UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
Los Angeles

Economic and Demographic Change through Notarial Sources:

The Example of Puigcerdà 1260-1360

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in History

by

Elizabeth Ann Comuzzi

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Economic and Demographic Change through Notarial Sources:

The Example of Puigcerdà 1260-1360

by

Elizabeth Ann Comuzzi

Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Professor Jessica Goldberg, Co-Chair

Professor Teófilo F. Ruiz, Co-Chair

Around the year 1300, after over three hundred years of sustained economic growth, Europe entered a period of prolonged crisis and recession. This thesis examines the economic development of a Pyrenean town, Puigcerdà, and the surrounding valley, Cerdanya, between 1260 and 1360, during this transition. I examine the economic role this valley played in southern Europe and show that Puigcerdà experienced an unusually profound transition from growth to contraction beginning in the 1340s. I begin, in Part 1, with an extended methodological analysis of the notarial institution of medieval Puigcerdà, to demonstrate that notarial sources may be

used as accurate proxies for understanding economic and demographic trends. Part 2 examines the population and economy of Puigcerdà in one year, based on in-depth analysis of over 7,800 notarial entries surviving from the year 1321/2. I introduce a new method for estimating population using notarial registers and show that the town had a likely population of around 8,500 people in 1321/2. I also examine the structure of the valley's economy, revealing that industrial and commercial activity were dominated by the cloth industry, while much of the local agricultural activity centered on sheepherding.

In Part 3, I examine how the town's economy rose and fell, and the shifts in the valley's connections to other regions and broader trade networks between 1260 and 1360. Using sampled acts from decade-long intervals, I show that the town's economy rose during the late-thirteenth century led largely by the early growth of a local cloth industry. The economy stagnated in the early fourteenth century, even as the town began to become increasing connected, through the cloth trade, to distant regions. Finally, the town faced a profound economic and demographic collapse that began in the 1340s around the time of Cerdanya's reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon. Many wealthier members of Puigcerdan society, often from mercantile families who had begun exporting Puigcerdan cloth, particularly in Aragon, Navarre and Castile, relocated to Lleida and Barcelona shortly after reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon, undoubtedly contributing to the decline. My findings highlight the need for greater attention to regional and sub-regional differences in studying medieval economic growth and decline and suggest that late-medieval regional integration benefited central cities, at the expense of peripheral towns like Puigcerdà.

The dissertation of Elizabeth Ann Comuzzi is approved.

Daniel Lord Smail

John Dagenais

Teófilo F. Ruiz, Committee Co-Chair

Jessica Goldberg, Committee Co-Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

For my family

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List of Abbreviations

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó
ACCE	Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya
ACU	Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell
ADPO	Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales
HBE, Book 1	Transcriptions of the *Llibre primer dels actes del hospital de Bernat de Enveig* by Albert Salsas

Note on Names, Dates and Money

To emphasize that all of Cerdanya, and the other formerly Catalan territories that were ceded to France in 1659 were culturally and linguistically Catalan in the middle ages, I use the Catalan spellings of all places in these areas. Cerdanya is always Cerdanya, not "Cerdagne;" Rosselló is Rosselló, not Roussillon, etc., except in direct quotes from authors writing in English. I similarly prefer the Catalan spelling, Mallorca, to the English Majorca. There are three exceptions: following a tradition of other scholars writing of this region in English, I have not found it necessary to use the Catalan Catalunya but have preferred the English Catalonia; I have also left the modern-French form Perpignan (not the Catalan Perpinyà) for that city and retained the name Ibiza, in favor of the Catalan form Eivissa. Towns in Languedoc have been referred to by their modern-French names, though in the medieval period many of these locals had different, Occitan names. I have chosen to refer to the small region of Donasà, between Catalonia and Languedoc in this period, by the Catalan name, rather than the French Donezan.

To emphasize the culturally Catalan identity of the residents of Cerdanya in this period I have translated the Latin forms of names of most people appearing in the notarial registers from this period into Catalan forms. I have used the modern Catalan spellings of common names, even when it is known that the prevailing medieval forms differed (i.e., Jaume, rather than Jacme). I have translated the names of residents of Languedoc into Occitan forms, and those of residents of Aragon into Spanish. For the names of Tuscan merchants appearing in these registers I have translated their first names from Latin into Italian. But, due to the difficulty of determining the original Italian form of an Italian name recorded in Latin by a native speaker of Catalan, I have left the Italian surnames in the form in which they appear in the sources. As for the common

people appearing in the notarial registers, I have preferred the modern Catalan forms for the names of the kings of Mallorca and the count-kings of Aragon and Catalonia, who had a predominantly Catalan cultural identity prior to the fifteenth century. The numbering of such rulers can be extremely confusing due to the federated nature of the territories they ruled. One king may be "Alfons I" of Barcelona, but "Alfonso II" of Aragon. For this work in particular the issue is further complicated by the simultaneous existence of Jaume II of Aragon/Barcelona and Jaume II of Mallorca. Following the example of Rebecca Winer, in an effort to limit confusion, I refer to all count-kings of Catalonia and Aragon, and all kings of Mallorca mainly by the common epithets appended to their names, when there is one, and otherwise make every effort to make the identity of the ruler in question clear.

In the dating system used in Puigcerdà prior to 1351, the year began and ended on March 25th. Under this system March 24, 1321 was only one day before March 25, 1322, and a whole year after March 25, 1321. In the interest of limiting confusion, I have adjusted all dates to conform to modern dating, with the year beginning on January 1. For dates in between January 1 and March 24 I have included the original, medieval year afterwards in brackets. For example, January 2, 1322 [1321].

The primary money in use in Cerdanya in this period was the *diner de tern* of Barcelona. It followed the old Carolingian system where a pound (*librum* in Latin, *lliura* in Catalan) equaled twenty shillings (*solidi* in Latin, *sous* in Catalan) and one shilling equaled twelve pennies (*denarii* in Latin, *diners* in Catalan). I have used the Catalan terms in referring to these coinages. Other coinages minted in different locations but using the same system of denominations appear more rarely and are noted in the text.

Preface

This dissertation was completed during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Due to widespread library closures and travel restrictions, some sections are lacking citations to relevant secondary and published primary sources.

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I appreciate the insights and assistance of all those named anove, in addition to many others not named here. All errors, of course, remain my own.

Vita

EDUCATION

M. A. University of California, Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA. History, 2014

B.A. Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, PA. English Literature and Medieval Studies with High Honors, 2011

GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2019	Medieval Academy of America Frederic C. Lane Dissertation Grant
2019	UCLA Department of History Graduate Research Travel Stipend
2017-2018	Fulbright U.S. Student Fellowship, Spain
2016-2017	Lynn and Maude White Fellowship, UCLA Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
2016	UCLA Department of History Graduate Research Travel Stipend
2016	UCLA Research Travel Grant
2015	UCLA Late Antique, Medieval and Renaissance Consortium Summer Fellowship
2015	UCLA Department of History Graduate Research Travel Stipend
2014-2015	UCLA Graduate Research Mentorship
2014	UCLA Graduate Summer Research Mentorship
2013	UCLA Mary Eversoll Travel Fellowship

PUBLICATIONS

Articles

"Mediterranean Trade in the Pyrenees: Italian Merchants in Puigcerdà 1300-1350." *Pedralbes* 40 (2020). (Forthcoming)

"Guild Formation and the Artisanal Labor Market: the Example of Castelló d'Empúries, 1260-1310." (Under review).

Book Reviews

"Mothers and Sons, Inc: Martha de Cabanis in Medieval Montpellier", Kathryn L. Reyerson (263-265). In: *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Vol. 49 (2018).

PRESENTATIONS

2019 "The Movement of Mediterranean Products into Inland Markets: The Example of Italian Woad in Puigcerdà 1300-1360," July 9, Sixth Biennial Conference of the Society for the Medieval Mediterranean, Barcelona, Spain

2019 "Estimating Medieval Populations Through Notarial Evidence: The Example of Early 14th c. Puigcerdà," April 9, Harvard University Medieval History Workshop, Cambridge, MA

2018 "Estimating Medieval Urban Populations: a New Approach," October 27, California Medieval History Seminar, San Marino, CA

2018 "Mediterranean Trade in the Pyrenees: Italian Merchants in Puigcerdà 1300-1350," October 13, Iberia, the Mediterranean, and the World in the Late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period Conference, Los Angeles, CA

2018 "Relational Databases for Research with Notarial Documents," June 8, Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya, Puigcerdà, Spain

2018 "Puigcerdà in 1321-1322: Economic Activity through Notarial Evidence," April 4, Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona, Spain

2018 "Guild Formation and the Artisanal Labor Market: the Case of Castelló d'Empúries, 1260-1310," March 1, 93rd Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Atlanta, GA

2017 "The Seasonal Economic Patterns of a Mountain Town: Puigcerdà 1321-1322," May 13, 52nd International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI

2017 "Seasonal Economic Patterns in the Medieval Catalan Pyrenees: the Example of Puigcerdà 1321-1322," April 25, California Symposium on Catalan Studies, Los Angeles, CA

2015 "Exploitation or Educational Opportunity: The Nature of Apprenticeship in Castelló d'Empúries 1260-1310," May 2, California Medieval History Seminar, San Marino, CA

2015 "The Model of Kingship in the *Llibre dels fets* of Jaume I," April 10, Princeton University Graduate Conference in Medieval Studies, Princeton, NJ

2015 "The Nature of Apprenticeship in Castelló d'Empúries 1260-1310," March 12, *Institut de Recerca Històrica,* Universitat de Girona, Girona, Spain

2014 "Apprenticeship and Artisanal Upward Mobility in Castelló d'Empúries 1260-1310," May 31, UCSB Graduate Conference in Medieval Studies, Santa Barbara, CA

Introduction

This dissertation is about the Catalan town of Puigcerdà and its surrounding valley, Cerdanya, from 1260 to 1360, focusing on the town's economy, the economic role that this valley played within medieval Catalonia and southern Europe more broadly, and on this area's development and connections over the later middle ages. It addresses two questions: 1) How similar were the patterns of economic activity and regional economic development of Cerdanya to those of other southern European regions? And 2) to what extent was this region integrated within broader European and Mediterranean trade networks? Around the first half of the fourteenth century, after over three hundred years of sustained economic growth, Europe entered a period of prolonged crisis and recession. This transition from growth to contraction, beginning around the early fourteenth century, was particularly profound in Puigcerdà. The town thus offers a valuable case study through which to understand the nature of this economic transition in southern Europe more broadly.

Puigcerdà is today a small town of just under 9,000 people. It sits on a hill in the center of the eastern-Pyrenean valley of Cerdanya—formerly a unified county at the heart of the Catalan Pyrenees, now politically divided between Spain and France. The valley's contemporary economy is largely dominated by agriculture (particularly raising horses for meat) and—increasingly, since the popularization of skiing and the construction of a tunnel in the 1980s that significantly reduced the time to travel to Cerdanya from Barcelona—tourism. In part because of its small size today, medieval Puigcerdà has not been well understood. Contemporary historians have had a habit of assuming that because Puigcerdà today is small and not particularly significant within the economic and political geography of Catalonia, that it must have been still

smaller and less economically and politically significant in the middle ages. In fact, the town's transition to economic and demographic decline was far greater, and more permanent than that of other similarly sized Catalan towns.

As I will show in this thesis, in the first quarter of the fourteenth century Puigcerdà had a population of at least 8,000 to 9,000 people. While certainly smaller than late-medieval Barcelona and Perpignan, and probably also Lleida, it was thus likely around the size of Tarragona, Tortosa and Girona, today much larger and more important secondary centers. While direct comparisons are challenging, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, Puigcerdà was probably between the fourth and sixth largest urban center in Catalonia in this period. Medieval Catalans were aware of the town's size. In the year 1398 the Catalan viscount Ramon de Perellós went on pilgrimage to Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland. In his description of his voyage, he noted that one of the Irish towns he passed through was "as big as Puigcerdà or Tarragona."[1] Ramon certainly understood Puigcerdà and Tarragona to be approximately the same size (a fact that surviving fourteenth-century population estimates bear out, as I discuss later). But while today Tarragona—a provincial capital with a population of well over 100,000 people—is one of the largest urban centers in Catalonia, Puigcerdà is not. Beginning in the mid-fourteenth century, Puigcerdà, unlike most of the other towns it had resembled in that period, experienced a profound and enduring economic and demographic collapse from which it has never fully recovered. That the town had lost over 90 percent of its population between the early fourteenth century and the mid sixteenth century was clear to its early-modern inhabitants: a mid-sixteenth-century chronicler of Puigcerdà recorded that at that time Puigcerdà had about six or seven

[1] Ramon de Perellós, *Journey to Saint Patrick's Purgatory,* In J. P. Mahaffy, "Two Early Tours in Ireland," *Hermathena* 18, no. 40 (1914): 1–16, 5.

hundred inhabitants, but that "they say that formerly there were six or seven thousand households, and certainly the vestiges of the old town walls denote this."[2]

Early historians of medieval Catalonia looked back to the pre-industrialized seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for the "original" political and economic geography of medieval Catalonia. Though it has long been clear that the overall economic and demographic trend shifted over time, many have assumed that the overall hierarchy of major urban centers was largely unchanged between the medieval period and the industrial revolution. This was not the case, as the divergent examples of Puigcerdà and Tarragona show. Similarly, writing in the early twentieth century and undoubtedly influencd by the position of mountainous regions in that period and the preceding few centuries, Fernand Braudel saw the mountains as inherently backwards and unchanging. In his work on the Mediterranean, he states:

> In the mountains, society, civilization and economy all bear the mark of backwardness and poverty… The mountains are as a rule a world apart from civilizations, which are an urban and lowland achievement. Their history is to have none, to remain almost always on the fringe of the great waves of civilization…[3]

But recent work has shown that the mountainous regions of the Mediterranean were swept up in the industrial and commercial transformations of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[4] A clearer picture of Puigcerdà's economic development in the later middle ages, and how it

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[2] Salvador Galceran Vigué, ed., *Dietari de la fidelissima vila de Puigcerdà: Transcripcio literal del text i comentari original* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 1977), 59. Technically, this text states that the town had once had between six and seven thousand households, not inhabitants: "…*es vila de sis ho set Cents vehins; diuse que antiquement ere de sis ho set milia fochs y Cert los vestigis de les muralles derrocades ho denoten*..." However, since six or seven thousand households would have meant Puigcerdà was larger than Perpignan and second only to Barcelona, it seems certain that the author of this text meant to say it had been a town of some six or seven thousand inhabitants, not households. We can note clearly, however, that the townspeople were aware the town had experienced a drastic reduction in size that they reckoned had reduced the town's population by around 90 percent.

[3] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*., translated by Siân Reynolds, 2 vols, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 33-34. Originally published in French in 1949.

[4] As an example, see: Catherine Verna, *L'industrie au village: essai de micro-histoire (Arles-sur-Tech, XIVe et XVe siècles)*, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017).

compares to other Catalan towns, will help clarify the extent of local or intra-regional variation in historical economic development in Catalonia and medieval Europe. And in particular, the case of Puigcerdà, at the heart of the Eastern Pyrenees, offers insight into the relationship between mountainous zones and lowland areas and how it has changed over time.

Towards that end, I examine the economy and connections of Puigcerdà in the early fourteenth century, and an overview of how it developed and shifted over time between 1260 and 1360. I begin with an in-depth view of the structures of economic activity in this valley, based on analysis of over 7,800 surviving notarial entries from a single year, June 1321 to June 1322, and tracing the centrality of husbandry and the cloth industry within the local economy. Using sampled notarial entries from one year out of each decade, I then show that for Puigcerdà, the century between 1260 and 1360 was a period first of strong economic development, due to the rapid growth of the local cloth industry in the late thirteenth century, and then, in the second half of the century, a period of stagnation, followed by dramatic and irreversible decline. While Puigcerdà became connected to more distant regions in the fourteenth century, particularly to networks in Iberia and in the Mediterranean, many wealthy merchants migrated away from the town following the region's reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon in 1344, contributing to its decline.

Cerdanya: Geographical and Political Context

Cerdanya, the widest valley within the Pyrenees, contains a wide, flat plain at an altitude of around 3,600 feet, oriented mainly along an east-west axis.[5] It is bisected by the river Segre, which originates in Cerdanya, and passes through La Seu d'Urgell and Lleida before feeding into

[5] The altitude of Puigcerdà itself is slightly higher, at over 3,900 feet.

the Ebro. The valley has a natural geographical unity, surrounded on the north and south sides by high mountain ranges. Towards the north is a rim of mountains, broken in the middle by the narrow Vall de Querol. Towards the south is the imposing Serra del Cadí, which appears from Cerdanya as a continuous wall of rocky cliffs. The climate in the lower parts of the valley is mostly Mediterranean, while it is more Alpine at higher altitudes along the mountainsides. Today the valley experiences temperate summers and very cold winters.

The region has been inhabited since protohistoric times, first by the Ceretans, and then the Romans, who built a fort at Llívia. It was briefly under Islamic rule in the eighth century, before it was conquered by Charlemagne and established as the Carolingian county of Cerdanya.[6] Cerdanya was among the counties ruled by the early members of the House of Barcelona, including Guifré the Hairy, who passed it to one of his younger sons. When the last independent count of Cerdanya, Bernat, died without heirs in 1118, the county passed to his relative, Ramon Berenguer III, the count of Barcelona.[7] This was part of a longer process in which Catalonia became increasingly consolidated as a single territory under the control of the count of Barcelona.[8] Shortly afterwards Catalonia also became united within a federative territory known collectively as the Crown of Aragon. In 1150 Petronilla, heiress to the throne of

[6] On this early period, see: Jordi Bolòs i Masclans and Víctor Hurtado, *Atles dels comtats de Cerdanya i Berga (v788-990)* (Barcelona: Rafael Dalmau, 2015); Jaume Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà amb sa vegueria de Cerdanya i sotsvegueria de Vall de Ribes*, 2 vols. (Lleida: Impremta Mariana, 1928); Joan Blasi Solsona, *Els oblidats comtes de Cerdanya, 798-1117*, Col.lecció Nostra Historia 1 (Sant Vicenc de Castellet: El Farell edicions, 1999), 25-33.

[7] Blasi Solsona, *Els oblidats comtes,* 237-8.

[8] On this, see: Archibald R. Lewis, "The Formation of Territorial States in Southern France and Catalonia 1050-1270 A. D," in *Mélanges Roger Aubenas* (Montpellier: Faculté de droit et des sciences économiques, 1974); [8]

Aragon, married Ramon Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona.[9] Their son, Alfons the Chaste, would inherit both of their titles, becoming both count of Barcelona and king of Aragon.[10]

In 1177, Alfons founded the town of Puigcerdà on a hill in the center of Cerdanya on a parcel of land he had bought from the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà in 1175.[11] The foundation of Puigcerdà was likely intended to strengthen the Catalan position in the Pyrenees, both defensively and with the aim of serving Catalan ambitions in Languedoc.[12] The previous capital of the county of Cerdanya had been Ix, but the people were ordered to move themselves and the church of Santa Maria to Puigcerdà.[13] Shortly after it was founded, the king granted a series of valuable privileges to the new townspeople of Puigcerdà. In particular, in 1181 he exempted them from paying the *peatges*, *lleudes*, and *quèsties* (tolls, customs and other

[9] Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 3.

[10] He became count of Barcelona in 1162 after the death of his father, and, separately, king of Aragon in 1164, when his mother renounced her rights in his favor. Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 35, and Benito Vicente de Cuéllar, "Los 'condes-reyes' de Barcelona y la 'adquisición' del reino de Aragón por la dinastía bellónida," *Hidalguía*, XLIII (1995): 619–32; 630. Due to the fact that the Catalan and Aragonese territories remained federated, the numbering of their rulers can be extremely confusing. This Alfons was "Alfons I" as count of Barcelona, but "Alfonso II" as king of Aragon. Following the example of Rebecca Winer, in an effort to limit confusion, I will refer to all count-kings of Catalonia and Aragon, and all kings of Mallorca mainly by the common epithets appended to their names. In this case, Alfons I/Alfonso II is Alfons the Chaste.

[11] The town's original name was Moncerdà, but this was changed to Puigcerdà shortly afterwards. Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 171-7; José María Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, vol. 1, Textos 36 (Madrid; Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1969), Vol. 1, 634-6; José María Font Rius, "Poblats i municipis a la Cerdanya medieval," in *Primer congrés internacional d'història de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà: Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1983), 93–105; Manuel Rovira i Solà, "La carta de poblament i franquesa de Puigcerdà de 1178," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, no. 26 (2005): 199–204; Claude Denjean, "Puigcerda, 1177, un modèle pour une ville neuve?," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa*, no. 33 (2002): 45–60.

[12] These ambitions would largely end several decades later with Alfons' son Pere the Catholic's death and resounding defeat at the Battle of Muret.

[13] Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 171-4 and 497-9. There is some debate on whether or not there had been a settlement on the site of Puigcerdà prior to 1177. Jaume Martí Sanjaume notes that a now-lost document mentioned that there was a fortress or castle on the site. Claude Denjean has argued that the organization of roads within the core of the old town suggests that there had been some form of earlier settlement, but also considers it an unsettled question. Denjean, "Puigcerda, 1177," 51.

obligatory payments) and declared them to be free and under royal protection.[14] Such privileges sped the town's economic and population growth.

Cerdanya was frequently tied to the rest of Catalonia, although at various points Cerdanya (and the other Pyrenean counties of Rosselló, Conflent and Vallespir) were set apart and placed under the authority of a lesser member of the house of Barcelona. It is somewhat unclear who was directly ruling Cerdanya in the later twelfth century, as I will discuss in Chapter 1. Some of the brothers of the count-king of Barcelona/Aragon appear identified with the title count of Cerdanya, but it was the count-king Alfons the Chaste who exercised authority there in these decades. In 1212 Nunyo Sanç (the son of Alfons' brother Sanç) was invested as "lord" of Cerdanya (as well as of Rosselló, Conflent and Vallespir), but these lands reverted to the count of Barcelona when Nunyo died without heirs in 1242.[15]

In the late thirteenth century, Cerdanya and the other Pyrenean counties were separated once again from the rest of Catalonia with the creation of the independent Crown of Mallorca. When the count-king Jaume the Conqueror died in 1276, he left the bulk of his territories, including the kingdoms of Aragon, and Valencia and the majority of Catalonia, to his elder son, Pere. But he left a collection of other territories, including the kingdom of Mallorca, the northernmost Catalan counties of Cerdanya and Rosselló (along with their dependencies,

[14] On these see: Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya (hereafter, ACCE), Parchment 716; *Llibre Verd*, in Salvador Galceran Vigué, "Els privilegis de la vila de Puigcerdà del Llibre Verd i del seu Transllat," *Urgellia: Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* 1 (1978): 301–48; Salvador Galceran Vigué, "Els privilegis de Puigcerdà," in *Primer congrés internacional d'història de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà: Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1983), 124–33; Sebastià Bosom i Isern and Susanna Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis de la vila de Puigcerdà*, Llibres de Privilegis 13 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2007).

[15] On Nunyo, see: Rodrigue Tretón and Robert Vinas, "Le testament de Nunó Sanç, seigneur de Roussillon et de Cerdagne (17 décembre 1241)," *e-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales* 28 (2017), https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.27026.

Conflent, Capcir, Vallespir and the Vall de Ribes),[16] the lordship of Montpellier and several other rights in southern France to his younger son, Jaume. The elder Jaume had expressed his intention to divide his lands in this way at least as early as 1262.[17] He formally recorded it in his will in 1272,[18] and the younger Jaume began exercising some authority in Cerdanya even before his father's death.[19] Between 1276 and 1344, Cerdanya, along with the other northern, Pyrenean Catalan counties, the kingdom of Mallorca and the lordship of Montpellier, would form the independent, federated Crown of Mallorca.[20] As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 9, Cerdanya bordered additional lands of the Crown of Mallorca (Capcir and Conflent) only to the north-east and east. To the south-east and south, Cerdanya bordered lands in Catalonia that were part of the Crown of Aragon, some of which (the *baronies* of Pinos and Mataplana) were under the more direct control of powerful lay lords.[21] To the west, north-west and north, Cerdanya bordered lands ruled by a series of independent lords or co-princes; the independent Catalan county of Urgell, Andorra, and the county of Foix.

[16] The Vall de Ribes was administratively a dependency of Cerdanya in this period. For more on this see Chapter 9.

[17] Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, eds., *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, 5 vols., Textos Medievales (Valencia: Anubar, 1976), Vol. 4, 348.

[18] Manuel Bofarull y de Sartorio, ed. *Proceso contra el Rey de Mallorca don Jaime III, mandato formar por el rey don Pedro IV de Aragón*, in *Colección de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 29–31 (Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1866), Vol. 29, 15-32.

[19] Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 349 and 584-5.

[20] For an overview of this territory, see: David Abulafia, *A Mediterranean Emporium: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); David Abulafia, "A Settled Frontier: The Catalan Kingdom of Majorca," *Journal of Medieval History* 18 (1992): 319–333; David Abulafia, "The Problem of the Kingdom of Majorca (1229/76–1343) 2. Economic Identity," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, no. 1 (1991): 35–61; David Abulafia, "The Problem of the Kingdom of Majorca (1229/1276–1343) 1. Political Identity," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 5, no. 2 (1990): 150–68.

[21] On these regions in this period, see: Joan Serra i Vilaro, *Baronies de Pinos i Mataplana*, 3 vols. (Baga: Centre d'estudis baganesos, 1989).

From almost the formation of the independent Crown of Mallorca, the rulers of the Crown of Aragon sought to bring it back under their own control, as I will outline in Chapter 8. Pere the Ceremonious of Catalonia/Aragon ended the Crown of Mallorca's sixty-eight-year existence when he won a year and a half long war in 1344. Cerdanya would remain a part of Catalonia from that point on, until the mid-seventeenth century, when, as a consequence of the Franco-Spanish war, many of the northern-most parts of Catalonia were ceded to France in the 1659 Treaty of the Pyrenees. The ceded lands included the majority of the lands that had once been part of the Crown of Mallorca, including all of Rosselló, Vallespir and Conflent, and the northern half of Cerdanya.[22] Puigcerdà remained on the Catalan side, and is now located directly on the French-Spanish border. Cerdanya, though naturally geographically unified, has remained politically divided ever since.

Sources and Methods

Cerdanya is unusually rich in surviving, well-preserved medieval sources. As I will discuss in Chapters 1 and 2, over 380 notarial registers survive from the town from before the year 1360. There are also hundreds of surviving parchments and additional medieval records.[23] While the dissertation focuses broadly on the period from 1260-1360, I have relied on a multi-

[22] For more on this see: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989). The Treaty of the Pyrenees specified that all the villages on the northern side of the Reür river would be ceded to France. One location, Llívia, protested that it was not a village, but a town, and thus should remain as part of Catalonia. To this day Llívia remains a conclave: part of Catalonia that is entirely surrounded by and only accessible through France.

[23] For an inventory of the majority of the notarial registers from Puigcerdà, see: Sebastià Bosom i Isern and Salvador Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols de Puigcerdà*, Inventaris d'Arxius Notarials de Catalunya 4 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1983). For an overview of some of the parchments from medieval Puigcerdà in the Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya, see: Sebastià Bosom i Isern and Cristina Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins de l'Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya* (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 2009). For more information on documents from medieval Puigcerdà, see the appendix.

part methodology in which I examined one year in depth, and then traced certain developments or types of economic activity over time between 1260-1360 based on samples of specific types of notarial agreements from decade-long intervals.[24] For the fiscal/notarial year from June 24, 1321 to June 23, 1322, I analyzed all of the over 7,800 surviving notarial entries in detail. I built a relational database in Microsoft Access in which I recorded the date and type of each contract, the names, occupations and hometowns of all people mentioned in the contract, their role and their relationships to the other people mentioned, all items or currencies mentioned, the role of these objects in the transaction, the length or due dates in all contracts involving an extension of credit, as well as all locations mentioned and any additional notes. I discuss the rationale for this year's selection in Chapter 3. I have used the dense collection of information extracted from these sources to trace aspects of the town's economic history with much finer detail than many studies, and in some cases to argue for the possibility of studying aspects of pre-plague history than earlier historians had abandoned as impossible.

I then examined selected types of notarial acts (apprenticeships and artisanal wage labor agreements, marriages, sales of land, debts of wool and appointments of procurators) at decade-long intervals between 1260 and 1360 to map the town's economic development over time. I sampled from years ending in nine and zero, (such as June 1299 to June 1300, June 1309 to June 1310, etc.), having chosen this year at random to prevent unconscious bias, and substituted registers from adjacent years when no registers of a specific type were available. The sources I examined over time, and my method for sampling them are discussed in more detail in Chapter

[24] For some topics I have also examined the period before 1260, or after 1360. Specifically, in Chapter 1, I discuss notarial development in Puigcerdà from the town's founding in the late twelfth century. In Chapter 8, I discuss the town's demographic decline into the fifteenth century. For my analysis on the numbers of notaries and the organization of the town's notarial office, I also examined all of the names of scribes and notaries in the headers and eschatocols of all registers and parchments produced by and about the town's notarial office prior to 1360, and all concessions of notarial appointments from this same period, that I could identify.

7. This has allowed me to trace key shifts over time in a more quantifiable manner than has been possible in many other works.

Arguments and Outline

This dissertation has three main parts: an examination of the sources and the notarial office in which they were produced; an economic picture of the town and it's surrounding valley in the year 1321/2; and an analysis of various types of economic change over the course of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries.

Most of the information about the town's medieval economic activity on which this study is based comes from the town's large collection of surviving medieval notarial registers. Notarial sources are the most extensice source on late-medieval lay-people and their economic activities (judging by the volume of extant writing). I thus begin, as a sort of extended prologue, with an extended methodological analysis of the medieval notarial institution in Puigcerdà. The principal objective is to demonstrate that notarial sources may be used as accurate proxies for understanding economic and demographic trends. In Chapter 1, I introduce the concept of notarial sources and discuss the development of the notariate of Cerdanya from the late-twelfth to mid-thirteenth centuries within the context of notarial development in Catalonia more broadly. In Chapter 2, I examine the unusual organization of the notarial office of Puigcerdà to argue that it allows us to estimate the original numbers of notarial entries recorded. The problem of estimating the original numbers of notarial records has long plagued medieval historians and been a major stumbling block in how to use these extremely numerous medieval in a statistical manner. My work helps show where and why previous estimates of notarial recording in other Catalan towns have been nearer or further from the mark and provides a rationale for the

statistical work in later chapters. Additionally, examining the trend of estimated total notarial documentation up to the year 1360, I argue that it was first growing, then stagnating, and then declining, a first indication of the overall economic trends discussed in later sections. Chapter 3 considers how well notarial sources represent economic activity more broadly. Building off the work of Chapter 2, I estimate the original total numbers of specific types of notarial agreements from the year 1321/2, showing that the vast majority of recorded agreements fit within a short list of types and that acts related to credit make up approximately two-thirds of all originally recorded agreements. This finding fits with other studies of notarial activity but offers a greater level of quantitative precision.

In Chapters 4, 5 and 6, I Puigcerdà and Cerdanya in the year 1321/2. In Chapter 4, I examine the size of the population of late-medieval Puigcerdà. I introduce a new method for how to estimate medieval populations using the number of appearances in notarial sources, and, applying this method to Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2, I argue that the town had a population of somewhere between 7,000 and 10,000 people, and likely around 8,500 people. This chapter, to an extent, stands alone, but it both demonstrates the untapped potential of notarial sources, and provides an essential context—the size of the town—for the analysis of subsequent chapters.

Chapter 5 begins my study of the economy and covers the agricultural, industrial and commercial activity in Puigcerdà and Cerdanya, showing that in this year the valley's agricultural activity was largely centered on sheep-raising, and its industrial and commercial activity was dominated by the production and sale of cloth. Chapter 6 examines the seasonal patterns of notarial and commercial activity throughout the year, including when purchases were made and when credit was extended and due. It shows that these rhythms differed between town and countryside, and that the overall flow of goods and money throughout this society was

highly influenced by the local agricultural schedules, and particularly in this case, by the pastoral schedules of sheepherding. The patterns seen in Cerdanya were thus distinctive, in comparison to what has been noted for low-land areas.

The last portion of the dissertation looks at two different kinds of economic change. Chapters 7 and 8 address how the valley's economy rose and fell over time between 1260 and 1360; while Chapters 9 and 10 look at the shifting nature of the town's connectivity outside of the valley of Cerdanya. In Chapter 7, I argue that the town grew rapidly in the late thirteenth century as a local cloth industry took off there. Contrary to some earlier findings, I show that there was not a significant cloth industry in Puigcerdà in the 1260s and 1270s. This industry instead appears to have grown at an extremely rapid pace between the early 1280s and the early fourteenth century, a period in which the town also increased in size and undertook important new infrastructure projects. Chapter 8, in contrast, focuses on the beginning of the town's economic and demographic decline. The town's economy stagnated in the early fourteenth century and then entered an enduring, severe economic and demographic collapse that began approximately around the 1340s, coinciding with the town's forced reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon.

In the final two chapters, I examine the town's connectivity, and how these ties help explain the course of the town's late-medieval development in a comparative regional context. Chapter 9 details the full range of connections between Cerdanya and somewhere outside of Cerdanya in the year 1321/2. It reveals that Puigcerdà was highly connected to the surrounding Pyrenean valleys, and that the town was the center of a broader economic region that crossed political administrative borders. It also reveals that the town was frequently connected to longer-distance places in this year, mainly through the cloth trade. In Chapter 10, I examine the town's

shifting long-distance connectivity between 1260 and 1360. I trace the activities of Tuscan woad-merchants in Puigcerdà as agents of cloth industry integration, and the growth of the Puigcerdà's trade with Aragon, Castile and Navarre (through Lleida) throughout the early fourteenth century as part of the growth of internal ties in the Iberian economy that originated from inland towns, like Puigcerdà, rather than coastal centers. I also show that in the mid-fourteenth century, and particularly in the late 1340s, following the reincorporation of the Crown of Mallorca into the Crown of Aragon, many members of the wealthier segment of Puigcerdan society moved to Lleida and Barcelona, almost certainly contributing to the decline the town would experience in the following decades.

Historiographical Context

The work in this thesis engages with a variety of historiographical discussions. For many of these subjects, such as on the development of notarial culture within Catalonia, or the methods for how to estimate medieval populations, I introduce the historiographical background in the relevant chapters. My work shows that understanding this town and its region provides important contributions to two of the key debates about medieval European economic growth and decline. In particular, it sheds light on the establishment of the commercial cloth industry—the central manufacturing industry of the western medieval world—in Catalonia, and on the widespread late-medieval transition from economic growth to economic contraction in the fourteenth century. I thus outline some of the prior work on these topics here. I also provide a short overview of prior work on the town of Puigcerdà itself.

<u>Medieval Puigcerdà</u>

Though Puigcerdà was among the largest towns in medieval Catalonia, it is discussed very rarely in broader late-medieval historiography of Catalonia. There have been a number of localized studies on medieval Puigcerdà and Cerdanya, generally concentrated on specific topics. The town's Jewish community,[25] and mendicant orders[26] have received particularly close attention; the archeological excavation of a part of town that included the old Jewish quarter and the Franciscan monastery have contributed to this.[27] But the town's medieval economic development has been little studied. A typical general history of medieval Catalonia or the

[25] Mathias Delcor, "Els jueus de Puigcerdà al segle XIII," in *Estudis històrics sobre la Cerdanya*, Collecció Tramuntana, XXIV (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1977), 77–100; Pere Vidal, "Els jueus dels antics comtats de Rosselló i Cerdanya.," *Calls* 2 (1987): 27–112; Robert I. Burns, *Jews in the Notarial Culture: Latinate Wills in Mediterranean Spain, 1250-1350* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Claude Denjean, "Vivre sa Judéité à Puigcerda de 1260 à 1348," in *Actes du Colloque Mosse ben Nahman i el seu temps*, Col·lecció Història de Girona 23 (Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1995), 241–56. Claude Denjean, "Le crédit juif dans les campagnes cerdanes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles," in *Endettement paysan et crédit rural dans l'Europe médiévale et moderne*, ed. Maurice Berthe, Flaran 17 (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1998), 185–97; Claude Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens: de Perpignan à Puigcerdà XIIIe-XIVe siècles*, Historia (Canet: Trabucaire, 2004); Claude Denjean, "Réseaux relationnels des prêteurs juifs de Cerdagne et de Roussillon 1260-1420," in *Espaces et réseaux en Méditerranée médiévale, II, La formation des réseaux*, ed. Dominique Valerian, Damien Coulon, and Christophe Picard (Saint-Denis: Editions Bouchène, 2009), 255–74.

[26] Mathias Delcor, *Les ordres mendiants a Puigcerdà* (Perpignan: Société Agricole Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales, 1987), 114-116. Robert I. Burns, "The Friars of the Sack in Puigcerdà: A Lost Chapter of 13th Century Religious History," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 18 (1988): 217–28. Jill R. Webster, "El desconocido convento de Puigcerdá: su fundación y desarrollo," *Archivo Ibero-Americano: Revista trimestral de estudios históricos* 49, no. 193 (1989): 167–94; Jill R. Webster, *Els Menorets: The Franciscans in the Realms of Aragon From St. Francis to the Black Death* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1993); Jill R. Webster, "Els franciscans i la burguesia de Puigcerdà: La història d'una aliança medieval," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26 (1996): 89–190; Jill R. Webster, "The Struggle against Poverty: Mendicant Life in Late Medieval Puigcerdà.," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages, I: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns*, ed. Larry J. Simon, The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1453 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 335–44. Jill R. Webster, "El convent de Santa Clara, Puigcerdà: algunes consideracions preliminars," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 1 (1991): 107–16.

[27] Oriol Mercadal i Fernández, "El barrio judío y el convento de St. Francesc de Puigcerdà (Girona): primeros resultados," *Actas de Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia* 33 (1993): 473–85; Oriol Mercadal et al., *Conguem... Els jueus i els franciscans a Puigcerdà (segles XIII-XVI)*, Conguem 3 (Puigcerdà: Ajuntament de Puigcerdà and Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Puigcerdà, 1994); Oriol Mercadal Fernández et al., "Noves aportacions a l'estudi de l'urbanisme medieval de Puigcerdà : segles XIII-XV," in *Cultures i medi, de la prehistòria a l'Edat Mitjana: 20 anys d'arqueologia pirinenca* (Puigcerdà: Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1995), 641–49; Sebastià Bosom et al., "El call jueu i el convent de Sant Francesc de Puigcerdà (Cerdanya): Recerca documental i arqueològica," *Tribuna d'arqueologia*, no. 1993–1994 (1995): 135–52; Oriol Mercadal et al., *La vila nova de Puigcerdà*, vol. 175, Quaderns de la revista de Girona (Diputació de Girona, 2015), 3-17.

Crown of Aragon may not mention Puigcerdà at all or may refer to it only briefly to identify it as the center of the valley of Cerdanya, or as one of a number of towns that produced woolen cloth in the later middle ages.

Political geography to some extent explains why the town is little mentioned in broader historiography. Some work on late-medieval Catalonia or the Crown of Aragon omits those regions that were part of the Crown of Mallorca (which included Puigcerdà) between 1276 and 1344.[28] Conversely, French historians have sometimes chosen to examine the medieval history of only those territories, formerly part of Catalonia, that were ceded to France in 1659 (a region often referred to as "Northern Catalonia"), which did not include Puigcerdà.

Puigcerdà has not featured prominently even in historical work on the Crown of Mallorca, perhaps because the commonly used term, "Kingdom of Mallorca" tends to focus attention on the Balearic Islands.[29] Like the Crown of Aragon, the territories of the Crown of Mallorca were federative.[30] The scholarly community has popularized the use of the term "Crown of Aragon" to refer to the collective lands of the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona and avoid confusion; but the same practice has not been as widely adopted for the Crown of Mallorca.[31]

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[28] This is particularly true of works based primarily on sources from royal chancellery of the count-kings in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, since the count-king's domains did not include the lands of the Crown of Mallorca between 1276-1344.

[29] Some scholars, particularly those writing in English, but also many writings in French or even in Spanish or Catalan, refer to the collective territories of the king of Mallorca during the period between 1276 and 1343 as the kingdom of Mallorca. But the kingdom of Mallorca was a specific legal entity that included the island of Mallorca, the island of Menorca, and also the smaller islands of Ibiza and Formentera.

[30] After Alfons the Chaste inherited both the county of Barcelona and the kingdom of Aragon, the two lands had "parallel histories", and shared a ruler, but they remained distinct legal entities with their own laws, legislative assemblies and traditions. Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 3. Barcelona did not become part of the legal entity of the kingdom of Aragon, and the king of Aragon did not rule Catalonia in his capacity as king of Aragon.

[31] [31] That the Crown of Mallorca was also federative is made very clear in surviving records from this time. Just as the count-king of the Crown of Aragon identified himself by listing all of his separate titles, so too did the king of

But further, synthetic studies attempting to look at the whole territory of the Crown of Mallorca, and particularly its economy, have had few local studies on Puigcerdà to build off. Abulafia, for example, noting that "it is easy to dismiss" the Crown of Mallorca "as a motley assortment of territories, awkwardly placed, lacking any vitality as an autonomous state," identified a need to "see how coherently this kingdom functioned, [through] a study of the kingdom's external connections, [and] its 'international status', both in trade and politics."[32] His study provided very little information on Puigcerdà or Cerdanya's economy, external connections or the role they played within the broader Crown of Mallorca.[33] The work presented here aims partially to provide a new view of Puigcerdà's economy and economic connections and of its significance within the Crown of Mallorca and the conflict between the Crown of Mallorca and the Crown of Aragon.

Mallorca. When Jaume the Conqueror's son Jaume II of Mallorca (Jaume the Good King) issued an ordinance on the salaries of judges and notaries in Puigcerdà in 1304, he did so as "Jaume, by the grace of god king of Mallorca, count of Roussillon and Cerdanya and Lord of Montpellier." ACCE, Col·lecció de pergamins de l'Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya, Parchment 48. (Hereafter "ACCE, Parchment" refers to a parchment in the fonds "ACCE, Col·lecció de pergamins de l'Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya"). The listing of all these territories separately can also be seen in the will of Jaume the Conqueror from 1272. Huici Miranda and Cabanes Pecourt, *Documentos de Jaime*, 348. That the Crown of Mallorca was federative was also clear to the inhabitants of this realm. In certain notarial sources from Puigcerdà in which merchants specify where they plan to do business, they frequently refer to "the lands of the king of Mallorca," presumably intending to convey that they would do business in Cerdanya, Conflent, Roussillon, etc., as I discuss in Chapter 9. I am not the first to have used the term Crown of Mallorca to draw this distinction. For examples, see: Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració de la Corona de Mallorca a la Corona d'Aragó (1343-1349)*, 2 vols. (Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1997); Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol, "La antigua Corona de Mallorca a mitad del siglo XIV: la crisis general y política y sus repercusiones culturales," *Edad Media: Revista de Historia* 8 (2007): 59–77; and Pau Cateura Bennàsser, "Guerres, fiscalitat i cohesió de la corona de Mallorca (1298-1343)," *e-Spania. Revue interdisciplinaire d'études hispaniques médiévales et modernes*, no. 28 (October 1, 2017), https://doi.org/10.4000/e-spania.26998 To do otherwise can introduce a great deal of unclarity about what political region one is discussing, particularly whether one means only the Balearic kingdom or the whole realm of the king of Mallorca. For one example, see: Abulafia, *Mediterranean Emporium.*

[32] Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium,* xi.

[33] He mentions the town of Puigcerdà five times; three times to note the existence of its Jewish community, once to note that it was a center of textile production and once to say that it was the economic center of Cerdanya. Abulafia, *Emporium,* 49, 75, 93, 94, and 178. One certainly comes away from this study with an impression that Puigcerdà had no significant economic integration or connection with the rest of the Crown of Mallorca, and that it had no significant external connections.

The Origins of the Catalan Cloth Industry

The production of high quality, high value woolen cloth took off first in Flanders and northern France in the twelfth century. It grew considerably into the thirteenth century, when northern French and Flemish cloths were exported throughout Europe. Cloth was also produced locally in a variety of other places, but it was of a lower quality and lower value. A second major site of the medieval cloth industry was northern Italy. Italian, particularly Florentines, who had long been trafficking in northern cloths, began importing unfinished cloth and then finishfing and dyeing them in Italy in the mid thirteenth century, leading to the further development of cloth production there.[34] England and Iberia would also become important centers of European cloth production.

By the late fourteenth century and throughout the fifteenth century the cloth industry was the preeminent industry of Catalonia as a whole. According to Claude Carrère, between 40 and 60 percent of the population in some Catalan manufacturing centers were engaged in the wool industry, based on the number of heads of households in various places identified with this industry.[35] Some of the cloth produced in Catalonia was destined for local markets, but by the mid- to late-fourteenth century a significant portion of it was exported into the interior Iberian

[34] On the cloth industry in medieval Europe, see: Eleonora Carus-Wilson, "The Woollen Industry," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire Volume 2: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward Miller, Cynthia Postan, and Michael M. Postan, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 613–90; and John H. Munro, "Medieval Woollens: The Western European Woollen Indusitries and Their Struggles for International Markets, c. 1000-1500," in *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, ed. David Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 228–324.

[35] Manuel Riu, "The Woollen Industry in Catalonia in the Later Middle Ages," in *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*, ed. N. B. Harte and K. G. Ponting, Pasold Studies in Textile History 2 (London: Heinemann, 1983), 205–29, 217-8 and Claude Carrère, "La draperie en Catalogne et en Aragon au XVe siècle," in *Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panna di lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Atti della Seconda Settimana di Studio, 1-16 aprile 1970.*, ed. Marco Spallanzani (Florence: Instituto F. Datini, 1976), 475–509.

Peninsula and across the Mediterranean. While the later, well-documented stages of this cloth industry have been well studied, its origins were initially far less clear.

From the middle of the twentieth century, due to the work of J. Ernest Martínez Ferrando and Joan Reglá Campistol, it was widely accepted that an export-oriented Catalan cloth industry began to grow primarily during the last two decades of the thirteenth century, after a conflict between France and the Crown of Aragon disrupted the Catalans' access to imported French and Flemish cloth.[36] Prior to the 1280s, Catalans had been regularly importing cloth from France and Flanders.[37] Catalans had first traveled to the Champagne fairs to get the cloth; but from the mid thirteenth century, Perpignan became more and more the major center for importation and redistribution of northern cloth to Catalonia.[38] Starting in 1290, Perpignan would see increasing competition from Montpellier, due to the efforts of the Capetian kings.[39]

Reglá discussed two, now often-cited, sources. The first was a letter from April of 1304 in which the bailiff of Barcelona, Romeu de Marimon, wrote to the count of Barcelona/king of

[36] This view, often referred to as Reglá's thesis is most clearly first articulated by Juan Reglá here: Juan Reglá Campistol, "El comercio entre Francia y la corona de aragón en los siglos XIII y XIV y sus relaciones con el desenvolvimiento de la industria textil catalana," in *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de pireneístas, San Sebastián, 1950* (Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Pirenaicos, 1952), 3–25. Reglá himself, however, notes that Martínez Ferrando had already made note of the connection between the early growth of the cloth industry in Barcelona and the difficulties with France. See: Reglá Compistol, "El comercio," 15, and Jesús Ernesto Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón, su vida familiar.*, 2 vols., Publicaciones de la Sección de Barcelona, no. 10-11 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1948), 65-66.

[37] Richard W. Emery, "Flemish Cloth and Flemish Merchants in Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century," in *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought - Presented in Honor of Austin Peterson Evans,* ed. John H. Mundy, Richard W. Emery, and Benjamin N. Nelson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 153–65.

[38] See: Emery, "Flemish Cloth"; and Antoni Riera Melis, "Perpiñan 1025-1285 crecimiento economico, diversificacion social y expansion urbana," in *En las costas del mediterráneo occidental: Las ciudades de la península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio mediterráneo en la Edad Media*, ed. David Abulafia and Blanca Garí (Barcelona: Omega, 1997), 1–61.

[39] Antoni Riera Melis, "L'aparició de la draperia urbana als Pirineus Orientals," *Annals de la 1era Universitat d'Estiu Andorra* 82 (1983): 152–78, 160. On Montpellier's role as a point of cloth redistribution, see: Kathryn Reyerson, "Le rôle de Montpellier dans le commerce des draps de laine avant 1350," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 94 (1982): 17–40.

Aragon Jaume the Just to tell him that in the city of Barcelona there were in many places, many great companies making cloth, which had never existed before, including many masters, both men and women, who had come from other lands. Marimon notes that this will be for the great common profit of the city and the king's lands, and that the city will soon not only be in a position to be self-sufficient, producing good and diverse cloths such as those of the best quality that are made elsewhere, but will also be in a position to satisfy interior Iberian markets (should the king make peace with the king of Castile).[40] He also discusses a second document in which merchants complain to the count of Barcelona/king of Aragon about problems they face trying to purchase cloth in Languedoc.[41] Specifically, they complain that they are required to go to Aigues-Mortes when they wish to go to Montpellier; that there is a fee to go to Aigues-Mortes; that it is dangerous to try to leave that port; that there are high tolls in a number of places, including on the road between Aigues-Mortes and Montpellier and for all boats and land-travelers passing Narbonne and Beziers; and that there are high taxes on cloth exported out of France.[42]

According to Reglá, whose main focus is on diplomacy, the difficulties that Catalan merchants were facing in France were due to the conflict of the Sicilian Vespers, the subsequent

[40] This document was originally published in Martínez Ferrando, *Jaime II de Aragón*, 339. It is discussed by Reglá here: Reglá, "El comercio," 13-4. See also: Claude Carrère, *Barcelone, centre économique à l'époque des difficultés, 1380-1462* (Paris: Mouton et Cie, 1967), 431; Manuel Riu Riu, "Aportación a la organización gremial de la industria textil catalana en el siglo XIV," in *VII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 2, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Diputación provincial, 1962), 547–59; 547-8.

[41] Reglá provides a transcription of this document but does not identify the date of it. See: Reglá, "El comercio," 8-9 and 16-18. Additionally, Reglá mentions but does not really discuss an additional document, that is undated but believed to be from 1306, which is addressed jointly to the King of Aragon and King of Mallorca, and which lays out other complaints of Catalan merchants who were encountering difficulties purchasing cloth in Languedoc in that period. This document will be discussed in greater detail below. A transcription of this document can be found here: Heinrich Finke, ed., *Acta Aragonensia*, 3 vols. (Berlin; Leipzig: W. Rothschild, 1908-1922), Vol 3., 155-162.

[42] Reglá, "Comercio," 8-9 and 16-18.

Aragonese Crusade and a fight between Catalonia/Aragon and France over a small Pyrenean valley, the Vall d'Aran.[43] These difficulties, he says, made it harder for Catalans to import cloth from France, and spurred them to cultivate their own cloth production as a means of freeing themselves from the foreign market.[44]

Subsequent scholars quickly adopted Reglá's theory, but they assumed that the Catalan cloth industry must have developed first in Barcelona (or at least other coastal centers), before spreading outward into other Catalan cities and towns. For example, Jaume Vicens i Vives claimed that "after Barcelona became dominant in this sphere, there was considerable imitation by the various cities and localities which had traditionally produced woollens for local markets."[45] And Claude Carrère argued that the cloth industry first developed in major coastal cities like Barcelona, Girona and Tarragona due to the "presence of capital, initiative spirit,

[43] In March of 1282, in what became known as the Sicilian Vespers, the Sicilians rebelled against their king, Charles of Anjou. Pere the Great of Catalonia/Aragon then claimed the crown of Sicily (through the claim of his wife, Constance, who was the daughter of the previous Hohenstaufen king of Sicily, Manfred), which prompted the War of the Sicilian Vespers between France and the Crown of Aragon. In the course of this conflict the pope authorized a crusade against Aragon in 1284. The King of Mallorca allied himself with the French king and allowed the French army to pass through Rosselló in order to attack Catalonia. Peter the Great not only resisted the French invasion, he then conquered the Balearic Islands (the lands of his brother, the King of Mallorca) in 1285. This conflict was primarily settled in 1295 with the Treaty of Anagni (which left the Catalans holding Sicily and returned the Balearics to the King of Mallorca). On this see: J. R. Strayer, "The Crusade against Aragon," *Speculum* 28, no. 1 (January 1953): 102-113, https://doi.org/10.2307/2847183; Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 87-92; Antoni Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragón y el Reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1986), 33; Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Reglá, however, seeks to emphasize that the conflict actually began before the Aragonese Crusade, when the French invaded the Vall d'Aran in 1283 – likely as a means of blocking the Catalans from attacking Toulouse by passing through that valley – and would not end until 1313 when the issue of the control of the Vall d'Aran was finally settled. On this see: Juan Reglá Campistol, *Francia, la corona de Aragon, y la frontera pirenaica. La lucha por el valle de Aran* (Madrid: Gráficas Orbe S. A., 1951).

[44] Reglá, "Comercio," 6.

[45] Jaime Vicens Vives, *An Economic History of Spain*, trans. Frances López-Morillas (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969), 200. Originally published in Spanish in 1959 by Editorial Teide.

ability to import raw materials, and above all, constant solicitation of trade with the eastern Mediterranean."[46]

Later work by Miguel Gual Camarena and Guy Romestan clarified three important aspects of the industry's development, cutting against the Barcelona-centered bias of earlier accounts.[47] Gual Camarena traced the earliest references to the cloth industry in Catalonia through the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, showing that while, as previously believed, the early cloth industry included mainly rural/domestic production or small production for only local markets, the earliest locations to show signs of a cloth industry were primarily Pyrenean and pre-Pyrenean centers, often along rivers, not the coasts.[48] He also argued that the cloth industry appeared to have spread from north to south (not from the western coastal towns into the hinterlands) and was among the first to note the importance of Puigcerdà as a center of cloth production.[49] And most significantly, Romestan drew attention to the fact that the difficulties the

[46] Carrère, *Barcelone*, 433. She says that the Catalans sought cloth as a lower cost freight to bring to the east to offer in exchange for what they wanted to purchase. Adopting Reglá's thesis, she dates the creation of the Barcelona cloth industry to 1304, and then discusses examples of smaller towns, including Cervera, Torroella de Montgrí, Camprodon and Vic that turn to the king, wanting to set up a new cloth industry during the early fourteenth century, implying that the industry has begun in Barcelona and then spread outward to these other centers.

[47] Miguel Gual Camarena, "Orígenes y expansion de la industria textil lanera catalana en la edad media," in *Produzione, commercio e consumo dei panna di lana (nei secoli XII-XVIII). Atti della Seconda Settimana di Studio, 1-16 aprile 1970.*, ed. Marco Spallanzani (Florence: Instituto F. Datini, 1976), 511–23; Miguel Gual Camarena, "El comercio de telas en el siglo XIII hispano," *Anuario de Historia Económica y Social* I (1968): 83–106; Miguel Gual Camarena, "Para un mapa de la industria textil hispana en la Edad Media," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 4 (1967): 109–68; Guy Romestan, "Draperie roussillonnaise et draperie languedocienne dans la premiere moitie du XIVe siecle," in *XLII Congrès de 1a Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon* (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1970), 31–59; Guy Romestan, "Les consuls de Béziers et l'abolition de la gabelle des draps (1330)," in *Béziers et le Biterrois. 43e Congrès de la Fédération historique de Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, Béziers 30-31 mai 1970* (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1971), 191–219; Guy Romestan, "La gabelle des draps en Languedoc (1318-1333)," in *Hommage à André Dupont (1897-1972). Etudes médiévales languedociennes offertes par ses collègues, amis et anciens élèves*, ed. Guy Barruol (Montpellier: Fédération historique du Languedoc méditerranéen et du Roussillon, 1974), 197–237.

[48] Gual Camarena, "Orígenes," 513.

[49] Gual Camarena, "Para un mapa," 112.

Catalans faced importing cloth in the early fourteenth century were not due primarily to the military conflict between the French and Catalan/Aragonese states, but instead owed more to protectionist measures the French state took to protect the cloth industry of Languedoc and to prevent Catalans, whose cloth industry had clearly already grown significantly by that point, from profiting by finishing and dying unfinished cloths they had purchased in Languedoc.[50]

Romestan's assertion is based firstly on the analysis of a key document (undated, but generally believed to be from 1306) addressed to both the count of Barcelona/king of Aragon and to the king of Mallorca in which some Catalans present the difficulties they are having in their commercial endeavors in Languedoc and propose some counter-measures that the two realms can take.[51] In February of 1305 the French king banned the export of all raw materials related to cloth production (including wool, dyes and even sheep), and unfinished and undyed cloth.[52] Languedocians were also forbidden from entering into companies or associations with Catalans and from giving them any help or counsel. The Catalans thus complain that they can no longer purchase unfinished cloth in Languedoc, as they had been doing. They propose that the king of Mallorca and king of Aragon instead ban the export of foodstuffs, skins and metals to France, also ban associations with the Languedocians on the other side of the border, and most importantly forbid the importing of finished French cloth. This, they are certain, will ruin Languedoc and cause many people to immigrate to the lands of the king of Mallorca and king of

[50] Romestan, "Draperie," 34-5. On the development of the Florentine cloth industry in this manner, see: Carus-Wilson, "The Woollen Industry," 646-9.

[51] This document can be found here: Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, Vol 3., 155-162. It was mentioned, but not really discussed by Reglá.

[52] Romestan, "Draperie," 36, and Stephen P. Bensch, "Apprenticeship, Wages and Guilds at Puigcerdà (1260-1300)," in *El Món Urbà a La Corona d'Aragó Del 1137 Als Decrets de Nova Planta*, ed. Salvador Claramunt Rodríquez, vol. 1 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 2003), 209–22, 211.

Aragon. They then explain that Languedoc has been "ennobled and enriched" by manufacturing wool cloth and that the king of Mallorca and the king of Aragon can expect the same for their lands, because these lands are not lacking in wool, and because, with the best quality wools, high quality cloth can be made better and more cheaply "in Perpignan and other places of the said kings" than in Carcassone or Narbonne.[53]

Romestan also examines several later documents from Languedoc in which royal officials propose removing the bans (and a tax on finished cloth, called the *gabelle de draps,* that had been put in place in 1318), asked the consuls of various towns if they wanted the ban and tax to be removed.[54] Both the consuls of Narbonne and of Beziers respond that they would be ruined if these bans were repealed, with the Biterrois offering to pay 40,000 *livres* to remain subject to the tax and stating (perhaps in an exaggeration) that there was almost no work in cloth production in Carcassone or Toulouse prior to the introduction of these bans because it had all been moved to Perpignan and elsewhere.[55] This work made particularly clear that there had already been an advanced cloth industry in parts of Catalonia and the lands of the king of Mallorca, particularly in Perpignan, prior to 1305, that had been of a sufficiently competitive threat to the cloth industry of Languedoc to cause the king of France to impose protectionist measures against it.

More recently, particularly thanks to the work of Antoni Riera Melis, who has discussed the subject in a series of synthetic works, the origins and early development of the Catalan cloth

[53] Romestan, "Draperie," 36-7 and Finke, *Acta Aragonensia,* Vol 3., 155-162.

[54] These documents are from 1329. Romestan, "Draperie," 38-42.

[55] Romestan, "Draperie," 41-2.

industry have become even clearer.[56] Picking up on earlier work by Miguel Camarena, Guy Romestan and Marcel Durliat, and drawing heavily from a wide range of more local studies on Perpignan and Puigcerdà, he identifies Perpignan and Puigcerdà as the leading early centers where the commercially oriented Catalan cloth industry really began to take off,[57] with the development of the cloth industry in Puigcerdà mirroring that of Perpignan but on a smaller scale.[58] Riera Melis divides the early development of the Catalan cloth industry in the Pyrenees can be divided into three phases.[59] Firstly, there was a long period of slow development from around 1250 to 1298, in which the cloth industry moved from domestic production towards commercial production.[60] Secondly, there was an intermediate stage between 1298 and 1305

[56] Riera Melis addressed the development of the Catalan cloth industry in a monograph, *La Corona de Aragón y el Reino de Mallorca en el primer cuarto del siglo XIV* based on his earlier thesis. See: Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragón*, 36-9. More detailed discussions can be found in Riera Melis, "L'aparició" and Antoni Riera Melis and Gaspar Feliu Montfort, "Activitats econòmiques a la baixa edat mitjana," in *Història de Barcelona, 3 : La ciutat consolidada (segles XIV i XV)*, ed. Jaime Sobrequés Callicó (Barcelona: Ajuntament de Barcelona, 1992), 137-273, 154–73; Antoni Riera Melis, "Els orígens de la manufactura tèxtil a la Corona catalanoaragonesa (c. 1150–1298)," in *La Mediterrània de la Corona d'Aragó, segles XIII–XVI. XVIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Rafael Narbona, vol. 1 (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005), 821–901; and Antoni Riera i Melis, "La draperia a la Corona catalanoaragonesa durant el segon terç del segle XIII," in *Jaume I: Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, vol. I, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica 92 (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2013), 763–834.

[57] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 155. At least for Puigcerdà, Riera Melis relies heavily on these works: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*; Bensch, "Apprenticeship"; Christine Rendu, "Un aperçu de l'économie cerdane à la fin du XIIIème siècle. Draps, bétail et cereales sur le marché de Puigcerdà en 1280-1281," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 1 (1991): 85–106; Claude Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit et marché textile dans la Cerdagne du Bas Moyen Âge," in *Circulation de marchadises et reseaux commerciaux dans les Pyrenees* (Toulouse: CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 2005), 135–60. He also includes some information from: Durliat, *L'art dans le royaume de Majorque; les débuts de l'art gothique en Roussillon, en Cerdagne et aux Baléares*, Collection "Art et histoire" (Toulouse: Privat, 1962). Riera Melis does not appear to have done any of his own archival research in Puigcerdà and he only cites documents from Puigcerdà that have already been cited from someone else.

[58] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 776;

[59] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 152.

[60] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 152-66.

characterized by the adoption of new techniques,[61] and thirdly, there was a period of "transition to plenty" between 1305-1315 when the industry expanded and grew.[62]

According to Riera Melis, a combination of internal and external factors caused this initial, largely Pyrenean, development. A key internal factor was overall economic and demographic growth, and the corresponding increase in trade seen in Catalonia in the early to mid-thirteenth century.[63] At the same time as populations were rising, large-scale transhumant livestock-raising (led by monasteries, some of whom had purchased the rights to large summer pastures in Cerdanya by the late twelfth century) also grew, particularly in the Pyrenees and above all in Cerdanya, where the natural landscape was very well suited to pasturage.[64] The growth in livestock-raising provided more meat for growing populations, and also more wool.[65] The growth of trade (including of northern cloth brought to Catalonia) also brought mercantile earnings; these earnings, he argues, "although distributed in a very unequal fashion across the social classes, gradually increased the consumption power of the lowest urban classes, who began to substitute locally made cloth for homemade."[66] At the same time, agrarian growth and

[61] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 166-72.

[62] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 172-4.

[63] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 776.

[64] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 776. Riera Melis says at multiple points that the cloth industry took off in Rosselló because Perpignan was at the center of a wide area of winter pastures and because wool from Puigcerdà was sent to Perpignan. However, I have not found any evidence of a significant trade in wool between Puigcerdà and Perpignan. Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 823 and Riera Melis, "Draperia," 767, and 774-5.

[65] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 153.

[66] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 769. See also, Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 825.

agricultural surpluses had allowed a new generation of wealthier peasant farmers to begin to purchase textiles.[67]

While the conditions were primed for the growth of a cloth industry due to these internal factors, Riera Melis identifies external factors (mainly those also discussed above) as catalysts that helped push forward either the development of local cloth production in Puigcerdà and Perpignan, or technological advancements that improved the quality of the cloth they produced. Most of these are international (often diplomatic) events that made it increasingly difficult or expensive for Catalans to get access to imported cloth, especially high value northern French and Flemish cloth. Specifically, he notes the fact that the war of the Sicilian Vespers in the 1280s had cut off the supply of Catalan fustians to Puigcerdà and Perpignan, and the fact that from about 1290 on the Capetian monarchs had put in place a policy to divert the commercial route that brought Flemish cloth so that it flowed through Montpellier and not Perpignan helped spur on the earliest phase of development.[68] Then internal conflicts in Flemish cities and the fact that in 1298 the French king began to concentrate naval travel destined for Montpellier towards Aigues-Mortes and charge customs there (raising the cost of importing cloth yet again), led to the investment in new techniques in the second phase of development.[69] And finally, the French king's ban on the export of all unfinished cloth and materials related to cloth-production (and of

[67] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 769; Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 825. We can now see, through the work of Lluís To Figueras that the consumption of Northern French and Flemish cloth prior to 1300 was not restricted to elites, but peasants also bought these cloths. See: Lluís To Figueras, "Wedding Trousseaus and Cloth Consumption in Catalonia around 1300," *Economic History Review,* 2016, 522–547.

[68] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 156 and 160. Fustians are cloth made from a linen warp and a cotton or wool weft, made in Barcelona. On these, see: Vicens Vives, *Economic History of Spain,* 200, Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 836, Gual Camarena, "Para un mapa," 111, and Gual Camarena, "Comercio," 88 n. 12.

[69] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 767; Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 826; Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 166-7. According to him, this was in an attempt to lessen the economic ties between Montpellier and the Kingdom of Mallorca and the Crown of Aragon, and to disrupt Catalan maritime commerce. The Catalans attempted the land route to bring in northern cloth, but it "proved not very profitable because it was slow and still had fees."

collaboration between Occitans and Catalans), enacted in 1305 and intended to protect the Languedocian cloth industry from their Catalan competitors is what pushed them forward into the "time of plenty."[70]

While Puigcerdà has now long been known as an early center of cloth-production, detailed information on the state of this industry has been limited mainly to two points in time: 1) the year 1280/1, based on Christine Rendu's study of the book of cloth-sellers surviving from that year,[71] and 2) the year 1345, based on the occupations seen in a list of men from the town who met in this year to appoint town procurators (which has already been discussed in Chapter 4),[72] and on Claude Carrère's study of a list of regulations relating to cloth production in Puigcerdà from this same year.[73] Stephen Bensch's study of apprenticeships in Puigcerdà from 1260-1300 has provided additional information on the growth of this industry, up to the year 1300.[74] My work provides new insight on the development of the cloth industry in Puigcerdà in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, including an in-depth study of how the cloth industry dominated the local economy in the year 1321/2 (see Chapters 5 and 6), and how cloth production and the cloth trade developed over time in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (see mainly Chapter 7, and also some parts of Chapter 8, 9 and 10).

[70] Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 172.

[71] Rendu, "Aperçu."

[72] Sebastià Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis de Puigcerdà al segle XIV: un document inèdit de 1345* (Puigcerdà: Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1982).

[73] Claude Carrère, "Les draps de Cerdagne en 1345," *Annales du Midi : revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 78, no. 77 (1966): 243–48.

