gran* (Barcelona, 1955), pp. 13-20.

⁷Jaume I *Llibre*, cap. 25 (p. 14); Soldevila, *Jaume/Pere*, pp. 17-18; Ferran Soldevila, *Vida de Jaume I el Conqueridor* (Barcelona, 1958), pp. 73-75.

⁸See the Barcelona Cortes of 1228 in *Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y Valencia v Principado de Cataluña* [Real Academia de Historia], pp. 112-119; and Charles de Tourtoulon, *Don Jaime I el Conquistador, rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona, señor de Montpellier, según las crónicas y documentos inéditos*, trans. Teodoro Llorente y Olivares (Valencia, 1874), pp. 252-254. For the organization of shipping and its mercantile base, see Jaume I, *Llibre*, cap. 47-50 (pp. 27-29); Soldevila, *Jaume I*, pp. 111-115.

war of attrition lasting from 1233 to 1245,⁹ King Jaume¹⁰ conquered the "famed Valencia . . . the dwelling of all beauty,"¹¹ one of the wealthiest Spanish Islamic kingdoms. Unlike Fernando III and Alfonso X of Castile,¹² Jaume did not displace or banish his newly conquered Moslem subjects, but rather maintained them as a free population in Valencia.¹³ Only in those cities which refused to surrender¹⁴ (among them Valencia City)¹⁵ were any of the indigenous population expelled. Even then, rural dwellers were left in peace.¹⁶

Jaume used his new realm's formidable resources to control its Christian, Moslem and Jewish populations.¹⁷ The most innovative of these resources was Játiva's paper industry. Brought under direct crown control around Easter 1257,¹⁸ the famous Moslem mills churned out the paper for the royal

⁹ See Robert I. Burns, S. J., *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth Century Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), *Islam under the Crusaders: Colonial Survival in the Thirteenth Century Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, 1973), *Medieval Colonialism: Post-Crusade Exploitation of Islamic Valencia* (Princeton, 1975), *Moors and Crusaders in Mediterranean Spain: Collected Studies* (London, 1978), and *The Crusader-Muslim Predicament: Colonial Confrontation in the Conquered Kingdom of Valencia* (Princeton, in press).

¹⁰ I refer to Jaume, Count-King of the Corona de Aragón, as "King" because he was the king of Valencia, the only realm with which I deal here.

¹¹ Ibn Harīq, in *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours*, trans. A. R. Nykl (Baltimore, 1946), p. 331.

¹² See Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y política de los Mudéjares de Castilla* (Madrid, 1866), J. González, *La reconquista española y la repoblación del país* (Saragossa, 1951); F. Janer, *Condición social de los moriscos de España* (Madrid, 1857); Salvador de Moxo, *Repoblación y sociedad en la España cristiana medieval* (Madrid, 1979); and L. Torres Balbás, *Algunos aspectos del mudéjarismo urbano medieval* (Madrid, 1954) for resettlement patterns and policies.

¹³ Burns, *Islam*, pp. 125-127.

¹⁴ Burns, *Islam*, ch. 7, pp. 139-154. Apparently, even here, some townsmen remained.

¹⁵ The capital of the kingdom of Valencia was the city of Valencia. In order to avoid confusion, I refer to the city as Valencia City, clear if not euphonious.

¹⁶ Burns, *Colonialism*, ch. 4, pp. 107-120, for agricultural rents paid by Moslem peasants.

¹⁷ Burns, *Colonialism*, ch. 5, pp. 121-180.

¹⁸ R. I. Burns, S. J., "The Paper Revolution: Paper and Paper Mills of

registers (and other documents) on which the more important everyday functions of the Crown were recorded for all of Jaume's holdings—Aragón, Cataluña, Mallorca, the French holdings, and of course Valencia. Thus the "paper revolution" and the inexpensive recording of royal chancery documents opens the door to the study of the social, political, economic and religious life of the Crown of Aragón and its autonomous realms.

Jaume expanded the Christian population and controlled the indigenous Moslem population in three ways: integrating the Moslem nobility with the newly-created Christian lords, settling Christian farmers in good locations near urban and military centers, and introducing Christian merchants into the vibrant commercial life of medieval maritime Valencia.¹⁹

In his *Memoirs*, Jaume complained that he needed 100,000 Christian settlers to maintain his domination of the new kingdom, and he had but 30,000.²⁰ These Christian atolls in the Moslem sea were Jaume's bridges in the pacification of Valencia and its incorporation into his federated realms. Jaume tried to lure these elusive settlers to Valencia by generous grants of land and property, carefully recorded in the *Repartimiento de Valencia*²¹ on Játivan paper, precious before the Crown's absorption of the famous mills. When a settler took possession of his holdings, the grant was crossed off with a diagonal line in the record. The muted effectiveness of his settlement policy can be seen in the numbers of grants left uncrossed.²² Those who did respond to his lures agreed to maintain physical residence of the property for ten years. The necessity of maintaining a physical residence for an extended period increased the attrition rate—many of the settlers would not remain.²³

Mudejar Játiva in the Thirteenth-Century Realms of Aragón," *Pacific Historical Review* (1981, in press), where this late date is defended.

¹⁹ Burns, *Islam*, chs. 5 (pts. 2 and 3), 12 and 13.

²⁰ Huici, *Diplomática*, no. 1341 (26 Nov. 1270), "e no trobarem que en tot lo regne de Valencia age poblat de Christians oltra XXX milia homens e per zo quar nos havem vist qu'el regne no ha son compliment d'omens ni de gent, volemlo y fer; car segons semblanza nostra ben deuria aver cen millia Christians en el regne de Valencia." This probably referred to heads of families, so that the total population desired would have been greater.

²¹ D. Prospéro de Bofarull y Mascaró, ed., *Repartimientos de los reinos de Mallorca, Valencia y Cerdeña* (in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, Barcelona, 1856, henceforth RV), p. 464.

²² Burns, *Kingdom*, p. 373 n. 26.

²³ Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Cancillería de Jaume I, register 10

Jaume had to lure both stable and adventurous settlers to his new kingdom. He needed pioneers who would both successfully assimilate into and help change the fabric of this Moslem Valencian society, and would stay to see the job done. Such a man was Pere de Barceló.

Chosen at random, he was one of the many immigrants arriving from the north, and exemplar of an urban settler of the medieval frontier. In examining Pere's life through the royal documentation, we will be able to see an urban frontiersman in the Christian rule of this Islamic land. Placed in the context of one among many frontiersmen, he is paradigmatic of that larger movement.

Pere de Barceló was neither a knight nor a farmer, though he married a knight's daughter and one of his first holdings was a farm. He was an active member of the Valencian mercantile society, aiding Jaume as a financier, and was a vital participant in the Christian settlement of the Moslem frontier. Pere's more than thirty-year career as a settler in Valencia (1239-1271) reflects the characteristics of a medieval urban frontiersman.

In 1239, Pere de Barceló first appeared in the royal records as a man from Lérica who received the property of the expelled Moslem Mahomet Adarrag in Valencia City.²⁴ Located some distance from the Bevalbarrac gate (one of the City's main gates),²⁵ the buildings' nature was unstated. These buildings

fols. 25v-26 (henceforth ACA/J register number.folio number, e.g., ACA/J 10.25v-26; see n. 29 below); Jesus-Ernesto Martínez-Ferrando, *Archivo de la corona de Aragón: catalogo de la documentación relativo al antiguo reino de Valencia contenida en los registros de la cancellería real*, 2 vols. (vol. 1, Jaime I, vol. 2, Pedro el Grande; henceforth MF/J or MF/P and document number, e.g., MF/J 1011), vol. 1, no. 1011, 18 Sept. 1270, "faciatis residenciam personalem, et non possitis dicta patua vendere vel alienare hinc ad X annos proxime venturos et completos." and ACA/J 9.40v: "sex jovatas terre quas Jacobus de Alla habebat ex donacione nostra in termino Ondare quos quidem ipse Jacobus ammisit propter ausencia quia ibi no fecit residenciam nec fuit diebus et terminis assignatis." This may have been a safeguard against "settlers" coming to Valencia at the instigation of some great lord, who would then buy up the newly granted property. Such a prohibition would assure that any significant land acquisitions in the early period would come from the king, thus making it more difficult for the restless nobles of Aragón and Cataluña to surreptitiously expand their power in his new kingdom. He probably had no problems with speculators—there were so few settlers that Jaume paid them (with grants of land) to come to the kingdom.

