The expansion of a European feudal monarchy during the 13th Century: the Catalan-Aragonese Crown and the consequences of the conquest of the kingdoms of Majorca and Valencia

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Abstract

In the middle of the 13th century the Crown of Aragon conquered by military means the Muslim Mediterranean Coast of the Iberian Peninsula, incorporating it into the European feudal world; this resulted in the destruction of the Andalusí state and part of its society as well as in a redistribution of towns, villages, houses and lands among Christians. The historiography of some years ago emphasized the role of trade and urban burgesses in these new societies, but present opinion is more related to a long expansion of feudal society as well as the creation in Majorca and Valencia of a colonial society. Logically, the consequences of this process had also an effect in Catalonia and Aragon where the movement had its origins, and its effects can be verified on the re-settlers' migrations, the changes in agrarian structures due to the redistribution, the expansion of commercial towns, and the political changes that resulted from the participation of the urban patrician class in the new power structures: townships and parliaments.

Key words: repopulation, redistribution, Feudal expansion, Majorca, Valencian Country, Crown of Aragon, Kingdom of Valencia, Kingdom of Majorca

From the 11th to the 13th centuries feudal Europe went through a series of great territorial, social, demographic, economic, agrarian and urban expansions that were reflected, among many other things, both on the enlargement of its cultivated lands and its interior population, as –often more visible and striking– on the great syntheses of political history in relation to its exterior limits over the continent's peripheral societies.

These societies included the Al-Andalus in the Iberian Peninsula, the islands of Sicily or Sardinia in the Mediterranean, Scotland or Wales in Great Britain, or the great German expansion into the Slavic world.

At the same time, the political model of feudal society (which had arisen between the 10th and 11th centuries within the framework of what has been called feudal change or revolution) developed in the direction of generalization of seigniories and privatization of power, the conflict between Pope and Empire for the "*dominium mundi*", as well as the hierarchy of royal power. That was the time of the creation of feudal monarchies from the Baltic Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Atlantic to the Black Sea; among them, on the Southern side of this Europe in process of construction, a new Medieval state was born just before the middle of the 12th century: the Crown of Aragon, or the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, the result of the convergence of the kingdoms of Catalonia and Aragon. A political union somehow fortuitous because it resulted from the will of an Aragonese king, Alfons I el Bataller (the Fighter), who was charmed by the myths of the new European military orders of The Temple and Saint John of the Hospital leaving them his kingdom in inheritance, as well as by the marriage in 1137 of a little girl, accidental heir of the Aragonese throne, to Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, at the height of his power.

The consequences of this marriage were not trivial as the constitution of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown resulted in a feudal state in the South of Europe that was independent until around 1500. Besides, during these almost four centuries, this state expanded territorially and progressively first from the Pyrenees region towards the

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whole of South-Eastern France as far as Montpellier and Provence, (basically during the second half of the 12th century) and towards the Eastern face of the Iberian peninsula as far as the border with the Muslim kingdom of Granada in the middle of the 13th century (Valencia, 1238); and at the same time beyond the sea towards the Balearic Islands (1230), and progressively Sicily (1282), Sardinia (1323), and the kingdom of Naples (1442). A great Medieval European state built on the two sides of the Western Mediterranean where, according to Bernat Desclot, one of the great chroniclers of the 13th and 14th centuries, even the Mediterranean fish wore on their backs the four-striped shield of their kings as a sign of their gratitude.[1]

The dynamics of 13th century feudal expansion in historiography

During the second half of the 12th century this young Medieval state brought about a very important territorial expansion North of its borders over the Occitan-Provençal world where the Counts of Barcelona held sway following a long tradition that went back almost to the middle of the 11th century and that responded to the mechanisms of feudal vassalage among and with the nobility of the Southern half of present day France. At different times during the 12th century the Crown of Aragon included under its royal power important regions up to Marseille, although with a control based on feudal dependency. There were no conquests nor repopulation, only feudal agreements among the nobility which were no sooner agreed upon as broken, as was habitual in the rest of feudal France and Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries.[2]

Somewhat different was the territorial expansion of the Crown of Aragon towards the South, over the world of Al-Andalus. At the middle of the 12th century, the military conquests over the region of the river Ebre (Sp. Ebro) around Zaragoza and Tortosa, and those in the middle of the 13th century over the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country were real processes of military occupation; that entailed the destruction of the Muslim state and the genesis of a feudal one, by forced expulsion of part or much of the local Saracen population, and migrations of Christian settlers that created a new network of towns and a new organization of the cultivated land; in short, a new and different society, culture, religion and language.

In spite of the evidence of the historical differences represented by these two processes, starting from different view points Catalan historiography of the 20th century has approached them in different ways. On the one hand, the different fate of both expansions: the eventual failure in the Occitan world due to the French and Papal crusades against the Catharists, which culminated with the death of King Peter the Catholic himself in the battle of Muret, in 1213. On the other, the successful birth of a new part of

the Catalan-Aragonese territory in the victories over Al-Andalus in 1230-1245. But also with a distinct perspective that dissented from the value assigned to what had been a feudal expansion over the country of Oc with similar linguistic, cultural, social and economic characteristics, to what for many years was valued as a "re-conquest" of the Iberian peninsula, which had been occupied by Moslems from 711 and thought "lost" as an European country. That is, an assessment of the conquest of Al-Andalus that an important part of 20th century historiography has understood as a specific trait that has marked the Medieval history of the diverse Iberian kingdoms almost as its fate.

There is no doubt that the concept "re-conquest" has enjoyed a great vitality for much of the 20th century, and Catalan historiography has been no exception to this. During the 1950s and 1960s essential Catalan historians such as Ferran Soldevila, Santiago Sobrequés or Jaume Vicens Vives have followed this approach of the "recovery" of a lost land. For instance, it is very interesting to read how F. Soldevila presents James I, whereas he maintains a sound critical attitude towards contemporary Spanish authors who, without ideological scruples, presented the history of the kingdom of Castile (the Cid Campeador, etc.) as if it were the history of the whole peninsula.[3]