[74] Bensch, "Apprenticeship."

The "Situation of 1300"

It has long been widely known that late medieval Europe experienced a shift from economic growth to widespread economic contraction in the later middle ages, which occurred approximately around the fourteenth century. Beginning at least by the year 1000 and lasting for over three centuries, Europe saw a sustained period of economic and demographic growth, with rising urbanization and commercial activity. By the late fourteenth century, however, Europe had entered a period of marked economic and demographic contraction, one characterized by food shortages, epidemics, wars, unrest and upheavals, and which would endure for well over a century. Historians continue to debate precisely when and why this shift from economic growth to economic contraction began. A central point of contention has been whether this shift was due primarily to exogenous (external) factors, such as the plague or a worsening climate, or to endogenous (internal) factors inherent to the structure of the medieval economy around the turn of the fourteenth century.[75]

Originally, historians believed that this transition was due primarily to the impacts of the Black Death. The first wave of the plague, which hit Europe from 1347-1351, is estimated to have wiped out between around one third to half of the total population (and more in some areas) and had enormous social and economic impacts in the succeeding decades.[76] The view that the

[75] On this debate, see: Barbara F. Harvey, "Introduction: The 'crisis' of the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Before the Black Death: Studies in the "Crisis" of the Early Fourteenth Century*, ed. Bruce M. S. Campbell (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991), 1–24, 2; Paul Freedman, "Rural Society," in The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 6, C.1300-c.1415, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 82–101, 82-3.

[76] Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, "Plague and Family Life," in *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume 6, C.1300-c.1415*, ed. Michael Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 124–54; 131. Robert S. Lopez, "The Trade of Medieval Europe: South," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe from the Decline of the Roman Empire Volume 2: Trade and Industry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward Miller, Cynthia Postan, and Michael M. Postan, Second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 306–401; 385-6. Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd, 1976), 146-7.

crisis of the fourteenth century was caused solely by the plague was challenged, however, in the mid-twentieth century, by a group of scholars, most notably Michael Postan, who argued that by the early fourteenth-century the European population had grown beyond what the then available farming technology could support.[77] In the absence of technological advancements, they argued, the population had only been able to increase grain production by cultivating new, lower-quality lands, which could only be done with diminishing returns. This agrarian production crisis thus subjected the population to a Ricardian-Malthusian check that would be exacerbated by the Black Death, but which had already begun before the plague struck.

This was the predominant view of late-medieval European economic change for nearly half a century, but it has been challenged on several fronts. Firstly, Postan offered little direct evidence of his posited "increasingly unproductive expansion into marginal lands."[78] His argument that grain yields were decreasing comes from only one location, and more recent analysis of these grain yields found no statistically significant trend.[79] Stephen Epstein has argued that there would not have been diminishing returns due to a lack of technological advancement because there was considerably technological slack and that around 1300 only a few areas of Europe had put in place the best available technological advances.[80] Secondly, he

[77] For an early articulation of Postan's argument, see: Michael M. Postan, "Some Economic Evidence of Declining Population in the Later Middle Ages," *The Economic History Review* 2, no. 3 (1950): 221–46, https://doi.org/10.2307/2590120. For a summary of Postan's arguments and some critiques of it, see: Harvey, "Introduction."

[78] Freedman, "Rural Society," 91 and Harvey, "Introduction," 9.

[79] M. M. Postan and J. Titow, "Heriots and Prices on Winchester Manors," *The Economic History Review* 11, no. 3 (1959): 392–411, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0289.1959.tb01648.x; Meghnad Desai, "The Agrarian Crisis in Medieval England: A Malthusian Tragedy or a Failure of Entitlements?," *Bulletin of Economic Research* 43, no. 3 (1991): 223–58, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8586.1991.tb00494.x; Stephan R. Epstein, "The Late Medieval Crisis as an Integration Crisis," in *Early Modern Capitalism: Economic and Social Change in Europe 1400-1800*, ed. Maarten Prak (London: Routledge, 2000), 25–50, 27.

[80] Epstein, "Integration Crisis," 25 and 31.

has been criticized for his belief that cereal cultivation was the dominant sector of the economy and a corresponding lack of attention to the importance of rural markets and the commercialization of the countryside.[81] Historians have come to a general consensus that while Postan's theory holds true for some regions of England, it does not work as a general explanation of this widespread economic transition for all of Europe.[82] Other theories, including that the downturn is due primarily to widespread climate worsening,[83] or to a fall in money supply have also been posited, though they have not been as widely influential as the Postan thesis.[84]

More recent work has highlighted a need for greater attention to variation on the regional level. It has become clear that some regions began to demonstrate signs of an economic and demographic contraction as early as the 1260s, while other regions clearly exhibited signs of economic growth into the late-fourteenth century, well beyond the first wave of the plague. Various regions of Europe also clearly differed not only in when and how severely they experienced an economic downturn around the turn of the fourteenth century, but also in how they developed in the early-modern period. Most of the early scholarship on the subject of the late-medieval crisis, whether supporting, complicating or critiquing Postan's thesis has been centered almost entirely on the study sources from Northern Europe, and above all, England and Northern France.

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[81] Harvey, "Introduction," 9, and Epstein, "Integration Crisis," 32-3. On the commercialization of English society, see: Richard Britnell, *The Commercialization of English Society, 1100-1500* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993); Richard Britnell and Bruce M. S. Campbell, *A Commercializing Economy: England 1086 to circa 1300* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Richard Britnell, "Commercialization, Stagnation, and Crisis, 1250–1350," in *Crisis in the Later Middle Ages Beyond the Postan–Duby Paradigm*, ed. John Drendel, The Medieval Countryside 13 (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2015), 15–34.

[82] Freedman, "Rural Society," 90.

[83] Bruce M. S. Campbell, *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

[84] For one example: John Day, *The Medieval Market Economy* (Oxford; New York: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

A recent collaborative project led by a series of scholars focusing on regions within Southern Europe (particularly Italy, Provence, Languedoc, Catalonia and other parts of the Iberian peninsula) has sought to examine what the "Situation of 1300" looked like in southern Europe, and to explore whether these models based on Northern European evidence also held true in southern regions.[85] They explored four primary topics, across the north-western Mediterranean in the decades before and after 1300, up to the year 1347. Firstly, they looked at the intensity, chronology and mechanisms of food shortages. Contributors have shown that there was not a "return to hunger" around the turn of the fourteenth century and that famines occurred periodically even during the centuries of known economic growth and emphasized that the chronology of food shortages in southern Europe does not mirror that of northern Europe.[86] Secondly, they looked at the commercialization of rural society, showing that the Southern European countryside was deeply commercialized and saturated with markets. [87] Thirdly, they looked at money and credit, finding no contraction of the precious-metal supply in southern Europe in the first half of the fourteenth century, and that the widespread use of credit was neither a sign of indebtedness nor lack of physical money.[88] Finally, they looked at social mobility, finding some signs of a hardening, or increasing social rigidity. [89] The result, as the

[85] Monique Bourin, "Un projet d'enquête : « la crise de 1300 » dans les pays de la Méditerranée occidentale," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre* 2 (2008), https://doi.org/10.4000/cem.8792; Monique Bourin et al., "Les campagnes de la Méditerranée occidentale autour de 1300: tensions destructrices, tensions novatrices," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 66 (2011): 663–704. Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras, eds., *Dynamiques du monde rural dans la conjoncture de 1300: échanges, prélèvements et consommation en Méditerranée occidentale*, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 490 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014).

[86] Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 669-677. See also: Monique Bourin, François Menant, and John Drendel, eds., *Les disettes dans la conjoncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale* (Roma: École française de Rome, 2011).

[87] Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 677-684; Bourin, Menant, and To Figueras, *Dynamiques.*

[88] Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 683-692; Bourin, Menant, and To Figueras, *Dynamiques.*

[89] Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 692-700; Bourin, Menant, and To Figueras, *Dynamiques.*

leaders of this project argue, is that though the period "simultaneously experienced destructive and innovative tensions," it cannot be seen as a time of "widespread recession supposedly triggered by the exhaustion of resources."[90] My research on Puigcerdà was conducted in the context of this broader movement on the study of Mediterranean Europe, and, as I will show, my findings on the economy and economic development of Puigcerdà fit many of the trends seen in these other southern European regions.

The broader acknowledgement of a need for more attention to regional differences also features in Stephen Epstein's attempt to provide a universal model of the crisis. Epstein's theory of the feudal economy and the late-medieval crisis, for example, aims in part to provide an "explanation of why regional economies performed differently over long stretches of time."[91] Instead of an agrarian crisis, he sees the issues of the early fourteenth-century as symptoms of a crisis of distribution. Issues such as food shortages were short-term bottle-necks caused by high transportation costs and an institutional structure in which markets were not sufficiently well integrated to enable products to reach those who needed them. In his view, further economic growth could only come with the development of more centralized, politically integrated states with greater territorial and jurisdictional simplification. He argues that the inbuilt pressures for political centralization would eventually have provided benefits leading to a higher growth path, even without the shock of the Black Death.[92]

This argument also has important implications for how we should understand the economic development of Puigcerdà. As I will discuss in Chapter 10, in line with the increasing

[90] Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 704.

[91] Epstein, "Integration Crisis," 33.

[92] Epstein, "Integration Crisis," 35-6.

integration of both Catalonia and the Iberian Peninsula as a whole during this period, towards the end of the first half of the fourteenth century, Puigcerdà was becoming part of a broader Catalan and Iberian cloth market. The cloth merchants of Puigcerdà, as I will show in Chapter 10, were selling large quantities of cloth in Catalonia, in Aragon and, through Lleida and bases in Aragonese towns (particularly Calatayud and Tarazona), in Castile and Navarre—they were among the people in interior towns who helped forge the economic ties of the peninsula. The growth of this trade network itself increased with, and very likely led to, Cerdanya's reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon after the fall of the Crown of Mallorca, given that the wealthier mercantile segment of Puigcerdà, many of them with ties to the profitable long-distance cloth trade appear to have sided with the king of Aragon in the war leading to the reincorporation. But while Epstein argues that increased integration smooths out the growing-pains of distribution issues that presented short-term bottle-necks, and ensures a return to positive economic growth, the situation of Puigcerdà suggests that the benefits of increasing regional integration are disproportionately weighted towards the more central capital cities of a region. Puigcerdà, finding itself increasingly at the periphery as it was drawn into larger markets and a rapidly integrating Catalonia, suffered an unusually severe economic and demographic decline in the second half of the fourteenth century. Its decline radically departs from the fate of late-medieval Catalonia more broadly. There is clearly a need not only for broader understanding of regional differences in our understanding of the crisis of the fourteenth century, but for more research into differences on the sub- or intra-regional level.

Chapter 1: Notarial Development in Puigcerdà to 1360

Medieval Puigcerdà serves as an excellent case study through which to investigate the social and economic structures and development of the late-medieval Pyrenees due in no small part to the incredibly rich and extensive collection of medieval notarial registers surviving from this town and its surrounding valley. Notarial registers are books containing numerous abbreviated copies of legal acts, many of them containing economic transactions, such as sales, loans, dowries, and wills, etc.; they offer exceptionally detailed information on the lives and activities of the residents of medieval Puigcerdà, and, along with archeological findings, are one of the best available source for the study of economic shifts over time in this region. To understand what these sources can and cannot tell us, and how well they represent the economic activity of the town, I begin with an in-depth exploration of notarial activity in Puigcerdà, spread across three chapters. In this chapter, I begin with explaining the concept of a notarial contract and the procedures used in their production. I then discuss the development of the notariate (or notarial institution) in Cerdanya within the context of notarial development in Catalonia more generally. My analysis allows me to significantly revise previous historiography on the history of the notarial institution in Cerdanya, and to argue that, contrary to prior assertions, notarial development in Puigcerdà was fairly similar to that of the rest of Catalonia at least through the mid thirteenth century.

Notarial Certification

We can learn a great deal about the importance of notarial certification in late medieval Puigcerdà and how it was supposed to work through the case in which the process of notarial

certification went awry. At some point, probably in May of 1332, Sibil·la, the widow of Bartomeu Blanch of Puigcerdà, appeared before the local judge, Bernat Salat, to complain that due to the negligence of the notarial scribe Ramon de Coguls, several contracts relating to her marriage had never been entered into a notarial register.[1] A *cedula,* the initial rough outline of these contracts written on a loose leaf sheet, had been found inserted between the pages of the notarial register in which they were supposed to be recorded, but they had not been entered into that register. Sibil·la, "greatly in need" of a new copy, requested that the contracts be entered into the register retroactively, based on the *cedula,* so that an official version of the contracts "in public form" could be made.

Sibil·la, the daughter of Ramon Jaume and his wife Thomasia, married Bartomeu, originally of Berga, later an inhabitant of Puigcerdà, around June of 1316. The two of them appeared before one of the notaries of Puigcerdà on June 18th of that year to have three contracts relating to this marriage drawn up.[2] In the first, Sibil·la promised herself in marriage to Bartomeu with a dowry of 2,000 *sous* of Barcelona.[3] In the second, both Bartomeu and Sibil·la each gave the other a marital gift of one hundred *sous* of Barcelona. In the third, Bartomeu

[1] Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya, Notarial del districte de Puigcerdà, Reg. 13, 137v-138r. Hereafter, "ACCE, Reg." refers to a register within the collection "Notarial del districte de Puigcerdà" of the Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya. A paper copy recording Sibil·la's request, dated May 29, 1332 survives, suggesting that her initial complaint was in early 1332. But this document is clearly identified as "copia," and it is possible that the date given signifies when the copy was made, not when this complaint first occurred. For this copy, see: Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (Hereafter, ADPO), 7J82.

[2] The names of Sibil·la's parents are followed by an annotation noting that at least her mother and possibly both of her parents were deceased. Bartomeu's parents are not mentioned. They may also have been deceased, but may also be absent because, would they have been alive at this time, they would probably have been in Berga. It is not clear when exactly this marriage would have taken place. It could have been a few days before or after the creation of these contracts but was probably around the same period of time. It is also not entirely clear what was required to perform or confirm a marriage, although very likely it involved a Catholic religious ceremony.

[3] Money will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

acknowledged holding an additional 500 *sous* of Barcelona in *comenda* (a type of deposit/investment) on behalf of Sibil·la, in addition to her dowry.

Sibil·la and Bartomeu's visit to the notary would probably have begun with what was called the *rogatio*, in which the participants tell the notary what kind of contract they want to have created and what it must specify.[4] A rough outline of the most salient details of the contract would then have been recorded on a loose sheet of paper or on a small scrap of parchment either by one of the town's notaries, or an assistant scribe.[5] This was called the *cedula*.[6] Although Sibil·la and Bartomeu would almost certainly have spoken Catalan among themselves and to the notary, their contracts were written in Latin, a language that they did not speak and probably did not understand, as were nearly all notarial acts in this period. Once the *cedula* was written, the details of it would have been read back to them, presumably in Catalan, to confirm that the information was correct and so that they could specify any necessary changes.

Once the agreement was finalized, the notary or one of his assistant scribes would enter an abbreviated version of the contract, called the *notula* (also sometimes called the *nota*, or the *minute*), with all salient identifying details but without full legal clauses, into their own

[4] Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol has identified the main steps in the creation of a notarial act, based on analysis of late-fourteenth century notarial practice in Barcelona. I will interweave them here through Sibil·la and Bartomeu's story. On what Ferrer i Mallol discovered, see: Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció de l'instrument notarial a Catalunya. Cèdules, manuals, llibres i cartes," *Estudis d'història i documents dels arxius de protocols* 4 (1974): 29–191, and Josep M. Pons i Guri, "Llibres notarials catalans," in *Las Abreviaturas en la enseñenza medieval y la transmisión del saber*, vol. 3, Paleographica et diplomatica studia 4 (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona, 1990), 97–109 ; pages 102-3. Claude Denjean has noted that this same process to have been used in medieval Puigcerdà. See: Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 16.

[5] In fact, in this case, we know that Sibil·la and Bartomeu were seen either by the notary Mateu d'Oliana or the notary Jaume Garriga, and by their assistant scribe Ramon de Coguls.

[6] Some examples from Puigcerdà survive within the pages of notarial registers and in the Fonds Salsas of the ADPO. See also, Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens,* 25. The creation of the *cedula* may have been optional for many contracts, especially very short ones. Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció," 34-5. Edits and amendments made to the *notules* in notarial registers, at least in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries suggest that they were written directly into the register and not previously recorded in a *cedula*.

notebook, the notarial register.[7] Then, if the contracting parties requested a copy of the contract, the notary or his scribe could write out a full version of the agreement, in "public form" (*in forma publica*, *in mundum*, or *in extenso*), including all necessary legal clauses, on parchment. This version was called the *instrumentum publicum*.[8] The notary would affix his name, title and professional mark (a small drawing, unique to each scribe, called a *signum* in Latin and a *senyal* in Catalan) to the act. Doing so, he would certify that it was a valid legal contract, and that the parchment recording it provided proof of the agreement it described. The parchments might be written by either a notary or an assistant scribe but could only be undersigned by a notary who had the authority to bestow this public faith. Once written, it would be delivered to the client who could use it as proof of their agreement. In this case, for example, the parchment copy of the first contract would originally have served to certify that Sibil·la owed Bartomeu a dowry of 2,000 *sous* of Barcelona. Bartomeu could have produced it in court if she did not pay. Under Catalan law at that time, a woman's dowry was returned to her if her husband predeceased her, or it was returned to her family if she predeceased her husband with no living children. Thus, when he died years later, this same contract would also have served to certify the value that Bartomeu's estate owed back to Sibil·la.

The notarial registers (also called cartularies, books or protocols) containing the abbreviated copies were kept by notaries precisely so that later on, if a copy of the contract was requested—either because the original copies had been lost or because no copy had ever been made—the notaries could write out another legally valid parchment copy *in extensum*. This copy

[7] Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció," 53. I have found that in Puigcerdà they primarily tend to use the term *notula*. The creation of the *notula* would generally have preceded the creation of a parchment copy. This would suggest that Sibil·la and Bartomeu had never received a parchment copy of their contracts.

[8] Contracts were only redacted in public form when this was requested.

could then be used if there was ever a dispute about a previous agreement or its terms. Prior to the spread of double-registration in Catalonia in the mid-fourteenth century, these abbreviated notes were the only version of the contract that the notaries would have kept.[9] Beginning in the mid-fourteenth century, notaries would be ordered to keep full copies of all notarial documents (i.e. with all legal clauses in full), and would thus begin keeping two copies of each document (called double-registration). Brief, abbreviated notes, containing only a summary of the contract would be recorded only within books called manuals, while the full, unabbreviated versions would be written in out in other registers.

Notarial acts had a long life after the moment at which they were initially recorded. The notaries often recorded later information about the *notula* and its status through a series of marginal notes and markings written within the registers. These included the price for the creation of the notarial document, whether it was entered out of chronological order, which parties were present to swear to uphold the contract,[10] whether a copy was made for the contract participants, and if the contract was cancelled. There are two very distinct circumstances that could be defined as the contract being "canceled." In the first, the contract is immediately annulled, such that it never took effect. In the second, the contents of the contract are voided after the agreement has been fulfilled and no longer has outstanding obligations, such as if for example a debt was owed but has been repaid. In the first type, when the contract is immediately annulled the notaries often state that it was cancelled (*fuit cancellatus*), and sometimes explain

[9] *Cedules* were generally were not needed once the *notula* had been recorded and were often disposed of, although a few have survived to the present day.

[10] In Puigcerdà it was standard to write a small cross over the names of these parties.

why.[11] In one sad case from Puigcerdà, a marriage contract was cancelled shortly afterward due to the death of the bride.[12] Another contract was cancelled because it had already been recorded in one of the other notarial registers.[13] In other cases, however, they simply obfuscate the contents, crossing through the text with horizontal, wavy or cross-hatched lines, and no explanation.[14]

Notations that the contents of a contract were voided after they were fulfilled take various forms depending on whether or not an extended copy of the contract had originally been produced. In Puigcerdà, if a full copy of the contract (on parchment, *in extenso*) was made, then the notaries drew three vertical lines through the corresponding *notula*. If such a contract was later fulfilled, they wrote a marginal note next to it stating that it had been repaid (*recuperavit*). If no full copy was made but the contract was later fulfilled, the notaries crossed the *notula* out by drawing three large Xs through it.[15] Such annotations that a contract was fulfilled were not always necessary; whether or not a full copy in public form had been made, the notaries could

[11] The use of this term changes over time. While originally it denoted contracts that were voided, by the 1340s it will later come to refer to contracts that were fulfilled.

[12] ACCE, Reg. 125, fol. 40v (a). The dowry in this case had not been paid over at the time the original contract was recorded. The original contract had specified that out of a total dowry of 1,000 *sous* of Barcelona, the father of the bride would pay 600 *sous* "whenever you want" (*quando volueris*), and the rest across the two following feasts of Saint Michael.

[13] ACCE, Reg. 345, fol. 1r (c). It states, "it is noted in the book of Mateu d'Alp, and therefore is cancelled." (*In libro Mathei de Alb est notatum, et ideo est cancellatum*).

[14] This expungement can be more or less complete; some can still be easily read, while others are blocked out so completely their original contents cannot be determined. Cancellations of wills, easily one of the longest types of acts, tend to show only a very through effort to obscure the name of the will maker, with less severe effort to cross out the remaining contents.

[15] This practice is similar to what can be seen in the notarial registers of Bagà, Poble de Lillet, and La Seu d'Urgell, but differs from the practice in some other regions of Catalonia where the fulfillment of contracts was marked with diagonal or crosshatched lines. See: Gregory B. Milton, *Market Power: Lordship, Society, and Economy in Medieval Catalonia (1276-1313)*, The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 38. More information on the breakdown of how often extended charters were made and how often they were repaid can be found in Chapter 3.

also record a later notarial document stating that the terms had been fulfilled and that the original was no longer valid. The notaries also specifically noted when an obligation had been transferred and was now owed to a new person (who might come to look for a new copy of it), or when a debt had been repaid to someone other than to whom it was originally owed. Most of the time these notarial markings are undated, but they occasionally list a date.[16] These cases with a date make clear that notaries were constantly going back into older registers to make additional notes or make new copies, sometimes even many years afterwards. Some registers include short indexes which vary in their formality and complexity but usually include the names of frequent customers followed by lists of dates corresponding to entries involving that person.[17] In one case a notation was added to a contract nearly thirty years after it was originally created.[18] Sibil·la's case also demonstrates that people might come looking for new copies many years after their contract was created, and that they clearly expected and relied on the ability to do so. For this reason, the notarial registers had to be kept in an easily accessible location.[19]

As will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter, in medieval Puigcerdà certain men were elected each year to serve as notaries for the town and its surrounding valley. These notaries were appointed with the task of writing out and certifying each day's new legal agreements, creating both the parchment copies "in public form" and the abbreviated versions in

[16] There are some clear shifts in the format of some of the markings over time that can help to date them. The notation "recuperauit" is written in the early fourteenth century as "recup.," but written in the mid-fourteenth century as simply "Rp."

[17] For an example, see: ACCE, Reg. 84, fol. 138v.

[18] ACCE, Reg. 228, fol. 63v (a). The original contract was recorded in February of 1302 [1301], and a notation was added sometime after February of 1331.

[19] For this reason, legislation regulating what notaries could do with their cartularies was common, and they were often required to leave them in the care of another notary if they left the area or died. See: Jaume Riera Sans and Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol, "La successió notarial i el traspàs de protocols en terres catalanes a la Baixa Edat Mitjana.," *Estudios Históricos y Documentos de los Archivos de Protocoles* 4 (1975): 395–428.

the notarial registers as a backup.[20] After 1296, a separate notary was appointed in Puigcerdà whose sole task was to make new parchment copies of old acts using the town's old notarial registers from previous years. He was not authorized to record new acts, only to create new parchment copies from the old entries. The issue with Sibil·la Blach's marriage contracts were first discovered when Bernat Torreyls (the guardian of Bartomeu Blanch's underage son, who was also named Bartomeu) first went to request parchment copies of these acts.[21] Torreyls was presumably looking for these copies so that, as required, he could pay Sibil·la's dowry and other funds back to her out of the elder Bartomeu's estate (which the younger Bartomeu had presumably inherited) and because he would have wanted to be sure of precisely what amount of money was owed.[22] In their case, Ramon Guillem de Lorà found that the original scribe, Ramon de Coguls, had written a *cedula* copy of their agreements and stuffed it in between the pages of the corresponding notarial register, but never gotten around to writing out the *notula*. Sibil·la thus had to appear before the judge to request that the *notula* be entered belatedly, based on the information in the *cedula*, so she could have new copies of the agreements redacted in public form, and ultimately so that she could get her money back. Her request was granted, and the

[20] Such notaries also operated in towns large and small across Mediterranean Europe, although as I will describe in Chapter 2, Puigcerdà is relatively unique in that their notaries were newly elected every year.

[21] He visited the notary who was tasked with only making parchment-copies, who, in that year, was Ramon Guillem de Lorà. It is not entirely clear if the younger Bartomeu was Sibil·la's son, or if he was the son of a first wife. A Bartomeu Blanch also appears as the father of the bride in a marriage contract in May of 1322, in which the bride's mother was identified as a deceased woman named Gaugona. If this is the same Bartomeu Blanch, Gaugona may have been his first wife and the mother of the younger Bartomeu, although this is far from certain, and it could have been a different Bartomeu Blanch. See: ACCE, Reg. 131 folio 77v (b). As the elder Bartomeu and Sibil·la had been married since 1316, and the younger Bartomeu was under the age of fourteen, it may be that he was indeed Sibil·la's son, but in that case, it is odd that he would not be identified in that way. More documents may yet be found that illuminate this family's story even further.

[22] If the dating on the copy in the ADPO can be trusted, all of this occurred in May of 1332, although it is possible that these events occurred prior to that date and the date of May 1332 is only when that copy of these notes began.

document was entered in the register from 1316 in which it would originally have appeared, along with a long, preface to explain this whole situation.

This case offers insight into what notarial documents are and what purpose they served within the society of late-medieval southern Europe: they were legal documents that carried within them the ability to serve as a legal attestation of the agreements they contained. Notaries were not merely scribes who could write documents, but people trained in how to compose legally binding contracts; and who were invested with the power to turn a written agreement into a contract with "public faith"—that is to say, a document with the ability to serve as legal proof. Sibil·la needed her marriage certificate as proof of the sum of money that she was owed after Bartomeu's death; and she specifically sought a copy of her marriage contracts that was certified by a notary and *in public form* to serve as evidence.[23] In Sibil·la's case, the process of notarial note-taking and certification had broken down, but that was unusual.[24] For most people, the system of notarial certification worked well, allowing them to easily acquire written and legally valid copies of their transactions and agreements (even years after the original contract was created) that provided proof of their economic and legal transactions.

[23] Had it not been possible for her to have these contracts entered retroactively, she may have ultimately been able to prove the amount owed based on her own memory or on the written *cedule*, but potentially only by spending the time and inconvenience to go through the local courts.

[24] Admittedly, Sibil·la's situation was not unique. In November of 1322 the Puigcerdan notary Mateu d'Alp gave his daughter Bonasies in marriage to Jaume Pegunter, also of Puigcerdà. The following January the involved parties had two contracts relating to the marriage, including one outlining Bonasies' dowry of 3,000 *sous* of Barcelona, drawn up by Mateu's former notarial partner, Jaume Garriga the younger. Garriga recorded the contract in a *cedula*, but evidently died sometime before 1327 without ever having entered it as a *notula* in a notarial register. Mateu de Alb, a town notary, and Jaume Pegunter, a member of a wealthy consular family from Puigcerdà, seem to have been more powerfully connected than Sibil·la was, however, because Mateu petitioned Philip of Majorca (regent of the Kingdom of Majorca between 1324 and 1329) to have this matter resolved. Philip ordered the local judge, Ramon Canals, to order the contract entered into the notarial register and this was eventually done by the notary Bernat Blanch. See ACCE, Reg. 80 fol. 13r (g) for the *notula* and the explanation of this situation and ADPO, 7J12 for the *cedula*.

A comparatively small number of the parchments containing copies of medieval contracts "in public form" do survive today from some southwestern European towns, but what survive in far greater number are notarial registers.[25] Notarial registers are more valuable for most economic research because they contain the record of not just one agreement but many. From Puigcerdà, there are 388 total surviving notarial registers from the period up to the year 1360.[26] These registers vary in size and in the number of entries that they contain. Some registers, particularly those containing only wills, can be quite short and contain only a few contracts. Others can be quite long. Although most of the registers from Puigcerdà are somewhere between seventy-five and two hundred folios; at least one contains 392 folios. They can also be very dense, in some cases including up to as many as twenty contracts or more on each folio. A register of just one hundred folios with that density of contracts might contain as many as 2,000 individual entries—each containing a unique medieval act with something new to teach us about the town's medieval patterns of social and economic activity. Altogether, the collection of surviving notarial registers from Puigcerdà before the year 1360 might easily contain over 500,000 individual agreements.

Inevitably, as I will discuss in Chapter 3, not all types of agreements received notarial certification. But the wealth of documentation contained in these sources is by far the best available source of information on patterns of economic activity in most late medieval towns. It is therefore essential that we understand these sources, the processes that notaries used to produce them, who used them and why, and how these facts bias them as evidence in historical

[25] For example, for an inventory of some of the parchments from Puigcerdà, see: Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*.

[26] Most of these registers are located in the Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya and can be found inventoried here: Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols.* Three others are in the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales in Perpignan. See: ADPO, 7J40, 7J41 and 7J42.

inquiry. The remainder of this chapter is concerned primarily with introducing the history of these sources in Catalonia and Cerdanya.

Development and Spread of Notarial Culture in Catalonia[27]

The modern European concept of public faith emerged in central Italy in the late eleventh century as a consequence of the re-emergence of classical Roman law. Its use spread outward in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries alongside revived use of Roman law and the spread of municipal consulates—to the rest of the Italian peninsula, to southern France, and to Catalonia.[28] In Catalonia, legal proof of a recorded agreement previously rested in the memory of those who

[27] The most important works on the medieval notarial development of Catalonia are: Francesc Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllment de la institució notarial a Catalunya en lo segle XIII," in *Miscelanea Histórica Catalana* (Barcelona: Imprenta de la Casa Provincial de Caridad, 1906), 323–60; Félix Durán Cañameras, "Notas para la Historia del Notariado Catalán," *Estudios históricos y documentos de los archivos de protocolos* 3 (1955): 71–214. Josep M. Pons i Guri, "Característiques paleogràfiques dels llibres notarials catalans fins el 1351," in *Actes del VII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*, vol. III (Barcelona: Diputación provincial, 1964), 225–48 ; Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció"; Antoni Aragó, "Concessions reials del dret de notaria a parròquies i monestirs catalans (segle XII i XIII)," *Estudios Históricos y Documentos de los Archivos de Protocoles* 6 (1978): 1–14; José Bono, *Historia del derecho notarial español*, 2 vols. (Madrid: Junta de Decanos de los Colegios Notariales de España, 1979); Rafael Conde and Francisco Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías de concesión real en la Corona de Aragón," in *Notariado público y documento privado : de los orígenes al siglo XIV : actas de VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática*, Valencia, 1986, vol. 1 (Valencia, 1989), 281–330; Pons i Guri, "Llibres notarials catalans"; Josep M. Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari i de la 'charta' a l'instrument. Recepció dels usos notarials itàlics a Catalunya," *Lligall* 7 (1993): 29–42; Ignasi J. Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català: origen i evolució," in *Actes del I Congrés d'Història del Notariat Català*, ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1994), 131–66; Rafael Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà al notari," in *Actes del I Congrès d'Història del Notariat Cátala* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1994), 439–62; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial (segles XI-XV)," in *Actes del II Congrés d'Història del Notariat Català*, ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé and Juan José López Burniol (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2000), 29–88; Arcadi García i Sanz, "Origen de la fe pública del document notarial.," in *Actes del II Congrès d'Història del Notariat Català*, ed. Juan José López Burniol and Josep Maria Sans i Travé (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2000), 491–501; and Laureà Pagarolas, "Gènesi i evolució dels registres notarials (ss. XIII-XIX)," in *Actes del II Congrés d'Història del Notariat Català* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2000), 161–84.

[28] On the spread of Roman law in southern France see: André Gouron, "Les étapes de la pénétration du droit romain au XIIe siècle dans l'ancienne Septimanie," *Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 69 (1957): 103–20. André Gouron, "Diffusion des consulats méridionaux et expansion du droit romain aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 121 (1963): 30–54. For a brief summary of notarial contracts in English see: Kathryn L. Reyerson and Debra A. Salata, *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts: The 1327-1328 Register of Jean Holanie* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004). In particular, on the development and spread of notarial culture, see page 3.

had witnessed it. The scribe was then simply another witness to the contract, with no additional legal authenticating power.[29] But this system presented obvious problems in cases where all original witnesses had died.[30]

It is very difficult to determine the exact chronology of the adoption of a notion of public in different regions due to the lack of clarity in the early terms used for different people redacting documents. Unlike in several other Iberian kingdoms, there are no statutes that first regulate the initial creation of a notariate with public faith in Catalonia.[31] José Bono has argued that the development of public faith can be traced by examining the shift from the charter (*charta*) to the public instrument (*instrumentum publicum*) which carries public faith, and the shift from the scribe (*scriptor*), who merely records the document, to the notary (*notarius*), who has the authority to bestow public faith.[32] But while he is right to identify the importance of the shifts in these terms, the truth is that the shifts in vocabulary cannot always be reliably used to track the development of public faith. While *notarius* would eventually come to refer primarily to the people capable of bestowing public faith, and *scriptor* would eventually primarily designate assistant scribes who worked writing documents but who could not bestow public faith, the division between these terms was not always so clear cut. We know that the term *notarius*

[29] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 30. Conde notes that Visigothic law gave some validity to documents, but that it was not on the same level as public faith. Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà," 444.

[30] Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial," 10.

[31]Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 1, 293. The institutions of the *notarius publicus* and the *instrumentum publicum* were instituted in law in Castile, Aragon, and Valencia, but not done in Catalonia because these institutions had already developed.

[32] Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 1, 19-20. Numerous other historians have followed him in defining the development of notarial culture in Catalonia in this way. See: Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari"; Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català" ; Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà" ; Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial"; and Jorge Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios y su organización en Barcelona (siglos XIII-XVI)* (Madrid: Consejo General del Notariado. Junta de Decanos de los Colegios Notariales de España, 2004).

appeared long before public faith and that not all people referred to in this way could bestow public faith.[33] Similarly, some people identified as a *scriptor* could bestow public faith. In Puigcerdà, as was also true in Girona, Besalu and Rosselló. the term *scriptor publicus* was used at certain points in the thirteenth century or early fourteenth century to refer to notaries who could bestow public faith.[34] Other potential indicators that have been used in attempts to date the adoption of what Catalan historians refer to as an "Italian-style" notariate (i.e. a notariate with public faith) in Catalonia or southern France include the appearance of other terms or formulas associated with Roman law, concessions of notarial or scribal offices that serve the public, the use of notarial registers, and the use of notarial signs, but in all cases it is hard to determine a definitive date for the adoption of public faith.[35]

The chronology of the adoption of an Italian-style notarial institution in Catalonia remains somewhat sketchy although a rough outline has been established. Most scholars agree that prior to the late twelfth century there was no tradition of public faith within Catalonia; and that it probably began sometime between the last decades of the twelfth century and the first

[33] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 30 ; Hélène Débax, "Les premiers notaires de Béziers (dernier tiers du XIIe siècle)," *Revue Historique* 3 (2017): 491–514 ; 2.

[34] Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol 2, 130, 134 and Rodrique Tretón, "Preludi a la història del notariat públic a Perpinyà i el comtat de Rosselló (1184-1340)," *Afers: Fulls de recerca i pensament* 22, no. 58 (2007): 551–609, 579. In Puigcerdà they also continue to use the term *carta*, even to refer to contracts that seem to have had public faith, through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. For example, contracts in which someone absolved a debtor of all their outstanding debts commonly absolve all debts "with and without charters" (*cum cartis et sin cartis*).

[35] French scholars pay a great deal of attention to the early usage of notarial signs, called *seings* in French, as an indication of a notariate with public faith, but this has been uncommon in Catalonia. Débax, "Les premiers notaires," 8-11; Sylvie Desachy, "Apparition du notariat en Bas-Languedoc XIIe siècle," *Bulletin de l'Academie des sciences et lettres de Montpellier* 48 (2017): 1–14 ; 5 and 10 ; Alan Friedlander, "Signum Meum Apposui: Notaries and Their Signs in Medieval Languedoc," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350,* ed. Robert F. Berhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosto (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 93–120 ; and Karim Saïdi, "Seings manuels des scribes et notaires du XIe au XIIIe siècle dans le Roussillon et l'Hérault," *Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa* 38 (2007): 207–13.

three decades of the thirteenth century.[36] Public scribes (*tabelliones*) had existed during Roman times and, and in the early middle ages, scribes, generally clergy, wrote contracts primarily for eminent persons and institutions, but neither of these positions endowed the person with the ability imbue contracts with public faith. [37] Documents were private, except when issued by judges or public authorities.[38] Over the course of the twelfth century, the numbers of lay and professional scribes grew.[39] We also see the appointments of public scribes becoming more common in Catalonia toward the end of the twelfth century. With the exception of the "public notariate" of Vic conceded by the local bishop (the lord of the town) in 1135, all of the earliest known concessions of public *scribanias* in Catalonia are from this period.[40] A *scribania* is both the business of a scribe and the physical location in which his business was conducted (as a bakery is to a baker, for example), but a concession of a notariate or *scribania* is really the concession of the right to operate such a business in a given location. A *scribania* might be public if it was open to recording documents for anyone who wished to pay, or private if it existed only to record documents for a specific person or institution. All notaries with public faith were inherently scribes, and thus conducted their work in *scribanias*, but not all scribes were necessarily people authorized to bestow public faith, so it is not clear that these public

[36] There were numerous documents recording private acts and agreements before this period, but not "public faith" per se. On agreements and acts in this earlier period, see: Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[37] Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 132 ; Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios,* 33.

[38] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 29.

[39] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 30. This was also true in southern France, where the number of professional scribes multiplies right around the 1150s and 1160s. Desachy, "Apparition," 8.

[40] On the concession of the notariate in Vic, see: Honori Garcia, "El Notariado en Vich durante la Edad Media," La Notaria 82 (1947): 69–83 and 258–91; 76; Pons i Guri, "Llibres notarials catalans," 99. Other early public *scribanias* include that of Vilafranca de Penedès in 1184, that of Igualada in 1189, and three different *scribanias* conceded in the year 1194. Aragó, "Concessions reials," 8-9, and Pons i Guri, "Llibres notarials catalans," 99-100.

scribanias demonstrate the adoption of an Italian-style notariate. Many historians have assumed that they did; and therefore that public faith had become established within Catalonia by the last decades of the twelfth century.[41] Scholars examining the spread of an Italian-style notariate in southern France have generally placed it around the 1170s, which would be similar to, or just a few decades ahead of, the period when we see the expansion of public *scribanias* in Catalonia.[42] And yet, again, the evidence that these public *scribanias* bestowed public faith is not entirely clear.

Two other means of looking for the adoption of an Italian-style notariate would have us place the date of this transition a bit later. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, who has examined the wording and form of early documents, argues that while we cannot know for certain when public faith first arrived in Catalonia, we can see a significant rise in the influence of an Italian-style notariate from the first two decades of the thirteenth century on, notably also the point when we begin to see the first preserved notarial cartularies.[43] The use of notarial cartularies had begun in Italy within decades of the emergence of the notariate; and is indeed a strong indication that the associated documents carried public faith, given that the main benefit of a notarial register is that it keeps a record the notary can use to make later copies or check the validity of a copy against.

[41] Pons i Guri states that the shift to the *instrumentum publicum* was tied to the professionalization of the scribe, and that the notariate was systematized under common law in the late-twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Pons i Guri, "Llibres notarials catalans," 101, and "De l'escrivent al notari," 30. Rafael Conde also accepts the view that notaries had public faith by the late twelfth century. Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà," 459-462.

[42] Gouron initially dated it to the 1140s, but more recent work finds the period around the 1170s to be more likely. See: Gouron, "Diffusion," 55-72; Débax, "Les premiers notaires," 20; Desachy, "Apparition," 5 and 10; Robert-Henri Bautier, "L'authentification des actes privés dans la France médiévale Notariat public et juridiction gracieuse," in *Notariado público y documento privado: de los orígenes al siglo XIV: actas de VII Congreso Internacional de Diplomática*, Valencia, 1986, vol. 2 (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esport, 1989), 701–72, page 714.

[43] Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial," 40. This rapid growth was probably due to canons that studied in Bologna and brought back Italian formularies which then influenced Catalan notarial practice.

The earliest surviving (partial) register from anywhere in Catalonia is from Alcover (near Tarragona) and dates from 1228 or 1229.[44] Other early registers survive from Siurana (also near Tarragona) from 1229-1239, and from Vic from 1230-1233.[45] Even accounting for low overall survival of notarial registers for most places throughout the thirteenth century (no notarial registers survive from Barcelona before 1297, for example), how can we explain the lag of some four decades between the first concessions of public *scribanias* and the first surviving notarial registers? One historian, Arcadi García i Sanz, argues that public faith only began in Italy in during the time of Pope Alexander III, several decades after it has otherwise been believed to have begun, and did not spread to Catalonia until even later. He believes that in the late-twelfth century Catalonia had developed its own notarial system without public faith that was then "contaminated" by the spread of the Italian public notariate only after the first few decades of the thirteenth century, but in general his views are in the minority.[46] Regardless, most people agree the Italian-style notariate, with public faith, had been instituted in Catalonia at least by the end of the first third of the thirteenth century.

The Catalan notariate developed and spread to more centers within Catalonia very quickly after this point. Much of the research on the later development of the Catalan notariate draws evidence primarily from either concessions of *scribanias*, from notarial registers, or from legislation regulating notaries and their practices. For this reason, much of the research has focused on the production of notarial cartularies, the internal organization of the personnel of the

[44] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 33.

[45] Pons i Guri, "De l'escrivent al notari," 33. An edition of the register from Vic is available here: Rafel Ginebra i Molins, *El Manual primer de l'Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada de Vic (1230-1233)*, Col·lecció Acta notariorum Cataloniae 6–7 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1998).

[46] García i Sanz, "Origen de la fe pública," 496-7.

scribania, or on classifying different types of notarial institutions according to what power authorized the notaries to act as notaries and what jurisdiction they were granted. Early in the thirteenth century, we see increasing numbers of appointments of public notaries, and public notariates appear within all major Catalan urban centers.[47] The right to operate a notarial office was generally originally granted by whoever held authority within the jurisdiction in which the notary operated. This could be the king, a lay lord, or an ecclesiastical power. The grantee, usually the would-be notary, typically received the right to operate the notariate in a set area in exchange for a recurring payment. The agreements came with specific conditions over his rights and obligations, such as if he could appoint a substitute in his place or use scribes to help him in his work, etc.

Concessions of these public *scribanias* were often granted for life.[48] For example, in 1258 Jaume the Conqueror conceded the *scribania* of Perpignan and everything pertaining to it to Pere Calvet for all the days of his life (*diebus omnibus vite tue*). In exchange Pere Calvet was required to create "all public written instruments" (*omnia instrumenta publica et scripta*) and pay an annual fee of 500 *sous* of Melgeuil.[49] Very similarly, in 1262 Jaume conceded the *scribania* of the village of Villagrassa (near Tàrrega) to Bernat d'Agramunt for all the days of his life. In exchange Bernat was required to make "marriage documents, wills, and whatever other kinds of contracts" (*instrumenta nuptiarum, testamentorum et quorumlibet aliorum contractuum*) need to be made there, and pay 500 *sous* of Barcelona every year at All Saints.[50] It was also not

[47] Durán Cañameras, "Historia del Notariado," 83 and Bono, *Derecho notarial,* Vol. 2, 129-132.

[48] Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 152. See examples of concessions of public *scribanias* in Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllement," Aragó, "Concessions reials," and Conde and Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías."

[49] On this see: Tretón, "Preludi," 577 and 590; Conde and Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías," 321-322.

[50] Conde and Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías," 322.

uncommon for the concession of a right to operate a *scribania* to be heritable.[51] For example, in 1266 the same king conceded the *scribania* of the villages of L'Arboç and Olèrdola to Ferrer Oliver and his descendants in perpetuity (*ita quod tu et tuis dictam scribaniam predictorum locorum imperpetuum habeatis*).[52] Lifetime or perpetual appointments remained common in many parts of Catalonia even into the fourteenth century.[53] Most notaries were authorized to work in specific towns or regions, but some, especially later on, could be authorized to work in the whole territory of the king or lord who authorized them. Most of the surviving concessions of the right to act as a notary present a picture of notaries who work in a single area for life after having been appointed, alongside assistant scribes who help record contracts but who do not themselves bestow public faith. The haphazard survival of these kinds of contracts or information about notaries yields a somewhat incomplete and confusing map of how much notarial activity was occurring, where and when.

Over the course of the thirteenth century, as the number of notaries and public *scribanias* continued to grow, notarial activity became increasingly regulated and organized under royal authority, at least in the territories of the Crown of Aragon. During the 1280s, the kings sought to determine the number of existing *scribanias* and to limit ecclesiastical control of notarial activity in favor of royal control.[54] Additionally, throughout the mid-thirteenth and mid-fourteenth

[51] Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllement," 326 and 339.

[52] Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllement," 326.

[53]Durán Cañameras, "Historia del Notariado," 96. Also see the case of Girona, where Christian Guilleré and Anthony Pinto have noted that the notaries working in the early fourteenth century were the substitutes of the one man who had long held the right to this notariate. Christian Guilleré and Anthony Pinto, "Bilan des recherches sur le notariat Géronais (xiiie-xve siècles)," in *Documentació notarial i arxius: els fons notarials com a eina per a la recerca històrica* (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2007), 35–69 ; page 40.

[54] Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 138-9, Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà al notari," 448, Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios,* 48 and Gregory B. Milton, "The Transition from Ecclesiastical Scribania to Professional Notariate in Santa Coloma de Queralt," *Journal of Medieval History* 39, no. 1 (2013): 1–19, 6.

centuries, many issues related to the institutions of notarial practice were legislated within the Corts (law-making meetings of parliamentary assemblies made up of representatives from three groups—military, ecclesiastical and royal/municipal officials). Some of the key regulations include those requiring notaries be examined for competence from the Cort of Montsó in 1289 and those setting the minimum age of notaries from the Corts of Montblanc in 1333. A final major change would come with the Cort of Perpignan in 1351, which issued regulation that standardized the dating of documents recorded in different areas and required all notaries in Catalonia to keep complete, unabbreviated copies of documents.[55] The requirement of keeping unabbreviated copies (which, as I will note later on, had been in force in the Crown of Mallorca much earlier) would add a new level to the process of recording notarial documents, causing notaries to keep two sets of notarial registers. This standardization and shift to double-registration would be the last major shift in notarial development in Catalonia during the later medieval period.

The Development of the Notariate in Puigcerdà to 1264

In general, Cerdanya has been mentioned very rarely within wider historiography on Catalan notarial development. Bono stated that he was not aware of local sources on Cerdanya's notarial history[56] and Bosom, who attempted a preliminary history of the town of Puigcerdà's notarial development, called its notariate "the great unknown".[57] As with Rosselló, examples

[55] Bono, *Derecho notarial,* Vol. 1, 293-7, Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios,* 49-51, Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 146.

[56] Bono, *Derecho notarial,* Vol. 1, 314.

[57] Sebastià Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà i els seus protocals a partir del segle XIII" (Tesis de llicenciatura, Universitat de Barcelona, 1983), 36.

from Cerdanya are often not included within wider surveys of notarial development in the Crown of Aragon from the time when these regions fell under the control of the king of Mallorca.[58] My own analyses of surviving parchments and notarial documents allows significant new insight into the development of the notariate in Puigcerdà and how it compares and contrasts with that of notarial development in the rest of Catalonia. I have focused on two main question. 1) When were public notaries first established within medieval Cerdanya? And 2) how completely do the surviving notarial cartularies represent the total number of cartularies that would have originally been recorded? With the aim of answering both questions I have created a list of all public notaries and scribes working in Puigcerdà each year between 1177 and 1360. This list is drawn from analyses of four types of sources: 1) the covers and opening headers of notarial cartularies, 2) the eschatocols, or formal endings, of parchments 3) documents on the concession of the notariate or on appointment of notaries, and 4) contracts referencing earlier documents by other notaries.[59] For the earliest period of notarial development (that up to 1264), these sources reveal that Cerdanya fits into the broader patterns regarding the adoption of public faith and notarial authority (i.e. under whose authority notaries operate) seen in the rest of Catalonia, although it is not possible to know precisely when public faith was first adopted there.

The first reference to a public scribe I found is in a parchment from 1206. This parchment was written by a scribe named Pere, and undersigned by "Andreu, public scribe" (*Andree publici scriptoris*).[60] It does not state specifically where it was made, but the only locations mentioned within the document are all within Cerdanya, so it is likely that this document was recorded

[58] Tretón, "Preludi," 552-3.

[59] For more information on how this information was collected, see the Appendix.

[60] ACCE, Parchment 717. The spelling of the location names in this document offers no significant insights into whether the notary of this document was from Cerdanya or not.

there.[61] Two additional parchments, one from 1197[62] and one which seems to be from 1183,[63] suggest that the same Andreu had been working as a scribe for over twenty years prior to when this document was written. All three of these documents include the same notarial sign, and thus we know that it was the same Andreu in all three cases. As with the first, these two documents do not state where they were written but suggest that they were likely recorded in or near Cerdanya.[64] Therefore I find it very likely that Cerdanya had some form of public *scribania* at least by 1206.[65] This was forty years before the date, 1246, when Bosom had thought the notariate of Puigcerdà first began.[66]

[61] This view is also supported by the fact that this parchment remains in the ACCE in Puigcerdà.

[62] ACCE, Parchment 826. This is a copy made in 1300 of a parchment originally from 1197 in which it records that the original contract was written by Andreu (*Andreas scripsit hoc*).

[63] ADPO, 7J104. This is a late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century photograph of a parchment. The parchment is a copy that was probably made in 1183, of a contract originally recorded in 1030. It also ends with a reference to Andreu as the scribe. The bottom section of the copy was damaged, but it appears to state that it was copied in the fourth year of the reign of King Philip, presumably Philip II of France, which would correspond to the year 1183. I have only been able to examine the photograph; the whereabouts of the original parchment are unknown.

[64] The contract originally from 1030 refers to locations within Cerdanya. The contract from 1193 refers to a noble family originally from an area slightly north of Cerdanya (Usson/So in the nearby Aude region of France), one branch of which was known to have settled in and been active within Cerdanya, in Llívia. This contract was also later copied by a notary of Cerdanya in 1300 and remains in the collection of the archive of Puigcerdà.

[65] There is also a contract written in 1208 that involves people from Puigcerdà that was also written by a scribe named Pere "on behalf of Andreu." In this case, however, there is no mention of Andreu being a public scribe and the professional mark shown (although it is not clear that it is meant to be the mark of Andreu) is different. It is not clear that this is meant to be the same Andreu, but if it was, he may have continued working as a scribe into 1208, but not always identified himself as a public scribe. Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell (hereafter ACU), Pergamins, Parchment 1239.

[66] Bosom divided the history of the notariate of Puigcerdà into three stages: one, from 1177-1246, a second from 1246-1264 and a third beginning in 1264 and lasting into the early modern period. Unaware of the existence of the 125 parchments from Puigcerdà that were only returned to the archive in 2010, and having never examined either the early contracts from Puigcerdà now in the archive in Perpignan or those relating to the town in the episcopal archive of the bishop of La Seu d'Urgell, he knew of no notaries in Cerdanya prior to the year 1246, when he notes the existence of a notary named Ramon d'Isavals. This prompted him to use 1246 as the approximate beginning of the notariate in Puigcerdà and to say that when the notariate was created in its more final form in 1264, it was the "culmination of a period of relatively brief transition." My analysis shows that there were public scribes within Cerdanya much earlier and suggests that there was a significantly longer period of transition from the first appearance of public scribes in the valley to the form the notariate would take in 1264. See: Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 12, Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 7-10, and Sebastià Bosom i Isern and Lluïsa Cases i Loscos, "Els arxius notarials al Pirineu. Aproximació," in *VI Curs d'Estiu d'Estudis*

In fact, a later contract suggests that the public *scribania* of Cerdanya may have existed even before 1206. That source also contains the first definitive evidence of a public notary in Puigcerdà. In May of 1225, two men, Guillem de Mornach and his son Arnau, conceded the public *scribania* of Puigcerdà and of the valley of Cerdanya to man named Bernat the scribe (*Bernardus scriptor*) who is identified as the son of the scribe Andreu, presumably the Andreu who had been recording documents in Cerdanya between 1183 and 1206.[67] Guillem specifies that his own father, also named Guillem, had received the (evidently heritable) concession of this notariate some years earlier from the king of Aragon, although he does not specify exactly when that was (or the name of the king who granted it). In this new concession, Bernat will be allowed to hold this *scribania* for life in exchange for a yearly payment of one hundred *sous* of Melgueil. Unlike the original concession made by the king to Guillem de Mornach's father, Bernat is specifically not allowed to transfer the *scribania* to any other person (*et non possis transferre in aliam personam predictam scribaniam*). Bernat also appears identified as a public notary (*Bernardi publicii notarii*) in a sale of census payments and rights that Albert Salsas has identified as being from June of 1222.[68] Based on this, we can thus assume that prior to 1222

Pirinencs. La Seu d'Urgell del 6 al 10 de juliol del 1987, vol, III: Arxius al Pirineu (La Seu d'Urgell: Caixa de Catalunya, 1987), 59–80; page 68. The original sources Bosom referenced were: ACCE, Parchments 6a and 6b.

[67] ACU, Pergamins, Parchment 1388.

[68] ADPO, 7J105, Transcriptions of the *Llibre primer dels actes del hospital de Bernat de Enveig,* Doc. 1. Hereafter, I will refer to this set of transcriptions as: ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1. These transcriptions were made in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by Albert Salsas. For more on the Fonds Salsas, see the Appendix. I have only been able to see Albert Salsas' transcription of this contract, as the whereabouts of the original are currently unknown. It was contained in the first volume of the acts of the Hospital of Bernat d'Enveitg (the *Llibre primer dels actes del hospital de Bernat de Enveig*). This register and several other documents were originally brought to the ADPO in Perpignan, where they were consulted by several historians including Jean-August Brutails. See for example: Jean-Auguste Brutails, *Etude sur la condition des populations rurales du Roussillon au moyen age* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1891). Currently, however, they are lost, and were most likely sold into private collections at auction by the archive. In general, I have found Albert Salsas' transcriptions to be highly faithful and accurate. There are numerous transcriptions in this collection for which I have been able to examine the original contract. Not having seen the original, however, I cannot be entirely certain that he transcribed the date correctly. Did Salsas perhaps mistake the date 1225 as 1222? We cannot know unless the original resurfaces.

Guillem and Arnau de Mornach had already conceded the *scribania* to Bernat, for some shorter period of time than his entire life, and that in 1225 they were actually renewing or extending his appointment.

This concession of 1225 is notable for two reasons. Firstly, it indicates that the public *scribania* of Puigcerdà may have been even older than 1206. While we cannot know precisely when this original concession of the *scribania* to the elder Guillem de Mornach was made, it may well have been very early after the founding of Puigcerdà. The initial concession of the *scribania* was presumably made for the life of Guillem de Mornach and was heritable, yet I have not seen Guillem de Mornach listed as a scribe or notary in any of the surviving contracts that I have found. A man by this name did witness a privilege granted to the inhabitants of Puigcerdà by the king in 1182, suggesting he may have been active around that time period.[69] I have, however, seen the scribe Andreu recording contracts as early as 1183. Guillem may have received the right to this *scribania* sometime around 1177-1182, and then relatively quickly transferred the day to day operations of the *scribania* over to Andreu. If this is true, the public *scribania* of Cerdanya may in fact date to the very late 1170s or early 1180s (the period when we begin to see many concessions of public *scribanias* around Catalonia).[70] Secondly, this document is notable because it suggests very strongly that a notariate with public faith had already spread to Puigcerdà by the early 1220s. Firstly, this contract specifically refers to itself as an *instrumentum publicum*. Secondly, Bernat signs it saying, "I the said Bernat the scribe, who confirms this, public notary, undersign it" (*Bernardi scriptor* [sic] *predicti qui hoc firmo et publicus notarius subscribo*). Additionally, it was witnessed by a person identified as *magister*

[69] Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 43.

[70] It can be no older than 1177, the date when Puigcerdà was founded.

Guillelmus jurisperitus, which suggests someone who may have been trained in the new forms of Roman law. It was likely, then, that public faith had spread to Puigcerdà at least by 1225. After 1225 Bernat appears in at least thirteen other contracts up to the year 1239,[71] including one from 1229 in which he refers to himself as "Bernat, public notary of Puigcerdà".[72]

In addition, during this same period, the number of professional scribes working in Cerdanya also appears to have been growing. Four different scribes wrote out documents that Bernat then undersigned. Several of them clearly operated within the same year as each other.[73] Andreu the scribe (*Andreas scriptoris*), presumably the same one who had previously been the public scribe and who was Bernat's father, appears to have remained within the community at least until 1229, as he is listed several times a witness.[74] There were also other scribes and notaries who worked not for the public but for the local lord, Nunyo Sanç, and who were active in Puigcerdà in this period.[75]

[71] ADPO, 1B89, Docs. 1a and 1b, ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Docs, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9 and 13, ACCE, Parchments 718, 719 and 720 and ACU, Pergamins, Parchment dated October 18, 1231. It is nearly certain that all thirteen of these contracts refer to the same notary. In four of the contracts from the first book of the Hospital of Enveitg, (Docs. 3, 4, 5, and 13), Salsas copied the notary's sign. It matches that in the one seen in the original parchments, all of which record the same symbol. Only in ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 13, is he described as a public notary (*Bernardus scriptor notarius publicus*).

[72] ACCE, Parchment 719. "*Bernardus publicus noter Podiicerdani*." This is the first definitive mention of a public notary of Puigcerdà that I could find.

[73] Assuming the same names refer to the same scribes, these are Guillem de Riu acting as a scribe in 1222 and 1236 (ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 1, and ACCE, Parchment 720, B de Bonany, acting as a scribe in 1226 and 1228 (ADPO, 1B89, Docs.1a and 1b and ADPO 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 4), Ramon d'Isavals in 1225 (ACU Pergamins, Parchment 1338) and 1228 (ADPO 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 4), and Bernat Veciat in 1236 (ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 9).

[74] ADPO, 1B89, Doc. 1b, and ACCE, Parchment 718.

[75] For example, a contract from 1225 was written by a scribe named Oliver in the place of Bernat de Pignà, notary of Lord Nunyo (*Bernardus de Pignano domini Nunonis notari*). This second notary is probably not the same notary as the other Bernat, because he uses a different notarial sign. He also seems to hold a different office – notary of Lord Nunyo, and not notary public. This act states specifically that it was made in Puigcerdà.

Further, there may have been two public notaries working in the town at the same time during the 1230s. A second notary, Ramon d'Isavals, is identified for the first time in December of 1236 as "public notary of Puigcerdà" (*noter publicus Podiceritanii*).[76] He appears as notary in an additional fourteen documents up to the year 1249, always identified as a public notary of Puigcerdà.[77] Both Bernat and Ramon appear as public notaries during the year 1236. Ramon is listed as notary in 1237/8 and Bernat is listed as notary during 1239. We have only a partial record, but the overlapping of these notaries (Bernat from 1222/5-1239 and Ramon from 1236-1249) suggests that there may have been two public notaries operating in Puigcerdà during the late 1230s. This would suggest both that the notarial institution was developing rapidly in this period, and that the town and demand for notarial services were growing.

This presents a considerably different picture of early notarial development in Puigcerdà than what previous studies have thought. Bosom knew of no notarial activity in the town until the mid-1240s and used 1246 as the date when the town's notarial institution had begun. I instead believe some form of public *scribania* operated within Cerdanya at least by 1206 and could actually have begun as early as the 1170s or 1180s. Further I have found that by the 1220s and 1230s the *scribania* had grown to the point that it employed several assistant scribes and very possibly even two public notaries at the same time. Did the documents that these earliest public scribes and notaries produce carry public faith, and therefore their own ability to serve as

[76] ACU, Pergamins, Parchment dated December 10, 1236.

[77] ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Docs. 10, 14 and 19; ACU, Pergamins, Parchment number 1264 and Parchments dated October 13, 1237, Nov 13, 1237, May 1, 1238, Jun 13, 1241, May 13, 1243, and June 29, 1249; ACCE, Parchments 6a, 6b and 7; ACCE, Reg. 62 fol. 49r (d); Rodrique Tretón, *Liber Feudorum A. Les investigacions sobre els feus dels reis Jaume l i Jaume ll de Mallorca. 1263-1294.*, 2 vols., Textos i Documents 50 and 51 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2013), Doc. 259. Note that the Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell records parchment number 1264 as being from the year 1211, interpreting the year as MCCXI. I however believe that the final digit in the date is clearly an L, and not an I, making it MCCXL, or 1240.

a legal witness to the included contract? It is difficult to say definitively, but I believe that some form of public faith had spread to Cerdanya at least by 1225, and perhaps earlier. Significantly, while previous historiography might have led us to believe that Cerdanya lagged behind the rest of Catalonia in adopting notarial culture, this new image presented for Cerdanya does not appear to be that different from the rest of the Catalonia. It is widely accepted that mountainous areas, due to their inaccessibility, were often less influenced by new cultural shifts that could spread more rapidly throughout coastal and lowland regions; they frequently remained the stronghold of older traditions or were slow to accept new developments. But the evidence on the spread of the notarial institution into Cerdanya suggests that this mountainous region was within the mainsteam Catalan development of legal culture.

The early notarial development of Cerdanya also resembled the broader trend on notarial authorization. As was true elsewhere in Catalonia, in the earliest period of notarial development the right to operate either a *scribania* or notariate in Cerdanya was a privilege that could be granted by the local lord. There is some confusion about the identity of the lord of the valley of Cerdanya during the earliest years after the founding of Puigcerdà. In a document from 1175, Sanç, the brother of count-king Alfons the Chaste appears as a witness, listed as "Sanç, count of Cerdanya, brother of the king".[78] This has prompted some people to believe that Sanç was count of Cerdanya for some period of time at least from that year on and perhaps earlier. Sanç never appears listed with this title before or after, however, and it is Alfons, and not Sanç who exercises authority in the valley.[79] It is the king, after all, who founds Puigcerdà and grants it

[78] Jaime Caruana, "Itinerario de Alfonso II de Aragón," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 7 (1962): 73–298; page 83.

[79] According to the will of the count of Barcelona Ramon Berenguer IV, Cerdanya (and Provence) would have passed to Sanç upon the death of his older brothers, particularly his brother Ramon Berenguer III of Provence who died in 1181, but there is very limited evidence that he ever really ruled it. On this see Thomas N. Bisson, ed., *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151-1213)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)

many early privileges. It is noteworthy that in the first surviving concession of the *scribania* of Puigcerdà and of the valley of Cerdanya that we do have, described above, it was the king of Aragon (probably Alfons or his son Pere) who originally granted the *scribania* to Guillem de Mornach (the elder) and not Sanç. We don't know the exact date of that concession, but it could well have been sometime in the late 1170s or early 1180s, precisely when people otherwise believe that Sanç was count of Cerdanya.[80] Regardless, in its earliest years, the notariate of Puigcerdà appears to have been a royal notariate.

In the year 1212, Sanç's son Nunyo Sanç became lord of Cerdanya (as well as Rosselló, Conflent and Vallespir) as a vassal of the king of Aragon, for the duration of his life. We know that he did not receive this title by having inherited it from his father, as his father did not pass away until after 1223. We might initially have assumed that Nunyo Sanç would have had the power to grant the privilege of the notariate while he was lord of Cerdanya between 1212 and 1242. The concession from 1225 indicates that, at least up to the year 1225, this was not the case, and that the control over the notariate remained with the de Mornach family, to whom it had previously been granted, during that period. And yet it is also clear that at some point after 1225 the king or Nunyo revoked the previous concession of the *scribania* to Guillem de Monach and his heirs, and regained the power to name notaries within Cerdanya.[81] In the period between

Vol. 1, 194 and Fredric L. Cheyette, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours* (Cornell University Press, 2004), 333.

[80] We would ordinarily have expected Sanç to grant this concession if he was indeed count of Cerdanya. Against this view, one might argue that Puigcerdà is merely a royal town and thus subject to royal authority regardless of the lordship of the surrounding valley. However, the concession from 1225 clearly states that the scribania was the scribania of the town of Puigcerdà and of the entire valley of Cerdanya. This makes it very dubious that Sanç was in control of Cerdanya at the time the concession was made, although it is not clear when that was.

[81] This would not be the only example of a case where a concession of a scribania that had originally been heritable was then revoked so that the lord or king could regain the right to concede it again. For an example, see: Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllement," 326.

1235 and 1241 both notaries who were operating in Puigcerdà, Bernat and Ramon d'Isavals, identify themselves in a way that suggests they received authority from Nunyo.[82] If this is true, then the notariate of Puigcerdà would have been a seigneurial notariate (in which notaries derived their authority from a lay lord) at least during the latter half of Nunyo's reign.[83]

When Nunyo died around 1242, control of Cerdanya reverted to the king of Aragon and the notariate correspondingly became a royal one. By 1253, it is clear that the older concession of the notariate to the de Mornach family had been revoked, and that it was the king who had the power to name and appoint new notaries, because the king granted the notariate of Puigcerdà anew in that year to a notary named Pere Gisclavar in exchange for a payment of thirty *lliures* a year.[84] Four years later, in October of 1257, the king the granted the notariate of Puigcerdà and all of Cerdanya to Pere Gisclavar and Pere Ripoll jointly in a lifetime appointment for which

[82] References to the notary Bernat during this period state that he undersigned "on the order of Nunyo Sanç" (*Bernardi publici notarii qui mandato domini Nunonis Sancii subscribo*). I believe this indicates that Bernat received his authority to undersign acts from Nunyo Sanç and not that Nunyo took particular interest in specific contracts. Ramon's own description is slightly clearer, defining him as "notary by the order of Lord Nunyo" (*noter publicus Podicerdanii mandato domini Nunonis*).

[83] Based on documents from the *Liber Feudorum Maior*, Bono guessed, perhaps correctly, that during his reign, notaries in all of Nunyo Sanç's lands would have been seignorially appointed. He incorrectly assumed that later Puigcerdan notaries from 1288 and 1302 would also have been seignorially appointed even though these references give no such indication. Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 2, 134.