²⁴ RV p. 592, "P[etrus] Barchinone, d[omibus de] Mahomet Adarrag."

²⁵ Entry number 229 from the Bevalbarrac gate.

may have been the property contested some years after Pere's death,²⁶ or others.

He was at least in his early twenties when he received his land grant in Valencia City; twenty-one was the legal age to hold property.²⁷ There is no mention of youth—since extreme poverty was occasionally mentioned when a pauper received land, a youthful grantee would probably have received the same attention.

Pere maintained his holdings in Valencia City for the requisite ten years before acquiring a new royal land grant. He received a farm (*reallum*)²⁸ adjacent to royal property in the district (*terminum*) of Játiva, about thirty miles south of Valencia City. The farm was valuable, bounded by a river on one side (access for shipping and water for crops both readily available) and the public road (for land access and shipping) on another. Pere also received one jovate or plowland of vineyard property nearby. These two pieces of land did not share a common boundary. Local surveying officials delineated the parcels before assigning them to a new tenant.

A few years later, Pere moved his interests northward to the city of Alcira, twenty miles south of Valencia City and about ten miles north of Játiva. He was to remain active here for the rest of his life. Alcira had been a prosperous city under the Moslems, situated safely on an island in the Júcar river, made wealthy by ocean trade coming up the river. Only recently captured by the royal forces at the end of the war years in 1242, Alcira had not yet recovered its full prosperity when it drew Pere's interest in 1257.

On 28 November 1257,²⁹ Pere and his partners Gurald Canvista and

²⁶ MF/P 453, 29 October 1278, and archivo de la corona de Aragón, cancelleria real of Pere II (*el Gran*), reg. 41, fol. 11.

²⁷ *Diccionario de Historia de España*, second edition, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 829-830. Age of personal emancipation was fourteen.

²⁸ RV p. 464.

²⁹ ACA/J 10.25v-26, MF/J 54, 28 Nov. 1257, from *Diplomatarium Regni Valentiae, regnante Iacobo I eiusdem conquistatoris ex registris papyreis cancellerie deductum*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S. J. (Princeton, forthcoming), "Quos nos Jacobus, etc., per nos et nostros vendimus vobis Petro de Barchinona, Gerardo Campsori, et Bernardo Mir . . . a Calendis ianuarii proximo venturi usque ad unum annum continue completum, omnes redditus, exitus, et proventus nostros Aliazire et terminorum eius." The documents in the *Diplomatarium* have not yet received their final numbering. Therefore, I shall use the ACA/J register and folio number, followed by the MF number and the date (where either or both are available). When my own research has unearthed a document, no MF number is given.

Bernat Mir purchased the tax income of Alcira for the following year for 1,000 sous.³⁰ As tax farmers Pere, Gurald and Bernat profited from the collection of many rather minor taxes, including those on food: *panis* (bread), *vinum* (wine), *carnes* (meat); on transit and commerce: *lleuda* (*lezda*, tariff tax), *peatge* (*pedagia*, transit tax), *obuli pontis* (bridge tolls); and occasional taxes such as *sofra* (*servitia*, services).³¹ Other levies were on regalian taxes, such as the income from the baths, ovens, mills, salt works,³² and butcher shops. Income from fines was included in the revenue, but criminal (blood and corporal) justice were retained as royal prerogative.³³ Several taxes were omitted: the *questia* (an arbitrary tax), the *cena* (a hospitality tax levied on towns for the king's upkeep), the besant tax (on domiciles), and the *peita* (in Valencia, a community income tax).³⁴ The latter two community taxes may

³⁰ The Valencian or royal sou (solidus) equaled:

12 denarii (pence)

18 Barcelona pence

15 Jaca pence

16 Melgorian pence

15 Tours pence

4 silver pence

one silver mark = 48 Valencian sous

one gold Josephine mazmodin = 4 sous

one Alfonsine morabatin = 3½ sous

one silver besant = 3¾ sous

One knight's fee was worth approximately 374 sous a year. See Burns, *Colonialism*, pp. 29-30.

³¹ Burns, *Colonialism*, *passim*.

³² By 1263, six years after this sale, there were royal salt monopolies near Valencia City, at Alcira, Burriana, Calpe, Jativa, Arcos and Peñíscola, all in the kingdom of Valencia. These monopolies might reflect some success in the Christian settlement—in 1257, the right to salt income was merely another tax; by 1263, it was a royal monopoly. Christian settlement, or at least Christian rule, may therefore have been solid enough to control this vital element in the conquered kingdom. Salt profits were high: in Peñíscola in 1263 the royal tax was 1,500 sous; and in 1273, three year's income went for 9,000 sous (see Burns, *Colonialism*, pp. 146-149).

³³ ACA/J 10.25v-26, MF/J 54, 28 Nov. 1257, "exceptis iusticiis corporalibus et sanguinis, quantis precio reddimi nolumus sine voluntate nostra propria speciali, et cum aliis iuribus omnibus que nos ibi percipimus et percipere debemus aliquo modo vel aliqua racione."

³⁴ Elsewhere the meaning was more amorphous, and the *peita* seems to have been related to the *questia*. See Burns, *Colonialism*, pp. 102-103.

have been levied on the more developed and settled Christian communities. Since Alcira was in the early stages of Christian settlement (having been conquered only twelve years earlier), their omission may be traced to the lack of Christian presence in the town. This seems unlikely, however, as these taxes were sometimes levied on Moslem and Jewish communities which did not pay the besant or *peita* taxes. Alcira's Moslem community did pay other taxes which were included in Pere's purchase.³⁵

The initial investment price of 1,000 sous for the profit was small: Pere made almost 268 per cent profit from his investment.³⁶ Alcira's salt works would be worth considerably more a few years later.³⁷ The low purchase price might reflect Alcira's weak commerce, though more likely it reflected Jaume's immediate need for cash since Valencia was plagued by rebellions.³⁸ In the charter of purchase, the king agreed not to raise the original purchase price nor to sell the revenue to anyone else, even if more money were offered.³⁹ The royal coffers were the ultimate losers, as a tax list for early 1257⁴⁰ (the same year as the purchase) shows that the *peita* (here probably an aggregate total of regalian taxes) collected from Alcira as worth 3,000 sous—a 200 per cent profit for Pere and his partners. The payment price was due in 500 sou increments, one on the feast day of St. John the Baptist (June 24) and the other on Christmas. The grant included the customary clause ensuring the heritability of the debt, and the ability to depute the collection or assign or alienate the income during the time of the contract.⁴¹ The contract explicitly states that, according to custom, the partners would keep up Alcira's bridge, "that you maintain the bridge of Alcira, and that you repair and operate [it] in whatever way necessary at your own expense."⁴²

³⁵ ACA/J 10.25v-26, MF/J 54, 28 Nov. 1257, "cum redditibus seu tributis Sarracenorum."

³⁶ ACA/J 11.176v, 12 July 1260, in which Pere's return is given as 894 sous, "nongentis minus sex solidis . . . Petro de Barchinone habitatori Algesire pro quitanda villa Algesire."

³⁷ See n. 32 above.

³⁸ See n. 158 below.

³⁹ ACA/J 10.25v-26, MF/J 54, 28 Nov. 1257, "Nos autem promittimus quod vendicionem istam non revocabimus prece vel precio maiore aut minore."

⁴⁰ ACA/J 8.21v, 25 Nov. 1255.

⁴¹ ACA/J 10.25v-26, MF/J 54, 28 Nov. 1257, "et vestris et qui vel quibus vos volueritis."

