

# TRACKING DOWN THE GLITTER OF GOLD IN THE *DIPLOMATARI DE SANTE CREUS*

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## ABSTRACT

The use of gold coinage in the Medieval Catalonian counties has received considerable academic attention over the past forty years. A crucial factor, the characterisation of individuals using gold currency as their basis of accountancy, however, has to date been neglected. The main aim of this paper is to tackle this issue on the basis of the *Diplomatari of Santes Creus*. After crossing the data with those extracted from seven other documental sets in the Catalonian counties, the kinship and social links and the properties of 86% of users of gold currency in Santes Creus have been identified. Results show that accounting solutions based on gold weight or gold coinage were essentially used by a closed and not too extensive group of magnates of variable status, connected by kinship, vassalage and proximity links<sup>1</sup>.

## KEY WORDS

Gold Currency, Feudalism, Catalan Counties, Genealogies, Lineages.

## CAPITALIA VERBA

Nummi aurei, Ius feudale, Catalaunensis comitatus, Genealogiae, Suboles.

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## 1. Introduction

This paper presents the results of research conducted on the people connected with the use of monetary annotations based on the weight of gold or gold coins in the documents compiled in the *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Santes Creus*.<sup>2</sup> The aim is to contribute to the historiographical discussion about the reach of these accounting formulae by identifying: 1) their particular conditions of use; 2) the individuals who used gold currency to assess their deals; and 3) the nature of the links between those individuals, where such links existed.<sup>3</sup> The monographic character of the study is aimed at producing specific results from a compact and coherent geographical and chronological setting.

Methodologically, the first step was a systematic scrutiny of the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, aiming to identify those who took part in the transactions recorded by the

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2. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus (975-1225)*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2005. It contains 612 documents.

3. Analysis of the historiographical question goes beyond the aims of this study. The bibliography cited here was used to contextualise the article and it is not intended to be exhaustive. The two reference studies are that by: Bonnassie, Pierre. *La Catalogne du milieu du Xè a la fin du XIè siècle. Croissance et mutations d'una societe*. Toulouse: Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail (PhD. Dissertation), 1975: 382, in which he proposes a generalised spread of gold coins across all levels of society, and the other by: Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la Moneda dels Comtats Catalans*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics-Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1999. Bonnassie's proposal was placed in doubt shortly after by: Barceló, Miquel. "L'or d'Al-Andalus circulant als comtats catalans. Un or vist i no vist?", *Symposium Numismàtic de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1979: I, 313-334, especially 315, but its general characteristics were accepted by: Vegué, Pere. "La circulació monetària àuria a la Península després del 'mil·leni'. El problema del mancús de Barcelona", *Symposium Numismàtic...: I*, 329-358, especially 332; Salrach, Josep Maria. "El procés de feudalització. Segles III-XII", *Història de Catalunya*, Pierre Vilar, ed. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987: II, 273; Fariás, Víctor. "Compraventa de tierras, circulación monetaria y sociedad campesina en los siglos X y XI". *Anuario de estudios medievales*, 29 (1999): 268-294, especially 271 and 279. The question has been treated in depth by: Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Del Mancús a la Dobla*. Barcelona: Societat Catalana d'Estudis Numismàtics, 1993; Crusafont, Miquel. *Història de la Moneda Catalana*. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1996. See also the contributions by: Virgili, Antoni. "Moneda i peces de moneda en els inicis de la Tortosa Feudal (1148-1213)". *Gaceta Numismàtica*, 137 (2000): 29-51; Torró, Josep. "L'organització monetària del regne de València al segle XIII (1247-1277)". *Gaceta Numismàtica*, 137 (2000): 67-92. On the other hand: Retamero, Fèlix. "Tadmekka, los taifas y los feudales. De nuevo sobre la moneda fiscal y la moneda feudal", *L'Incastellamento. Actas de las reuniones de Girona (26-27 de noviembre 1992) y de Roma (5-7 de Mayo)*, Miquel Barceló, Pierre Toubert, eds. Rome: École Française de Rome, 1998: 148-152, observed that the massive conversion of peasant produce into gold coinage required the existence of a regular and consolidated network of markets. Similarly: Retamero, Fèlix. "Els primers comptes catalans: Els números primerencs del feudalisme", *El feudalisme comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, Miquel Barceló, Gaspar Feliu, eds. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003: 103-118 showed the need to avoid considering each valuation in gold currency as systematic evidence of the effective use of the metal or gold coins as a means of payment. Regarding the coins themselves, the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* mainly documents morabatines *aiadinos* and *lupinos* and, to a lesser degree, *marinos* and *marruchinos*. See: Mateu, Felipe. "Morabetinos in auro y mazmudinas iucefias (1162-1276)", *I Jarique de Estudios Numismáticos Hispano-Árabes*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988: 181-191, 193; for the *lupinos*, *marinos* and *marruchinos*, see: Mateu, Felipe. "Morabetinos Lupinos y Alfonsinos desde Ramón Berenguer IV de Barcelona a Jaume I de Aragón (1131-1276)", *II Jarique de Numismática Hispano-Árabe*. Lleida: Institut d'Estudis Ilerdencs, 1990: 103; Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Del Mancús...*



monastery in which gold monetary equivalences were used.<sup>4</sup> This was followed by investigating whether they also appeared in the documents of the same volume that included mention of other currencies. The intention of this initial phase was to evaluate the participation of these people in the entire set of documents compiled in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. Other volumes were also consulted in order to extend the empirical basis: the proximity of Poblet monastery to Santes Creus suggested the utility of tracking down the traces left in the *Diplomatari* of Poblet by those who used gold currency in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*.<sup>5</sup> It was also considered essential to examine the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa*:<sup>6</sup> the monastery of Santes Creus received numerous possessions in the lower Ebro after the 1148 feudal conquest, and participation in the benefits from this area led families and individuals settled in the region to move closer to the monastic community, their names being recorded in the deeds centralised by the Tortosa See.<sup>7</sup> In order to learn more about the people in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* who dealt in property in Barcelona or nearby, the sources of the Old Archive of Santa Anna in Barcelona, the Chapter Archive of Barcelona Cathedral and the Cartulary of Sant Cugat del Vallès were also consulted.<sup>8</sup> The *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny* was used for those who had property in the Lleida area.<sup>9</sup> Lastly, the research was extended with the *Liber Feudorum Maior* for those who had county concessions or were members of aristocratic lineages (Illustration 1).<sup>10</sup>

Overall, eighty-three different people have been documented making deals valued in gold currency (Illustration 2). This does not mean, however, that gold coins were used mechanically as a means of payment for these operations. In other words, the monetary value of the deal was independent of the choice of metal as a means with which to settle the transaction. Thus there could be operations valued in gold currency which did not include the transfer of gold. The essential element for the monetary calculation is the unit of value or account, the accounting formula used to set the

4. Catalan is used for the proper and place names in this article.

5. Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet. Anys 960-1177*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1993.

6. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa (1062-1212)*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997-2001.

7. The possessions of Santes Creus in the Tortosa area began with the county concessions of the almunia of Xerta. Virgili, Antoni. *Ad detrimentum Yspanie. La Conquesta de Turtüša i la formació de la societat feudal (1148-1200)*. Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2001: 146.

8. Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona, del 942 al 1200. Aproximació històrico-lingüística*, 3 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1985; Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral de Barcelona. Segle XI*, 5 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2006; Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, 3 vols. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945.

9. Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple de Gardeny (1070-1200)*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998.

10. Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior*, 2 vols. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1945. On the *Liber Feudorum Maior* as the cartulary that reflects the highest level of the feudal nobility in the Catalan counties, see: Kosto, Adam. "The *Liber Feudorum Maior* of the Counts of Barcelona: the cartulary as an expression of power". *Journal of Medieval History*, 27/1 (2001): 1-22.



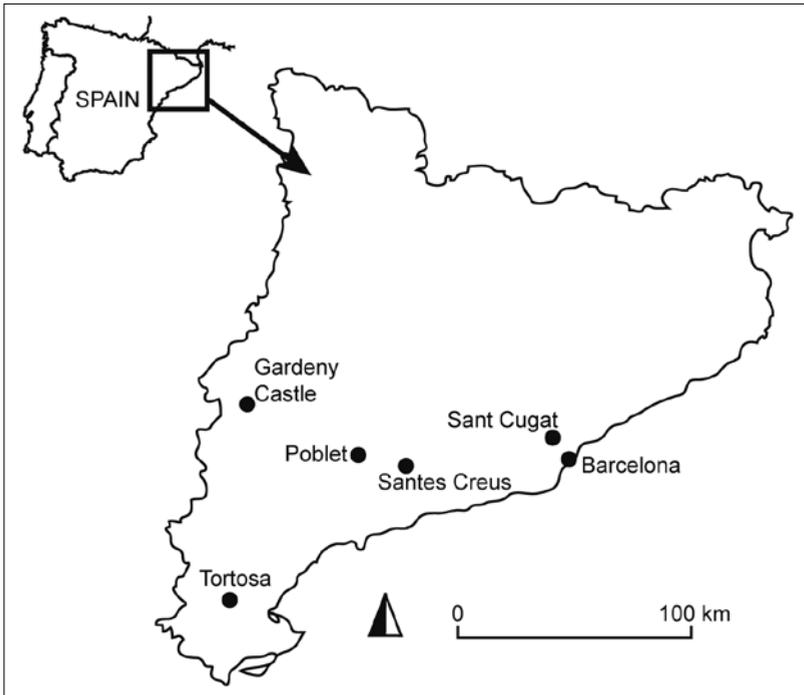


ILLUSTRATION 1. ORIGINS OF THE DOCUMENTATION USED IN THE STUDY.

*pretium* of the transaction. The means of payment is the instrument used to settle said operation, which may or may not have been gold coins or gold ingots. In this paper, all the identified subjects used gold currency to value their operations, although not everybody used this metal, minted or not, as a mean to sanction the deals.<sup>11</sup>

In order to assess the number of people using gold currency in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* the two leading parties in each operation were taken into account. The women and children that accompanied them have not been counted. Nor has the number of times they are documented setting equivalences in gold currency. This means that although Illustration 2 shows one deal per person, any given individual may have taken part in more than one. Consequently, a fundamental question for each person identified —the proportion of the use of gold currency in relation to other accounting formulae— is not dealt with in the present study.

11. On the formative elements of the currency, see: Hennequin, Gilles. "Numismatique et monnaie prélibérale: les limites d'un apport". *PACT*, 5 (1981): 406-416; Hennequin, Gilles. "Problèmes théoriques et pratiques de la monnaie antique et médiévale". *Annales Islamologiques*, 10 (1972): 1-51; Hennequin, Gilles. "De la monnaie antique à la monnaie musulmane". *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* (1975): 890-899. Regarding the lack of a necessary correspondence between unit of value and means of payment, see: Retamero, Fèlix. "Els primers comptes catalans...".

This work was unviable due to the difficulties of tracing an individual in numerous operations. Those who used gold currency did not always appear under the same name in all the deals; conversely, homonymy is not necessarily an indication that we are dealing with the same individual. It has been common to find names handed down from father to son, as well as deals made by the same man with various wives. An exhaustive work of cross-referencing was thus necessary to avoid mixing information and taking two different people as one. Data from the other sets of documents mentioned has only been used to clarify the relations and characteristics of those who used gold currency in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* when there was no doubt that the information from both sources referred to the same subject. The necessary discrimination against the doubtful texts, some of which must have reflected the participation of individuals already identified in the study, prevented us from approaching the proportion of accounting formulae used by each of the people documented.

## 2. Aristocratic lineages and related people

### 2.1. The Castellvell

In 1023, Count Berenguer Ramon I sold the castle known as Castellvell de la Marca to Guillem, son of Amat, together with the *decimas et primitias, oblationes atque servitia* in exchange for *cavillos tres optimos, quos in pretio LX untiarum auri recepimus*.<sup>12</sup> This Guillem, son of Amat, was Guillem Amat, founder of one of the most important lineages in the Catalan counties; the Castellvell (Illustration 3).<sup>13</sup>

Although not documented as valuing deals in gold currency, the next Castellvell identified in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* was Guillem Ramon II of Castellvell, great-grandson of Guillem Amat of Castellvell, who in 1160 gave Santes Creus *illas domos et censum et senioraticum et servicium et ostem (...) quos in eisdem domibus habeo vel habere debeo, quas Petrus Bonefilii vobis dimisit in suo testamento*. These houses were in the market of Martorell.<sup>14</sup> Pere Bonfill's will has not been identified in the *Diplomatari*, but it is known that, in 1157, Pere Bonfill and his son, Carbonell, had bought some houses from Guillem Oller in the forum of Martorell that faced the *alaude de Carbo* to the south. The *cens*<sup>15</sup> that

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12. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 68 (doc. n° 8).

13. Guillem Amat must have been Guillem I of Castellvell because he bought *Castrum Vetulum Extremarium* (Castellvell de la Marca) from the count. See: Virgili, Antoni. *L'expansió i afermament del feudalisme al Baix Gaià (segles XI-XIII)*. Altafulla: Centre d'Estudis d'Altafulla, 1991: 41. Also: Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI y XII". *Medievalia*, 5 (1985).

14. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 161 (doc. n° 85).

15. According to: Rodón, Eulalia. *El lenguaje técnico del feudalismo en el siglo XI en Cataluña*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1957: 53, the census was a tax paid to enjoy the beneficial ownership of the land.



ID	YEAR	NAME	ID	YEAR	NAME
1	977	Vives, bishop of Barcelona	43	1157	Aimeric de Perusa
2	977	Guitard de Mureden	44	1157	Guillem Oller
3	1023	Count Berenguer Ramon I	45	1157	Pere Bonfill
4	1023	Guillem, son of Amat	46	1190	Ramon II de Montcada
5	1064	Count Ramon Berenguer I	47	1158	Bertran de Saragossa
6	1064	Artal, son of Branvi	48	1158	Guerau de Salvinyac
7	1067	Guilia Gombad	49	1161	Bernat de Riudefoix
8	1067	Amat Guitard	50	1165	Albert de Castellvell
9	1079	Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona	51	1165	Ramon de Calad
10	1079	Guillem Miró	52	1166	Burguet
11	1084	Count Berenguer Ramon II	53	1167	Pere de Narbona
12	1084	Berenguer Bernat de la Granada	54	1167	Gales
13	1085	Bernat, son of Giscafrè	55	1160	Guerau Alemany IV de Cervelló
14	1085	Dalmau Gelabert	56	1160	Ramon Amat
15	1093	Carbonell Gaufréd	57	1170	Gelabert Anglès
16	1093	Riquer Pere	58	1161	Bernat de Sant Ponç
17	1093	Berenguer Ramon	59	1161	Joan de Mocina
18	1093	Gombau Bernat	60	1171	Ramon I de Montcada
19	1112	Guillem Dalmau	61	1171	Pere de la Sala
20	1128	Pere Arnau de Cervera	62	1171	Ramon de Torre
21	1128	Berenguer Roig	63	1173	Ponç de Rajadell
22	1128	Guillem Oromir	64	1173	Pere d'Escorcenc
23	1175	Arnau de Cervera	65	1185	Guillem de la Gornal
24	1175	Pere Laborot	66	1174	Pere de Lleida
25	1166	Berenguer de Guàrdia	67	1177	Iaco, jew
26	1139	Pere Calvet	68	1175	Domènec d'Aldover
27	1139	Bernat Correger	69	1178	Guillem Guerau de Cervelló
28	1139	Joan d'Ariga	70	1182	Guillem de Selmella
29	1150	Pere Dalmau	71	1182	Guillem de Mor
30	1150	Guillem Arnau <i>tabernario</i>	72	1188	Pere de Sentmenat
31	1155	Bernat Dalmau	73	1189	Arnau Moragues
32	1156	Pere de Sanaüja	74	1189	Arnau Rubió
33	1185	Guillem Escasset	75	1205	Pere de Vilafranca
34	1185	Bernat de Crassa	76	1218	Berenguera, widow
35	1150	Arnau Pere de Sants	77	1225	Guillem de Foix
36	1150	Pere Maceller	78	1225	Miró d'Aguilar
37	1162	Esteve de la Roca	79	1167	Bernat de Santori
38	1154	Joan d'Omell	80	1167	Pere de Torrefeta
39	1154	Guillem de Trull	81	1170	Guillem de Fonts
40	1154	Ot de Saragossa	82	1167	Arnau Gali
41	1154	Guaspal	83	1150	Pere, sexton of Barcelona
42	1157	Guillem Pere de Sants			

ILLUSTRATION 2. INDIVIDUALS RELATED WITH GOLD CURRENCY IN THE *DIPLOMATARY OF SANTES CREUS*.

Guillem Oller demanded in exchange was half a *mancus*.<sup>16</sup> The houses mentioned in the document promoted by Guillem Ramon II de Castellvell and the sale by

16. 'Mancus' (from the arabic *manqush*, 'engraved') was a word widely used in 10th-11th century Catalan records to denote an Arab gold coin (dinar) or the weight in gold (4.25 g) of a dinar. See: Grierson, Philip; Blackburn, Mark. *Medieval European coinage. 1. The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986: 327-329. The text referring to the mancus is in: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 149 (doc. n° 73). A *signum Petri Bonifilii*, *signum Carbonelli* has also been identified in an 1155 text in which property in the Tàrrrega area was transferred from a Bonfill: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 302. They are probably the same people as those documented in the *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus*.



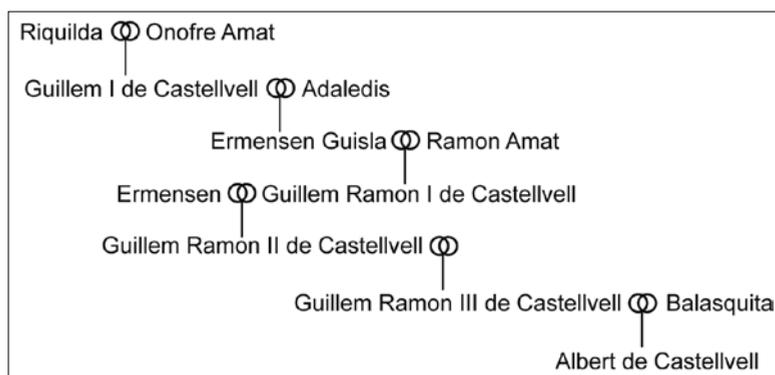


ILLUSTRATION 3. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CASTELLVELL LINEAGE AFTER: GARÍ, BLANCA. "EL LINAJE DE LOS CASTELLVELL EN LOS SIGLOS XI Y XII". *UNIVERSIDAD AUTÓNOMA DE BARCELONA, BELLATERRA, 1985.*

Guillem Oller to Pere Bonfill, as can be seen in the neighbouring properties, were undoubtedly the same. Thus, first Guillem Oller and then Pere Bonfill had the eminent domain of these properties thanks to the lease by Guillem Ramon II of Castellvell. The document from 1160 recorded the transfer of the eminent domain of the houses to the monastery.