[84] The original contract in which this notariate was granted in 1253 has now been lost. Both Bosom and Martí Sanjaume identify the existence of this contract based on a reference to it in a later source that is presumably held within the ACCE but which cannot currently be identified. See: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 223, Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 13, and Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols*, 10. The original citation given by Martí Sanjaume, and Bosom is: Manual Pasqual, Notes Particulars, Plec VIII, Page 11. It is identified as part of the Arxiu Històric de Puigcerdà, (itself now part of the ACCE), but neither I nor the current director of the archive could determine what in the collection this refers to. To add further confusion to this situation, it is not clear whether the king granted this notariate to one notary or to three notaries. Martí Sanjaume states that on Feb 3, 1253 the king gave "the scribanias" of Puigcerdà to Pere Gisclavar in exchange for a census payment of thirty *lliures* a year. In his thesis, Bosom repeats this statement though he refers to the scribania in the singular. In the *Catàleg de protocols*, however, Bosom and Galceran i Vigué state that the king gave the scribania to Pere Gisclavar, Pere Ripoll and Pere Forner together. I cannot be sure which number of notaries is correct. None of the three mention how long a term the appointment was for.

they would owe 700 *sous* Melgeuil a year.[85] They, along with a third man who was referred to as a *notarius rogatus* and who may have been their assistant or partner, appear to have been the only notaries operating in Cerdanya between 1254 and 1264.[86]

A last major shift in the control of the notariate came in July of 1264, when the king revoked the previous appointment he had made to Pere Gisclavar and Pere Ripoll, and instead granted the notarial office of Puigcerdà to the town itself.[87] The town *prohoms* thus gained the right to choose, appoint and change notaries and scribes according to their will, provided that the notaries were not clergymen.[88] For the privilege of the right to operate the notarial office, the town would pay the king 800 *sous* of Melgeuil each year, half at Christmas and half at the feast

[85] ACCE, Parchment 722. Bosom had not been able to see this document, which was among those parchments only returned to the archive in 2010. He only knew it through a reference by Miquel Coll i Alentorn. Bosom, i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 13, and Miquell Coll i Alentorn, "Jaume I i la Cerdanya i el Conflent," in *Primer congrés internacional d'història de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà: Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1983), 106–11; 107. Coll i Alentorn gives the date as October 11th, 1257, and records that it grants the notariate only to Père Ripoll in a lifetime appointment. In Parchment 722, the date is October 13th, 1257 and the notariate is granted to both Pere Ripoll and Pere Gisclavar together. Coll i Alentorn's article gives no footnotes or citations that would tell us where he found this document, but I find it most likely that he merely misread a copy of the same document, not that there was a different agreement made two days prior which was then made void.

[86] See ACCE, Parchments 9 and 822. His different title may indicate that he could not bestow public faith, or because the king had not granted the notariate to him. The first surviving notarial register dates to this period, being from the year 1260/1. ACCE, Reg. 1. Bosom attributes this register to Pere Gisclavar and Pere Ripoll. This seems likely but it is worth noting that because the header is damaged the register itself does not specifically state this. Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols*, 10.

[87] ACCE, Parchment 724. This document was copied into the Llibre Verd, and has been transcribed: *Llibre Verd*, 308-9. See also, Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 277 and 536-7. The previous concession was evidently revoked because Pere Ripoll had counselled a man who had "treasonously" killed a Jew that he should not admit this to anyone. This would have violated the general rule that notaries should uphold a certain level of moral conduct. Curiously, however, there is evidence that the king did not revoke another notarial position that Pere Ripoll also held. Up to June of 1264 Pere Ripoll was simultaneously a public notary of Puigcerdà, and the notary of the fiefs of the king. By October of 1264, however, he is identified as being notary of fiefs and not a public notary. He appears to have held this position until he died sometime prior to November of 1266, showing that it was not revoked in 1264. This would suggest that his offense was not sufficient for the king to refuse to continue employing him and perhaps that it was the *prohoms* of Puigcerdà and not the king who had demanded his removal. See, Tretón, *Liber Feudorum A*, Docs. 81, 82, 163, 194-199, 230, 298, 232-237, and 254.

[88] The regulation that notaries not be clergy fits in with the broader trend in which the king tried to limit ecclesiastic control of notarial production, discussed in the previous section.

of St. John in June. Significantly, while in 1253 the king's concession of the notariate had required the notaries to follow the orders of royal officials including the bailiff and *veguer*,[89] no such statement is included within this charter. Instead, in the 1264 concession the king orders the bailiff to observe this charter and see that it is observed. The charter also states that the town's right to the notariate was to be held in perpetuity, and indeed the town retained control over the notariate for the remainder of the medieval period.

Overall, the early development of the notarial office of Puigcerdà was fairly similar to the general trend of notarial development in Catalonia in relation to the development of public faith and the authorization of notaries, at least up to the year 1264. The concession of the notariate to the town, however, represented a major shift in the nature of the town's notariate, one that would cause it to be organized in a very different manner from most other Catalan notarial offices discussed in the literature, as I will explore in greater detail in Chapter 2. The fact that the town gained control of the notariate has not been widely known outside of historians studying the town itself, leading to a mischaracterization of the town's notariate within wider Catalan historiography.[90] Municipal notariates were rare in Catalonia in this period. From what I have been able to determine, only four other towns in Catalonia could exercise a similar level of control over their local *scribanias* during the thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries.[91] One was

[89] ACCE, Parchment 722.

[90] For example, Pilar Ostos-Salcedo assumed that a Cerdanian notary in 1327 was royally appointed because the town was a royal town. As my research has shown, this was true in an earlier period but not in 1327. Pilar Ostos-Salcedo, "Los notarios de los documentos de los Condes de Pallars," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 13 (1986): 111–76, pages 116 and 140. Similarly, while Bono identified, probably correctly, that the early notariate of Puigcerdà was at one time seignorial, he mistakenly included two much later cases, from 1288 and 1302 as evidence of this fact, suggesting the notariate was a still seignorial into the fourteenth century. Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 2, 134.

[91] It is certainly possible that there were others of which I am not aware. Antoni Aragó was the first to publish a categorization of the main types of Catalan notariates; he identified autonomous municipal scribanias as a distinct category and listed only Lleida and Barcelona as examples. Aragó, "Concessions reials," 2. Conde and Gimeno also identify autonomous scribanias of towns as a distinct category, and list Barcelona, Lleida and Tarrega as examples.

Tàrrega, which received the right to name its own notaries in 1263 in a concession very similar to that of Puigcerdà.[92] Another was Lleida, whose *paers* (consuls) received the right to name notaries in 1282.[93] The other two were Pyrenean towns close to Puigcerdà: Vilafranca de Conflent and Bellver de Cerdanya.[94] Of the five, Puigcerdà certainly has the largest surviving collection of medieval records and the best documented medieval notariate.[95]

A Centralized Regional Notariate

While in general the development of the notariate of Puigcerdà followed many of the same broad patterns as have been seen broadly throughout Catalonia, the early notariate of Puigcerdà did have one relatively distinct feature: it covered not only the town but all of Cerdanya. It was also not in close proximity to many other competing notarial offices. Because the notarial office of Puigcerdà covered a much wider geographic area than was typical in most parts of Catalonia, the town's records therefore contain a much more complete record of economic activity in the surrounding region than was true for most urban notariates. Félix Durán Cañameras noted that notaries were generally restricted to working only in one specific town or village and could not

Conde and Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías de concesión real," 283. The work of Jorge Günzberg i Moll indicates, however, that in the early fourteenth century the notaries of Barcelona were still chosen by the local *veguer* and not by the town. Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios*, 46-47.

[92] Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà al notari," 456.

[93] Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol 1., 320, and Günzberg i Moll, *Los notarios*, 47.

[94] For the establishment of the scribania of Vilafranca de Conflent, see: ADPO, 1B423, fol. 224v, and Tretón, "Preludi," 565 and 580-1. For the establishment of the scribania of Bellver de Cerdanya, see: ADPO, 1B91, and Font Rius, *Cartas de población*, 638.

[95] No medieval notarial cartularies that I am aware of survive from Tàrrega, Lleida or Bellver de Cerdanya prior to 1360. Only one register from before 1360 survives from Vilafranca de Conflent: ADPO, 3E3/927.

necessarily work in the whole surrounding *vegueria*.[96] In many regions, particularly coastal areas, there were numerous small notariates in close proximity during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This can be seen clearly within the counties of Rosselló and Empúries around 1300.[97] More notariates in close proximity would have given individual parties more choice in where they had their documents recorded, limited the need for those in the surrounding villages to come to the largest urban centers, and spread out the records of the region's economic activities across numerous notarial registers.

It is clear, however, that this multiplicity of notaries was not the case in Cerdanya. From at least 1225, the notaries of Puigcerdà had the authority to work within the entire valley. As the early concession by Guillem and Arnau de Mornach shows, when they conceded the *scribania* to Bernat the scribe, it was "the *scribania* of Puigcerdà and of all Cerdanya together from the Coll de la Perxa to the Coll de Pi" (*scribaniam Podiicerdani et totius Ceredanie in solidum a coll de Pertica usque ad collem de Pinu*).[98] The Coll de la Perxa is the pass that separates Cerdanya from Conflent on the eastern side of the valley. I have not been able to determine precisely what the Coll de Pi refers to, since this is not one of the passes usually used as a boundary of the valley of Cerdanya, but it is probably a mountain pass somewhere near the village of Pi, just southwest of Bellver de Cerdanya.[99] Indeed, the inclusion of the valley of Cerdanya within the

[96] Durán Cañameras, "Historia del Notariado," 110. He did not find evidence to support the assertion of previous scholarship that a notary appointed in one town could work in the whole *veguería*.

[97] Bensch notes that in the county of Empúries there were at least thirty-five different notariates, many located in very small villages. Stephen P. Bensch, "Un notariat baronial: notaris i pràctiques documentals en el comtat d'Empúries al segle xiii," in *Documentació notarial i arxius: els fons notarials com a eina per a la recerca històrica.* (Girona: Departament de Cultura i Mitjans de Comunicació, 2007), 123–34; 125. Similarly, Tretón states that at least twenty-six places within Rosselló and Vallespir had notariates around the year 1300, many of which would not have qualified as towns. Tretón, "Preludi," 576.

[98] ACU, Pergamins, Parchment 1388.

[99] I have seen this same territorial designation ("from the Coll de la Perxa to the Coll de Pi"), in only one other document, a notarial entry from January 1301 [1300] in which a rector from Prats appoints a procurator. In this case

territory of the *scribania* of Puigcerdà must have begun long before 1225, since the territory had clearly been granted in that form by the king when he originally conceded it to the elder Guillem de Mornach, potentially as early as the 1170s. This combined territorial designation was continued when the notariate was granted to Pere Ripoll and Pere Gisclavar in 1257,[100] and when it was granted to the town in 1264, the 1264 charter not only continues this yet again, but also makes the control of this notariate exclusive, stating that no notaries or scribes who were not appointed by the town can authorize any public documents in all of Cerdanya.[101] These rights were reconfirmed in 1270.[102]

The town jealously defended these rights. For example, in 1297 it seems that some men had begun operating a *scribania* in the village of Llo. In October of that year the *saig* (court-official) of Puigcerdà, acting on behalf of the king of Mallorca, the *veguer* of Cerdanya and the bailiff of Puigcerdà, ordered Arnau de Angladela, the bailiff of Llo, and all the scribes of Llo, under penalty "of his body and his goods," that he "not receive or make or cause to be made or received any will, marriage contract or any other public instrument for the people of Llo or any other place and cease receiving such instruments."[103] The *saig* then ordered all the men and women of Llo, twenty-seven of whom were named individually as personally present to witness this pronouncement, that equally under penalty of their bodies and their goods, they not make,

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the original notation "to the Coll de Pi" is crossed out and replaced with "to Bar" (meaning the village of Bar in the valley between Puigcerdà and La Seu d'Urgell. ACCE, Reg. 42 fol. 36v (a).

[100] ACCE, Parchment 722.

[101] ACCE, Parchment 724. It states: "*et nullus alius nisi ille seu illi quem uel quos ibi statueritis ibidem nec in Cerritania instrumenta aliqua uel aliquam publicam scripturam facere valeant ullo modo."*

[102] ACCE, Llibre Verd, fol. 4r-4v; *Llibre Verd*, 309; Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 11.

[103] ACCE, Reg. 55 fol. 64v (a). Specifically: "*non recipiat ad Alo uel conficiat recepi uel confeci faciat aliquid testamentum instrumenta nuptialia uel alia instrumenta publica ab hominibus eiudum loci uel alterius loci et quod ab eisdem instrumentis recipiendis desistat*." I am very grateful to Ignasi Baiges Jardí for showing me this act.

arrange or even *affirm* any wills, marriage contracts or any other kinds of public instruments with Arnau or any other scribe in Llo. The issue of who had the authority to write public instruments was an extremely serious one: villagers faced corporal punishment for even accepting as valid a contract that a non-authorized person had recorded. There were also other cases of an unauthorized person recording acts. In September of 1342 the king of Mallorca had to settle an ongoing controversy between the notaries of the town and the notaries of the royal curia, and rule that the notaries of the royal curia were allowed to write a small selection of types of contracts, including legal cases, guardianships, emancipations, adoptions, and judicial acts, but not any other types of public instruments, including wills, or inventories, thereby upholding the rights of the notaries named by the *prohoms*.[104] Nonetheless, the king twice had to order the local *veguer* and bailiff to observe this rule when the notaries of the royal curia were caught contravening it, in 1364 and 1368.[105] Additionally, in March of 1345 a priest of La Llaguna and chaplains from Odelló and Eguet were caught writing public instruments unlawfully within Cerdanya, contrary to the rights of the public *scribania* of Puigcerdà and were also ordered to cease doing so.[106]

Still, the rights of the notaries appointed by the town were not fully exclusive and at certain points there were other notaries who were able to record public contracts within Cerdanya. First, some notaries were appointed either by the king of Aragon or by the king of

[104] ACCE, Parchment 140, Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 42 and Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 18.

[105] Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 11-13.

[106] ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Registre de Consells, 1342-1345, fol. 33r and Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 17. ACCE, Reg. 3617 is identified in the catalog as being a register from Odelló from the year 1345. This is difficult to be sure of, as this register contains no header that would identify its year or where it was produced. However, the writing is consistent with writing of the mid-fourteenth century and it primarily mentions residents of Odelló and Eguet. It may be, therefore, that this was a register produced by these priests.

Mallorca with the right to work anywhere within that king's territories.[107] Secondly, beginning at least in the early fourteenth century, a second notariate was established in Bellver de Cerdanya. king Sanç of Mallorca officially granted a notariate to Bellver in 1311,[108] although I have also found a reference to a notary of Bellver acting in the year 1307, suggesting that a notariate existed there earlier than has previously been known.[109] The notaries of Bellver were notaries of that town as well as its local bailiwick and, in some cases, also the nearby region of Baridà, a valley between Cerdanya and Urgell.[110] This notariate is a clear and royally sanctioned exception to Puigcerdà's otherwise exclusive right to notarial activity Cerdanya, at least after 1311. In addition to the notariate of Bellver, whose existence has been well known, I have found several brief references to four other notariates definitely or probably located within the region. These include six references to a notariate of Bar (in the valley of Baridà)[111] and one reference to a

[107] In other Catalan towns there were often conflicts between locally appointed notaries and the notaries capable of working within the entire kingdom. Rafael Conde y Delgado de Molina, "Notaries i conflictes entre notaris en les ciutats i viles," in *Actes del II Congrès d'Història del Notariat Català*, ed. Josep Maria Sans i Travé and Juan José López Burniol, Estudis 23 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2000), 15–28. This does not appear to have been a major problem in Puigcerdà, however, and presumably relatively few such notaries ever traveled to Cerdanya.

[108] ADPO, 1B91, Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 1, 314, and Font Rius, *Cartas de población*, 638.

[109] ACCE, Reg. 71 fol. 82r (a). This act, from 1309, refers to an earlier will made in September of 1307 and undersigned by Ramon de Caborriu, then public notary of Bellver (*subsignato pro manum Raimundi de Caborriu tunc noter publici pulchrovisus*). This is possibly the same Ramon de Caborriu who had served as a public notary in Puigcerdà between 1288 and1301.

[110] References to this notariate are relatively rare. None of the medieval notarial cartularies presumably produced there survive today. I have only found eight acts written by or referring to a notary of Bellver from before 1360, although there are possibly other references waiting to be found. None of these references are from the same year, so I have no evidence that there was ever more than one notary per year in Bellver. ACCE, Parchment 104, ACCE, Reg. 301 fol. 27r (a), and ACCE, Reg. 801 fol. 158r (a), ACU, Pergamins, two parchments both dated May 1, 1329, ADPO, 1B89, and ADPO, 7J77, Doc. 146.

[111] I have seen this notariate referenced six times. The first reference is in an act from July of 1309 and identifies Pau de Vilarodon as public notary of Baridà (*Pauli de Vilarotundi noter publici Baritani*). ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 9v (b). The second, from 1321 identifies Guillem Puig as a public notary of Bar (*G de Podio Notario publico de Bar).* ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 9r (e). The third and fourth discuss contracts recorded by Jaume Puig, public notary of Baridà in February of 1336 [1335] and March of 1338 [1337] (*Jacobi de Podio pubici notarii Baritani*). ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 281v-282r and ACCE, Reg. 440 fol. 49r-49v. In the fifth and sixth, both from 1359, Guillem Roquer (possibly the same Guillem Roquer who had previously been a scribe and notary in Puigcerdà) is identified as "*scriptor scribania*

public notariate of the castle of Ansovell (also in the valley of Baridà).[112] In addition I have found a reference to a notariate of Querol that might refer to the Vall de Querol, to the north of Cerdanya, although it may be another place in Catalonia with the same name.[113] While these valleys were part of Cerdanya, it is not clear that they were also part of the region over which the *scribania* of Cerdanya was meant to cover. Baridà, at least, is west of where the "Coll de Pi" would most likely have been located. In addition, I have found references within several contracts suggesting that there was a notariate in Talló (a small village which is very close to Bellver) that preceded the notariate of Bellver and may have been replaced by it.[114] This appears to have been an ecclesiastically controlled notariate and it is not clear if its existence was supported by the king or by the notaries of Puigcerdà. It seems to have endured for at least some time after the notariate of Cerdanya was granted to the town of Puigcerdà in 1264, based on a final reference to a contract created there in 1274. I have found no evidence of a notariate in

publice de Bar et subvicar Baritanii" and as "*scriptor de Bar et totie terre Baritanie*." ACCE, Reg. 504 fol. 20v (a) and ACCE, Reg. 795 fol. 34v (a).

[112] An act from December of 1339 refers back to a contract written the previous February by Jaume Batlle, public notary of the castle of Ansovell (*Jac. Baiuli noter publicum castro de Nansoveyll*). ACCE, Reg. 432 fol. 171v (a).

[113] ACCE, Parchment 64. The sole mention of this notariate, in a contract from 1309, identifies a *clericus*, as "*publicus noter de Querollo pro dominio Martinii rector ecclesias eiusdem loci*." This suggests that Querol had a small parochial scribania controlled by the local priests, although it is not entirely clear that this is the Querol in Cerdanya as there are other towns with this name in Catalonia.

[114] I've found four references to this notariate – primarily in cases where one contract refers to an earlier contract produced by the notary of Tallò. These references suggest that there was an ecclesiastical notary in Tallò at least between 1250 and 1274. The first reference to this notariate is in a1324 copy of a contract from 1250 that says it was copied from the notarial registers of Ramon de Eler, "*canonici Tholone et noter publici eiusdem*." The second, a contract from 1293, refers to an earlier contract from 1254 [1253] written by Pere de Riu "*notarius Tholone publicus*." A third contract from 1293 also references Pere de Riu as a public notary of Tallò but only while referring to an earlier contract the date of which is not mentioned, and finally, a fourth refers to an *instrumentum publicum* made by Ramon, who was a priest and canon of Tallò (*presbiterum canonicum Tholone*), in 1274. ADPO, 1B89, and Tretón, *Liber Feudorum A*, Docs. 256, 277, and 284.

Llívia, the third town of Cerdanya,[115] or in any other place within the valley.[116] I have, however, found a few contracts that suggest that clergy could occasionally create contracts with public faith in the valley of Cerdanya. For example, two contracts from 1336 make reference to two different contracts, one called a *cartam publicam* and one called an *instrumentum publicum*, both undersigned by Bernat de Ponts, rector of the church of St. Martí de Aravó (a village next to Puigcerdà) that had been made in 1334.[117] In another case the abbot of the monastery of St. Martí de Canigó confirms to the executors of the will of Ramon de Montellà, chaplain of Targasona, that they have handed over to him all of the "books, notules, and instruments" that he completed "as a scribe" in the monastery's holdings in Cerdanya.[118] This suggests that others aside from the public notaries, particularly clergy members, occasionally recorded documents, although it is not clear why they were not found to be in violation of the town of Puigcerdà's exclusive rights. While some aspects of notarial history in Cerdanya remain unclear, it is beyond doubt that there were far fewer notarial offices in Cerdanya than there were in many other regions of Catalonia at this time.

[115] Parchments in the collection of the Ajuntament de Llívia and several acts involving the consuls of Llívia were recorded by notaries of Puigcerdà. These acts would presumably have been recorded in Llívia if there was a public notariate there. For this reason, I find it almost certain there was no notariate in Llívia. See for example: Ajuntament de Llívia, Col·lecció de pergamins, Parchments 26, 27, 28, 48 and 50.

[116] I have found a brief reference to a contract written in 1339 by a "public notary of Prats" (*noter publici de Prats*). There is a small village called Prats within Cerdanya, but my suspicion is the notary referred to in this case worked in some other location that is also called Prats, such as Prats de Molló, the capital of the valley of Vallespir. Prats is a common location name, given that it means "fields." The contract referenced authorizes someone from the region of Ripoll to act as a procurator for a person whose hometown is not stated, which would fit with the theory that the contract did not originate within Cerdanya. ACCE, Reg. 440 fol. 109r (a).

[117] ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 60v (b) and 266v (b).

[118] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 61v (d). Guifre II, count of Cerdanya and his spouse had transferred their land rights in Targasona to the monastery of St. Martí de Canigó in 1017. See: Antoni Pladevall i Font, ed., *Catalunya romànica: VII. La Cerdanya, el Conflent* (Barcelona: Fundació Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1995), 227.

The small number of notarial offices in the region biases the notarial collection of Puigcerdà in several key, identifiable ways. It means that the registers of Puigcerdà contain a higher proportion of acts pertaining to inhabitants of the surrounding area than is common for notariates in regions with more nearby notarial offices, especially before 1307 (when Bellver appears to have gained its notariate). In regions with more *scribanias*, the evidence of economic activity might have been split across the registers of numerous notarial offices as people traveled only to the most convenient notariate to have their contracts recorded. Prior to the early fourteenth century, however, with the possible exception of a small notarial office in Tallò, anyone in Cerdanya interested in having a contract recorded with public faith had to travel to Puigcerdà. While this likely makes the collection of contracts more complete, it is also possible that the distance needed to travel to Puigcerdà may also have limited what types of agreements the inhabitants of the most distant villages would have been willing to record. On the other hand, of course, travel, particularly local travel, was not uncommon within the middle ages, and many villagers from Cerdanya may have had other reasons to travel regularly to Puigcerdà that could be combined with visits to the notary there. Further research could elaborate this question further. Finally, we can be reasonably sure that the notarial registers from Puigcerdà underrepresent evidence of the economic activities of the inhabitants of Bellver and its surrounding bailiwick after at least 1307.

Additionally, the notariate of Puigcerdà was not only centralized within the valley, but also within the town. At least after 1322, there was probably only one single physical notarial office in Puigcerdà. Before 1322 it seems that the notaries did not have a specific dedicated office, and instead periodically rented out workshops, although they may also have shared one

single office during this period.[119] A new notarial office was constructed in 1321,[120] and from then on all notaries seem to have shared this centralized office and kept all of their notarial cartularies there. Claude Denjean has also noted that the notaries of Puigcerdà worked together in one place and says that this is in contrast to other towns like La Seu d'Urgell where different notaries worked independently in different neighborhoods.[121] A centralized notarial office would likely have diminished the extent to which individual notaries or pairs of notaries had different clientele, although perhaps not fully.

The patterns of certain clearly identifiable unique notarial customers from the notarial/fiscal year 1321/2 (just before the construction of the new *scribania*) clearly show that some customers had certain preferences among which notaries they visited to have their contracts recorded.[122] I selected seven individuals, four men and three women, each of whom appear a minimum of fifteen times in a notarial entry from this year in an active role other than

[119] In a contract from 1270 that involves the expenses of the *scribania*, the then notaries Ramon Mauri and Jaume Orig list their expenses as parchments, paper, ink, salaries of scribes, and workshop rent (*operatorii logerio*). In addition, an act from June of 1314 cancelled the rental of a workshop that Guillem Hualard and Guillem Cog, who worked together as co-notaries between 1314 and 1315, had made for that year. It specifies that the space will instead be rented by a tailor. See: ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 37v (h) and ACCE, Reg. 209, fol. 114r (a).

[120] An act from October of 1321 confirms the receipt of payment for wood sold "for the work of the *scribania*, newly constructed next to the plain of Puigcerdà" (*ad opus scribania quod facta est de novo juxta plateam Podiiceritani*), and several headers of registers from June of 1322 state that the notaries are "first entering into the scribania for the town of Puigcerdà, built and constructed next to the plain of that town" (*intrantius primo scribaniam pro villam et universitatem Podiiceritani fectam et constructam junxta plateam eiusdem ville*). See: ACCE, Reg. 131, fol. 12r (b), Reg. 467, fol. 2r, Reg. 29, fol. 1r, Reg. 457, fol. 2r. These registers belong to different groups of notaries, suggesting they all worked together in one place. Later documents refer to a house purchased by the consuls that is referred to as being next to "the public *scribania*," also suggesting a single location. ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments, 1337-1356, 14v-15v.

[121] Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 27, note 23. Guilleré and Pinto have argued that in Girona the notaries also shared one physical office. Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40-41.

[122] As I discuss in Chapter 2, the notarial registers of Puigcerdà begin and end at a set point each year, which shifts over time but never aligns with the beginning of the calendrical year. I thus refer to the notarial/fiscal year from, in this case June 1321 to June 1322 as 1321/2.

as a witness, and each of whom has an unusual or easily identifiable name.[123] I then examined how often each of these individuals appeared in an active role (other than as a witness) in an entry written by each of the three pairs of notaries operating in Puigcerdà in this year.[124]

Table 1.1: Selected Notarial Customers by Notarial Pair in 1321/2

Name	**Mateu d'Oliana & Guillem Hualart** Regs. 28, 17 and 31		**Jaume Garriga & Mateu d'Alp** Regs. 79, 92 and 255		**Bernat Blanch & Arnau Esteve** Regs. 114, 125 and 131		**Total**
Simó Marques	23	82%	4	14%	1	4%	28
Felip dez Querol	18	78%	2	9%	3	13%	23
Sibília, widow of Pere de Toa	13	81%	3	19%	0	0%	16
Ademar Julia	12	80%	1	7%	2	13%	15
Fagona, widow of Ramon Pere	1	4%	14	54%	11	42%	26
Elisenda, widow of Jaume Andreu	1	7%	13	87%	1	7%	15
Esteve Fabre	5	14%	1	3%	29	83%	35

As Table 1.1 shows, all but one of the seven selected individuals demonstrated more frequent patronage of one notarial pair. Those six appeared in contracts by a single notarial pair on average 81.9 percent of the time. The one exception, Fagona Pere demonstrated relatively equal patronage of two notarial pairs, but only appeared in a contract recorded by the third pair on a

[123] Choosing only widows and men with uncommon names minimizes the likelihood that the contracts actually refer to more than one individual with the same name. The only one of these seven names where the possibility of two individuals with the same name seems even remotely likely is that of Esteve Fabre, since Fabre, which means blacksmith, is one of the most common surnames. However, the name Esteve is relatively uncommon and I found no evidence that would indicate more than one man named Esteve Fabre lived in Puigcerdà at this time.

[124] I limited these references only to active roles, as these more accurately reflect times when the individuals themselves appeared before the notary, as well as those cases where they would have been in the position to determine which notary recorded the agreement.

single occasion. This shows that some notarial customers had clear preferences among the notaries, and that the notarial pairs had at least somewhat distinct customer bases. In some cases, the preference of one customer for one notary may have been based on the personal relationship between the two. Felip dez Querol appeared in contracts by the notarial pair of Mateu d'Oliana and Guillem Hualart over 78 percent of the time, perhaps because Mateu d'Oliana was his father-in-law.[125] This is only a small sample size, but I believe these seven examples serve as a relatively accurate representation of general trends (at least among people who went frequently to a notary). It seems unlikely that these seven individuals were more likely than the general population to prefer specific notarial pairs just because they had distinct names, although it is probably that those customers who appear in notarial documents most often are most likely to have a preferred notary. Customers who relied on notarial services only one or two times a year very likely had no such preference. Nevertheless, it is significant that all seven of the selected customers demonstrate clear preferences in notaries.

For other towns within Catalonia there has been some debate over whether or not notarial registers were the private property of the notaries. Often, they were considered private property but were subject to legislation on what the notaries could do with them, since notes were needed to make later copies of recorded acts.[126] In Puigcerdà initially the notaries seem to have shared the task of holding on to notarial cartularies, dividing the registers between them. For example, in June of 1301 the former notaries Ramon de Coguls and Arnau de Bonany divided between

[125] He had married Mateu d'Oliana's daughter Mateua in 1305. ACCE, Reg. 145, fol. 64r (b).

[126] Notaries often had to leave them in the care of another notary, for example. See: Riera Sans and Ferrer Mallol, "La successió notarial." In Perpignan for example, in 1393 an archive of protocols was created in order to preserve the registers of notaries who had passed away so that copies could still be made from them.

themselves the five registers they had created the previous year.[127] Similarly, in February of 1310 the notaries Pere d'Onzès and Mateu d'Oliana divided up the registers that they had created in the *scribania* over the previous three years,[128] and in an agreement from July of 1319 the notaries Jaume Garriga and Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu divided all the registers they had created in the *scribania* in the previous seven years.[129] After a certain point, however, notarial registers of Puigcerdà came to belong to the town and all were kept in the *scribania*.[130] As early as 1302, the king, responding to a request by the *prohoms*, ordered that all of the registers of the deceased and former notaries of Puigcerdà had to be handed over to the consuls.[131] The movement to secure the registers in this way occurred very early in Puigcerdà. A comparable movement to collect notarial registers from dead or former notaries in Perpignan did not occur until 1393.[132] This early formation of single, centralized collection of registers in Puigcerdà likely explains why such a high number of notarial cartularies from medieval Puigcerdà survive today.

Conclusion

[127] ACCE, Reg. 225 fol. 3v-4r. Ramon kept the book of outsiders, the book of Jews and the book of wills, while Arnau kept the book of townspeople and the book of debts.

[128] ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 74v (d). Pere agrees to take the three books of townspeople and the three books of debts, while Mateu agrees to take the three books of outsiders, the tree books of Jews and the three books of wills.

[129] ACCE, Reg. 78 fol. 4v (c). Jaume takes the registers from 1313, 1316, and 1317, Guillem Bernat takes those from 1312, 1314, and 1318. They omit the registers from the year 1315, because Guillem Bernat was not working as a notary in that year (Mateu d'Oliana worked with Jaume Garriga that year instead).

[130] Bosom and Galceran state that the town's consuls commonly made a "review of the collection" of registers. Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 9.

[131] See: ACCE, Llibre Verd, 16r and *Llibre Verd*, 331-2. It states: "…*mandamus quod visis presentibus faciatis tradi consulibus dicte ville libros notariales seu registra tabellionum defunctorum in quibus sunt notule instrumentorum hominum dicte ville et terre Ceritanie, per quoscumque dicti libri detineantur, et etiam libros illorum qui fuerunt tabelliones dicte ville qui dictum oficium deseruerunt et illos penes se habent et tenant*."

[132] Riera Sans and Ferrer Mallol, "La successió notarial," 408-9.

In this chapter I have sought to introduce notarial contracts and the concept of public faith that differentiated notarial acts from other written records. Notarial registers contain the abbreviated copies, kept by local notaries, of the contracts that paying members of the public hired them to write out in a legally valid form that carried "public faith," or testamentary validity. Surviving medieval registers are particularly numerous from the town of Puigcerdà, where there are 388 individual registers surviving from the period prior to 1360. In addition, I have discussed the development of the notarial institution of Puigcerdà and how it compares with the broader historiography of notarial development in Catalonia. The concession of the public notariate in 1225, a document which itself refers back to an undated earlier concession, indicates that a notariate, probably with public faith, had begun in Cerdanya at least by 1225 and very possibly as early as the late twelfth century. This is far earlier than previous historians have believed and reveals that in this mountainous region, the development of the notariate was similar to that of the rest of Catalonia in both timeline and jurisdiction. Except for the relatively unusual fact that the Cerdanian notariate covered a wide geographic area and was not located in close proximity to other notarial offices, its early development was typical for Catalonia. As the following chapter will show, this would begin to change in the years after 1264, when the king granted control of the notariate to the town. The following chapter will thus discuss the unusual organization of the notariate under the town's jurisdiction, introduce a method for how to estimate the survival of notarial documentation, and analyze the approximate rate of survival of notarial evidence from Puigcerdà up to the year 1360.

Chapter 2: Estimating Notarial Survival

In the previous chapter I introduced the concept of the notary and discussed the early development of notarial culture in Cerdanya. In this chapter I turn to the questions of representation: how well does the surviving corpus of notarial acts represent original production? Almost nowhere is the survival of medieval registers complete; and relatively few historians working with Catalan sources have made a concentrated effort to identify how complete their records are. I know of only two attempts to examine this question based on Catalan notarial collections, that of Richard Emery for thirteenth-century Perpignan and that of Christian Guilleré and Anthony Pinto for fourteenth-century Girona.[1] Understanding how well surviving notarial sources represent the original total has long been one of the greatest challenges of working with these sources. It may be unnecessary for some questions, but it is essential for others. In some places, for instance, the survival of registers is so low that the registers cannot be used in a quantitative or statistical way.[2] As I will argue in this chapter, however, Puigcerdà is different.

Soon after the town gained control of its notariate, it would not only begin to be organized differently from most other Catalan notarial offices, but also organized in a way that makes it much easier to estimate the original numbers of notarial entries recorded. By 1270 and perhaps earlier, the town officials who controlled the notariate of Puigcerdà began to appoint

[1] Richard W. Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan in the Thirteenth Century: An Economic Study Based on Notarial Records* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 4-9. Notably Emery states that most historians using notarial evidence have ignored the question of "to what extent are the surviving registers an adequate sampling of those that once existed?" Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40-41.

[2] A prime example of this is Montpellier, as only thirteen cartularies survive from before 1361 even though over seventy individual notaries can be identified working in certain fourteenth-century years. Kathryn L. Reyerson, "Land, Houses and Real Estate Investment in Montpellier: A Study of the Notarial Property Transactions, 1293-1438.," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 6 (1983): 37–112; 98, note 5 and Reyerson and Salata, *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts*, 4-8.

notaries for one-year-only terms, a practice that continued into the mid-fourteenth century. For the most part, towns in Catalonia did not have a set number of notaries,[3] and because many notaries were appointed for life, it is often impossible to estimate the number of notaries who were working in a town in any given year. In Puigcerdà, however, because the *prohoms* selected new notaries each year for one-year terms, and because the notaries produced set numbers of certain types of registers during their terms, it is possible to estimate the total number of notaries who would be working in any given year, the number of acts they would have recorded, and what percentage of the original sources survive today. An accurate estimate of the survival rate opens up the possibility for applying statistical analysis to these sources in a way has not been possible for most other notarial collections. In addition, although demand for notarial services was surely not the same everywhere, and although the Cerdanian notariate is clearly atypical in many ways, I believe that the case of Puigcerdà can be fruitfully applied in a comparative manner to offer new insight into how many notarial contracts might have been recorded in other towns during the same period.

In this chapter, I begin with discussing the unusual organization of the notariate of Puigcerdà; and then describe the main types of registers that were produced in the town. In the central argument of the chapter, I introduce a method for how to estimate what percent of the original notarial records from individual years survive today. I compare the results I obtain by this method to those used in the other studies that have sought to estimate a survival rate for notarial records and find that such comparison suggests either that demand for notarial services was far higher in the coastal cities of Girona and Perpignan where such studies have been

[3] Bono, *Derecho notarial,* Vol. 2, 185, and Antonio Planas Rosselló, *El notariado en el reino de Mallorca (siglos XIII-XVIII)* (Palma de Mallorca: Lleonard Muntaner, 2006), 53. This is in contrast to Aragon where the number of notaries for all the cities, towns and villages of that kingdom were set at the Cort of Zaragoza in 1300.

conducted, or the authors of those studies overestimate the total original numbers of notarial entries recorded. Finally, I look at the trend of estimated total notarial documentation up to the year 1360, showing that it was first growing, then stagnating, and then declining.

The Organization of the Notariate of Puigcerdà

The Terms of Notaries

The 1264 charter granting the notariate to the town also granted the *prohoms* the right to change the notaries at will. From at least 1270 to 1338 (and possibly before and after), they chose to appoint new notaries each year for one-year terms. I have found forty-two documents of notarial appointment from between 1270 and 1338, and they clearly state a one-year term.[4] In these documents, a committee of ten men, generally the town's four consuls and six other prominent residents of Puigcerdà, who refer to themselves as "the members of the general council for choosing scribes" (*electi in consilio generali ad eligendum scriptores),* select and appoint the notaries for the following year,[5] and the appointed notaries swear to discharge the office faithfully. Given the nature of the evidence, It is not clear exactly when the town began one-year appointments or when it stopped doing so; the years 1270 and 1338 simply represent the temporal range of extant appointment documents.[6] Although I could not find any further

[4] In addition, the notes of Albert Salsas refer to one of these contracts from the year 1329 which I was not able to find. ADPO, 7J103. I have likely not found all of these contracts that survive, but I have likely found the majority of them. Bosom and Galceran were aware of these mainly because Jaume Martí Sanjaume found several of them. See: Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,14* and Jaume Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 2 vols., (Lleida: Impremta Mariana, 1928), 298, 421 and 659.

[5] In the earliest case, from 1270, I could only identify the names of four men, but the contract is damaged, making it impossible to determine the total original number.

[6] Prior to 1336 the terms of the notaries, like the notarial registers, began and ended on the feast of Saint John the Baptist (June 24). Documents on the selection of notaries for this period are found primarily in mid to late May. In 1336 and 1337, these documents appear instead in mid-March, indicating that notarial terms, like the dates of

documents on notarial appointments after 1338, my reconstructed list of which notaries were working each year suggests that the town retained this system of one-year notarial terms at least up to 1346.[7] It is possible that the *prohoms* preferred one-year terms so they could exercise more immediate control over the number of notaries working each year, and easily remove notaries who did not do their job satisfactorily. It may have ended after the Black Death because there were overall far fewer notaries available, as many of them had died in the plague. This system of selecting and appointing notaries for only one-year terms was highly unusual in Catalonia and, as far as I can tell, was unlike the system of notarial appointment in any other medieval Catalan town.[8] Even into the fourteenth century, many public notaries in Catalonia were appointed to their office for life,[9] and the general assumption has been that once appointed, a public notary worked consistently as a public notary in the place where he was appointed for the remainder of his working life. Catalan historians have tended to assume that if a man was documented working as a notary in a specific city in both 1300 and in 1330, that he was probably working as a notary there throughout that entire three-decade period. The evidence of Puigcerdà, however, shows that this was not always necessarily the case.

Many scribes had sufficient training to serve as public notaries, and there were a variety of scribal and notarial positions in the town of Puigcerdà beyond the office of public notary.

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notarial registers, had switched to beginning on March 25th. The document from 1338 is an undated single page fragment whose year is only (tentatively) known because it was identified by Albert Salsas. ADPO, 7J45.

[7] I suspect that this is because these documents were no longer recorded in regular notarial cartularies, but instead in some kind of register especially for the consuls – not that such documents were no longer created after 1338.

[8] It may have been similar in other towns where the town controlled the notariate, but this is difficult due to the extremely limited survival of relevant sources from such places.

[9] Durán Cañameras, "Historia del Notariado," 96, and Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 152. For examples, see: Tretón, "Preludi," 577 and 590, Conde and Gimeno, "Notarías y escribanías," 322, and Carreras i Candi, "Desenrotllement," 326 and 339.

There were thus nearly always more people eligible to serve as a notary than there were positions available as a public notary in the town's public *scribania*. Listing the public notaries year by year using the reconstructed list of all notaries and scribes I could identify (as discussed in Chapter 1), it becomes clear that while some public notaries were reappointed for several consecutive years, in other cases a former public notary was not reappointed and lost his authorization to record public acts in Cerdanya.[10] Selection was presumably political and depended at least partly on who was making the decision in a given year. It is possible that qualified candidates bid for the privilege of being a notary, though the documents do not make this explicit. Only a small number of the people qualified to serve as a notary would have served as a public notary in any given year. For example, in the year 1328 all the scribes and notaries of Puigcerdà came together to authorize two of their number to purchase cloth for the tunics these scribes and notaries would wear in the celebration and parade that would welcome the king of Mallorca to Puigcerdà during his upcoming visit. While the contract list twenty-one total scribes, I have identified that only four of them held the position of public notary in the year 1328.[11] An additional four of these scribes were men who had previously held the position of public notary, but who were not appointed as public notary in 1328.[12] Many of the notaries who were not selected found alternate scribal positions in Puigcerdà or in the area. Some continued working as an assistant scribe to the public notaries in the public *scribania*, but non-public notaries and scribes were also employed by the consuls, the bailiff, the *veguer*, the curia, and sometimes by

[10] Bosom and Galceran state that a public announcement was made each year to inform the town's inhabitants of who had been selected as notaries for the upcoming year, and prevent fraud and confusion. Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 14.

[11] ACCE, Reg. 154, fol. 21r (a).

[12] This includes Jaume de Lora, Arnau Embertat, Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve.

local lords or private individuals,[13] and we can see that when not working as public notaries the same scribes often filled these roles.[14] Additionally, they may not always have sought the position of public notary, and may have preferred to spend certain years involved only in their own private business ventures.

Finally, there is evidence that non-selected notaries from Puigcerdà sometimes completed short terms as public notaries in other towns. For example, in August of 1322 Mateu d'Alb, who had been a public notary in Puigcerdà from June 1321 to June 1322 but who was not reselected the following year, agreed to work as a public notary in the town of Camprodon for three years.[15] He later returned to act as public notary in Puigcerdà from 1327 to 1329, but then went to work as a public notary in La Seu d'Urgell from 1329 to 1330 before eventually returning to Puigcerdà.[16] In addition, in 1335 Joan Torrelles, who had previously worked as a scribe in the public *scribania*, was hired to work in the notarial office of the town of Ax-les-Thermes (to the north, in the Ariège region of modern day France) for two years.[17] He later returned to Puigcerdà, where he worked in different scribal positions before becoming a public notary in 1350. These cases show not only that the notaries and scribes of Puigcerdà sometimes sought

[13] Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 13.

[14] In one contract from May of 1323 we can clearly see that Bernat Blanch, who had been a public notary on an off between 1309 and 1323 was hired for a one-year term to work as a notary in the royal curia of Puigcerdà when he wasn't reappointed to the public *scribania* for the 1323/4 year. ACCE, Reg. 148 fol. 93r-93v.

[15] ACCE, Reg. 243 fol. 19r (a).

[16] In this case I have not found an employment contract in which Mateu d'Alp is hired to work in La Seu. This is definitely the same notary, however, because the documents written by this notary in La Seu show the same very distinct handwriting as his work in Puigcerdà. At least one scribe, Esquer Soler, appears to have worked with him both in La Seu and in Puigcerdà. Mateu d'Alp's work can be found in: ACU, Protocols, 452, 453 and 454.

[17] ACCE, Reg. 301 fol. 22r (b).

short-term opportunities in other towns, but also that such positions were available.[18] Certain ordinances on the selection of notaries—such as regulations that notaries be natives or at least long-term residents and citizens of the towns where they were employed—have led many studying notarial culture in Catalonia to consider notarial work one of the more rooted medieval occupations, but this evidence suggests that it may have been more flexible and itinerant than has been assumed.

Notaries and Scribes

For most of the period before 1360, the notaries tended to work in pairs. Notarial registers mostly belonged to two notaries, and notaries were often appointed together as a pair. This system can be demonstrated at least from 1280 and may have begun even earlier.[19] It is not entirely clear why this was done, especially given that all notaries seemed to work together in one *scribania*. It may have served to ensure the continued availability of registers even when one notary was absent or unavailable, or as a means of ensuring more oversight over the activities of individual notaries, who were placed in a position of great power, that they may have been tempted to abuse. Eventually they seem to abandon this practice, and after the Black Death only one notary is typically assigned to each register at a time.

[18] In an additional example, in 1300 a cleric from Puigcerdà Guillem Mauri (possibly the same Guillem Mauri who had been an assistant scribe in the notarial office in 1294), was hired to work in the notarial office of Tremp, in Pallars Jussà, for one year. Since he was identified as a cleric, Guillem would not have been eligible to be a public notary in Puigcerdà (as the original donation of the notariate to the town required that notaries be laymen), but this is a further example that the use of short-term positions for scribes and notaries was not uncommon in the Pyrenees in this period. Further, it is interesting that the person who hired Guillem, a cleric named Pere Amill, was identified both as being from Puigcerdà and the public notary of the town of Tremp (*Petrus Amyll de Podioceritano clericus et noter publici ville trempi*). This suggests that Pere Amill, also not eligible to be a public notary in Puigcerdà, had also moved looking for work. ACCE, Reg. 43 fol. 27r (b).

[19] Two registers from this year list two notaries jointly as the recording notaries. ACCE, Registers 53 and 57. No earlier header survives from any register to indicate if this process began before this date but it is possible that this practice predates 1265 given that the notariate had been granted to Pere Ripoll and Pere Gisclavar jointly.

The notaries also frequently employed scribes to help them.[20] These assistant scribes acted as witnesses, recorded *notules* in the notarial cartularies and wrote out copies in public form for the notary to undersign. In the mid-1330s it was briefly popular for some scribes to be referred to as a "sworn scribe" (*scriptor juratus*), but I cannot say what precisely differentiated these scribes from others in Puigcerdà.[21] Further information on the numbers of scribes and notaries employed over time in the public *scribania* will be given below, but for most of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries the notarial office would have been two or three pairs of full notaries, and somewhere between two and eight (or possibly more) assistant scribes. These notaries and scribes served a population that, as I discuss in Chapter 4, I estimate to have been somewhere around 8,500 people in the early 1320s. The numbers of notaries working in Puigcerdà were thus close to those in other Catalan towns, which were nearly all, as a rule, far lower than the hundreds of public notaries working in many Italian towns in the same period.[22] In addition, a concession from August of 1296 grants the *prohoms* of Puigcerdà the right to appoint one or two additional notaries who will have the power to redact copies in public form of

[20] I have located a small number of scribal employment contracts. These include one from 1300 in which two notaries hire Bernat Blanch (who would become a public notary himself in 1309), and one contract from 1285 and one from 1306 both of which involve two notaries hiring a scribe named Jaume Orig, possibly the same man by this name who had previously worked as a public notary in Puigcerdà between 1265 and 1290. In addition, one notary hired Ramon de Coguls in 1319, who was probably the son of the elder Ramon de Coguls who had previously been notary in Puigcerdà, and who was himself probably the scribe who never recorded Sibil·la Blanch's marriage record. Another hired Arnau Esteve, who would also go on to be notary shortly afterwards. See: ACCE, Reg. 56 fols. 2r (e), Reg. 56 fol. 42r (c) and 42v (a), Reg. 70 fol. 4v (f) and 5r (e and i), Reg. 78 fol. 4v (a) and 19r (d).

[21] Laureà Pagarolas Sabaté suggests that sworn scribes had greater authority than other scribes, but still lacked the ability to bestow public faith. Laureà Pagarolas Sabaté, "Notaris i auxiliars de la funcio notarial a les escrivanies de la Barcelona medieval," *Lligall* 8 (1994): 53–72; 58. However it is unclear if the system used in Puigcerdà was the same as in elsewhere. The term "*notarius rogatus*" used to descibe Pere Forner before 1265 is never used again.

[22] Reyerson and Salata, *Medieval Notaries and Their Acts*, 3. For example, Herlihy has noted that there were 232 notaries working in Pisa in 1293, and around 200 in Genoa and 600 in Florence in the same period. David Herlihy, *Pisa in the Early Renaissance; a Study of Urban Growth*, Yale Historical Publications 68 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 10.

notulas contained in the registers of the former public notaries.[23] In the fourteenth century these notaries are generally referred to with a special designation that they are a "public notary appointed by the consuls" (*notarius publicus constituti a consulibus*). They also relied on scribes to write out contracts that they undersigned, [24] and may have worked in the same *scribania* as the other public notaries, using the same pool of assistant scribes.

Family Ties Among Notaries

Elsewhere in Catalonia the often-heritable aspect of the right to operate a notariate sometimes meant that the local notariate was essentially a family business, in which a son or other relative took over for the notary after his death. The town's control of the notariate of Puigcerdà meant that no one family controlled the *scribania*, but we can nonetheless see a high number of familial connections among the town's notaries and scribes. There were at least four pairs of fathers and sons who both served as a public notary in the town before 1360 (not even counting the case of the early notary Bernat, whose father Andreu appears to have also been a scribe), and several pairs of brothers.[25] The full list of ninety-one total notaries and scribes that I

[23]ACCE, Llibre Verd, fol. 8r-8v; *Llibre Verd*, 319-320.

[24] See for example, ACCE, Parchments 70 and 132. In at least one case this was written out fully to explain that the notary was constituted for the purpose of redacting old documents in public form. I believe that the main public notaries, did not use this term although they did occasionally state that they were "chosen by the consuls" (*electorum pro consulis*): See, ACCE, Reg. 17, fol. 1r. It is not clear how many of these copy-making notaries operated each year because they frequently only record the date of the original document and not the date the copy was made. I have however found a document from 1320 where the town's four consuls appointed Bernat Blanch to this position from September until the following feast of Saint John the Baptist. See: ACCE, Reg. 16 fol. 48r (b).

[25] Fathers and sons include Ramon de Coguls the elder and Ramon de Coguls the younger, Jaume Garriga the elder and Jaume Garriga the younger, Guillem Cog the elder and his two sons Guillem Cog the younger and Arnau Cog. Brothers include Guillem Cog the younger and Arnau Cog and Arnau Esteve and Francesc Esteve. There may have been others who cannot be confirmed. Incidentally in his study of the notarial registers Bosom appears to have conflated several of the father-son pairs. He treats both men named Ramon de Coguls and both men named Jaume Garriga as one notary in his inventory, but they were not, as is made clear by their epithets in certain documents and their distinctive handwritings. See: Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols*, 33-6.

have identified working in the town at some point before 1360, also includes a few surnames that appear frequently.[26] For example, this list includes five men with the surname Mauri and five men with surname de Bonany, even though neither was a common surname within the general population of Puigcerdà in this time.[27] Further, there were surely many other cases where two notaries or scribes were related but did not share a name. For example, the notary Mateu d'Alp was the maternal nephew of the notary Mateu d'Oliana (the son of the elder Mateu's sister Gueralda).[28] In addition, notaries tend to intermarry with the families of other notaries. For example in 1326 the same Mateu d'Alp just mentioned married his daughter Exclarmonda to Guillem Cog, the son of Guillem Cog.[29] The groom was either a notary himself, or the son/grandson of the Guillem Cog senior who had served as a notary between 1294 and 1304, and the Guillem Cog junior who had served as a notary between 1310 and 1317. In 1352 Sibil·la, the daughter of the former notary Francesc Esteve (who had died in the plague), and niece of former notary Arnau Esteve, married then public notary Bernat Manresa.[30]

In addition to the familial connections among notaries and scribes, it is not uncommon to see relatives of notaries listed as witnesses on numerous contracts, suggesting that they were spending time in the *scribania* with their relative, perhaps learning about writing, contracts and the law. For example, Guiu and Hug Hualart, the (probably younger) brothers of the notary

[26] This list is surely an underestimate, as there would have been many other scribes, and possibly a few notaries, whose identity or role is not made clear in any surviving contract.

[27] This can be seen in the list of men from the town from 1345. See: Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*.

[28] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 41v-42r. Note that in this section, when I refer to these men as a notary I do not mean they were necessarily notary in the year in which the marriage took place, but that they served as a public notary in at least one year before or after.

[29] ACCE, Reg. 152 fol. 63v (c).

[30] ACCE, Reg. 789 fol. 70v-71r.

Guillem Hualart appeared as witnesses 235 and 187 times respectively in the year 1321/2, in contracts recorded in the registers of their brother.[31] There is no evidence that either was a scribe, suggesting that they were spending time in the *scribania* in an unofficial capacity. In addition, a small irregularly shaped parchment scrap that was inserted between two folios in register 71 and then caught there when the folios were bound up (sometime around 1310, when this register was made) shows five rows of someone neatly writing the letters of the alphabet up to the letter R.[32] This parchment suggests that a child just learning to write, perhaps the son or brother of a notary, may have been practicing this skill in the notarial office. Even though the town's notaries were appointed to only one-year terms and no one family had control over the business of the *scribania*, the scribes and notaries of Puigcerdà still appear to have involved their families in their business, and may families held deep ties to the local *scribania*.

The Notarial Registers 1260-1360

Register Types

Sometime prior to late March of 1338, when the committee of ten men met to appoint new notaries for the year of 1338, they ordered that one of the pairs of notaries appointed that year were to keep the following registers: one book of townspeople (*liber firmitatis*),[33] one book of outsiders (*liber extraneorum*), one book of debts (*liber debitorum*), one book of cloth-merchants

[31] Guiu also appears one time in a contract not as a witness, while Hug appears three times not as a witness.

[32] ACCE, Reg. 71, parchment fragment between folios 140v-140bisr.

[33] These are sometimes also referred to as *liber istius ville*, or *liber firmitatis ville Ppodiiceritani*. A more literal translation of *liber firmitatis* would be book of agreements. All of the registers are books of agreements, however, and the main distinction between this type of register and this translation more directly highlights the distinction between this type of register and the books of outsiders (*liber extraneorum*).

and Jews (*liber draperium et judeorum*),[34] one book of wills (*liber testamentorum*), one manual (*liber manualis*), and one book of complaints and appeals (*liber protestationum et apellationum*).[35] This list covers the majority of types of registers that were produced in medieval Puigcerdà, although there were clear shifts in the creation of different types of registers over time, as I will discuss below. The four main and most common types of registers were the books of townspeople, books of outsiders, books of debts and books of wills. The vast majority of the surviving registers from Puigcerdà fall into one of these types.[36] Books of Jews appear to have been commonly produced, but hardly any survive to today. Other register types, including books of cloth-sellers, manuals and books of declarations, were only created during certain periods.

[34] Books of Jews (*liber judeorum*) and books of cloth-sellers (*liber draperiorum* or *liber panneriorum*) sometimes appear separately, although in some years, such as 1338, they were combined into one.

[35] As noted above, notaries often worked in pairs and were appointed in pairs. This document therefore does not include the full list of registers that would have been created in this year, but only those created by this pair. There was a separate notary (oddly without a partner, but with two specifically named assistant scribes) also hired who was to produce another full set of such registers. This document was recorded within a notarial register across two separate folios. These folios have been separated from their original register and are themselves undated. Albert Salsas recorded a date of 1338 on the top of the first of these folios, however, and the names of notaries appointed for the following year match those otherwise known to be the notaries for the year 1338. I thus trust Albert Salsas' designation of the date. ADPO, 7J45. The contract specifically states: "*ordinamus quod uos dicti notarii faciatis et facere debeatis et teneamini facere unum librum firmitatis, et unum librum hominum extraneorum, et alium debitorum, et alium draperiorum et judeorum et unum testamentorum et quemdam librum vocatum manual in quo manuali recipiatis illa instrumenta que recipere consueveratis verbocenus et in cedulis et faciatis unum librum protestationum et apellationum*." Oddly, this committee also orders the notaries to create a "secret book in which will be placed all secret wills and contracts, and that the scribe of the consulate should keep this book under key," although what types of documents would be recorded in this secret book is unclear. ("*Item ordinamus quod fiat unus liber secretus in quo apponatur et insertantur testamenta et omnes contractus secreti que librum teneat scriptor consulatus sub claui*.")

[36] The labels of registers within the catalog are often based only on modern notations and therefore sometimes incorrect. In general, I have tried only to refer to registers by a specific type when either the header or cover states this in medieval writing. Beginning in the fourteenth century the covers of registers were often decorated with a medieval embellished letter depending on their type (F for *firmitatis*, etc). In some cases, particularly for very distinct types of registers like books of wills, it is possible to determine the type even in the absence of any specific label but I have been careful to note when such a designation is my interpretation.

The determination of what register a contract would be recorded in depended on the people involved in the contract, and on the type of contract. The hometown or status of the *creditor* seems to have dictated which register was used for a contract. If money was owed to a resident of Puigcerdà, it would be recorded in a book of townspeople or a book of debts (if it was one of a range of simple debt transactions);[37] if instead it was owed to a person from outside of Puigcerdà, it would be recorded in a book of outsiders.[38] An exception to this are quittances – acts which record the repayment of a debt. These contracts are more commonly recorded in the register corresponding to the debtor (books of townspeople if the debtor was from Puigcerdà, outsiders if not, etc.). The distinction clearly derives from the person who had more interest in having that act recorded and may also be related to who was paying to have the act recorded.

This hypothesis on the way contracts are distributed across the registers is supported by the patterns of contracts involving Jews. Books of Jews are obviously registers intended to record contracts involving Jews. And yet not all contracts involving Jews appear in such registers. Jews also appear occasionally in contracts in books of townspeople, debts or outsiders. In such cases, however, Jews almost never appear as sellers or lenders, only as buyers or debtors. This can be seen through the participation of Jews in surviving entries from the notarial year of

[37] The books of debts are a subset of the books of townspeople, in which specific types of contracts relating to townspeople were segregated. This is also supported by the fact that when Pere d'Onzès and Mateu d'Oliana divvied up the old registers in 1310, they referred to the books of debts as "books of debts of the men of Puigcerdà" (*libros debitorum hominium ville Podiiceritani*). ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 74v (d). Simple debt contracts do also appear in the books of townspeople, especially when they were related to another, longer transaction. For example, if land was sold and then the buyer owed the seller a remaining balance, this debt of the balance would typically be recorded in a separate debt contract after the contract recording the land sale within either a *liber firmitatis* or a *liber extraneorum*. The notaries clearly preferred to keep related records close to one another.

[38] Obviously, there are exceptions. Not all contracts involve a debt or even a transfer, although the vast majority of them do. Additionally, as noted, the notaries preferred to keep related contracts together so cases where two parties both owe each other (such as an exchange of land), might be recorded in only one register. Dividing the contracts in this way is perhaps a reflection of the fact that the person who was owed was more likely to want a copy of the contract later on; it may also derive from the fact that the person who was owed was more likely to pay for the contract to be certified.

June 1321 to June 1322.[39] Jews appear in 125 of the 7,432 surviving, non-cancelled notarial entries from this year. But in none of these 125 entries is the purpose of the act to record an outstanding debt of money owed to a Jewish person. No Jewish person ever appears in any of the surviving loans from this year, either as the lender or borrower. Jews appear forty-five times in surviving sales on credit, but only as the buyer or as a guarantor for the buyer, never as the seller. Jews were clearly, often, owed money, since they appear fifty times to acknowledge receipt of a payment owed to them, and twenty-nine times to acknowledge settlement of all outstanding debts, but no contracts recording new debts to Jews survive from this year. It is also clear, based on registers from other years, that Jews often lent money and sold goods on credit. In the sole surviving *liber judeorum,* from 1286, Christians appear as debtors and the lenders are Jews.[40] We can conclude based on this evidence that the books of Jews contained contracts made between multiple Jews or in which money was owed to a Jewish person.

The books of wills were not segregated by the identity of the person, but only by type, and include wills and codicils of people from in and outside of the town and of a few Jews.[41]

[39] As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the registers surviving from this year include three books of townspeople, two books of outsiders, two books of debts and two books of wills.

[40] See ACCE, Reg. 8. See also ACCE, Reg. 102. Register 102 is labelled as a book of debts but includes many loans owed to Jewish people. There is also considerable evidence from other Catalan towns that moneylending was among the main activities under taken by Jewish people in this period. See: Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan*; Imma Ollich i Castanyer, "Aspectes econòmics de l'activitat dels jueus de Vic, segons els 'Libri Judeorum' (1266-1278)," in *Miscellània de textos medievals, 3: Els "Libri Iudeorum" de Vic i de Cardona* (Barcelona: Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, Institució Mila i Fontals, 1985), 1–118; Montserrat Casas i Nadal, "El 'Liber Iudeorum' de Cardona (1330-1334): edició i estudi," *Miscellània de textos medievals* 3 (1985): 121–314, 327–45; Montse Graells i Vilardosa, "L'activitat creditícia dels jueus de Cervera a mitjans del segle XIV," *Miscel.lània cerverina* 11 (1997): 45–69; Irene Llop Jordana, "Els 'Libri Iudeorum' de Castelló d'Empúries," in *Jueus del rei i del comte: a l'entorn de les comunitats jueves de Girona i Castelló d'Empúries: homenatge a Miquel Pujol i Canelles, Girona i Castelló d'Empuries, 19 d'octubre de 2012* (Castelló d'Empúries and Girona: Ajuntament de Castelló d'Empúries; Patronal Call de Girona, 2014), 43–52.

[41] Books of wills primarily only contain wills and codicils, although there are exceptions. In some cases, a few other documents relating to a person making a will might be included. See, as an example: ACCE, Reg. 31 folio 4r (b and c). In general wills are not recorded in other registers, although again, there are exceptions. See for example, ACCE Reg. 376 fol. 55r (e), Reg. 483 fol. 17v (a), and Reg. 369 fol. 68r-68v.

These recording practices likely reflect one of the primary purposes of the registers: as it was more common for the person who was owed to want to refer back to the details of the original contract or order a copy of it, such a division eased a notary's search (as the majority of the registers are not indexed). If this theory on how the registers are divided is correct, it also means the registers can yield more information. Numerous people appear in the registers whose hometown is not stated, because in general the notaries tended to omit information they considered to be obvious. But if that person is a creditor in one of the books of townspeople and books of debts, it most likely means that their hometown is Puigcerdà.

The system of dividing the registers into at least three types (books of townspeople, outsiders, debts) was clearly in force from at least the year 1289 onwards. Books of wills and books of Jews were also likely in use by this same period. It is less clear if this system of dividing the registers existed in the earliest years of the Puigcerdan notariate. While the earliest two surviving registers are not inconsistent with a system dividing contracts involving townspeople from contracts involving outsiders, they do not themselves contain any surviving medieval label that would identify them as either a *liber firmitatis* or a *liber extraneorum*, and we cannot be entirely certain that such terms were in use by this period.[42] Additionally, two unusual registers surviving from the year 1280 suggest that there may initially have been a slightly

[42] The first two surviving registers have been identified by previous historians as a *liber extraneorum* (ACCE, Reg. 1) and a *liber firmitatis* (ACCE, Reg. 3) since at least 1929. See: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 226-271, and 298-330. Later historians, possibly following the label given in the catalogue, continue to assume this. See: Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols*, 31, Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 216. Neither register has a surviving medieval header listing these types; such labels only appear written in pen in modern handwriting on the covers. Admittedly, the earliest register does contain primarily only contracts that involve people who are not from Puigcerdà, and the second does include some contracts that would not make sense outside of a *liber firmitatis*. It also seems logical that this may be an old practice that was perhaps due to the unusual fact that this notariate served both the town and the valley. But while it may be that the modern notations on these registers reflect accurate but no longer verifiable information, it may also be that prior archivists have mistakenly attributed to these registers a later notarial categorization that does not reflect the system in use during this earliest period.

different system of notarial organization in place. The first register to contain a clear, medieval label as either a book of townspeople or a book of outsiders, in this case a *liber firmitatis*, is one from 1282.[43] We therefore have no definitive evidence that registers were divided into *firmitatis* or *extraneorum* books before this date. Two earlier registers instead identify other register types. These are both from 1280 and are identified as a *liber panneriorum* (book of cloth-sellers), and a *liber boateriorum* (book of cattle-sellers).[44] Denjean suggests that the creation of these two types of register may have been an experiment, and that they were later replaced with the *liber debitorum*.[45] This seems likely, especially as these books do contain many of the same types of contracts (such as debts from sales of livestock or cloth) that then appear within the books of debts. But these two registers might also reflect an earlier system of organization from which we have few surviving examples. Further research would be needed to be sure. We can say, however, that the main types of registers (*firmitatis*, *extraneorum* and *debitorum*) had been developed at least by 1289 because a document from this year attests that each of three notaries working that year will be responsible for one of these three register types.[46] Books of wills were

[43] ACCE, Reg. 13. The first *liber extraneorum* in which the type is clearly identified by the medieval record is ACCE, Reg. 19, from 1291/2. The first clearly identifiably book of debts that survives is ACCE, Reg. 96, from 1309/10. Bosom identified two earlier registers (ACCE, Registers 94 and 95), as books of debts in his Catalog. Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 35-36. However, nothing in the original medieval record within these two registers identifies them in that way, and they do not resemble other books of debts in the types of documents they contain.

[44] ACCE, Registers 53 and 57. These two registers have been the subject of a brief study: Rendu, "Un apercu." The name of the *liber boateriorum* has been frequently mistaken as *boaciorum.*, but the medieval text can be clearly read as *boateriorum*. Aside from Jaume Martí Sanjaume, who identifies it correctly as *boateriorum*, most historians have used the incorrect name. For examples, see: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 366-7, Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols,* 34, Rendu "Un aperçu," 87, Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens,* 30 and 216, Claude Denjean, "Crédit et notariat en Cerdagne et Roussillon du XIIIe au XVe siècle," in *Notaires et crédit dans l'Occident méditerranéen médiéval*, ed. Odile Redon and François Menant, Collection de l'École française de Rome 343 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004), 185–206 ;191 and Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 886, note 94.

[45] Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens,* 30.

[46] ACCE, Reg. 111 fol. 25r (d). This register also begins by identifying the book as a *liber debitorum*, with *debitorum* crossed out and replaced with *firmitatis*.

not mentioned in this document, and there is no surviving book of wills until 1294,[47] but it seems likely that they were produced prior to this date, given that very few wills appear in any of the earliest registers. Books of Jews were also not mentioned but may also have been produced based on the relative absence of Jews in the other surviving registers, and the existence of a prior book of Jews from 1286. Thus, the main organization of notarial registers had been established at least by 1289, and probably a bit earlier.