⁴² *Ibid.*, "salvo et intellecto quod teneatis pontem Algezire condirectum, et faciatis ibi reparari et operari quicquid necesse sit cum vestris propriis

Pere never again needed a full partner for such a small sum. The size of the sum involved indicates that Pere was beginning his career as financier and tax-farmer. Perhaps his profits from the buildings in Valencia and the Játiva farm and vineyards afforded him the opportunity to invest in his new endeavors. After the initial transaction, his partner Gurald Canvista disappears from the royal registers.⁴³ Bernat Mir appears later in Murcia, receiving land in Aliade,⁴⁴ where he may have eventually settled. Frontier settlers tended to drift from frontier to frontier, which was part of Jaume's settlement problem.⁴⁵

In contrast to his partners, Pere continues to appear often in the royal registers. In the year following his partnership the first allusion appears to his wife, the daughter of Berenguer de Montpaó, with whom he had two daughters.⁴⁶ By 29 April 1258, Pere had married into a minor knightly Catalan family who had the castle Montpaó near Cervera⁴⁷ in old Cataluña. The family may have been allied to or vassals of the Cervera family, long important in Catalan politics and government.⁴⁸ Berenguer de Montpaó, Pere's father-in-law, may have been a cadet branch of the family—Tourtoulon identifies him as a "caballero" from Tortosa.⁴⁹ He had served the king in various ways, witnessing documents⁵⁰ and loaning money to Jaume.⁵¹ Berenguer's role as moneylender touches Pere's life here.

missionibus et expensis, sicut est hactenus consuetum."

⁴³ He had been granted property in Alcira in 1249 (RV p. 392). Campsor (Catalan, 'Canvista,' moneychanger) may have been his profession rather than name. See *Llibre de Repartiment de Valencia*, ed. Antoni Ferrando (Edición Facsimil, Valencia, 1978), v. 4, p. 211, no. 2349, which appeared too late for its substantial use in this paper.

⁴⁴ Juan Torres Fontes, ed., *Repartimiento de Murcia* (in *Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Academia "Alfonso X el Sabio"* de Murcia, no. 31, Madrid, 1960, henceforth RM), p. 36. He had also received land in 1249 in Alcira (RV p. 391).

⁴⁵ See n. 12.

⁴⁶ The existence of Pere's daughters is discovered in a document concerning Pere's death (ACA/J 16.247v, 13 July 1271).

⁴⁷ *Gran Enciclopedia Catalana* (Barcelona, 1977), v. 10, p. 265.

⁴⁸ *El Solar Catalan, Valenciano y Balear*, ed. Alberto and Arturo Garcia Carraffa (San Sebastian, 1968), v. 2, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁹ Tourtoulon, index.

⁵⁰ *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón Pergaminos de Jaime I*, Pergamino no. 1287, 27 Mar. 1252, witnessed by Berenguer de Montpaó among others.

⁵¹ ACA/J 10.65-65v, MF/J 105, 29 Apr. 1258.

Berenguer, by now deceased,⁵² had bequeathed to his daughter debts owed by the king in the form of an *albaranum*, a kind of protobond. His ambitious son-in-law set about collecting these debts. Pere was probably newly married, for if he had had a wife with such an inheritance in November 1257 he would not have needed partners to buy the income of Alcira. Berenguer's death was probably also recent,⁵³ as he himself never collected the debt. From a later document it is clear that the debt was part of Pere's wife's *dos*, her dowry.⁵⁴ The names of the woman's father and husband were the only necessary identifying characteristics while her own was wholly unnecessary to the legal process.⁵⁵

In 1258, Jaume ordered Arnau de Font, a citizen of Valencia,⁵⁶ to pay a debt to Pere from the income of the baiuliate of Alcira. Arnau had previously received the baiuliate as payment for a royal debt.⁵⁷ In a document just over two weeks later (16 May 1258) Pere was issued an order of payment⁵⁸ which instructed Arnau de Font or "whomever received the aforesaid returns,"⁵⁹ to pay Pere off, in thrice-yearly installments of 500 sous until

⁵² *Ibid.*, "Berengario, quondam;" when used in such a fashion, this always indicates deceased.

⁵³ He was still active five years earlier, in 1252 (see n. 50).

⁵⁴ ACA/J 10.66, MF/J 123, 16 May 1258, "racione dotis uxoris filie Berengarii de Montepavone."

⁵⁵ The status of a married woman is reflected here in the fact that she is not referred to by her own name, but is identified by the names of her father and husband.

⁵⁶ ACA/J 10.65-65v, MF/J 105, 29 Apr. 1258, "Arnaldo de Fonte, civi Valencia;" Tourtoulon, index, identifies Arnau as a knight; Miret i Sans, index, identifies him as a collector of taxes in Valencia; he may have come from the ancient Catalan family, de Font (*Enciclopedia Heráldica y Genealógica Hispano-Americana*, eds. Alberto and Arturo García Carraffa [Madrid, 1926], v. 33, pp. 198-199).

⁵⁷ ACA/J 10.65-65v, MF/J 105, 29 Apr. 1258, "Ita quod ipsos redditus exitus et proventus a Kalendis Januari proximo venturis in antea tanto tempore habeatis, teneatis, et percipiatis integre . . . de supradictis tribus milibus solidis et de toto debito quod vobis debemus in aliis albaranis quos a nobis tenetis." This effectively gave Arnau the same status as a taxfarmer that Pere and his partners had held a year earlier.

⁵⁸ ACA/J 10.66, MF/J 123, 16 May 1258.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, "Mandantes dicto Arnaldo de Fonte vel recipienti redditus supradictos."

the debt of 5,600 sous (3,000 from his wife's dowry, plus 2,600 from another debt)⁶⁰ was repaid.⁶¹

Financed perhaps by some of his new income, Pere purchased from Jaume some buildings belonging to Mechadanus,⁶² a Jew who had been executed for murdering a Moslem.⁶³ Pere paid only 200 sous for what appears to have been a rather well-situated plot⁶⁴ of land—a corner lot between the property of two prominent nobles, En (= *dominus*) Cibrian⁶⁵ and En Rostayn.⁶⁶ Burns suggests that the selling price of 200 sous was artificially low.⁶⁷ There may have been agreement between Jaume and Valencia's Jewish community that Mechadanus' widow, Sitt,⁶⁸ would be supported by the Jewish community, thus allowing for the unusually low sale price. Burns has further suggested that Sitt was able to purchase back her husband's property in

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, "Recognoscimus et confitemur nos debere vobis Petro de Barchinone . . . tres mille solidos regalium Valencie, ratione dotis uxoris vestre filie Berengarii de Montepavone . . . et debemus vobis duo mille dc solidos regalium, quos vobis dare tenebamur cum albarano quem a vobis recuperavimus." It is possible that Pere's cash fund was larger than indications would show—the albaranos (proto-bonds) of 2,600 sous were apparently in his own name—no mention is made of an inheritance or assignation of income, as was done with his wife's *dos*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, "quousque . . . solutus fuerit de debito quod eidem Petro de Barchinona debemus."

⁶² ACA/J 10.55, MF/J 116, 5 May 1258, "vendimus vobis Petro de Barchinona . . . quasdam domos . . . quas Mechadanus quondam Judeus Valencie habeat in Aliazire."

⁶³ Robert I. Burns, S. J., "Jaume I and the Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia," *X Congrès d'histoire de la corona d'Aragó*, in press. See his appendix, with text and notes cited.

⁶⁴ ACA/J 10.55, MF/J 116, 5 May 1258, "quas Mechadanus quondam Iudeus Valencie habebat in Aliazira, sicut affrontant ex una parte cum domibus domini Rostayn, et de duabus partibus in via publica, et ex alia parte in domibus quo fuerunt den Cibrian."

⁶⁵ Little is known about this noble except that he accompanied Jaume in his conquest of Valencia (and seems to have profited). He may have been a cadet of the Aragonese family, Cebrián. He founded the Valencian house of Cibrián, based in Játiva (García, *Heráldica*, v. 23, pp. 204-207).