Pere Bonfill also had a vineyard with houses, corrals, two barrels of wine and other possessions in Breda. These goods faced an allodium belonging to the same Guillem Ramon II de Castellvell.<sup>17</sup> It has not been possible to find more details about the relation between Pere Bonfill and Guillem Ramon II de Castellvell, but the agreement they reached regarding the houses in Martorell and the fact that they were neighbours in the Breda area suggest that Pere Bonfill was close to the Castellvell family. The plausibility of this is supported by the fact that one of Guillem Amat's sons, the great grandfather of Guillem Ramon II of Castellvell, was named Bonfill Guillem de Castellvell.<sup>18</sup>

It should be noted that Guillem Ramon II of Castellvell maintained a constant and regular relationship with Santes Creus, signing various documents in which he acted as benefactor and protector of the monastic community, some in the name of the Count of Barcelona.<sup>19</sup> In fact, his relationship with Ramon Berenguer IV led him to participate actively in the conquest of Tortosa and also to sign numerous deeds for the distribution of property in the lower Ebro among various beneficiaries,

17. Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 332 (doc. nº 302).

18. On the Bonfills and Castellvells, see: Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI...": 77.

19. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 134 (doc. nº 57), 140 (doc. nº 64) and 162 (doc. nº 86).



both before and after the fall of the city in 1148.<sup>20</sup> The following year he joined the contingents that conquered Lleida.<sup>21</sup> He died some time before 1167.<sup>22</sup>

Another Castellvell, Albert, did make deals valued in gold currency. Together with Guillem d'Ollers and his castellan, he renounced lands valued at fifty morabatines in favour of the monastery of Santes Creus.<sup>23</sup> A man of great influence in the court of Ramon Berenguer IV, Blanca Garí has suggested that Albert de Castellvell may have been the illegitimate son of Ramon Berenguer III and thus brother-in-law to Guillem Ramon II of Castellvell, although the traditional historiography takes him as his brother.<sup>24</sup> In any case, he was very close to the county power and has been identified in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* signing documents set forth by Ramon Berenguer IV and Alfonso I.<sup>25</sup>

Guillem d'Ollers, for his part, was Berenguer d'Ollers's brother, as documented in a deed of 1171 in which, after numerous conflicts, he renounced his rights over the *honor* of Rubió in exchange for *quadraginta morabetinos et unum pullum*.<sup>26</sup> Berenguer d'Ollers was a *miles* with rights over different *castra*.<sup>27</sup> It also seems plausible that this Guillem d'Ollers was the same Guillem Oller who managed the houses of the Castellvell near the market in Martorell thanks to Guillem Ramon II de Castellvell, although this has not been explicitly corroborated. In any case, he had a regular relationship with the Castellvell lineage. He has been documented in three texts in

20. In 1146 he signed a document promoted by Ramon Berenguer IV in which Bernat de Belloc was given the almunia of L'Aldea, in the Prado de Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 56 (doc. n° 11), and in 1148 he signed another text in which the count of Barcelona benefitted the church of Santa Maria in Tortosa with privileges; this document is known as the Dotalia de la Seu de Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 58 (doc. n° 13). He also signed other documents of division of goods written by Ramon Berenguer IV in 1149: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 59 (docs. n° 14-15); Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 115 (doc. n° 40), and a deed in which the count gave to the Lleida See the *primícia* (first fruits) and other incomes from the city and the territory: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 64 (doc. n° 19). In 1163 he and other magnates advised the Archbishop of Tarragona and other high churchmen about the wisdom of the donation of the church in Ascó to the Tortosa See: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 179 (doc. n° 129). The Castellvell lineage is also widely referenced in: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 318 (doc. n° 293), 342 (doc. n° 319) and 367 (doc. n° 342); Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 80 (doc. n° 436) and 199 (doc. n° 1031); Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 84 (doc. n° 6), 102 (doc. n° 17), 143 (doc. n° 54).

21. Eritja, Xavier. "Estructuració feudal d'un nou territori al segle XII: l'exemple de Lleida", *El feudalisme comptat i debatut...*: 298-299.

22. Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI...": 186-190.

23. Morabatine or morabatin was a gold coin originally minted by the Almoravids weighing approximately 4.25 g. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 195 (doc. n° 113). Albert de Castellvell has also been identified in: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 454 (doc. n° 440).

24. Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI...": 192-195.

25. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 152 (doc. n° 77), 162 (doc. n° 86), 164 (doc. n° 87) and 191 (doc. n° 110), for example.

26. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 240 (doc. n° 151).

27. In 1160, with Arnau de Benages, one Berenguer d'Ollers participated in a case against the monastery of Sant Cugat for the castle of Sant Vicenç. They were both characterised as *militēs*: Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 205 (doc. n° 1035).



the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* and, in two of these, he participated together with Albert de Castellvell.<sup>28</sup>

Another Albert de Castellvell has been identified signing the will of Guillem de Sant Martí in 1189.<sup>29</sup> This was probably the same Albert characterized as a *debitor* to Guerau Alemany in his will of 1193.<sup>30</sup> Guillem de Sant Martí and Guerau Alemany were aristocrats with a great power to exert *dominium*, as we shall see below.<sup>31</sup> The Castellvell thus had relations with magnates of the highest levels in the Catalan counties. A number of those who have been found associated with exchanges valued in gold currency can be connected with his lineage in some way. The most visible connections are those derived from kinship links and feudo-vassalist relations, but we must also bear in mind those derived from joint participation in certain documents. For the documentation in Cluny (909-1049), Barbara Rosenwein has shown the existence of social connections between those who participated in writing a deed and the witnesses whose signatures gave validity to the agreement in question.<sup>32</sup>

In this sense, the signature of the Castellvell has been found together with those of Pere de Sentmenat or Guerau de Salvinyac, for example, in documents of the exchange of properties in the Tortosa area.<sup>33</sup> In each case, the specific circumstances of each document need to be reconstructed in order to explain the possible factors behind the witnesses adding their names. In the case of Guerau de Salvinyac and Pere de Sentmenat, participating with the Castellvell in signing these deeds can be partially explained by the fact that they were all members of the Tortosa oligarchy, as epigraph 3 will show. Their great properties put them at a level that legitimated them to corroborate exchanges in the Lower Ebro area.

Guerau de Salvinyac is documented in 1158, giving the monastery a market garden in the Vilanova area together with twenty-two morabatines owed to him by Pere de Sentmenat. Among others, the document was signed by his brother, Guillem de Salvinyac, his wife Aladais, and the aforementioned Pere de Sentmenat and Guillem de Trull.<sup>34</sup> Guerau established direct contacts with the Count of Barcelona

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28. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 166 (doc. n° 89) and 195 (doc. n° 113).

29. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 458 (doc. n° 321). If we accept the date of 1174 proposed by Blanca Garí for the death of the previous Albert de Castellvell, the Albert de Castellvell in this document must be the son of Guillem Ramon III of Castellvell, and thus the nephew of Guillem II of Castellvell. Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI...": 192-195 (Illustration 3). Albert continued to have relations with the monastery of Santes Creus, as had the previous Castellvell: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 486 (doc. n° 332), for example.

30. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 530 (doc. n° 363).

31. The definition of *dominium* used is the one proposed by: Guerreau, Alain. *Le Feodalisme. Un Horizon Théorique*. Paris: Éditions Le Sycomore, 1980: 179-184, which includes the relations of power over both individuals and the land.

32. Rosenwein, Barbara. *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter. The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049*. New York: Cornell University Press, 1989.

33. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 115 (doc. n° 40), 152 (doc. n° 77).

34. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 157 (doc. n° 81).



and the leading feudal nobles.<sup>35</sup> He supervised the work of others and held various possessions in Tortosa.<sup>36</sup> He died between 1188 and 1189.<sup>37</sup>

Guillem de Trull also used accounting methods based on gold. In 1154, he acquired the rights to the property of *Mahomat Ahaïoc*, in Tortosa, valued at three morabatines, from Joan d'Omell.<sup>38</sup> Nothing more has been discovered about Joan d'Omell, but Guillem de Trull was a prominent figure in the division and sharing of property that took place after the conquest of Tortosa, with considerable prestige in the seigniorial estate and direct dealings with the Count of Barcelona.<sup>39</sup> It is possible

35. Fifty-eight documents in the *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa* mention him, either directly or indirectly. In most of these he was documented signing deeds. Regarding his privileged place in Tortosa society, in 1159 he was a member of the *consilio quatuor optimatum civitatis, scilicet, Bonivasal de Moron, Geraldi de Salviniaco, Guillelmi Garidel, Petri de Sancto Poncio*: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 155 (doc. n° 103). He acted as a witness for documents written by Ramon Berenguer IV in 1151 exchanging possessions in Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 74-75 (docs. n° 27-28). On the other hand, in 1164 he signed a text promulgated by Alfons the Chaste which was also signed by such other important magnates as Albert de Castellvell and Pere de Sentmenat: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 191 (doc. n° 110). He was an executor of the will of both Gelabert Anglès: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 244 (doc. n° 154) and Osbert Anglès, together with the aforementioned Gelabert and Joan de Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 207 (doc. n° 155). With Osbert Anglès and Gelabert Anglès he also signed a text promulgated in 1164 by the Holy Sepulchre in which Joan de Tortosa was given the vineyard that Guillem de Trull had for the order: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 390 (doc. n° 371).

36. In 1174, with his wife Raimunda, he granted an orchard in Xerta worked by a Moorish serf. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 324 (doc. n° 260). He thus seems to have been married to a different woman to Aladaís, his wife in 1158; but reasonably, this Guerau de Salvinyac documented in 1174 was the same Guerau de Salvinyac of 1158. Regarding his possessions, in 1160 he had properties near Vinallop: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 160 (doc. n° 108); in 1173, near Aldover: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 268 (doc. n° 171); and in 1170, in Bitem and Andust: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 227 (doc. n° 138). He signed many documents for the exchange of properties in the Bitem area.

37. In 1188 he was the census beneficiary of a piece of land in Los Arenys ceded by Santa Maria de Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 526 (doc. n° 426) and in 1189, a *Raimunde, uxor qui fuit Geraldi de Silvaniaco* is documented as signing a text in which some possessions in Tortosa were permuted: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 536 (doc. n° 434).

38. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 131 (doc. n° 54). Joan Omell also signed a transaction for a plot of land in Vilarroja in 1151: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 129 (doc. n° 77).

39. For example, in 1151 Ramon Berenguer IV gave him some houses in Tortosa and an *honor* of the real domain where he could farm twenty *quarteres de sembra*, twenty *quintars* of grapes, five *quintars* of figs and ten *quarteres de sembradura*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 131 (doc. n° 54). In 1156, he signed a series of documents as a witness: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 142-144 (docs. n° 66-68), as he did again in 1158: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 151 (doc. n° 75). He promoted the exchange of lands: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 154 (doc. n° 79) and acted as a guarantor of twenty-one morabatines in 1161: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 179 (doc. n° 99). He also had a vineyard for the Holy Sepulchre in Barcelona until 1164, when it was handed over to Joan de Tortosa: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 390 (doc. n° 371).



that by around 1164 he was dead.<sup>40</sup> Thus, Guerau de Salvinyac and Guillem de Trull had influence and power on the Lower Ebro.

Regarding Pere de Sentmenat, he and his wife Elisenda sold the *honor* and domain of Benifallet to Arnau Moragues for eight morabatines in 1188, noting that there was already a Moorish serf, Ali Afat, working the lands.<sup>41</sup> Arnau Moragues sold the same property again just a year later to Arnau de Rubió for eight morabatines *lupines*, and in turn, nine months later, Arnau de Rubió donated it to the monastery of Santes Creus.<sup>42</sup> Neither Arnau de Rubió nor Arnau Moragues have been identified in other documents in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, but they do appear in deeds in the *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet* and the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa*. These show that Arnau Moragues was the scribe for some documents of the exchange of properties in the Tortosa area.<sup>43</sup> He was related to Ponç Avirer, who the texts suggest had enough prestige to sign deeds; among these, one promulgated by the aristocrat Ramon de Montcada.<sup>44</sup>

Arnau Rubió, along with Berenguer de Rubió, was nephew to Arnau d'Oliola, a *miles* with considerable patrimony in Rocavert and with the power to exercise *dominium*.<sup>45</sup> They also had houses in Tortosa and the power to sign deeds promulgated

40. A *signum Adalaidis, uxor que fuit Guillelmi de Trul* from 1164 has been found validating a document that mentioned the vineyards that Guillem de Trull had held thanks to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 390 (doc. n° 371).

41. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 441 (doc. n° 308). It is not known whether this is the same Pere de Sentmenat who owed twenty-two morabatines to Guerau de Salvinyac in 1158 or the former's son.

42. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 453 (doc. n° 317). The *morabetinos lupinos* were the coins minted in Valencia and Murcia by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Sa'id ibn Muḥammad ibn Ahmad ibn Mardāniš between 1147 and 1172. Ibn Mardāniš was known as the *rei Llop* (Wolf King) in Catalan documents. That is the origin of the name *lupinos*. Mateu, Felipe. "Morabetinos in auro y mazmudinas...": 181-191.

43. For example, in 1165: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 203 (doc. n° 151), when he signed with Guerau de Salvinyac and Gelabert Anglès, among others; 1171: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 279-281 (docs. n° 219-221), 292 (doc. n° 232).

44. The phrase *Pontio Avirer et suo cognato Arnaldo Moragues* is from the will of Pere Esteve: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 349 (doc. n° 282). Ponç Avirer was a slave freed by Ramon Espeleu in 1172: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 293 (doc. n° 233), and he signed deeds for the Fazalfori area, in Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 469 (doc. n° 378). The signature in the document of Ramon de Montcada dates from 1188: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 528 (doc. n° 428).

45. Arnau de Rubió signed a document promulgated by Arnau d'Oliola in 1171 which gave the allodium and *honor* of Rocaverts to the Monastery of Poblet. He was described as Berenguer's brother, and both were described as sons of Sança, Arnau d'Oliola's sister. If so, that would make them Arnau d'Oliola's nephews: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 312 (doc. n° 414). The association of the term *miles* with Arnau d'Oliola came about in 1173: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 354 (doc. n° 473). The power to exercise *dominium* was made explicit in a text of 1171, when he gave the allodium of Rocavert to Poblet together with *omnia iura que ibi habeo vel ulla voce habere debeo, in heremo seu laborato vel in hominibus, cum decima*: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 312 (doc. n° 414).



by magnates like Ramon de Montcada.<sup>46</sup> Arnau and Berenguer de Rubió leased their houses in Tortosa to Ramon de Cambrils, and just after this they received some new houses in the Genoveses neighbourhood of Tortosa, from Ramon de Montcada.<sup>47</sup> The social relations they built, their kinship and their connection with the Montcada are elements that identify Arnau Moragues and Arnau de Rubió unequivocally as members of the Tortosa oligarchy.

Thus, in 1188, Pere de Sentmenat conducted a transaction valued in gold currency with Arnau Moragues, a baron from Tortosa. His lineage allowed Pere to consolidate relations with the leading members of the nobility in the lower Ebro and to sign deeds promulgated by Count Ramon Berenguer IV, in which the Andalusian possessions in Tortosa were shared out among various beneficiaries.<sup>48</sup> He even signed the town charter granted by the count to the inhabitants of the city.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after the conquest, he seized property in Fazalfori, Xerta, Bítém and Castelldans,<sup>50</sup> and property belonging to him has also been identified in the Lleida area.<sup>51</sup> He controlled the work of other people and also managed property for Guillem de Cervera.<sup>52</sup> He was a leading figure in Tortosa society, as shown in a document from 1164 in which he took part in a *deliberatione consilio quatuor optimatum, scilicet, Guillelmi Berardi, fratris Milicie, P. Sancti Minati, P. de Subirat, Bonvassal de Moro*.<sup>53</sup> Pere de Sentmenat has been identified in forty documents in the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa* and in twenty-three from the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, generally confirming various transactions.<sup>54</sup> The Sentmenat were, in this sense, a highly relevant lineage

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46. The houses in 1189: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 537 (doc. n° 435). He signed documents in 1185, 1188; he signed that of Ramon de Montcada in 1190: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 479 (doc. n° 385), 532 (doc. n° 431) and 548 (doc. n° 444), respectively.

47. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 117-118 (docs. n° 511-512).

48. For example, in 1147: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 57 (doc. n° 12), 66-71 (docs. n° 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24), 75 (doc. n° 28), 78 (doc. n° 30), 90 (doc. n° 41), 97 (doc. n° 46) and 99 (doc. n° 48).

49. Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 112 (doc. n° 120). The town charter appears in: Font, José María. *Cartas de Población y Franquicia de Cataluña*, 2 vols. Barcelona-Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1969.

50. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 128 (doc. n° 76); 507 (doc. n° 410) and 181 (doc. n° 130).

51. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 107 (doc. n° 57).

52. He had an allodium that was worked by Ramon Escorpol: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 137 (doc. n° 85) and gave two pieces of land in Vilarroja to Ramon de Sant Sadurní, as payment for his services: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 493 (doc. n° 397). He also directed the work of various Moorish serfs: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 507 (doc. n° 410).

53. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 199 (doc. n° 147). He was also defined as *vicarius et ceterorum proborum hominum Dertuse*. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 260 (doc. n° 202) and King Alfonso sent him a document as *dilecti Petro de Sancto Minati*: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 170 (doc. n° 119).

54. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 47, 123-126 (docs. n° 48, 49 and 50), 140-142 (docs. n° 64-65), 144 (doc. n° 68), 151-154 (docs. n° 75, 76, 77 and 78). The Sentmenat are also documented signing texts in benefit of the monastery of the Monastery of Sant Cugat: Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 164 (doc. n° 984).



of aristocrats and the most important fief holders for the Montcada, who appointed them castellans of Sentmenat castle.<sup>55</sup>

All of these subjects are revisited below, when the study focuses on the analysis of the barons of Tortosa.

It remains to be seen who Guillem de Sant Martí and Guerau Alemany were. They were documented together with Albert de Castellvell in 1189 and 1193 respectively. Guillem de Sant Martí has not been identified in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* using gold currency, but his identification would help to define Bernat de Riudefoix, who did take part in transactions valued with gold accounting formulae.