But we must remember that parallel to this an explanatory discourse was produced on the significance of these Catalan Medieval conquests as regards the model of society, especially in comparison with the Castilian social model. The conquests of Majorca and Valencia would have been characterised by the creation in the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, of societies which were no longer seigneurial, nor even feudal, centred since the 13th century on the importance of towns, urban burgesses and commercial economy. Some authors such as Joan Reglà, Joan Fuster or Carme Batlle thought the urban commercial patrician class prevailed within a framework of general freedoms for the lower peasantry and popular craftsmen.[4] This was a model that followed the Medieval urban economic history of the 1950s and 60s which, in spite of not solving the question of how in the 13th century Catalan feudal society could create little feudalized, or even non-feudal, societies in the repopulated lands, had a considerable academic success during the 1970s and 80s. A success which was even greater among some Majorcan or Valencian medievalists of that time, some of whom such as A. Santamaria, A. Ubieto or R. Ferrer went even further in the research of these differences, in order to minimize the reality of Catalan repopulation.[5]

But in the last two decades the research of some scholars has profoundly changed this explanation of the conquests over the Andalusí world thanks to their studies on Lleida (Sp. Lérida) and Tortosa, in the new or Southern Catalonia, and on the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country. They basically propose that these conquests and repopulation should be understood as a result of the internal process of the feudal society itself, bringing about

its expansion and implantation in the new lands. Here feudalism is understood as a global conception of the social model, from its economic structures to its ways of thinking, its religion or its cultural expression, and therefore not limited to a migratory process of repopulation.[6]

That is why some authors have talked of an imported feudalism when referring to this implantation from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th centuries, because it was as much a reality as an ideological structure brought by the conquerors and alien in most of its aspects to the local Muslim society. But it is obvious that in this historical explanation we have to work also with another variable, which is the pre-existing Islamic social and material reality. The Christian conquest did not take place in a desert but in towns and villages, cultivated fields and intensively irrigated lands (market gardens), plotted lands and roads, hamlets and farms where Muslims (called 'Mudejars') went on living after the feudal conquest but now they would be submitted to the financial, political and ideological power system of the conquering Christian society.[7]

As regards these historiographical questions we must remember that in the last thirty years of the 20th century, in the fervour of the Spanish recovery of democracy, certain conservative socio-political sectors from Majorca and particularly from the Valencian Country converted this historical 13th century repopulation into one of their main issues; they did this almost totally apart from university research, when this should be a debate basically reserved for the academic world. Coherent with their ideological position they continued celebrating the defeat of Islamic society in front of their Northern Christian conquerors (they did not want to be mistaken for "Moors"), but at the same time they claimed that in Majorca and Valencia there had been a large local population of Christian origin (the Mozarabs) who were the social majority after the conquest. Their main aim was to deny the Catalan repopulation of these lands at the South of the Crown and to assert the "autochthony" of the present day population which would go back not only to Roman times but even to the proto-historic period.[8]

SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF THE 13TH CENTURY

A substantial part of the numerous erudite and locally assertive studies from the 20th century have been based on a considerable stock of documentation that was the fruit of the expansion in the use of paper during the second half of the 13th century; paper began to be used both in the royal chancery and in the incipient municipal bureaucracy of the Crown of Aragon. The series of Crown registers that in good part have been kept since 1257 are remarkable. Just as remarkable is the series known as "The Scribe's Office of Royal Charters" in the archives of the kingdom of Majorca. These archives contain magnificent information on private buying, selling and settling of lands and

houses during that century, besides the increasing presence both in Catalonia and Valencia of notary protocols, as well as of the first series of municipal texts.

Nonetheless, when talking of territorial expansion, the subsequent process of population, and the genesis of a social society in the South of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, some specific sources doubtless play a starring role: above all, the literary manuscript known as the *Llibre dels Feyts o Crònica de Jaume I* (Book of the Feats or Chronicle of James I); secondly, the total or partial conservation in Majorca and Valencia of the manuscripts known as *Llibres del Repartiment,* (Books of the Redistribution); thirdly, the *Llibres de Privilegis o Franqueses* (Books of Privileges and Franchises), as well as the new territorial legislation, such as the *Furs de València* (Charters of Valencia); and lastly, the local population charters.

There is no doubt that the first, the *Llibre dels Feyts*, is an exceptional work for its time. It consists of the memoirs of the King James I (1208-1276), written in the first person and recalling some events in his life, from birth to his own death, with special prominence given to the main political events of his reign, in particular the conquests of Majorca and Valencia.[9] Literary historians have written many pages on the question of authorship by the monarch himself giving arguments in favour of it such as the narration of scenes with dialogues and events where very few other people besides the king himself were present, or arguments against it such as in the narration of his own death.

Some believe the text may have been inspired by the monarch, or dictated by him to somebody of his entourage, such as the bishop of Huesca, but what is clearly most remarkable is its tone and its composition: in the first person, with extremely rich information full of nuances on the development of certain meetings, conversations or psychological reactions of the participants. For present day historians the scene in which he tells of how the surrender of the Muslim city of Valencia in 1238 for instance, was negotiated, are really priceless; he hid it from his nobles in order to be able to decide for himself when and how to proceed, as well as the division of the booty. When he told the nobility that "Valencia is ours" the royal text adds with cruel sincerity that "their faces changed colour". There are neither privileges nor bureaucratic documents offering such details.

Other important bodies of documents from Majorca and Valencia are those known as *Llibres del Repartiment* (Books of Redistribution). In both cases they consist of 13th century administrative volumes that contain in extracted form part of the donations by the Crown, in the wake of those conquests, of houses and lands. In spite of the "foundational" symbolism that has been attributed to them we should not forget that they were in fact an instrumental tool to have an inventory of the monarchy's grants: from villages and/or farmhouses as seigneuries to country estates, lands, buildings, or shops in towns.

In the case of Majorca, its *Repartiment*, also known as

Llibre del Rei (The King's Book), dated in 1232, contains two complementary manuscripts; on the one hand, the Arabic-Latin codex (written in these two languages), and on the other the Catalan codex with the translation of the Latin text. Both manuscripts specify the donations by James I of country estates and farmhouses lying in the half of the island that the Crown kept after the conquest, but does not offer any information on the other parts of the island granted by the king to the four great nobles who had led the conquest. Nonetheless, a document of 1242, only a few years later, has been preserved listing the country estates from the part of the island that was granted to the noble Nunó Sanç, Count of Rosselló.[10]

The *Llibre del Repartiment de València* (Book of the Redistribution of Valencia), consists in fact in three volumes with different contents and a different chronology. The first volume contains the redistribution from 1237 to 1240 of the houses and the lands of the fertile irrigated area of the town of Valencia; the first donations were already granted during the city's siege. It includes besides some dozens of donations of castles, villages and farmhouses in the central region of the Valencian Country to the nobility that participated in that military campaign. The second volume follows a similar logic but it refers to the donations granted in 1243-44 and especially from 1247 to approximately 1250, in the wake of the campaign fought in the South of the Country, as well as during the new general war began on the latter dates with the general rebellion of Valencian Muslims. Finally, the third volume, dated in 1240, is a much detailed inventory of the houses scattered around the city of Valencia; it is organized by quarters and it specifies the name of the old Muslim owner as well as that of the new Christian occupant.[11]