⁶⁶ See below at n. 87, En Rostayn (Guillem), and n. 87.

⁶⁷ N. 62 above.

⁶⁸ Arabic for "lady," hence possibly merely an honorific, Lady Mechadanus.

Valencia City, but lacked the funds to do so in Alcira. Hence, Pere was able to acquire this previously Jewish-owned property.

Pere was a non-noble, as shown by the limitations placed on his rights of alienability. He could alienate (sell, mortgage or give) his new property to anyone except clergy, religious institutions or knights,⁶⁹ whose property was tax-exempt. Since Pere's property was not tax-exempt, it continued on the tax rolls.

Even though non-noble, Pere's position as a financier to Jaume was becoming more evident. On the same day that Arnau de Font was ordered to pay Pere in thrice-yearly installments Pere also received a charter from the king, involving a more personal issue.

Pere had apparently been in a brawl with the royal justiciar of Alcira, Pasqual de Mallén.⁷⁰ It seems that Pasqual and Pere had had it out in the best frontier fashion, though the specific issue is never revealed in the document. After the fight, Pasqual, using his office, attempted to distrain or confiscate not only Pere's property but that of his supporters in the brawl and of the guarantors of his future good behavior.⁷¹ From the number of people involved, there seems to have been a faction fight going on—Pere and his friends versus Pasqual and his office. Pere's status as a current royal financier outweighed Pasqual's importance as a former (*tunc*) justiciar. Pere appealed to

⁶⁹ ACA/J 10.55, MF/J 116, 5 May 1258, "Vendimus vobis et vestris ad omnes voluntates vestras et vestrorum cuicumque volueritis perpetuo faciendas, *exceptis militibus atque sanctis*" (my emphasis). I have called these stipulations and the people to whom they were issued "non-noble," i.e., having a taxable status. Nobles could accept royal gifts which had a taxable status however. Two related charters from 1262, ACA/J 11.200, MF/J 378, 26 Feb. 1262 and ACA/J 11.200bis, MF/J 379, 26 Feb. 1262, demonstrate this. In the first, Jaume confirms Ximén de Alvaro's bequest of property to his squire, Guillabert. The bequest may have been contested by Alvaro's widow (hence the need for royal confirmation), as in the second document she received a land grant from Jaume. The bequest by the noble Alvaro needed confirmation only. There is no mention of limitation on the holding or alienating any part of the bequest. The king did not give it and could not impose limitations or conditions upon it. The widow's grant did have the prohibition against alienation to tax-exempt persons. Even though she was a noble's widow (and probably noble herself), the king could and did impose limitations on his gift to her, and kept the property on the tax rolls.

⁷⁰ ACA/J 10.66, MF/J 123, 16 May 1258, "rixo quam habuistis cum Paschasio de Mallen tunc iusticia nostro Aliazire."

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, "vos et vestri, et omnes illi qui dicte rixe pro vobis interfuerunt, et fideiussores pro vobis inde constituti."

the king, who issued the charter in Pere's favor, promising not to impose any civil or criminal penalties or to allow anyone else to impose such penalties on Pere and his property, on his supporters or their property, or on his guarantors or their property.⁷² Still, Pasqual apparently received no punishment for his part in the troubles. Since he seems to have suffered no juridical ill effects from their run-in, Pasqual may have been perfectly within his rights to use his office to avenge himself on Pere. His attempt to "get" Pere by using his power was a common enough practice, then and now. Their regional origins may have further exacerbated the hostility between the two men. Pere de Barceló was a Catalan,⁷³ while Pasqual de Mallén's family almost certainly was from the Aragonese town of Mallén.⁷⁴

In 1263, several years after the quarrel with Pasqual, Jaume gave Pere a plaza in Alcira which fronted buildings Pere owned.⁷⁵ These buildings may have been domiciles, some workshops Pere owned,⁷⁶ or the buildings which Pere had purchased from Sitt, Mechadanus' widow.⁷⁷ Pere needed a larger entryway⁷⁸ and Jaume accommodated his financier, making the gift "from

⁷² *Ibid.*, "Ita quod de cetero nobis vel nostris, nec alicui pro nobis non teneamini aliquo tempore respondere, et nos vel nostri non possimus vos nec bona vestra inde aliquatenus demandare vel in causam trahere. Immo sitis vos et vestri et omnes illi qui dicte rixe pro vobis interfuerunt, et fideiussores pro vobis inde constitui, cum omnibus liberi, quicquid, et penitus perpetuo absoluti."

⁷³ Originally from Montpellier, the family was active in the campaign to seize the Balearics; a Pedro Barceló was one of the surveyors of the conquered islands for Jaume in 1232. This Pedro may have been uncle or father to our Pere. The Balearic line continued actively into the nineteenth century (García, *Heráldica*, v. 12, pp. 18-21).

⁷⁴ García, *Heráldica*, v. 51, pp. 42-49.

⁷⁵ ACA/J 10.103, MF/J 148, 27 June 1258, "damus et concedimus . . . tibi Petro de Barchinona habitatori Aliazire et tuis . . . illam placiam que est ante domos tuas quas habes in Aliazire."

⁷⁶ And upon which Pere was taxed. ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506, undated (the document following it in the register is dated 30 Dec. 1263; it is probably from about that time, although it may be as late as 1267. See Burns, *Diplomatarium*), "Petrus de Barchinona—unum operatorium—unam maçemutinam . . . Petrus de Barchinona—unum operatorium—unum morabatinum."

⁷⁷ The latter were in an excellent location, between the buildings of two nobles and with two sides on the public way. See n. 64.

⁷⁸ ACA/J 10.103, MF/J 148, 27 June 1258, "ad opus intrate dictarum domorum tuarum, cum introitibus, exitibus, affrontacionibus, et suis peritencis universis."

the sky to the abyss"⁷⁹ alienable (except to knights, holy places or religious).⁸⁰ Pere paid the royal chancery twelve pence (one standard or two-thirds Valencian sou) for his copy of the charter, probably issued by the king's traveling chancery, since the document is dated in Valencia.⁸¹

Pere's ability to do the king a favor by providing him with cash may have been the result of his wife's *dos* and perhaps of his father-in-law's status—not of his own personal status as a landowner. Neither his wife's *dos* nor his father-in-law's royal connection could buy him citizenship in Alcira. He never rose above the appellation of "resident" of Alcira. While it is not certain what the difference between "citizen" (*cives*), "resident" (*habitor*), and "local" (*vecinus*) were, there do seem to have been legal differentiations between them. In 1268, Pere's status as a "resident" of Alcira is contrasted sharply with that of other settlers' as "citizens of Valencia (City)."⁸² It seems likely that were Pere to have been a *cives* anywhere it would have been Lérida, his birthplace, or Valencia City or Játiva, where he received royal grants early on. He may have been a "resident" of Alcira to satisfy the legal requirement commonly attached to land grants in the newly conquered realms.⁸³

Pere flourished in Alcira. By 1263, he had become the owner of two small workshops, one paying a yearly tax of one mazmodin, the other a yearly tax of one morabatin,⁸⁴ taxes of four sous and three and a half sous respectively.⁸⁵ Of the community of workshop owners of which Pere was a part (some 74 indicated in the tax list of 1263), only a handful can be identified: Pere's friend Bonanat de Gia, En Rostayn Guillem, Pere Zapata, Pere Vidal, Dominic Ferrar.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, "a celo in abissum."

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, "ad habendum, tenendum, possidendum, et expletendum, et ad dandum, vendendum, alienandum, impignorandum, et ad omnes tuas tuorumque voluntates perpetuo libere faciendas, exceptis militibus ac sanctis et personis religiosis." The last clause was the usual prohibition against alienation into tax exempt status.

⁸¹ See Burns, "Paper Revolution," (n. 18 above).

⁸² ACA/J 14.94, MF/J 765, 3 Apr. 1268, "Petro de Barchinona, habitatori Algezire . . . Raymundo Castellani et Guillelmo de Porçano et Geraldo Martini civibus Valencie."