Guillem de Sant Martí was married to Guilia de Banyeres.<sup>56</sup> The Banyeres held the fief of Penedès castle for the Castellvell. In turn, Guillem de Sant Martí had been the second husband of Beatriu de Montcada.<sup>57</sup> He was, in fact, one of the highest members of the feudal society in the Catalan counties, defined as *dominus* in 1167 and as *probum hominum* in 1178.<sup>58</sup> So, Guillem de Sant Martí signed a document in 1168 in which Bernat de Riudefoix and his wife, Berenguera, sold the Tower of Valldossera with the church, the primacy and the tithes to Santes Creus; all valued at one hundred and twenty morabatines. Bernat de Riudefoix had possession of this property thanks to his grandfather, Bertran Otó, who had in turn acquired it from Count Ramon Berenguer I.<sup>59</sup> In this text, Bernat de Riudefoix promised the monks he would protect the property of Valldossera, as would Guillem de Sant Martí in case he could not take care of this personally. It seems that, in consequence, Bernat de Riudefoix had some type of ascendancy over Guillem de Sant Martí and he could very plausibly have been an important member of the Catalan feudal nobility.

The relationship between Bernat de Riudefoix's grandfather, Bertran Otó, and the Count of Barcelona, suggested that this Bertran Otó may be documented in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*. Indeed, numerous documents have been found with a *signum Bertran Atonis* preceding a *signum Baroni Atonis* or a *signum Bernardi Atonis, vicecomitis*, in documents of the exchange of properties in the Pallars area.<sup>60</sup> Thus, it is probable that Bertran Otó was related to the Viscount of Urgell, Bernat Otó, who has also been identified as receiving an allodium from Ramon Berenguer I in 1038 in the county of the Pallars, at the limits of the Castle of Mur, and receiving the fiefdom of the Castle of Castellnou from the Count of Pallars.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, there are reasons for proposing that Bernat de Riudefoix was a descendent of the highest nobility from the Urgell.

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55. In a document from 1145, Pere de Sentmenat was defined as *vicarii Montscatani*: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 270 (doc. nº 245).

56. Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 268 (doc. nº 1115).

57. Garí, Blanca. "El Linaje de los Castellvell en los siglos XI...": 135-136.

58. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 215 (doc. nº 129); Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 269 (doc. nº 1116), respectively. He owned various *castra* and horses, as shown by his will of 1189: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 458 (doc. nº 321).

59. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 173 (doc. nº 95).

60. Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 60 (doc. nº 46) and 76 (doc. nº 60).

61. Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 72 (doc. nº 57) and 136 (doc. nº 137).



This document from 1168 in which Bernat de Riudefoix sold his tower in Valldossera to the monastery was also signed by Guerau Alemany, who, as has been seen, was related in the same way with the Castellet and formed part of the Cervelló lineage. His kinship and connections with some of those in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* who used gold accounting formulae are detailed below.

## 2.2. The Cervelló

The Guerau Alemany mentioned above must have been the father of the Guerau Alemany who in 1160, with his wife, Saurina, sold a piece of land and a field bounded on the east by another property of the purchaser Ramon Amat and his son, Pere de Puigroig. They cannot have been the same person given that the Guerau Alemany married to Saurina died in 1167 and the document promoted by Bernat de Riudefoix was written in 1168.

The price agreed with Ramon Amat was thirty-six morabatines.<sup>62</sup> Ramon Amat is mentioned in a *capbreu* promoted by the Count of Barcelona between 1151 and 1155, in which the count describes the disorder caused by feudal lords in his lands. Ramon Amat is presented in this text as the illegitimate beneficiary of the title of Puigroig, the income of Pere Magol and the allodium of Deusde.<sup>63</sup> Thus, Ramon Amat was a baron rebelling against the count's authority.

His marriage to Saurina shows that the deal with Ramon Amat was conducted by Guerau Alemany IV, brother of Guillem and Bernat de Cervelló and son of Guerau Alemany III and Arsenda, who died in around 1167 (Illustration 4).<sup>64</sup> The Cervelló lineage was one of the most influential in the Catalan counties and maintained continuous relations with at least three generations of the counts of Barcelona.<sup>65</sup> They had regular contact with the monastery and it was Guerau Alemany IV who gave the monks the allodium of Santes Creus, where they established the new

62. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 169 (doc. n° 91).

63. Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 119-120 (docs. n° 129-130), respectively.

64. In the texts consulted, Guerau Alemany was Saurina's husband in 1150 and father to Guerau and Hug in 1167: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 118 (doc. n° 128) and 247 (doc. n° 319).

65. See, in this sense, the impressive number of documents in the *Liber Feudorum Maior* that mention the Guerau Alemany: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 497. One of the sons of Guerau Alemany IV, Hug de Cervelló, was a witness to Ramon Berenguer's will. Another, the primogenitor Guerau Alemany V, signed various privileges promulgated by Alfons the Chaste in benefit of Santes Creus in 1190: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 493 (doc. n° 337) and also signed texts compiled in: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 876 (doc. n° 608). Two generations of Guerau Alemany have been documented in: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 167 (doc. n° 148) and 332 (doc. n° 302), respectively. Guerau Alemany have also been found in: Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 425 (doc. n° 767), and: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 970 (doc. n° 666).



monastic centre.<sup>66</sup> The will of his son, Guerau Alemany V, is also in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* and is an example of the properties that a family of such high lineage could manage. Among other transactions, he gave the fortress of Matoses to Sant Cugat; his son, Guillem de Cervelló, received rights over eight different *castra*; his nephew, Guillem, rights over eleven *castra* and his son, Ramon Alemany, those to eight other *castra*.<sup>67</sup>

Other members of the Cervelló lineage appear in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* making deals valued in gold currency. In 1178 Guillem Guerau de Cervelló sold his part of the allodium of Selmella to the monastery for *unum pollinum et duos aureos*.<sup>68</sup> It would be reasonable to suppose that this Guillem Guerau de Cervelló was Guillem de Cervelló, brother of Guerau Alemany IV and Bernat Guerau de Cervelló and Guillem de Selmella's uncle (Illustration 4). Guillem de Selmella has also been documented making deals with Santes Creus valued in gold currency. In 1182, the rights to the castle of Selmella were valued at two *aureos*, ten *sous* and a *pollino*.<sup>69</sup>

The genealogy drawn up by the Enciclopèdia Catalana states that the first of the Selmella lineage was Bernat de Cervelló, brother of the already-known Guerau Alemany IV (who died in 1167) and Guillem de Cervelló, who took part in the expedition to Almería in 1147.<sup>70</sup> Considering that Bernat de Cervelló was the leader of the Selmella and that Guillem de Selmella was documented in 1182 with the locative incorporated into his name, Guillem de Selmella must necessarily have been the son of Bernat (Guerau) de Cervelló. That makes him Guerau Alemany IV and Guillem de Cervelló's nephew, and places him directly in one of the most prestigious aristocratic lineages in the Catalan counties.

Guerau Alemany III has not been found in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* using gold currency, but he does appear signing documents in which others carry out transactions valued by the weight of gold. For example, in 1084 he signed a deed in which the Count of Barcelona, Berenguer Ramon II, sold an allodium in the county of Osona to Berenguer Bernat de la Granada and his wife, Guisla. The price was defined as *unum optimum cavallum de precio sexaginta unciis auri de Valencia*.<sup>71</sup>

66. The name Guerau Alemany appears in 37 documents in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. Those that refer to the allodium of Santes Creus are: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 160 (doc. n° 84), 165 (doc. n° 88). Before this donation, the monks called themselves 'of Valldaura'. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 9-51.

67. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 530 (doc. n° 363).

68. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 301 (doc. n° 202).

69. The text where Guillem de Selmella was defined as Bernat Guerau de Cervelló's son is in: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 361 (doc. n° 250).

70. *Enciclopèdia Catalana*. Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana. 23<sup>th</sup> December 2009 <<http://www.enciclopedia.cat/enciclopèdies/gran-enciclopèdia-catalana/EC-GEC-0017128.xml?s.q=Cervelló#.UICDBxb6XWE>>.

71. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 89 (doc. n° 21). This is the first mention in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* of the Valencia gold. It appears directly as a unit of account. The gold of Valencia was also known as *or de rovalls*, an expression that refers to the poor quality of the gold. According to Balaguer, they were equivalent to a quarter *dinar* and were of seven carat. Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Del Mancís a la Dobra...*: 38; Balaguer, Anna Maria. "Influencias de las acuñaciones musulmanas en los sistemas monetarios de los reinos ibéricos medievales". *Gaceta Numismática*, 92 (1989): 29-47.



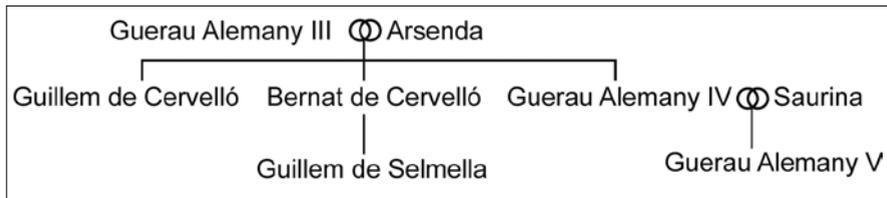


ILLUSTRATION 4. SIMPLIFIED LINEAGE OF THE CERVELLÓ FAMILY.

Berenguer Bernat de la Granada was a member of one of the lineages that settled most solidly in the Tortosa area after the feudal conquest of 1148, and whose name derived from the *castrum* of La Granada, in the Alt Penedès. The members of the family established more or less regular contacts with the counts of Barcelona and accumulated other castles, as well as creating kinship links with such baron lineages as the Castellet.<sup>72</sup>

It should be noted that the signatures of members of the Cervera family have also been identified (Ponç Guerau de Cervera, Guillem Ramon de Cervera) in this 1084 document, as well as that of Ponç Guerau, Viscount of Girona.

In 1079, Ponç Guerau, Viscount of Girona, also participated in a deal that resulted in the delivery of a horse valued at a specific weight of gold: *chavallo optimo qui erat de pretium C uncias*. Ponç Guerau, his wife, Inguilsa, and son, Guerau Ponç, sold what they had in the castle and limits of Montoliu de Segarra to Guillem Miró for this price, *id est medietatem de ipsa decima et alaude que retinemus ad laborandum ad uno pari bovis et mansionem et hominem nostrum in ipsa villa et seniorivo quod abemus in Dalmatio Iozperti et in Eriballo Ioxzperti*.<sup>73</sup> Ponç Guerau was an enemy of Ramon Berenguer I between 1053 and 1061, but ended up swearing loyalty to him,<sup>74</sup> while Guillem Miró has been identified years later, in 1112, selling Montoliu castle, the village and its inhabitants, present and future, for *quingentis manchusos in auro Valentie* to Guillem Dalmau and his wife Solestén.<sup>75</sup> The power to possess territory and men that he held means that we can undoubtedly characterise Guillem Miró as a member of the Catalan feudal nobility.

72. Virgili, Antoni. "Els conqueridors de mitjan segle XII: com aprenen a ser-ho", *El feudalisme comptat i debatut...*: 253-293, especially 267.

73. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 83 (doc. n° 17).

74. Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 405 (doc. n° 387), 423 (doc. n° 403). Ponç Guerau's son, Guerau Ponç, is profusely documented in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*, establishing *convenientiae* with the Count of Pallars between 1060 and 1080, with Ramon Berenguer II for some castles in 1160, and with Count Guillem de Cerdanya between 1072 and 1095: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 130 (doc. n° 129), 429 (doc. n° 407), 430 (doc. n° 408), 432 (doc. n° 411).

75. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 100 (doc. n° 30). Regarding the expression *mancús d'or de València*, see: Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Del Mancús a la Dobla...*: 39. Balaguer believes that the expression *mancús d'or de València*, designated the weight of a *dinar* or *mancus* paid in coins of *rovalls* or seven-carat quarter coins.



Guillem Dalmau was also a highly relevant member of the feudal aristocracy. He was directly related to the Count of Barcelona and the highest ranking barons, among whom were Guerau Alemany III and Guillem I de Castellvell, father of Guillem II de Castellvell, mentioned above.<sup>76</sup> He was also the grandfather of Ramon de Cervera, Guillem de Cervera and Guerau de Jorba (Illustration 5).<sup>77</sup> He had made his wife a widow by about 1133, when she is recorded as swearing to carry out her husband's last wishes in a document listing the belongings he managed.<sup>78</sup>

### 2.3. The Cervera

The lineage of the Cervera has been partially reconstructed thanks to the analysis of the documentation in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* and Agustí Altisent's study of Guerau de Jorba (Illustration 5). Although it has not been possible to show the kinship between some of the members of the lineage who are documented as using gold currency (Pere Arnau de Cervera and Arnau de Cervera), the aforementioned Guillem Dalmau de Cervera has been identified and placed in the family tree.

Identifying the members of the Cervera lineage associated with the use of gold currency has helped to show the power relations that arose in a specific part of the Tàrrrega area, near to the Cercavins River (Illustration 6). As shown below, the deeds available have made possible a partial reconstruction of these relations. Hierarchies have been established between the people documented regarding their power to exercise *dominium* in the region as well as defining genealogies of some

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76. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 102 (doc. n° 31). In this document, written by Count Ramon Berenguer III and his wife, Dolça, a *signum Guillelmi Dalmaz* has been found to corroborate the donation Ramon Berenguer III made to the castles of Querol, Pinyana and Montagut to Guerau Alemany III. In this text from 1112, Guillem Dalmau's wife, Solestén, does not appear but there is no doubt that the signature has to be that of the above-mentioned Guillem Dalmau: in 1133, in another text where Solestén swore to fulfil her husband's last wishes, it states *et dimisit ad Gerallo castrum de Montagud et de Pimmana cum illorum terminis et pertinentiis, quomodo resonat in convenientias de Dalmacii Gerovardi et de Gerall Alamanni*: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 84 (doc. n° 82). The *signum Guillelmi Dalmad* has also been identified in a text from 1118 and another *signum* from 1113 in: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 175 (doc. n° 166). Moreover, the presence of Guillem Dalmau has been confirmed in 1118 in: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 79 (doc. n° 3). The relationship with Guillem I de Castellvell can be perceived in a document in which he signed the enfeoffment of the castles of Òdena and Pontons from Guillem to Ramon Guillem d'Òdena in 1121: Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Ramon Berenguer III, n° 235. Lastly, in a text from 1101, a Guillem Dalmau is mentioned as a feifholder to Gerbert Hug, but it has been impossible to ascertain if this is the same person: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 172 (doc. n° 153).

77. His genealogical relation to Ramon de Cervera is enunciated in a document from 1192: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 507 (doc. n° 347). For his kinship with Guillem Dalmau, see: Santacana, Jaume. *El monasterio de Poblet (1151-1181)*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974: 139; Altisent, Agustí. "Seguint el rastre de Guerau de Jorba i el seu llinatge". *Aplec de treballs (Centre d'Estudis de la Conca de Barberà, Montblanc)*, 1 (1978): 38-83. Guerau de Jorba was a member of the council of Ramon Berenguer IV and Alfonso I and procurator to Ibn Mardāniš.

78. Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 84 (doc. n° 82).



family groups. All those who used gold currency in the process of acquiring rights in this area are documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, somehow linked to one other and some members of the most powerful families with interests in the area: the Cervera, Guàrdia and Santa Fe lineages.

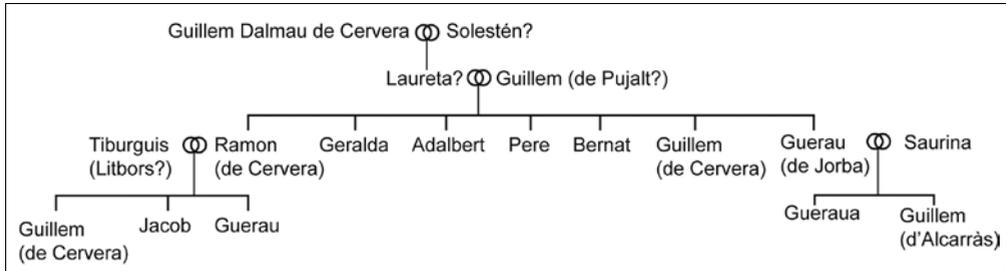


ILLUSTRATION 5. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FAMILY OF GUILLEM DALMAU DE CERVERA AFTER: ALTISENT, AGUSTÍ. "SEGUINT EL RASTRE DE GUERAU DE JORBA I EL SEU LLINATGE". *APLEC DE TREBALLS (CENTRE D'ESTUDIS DE LA CONCA DE BARBERÀ, MONTBLANC)*, 1 (1978): 38-83 AND THE DATA SUPPLIED BY THE *DIPLOMATARI DE SANTES CREUS*.

### 2.3.1. Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir

In 1128, Pere Arnau and his wife, Arsen, established *ad complantandum* to Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir on a piece of land between Tàrrega and Verdú, situated *a meridie in reger de Exercavins, ab occidente in strata publica, a parte vero circii in nos donatores*, for growing vines. The operation was valued at thirty morabatines.<sup>79</sup> This is the earliest document in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* that mentions the coins of the Almoravids.

Although the details are not mentioned explicitly in the text, the marriage of Pere Arnau and Arsen suggests the possibility that this was Pere Arnau de Cervera, married to Arsenda; father of Arnau, Peret and Arnalleta; member of the county forces that conquered Lleida and vassal to Berenguer de Torroja, brother of Arnau de Torroja, master of the Temple in Hispania.<sup>80</sup> In fact, Pere Arnau de Cervera

79. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 109 (doc. n° 36).

80. The family of Pere Arnau de Cervera appears in a text from 1165: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 216 (doc. n° 275). On the participation of Pere Arnau de Cervera in the conquest of Lleida, see: Eritja, Xavier. "Estructuració feudal d'un nou territori al segle XII...": 293-313, especially 299. Pere Arnau de Cervera was defined as a vassal of Berenguer de Torroja in 1160: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 199 (doc. n° 98); Berenguer de Torroja as Arnau de Torroja's brother in 1150: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 199 (doc. n° 98) and Arnau de Torroja as master of the Temple in 1176: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 442 (doc. n° 297). As seen below, years later the land that this Pere Arnau handed over *ad complantandum* was partially in the hands of Arnau de Cervera.