These sources are really an extraordinary treasure; they are the first detailed redistribution preserved in the Crown of Aragon –contrasting with some previous conquests, such as of Lleida, Tortosa or Zaragoza– but it has to be remembered that basically they are the sharing up of the booty, the reward to fighters, foot-soldiers, *almogàvers* (professional soldiers), gentlemen, nobles and some ecclesiastics who participated in the wars of conquests referred to in each of these books. Even if all through the 20th century they were usually interpreted as witnesses for the kind of people settling at that moment in Valencia and Majorca, they do not really include the huge migration of the majority of peasants and craftsmen in the second half of the 13th century, nor those great numbers of people who settled in the newly created feudal domains, which occupied more than half of the land of the Valencian Country during the reign of James I.[12]

Traces of the large majority of the peasant and popular classes are more blurred precisely because they were no part of those elites who left their written records, but even so the settling charters carry information on them. In general, these are documents through which both Crown and lords set rules for the settling of each community in a particular place, and in the case of rural populations they fixed their cultivating lands. They were already used in the 12th century, and later these texts regulated the general settling process in Majorca and especially in the Valencian Country; they usually included the tax burden but also the written recognition of some of the vassals' franchises. That is why during the 14th century crisis these texts were used more than once as a legal tool in the peasants' defence against the increase of the tax burden or lordly jurisdiction.[13]

Finally we must mention the existence of privileges and legislation that allow us to frame the building of social relations in those two new feudal societies. Although there are more than a hundred of these documents, in the case of Majorca the one known as *Carta de Franquesa*, (Franchise Charter), of 1230, undoubtedly plays a leading role; it is the first legal collection that established the basis for the rights of the first new citizens of the island and its capital, with a special focus on commercial franchises.[14]

In the new kingdom of Valencia there was a legal tool of an even greater entity and scope: the *Costum de la Ciutat de València*, (Custom of the City of Valencia), granted by James I in 1239, and a few years later known as "*Furs de València*" (The Charters of Valencia). It is an authentic and vast legal code of civil and penal law based directly upon the Justinian code, and therefore probably composed by Pere Albert, a legal adviser at the royal court who had studied at the Bologna school; it became one of the first texts of European legislation that recovered the principles of classic Roman law and that, in short, established the sovereignty of public (i.e. royal) power over the power of the lords.[15]

But if these are the sources on which we rebuild history, we must now have a look at the chronology, at the temporal development of events that transformed the historic scenario of this Medieval European state during the central decades of the 13th century: the conquests of the Balearic Islands and of the Valencian Country by James I.[16]

The conquest and redistribution of Majorca

At King Peter the Catholic's death in the battle of Muret in 1213, his heir James was only five years old; this is why during the first quarter of the 13th century, in spite of the major defeat of the Almohade's empire in the battle of Navas de Tolosa and its political break up, starting in 1225, into several small kingdoms, *taifes*, it was a period of few changes along the border between the Catalan-Aragonese Crown and the world of Al-Andalus.

This is why the young monarch did not achieve enough political experience until 1229, when he managed to unite one part of society behind him and to initiate the first great territorial conquest of his time: the island of Majorca. At the beginning of September 1229 a great invasion force was organized, and less than four months later the only important city of the island, *Madina Mayurqa,* was

assaulted and looted, and most of its Andalusí inhabitants enslaved. Inland, in particular in the steep Serra de Tramuntana (Northern Range) the resistance of some Muslim groups held out for a couple of years, but in general the military control over the island was fast and final, and provoked the general destruction not only of the Muslim state but practically all the local society. One part of its Islamic inhabitants managed to escape by sea or to buy the liberty to emigrate; some will reappear as converted, called the *batiats* (baptized), but a great part became slaves and only a small portion of these stayed in the island as a rural labour force.[17]

A little later, the other two inhabited islands of the archipelago were under control in different ways; in the case of Minorca, King James I signed a feudal treaty with its Moslem inhabitants; according to which, the latter rendered him homage as king and paid him an annual tax in exchange for being able to stay in the island as an Islamic society (this lasted till 1287), while the island of Eivissa (Sp. Ibiza) was militarily occupied in 1235 by Guillem de Montgrí, archbishop of Tarragona, who shared the other half of the island with two noblemen who had contributed with their hosts: Nunó Sanç and Prince Peter from Portugal. The Saracen inhabitants of the island were also enslaved and the island was sparsely repopulated by Catalan colonizers.

The remarkably organized character of this conquest has often been pointed out, particularly for the conquest rather than for the sharing of booty and of the land. According to the Royal Chronicle, we are told of the existence of a preparatory meeting in Barcelona at the house of the merchant Martell; in it the king may have been told of the business and trade possibilities that the control of the island might bring, and this has been why many authors have argued that the conquest was in great part motivated by the mercantile patrician class of the Catalan capital while the feudal nobility, in particular that of Aragon, played a minor role.

In reality there is not much evidence of the merchants' leading role, although it doubtlessly existed. What really stands out in Majorca in contrast to Valencia is the existence of an authentic feudal agreement previous to the redistribution of the island, done in accordance with the hierarchical nobility of the participants. King James I kept one half of the city and of the island, while he divided the other half into four parts between the four noblemen who had contributed their militia and their feudal cavalry: Nunó Sanç, Count of Roussillon, the Viscount of Bearn, the Count of Empúries and the Bishop of Tarragona. Nevertheless, during the 13th century some of these "portions" reverted to the crown; already in 1241, for instance, Nunó Sanç's part, when he died heirless.[18]

Even if the word *porcioner* (participant) is very usual in the bibliography to name these properties, we are in fact talking about the creation of considerably large feudal seigneuries within which each nobleman proceeded to distribute among his knights and soldiers farmhouses and buildings, and in some cases endow ecclesiastical institutions. And these, on their turn, set up new lands, plots or whole farms to the peasant colonizers who arrived during the following years and who became the real cultivators of the land. The crown did exactly the same in its half of the island: to distribute most of it among nobles and knights who were directly in the monarch's feudal service, for instance the Military Order of the Temple, who would in their turn allot lands to peasants within these newly created seigneuries. But the king also allotted properties directly to peasants, who became in this way free small landholders – as has been studied by, among others, R. Soto, J. Portella and A. Mas Forners.[19]

James I gave houses and lands to Catalan burgesses and merchants solely in the outskirts of the city of Majorca, that is to few people; but they became the initial embryo of the island's mercantile Low Medieval bourgeoisie who thanks to the political privileges granted to the city in the following years played a leading role, especially in the wake of the first and better known *"Carta Franquesa de Mallorca"*(Franchise Charter of Majorca) granted almost immediately, in 1230.