⁸³ A ten-year physical residence, which can be fulfilled by a relative or appointee. The purpose was to keep the land occupied at all times. See n. 23 above.

⁸⁴ See n. 76 above.

⁸⁵ See n. 30 above.

Bonanat de Gía was a royal *portarius maior*⁸⁶ and owned a workshop taxed at two morabatins. En Rostayn Guillem,⁸⁷ who owned property abutting Pere's,⁸⁸ was listed as owning two mills, each taxed at ten mazmodins⁸⁹ (a total tax burden of eighty sous, about one-fourth of a knight's yearly fee). He and a partner, Domenic del Caval (another royal *portarius*)⁹⁰ had held a contract⁹¹ for the repair of Alcira's bridge in 1261. The repairs were to be paid out of Alcira's income from the bridge fees. This suggests that En Rostayn and Domenic had purchased Alcira's income for that year, or at least the income from the bridge.⁹² Similarly, when Pere and his partners had purchased Alcira's income for the year of 1258 they were also obliged to maintain the bridge.

Pere Zapata owned a workshop taxed at nine sous, apparently close to one of our Pere's workshops.⁹³ Zapata was elsewhere ambiguously identified as "of Alcira"⁹⁴ (citizen, resident, or local?). Tourtoulon identified him as a royal tax gatherer for the king in Zaragoza and as a landowner.⁹⁵

⁸⁶ A royal executive tax gatherer, with minor juridical powers, head of a group of *portarii*. Usually non-nobles filled this type of position. Antoni Maria Alcover, *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, ed. Francesc de B. Moll (Palma de Mallorca, 1957), v. 8, p. 780.

⁸⁷ Perhaps a misreading, as in 1249, land was granted to Rostayn and his wife Guillelma, "Rostagno et Guillelme uxori sue . . . in domos quos tenetis in Aljacira . . . afrontant . . . in domibus quas tenet Ciprian." RV p. 423.

⁸⁸ ACA/J 10.55, MF/J 116, 5 May 1258, "sicut affrontant ex una parte cum domibus domini Rostayn." See n. 87.

⁸⁹ ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506 (undated), "molendinum—den Rostayn—X maçemutinas, molendinum—den Rostayn—X maçemutinas."

⁹⁰ ACA/J 11.190, MF/J 319, 3 Jan. 1261, "Dominico del Caval, portario nostro." Domènec has not been firmly identified; his family may have been connected with horses or horsebreeding (caval, "horse," Catalan).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, "de ipsis [exitibus] faciatis opus dicti pontis bene et perfecte de petra de calce."

⁹² *Ibid.*, "ita quod vos recipiatis de cetero obulos qui ibi sunt recipere consueti racione dicti pontis." These bridge fees had been included in the income Pere and his partners had purchased in 1257 (for the year 1258). See above at n. 30.

⁹³ ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506 (undated), "Petrus Çabater—unum operatorium—IX solidos." Two lines below, one of Pere's workshops was listed. The tax list was probably taken geographically, with those buildings nearest each other in the town being next to each other on the tax list.

⁹⁴ ACA/J 14.11, 21 Feb. 1263, "Petrus Çapata de Aliazire."

⁹⁵ Tourtoulon, index.

Pere Vidal, likewise "of Alcira," was a draper, who owned a mill⁹⁶ and two workshops, which were taxed at one and a half and two morabatins respectively.⁹⁷ He had received land in Játiva in 1238⁹⁸ and later in Murcia⁹⁹ where he may have settled, following the frontier southward.

Dominic Ferrar owned a workshop later identified as located next to Andreu de Uliola's inn.¹⁰⁰ Ferrar's workshop was taxed at one morabatin.¹⁰¹ Dominic Ferrar appears in the *Repartimiento de Murcia*¹⁰²—perhaps this is the same man following the Christian frontier.

Of the seventy-four workshops listed, ten were owned by women, four by Na (= *domina*) Tolcana alone.¹⁰³ The six women workshop owners were Na Tolcana, owner of four workshops, Narbona, who owned two, Çalafata, Tomasa Bociada,¹⁰⁴ Sibilía, and Joana de Tarazona,¹⁰⁵ each of whom owned one. Since there is no mention of any male protector or co-owner (husband, father or son), these women were probably independent and may have operated their workshops themselves. Considering the nameless state of Pere's wife, they were probably single.¹⁰⁶

⁹⁶ ACA/J 9.29v, MF/J 113, 4 May 1258, "nos Jacobus . . . damus, concedimus et assignavimus tibi Petro Vitale de Algezire . . . unum casale molendinorum."

⁹⁷ ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506 (undated), "Vitalis draperius—I operatorium et mig, Vitalis draperius—unum operatorium—duos morabatinos."

⁹⁸ RV p. 335.

⁹⁹ Tourtoulon identifies the name in RM pp. 9 and 50.

¹⁰⁰ *Los pergaminos de la cancellería real: del archivo municipal de la ciudad de Alcira* (Alcira, 1967), p. 4, 1 Nov. 1270. Also in the *Catalogo del Archivo municipal de la ciudad de Alcira*, primera parte (Valencia, 1961), p. 4, 1 Nov. 1270. Jaume had given Andreu the rooms in the arches inside the iron gate of Alcira, a choice spot for an inn. On one side of the arches were the buildings of Doménc Ferrar, and on the other side those of Guillem de Loarre, from whom Andreu rented more space. Andreu paid an unspecified "censum" (rent or tax) to the king, and had the non-noble alienation limitations. I am unable to identify Andreu's family.

¹⁰¹ ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506 (undated), "Dominicus Ferrarii—unum operatorium—unum morabatinum."

¹⁰² RM p. 132.

¹⁰³ ACA/J 17.26-26v, MF/J 506 (undated).

¹⁰⁴ The Bociada family has not been identified.

¹⁰⁵ She may have been from the Tarazona family, prominent in Aragón, and perhaps related to Ximén Tarazona, a royal councillor who helped to write Valencian law. Garcia, *Heráldica*, v. 84, p. 91.

¹⁰⁶ This raises interesting questions regarding the role of the single woman

Part of the community of workshop owners in Alcira, Pere was also part of the financial community there. In 1268, twenty-nine years after his first appearance in Valencia City, Pere is again acting as a royal financier.¹⁰⁷ Jaume had incurred a debt to Pere of 6,955 sous. Why Jaume borrowed the money from Pere is never stated in the documents. The repayment of the loan was to come from three sources:

(1) The first repayment, a lump sum of 2,455 sous, paid from the revenues of Játiva's salt works, was considerably more than what Pere and his partners had paid only eleven years earlier for all the taxes of Alcira including saltworks and low justice. Thus in 1268 royal income from one tax exceeded the combined taxes of only a decade earlier. Tax farming had its hazards as well as its profits. Jaume ordered the current tax farmers, Arnau Romanó and "certain others,"¹⁰⁸ to pay Pere from the income they had purchased sometime previously. They were not, of course, consulted as to the convenience of the payment. Jaume may have held some grudge against the current crop of taxfarmers, with whom he was impatient—he described them as acting "irresponsibly,"¹⁰⁹ and explicitly ordered them not to bother him any more and indicated that no further order would be forthcoming.¹¹⁰

(2) The largest repayment sum, 2,500 sous, was to come from taxes being collected in Valencia by Astrug Shishon.¹¹¹ Shishon has been identified as the Jew Astrug Jacob Xixon, the *alcaid* of Peñíscola and, at various periods from

in the frontier settlement. Were single women limited in their land holdings? What was the tax status of single women? Were single women able to alienate property as freely as non-noble men? This is an entire area of research that requires further exploration.

¹⁰⁷ ACA/J 14.94, MF/J 765, 3 Apr. 1268. In a cancelled document dated seven years earlier, Pere appears as Jaume's creditor for the sum of 4,455 sous. The details of this case and the reason for its cancellation are unknown (ACA/J 11.238, 5 Apr. 1261).