This system would remain in place until the 1330s, when some new practices were introduced. Beginning by 1333 at the latest, documents on the selection and appointment of notaries, such as the one from 1338 discussed above, begin to name the registers that the notaries must keep.[48] In 1333, the notaries must produce five books: townspeople outsiders, debts, wills, and one for both cloth-sellers and Jews. This is the first reference I have found to a book of cloth-sellers and Jews together, and the first reference to a book of cloth-sellers since the earliest example of this type, from 1280, that predated the earliest evidence of the use of a book of debts. As documents relating to cloth-sellers predominate in the books of debts of the 1310s and 1320s, books of cloth-sellers were almost certainly *not* produced in Puigcerdà during the late thirteenth century and earliest decades of the fourteenth century. They must have been reintroduced at some time prior to 1333 and combined with the books of Jews.

A second major change would come in 1338, when double-registration and the use of manuals was introduced. Initially in Catalonia, as noted at the beginning of the previous chapter, notaries only kept abbreviated copies of their contracts, without the full clauses written out. In the mid-fourteenth century, when ordinances requiring notaries to keep full copies of every

[47] ADPO, 7J40.

[48] For the first example of this, from 1333, see: ACCE, Reg. 118 fols. 89v-90v.

contract went into effect, notaries began to use a system called double-registration in which they wrote an even more abbreviated sketch of a contract into a first register, called a manual, and the full version with all legal clauses fully extended into a second register (in Puigcerdà, the *liber firmitatis*, or *extraneorum*, etc.).[49] The first surviving manual (*liber manualis*) from Puigcerdà is from the year 1339/40,[50] and is probably the oldest surviving manual from anywhere in Catalonia. The requirement to keep full copies of notarial contracts was instituted for all of Catalonia at the Cort of Perpignan in 1351,[51] with this rule extended to ecclesiastical notariates in 1364.[52] Many authors have assumed therefore that double-registration, and the use of manuals would only have appeared within Catalonia around this point. And indeed the earliest surviving manuals that have been widely known, both from Barcelona, are from 1348 and 1355, although Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol noted that an examination of all Catalan notarial books might reveal earlier examples.[53] As Rodrigue Tretón has shown, indeed, the king of Mallorca ordered the keeping of full copies of all notarial contracts within his lands nearly two decades earlier, in

[49] Double-registration had already existed in southern France prior to this period. John H. Pryor, "The Working Method of a Thirteenth-Century French Notary: The Example of Giraud Amalric and the Commenda Contract.," *Mediaeval Studies* 37 (1975): 433–44; 441, and John Drendel, "Notarial Practice in Rural Provence in the Early Fourteenth Century," in *Urban and Rural Communities in Medieval France: Provence and Languedoc, 1000-1500*, ed. Kathryn Reyerson and John Victor Drendel, The Medieval Mediterranean 18 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 1998), 209–35; 209.

[50] ACCE, Reg. 143. This register is missing its cover and the initial pages which would include a header. Manuals, however, are more easily distinguished from the other types of register in that they include only very brief copies of contracts and use specific wavy lines and crossing patterns to cancel these versions, once they have been copied over into the register of complete copies. Even though this register does not specifically label itself as a "*liber manualis*," this categorization is beyond doubt.

[51] Pons i Guri, "Característiques paleogràfiques," 230, Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció de l'instrument notarial," 57, Bono, *Derecho notarial*, Vol. 1, 297, Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 155 and Conde, "El pas de l'escrivà al notari," 457.

[52] Pons i Guri, "Característiques paleogràfiques," 230.

[53] Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció," 60.

September of 1334.[54] The use of manuals therefore spread to his territories (which included Cerdanya) much earlier than in the rest of Catalonia, and probably took hold in Puigcerdà sometime between 1334 and 1339. More specifically, their use probably began in 1337 or 1338, given the fact that the document appointing notaries for the year 1337 makes no mention of manuals, but, as stated above, the one from 1338 specifically orders the notaries to keep them.[55] No manuals from before 1339 survive from any of the other mainland territories of the Crown of Mallorca in the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales,[56] and I therefore believe that the surviving manuals from Puigcerdà are the oldest surviving manuals from anywhere in Catalonia.[57] In Puigcerdà, manuals were clearly common between 1340 and 1360, although they seem to have a lower-than-average survival rate, compared to the other main types of registers.

Less common registers from this period include books of Jews, books of declarations, and books related to specific individuals or businesses. While I believe books of Jews were common in terms of how often they were originally created, hardly any books of Jews survive from medieval Puigcerdà today. The first known and only complete *liber judeorum* is from the

[54] Tretón, "Preludi," 583, 604. The registers from Puigcerdà even allow us to see precisely when this order went into effect. While the order was promulgated on September 5th, 1334 – in Puigcerdà on September 9th, 1334 the notaries were still recording abbreviated copies. The began recording extended copies on September 10th – indicating that it took five days for the news of the change to reach the notaries of Puigcerdà, and for them to begin instituting the new system. See for example, ACCE, Reg. 189 fols. 14r-14v.

[55] See: ACCE, Reg. 320 fols. 215v-216r, and ADPO, 7J45,

[56] I examined the registers identified in current archival inventories as manuals from before 1340 from all mainland territories of the king of Mallorca in the ADPO in Perpignan but found that these appear to be mislabeled and are not really manuals.

[57] Bosom also noted that the manual from 1345, which at that time he considered to be the oldest manual from Puigcerdà, was older than the oldest known manual (a register from 1348 from Barcelona), and therefore the oldest then known manual anywhere in Catalonia. He believed further investigations in other Catalan archives would yield more examples of early manuals and push this date back even further. Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 51. I however believe it can be safely said that this is unlikely. Earlier manuals may survive within the insular territories of the king of Mallorca but barring the discovery of previously unknown registers from the mainland territories of the Crown of Mallorca it seems unlikely that earlier manuals will be found from Catalonia.

year 1286/7.[58] After this there is another register from 1330/1 labelled as both a *liber debitorum* and a *liber judeorum*,[59] and one fragment of a register from 1333 that is likely either of the same kind or possibly a fragment of a *liber judeorum et draperiorum.*[60] For the other twelve registers identified by Bosom as being all or partly a *liber judeorum*, this identification is not supported by the original medieval headers.[61] While the examples of this type of register are rare, internal evidence suggests these books were produced yearly: as noted above, Jews appear rarely as lenders or sellers in the other main types of register; and at least after 1333 when it became common to name the registers to be kept, the appointments of notaries commonly refer to these types of registers.[62]

It is even rarer to find books of private business in the archive. I have found only one clear example, although a few fragmentary sections of other books suggest there were others that have not survived.[63] The one extant register includes documents from the years 1331-1334 and is divided into four sections: one on documents related to the commissioner of the business of the Jews for the king of Mallorca, a second related to the *societas* between three brothers (Ramon,

[58] ACCE, Reg. 8.

[59] ACCE, Reg. 251.

[60] ACCE, Reg. 342. Bosom identifies this as being only a *liber judeorum*. It is a fragment of only two folios from the beginning of a notarial register. The header on this register does not identify its type, but by the few documents included it would be consistent with being a *liber judeorum et draperiorum*. The front page of this register does seem to state the word "*draperiorum*," although not in a conclusive manner.

[61] All were identified by Bosom as being both a *liber judeorum* and a *liber firmitatis.* In eleven of them, the headers either do not survive or identify the book only as a *liber firmitatis*. In one case (ACCE, Reg. 152), it looks like the word *judeorum* at the beginning was crossed out and *firmitatis* was written to replace it. I would need to check all the documents in these twelve registers thoroughly to be sure, but I believe they are likely not actually books of Jews.

[62] Also, because in the contract, discussed above, in which two notaries divided up the previous three year's books, they mention that set of registers including three books of Jews. ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 74v (d).

[63] ACCE, Reg. 260.

Bertran and Bernat Muntaner), a third, labelled as containing documents related to "the usuries of the Jews" (*usuris judeorum*),[64] and a last, brief section identified as a book of declarations (*liber protestationem*).[65] Denjean has argued that books related to specific individuals or businesses were not popular in Puigcerdà, and that the notaries preferred to keep documents centralized where they could be easily found and not to fragment them into numerous smaller registers.[66] While it seems that this was largely true, I do believe that the notaries of Puigcerdà sometimes created special registers for certain individuals or families. While few survive, the existence of a section devoted only to contracts for the *societas* of the Muntaner brothers suggests there may have been other similar registers that have not survived. In addition, the second oldest surviving register from Puigcerdà, a book from the year 1270/1, contains two sections that, though brief, also suggest the notaries occasionally separated out the business of particularly active merchants into their own registers or sections. One of these sections begins stating the year and then the title "*Liber Petri Clera*," and contains only documents relating to the merchant Pere de Clara.[67] The second begins with a statement that "they should put the

[64] ACCE, Reg. 260, third section beginning on fol. 19r. This section clearly contains primarily contracts relating to debts owed to Jews, though it also includes some contracts with no evident connection to "Jewish usury" including a Christian apprenticeship in shoemaking and a Christian will. ACCE, Reg. 260, 29v (a), and 31v-32r.

[65] Only two examples of a book of declarations (*liber protestationem*) survive: the short section from 1331 just mentioned, and a register from 1354. ACCE, Reg. 576. These registers record initial complaints made by one participant to a contract against another, such as a complaint that a debt had not been repaid. Such complaints served as a first step toward taking legal action against the other party related to their broken agreement, which may in many cases have been sufficient to resolve the involved dispute. It is not clear when such registers would first have been created by the notaries.

[66] Denjean, "Crédit et notariat," 197.

[67] ACCE, Reg. 3, fols. 100r-100v.

documents of Ferrer de Rispa here" (*Instrumenta ferrarii de Rispa ponant hic*), and indeed contains only documents involving that man.[68]

There may have been more such sections or books involving contracts from just one person that have not survived today.[69] Additional study of contracts relating to particularly prominent merchants or families and of gaps in the existing records might help illuminate this question further. For example, during the early fourteenth century, the notaries may have created separate registers in some years to record the business of Italian merchants trading in Puigcerdà. As I will discuss in further detail in Chapter 10, Italian merchants, mainly from Tuscany, were actively trading woad and other dye-stuffs in Puigcerdà throughout the first half of the fourteenth century.[70] In the earliest years in which they appeared, and at least as late as the 1350s and 60s, contracts with these merchants (primarily sales on credit of woad and other dye-stuffs) were typically recorded in the standard registers. For example, the Aretine merchant Lando Bruno appeared in 132 individual contracts in the year 1309/10, 115 of which refer to the sale of dye-stuffs. The Florentine merchant Andrea Manet appeared in twenty-seven contracts within a single book of outsiders from the year 1339/40, all but one of which was a sale on credit of dye-

[68] ACCE, Reg. 3, fols. 101r-102r. Similarly, the final seven folios of Register 17 contain only documents related to two sisters: Sibil·la, the wife of Ramon Cadell, and Matheua, the wife of Pere Mercader, both daughters of Ramon Embertat, a deceased former judge of Puigcerdà. Most of the contracts are confirmations of census payments owed to the two women, although a few other contracts, including several land sales and the marriage agreement between Matheua and Pere are also included. Most of these were contracts that were entered into the notarial cartulary much later than the agreement was originally made. This section of the register, therefore, resembles a hypothetical register for private business, but the very inclusion of this section within the main *liber firmitatis* for the whole town suggests that separate registers for individuals were not common, and further, documents relating to the inheritance and rights of these two women do appear in the main registers, clearly showing that not all their contracts were separated into a separate book. ACCE, Reg. 17 folios 161r-168v.

[69] Further research could potentially make this question clearer.

[70] On this see also: Elizabeth Comuzzi, "Mediterranean Trade in the Pyrenees: Italian Merchants in Puigcerdà 1300-1350," *Pedralbes* 40 (forthcoming).

stuffs.[71] In the year 1321/2, however, we see relatively few contracts with Italian merchants, and no direct sales on credit of woad. Eight individual Italian merchants were mentioned in contracts from that year, a relatively high number for the town that might indicate this was actually close to the height of the Italian presence in Puigcerdà; yet these nine merchants appear in a total of only seventeen contracts, none of which is a sale on credit of dye-stuffs (despite this having been, by far, the primary undertaking of these merchants before and after). In fact, in the only two sales on credit involving an Italian from the year 1321/2, the Italian (Andrea Manet), is the buyer and not the seller, and purchases cloth. Assuming my theory that contracts are divided across registers by the identity of the creditor is correct, it certainly seems plausible that during this year the notaries produced a separate register for contracts involving Italian merchants (or a series of registers for individual mercantile companies), in which the sales of dye-stuffs these Italians made were recorded. It is difficult to say definitively, but the gap in this type of contract (sales of dye-stuffs by Italians) when we would otherwise expect to find them certainly suggests that these might have been recorded in a now lost separate register. Further analysis of the business practices of other individuals and mercantile networks may further clarify the extent of registers of private business in Puigcerdà.

Two points are worth noting on this question. Firstly, in the first notarial appointment document to list the registers that the notaries must create, which dates from 1333, the committee ordered the notaries to produce five registers (one book each of townspeople, outsiders, debts, Jews and cloth-sellers, and wills), "and no more."[72] The notaries thus may have created registers

[71] These documents are all found in ACCE, Reg. 447.

[72] It states: "*unus firmitatis, et unus extraneorum, et unus debitorum et unus judeorum et draperiorum, et unus testamentorum et non amplius."* ACCE, Reg. 118 fol. 89v-90v.

of private business in some years and not others. Secondly, even if books of private business were more widespread than their limited survival initially suggests, they would mostly likely have been very small. The section of a register for the *societas* of the Muntaner brothers comprises only thirteen folios. The two sections relating to individuals from the register from 1270 (the sections for Pere de Clara and Ferrer de Rispa) are one folio and one and a half folios, respectively. Even if the contracts relating to Italian merchants had been entered into one single register, it probably didn't contain more than a few hundred contracts, or tens of folios. The small size of such registers may also partially explain their lower survival rate. Finally, the desires of the creditors or firms for whom these private registers were created may also have played a part in why fewer of them survive. Despite the desire for the town to keep notarial registers consolidated and accessible, private registers may have ended up in the hands for the firms, creditors or merchants whose business they recorded.

Dating of Registers

The medieval notarial registers of Puigcerdà are also distinct in the range of time that each register covers. The registers generally begin and end on the same day every year. This is different from elsewhere in Catalonia, where many notaries seem to have begun a new register whenever his previous register became full, regardless of the date.[73] In Puigcerdà most registers belonged to one year, and when the year ended a new book was created even if the previous

[73] This kind of system can be seen in the registers produced by notaries working in Barcelona, Perpignan, Girona, Castelló d'Empúries, and Perelada, for example. See: Lluïsa Cases i Loscos, *Catàleg dels protocols notarials de Barcelona II. Altres arxius*, Inventaris d'Arxius Notarials de Catalunya 11 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1990); Emery, *The Jews of Perpignan*, 4; Joan Fort i Olivella, Erika Serna i Coba, and Santi Soler i Simon, *Catàleg dels protocols del districte de Figueres*, vol. 1, Inventaris d'Arxius Notarials de Catalunya 26 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2004); M. Àngels Adroer i Pellicer, Josep M. T. Grau i Pujol, and J. Matas i Balaguer, *Catàleg dels Protocols del districte de Girona. Volum I*, Inventaris d'Arxius Notarials de Catalunya 20 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1996).

register was not full,[74] although there are a few exceptions.[75] The specific day of the year on which the notarial registers began shifted over time. Prior to 1336 complete registers begin on June 24th (the feast of Saint John the Baptist), and end on June 23rd of the following year. In 1336 the notaries switch to beginning and ending registers on what was then the medieval New Year, March 25th.[76] This practice shifts again in the early 1350s. The Cort of Perpignan of 1351 standardized dating throughout the Crown of Aragon, and moved the date of the New Year to Christmas instead of March 25th.[77] Thus after 1352 registers were begun just after Christmas (either in late December or in very early January), and ended just before Christmas in mid to late December of the following year.[78] Both of the shifts in what date is used closely follow major ordinances on notarial practice, those of September 1334 by James III of Mallorca,[79] and of the

[74] The registers frequently contain blank folios, sometimes as many as 30, at their end. For examples of registers with particularly high numbers of blank pages at the end, see: ACCE, Regs. 186, 189, 199, 210, and 251. As noted in Chapter 1, sometimes blank folios at the end of a register were used to add in missing contracts or make other notations, including the occasional index. In other cases, it is clear that pages leftover at the end of the year were cut out. It seems that the notaries were filling out blank quires (sections containing a total of fifty folios), which were then bound (and given a parchment cover) at the end of the year. This can be seen by the fact that in some cases the quires were bound in the wrong order, or that loose scraps that had been inserted inside the pages of a quire were occasionally stuck and stitched into the register when it was bound. For an example of a register with the quires stitched together in the wrong order, see: ACCE, Reg. 18. In this register the first quire covers September to December, the second from February to June, and the third from December to February.

[75] Books of wills, for example, sometimes did not fill up within one year thus there are some books of wills that cover more than one year. See for example, ACCE, Reg. 137, which includes wills from 1329-1332, or ACCE, Reg. 570, which includes wills from 1351-1354. In a few other cases a register was begun or ended at a date different from the usual registers (such as ACCE, Registers 286 and 310) and in some a small number of documents from the following year might be included at the end of one register.

[76] The year of 1335/6 was a short notarial year: the registers began in June but ended just before March 25th.

[77] Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció," 80. Before this time, for example, different new years were used in different Catalan towns. While most put the New Year in March, some, like Manresa, had used Christmas since the thirteenth century.

[78] Most of the registers that began in 1351 were ended in May of 1352. Some new registers were begun in January of 1352, and others were begun in May of 1352. These were all ended in December 1352 / January of 1353.

[79] Tretón, "Preludi," 583, 604.

Cort of Perpignan in 1351, suggesting that these ordinances prompted major reorganization within the local notariate of Puigcerdà.

It is not entirely clear when the system of beginning and ending registers on the same date of each year began. While it certainly seems likely that this system is connected to the fact that new notaries were selected each year, it may well have been in place even earlier.[80] I only have proof that notaries were selected for one-year terms after 1270, and we know that the notaries had a more permanent commission as notaries prior to 1264. The one earlier surviving register, ACCE, Register 1, from 1260/1, begins on June 23rd, 1260 – one day prior to the date (the feast of Saint John the Baptist, June 24th) which is used as the yearly beginning date of registers later on. This register ends in February, not the following June, although its survival may not be complete. The beginning date suggests that they may be following the same one-year pattern, although it could also be a coincidence. The feast of Saint John the Baptist in June was also one of the two dates per year on which the notaries were required to make payments to the king during the period in the 1250s and 1260s when the king had appointed this notariate to Pere Ripoll and Pere Gisclavar and was a sort of fiscal year marker in Puigcerdà. Having an extremely clear understanding of precisely when the notarial registers from medieval Puigcerdà began and ended over time allows us identify gaps in the surviving record and to build a strong model for estimating the number of lost entries.

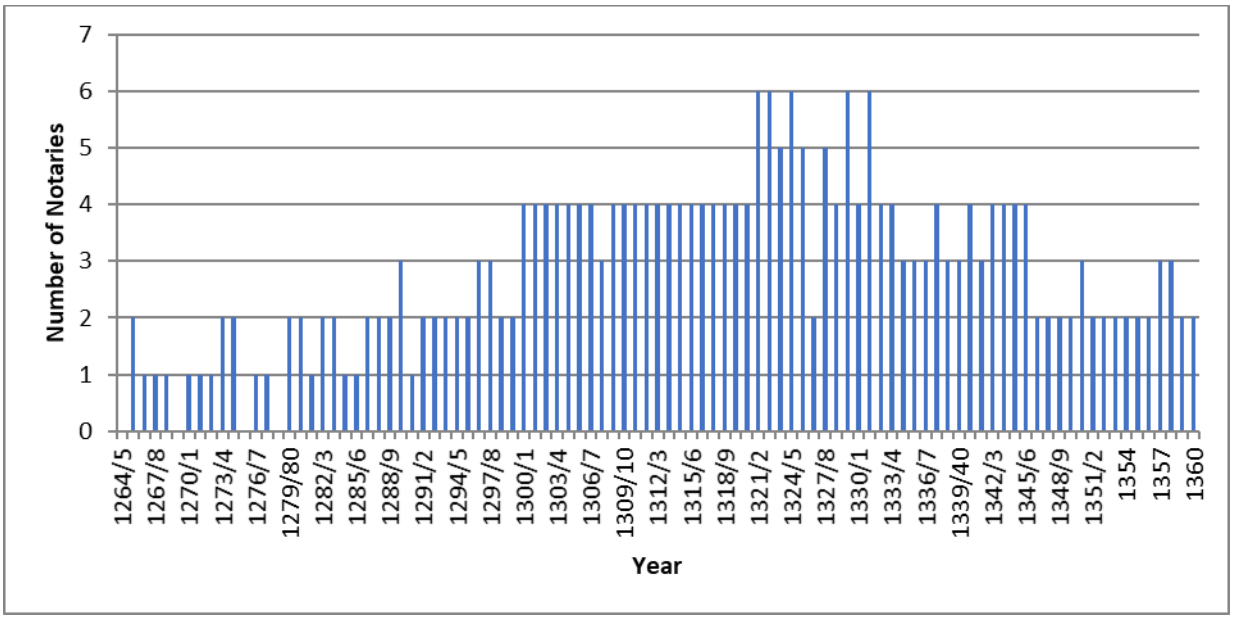
Analysis on the Completeness of Surviving Records

Numbers of Notaries and Scribes per Year

[80] Single registers do not continue into a subsequent year with a different pair of notaries except in exceptional circumstances, generally only of books of wills – which are the shortest among the four main types of registers and often did not full up entire quires.

The number of notarial documents produced was partly dependent on the number of notaries and scribes available to record them. Figure 2.1 includes the total number of public notaries that I could identify for each year between 1264 and 1360.[81]

Figure 2.1: Number of Public Notaries of Puigcerdà per year 1265-1360



Having examined all the covers and opening headers of all surviving cartularies prior to 1360, all of the eschatocols (formal endings of parchments) from all parchments from the same period, the forty-two documents on the appointment of notaries I could identify, and a variety of other contracts that reference earlier documents by other notaries, I have counted as a notary everyone identified as either a *notarius publicus* or a *scriptor publicus*,[82] or who was the sole person

[81] This chart shows only two notaries as operating within 1348/9, when in fact there were four. This is to reflect that there were only two notaries operating at any one time in this year. The second two were appointed after the original two notaries died, presumably due to the Black Death. For more on this see Chapter 8.

[82] The documents show that in this period in Puigcerdà the terms *notarius publicus*, and *scriptor publicus* were used interchangeably and both referred to someone with the authority to grant public faith. In Puigcerdà the term *scriptor publicus* was much less common and only appears for a brief period in the early fourteenth century. The term

responsible for a notarial cartulary.[83] This chart does not include those appointed for making copies (following the privilege of 1296), as I believe that they did not produce notarial cartularies.[84] Even considering that this chart may underrepresent the number of notaries in some years, it is clear that the number of notaries working was growing in the early fourteenth century. This seems to correspond with a general growth of the town and its population during this period.[85] Throughout the late thirteenth century, I have only found a maximum of two or three notaries working each year. For the first decade of the fourteenth century, there appear to have been four notaries appointed each year, and beginning in the early 1320s, it was common to see six notaries selected in a single year. In contrast, after the early 1330s, the number of notaries appointed each year appears to have declined, with around four notaries being more common in the 1330s and 1340s, and only two or three each year after the Black Death.

The patterns of how many scribes were working in the public *scribania* each year are somewhat different, as shown in Figure 2.2. Due to the nature of the sources I have examined,

scriptor publicus had been common in Girona, Besalu and Rosselló in the thirteenth century but began to fade away in the early fourteenth century. Bono, *Derecho notarial,* Vol 2, 130, 134 and Tretón, "Preludi," 579.

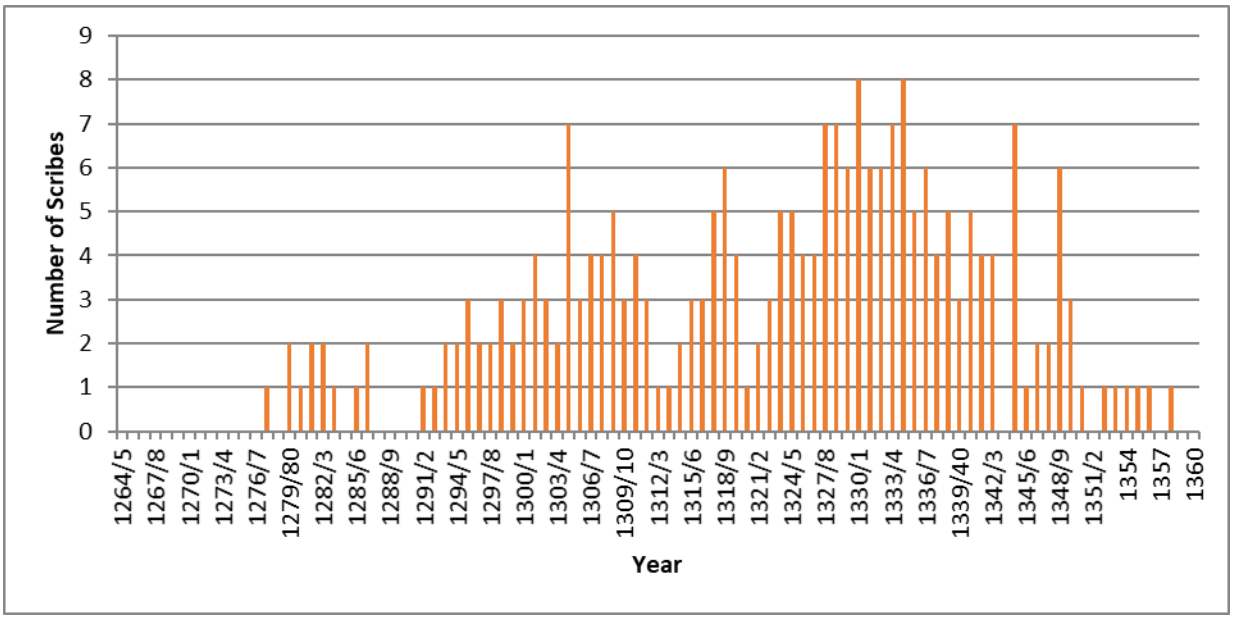
[83] In a few cases I had to use my best judgement to determine of if someone was a notary or a scribe. In 1322/3 three people identified only by the term "scriptor" were listed as the sole name in the headers of several notarial cartularies. See: ACCE, Registers 80, 148, 457, and 461. Two of these were identified in additional documents as being a notary, and in all other years it was always full notaries who kept cartularies. I believe therefore that all three were probably full notaries and recorded them as such, but I cannot be certain.

[84] It was not always clear when a notary was appointed only for the purpose of making copies. In later years the copy-making notaries identify themselves more distinctly but in the earliest years after 1296 this does not appear to have been the case. In three years from the very early fourteenth century I found two cases where a man was identified as a *notarius publicus* but only ever created copies. Both are from years where there were otherwise four other notaries operating. I believe that these were notaries assigned to make copies and therefore I have excluded them from this chart. See: ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 3 and ACCE, Parchments 42a, and 6c.

[85] On this see: Chapter 7, and also Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens,* 30.

my estimate of the number of scribes is likely less complete than that of notaries, but it still suggests general trends.[86]

Figure 2.2: Number of Scribes in the Public *Scribania* of Puigcerdà per year 1264-1360



There seem to have been very few assistant scribes until the first decade of the thirteenth century when their number grew a great deal. Their numbers either continued growing throughout the fourteenth century or dipped somewhat until they began to grow again in the late 1320s, a period in which the number of notaries hired actually seemed to decline. After the Black Death, however, the number of scribes I could identify dropped considerably, matching a similar trend

[86] This can only show the minimum number of scribes working each year – in some years there may have been many scribes I could not identify as scribes. With the four sources I focused on, scribes only appear consistently in parchments. The names of scribes are often not recorded in notarial headers except after the 1320s. However, analysis of the handwritings or names of frequent witnesses in the notarial cartularies would likely identify more scribes. Additionally, this information is inherently less accurate because it cannot always be determined whether a scribe worked in the public *scribania*. Sometimes scribes recorded a document on the order of an unnamed notary who did not complete the document by undersigning it. It is possible, therefore, that these scribes worked either for the notary assigned to make copies or for a notary of the curia. I have nonetheless included them in this chart.

in the number of notaries and perhaps related to an overall decline either in notarial demand or in the availability of trained scribes in this period.

Surviving versus Original Folios Year to Year

The number of notarial entries produced each year in Puigcerdà between 1260 and 1360 was certainly not constant over time. As the number of employees in the public *scribania* rose steadily until the mid-fourteenth century, the numbers of documents recorded likely grew with it. In this section I discuss the approximate number of folios that would have been produced each year during different periods of time, introduce a method for how to assess the likely completeness of surviving registers from any given year, and offer a general estimate of approximately how complete the collection of surviving documents is as a whole. For Puigcerdà, registers are not the best substitute to use as a means of estimating the total number of notarial acts produced. Emery used registers in this way in his study of documents from thirteenth century Perpignan[87] but this method would not work in Puigcerdà because the registers vary widely in size.[88] A more accurate method would be to count the number of surviving acts and compare them against an estimated original total,[89] but this proved too time-consuming to be feasible for this project.

Instead I have relied on a multi-part method. I begin with calculating the total number of original registers that would have been created each year, and then the total number of folios

[87] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan,* 4-9. They were all registers of approximately fifty folios.

[88] Not all types of register contain the same average number of folios. On average books of townspeople contain the most, and books of wills the fewest.

[89] This method was used by Guilleré and Pinto in their study of notarial documents from Girona. See: Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40-41.

each of those registers would have contained.[90] For the purposes of assessing the completeness of the collection of notarial records surviving from any individual year, I believe that folios provide the best easily available figure and that we can speak of the completeness of the collection from that year by assessing the percent of folios that originally survive.[91] It is clear, however, that like registers, folios do not correspond perfectly to a set number of documents. As I will discuss in greater detail below, the number of entries per folio varied by type and to a lesser extent by notary. It also considerably decreased over time as paper became cheaper and the format of the registers shifted. Thus, we cannot accurately understand how the total volume of notarial activity was shifting over time looking only at folios. For this reason, I have also calculated the rate at which the number of entries per folio declined, and used this, along with estimates of the original number of folios per year to estimate the original number of entries recorded in various years and how this changed over time. This will be shown in the following section.

My analysis of the number of notaries working in Puigcerdà each year indicates that the period between 1260 and 1360 can be broken down into several distinct phases in which registers were organized differently. I have the least information on notarial activity prior to 1264. It is not even entirely clear that the notaries produced more than one or two registers at a

[90] This is easiest for the later periods when more examples of different types of register survive to indicate the approximate average size of each type of register.

[91] This figure is the most easily available because unlike the number of entries or acts, the number of folios in all surviving notarial registers has already been counted and published. While I have noted numerous errors with the names, types and even dates listed in this catalogue, I have found that the number of folios is generally accurate. When these numbers have been inaccurate, they have been off by only one or two folios. I therefore used the numbers listed in the catalogue without recounting all of them myself. These numbers only include the number of folios on which medieval documents appear. In the catalog empty folios, which are common, are noted separately and I have not included them in my calculations.

time in this period.[92] Similarly, I have limited information on the period between 1264 and approximately 1282, as registers survive from this period sporadically and it is not certain that the register types were standardized by this point. The picture becomes clearer for the last two decades of the thirteenth century, when the notaries organized the cartularies into the four main types, making it possible to estimate how many are missing each year. In this period there were generally two or three notaries employed in the *scribania*. These notaries probably did not produce more than one register of each of the main types each year.[93] This allows us to estimate a total of approximately four or five registers a year in this period. Estimating the total number of folios is more difficult, as limited examples survive for some types of register[94] and because the number of folios per register may have been rising.[95]

In later periods the organization of notarial activity becomes even clearer, allowing a stronger estimate of completeness. Between 1300 and 1320 there appears to have been four public notaries appointed in Puigcerdà each year, generally organized in two working pairs. It seems likely that each pair created four or five notarial registers, creating at least a book of

[92] Only one register, ACCE, Reg. 1 survives form this period. This register includes eighty-four folios covering June of 1260 to February of 1261. If it is indeed a *liber extraneorum*, this would imply that there was at least also a *liber firmitatis* from this year.

[93] This is suggested by the fact that I have not found any case in which there is more than one of a given type of register surviving from any year before 1300, and the fact that in 1289 the town's three notaries agreed to each take on one of three main types of register (a *liber firmitatis*, a *liber extraneorum* and a *liber debitorum*) suggests that at this time the *scribania* produced only one of each per year. ACCE, Reg. 111 fol. 25r (d). This document does not mention books of Jews or books of wills, both of which were known to have been used around this period, but it is possible the notaries shared the responsibility of these registers.

[94] We have only the one example of a book of Jews, so we do not know if this register was typical in size for this type of register. Similarly, while the 1289 document indicates that books of debts were produced in this period, no clear example of one survives until 1309/10, so we do not know how large these registers were in this period.

[95] Between 1287 and 1290 the size of each *liber firmitatis* was between seventy and ninety-four folios; by the mid-1290s the registers of this type are considerably larger, with those of 1294-1297 ranging from 146 to 197 folios each.

townspeople, a book of outsiders, a book of debts and a book of wills, and possibly also a book of Jews.[96] The total number of notarial registers created in this period would thus have included at least eight to ten registers per year.[97] This doesn't mean that notarial activity had doubled between 1299, when there seem to have been only two notaries working and 1301, when there were four, because the registers from the first years of the fourteenth century tend, on average, to be smaller than those of the last years of the thirteenth century.[98] It is hard to tell how many of the less common types of register, if any, would have been produced in this period. As discussed above, almost certainly at least one book of Jews was created each year, and it is likely that each notarial pair produced one book of Jews each year.[99] After the creation of books of debts, books of cloth-sellers were probably not produced again until the early 1330s. But it is hard to know if there were registers for particular individuals or families, similar to the one later example of a register for the *societas* of the Muntaner brothers. Nonetheless, beginning in this period we can at least gain a highly accurate estimate of gaps among the four main types of registers.

[96] As the contract from 1309 in which Mateu d'Oliana and Pere d'Onzès split up the registers they had created over the last three years shows, this pairing had created five registers a year, including a book of Jews every year. But it is not entirely certain that every notarial pair would have created a book of Jews each year, since I have never seen more than one book of Jews surviving from the same year. ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 74r (d).

[97] We can know this because it is common in this period to see multiple books of townspeople or books of outsiders from one year each from different notarial pairs, and in several years (including 1310/1 and 1315/6) we can see a complete set of the four main types of register by one pair of notaries.

[98] Complete surviving books of townspeople from 1300-1303 range from about seventy-four to 121 folios, while, as previously noted, those from 1294-1297 ranging from 146 to 197 folios each. The total number of folios, and therefore documents, produced was still increasing, but had not doubled.

[99] Of course, again the main issue here is the number of folios missing, and I know nearly nothing on the average size of the books of Jews.

Table 2.1 shows the breakdown of surviving registers from three years during the early fourteenth century.[100]

Table 2.1: Notarial Registers from Puigcerdà from 1314-1317

	1314/5	
	G Cog and G Hualart	**J Garriga and GB de Sant Feliu**
F	Reg. 210, 128 fols.	Reg. 74, 155 fols.
E		Reg. 86, 98 fols.
D	Reg. 218, 1 fol. and Reg. 99, 79 fols.*	Reg. 100, 93 fols.
T	Reg. 221, 54 fols.	
	1315/6	
	Ar Embertat and G Cog	**M de Oliana and J Garriga junior**
F	Reg. 146, 119 fols. and Reg. 368, 49 fols.*	Reg. 13, 139 fols.
E	Reg. 168, 116 fols.	Reg. 21, 100 fols.
D	Reg. 184, 116 fols.	
T	Reg. 196, 59 fols.	Reg. 386, 20 fols.*
	1316/7	
	Ar Embertat and G Cog	**J Garriga junior and GB de Sant Feliu**
F	Reg. 147, 124 fols.	Reg. 76, 218 fols.
E		Reg. 88, 122 fols.
D		
T		Reg. 197, 22 fols.*

In two cases there are two fragments identified as separate registers in the catalogue, but which clearly originally belonged to one register.[101] Arranging the surviving registers in this way, we can easily identify registers that were probably lost. For example, there was probably a *liber extraneorum* produced by Guillem Cog and Guillem Hualart in 1314/5. Judging by the size of

[100] Asterisks denote that either the type or the notaries could not be identified from the header but could be determined by examining the contents and handwriting of the register.

[101] Register 368 is clearly a missing quire from the middle section of register 146, which skips the exact dates included in Register 368. Register 218, a fragment of one page, clearly belongs at the beginning of Register 99. Registers 386 and 197 do appear to be complete.

other surviving registers of this type around this time, which average about 110 folios, we can estimate that this missing register most likely was of approximately that size.[102] The other notarial pair working that year probably also produced a book of wills that was at least 20-25 folios long. For the year 1315/6, it is probable that Mateu d'Oliana and Jaume Garriga created a book of debts of at least around one hundred folios that is now lost. Based on these figures we can estimate the approximate total number of folios from the four main types of registers that would have been produced. In 1314/5, 604 folios survive and about 135 folios from these types of register seem to be missing, this suggests a survival rate of over 80 percent for these types of register in this year. Similarly, from the year 1315/6 there are 718 surviving folios, and approximately one hundred folios from a lost *liber extraneorum* seem to be missing, suggesting a survival rate of over 87 percent for these four register types in this year.[103] Estimating whether there were other types of register, such as books of Jews or of private business, and how many folios these might have contained, remains difficult, and any estimate of the total original number of documents will necessarily be more tentative. I would guess that probably no more than approximately one hundred to 150 folios from books of Jews or books of private business were created per year. If that were so, this would still mean that, in a conservative estimate of survival, over two thirds of notarial documents produced in Puigcerdà from 1314/5 and around three quarters of those from 1315/6 survive today.

This same method of determining approximate completeness can also be applied to years in later periods even as the organization of notaries and cartularies shifts over time. After 1320 it

[102] To an extent this does flatten out the possibility of differences caused by short term dips or surges within the local economy and notarial demand, but this is still the best available method for the purposes of this research.

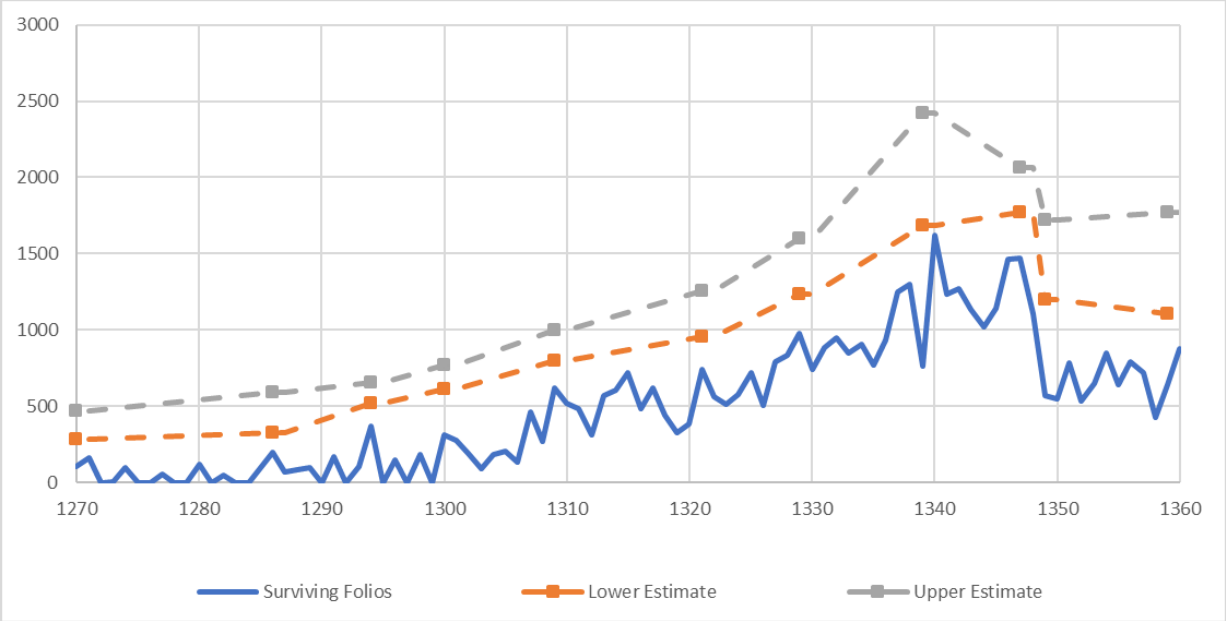
[103] In all cases for these two years, aside from the fragments which can be identified as belonging together to form a complete register these registers appear to complete, without missing major sections.

became more common to see six notaries appointed each year. Sometimes these notaries operate in pairs and sometimes they work alone in creating a set with one register of each type,[104] but clear gaps in the notarial record can still be easily determined. After around 1331, the pattern shifts again and the *prohoms* began appointing fewer notaries each year. Between 1331 and 1347 it was more common to see only three or four notaries appointed, often each working with a set number of scribal assistants who begin to be named in the headers of the notarial cartularies. For some years it can be difficult to determine precisely how many registers would have been created because the division of labor between the various groups of notaries is not quite as clearly organized and because it becomes more common for notaries to identify specific registers as being of more than one type. Additionally, the average size of registers grows considerably following the requirement to keep full copies of all contracts, and the notaries begin creating manuals, both significant changes that further complicate any estimation of total original numbers of entries. Beginning in 1347 the general picture of notarial activity becomes a bit clearer once again. After this point it becomes common for only two notaries to be appointed each year, each creating their own set of the four main types of registers along with manuals and probably books of cloth-finishers and Jews.

Figure 2.3 shows the surviving folios per year between 1270 and 1360, with two rough estimates (one lower and one higher) of the number of folios that might have been produced in those years.

[104] For example, in 1321/2 the six notaries worked in three groups of two, each creating a set of registers. In 1322/3, however, of six notaries, only two chose to work as a pair. The other four created their own individual registers, some of which, though complete, are extremely short. ACCE, Reg. 93, for example, consistently includes documents from the entire year with no missing sections but is only twelve folios long. This suggests that once again the number of notarial registers produced had increased, but that individual registers were smaller as a result.

Figure 2.3: Folios in Notarial Registers from Puigcerdà per year 1270 to 1360



The lines representing an estimated total are approximate, created from the estimates of the total number of folios, based on analysis of specific sampled years that are marked with orange and grey squares. This chart may over-estimate the total number of folios produced in some years,[105] and does not accurately reflect the fact that total number of documents recorded would surely have fluctuated from year to year.[106] A more accurate estimate of the original not of the entire collection could be obtained by examining each year individually or conducting mathematical analysis on all available notarial figures. In the absence of such measures, this chart gives a

[105] I have estimated assuming the existence of a small number of folios from books of Jews or other unusual types, even though it remains unclear whether such registers were produced at all.

[106] Even if demand for notarial documents was roughly steady from year to year, there would have been differences. As noted earlier, evidence suggests that approximately 740 folios would have been produced in 1314/5, while approximately 820 might have been expected in the following year, 1315/6. The chart gives a rough approximation of total numbers but smooths over this type of difference. Further, major disasters, such as famines, plagues or fires could significantly disrupt the typical yearly patterns. Aside from the Black Death, where a considerably drop in demand for notarial services is suggested by the significantly reduced number of folios from 1348/9, this chart is not able to estimate such atypical years.

broad general outline and demonstrates that on the whole there is reason to believe that the collection of notarial contracts from medieval Puigcerdà is very complete for many years.

My analysis on the survival of notarial contracts from medieval Puigcerdà allows me to make several observations. Firstly, that the percentage of records that survive from medieval Puigcerdà is higher than what has been estimated by other scholars for other parts of Catalonia. Emery estimated that only about one out of every sixty, or 1.7 percent, of registers produced in Perpignan between 1261 and 1287 survive today.[107] Guilleré and Pinto estimated that approximately 14.6 percent of contracts notarial survived from Girona between 1320 and 1340.[108] In Puigcerdà, there are many years for which it is nearly certain that more than half of all contracts originally produced survive today. The fact that we are able to estimate the completeness of the surviving collection with relative accuracy and that the collection of notarial registers is so complete for many years opens these sources up to the possibility of at least tentative statistical analysis in a way that has often not been possible. With close analysis of what kinds of contracts are typically recorded in each type of register, for example, we can estimate how many of a given type of contract would probably have been created in different years. I will give an example of this in the following chapter by analyzing contracts from the year 1321/2.

Secondly, my analysis of the completeness of the collection from Puigcerdà, together with my estimate for the town's population (see chapter 4), suggests that some previous studies using different methods may have over-estimated the numbers of notarial documents original recorded. In his study of notarial activity in thirteenth-century Perpignan, Richard Emery uses

[107] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan,* 6-8.

[108] Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40-41. It is somewhat unclear if perhaps this is a typo and the authors meant to say that they are studying the period from 1330-1340. This seems likely because throughout their study they refer to the years they are studying as a "decade," and elsewhere discuss only contracts from 1333-1339.

two innovative methods to estimate the original number of notarial registers that would have been produced in Perpignan between 1261 and 1287. The first method involves looking at the 235 contracts surviving from this period that refer back to an earlier loan made between Christians and Jews and looking for the original contracts. He could find only four out of the 235 original loan contracts; he thus inferred a survival rate of about one in sixty and therefore asserts that the seventeen surviving registers from 1261-1287 represent one sixtieth of the original one-thousand registers that would have been made in that period.[109] His second method begins with counting the number of scribes who were working during the period. Emery counted eleven notaries and forty-three scribes working at some point between 1261 and 1287, and, mistakenly believing that it was the scribes, and not the notaries, who kept the registers,[110] calculated that if half of the forty-three scribes would have been working in any given year and each scribe produced two registers a year, then there were originally over one-thousand registers in the period of 1261-1287. In fact, he says this is "probably an underestimate."[111] The seventeen registers from Perpignan from this period average slightly fewer than fifty-one pages; Emery would therefore be estimating that around 51,000 folios, or 3,000 folios a year, would have been produced between 1261 and 1287. My own rough estimate for Puigcerdà during the same period would lead me to expect no more than around five notarial registers, or approximately four-hundred to five-hundred folios, per year and possibly fewer. Certainly, the population of

[109] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan*,6- 7.

[110] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan*, 7. In general in Catalonia it was the notaries who could keep registers, although they might assign their scribes the task of writing *notules*. In fact, in some years in Puigcerdà it was actually the notaries and not the scribes who wrote most of the *notules*. This can be clearly seen in the case of the notarial pair Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alp, and their assistant scribe Ramon Duran, who I discuss in Chapter 6. Secondly, as evidence for his claim, Emery cites the example of ADPO, 3E1/38, which he says shows that Ramon Imbert was the scribe and Jaume Barravi the notary. He appears to have had this backwards.

[111] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan*, 8.

Perpignan was higher than that of Puigcerdà in the mid-thirteenth century, but it was not six times larger.[112] The notariate of Perpignan also presumably covered a smaller geographic area than the Cerdanian notariate did, as there was a much higher number of notariates operating in Rosselló (Perpignan's surrounding county) during this time. Even if demand for notarial certification was higher, on average, in Perpignan (i.e. if more business was being conducted or the notarial impulse was greater) which is certainly possible, Emery's analysis may be significantly overestimating notarial activity.

Christian Guilleré and Anthony Pinto use a different method to examine notarial activity in Girona between 1320 and 1340.[113] Guilleré and Pinto counted the number of acts surviving from this period (3,428) and the number of days on which acts were recorded (23,366) to find that Geronan notaries recorded about eight contracts per day on average. They then estimate that there were ten notaries working each year, and that they worked 243 days a year on average, which leads them to conclude that there would have been 17,500 contracts created each year.[114] Comparing their finding with some of the evidence from the year 1321/2 in Puigcerdà, which I will discuss in greater detail in the following chapter, I find it very likely that they overestimate the numbers of notarial entries recorded. In Puigcerdà, as I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 3, in the year 1321/2 the notaries recorded 7,821 individual entries (including voided entries), which include over 7,733 non-cancelled agreements. As shown in that chapter, based on

[112] Mid-fourteenth century figures estimate the population of Perpignan at somewhere around 12,000 to 13,000. As I will argue in Chapter 4, I believe that the population of Puigcerdà, commonly thought to have been around 6,500 to 7,500 was more likely around 8,500, and even possibly higher. Even if the population of Perpignan was also an underestimate, it could not have been any larger than twice the size of Puigcerdà.

[113] Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40-41.

[114] They would then expect 175,000 contracts for the "decade," of which they claim the 23,366 surviving contracts represent 14.6 percent. How they arrived at this number is not clear, because 23,366 would actually represent 13.4 percent of 175,000.

the clear gaps in the registers from this year, we can estimate that there would originally have been around 9,400 to 10,200 non-cancelled agreements recorded in that year. Six notaries were working in Puigcerdà that year, which would work out to about five to six contracts per notary per day on average.[115] Puigcerdà was likely a larger town than Girona in this period; it was also expanding physically and had a precocious and expanding cloth industry. Guilleré and Pinto's estimates for the average number of contracts per notary in Girona, and the average number of days worked therefore seem to generally accord with what I have found in Puigcerdà, so I expect that they over-estimate the number of notaries active in the town in any given year.

Both Emery's and Guilleré and Pinto's calculations offer valuable insights, but their methods inherently rely on estimating one figure very roughly: the number of notaries or scribes working in a given time. Emery estimated that half of the forty-three scribes whose names he could identify at any point between 1261 and 1287 were working every year.[116] Having identified the names of fifteen notaries who worked in Girona at some point between the 1310 and the Black Death, Guilleré and Pinto guessed that ten might be working in any given year.[117] But both are only able to make very rough guesses; we do not know how many notaries were working in these two cities during the years studied. In Puigcerdà, however, it is possible to estimate the number of notaries working with far more precision, and therefore to arrive at a much more accurate estimate of the number of folios or contracts that would have been produced in the town each year.

[115] As I will discuss in Chapter 6, the notarial office seems to have been open for business somewhere between 290 and 316 days a year.

[116] Emery, *Jews of Perpignan,* 7.

[117] Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40.

Notarial Entries Over Time

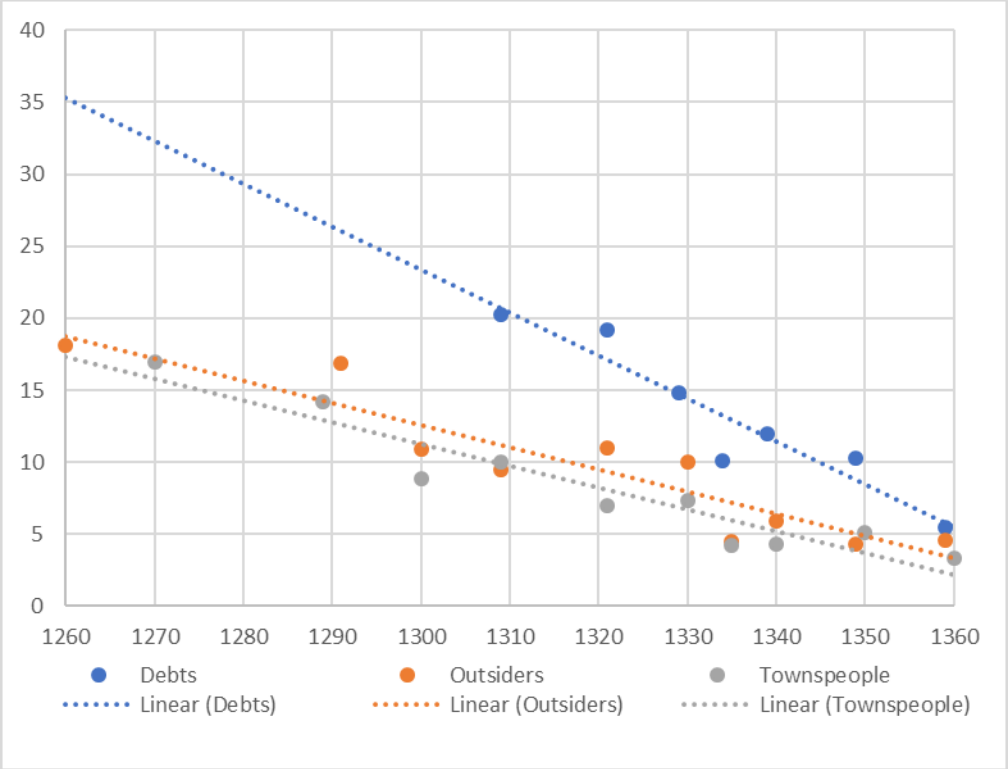
In the previous section, I showed that the collection of surviving notarial records from medieval Puigcerdà is very complete and that for many years from the period between 1260 and 1360 a high proportion of the original folios survive today. But while analyzing the number of surviving and original folios can reveal how complete the records are for individual years, information on folios alone cannot truly reveal how the volume of notarial records changed over time because folios, like registers, do not correspond perfectly to a set number of notarial entries. To understand the true shifts in the volume of notarial records over time we must also consider shifts in the number of entries per folio.

Among the registers from Puigcerdà there are clear differences between the average number of entries per folio across different types of registers, and, more importantly, the number of entries per folio clearly decreases over time.[118] As in other parts of southern Europe where notarial registers were in common use the earliest surviving registers, from the mid-thirteenth century feature small, cramped handwriting and nearly no margins. Over time, as paper became cheaper, margins and the blank space between entries grow significantly wider. The length of the entries themselves also shifted over time with changes to abbreviation.[119] Figure 2.4 shows the declining number of entries per folio over time from sampled years.

[118] In addition, not all folios are the same size and the number of documents per folio varies to a small extent by notary, because not all notaries have the same size handwriting, but neither has a major impact on the average number of entries per folio. Except for books of wills from before the year 1315, all the surviving folios are in quarter folii. While these sheets are not all exactly the same size, they are all so close in size as to make this point essentially negligible.

[119] To some extent as acts become more standardized they become more heavily abbreviated. On the other hand, as I noted above, in September of 1334 the notaries were required to begin keeping full (non-abbreviated) copies of their entries. Immediately afterward entries became quite a bit longer than they had been just beforehand, although the notaries then appear to have relaxed somewhat as they settled on what could and could not be abbreviated for the entry to still contain a "full" record.

Figure 2.4: Entries per Folio in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1260-1360[120]



As Figure 2.4 shows, in any given year the average number of entries per folio in a book of debts was higher than that in a book of outsiders or book of townspeople. The average number of entries per folio in a book of outsiders was, in general, very close to but slightly higher than that in a book of townspeople. In all three cases the average number of entries per folio clearly

[120] The years in this figure refer to the first of year of the given calendar year, such that for example "1260" indicates the notarial year 1260/1. Except for the year 1321/2, I counted the number of entries per surviving folio from one randomly register from each of these years noted above. No attempt was made to correct for potential differences in the number of entries per folio in different seasons in registers that were incomplete. In the year 1321/2, the year I examined in detail, I averaged the number of entries per folio across the different surviving registers of each type from that year. Entries, in this case, includes cancelled entries and fragments. The dotted line is a line of best fit through the available points. It may not be a fully accurate representation, particularly, for example, for books of debts in the mid thirteenth-century, since we should consider that there was an upper limit on the maximum number of entries that could be squeezed on a folio. I did not look at the average number of entries per folio from any of the less common types of register, such as books of Jews, cloth-sellers, livestock-sellers, etc., because so few examples of those survive. Future research could investigate what the entry per folio trend is for books of wills. Tentatively, while the number of folios per entry in books of wills does decrease, along with those of all other types of registers as the register formats change, it does not decrease as drastically as that of books of debts, and in any case, the entries in books of wills comprise only a very small proportion of the overall total number of entries.

decreased considerably over time. For example, I counted 20.3 entries per folio in a book of debts from 1309/10,[121] but only 5.5 entries per folio in a book of debts from 1359.[122] This was a decline of nearly 73 percent in that fifty-year period. The number of entries per folio clearly decreased at a faster rate in books of debts than in books of outsiders or books of townspeople. Interestingly, the number of entries per folio in books of outsiders and books of townspeople appears to have decreased at almost the same rate.

Using the line of best fit through the sampled years in Figure 2.4, I developed an equation that can calculate approximately what the number of entries per folio there would have been in other years, including years from which no registers survive. Multiplying this by the number of folios of different types estimated to have been originally recorded for each year, such as was shown in Figure 2.3, it becomes possible to estimate the total volume of notarial entries per year over time. Figure 2.5 shows the estimated total number of original entries recorded in books of townspeople, books of outsiders and books of debts over time using this method.

[121] ACCE, Reg. 96. This register contained 2006 entries across ninety-nine folios.

[122] ACCE, Reg. 560. This register contained 880 entries across 161 folios.

Figure 2.5: Estimated Total Original Entries in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1270-1360

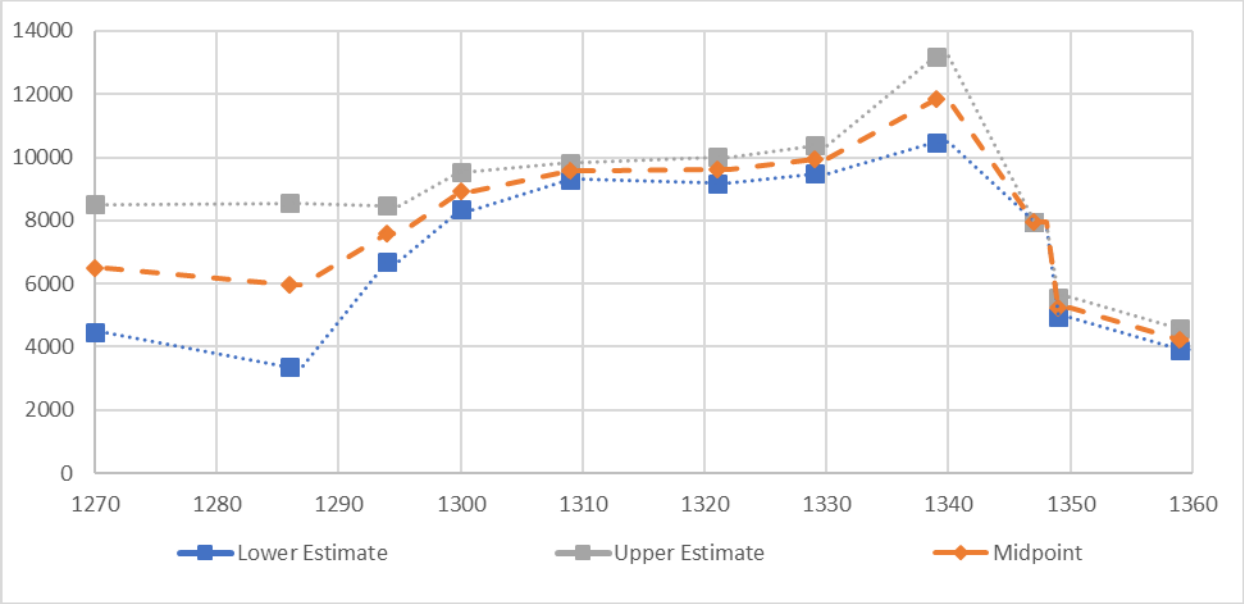


Figure 2.5 only includes the entries that would have been included in a book of townspeople, a book of outsiders or a book of debts, so it is not a fully complete view. Future research will be needed to estimate the number of entries in the books of wills, manuals and those types of registers of which few examples survive. And indeed, it is possible that at certain points the reason we see a shift in the total volume of entries above is because of a shift in what types of registers are used and where entries are recorded. In particular, after the 1330s manuals become more common and the notaries also seem to begin using combined books of cloth-sellers and Jews, which contain many more of the types of acts related to cloth-sellers that would originally have been included in a book of debts.[123] Nonetheless, Figure 2.5 offers a strong view of how the

[123] The number of entries per folio in manuals, which were recorded in Puigcerdà from at least 1339 and perhaps a bit earlier, as discussed above, is a particularly tricky problem. In theory manuals were used to record abbreviated versions of acts that were then crossed out when the same act was recorded in a more complete version in the actual notarial entry. But a quick glance through the surviving manuals shows that in some cases there are entries included which have not been crossed out (whether intentionally, or because the notaries never completed the task of

volume of notarial records changed over time in medieval Puigcerdà. The number of entries appears to have been fairly static around the mid thirteenth century, before it began to grow in the 1280, up to around the year 1300. It then appears to have remained static again between around 1300 to 1330. While the number of folios recorded in this period grew (as was shown in Figure 2.3), the number of entries per folio declined and it seems that the number of entries per year remained consistent. Toward 1340 the number of entries per year appears to have grown somewhat, before it dropped, both prior to the Black Death (as it had already declined between 1339 and 1347) and then again after the Black Death in 1348. It then continued declining at a slower pace until 1360. Here again Figure 2.5 provides new information: while Figure 2.4 (for folios per year) shows that the number of folios would have remained relatively consistent between around 1348 and 1360, Figure 2.5 reveals that the total number of entries recorded per year in this final decade was decreasing.

Conclusion

As this chapter has shown, beginning at least by 1270, and possibly earlier, the town began appointing notaries for only one-year terms and controlling the number of notaries appointed each year in a way that makes it possible to determine how many notaries were working in the town at any one time. The notaries of Puigcerdà also kept registers for one year only, beginning new ones on the same day each year. This fact makes it easy to determine precise gaps among the registers, and to estimate the total number of acts that would originally have been produced with far more accuracy than has often been possible. Thus, I am able to make a considerably

registering the act twice). Future research will be needed to determine to what extent the acts in manuals include the sole copies of original acts.

more accurate estimate of how representative the surviving records are, opening up these sources to new forms of statistical analysis and tentative quantitative estimates. In addition, the example of Puigcerdà suggests either that notarial demand per person was notably higher in Girona and Perpignan, or that existing studies of total original notarial activity overestimate how many notarial documents would actually have been recorded a year in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Finally, estimates of the number of entries originally recorded in each year suggests that the overall volume of notarial documentation was rising in the late thirteenth century, stagnating or at least growing very slowly in the early fourteenth century and then began to decline considerably in the early 1340s prior to the Black Death. In the following chapter, I will turn to the question of what kind of things people did and did not chose to have certified by notaries, and how this biases what kind of information we can gain about the economy and economic change based on these sources. I will do so through an in-depth examination of the surviving documentation from the year 1321/2 and will also demonstrate how my method for estimating notarial survival can be fruitfully applied to conduct statistical analysis.

Chapter 3: Notarial Certification in Medieval Puigcerdà in 1321/2

In the previous chapter I argued that the unusual organization of the notarial office of Puigcerdà makes it possible to estimate notarial survival with a high degree of accuracy, and that this fact opens up these sources to quantitative analysis. With an accurate estimate of notarial survival, it becomes possible to estimate the total number of a given type of agreement, such as marriages, wills, or sales on credit that would originally have been created in a given year, and thus, crucially, how such figures changed over time. In this chapter, I introduce a method to estimate the original numbers of different types of notarial agreements that would have been recorded within a single year, that builds off estimates for the sizes of missing registers developed in Chapter 2. As I will demonstrate in later chapters, such figures are an invaluable source of insight into the shifts in social and economic practices over time in this region. With this method it is possible to estimate, for example, if the number of recorded marriages is increasing or decreasing over time, a potential indicator of demographic shifts. And yet, inevitably, such figures can only tell us part of the story, because they can estimate only the number of *recorded* agreements, i.e. those agreements that were written and certified by a notary. A major question remains to be addressed: how representative is what gets recorded? Or, put another way, which types of agreements and transactions are more likely to be recorded, and which types are not? That question is the focus of this chapter.

It is well known that a great deal of social and economic activity escaped the written record. Recording by the local notaries was not free; there was a standard fee for each type of agreement. What, then, prompted people to seek notarial certification? What were customers purchasing when they paid to have their contracts recorded? Above all, the impetus to record an

agreement with a notary derived from the belief of the involved parties that they would need a legally valid copy of the agreement at some point in the future. In many cases, particularly for credit contracts, which are extremely numerous, the desire to have a copy of the agreement in the future likely derived from a desire to purchase greater security that the terms of their agreement would be upheld. But local laws and customs could also require that details of an agreement would be needed in the future, and many other acts detail with long-term or perpetual rights for which people may have thought written proof would be required even into the distant future.

Inevitably, the types of agreements that prompted people to go to the notary were not the same everywhere, nor were they static over time. There could be major differences in notarial practice across different regions, many of them influenced by local customs or local laws. We know, for example, that in 1396, Simone Bellandi, an agent of the Italian mercantile company of Francesco Datini of Prato who was working in Catalonia, wrote back to his principals in Prato surprised that in Catalonia he needed a certified procuration contract (i.e. a contract granting one person the legal power to act on someone else's behalf). Bellandi was asked to produce such a document whenever he tried to conduct business for the company.[1] According to Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, in his native Tuscany, such contracts were less common and thus less frequently notarized, but the notarial registers of Catalonia are full of procuration contracts.[2] Equally, under the *usatges* of Barcelona (laws common throughout Catalonia in this time period) there were certain consequences for dying intestate – potentially increasing the number of people who

[1] See: Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial," 66; Carrère, *Barcelone*, Vol. 1, 37 and 71.

[2] Ferrer i Mallol, "L'instrument notarial," 66. These could be easily tailored to the specific circumstances of the involved parties. The extent of authority granted in a procuration contract could vary considerably. Some empowered someone to act broadly on behalf of another person or a company in almost circumstance, while others could be quite strict, empowering them only to collect a specific debt owed by a specific person.

would have chosen to pay to have their will recorded, or at least influencing the decision to do so among some segments of society.[3] Differences in legal culture created different notarial use.

In this chapter, I address the question of what kinds of acts people did (and did not) seek to have certified by notaries in late medieval Puigcerdà. I begin with discussing the cost of certifying different types of acts and certain biases within the rates of parchment-copy creation that suggest biases within notarial recording as a whole. I then introduce the year that I examined in detail, 1321/2, and the percent of the original registers that survive from that year. Then I discuss the breakdown of agreements that survive from the year 1321/2 and how the vast majority of the entries from medieval Puigcerdà fit within a narrow range of categories. With my method for how to estimate the total original number of a given type of agreement, also introduced in this chapter, I then show estimates for the breakdown of the original total number of notarial agreements that would have been recorded in Puigcerdà in this year, at least in the four main types of registers. This allows me to comment on the types of agreements that were the most frequently certified by notaries. Unsurprisingly, debts comprised the largest individual category among both surviving and originally recorded agreements—as we have seen, the archives themselves were organized according to creditors;[4] another major concern across many acts was rights. Finally, at the end I examine the range in values seen across two types of agreements as a means of assessing both the value threshold below which most entries were not recorded, and the upper limit for most of the economic activity in Puigcerdà.