THE CONQUEST AND REDISTRIBUTION OF THE VALENCIAN COUNTRY

The Christian conquest of the oriental part of the Iberian Peninsula, Sharq Al-Andalus, was the logical sequel to the previous occupation of the Balearic Islands. In fact, during the 1230s they almost overlapped in time because the Valencian Country was occupied from 1233 to 1245 through three wars. These three military campaigns were led personally by king James I whose aim was to occupy the territory by means of the conquest of the main Andalusí towns: Borriana (1233), Valencia (1238), Xàtiva (Sp. Játiva) and Dénia (1244); the result of this was the surrender-occupation of their neighbour regions. Nonetheless, from 1247 to 1258, with the general rebellion of Valencian Muslims a new long war broke out that was progressively centred on the Southern third of the new kingdom of Valencia.

Although most towns and castles were occupied by agreement after a more or less long siege, in some cases in 1233 and 1238, and in other cases from 1248 to 1249, there were big expulsions of the autochthonous Islamic population so that in most towns no population remained or, in a few cases, it was segregated into some suburb outside the town walls. On the other hand, in the rural counties of the centre and South of the Country a considerable part of the Muslim population stayed, and after very few years lived almost completely within the framework of seigneuries. At the same time a migration of Christian settlers from Catalonia and Aragon was taking place; they settled mainly in the urban nuclei from Islamic times or founded new towns; they were especially attracted by the rural coastal areas where there were the main irrigation sys-

tems: the fertile irrigated areas were the lands with a greater agrarian richness.

The whole process of redistribution and settling of the colonizers was run by the monarchy as it had been the case in the island of Majorca; James I donated the seigneuries, lands, villages and towns as the territory was being military occupied, but the much bigger size of the country in comparison with the islands entailed that the redistribution and the donations to the nobility and to the rest of society produced differences between some counties and others; differences such as the greater or smaller presence of seigneuries, the density of Christian settlers, or the continued presence of Moslems, as has been studied by J. Torró, A. Furió and E. Guinot.[20]

As said above, the book known as *Llibre del Repartiment* (Book of the Redistribution) gathers a substantial part of the royal donations to Christian settlers, but it is the part corresponding to the people who participated in the military campaigns (nobility, ecclesiastical institutions and military orders, urban militia, professional soldiers (*almogàvers),* as well as some burgesses and craftsmen). But the greatest part of the authentic peasant settlers migrated and were granted lands or accepted settlement contracts during later decades, approximately from 1248 to 1300. It was a slow and cumulative process that consolidated a clear social hierarchy, even if a few years ago some historians insisted on the "equalitarianism" of the properties created for the peasantry. In reality, as it was unavoidable in a feudal society of the 13th century, the nobility placed themselves at the head of the territorial seigneuries, burgesses and citizens achieved large properties around the biggest towns, and the peasantry with their family farms held from the beginning a different kind of property; and we should not forget that the new, end of the century settlers, could only opt for inferior settlements, farming out or settled in agricultural areas of lower quality.[21]

The social, economic and polical transformation in the wake of the conquests

As it is logical, the conquests and the institution of a feudal society in Majorca-Eivissa and the Valencian Country from 1230 to 1245 had diverse and substantial consequences for the whole of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown as a European feudal state and society. On the one hand we could talk of the most obvious theme, the very process of the creation of this society in the newly conquered Muslim countries, well studied and documented in Medieval historiography. On the other hand the transformations experienced by the Catalan-Aragonese society itself in the wake of this territorial enlargement during the second half of the 13th century must also be evaluated; because it was a time of inflexion for important questions on

the political model of social organization in the Low Middle Ages, as well as on the development of urban power.

We could speak, then, of the consequences and the types of social changes (migrations of people, changes in the situation of the peasantry, the rise of the urban bourgeoisie); or economic questions, as the great reorganization of the cultivated land in the conquered regions and, above all, the enlargement of the commercial networks and of the markets in the new towns; and even other questions of a political nature, often more easily identifiable because they left a documented trace of privileges and legislation such as a state with four kingdoms, the birth of an autonomous municipal power in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the promulgation of public laws of a territorial nature, or the concretization of a system of parliamentary power; in short, the unfolding of a political model based on negotiation among the leading social groups. This negotiation was staged in parliament and has received the somewhat mythical name of "pactism", a method and a practice of political confrontation.

The migratory movements of the Christian and Muslim population

Due to the characteristics of the Medieval conquests over Al-Andalus, one of the most remarkable social processes that this produced was obviously a major unsettling of the population. In the island of Majorca, most of its Andalusí population was expelled, or even more, enslaved. Whereas in the Valencian Country there was also a numerous expulsion of its Muslim inhabitants from practically all the urban nuclei and from the richest agrarian areas; these migrations were towards inland or towards the Kingdom of Granada and Magreb, apart from the enslavement on a smaller scale. While some authors such as J. Torró, R. Soto or A. Mas have insisted on the destructive impact of the conquest, others as R.I. Burns have pointed to the continuity of one part of the population thanks to the agreements of surrender.[22]

In any case, thousands of families from the whole Catalonia and Aragon, basically peasants' but also craftsmen's, merchants' and Jews' migrated to Majorca and the Valencian Country: this social phenomenon has at some time been called "repopulation". Although the bibliography has traditionally paid more attention to the participants in the conquests that took place between 1230 and 1248 (thanks to the payrolls of the beneficiaries of the redistribution), the reality is that the migration was a long process that lasted during the whole second half of the 13th century and even the beginning of the 14th, although with different intensity depending on the regions and decades, as has been proved by anthroponymic studies by E. Guinot. Case studies such as that of J. Torró on the village of Alcoi (that was founded in 1256 and is outstanding for the richness of its preserved local documentation) showing how to the South of the Valencian Country the high-

est level of popular migration took place from 1280 to 1310, when the village passed from fifty families to more than two-hundred.[23]

We must realize that in the regions at the South of the Crown of Aragon where the immigrants arrived their settlement took place in places where the local Muslim population had already been displaced and expelled, and there was therefore no rigid social control. On the contrary, it is common to find indications that peasant families who arrived to a village soon after migrated to another, looking for better conditions. In general, neither the crown nor the feudal nobility were able to direct the population movements; they offered lands or granted population charters to a small group of peasants and, during the following decades new families continued arriving and in many cases receiving the same framework of rights and obligations as the first settlers. This is what happened at least in the 13th century.[24]

This great population movement had also two other important consequences. On the one hand, the population of the empty space generated in the Old Catalonia and in Aragon, that is relevant because of the impact it produced in the old feudal zones, and an aspect that has not been much researched. From the indications of the people who arrived to the Valencian Country we know that the migration came from all the counties of Catalonia and Aragon, maybe more intensely from Central-Western Catalonia. But what we do not know is which social sectors of the peasantry and artisans took the decision to migrate to the South, what were their reasons and by what mechanisms they did so, whether by simple personal decision or by the lords' pressure, nor whether a permission was necessary in the lordly domains, etc.