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, "Arnaldo de Romanino et quibusdam aliis." Arnau Romanó was also Alcira's bailiff from at least 1260 to 1268 (ACA/J 11.176v, 12 July 1260).

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, "in continenti illi qui tenent et tenebunt dictas salinas teneantur tibi impendere de redditibus et exitibus ipsarum salinarum."

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "Mandantes tenentibus dictas salinas . . . tibi respondeant . . . ut superius continetur, non expectato a nobis alio mandato."

¹¹¹ ACA/J 14.94, MF/J 765, 3 Apr. 1268, "assignavimus tibi in denariis quos Astrugus Xicho pro nobis modo colligit in regno Valencie, duo milia solidorum."

1263 to circa 1281, the bailiff of the towns of Morella, Peñíscola, Tortosa,¹¹² Burriana, Segorbe and Onda.¹¹³ Shishon was Jaume's creditor as well as his tax collector: in 1263, he was awarded the castle of Peñíscola (of which he was bailiff and *alcaid*) in repayment of Jaume's debt to him.¹¹⁴ There is no indication that Pere and Shishon were acquainted, although as royal creditors they may well have been.

(3) The last and smallest repayment was 2,000 sous. In this instance Jaume assumed a debt owed by Pere to Guillem de Porcá, Girald Martí, and Ramon Castell, all citizens of Valencia.¹¹⁵ No reason is given for Pere's original need for the loan, or whether the amount he had originally borrowed was 2,000 sous or more. By 1268, however, it is clear that Pere was moderately active in the business community of Valencia, twenty miles north of Alcira. By his death, he owned a certain amount of property in Valencia.¹¹⁶ In 1268, Pere's creditors may have pressed him for payment, and ultimately ended up as royal creditors. Such an assumption of one debt to pay another does not seem to have been unusual¹¹⁷—apparently borrowing from Peter to pay Paul was a governmental policy even then.

The terms of Jaume's repayment to Pere seem to suggest that the king paid his bills on time. Although not explicitly stated, Jaume's instructions to the Játivan salt works' taxfarmers were terse and to the point: Pay up and shut up. Furthermore, the repayment from the tax returns carries the implication that as soon as these revenues were gathered by Shishon, they were to be disbursed to Pere. And finally, the assumption of Pere's debt to the citizens de Porcá, Martí, and Castell immediately relieved Pere of a considerable financial burden, freeing his capital for other uses. No date of repayment by Jaume of Pere's debt to the three men of Valencia is mentioned—that repayment would have to wait.

A few months later, Pere's friend and fellow entrepreneur Bonanat de Gía died. Bonanat was probably a member of the Guia family from the Tortosa/

¹¹² Miret i Sans, index.

¹¹³ Burns, *Colonialism*, p. 285.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-286.

¹¹⁵ ACA/J 14.94, MF/J 765, 3 Apr. 1268, "tu tenes quondam albaranum nostrum in quo continetur quod constituimus nos debitores pro te Raymundo Castellani et Guillelmo de Porçano et Geraldo Martini civibus Valencie, in duobus milibus solidorum." I have not been able to identify these men.

¹¹⁶ He may have purchased from the 1268 loan the Valencia City property later contested by his daughter Isabel after his death (MF/P 453, 29 Oct. 1278).

¹¹⁷ Burns, *Colonialism*, pp. 242-243.

Castellon area of Cataluña.¹¹⁸ He owned a workshop in Alcira near Pere's, a mill in Tarsana,¹¹⁹ an oven in Alcira,¹²⁰ and had acted as a royal *portarius maior*¹²¹ and as a tax trouble shooter for the king.¹²² This non-noble aide-de-camp to the king seems to have been actively involved in Alcira. He owned various properties there, had at one time purchased its income,¹²³ and had arranged for his will to be administered by one of its residents. This urban frontiersman chose others in his community like himself to carry out his last wishes.

Pere was called upon to be an executor of his friend's will,¹²⁴ along with other friends and associates,¹²⁵ Bernat Dalmau, Joan de Montsó, and Marcó Galindo. The aggressive Pere had climbed his way up from the small business partnership of his early years into the noble entrepreneurial class, and his friends' backgrounds demonstrate this: Bernat Dalmau, descended from an old Catalan family,¹²⁶ was a well-known warrior who distinguished himself in

¹¹⁸ Alcover, *Diccionari*, v. 6, p. 456. Gia is a Valencian variation of the Catalan Guia.

¹¹⁹ ACA/J 9.29, 2 May 1258, "damus, concedimus et assignavimus vobis Bonanat de Gia portario nostro maiori . . . duo casalia molendinorum in alqueria vocata Algar que est in termino de Tarsana."

¹²⁰ ACA/J 10.9, 17 Aug. 1257, "damus et concedimus vobis Bonanat de Gia portario nostro maiori . . . illum furnum que habemus in Algazira iuxta carrariam maiorem . . . Ita tamen quod vos . . . donetis inde nobis et nostris annis singulis pro censu octo macemutinas bonas iucefias in auro."

¹²¹ See n. 86 above.

¹²² See Burns, *Colonialism*, pp. 306-307, in which Bonanat reports that the king had been cheated in a revenue sale. See also ACA/J 10.108, 3 Apr. 1259, in which Bonanat was entrusted with managing a potentially explosive tax situation concerning the Moslem alcaids' tax gathering until Ximén de Foces, Jaume's lieutenant (*locum tenens*) or Jaume himself could investigate the incident.

¹²³ ACA/J 10.33v-34, 9 Feb. 1268.

¹²⁴ ACA/J 15.130, MF/J 830, 11 Dec. 1268. Bonanat's will was drawn on 15 September 1268 in Valencia City, "testamentum Bonanati de Guia quondam, confectum per manum Bernardi Pagani notarii publici Valencie (XVII Kalendas Octobris, anno domini MCCLX octavo).

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Bernardo Dalmacii, Petro de Barchinona. Iohanni de Montesono, et Marcio Galindo, manumissoribus testamenti Bonanati de Guia."

¹²⁶ García, *Heráldica*, v. 26, p. 97, "Bernardo Dalmau se distinguió en la conquista de Valencia." This is from the celebrated forgery of Ferrer's *Trobes*, but may well represent traditions or family documents of early modern Valencia.

the conquest of Valencia,¹²⁷ sporting his personal shield adorned with a lion rampant. Joan de Montsó was a cadet member of an old Catalan family whose Mallorquin branch flourished, while Joan's seems to have disappeared.¹²⁸ Marcò Galindo (with whom Pere is later associated)¹²⁹ was of a family with legendary origins, prominent all over the peninsula in the thirteenth century.¹³⁰ Marcò seems to have come from its Aragonese branch.

There was apparently some problem in Bonanat's will (perhaps an heir contesting its provision whom the charter does not mention) as the four executors had to travel to Calatayud in Aragón¹³¹ for confirmation of the will and their own actions as executors. In Calatayud, Jaume specifically granted them "full license and ability to settle, control and administer the affairs, property and rights belonging to the aforesaid Bonanat, deceased."¹³² He further granted them the right to "sell or alienate Bonanat's goods and items for repayment of his debts, fines and bequests,"¹³³ even if the alienation was contrary to Jaume's own laws.¹³⁴ These laws forbade alienation of property which had previously been on the tax rolls to tax-exempt persons or institutions—clear permission to alienate to persons and/or institutions of tax exempt status. Further, Jaume may have retained some interest in Bonanat's "rights," his *iura*. The executors were given the power to alienate Bonanat's goods and interests,¹³⁵ but not his rights, which they could only administer, control or settle.¹³⁶

If the executors contemplated selling some of Bonanat's property to someone of tax-exempt status, they may have needed a written confirmation of their authorization to make such a sale. This may have been required either to calm a buyer's doubts regarding the sale's validity, or to supply a potential

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 26, pp. 96-97.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 56, pp. 63-64.

¹²⁹ As *divisores patuarum*, local land surveyors. See n. 141 below.