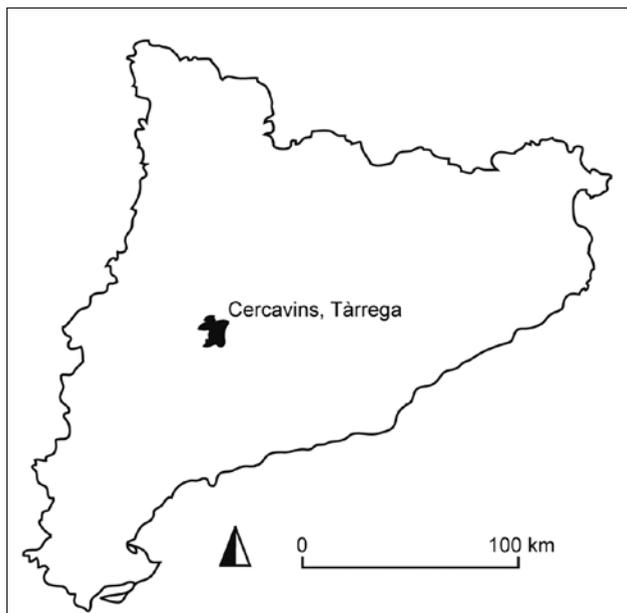


ILLUSTRATION 6. LOCATION OF THE STUDY AREA.

signed as Pere Arnau in some documents and as Pere Arnau de Cervera in others.<sup>81</sup> However, there were also other Pere Arnau in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* who signed as Pere Arnau in the same chronological framework and who could not be Pere Arnau de Cervera.<sup>82</sup> That is why other documentary references have not been

81. In the 1128 text, the couple signed as *Petri Arnaldi* and *Arssendis*. Pere Arnau de Cervera signed, for example, as *Pere Arnall* in a text from 1152 in which Guillem de Cervera and his wife, Ermessen, sold an allodium in the limits of Castelldans: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 132 (doc. n° 147) and also as *Pere Arnal de Cerveria* in 1152: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 140 (doc. n° 157). In two of the three documents in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* that Joan Papell included in the onomastic of Pere Arnau de Cervera, he appears in the body of the text as Pere Arnau de Cervera, but he did not sign any of them: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 117 (doc. n° 42) and in one from 1198 (the date is somewhat too distant to suggest that this is the same person) signed as Pere Arnau: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 579 (doc. n° 398).

82. In 1111, one *Pere Arnalli* and his wife, Belissenda, gave their daughter, Solestén, a *mansus* in the castle of Altarriba, that Mir Berenguer had for them: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 99 (doc. n° 29). Individuals with the same name have also been documented at dates too far from 1128 to plausibly be considered the Pere Arnau de Cervera from 1128: in 1208 is documented one Pere Arnau who was the brother of Arnau de Altarriba, *miles* and subject of Ramon de Cervera: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 685 (doc. n° 479); and another who is described in Guillem Adalbert's will, written in 1210, as Ramon Pere's brother and son of Pere Tello and his first wife, Francesca: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 715 (doc. n° 501).



used to identify and define the patrimony of the Pere Arnau mentioned in the *ad complantandum* text of 1128. Furthermore, the limited genealogical information on Pere Arnau de Cervera has impeded the reconstruction of his relationship with the aforementioned Guillem Dalmau. In any case, the Cervera lineage was one of the most influential in the Catalan counties and some of its members are widely referenced in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*.<sup>83</sup>

In the document of 1128, Pere Arnau and Arsen established that *quando bene erit ad vineata habeatis vos prenominati et vestri medietatem et nos donatores aliam medietatem*. This clause has been understood as indicating the bipartite division of the piece of land when it was already producing, and not sharing of the production.<sup>84</sup> When the grapes could be harvested, part of the property would end up in Pere Arnau's hands and the other would be destined for Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir.

Just after the signature of Pere Arnau and Arsen there is the *signum Berenger Delmad, signum Guilie, nos qui erimus vobis valedors et mantenedors. Et si nos redimimus suprascriptam peciam alaudii, quod vos plantatores non ibi perdati vestros directos*. This Berenguer Dalmau was undoubtedly Arnau de Cervera's grandfather (Illustration 7).<sup>85</sup> According to this fragment of text, Berenguer Dalmau and Guilia had pawned the plot of land to Pere Arnau and Arsen. It stated that if Berenguer Dalmau and Guilia decided to redeem the land, this would not mean that Bernat Roig and Guillem Oromir would lose their rights. The participation of Berenguer Dalmau in the text promoted by Pere Arnau de Cervera also suggests possible kinship with the aforementioned Pere Arnau, although this has not been proven.

It then states *et ego Petrus Arnaldi et coniux mea Arssen donatores sumus vobis Berenger Dalmad et uxori tue Guilie suprascriptam peciam alaudii ad plantandum vineam et vestris plantatoribus sicut superius est scriptum*. In other words, Pere Arnau and Arsen were satisfied with the payment for the transaction with Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir (valued at twenty morabatines), they considered the plot redeemed and so returned it in instalments: one part to its old owner (Berenguer Dalmau) and another to Berenguer Roig and Arnau Oromir, with whom they had made the *ad complantandum* deal.

Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir were mentioned years later in a text from 1175. This was an agreement aimed at solving a conflict between the aforementioned Arnau de Cervera and Pere Laborot over some vines belonging to Berenguer Roig

83. See, for example: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 172 (doc. n° 164) and 128 (doc. n° 621).

84. In contrast, Joan Papell writes in the list that the landlords received half the fruit from the vines: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 109 (doc. n° 36).

85. In a much later document, from 1181, we see (...) *id est omnia iura que habemus et habere debemus in illum capud mansum de Tarrega, qui fuit Berengarii Dalmacii, avi mei Arnalli Cervaria*. The text goes on to describe these *iura* and mentions as neighbouring properties *a meridie in requario de Exercavins, ab occidente in via puplica*. These were the same limits that were defined when setting the limits of the vineyard given by Pere Arnau and Arsen in 1128 *ad complantandum* to Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir. Moreover, the northern edge in the text of 1181 was on an allodium belonging to Arnau Oromir, presumably a relative of Guillem Oromir in 1128: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 349 (doc. n° 240).



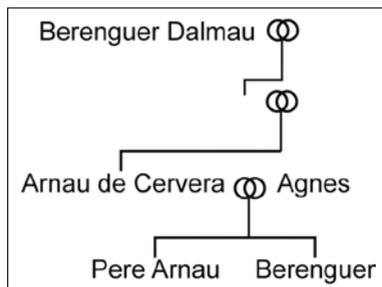


ILLUSTRATION 7. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF ARNAU DE CERVERA'S FAMILY.

and Guillem Oromir.<sup>86</sup> Although this document does not state where the vines were, the joint reference to Berenguer and Guillem and the participation of Arnau de Cervera, Berenguer Dalmau's nephew, in the text shows that the agreement referred to the same plot that Berenguer and Guillem had received *ad complantandum* from Pere Arnau de Cervera in 1128.

To solve the conflict, Pere Laborot accepted that Arnau de Cervera should keep a quarter of these vines. Arnau de Cervera, meanwhile, accepted that Pere de Laborot had *sos dretz in ipsas vineas que laboratores an per mi* and gave him *sous* in *diners*. The dispute was due to the accumulation of various rights in the same place. Arnau de Cervera had interests in the area probably thanks to his inheritance from his grandfather, Berenguer Dalmau. Moreover, he has also been documented as valuing transactions in gold currency: in 1181, he gave the monastery various properties in Tàrrrega and Mor in exchange for *CCXX aureos et propter unum equum de XXX morabetinos*.<sup>87</sup> Who Pere Laborot was and where his claims to this land came from are defined in greater detail below.

Were Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir the *laboratores* of the document, those who had been growing the vines since 1128? Precise data have been obtained about Berenguer Roig and his kinship that might illustrate, though indirectly, his social position.<sup>88</sup> The relevant text dates from 1215 and was promoted by Guillem de Montalbà, who gave Santes Creus a piece of land *in termino Targe, ad collum quod vocatur de Altet, que mihi advenit racione consanguini mei Berengarii Rubei, qui fuit olim, que affrontat de prima parte in carraria que tendit ad Alted, de secunda et de tercia in Bernardo Calbet, de quarta vero parte in Arnaldo Oromir*.<sup>89</sup> This deed undoubtedly refers to the

86. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 284 (doc. n° 185).

87. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 349 (doc. n° 240).

88. Other mentions of Berenguer Roig have been found, although it has not been possible to verify that they referred the same person. In 1162, one Berenguer Roig was in possession of a vineyard close to land near the Ebro. The document was signed by Gelabert Anglès: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 179 (doc. n° 100). In 1172, Berenguer Roig received a third of an orchard in the honor of Aldover from the magnate Gelabert Anglès: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 244 (doc. n° 154). Another Berenguer Roig had houses in Tortosa in 1173: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 304 (doc. n° 241). It seems that all three documents refer to the same Berenguer Roig with possessions in the Tortosa area, but no points of contact have been found with the Berenguer Roig with property in the Tàrrrega area.

89. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 757 (doc. n° 532).



Berenguer Roig from 1128.<sup>90</sup> Thus, the Berenguer Roig from 1128 was a relative of Guillem de Montalbà, a person who, as the 1215 text shows, could demand *censes* on property and was part of the feudal hierarchy.<sup>91</sup> This document was signed by the aforementioned Bernat Calvet, son of Pere Calvet, who will be introduced below.

Regarding Guillem Oromir, it has not been possible to confirm his identity in any other volume in the documentation studied.<sup>92</sup> However, his position equivalent to that of Berenguer Roig in the text from 1128, suggests that he must have had a status more or less equal to Berenguer's. In any case, no documentary support has been found to propose that Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir were in fact the farmers of the land given *ad complantandum* in the 1128 text.

### 2.3.2. The Calvet family

In 1166, another *ad complantandum* establishment valued in gold currency was drawn up. In it, Guilla and Berenguer de Guàrdia sold Pere Calvet, his wife Maria, and Bernat Calvet a seigniorial property also in Cercavins, in Tàrrega, for planting with vines. When it was being worked, half of the land could be kept in allodium and the other half would revert to the hands of the sellers. The transaction was set at eighteen morabatines.<sup>93</sup>

The Calvet also had a place on the outskirts of the town of Tàrrega, which passed into the hands of Santes Creus in 1183. To the north, it bordered an allodium of the aforementioned Arnau Oromir.<sup>94</sup>

90. The text mentions the land facing Bernat Calvet. As we shall see below, Bernat Calvet was Pere Calvet's son. In 1166, Pere Calvet received a seigniorial property in the limits of Cercavins, in Tàrrega; in the same place as Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir. In the earlier text from 1181, mentioned in note 87, the vines of Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir are mentioned, and these bordered on an allodium of Arnau Oromir, probably a relative of Guillem Oromir. The piece of land that Guillem de Montalbà received from his relative, Berenguer Roig, also faced the allodium of Arnau Oromir. He must thus be the same Berenguer Roig as the one in the 1128 text.

91. (...) *Et item dono et in perpetuum concedo omne illud quod habeo et habere debeo quocumque modo in alia pecia censuali in qua accipit G. de Pulcro Loco et sui X solidos censuales que se tenet cum ipsa predicta sorte.* See also: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 539 (doc. n° 368), in which he gave *censes* to Santes Creus and begged the monks, when they wished, to let him enter their community. In this text, he gave Santes Creus *toto dominio quem vel quod habeo in domibus quas per me tenet Ponç Guerreti.* Years later, in 1220, he signed for Santes Creus promoted by the Countess of Urgell, a county that included Tàrrega: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 800 (doc. n° 559).

92. One *Guilelmus Olomir* has been found in two documents in the *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet* signing documents together with other individuals, including one *Bernardus Olomir*, and also signing an exchange for some possessions in Farfanya. Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 277 (doc. n° 365), 297 (doc. n° 394). A tower belonging to one Ponç Oromir has also been found in the Lleida area. Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 821 (doc. n° 559). It has not been possible to establish whether these were the same person.

93. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 206 (doc. n° 121). Thus it was a sale hidden under the *ad complantandum* establishment, the same as in the previous text.

94. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 364 (doc. n° 253).



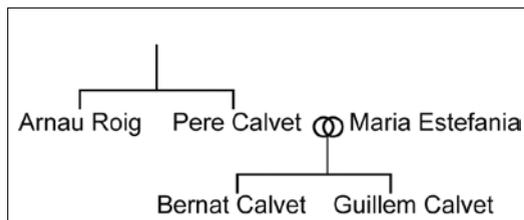


ILLUSTRATION 8. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF PERE CALVET'S FAMILY.

Their kinship relations have been partially reconstructed (Illustration 8). Pere Calvet was married to Maria and Estefania and their offspring included Bernat Calvet and Guillem Calvet. He was also the brother of Arnau Roig, very probably a relative of Berenguer Roig. The only one who has not been able to be located on the family tree is Ramon Calvet.<sup>95</sup>

Pere Calvet must have held a certain power in the Cercavins area, as he has also been documented in 1183 signing a document in which Pere de Tàrrega sold the monastery part of the tithe of the *honor* he had in Tàrrega and the *honor* that had previously belonged to Arnau de Cervera and his descendents, to Berenguer de Guardia and his descendents and to Guillem Arnau de Santa Fe, his wife, Ermengarda, and son Arnau Guillem.<sup>96</sup> Bernat Calvet, Pere Calvet's son, also enjoyed a consolidated position and has been found signing various property sales in Tàrrega, among them the one by Guillem de Montalbà, a relative of Berenguer Roig, to Santes Creus in 1215.<sup>97</sup> Guillem de Montalbà would be related genealogically to Bernat Calvet if Berenguer Roig, *consanguineo* to the above-mentioned Guillem, had really been a relative of Arnau Roig, the brother of Pere Calvet, Bernat's father. This would partially explain Bernat's participation in drawing up the document promoted by Guillem de Montalbà.

We have not been able to relate the other Pere Calvet found with the one who used gold currency in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*.<sup>98</sup>

95. Pere Calvet, his wife Estefania, Guillem Calvet, his wife Maria and Ramon Calvet are documented in the text from 1183 in which the place in Tàrrega was given to Santes Creus: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 364 (doc. n° 253). The deed also mentioned a *Bernardus*, defined in the text as son of Pere Calvet and brother of Guillem Calvet. A *signum Bernardi, filli eiusdem Petri Calvet* has been identified as a signature. Consequently, it seems that Pere Calvet was the father of Guillem and Bernat Calvet. Although he appears in this text with Estefania and not with Maria, his wife in the 1166 text in which he received the condamina from Guilla and Berenguer de Guàrdia, they were undoubtedly the same person: the possessions mentioned in each text are in Tàrrega and the 1166 document mentions a Bernat Calvet identified as Bernat, Pere Calvet's son in the one from 1183. Regarding Arnau Roig as Pere Calvet's brother: in 1187, the following was written *sit notum cunctis quod ego, Petrus Calvet et Arnaldus Rubei, frater meus, donamus et offerimus (...)*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 285 (doc. n° 186).

96. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 370 (doc. n° 256).

97. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 751 (doc. n° 527) and 757 (doc. n° 532).

98. Pere Calvet and his wife, Guillema, could not be related. They both bought the useful right to a vineyard in La Palomera, in Lleida, in the *honor* of Ramon de Montcada for twelve morabatines from Pere de Torrefeta in 1175: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 286 (doc. n° 187). Pere de Torrefeta has not been identified either. The mention of Guillema and the fact that the plots are in Lleida,



### 2.3.3. The Guàrdia-Laborot

It was Guilla and Berenguer de Guàrdia who conducted the *ad complantandum* establishment with Pere Calvet in 1166. In 1178, Berenguer de Guàrdia, together with his brothers Arnau and Pere, and his mother, Arsenda, sold the *honor* of the castle of Tàrrega to Santes Creus for a hundred morabatines *lupinos* and *aiadinos* – *vinee, domus, arbores, census scilicet alberge, cibaria et pernee et alia servicia que nostri homines inde nobis faciunt*, etc., and Arsenda declared herself to be Berenguer de Guàrdia's widow.<sup>99</sup> Berenguer de Guàrdia father, a viscount, may have died between 1157 and 1159.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, it is likely that one of the two had also been a priest.<sup>101</sup> In addition, the will of Berenguer de Guàrdia son has also been found dated 1187, and this lists some of the many properties he managed thanks to his noble lineage.<sup>102</sup>

The signature section of this 1178 text contains a *signum Bernardi, filii similiter Arsendis*; in other words, one Bernat also defined himself as the son of Arsenda,

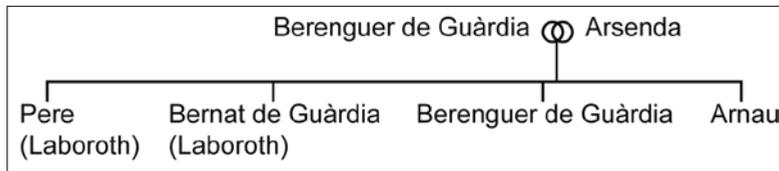


ILLUSTRATION 9. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE FAMILY OF BERENGUER DE GUÀRDIA.

not Tàrrega, hinders the assimilation with the Pere Calvet in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. Also, three texts from the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa* mention a Pere Calvet with land and houses in Lleida, but give no information about his wife nor any data to link him to the Pere Calvet in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 234 (doc. n° 145), 646 (doc. n° 449) and 698 (doc. n° 489). In any case, the Pere Calvet documented in the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa* seems to be the same one who signed deals in the Lleida area in the *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple*. Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 613 (doc. n° 406), 665 (doc. n° 446) and 703 (doc. n° 473), among others.

99. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 303 (doc. n° 203).

100. This is known thanks to the comparison between two documents compiled in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*. The first is an 1159 text which contains *hec est conveniència que est facta inter domnum Raimundum Berengarii, comitem Barchinonensem, principem Aragonensem, et Berengarium de ipsa Guardia, filium quondam Berengarii, vicecomitis*: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 369 (doc. n° 344). It seems the elder Berenguer de Guàrdia had already died in 1159, but had participated in a sale to Count Ramon Berenguer IV shortly before his death, in 1157: (...) *ego Berengarius de ipsa Guardia, filius qui fuit Reverteri, vicecomitis* (...). This text, among others, was signed by his wife, Ermessenda: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 368 (doc. n° 343).

101. A text dated to between 1115 and 1163 has been found in which Berenguer de Guàrdia, priest, signed a sacramental for the Montesquiú Castle: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 240 (doc. n° 732). He signed another in 1149: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 258 (doc. n° 758). The chronology does not let us know which Berenguer de Guàrdia this was.

102. *Berengarius de Guardia, pergo in Spania ad regem de Marrocs*, inherited various possessions, including two castles that the king of Aragon had pawned from him for the value of one thousand morabatines, as well as an *honor* in the hands of Guillem, Viscount of Cardona, as well as the right to demand *toltas et forciat* at the limits of Castellnou and the benefits from various knightages: Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 311 (doc. n° 1172); Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 371 (doc. n° 347).



and thus as brother to Berenguer de Guàrdia, Pere and Arnau. It is therefore very likely that this *signum Bernardi* hid the signature of Bernat de Guàrdia. In turn, Bernat de Guàrdia defined himself as Pere Laborot's brother in a text from 1185.<sup>103</sup> Moreover, Bernat Laborot's will, written in 1189, mentions him as Pere Laborot's brother.<sup>104</sup> Bernat Laborot and Bernat de Guàrdia are undoubtedly one and the same. This is corroborated when it is seen that Bernat Laborot's wife is named as Sança in his will, which was also the name of Bernat de Guàrdia's wife in a text dated 1185. It thus seems reasonable to suppose that Pere Laborot is the person hidden behind the generic *Petrus* in the 1178 text and, thus, Berenguer de Guàrdia's brother. Consequently, Berenguer de Guàrdia, Bernat de Guàrdia (Laborot), Pere (Laborot) and Arnau were brothers (Illustration 9).