It seems reasonable to believe that they were the most impoverished rural and urban groups of that time, because they would be ready to risk their future; it is also possible to think that they would rather tend to leave from those domains where the pressure of the obligations was harder, but at the same time the people who left generated changes among those who stayed: the possibility to have access to some land, to occupy a farm, to inherit in the following years, etc. It has been suggested, for instance, that the generalization (not the appearance) at the end of the 13th century of the *remença* (peasant attached to the land) could be related with the lords' will to guarantee the continuity of their agrarian exploitations in the Old Catalonia during this migratory process.[25]

On the other hand the new strong relationship with Islamic society, even if military defeated, must be taken into account. It was not, obviously, anything new because both in the Ebre Valley and in the New Catalonia this contact had existed throughout the 12th century, but now, in spite of the terrible violence of the conquest and of the expulsions, a coexistence of the two societies almost on the same footing appeared, particularly in the Valencian Country. It is reckoned that during the 13th century more than 50% of the Islamic people stayed in the country,

which means that the sociological and anthropological contact must have been considerable. Let us think on how questions such as food, clothes, customs, objects or vocabulary must have helped in the interaction, often in an imperceptible way for the people themselves, but in an inevitable way – as R.I. Burns has studied in the case of the *Mudèjars* (Muslims living in a Christian kingdom) and Th. F. Glick in the case of the partial transmission of the uses, customs and vocabulary of the Andalusí systems of irrigation.[26]

We should also have to mention the different decisions taken by the Church to confront the situation of tens of thousands of Muslims that remained under its sway, even a direct sway. The Dominican Order, for instance, set up Arabic studies in their new convents of Valencia and Xàtiva in order to be able to preach and convert Valencian Saracens to Christianity, although they completely failed and soon abandoned them,[27] while at the same time the bishop of Valencia and the military Orders of the Temple and of the Hospital respected their Muslim vassals in their seigneuries of Xivert, Onda, Montroi or Perputxent without planning their expulsion or their conversion.

NEW AGRARIAN STRUCTURES IN THE SETTING OF THE FEUDAL DOMAIN

Due to the importance of the migration in the second half of the 13th century of thousands of peasant families towards the South of the Crown of Aragon, it seems logic to assume that it must have caused some changes in the pressure on the land and the arable areas in the original territories of Catalonia and the Aragonese Pyrenees. But this question has not been studied in a concrete way and has not until now been generally considered as a substantial variable, in contrast with what is habitual in the bibliography on the Castilian Crown and the effects of the repopulation of Andalusia, also in the 13th century.

As said above, the exception to this comes from the legal side, since it must have been the fear of many Catalan lords over the migration towards the South that must have caused the rise of the legal pressure on the peasantry of Old Catalonia and the central counties. In fact, from 1260 to 1300 the information about the forced adscription of peasants to the land – *homines proprii, solidi et affocati* – is quite common, as well as the lawsuits over the interpretation of seigniorage and the obligation to declare and to acknowledge in writing the taxes that peasants had to pay: the latter are known as *capbreviacions*.[28]

Practically though, the greatest transformations in the agrarian structures took really place in the conquered Muslim regions. The so-called repopulation involved the direction by feudal power (the monarchy in the royal towns and the nobility, whether lay or ecclesiastic, in their seigneuries) of the process of foundation by means of the charters of population of colonized towns and villages. And at the same time it involved the settlement on small

scale farms of peasant families who had emigrated to Valencia and Majorca; they played the chief role in an important break in the organization of plotted land and in the exploitation of the land by small family units, but also in the growing of crops (now cereals and vines prevailed) and in the enlargement of stockbreeding – as has been studied for Majorca by R. Soto, H. Kirchner and G. Jover.[29]

In the case of the Valencian Country, there are areas where the Muslim population stayed, and everything seems to point to irrigated lands and dry farming not suffering remarkable changes there; but in those areas where lands were redistributed among Christian colonizers there was a concentration of the population in greater villages while the population dispersed in farmhouses disappeared; there was also a redistribution and important enlargement of the cultivated area, particularly in the dry lands: micro-toponymy, for instance, with expression such as *sorts* or *sortes* bears witness by meaning the new plotted areas in the 13th century and distributed among Christian colonizers; as it does to the already mentioned spread in the growth of cereals for making bread, and especially of vineyards, a fact well documented in the new settlement of lands at this time.[30]

On the other hand, the settlement of Christian colonizers in Majorca and Valencia meant the foundation of hundreds of new villages and rural communities distinguished by their own legal statute and often granted some written privileges; there were more than a thousand new peasant family farms who doubtlessly enjoyed more favourable legal and economical conditions than in many of the areas of the Old Catalonia, besides the possibilities of collective organization around the new created autonomous municipalities in each rural community. While in the Old Catalonia the parish had been the initial cell to congregate peasant families, in the Southern lands the rural municipality played this same role, that became generalized in the last quarter of the 13th century in Majorca and the Valencian Country, as well as in the South of Catalonia, and the region of Teruel.[31]

Besides, the *Privilegium Magnum* granted by king Peter the Great to the December 1283 session of the Valencian Parliament stated, among other things, the freedom for all the inhabitants of the kingdom to reside beyond the boundaries of the township where they owned lands; that is, the vassal condition was marked by the place of residence –which was free– rather than by the concession of lands in a seigneury. It was possible therefore, at least in some areas, as for instance the irrigated lands near the city of Valencia, physically to live under the king and to cultivate lands in a neighbour seigneury.[32]

Despite this, we must state that beyond the growing and colonizing dynamics we are referring to, as well as beyond the improvements for the peasant sector, the social model of feudal relationships based on the seigneury was still solid and well established during the second half of the 13th century. The nobility enjoyed an exclusive jurisdiction that was affected neither by the extension of the royal dominion nor by the new municipal competences.