¹³⁰ García, *Heráldica*, v. 34, pp. 183-194.

¹³¹ Jaume and his traveling chancery were in Calatayud, hence the necessity to go there.

¹³² ACA/J 15.130, MF/J 830, 11 Dec. 1268, "plenam licenciam et liberam facultatem quod possitis ordinare, tractare et administrare res et bona et iura que quondam fuerunt dicti Bonanati."

¹³³ *Ibid.*, "possitis vendere et alienare bona et resque fuerunt dicti Bonanati, pro debitis et iniuriis et legatis dicti Bonanati."

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, "non obstante mandato a nobis in contrarium facto vel eciam faciundo."

¹³⁵ See n. 133.

¹³⁶ See n. 132.

heir with proof of their authority to alienate. There may have been a claimant heir, since the executors were instructed they would still have to answer in a court of law for any claims against Bonanat's estate.¹³⁷ This instruction does not necessarily prove the existence of a claimant heir, since this is usually a standard clause aimed at ensuring responsible administration by the executors.

Behind the web of legal minutiae in an executor's job, we may catch a glimpse of Pere, the friend. Linked with prominent Valencians, this important "resident" of Alcira could be trusted to fulfill the deceased's instructions, striving to protect or arrange sales on his dead friend's behalf. Pere even travelled to distant Aragón to do so. Pere, the land grantee from Lérida, can be seen in these documents as the trusted associate of a royal official, and as a member of the mercantile aristocracy of the Valencian realm. It is regrettable that we can catch only a glimpse of this personal world of friendship and loss. We learn nothing, for example, of Bonanat's own circumstances. We can only painfully reconstruct bits and pieces of the more human Pere and his friends from our fragments of information. The fleeting glimpse of Pere acting out the last sad duties of a friend evoke a picture of the man behind the businessman. For an instant, he becomes hazily visible behind the curatins of commerce and ambition, as a member of a community of friends.

Pere is also seen as a member of another, larger community, more visible in its outward form. Pere is involved in a land grant given by Jaume in Alcira to two unmarried women. Pere, Ramon Falcó,¹³⁸ Simonet de Arnedo,¹³⁹ and Marcò Galindo¹⁴⁰ were local surveyors for royal land grants in Alcira in 1270.¹⁴¹ In their surveying two plots of land were allocated by royal grant to Domengeta and Bernardona,¹⁴² daughters of Domenga de Ainsa.¹⁴³ While

¹³⁷ ACA/J 15.130, MF/J 830, 11 Dec. 1268, "iusticie complementum."

¹³⁸ See below at n. 170.

¹³⁹ Originally a Riojan (old Castile), Simonet may have been from a branch of the family that eventually settled in Aragón. Tourtoulon, index, identifies Ferran Darnedo as a knight.

¹⁴⁰ See n. 130 and above at n. 129.

¹⁴¹ ACA/J 16.215, MF/J 1011, 18 Sept. 1270, "Raymundum Falconerii, Simonet de Arnedo, Petrum de Barchinona et Marti Galindo divisores patuorum assignatorum a nobis in Aliaçira."

¹⁴² ACA/J 16.215, MF/J 1011, 18 Sept. 1270, "damus et concedimus vobis, Domengete et Bernardone filiabus Domenge de Ainsa . . . per hereditatem propriam . . . duo patua terre in Aliazire." *Patuum* is a measurement of unknown size, in general a "plot."

¹⁴³ Domenga and her daughters may have been related to Pere de Aynsa, whom Tourtoulon, index, identifies as squire to the Justiciar of Aragón. A

we have no other record of the daughters, they seem to have been unmarried and of age as no husband or male guardian is alluded to. Had Domenga's daughters been married, their husbands would certainly have been named in the document.

The de Ainsa daughters seem to have come from a reasonably affluent family as they could afford to construct buildings on their property, as the grant intended.¹⁴⁴ Theirs was a corner lot, with two sides on the public way and two sides fronting the orchard of Jaime of Calatayud,¹⁴⁵ on land both fruitful and accessible. They were probably colonists rather than business-women—the land seems to have been granted for housing rather than commercial purposes.¹⁴⁶ As was common in the (Christian) settler-poor kingdom, the women were required to remain in personal residence for ten years for the property to become legally theirs.¹⁴⁷ The family was probably non-noble as the grant contained the customary clause against alienation to people of tax-exempt status.¹⁴⁸ In this Crusader kingdom, the de Ainsa sisters and the women merchants such as Lady Tolcana¹⁴⁹ demonstrate that the single medieval urban frontierswoman could be both landowner and merchant in her own right.

Pere and his fellow surveyors were appointed by the king as "surveyors of plots appointed by us in Alcira,"¹⁵⁰ though how or why these particular

Domingo Martin de Aynsa was identified as a resident of Berbegal in Aragón (ACA/J 10.33, 6 Feb. 1258), and may have been Domenga's son or brother, while a Domingo de Aynsa (the same man?) was granted land in Murcia (RM p. 79). It seems likely that Domenga and her daughters were related to Pere and Domingo (Martin), and as such would have been Aragonese.

¹⁴⁴ ACA/J 16.215, MF/J 1011, 18 Sept. 1270, "ad construendum et hedificandum domos." If Domengeta and Bernardona were indeed related to the Aragonese Justiciar's squire (see n. 142), their economic status would have enabled them to do this.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, "Que quidem patua confrontatur in duabus viis publicis et in orto Iacobi de Calataiubo ex duabus partibus." As an Aragonese, Jaime's name is in Castilian.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, "faciatis residenciam personalem."

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, "Item tamen quod in Aliazire faciatis residenciam personalem et non possitis dictua patua vendere vel alienare hinc ad X annos proxime venturos et completos."

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, "ad omnes vestras . . . voluntates libere faciendas exceptis militibus, clericis et personis religiosis." See also n. 69.

¹⁴⁹ See above at n. 103.

¹⁵⁰ See n. 140 above.

individuals were chosen is not revealed. The community may have nominated several men who would in turn be confirmed by the king,¹⁵¹ or the surveyors may have been supporters of the king in the tempestuous wars of Valencia, or they may have been creditors who could use their position to recoup debts. However they were chosen, citizenship was not a requirement of the job—Pere himself was only a resident of Alcira. The surveyors' decisions would affect settlement patterns for years to come—the social power of the surveyors in assigning such good neighbors was probably considerable. As a municipal official wielding this decisive civic responsibility, Pere was a prominent member of this community.

Pere's business affairs proceeded apace while he was active in the community life of Alcira. In the spring of 1271,¹⁵² Jaime licensed him to construct a mill for grain on the banks of a tributary stream of the Júcar river, Los Hulyos, "where in the time of the Saracens there was customarily a mill."¹⁵³ Although the king did not aid Pere or pay for any part of the mill's construction, royal favor was shown in the exceptionally low tax: three alfonsine gold morabatins (about ten sous), due each Christmas. Mills were generally very profitable and were taxed accordingly. In 1257, for example, the Aragonese noble Blasco Pérez¹⁵⁴ spent 2,000 sous for a royal license to construct a mill and Jaime agreed to pay half the construction costs,¹⁵⁵ while Blasco's construction costs of 1,000 sous were to be repaid from one year's royal tax profits from the mill. Jaime obviously expected Blasco to recoup his entire investment in one year—the expected tax profit must therefore have met or exceeded 1,000 sous. In another case, Jaime gave Pere Vidal a mill taxed at

¹⁵¹ In Aragón, which often served as a model for the fledgling kingdom of Valencia, the town citizens elected certain municipal officials by special privilege (see Huici no. 539 for the elections in Zaragoza). Alcira may have emulated this system.

¹⁵² ACA/J 16.257, MF/J 1085, 8 Apr. 1271.

¹⁵³ ACA/J 16.257, MF/J 1085, 8 Apr. 1271, "in eo scilicet loco ubi tempore Sarracenorum solebat esse molendinum ibidem."