### 2.3.4. Summary

Although limited in space and time, the example of Cercavins, Tàrrega, shows the extent of the social and genealogical relations between those who used gold currency to value their transactions. The deals in Cercavins took place as part of a process of building domains (Illustration 10). The Cervera and Guàrdia families were probably the ones with most rights over the area and those on a higher level in the feudal hierarchy. Although not analysed until the following section, mention must also be made of the Santa Fe lineage, which possessed rights in Tàrrega as well and had relations with some of the people that have been introduced above. They had an important presence at the limits of Mor, next to Tàrrega.

As we have seen, Pere Arnau de Cervera first sold part of his rights over a piece of land in Cercavins to Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir. These rights were valued at twenty morabatines. Pere Arnau held this land thanks to Berenguer Dalmau having pawned it to him. Berenguer Dalmau was also a member of the Cervera lineage, although it has not been possible to define his kinship. After receiving the agreed amount from Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir, Pere Arnau de Cervera considered redeeming the pawn. He split the plot and gave one part to Berenguer Dalmau and another to Guillem Oromir and Berenguer Roig. Berenguer Dalmau's rights over the vines probably passed down to his grandson, Arnau de Cervera.

However, the Guàrdia family had also nurtured domain relations in the area. The overlap of rights with the Cervera came about in the land of Berenguer Roig and Guillem Oromir. This may explain the dispute between Arnau de Cervera and Pere Laborot, Berenguer de Guàrdia's brother. The Guàrdias had rights in the area of the Cercavins and transferred them partially to Pere Calvet, who managed other possessions in the Tàrrega area. The operation with Pere Calvet was also valued in gold currency.

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103. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 395 (doc. n° 274).

104. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 454 (doc. n° 318).



Pere Calvet was brother to Arnau Roig, who in turn must have been related to Berenguer Roig. The rights to the vines in the hands of Berenguer Roig passed partially to his relative, Guillem de Montalbà. Pere Calvet's son, Bernat Calvet, signed a document promulgated by the aforementioned Guillem in virtue of their more than likely kinship and well-off position in the Tàrrega area, plausibly inherited from his father. The property, the rights of which were received by Guillem de Montalbà from Berenguer Roig, bordered, in turn, a possession of Arnau Oromir. This Arnau could reasonably have been a relative of Guillem Oromir.

The analysis of the exchanges valued using gold currency in the Cercavins area thus illustrate that these deals were conducted between a very small and closed group of people, linked to one another by social and kinship relations. The study of this particular case demonstrates at a small scale the existence of tight connections between the people who used these accounting solutions, going beyond their membership of a privileged sector of society.

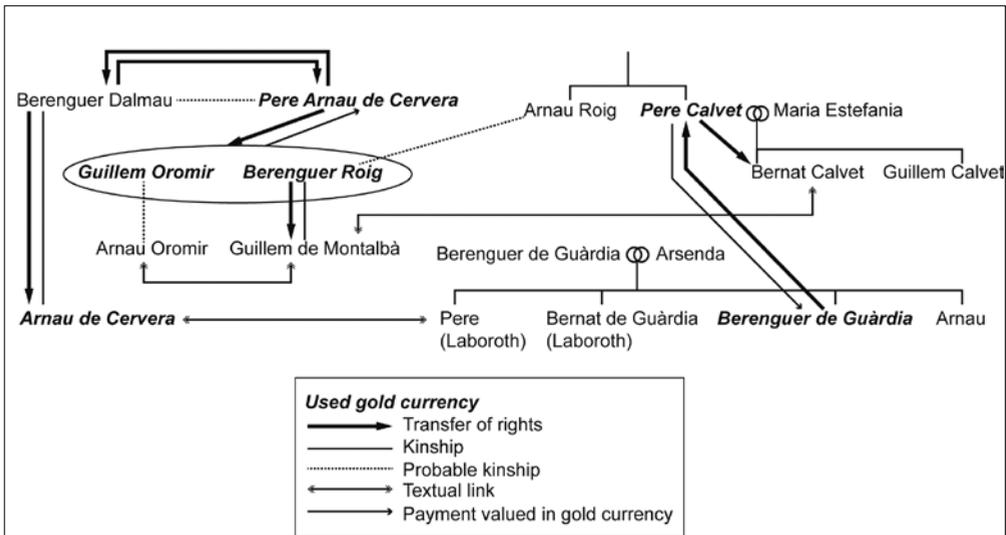


ILLUSTRATION 10. SOCIAL AND GENEALOGICAL LINKS BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS THAT USED GOLD CURRENCY IN CERCAVINS, TÀRREGA.



### 2.3.5. The Santa Fe

When Pere de Tàrrega gave Santes Creus his part of the tithes of Tàrrega, he stipulated that his rights were in the *honor* that belonged to Berenguer de Guàrdia and descendants, Arnau de Cervera and descendants, and in the *honor* that belonged to Guillem Arnau de Santa Fe, his wife, Ermengarda, and son Arnau Guillem.<sup>105</sup>

Arnau de Cervera and Berenguer de Guàrdia have already been identified. The position of the Santa Fe family in the feudal hierarchy in Tàrrega and how they were related to those who also had rights in the area still needs to be defined. In that sense, the deeds compiled in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* show that this lineage was very close to the monastery of Santes Creus. All the members of the family made deals with the monks, but only one of them has been documented as being linked to a transaction valued in gold currency.

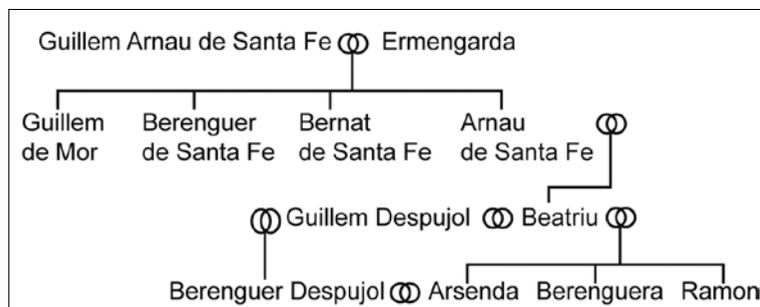


ILLUSTRATION 11. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SANTA FE LINEAGE.

As seen in the document promoted by Pere de Tàrrega, Guillem Arnau de Santa Fe and Ermengarda were the parents of Arnau Guillem. Nobody has been found with the name Arnau Guillem de Santa Fe, but there is one Arnau de Santa Fe. He gave the allodium of the castle in Tàrrega to the monastery *sicut pater meus Guillelmi Arnalli et mater mea dimisit mihi in suo testamento* in 1170. Although his mother's name does not appear explicitly in this deed, it seems reasonable that Arnau de Santa Fe must have been the Arnau Guillem mentioned in the text promoted by Pere de Tàrrega, defined there as the son of Guillem Arnau de Santa Fe (Illustration 11).<sup>106</sup>

As the same document states, his brothers were Berenguer de Santa Fe and Bernat de Santa Fe. One Guillem de Mor also signed the text, but he does not

105. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 370 (doc. n° 256). The document is presented above in the section about the Calvet family.

106. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 234 (doc. n° 145).



appear in any other kinship relation with Arnau de Santa Fe. The study of other deeds has allowed us to propose that Guillem de Mor was another of Arnau de Santa Fe's brothers, despite signing with a different locative to that of his relatives.<sup>107</sup>

Guillem de Mor, *miles*, was the member of the Santa Fe family related in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* with the use of gold currency. In 1182 he gave Santes Creus his *honor* in Tàrrega to redeem a pawn valued at fifteen morabaines. The bishop then accepted him as a member of the community.<sup>108</sup> He had a notable patrimony in the area of Tàrrega and Mor and was also linked to the aristocratic lineages of the Guàrdia and Cervera families. For example, he signed the document promoted by Arsenda, Berenguer de Guàrdia's widow, and was mentioned by Arnau de Cervera in detailing the limits of the property in Tàrrega that he transferred to the monastery.<sup>109</sup> Part of his patrimony also bounded with property owned by Pere Calvet.<sup>110</sup> Thus, Guillem de Mor was linked to the persons presented above who used gold currency as accounting formulae in the Cercavins area.

One of the particularities of the Santa Fe family compared with the lineages presented above is that they all had regular dealings with Santes Creus for two decades. All four brothers were accepted as beneficiaries of the monastery after giving the community different rights in the area of Tàrrega and Mor.<sup>111</sup> The links they forged with the monks were very close, probably partially due to the firmness of Berenguer de Santa Fe's hold on the post of archdeacon.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, one of

107. A text from 1183, promoted by Pere de Santa Fe (who we have not been able to locate in the Santa Fe family tree) was signed by Guillem de Santa Fe and Berenguer de Santa Fe, *fratris eius*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 374 (doc. n° 259). In a document dated to 1185, written by Bernat de Santa Fe, the monastery was given *cum voluntate et absolucione fratrum meorum Berengarii de Sancta Fide et Guillelmi de Mor*, a piece of land in the limits of the castle of Mor: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 396 (doc. n° 275). Guillem de Mor, Berenguer de Santa Fe and Bernat de Santa Fe were thus brothers. There are reasons, however, to think that Guillem de Santa Fe was Guillem de Mor: Guillem de Mor signed numerous documents in which Arnau, Berenguer and Bernat de Santa Fe participated: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 234 (doc. n° 145), 300 (doc. n° 200) and they appear together in various deeds: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 432 (doc. n° 303) and 303 (doc. n° 203). The use of different locatives does not seem exceptional, and it is plausible that Arnau de Santa Fe also used the name Arnau de Mor: in 1196, Arnau de Mor, *positus infirmitate apud Sanctes Cruces*, gave part of his rights to the monastery. The text was signed by Berenguer de Santa Fe: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 554 (doc. n° 380). Earlier, in 1182, Guillem de Mor gave Santes Creus an allodium he shared with his brother, Arnau. This deed was signed by Berenguer de Santa Fe: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 357 (doc. n° 246).

108. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 357 (doc. n° 246). The term *miles* linked to Guillem de Mor is from a deed dated 1198: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 576 (doc. n° 395).

109. The latter document dates from 1181: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 349 (doc. n° 240).

110. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 576 (doc. n° 395).

111. Berenguer de Santa Fe: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 432 (doc. n° 303); Bernat de Santa Fe: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 396 (doc. n° 276); Arnau de Santa Fe: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 234 (doc. n° 145).

112. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 374 (doc. n° 259).



them, Bernat de Santa Fe, renounced the secular life and was ordained a monk in Santes Creus.<sup>113</sup> Another, Arnau de Santa Fe, having placed himself at the service of Santes Creus in 1177, continued to promulgate deeds in favour of the monastery from his deathbed.<sup>114</sup> In this sense, the relationship with the community was very consistent and lasted more than a generation: Beatriu, daughter of Arnau de Mor (in other words, of Arnau de Santa Fe) was documented as making deals with the monastery in 1210 together with her daughters, Arsèn and Berengaria, and her son, Ramon.<sup>115</sup> This text was signed by Guillem Despujol and Bernat Despujol, among others. An earlier text, from 1194, has shown that these two were father and son and that in 1210, they signed in virtue of being the respective husbands of Arsen and Beatriu. Their marriages had been encouraged in 1194 by Arnau de Mor himself.<sup>116</sup>

#### 2.4. The Montcada

Shideler has studied the Montcada lineage.<sup>117</sup> It was probably the most powerful aristocratic lineage in the Catalan counties. As shown above, numerous people documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* as valuing their deals in gold currency had some relationship with them, either receiving part of their property as a *cens* or participating together to validate certain documents.<sup>118</sup> The large quantities of gold which some of their transactions were valued at reveal the level of the Montcada lineage's prestige.<sup>119</sup> The huge patrimony they accumulated is reflected in the fact

113. This 1185 document states: *dono et offero Domino Deo et monasterio Sancte Crucis meipsum per fratrem et relinquo ipsum fallax seculum et abrenuncio ei pro Dei amore*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 396 (doc. n° 276).

114. He proclaimed himself server of the community in a text which states *et trado me et ofero ibi spontanea voluntate usque ad mortem servitutum*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 300 (doc. n° 200). In 1196: Arnau de Mor, *positus infirmitate apud Sanctes Cruces*, gave the monastery a set of rights: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 554 (doc. n° 380).

115. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 713 (doc. n° 500).

116. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 547 (doc. n° 374). He is mentioned as *Arnallus de Moro*, but was undoubtedly the same person.

117. Shideler, John C. *Els Montcada: una família de nobles catalans a l'edat mitjana (1000-1230)*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987.

118. Of those mentioned here, are included Guillem de Trull: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 187 (doc. n° 106); Guillem de Castellvell; Albert de Castellvell and Guillem Ollers: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 195 (doc. n° 113); Arnau Moragues as Ponç Avirer's brother: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 617 (doc. n° 428); and Arnau de Rubió. They have also been documented with members of the Cervera family: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 275 (doc. n° 177).

119. A hundred and twenty morabatines in 1168; six hundred morabatines in 1171; one thousand, one hundred and fifty morabatines in 1173; two hundred and thirty-five morabatines in 1179; two hundred and sixty morabatines in 1190 and five hundred morabatines in 1208: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 224 (doc. n° 135); 238 (doc. n° 149); 253 (doc. n° 160); 320 (doc. n° 217); 492 (doc. n° 336) and 684 (doc. n° 478).



that this is the only lineage documented in each of the cartularies and diplomataries used in this study.<sup>120</sup>

The members of the Montcada lineage that used gold accounting formulae in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* were Ramon I de Montcada and his son, Ramon II de Montcada (Illustration 12). In four out of the six deeds in which they have been documented as using this currency they dealt with the monastery of Santes Creus.<sup>121</sup> In the remaining two, the deals were made with other private individuals: Pere de la Sala and Pere Norset in one; and Gelabert Anglès in the other. Of these three, we know precisely who Pere de la Sala and Gelabert Anglès were, as shown in the following discussion.

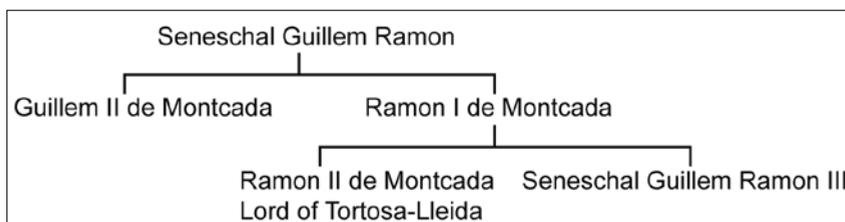


ILLUSTRATION 12. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OF THE MONTCADA LINEAGE AFTER: SHIDELER, JOHN C. *ELS MONTCADA: UNA FAMÍLIA DE NOBLES CATALANS A L'EDAT MITJANA (1000-1230)*. BARCELONA: EDICIONS 62, 1987: 119.

Ramon de Montcada's relationship with Pere de la Sala is illustrated by a document in which the former redeemed the *honor* of Lleida that Estrader had pawned to the latter for a value of six hundred morabatines.<sup>122</sup> Pere de la Sala was used to dealing in gold currency and was a leading member of the oligarchy of Lleida, characterised as one of the *probis hominibus* in the region.<sup>123</sup> He was powerful enough to demand income in

120. The Montcadas are well documented in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*. For example: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 210 (doc. n° 198), 253 (doc. n° 240), 495 (doc. n° 467) and 513 (doc. n° 483), among others. Ramon I de Montcada maintained regular dealings with the monastery of Sant Cugat, see: Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 215 (doc. n° 1049). He has also been referenced in: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 407 (doc. n° 267), 673 (doc. n° 452) and 697 (doc. n° 469), among others; in Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la catedral de Tortosa...*: 95 (doc. n° 45), 126 (doc. n° 73) and 281 (doc. n° 221); and in: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu antic de Santa Anna...*: 410 (doc. n° 394). His ancestor, Guillem de Montcada, has been identified in: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 1185 (doc. n° 701).

121. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 253 (doc. n° 160), 320 (doc. n° 217), 492 (doc. n° 336) and 684 (doc. n° 478).

122. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 238 (doc. n° 149).

123. Years later, Pere de la Sala made a pact with Guillema, Estrader's daughter, about the same *honor* of La Palomera, valued at one hundred morabatines, and received two thirds of the *honor*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 644 (doc. n° 448). He has also been identified in

the area and the tower of Montlleó thanks to the donation by Guillem IV de Cervera as a reward for his services.<sup>124</sup> He was undoubtedly an outstanding feudal noble with the power to exercise *dominium* in the western lands. There are other references to Pere de Sala, but there is no certainty that these refer to the same person.<sup>125</sup>

Gelabert Anglès has been identified by Antoni Virgili as one of the most important members of the Anglo-Norman crusader detachment who settled in Tortosa.<sup>126</sup> He was so important that even Ramon de Montcada recognised owing him one hundred and twenty morabatines *lupinos vel aiadinos*.<sup>127</sup> Gelabert, in this sense, managed a patrimony that allowed him to make loans to the leading members of the Catalan aristocracy. He will serve to introduce those who are associated with accounting formulae that used morabatines and that had some relation to him or other barons in Tortosa after the 1148 conquest.

### 3. The Tortosa oligarchy

The accumulation of rights in the area of the lower Ebro and Tortosa put the monastery of Santes Creus into contact with the people who settled in the region after the conquest by Ramon Berenguer IV in 1148. The gifts the monastery received from the Count and certain barons allowed it to amass important possessions in the zone and establish relationships with a number of the new settlers. Some of these have been documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* in deals valued using gold currency, and

1207 giving the two thirds to Santes Creus in exchange for sixty-six morabatines. The mention of Pere de la Sala as one of the *probis hominibus* of Lleida is in: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 288 (doc. n° 170).

124. The donation by Guillem IV de Cervera *pro multa servici quod a vobis multociens recepi* is from 1190: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 821 (doc. n° 559). Pere de la Sala progressively accumulated rights in the Montlleó area, such as those he received from Dolça de Boixadors in 1191: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 850 (doc. n° 580) and Ramon de Perelló in 1194: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 935 (doc. n° 638). An 1195 deed shows his power to demand income: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 955 (doc. n° 653). In 1190, he signed a text in which Alfonso I granted some possessions in the Lleida area to the house of Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem: Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu Antic de Santa Anna...*: 112 (doc. n° 559).