The seigneury with its rights on land and people went on being the basic form of dominion in the rural world of the Crown of Aragon during the 13th century, and the conquests of the new kingdoms spread it in a very sound way over the Balearic and Valencian lands.[33]

The 1230 royal redistribution of the island of Majorca, for instance, implied the donation of half of the island to the high nobility who participated in the war of conquest; but within the royal half the crown gave away a large number of small properties and delimited territories to nobles and ecclesiastics, as has been studies by R. Soto. In the case of the Valencian Country, at the end of the 13th century almost two thirds of the territory were already seigneurial, basically seigneuries of the lay nobility where most of the Muslim population that had not been expelled were concentrated.[34]

A bourgeois and mercantile society

As it is well known, the Mediterranean world and therefore the Catalan-Aragonese Crown was immersed by the middle of the 13th century in a clear process of town development, both from the physical, demographic and political point of view as from the social –bourgeois or citizen– with their economical functions, more of a mercantile than of a manufacturing kind. In this context there is no doubt that around 1250 Barcelona was the urban, economic and bourgeois capital of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, greater than the commercial and textile developed Perpinyà. But the conquests of Majorca and Valencia, and especially the transformation of these Andalusí cities into capitals of the new kingdoms annexed to the Catalan monarchy meant a remarkable enlargement of the urban and mercantile scenario because they became the poles of a mercantile triangle of exchange that was also extended to Perpinyà and Tortosa.[35]

The true maritime commercial development had its highest peak in the 14th and 15th centuries, but the basis of its organization was laid down now, when to the traditional international maritime trade an increase was added to the demand and the consumption from rural sectors and from the urban population. This is the reason why we can talk of three different spheres of commercial activity that were interwoven and formed a network during the second half of the 13th century: on the one hand, the routes opened in the previous century by Barcelona that were based on the trade in species through the Eastern Mediterranean towards Alexandria, Beirut, Cyprus, etc.[36] Nonetheless, the incorporation of the island of Majorca, as later that of Sardinia, entailed a parallel increase in conflicts, sometimes even of a warlike character, with the other powers of the Western Mediterranean, such as Genoa.[37]

Completing the previous circuit, from the 1240s a tri-

angle was formed by the three maritime capitals (Barcelona, Majorca and Valencia) that progressively established itself; they redistributed the products among themselves although with a functional hierarchy. Whereas Barcelona stayed in the pole for the farthest and most expensive products, the City of Majorca, taking advantage of its geographical situation, became an exchange harbour in the middle of the Western Mediterranean so that from the beginning it exchanged many more products that the ones it needed for its own consumption.[38]

For its part, during the 13th century Valencia was basically the point of arrival of the manufactures coming from Barcelona, the Occitan capitals and the Italian cities, which it distributed to the interior of the kingdom, while its exterior maritime trade was mainly dedicated to the export of raw materials, not to forget the traffic in Valencian Muslims sold as slaves. This is the reason why the period has been qualified as "colonial trade", a logical attribute since it was still the period of colonization and of the shaping of the urban patrician class of the Valencian capital.[39] It was no coincidence then that for the first time great merchants created in Barcelona, in 1279, the *Consolat de Mar* (Sea Consulate) with specific competence to judge their business pleas; nor that the first spreading of consulates in more than a dozen harbours of the Mediterranean was patronized by this city, although they admitted the presence of merchants from the whole Crown.[40]

Parallel to this commercial activity, the capitals of the Crown of Aragon welcomed during the 13th century, in an increasing way, a manufacturing activity that went beyond the mere artisan function of providing for the locality. Although it is true that for two centuries the luxury clothes would still be coming from Flanders and Italy, little by little the 13th century Catalan cities, in particular Barcelona and Perpinyà, led the development of an authentic textile manufacture able to compete with the Occitan clothes of an average quality for internal popular consumption.[41]

It is no wonder then that during the 13th century these cities organized the first brotherhoods or craft corporations (the word 'guild' was not usual). Under the umbrella of religious protection, the craftsmen of the same trade or of related trades organized themselves into entities more for mutual solidarity than for professional competence, because in practice, it was the municipal councils that at the end of the century tended to monopolize the technical and professional supervision of competence.[42]

It can even be said that from that time the cities were the backbone of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown because they became the centres of royal political power, the sees where the powerful municipal councils negotiated with the Crown the important questions of public life; they were the venues where the kingdoms' parliaments began to hold their sessions, and where the powerful urban bourgeoisie had their residence. But at the same time, more and more, they became the residence of the feudal nobility and of the ecclesiastical hierarchies, as

it is made evident by the studies of C. Batlle on Barcelona.[43]

THE TRANSFORMATIONS OF POLITICAL POWER: CROWN, MUNICIPALITIES AND LEGISLATION

Obviously, a historical process of such magnitude as were the conquests of Majorca and Valencia in little less than fifteen years entailed a transformation of the political structure of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown, beginning with the new titles of the monarchs (who went from being kings of Aragon and counts of Barcelona to being also kings of Majorca and Valencia). One of the major differences with the contemporary conquests of Seville, Cordoba and the whole valley of the Guadalquivir by the Castilian king Ferdinand III was that James I, instead of incorporating Majorca and Valencia to the two pre-existing countries, decided to give them their own entity. This decision involved, for instance, the possibility to divide the royal heritage, as was actually done by James I at his death in 1276, but also the need to define concretely the borders between Aragon and Catalonia or between Aragon and Valencia.[44]

Besides, during the second half of the 13th century, the Crown was little by little producing a political discourse that claimed the superiority of royal power, aiming at spreading it over all the areas of its sovereignty; in order to do this the group of legal and ecclesiastical royal counsellors brought up on the new legal Bologna tradition planned the recovery of Roman right or common law, which in broad lines claimed the superiority of public authority over the whole population within its kingdoms. The first fruits of this new planning were the *Carta de Franquesa de Mallorca* (Franchise Charter of Majorca) granted by the king on 1st of March 1230, and the *Costum de València* (Valencia's Custom) granted probably in the spring of 1239, later transformed into the *Furs de València* (Valencia's Charter) that incorporated the modifications introduced by the monarch himself in 1250, and again in 1261 and 1271. This text was successively reformed, and was one of the first European Romanist codes, parallel to the famous *Partidas* of the Castilian king Alphonse X, but with the very remarkable difference that whereas the *Partidas* remained practically a theoretical text that, because of the frontal opposition of the Castilian nobility, was never really applied, the *Furs* had a definitive validity.