¹⁵⁴ A member of the important and power Alagó family with extensive holdings and power in Aragón and Valencia.

¹⁵⁵ ACA/J 10.33, 5 Feb. 1258, "expensis nos debebamus ponere medietatem et est inventum per rectum compotum quod debemus inde vobis restituere mille solidorum regalium Valencie, pro quibus mille solidorum obligamus et tradimus vobis totum ius nostrum reddituum et exituum molendini predicti . . . hinc ad primum venturum festum Pasce resurrectionis domini et ab ipso usque ad unum annum continue completum . . . per quod iam illus reciperatis racione predicarum expensarum."

fifty percent,¹⁵⁶ a common rate. Burns relates an instance in which the king, as an act of generosity, took only one third of the mill's revenues as tax.¹⁵⁷

Why then did Jaume license our Pere to build such a lucrative utility while taxing the structure at only a nominal rate? Pere's rights in the mill were unexceptional even to the standard non-noble clause regarding alienation, while the king retained his usual rights of *dominium*, the land transfer tax (*lluisme = laudimium*) and the option for sale privilege (*fadiga = faticum*). With no record of extraordinary loans made by Pere or other special circumstances, Jaume's puzzling (and atypical) generosity makes the incident intriguing. At the time of the grant (1271) there was a general threat of Moslem rebellion in Valencia,¹⁵⁸ Jaume's Aragonese nobles were generally uncooperative, and the cycle of the Cardona wars¹⁵⁹ and other Catalan rebellions were a constant drain on Jaume's military and financial resources. The king's gestures might have been an attempt to gain his Valencian financiers' partisan support. But Pere is not known to have had any special influence on the royal court or any extraordinary claim to royal good will. His support would appear to have been no more important than any other middling financier's. In the final analysis, Jaume's generosity in this case remains a tantalizing mystery.

On 13 July 1271, only three months after Pere had concluded his deal with Jaume over the mill, Jaume was issuing instructions to Ramon Falcó, Pere's daughters' guardian, following Pere's death.¹⁶⁰ Jaume noted that Pere, having died intestate, of a sudden illness, had not had time to arrange his estate.¹⁶¹ Being concerned for Pere's soul, his property and his daughters' well-being, Jaume ordered Falcó to take certain actions for the safety of these three matters. For Pere's soul, Jaume ordered that 1,000 sous be

¹⁵⁶ ACA/J 9.29v, 4 May 1258, "donetis inde nobis . . . de omnibus redditus exitibus et iuribus que de ipsis molendinis provenient et exhibunt medietatem integre et fideliter."

¹⁵⁷ Burns, *Colonialism*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁸ There were major Moslem rebellions in 1248, 1258 (both led by Prince al-Azraq), 1263 and 1275-76 (during which Jaume died).

¹⁵⁹ Outbreaks in the 1220's, 1250's and 1260's.

¹⁶⁰ ACA/J 16.247v, 13 July 1271, "Raymundo Falconeris tutori Catharine et Ysabelle filiarum legitimarum Petri de Barchilona quondam."

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, "Cum Petrus de Barchilona predictus quondam, quadam subitanea infirmitate de qua decessit preventus, intestatus decesserit . . . se sua substancia nihil pro omnia sua vel aliter dixerit disponendum."

divided among paupers and other pious causes.¹⁶² For Pere's property, he ordered that Falcó pay any of Pere's outstanding debts and penalties from the estate.¹⁶³ The instructions for Pere's daughters were a little more complicated.

Pere had two legitimate daughters, Catarina and Isabel, probably by his only known wife, Berenguer de Montpaó's daughter. Pere also had two bastard daughters, Marieta and Jordaneta.¹⁶⁴ Jaume ordered that the latter two daughters each be given 1,000 sous as a dowry, either for her entrance into a religious order or for her marriage.¹⁶⁵ The formal royal recognition of these two girls suggests that they were the fruit of a formal concubinate contract¹⁶⁶ Pere may have had with their mother prior to his marriage to Catarina's and Isabel's mother. They were at least of marriageable age, fourteen (the age of personal emancipation), but less than twenty-one (the age of proprietary emancipation), as Falcó controlled the bequest until their marriages or cloistering. The birth of both girls therefore antedates Pere's marriage thirteen years before to de Montpaó's daughter.

The younger, legitimate daughters were more important to the royal interest—one¹⁶⁷ would eventually control their large inheritance. Falcó, as

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, "dividatis per anima eiusdem Petri de Barchilona mille solidorum regalium pauperibus indudendis atque cibendis et aliis piis causis."

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, "de fructibus et redditibus bonorum dicti Petri de Barchilona persolvatis debita et iniurias dicti Petri qui fuerint manifesta."

¹⁶⁴ See n. 160, and *Ibid.*, "Mariete et Iordanete, filiabus illegitimis dicti Petri de Barchilona."

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, "donetis . . . Mariete et Iordanete . . . unicuique mille solidorum in ordine vel cum marito."

¹⁶⁶ Concubinage was very common in this period. Jaume was plagued by his sons from his formal unions and had to initiate divorce proceedings against one concubine, Teresa Gil de Vidaure, who may actually have been his secret wife. See *Diccionario de Historia de España*, v. 1, p. 478, "barraganía," for information about concubinage.

¹⁶⁷ It seems that only Isabel, the younger daughter, survived her minority. Seven years after Pere's death, Isabel initiated a suit as Pere's heir concerning his property in Valencia City and Alcira (ACA/P 41.11, MF/P 453, 29 Oct. 1278). Catarina is not mentioned as a co-suitor or her existence alluded to. Since she was co-heir of the property at the time of her father's death, her permission for such a suit would have been required, were she alive. Such permission lacking, she was probably deceased.

the children's guardian, was obliged to safeguard their inheritance while they were minors, and had to keep strict accounts of his expenditures.¹⁶⁸

Pere and Falcó had served as land surveyors in Alcira¹⁶⁹ in 1270, and were probably acquainted before that time. Falcó was the Infante (= Prince) Pere's bailiff in Alcira in 1272, while he hosted the king in his house in November 1273.¹⁷⁰ He, like Pere, had come to the kingdom during the Reconquest. He received land in Benaider in 1238,¹⁷¹ and prospered, owning property in the kingdom and occupying important positions in his community, as Pere did.

Pere's sudden death cut short the career of an active man. From his modest beginnings in 1239, he left a goodly inheritance—enough to endow two bastard daughters with a handsome sum. His legitimate daughters inherited his substantial property: the Jew Mechadanus' well-located buildings, two workshops with a plaza, and a mill.

Although the documentation forces a necessarily public approach to his life and career, we can glimpse the man behind the businessman—a farmer from Lérida, he has a concubine, marries into a knightly family and fathers four children. A man of strong passions, he brawled with the royal justiciar in Alcira, and engendered and gave loyal friendship, both in life and death, his own and his friends'. Starting small, he amassed a tidy fortune and acquired the good will of the king. He was a sturdy rock upon which to build the new Christian kingdom. Pere de Barceló, a Christian living in a conquered Moslem land, was a vital part of the settlement of the Valencian mercantile frontier. He was an exemplar of the medieval urban frontiersman.

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¹⁶⁸ ACA/J 16.247v, 13 July 1271, "volumus et dicimus ac mandamus vobis firmiter et districte quout cum filie predictae legitime sint in pubes, ad quarum successio bonorum dicti Petri de Barchilona . . . cum hac carta . . . quod ea que vos de fructibus et redditibus predictis distribuētis . . . vobis in compositum recipiantur."

¹⁶⁹ See n. 141.

¹⁷⁰ As Infante Pere's bailiff, see ACA/J (Infante Pere's lieutenancy) 37.46v, 21 June 1272; for his hosting of Jaume, ACA/J 19.68v, 13 Nov. 1273, "in Algezire in domo Raimundi Falconerii." García, *Heráldica*, v. 31, p. 53, identifies the family as settling in Valencia after the conquest—Ramon was a founding father.

¹⁷¹ RV p. 207.

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