125. In 1175 he gave an *era* in the town of Agramunt and two pieces of land at the limits of Cervià, in exchange for a *cens* of five *solidos*: Altisent, Agustí. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet...*: 393 (doc. n° 533). In 1209, a Pere de Sala signed a donation by King Pere the Catholic to Santa Maria de Tortosa together with the Count of Urgell, Ramon de Montcada, Guillem de Montcada and other aristocrats: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 380 (doc. n° 716).

126. Virgili, Antoni. "Angli cum multiis aliis alienigenis...": 301. See, for example: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 108 (doc. n° 58), 123 (doc. n° 70), 164 (doc. n° 112) and 185 (doc. n° 134), among many others.

127. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 224 (doc. n° 135). Gelabert moved in the most important feudal circles. See, for example, his signature on a document emitted by Guillem Ramon de Montcada, the seneschal, beside the signatures of King Alfonso and such magnates as Ramon de Montcada, Pere de Sentmenat or Guillem Ramon, seneschal: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 279 (doc. n° 162).



their names have also been fixed in documents held in Tortosa Cathedral. These include Guerau de Salvinyac, Guillem de Trull, Pere de Sentmenat, Arnau Moragues and Arnau Rubió. All have been introduced already in the epigraph that analyses the Castellvell lineage and the people related to the family who used this currency to value some of their exchanges. Guillem de Castellvell was another of the notable holders of rights in the Tortosa region, and has also been mentioned. Gelabert Anglès is documented in texts for over 30 years in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* and the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa*, participating actively in the feudal construction of Tortosa and forging relations with the leading members of the new Tortosa society, such as the aforementioned Pere de Sentmenat, Guerau de Salvinyac or Guillem de Trull.<sup>128</sup>

Mention of Gelabert Anglès has been found in various deeds related to monetary transactions valued in morabatines and to the accumulation of property, such as when he bought a piece of land in Tortosa, valued at twelve morabatines, from Guillem de Fonts.<sup>129</sup> His will shows the final result of this process of accumulation and also the enormous quantities of gold coins which he still possessed in the later stages of his life. Among his executors were the aforementioned Guerau de Salvinyac and Bernat de Sant Ponç.<sup>130</sup>

The latter, Bernat de Sant Ponç, also conducted numerous operations in Tortosa and accumulated several properties, as well as signing various deeds.<sup>131</sup> He had an irregular relationship with the monastery, as shown by the many documents centralised by the monastic see in which he participated as a witness during property negotiations in the lower Ebro.<sup>132</sup> His will does not contain a particularly vast patrimony, but he undoubtedly had enough to be able to make loans. In 1161 Joan de Mocina recognised owing him twenty-one morabatines.<sup>133</sup> Apart from participating in the will of Gelabert Anglès, Bernat de Sant Ponç is also documented as signing texts together with Guerau de Salvinyac.<sup>134</sup> It seems indubitable that he should be included among the elite of Tortosa.

Guerau de Salvinyac and Gelabert Anglès also signed a document in which Pere de Narbona participated, another of those linked to the use of monetary references

128. For example, Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 123 (doc. n° 48), 136 (doc. n° 59) and 187 (doc. n° 106).

129. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 233 (doc. n° 144). Nothing more has been discovered about Guillem de Fonts.

130. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*:244 (doc. n° 154).

131. Thirty-nine deeds have been identified in the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa*, and in almost all he signed as a witness.

132. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 151-153 (docs. n° 75-77), 157-158 (docs. n° 81-82), 190 (doc. n° 109), 210 (doc. n° 125), 227 (doc. n° 138) and 268 (doc. n° 171), among others.

133. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 179 (doc. n° 99). In his will, he only left a field in Campos, a piece of land in Fazalfori and a field in Aguilar. He placed his wife and children under the guardianship of Bishop Ponç of Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 356 (doc. n° 286). Nothing more is known about Joan de Mocina, but his guarantor in the document in which he recognises owing Bernat de Sant Ponç twenty-one morabatines was Guillem de Trull, mentioned above.

134. See, for example: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 210 (doc. n° 157).



based on Almoravid coins. In this 1167 deed, Pere de Narbona agreed with Gales and his wife, Eloisa, to hand over a *cens* valued at one morabatine in exchange for the lease of La Torre Roja. Gales and Eloisa held this tower *pro dono comitis*.<sup>135</sup> Gales has not been identified in any other document from the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, but Antoni Virgili has described him as a member of the Anglo-Norman detachment that helped to conquer Tortosa, where he then held houses and land thanks to a direct donation from Ramon Berenguer IV.<sup>136</sup> The Torre Roja they leased to Pere de Narbona was surely one of the properties that the count had ceded to him as a reward for his services. It bordered land and the *mansus* of Guerau de Salvinyac. This neighbourhood with Guerau was reasonably one of the causes that led the aforementioned to sign the document.

Domènec d'Aldover took part as trustee of the sale in the transaction in which Gelabert Anglès purchased a plot of market garden valued at twelve morabatines from Guillem de Fonts. In 1175, Domènec reached a deal with the monastery in which he agreed to pay the monks ten morabatines per year for the enjoyment of the *honor* of Jofre Anglès.<sup>137</sup> Jofre Anglès had given Santes Creus this *honor* two years previously, but it then faced a *meridie* in *campo de Domingo de Aldover*. In turn, a field of the *honor* faced *ab occasu in orto de Domingo de Aldover* and vines, olives and others bordered a *circio in vinea de Domingo de Aldover*.<sup>138</sup> With the transfer of 1175, Domènec consolidated his interests in the area. The patrimony he managed was relevant. He also had property in Vilarroja and the power to perceive *censes* for some houses in Tortosa.<sup>139</sup> It was probably due to his prestige in Tortosa society that he was able to sign documents and act as trustee in exchanges of property in the Aldover area.<sup>140</sup> He had died by 1195, to judge by the execution that his son, Trobat, enacted of the conditions in his will.<sup>141</sup>

The other people who can be linked with the use gold currency and who received property in the Tortosa area seem to be feudal nobles, some Aragonese, who had

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135. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 127 (doc. n° 51). Other Pere de Narbonas have been documented, but it has not been possible to state categorically that these were the same person: in 1170, a Pere de Narbona, husband of Argença, bought a vineyard in Les Arenes for thirteen morabatines: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 263 (doc. n° 205). In fact, a Pere de Narbona has been found related to patrimony in the area of Las Arenes, in Tortosa, in 1199 Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 216 (doc. n° 591). A document has also been identified in the *Liber Feudorum Maior* signed in 1179 by one Pere de Narbona together with eight knights and nobles from the Carcassonne area: Miquel, Francisco. *Liber Feudorum Maior...*: 336 (doc. n° 861).

136. Virgili, Antoni. "Angli cum multis aliis alienigenis...": 304-305.

137. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 287 (doc. n° 188).

138. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 268 (doc. n° 171).

139. In 1182, he gave Santa Maria de Tortosa a field in Vilarroja valued at eight and a half morabatines. His wife, Ermessèn, and son, Trobat, are documented in the text: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 422 (doc. n° 339). The document mentioning the censuses of the houses dates to 1195, when his son gave the sickhouse in Tortosa *duos solidos censuales et omnes nostros directos et senioraticum* of some houses in the neighbourhood of Los Genoveses.

140. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 328 (doc. n° 264).

141. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 140 (doc. n° 528).



joined the conquering forces.<sup>142</sup> They are documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* associated in some way with property ceded by the count just after the city capitulated. Gales has already been introduced, but there were others, such as Ot de Zaragoza, who sold Guaspal a piece of land in Aldover valued at seven morabatines in 1154. The document states that he held this *per hereditate comiti*.<sup>143</sup> It is reasonable to suppose that this had been a reward for services in the military campaign. Guaspal, the other party in the transaction, had received the houses and belongings of Moferriz Aben Cardel three years earlier from the hands of the count.<sup>144</sup> Guaspal's origins have not been uncovered, but there seems little doubt that he had been part of the feudal army.

It is possible that Bertran de Zaragoza was also an Aragonese individual who settled in Tortosa after taking part in the city's conquest. Bertran is documented in an 1158 text as receiving the almunia of Xerta from Santes Creus. If he decided to sell it or transfer the usufruct of the property, the monastery could retain it in exchange for one morabatine.<sup>145</sup> His participation in the signing of documents shows the specific weight he must have held in Tortosa society.<sup>146</sup> Antoni Virgili has defined him as one of the administrators of the goods of Santes Creus in Tortosa, a distinguished member of the local oligarchy.<sup>147</sup>

Nothing more is known about Pere de Lleida and his wife Joana, who received some houses for a *cens* of one morabatine in Tortosa from Santes Creus in 1174.<sup>148</sup>

#### 4. The bourgeois

This analysis of the people who used gold currency in Tortosa after the Andalusian capitulation has also focused on a group that until now has not been explicitly referenced: that of the people with property in population centres who exchanged various goods valued in coins of the Almoravid currency. This does not mean that they only held property in urban areas (bakeries, houses, etc.); rather that their transactions and operations were mainly concentrated in cities, such as Barcelona, Tarragona or Cervera.

The names of some of these individuals were registered in the deeds, together with their professions. This fact indicates dedication to the business. This was

142. For the identification of those Aragonese who took part in the conquest of Tortosa, see: Virgili, Antoni. "Els aragonesos en la conquesta del Baix Ebre (1148-1212)". *Recerques: Història, Economia i Cultura*, 62 (2011): 37-68.

143. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 135 (doc. n° 58).

144. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 73 (doc. n° 26).

145. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 153 (doc. n° 78). This document was signed by Count Ramon Berenguer IV and the aforementioned Pere de Sentmenat, among others.

146. Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 89 (doc. n° 39) and 145 (doc. n° 91). In the first, he signed for the sale of a market garden in Andust, which the seller held through a donation from the count. In the second, he signed for some possessions in Som.

147. Virgili, Antoni. "Angli cum multis aliis alienigenis...", p. 310.

148. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 275 (doc. n° 177).



the case of Guillem Arnau *tabernario* and his wife Perona, whom Pere Dalmau recognised as owing *XC morabetinos bonos marinos et marruchinos*. They pawned a plot in order to pay off their debt.<sup>149</sup> Half a year later, Guillem Arnau pawned this same property to the sexton of Barcelona to pay off a debt of twenty morabatines.<sup>150</sup> Thus, Guillem Arnau *tabernario* was regularly involved in lending operations. The patrimony he accumulated thanks to his trade allowed him to lend money to such powerful figures as Bernat Marcús, advisor to Count Ramon Berenguer IV.<sup>151</sup>

Pere Dalmau has been identified as the brother of Bernat Dalmau, who signed the document in which Pere recognised his debt with the *tabernarius*.<sup>152</sup> Bernat Dalmau also participated in loans valued in gold currency. He borrowed twenty morabatines from the sexton of Barcelona for a property and, on the 13<sup>th</sup> March 1156, sold Pere de Sanaüja a piece of land at the limits of Barcelona for a value of two hundred and forty-five morabatines.<sup>153</sup> He himself sold it half a year later to the sexton of Barcelona for two hundred and forty morabatines.<sup>154</sup> Thus, the sexton of Barcelona is documented as being accustomed to using these accounting solutions, which he regularly resorted to in valuing the deals made with the aforementioned Bernat Dalmau, Guillem Arnau *tabernario* and Pere de Sanaüja.

The deal from 1156 between the latter and the sexton did not name either the wife or sons of Pere de Sanaüja. This omission, together with the fact various Pere de Sanaüjas, married to different women and exchanging properties in such far flung areas as Urgell, Tortosa and Lleida, have been found in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*, advises against proceeding further in the identification of the Sanaüja

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149. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 117 (doc. n° 43). Joaquín Botet proposed that the morabatines *marinos et marruchinos* owed their name to having come from across the sea. Botet, Joaquín. *Les Monedes Catalanes*. Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1976: I, 68. Mateu i Llopis suggested, in contrast, that they were pieces from the *merinies*, known as *marinos* by the chroniclers. Mateu, Felip. "Morabetinos lupinos y Alfonsinos desde Ramon Berenguer IV de Barcelona a Jaume I d'Aragó (1131-1276)". *Jarique de Numismática hispano-árabe*, 2 (1990): 93-116.

150. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 121 (doc. n° 46).

151. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 120 (doc. n° 45). Neither *tabernarius* nor *taberna* appear in Niermeyer: Niermeyer. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*. Leiden: Brill, 1976. In Du Cange, the *tabernarius* is he who has the right to own a tavern. This establishment is related with wine and beer, and the rights to it are equivalent to those for a bakery or market. Du Cange. "Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis". *Thesaurus Eruditionis*. Universität Mannheim. 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2009 <<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/ducange.html>>. Bernat Marcús participated in the will of Queen Peronella and the sacramental will of Ramon Berenguer IV. He is widely documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* as selling properties to Pere de Sanaüja, discussed below; and signing deeds promulgated by the magnate Gelabert Anglès or King Alfonso I, alongside such prestigious individuals as Arbert de Castellvell, the Count of Pallars and Guillem Ramon, seneschal. The present-day Plaça de Marcús, in Barcelona, is dedicated to him, as are the chapel and *almostatalla* in Tortosa; Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*:139 (doc. n° 63), 222 (doc. n° 133).

152. The text was signed by the aforementioned Bernat Marcús, among others: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 117 (doc. n° 43).

153. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 139 (doc. n° 63).

154. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 145 (doc. n° 70).



family tree.<sup>155</sup> In any case, and as shown by the sum of the 1156 transaction and by the dispersal of possessions under their control, the Sanaüja were an important lineage in the Catalan counties. They were from the Segarra and were probably the castellans of Sanahüja castle, documented in 1001. Their consolidation as a significant family during the 12<sup>th</sup> century went hand in hand with the benefits they received from the Count of Barcelona as a reward for services rendered in the campaigns of conquest. For example, Rodolf de Sanaüja is known to have taken part in the capture of Lleida. The comfortable position of the dynasty is reflected in their indirect presence (as the holders of rights in lands that faced the property being dealt with) in documents from the *Cartulari de Sant Cugat del Vallès* and the *Arxiu Antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona*, for example.<sup>156</sup>

Another person who lent money and was documented along with his trade was Pere Maceller (*macellarius*, butcher). He lent twenty-five morabatines to Arnau Pere de Sants and his wife, Ermessen, who in exchange pawned their *mansus* in Sants, in Barcelona.<sup>157</sup> Arnau Pere de Sants also had property in an area of Barcelona known as Los Banyuls, and in 1162 he sold an allodium in this area to Esteve de la Roca for a value of eighty morabatines (Illustration 13).<sup>158</sup>

When Esteve de la Roca gave this same allodium to Santes Creus in 1163, he mentioned that to the east it faced *in alodio eiusdem Sancte Marie, quod ibi dedit Aimericus de Perusia*.<sup>159</sup> What Aimeric had given to Santa Maria de Santes Creus, and that bounded on the allodium of Esteve de la Roca, was a *mansus* he had purchased from Guillem Pere de Sants for one hundred morabatines and that was being managed by another person, Ramon de la Roca. The *mansus* was in Barcelona, in the parish of Santa Eulàlia de Provençana *ad ipsas Lannas*; in other words, near a bog.<sup>160</sup>

The possessions of Arnau Pere de Sants and Guillem Pere de Sants thus faced each other. Although different place names are used to refer to the location of these

155. In Urgell: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 598 (doc. n° 413). In Lleida: Sarobe, Ramon. *Col·lecció Diplomàtica de la Casa del Temple...*: 424 (doc. n° 282) and 643 (doc. n° 430). In Tortosa: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 140 (doc. n° 528), 147 (doc. n° 535), 181 (doc. n° 563) and 386 (doc. n° 719).

156. Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 142 (doc. n° 961); Alturo, Jesús. *L'arxiu Antic de Santa Anna...*: 85 (doc. n° 535).

157. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 130 (doc. n° 53). It is possible that Arnau Pere de Sants was the same Arnau Pere who, in the *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa*, gave a vineyard in Vilanova to the Poor Hospital in Tortosa. The text only mentions him as Arnau Pere, but his wife was also Ermessèn: Virgili, Antoni. *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Tortosa...*: 221 (doc. n° 166). *Macellarius* means "butcher" in: Niermeyer. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon...*: 623. Du Cange also links the term to meat. Du Cange. "Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis". *Thesaurus Eruditionis*. Universität Mannheim. 7<sup>th</sup> December 2009 <<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/ducange.html>>.

158. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 182 (doc. n° 102).

159. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 183 (doc. n° 103).

160. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 181 (doc. n° 101) and 148 (doc. n° 72). According to: Menéndez, Ramón, dir. *Léxico Hispánico Primitivo (siglos VIII al XII)*. Madrid: Real Academia Española-Espasa Calpe, 2003: 327, the *lammias* were "wet or swampy meadows".



possessions, the two words used in the deeds (Banyuls and *lannas*) refer back to a wetland close to the water.

The shared surname and the fact that they had distinct levels of rights in the same place, probably on wetlands, suggests that Arnau Pere de Sants and Guillem Pere de Sants could have been related, as could Esteve and Ramon de la Roca.

Regarding Aimeric de Perusa, it can only be stated that he had the power to manage properties for others (Ramon de la Roca) and enough prestige to be accepted as a member of right of Santes Creus.<sup>161</sup>

Lastly, Pere Maceller dealt with Ermessèn and her husband, Ramon Riquer, in 1163. He bought an allodium in Sant Andreu del Palomar, in the Paso de Ramonet.<sup>162</sup> Ermessèn and Ramon Riquer had inherited this allodium from their parents. However, the purchase of a vineyard in Sant Andreu del Palomar, in the same place as Ramonet, by one Riquer Pere, was documented in 1093 (in other words, two generations earlier). This operation was also valued in gold currency: *mancusos XVI de auro rovallensis*.<sup>163</sup> Nothing more is known about Carbonell Gaufred and Sicarda, the sellers. Moreover, the occurrence of the same name and ownership

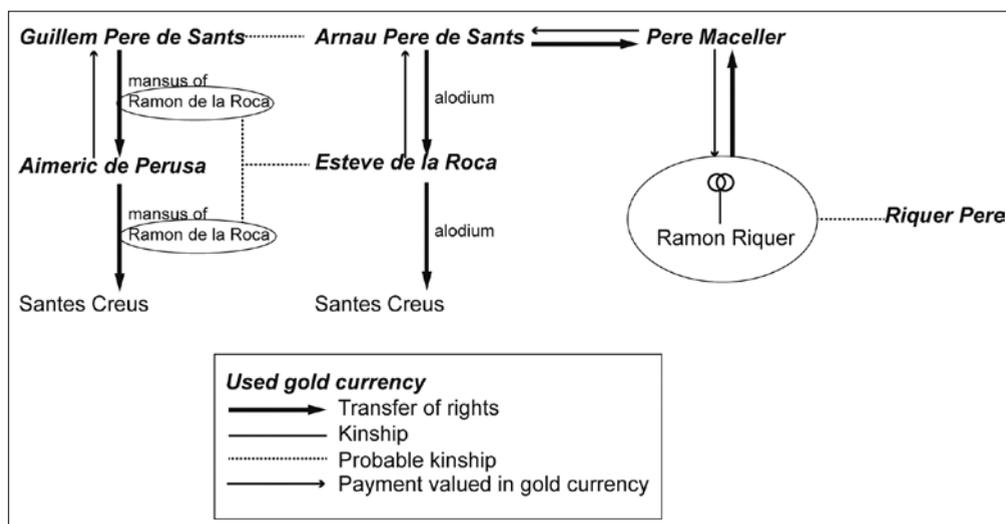


ILLUSTRATION 13. CONNECTIONS BETWEEN PERE MACELLER AND OTHERS WHO USED GOLD COINAGE.

161. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 181 (doc. n° 101).

162. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 185 (doc. n° 104).

163. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 95 (doc. n° 25).



rights over the same place are elements that point to a more than probable family relationship between Riquer and Riquer Ramon Pere (Illustration 13).

Riquer Pere worked to amass a patrimony grouped in the Ramonet area, probably constituting a continuous set of plots.<sup>164</sup> He was the son of Pere Bonuç, and this kinship places him in one of the families with the most influence in the Barcelona area. Ramon Bonuç's will, dated 1100, mentions Pere Bonuç, Riquer Pere's father, as the brother of the emancipated serfs Gelabert Bonuç and Bonfill Bonuç, and in it, one can begin to appreciate the patrimony that the lineage managed.<sup>165</sup> The Bonuç also held very influential posts in the ecclesiastical structure in Barcelona.<sup>166</sup>

In another vein, it has been seen in this section that a large proportion of those in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* who used gold currency valued their loans in morabatines. The return of a specific quantity referenced in the Almoravid currency was ensured through pawning, generally of property that remained under the supervision of the creditor until the loan had been repaid. The metallic refinement of the morabatines was a factor that some who backed these loans took into account, especially when the loan had been valued initially in Barcelona coinage.<sup>167</sup> Some creditors have been documented as setting clauses to cover themselves in the case of the silver coins initially used to value the loan being devalued metallically by the county emitting authority. This was the case of Guillem Escasset and Bernat de Crassa, the creditor in the operation. They agreed in 1185 that if the Barcelona currency lost metallic value, the loan, initially set in this coinage, should be repaid in a specific quantity of morabatines.<sup>168</sup> They thus avoided the possible negative

164. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 75 (doc. n° 12).

165. Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 2584 (doc. n° 1668). See also the patrimony of one Bonuç in 1023: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 750 (doc. n° 369). Bonuç also sold an allodium with land, vines, houses and the church of Santa Eulàlia de Mèrida; all in the parish of Sant Andreu del Palomar, like Riquer Pere's plots: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 917 (doc. n° 501). Furthermore, Bonuç is documented as a witness swearing that the Puig del Malconsell was an allodium of the See of Barcelona, Sant Cugat and Sant Miquel: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 1076 (doc. n° 627).

166. A Bonuç, bishop, has been found in: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 720 (doc. n° 347); a Bonuç, priest and bishop, in: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 468 (doc. n° 162); and a Bonuç, priest, in: Baucells, Josep; Fàbrega, Àngel; Riu, Manuel; Hernando, Josep; Batlle, Carme. *Diplomatari de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Catedral...*: 2620 (doc. n° 1695).

167. As is known, these morabatines were coins that circulated in a context exterior to that of the authority that minted them. The incapacity of the count to impose a hegemonic monetary measure, together with the lack, at that time, of periodic fiscal demands on the members of the seigniorial estate, were key factors in the maintenance of the metallic quality and quantity of the pieces. See: Retamero, Fèlix. *La contínua il·lusió del moviment perpetu: la moneda dels regnes, dels muluk i dels seniores (segles VI-XI)*. Bellaterra: Servei de Publicacions de la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2000: 156.

168. The text has been analysed in greater detail in: Puy, Arnald. "La moneda d'or al Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Santes Creus (975-1225)". *Gaceta Numismàtica*, 169 (2008): 39-60, and in: Puy, Arnald. "Moneda, peces de moneda d'or i magnats a Santes Creus". *Revista de l'Arxiu Bibliogràfic de Santes Creus*, 23



effects that would result from having to pay back the loan in a coinage with less precious metal than the previous one. In fact, this clause was probably proposed by the creditor, Bernat de Crassa, of whom nothing more is known. This question is dealt with in more detail in the conclusions.

We know that Guillem Escasset pawned a *mansus* with its trees and *omnibus illis operatoriis nostris que se tenent cum manso*, to guarantee repayment of the loan to Bernat de Crassa but did not pawn the two *operatoria* he had in Cervera.<sup>169</sup> He thus had the power to receive the work of others, and also had workers in Anglesola, as his will of 1185 shows. He probably had a personal relationship with Ramon de Cervera, as he gave him and his knights fifteen *sous* in his will.<sup>170</sup>

All that is known about Ramon de Calaf, who gave the monastery an allodium valued at twenty morabatines in 1165, is that he was the brother of Berenguer de Calaf, and that the two had lands on which the tithe was demanded.<sup>171</sup> Berenguer de Calaf, who does not appear in the documents using gold currency, gave the monastery a vineyard under the *forum* of Barcelona in 1173 that faced *a circio in via et in campo, qui fuit Petri Ansaldi*, Burguet's brother.<sup>172</sup> Burguet used gold to set the value of some of his operations and, as we shall see below, had possessions in the centre of the city.

In 1166 Burguet, with his wife, María, sold some property valued at a hundred and twenty morabatines in the suburb of Barcelona, near to the Count's Court, to Santes Creus and Pere Guerau.<sup>173</sup> Burguet and his wife had purchased half of these possessions three years earlier, in 1163.<sup>174</sup> It seems to have been an area close to the Jewish quarter, and to have contained property the rights over which may have been partially in the hands of people accustomed to using coins.<sup>175</sup> Besides, in the

(2010): 39-49. The document in question can be found in: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 372 (doc. n° 258). The clause does not seem to be exceptional. See: Alturo, Jesús. "Notes numismàtiques dels Diplomataris de Santa Anna de Barcelona (Fons de Santa Anna i de Santa Eulàlia del Camp) del 942 al 1200". *Acta Numismàtica*, 11 (1981): 121-141.

169. Niermeyer. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon...*: 740, *operatorium* is defined as a "workshop". In Du Cange it is defined as *officina, aphoteca*. Du Cange. "Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis". *Thesaurus Eruditionis*. Universität Mannheim. 8<sup>th</sup> December 2009 <<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/ducange.html>>.

170. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 386 (doc. n° 267).

171. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 199 (doc. n° 116), 449 (doc. n° 314).

172. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 261 (doc. n° 165). The genealogical relation between Pere Ansald and Burguet is affirmed in: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 203 (doc. n° 119).

173. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 203 (doc. n° 119).

174. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 186 (doc. n° 105). The boundaries of the properties exchanged agree exactly with those from three years later: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 203 (doc. n° 119).

175. The 1166 text mentions that this plot faced *a meridie, in Calle et in meo exio et in orto filiorum Raimundi, cambiatoris* (...). The term comes from *cambitor, cambiator*. The definition proposed by Niermeyer relates them to business, forging money and the exchange of currency, as does Du Cange, *nummularius*. Niermeyer. *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon...* Du Cange. "Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis".



same year, Pere Guerau gave the monastery his part of Burguet's possessions for the repose of his soul and that of his brother, Pere de l'Escala, in exchange for accepting him as a monk. Just two years later, a *Petrus Geralli* was documented as signing a deal between a private individual and the community.<sup>176</sup> He also had an allodium in Barcelona that faced onto the channel.<sup>177</sup>

Burguet had enough prestige to participate as a witness and mediator in deals exchanging rights in the area.<sup>178</sup> He also signed a transaction made by Arnau Galí to Santes Creus, who sold to the monastery a fenced enclosure with trees near the Count's Court and valued at twenty-four morabatines.<sup>179</sup> In 1166 this allodium faced the property of the aforementioned Burguet.<sup>180</sup>

Bernat Correger and his uncle, Joan d'Ariga, also had possessions near the Count's Court. The agreement they reached about the division of these led to *V morabetinos in auro* being given to Bernat. This agreement was overseen by various *proborum hominum*, among whom was the Bernat Marcús we have seen above.<sup>181</sup> No more has been discovered about them.

The last person included in the section on the bourgeois is Pere de Vilafranca. In 1205, and for a value of twenty *masmudinas*, he gave the monastery the rights and domain of the houses and *mansus* that his uncle, Bernat de Vilafranca, had given Santes Creus in his will. This document does not mention either the wife or children of this Pere.<sup>182</sup> However, only one year later, a Pere de Vilafranca and his wife, Guillema, gave the monastery a *migera* of wheat from the *mansus* that Berenguer Cortel held for them, in the Camp de Tarragona.<sup>183</sup> This couple had gradually accumulated rights over the ovens of Vilafranca and also had an allodium in Cubells Castle in the Barcelona area in 1197.<sup>184</sup> In this sense, it is highly likely that the Pere de Vilafranca documented in 1205 dealing with Santes Creus was the same one who accumulated rights over the ovens and had plots in such places as

*Thesaurus Eruditionis*. Universitat Mannheim. 14<sup>th</sup> December 2009 <<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/ducange.html>>.

176. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 205 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 120), 219 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 131).

177. Rius, Jose. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 291 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 1144).

178. A *Burguetus* has been identified in 1170 in the company of other *proborum hominum* in a lawsuit between Pere, priest of the altar of Sant Esteve de la Seu, and Arnau de Canyelles, monk of the Holy Sepulchre, for the possession of an allodium: Alturo, Jesus. *L'arxiu Antic de Santa Anna...*: 430 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 413). In 1195, another Burguet is mentioned together with other *nobiles uiri*: Alturo, Jesus. *L'arxiu Antic de Santa Anna...*: 166 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 605).

179. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 214 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 128).

180. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 203 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 119). Nothing more is known about Arnau Galı.

181. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 112 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 38), 155 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 80).

182. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 649 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 451).

183. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 656 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 457).

184. On the ovens, see: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 239 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 150), 491 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 335). On the allodium, see: Alturo, Jesus. *L'arxiu Antic de Santa Anna...*: 206 (doc. n<sup>o</sup> 631).



Barcelona and Tarragona. His father was Pere Berenguer de Vilafranca, who died around 1187, *batlle* to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, and a notable protagonist in the founding and organisation of Vilafranca, Montblanc and El Pla de Santa Maria.<sup>185</sup>

Returning to Burguet, his signature appears on a document from 1173 in which Ponç de Rajadell sold his allodium in Montornés to Santes Creus Monastery for a value of twenty morabatines.<sup>186</sup> Montornés is some twenty kilometres from Barcelona. The chronology of this document and the deeds in which Burguet has been identified, as well as the proximity of Montornés to Barcelona, are elements that make it plausible that this signature was that of the same Burguet with possessions close to the Count's Court in Barcelona who was used to doing deals valued in morabatines.

As shown below, during the third quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the monastery of Santes Creus accumulated a set of rights in Montornés. To do so, they negotiated deals with the holders of these properties and valued their goods in gold currency. Once again, the people who sold these rights were connected to each other.

## 5. Gold currency in Montornés

The document in which Burguet confirmed the transaction was promoted by Ponç de Rajadell and his wife, Guilia, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> December 1173. The couple sold their part of the allodium of Montornés, which they had inherited from their ancestors, to Santes Creus. The value of the transaction was set at one hundred *morabatines* and seven hundred *sous* of Barcelona.<sup>187</sup>

The inheritance came from Berenguer de Rajadell, who in turn had received Montornés Castle from Ramon Trasunyer in 1091, originally a donation from Count Ramon Berenguer and Almodis. This document was signed by Pere de Torre *et aliorum multorum hominum et militum*.<sup>188</sup>

It is plausible that Pere de Torre was an ancestor of Ramon de Torre, another of those who sold their rights over Montornés to the monastery. The operation was conducted in 1174 and valued at ninety morabatines. Ramon de Torre gave Santes Creus his part of the *honor* of Montornés, which he had in fief from Ponç

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185. Virgili, Antoni. "El Penedès: un espai conquerit, plataforma de conqueridors (segles X-XIII)", *De la Marca Hispànica a les terres de Marca: el Penedès*. Roger Benito, ed. Vilafranca del Penedès: Institut d'Estudis Penedesencs, 2008: 11-24, especially, 19-21.

186. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 270 (doc. n° 173).

187. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 270 (doc. n° 173).

188. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 92 (doc. n° 23).



de Rajadell, *miles*. The deal was corroborated by Pere d'Escorcenc, among others.<sup>189</sup> Ramon de Torre also made deals with the monastery of Sant Cugat.<sup>190</sup>

Pere d'Escorcenc signed this text in virtue of having been the feudal lord to Ramon de Torre in the castle of Montornés. He had already cast aside his rights in the area. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of December 1173, he gave this fief, valued in forty morabatines, to the monastery.<sup>191</sup>

Thus, the process by which Santes Creus acquired rights over Montornés involved negotiations with all those who were part of the area's feudal structure. Ponç de Rajadell was at the top of this, being the lord of Ramon de Torre and the first who sold his patrimony to the monastery. Next came Pere d'Escorcenc, fief holder of Ramon de Torre. Finally, Ramon de Torre, lord of Pere d'Escorcenc and subject of Ponç de Rajadell, sold his part of the rights. All these operations were valued in gold currency and undertaken over the course of a year.

Ramona, Pere de la Gornal's widow, also sold her rights over Montornés. Pere de la Gornal was probably Ponç de Rajadell's vassal.<sup>192</sup> The deed was dated 1174 and the operation valued at forty morabatines. The peculiarity of this document is that it states explicitly that an agreement was reached *post multas querimonias et placita* between the bishop and Ramona. Thus, the process of accumulating rights by Santes Creus must not have been fluid. Even so, the Gornals were the only holders of rights in Montornés that the monastery recorded any friction with.

There are reasons to suppose that these tensions did not end in 1174 when Ramona, Pere de la Gornal's widow, surrendered her rights to Montornés in favour of the monastery. Twelve years later, in 1186, her children wrote another document in which they confirmed the resignation of their mother and again renounced their interests in everything they had in the limits of the castle of Montornés. In fact, these rights had already been given to the monastery in 1174, and the same 1186 text stated that the abandonment affected all possessions they had in the castle, which was already in the hands of the monks. Thus, the 1186 deed was a waiver of some rights that had been waived previously. A continuation of the conflict between the Gornals and the monastery would thus explain the need to rewrite and update the agreement. For the Gornals, updating it meant receiving *duos pollinos bonos cavallinos* from Santes Creus, and the firstborn, Guillem de la Gornal, receiving approval from the monks when he wished to enter to serve as a monk.<sup>193</sup>

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189. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 281 (doc. n° 183).

190. Rius, José. *Cartulario de Sant Cugat...*: 276 (doc. n° 1125), where he gave the community an allodium in Sant Boi del Llobregat. There is no doubt that this was the same Ramon de Torre, as the document mentions his sons, Guillem, Berenguer, Bernat and Ponç. The sons mentioned in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* were Bernat and Guillem.

191. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 272 (doc. n° 174).

192. Virgili, Antoni. *L'expansió i afermament del feudalisme al Baix Gaià (segles XI i XII)*. Tarragona: Centre d'Estudis d'Altafulla, 1991: 103-105.

193. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 398 (doc. n° 277).



## 6. Poorly documented subjects

Precise identification has not been possible for all of those who valued their transactions with gold currency. Lack of precise identification is the case for Berenguera, Pere de Montearagó's widow, who sold *pro triginta quatuor mancizis directe pulcris et boni auri rectique pro centum viginti solidos iaquensis*, to Santes Creus in 1218, a vineyard in the limits of Lleida, *quam ad censum XIII solidos per vos tenebamus*.<sup>194</sup>

On his part, in 1225, Guillem de Foix sold the *mansi infra castrum de Pontons, sicut tenent et possident pro me hodie et possidere debent, videlicet, Berengarius de zes Tosas et de Terradela et Maruchi* for a value of two hundred *alfonsin* morabatines. In this area, he was probably under the Castellvell.<sup>195</sup>

Also in 1225, Miró de Aguilar sold for *CCL morabetinos anfonssinos de paga boni auri et recti ponderis et unum pollinum caballinum duorum annorum* in the country of El Arboç *cum omni iure et domini ad nos in eadem pertinenti vel pertinere debenti, tamen in decime quam in aliis pertinentiis (...)* to Santes Creus. The sale took place with the *beneficacio dominorum nostrorum, domine Turris Rubee et R. Fulchonis Cardone, domine Elliardis et G. de Gardia*.<sup>196</sup>

Finally, identification of certain people has not been possible because they only appear in one text, which does not provide enough information. This group includes Bernat de Santori, who disputed the possession of an allodium in Los Banyuls with Guillem Alestí and Bernat Bernat in 1167.<sup>197</sup>

Nor have any documents been found that refer to Iaco, Jew, and his wife Preciosa, who provided the monastery with an allodium in the territory of Barcelona for a value of eighty-six morabatines in 1177.<sup>198</sup>

## 7. Conclusions

### 7.1. Subjects and gold currency in the 11<sup>th</sup> century

There are nine documents from between 975 and 1093 in which gold currency was used to value the exchanges compiled in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* (Illustration 14). Those who participated in the deals of this period were magnates of unequal rank who traded in rights over goods and property of various kinds: the counts of Barcelona, Berenguer Ramon I, Berenguer Ramon II and Ramon Berenguer I took part, as did members of such aristocratic lineages as the Castellvell (Guillem, son of Amat) and the Granada (Berenguer Bernat de la Granada), barons

194. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 782 (doc. n° 548).

195. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 850 (doc. n° 592), 855 (doc. n° 595).

196. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 879 (doc. n° 610).

197. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 193 (doc. n° 112).

198. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 299 (doc. n° 199).



whose status allowed them to deal directly with the house of Barcelona. Moreover, the Viscount of Girona, Ponç Guerau; the Bishop of Barcelona, Vives; and one of his fiefholders, Guitard de Mureden have also been identified. Gombau Bernat was also a fiefholder, specifically of Agramunt castle,<sup>199</sup> and Artal has been documented as a noble who agreed to manage a fief of Ramon Berenguer I.<sup>200</sup> The possessions of Guillem Miró (rights in the *castrum* in Montoliu) undoubtedly identify him as a person with the power to exercise *dominium*.