Besides, the territorial legislation granted to the new conquered kingdoms had repercussions on Catalonia and Aragon because it enlivened the process of territorialization of their respective feudal legal traditions. A brief period of time, from 1247 to 1251, concentrated the approval by their respective parliaments of the territorialization of their three legal codes. In the previous year the Aragonese Parliament summoned by the king in the town of Huesca passed the compilation of laws called *Furs*

d'Aragó (Aragonese Charter), carried out by bishop Vidal de Canyelles on the king's command. At the beginning of 1250, by the incorporation of a great number of royal privileges, the Custom of Valencia was converted into the *Furs de València* (Charter of Valencia), text promulgated by the monarch himself in Morella. The Catalan Parliament was held in Barcelona in 1251 and approved the reorganization and compilation of the *Usatges* as the general law of the Principality.[45]

At the same time, the second half of the 13th century saw the definitive spread of municipal powers, first in the great royal cities and villages, at the end of the century in the lordly townships, at least in Valencia and the Southern part of Catalonia and Aragon. This creation by James I and the autonomous municipal institutions was much related to the need of the crown to receive the political and economic support from the urban bourgeoisie, from the citizenship, as a counterbalance to the power of feudal nobility. Beginning with the privileges granted to Tàrrega (1242), Montpellier (1246), Valencia (1245) and the City of Majorca (1249), they continued with those of Barcelona (1249, 1258, 1260, 1265, 1274), Lleida (1264) and Perpinyà (1273), as well as to the Aragonese towns of Teruel (1245), Jaca (1250), Daroca (1257), Huesca (1261) and Zaragoza (1271).[46]

The main objective was the creation of a political entity autonomous from the Crown, capable of taking its own decisions. This entity soon also became judiciary and financial, and was put into the hands of the citizens and leading men of each of the communities, *i.e.*, of their urban oligarchies. The formal model was generalized around a collective executive formed by juries, *paers*[47] municipal officials or consuls, a consultative assembly formed by a variable number of counsellors with parochial and guild representatives, and a judiciary power in the hands of justice. All these posts were annually occupied by neighbours elected among their own groups by various more or less indirect systems.[48]

Final balance

In short, it is obvious that the rapid conquests of the Balearic Islands and the Valencian Country in the middle of the 13th century caused important political, social, human and economic transformations in the Catalan-Aragonese society and state of that time, not forgetting, for instance, the expansion of the Catalan language and of the Christian religion, or the spreading of Gothic art into the new territories, even if in this work we have not focussed on these questions.

Fortunately, some outstanding documentary sources on this process have survived, from the Books of the Redistribution to the bureaucracy of the Royal Chancery; these documents have made possible a considerable advance in depth in the research on questions such as the population of new areas, the destruction of previous Mus-

lim ones and the construction of a new feudal society. Previous bibliography had attached the greatest importance to the aspect of the greater freedom and franchises for the new areas, for peasants and city bourgeois. Without underrating these, the dominant approach seems now to be understanding all this process as an enlargement of the Catalan-Aragonese feudal society.

In the past it has not been easy to evaluate the impact on rural society and on the urban part of those two original areas, but it seems obvious that in the middle of the 13th century the transformations produced by the new societies of colonizers settled in Majorca and in the Valencian Country, and the deep dynamic of change and growth, particularly visible in Catalonia, coincided in the Kingdom of Aragon. This is how the process of enhancement, both economic and politic, of the city of Barcelona, was reinforced; this meant the enhancement of its bourgeois patrician class as well as the enlargement of its commercial networks and the first development of manufacturing.

It is not surprising therefore that between the impulse of the mercantile bourgeoisie of Barcelona and the importance of the new citizens of Majorca and Valencia, the Crown should have found a scenario propitious to promote ambitious political reforms: granting autonomy to the municipalities, the participation of the latter in the parliamentary system, the Crown's promulgation of a territorial legislation based on the recovery of Roman public law. That is, an alliance between Crown and the urban patrician class in front of the nobility that, in spite of the rebellions of the latter, became definitive in the passage to the Low Middle Ages.

Notes and References

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[2]   See for instance the explanation by F. Sabaté. "Catalunya medieval". In: A. Balcells (Ed.). *Història de Catalunya*. L'Esfera dels Llibres, Barcelona 2004, pp. 101-334; or M. Aventín, J. M. Salrach. *Història medieval de Catalunya*. Proa, Barcelona 1998.

[3]   F. Soldevila. *Història de Catalunya*. 3 vols. Ed. Alpha, Barcelona 1962 (1ª ed. 1934-35). The works of

P. Viciano on historiography and Medievalism are excellent; we recommend his books: *Des de temps immemorial*. Tàndem edicions, València 2003 (pp.190-193 his comments on F. Soldevila and James I), and *El regne perdut. Quatre historiadors a la recerca de la identitat valenciana*. Ed. Afers, Catarroja-Barcelona 2005.

[4]   J. Reglà. *Aproximació a la història del País Valencià*. E. Climent editor, València 1968; J. Fuster. *Nosaltres els valencians*. Edicions 62, Barcelona 1962; C. Batlle. "L'expansió baixmedieval (segles XIII-XV)" vol. 3 de *Història de Catalunya*. P. Vilar (Dir.). Edicions 62, Barcelona 1999.

[5]   A. Santamaria. "En torno a la evolución del modelo de sociedad en el reino de Mallorca (siglos XII-XVIII)". *Estudis Baleàrics*, I/3 (1981), pp. 1-195; A. Santamaria. *Ejecutoria del Reino de Mallorca*. Ajuntament de Palma de Mallorca, Palma 1990; A. Ubieto. *Orígenes del reino de Valencia*, 2 vols. Anúbar, Valencia-Zaragoza 1975-1977; R. Ferrer Navarro. "Ampliación de la corona de Aragón. I. El reino de Valencia". *La Corona de Aragón*, vol. 3. Ed. Aragón, Barcelona-Zaragoza 1988, pp. 173-241; R. Ferrer Navarro. *Conquista y repoblación del reino de Valencia*. Del Senia al Segura, Valencia 1999.