[3] For more on the *usatges*, see: Donald J., Kagay, trans., *The Usatges of Barcelona: The Fundamental Law of Catalonia*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).

[4] As I discussed in Chapter 2, the books of outsiders mainly contain entries in which money was owed to a person who was not from Puigcerdà, while books of debts contain entries in which a person from Puigcerdà was the creditor, and books of Jews contained entries in which the creditors were Jews.

Notarial Certification and Recording Bias:

The Cost of Notarial Certification

What were the main areas of concern to the medieval inhabitants of Puigcerdà that brought them to the notarial office? For what types of agreements, conversely, did they seem to find the cost of notarial certification too high? Notarial certification made it relatively easy for the inhabitants of medieval Puigcerdà to obtain copies of their agreements that carried the ability to serve as a legal proof of the agreement's terms. But this certification was not free; there was a standardized cost for each type of act.[5] A list of the prices of different notarial documents survives from Puigcerdà from the year 1338.[6] The notaries of medieval Puigcerdà also typically recorded the price of each contract in the margins next to each notarial entry at least in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century. Together these sources show that the price for each type of document remained consistent over time.

During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the cheapest acts cost three *diners* (pennies) of Barcelona to record.[7] This was the price for debts of all kinds and for deposits and *comandas*, provided they did not include a guarantor or a pledge (if they did, the price rose

[5] A portion of these fees went to pay for the expenses of the *scribania*, including the purchase of materials such as ink and paper. Another portion was paid to the town, who used a portion of the proceeds of the *scribania* to pay the fee they owed yearly to the king for their right to control the notariate. The notaries, town consuls and sometimes others were exempt from paying fees for their own documents, as can be seen by marginal notations in the registers.

[6] Two medieval copies of this list survive: ACCE, Reg. 615 fol. 1r, and ADPO, 7J45. An edited version can be see here: Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 124-6. This has also been discussed in Bosom i Isern and Galceran i Vigué, *Catàleg de protocols*, 15 and in, Bosom i Isern, "El notariat de Puigcerdà," 48. Additionally, Rodrigue Tréton has transcribed a document created some time after 1334 in which the king of Mallorca ordered the fees for notarial documents to be raised in light of the increase of work that occurred after he ordered the keeping of full copies of notarial documents (as opposed to abridged copies) in1334. It is not clear whether this order applied also in Puigcerdà.

[7] During the mid- and late-thirteenth century, it was actually more common to see the fee for notarial contracts paid in the coinage of Melgueil (in southern France), although it seems both the coinage of Melguil and that of Barcelona were accepted. This changed in 1298, however, when a new rule was instituted that fees for notarial certification could only be paid in the coinage of Barcelona. See: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 688.

to four *diners* of Barcelona).[8] Many of the other common, shorter types of agreements also cost four *diners*. Contracts such as land sales, donations, rentals and procuration contracts cost twelve *diners* each. The most expensive contracts were marriages and wills. In Puigcerdà, wills cost a standard fee of five *sous* (shillings) per will (sixty *diners* total); marriage contracts also cost five *sous* for each part of the entry.[9]

These fees were not insignificant, even for the cheapest contracts. We have some insight into the daily wages of low-skilled workers in Puigcerdà during the early fourteenth-century, thanks to two books recording expenses related to the building of a local bridge.[10] During the year 1326, unskilled men working on the building of this bridge earned eighteen to twenty-two *diners* per day, and women earned between ten and eleven *diners* per day. During the year 1328, the wages for unskilled men ranged from ten to twenty *diners* per day, while those for women ranged from six to twelve *diners*, and those for children from four to six *diners* per day.[11] Even the cheapest, simplest debt contracts thus cost somewhere between one third and one sixth of what an unskilled man might earn in a day, and this percent was even higher for women. Among the poorer members of society in medieval Puigcerdà, this would have been a considerable cost. On the one hand, it is plausible that it was often the comparatively wealthier creditor who paid for notarial certification, at least up front. But they may simply have passed this transaction cost

[8] Bosom states that the list from the Llibre de Saltèguel also identifies this as the price for *parcerias*, but in the other two lists *parcerias* are identified as costing four *diners*.

[9] This price for wills was comparatively low; in other places the price to have a will recorded varied depending on the value of the estate. One will of a Jewish man recorded in La Seu d'Urgell lists the extremely high price of 105 *sous* (probably of Barcelona). See: ADU, Reg. 453, fols. 202v-203r.

[10] These two books can be found here: ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibres de l'obra del pont d'Aravó, 1326 and 1328.

[11] See: Erola Simon i Lleixà, "Els llibres de l'obra del Pont d'Aravó," *ERA: Revista cerdana de recerca* 1 (2015): 157–71, page 165.

on to their customers, increasing the interest (or the price at which they were willing to lend) such that this impacted the borrowers as well. The creditor certainly had a greater interest in seeing the details of the contract recorded, since it would have made it easier to collect the debt. The marginal notes listing prices are generally silent on which party to the contract was responsible for the fee, except for certain cases, such as marriages, or cases in which multiple acts are recorded in a single entry and the fees are shared or split among different parties.

Parchment Copy Creation and Recording Bias

We can learn a great deal about what biased notarial customers toward seeking notarial certification by looking at the creation of parchment copies for notarial entries. As noted in Chapter 1, prior to 1334, the entries in the notarial registers contained only abbreviated summaries of contracts that were kept by the notaries for their own later reference.[12] Notarial customers who wanted to receive their own copy of a contract could request a parchment copy containing the full, unabbreviated act.[13] Using certain specific markings within the notarial register, the notaries kept track of whether or not a parchment copy of a given entry was produced, although they typically do not specify when the copy was made.[14] Customers could return to a notary to have new parchment copies created at any time, even years after the act was first recorded. Of the 7,432 surviving non-cancelled entries from the year 1321/2, a parchment

[12] In September of 1334 the king of Mallorca ordered the notaries to keep full, non-abbreviated copies of all contracts they recorded.

[13] This could be done at the time the contract was initially made or at a later point.

[14] In Puigcerdà it was standard to mark this by drawing three vertical lines through the entry. This was similar to the practice in La Seu d'Urgell, where two vertical lines were used. It differed from the practice seen in other parts of Catalonia, where vertical or diagonal lines marked the completion of the contract (such as the repayment of a debt). See for example: Milton, *Market Power*, 38.

copy was made for 4,176 of them (56 percent).[15] Some types of contract, however, were copied onto parchments at higher rates than others.

Table 3.1: Percent of Selected Agreement Types with a Parchment Copy, 1321/2[16]

Type	**Number with a Parchment Copy**	**Percent with a Parchment Copy**
Sales on Credit	844	51.7%
Debts of Wool	466	58.9%
Loans[17]	267	55.3%
Sales of Land	292	83%
Appointments of a Procurator	141	74.6%
Parcerias	116	76.3%
Apprenticeships	30	30.6%
Artisanal Labor Contracts	15	40.5%
Business Partnerships	3	17.6%

For example, as Table 3.1 shows, 83 percent of the surviving sales of land from this year contained marks showing that a parchment copy had been made. This was also the case for 74.6 percent of agreements appointing a procurator. As Simone Bellandi noted in the letter discussed above, in Catalonia one was often required to provide proof that one had the legal right to act on someone else's behalf, which likely explains why so many of the people who paid to have an appointment of a procurator recorded asked for a parchment copy of their own.

[15] In some cases what appears as a single entry in the notarial register includes separate markings for different segments, indicating that only a portion was copied into a parchment. This is most common for marriages, which often contain a series of different transactions. There are, for example, three parchments surviving in the ACCE that were each copied from separate segments of what appears as a single marriage contract in the notarial register. See: ACCE, Parchments 742, 743 and 744 and ACCE, Reg. 228 fol. 63v (a). In fifty-one cases a portion of the entry was recorded in a parchment copy and another portion was not. In two cases it could not be determined whether or not a parchment copy was made.

[16] In addition, there were two sales on credit and one debt of wool for which it was not possible to determine whether or not a parchment copy was made.

[17] For this chart I include both loans due in coin and loans due in kind.

In contrast, the people of Puigcerdà seem to have been far less likely to request a parchment copy of certain other types of agreements. Apprenticeships and artisanal labor contracts were marked as having parchment copies only 30.6 percent and 40.5 percent of the time, respectively. It also appears to have been uncommon for business partners to request parchment copies of their *societas* agreements. This is a small sample, but only three (17.6 percent) of the seventeen surviving *societas* contracts had a parchment copy produced. For these types of agreements, the contract participants may have felt less need for proof of the contract's terms and thus decided to rely on the copy in the notarial register. For debt contracts, (including sales on credit, advance sales of wool, and loans), the percent of contracts with a parchment copy was typically around 50 percent or higher.[18] It was evidently higher for advance sales of wool (debts of wool), than for sales on credit, given that 58.9 percent of the former received a parchment copy, while only 51.7 percent of the latter did. This may suggest that one was generally considered riskier than the other.

In addition, there is clearly a bias toward getting a parchment copy when one or more of the parties was from outside of the valley of Cerdanya. Among the 1,634 surviving sales on credit, 239 include a buyer or seller who was clearly identified as being from somewhere outside of Cerdanya.[19] One hundred and sixty-six of these 239, or 69.5 percent, were marked as having had a parchment copy created. In contrast, if we look only at the 429 surviving sales on credit in which all of the buyers and sellers were from Cerdanya (including those from Puigcerdà itself),

[18] Admittedly, as noted elsewhere in this chapter, the survival rate for these types of contracts is lower on average, but in general the surviving examples are probably a good proxy for those that would have been in the lost book of debts.

[19] Cerdanya here includes the Vall de Querol, Baridà and the Vall de Ribes, both part of the *vegueria* of Cerdanya in that period. For more on this see Chapter 9. Outside of the valley of Cerdanya includes the regions of Capcir, Conflent, and northern Berguedà that bordered Cerdanya. This does not include the buyers and sellers who were noted as being from locations that I was not able to identify.

parchment copies were created for only 44.2 percent of the entries (190 out of 429).[20] The same pattern can be seen among wool debts. Out of 792 wool debts surviving from this year, 171 include at least one debtor or creditor was clearly stated to be from somewhere outside of Cerdanya. Of these, 121 (70.7 percent) had a parchment copy. But among the 205 wool debts in which all of the debtors and creditors were clearly identified as being from Cerdanya, only ninety-four (45.8 percent) had a parchment copy.[21]

Clearly, notarial customers requested parchment copies more frequently for notarial acts in which one party was from a more distant geographical region than for those in which all parties were from Cerdanya. This likely indicates that medieval people may have been inherently more nervous conducting business with people from more distant geographic regions, or considered such agreements to be inherently riskier, and thus sought greater written proof as a security to ensure the terms would be upheld.[22]

Parchment Copies and Repayment

Entries with a parchment copy were more likely to be marked as repaid. If we look at the rates of repayment among certain types of debt contracts, including sales on credit, loans and wool debts, we can see that across all three cases, rates of repayment were fairly high, but that an entry was more likely to be marked as repaid if a parchment copy was made. Out of the total of

[20] This does not include any sales on credit involving buyers or sellers whose hometown was not stated, even if it seems highly likely in one of those cases that one or more of the parties was from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya.

[21] For one of these 195 contracts it was not possible to determine whether or not a parchment copy had been created due to damage.

[22] Because in most cases, we do not know when the parchment was requested, it is also possible that these parchment copies were requested later than the original date in which the act was recorded, and instead indicate that creditors had a harder time receiving payment back from debtors who lived in distant regions. If so, this would actually serve as proof that such contracts were in fact riskier, and not just perceived to be riskier.

792 wool debts,[23] 618 (78 percent) were marked as repaid and 174 (22 percent) were not. Similarly, 378 out of 484 (78.1 percent) loans were marked as repaid,[24] and 1,441 out of 1,632 (88.3 percent) sales on credit were marked as repaid.[25] Among all three types of agreements, entries with a parchment copy were more likely to be marked as repaid. All but twelve of the 465 (a total of 97.4 percent) wool debts with a parchment copy were marked as repaid, while only 50.6 percent (165 out of 326) of the contracts without a parchment copy were so marked.[26] For loans, all but ten (a total of 96.2 percent) of the 268 with a parchment copy were marked as repaid,[27] compared to 56 percent (121 out of 216) of those without,[28] and for sales on credit, 97 percent (764 out of the 787) of the contracts with a parchment copy were marked as repaid, compared to 80 percent (678 out of 845) of those without.[29] Admittedly, these figures may under-represent the true repayment rate. Contracts did not need to be marked as repaid in all cases, because the notaries could simply make another act that stated that the payment was received, and the original debt cancelled without locating and marking the original *notule*. If the debtor retained a copy of this act, then he could not be held accountable for the debt even if the original copy in the notarial register was never marked as repaid.[30] There is clearly a strong

[23] In all three cases, I am including entries that contain multiple agreements of different types. For example, the total number of wool debts includes those that are both a wool debt and a sale on credit, etc.

[24] This includes loans due in kind.

[25] For two acts it was not clear whether or not it was marked as repaid.

[26] For one contract it was not clear whether or not a parchment copy had been made.

[27] For one of the loans with a parchment, it was not possible to determine whether or not it was repaid.

[28] The one loan whose repayment could not be determined was a contract with a parchment copy.

[29] For one entry with a parchment copy it was not clear whether or not it was repaid, for another it was not possible to determine if a parchment copy was made.

[30] One possible explanation for why we see a high percent of entries with a parchment copy marked as repaid is that being able to look at the parchment copy helped the notaries locate the original entry in their registers (since it

correlation between repayment and parchment copies among these three types of debts. It is certainly likely that notarial customers would have requested such copies more frequently for agreements they considered to be of higher risk. Some of the same factors that made notarial customers more likely to request a parchment copy also made them more likely to have their agreements recorded by a notary in the first place. But we don't know that most parchment copies were requested at the time the contracts were recorded. It is possible that many parchment copies were requested only after it had proved difficult to collect repayment on a debt, as the creditor sought to use the portal proof of the agreement in his attempts to collect.

Notarial Registers and their Survival in the year 1321/2

As I mentioned in the introduction, my study of the economic development of Puigcerdà is based on two main parts. I looked at one year— the notarial year of 1321/2—in depth, and I then sampled specific types of agreements at decade-long intervals between 1260 and 1360. I use the year 1321/2 as a baseline indicator for much of my statistical analysis. In this section, I introduce this year, the completeness of the surviving registers from that year, and my rationale for its selection.

Completeness

One of the chief reasons to choose 1321/2 as the year to examine in detail was its high percentage of well-preserved surviving notarial documents.[31] Nine total registers survive from

would state the exact date it was created and the name of the notary who authorized it). Those who received repayment for a debt in which they had not requested a parchment copy may not have remembered exactly what date it was recorded on, so the notaries may have had a harder time finding that *notule* in order to mark whether it was repaid or not.

[31] I intentionally chose a year before 1333 because 1333, often known as "the first bad year" based on the reference to it in a now lost Gironan chronicle was the year of a particularly bad famine in Southern Europe and has

this year. They are evenly distributed among three pairs of notaries and fairly evenly distributed across the four main types of register. All nine registers appear to be complete, including Register 255, a very short book of wills created by Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alp that contains only ten folios.[32] These registers are all also remarkably well preserved.[33]

Table 3.2: Surviving Notarial Registers from June 1321 to June 1322

Type	**Mateu d'Oliana & Guillem Hualart**	**Jaume Garriga & Mateu d'Alb**	**Bernat Blanch & Arnau Esteve**
Liber firmitatis	Reg. 17, 169 folios	Reg. 79, 109 folios	Reg. 114, 89 folios
Liber extraneorum		Reg. 92, 59 folios	Reg. 125, 75 folios
Liber debitorum	Reg. 28, 97 folios		Reg. 131, 96 folios
Liber testamentorum	Reg. 31, 33 folios	Reg. 255, 10 folios	

sometimes been seen as a turning point after which Catalonia began to experience more frequent crises and prolonged economic decline. More recent scholarship has questioned the view that 1333 marked a decisive turning point, but, even accepting that 1333 was likely not in fact "the first bad year," I nonetheless decided to center my in-depth analysis on a year before this point. On this see: Marie A. Kelleher, "Eating from a Corrupted Table: Food Regulations and Civic Health in Barcelona's 'First Bad Year,'" *E-Humanista* 25 (2013): 51–64; Carme Batlle Gallart, "El mal any primer y los dificiles años posteriores," in *La crisis social y económica de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV*. (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1973), 44–58; Max Turull Rubinat, "'El mal any primer' a Cervera: Trasbals sòcio-polític i crisi de subsistencia (1333)," *Miscel·lània cerverina* 4 (1986): 23–54; Agustín Rubio Vela, "Crisis agrarias y carestías en las primeras décadas del siglo XIV," *Saitabi* 27 (1987): 131–47; and Pere Benito Monclús and Joan Montoro Maltas, "Fams immortalitzades. El 'mal any primer' (1333-1334) dins l'annalistica catalana de la baixa edat mitjana," in *L'histoire à la source: acter, compter, enregistrer (Catalogne, Savoie, Italie, XIIe-XVe siècle): mélanges offerts à Christian Guilleré 1*, ed. Sandrine Victor and Guido Castelnuovo (Chambéry: Université de Savoie, 2017), 503–20.

[32] This brief register includes wills from August of 1321 to May of 1322. The register is missing a cover, but its physical aspects give no indication that sections have been lost. There were clearly blank folios remaining at the end of the register after May of 1322, several of which have been cut out. One, Register 114, a *liber firmitatis* created by Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve, ends on May 13, 1322 instead of in June as we would expect. I believe that the record for this type of register is still complete for this year, however, as I have found that beginning in May when Register 114 ends the types of agreements that are traditionally recorded in the *libri firmitatis* begin to be recorded in Register 131, a *liber debitorum* from the same notaries. I believe therefore that during the last few weeks of the year, from May 13, 1322 to June 23, 1322, Register 131 functioned as both a *liber firmitatis* and a *liber debitorum* and that no section of the *liber firmitatis* is missing.

[33] The bottom of section of the last folios of Register 17 has been torn, and it is different to read the bottom lines (and in some cases entire documents) from folios 150-168 of this register. Register 17 folio 159 was torn more severely with each document on this folio surviving in only fragmentary form. The first folio of Register 28 is also similarly torn, with some documents surviving only as fragments. In addition, some sections of the registers contain water damage severe enough to obstruct sections of the documents. This includes the outer edge of folios 81-98 in Register 28, the bottom of most folios in Register 21 the upper left (by the recto side) corners of the first 50 folios of Register 79 and the bottom left corners from folios 53-76 in Register 125.

As discussed in Chapter 2, it is likely that each pair produced at least one of the four main types of register, and therefore that the collection of notarial registers from 1321/2 is missing at least three registers (one book of outsiders, one book of debts, and one book of wills, as shown in Table 3.2). The view that some registers from this year are missing is supported by a reference found in a notarial act recorded a few years later. An act from January of 1336 [1335] includes a mention of the marriage agreement made between Jacmona, daughter of Ramon Carbonell of Gorguja, and Pere de Llívia on June 25th, 1321, originally recorded by the notary Guillem Hualart.[34] While it should have been recorded in one of the registers from the year 1321/2, I have found no marriage contract for these parties in any of the surviving registers from this year. Instead, if the date was recorded accurately, it seems logical to assume that this marriage agreement was recorded within a now lost *liber extraneorum* by Guillem Hualart and Mateu d'Oliana.[35]

We can estimate how many folios the missing registers may have contained by examining the average size of comparable registers and use this to estimate the percent of original documentation that survives. Estimates for the percent of folios from each type of register that survive today are shown in Table 3.3.

[34] ACCE, Reg. 300, fol. 36r (a). "*Fecto vii kalendis Julii MCCCXXI scripto clause et subsignato per Guillelmum Hualardi noter tunc publici Podiiceritani*."

[35] I cannot be certain, because the contract from 1336 does not list Pere de Llívia's hometown, but I believe that this was a marriage between two people who were both not residents of Puigcerdà. Jacmona was presumably a resident of Gorguja, and as the 1336 contract involves the rights to a mas in Gorguja (which is part of the parish of Llívia) that Jacmona had received at her marriage, it seems likely that Pere de Llívia was also not a resident of Puigcerdà at the time of the marriage. If this theory is correct, it would mean that we would expect to find this contract in a *liber extraneorum*.

Table 3.3: Survival Rate by Register Type, 1321/2[36]

Register Type	**Total Folios Surviving**	**Likely Folios Missing**	**Likely Percent Surviving**
Liber firmitatis	367	0	100%
Liber extraneorum	134	60 to 95	58 to 69%
Liber debitorum	193	65 to 95	67 to 74%
Liber testamentorum	43	10 to 30	51 to 81%
Total for These Types	737	135 to 220	77 to 84%
Other types[37]	0	80 to 300	0%
Overall Total	737	215 to 410	64 to 77%

As Table 3.3 shows, somewhere between around 77 percent to 84 percent, or very roughly 80 percent, of the documentation from the four main types of registers survives today. We are almost certainly missing a book of Jews and may also be missing several books of private business—potentially including one to record the business of Italian merchants—from this year.[38] Accounting for such registers I estimate that between 64 percent and 77 percent (or roughly 71 percent) of all notarial folios recorded in Puigcerdà between June 1321 and June

[36] For example, a good proxy for the missing *liber extraneorum* by Guillem Hualart and Mateu d'Oliana from 1321 to 1322 is the register of this type created by this same pair of notaries the following year, in 1322-1323. That register, which appears to be complete, contains ninety-one folios. Alternatively, the average number of folios for other books of outsiders between 1320 and 1322 was sixty-seven folios. Therefore, we can assume that the missing register was mostly likely somewhere between sixty and ninety-five folios long. The other cases have less direct comparisons since those notarial pairs did not continue in other years but based on the average size of books of debts in surrounding years, I estimate that Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alp likely created a *liber debitorum* of somewhere between sixty-five and ninety-five folios and that Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve likely created a *liber testamentorum* of approximately ten and thirty folios.

[37] This includes book of Jews and books for private merchants or families. There are no other surviving books of Jews from any year close to 1321/2, which makes it difficult to know how long such a book might have been. By a very rough estimate I would guess there might have been approximately 80-130 folios in a register of this type, but this could be an underestimate. It is also not clear which pair of notaries would have been responsible for such a book. It is certainly possible that the missing *liber judeorum* would have taken the place of a *liber debitorum* and that Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve produced only a *liber judeorum* and not a *liber debitorum* during this year. The surviving *liber judorum* from 1286-1287 is very similar in form to later books of debts. ACCE, Reg. 8. Because I suspect that registers for private business were fairly rare and, would have been fairly short if used at all I therefore estimate that only between zero and sixty folios of this type of register would have been created in 1321/2.

[38] On why this is likely, see Chapter 2. I do not believe that there would have been any books of cloth-sellers created in this year.

1322 survive today. This is a far greater rate of survival than can be found for any year during this period from many other medieval towns.[39]

1321/2 as a Typical Year

In addition to being particularly well documented and offering a relatively balanced collection of surviving cartularies, the year of 1321 to 1322 was a strong choice as a year to examine in detail because it did not see any majorly disruptive events that would hinder trade.[40] There is no such thing as a truly "typical" or "regular" year, and the year 1321/2 was not without incident. The early 1320s were certainly eventful years in Pyrenees: in 1320, the "Shepherd's Crusade" brought northern French peasants toward the Pyrenees, where they attacked Jews (among others) in southern towns such as Toulouse and Albi, before eventually crossing into the Crown of Aragon in July of 1320 and massacring over three hundred Jews at the fortress of Montclus in northern Aragon.[41] A leper scare in the summer 1321, in which people became convinced that lepers were plotting to poison local waters, began in southern France and quickly spread to Aragon and Catalonia.[42] And in the conflict between Catholic inquisitors and Pyrenean

[39] It is not the most complete year from Puigcerdà, however. I believe that the most complete year 1315-1316, from which approximately 87 percent of the original notarial registers survive today. I decided not to analyze that year in detail, however, because of the high possibility that it presents atypical economic patterns. 1315 was the year of a major famine across Northern Europe. While in general historians agree that Catalonia, like most of Southern Europe, was not as affected by this famine as Northern Europe was, it is not clear 1315 was not a 'typical' year.

[40] Some parts of Europe continued to feel the effects of the major famine of 1315-17 even into 1321 but given the lower overall severity of this famine in Southern Europe it seems likely that any such residual impact would have been relatively low or nonexistent in Cerdanya.

[41] On this crusade see: Malcolm Barber, "The Pastoureaux of 1320," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32, no. 2 (April 1981): 143–66, and David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 43-92.

[42] On this leper scare see: Michael R. McVaugh, *Medicine Before the Plague: Practitioners and Their Patients in the Crown of Aragon, 1285-1345* (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 220. The scare spread to Catalonia and Aragon after the French king alerted the king of Aragon that the lepers were fleeing from France into his territories.

Cathars, 1321 was also significant as the last Cathar parfait, Guilhèm de Belibasta, was executed in that year and several of his associates were captured and interrogated—one, Guilhèm Maurs, was actually arrested in Puigcerdà in the summer of 1321.[43] But while these were events the residents of Puigcerdà would undoubtedly have heard about and discussed, it seems unlikely that any had a particularly distorting impact on economic activity in Puigcerdà or Cerdanya.

The July of 1321 creation of a new trade agreement between Jaume the Just, king of Aragon and his cousin, Sanç the Peaceful, king of Mallorca may have changed economic patterns in Cerdanya. This agreement, which has not been widely known or referenced in broader historiography, authorized trade between the inhabitants of their respective territories, specifically mentioning the people of Puigcerdà, permitting the trade of livestock, food and other goods which previously could not be brought from one kingdom to the other.[44] As this document suggests a clear shift in trade policy precisely during the summer of 1321, it may mean that the year 1321/2 was a period of transformation in economic patterns. Overall, however, this new trade agreement would not have produced the kind over overwhelming economic disruption we might expect in a year of major famine or plague. All these considerations made 1321/2 a good choice for analysis in the pre-plague records.

Notarial Certification in the Year 1321/2

<u>The Types of Agreements: Legal Structure versus Activity</u>

Local inquisitions against the lepers were set up in various Catalan towns, although I do not know of any such inquisition in Puigcerdà it is possible there was one.

[43] Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, the Promised Land of Error*, trans. Barbara Bray (New York: George Braziller Inc., 2008), 72. Several documents related to this actually appear in the notarial registers from Puigcerdà. See, for example: ACCE Reg. 255 fol. 1r (a and b).

[44] ACCE, Parchment 100, July 2, 1321. See also: Bosom i Isern, and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 257.

Notarial acts are highly formulaic—each major type of act was recorded using a standardized of key words and phrases. Though regional variation was significant across southwestern Europe, forms were often standard for each locality. Most of the major categories I analyze in the following section were determined by their highly standardized opening clause (or, in some cases a range of a few very similar such clauses) followed by established similarly standardized formulas.[45] Labor contracts, for example, begin with the laborer stating that he affirms himself to the employer (*affirmo me ipsum tecum*).[46] In Puigcerdà, this same phrase is used as the introduction for all types of labor contracts, from artisanal apprenticeships, to contracts for wet-nurses, to contracts in which a priest has been hired to say mass for the soul of a deceased person.[47]

A great majority (over 94 percent) of the agreements surviving from this year fall into one of eleven main categories, as determined by these standardized opening clauses. These categories, and the term or terms used for these acts are (in declining order of frequency):

1) Debts, introduced with *debeo* (although in practice this word is frequently omitted in the highly abbreviated *notules*)
2) Confirmations, introduced with *confiteor* or *confiteor et recognosco* (the great majority of which are in fact quittances, introduced with "*confiteor et recognosco… te michi soluisse"*)

[45] This is true for the following categories: Recognitions of Payments, Debts, Sales, Confirmations, Promises, Labor Contracts, Affirmations, Procurator Contracts, Deposits, Arbitrations, and Reductions of Census Payments.

[46] In the case of contracts for children under the age of majority, a parent or guardian affirms the laborer. In some cases, contracts were initiated by multiple parties and therefore appear in the first-person plural.

[47] For some of the broad categories, there is a slight variety in the format that the initial phrase can take, but overall the level of standardization in these opening clauses is overwhelmingly high. For example, *parcerias* can begin either "*accipio in parceria*," "*recipio in parceria*," or "*teneo in parceria*," but these are all clearly one type of act.

3) Sales, introduced with *vendo*
4) Promises, introduced with *promitto*
5) Gifts, transfers or exchanges, introduced with *dono*
6) Appointments of procurators, introduced with *constituo procuratorem*
7) Affirmations, introduced with *laudo*
8) Labor contracts, introduced with *affirmo*
9) Livestock sharing agreements (*parcerias*), introduced with *accipio/teneo/recipio in parceria*
10) Releases, introduced with *soluo et diffinio*[48]
11) Deposits, introduced with *teneo/recipio/accipio in deposito/comanda/deposito sive comanda*

An additional eight standard forms (those for marriages,[49] wills, cessions, business partnerships, investments, rentals, arbitrations and census reductions) comprised another 4 percent of the extant entries.[50] Clearly, most of the business conducted within medieval Puigcerdà could be fit within a relatively narrow range of contract formats.

[48] These are primarily used for people to renounce previously held rights, especially to familial inheritance.

[49] Marriages can begin with one of a variety of different phrases, depending on who is initiating the contract. They tend to use "*nubo*" or "*duco in virum*" when the bride initiates the contract, "*colloco in matrimonium*" or "*subjugo in matrimonium*" when the bride's family initiates the contract, "*duco in uxorem*" when the groom initiates the contract, and "*volo et opto*" if the groom's family initiates the contract and makes a donation on account of marriage, although there is not a strict association between the initial phrase and the contract initiator.

[50] A small number of contracts are worded as confirmations of the regular contract type. For example, instead of a debt beginning "I owe" it might begin "I confirm that I owe." These contracts are very uncommon in 132/2, although they become much more common several decades later, and appear to be indistinguishable from the regular contract type (so a contract stating "I confirm that I owe," is the same as a regular debt beginning "I owe," merely written in a more formal way). Following the common usage of this format in later years, I have counted such contracts as their main contract type.

To a certain extent, the standardization across contracts is due to the choices of the recording notaries, who were trained to use specific formulas in recording acts and who often made the determination of which formula to use when presented with what their customers wanted to record.[51] The customers presumably did not always know what kind of notarial formula would best suit the agreement they hoped to make (and in many cases, they would not have understood the Latin in which the contract would be recorded).[52] Notaries were nonetheless bound to record what their customers wanted recorded, and, clearly, most of what the customers wanted to record fell into a few categories. Notaries had two common stop-gaps for the unusual: confirmations (introduced with *confiteor et recognosco*) and promises (introduced with *promitto)*. Both are very broad and can be used for a wide range of situations that do not fit a standard category. Like two sides of the same coin, confirmations affirm what happened in the past, while promises affirm what will happen in the future. The situations they cover range from mundane tasks related to regular business, such as promises to serve as a guarantor or confirmations of having received good accounting from a curator, to the highly unusual. In a contract from February of 1322, a woman appeared before the notary to confirm that the sexual relationship she had had over the course of two years with the son of the priest in her village was consensual.[53] In a contract from July of 1321, a man who owed a debt promised that he would

[51] Notaries sometimes learned their craft with the help of formularies that laid out the format of a variety of types of contracts. Some examples of these formularies survive to the present.

[52] I have seen a late-thirteenth-century case from the Catalan town of Castelló d'Empúries in which the notary initially recorded an agreement between two artisans in the format of a labor contract, but then crossed it out and rewrote the same agreement in the format of a business partnership after he understood more about the terms between the two parties. The distinction in format and what clause introduced the contract was one important to the notary, but not necessarily to the client, who probably cared only that the obligations were accurately represented. Arxiu Històric de Girona, Districte notarial de Figueres, Castelló d'Empúries, Register 1944, fol. 62v (a and b).

[53] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 60v (a) This act offers a good example of how law influenced notarial recording. In this case,

not sell or cede the debt to any Lombard (*no faciam donacione vendicione uel cessione alicui Lombardi*).[54] Both of these are unusual situations that don't appear often but which are easily fit within the adaptable format of confirmation and promise contracts. Even so, confirmations that are not quittances, promises, and all acts falling into the sub-category "Other" make up only a very small percentage of the total number of surviving contracts—3 percent of the extant material.

While the great majority of surviving acts fit within a narrow range of broad categories, many of these categories can be further divided into sub-types based on later clauses or other differences. For example, loans, debts and sales on credit are all recorded as types of debts, all introduced by the Latin *debeo* (although this word is often omitted in the highly abbreviated *notule*s). Only later clauses distinguish them.[55] In the analysis below I will breakdown the broader category of debts to show these sub-types. In addition, I have chosen to record debts owed in kind (which are, generally, advance sales) separately from debts owed in coin, and

[54] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 7r (d) Dolça, the daughter of Arnau Baro of the village of Civís (not in Cerdanya but instead to the north of La Seu d'Urgell, close to the valley of Andorra), confirmed that she had been engaged in a sexual relationship for the prior two years with Bertran Gotmar son of the chaplain of Civís and that she did this "freely, and not having been coerced" (*predictum traditionem mei corporis et carnalem cognitionem per me factum cum dicto Bertrando me fecisse gratis et non coactata*). Presumably, Dolça would not have chosen to state this fact publicly before the notary had there not been some legal reason that she and Bertran needed proof of her consent. Of course, one interpretation of this document could be that this sexual relationship was not in fact consensual, but that Dolça was convinced or coerced into saying that it was. Additionally, it is notable that Dolça traveled all the way to Puigcerdà to make this confirmation, when there were also notaries available in La Seu d'Urgell and in Andorra, both of which would have been far closer to her village. She may have been attempting to avoid the gossip closer to her local community. Dolça appears to have made this declaration alone, as Bertran was specifically mentioned as being absent within the act. Rebecca Winer has identified several examples from Perpignan in which women made declarations absolving men of rape that may be similar cases. On these cases and the legal penalties for rape and sexual assault in medieval Catalonia, see: Rebecca Lynn Winer, "Defining Rape in Medieval Perpignan: Women Plaintiffs before the Law," *Viator* 31 (2000): 165–84.

[55] Loans and sales on credit are distinguished from other types of debts because of a clause stating the reason for the debt. In loans, for example, it states that the debt is "*pro mutuo*," in sales on credit it states that it is for the item that was sold (such as "*pro pannis*"). It is also not uncommon to see a series of contracts where it states the debt is for the same reason as the previous contract (*eadem racionem*). As noted by Claude Denjean, the use of the term mutuum is different in Cerdanya than it is in Girona. In Girona this term is used only for loans by Jews, but in Cerdanya it is used for loans by both Christians and Jews. Denjean, "Crédit et notariat," 188, note 7.

further separated debts owed in wool, as these are particularly frequent and distinctive within the economy of Puigcerdà.[56] And, additionally, in the analysis below I decided to divide one of the main categories (confirmations) in two, separating those confirmations that are quittances (recognitions of receipt of payment) from all other confirmations.

A total of 7,821 different notarial entries, or *notules*, were entered into the nine surviving registers from 1321/2.[57] I excluded from analysis the 389 entries that were either fragmentary or marked as immediately cancelled, leaving a total of 7,432 non-cancelled entries.[58] Though most of these *notules* record a single legal act (a given fact or transaction), some entries contain multiple acts.[59] Additionally, some individual acts contain multiple agreements of different kinds which we might identify as different sorts of activities. For example, an act recording a sale on

[56] I have also, counted recognitions of the receipt of a bequest or a dowry/*exonario* payment separately from general recognitions of payment. In other cases, I have chosen not to subdivide a type of agreement further when I might have done so. For example, some recognitions of payment state that the reason for the original debt was for a sale, the return of a deposit, payment of rent, payment of salary, etc., but aside from tracking those for bequests and those for dowry/*exonario* payments, I have counted these all as one kind of agreement.

[57] These registers also contain one document, a will, from the year 1323, which I have excluded from analysis. ACCE, Reg. 31 fol. 23v (a). In general, it is very clear what separates one entry from another. Within the registers from this year individual entries are generally separated by a horizontal line. In some cases, the line seems to have been accidentally omitted, but the distinct entries can still be determined by the names of witnesses in between the two entries. Marriages are entered in a slightly unusual manner. Marriages generally include numerous component parts (for example, the marriage itself, the debt of the dowry, a recognition that portion of the dowry had been received, etc.). In the year 1321/2 it was common for these to be recorded as one notarial entry, although sometimes the different components of the agreement would be combined into only long segment comprising the whole entry, and sometimes they would be separated in individual segments within the entry. In other years these separated segments might be entered in a manner in which each component segment appeared as its own notarial entry, and these component pieces were often written out separately within parchment copies. Nonetheless here I have counted them all as single entries.

[58] Such voided contracts are distinct because they are generally crossed out with horizontal, wavy or crosshatched lines, or, at least during this period, with a notation that they were cancelled.

[59] In this period, the notaries clearly drew a distinction between a notarial entry and an individual act. They divided different entries by a horizontal line, except in cases where one entry ended at the end of the page. Occasionally two or more acts that were connected, such as, for example, two halves of a land exchange, or all the acts relating to a single marriage, would be marked clearly as separate acts within one entry. These acts typically share the same set of witnesses and in these entries the witnesses are often included only at the end of the entry, not after each individual act.

credit might also record a loan made between the same two parties. For example, on November 3rd of 1321, one of the notaries of Puigcerdà recorded, in a single act, as a single notarial entry, a confirmation made by Bernat de Riu of the village of Err that he owed Joan Blanch of Puigcerdà six *lliures*, fifteen *sous* and six *diners* (of an unstated currency, but probably that of Barcelona), which he would pay by Christmas. Bernat specified that one hundred *sous* were owed for the 50 percent share in a mule that Joan Blanch had sold him, and the remainder was owed on account of a loan.[60] The sale of the share in the mule, and the loan represent separate agreements, of different types, but it is not uncommon for such agreements to be recorded within one legal act, in one notarial entry, saving time, money, and space in the notarial cartulary. In calculating how many agreements of each type survive from this year, I have counted these components separately, such that in the example just described I count that entry as both a sale on credit and as a loan. I do not do so, however, with certain types of agreement that commonly appear as a sub-section of another type of agreement or entry,[61] or for entries that reflect a combination of multiple agreements of the same type.[62] Therefore the list shown in the following section (in

[60] ACCE, Reg. 28, fol. 36v (i).

[61] The great majority of marriage agreements, for example, include some statement about the dowry, either that all or some of the dowry is owed, is being transferred, or has been received. I have not counted these agreements separately in these cases. Any other types of agreements that appear within marriage entries, however, are counted separately, even if they are relatively common- including statements that one party renounces their right to their familial inheritance and promises regarding trousseaus. In addition, sales of land often include clauses where additional parties with legal rights over the land affirm their approval of the sale. Such affirmations can also appear as independent contracts (presumably in cases where the affirming party was not available at the time the original sale was made), but when I list the number of affirmations of land sales I do not include those affirmations made only within the original document of the land sale.

[62] A small number of contracts are formed by essentially merging two separate transactions as a means of transferring a debt. For example, if a man named Bernat loaned money to a man named Arnau, but Bernat himself bought cloth on credit from a man named Jaume, they might choose to create a contract which stated that Arnau owed Jaume and list the reason as both the loan and the sale on credit of cloth. These contracts are identified by the inclusion of the word *dita*. I have counted such contracts as both types when the two agreements were not of the same kind, so that the example outlined would be both a sale on credit and a loan. I have, however, not counted such contracts twice if both agreements were of the same kind (such that if both transactions were a sale on credit, this contract is still only counted as one sale on credit). I make an exception however, for contracts that record multiple

Table 3.4) does not represent a breakdown of how each of the surviving 7,432 non-cancelled entries is best categorized, but rather a breakdown of the 7,733 total surviving agreements that can be found spread across these 7,432 entries.

Quantitative Breakdown of Extant Agreements

Table 3.4: Number of Agreements by Type in 1321/2

Type	**Number**	**Percent of All Agreements**	**Percent of Category**
Debts			
Sales on Credit	1634	21.1%	46.0%
Debts of Wool (Advance Sales of Wool)	792	10.2%	22.3%
Loans	474	6.1%	13.3%
Debts of Non-Wool Items (Advance Sales)	147	1.9%	4.1%
Debt of Dowry or *Exonario*[63]	19	0.2%	0.6%
Combination of Debts	19	0.3%	0.5%
Loans due in Kind	10	0.1%	0.3%
All Other Types of Debts	460	5.9%	12.9%
All Debts	**3,555**	**46.0%**	**100%**
Confirmations-Quittances			
Quittance	774	10.0%	57.1%
Receipt of Bequest	244	3.2%	18.0%
Settlement of all Outstanding Debts	216	2.8%	16.0%
Receipt of Dowry or *Exonario*	86	1.1%	6.3%
Receipt of Item	34	0.4%	2.5%
All Quittances	**1,355**	**17.5**	**100%**
Sales			

marriages. If a single contract records two marriages, as happened four times in 1321/2, that is counted here as two marriages.

[63] An *exonario* is a payment made by the family of a groom, as opposed to a dowry, which is paid by the family of a bride. This also includes supplemental contributions on top of a dowry (*ultra dotam*) or *exonario* made after the marriage. It does not include any agreements regarding the receipt of the dowry or *exonario* made within the same entry as the marriage agreement. This does not include any agreements regarding the debt of a dowry or *exonario* made within the same entry as the marriage agreement.

Sales of Real Estate	352	4.6%	45.1%
Temporary Sales	165	2.1%	21.2%
Sales/Transfers of Debts	113	1.5%	14.5%
Sales/Transfers of Debts of Items	12	0.2%	1.5%
All Other Sales[64]	138	1.8%	17.7%
All Sales	**780**	**10.1%**	**100%**
Promises			
Promises to be Guarantor	44	0.6%	18.6%
Promises to Sell or Send Wool	29	0.4%	12.2%
Promises to Dye Cloth	27	0.3%	11.4%
Promises Regarding Trousseaus	25	0.3%	10.5%
All Other Promises	112	1.4%	47.3%
All Promises	**237**	**3.1%**	**100%**
Gifts, Transfers and Exchanges			
Accapitum Contracts[65]	136	1.8%	62.4%
Inter Vivos Gifts	25	0.3%	11.5%
Exchanges[66]	19	0.2%	8.7%
All Other Gifts	38	0.5%	17.4%
All Gifts, Transfers and Exchanges	**218**	**2.8%**	**100%**
Procuration Contracts			
Appointments of Procurator	189	2.4%	98.4%
Substitutions of Procurator	3	0.0%	1.6%
All Procuration Contracts	**192**	**2.5%**	**100%**
Affirmations			
Affirmations of Sales	160	2.1%	88.9%
Other Affirmations	20	0.3%	11.1%
All Affirmations	**180**	**2.3%**	**100%**
Employment Agreements			

[64] This includes all permanent sales that are not for real estate; these can be for items or for rights (such as a right to a recurring census payment).

[65] These are emphyteutic sub-leasing contracts in which one person grants the perpetual right to use land that they own, generally in exchange for a sum and a recurring census payment.

[66] An exchange necessarily involves two separate transactions, one donation by the first party and the corresponding donation in return by the second. The notaries sometimes recorded this dual agreement in two separate entries, and others times recorded both transactions in one entry. In order not to skew the results, therefore, in this chart I have recorded each pair of exchanges, even if appears across two separate documents, as one exchange. The nineteen exchanges from this year, however, appear in twenty-six total entries.

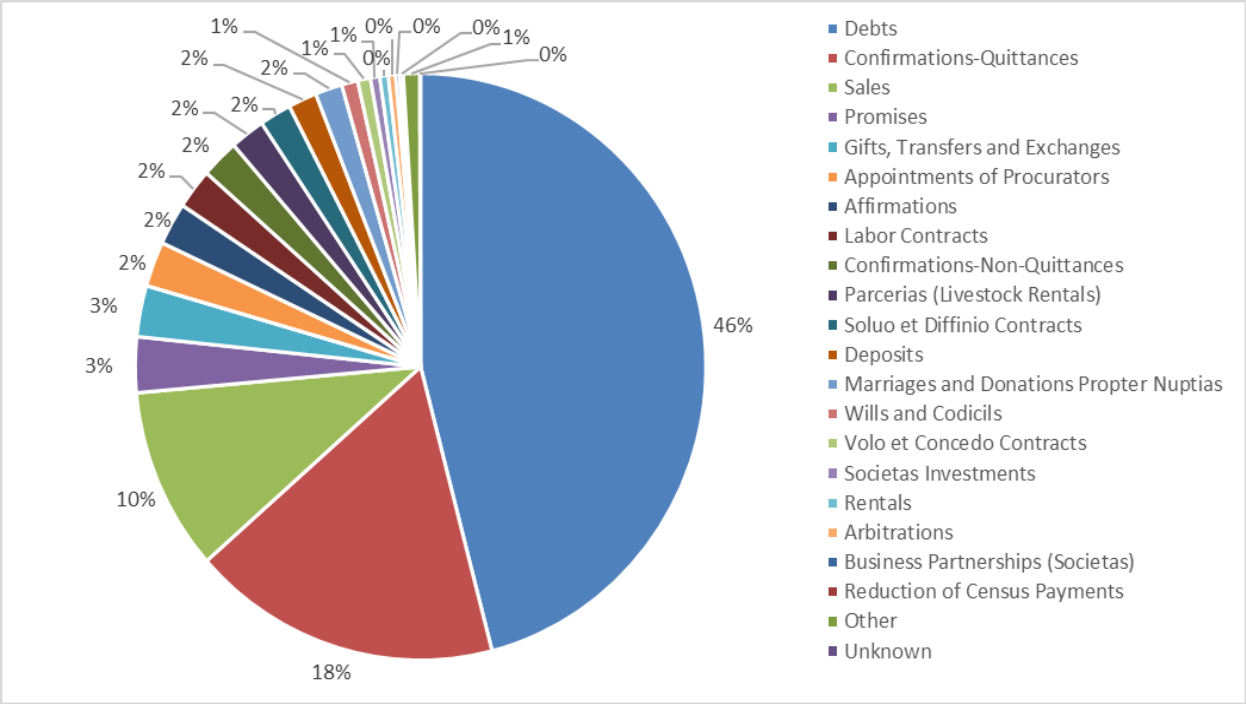
Apprenticeships	98	1.3%	57.3%
Artisanal Labor Contracts	38	0.5%	22.2%
Priest Labor Contracts[67]	23	0.3%	13.5%
Other Labor Contracts	12	0.2%	7.0%
All Employment Agreements	**171**	**2.2%**	**100%**
Confirmations-Non-Quittances			
Confirmations of Census Obligation	67	0.9%	40.4%
Confirmations of Fealty	31	0.4%	18.7%
Other Confirmations	68	0.9%	41.0%
All Non-Quittance Confirmations	**166**	**2.1%**	**100%**
Parcerias (Livestock Shares)			
Parcerias (Livestock Rentals)	152	2.0%	100%
Releases			
Soluo et Diffinio Contracts	139	1.8%	100%
Deposits			
Deposits	125	1.6%	100%
Marriages			
Marriages and Donations on account of Marriage[68]	118	1.5%	100%
Wills and Codicils			
Wills	66	0.9%	93.0%
Codicils	5	0.1%	7.0%
All Will sand Codicils	**71**	**0.9%**	**100%**
Cessions			
Volo et Concedo Contracts	56	0.7%	100%
Investments			
Societas Investments	41	0.5%	100%
Rentals			
Rentals	37	0.5%	100%
Arbitrations			
Arbitrations	32	0.4%	100%
Business Partnerships			
Business Partnerships (*Societas*)	17	0.2%	100%

[67] The vast majority of these are contracts in which one or more priests agree to say masses for the soul of a deceased person during a specific length of time, for a set sum. Although this contract type can also include labor agreements made between two priests in which one agrees to work in a specific church for a set period of time.

[68] Four entries include two separate marriages, each of which is counted separately in this chart.

Reduction of Census Payments			
Reduction of Census Payments	16	0.2%	100%
Other and Unknown			
Other	72	0.9%	100%
Unknown (due to damage)			
Unknown	3	0.0%	100%
Total	**7,733**	**100.0%**	

Figure 3.1: Surviving Agreements from 1321/2 by Category



What Table 3.3 and Figure 3.1 make clear is that the vast majority of agreements fit within a narrow range of categories—twenty basic categories make up over 99 percent of the extant materials. And in fact, just three categories of agreements—debts, quittances (a subset of confirmations), and sales—comprised nearly three fourths (74 percent) of all the agreements that survive from the year 1321/2. Other southern European towns also show that a great majority of recorded contracts fit within a narrow range. For example, in his study of Girona, Christian Guilleré has stated that 78.8 percent of the extant 8,045 contracts recorded by one Gironan

notary during the decade from 1330-1340 fit within one of ten main categories, and that the remaining 20 percent were predominantly quittances of a diverse nature.[69] Similarly, Gregory Milton has shown that throughout the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries in Santa Coloma de Queralt, the majority of extant notarial documents fit within one of ten broad categories.[70] In Puigcerdà, however, it is possible to demonstrate this fact with a greater level of quantitative precision.

Reconstructed Original Totals of Agreements in 1321/2

The figures above only show the breakdown among surviving agreements. We can gain a better understanding of just how prevalent different types of agreements were by considering the likely breakdown of all of the agreements originally recorded in this year. This can be done, at least in the four main types of register that were made in Puigcerdà during this year (the books of townspeople, debts, outsiders and wills), by estimating the rate per folio at which certain types of agreements appear within certain types of register, and the number of missing folios from those types of register. Not all types of contracts appear in equal proportion across the different types of registers. Some registers are specifically designated for certain contract types (such as debts and wills); others were designed for the business of specific groups (townspeople vs outsiders) who did not engage in the same types of agreements at the same rate. Because some registers contain shorter or longer contracts, registers of different types also contain wildly different

[69] Guilleré, "Notariat et crédit," 214.

[70] Milton, *Market Power*, 36.

numbers of entries per folio, on average.[71] For many medieval towns, it is difficult if not impossible to estimate the original numbers of different kinds of acts, but this is possible for Puigcerdà. By examining the rate per folio at which certain types of agreements appear in the surviving registers of those types, and assuming the rate was roughly similar in the lost registers, we can estimate the number of individual types of contracts that would likely have been included in the missing folios.[72] This offers a much more accurate sense of the original number of different types of agreements that would have been recorded in the town over the course of a year.

For example, the two surviving books of wills from the year 1321/2, contain a total of forty-three folios and seventy-five documents. Sixty-six of those documents were wills, and on average in these two registers there were about 1.53 wills per folio. Therefore, accepting that the third notarial pair made a now-lost book of wills that was probably between ten and thirty folios long (as discussed above), and that the average number of wills per folio in that register was probably also about 1.53 wills per folio, we might expect there to have been approximately fifteen to forty-six more wills recorded in 1321/2, for a total of between eighty-one and 112. This would mean the surviving collection of wills from this year probably represents about 59-81 percent of the total originally recorded. It is relatively easy to conduct this kind of analysis with wills because they are contained primarily in registers designated only for wills, but the same

[71] For example, in 1321/2 the books of townspeople contain 8.21 entries per folio on average. Books of outsiders are very similar at 8.13 entries per folio on average. Books of debts are nearly twice as dense, containing 16.86 entries per folio on average, while books of wills are much less dense, averaging only 1.69 entries per folio.

[72] Admittedly, this method can only identify the number that would have been recorded in one of the main register types. It is not clear whether business partnerships may have been recorded in books of private business, of how many there would have been if so.

method can also be used for other types of agreements that appear more commonly in the other three main types of registers.

My method can be illustrated with the example of apprenticeships. A total of ninety-eight apprenticeships survive from the year 1321/2. Of these, ninety-three were recorded in books of townspeople, and five in books of debts. No apprenticeships were recorded in books of outsiders.[73] Since no books of townspeople seem to be missing, presumably all of the apprenticeships that would have been recorded in books of townspeople survive today.[74] But because at least one book of debts is missing, any apprenticeships that would have been recorded in that register are missing. Apprenticeships appear in the surviving books of debts from this year at a rate of about .025 per folio.[75] Since the missing book of debts would have contained sixty-five to ninety-five folios, it should have contained approximately two apprenticeships. The ninety-eight surviving apprenticeships would then represent 98 percent of the total one hundred such agreements that I would expect to have been produced in this year. Apprenticeships are comparatively over-represented among extant records, they would have accounted for only about 1 percent of original production.

In other cases, such as for debts or sales on credit, the percent of that type of agreement surviving today is much lower. Using a small selection of some of the most common sub-types of agreements, and the method described above, Table 3.4 details the number of each type that appear across books of townspeople, books of outsiders and books of debts, along with the total

[73] As I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 6, artisans hiring apprentices were generally from Puigcerdà, suggesting a lack of industrial activity in the countryside of Cerdanya.

[74] This does not count the small number of contracts from surviving books of townspeople that were damaged and whose type cannot be determined.

[75] Five contracts across 193 folios.

that are likely missing and the total number that we would have expected in these three kinds of register if all such registers survived.[76] The likely total cannot account for the fact that some agreements of these types would certainly have been recorded in the presumably created, but now lost books of Jews or perhaps in registers of private business.

[76] In selecting document types for this list, I selected types that are among the most useful for answering questions about the broader economic development of Puigcerdà, and that I examine more specifically in the later chapters.

Table 3.5: Selected Types of Agreement by Register in 1321/2, with Likely Missing, Percent Surviving and Percent of Original Records[77]

Contract Type	**Total Extant**	**Lib. Fir.**	**Lib. Ext.**	**Lib. Deb.**	**Likely Missing**	**Likely Original Total**	**% Surviving**	**% of Extant**	**% of Original Total**
Sales on Credit	1,634	18	128	1,488	548 to 808	2,182 to 2,442	67 to 75%	21.1%	23.3 to 23.9%
Debts of Wool	792	4	10	778	261 to 382	1,052 to 1,174	67 to 75%	10.2%	11.2 to 11.5%
Loans (in coin and kind)	484	278	59	397	157 to 233	641 to 717	67 to 75%	6.4%	6.7 to 6.9%
Sales of Real Estate	352	266	77	9	37 to 59	389 to 411	85 to 90%	4.6%	4.0 to 4.2%
Appointments of Procurator	189	144	30	15	18 to 29	207 to 218	87 to 91%	2.4%	2.2%
Parcerias	152	86	37	29	26 to 40	178 to 192	79 to 85%	2.0%	1.9%
Debts of Items (non-wool)	147	3	12	132	49 to 72	196 to 219	67 to 75%	1.9%	2.1%
Sales[78]	138	98	17	23	15 to 23	153 to 161	85 to 90%	1.8%	1.6%
Deposits	125	14	17	94	39 to 57	164 to 182	69 to 76%	1.6%	1.8%
Marriages	118	93	24	1	11 to 17	129 to 135	87 to 91%	1.5%	1.3%
Sales/Transfers of Debts[79]	113	92	9	24	12 to 18	137 to 143	87 to 91%	1.5%	1.3%
Apprenticeships	98	93	0	5	2	100	98%	1.3%	1.1%
Artisanal Labor Contracts	38	38	0	0	0	38	100%	0.5%	0.4%
Business Partnerships	17	17	0	0	0	17	100%	0.2%	0.2%

[77] Although, as noted above, in May and June of 1322, Register 131 functioned as both a book of townspeople and a book of debts, in this chart I have counted all of Register 131 as a book of debts. The surviving books of townspeople contain 367 folios. The surviving books of outsiders contain 134 folios, and the surviving books of debts contain 193 folios. The rates at which each of these types of agreements appeared in each type of register was calculated using these figures. Those rates were then applied to my estimates of folios in lost registers to determine the likely number of missing contracts of each type. As discussed previously in this chapter, I have estimated that

As Table 3.4 makes clear, some types of agreements are highly concentrated in certain types of register. Business partnerships, apprenticeship and artisanal labor contracts, for example, appear almost exclusively in books of townspeople and almost never in books of outsiders or books of debts. We can say therefore that the collection of such contracts surviving from this year is complete or nearly complete. Sales on credit, wool debts and loans, on the other hand, appear significantly more commonly in the books of debts, and the surviving collection of notarial entries containing such agreements is therefore significantly less complete. None of these selected agreement types appear most commonly in the books of outsiders. In all of these cases, the agreements that are common in these registers appear in even greater numbers in the books of townspeople.[80]

In the interest of saving space I have not listed out the analysis shown in Table 3.4 for every type of agreement, but it is possible to use the method described above to estimate, at least roughly, the likely number of missing agreements for all of the types of agreements that were created during this year. Doing so reveals that some 1,600 to 2,500 agreements in total are probably missing, with the majority of them being the type of simple debt contracts that are most commonly included in the books of debts. Combining this with the 7,733 surviving agreements from this year, we can then estimate that the four main types of registers (books of townspeople,

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the missing book of debts comprised approximately sixty-five to ninety-five folios and the missing book of outsiders likely approximately sixty to ninety-five folios. The calculations of likely missing documents in this chart are based on these figures. This only estimates the missing entries that would have been recorded in the books of townspeople, outsiders, debts and wills. It is not possible to estimate the breakdown of those in the lost books of Jews or possible private registers.

[78] These are permanent sales that are for something other than real estate.

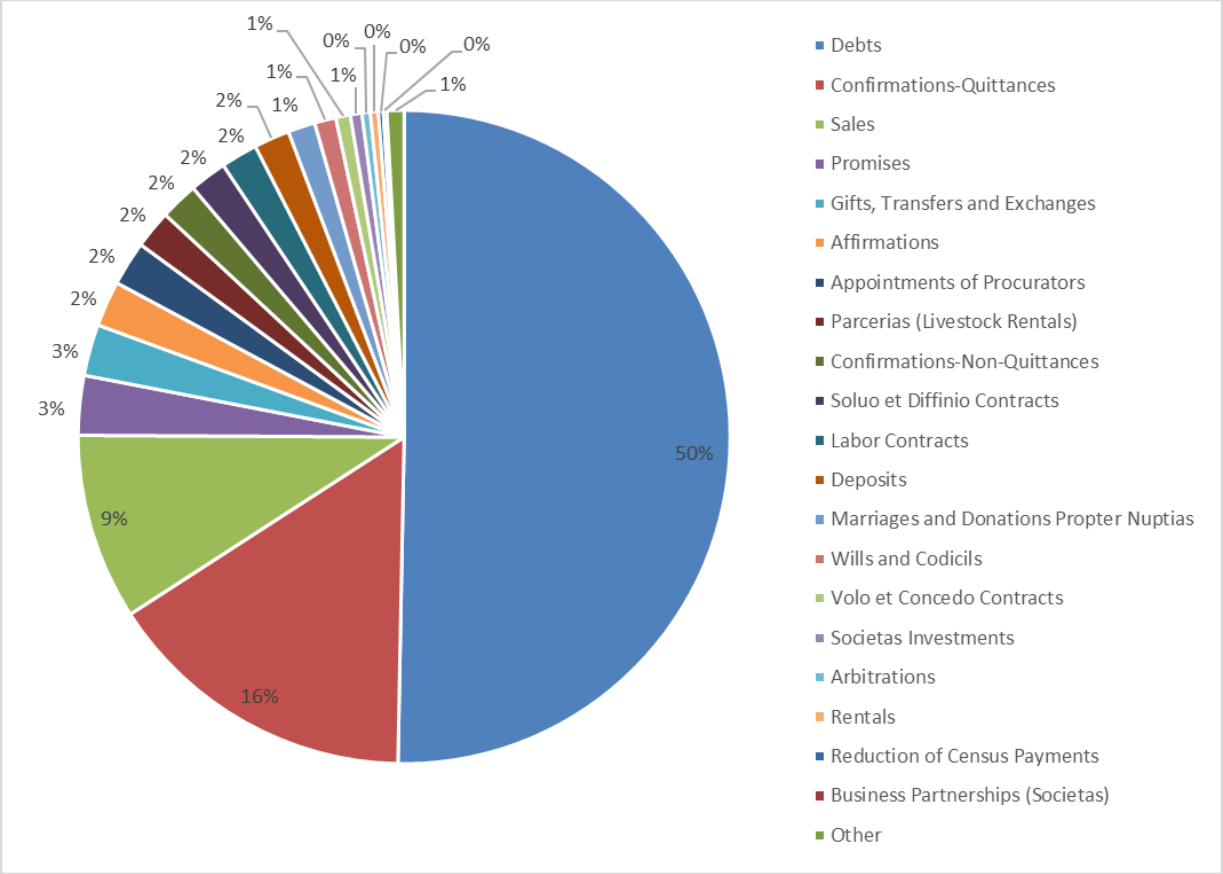
[79] This includes transfers of debts due in coin and debts due in kind.

[80] In fact, of all types of agreements there were only three that appeared more frequently in the books of outsiders than in any other type of register: *soluo et diffinio* contracts, land exchanges, and reductions of census payments.

outsiders, debts and wills) would have originally contained between 9,300 and 10,300 non-cancelled agreements in total. These estimates assume that the three missing registers from this year were similar in size to the surviving registers of their respective types from this year and other adjacent years. I also assume that different types of agreements appear at the same rate in all registers of each type, though in reality one pair of notaries may have recorded loans or land sales more commonly in their book of townspeople as opposed to their book of debts than another pair of notaries did. Similarly, different pairs of notaries probably did not record all kinds of agreements at the same rate. For example, one pair of notaries might have recorded marriages more often than another pair did. If the number of marriages recorded in a certain register type by the pair whose register is missing was vastly different than the number recorded in other registers of that type by other pairs of notaries, then my estimate of how many marriages are missing, and how many there were originally, would be less accurate.

My inferred totals for the original number of recorded show that some documents are over-represented among extant entries, while others are under-represented. Figure 3.2 shows an estimated original breakdown of agreements within the four main type of register.

Figure 3.2: Estimated Original Total Agreements from 1321/2 by Category



Comparing the estimates in Figure 3.1 to those in Figure 3.2, we see that the same three categories, debts, quittances and sales, still make up approximately three quarters of all agreements—but their relative importance shifts. Debts become even more important: they comprised 46 percent of the surviving entries, but likely around 50 percent of the original entries. Quittances, in contrast, made up 17.5 percent of the surviving agreements but were likely only 15.5 percent of the original total.

The Focus of Notarial Certification

The estimated breakdown of original agreements helps us see the full extent to which credit dominated notarial activity in medieval Puigcerdà. Claude Denjean has already argued that there

was an essential relationship between notaries and credit in Cerdanya, noting the particularly high predominance of credit in the notarial documents from Puigcerdà and arguing that notaries and credit each enabled the growth of the other. Specifically, as she describes, the greater confidence offered by notarial sources caused more people to be more willing to extend credit, this growing use of credit then in turn enabled the growth of the notarial institution; the more people use credit the more they visit notaries to record their transactions and the more notaries are needed to record them.[81] Cerdanya was far from unique in this regard, as numerous other scholars have also identified a strong link between credit and notarial sources in a variety of regions across southern Europe and have stressed the centrality of credit in the medieval economy.[82] My research provides new and more fine-grained quantitative evidence that supports arguments for the centrality of credit in notarial sources. As Figure 3.2 shows, not only did debts most likely make up half of all of the agreements recorded in one of the four main types of register from Puigcerdà in this year, but their counterpart, the quittances (i.e. agreements that acknowledge the receipt of payment whether in coin or in kind, or that acknowledge the settlement of all outstanding debts), also made up approximately 15.5 percent of the originally recorded total. Taken together, the two types of contracts most directly related to credit (debts and quittances) thus made up somewhere around two thirds of all of the agreements originally recorded in this year in Puigcerdà, and possibly more.

I can only speculate about the contents of any other types of registers that may have been created in this year, but comparative evidence from other years and other towns suggests that if a

[81] Denjean, "Crédit et notariat," 187.

[82] For examples, see this collection: Odile Redon and François Menant, eds., *Notaires et crédit dans l'Occident méditerranéen médiéval*, Collection de l'École française de Rome 343 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

book of Jews is indeed missing from Puigcerdà, it would also probably have contained many debts, particularly loans.[83] Similarly, I have hypothesized that there may have been a private register to record the business of Italian merchants operating in Puigcerdà in this time period, because the sales on credit of dye stuffs by such merchants are numerous in some previous and later years, but not in the surviving registers from 1321/2. Such a register would raise the total number of original debts even further. The total percentage of simple debts among all the agreements originally recorded in this year thus very likely exceeded 50 percent. But even further, credit figured in many other types of agreements that are not strictly debts or quittances debts.[84] Some of the agreements counted here as sales are transfers of debts, for example. The actual number of agreements that concern credit in some way would have been much higher. Taken together, therefore, it is clear that credit in some form was by far the most common concern among the notarial entries produced in Puigcerdà in this year, and there was surely a link between credit and notarial certification.[85]

Several other studies offer a useful point of comparison on the extent that credit dominated notarial production. I will focus on just two examples from Catalonia, although the

[83] The sole surviving book of Jews from medieval Puigcerdà, from the year 1286/7, contains numerous debt contracts, above all loans. On this, and on the general activity of Jews in medieval Puigcerdà see: ACCE, Reg. 8, Delcor, "Els jueus de Puigcerdà," and Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens.* Additionally, other books of Jews from other Catalan towns also contain high numbers of debt contracts. See for some examples: Ollich i Castanyer, "L'activitat dels jueus"; Casas i Nadal, "El 'Liber Iudeorum'" and Llop Jordana, "Els 'Libri Iudeorum'." For more on this, see Chapter 2.

[84] This includes, for example, transfers of debts, deposits and *comandas*, among numerous others. Denjean has noted this as well, stating, for example, that contracts in which priests promise to say masses for the soul of the dead and even contracts hiring municipal physicians survive because of the fact that they were paid in credit, even though these contracts are not themselves technically debts or acquittals. She also argues that we can see the prevalence of credit within the specific pieces of information that the notaries choose to record in the abbreviated notarial entries. They focus only on the names of the debtor, the creditor, the value, and the due date, often omitting other clauses. Denjean, "Crédit et notariat," 192 and 197-8.

[85] This does not even count agreements like transfers of debts, or deposits that are closely related to the credit market. It also does not count the fact that numerous other types of contracts might also involve credit. Marriages for example often include references to a dowry that will not be paid in full at the time of the marriage.

dominance of credit in notarial records is clear throughout southern Europe.[86] For example, Gregory Milton has shown that credit sales, loans and pledges, and other debts consistently made up the great majority of surviving notarial transactions surviving from select years between 1276 and 1313 in the much smaller town of Santa Coloma de Queralt. In Santa Coloma, for example, these three types of agreements made up 86.4 percent (1,439 out of 1,665) of all transactions surviving from the year 1304/5, and 83.2 percent (1,010 out of 1,214) of those surviving from the year 1311/12.[87] Milton's finding is particularly useful because he states that the notaries produced only one register per year in Santa Coloma (until 1299, when they also produce separate books for wills).[88] This would mean these registers include complete or nearly complete records of the total original transactions recorded there in the years that registers survive from.