It has not been possible to find any seigniorial lineage for Dalmau Gelabert and Bernat, son of Giscafrè, but their managing of goods acquired directly from the count of Barcelona undoubtedly places them in a relevant position in the feudal structure.<sup>201</sup>

In section four we have already seen Riquer Pere's genealogical relation with the Bonuç family, who held large possessions and relevant ecclesiastical positions in the territory of Barcelona. The other four (Guilia Gombad, Amat Guitard, Carbonell Gaufred and Berenguer Ramon) have yet to be identified.

In this sense, the oldest deeds compiled in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* show that 77.7% of the people documented using gold accounting formulae were surely nobles of high or mid-high rank. Moreover, five out of nine monetary expressions show explicitly that a certain weight of gold was used to establish the value of the operation, which was finally reached with the exchange of different materials (generally horses).<sup>202</sup> Except in one document, gold currency was used to establish the value of sales in all the deals. All this shows how the feudal lords documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* acquired various possessions valued in gold currency without necessarily using gold coins. In this century, perhaps due to the smaller amount of documentation available compared with the deeds of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it has not been possible to uncover the relationships and connections between those who used gold accounting formulae.

In this period, gold currency was the most widespread accounting instrument. The nine deals valued in this currency outnumber the six operations in silver currency.<sup>203</sup> In any case, the use of coins as a means of payment seems not to have

199. Gombau Bernat has been found in the company of the aforementioned Guillem Dalmau (See epigraph 1. 3) and his wife Solestén in the following document, dated a month later, in November 1093: the two agreed that *comendamus ipsum castrum de Agremonto per fevum et donamus ipsa cum sua decima cum medietate de ipsos placitos et de ipso servicio ad Arnaldum Hosten*: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 97 (doc. n° 27).

200. This deal was included in the process of submission of magnates by Ramon Berenguer I, through *convenientiae* with the feudal rebels and the systematic use of gold coins to buy their loyalty. See: Bonnassie, Pierre. *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe...*: II: 592-701 ; Retamero, Fèlix. *La continua il·lusió del moviment perpetu...*: 181.

201. Bernat, son of Giscafrè, had the allodium by donation from the count: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 90 (doc. n° 22). In 1082, Dalmau Gelabert had received an allodium in Cercavins, Tàrrrega from Count Ramon Berenguer II, as a reward for his loyalty and services: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 84 (doc. n° 18).

202. Puy, Arnald. "La moneda d'or al Diplomatari de Santes Creus...": 39-60.

203. Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 59-66 (docs. n° 1-6) and 75 (doc. n° 12).



ID	Nº DOC	YEAR	DEAL	1st PARTY	2nd PARTY	ACCOUNTING FORMULAE	ASSET
1	2	977	Infeudation	Guitard de Mureden	Vives, bishop of Barcelona	Duas libras auri cocti	Castrum de Albano
2	8	1023	Sale	Guillem, son of Amat	Count Berenguer Ramon I	Cavillos tres optimos, quos in pretio LX untiarum auri recepimus	Castrum que dicitur Castrum Vetulum
3	11	1064	Sale	Artal, son of Branvi	Count Ramon Berenguer I	Mancusos XLII auri puri monete Barchinone pensatos bene a penso de decem in untia	Turrem unam
4	13	1067	Sale	Amat Guitart	Guisla Gombau and Gombau Miró, son	Unum cavallo optimo de precium de XX uncias auri cocti	Alodio
5	17	1079	Sale	Guillem Miró	Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona	Uno chavallo optimo qui erat de precium C uncias	Totum quod nos retinemus a nostro dominico in kastro vel termine Monte Olivo
6	21	1084	Sale	Berenguer Bernat de la Granada	Count Berenguer Ramon II	Unum optimum cavallum de precio sexaginta unciis auri de Valencia	Alodio
7	22	1085	Sale	Dalmau Gelabert	Bernat, son of Giscafrè	Manbcones quinquaginta ex auro Valentie	Alodio
8	25	1093	Sale	Riquer Pere	Carbonell Gaufred	Mancusos XVI de auro rovallensis	Peciam unam vinee
9	26	1093	Sale	Gombau Bernat	Berenguer Ramon	XXX uncias de auro de Valencia in rem valentem	Medietatem de ipsas meas ereditates

ILLUSTRATION 14. TABLE OF THE 11<sup>TH</sup>-CENTURY DOCUMENTS THAT INCLUDE EXCHANGES VALUED IN GOLD CURRENCY.

been essential for successful conclusion of the deals. It has already been seen that in five out of nine documents with accounting formulae, the weight of the gold was clearly used to establish the value of another material effectively handed over to sanction the operation. Regarding the use of silver currency, from the six times this has been documented in this period, only two deals were drawn up mentioning the use of coins, although this does not automatically mean that silver coinage was used as a means of payment.<sup>204</sup>

204. *VI et medio de dinarios monete Barchinone* in 1067: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 75 (doc. nº 12); or *solidos C grossos* in 1007: Papell, Joan. *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus...*: 65 (doc. nº 6). The expression *solidos C grossos* refers to a quantity of one hundred *sous* that had to be reached using *diner gros* or *grueso*. The *diner gros* was the fine silver coinage which contrasts with the later money, firstly of silver but of much poorer quality, and later of copper-silver alloy. See: Balaguer, Anna Maria. *Història de la Moneda...*: 49.



## 7.2 Subjects and gold currency in the 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries

There are many more documents that reflect deals valued in gold currency during the 12<sup>th</sup> century than there are surviving from the 11<sup>th</sup>, but they appear *a priori* to play a lesser role in relation with the total number of deeds conserved from the period. There are twenty-eight documents in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* from the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, nine of which (32% of the total) mention gold currency, while three hundred and sixty-nine texts have been counted from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, of which seventy-nine (20.8%) include the use of gold accounting formulae.

A more detailed study divided into decades of the 12<sup>th</sup> century shows how gold currency only began to be abandoned after 1170. The surviving documentation for the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century shows that gold currency was used, in general terms, to value between 25% and 50% of the deals.<sup>205</sup> After 1170, its use gradually disappears from the deeds, falling to only 6.45% of the texts compiled between 1210 and 1219.<sup>206</sup> From then on, the people in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* began increasingly to value their deals in silver Barcelona currency. In fact, between 1200 and 1225, only four people have been documented as valuing transactions in gold currency, three of whom were, to a greater or lesser extent, members of the feudal estate associated with incomes or property worked by others.<sup>207</sup> This contrasts strongly with the thirty-four subjects counted between 1150 and 1170 that agreed to value their deals with the Almoravid coins.

The people documented in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* in association with gold currency also used silver. It has not been possible to establish the percentages of use of each accounting formula per person for the reasons explained in the introduction. However, no indications have been found that there were any substantial differences in the conditions of use of these two currencies in either the 11<sup>th</sup> century or the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup>. Both were part of a wide range of possibilities available to those who needed to value their operations. The choice depended on negotiations between the parties. There is no data to suggest that there were specific factors conditioning the use of one or another of these monetary measures. In this period, there existed a wide range of possibilities for establishing equivalences between things and for counting the feudal patrimony, and both gold and silver currency

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205. No deeds have survived from between 1100 and 1109. From between 1110 and 1119, there are four documents, two of which (50%) contain references to gold currency. Four texts have also survived from between 1120 and 1129, one of which (25%) mentions gold currency. From 1130 to 1139, we have two documents, one of which (50%) mentions gold currency. From the 1150-1159 period, there are forty-two texts. Fourteen of these document the use of the gold currency, which is 33.3%, and from between 1160 and 1169, there are fifty-four contracts, eighteen of which (33.3%) were valued in gold currency.

206. From 1170-1179, eighty-eight deals were reached, nineteen (21.59%) with gold currency, while from 1180 to 1189, there were a hundred and five, of which fourteen were valued in gold (13.33%). Between 1190 and 1199, we have seventy-two deals, nine in gold currency (12.5%); from 1200 to 1209, there are eighty-seven, eight of which used gold currency (9.20%); and there are 62 deals between 1210 and 1219, with four (6.45%) in gold currency.

207. Pere de Vilafranca, Guillem de Foix and Miró d'Aguilar.



were part of the list of options that could be used to value operations.<sup>208</sup> In this sense, nothing has been detected that suggests a fundamental qualitative difference in the use of one formula or the other, although there was a quantitative difference: The great presence of gold currency in the 11<sup>th</sup> century documents gradually diminished during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, while the use of silver progressively increased over the same time span. After that, there is a clear alteration in the conditions of use, especially regarding the use of the Barcelona silver currency.

Some circumstantial observations can be made regarding the factors that may have led to the disappearance of gold currency as a hegemonic accounting formula and why it could have been preferable to use gold as a monetary instrument. The possible advantages of valuing operations in gold currency appear in the document from 1185 already mentioned in the epigraph of the bourgeois. As has been noted, the deal included an accounting clause also identified in other sets of documents, such as those from Santa Anna Monastery, in deeds dated 1155, 1158, 1160 and 1171.<sup>209</sup> In all of these, the deals are valued in sous and Barcelona coins, but they state that if the coinage changed its composition or weight, in other words, if it 'mutated', the payment would be in morabetinos. The parties to these operations were thus aware of a potential mismatch in the valuation of the deal should the coinage initially set as the value become devalued due to debasement of the metal. To date, the clause has only been documented in loan contracts, where there is a lapse of time between the money being lent and that being returned. This is a clear reflection of the reticence of certain sectors to submit themselves to the whims of the public monetary policy. This opposition can be explained by the desire to establish monetary equivalences negotiated between the parties in the operations, avoiding, as far as possible, the use of accounting formulas regulated by an authority that was not party to the deal in question. Using these would mean accepting the power of this authority to control the exchanges. In other words, paying back a loan with coinage metallically devalued compared with the one used to set the value of the operation would mean considering the difference between the metals to be insignificant. This difference would be the space occupied by the county authority, and accepting it would imply recognition of its power to convert the metal of the coin into value. In this sense, it is known that the process of strengthening the authority of the Counts was long and irregular, but it becomes perceptible monetarily in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* from the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This gradual consolidation is seen through the growing spread of the monetary instruments of the House of Barcelona and the gradual elimination of the alternative accounting solutions, including gold currency. It was to gradually disappear from the documentation, though not without resistance, as is perceived in the document from 1185. However, it is to be expected that each set of documents studied will reflect different rates of extinction of the alternative monetary formulae and the progressive rise of the

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208. Barceló, Miquel. "La construcció d'equivalències entre coses en la documentació dels segles IX a l'XI", *El feudalisme comptat i debatut...*: 35-43. For the specific case of Santes Creus, see: Puy, Arnald. "La moneda d'or al Diplomatari de Santes Creus...": 39-44.

209. Alturo, Jesús. "Notes numismàtiques dels Diplomatari de Santa Anna...": 140-141.



county silver currency. The date of 1170 as the moment when this change began to be perceived in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* must be corroborated with the study of other volumes. In this sense, these chronological limits cannot be extrapolated to a general context. It must also be mentioned that this does not mean that in 1170 the county authority had the power to impose its currency without pitfalls, but rather that this was when the process began to be reflected in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. Even so, it was far from being definitive.

The arrival of gold, in ingots or coins, as a result of the demands to the Taifa kingdoms stimulated the use of this metal to establish equivalences between things and encouraged its spread in the Catalan counties. The count attempted to control this circulation. The emission of the so-called *mancusos Raimundus Comes* after 1069 has been interpreted as a first attempt to control the feudal hierarchy financially.<sup>210</sup> Even so, the gold coins of the Almoravids—the morabatines—circulated in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries without any authority controlling this circulation or demanding regular fiscal payments and regulating the quantity of metal they contained. Therefore, these coins circulated *hors l'état*.<sup>211</sup> Using them did not imply acceptance of any regulation other than what the parties involved in the deal wished to set. A value set in gold currency remained metallically stable because the county authorities did not modify the amount of metal in gold coins. These particular characteristics of the circulation of Arab gold coins in the Catalan counties must be taken into consideration in explaining some of the reasons that the use of gold currency was, where possible, preferred to that of silver currency, leaving aside the strict consideration of the quality of the metal.

In contrast with what we see in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the use of gold accounting solutions was not restricted to sales in the 12<sup>th</sup>. They were also used to express the value of census contracts, whether the leased property was urban or rural. On occasion, redemption of the pawned goods was also expressed in gold, as were loans and debts.

Regarding those related to these monetary uses, it has been possible to approach the recognition of the great majority of the sixty-one people documented from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. These include aristocrats from such well-known lineages as the Cervera, Castellvell, Montcada, Cervelló or Guàrdia families;<sup>212</sup> and magnates of varied rank, some of whom lent support to the conquest of Tortosa and/or Lleida and accumulated rights over various goods thanks to the division of lands by Ramon Berenguer IV.<sup>213</sup> There were also people who have been found to be members of the nobility through the properties they managed, their social and genealogical

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210. Retamero, Fèlix. “Els primers comptes catalans...”: 115.

211. The expression is from: Hennequin, Gilles. “De la monnaie antique...”: 890.

212. Guillem Dalmau (Arnau de Cervera's grandfather); Pere Arnau (de Cervera); Arnau de Cervera; Berenguer de Guàrdia; Pere Laborot; Ramon I of Montcada; Ramon II of Montcada; Guerau Alemany IV of Cervelló; Guillem de Selmella; Guillem Guerau de Cervelló; Guillem de Castellvell; Albert de Castellvell.

213. Guillem de Trull; Guaspal; Pere de Sentmenat; Gales; Gelabert Anglès; Guerau de Salvinyac; Ot de Zaragoza; Pere *Magister* de Narbona; Bertran de Zaragoza.



relations or the posts they occupied.<sup>214</sup> For some subjects, the only way to discover their social position has been by studying their kinship. This has allowed some of them to be shown as genealogically very close to individuals with the power to exercise *dominium*.<sup>215</sup> It has been possible to document more people through their income and their power to control the work of others.<sup>216</sup> In contrast with the 11<sup>th</sup> century, an important sector using these monetary annotations in the 12<sup>th</sup> century was people with possessions in urban areas who dedicated themselves to business or trade,<sup>217</sup> those who had property in Tàrraga, Tortosa, Martorell or the Count's Court in Barcelona.<sup>218</sup> Even so, the information obtained evidences the impossibility of analysing the use of these accounting solutions by 'social sector'. It does not seem adequate to value the extent of these monetary annotations between *conquistadores*, *feudal*, *bourgeoisie* or *nobles*. Many of those documented demanded income, had property in urban areas and participated simultaneously in campaigns of conquest. In this sense, the classification proposed in the paper is only designed to present the data and highlight some of the many activities that the people identified were involved in. The use of gold monetary formulae in a wider range of transactions throughout the 12<sup>th</sup> century —*censes*, pawns, loans— does not automatically imply that the use of gold accounting methods spread in that century to a new sector of 'traders', 'dealers' or 'money lenders'. It seems, rather, that the social sectors that mainly used these in the 12<sup>th</sup> century were more or less the same as those in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, with the difference that the operations valued with these monetary annotations became more diversified.

### 7.3. Final remarks

Information has been retrieved about the vast majority of the people in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* who used gold currency to value their deals. It has been impossible to acquire information about their status, properties, activities or kin for only 11 of the 83 people who are listed. Out of these 83, 40 have been documented exclusively in deeds in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. The rest, more than half, have been identified in texts from some of the other seven sets of documents used in this study. Fourteen were found in one of these sets, five in two cartularies or

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214. Guillem Mir, feif holder; Pere de Sanaüja; Ramon Amat; Bernat de Sant Ponç, related to Gelabert Anglès; Esteve de la Roca, whose will was to enter Santes Creus as a monk; Bernat de Riudefoix, associated with tithes and *primicias*; Ponç de Rajadell; Ramon de Torre; Pere d'Escorcenc; Guillem de Mor; Pere de la Sala; Pere Bonfill; Guillem de la Gornal; Pere, sexton of Barcelona.

215. This is the case of Berenguer Roig, a relative of Guillem de Montalbà; Arnau de Rubió, nephew of Arnau d'Oliola, *miles*.

216. Aimeric de Perusa; Guillem de Sants; Arnau Moragues; Arnau Pere de Sants.

217. Guillem Arnau, *tabernario*; Pere Maceller, *macellarius*; Guillem Escasset, with workshops in Anglesola and Cervera; Burguet.

218. For Tàrraga, Pere Calvet; for Tortosa, Guillem Oller and Domènec d'Aldover; for the area of the Count's Court, Bernat Correger and Joan d'Ariga; regarding the debts expressed in morabatines, Pere Dalmau and Bernat Dalmau.



diplomataries, seven in three, two in four, two in five, one of them in six and one in all seven. This means that a large number of people linked to the use of gold currency can be found taking part in deals in other sets of documents. Thus, it seems valid to suppose that the texts illustrate the activities of a relatively small group of people. This paper is an attempt to show the patrimony they managed, their main activities and, where they existed, the links between them. These links went beyond being part of a privileged sector of the society. The great majority of the people who used gold accounting formulae were related to one another, either genealogically, by vassalage or by neighbourhood. Links derived from joint participation in documents have also been shown, either because the individuals in question participated in the deal itself, or due to their presence as witnesses. This was thus a community of barons of varied level brought together by diverse interests. Even so, the groups identified diverged in size and reach. Two basic social circles have been identified. Firstly are those people related at the local level who used gold currency, such as those involved in the deals in Cercavins, Tortosa, Barcelona or Montornés. Secondly, there were the great noble dynasties, including the Castellet, Cervera, Cervelló, Guardia, Sentmenat, Sanaüja and Montcada lineages, linked to one another by kinship or vassalage. These were not closed groups: ultimately, most of the local groups identified in the study that used gold accounting methods were linked to the mentioned lineages by feudal relations. The families of aristocrats were thus the link that allowed all the local communities participating in the transactions analysed in this study to be related to each other. The use of equivalences in gold currency spread throughout the networks that existed between these two unequal levels.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the people less frequently documented in the set of textual compilations studied were those whose possessions were more limited to a local level. There was a group of people that has been documented with gold currency exclusively in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus*. The great aristocrats, with property scattered around all the Catalan counties, are the ones who appear most frequently in several of the volumes studied. We would expect this tendency to be general when new cartularies or *diplomataris* are studied with the support of documents from other series of texts. Perhaps the proportional study of the people documented exclusively in one set of deeds, compared with those who appear in two or more volumes, would be a good indicator, always at the level of the cartulary in question, of the circles who tended to use these accounting methods most frequently, whether at the local level and made up of magnates from a variety of levels or the societies of great aristocratic lineages. In any case, the gradual disappearance of the use of gold currency in the *Diplomatari de Santes Creus* reflects the increase in the power of the county to control the financial exchanges carried out at all the levels by the barons documented in this study.