[6]   P. Viciano does a stocktaking of the new historiographic currents: "La recerca sobre el feudalisme català medieval: un assaig des de la perifèria", 9, *Afers*, 50 (2005), pp. 43-71. The following can be a selection of authors on this issue: F. Sabaté. *L'expansió territorial de Catalunya (segles IX-XII): ¿conquesta o repoblació?*. Universitat de Lleida, Lleida 1996; F. Sabaté. "La feudalització de la societat catalana". *El temps i l'espai del feudalisme*, Pagès editorial, Lleida 2004, pp. 221-405; A. Virgili. *Ad detrimentum Yspanie: la conquesta de Turtusa i la formació de la societat feudal (1148-1200)*. Publicacions de la Universitat de València, València 2001; J. Portella. "La conquesta catalana i l'estructuració d'una nova formació social a Mallorca. Un estat de la qüestió". *I Col·loqui d'Història Agrària*. Institució Alfons el Magnànim, València 1983, pp. 119-131; R. Soto, G. Jover. "Colonización feudal y organización del territorio, Mallorca, 1230-1350". *Revista de Historia Económica*, 20 (2002), pp. 439-477; A. Furió, F. Garcia-Oliver. "Dificultats agràries en la formació i consolidació del feudalisme al País Valencià". *Estudi General (Actes del Col·loqui La formació i expansió del feudalisme català)*, 5-6 (1985-86), pp. 291-310; P. Iradiel. "Cristianos feudales en Valencia. Aspectos sobre la formación del territorio y de la sociedad". *España-Al-Andalus. Sefarad: síntesis y nuevas perspectivas*. Universidad de Salamanca, Salamanca 1990, pp. 49-67; E. Guinot. *Feudalismo en expansión en el norte valenciano*. Diputació de Castelló, Castelló de la Plana 1986; J.

Torró. *La formació d'un espai feudal: Alcoi de 1245 a 1305*. Diputació de València, València 1992.

[7]   J. Torró. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1236-1276)*. Publicacions de la Universitat de València, València 1999; J. Torró. "Pour en finir avec la Reconquête. L'occupation chrétienne d'Al-Andalus, la soumission et la disparition des populations musulmanes (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)". *Cahiers d'Histoire*, 78 (2000), pp. 79-97; R. Soto. "De la agricultura andalusí a la feudal: ¿una ruptura agroecológica? (Mallorca, 1230-1350)". *La construcción histórica del paisaje agrario en España y Cuba*. Madrid 2003, pp. 25-52.

[8]   It needs to be mentioned that this approach has not only been aggressively exposed with boycotts to academic lectures and conferences, but was also directly involved in the political battle against left-wing social and political organizations. It adopted in particular an intolerant attitude of accusations and persecutions against university lecturers of the Faculties of History and Geography of the University of Valencia, as well as against the whole intellectual world.

[9]   2008, eighth centenary of James I's birth, has been generous in new editions of his royal chronicle. Nonetheless we recommend the classical critical editions for their quality and their valuable information, F. Soldevila. *Les quatre grans Cròniques. I. Llibre dels feits del rei Jaume*, philologically revised by J. Bruguera, historically revised by M. T. Ferrer i Mallol, IEC, Barcelona 2007.

[10] The Arabic-Latin codex was edited by J. Busquets Mulet. "El códice latino-arábigo del Repartimiento de Mallorca (Parte latina)". *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 28/30 (1947-1952), pp. 708-758, and the Arabic part also by himself, "El códice latino-arábigo del Repartimiento de Mallorca (Parte árabe)". *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, t. 1, CSIC, Barcelona 1954, pp. 243-300. The Catalan codex was published by R. Soto. *Còdex català del Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*. Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura, Palma 1984; and the text of the portion of Count Nunó Sanç was edited by G. Rosselló-Bordoy, A. Mut Calafell. *La "Remenbrança..." de Nunyo Sanç. Una relació de les seves propietats a la ruralia de Mallorca*. Facsimile edition, transcription and notes, Govern Balear, Palma 1993. A revised edition of the three of them has been published this year by G. Rosselló-Bordoy. *Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca i la documentació feudal*. Parlament de les Illes Balears, Palma 2008.

[11] We have at our disposal two modern editions of the Book of the Parcelling up of Valencia, A. Ferrando Francés. *Llibre del Repartiment del Regne de València*, introduction, critical edition and transla-

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[13] The Valencian settling charters have been edited by E. Guinot. *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes.* Generalitat Valenciana, València 1991. On the rich local documentation to know about the process of slow colonizing during the second half of the 13th century XIII, a good sample is constituted by the series of the Royal Charters' Scribe of the Archives of the Kingdom of Majorca, and, in Valencia, the municipal archives of Alcoi and Cocentaina that have been the base of such detailed studies as those by: J. Torró. *La formació d'un espai feudal: Alcoi de 1245 a 1305.* Diputació de València, València 1992, and by C. Ferragud. *El naixement d'una vila rural valenciana. Cocentaina, 1245-1304.* Universitat de València-Ajuntament de Cocentaina, València 2003.

[14] A. Santamaria. "La Carta de Franquesa de Mallorca, estatuto constituyente del Reino". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (1987), pp. 207-228.

[15] The edition of the Valencian Charter by A. Garcia, G. Colon, V. Garcia Edo. *Furs de València*, 9 vols. Ed. Barcino, Barcelona 1973-2002 is the most complete. There is also the dition of the Valencian Charter of the 13th century by P. López Elum. *Los orígenes de los Furs de València y de Las Cortes en el siglo XIII* . Biblioteca Valenciana, València 2001.

[16] There are several biographies of king James I, but we must at least mention three very recent ones: A.

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[17] A. Mas Forners. "Un regne dins la mar. El procés migratori català i l'extinció de la població indígena a Mallorca". *L'Avenç*, 290 (2004), pp. 35-39; R. Soto. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 30 (1994), pp. 167-206.

[18] P. Cateura. *Mallorca en el siglo XIII*. El Tall Editorial, Mallorca 1997, pp. 69-71; E. K. Aguiló. "Actes de venda o modificació de domini atorgats pels primers grans porcioners de l'illa". *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, 13 (1910-11), pp. 284-286; P. Cateura. "Mallorca y la política patrimonial de la monarquía (siglo XIII y primera mitad del siglo XIV)". *Estudis Baleàrics,* 6 (1982), pp. 103-104.

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NOT. "El repartiment feudal de l'Horta de València al segle XIII...", pp. 111-196; E.Guinot. "Canvis i transformacions en l'organització del poblament al País Valencià arran de la conquesta feudal del segle XIII". *Territori i Societat a l'Edat Mitjana*, II (1998), pp. 153-174.

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[47] *Paer*: town councillor. The word is derived from the Latin *paciariu*, peace maker.

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