Christian Guilleré also examined the extent to which credit dominated notarial production in Girona between 1320 and 1340, finding that that 48.5 percent of those surviving from 1320-1330, and 45 percent of those from 1330-1340 were credit contracts of some kind.[89] Guilleré does not address how representative the surviving registers from Girona are relative to the total number of registers that would originally have been recorded, and it is thus difficult to know if credit would have comprised somewhere around 45-48.5 percent of the original total number of Gironan contracts from this period.[90] Nonetheless, between these two examples we can see that

[86] For more examples, see: Redon and Menant, *Notaires et crédit.*

[87] Milton, *Market Power*, 36.

[88] Milton, *Market Power*, 35.

[89] Guilleré, "Notariat et crédit," 219. Guilleré does not distinguish the number of such contacts that are debts or acquittals of debts, counting both together. Additionally, he counts *comandas* and deposits as credit contracts. He does however draw a distinction between those credit contracts that relate to credit *stricto sensu* (such as loans) and consumption credit (such as sales on credit).

[90] Guilleré's study offers immense value, but there are also sections in which he seems to want to make arguments that his sources cannot support. For example, he suggests that the 10 percent drop in the percentage of contracts which are credit contracts between 1320-1330 and 1330-1340 may be connected to the economic difficulties of the

credit contracts comprised a very large percentage of notarial production in Girona, as it did in Puigcerdà.

These two works also suggest that credit may have been particularly common in notarial registers with a primarily rural clientele. Credit contracts appear to have been even more dominant within Santa Coloma de Queralt, which, with a population of around 1,500 people in the early fourteenth century was a much smaller town.[91] Guilleré noted that among the registers from Girona, the registers of notaries with predominantly rural clientele (versus those that served the population of the town of Girona itself), included a higher percentages of credit contracts than the overall average. In the registers of one Gironan notary who had a primarily rural clientele (Tresforts), 63.7 percent of the contracts are credit contracts, further demonstrating that credit contracts may have been disproportionally common in more rural areas. This may partially explain the relative prominence of credit contracts in Puigcerdà, a large town, but one whose notariate served both the town and the surrounding rural valley.

No other broad category comes anywhere close to the predominance of credit within the notarial documents from the year 1321/2, but the second most prevalent concern is that of rights. Many of the types of acts that were commonly recorded but which do not involve credit involve rights in some way, including ownership rights, usage rights, rights to familial inheritance, or the

1330s. Ultimately, this information simply isn't strong enough to make claims like this. He does not seem to consider the fact that the surviving contracts he has from those years may not be a good representation of those which have been lost, even as he himself notes that there were large disparities in the percentage of contracts that related to credit among the registers of different notaries. For example, he notes that 63.7 percent of the contracts created by the notary Jaume Tresfort are credit contracts, whose clientele was predominantly rural in comparison to other notaries working in the same period, such as Jaume Comte, who apparently never recorded contracts relating to Jewish credit. Similarly, he attempts to draw a useful comparison between the fact that from 1320 to 1330, 113 of the borrowers in loans lived in rural locations and 476 lived in town, and the fact that in the following decade 460 such borrowers lived in rural locations and 129 lived in town. No useful insight can be drawn from this information without consideration of how the surviving registers from these two decades are biased toward different customer bases. Guilleré, "Notariat et crédit," 215-20.

[91] Milton, *Market Power*, 20.

right to receive recurring payments, among others. Types of agreements falling into this category include sales and land sales (and exchanges of land), which transfer the right to own items or properties, affirmations of sales, in which a family member who may have some right to an inheritance claim on land affirms their approval of its sale, temporary sales (in which one party sells to another the recurring payments and rights owed to them for a set duration of time), *accapitum* contracts (long-term emphyteutic sub-leasing contracts), rentals and *parcerias* (a means of paying someone else for the right to use livestock a certain percentage of the time over a set range of time), acts in which someone renounces their rights, and acts relating the *census* payments or to fealty. One could also consider appointments of a procurator to fall into this category, as they record the right of the procurator to act on the behalf of the person appointing him. Contracts relating to rights are less numerous than contracts involving credit, but together they comprise a relatively large segment of what people chose to record. Land sales, *accapitum* agreements, and exchanges, for example, comprise 6.5 percent of all the surviving contracts, and probably a slightly lower percentage, around 5 percent of the total originally recorded agreements. If notarial certification was indeed biased toward contracts involving rights in some way, we should expect that a higher percentage of such agreements were recorded. We would thus assume that a higher total proportion of sales of land (and potentially nearly all sales of land) were certified by notaries, while agreements that did not involve long term rights may have been certified in less frequently.

Notarial Recording Distinctive to Puigcerdà

The breakdown of notarial agreements in Puigcerdà appears to be distinctive in two ways. Firstly, debts of items (generally advance sales) were unusually numerous in Puigcerdà,

particularly of wool. Though recorded in the form of a debt, these are agreements are cases in which a customer has purchased and paid for an item up front, such as wool, wine or cereals, and the seller promises to deliver it later. Such contracts, particularly for wool, were especially common in Puigcerdà, where advance sales of wool alone made up 10.2 percent of the 1321/2 extant entries, and an estimated 11 percent of the total number of original agreements. Advance sales are not unknown in other regions, but do not seem to have been as common in other towns and cities whose notarial registers have been studied. For example, Guilleré does not note them in his study of Girona.[92] As I will discuss in Chapters 5 and 6, these advance sales of wool were a major part of the economy of Puigcerdà.

On the other hand, as Claude Denjean has already stated, there are relatively few contracts to constitute or invest in a *societas* (business partnership), and few *comandas* or deposits in Puigcerdà, in comparison to other notariates.[93] Unless there were separate registers of private business in which entries containing such agreements were unusually common (which is certainly possible), these types of agreements made up only a very small percentage of the total number of originally recorded notarial agreements in Puigcerdà during a given year. Business partnerships (*societas* contracts) would have comprised only somewhere around .2 percent of the total number of original agreements, while deposits/*comandas,* and *societas* investments together would have comprised around 2 percent. This seem low compared to the relative prominence of such contracts seen in other regions. Direct comparison is made difficult by the dearth of studies estimating the numbers of originally recorded agreements for other towns, but business partnership and investment contracts seem to have been more common in coastal urban centers

[92] Guilleré, "Notariat et crédit."

[93] Denjean, "Crédit et notariat," 197.

like Perpignan and Barcelona, where maritime commercial enterprises were prevalent. The people of medieval Puigcerdà seem to have entered into these types of business agreements less often than those in major coastal cities did.

Agreements by Value in 1321/2

Undoubtedly, the inhabitants of medieval Puigcerdà had to weigh the potential costs and benefits when deciding whether to seek notarial certification for a given agreement. For some low-value agreements, the price would simply have been too high. The surviving documents from the year 1321/2 provide insight into the value threshold below which people did not seem to consider it worthwhile to have the transaction certified. They also provide insight into the range of higher values in which most business in Puigcerdà fell. I will discuss the value threshold for recording, and the range of values seen in recorded entries within two types of agreements: sales on credit and loans (both sub-types within the broader category of debts). The distribution of the total values owed in these two types of agreements indicates that the threshold beyond which people became more likely to seek notarial certification was probably around five *sous* (sixty *diners*). [94]

Among the surviving recorded sales on credit from this year, the lowest total value that was recorded as owed was a total of four *sous* and four *diners* of Barcelona (or fifty-two *diners* in total). This was the amount that Bernat Patau of Font Rabiosa (in Capcir – a region neighboring, but outside of Cerdanya) acknowledged that he owed Arnau Fuster, a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà, for the purchase of serges (a type of lower-quality cloth), in a sale on credit

[94] During this period the primary coin used was the silver *diner*. Sums recorded in notarial acts, however, were generally recorded in *lliures* and *sous*, monies of account in which one *sou* is worth twelve *diners* and one *lliure* is worth twenty *sous*. I have converted these sums into *diners* for easy comparison.

recorded on December 9, 1321.[95] The second lowest was a debt of five *sous* and four *diners* of Barcelona (sixty-four *diners* in total), also for a sale on credit of cloth.[96] These were the only two sales on credit with total payments of less than six *sous* due.

A similar pattern can be found among the loans. Three entries record loans of very low amounts, including two in which the value of the loan came to two *sous* (twenty-four *diners)*, and one in which the value was four *sous* (forty-eight *diners)*.[97] But in all three of these cases the notarial entry recorded not only a loan, but also another agreement, such as a *parceria* or an advance sale of wool in addition to the loan.[98] For example, on September 10, 1321 Arnau Moles of Estavar (in Cerdanya) and his son Jaume stated that they owed twelve wool fleeces to Guillem Moreta (a tanner or leather/fur-trader) which they would deliver at Pentecost. At the end of this entry they added the additional statement that they also owed two *sous* (of unstated currency, probably of Barcelona), the equivalent of twenty-four *diners*, on account of a loan, to be paid at the same time.[99] These values were also very low relative to the cost of having the agreement notarized; certainly, such low-value loans were only recorded because the parties were already recording advance sales of wool, and such terms could be included without additional cost. The lowest total value owed in a loan that is not combined with another other agreement is the debt of five *sous* of Barcelona (sixty *diners*) that Vidal Vives, a dyer of Lleida, confirmed he had

[95] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 51v (j),

[96] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 94r (h).

[97] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 57r (d), ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 26r (d) and ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (f).

[98] The marginal price notations suggest that recording the loan in addition to the other agreement often did not seem to incur any additional cost.

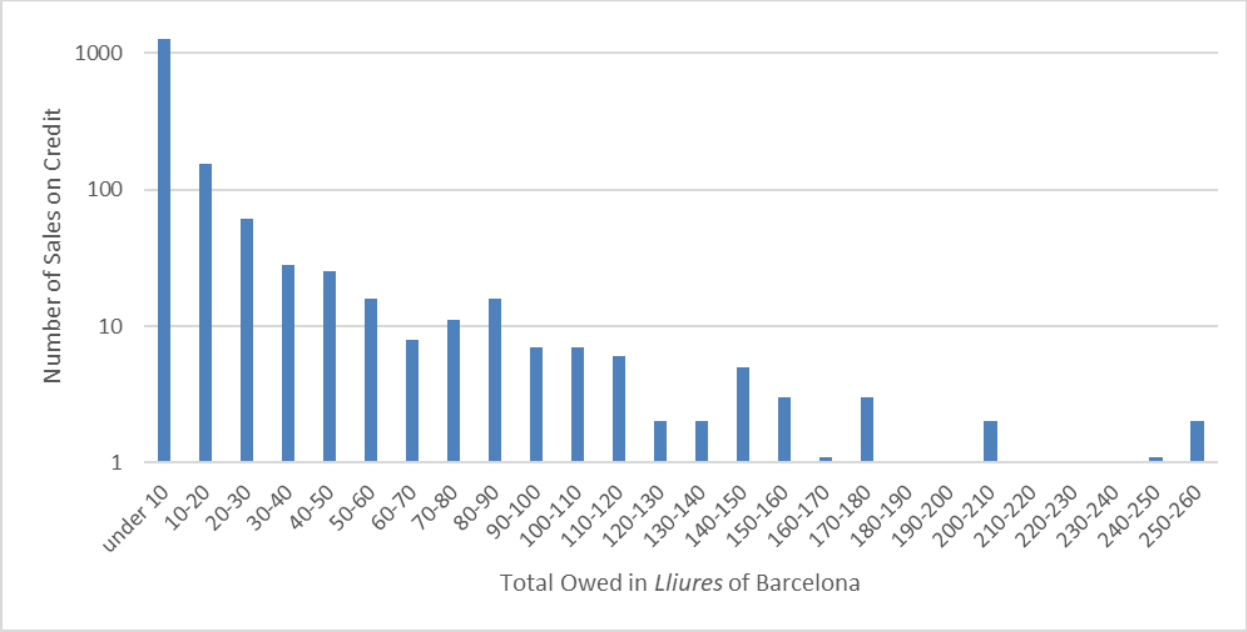
[99] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (f). For another loan an equivalent value also combined with a debt of wool, see: ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 57r (d).

borrowed from Guillem Esteve, a dyer of Puigcerdà, on February 9, 1321 [1322].[100] This falls more closely in line with the lowest value seen among recorded sales on credit. Further, the choice to record this particular loan may also have been influenced by the unusually long distance involved in this case, as the city of Lleida was several days journey from Puigcerdà. It is possible that five *sous* (sixty *diners*) represented a threshold below which people were expected to pay in full at the time of payment. It is more likely that in the majority of such cases the low value of the amount owed was not enough to spur the involved parties to seek notarial certification—either a fee of more than 3 percent seemed too high for the security it offered, or such small purchases on credit were made between parties who did not make regular use of the notary.

The distribution of values due in sales on credit and loans also offer insight into the range of values for most debts recorded in Puigcerdà. Among both types of contracts, low values, particularly of less than two *lliures,* predominate. Figure 3.3 shows the distribution of values owed in extant sales on credit in *lliures* of Barcelona on a logarithmic scale.

[100] ACCE, Reg. 28 folio 69v (b).

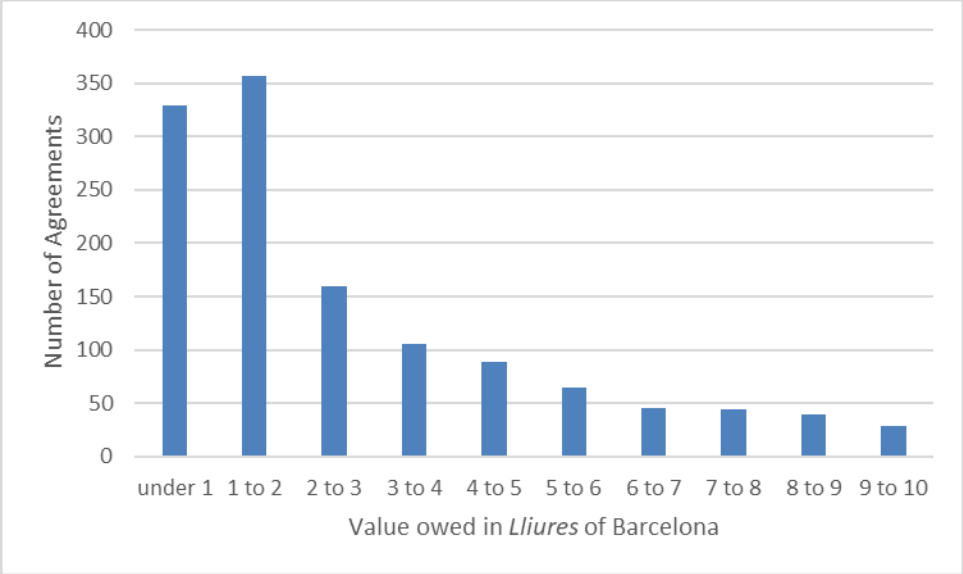
Figure 3.3: Number of Sales on Credit from 1321/2 Including Debts up to 260 *lliures*, by Total Value Owed, in *Lliures* of Barcelona, on Logarithmic Scale[101]



As Figure 3.3 shows, numerous sales on credit included total debts for relatively low values. Of the total 1,634 sales on credit, 86.7 percent (1,417) included total debts of under twenty *lliures* and 77.2 percent (1,262) included total debts of under ten *lliures*. The majority of these are in fact for debts of less than two *lliures*, as can be seen in Figure 3.4.

[101] The category of "10-20" includes those debts for ten *lliures* of Barcelona even, up to any value that is below twenty *lliures* of Barcelona but not those for twenty *lliures*. A sale on credit with a debt of twenty *lliures* would be in "20-30," etc. In one of the sales on credit the total value owed could not be read due to damage. In seven of the sales on credit the payment was due partially in kind and partially in coin, making the true value difficult to establish. These eight sales on credit were omitted here. Additionally, this figure excludes three clear outliers – all sales on credit for debts higher than 350 *lliures*, which will be discussed separately.

Figure 3.4: Number of Sales on Credit from 1321/2 Including Monetary Debts up to Ten *lliures*, by Total Value Owed, in *Lliures* of Barcelona[102]

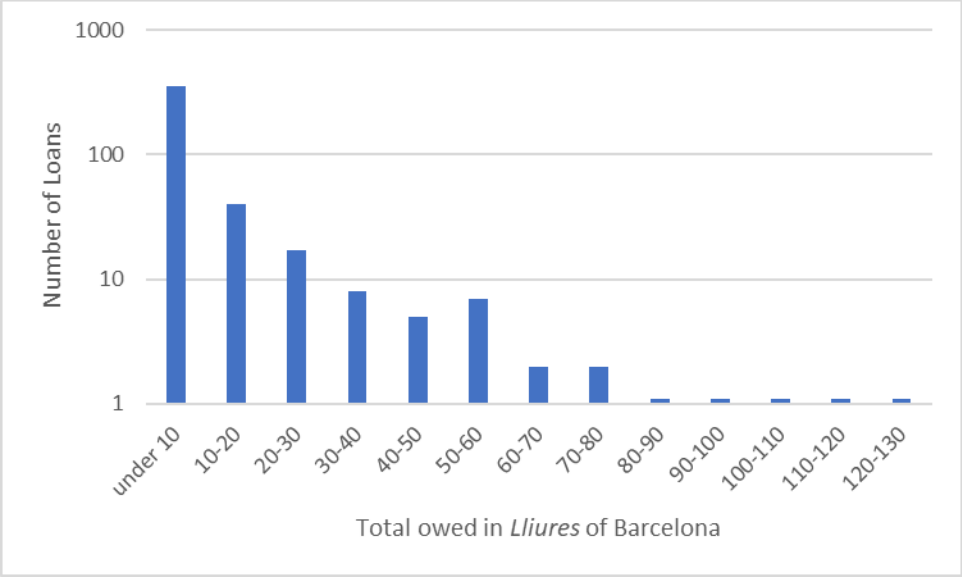


Just under 42 percent of all the sales on credit surviving from this year (686 out of 1,634) included a total debt of two *lliures* (forty *sous*) or less.

The distribution of the total value owed in loans is similarly weighted toward low values. Figure 3.5 shows the distribution of values owed in loans on a logarithmic scale.

[102] As in the previous figure "1 to 2" includes sales on credit with debts of one *lliure* (twenty *sous*) or higher, but less than two *lliures*.

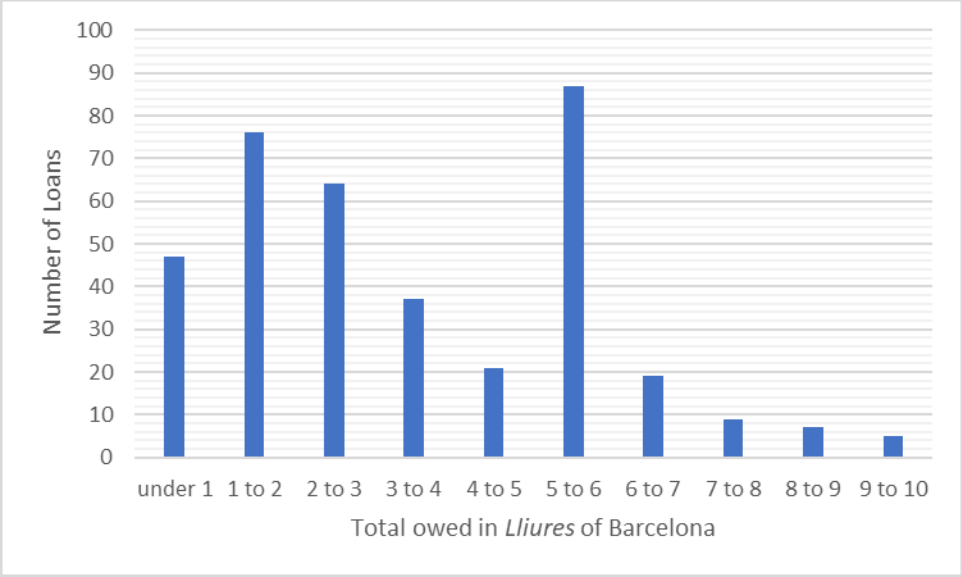
Figure 3.5: Number of Loans from 1321/2 by Total Value Owed, in *Lliures* of Barcelona, on a Logarithmic Scale[103]



As with sales on credit, 82.9 percent (393 of 474) of loans were record debts of less than twenty *lliures*, and 74.5 percent (353 of 474) were for debts of less than ten *lliures*. In comparison to sales on credit, a smaller number of loans had debts of less than two *lliures*. This can be seen in Figure 3.6, which shows the distribution of loans with values under ten *lliures*.

[103] This does not include loans due in kind. In one loan the value could not be read due to damage; this loan has been omitted.

Figure 3.6: Number of Loans from 1321/2 Including Debts up to Two *Lliures*, by Total Value Owed, in *Lliures* of Barcelona[104]



As Figure 3.6 indicates, a higher proportion of the loans were for debts between five and six *lliures*—specifically a loan of one hundred *sous* (five *lliures*) was particularly popular.

It is also worth considering the upper range within which most of the business undertaken in medieval Puigcerdà fell. The highest individual debt referred to in any of the entries from this year is the debt of 5,000 *lliures* of Barcelona that Guillem d'Aragall, lord of Estoll and Cortàs, owed to Ramon Folc, viscount of Cardona and Ramon de Josa on account of the barony of Josa.[105] This agreement between nobles was clearly atypical. The highest value owed in a loan recorded in Puigcerdà in this year involved the same man, Guillem d'Aragall. In March of 1322 [1321] he acknowledged owing a cloth-seller named Pere de Lillet 125 *lliures*, twelve *sous* and

[104] As in the previous figure "1 to 2" includes loans with debts of one *lliure* (twenty *sous*) or higher, but less than two *lliures*.

[105] On this see: ACCE, Reg. 125 fols. 49r (a), 49v (a), 49v (b) and 50r (c). The actual loan itself was not originally recorded in Puigcerdà but it is referred to in several other entries.

ten *diners* of Barcelona for cloth, for a loan and for the sum of all his debts.[106] The second highest debt owed in a loan was for 115 *lliures* of Barcelona.[107] Overall, only five out of 474 loans (about 1 percent) were for a value over eighty *lliures*. The higher-value sales on credit were higher than most of the higher-value loans. The highest individual value owed in one of the sales on credit was the sum of 417 *lliures* and twelve *sous* of Barcelona that Guillem Blanch and Jaume Peguera of Puigcerdà promised to pay to Bertran de Luarteres for cloth, on August 6, 1321.[108] Seven other sales on credit surviving from this year included debts of 200 *lliures* or more, including one from October 5, 1321 in which Ramon de Luarteres and his son, also named Ramon de Luarteres, promised to pay Joan Blanch 365 *lliures* and five *sous* of Barcelona, also for cloth,[109] and one from September 1, 1321 in which Ramon Roig, the procurator of Francesc de Montgai, a draper of Lleida, confirms that he owes Pere Grimald of Puigcerdà 358 *lliures* and ten *sous* of Barcelona, for cloth which Pere sold him, and which Francesc is holding toward the building of a drapers workshop in the city of Lleida, in which Pere will be a partner.[110] But, only fifteen sales on credit (less than 1 percent) had a total debt of over 150 *lliures*. The distribution of values attests both to what people considered worthy of recording, and also offers insight into the class-breakdown of the town, which will also be discussed in the following chapter.

[106] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 59r (a).

[107] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 53r (j). This is a straightforward loan, not combined with any other type of agreement.

[108] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 10r (e).

[109] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 27v (c). The fact that this contract and the prior one both involve men with the surnames "Blanch" and "de Luarteres" suggests that these may be multiple members of two extended families trading with each other on multiple occasions. It may be that in many of the cases of these contracts such significant sums as those mentioned here are never actually turned over in silver coinage, but only repaid through the creation of new debts going in the other direction which cancel each other out.

[110] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 17r (c).

Conclusion

This chapter explored the types of agreements the people of medieval Puigcerdà sought to have certified by notaries and how notarial are entries are biased in favor of certain values and types of agreements. It demonstrates that the agreements that the people of Puigcerdà had recorded by notaries fell within a fairly narrow and highly standardized range, and that a value of around five *sous* of Barcelona was apparently the value threshold below which the cost of notarial certification outweighed the benefit it offered. In it, I introduced a new method for how to estimate the numbers of each type of agreement that would originally have been recorded in a certain year, given estimates for the total number of folios of each type of register likely to have been originally created in that year and figures for how frequently agreements of that type appeared in folios across different types of register. Using this method, this chapter provides a breakdown not only of the surviving notarial entries from the year 1321/2 but estimates of the breakdown of the original total notarial entries from this year (at least within the four main types of registers). As this breakdown reveals, as in other southern European towns, approximately two thirds of the recorded entries were straightforward credit contracts (either debts or quittances). Debts comprised approximately half of all the agreements originally recorded in notarial entries of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2, and likely more considering other lost registers such as the books of Jews. It also shows patterns in notarial usage that are unusual, patterns that, as we will see in future chapters, attest to this mountain town's particular economic role in Catalonia.

Chapter 4: Estimating the Population of Puigcerdà in 1321/2

In the previous chapter I discussed the surviving notarial documents from the year 1321/2, focused on what circumstances caused people to seek notarial certification for their agreements, and how this biases the way that these sources can be used for broader historical analysis. In this chapter I discuss a new approach to estimating medieval populations. This approach combines the traditional method of applying a multiplier to a known or estimated base number, such as hearths or landholders, with a new way to estimate such a base number. Specifically, I introduce a method for how to estimate the number of adult men in a town that combines cross-referencing the names of men who appear in notarial documents within a given year, and mathematical models that estimate the number of men who would not have appeared or whose identity would have been obscured. I illustrate this method using the example of Puigcerdà during the year from June 24, 1321 to June 23, 1322. In doing so I offer a new estimate of the population of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 that suggests that the town's early-fourteenth-century population was higher than has previously been thought.

Introduction

Accurate information on population trends offers tremendous potential insight for the study of late-medieval economic development. Rising population can be both a result of and a factor contributing to economic growth; population decline can either derive from or lead to economic recession. Despite the value of such figures, however, we often have only very rough and unsatisfactory estimates of medieval populations, especially prior to the mid-fourteenth century. Attempts to estimate the population of late medieval towns have typically relied on one

of three methods. In the first, and by-far the most common method, one takes a census created for taxation purposes, and multiplies the figure listed in this census (typically hearths or landowners) by a multiplier based on an estimate of how many people these hearths represent. In the second, one determines the area within the town walls, or in which people resided, and applies a multiplier that estimates how many people lived within each hectare.[1] The third involves taking a population estimate from one year and extrapolating backward to a possible earlier population figure by estimating the total population rise or decline that seems likely between the two points in time, with this rate of decline usually taken from some other location where more information is available.[2]

While each of these methods can offer valuable insights, including on comparative city sizes and orders of magnitude, they each nonetheless carry certain downsides. When a single tax census lists the number of hearths in multiple towns, such figures can be a strong indicator of the relative size of the different cities at that moment, but it is difficult to use them effectively to determine true population or even demographic shifts over time because the definition of a "hearth" used in different censuses could vary widely and is not always clearly defined. What was counted as a "hearth" in most of the fourteenth-century Catalan hearth-censuses, for example, was not really a family or a household but, essentially a taxable income stream. For example, Robert S. Smith has noted that in the Catalan *fogatgement* (hearth-census) of 1365 a

[1] See, as an example: Josiah Cox Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities*, Studies in Historical Geography (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1972), 42. Russell uses a figure of roughly 125 people per hectare as a means of estimating the population of Pisa.

[2] Ramon Alberch i Fugueras and Narcís Castells i Calzada, *La població de Girona: segles XIV-XX* (Girona: Institut d'Estudis Gironins, 1985), 16-18. For example, Ramon Alberch i Fugueras and Narcís Castells i Calzada estimated that the population of Girona was around 2,092 lay hearths c. 1300, by taking the number of lay hearths mentioned in the census of 1359, (1,590 hearths) and estimating that approximately 20 percent of the population had died in the Black Death and that there had also been 5 percent population decline between 1300 and the eve of the plague.

widow residing with one of her children was counted as two hearths if she and her children had separate incomes, but one hearth if they did not. Similarly, wards living with a guardian were counted as their own hearth if they had their own stream of income but were included in the hearth of their guardian if they did not.[3] The hearths, in these examples, are clearly not the same as the household. But who could be taxed, and what incomes were counted separately, versus counted together, could vary a great deal across censuses taken in different years, or even between different locations within the same year. In many cases we do not know enough about what constituted a "hearth" as conceived by tax collectors to know how the number of hearths relates to the total population.

Population estimates based on the size of city walls can also be a strong indicator of the relative size of different cities and tracing the construction of walls over time in one location is a good indicator of that city's population rise. But this method can only provide a very rough approximation of population, and only at very intermittent points. The construction or expansion of city walls was a major undertaking that occurred only rarely. New walls could not always be constructed every time the population rose, nor would they be deconstructed just because a city's population had fallen. Further, we often lack information about the relative rates of crowding within different cities, or on the percentage of different populations that might live outside but close to city walls, and this method is obviously not useful for the smallest locations, such as villages, that did not have walls. The last method, in which population is estimated by extrapolating backward or forward from one point using a likely rate of change, is understandably the least exact. It can help to offer some hypothetical sense of a given location's

[3] Robert S. Smith, "Fourteenth-Century Population Records of Catalonia," *Speculum* 19, no. 4 (1944): 494–501; 499-500.

population during a moment from which few or no documents survive, but it necessarily compounds error ranges by relying on more than a single multiplier. Additionally, because the likely rate of population change often has to be drawn from another location where stronger evidence of the population trend is available, this method causes a tendency to assume that shifts in population would be the same across different cities, when in fact much research, including my own, shows that regional demographic change often provoked one-way migrations that meant quite different outcomes across towns within one region. One city may have grown while another declined, or one may have experienced a far greater rate of rise or decline than another.

In many regions, tax censuses only become common in the latter half of the fourteenth century, after one or more waves of plague. For this reason, and despite the potential insight that demographic data would offer to the much-debated study of economic change around the year 1300, historians still find it difficult to estimate the early-fourteenth-century population trends of many regions with any accuracy. Discussing the population of medieval Catalonia, Jeffrey Fynn-Paul recently claimed that "it is unlikely… that much will ever be able to be said with certainty about the dynamics of Catalan urban or rural populations prior to 1348, since no significant sources for this period have been discovered."[4] In this chapter, I propose a new method for how to estimate medieval urban populations using a source that is well-known, but underused for population studies: notarial registers. In the approach outlined here, I argue that it possible to estimate the total population of adult Christian men in a town by cross-referencing the names of men who appeared in surviving notarial contracts, identifying how many individual men appear in surviving notarial entries, and using this figure and appropriate mathematical models to

[4] Jeffrey Fynn-Paul, *The Rise and Decline of an Iberian Bourgeoisie: Manresa in the Later Middle Ages, 1250–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 214.

estimate the town's total population of adult men. I then apply a multiplier to this number to extrapolate to the total population. I illustrate this method using the case of Puigcerdà in the year from June 24, 1321 to June 23, 1322. This method is similar to the hearth-census method discussed above, but, as I argue, it will be more accurate, because it relies on a base number to be multiplied (adult Christian men, rather than taxable hearths) whose relationship to the total population can be more clearly understood, and which can also be estimated in a more standardized way across multiple years. Further, because this method allows us to estimate population using notarial cartularies, which survive in many places from the period prior to when we first see tax censuses or other comparable lists, this method could also be particularly useful for estimating populations in the century or more between the adoption of a public notariate and the widespread use of tax censuses. Such estimates would be particularly useful for the study of the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries, exactly when historians debate the dynamics of population change in the half-century before the first wave of the plague. On a more local level, the specific analysis of the population of Puigcerdà provided here reveals that the early fourteenth-century population of Puigcerdà was probably higher than has often been thought, and that it was one of the largest cities in Catalonia in the early fourteenth century. This fact has been little known, as the town's drastically reduced size in the later medieval and early modern period has led some historians to the mistaken conclusion that the town was also relatively small in the early-fourteenth century. But in fact, as later population estimates (mainly drawn from hearth censuses) show, the town experienced a particularly strong population decline that occurred rapidly in the mid- to late-fourteenth century, and which endured for many centuries beyond. I discuss the later population trend of Puigcerdà over time in the later fourteenth century in Chapter 8.

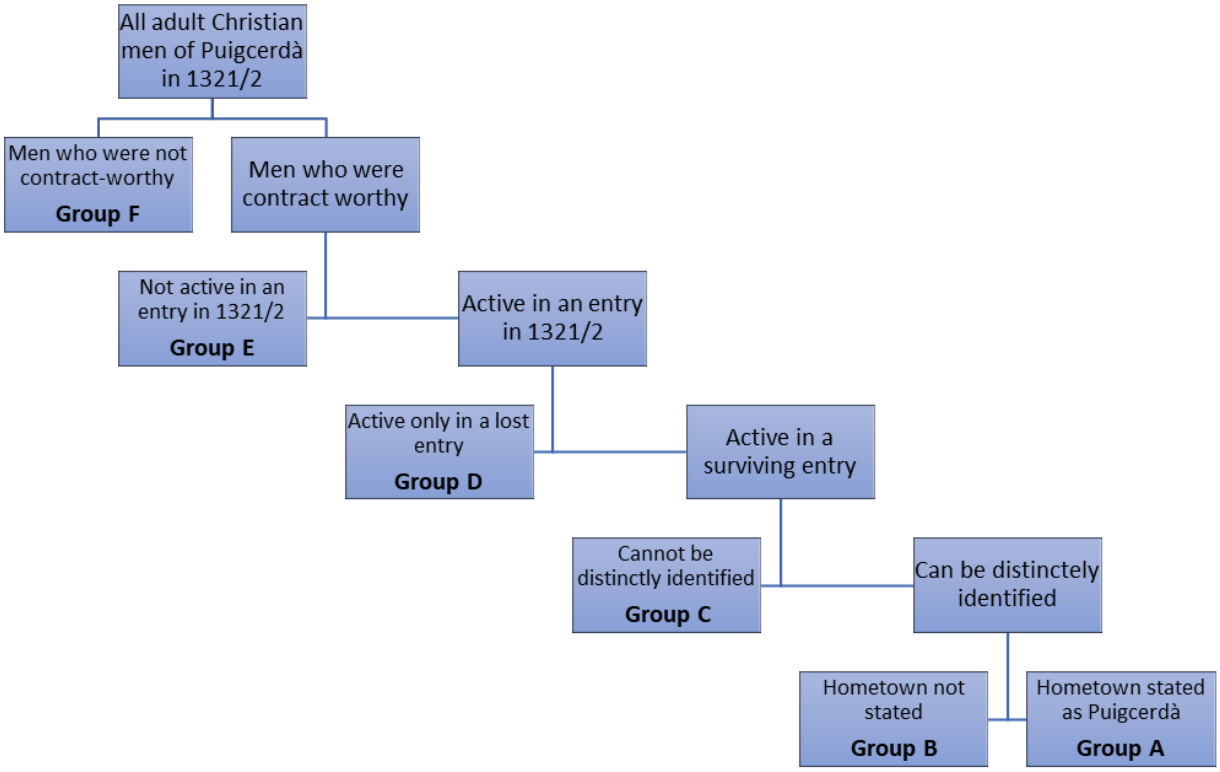
The New Approach

In the method outlined here I begin with estimating the total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men who lived in Puigcerdà in the year from June 1321/2. I start with the assumption that all of the adult Christian men of Puigcerdà would have fallen into one of the following categories:

A. Distinctly identifiable men, active in a surviving notarial entry, and identified as a resident of Puigcerdà.
B. Distinctly identifiable men, active in a surviving notarial entry, but whose town (Puigcerdà) was not stated.
C. Men active in a surviving notarial entry but who could not be distinctly identified because they share the same name as another man who also appeared.
D. Men who were only active in a notarial entry that has now been lost.
E. Contract-worthy men (i.e. those who were of the type who might participate in a notarial contract) who happened not to be active in any notarial entries in the year 1321/2.
F. Men who were not contract-worthy.

This can be better visualized in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1: Breakdown of Christian Men in Puigcerdà in 1321/2



I focus only on men, omitting women and children, because both of these latter groups participated in notarial contracts at a significantly lower rate than men did.[5] Adult Jewish men residing in Puigcerdà would also have fallen into one of these six categories along with Christian men, but as a base number to be multiplied, I will calculate only the total population of Christian men. This is because, as was noted in Chapter 2, in Puigcerdà during this period the majority of contracts involving Jews were recorded within separate registers, called books of Jews. No books of Jews from the year 1321/2 survive today and, as will be discussed below, Jews appear only very rarely in the surviving notarial acts from this year. There is thus not enough information on

[5] It would be possible to perform a similar analysis of the women of Puigcerdà who appeared in the surviving notarial entries from a single year, but it is likely that the number of women appearing in surviving notarial entries would be a much smaller portion of the total population of women in Puigcerdà in that year and would likely not yield an accurate figure of the actual population of women.

the town's Jewish residents to estimate the population of the Jewish community using only the evidence from this year. I will however include an estimate of the Jewish population, drawn from Claude Denjean's analysis of this community, discussed below, in my estimate of the town's total population. I am including Christian clergy along with adult Christian laymen. By adult, I count anyone over the legal age of majority (i.e. the age at which a man could act independently within a notarial contract), which was fourteen for males in Catalonia at this time.[6]

Additionally, I count residents of the town, and not merely citizens. Most Catalan towns and cities of this period entitled their citizens to certain benefits and also required certain obligations of them, which thus necessitated some means of distinguishing citizens from non-citizens.[7] Puigcerdà was presumably no exception, but it remains unclear what qualifications enabled someone to be a citizen of Puigcerdà or how sharply the town government enforced a distinction between citizens and non-citizen residents.[8] I have not seen any evidence clearly denoting someone from Puigcerdà as a citizen distinct from a resident, and, regardless, the number of residents is surely a far more accurate indicator of overall population.

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[6] The age of majority for girls was twelve. At fourteen a boy could act independently in a legal contract, although he did not gain full rights over inherited property until age twenty-five. Serra i Vilaro, *Baronies*, Vol. 2, 245.

[7] The use of the term "cives" was evidently restricted only to those towns that enjoyed the legal designation of a "civitas" (city). But a distinction was still drawn between citizens and non-citizens even in those towns that, however large, were not, legally, cities, including in Perpignan. See: Philip Daileader, *True Citizens: Violence, Memory, and Identity in the Medieval Community of Perpignan, 1162-1397*, The Medieval Mediterranean 25 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2000), 2.

[8] It seems likely, given the valuable privileges that had been granted to the men of the town, that some distinction between citizens and non -citizens was drawn during the middle ages. For example, in 1181, shortly after the founding of Puigcerdà in 1177, King Alfons I granted many privileges to the men of Puigcerdà, including that they were exempted from paying royal tolls and customs taxes (*lleudes* or *peatges)*, anywhere within his realm. See: Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 39-41. Similar privileges had been granted in Barcelona, where they could only be exercised by those with a charter of citizenship. Carolina Obradors-Suazo, "Between Reputation and Law: (Re)-Thinking Citizenship in Early 15th-Century Barcelona," in *Spaces of Knowledge. Four Dimensions of Medieval Thought*, ed. Noemi Barrera, Gemma Pellissa-Prades, and Delfi Isabel Nieto Isabel (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014), 73–84, page 65.

For adult Christian men, the figure for the first of these six categories (Group A) can be known exactly, through the careful cross-referencing of the names of men who were active in one of the surviving notarial entries. The 7,432 non-cancelled notarial entries surviving from the year 1321/2 contain 41,835 references to evidently then-living people.[9] This includes 37,564 cases in which the person played an active role in the contract, and was not merely mentioned.[10] The shortest acts typically involve at least four different individual participants (a minimum of two main parties and two witnesses is standard) and longer, more complex transactions can involve or mention many more. Obviously, many people appeared in more than one act, some people appeared in numerous acts, and the 37,564 active references clearly refer to a much smaller number of actual unique individuals. By cross-referencing the names of men appearing in these records, it is possible to identify the minimum number of uniquely identifiable adult Christian men who appeared in surviving contracts there during the year 1321/2 and who were stated to be from Puigcerdà. This provides a figure for Group A.

The remaining figures (for Groups B through F) must all be estimated. Throughout this chapter I introduce the methods that I have developed to approximate the number of men in each

[9] This figure includes women, children and Jews in addition to Christian men, but does not include the names of people who were clearly identified as deceased.

[10] There is a distinction between being referenced in a notarial contract and being an active participant in that contract. It was common, for example, for land sales to include the names of the owners of lands adjacent to the parcel being sold. Such owners are mentioned in the contract but were not active participants in the contract. Similarly, many men are identified as the sons of their fathers, even when their fathers are deceased (and women are almost exclusively defined in relation to either their father or husband, even if he is deceased). Such men who are mentioned only as a means of identifying someone else are also not active contract participants. In cross-referencing and analyzing the appearances of men in notarial contracts, I examine only cases where the man was an active participant in the contract. This is because it is not clear in all cases whether or not a man who was merely mentioned was actually alive. Because of the way this data was collected, however, I have included those who receive bequests in wills, and the original debtors in cases where a debt is later transferred, as active roles, even though neither plays a fully active role in the new contract. I have also omitted people very likely to be under age, such as the apprentices who did not enter themselves into their own apprenticeship contract, even if the fact that they were underage is not clearly stated. I do however count witnesses as active contract participants, in addition to the primary parties to the agreement or transaction that the contract contains.

of these groups in turn. These methods use mathematical models that incorporate the figures of previous groups and in one case some information from an additional source. This other source is a later list that names a total of 1,265 individual men from Puigcerdà who met in the town in August of 1345 to ratify certain measures and appoint new town procurators. This list created suggests that a very high percentage of men early-fourteenth-century Puigcerdà would have shared their first and last name with another man in town. I incorporate this name-sharing rate in modeling an estimate for the number of men who would have appeared in a surviving notarial contract, but whose unique identity was obscured because they shared a name with someone else (i. e. Group C).

Adding together estimates for each of these six categories (A through F) would yield an estimate of the total population of adult Christian men in the town. Multiplying this by an estimate of the number of women and children per adult man we would thus attain an estimate of the total Christian population of Puigcerdà. Because the figure for Group F (the non-contract-worthy men) can only be estimated very roughly, however, I will modify this method slightly, and will instead focus on finding not the total number of adult Christian men, but the total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men. I will then account for men who were not contract-worthy within the multiplier used to extrapolate from contract-worthy men to the broader population.[11] Additionally, because, aside from the figure for Group A, which can be known exactly, most of these figures can only be approximated and not precisely calculated, for some of these variables I offer a range of possible figures. This allows us to approximate a

[11] Essentially, A+B+C+D+E = X, the total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men of Puigcerdà. X * Y (Christian women, children and non-contract-worthy men per contract-worthy adult Christian man) = Z (total Christian population of Puigcerdà).

minimum likely estimate, a maximum likely estimate and a middle-range likely estimate for the total number of adult Christian men, and ultimately the total population of the town.

Rates of Contract Participation

Men living in Puigcerdà in 1321/2 were either active in a notarial contract during that year or they were not. Estimating each of the groups listed above not only allows us to approximate the total number of adult men in the town, it also allows us to say approximately what percent of the men in the town would have participated in a notarial contract in a given year. Together, groups A, B, C and D would comprise the total number of men who were active in a contract in that year, while groups E and F would comprise those men who did not. Thus, in addition to their value for estimating population, the models introduced in this chapter also offer some insight on the probability that an individual man would participate in any contract in a given year, and on the pervasiveness of the use of notarial certification within the society of medieval Puigcerdà. They suggest that either the population of Puigcerdà was much higher than we might otherwise expect, or that a very high percentage of the total number of adult Christian men could be expected to participate in a notarial entry in a given year.

Of course, not all men appeared in contracts at the same rate; some appeared many times, and others far fewer. Analysis of the number of contracts that each of the men in Groups A and B appeared in (although problematic, as will be discussed below), offers some important insights about different rates of contract participation across different segments of the population. Specifically, it suggests that the contract-worthy men of Puigcerdà fell into at least three different categories: 1) average townspeople, 2) a more active group comprised primarily of merchants and other wealthier townsmen with a lot of legal or economic business to conduct, and

3) a very small group, comprised mostly of scribes, who appeared in notarial entries at an extraordinarily high rate, primarily as witnesses in an inordinately high number of contracts.

The Base Number: Adult Christian Men from Puigcerdà in 1321/2

Group A - Uniquely Identifiable Men from Puigcerdà Active in Surviving Contracts

As noted above, the 7,432 non-cancelled notarial entries surviving from the year 1321/2 contain 37,564 references in which a living person participated actively in a notarial entry.[12] While I am omitting people who were only mentioned in contracts, I am counting witnesses as active contract-participants. Cross-referencing the names of men active in these contracts, I found a minimum of 1,385 uniquely identifiable adult Christian men who were clearly stated to be a resident of Puigcerdà. This provides a figure for Group A.

Identifying a number of unique individuals from the 37,564 surviving active references to people in the surviving entries from this year is no easy task, due to the general inconsistency of how people are described within these records. In the *notules* of this period, adult men who were one of the main participants in a contract are typically (but not necessarily) identified with at least a first and last name.[13] Other descriptors, such as their occupation, town of residence, former town, father's name (or parents' names), and father's hometown and/or occupation, are sometimes added as well, but sometimes not.[14] At least two factors clearly influenced the amount of information beyond a first and last name that was given. These were, firstly, whether the

[12] This includes women, children, Jews and people who were not residents of Puigcerdà.

[13] Women and Jews follow different identification patterns, which will be discussed later on.

[14] In very rare cases, probably of illegitimate children, the name of the mother is used instead. In addition, the notaries sometimes noted that that someone was either the elder (*maior*, *senior*) or the younger (*junior*) of two men with the same name.

notaries knew of other individuals with the same name and thought that additional information would be needed to distinguish one from another, and secondly, the type of contract and the role that the person played within it.[15] In general, the standard practice of the notaries of Puigcerdà appears to have been to only include the minimal amount of information that they thought would be needed to identify a particular individual, with some exceptions depending on the role or type of contract. The same individual might be described in various ways depending on the type of contract, his role in it and the other parties it involved.[16] For example, it was more common for the notary to list the names of the parents of a bride and groom in marriage contracts, or for contract participants renouncing their rights to familial inheritance. The use of the parents' names in these cases likely has more to do with the importance of these types of contracts in transfers of inheritance, particularly through the female line, than with the need to distinguish those individuals from others of the same name. In contrast, people in subsidiary roles, such as witnesses, are described in far less detail. For example, for 92.8 percent of the 16,497 names of witnesses listed in the contracts from this year, the notaries did not even record the town where the witness lived.[17]

[15] The amount of information volunteered by the individual, how he described himself when he appeared before the notary, and whether he himself knew of others with the same name, likely played an important role as well.

[16] If two men shared a name and were usually identified with additional information (such as an occupation or father's name), but one appeared in a contract acting as the procurator of his ward or the executor of a deceased friend's will, then typically the additional information would not be given, presumably because, to the notaries if not to us, his role as procurator or executor served to sufficiently identify which of the men with that name was involved in the contract.

[17] Even witnesses with very common names are often not identified with anything beyond a first and last name, but presumably either the notaries or the main contract participants would have been able to identify them. As will be discussed later on, in a very large number of cases, it was notarial assistants who served as witnesses. Their hometown would thus not be necessary to identify them. Additionally, those who are only mentioned within a contract, and who do not play an active role, might be described in even less detail, sometimes with only a last name and a hometown. In land sales, the owners of neighboring land plots are frequently described with only a last name, such as "en Verdaguer," with "en" meaning essentially "senyor" or "Mr. Verdaguer." This same practice also appears in wills, in which a bequest may be made to people such as "the daughter of senyor Lobet."

When additional identifying information was given, it was given inconsistently. Beyond the tendencies listed above, there was no overarching rule or standardization of identification. They clearly did not always describe the same individual in the same way. The same man might be described in one contract as Arnau Pages, son of Arnau, and in another as Arnau Pages the tailor. Further, there remained a certain level of flexibility and ambiguity in matters of identity. Surnames were not entirely fixed and heritable within this period, and it is clear that some people also changed their surname or went variably by two names.[18] Further, there is a certain amount of ambiguity inherent in some names. Some people are named using two first names. It is not always possible to tell when a person's name includes two first names followed by a locative or occupational surname, versus when a person's name includes only a first name, followed by a patronymic surname and then an occupation or hometown.[19] The notaries also occasionally omit the surname for people with highly distinct occupations, even when these occupations also appear commonly as surnames, creating a certain level of ambiguity in the name and the identity of the referenced person.[20]

The variety in the way the same person is described makes it very difficult to determine a precise number of unique individuals and to track individuals over multiple contracts. Based on

[18] For example, one man is identified as "Pere de Prats, shoemaker of Puigcerdà, who by another name is called Pere Simon" (*P. de Prats de Podioceritano czabaterius qui alio nomine vocatur P Simon*). ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 49r (d). While it is not uncommon to see a statement that someone is also called something else, it is not certain that men with two names were always identified as having two names. Some may appear in contracts in which they are identified with only one version of their name.

[19] For example, one of the notaries in the town is named Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu, with his first name being the compound "Guillem Bernat" and his surname being "de San Feliu." Such a name could easily also be interpreted as a man from a location named Sant Feliu whose first name was Guillem and whose surname was Bernat.

[20] This seems to be the most common with bailiffs and chaplains, particularly in small villages. For example, a document from May of 1322 refers to Guillem de Roset, bailiff of Eina (*G. de Roset baiulus de Ena*); a document created several days later refers to Guillem, the bailiff of Eina (*G. baiulus de Ena*). It is likely these were the same man, but since occupations, including Batlle (*baiulus*, or bailiff), and Capellà (*capellanus* or chaplain), also appear commonly as surnames references like these can be highly ambiguous.

my analysis, however, I have identified a *minimum* of 1,385 uniquely identifiable adult, Christian men who were clearly identified as residents of Puigcerdà at some point between June 1321 and June 1322.[21] This includes 1,311 laymen and seventy-four clerics or monks. In creating this list, I have counted all men with the same name as one person unless I had clear evidence that two or three men with the same name could be distinguished. I made such distinctions when the name of a parent (usually the father) was different, when the occupation was different, or when two clearly distinct men with the same name appeared together in a single document.[22] The spelling of names was not standardized in this period, and the same name could be written in various forms and in either Catalan or Latin, even within the same document.[23] I have, therefore, counted all forms of a given first name or surname as the same. I have omitted from this list all names in notarial entries that were marked as being annulled without having ever taken effect, all people clearly stated to be underage or deceased, and cases where the person did not play an active role in the contract and therefore might be underage or deceased.[24]

[21] As noted above, I use the legal age of majority, age fourteen for males, as the cut off for who is considered adult.

[22] One man presumably did not buy land from himself, for example. I conflated certain occupational descriptors that could reflect the same trade, such as "draper" (cloth-merchant) and "merchant".

[23] For example, a document might refer to the same person both as *G. Podio*, and as *G. Puig*. The form in Latin can be quite different from the form in Catalan, as in the case of the Latin name *Egidius*, which in medieval Catalan might appear as *Geli* or *Jeli* (modern Catalan Gil). In addition it is clear that locative surnames can appear both with and without "de," (such that, for example, *G. de Podio* is the same as *G. Podio*, and *G. Puig)* and with or without "la"/"cza" (such that *A. Garriga* is the same as *A. Czagarriga* and *G. Leguna* is the same as *G. de la Leguna*). "Cza" as an article interchangeable with "la" appears to have been a feature of the local dialect at this time and is reflected in many of the medieval place names.

[24] I omit those in cancelled notarial entries for the following reason: when the entry was cancelled the contents of that entry were marked as being invalid – but we do not know the reason why the entry was marked in this way. In some cases, these entries were annulled due to a recording error (i.e. the notaries made one or more mistakes in writing it). We know this because many cancelled entries are followed by similar, but clearly revised or altered versions. Some of these include cases where the notaries had made a serious error in the recording of the names of the act's participants. We cannot be sure, however, with most cancelled notarial entries what was the cause of the cancellation. I prefer to omit these contracts to avoid the inclusion of potentially inaccurate information.

In finding these men of Puigcerdà, I have assumed that all men identified as "of Puigcerdà" or an "inhabitant of Puigcerdà" in one the notarial entries from this year were in fact residents of Puigcerdà during at least part of this year. People certainly moved around in medieval Cerdanya. Some of these men might have lived in Puigcerdà only part of the year; indeed, there is at least one clear case of movement occurring within this year. On June 26 of 1321, Brother Bernat, the abbot of the monastery of Sant Pere de la Portella (in Berguedà) renounced all seigneurial rights he and the monastery had held over a man named "Vidal Madro of Dorres, the son of the late Joan Madro."[25] On November 30 of the same year, a man named "Vidal Madro, son of the late Joan Madro and his wife Ramona of Dorres, now living in the town of Puigcerdà" renounced his rights to his familial inheritance in favor of his brother-in-law, Pere Madro.[26] Clearly, Vidal had only moved to Puigcerdà sometime between June 26th and November 30th. Presumably, some of the men residing in Puigcerdà in this year, particularly those who recorded their wills, also died before the year ended. I have nonetheless included both in my list of men from the town.

Group B - Uniquely Identifiable Men from Puigcerdà, Active in Surviving Contracts, but Without their Town Stated

In the previous section, calculating Group A, I identified the number of unique adult Christian men who participated in a surviving notarial entry and whose hometown was explicitly identified as Puigcerdà. But it was extremely common for men to appear in notarial contracts,

[25] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 1v (e). Prior to this renunciation, Bernat referred to Vidal as "my and the monastery's man" (*qui homo nostri et dicti monasterii eres*). Vidal apparently paid the monastery fifty-five *sous* of Bacelona for his freedom from seigneurial authority.

[26] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 25v (b).

even in an active role, without having their town of residence listed. This was the case for 64.4 percent of all the references in which an adult, Christian man played an active role in one of the surviving contracts from this year. It was particularly common for witnesses, with, as noted above, no town of residence given for 92.8 percent of the 16,497 times that witnesses were named. We can arrive at the minimum number of distinctly identifiable men who only ever appear without a town of residence stated by cross-referencing them using the same method discussed above for the men identified as being from Puigcerdà. While some of these men who only appear without their town being identified may have been residents of locations other than Puigcerdà, it is nearly certain that some, and perhaps even a majority, were in fact residents of Puigcerdà.[27] These would comprise Group B.

Using this method, I have found that there were at least 1,315 different adult Christian men who were recorded in an active role in one of the surviving contracts without ever having their town of residence listed.[28] Given notarial practices, when a man appeared without his town of residence stated it was generally because the notaries thought his identity was well-known or would be clear to later notaries consulting the register. Thus, in some cases these men were probably residents of Puigcerdà, while in other cases they could clearly be residents of the surrounding valley, or men from more distant locations but whose identity would have been clear.

[27] As discussed in Chapter 2, there was a correlation between a person's role in a contract and the type of register the contract would be recorded in. The identity of the creditor frequently dictated whether an act would be recorded in a book of townspeople, book of debts or book of outsiders. This makes it easier to guess the likelihood that some people were from Puigcerdà, based on their role and the type of register.

[28] This list does not include men who shared a name with one of the 1,385 known residents of Puigcerdà, or who shared a name with someone clearly identified as a resident of somewhere else, unless they were further distinguished in one of the ways discussed above. Among the 1,385 men who were clearly identified as residents of Puigcerdà, 944 (68 percent) of them also seem to have participated in other contracts in which their hometown was not mentioned.

It is difficult to say precisely how many of these men whose hometown was not listed were from Puigcerdà (and thus how many men belong to Group B). But, by examining each of these men, any available information that can be gathered about them (such as their occupation, places they own land, and the names and hometowns of their relatives), the types contracts they appear in, and the role they play within those contracts, it is possible in many cases for me to make an educated guess about whether they were more likely to be a resident of Puigcerdà, or more likely to be a resident of somewhere else.

In order to do so, I broke these names into four categories: 1) those who were very probably from Puigcerdà, 2) those more likely than not to be from Puigcerdà, 3) those for whom there is essentially no information; and 4) those who were likely not from Puigcerdà. For the purposes of this analysis we are not interested in the men who were likely not from Puigcerdà, but the other three categories can help provide three potential totals for Group B. I then used these to calculate reasonable upper, middle, and lower bounds on the town's likely population. The number in each of these categories is shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Men Only Appearing in Entries from 1321/2 Without Town of Residence, by Likelihood of Being from Puigcerdà

Type	**Number**
Very Probably from Puigcerdà	233
More Likely Puigcerdà	183
Possibly from Puigcerdà or Not from Puigcerdà	360
More Likely Not from Puigcerdà	539
Total	1,315

In my calculations for group A, I was extremely strict in my interpretation of which men did not have their hometown listed. For example, it is common for a man to be identified as by the name

of his father, and for a hometown to be listed after his father's name, such as "Ramon Ferrer son of Arnau Ferrer of Puigcerdà". While many would assume in this case that Ramon was from Puigcerdà, this is technically unclear: it is ambiguous whether this provenance refers to Ramon or to Arnau. I thus included men identified in this way among those who did not have their hometown clearly identified.[29] Nonetheless, for the majority of these, I do consider it very probable that these men were in fact residents of Puigcerdà; and thus included them among the 231 men in the first line of Table 4.1. I also counted as being very probably from Puigcerdà men who met one of the following conditions: those included in a list in which the final person was identified as being from Puigcerdà; those who appeared as the creditor in one of the books of debts or books of townspeople; monks who were not clearly stated to be from elsewhere; and scribes in the notarial office.[30]

Based on the figures for these three categories, as shown in Table 4.1, we can conclude that Group B (men from Puigcerdà who appeared in a notarial entry from this year but without their hometown stated), very probably included at least 233 men (the figure for those I considered the most likely to be from Puigcerdà), and potentially as many as 776 (the sum of the first three lines), with 416 (the sum of the first two categories) as a reasonable mid-point. Adding each of these to the list of men in Group A, we arrive at three possible lists of men who could

[29] One also sees variants where the hometown is listed prior to the father's name, such as "Ramon Ferrer of Puigcerdà, son of Arnau Ferrer," but there is a clear lack of consistency in the way things like this are recorded.

[30] Among the remaining men who did not have their hometown clearly stated, I made a determination based on any information I could identify about them, including their occupation, the names and hometowns of their family members, the type of contracts they appeared in, the role they played within those contracts, where the owned land, etc. This analysis is thus, admittedly, somewhat subjective. Given the fact (as will be discussed in Chapter 5) that nearly all artisans in Cerdanya lived in Puigcerdà, I included all artisans among those more likely to be from Puigcerdà. Conversely because hardly any knights or *donzells* (unknighted members of the lesser nobility, often the sons of knights) were identified as being residents of Puigcerdà, I counted all such men as likely not to be residents of Puigcerdà. (Many would have had substantial castles and fortified homes in the countryside, although they may also have owned townhouses in Puigcerdà).

represent the total number of uniquely identifiable adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who appeared in one of the surviving contracts from this year. The sums of these three lists are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Total Uniquely Identifiable Adult Christian Men from Puigcerdà Appearing in Surviving Contracts from 1321/2, in Groups A and B

Set	**Total in Group B**	**Group A**	**Total**
Set 1 – Minimum	233	1,385	1,618
Set 2 – Mid-point	416 (233 + 183)	1,385	1,801
Set 3 – Maximum	776 (233 + 183 + 360)	1,385	2,161

Thus, I conclude that the actual total number of uniquely identifiable adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who appeared in one of the surviving notarial entries from this year was at least 1,618 men, and potentially as many as 2,161 men, with 1,801 as my reasonable middle estimate.

Group C: Men From Puigcerdà Appearing in a Surviving Contract, but Not Uniquely Identifiable

The estimates given in the preceding section reflect the number of uniquely identifiable names of men that appeared in the surviving contracts, drawn from entries in my database. But the very limited pool of names (particularly of first names, but also, to a lesser extent, of surnames) in common use in Puigcerdà during the early fourteenth century means that there would have been a surprisingly large percentage of men in the town who shared their full first and last name with someone else. Men who shared a name were not always fully distinguished from one another in the notarial entries. For example, if there were two different men, both named Bernat Ferrer, in Puigcerdà appearing in different contracts, but both were described in the same way, my cross-referencing method would identify these as the same man. All three

estimates for the number of men in Groups A and B together listed above thus probably undercount the number of men with the most common first and last names. The list I mentioned in the chapter's introduction, the August 1345 list of 1,265 resident men offers us insight into the extent to which men in this society would have shared their names.[31] This list does not provide a perfect comparison to the list of adult men I have drawn up from the year 1321/2 because it does not include clerics, may not include men as young as fourteen, and may be limited only to town citizens and not all town residents. Nonetheless, it is still a valuable point of reference for the extent of name-sharing in this society.[32]

The list of men from 1345 shows a very high percentage of men with the same name as someone else. It is clear that 450 out of 1,265, or 35.6 percent, of the men in this list shared the same first and last name as someone else.[33] For many of these shared names, the individuals were further distinguished in some way (such as by their occupation or the name of their father), but for 118 of the names on this list or, 9.3 percent of the total, at least two men shared a name but were not distinguished from each other in any way whatsoever.[34] This includes six different

[31] Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 23-4. The original document can be found here: ACCE, Reg. 434, fols. 47v-55r. A draft version in a manual can be found here: ACCE, Reg. 423, fol. 21r (a). The initial list contains 1137 names; an additional 128 names, presumably those of men who were not present at the original meeting, were added to the end of it later on.

[32] Religious figures likely did not have any rights in town governance. Philip Daileader has shown that Christian clergy could not be citizens in Perpignan and therefore were exempted from both certain obligations and privileges associated with citizenship there. Daileader, *True Citizens*, 115. It is not clear what regulations governed citizenship in Puigcerdà, but it was likely to be similar and we would therefore expect that clergy did not have a right to participate in the meeting for which this list was drawn. Further comparison on these figures will be provided in a later section.

[33] This number is only 429 or 35.6 percent if one draws a distinction between the name Jaume and what Bosom interpreted as the name Jaumet. I, however, do not draw such a distinction, as in general the name Jaumet does not appear within the notarial documents and would likely have been recorded in the same way as the name Jaume, of which it is a diminutive form.

[34] By distinguished, I mean for example, that one Guillem Arnau is identified as a weaver, another Guillem Arnau as a carpenter.

men named Guillem Puig, none of whom is distinguished in any way from the other five![35] Additionally, some men who shared a name also shared an occupation; there were three weavers all named Bernat Soler, and three other weavers all named Pere Ponç.[36] This list shows how common shared names were in fourteenth-century Puigcerdà, as over a third of men shared their full name with someone else.

We can also look at the rates of men who shared their names among the three lists (minimum, middle and maximum) approximating the number of adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who appeared in the surviving contracts (that is the three sets for the sums of Groups A and B together as discussed in the previous section). These rates are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Percent of Uniquely Identifiable Adult Men from Puigcerdà Sharing a Name[37]

Set	**Total Men (Groups A and B)**	**Men Sharing a Name**	**Percent Sharing a Name**
Set 1 – Minimum	1,618	393	24.3%
Set 2 – Mid-point	1,801	470	26.1%
Set 3 – Maximum	2,161	504	23.3%

In all three cases, the percentage of men who could be identified sharing their name with someone else (which ranged between 23.3 percent and 26.1 percent) was considerably lower

[35]Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 85. It would be extremely difficult to determine that there were six individuals named Guillem Puig merely by reading the notarial documents if they are never identified with further information and never appear all together in a single contract.

[36] Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 84 and 88.

[37] I only identified multiple holders of the same name when information was stated that clearly precluded the possibility that all references to the name referred to one person. For example, Guillem d'Isòvol son of Guillem could not be the same person as Guillem d'Isòvol son of Jaume, and therefore it is clear that there were at least two men named Guillem d'Isòvol. But if the same name appeared in another document with a different but not contradictory description, such as "Guillem d'Isòvol the carpenter," it would not be possible to say definitively that there were three men with this name, since the carpenter could be the same as one of the other two.

than that seen in the list of men from 1345. Certainly, it is possible that the diversity of first names (and therefore the number of people with less common names) had decreased in the generation between 1322 and 1345. Indeed, even the smallest list of men from 1321/2 (Set 1, representing the reasonable minimum) includes fifty-nine distinct first names while the 1345 list contains only forty-five.[38] Even still, it seems unlikely the percentage of people with the same name as someone else would have changed from one in four to one in three in just twenty-three years. The popularity of the most common names clearly remained strong throughout this period given that the same top seven first names were held by 1,382 (85.4 percent) of the 1,618 distinct men from 1321/2 in Set 1 and by 1,101 (87 percent) of the 1,265 men listed in 1345.[39] If we assume that the percent of men sharing a name in 1321/2 was closer to that seen in the list from 1345 than the minimum percent of name sharing we are able to identify, then we can assume that all three potential lists of adult Christian men appearing in contracts from 1321/2 undercount additional men. These undercounted men were those who were active a surviving contract, but who could not be identified as a unique individual because they were "hidden," and insufficiently distinguished from another man with the same name.[40] These "hidden" men comprise Group C.

[38] This rises to forty-six if one draws a distinction between Jaume and Jaumet. Bosom i Isern completed an onomastic analysis of this list, but I found it necessary to redo it. He mistakenly counted the name *Ferrarius* as the same as the name Francesc and omitted many unusual names because they were "not names." Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 25-7.

[39] In both years, the seven most common first names were: Arnau, Bernat, Guillem, Jaume, Joan, Pere and Ramon. On both lists Pere was the most common name and the last three were Jaume, Arnau and Joan (in decreasing order of popularity). The order of the three names varies. In both lists, the top five names all appeared over 130 times each, and Arnau and Joan each appeared over sixty times each.

[40] My list from 1321/2 could only identify a minimum of two men named Guillem Puig, for example, in comparison to the six men with this name listed in 1345.

If we assume that the proportion of men appearing in a surviving register from 1321/2 who have a shared name is actually higher than the minimum number I can identify, and closer to the proportion of those sharing a name in the 1345 list, then we can estimate the number of men who are "hidden" in the three lists of unique men appearing in registers from 1321/2 (Groups A and B in Sets 1, 2 and 3). This can be modeled by the following equation:

$$R = \frac{S + H}{D + H}$$

where R is the rate at which men share a name, D is the number of men who can be distinctly identified, S is the number of men who can be identified as sharing a name, and H is the number of men who are hidden.[41] I will illustrate this example using Set 1. We know that at least 24.3 percent of the men in this set shared their name with someone else, as we can identify at least 393 out of 1,618 who do. If that was the actual rate at which men shared their names in 1321/2, then no men would be "hidden". If instead we assume that the percentage of men sharing their name with someone else was actually the same in 1321/2 as it was in 1345 (i.e. 35.6 percent), then we would expect 286 men to be "hidden" and the total number of adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who actually appeared within the surviving registers to have been 1,902. Table 4.4 shows the likely different possible figures for Group C for each of the three sets, derived from this equation each based on three different estimates of the rate of name sharing. These estimates

[41] This equation works if one assumes that all men appeared in a surviving notarial entry, something that we know was almost certainly not the case. For example, when it refers to R as the rate at which men share a name, it can derive the number of hidden men only if that is the rate at which men who appeared in a surviving entry shared a name. We are not able to know anything about the names of men who would not have appeared in a surviving notarial entry (either because it was lost, as for those men in Group D, or because they did not have business to conduct or witness that year, as for the men in Group E). Nonetheless, it seems likely that the men appearing in a surviving entry would have had a similar rate of name sharing to the overall population, and this equation provides a reasonable means of estimating the number of men in Group C. This equation is a simplification of the following equations: R = S/T, S = Z + H, and T = D+H, where all variables are the same as described above, T is the total number of men, and Z is the number of men who can be identified as sharing their name.

include the low point, assuming that no men are hidden, a high point, assuming than 35.6 percent of men shared their names (as was the case in 1345), and a midpoint between the two.

Table 4.4: Estimates for Group C, Men Not Distinctly Identified

Groups A+B	**Estimated Percent Sharing a Name**	**Number of men "hidden" (Group C)**	**New Total, with "hidden" men (A+B+C)**
Set 1			
1,618	24.3%	0	1,618
1,618	30%	130	1,748
1,618	35.6%	284	1,902
Set 2			
1,801	26.1%	0	1,801
1,801	30.8%	122	1,923
1,801	35.6%	266	2,068
Set 3			
2,161	23.3%	0	2,161
2,161	29.5%	189	2,350
2,161	35.6%	412	2,573

As Table 4.4 shows, the total number of men in Group C, (that is, men from Puigcerdà who appeared in a notarial entry in this year but who could not be uniquely identified) was probably somewhere between zero and 412. Moving forward I will use the value for Group C derived from the middle-range possibility for the percent of men sharing a name. Using these values and adding them to the existing estimates for the sum of Groups A and B, we can estimate that the total number of adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who appeared in one of the surviving notarial entries from this year was probably at least 1,748 men, and potentially as high as 2,350 men, with 1,923 as a reasonable middle estimate.

<u>Group D: Men who appeared only in a notarial entry that has now been lost</u>

In addition to those men who did appear in one of the surviving entries (Groups A, B and C), there was surely also some segment of the adult male population who did not (Groups D, E and F). We know that not all of the notarial registers that were originally produced in Puigcerdà during this year survive today. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, because of the specific organization of notarial practice in Puigcerdà, we have a very clear picture of precisely what registers are missing. As Table 4.5 shows, the three pairs of notaries working in Puigcerdà in that year each created one of each of the following four types of registers, three of which have not survived to the present. Any men from Puigcerdà who were active only in contracts in one of these registers would fall into Group D. These three missing registers create a set that includes one book of outsiders, one book of debts and one book of wills, each of which was created by a different notarial pair. This set is highlighted in Table 4.5 in red. We can create two comparable sets that also each contain one register of each of these same three types of books all from different notarial pairs. These are highlighted in Table 4.5 in yellow and blue.

Table 4.5: Register Sets Comparable to Missing Registers from 1321/2

Type	**Mateu d'Oliana & Guillem Hualart**	**Jaume Garriga & Mateu d'Alb**	**Bernat Blanch & Arnau Esteve**
Liber firmitatis	Reg. 17, 169 folios	Reg. 79, 109 folios	Reg. 114, 89 folios
Liber extraneorum		Reg. 92, 59 folios	Reg. 125, 75 folios
Liber debitorum	Reg. 28, 97 folios		Reg. 131, 96 folios
Liber testamentorum	Reg. 31, 33 folios	Reg. 255, 10 folios	

Using the three lists of men in Groups A and B from this year (that is, the three lists representing a minimum, mid-range and maximum estimate of how many men from Puigcerdà appeared in one of the surviving notarial registers), we are able to know how many men appeared in an active role only in either the blue or yellow register set, and not in any of the surviving books of

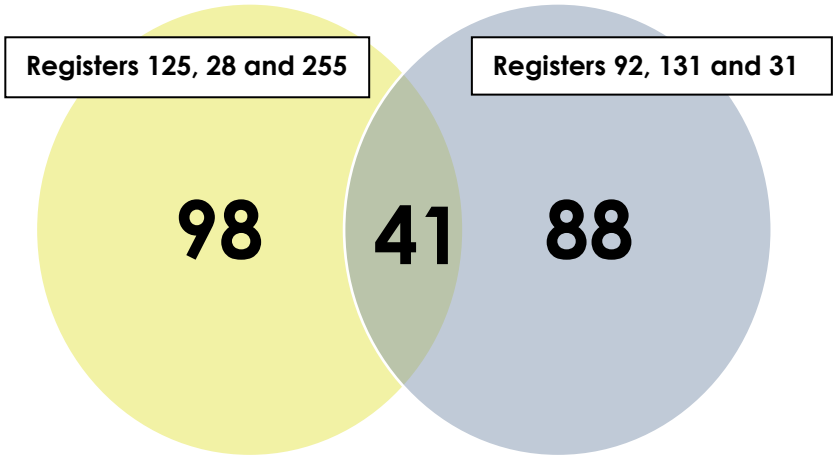
townspeople, as well as how many men appeared in both the yellow and blue registers and not in one of the books of townspeople. If we assume that the missing registers (the set highlighted in red) were similar to these two other sets, and that the rate at which people who appeared in one of these sets also appeared in another one was similar, then, using Bayes theorem and analysis of the men from Groups A and B who appear only in these blue and yellow registers, we can estimate the number of men who would have appeared only one of the red registers and not in any other register.[42] In this way we can estimate how many men would have appeared only in one of the lost registers. I will illustrate this method using Groups A and B from Set 1 (the minimum set, discussed above, including those men definitively and very probably from Puigcerdà). As shown in Figure 4.2, there would have been some men who appeared only in the blue register set, some men who appeared only in the yellow register set, some who appeared only in the red register set, and some men who appeared in more than one of these sets, and some who appeared in all three.

[42] Bayes theorem is a mathematical result which allows one to relate the probabilities of two different events occurring. For example, if it rains today that could be called event A, and if it was cloudy yesterday, that could be called event B. Bayes theorem gives a formula expressing the probability that event A will occur given that event B has already occurred, written P(A|B). This quantity is equal to the product of the probability of A occurring independently of B, written P(A), times the probability that event B will occur given that event A has already occurred, written P(B|A), and divided by the probability of event B occurring independently of event A, written P(B). In a single equation, this is expressed as $P(A|B) = (P(B|A)P(A))/(P(B))$.

Figure 4.2: Overlap of Register Sets Comparable to Missing Registers from 1321/2

Of the men in Groups A and B from Set 1, ninety-eight appeared only in one of the yellow registers, and eighty-eight appeared only in one of the blue registers, and an additional forty-one appeared in both one of the yellow registers and one of the blue registers (and not in any of the books of townspeople). This can be seen in Figure 4.3.

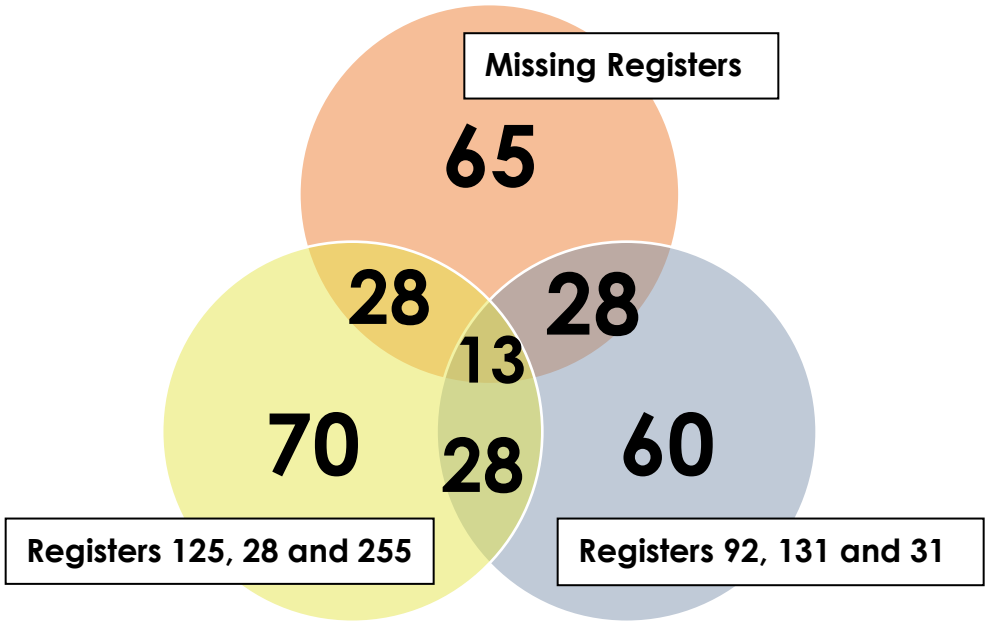
Figure 4.3: Number of Men in Groups A and B (in Set 1) in Appearing in Registers Comparable to Missing Registers



Assuming that the missing registers were similar to these two register sets, and that the rate at which men who appeared in one of these sets also appeared in another one was also similar, then,

using Bayes theorem, we can set up equations to solve for the number of men who would have appeared in each register set, and the number appearing in multiple register sets or in all three.[43] For Set 1, this is shown below in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4: Number of Men in Groups A and B (in Set 1) in Appearing in Registers Comparable to Missing Registers and Number Likely Appearing in Missing Registers



[43] Specifically, I have made four assumptions. Firstly, I have assumed that the total number of men who appeared in an active role in a notarial entry from this year in one of the missing registers (red) and not in a book of townspeople was similar to the average of the number of such men who appeared in the two comparable sets of registers that each include one book of debts, one book of outsiders and one book of wills each created by a different notarial pair (yellow and blue). This seems likely a highly reasonable assumption. This theory is also supported by the fact that the numbers of men appearing in each of the two comparable sets (and not in a book of townspeople) are highly similar to each other. Secondly, I have assumed that the rate at which men who appeared in one of the yellow registers and men who appeared in one of the blue registers also appeared in a red register is similar to the rate at which men that appeared in one of these register groups also appeared in the other. Finally, I have also assumed that the rate at which men who appeared in all three registers was similar to the rate at which men who appeared in a yellow or blue register appeared in both.

For Set 1, this method thus estimates that there would have been 65 men who appeared only in one of the missing registers, and not in one of the books of townspeople or in one of the other books of debts, books of outsiders or books of wills. We can complete this same analysis on the men in Group A and B for the other two sets (middle and maximum estimates). Estimates for the number of men who would have appeared only in one of the missing registers (Group D) for all three sets can be seen in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Estimates for Group D, Men Appearing Only in Missing Registers[44]

Set	**Number only in 1st Group (Yellow)**	**Number only in 2nd Group (Blue)**	**Number in Both Groups 1 and 2**	**Estimated number only in Missing Registers (Group D)**	**Previous Total (A+B+C)**	**New Total (A+B+C+D)**
Set 1 – Minimum	88	98	41	65	1,748	1,813
Set 2 – Middle	112	113	44	81	1,923	2,004
Set 3 – Maximum	219	182	53	159	2,350	2,509

Using the method identified above, and as shown in Table 4.6, we can therefore estimate, conservatively, that the number of men in Group D (those who appeared only in a register which as not survived to the present) was somewhere between sixty-five and 159, with eighty-one as a

[44] These estimates for Group D are all probably on the conservative side. Firstly, this is because these estimates are based only on the numbers of men in Groups A and B, without accounting for estimates for the number of men in Group C (those who appeared in a surviving register, but who could not be uniquely identified). Secondly, this is because this method is not able to account for Christian men who may have been active only in one of the lost books of Jews. We know very little about what the books of Jews would have contained, since very few examples of such books survive to the present, but these registers almost certainly contained many Christians conducting business with Jews, and it is thus likely that some Christian men from Puigcerdà appeared only in one of these registers during the year 1321/2. We simply cannot estimate the number of such men (nor the percent of them who would have overlapped with those men who appeared only in one of the other missing registers) with any accuracy.

reasonable midpoint. Combined with our previous estimates for the number of men in Groups A, B and C, this yields a new total for the number of adult Christian men from Puigcerdà who would have participated actively in a notarial entry in this year. This sum was probably somewhere between 1,813 and 2,509 men, with 2,004 as a reasonable midpoint.

Group E: Contract-worthy men who were not active in any notarial entries in the year 1321/2

There were presumably some men residing in Puigcerdà during this year, who, though of the type who might participate in a notarial contract, had no business to conduct or witness during this particular year. These men would comprise Group E. In order to estimate the number of such men, I look at the number of men from Groups A and B who appeared in contracts each number of times in one of the surviving registers (i.e. the number of men active in one notarial entry, in two entries, etc.), plot them logarithmically and run a linear regression through those points (i.e. it uses a way of averaging these points to find the rate of change between them) to find the number of men who would have appeared in zero entries if the surviving entries were the total number produced. This essentially provides a means of estimating the odds that a given "contract-worthy" man would have appeared in a notarial entry in this year, based on an estimate of the rate at which other contract-worthy men appeared in surviving entries. In this section I will continue to illustrate the method using the example of Set 1. Figure 4.5 shows the number of men in Groups A and B from Set 1 by how many times they were active in a notarial entry. Figure 4.6 magnifies the first section of Figure 4.5, showing only men who participated in fifty or fewer entries.

Figure 4.5: Set 1, Men in Groups A and B by Number of Active Appearances in Notarial Entries from 1321/2

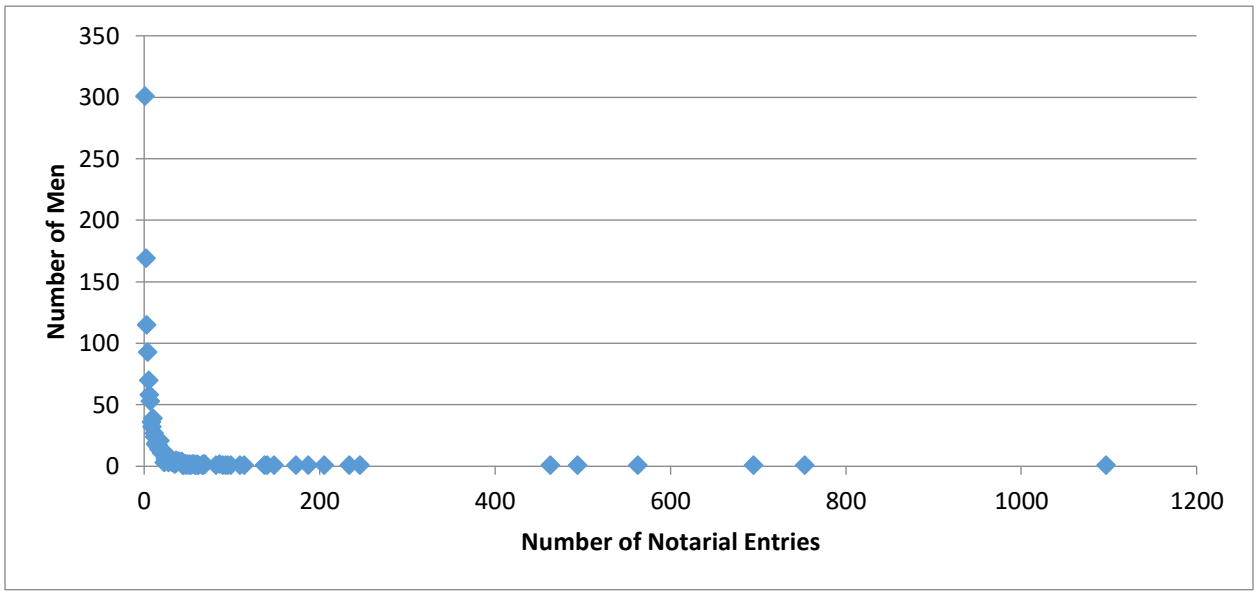
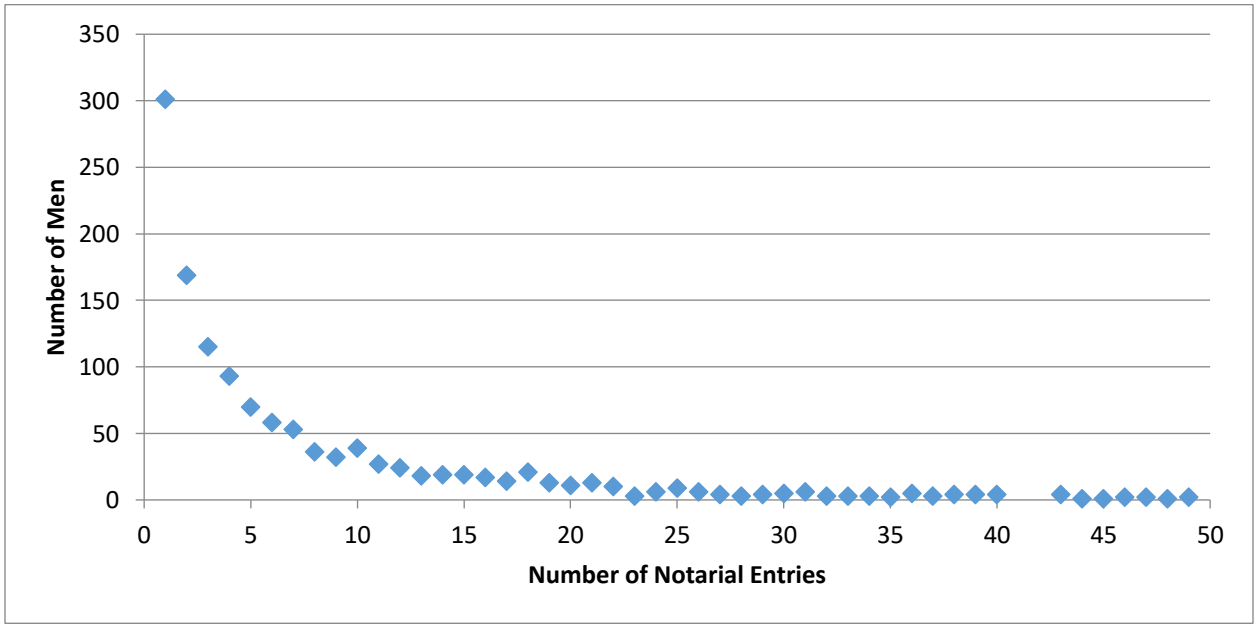


Figure 4.6: Set 1, Men in Groups A and B by Number of Active Appearances in Notarial Entries from 1321/2, Men Appearing 1-50 times



A variety of factors complicate the model. Firstly, it is not possible to know exactly how many men appeared each number of times in a surviving contract. As noted above, some of what I record as one man in my lists of men in Group A and B are actually multiple men who share a name but whose unique identity could not be distinguished. What I am plotting in this section as "men" are in fact not men, strictly speaking, but uniquely identifiable identities of men. This means that the information on how many times each of these men appeared in a surviving entry will in some cases be overestimated. Sometimes what appears to be a single man who appeared in eight entries may be two men who each appeared in four entries or one who appeared in one entry and one who appeared in seven. It could even be three, four, or even more individual men, all with the same name. Further, in some cases, I am able to identify that there were at least two men with the same name, and yet cannot determine how many times each of them appeared in a surviving notarial entry. For example, there were at least two men living in Puigcerdà named Jaume Mercader. One was a draper, the other was a weaver. The draper appeared in at least 157 notarial entries.[45] The weaver appeared in at least three. But there were an additional 266 entries in which a man named Jaume Mercader participated in a surviving entry but without his occupation listed.[46] In this particular case it is highly likely that the vast majority of these 266 references refer to the draper, and not to the weaver.[47] If so that would mean he appeared in 423 notarial entries in that year, and that he was conducting business before the notary well in excess

[45] This includes all references in which a Jaume Mercader was identified as a *draperius*, a *pannerius*, or a *mercator*.

[46] In many of these Jaume Mercader was acting as a guardian or curator of an underage person, and that role would have been enough to distinguish him to the notaries or a member of the local community, although in many cases there is simply no distinguishing information evident.

[47] This is partly because, in many of these 266 references the man is either selling cloth or acting as the guardian of one of the children of other prominent mercantile families, and these 266 references overall look rather similar to the other times in which the draper appeared. Technically, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that there were in fact three or even more men named Jaume Mercader.

of once per day on average. It seems plausible therefore, that the notaries considered the draper to be the default Jaume Mercader, and that they often omitted his occupation to save space, but always included it for the weaver in order to distinguish him from the primary Jaume Mercader.[48] While in this case we can make an educated guess about which of the two men these 266 unassignable references belong to, in other cases, particularly those with far fewer references, it is not possible to make this kind of judgement with any accuracy. Thus, in plotting the men from Groups A and B for all three sets, I omit all cases like this, such that, for example, in Figures 4.4 and 4.5, neither of the men named Jaume Mercader is included. This does mean omitting a relatively large percentage of the available data, as, for example, such cases comprised 313 (19.3 percent) out of the 1,618 men in Groups A and B in Set 1.

A second issue with this method is that we must rely only on information about the number of time men appeared in surviving notarial entries. Some of the people who appeared in a surviving notarial entry would also have appeared additional times in other registers that are now lost, which would also skew the numbers of how many entries each man participated in on average. This fact also complicates our ability to estimate the true probability that any given contract-worthy man who would have appeared in a contract. The fact that we may be counting multiple, indistinguishable men as one man would presumably cause us to overestimate the average rate at which men appeared in notarial entries during this year. If we mistake two men who each appeared in three entries for only one man who appeared in six entries, we would skew our estimate of the rate of contract-participation toward higher numbers of entries per man. On the other hand, the fact that we must omit the relatively large number of men, such as both Jaume

[48] There is also considerably additional evidence that the draper Jaume Mercader was one of the richest and most prominent members of the community of Puigcerdà. One Jaume Mercator, probably the draper, served as a consul of Puigcerdà at least eight times between 1308 and 1338.

Mercaders, for whom there were entries that could not be definitively attributed to one or the other of men with the same name, and the fact that some men would have appeared in additional entries in the now lost registers would both lead us to underestimate the rate at which men appeared in notarial entries.

A third major factor that would theoretically complicate our ability to model these data is the fact that were clearly different segments of "contract-worthy" society that appeared in notarial entries at vastly different rates. In medieval Catalonia, common laypeople were considered to be divided into three tiers, called the "*mà major*," the "*mà mitjana*" and the "*mà menor*" (the "greater hand," "middle hand," and "smaller hand").[49] The "*mà major*" has traditionally been defined as including the wealthiest patricians (particularly those who had bought up the type of seigneurial rights traditionally held by the nobility), while the "*middle hand*" has traditionally been considered to include wealthier merchants, and professional men such as notaries and jurists, and the "*mà menor*" has traditionally included those poorer members of urban society such as small-scale artisans. We know that the people of medieval Puigcerdà divided themselves in this tri-part way, given references to the three "hands" in parchments relating to the town.[50] But to the extent that I can identify differences between different groups by how commonly they appeared within notarial entries, they do not divide themselves along the lines of these three "hands". Instead the groups I would identify are slightly different.

[49] The medieval legislative assemblies of Catalonia (the Corts) included representatives from each of three different estates: "*Braç eclesiàstic*" (the "clerical arm"), the "*Braç militar*" (the "military arm," comprised of members of the nobility, and what was called either the "*Braç reial*" or the "*Braç popuar*" (the royal or popular arm comprised of the common laymen living in towns and cities throughout Catalonia. The "*mà major*," "*mà mitjana*" and the "*mà menor*" made up the three segments of the "*Braç reial*."

[50] For example, in 1269, when faced with a dispute regarding the collection of certain fees in Puigcerdà, the king ordered the creation of a council comprised of six men, two from the greater men, two from the middle men, and two from the smaller men. Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis,* 51-52.

Notarial assistants, who served as witnesses very frequently, could appear in an immensely high number of entries in a single year. For example, the scribe Bernat de Nevà served as a witness in 1,149 non-cancelled notarial entries (15.5 percent of the 7,432 total surviving non-cancelled entries). His fellow scribe Bernat de Prats served as a witness in 1,096 entries (14.75 percent of the total). Other scribes show lower, but still very high numbers. Wealthy landowners and merchants could also appear numerous times. As the example of the two Jaume Mercaders has shown, at least one of the two men by this name appeared in surviving non-cancelled contracts from this year a minimum of 157 times, and probably closer to 423 times. The men of Puigcerdà appear to fit roughly into at least three different groups, each which would appear in notarial entries at a very different rate: 1) notarial assistants 2) merchants, wealthy landowners and other people very active in business or legal agreements and 3) regular people, who presumably appeared in notarial entries at a far, far lower rate than the first two groups. Except for the notarial assistants, who can be fairly easily identified, it is hard to draw clear distinctions between these groups or to get an accurate picture of how many people fell into each category, or at what average rate the members of that group appeared in notarial entries.[51]

[51] The rate of participation in notarial entries is also influenced by several other factors that are very hard to assess. For example, while our figures track the number of men over the age of fourteen, men did not have full rights to dispose of their inherited property until age twenty-five. It seems plausible that that men aged twenty-five to thirty were generally involved in more contracts per year on average than men aged fourteen to twenty, but we have no definitive information on this fact. It also seems likely that the rate at which people appeared in any one entry was not independent of how many other entries they had appeared in in that year and that appearing in some entries might raise the likelihood a person would appear in even more entries. For example, the kind of major lifetime event that might propel someone who would otherwise rarely appear in notarial contracts to visit the notary might also be of the sort that would require him to appear in numerous contracts within a single year. For example, a man who generally visited the notary only for the most major, uncommon transfers of familial property, might, nonetheless, have to appear in numerous contracts in the year his father died, dispersing his father's bequests individually to various relatives or religious institutions, hiring priests to say masses for his father's soul, and/or transferring pieces of land and property among his relatives. Additionally, another common choice for witnesses (aside from notarial assistants) was the other people conducting business in the notarial office on the same day. Therefore, men who appeared often to enter into their own contracts became more likely to be chosen to witness someone else's.

The division between these three segments of society is clearly a gradual one. The available data do not fit a model in which there were two or three completely distinct populations who appeared in notarial entries at different rates. [52] Instead, these data appear to fit a model in which there are multiple populations entering into contracts at different rates, but with some level of blurring or overlap between them. The socio-economic divisions of society, including any divisions between the three "hands," are, thus, more accurately represented by a gradient than a strictly divided hierarchy. This can be seen most clearly in Figure 4.6, showing the men in Groups A and B from Set 1 who appeared in fifty or fewer entries by how many entries they participated in: the number of men appearing each number of times trails off gradually. There were a sizeable number of men who appeared in numerous notarial entries in this year. Among the men in Groups A and B from Set 1, there were at least 460 men (28.4 percent of the total in those two groups) who appeared in an active role in ten or more surviving notarial entries, and at least 117 men (7.2 percent of the total) who appeared actively in thirty or more surviving entries.[53] But there is no obviously sharp break between which we would draw a distinction between regular people who appear in entries fairly rarely, and the wealthy merchants who appear frequently. We can however, assume that there were vast differences in the rates of contract-participation across these three groups. This fact would make it difficult to extrapolate

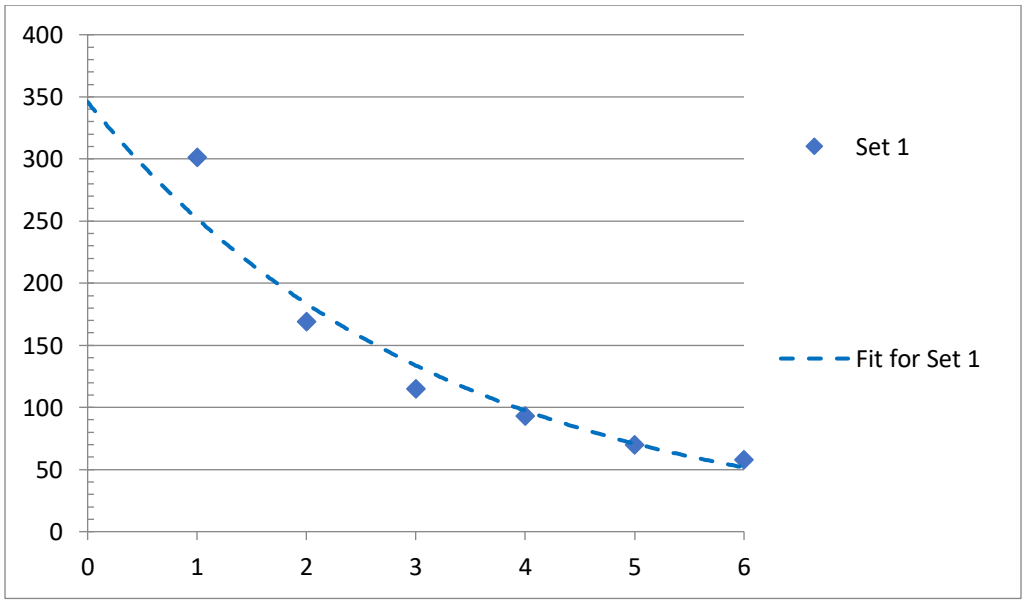
[52] If all people appeared in contracts at the same rate, we would expect to see the data fit a Poisson distribution, but it clearly does not. If there were two (or more) completely separate populations each appearing at a different rate, we would see the data fit a bi-modal or multi-modal distribution, and they also do not.

[53] In these numbers, I am counting those men who shared a name and for whom there were some references that could not be assigned to either men, if they appeared at least ten (or thirty) times or more. For example, of the two Jaume Mercaders, the draper is included because he definitely appeared at least 157 times, while the weaver is not. Even though these figures are almost certainly inflated by the fact that these data cannot account for cases where what looks like one man was actually two or more separate but indistinguishable individuals, it remains clear that there was a sizeable segment of the population who appeared in numerous entries in a single year. Additionally, these numbers likely slightly under count some men who appeared numerous times but for whom a majority of their total references could not be assigned between two men of the same name, as well as those who would have appeared many more times in the registers that have now been lost than they appeared in the surviving registers.

an average rate of contract participation for all men and make it likely that attempting to use the full range of available points to determine this rate would yield a highly misleading estimate of the number of men who would have been active in zero contracts.

Instead, to calculate the number of men likely to have been active in zero notarial entries, I look only at the number of men appearing six or fewer times, in accordance with statistical practice.[54] I then plotted the number of men appearing each number of times logarithmically and ran a linear regression through these points to find the rate of change between them, and the likely number of men who would have appeared in zero contracts if that were indeed the average rate of contract-participation for such men. An example of this using Set 1 can be seen in Figure 4.7.

Figure 4.7: Linear Regression of the Log of Men Appearing in one to six Notarial Entries, Set 1



[54] I essentially assume that the rate of contract participation among men who appeared one to six times will most accurately reflect the rate of contract participation of the regular contract-worthy townsmen.

In this case, this method suggests that if the surviving contracts were equal to the total number of original contracts, then approximately 346 men would have appeared in zero notarial entries in this year.[55] Using this method for all three sets, I find that the number of contract-worthy men who would have been active in no contracts in this year would have been at least around 346, and potentially as high as 695, with 422 as a reasonable mid-point. This can be seen in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: Total Contract-worthy Adult Christian Men of Puigcerdà in 1321/2

Set	**Previous Total (A+B+C+D)**	**Estimated men active in zero entries in this year (Group E)**	**Total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men of Puigcerdà (A+B+C+D+E)**
Set 1 – Minimum	1,813	346	2,159
Set 2 – Middle	2,004	422	2,426
Set 3 – Maximum	2,509	695	3,204

These three figures for the number of men in Group E are all almost certainly underestimates.[56] Nonetheless these models provide a useful rough estimate for Group E, that when added to our previous totals, enables us to approximate the total number of contract worthy men living in Puigcerdà in this year. This total number was at least around 2,159 and potentially as high as around 3,204, with 2,426 as a reasonable mid-point. Although my estimates for the number of

[55] Additionally, it is worth noting that in this case the points are fairly close to the line of best fit, and very consistent, having an r-squared value of .96. The r-squared value, also known as the coefficient of determination, can vary from zero to one, with one being perfect correlation with the line, and zero being no correlation with the line. In this case we see very high correlation with the line, indicating that these data are well-modeled.

[56] This is true firstly because the fact that some of these "men" may actually reflect multiple men with the same name, likely inflates the average rate of contract-participation, which would yield an underestimate of the number of men active in zero contracts (although this risk is somewhat mitigated by looking only at the number of men who appeared six or fewer times). Further, these figures are probably underestimates because for all three sets I had to omit a large section of the available data (all the men who shared their name and for whom there were some contracts that could not be clearly attributed to one or the other), and because this analysis is based only on the number of men in Groups A and B, and does not take into account estimates for the "hidden" men or for men who appeared only in now lost registers (Groups C and D).

men in Group E are likely conservative, they still suggest that either the actual total number of contract-worthy men from Puigcerdà was either much higher than I have estimated, or that a relatively high percentage of the total number of contract-worthy men living in the town would have participated actively in at least one notarial entry in a given year on average.

Table 4.8: Total Contract-worthy Adult Christian Men of Puigcerdà in 1321/2, by Percent Appearing in a Notarial Entry

Set	**Men active in a notarial entry in this year (A+B+C+D)**		**Men active in zero entries in this year (Group E)**		**Total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men of Puigcerdà (A+B+C+D+E)**
	Estimated number	**% of Total**	**Estimated number**	**% of Total**	
Set 1 – Minimum	1,813	84%	346	16%	2,159
Set 2 – Middle	2,004	82.6%	422	17.4%	2,426
Set 3 – Maximum	2,509	78.3%	695	21.7%	3,204

As Table 4.8 shows, in all three sets I have calculated here, the percent of contract worthy men who would have been active in at least one contract in this year was at least 78.3 percent and in one case as high as 84 percent. This table suggests that, either the number of men in Group E (contract-worthy men who appeared in zero contracts in this year) is too low, in which case the estimates for the total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men are also too low, or, that somewhere around 80 percent of the contract-worthy adult Christian men in the town of Puigcerdà would have participated in a notarial entry in any given year. If these estimates are accurate then this suggests that the majority of the contract-worthy population could be expected

to engage in a business before the notary (in some role) fairly often and that the rate of contract participation, even for regular people was fairly high.

Group F: Non-Contract-Worthy Men

As was noted in Chapter 3, in Puigcerdà in this period, the majority of notarial contracts involved financial transactions, and above all, *credit* transactions. Additionally, it was not free to have a notarial act recorded. The simplest, cheapest acts required a payment of three *diners* of Barcelona, while the most complex and expensive notarial acts (wills and marriages) each cost five *sous* of Barcelona or more. This fact certainly biased the types of agreements and transactions that people chose to seek notarial certification for, toward riskier, higher-value transactions, and we must assume that the great majority of lower-value transactions were simply never recorded. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that there may have been some very impoverished members of society who would have had no involvement with these contracts. Christian men residing in Puigcerdà who fell into this category would comprise Group F.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of impoverished people in medieval Puigcerdà as we have limited data on this for any city in Europe, but figures on the fiscal poor (those too poor to pay taxes) shed some light on this question. These figures do present some challenges: the definition of who was too poor to tax varied considerably from place to place and from year to year.[57] The number of people experiencing poverty was also not static; it rose and fell with economic fluctuations from year to year.[58] Nonetheless available figures indicate that a very large percentage of the population of many medieval cities experienced poverty. Sharon Farmer

[57] Bronisław Geremek, *Poverty: A History*, trans. Agnieszka Kolakowska (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 105.

[58] For example, the percentage of the population too poor to pay taxes probably rose in recession years.

has noted that "about half the population of late thirteenth-century Paris hovered somewhere in the vicinity of poverty," and that in a tax assessment of 1292, less than 25 percent of all households were identified as potential taxpayers, most of them because they were too poor for the modest tax of twelve *deniers*.[59] In Florence those defined as *miserabiles* and *pauperes* (those who were unemployed and owned no land more than one hundred *lire* in value) were exempt from taxation. Such men comprised about one third of all heads of household in Florence in the years 1355 and 1378.[60] In 1295, in the Languedocian town of Lunel, 18 percent of the population was exempted from taxation on the grounds of poverty, and in 1304 in Caracassone, 33 percent of the population was identified as "too poor to pay taxes".[61] Figures for the fiscal poor in post-plague Catalonia, drawn from the Catalan *fogatgement* (hearth tax) of 1358, indicate lower percentages of fiscal poor (*miserables*) among the population, although this information is only available for a handful of places, most of them quite small.[62] In the largest town with this figure (and the only one whose population was even remotely close in size to that of Puigcerdà), Tarragona, there were 931 hearths of which 140 (15 percent) were considered *miserable*.[63] It is

[59] Those exempt from the tax did also include the nobles and clergy. The value of the tax would have been equivalent to about a day and a half's worth of wages for laborers in construction. Sharon Farmer, "Down and Out and Female in Thirteenth-Century Paris," *The American Historical Review* 103, no. 2 (April 1998): 345–72; 353. See also: Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 68.

[60] Michel Mollat, *The Poor in the Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), 174-5; Farmer, "Down and Out," 353.

[61] Mollat, *The Poor*, 175.

[62] The percent of *miserables* in this survey ranges from 0 percent to nearly 24 percent, but very few towns include this figure, and the vast majority of those that do are small centers of under one hundred total hearths, and many of them are villages of fewer than twenty hearths. The term *miserables* surely refers to those too poor to be taxed, although what total of goods qualified one to be deemed *miserable* is unclear. Puigcerdà, along with all of Cerdanya, was not included in this survey. Josep M. Pons i Guri, "Un fogatgement desconegut de l'any 1358," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* 30 (1964): 323–498.

[63] Pons i Guri, "Fogatgement desconegut," 443. This figure counts only those hearths (*miserable* or not), described as being in the city. An additional 278 hearths were identified as being in the "faules" or outskirts of the city, of which just eighteen (6.47 percent) were *miserable*. Together the city and the outskirts made up 1239, with a

essentially impossible to use the figures on the fiscal poor in any kind of straightforward comparative manner. But it certainly seems plausible that rates of fiscal poverty in Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 might be similar to the 15 to 33 percent documented in Tarragona, Lunel and Carcassonne between 1295 and 1358. True poverty rates in these towns may have been even higher. Most taxation records such as those discussed above likely underrepresent the true numbers of impoverished people in a given town because they count only people with a fixed address and exclude beggars and other itinerant marginal people. It is difficult to find estimates for the begging poor in most medieval towns,[64] but we can guess at the existence some truly destitute people in Puigcerdà by the fact that the town had two hospitals, the Hospital Maior and the Hospital de Bernat d'Enveig, by the early fourteenth century, the former of which was also occasionally referred to as "the hospital of the poor."[65]

Such high figures for the fiscal poor, especially when increased to factor in some itinerant beggars might incline historians toward the belief that there would have been large segments of most urban populations who were not contract-worthy. My analysis of notarial activity in Puigcerdà, however, inclines me to think that the line between the fiscal poor and the contract-worthy was not so clear cut, and that the very poor could appear in an active role in notarial

miserable rate of only 12.75 percent. The next two largest towns mentioned in this document give much lower percentages of *miserable*. In Valls this figure was only 7.31 percent (forty out of 547), and in la Selva, only 5.65 percent (twenty-three out of 407).

[64] In the few cases where we have some information on this it is only for fairly large cities, and fairly late in time, though the numbers given are considerable. Bronislaw Geremek notes that wills making charitable bequests to the needy from 15th century Paris estimate the number of beggars at around 4,000 people, and that late-fifteenth century estimates put the proportion of beggars at one in ten for Ypres, and around one in six for both Troyes and Rheims. See: Geremek, *Margins of Society,* 194.

[65] See: ACCE, Llibre Verd, 19r and *Llibre Verd*, 336. Medieval hospitals did serve the sick and injured, but they were primarily charitable organizations that also largely served the very poor, especially beggars. Many of these poor people had often fallen into such poverty because, being sick or injured, they were unable to work and therefore unable to feed themselves. On this see: Geremek, *Margins of Society,* 169-170.

contracts. Firstly, the fiscal poor still had the possibility of appearing as a witness to someone else's contract. Among the surviving notarial entries from the year 1321/2 there were at least 370 men who only ever participated actively in one of the surviving notarial entries as a witness and who were either definitively or possibly from Puigcerdà.[66] Admittedly, some of these men may have appeared in other roles in additional notarial entries that have not survived, but clearly some would have appeared only as a witness. And some, perhaps even most, of those men may have been relatively poor men, especially young men, whose assets did not allow them to engage in many financial or credit transactions before the notary on their own behalf, but who were still trustworthy enough members of society to witness the contracts of their friends and family members. Broader research on poverty has emphasized that the same person might move in and out of poverty during different periods of their life. Particularly difficult periods, in which more individuals might experience poverty, could include the earliest years after marriage, when a young couple had young children to feed and care for who were not yet able to support the family, or old age, when their earning potential had been significantly reduced.[67] Some of the poorer members of the society of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 might have been experiencing a temporary period of poverty, but nonetheless remained tied to friends and family members who were more active within the broader economy and whose contracts they witnessed or affirmed. Such men would still have been contract-worthy, even if poor.

[66] This includes men in Groups A and B from Set 3 (i.e. the set in which I assume a larger percentage of the men who had no hometown listed were residents of Puigcerdà). I omit those men who were only active as a witness but who were clearly identified as being from somewhere other than Puigcerdà. I also omit those men who shared a name with someone else and for whom there were appearances that could not be definitively attributed to either of them. Examining only Groups A and B in Set 1 (including only those men without their hometown stated who I considered to be very probably from Puigcerdà), this number still includes fifty-three men.

[67] On this see: Richard Wall and John Henderson, "Introduction," in *Poor Women and Children in the European Past* (London: Routledge, 1994), 1–28, pages 4-6.

Secondly, as was also discussed in Chapter 3, in Puigcerdà people recorded debts even for very low sums. The value threshold for recording debts in this year tended to be around one hundred *diners* of Barcelona, and at least one contract was recorded for a debt of only fifty-four *diners*. The daily wages of unskilled laborers working on the construction of a local bridge ranged between eighteen and twenty-two *diners* per day for men in 1326, and between ten to twenty *diners* per day in 1328.[68] Based on these wages, we can infer that the lowest values that people contracted for were equal to approximately three to five days' unskilled work. A man would have to be destitute and probably crippled, to be entirely cut off from the possibility of ever borrowing a sum as low as this. We should also remember that, while the cost of three to four *diners* that the notaries charged to record even the most basic acts might have been prohibitive to some very poor people, it was probably the comparatively wealthier creditor (who, naturally had a greater desire to have a record of the transaction) who paid this fee in many cases. Additionally, at least by 1338, the consuls of Puigcerdà had granted a privilege to the poor of the town that ordered the notaries to record the wills, codicils and marriage contracts of the poor of Puigcerdà for no fee.[69]

Further, the very poor were clearly sometimes active in notarial contracts. Young journeymen and housemaids, working for low wages and with almost no assets to their name, are often cited among the urban working poor of medieval Europe, and yet they appear regularly being hired in labor contracts, recorded by notaries. There is even a case from late thirteenth-century Puigcerdà that shows how the line between destitute beggars and the contract-worthy

[68] See Chapter 3, and Simon Lleixà, "Pont d'Aravó," 165.

[69] It is not clear when this privilege was first enacted, and it may not have been in force in 1321/2. It can be seen clearly, however, in an appointment of notarial scribes for the year 1338. ADPO, 7J45. As noted in Chapter 2, this document is undated, but I accept the date of 1338 identified by Albert Salsas.

was considerably blurrier than we might initially think. In October of 1298 a shoemaker named Pere Colomer hired an apprentice named Guillem Czabater, and promised to provide him with all necessities, but also expected that, when necessary, his apprentice would beg for bread door-to-door throughout the town "for the love of God". [70] This apprentice was a part-time beggar, and even the employer in this case appears to have been in such a precarious financial position that he could barely spare the extra bread needed to feed his apprentice, yet both were contract-worthy.

In light of this evidence, I would argue that, even accepting the probability that a large portion of the town's population probably have hovered in the vicinity of poverty, many poor people still participated in notarial culture, meaning that the total number of people who were not-contract-worthy in Puigcerdà in this year was probably relatively small. While I can only guess at the size of this population in the sketchiest of terms, I would estimate that the number of Christian people so destitute, or so unrespectable they had no chance of appearing in a notarial entry in this year in any capacity was probably not more than several hundred souls at a maximum. And a relatively large percentage of these would have been women. It is well-known that women were disproportionately represented among the poor and destitute in medieval Europe, as in many other times and places.[71] Thus, as noted at the beginning of this chapter, in place of calculating the likely number of non-contract-worthy adult Christian men, I will instead

[70] This case was found and described by Stephen Bensch, in his article on apprenticeship in Puigcerdà. See: Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214 and 222, note 39. The original document can be found here: ACCE, Reg. 55, fol. 53r (d). It states: "*ipse tamen eundo hostiatum per villa querendo panem amor dei*." In this case the employer's hometown is not stated, but it seems highly likely that he was from Puigcerdà. Bensch also identifies another, earlier apprenticeship in which the employer promised to provide bread only when the apprentice could not find it from other sources, possibly alluding to a similar situation.

[71] On this see: Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 24.

consider them among those covered by the multiplier needed to find the total number of other people per contract-worthy adult man.

The Multiplier

Having estimated the number of contract-worthy adult Christian men living in Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2, I move now to the question of the multiplier, or, how many additional Christian people each of these men represents. Most historians using hearth-censuses to estimate population have traditionally relied on a multiplier of somewhere between four and five people per hearth (or 4.5, on average) or per adult man.[72] In estimating population based on the appearances of adult men in notarial registers, however, I believe it is necessary to use a different multiplier. This method approximates a distinctly different base number: the number of men over the age of fourteen, who do not correspond well to numbers of households.[73] A more useful multiplier can be estimated for this method using life tables. Life tables estimate the mortality rate of different age ranges within a population, and therefore can be used to estimate what percentage of a population would fall within a certain age range at a certain time. Producing an accurate life table for men in medieval Puigcerdà would require a great deal of information that remains unavailable, including the fertility rate, mortality rate at various ages, and whether the

[72] In some cases, historians have used figures as low as three or as high as six. On multipliers for extrapolating population from hearth censuses see: Josiah Cox Russell, "Late Medieval Population Patterns," *Speculum* 20 (1945): 157–71; J. Krause, "The Medieval Household: Large or Small?," *The Economic History Review* New Series, 9, no. 3 (1957): 420–32; Russell, *Medieval Regions,* 34-6; Josiah Cox Russell, "Late Ancient and Medieval Population," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 48, no. 3 (1958): 1–152, pages 55-9; Norman J. G. Pounds, "Population and Settlement in the Low Countries and Northern France in the Later Middle Ages," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 49, no. 2 (1969): 369–402, page 374; Milton, *Market Power*, 19; Fynn-Paul, *Rise and Decline*, 220.

[73] Males of only fourteen or fifteen years old likely did not live independently from their parents, and probably did not have their own income stream sufficiently distinct from those of their parents to represent a unique hearth. Numerous households would also have been headed by women.

population was increasing, decreasing or remaining static. In the absence of such figures, I will instead use a value derived from the, admittedly flawed but still insightful, life tables created by Josiah Cox Russell for medieval England. Russell argued that men over the age of fourteen would have comprised approximately two thirds of the total male population in late medieval England—considered an over-estimate, given Russell's assumption of a very low rate early childhood mortality.[74] Taking this figure, and including the possibility of some non-contract-worthy men, I thus use a conservative multiplier of approximately three to 3.5 total Christians per contract-worthy adult Christian man. This would include a population of women roughly equal to that of men, and one to 1.5 children under the age of fourteen or other non-contract-worthy people per adult men. This estimate is admittedly rough. As with fertility and mortality rates, we do not know the gender ratio of the society of late-medieval Puigcerdà,[75] nor do we know what percentage of men married or at what age.[76] But, estimating very roughly, if we

[74] Russell's life tables for medieval British males can be found here in Josiah Cox Russell, *British Medieval Population* (Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 1948), pages 180-5. He also discusses one of the life tables in Russell, "Late Medieval Population," 159-161. Some of Russell's life tables have been considerably, and compellingly, criticized by Krause, who compared them with life tables from other pre-modern societies and determined that Russell's life tables are highly unusual in combining a lower rate of early childhood mortality with a higher rate of mortality among the elderly, among other issues. See: Krause, "The Medieval Household," 425-432. David Herlihy, for example, calculated that over 18 percent of the population of early fifteenth century Pistoia was under the age of four. See: David Herlihy, "Population, Plague and Social Change in Rural Pistoia, 1201-1430," *The Economic History Review* 18, no. 2 (1965): 225–44, 230-1.

[75] There has been some evidence that in the Middle Ages fewer girls may have survived to adulthood than boys (perhaps due to a cultural preference for sons) and that woman often died younger than their husbands. This would have led men to outnumber women in medieval society. On the other hand, some scholars have argued that women are simply less present in surviving documentation and were not significantly outnumbered by men in medieval society. On this question, see: Peter Biller, "Applying Number to Men and Women in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: An Enquiry into the Origins of the Idea of 'Sex-Ratio,'" in *The Work of Jacques: Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 27–52; Tovah Bender, "The Case of the Missing Girls: Sex Ratios in Fifteenth-Century Tuscany," *Journal of Women's History* 23, no. 4 (2011): 155–75; and Sandy Bardsley, "Missing Women: Sex Ratios in England, 1000–1500," *Journal of British Studies* 53, no. 2 (April 2014): 273–309. I do not know of a study addressing the issue of gender ratio in medieval Catalonia, although this remains an interesting question for future study.

[76] Certainly not all of the adult Christian men of Puigcerdà married, given that this sum includes clergy and monks. It is also likely that most men were not married at the age of fourteen.

assume that approximately one third of the men over age fourteen were married and with children under the age of fourteen, and then a total multiplier of three to 3.5 people per contract-worthy adult man would work out to somewhere around three to four living children under the age of fourteen per each of the men with children.[77] This multiplier is admittedly rough, but it serves as a reasonable working figure for the time being, and I am optimistic that future research into the population demographics of Puigcerdà will help refine this figure.

The Jewish Population

The relatively small number of notarial entries involving Jews that survive from this year, and the high likelihood that we are missing one or more books of Jews from this year makes it difficult to estimate the size of the town's Jewish population in this particular year with any accuracy. Only 191, less than half of 1 percent, of the 41,835 references to people in the surviving entries from this year refer to Jews.[78] In total, Jews appeared in only 125, or 1.7 percent, out of the total of 7,432 surviving non-cancelled entries from this year.[79] Jews are easily identified within the registers because the notaries took care to clearly distinguish them as such by writing "*judeus*" after their name,[80] because they primarily favored a set of first names that were not used by the Christian community, and because they more commonly used a system of

[77] This would include orphaned or fatherless children.

[78] Of these, only twelve were references to Jewish women.

[79] As was noted in Chapter 2, in this year Jews appeared commonly as debtors and buyers, but never as creditors or lenders. This likely reflects the fact that contracts in which Jews were the creditor or lender would have been recorded in a book of Jews. We can therefore assume that at least one, and probably three, books of Jews (one from each notarial pair) from this year were originally produced but have now been lost.

[80] In rare cases this word is omitted but it is clear based on the name that the person was Jewish. The preference of the notaries to outline religious identity in the documents also extends to converts, who are identified as converts (*baptizatus*), with both their current and original names. See for example: ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 16r (c).

identifying a man by his first name and then his father's first name (such as Isach Mosse, son of Mosse Abram), rather than with a first name and surname.[81] Unlike with Christians, it was not common for the Jews to be identified with an occupation.[82] Using the same method outlined above for counting the number of unique Christian men, I have identified a minimum of forty-one unique adult male Jews who appeared in one of the surviving notarial entries from Puigcerdà from this year. Of these, seventeen were clearly identified as residents of Puigcerdà. One man was from Berga, a second was from Perpignan, a third was from Vilafranca de Conflent, and a fourth was from another location that I was not able to identify.[83] For the remaining twenty, no hometown was given. It seems likely that for the majority of these cases where no town was listed the men were residents of Puigcerdà, but even still a total of thirty-seven adult male Jews is probably a vast underestimation of the Jewish community in the town at this time. Given this fact, I instead turn to secondary literature. Claude Denjean, who has studied the Jewish community of Puigcerdà extensively, estimated that the Jewish population was approximately ten families or fifty people around 1260, around one-hundred families or 500 people by 1282 and 150 couples, or a minimum of 600 individuals at its apogee around the period of 1300-1320.[84] Accepting her analysis, and acknowledging that the year 1321/2 falls just after the period she

[81] This is not a universal rule, since some of the town's Jewish families had a heritable surname and the members of these families might be identified with or without their surname and with or without their father's first name. For more on this, see: Claude Denjean, "Sources et caractéristiques de l'anthroponymie juive pyrénéenne et catalane du XIIe au XVe siècle," *Nouvelle Revue d'onomastique* 37–38 (2001): 165–81, and Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 191-201.

[82] Only two Jewish men had their occupation listed, Samuel Crexent, a physician (*fisichus*), and Leo Bonet Choen, a surgeon (*ciurgerio*). ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 55v (d) and ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 7r (c).

[83] The man was identified as a resident of "Ciuitate." I am not certain where this is, but I suspect it must have been relatively far from Puigcerdà. ACCE, Reg. 125, fol. 9r (b).

[84] Claude Denjean, "Une communauté juive au prisme du notariat chrétien: les juifs de Puigcerdà de 1260 à 1493" PhD dissertation (Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail, 1998), 384-5. Denjean appears to be using a multiplier of five total Jews per Jewish family.

identified as an apogee, I will use an estimate of approximately 550 to 600 total Jews for the year 1321/2 going forward.

The Total Population of Puigcerdà in 1321/2

What final estimate does this method yield for the overall population of Puigcerdà? As shown in Table 4.9, using the number of contract-worthy adult Christian men, and the multiplier just discussed, and adding in an estimated population of 550-600 Jews (drawn from the work of Claude Denjean), this method yields a total population of Puigcerdà was somewhere between 7,000 and 11,800 people, with a midpoint of approximately 7,800 to 9,100 people.

Table 4.9: Estimates for the Total Population of Puigcerdà 1321/2[85]

Set	**Contract-worthy adult Christian men of Puigcerdà, rounded**	**Total Christians per contract-worthy adult man**	**Total Christians**	**Total Jews**	**Total Population**
Set 1 – Minimum	2,150	3 – 3.5	6,450-7,525	550	7,000-8,075
Set 2 – Middle	2,425	3 – 3.5	7,275-8,500	575	7,850-9,075
Set 3 – Maximum	3,200	3 – 3.5	9,600-11,200	600	10,200-11,800

The method outlined here, which has included several conservative calculations, thus indicates that the population of Puigcerdà in 1321/2 would have been no lower than a total of 7,000 people at minimum, was more likely at least around 8,000-9,000 (including very roughly around 7,500 to 8,500 Christians and approximately 500-600 Jews) and may in fact have been over 10,000

[85] Figures for the total number of contract-worthy adult Christian men of Puigcerdà, and all other figures in this table, were rounded to the nearest twenty-five.

people. I will use a population estimate of approximately 8,500 people going forward. With this population, as Russell and Claramunt noted, it was certainly one of the largest urban centers in Catalonia during this period. While we lack good numbers on the population of most other Catalan cities prior to 1350, Puigcerdà would surely have been smaller than Barcelona, Perpignan and Lleida, and approximately comparable in size to Tarragona, Tortosa and Girona. It was probably therefore somewhere between the fourth and sixth largest town in the Catalonia.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have outlined a method for using the references to men in notarial cartularies to estimate total likely population, using the example of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2. This method cross-references the names of all adult Christian men living in the town who appeared in an active role in a surviving notarial entry to determine the minimum number of uniquely identifiable men who appear in those entries. It then provides minimum, middle and maximum estimates for the number of men of Puigcerdà who would have appeared in one of the surviving notarial entries without their hometown being identified, the number of men whose appearance is obscured because they share a name with someone else, of those men who appeared only in contracts that have been lost, and of those men who would have appeared in zero contracts. This yields an overall estimate of the total population of contract-worthy adult Christian men from the town, to which I applied a multiplier estimating that there were approximately 3-3.5 other Christians (including women, children, and non-contract-worthy men) per contract-worthy adult Christian man. An estimate for the Jewish community was taken from secondary literature.

The method outline here offers several clear advantages over existing methods of estimating thirteenth and fourteenth-century urban populations. In other methods we rely on a base number (often, hearths) whose meaning is unclear, or varied from place to place and year to year. Under the method described in this chapter, we use a base number (adult Christian men, rather than taxable hearths) whose relationship to the total population can be more clearly understood, and which can be estimated in a more standardized way across different years and different locations. Further research will help refine this multiplier and this method later on.

In total, this method thus finds that the total population of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 included at least 7,000 people, and more likely somewhere around 8,500 people, though potentially even more. At this size, Puigcerdà was certainly among the largest towns in Catalonia in this period, and very likely the largest urban center in the Eastern Pyrenees. This population figure is in keeping with some of the other estimates of the population of the town in the mid-fourteenth century. Further research, applying the method described in this chapter to additional years, and particularly into the question of how contract-worthy adult men compare to taxable hearths in hearth-censuses, may help further illuminate the town's overall demographic development during the later middle ages.

This research also offered new insight on the extent of contract-participation within medieval Puigcerdà, and on the socio-economic divisions of society. I have outlined a method for how to estimate the number of men who would have appeared within a notarial entry in the year 1321/2 and the number of contract-worthy men who could have been expected not to have appeared in a notarial entry in this year. Our ability to estimate this latter group is certainly complicated by certain factors, but the model I have outlined nonetheless suggests one of two possible outcomes: either the percent of contract-worthy men from Puigcerdà who participated in

at least one notarial entry in a given year was very high (around 78.3 to 84 percent according to my estimates), or there were vastly more contract-worthy men who would have appeared in no notarial entries in this year than I otherwise estimated, and the town's overall population was thus much higher than we would otherwise expect. Similarly, in determining this overall population estimate, I have also argued that the notarial evidence suggests that in the early 1320s, many quite poor people had occasion to participate in a notarial contract. I have accordingly estimated that a very low number of men to have been so poor that they would not have been considered contract-worthy. We can thus assume either that the population of such men was indeed low (and thus that the rates of contract-worthiness and rates of contract-participation were high), or that my overall population estimate considerably underestimates the town's true population. Finally, this research indicates that, while there were clear differences among different segments of the population in terms of how often they participated in notarial entries, these groups were not entirely distinct from one another, but overlapped. In the following chapter I will turn to discussing the primary agricultural and commercial activities of Puigcerdà and Cerdanya during the year 1321/2.

Chapter 5: Agricultural and Commercial Activity in 1321/2

Introduction

In the previous chapter I introduced a new method for estimating the population of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 and argued that the town had a likely population of around 8,500 people. In this chapter I discuss the agricultural and commercial activity of the town of Puigcerdà and its surrounding valley in this year. Though the agricultural economy was made up by both arable and husbandry, the following sections will show how important the husbandry sector was overall, and how it utterly dominated the commercial (as opposed to subsistence) economy that can be traced in the notarial records. The people of Cerdanya grew cereals and wine grapes and raised a variety of livestock. But above all, they focused on the raising of sheep for wool. Artisans in Puigcerdà engaged in a variety of fields, but the artisanal and commercial sectors of the town's economy were heavily weighted toward one industry: the production and distribution of woolen cloth.

I begin by examining the agricultural activity in Cerdanya, focusing first on animal husbandry by looking at the animals bought sold and shared in *parcerias*, sales on credit and advance sales. I then look cereal cultivation, showing that wheat and rye were the predominant grains of Cerdanya in this period, and at wine cultivation, which was practiced within the Baridà. I then turn to examining the industrial and commercial activity in the town of Puigcerdà, looking at the occupations of men and women living in the town in this year, the crafts seen within artisanal employment agreements, and what items appear commonly within sales on credit, all of which reveal the dominance of the cloth industry in the town.

Agricultural Activity in Cerdanya in 1321/2

A significant portion of the local agricultural economy was centered on animal husbandry, above all of sheep raised for wool. The people of Cerdanya also raised other animals, with mules—the primary transport animal by this period—particularly common. and engaged in cereal cultivation and viticulture.

Animal Husbandry

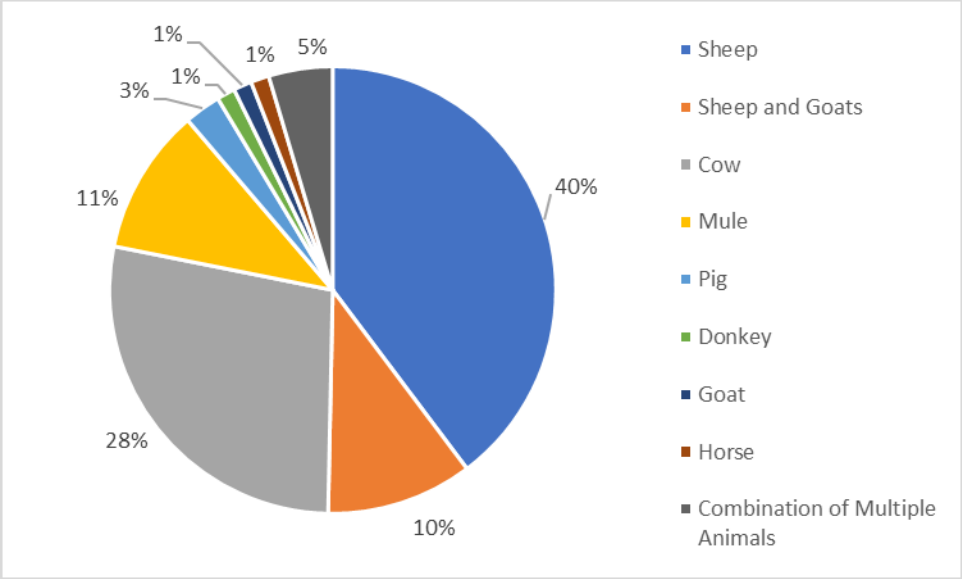
Cows, pigs, goats, mules, donkeys, horses and chickens were all present in medieval Cerdanya. But above all, the surviving notarial records attest that one of the dominant forms of agricultural activity in medieval Cerdanya was the raising of sheep for wool. Sheep make up the majority of animals raised in the valley, and wool was the most common purchase.

Livestock appear in both sales on credit and debts of items, but the best source of information on animal husbandry in Cerdanya are *parcerias* (a form of livestock rental or sharing), because these give more detail on the specific number of animals involved. *Parcerias* are cases in which one party purchases the right to a share of an animal (or animals), and a share in the responsibility for caring for the animal(s) for a set period of time.[1] They attest to the complexity of the husbandry economy in the mountains, where shepherding (particularly for transhumant flocks that switch between winter and summer pastures), and a need to raise transport animals might divide the work of raising or maintaining animals from those with ownership interests. In an example *parceria* from April of 1322, Guillem Aldren of Aranser

[1] For more on these see: Rendu, "Aperçu," 90; Elisabeth Bille et al., "L'élevage du Moyen Age à l'Epoque Moderne en Cerdagne au prisme des contrats de parceria. Le chantier d'histoire: retour sur une expérience originale," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 4 (2005): 265–77 and Marc Conesa et al., "Essai de modélisation spatiale d'une source notariale: les contrats de parcerias et leurs dynamiques (Cerdagne, Pyrénées de l'est, XIIIe-XVIIIe siècle)," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 5 (2007): 89–100.

stated that he would hold two cows, one dark-colored and one red "*in parceria*" from the brothers Joan and Pere Juli of Puigcerdà, for the following four years. He also states that he will have a 1/8th share of the dark cow and one-half share of the red cow (*in illa dicta vacha de pilo lor octavam partem et in illa de pilo rubeo medietatem*…) but will have a fifty-percent share in the responsibility of caring for both cows (*et nutrimentis earundem medietatem*).[2] As was noted in Chapter 3, there were a total of 152 non-cancelled *parcerias* surviving from the year 1321/2, which comprised 2 percent of the total non-cancelled surviving entries.

Figure 5.1: *Parcerias* from 1321/2 by Type of Animal[3]



[2] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 66r (b).

[3] The types of animals are divided only by species, not by sex, age, type or condition. "Cow" here includes not only actual cows (*vachas*), but also calves (*vituli*), bulls (*bous*), "bovine animals" (*bestias bovinas*) as well as "*vedella*" and "*jonicus*," terms which designate bovine animals that are older than calves but still young, usually 1-2 years old. "Sheep" here includes lambs (*agni*), young sheep (*multones, borrech*), sheep (*oues*), rams (*marranos*) and "wool-bearing animals" (*bestias lanutas*). Pig includes pigs (*porch*), piglets (*porcello*) and sows (*trujas*), and donkey includes both male (*asinos*) and female donkeys (*someras*). One *parceria* is omitted because the type of animal could not be read. The category "Combination of Multiple Animals" includes *parcerias* for multiple animals of different species, other than a combination of sheep and goats.

As Figure 5.1 shows, the highest percentage of *parcerias* were for shares of one or more sheep. Sixty (40 percent) of the *parcerias* were for sheep (of any age or sex) alone, while an additional sixteen of the *parcerias* were for both sheep and goats. Additionally, five of the seven *parcerias* that were for some combination of multiple animals (other than sheep and goats) also included sheep. Thus, in total, over 53 percent of the *parcerias* (eighty-one out of 152) included shares in one or more sheep. Bovine animals (mostly cows, but also some calves, juveniles and bulls) were the second most common category, appearing in forty-eight total *parcerias*.[4] The third and fourth most commonly shared animal were mules and goats. While we do see some evidence of pigs, donkeys and horses, these are far rarer, each appearing in only four *parcerias* or fewer. This may be either because these animals were less prevalent among the countryside of Cerdanya, or particularly in the case of pigs, that they were less commonly shared in this way. Although some surviving notarial entries make reference to chickens, chickens do not appear in *parcerias*, showing that they were either not shared at all, or that shares for them were not valuable enough to record.[5] As Christine Rendu has noted, *parcerias* are weighted heavily toward female animals, and part of the profits that the owners share are surely the offspring.[6] For example, among the five entries involving the sharing of pigs, all involve a sow (*truja*). One involves a pig (*porch*) and a sow,[7] one involves a sow and six piglets (*porcellos*),[8] and the other

[4] In forty-two cases the *parceria* was for only bovine animals, in six cases it was for bovine animals in the presence another type of animals.

[5] For example, in September of 1321 a donzell named Jaume d'Aragall sold Ramon Guillem de Lorà, a tailor, and Arnau Guerau, a money-changer from Puigcerdà all the recurring payments he was entitled to receive in the villages of Alf and All for the following two years, which included a pair of chickens (*unum par gallinerum domesticarum*). ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 8r-8v.

[6] Rendu, "Aperçu," 90.

[7] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 43v (h).

[8] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 2r (c).

three are for sows alone.[9] Clearly it was more valuable to share a sow, rather than a male pig, because of the potential profit of future pigs.

The breakdown of animals in *parcerias* in 1321/2 differs from what Rendu found among a sample of some *parcerias* from 1280. In her sample the most frequently appearing animal was cows, while horses and donkeys were much more prevalent than mules.[10] Curiously, she finds that "the sales or *parcerias* of sheep are very weakly represented."[11] As I will note in Chapter 7, sheep were already plentiful in *parcerias* in Cerdanya by 1270. One potential explanation for this is that the register that Rendu sampled from, which is identified as a *liber boateriorum* (literally a book of cattle-merchants), is weighted more heavily toward cattle. In the twentieth century, animal husbandry in Cerdanya would shift toward the raising horses for horse-meat. But although there were some sales of horses in the valley, this was certainly not the case in Cerdanya during the middle ages.

The animal landscape of medieval Cerdanya becomes even more heavily weighted toward sheep when one looks not only at the number of *parcerias* involving certain animals but the total number of animals of each type mentioned across the *parcerias*. A total of 3,597 animals appear in the 152 surviving *parcerias* from this year. Over 91 percent of them (3,276 out of 3,597) were sheep (of any age or sex). An additional 5 percent (166 out of 3,597) were goats, and an additional 3 percent (120 out of 3,597) were bovine animals. In contrast, there were only seventeen mules, twelve pigs, three donkeys and three horses. A visualization of the relative

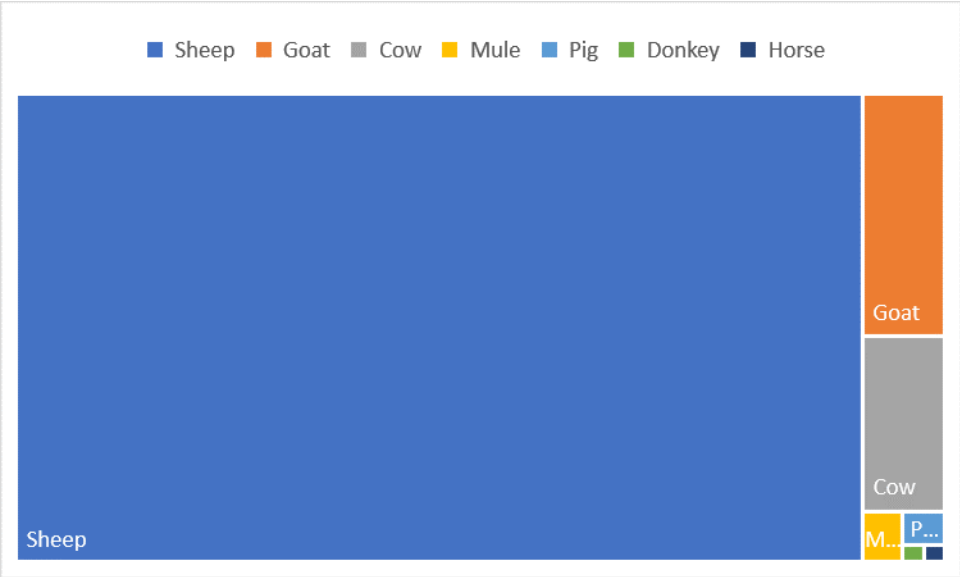
[9] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 34v (d), Reg. 17 fol. 76v (h) and Reg. 92 fol. 35r (d).

[10] Though she includes a pie chart of "*parcerias* of large livestock," it is not possible to speak of the exact percentages because this is not provided. Rendu, "Aperçu," 93.

[11] Rendu, "Aperçu," 93.

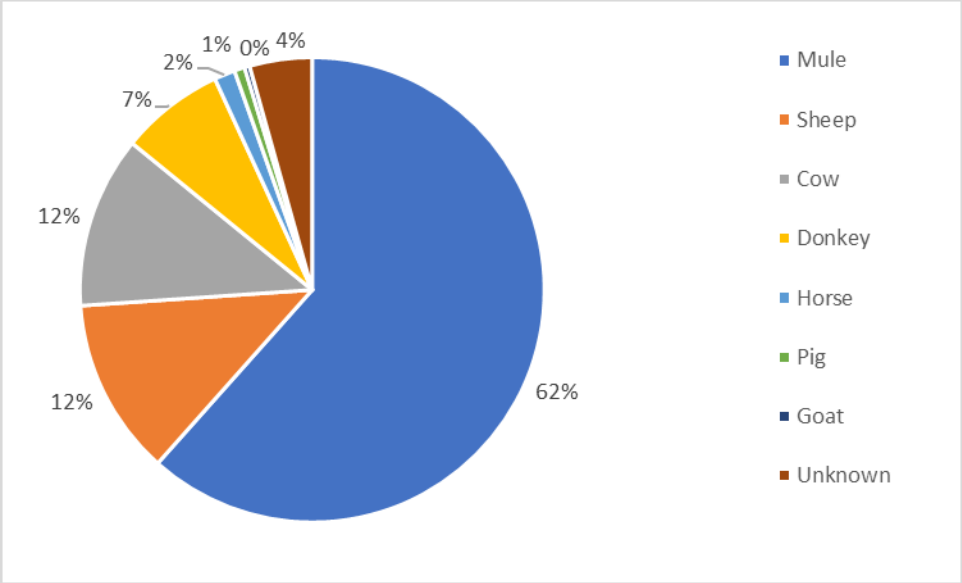
numbers of these animals can be seen in Figure 5.2 and show that sheep dominated the landscape.

Figure 5.2: Total Animals mentioned in *Parcerias* from 1321/2, by Type



Animal sale data from Puigcerdà generally paint a similar picture to the *parcerias*, though mules now make a stronger appearance. A total of 276 sales on credit of animals survive from the year 1321/2. Figure 5.3 shows the breakdown of these 276 sales by type of animal.

Figure 5.3: Sales on Credit of Animals from 1321/2 by Type[12]



As Figure 5.3 makes clear, the highest percentage of the sales on credit involving animals (170 out of 276) were not for sheep, but for one or more mules (or a share of a mule). Sheep make up a considerably lower percentage, only 12 percent (thirty-four out of 276). Presumably the high value (and thus, high cost) of mules made it harder for individuals who wished to purchase one to pay for it up front. Thus, mules may be over-represented among sales *on credit*, relative to other, less expensive animals.

While more of the sales on credit concern mules than concern sheep, if we consider heads of animals, sheep predominate. Most of the sales on credit of sheep do not specify the quantity of sheep that were sold, so it is not possible to make a table similar to Figure 5.3, but many state that the sale is of a "flock" (*bestiario lanuto*), implying that a sizeable number of sheep were

[12] "Unknown" includes sales of a "bestiario" in which it is not specified if it is a flock of sheep or a herd of cattle. This term is most generally used with flocks of sheep, as it appears frequently within debts of wool and in other cases is specified as a "*bestiario lanuto*." In a few cases, however, it can be seen that they occasionally use this term to refer to a herd of cattle. In twelve of the sales on credit the kind of bestiario is not specified, thus these are included in "Unknown." In most cases, however, I consider it likely that these were flocks of sheep, so we should understand that sheep make up a larger percentage than they otherwise show in this figure.

sold. In contrast, the vast majority of sales of mules are for either one mule or a share of a mule. It is thus likely that although more than three times as many credit-sales of mules than of sheep, these sales on credit refer to a far greater number of sheep than of mules, as in the case of the *parcerias*.

In Puigcerdà these sales of flocks of sheep rarely identify the specific number of animals, but some documents from Bagà in which men from Puigcerdà suggest that they could be for very large numbers of sheep.[13] For example, in April of 1324 Pere Espanyol, a cloth-finisher, and Guillem Sala of Puigcerdà purchased "360 small beasts, among them sheep and rams with 150 lambs" (*trescenta sexaginta animalia minuta inter oues et arietes cum centum quinquaginta agnis*) from Guillem d'Om of Bagà, along with the donkeys and herding dogs associated with this flock (*et asinos et canes*). This entry even specifies the price: Pere and Guillem will pay nine *sous* of Barcelona per sheep, (*facio precio cuiuslibet comnis ouis et arietis nonem sol. Bar.*)[14] Quite similarly, a few days later Pere Taper, a tanner of Bagà sold 300 "wool-bearing animals… both sheep and rams" (*trescenta animala lanuta… in oues et arietes*) and one donkey and two herding dogs (*et unum asinem et duos canes*) to Pere Traper, a cloth-finisher from Puigcerdà. The price is also stated here: twelve *sous* of Barcelona per animal (*precio cuiuslibet animalis duodecim sol. Bar*).[15] Then a few days after that the guardian of an underage boy from Bagà sells the boy's 370 sheep (*animalia lanuta inter oues et arietes*) to Bernat de Pinosa of Puigcerdà (again, along with "all dogs and donkeys"), this time for a price of fourteen *sous* of Barcelona

[13] As I have noted elsewhere, the *notules* from Bagà are formatted in very similar manner to those from Puigcerdà but often less abbreviated and with more minute details.

[14] Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Hereafter, ACA), Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 5v (e).

[15] ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 9r (a).

per animal.[16] These three entries are written as straightforward sales, in which the prices are noted as being paid, not sales on credit. But if these prices for sheep were similar to those that people in Puigcerdà were paying just two years earlier, then the sales on credit for flocks could cover many sheep. In one case Bernat Sifre, a shepherd from Bolquera, in Cerdanya, acknowledged owing Joan Rus of Mérens-les-Vals (in Ariege), twenty-four *lliures* of Barcelona for a "flock of sheep" (*bestiario lanuto*).[17] At the prices given in Bagà a few years later, that would have been enough to purchase over forty sheep – and the sale could have been for more if Sifre had had to put part of the payment down.

A small number of animals were also sold in advance sales. Out of twenty-one total debts of livestock or animals, one of these was for a cow, and one was a debt of two goats.[18] The other nineteen were for all for sheep.[19] Sheep were clearly the most likely animal to be sold in an advance sale in Cerdanya in this year. This certainly makes sense. Most animals sold in Cerdanya were likely sold immediately with no need for the buyer to wait for delivery of the animal. Sheep would naturally be the main exception to this because many sheep would have been brought out of Cerdanya during the winter months, and then only brought back once the weather started to warm up again in late Spring.

During this period the sheep-raisers of Cerdanya clearly engaged in long-distance pastoral transhumance. Some flocks, particularly the very large flocks of owners who might properly be termed "livestock entrepreneurs," traveled out of Cerdanya in the late fall to other

[16] ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 11v (a).

[17] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 10r (e).

[18] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 3r (h) and 95r (i).

[19] Including sheep of all ages and sexes.

regions, many of them quite far from Cerdanya, and then returned in the late spring to spend the summer in the mountains. In Puigcerdà the sheep appear to have left for their winter pastures around late November, and returned around Pentecost, when the sheep were sheared. A variety of sources attest that this practice was widespread within Cerdanya. Firstly, several shepherds from Montaillou who were interrogated by the Bishop of Pamiers in the early fourteenth century on suspicion of heresyworked for flock-owners in Puigcerdà. Their interviews—thoroughly studied by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie—include clear descriptions of the long-distance transhumance routes they travelled with these flocks of sheep, that brought them as far south as Morella, Sant Mateu, and Càlig and other places near Tarragona or in the northern part of the kingdom of Valencia.[20] Secondly, the three cases, discussed above, in which men from Puigcerdà bought flocks from sheep from men in Bagà all note that the flocks are away in their winter pastures (*in exivernil* or *venint de exivernil*), two from Tortosa and one from Fraga in Aragon.[21] Finally, several additional notarial documents from Puigcerdà in 1321/2, which I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 9, also show transhumance connections to Fraga, and to Ulldecona (in the far south of Catalonia, near Tortosa).[22]

In sum, the surviving sales on credit, debts of items (representing advance sales, and *parcerias* from this year show that enormous numbers of sheep were owned and raised in late-medieval Cerdanya. Aside from sheep, mules, cows, and goats were also common, and there were smaller numbers of donkeys, pigs, and horses. The abundant sheep of Cerdanya were

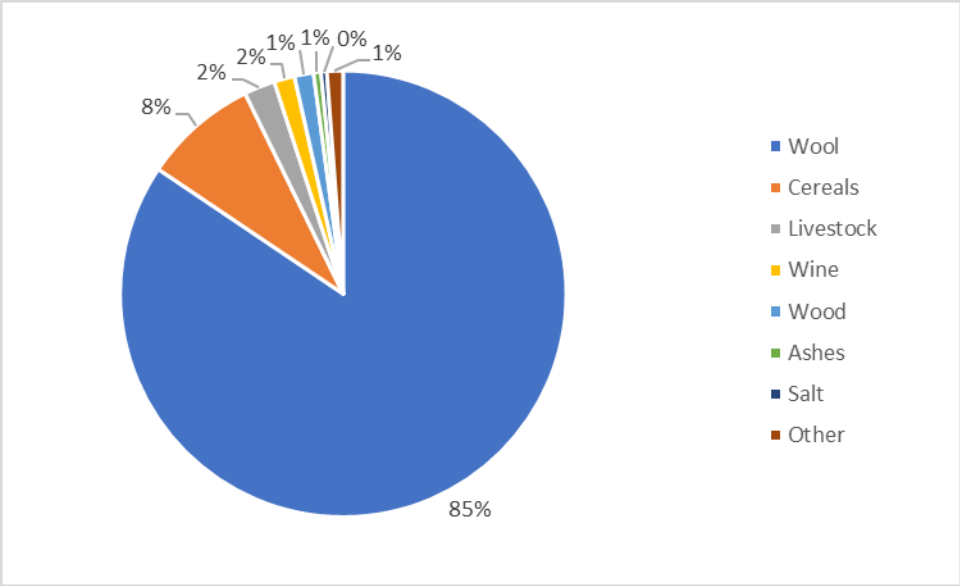
[20] See: Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 70, 72, 77, 93, 96 and 111-5.

[21] ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 5v (e), 9r (a) and 11v (a)

[22] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 9r (a), 21r (a) and 97r (l).

clearly primarily raised for wool; wool (rather than hides, meat, or cheese) was one of the most frequently sold commodities in medieval Puigcerdà. Wool appears frequently among the sales on credit. Eighty-eight (5.3%) of the 1,633 sales on credit were for wool, making it the third most commonly seen item after cloth and mules.[23] But far more wool was purchased in advance sales than in sales on credit. The prevalence of wool among debts of items can be seen in Figure 5.4.

Figure 5.4: Items owed in Debts of Items, 1321/2



Out of a total of 938 debts of items from this year, 792 (84.4%) are for wool. The 792 debts of wool in fact comprise 10.2% of all agreements surviving from the notarial sources from this year. Further, because wool debts are disproportionately concentrated in the books of debts, of which one is missing, we can estimate that the surviving entries contain only approximately two-thirds of the total number of debts of wool that would have been produced in this year. Wool

[23] Or fourth, if one draws a distinction between "cloth" generally, and "serges" specifically.

was by far the most commonly sold item in advance sales, and the advance sale of wool was one of the most common activities that the people of Cerdanya sought to have recorded by a notary.

As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 6, the volume of wool circulating in Cerdanya in one year was very high. Over 25,500 individual wool or lambswool fleeces were sold in advance sales in Puigcerdà in this year in the surviving entries alone. The actual total volume of wool was even higher, as this only includes those wool debts where the wool is measured by the fleece, there are many additional entries where the wool is measured by the quintal or by the pound or ounce. Further, there is significant evidence that most people who owned flocks of sheep did not sell all the wool that their flocks of sheep produced. For example, in a very typical wool debt from October of 1321, Ramon Ros of Bolvir acknowledged owing Jaume Corro, a weaver of Puigcerdà, one dozen wool fleeces, with their *turnus*, on account of a sale, that he would deliver at Pentecost and which Corro could choose out of his flock of forty total sheep.[24] The following day Guillem de Ardogol the elder, of Prullans, acknowledged owing two brothers named Ramon and Joan Joan of Puigcerdà two dozen wool fleeces (with the *turnus)*, that the brothers could choose from his flock of fifty total sheep.[25] The day after that Pere Sala of the village of Bor acknowledged owing Simo de Pi of Puigcerdà twenty-four wool fleeces (with the *turnus*) which he said that Simo could select from his flock of forty sheep.[26] Every seller appears to have sold a different percentage of the fleeces that their flock would be expected to produce. Ramon Ros owed about one third of his expected fleeces (thirteen, counting the *turnus*, out of forty or 32.5%), while Pere Sala owed about two thirds (twenty-six, with the *turnus*, out of forty,

[24] ACCE Reg. 28 fol. 30r (b). The *turnus* seems to be an extra wool fleece per dozen required as an additional payment. So, in fact this probably means that he will deliver thirteent total wool fleeces, instead of twelve.

[25] ACCE Reg. 28 fol. 30r (f).

[26] ACCE Reg. 28 fol. 30v (e).

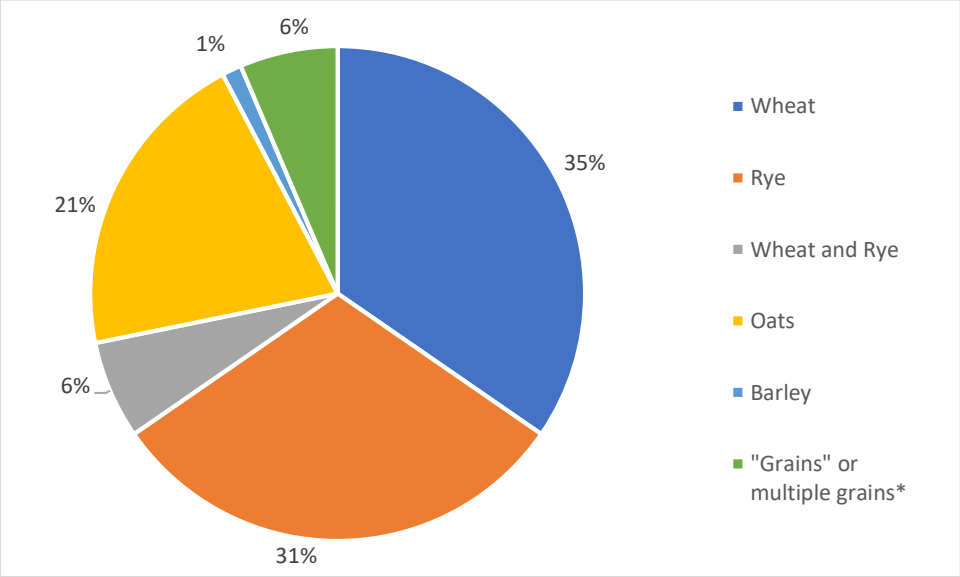
or 65 percent). But it is clear that in many cases, people only sold a portion of the wool that their flock produced. They likely kept the remaining wool for their own spinning, and perhaps weaving too.[27] Between this and the fact that probably only around two-thirds of all debts of wool produced in this year survive, the over 25,500 wool fleeces sold thus represent only a fraction of the total amount of wool that was being produced in Cerdanya. In a rough estimate, if only two third of the wool debts survive, and if on average people sold only half of the wool from their flocks, we might reasonably expect that the true total number of wool fleeces reflected in these records to be over 76,000. Not all of the wool purchased in these advance sales came from Cerdanya, but the majority of it did, and the valley was clearly awash in sheep.

Cultivated Crops

Firstly, we can get a sense of what crops were grown in Cerdanya by looking at items that were sold during the course of the year 1321/2. The best evidence for this comes from item debts/advance sales. As shown above in Figure 5.4, the vast majority (792 out of 938, or 84.4%) of the surviving recorded item debts were for wool. Cereals were the second most commonly seen category, making up 8 percent of all debts of wool (seventy-eight of 938), and 53 percent of those that were not for wool. Figure 5.5 shows the breakdown only of those item debts that were for cereals.

[27] An alternate possibility is that only a portion of the wool was sold in advance.

Figure 5.5: Debts of Cereals from 1321/2 by Type of Cereal



Wheat (*frumentum*, in Latin or *forment*, in Catalan) and rye (*secale*, in Latin or *sègol* in Catalan) were clearly the most frequently purchased. As Figure 5.5 shows, 35 percent of these debts of cereals were for wheat, while 31 percent were for rye. An additional 6 percent of these debts were for both wheat and rye. The third most commonly sold cereal was oats (*ciuata*, or *civada*), which accounted for 21 percent of the debts of cereals. The people of Cerdanya also grew barley (*ordei* in Latin, *ordi* in Catalan), but this was seen in only two of the debts of cereals. Five of the debts of cereals were for unspecified cereals (*bladi* or *blat*, or *annone*) or for a combination of cereals other than wheat and rye.[28] Cereals also appear among the surviving sales on credit, but they make up only a small percentage of such sales and the surviving cases

[28] Several entries make clear that "*bladi*" referred to unspecified cereals. For example, in August of 1321 Jaume Sagrera, a priest of Toses acknowledged owing "twenty-five *muigs* of cereals, specifically three *muigs* of wheat, three *muigs* of oats, six *quartals* of barley and the rest rye," (*viginti quinque modi bladi videlicet iii modi frumenti et iii modi ciuate et vi quartallos ordei et residuum sigolis*).

provide very little insight into the crops. Only fifty-nine (3.6%) of the 1,632 surviving sales on credit were for cereals. Of these, only five (less than 10 percent) identify a specific cereal.[29]

It is not clear that the relative proportions of different cereals seen across debts of cereals represents the actual proportion in which they were grown in Cerdanya, but it is likely that rye and wheat were the most common crops.[30] Wheat may be slightly over represented in advance purchased, because it was certainly the most valuable cereal grown in Cerdanya. Only one of these advance sales of cereals gives the prices for which the items were sold: in this case, from October of 1321 Bernat Pere of Puigcerdà paid Jaume Eres of the village of Ro twenty-two *sous* per *muig* of wheat and fifteen *sous* and six *diners* per *muig* of rye.[31] If these prices were typical, then wheat was worth approximately 1.4 times as much as rye. Nonetheless, these debts of cereals make clear that wheat and rye were the main cereal crops cultivated in Cerdanya. This is quite different from what is seen in other Catalan regions. According to Rendu barley was the primary crop cultivated in Rosselló.[32] While Guilleré found that barley and wheat were the most cultivated in the region around Girona in the 1330s, and that in that region "rye was cultivated very little".[33] But Christine Rendu also found that wheat and rye were the most prominent in Cerdanya (with rye seen particularly frequently in the higher altitude parts of the valley) in her

[29] Two were for wheat, two for rye, and one for oats.

[30] There may be differences between the crops bought in advance and those cultivated. Many people grew and then consumed their own crops. Many, in fact perhaps most, transfers or sales of agricultural produce probably escaped contract. People may simply have been more inclined to purchase wheat (or rye) in advance, or to have a contract recorded relating to these purchases, in comparison to barley or other crops.

[31] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 10v (b). The currency is not stated but was probably that of Barcelona.

[32] Rendu, "Aperçu," 88.

[33] Christian Guilleré, *Girona al segle XIV*, trans. Maria Cinta Mañe i Mas, 2 vols. (Barcelona and Girona: Publicacions de l´Abadia de Montserrat and Ajuntament de Girona, 1993), Vol. 1, 358-9. He says this is likely because of the soil and eating habits.

study of two registers from 1280. She says rye was cultivated both because the granite substrata of Cerdanya is most suited to growing rye, and because it is better able to resist cold temperatures.[34] Information on what other plants were cultivated in Cerdanya is more limited. The people of Cerdanya likely also grew a variety of beans, lentils and vegetables, as was common elsewhere in Catalonia and the Mediterranean, but such products were apparently either not sold in large enough volumes (or values) to merit being recorded in notarial acts or were not sold in advance sales.

Other scholars have already noted that, despite the altitude, the people of medieval Cerdanya did grow wine grapes, particularly within Baridà.[35] The notarial sources from this year confirm this research. Firstly, at least seventeen entries from this year refer to a vineyard. Elisabeth Bille has noted that vineyards in medieval Cerdanya were particularly common on the sunnier, northern side of Cerdanya between Bescaran (in Urgellet) and Ger, an area covering Baridà as well as some lands to the east of it.[36] All of the vineyards mentioned in entries from 1321/2 were also located in this zone.[37] Secondly, we see wine regularly among the items sold, both in advance sales and sales on credit. Fourteen of the 146 debts of items (or close to 10 percent) are for wine and represent advance sales of wine, including one for young or recently harvested wine (*vindimie*).[38] There were also seven sales on credit for wine, although this makes up only less than .5 percent of the total number of sales on credit. This shows that more people

[35] Elisabeth Bille, "Des vignes en montagne: regards sur la culture de la vigne dans les Pyrénées de l'est au Moyen-Age," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 5 (2007): 39–66.

[36] Bille, "Des vignes en montagne," 43.

[37] Vineyards were mentioned in the following villages: All, Anes, Bar, Cortàs, Isòvol, Lles, Olopte, Souveig, Sant Martí dels Castells, Santa Eugènia de Nerellà, Tallo and Valiela.

[38] ACCE Reg. 131 fol. 39v (d).

purchased wine in advance than purchased it on credit. Among the fourteen advance sales of wine, twelve of the sellers were from this same zone between Bescaran and Ger.[39] The Baridà, a narrow, rocky valley not well suited to growing cereals, was clearly a center of vine cultivation.

Manufacturing and Commercial Activity in Puigcerdà in 1321/2

As in most medieval towns, the dominant commercial activity of Puigcerdà (the industrial and mercantile center of the valley) relied on the primary resources of its surrounding area—the valley's sheep provided much of the wool for the cloth production that dominated the artisanal production, and equally, the main commercial activity, other than the purchase of wool to turn into cloth, was the sale of finished cloth. Several sources attest to the dominance of cloth-production in the commercial economy of Puigcerdà. I will begin with a look at the artisanal and commercial labor in the town, based both on the occupations of the men who appeared in the notarial entries, the crafts that appear in apprenticeship and artisanal labor agreements and on the conspicuous absence of women from artisanal occupations. Secondly, I will look at the items sold in sales on credit.

<u>The Artisanal and Commercial Occupations of Men in Puigcerdà</u>

A large segment of the men from Puigcerdà whose occupations are known worked either directly in cloth-production or worked in the sale of cloth or textiles. Table 5.1 shows the

[39] Three included sellers from each of Arsèguel, Bar and Toloriu, two from Aristot, one each from Béixec and Músser. In two of these entries the hometown of the seller was not identified (although in one case he had a guarantor from Arsèguel). Among the sales of wine on credit, two sellers were from Puigcerdà, two from Berga, one from Músser and two from unstated locations. The numbers of sales of wine present within the surviving registers may be depressed somewhat due to the fact that such acts may have been disproportionately recorded by notaries either in Baridà or in Bellver, which was closer to Baridà than Puigcerdà was.

breakdown of the different occupations of men from Puigcerdà seen in the surviving entries from 1321/2.

Table 5.1: Men per Occupation in Entries from 1321/2[40]

Occupation	**Minimum Number**	**Probable Number**	**Probable Total**
Laymen			
Cloth Industry			
Fullers/Cloth-finisher (*parator*, *perayre*)	180	71	251
Weaver (*textor*)	118	27	145
Carding-archer (*archiator*)[41]	33	6	39
Dyer (*tinctor*)	30	3	33
Cloth-seller (*draper*, *traper*, *pannerius*)	13	1	14
Other Artisans			
Tanners/Furrier (*pellicerius*)	97	28	125
Shoemaker (*czabaterius*, *czemillocon*, *sisor*)	60	22	82
Tailor (*sartor*)	32	16	48
Carpenter/Woodworker (*carpentar*, *fuster*)	35	4	39
Butcher (*carnifex*, *macellarius*)	25	7	32
Blacksmith (*fabre*, *ferrarius*)	19	5	24
Stonemason (*piquerius*)	12	4	16
Miller (*molner*)	9	2	11
Bakers(*forner*)	6	2	8
Sawyer/Lumberjack (*serrador*)	4	2	6

[40] This only includes the occupations of Christian men. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Jews of Puigcerdà rarely had an occupation identified, although one was identified as a physician and one was identified as surgeon. See: ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 55v (d) and Reg. 131 fol. 7r (c). In general, I assume men with different occupations to be different men, except for some occupations that could clearly overlap. For example, some men are identified alternately as a "merchant" (*mercator*), in some entries but as a "cloth-seller" in others (*draper*). Some notaries are also identified as scribes. I have used the more specific (i.e. cloth-seller, not merchant), when the person appeared with multiple descriptors.

[41] This refers to men using a certain type of bow-shaped equipment to card wool. Antoni Riera Melis identifies the practitioners of this craft as "wool-archers." Stephen Bensch identifies them as "carders (using a bow)." See: Antoni Riera Melis, "The Beginnings of Urban Manufacturing and Long Distance Trade," in *The Crown of Aragon: A Singular Mediterranean Empire*, ed. Flocel Sabaté Curull (Turnhout, Belgium: Brill, 2017), 201–36, 209; Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 217. In the interest of both specifying that these are carders, but who use a bow shaped carding-arch, I will refer to them as carding-archers.

Saddle-maker (*baster*)	5		5
Coverlet-maker (*vanoerius*)	2		2
Purse-maker (*borserius*)	2		2
Wall-builder (*paradador, tapiador*)	2		2
Farrier/Horseshoe-smith (*menescalc*)	1		1
Painters(*pintor*)	1		1
Pot-maker (*perolarius*)	1		1
Shopkeeper (*tenderius*)	1		1
Silversmith (*argenterius*)	1		1
Commerce			
Merchant (*mercator*)	21	3	24
Tavern-keeper (*caupo, tabernarius*)	12	5	17
Muleteer (*aventurerius, traginarius*)[42]	14	2	16
Innkeeper (*hospes, hostalerius*)	4	6	10
Mercer (*mercer*)	4	4	8
Apothecary/Spice-seller (*ypothicarius, specier*)	4	2	6
Banker/Money-changer (*campisor*)	5		5
Broker (*correter*)[43]	4		4
Government			
Court-official (*sagio*)[44]	6	4	10
Scribe (*scriptor*)	7	1	8
Notary (*notarius*)[45]	6		6

[42] In addition, there were seven instances in which someone who was identified as a tavernkeeper shared the name of someone identified as an *aventurerius*, which I have not counted here. Clearly there were men who transported wine by mule, and also sold it. Fifteenth-century ordinations for the "Hostalers, taverners e aventurers" (innkeepers, tavernkeepers and wine-haulers) of Barcelona make clear that these were closely related occupations. On this see: Andreu Avel·lí Artís and J. B. Solervicens, *Apunts històrics sobre la Confraria de Santa Marta dels Hostalers, Taverners i Aventurers* (Barcelona: Gremi de Restauració de Barcelona, 2006), and José Luis Martín Rodríguez, "'Ordinacions dels hostalers, taverners e aventurers' de Barcelona a fines del siglo XV," in *Miscel·lània en homenatge al P. Agustí Altisent* (Tarragona: Diputació de Tarragona, 1991), 73–94.

[43] This term can refer to someone who carries merchandise from one place to another or to an exchange agent or broker. See: Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 103.

[44] This refers to officials working for the seigneurial or royal courts, or for the bailiff or *veguer*, charged with announcing and carrying out punishments, such as collecting fines, etc. See: Jordi Bolòs i Masclans, *Diccionari de la Catalunya medieval (segles VI-XV)* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 2000), 227.

[45] For all the other occupations I relied on the number of men who appeared in one of the notarial entries with that occupation stated. For notaries, however, I used the names that were identified in the headers of the notarial cartularies, which show clearly that there were six notaries working in this year.

Crier/Auctioneer (*preco*)[46]	3	1	4
Judge (*judex*)	1	2	3
Bailiff (*baiulus*)[47]	3		3
Prison-guard (*scarcelerius*)	1		1
Law and Medicine Professions			
Barber/Barber-surgeon (*barbitonsor*)	5	1	6
Lawyer (*jurisperitus*)	5		5
Doctor (*fisichus, medicus, surgerius*)	2	1	3
Agriculture			
Shepherd (*pastor*)	23	8	31
Farmer (*agricultor*)	1		1
Plowman/field-worker (*bracerius*)	1		1
Total laymen with stated occupation	**821**	**240**	**1,061**
Clerics			
Chaplain or Priest (*capellanus, presbiter, rector*)	36	27	145
Dominican Monk (*frater predicatorum*)	30	2	46
Franciscan Monk (*frater minorem*)	4	19	23
Friar of the Sack (*prior penitente*)	1		1
Total clerics:	**71**	**88**	**159**

As I discussed in Chapter 4, there are some men who are clearly stated to be from Puigcerdà, and many men who appear without having their hometown stated but who are probably from Puigcerdà. Table 5.1 provides both the minimum number of men with each occupation who were clearly identified as being from Puigcerdà, and the number of additional

[46] In Latin this term reflects a herald, crier or someone who makes announcements. The fact that holders of this occupation appear commonly in certain types of land sales suggests holding auctions for land was one of their main responsibilities.

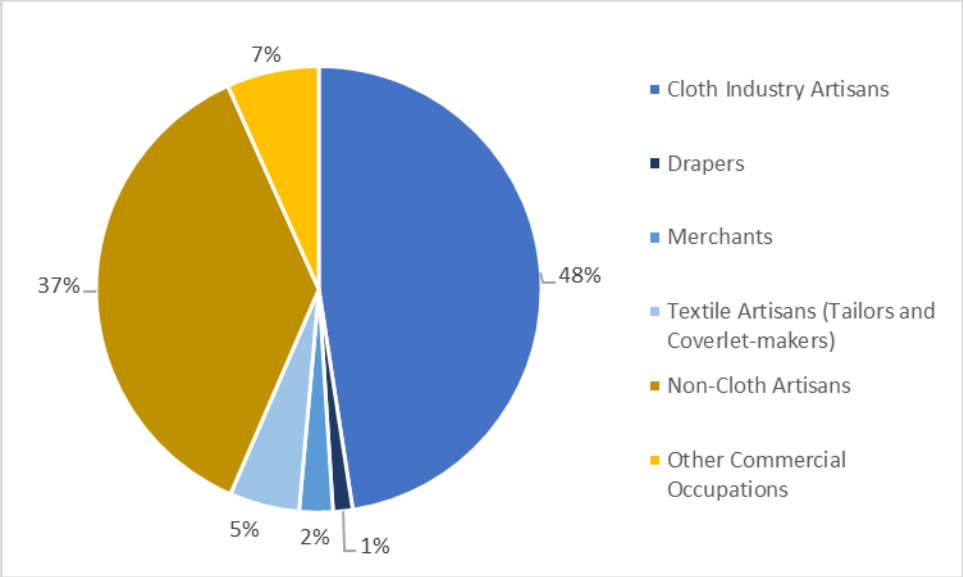
[47] Only one of these three was the bailiff of Puigcerdà, the other two appear to have lived in Puigcerdà but operated as the bailiff of another area.

men with that occupation who I considered likely to be from Puigcerdà.[48] As I discussed in Chapter 4, I have identified that there were probably between 2,150 and 3,200 adult Christian men residing in Puigcerdà; but also noted that many men appear without having their occupation stated—the notary's decision to add an occupation to someone's name depended on whether the notary was aware of other people in the town who shared that person's first and last name (or whether the occupation was relevant in some way to the contract). We cannot, thus, assume that the figures listed in Table 5.1 perfectly reflect the total numbers of different occupations in Puigcerdà in this year. Nonetheless, these figures offer an excellent view of the likely distribution of different occupations practiced by the men of Puigcerdà at this time.

What does the distribution of these occupations reveal about artisanal production in medieval Puigcerdà? There was a clear emphasis on occupations related to cloth-production and distribution. For example, occupations involving the production of cloth comprised 53% of all artisanal crafts. The predominance of the cloth-industry can be seen in Figure 5.6, which shows the breakdown of men in artisanal and commercial occupations seen among the men definitely or probably from Puigcerdà mentioned in notarial entries from this year.

[48] The criteria for who was likely to be from Puigcerdà are discussed in Chapter 4.

Figure 5.6: Men in Artisanal and Commercial of Puigcerdà in 1321/2 by Category[49]



As Figure 5.6 shows, artisans from four crafts related to cloth-production—carding, weaving, finishing and dyeing—made up over just under 48 percent of the total number of men in the artisanal and commercial sectors whose occupations are known.[50] There were also fourteen drapers (as well as twenty-four merchants, many of whom, as the surviving registers show, also sold cloth) mentioned in surviving entries this year, and an additional 5 percent of were artisans who also worked with textiles (tailors and coverlet-makers).[51] In total, then, those working with

[49] This is based on the probable total number of artisans mentioned in this year, including both those definitely from Puigcerdà and those I considered likely or possibly from Puigcerdà. The "Other" occupations included here were: apothecaries/spice-sellers, coverlet-makers, millers, painters, pot-makers, purse-makers, saddle-makers, sawyer/lumberjacks, silver-smiths, stonemasons and wall-builders.

[50] Carding is the process of both vertically aligning fibers and turning them into a web of consistent density suitable for spinning. A cloth finisher could be responsible for several final stages—good quality medieval woolens were fulled after weaving to make them enormously more durable, the resulting rough felt surface had to be sheared at least once, and finishers often went through several stages of shearing to get a smooth finish. Most dyeing was also done in the finishing stage. A full description of the processes involved in cloth-production is beyond the scope of this work, but for more on this see: Dominique Cardon, *La draperie au Moyen Âge. Essor d'une grande industrie européenne* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1999) ; Riera Melis, "Els orígens" and Riera Melis, "Draperia".

[51] The term draper generally referred to a cloth merchant. Tailors and coverlet-makers are part of the cloth industry ("cloth industry" refers to woven cloth production, not other textile arts) but they work with cloth and attest to further textile crafts in the town.

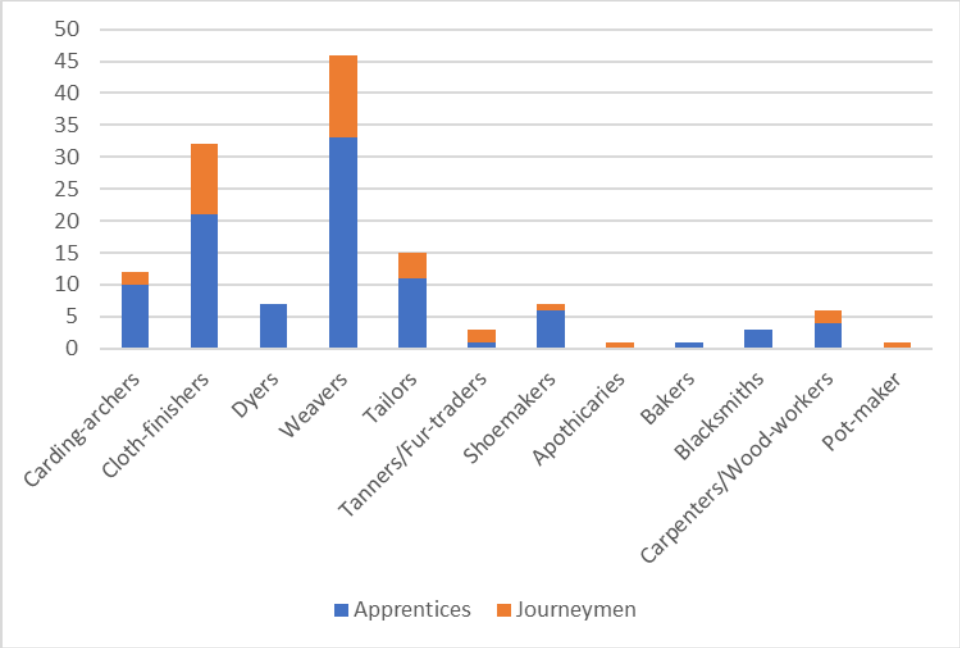
cloth in some form comprised over 56 percent of the men in the artisanal and commercial sectors (556 out of 984). There were also thirty-one shepherds, not counted here. The second most prevalent artisanal industry was fur or leather-workers, who comprised 14 percent of all artisans.[52]

A second source on artisanal activity in Puigcerdà during this period are the surviving artisanal apprenticeships and employment agreements. Ninety-eight non-cancelled apprenticeships and thirty-eight artisanal employment agreements survive from the year 1321/2. As I noted in Chapter 3, because both of these types of acts are disproportionately most-commonly recorded in the books of townspeople, all of which survive, it is almost certain that nearly all of the original number of such acts that would have been recorded in this year survive today.[53] These acts also demonstrate the dominance of the cloth industry in this year. Figure 5.7 shows the breakdown of crafts within the surviving apprenticeships and artisanal labor agreements from this year.

[52] It is not entirely clear whether most of these skins were from hunting and trapping, or from farmed animals. In all likelihood it was a combination of both. This may, thus, show further dominance of the husbandry economy in this mountainous region.

[53] Specifically, as noted in Chapter 3, I estimate that there would originally have been approximately 100 apprenticeships recorded in this year and thus that 98% of the original survive today. Most apprenticeships are recorded in books of townspeople, but a small number occasionally appear in books of debts. I have never seen an artisanal employment agreement outside of a book of townspeople, and therefore find it likely that all or nearly all of such agreements from this year survive to the present.

Figure 5.7: Crafts in Apprenticeship and Artisanal Labor Contracts, 1321/2[54]



As this figure shows, cloth-industry crafts were by far the most numerous. In fact, nearly 72 percent of all the apprenticeships and artisanal labor agreements recorded in this year were in one of the cloth-production crafts (carding, weaving, finishing and dyeing). This is equally true within artisanal labor agreements and in apprenticeships.[55]

Apprenticeships (and artisanal labor contracts) do not perfectly reflect the industrial activities of the town, as the differences between the crafts in these acts and the occupations of men across all entries show. Most young people would have learned the crafts of their families with no need for a formal apprenticeship contract. But apprenticeships indicate either a desire to

[54] This omits one apprenticeship in which the name of the craft was not stated. "Weaving" here includes apprenticeships in all kinds of weaving. In Puigcerdà weavers were trained both in using the single-person loom and in the "wide" more industrial two-person loom (*operis ample*). On this see Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 211. In this year six of the thirty-three weaving apprenticeships were for "wide" looms, while the other twenty-seven did not specify the kind. Similarly, three out of twelve of the artisanal wage labor agreements were for wide looms.

[55] Cloth industry crafts made up 72.4 percent (seventy-one of ninety-eight) of apprenticeships and 70.3 percent (twenty-six of thirty-seven) of artisanal labor contracts.

move children into a new (potentially growing, or more profitable) occupation, or an occupation that was considered a good choice for an orphan or fatherless child. The fact that the percent of apprenticeships involving cloth-industry crafts is higher than the rate at which artisans in Puigcerdà identified themselves as artisans in cloth-industry crafts may also suggest that this industry was still growing in this year (as more and more people sought formal training in these crafts).[56] It could suggest that Puigcerdà also served as a training center for artisans who then went elsewhere, but the low number of apprenticeship from outside valley, and the extremely limited evidence of commercialized artisanal activity in Cerdanya outside of the town of Puigcerdà makes this seem unlikely.

Women's Labor

A major piece of evidence for the centrality of the cloth industry in Cerdanya is, curiously, the near total *absence* of women from contracts for artisanal employment. Of the ninety-eight apprenticeship agreements surviving from Puigcerdà in 1321/2, only one involves a female apprentice. In this entry, Guillem Aleu, a priest of Puigcerdà, and Guiu Aleu of the village of Prats place Guiu's sister Sibil·la in an apprenticeship with a woman named Jacmona Francha of Puigcerdà, for a period of seven years, in which Jacmona promises to teach Sibil·la her craft of tailoring (*ministerium sartorie*).[57] The unusually long length of the contract, and the fact that Sibil·la is not apprenticed by either of her parents strongly suggest that she was an

[56] Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 834.

[57] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 28r (d). Guillem's relationship to Guiu and Sibil·la is not made clear but given the surname he was likely a relation of some sort.

underage orphan, and that one of the family's goals in creating this contract may have been to find a suitable foster-family for Sibil·la.

Women comprised only about 1 percent of the people apprenticed in Puigcerdà in 1321/2. This was also remarkably similar over time. As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 7, I sampled artisanal employment agreements (including both apprenticeships and artisanal wage-labor contracts) from one year out of every decade between 1260 and 1360, identifying a total of 525 such agreements. Among these 525 contracts, only four (that is less than 1 percent) were for the hire or training of women or girls. These included, a case from April of 1301 in which a carding-archer named Ramon de Pi apprenticed his daughter Sibil·la to a tailor named Pere Mercader for eight years,[58] a case from March of 1310 [1309] in which a baker named Pere Rosell of Puigcerdà apprenticed his daughter Agnes to Mateua Costurera, the wide of Arnau de Çacanal of Puigcerdà, for two years in her craft of sewing (*custurerie*),[59] and a case from October of 1339 in which Mateua, the widow of Arnau dez Parer apprenticed her daughter Elisenda to Bernat Mulner, for one year, also in the craft of sewing.[60] Stephen Bensch also noted that women were "virtually absent" from the artisanal labor contracts he studied from between 1260 and 1300, though he found one from 1298 that he identifies as for the craft of silk-weaving (*ministerio tuo de telero et aliorum operatorum tuorum de sericha*).[61] The only other evidence I

[58] ACCE, Reg. 56 fol. 98v (b)

[59] ACCE, Reg. 71 fol. 115r (d).

[60] ACCE, Reg. 447 fol. 118v (b).

[61] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 210. Bensch states that there were two apprenticeships of women in during this time period, both in silk-weaving. However, having examined the two entries he was referring to I believe he was mistaken about one of them, which appears to be a straightforward apprenticeship in weaving on a wide loom, with no mention of silk, and in any case the apprentice is male. For these entries, see: ACCE, Reg. 54 fol. 124v (c) and Reg. 55 fol. 19v (d).

found suggesting women's artisanal labor is the fact that one women, Ramona Solera was identified as a weaver (*Ramona Solera Textori*) in a loan in which she loaned money.[62]

A few additional sources also show that some women worked as maids and as wet-nurses. In June of 1321 Gueralla Losa agreed to work for for Ribo Çariba of Puigcerdà nourishing his son Francesc (*ad nutriendum et aleytandum Francischum filium tuum*) for one year.[63] Evidently it didn't work out because in February of 1322 [1321] Ribo Çariba hired a new wet-nurse, Berenguera, wife of Ramon Bernat de Sotsesglésia for the same job (*pro ancilla ad nutriendum et aleytandum Franciscum filium tuum*).[64] Three women are identified in various contracts from the year 1321/2 as a maid (*ancilla*).[65]

Notarial sources, in Puigcerdà as throughout southern Europe, skew heavily toward the activities of men. Women and girls comprised only 2,995 (or 11.8 percent) of the 25,352 instances in which a living person appeared within one of the notarial entries from the year 1321/2 in any role other than as a witness.[66] Only 2,117 (28 percent) of the 7,432 non-cancelled entries involve at least one woman. Recorded labor contracts accordingly also skew heavily in favor of male labor throughout southern Europe. But even so, scholars looking at other medieval towns have found that much higher percentages of women participated in artisanal labor

[62] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 94v (e). Ramona's place of residence is not identified.

[63] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 58r (d).

[64] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 75v (c).

[65] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 43v (a), Reg. 31 fol. 8v (a), and Reg. 17 fol. 37r (f). In addition, some of the books relating to the building of the bridge of Sant Martí d'Aravó from the 1326 to 1328 include references to female servants (*sirventa*) who assisted with this bridge. See: ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibres de l'obra del pont d'Aravó 1326 and 1328.

[66] This is only 7.2 percent if we include the names of witnesses, as women were not permitted to serve as witnesses.

contracts. In Montpellier during this same period, according to Kathryn Reyerson, one sixth of all recorded apprentices were women.[67] Where were the women of Puigcerdà?

There were probably at home, hard at work. Given the numbers of wool fleeces in the valley, and the output of the cloth industry, women's market-oriented labor was almost certainly entirely taken up by the first and most time-consuming stages of cloth production: washing and preparing wool, and then, above all, spinning thread.[68] Women's available labor time was monopolized by turning the innumerable wool fleeces shorn each spring in Puigcerdà into threads that could be woven into cloth—both on women's home looms, and by the town's large population of male weavers. Once fleeces were shorn from the sheep they had to be disassembled, the wool had to be sorted, cleaned, carded, and combed. Finally, it had spun to be turned into thread, by far the most time-consuming stage in the process of cloth-production, done almost exclusively by women (both in medieval Europe and in human history generally).[69] It is not entirely certain how many of the looms in Puigcerdà were narrow, one-person looms and how many were the more industrial two-person wide looms. But with somewhere around 118-145 weavers documented in Puigcerdà, there may well have been at least fifty wide looms in operation in Puigcerdà by the year 1321/2. According to Dominique Cardon, approximately thirty spinners (spinning using a distaff) would have been needed to spin the quantity of thread

[67] Kathryn L. Reyerson, "The Adolescent Apprentice/Worker in Medieval Montpellier," *Journal of Family History* 17, no. 4 (1992): 353–70; 358-9. Francine Michuad has also suggested that the absence of women from artisanal labor might be "shaped by the 'distaff'." See: Francine Michaud, "Apprentissage et salariat à Marseille avant la peste noire," *Revue Historique* 291, no. 1 (1994): 3–36; 18.

[68] On medieval womens spinning, see: Dominique Cardon, "Arachné ligotée: la fileuse du Moyen Âge face au drapier," *Médiévales* 15, no. 30 (1996): 13–22, https://doi.org/10.3406/medi.1996.1348.

[69] On the fact that this was commonly women's work in Cerdanya, see: Riera Melis "L'aparició," 155 and 165, and Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 842.

necessary for each of these wide looms every year.[70] By this calculation, during this period the weavers of Puigcerdà would have required at least some 1,500 women just to spin the thread needed for all these wide looms.[71] More, of course, would have supported the narrow looms, women's own home weaving and any looms outside of the town of Puigcerdà itself. These figures are fairly rough but give a sense of the scale of women's labor that would have been required to support a cloth-industry of the size of that of Puigcerdà. Despite the centrality of this step to the overall process of cloth-production, women's steps in cloth production entirely escapes contract.[72]

Only two entries from this year make any reference to spun wool. In a sale on credit from January of 1322, Ramon Verdeguer, a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Pere Soler, another cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà twelve *lliures* of Barcelona for "spun wool" (*lana filana*).[73] In another sale on credit from May of 1322 Pere Grimau acknowledged owing Muntaner Vilacorba seventy-nine *lliures* and ten *sous* of Barcelona also for spun wool.[74] In this entry neither Grimau or Vilacorba's occupations or hometowns are given, but other entries from this year survive which include men by these names in which Pere Grimau is identified as a cloth-finisher and Vilacorba as a tanner.[75] These appear to be large, bulk transfers of spun wool

[70] Cardon, "Arachné ligotée," 14. I am extremely grateful to Josep Maria Querol for sharing this citation and his insights on this matter.

[71] This was probably done using a distaff, as the spinning wheel had likely not spread to Puigcerdà by this time.

[72] While we don't see these stages in notarial records, some additional sources show how it may have occurred. Le Roy Ladurie noted that one of the women in Montaillou, Guillemette Clergue had set up a carding shop in her home, precisely around this period. See: Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 99 and 247.

[73] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 45r (h).

[74] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 86r (b).

[75] For Pere Grimau, see: ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 61v (g). For Muntaner Vilacorba, see: ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 80r (d).

between men, some of them cloth-finishers apparently highly invested in the earlier steps of the cloth-production process. Women's spinning, almost certainly their dominant commercially oriented artisanal or industrial activity, does not get documented in these records. We know virtually nothing about the process through which wool was brought to women (whether in town or in the countryside), or how, once spun, it was brought back to weavers to be woven into cloth.[76]

In sum, except for a few rare cases, most of them in sewing/tailoring, and one in silk-weaving, women appear not to have been involved in most artisanal crafts practiced in medieval Puigcerdà. Given the number of wool fleeces being delivered in Puigcerdà every year, and the number of weavers and cloth-finishers working in the town, it was the great need for labor put toward cleaning, preparing and spinning wool that monopolized women's market-oriented labor and kept them from working in other crafts.

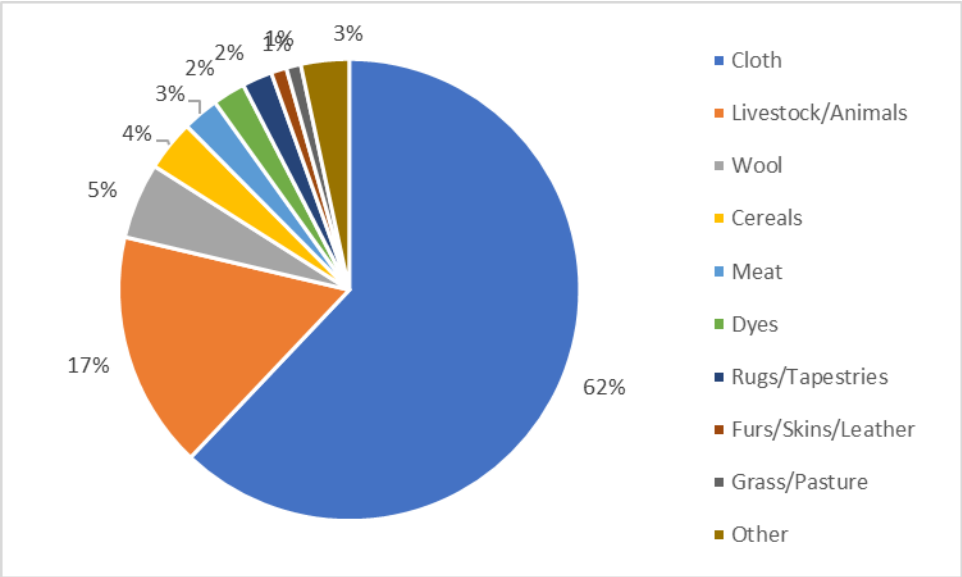
Commercial Products

Just as the cloth industry dominated artisanal production in Puigcerdà, it also dominated commercial activity in the town and the surrounding region. Above (and in Chapter 3) I noted that debts of wool were among the most numerous types of acts recorded in Puigcerdà in this year. In Chapter 7, I will show that the surviving debts of wool reveal that tens of thousands of wool fleeces that were pouring into Puigcerdà in just this one year. Aside from wool, the other main commodity traded in this town was cloth. If we turn to look at the 1,633 surviving sales on credit from this year, we see that the largest percentage of them involved cloth and that great

[76] While these stages of the process are better documented in other European regions, they nearly entirely escape mention in Cerdanya.

quantities of cloth were flowing back out from the town. The breakdown of items sold in the sales on credit can be seen in Figure 5.8.

Figure 5.8: Items Sold in Sales on Credit, 1321/2[77]



As Figure 5.8 makes clear, among the sales on credit, cloth was sold far more frequently than any other type of commodity. Nearly two-thirds of all the items sold on credit (1,028 out of 1,660, or 62 percent) were for cloth of some type, and over 71 percent are related to the cloth industry (including cloth, wool, dyes, and rugs/tapestries).[78] The second most commonly seen item was livestock or animals (as discussed previously). No other category appeared in more than one hundred individual sales on credit from this year. Cloth-dyes, including woad (*pastello*,

[77] Thirty-two of the sales on credit (2 percent) involve the sale of more than one item of different types. Counting these items separate, the surviving records thus attest to 1,660 instances of items sold on credit within the 1,633 entries containing sales on credit. I have not, however, counted the same type of item multiple times even if the entry included multiple instances of a sale on credit of that item. This chart omits three sales on credit in which the item sold could not be read due to damage. Dyes here includes woad, madder "dyes," and "colors." "Other" includes everything that appeared in less than fifteen total sales on credit. The only item that appeared in fewer than fifteen sale on credits but more than five was wine.

[78] This does not count sheep.

guado), madder (*rubea*, *roja*), and other "dyes" (*tincturis pannorum*, *coloribus*), another product related to cloth-production was sold more frequently than either of these, in thirty-eight surviving entries. The only other artisanal or industrial products to have been sold on credit in any significant number were rugs and tapestries (*lodex*), which were sold in thirty-five surviving entries and furs, skins or leathers (*pelliceria, curiamine*), which were sold in eighteen. Meat, usually salted, (*carnibus, carnibus salsis*) appeared in forty-two and grass or pasture (*erba, pastura*) in seventeen—both also attesting to the importance of the husbandry economy in Cerdanya.

These sales on credit would have included both imported cloth as well as locally produced cloth from Puigcerdà, although it is difficult to trace the percentage of sales on credit that deal with each type. Most of the sales on credit do not give any details about the type, origin, quality or even quantity of the cloth that was sold. The vast majority of the sales on cloth (828 out of 1,028, or 80.5%) were simply stated to be "for cloth" (*pro pannis*).[79] Another 168 of them (16.3%) were for serges (*sarzilis*), a rough low-quality cloth, and twenty (1.9%) were for fustians (*fustanis*), which was made from a combination of linen and cotton.[80] Only a few give more detail on the type of cloth: One sale on credit specified that the cloth was imported French cloth (*pannis francie*),[81] and another specified that it was for "a cloth of gold" (*panno aurey*).[82] Two

[79] As Claude Denjean noted, animals are described in far more detail than cloth is. Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit," 147.

[80] On the types of cloth, see: Rendu, "Aperçu," 96 and Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit," 147. On fustians, see Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 836.

[81] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (d).

[82] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 63r (e).

were sales of unfinished cloth (*pannis crudis*),[83] two were for linen cloth (*panno lino*), and one was for canvas (*pannis canapis*).[84] None of the sales on credit refer to specific colors of cloth (except for the one sale of "cloth of gold"), and one potentially for "brown cloth" (*pannis de bruneta*).[85] The twenty-seven surviving entries in which cloth-dyers promised to dye cloths show that the cloth produced in Puigcerdà came in variety of colors, with the most commonly mentioned colors being red, blue and green. Additionally, none of the sales on credit identify the quantity of cloth that was sold, but the fact that there were over one thousand entries for the sale of "cloths" shows that thousands of cloths would have been sold in Puigcerdà and the surrounding region in this year. The overwhelming dominance of cloth among the sales on credit is yet another indication that cloth production was the major commercial activity of the city of Puigcerdà and its valley.

Conclusion

The notarial evidence from the year 1321/2 makes clear how strongly the commercial economy of late-medieval Puigcerdà was centered on the production and sale of woolen cloth. Sheep-raising was clearly the predominant form of market-oriented agricultural activity in Puigcerdà, with many of the animals bought or shared being sheep, and transactions involving sheep far outnumbering other animals when counted by the head. Wool, particularly wool bought in advance sales, was one of the most common items purchased in the town in this year. Approximately half of the men in the commercial and artisanal sectors had ties to the production

[83] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 43v (g) and Reg. 131 fol. 35r (d).

[84] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 2v (a) and Reg. 28 fol. 61r (g), and Reg. 92 fol. 46v (d).

[85] ACCE Reg. 131 fol. 1v (i).

or distribution of cloth or textiles. In addition, apprenticeship and artisanal wage labor contracts suggest the dominance of the cloth industry, both because cloth-industry crafts make up the majority of the artisanal employment agreements, and because women are virtually absent from artisanal labor (as they were likely spinning). Finally, nearly two thirds of the sales on credit in this year were for cloth, showing that significant numbers of finished cloths were pouring back out of Puigcerdà into the countryside.

Chapter 6: Seasonal Patterns in the Year 1321/22

In the previous chapter I provided an overview of agricultural and commercial activity in Cerdanya and Puigcerdà, showing that the agricultural focus of the valley was on animal husbandry, particularly the raising of sheep for wool, and that the artisanal and commercial activity of the town of Puigcerdà was dominated by the production and sale of woolen cloth. In this chapter I examine the seasonal course of agricultural activity throughout the year. As I will show, the local agricultural schedules had a significant impact on course of economic and commercial activity throughout the year, as can be seen by when certain types of agreements were made, when items were bought and due to be delivered, and when credit was extended and when it was due.

Introduction

This chapter examines the seasonal course of economic activity in Puigcerdà and Cerdanya throughout the year, based on an in-depth study of the economic and notarial activity in the year from June 24, 1321 to June 23, 1322. In it, I argue that the patterns of local economic activity, including when certain types of agreements are made, when goods bought and sold, when credit is extended and when payment is expected, and even when marriages occur, are all highly influenced by the seasonal rhythms of the local agricultural calendar. There are clear differences in the seasonal patterns of economic activity in the countryside versus within the town of Puigcerdà. Merchants follow different schedules than shepherds and farmers. But the economic activity of Puigcerdà as a whole, at all levels, was highly influenced by the local agricultural calendar. The influence of the agricultural calendar on economic activity more

broadly does display some similarities to what has been seen in other parts of Catalonia and southern Europe where the cultivation of arable land was the dominant activity in town hinterlands. But in Cerdanya, and likely in other mountainous (particularly Pyrenean) areas, pastoral husbandry made up a much larger proportion of local agricultural activity. This fact also had a considerable impact on the course of economic activity throughout the year; and it makes the overall pattern of seasonal economic activity quite different from that seen elsewhere.

I start by discussing the number of work days versus festival days in the year, and variations in the volume of notarial activity across different days of the week and throughout the course of the year. I then discuss the particularly distinctive patterns and activities of each of the four main seasons and examine the seasonality of when credit was extended and repaid, and how this differs between borrowers in the countryside and in town.

Sales

A large portion of the information in this chapter comes from notarial entries recording sales. A further introduction to these sources may thus help clarify how these sources can be used to understand when goods and money were transferred throughout the year. As briefly outlined in Chapter 3, in Puigcerdà, as in other parts of southern Europe, sales appear across several different types of notarial acts. Some are straightforward sale acts, but these are used only for certain types of items sold (most frequently real estate, rights to recurring payments, debts, or very high value items). Many more sales only appear within acts that are structured as an acknowledgement of a debt that is owed on account of a sale. These acknowledgements of debts on account of sales can come in two main varieties: sales on credit and debts of items, most of which are better understood as advance sales. Sales on credit and item debts together make up

about one third of all surviving agreements in the notarial entries.[86] In order to understand what the surviving notarial entries can tell us about the flow of goods and money throughout the course of the year in medieval Cerdanya, it is important to understand what these sources tell us about the transfer of sums and items.

In principle, in a sale on credit the item is purchased but some or all of the payment for the item is due later. For example, a very standard sale on credit entry from December 17, 1321 states: "[I] Ramon de Coguls of Puigcerdà owe twenty *sous* [of Barcelona] to you, Jaume Mercader, cloth-seller of Puigcerdà, for cloths, to pay at the feast of Saint Michael."[87] Presumably according to this contract, Ramon purchased and received his cloths on or around December 17, 1321, but he would not have to pay the full price owed for it until September of 1322, nine months later. He may have paid some percentage of the purchase price up front, but we do not know the total volume of cloth, nor the full price of the purchase, as such details that are usually not recorded in sales on credit.[88] We only know that the total price was at least twenty *sous* of Barcelona.[89] These types of entries are so common that they are highly abbreviated, with the *notule* frequently including only one or two lines in total. But surviving parchment copies of sales on credit give us more insight into the clauses that the *notules* omitted;

[86] They comprise 2,570 or 33.2 percent out of the total 7,733 surviving agreements.

[87] This entry does also name Ramon's guarantor and the witnesses. ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 30r (h). "[*Ego] Raymundus de Cuguls de podioceritano xx sol. tibi Jacobo Mercator de podioceritano draperio pro pannis soluere in festo sancti michaelis September* [sic]." This entry does not state that the currency is that of Barcelona, but the parchment copy of this act, discussed below, does.

[88] Throughout her article examining the *liber boateriorum* and the *liber panneriorum* from the year 1280/1, Christine Rendu mistakenly assumed that the amount owed in sales on credit was the true total price, but we cannot assume this. All of her assertations about the "price" of different items, or the price of certain items over different months of the year should be disregarded. See: Rendu, "Aperçu."

[89] It is possible that some portion of the total price was paid up front and the twenty *sous* owed was only a portion of the total price.

and show that we should understand these as cases in which the purchased item had been received. A parchment copy of this particular act survives; in it, Ramon specifies that this debt is "for cloths which I bought from you and have" (*pro pannis quas a te emi et habui*).[90]

In an advance sale, in contrast, in principle the item is purchased and the payment is handed over, but it the seller states that he "owes" the purchased item and that it will be delivered at a later date.[91] A very standard advance sale recorded on November 17, 1321 states that, "[I], Guillem Fontet of Alp owe six wool fleeces to you, Ramon Vives of Puigcerdà, on account of a sale, at Pentecost…"[92] In this case, Guillem would presumably have received the payment for the wool up front on or around November 17, 1321, even though he did not have to deliver the promised wool fleeces until May of 1322. As will be discussed below, debts of items typically do identify the precise quantity owed. They sometimes identify either the price per item, or the total price owed, but often do not. In those cases in which the price is stated, they include a clause that specifies that "the sum is paid" "*sum paccatus*".[93] It is likely that this clause was also included in the longer-form versions of all such debts of items, and only abbreviated

[90] ACCE, Parchment 102. For similar examples from the 1320s, see: ACCE, Reg. 287 fol. 134r (a) and ADPO, 7J11, and ACCE, Reg. 171 fol. 5v (b) and ADPO, 7J4. Just as in the case described above, in both of these pairs of documents the *notule* does not include the "*emi et habui*" clause, but the parchment copy does. Further, in the notarial registers surviving from this period from the Pyrenean town of Bagà, the entries follow the formats of those recorded in Puigcerdà very closely, although they more frequently go into more minute detail and are less heavily abbreviated. In these registers it is common to see *notules* of sales on credit that also include this "*emi et habui*" clause included there.

[91] Technically… a debt of an item is not necessarily always an advance sale. In some cases, two parties agree that payment for something, including a salary, can be paid in kind and this is recorded a debt of that item.

[92] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 21r (a). "*Guillelmus Fontet de Alb sex vellera lane tibi Raymundo Vives de Podioceritano empcione in pentecostem*..."

[93] For an example, see: ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 1v (a). This type of clause is also extremely common in straightforward sale acts, particularly of real-estate.

from the *notules*, in which case we should certainly understand these entries as cases in which the price was paid over at the time the entry was made.

This situation is made all the more complicated, however, by the fact that the notarial entries regularly include statements that were clearly contrary to fact. For example, in May of 1322 Joan d'Emvalls of Puigcerdà sold some houses in Puigcerdà to Bernat d'Arsèguel, also of Puigcerdà. In the entry recording the sale Joan stated that "for these [houses] I have had from you twenty *lliures* of Barcelona, which sum has been paid" (*pro his habui a te viginti libri bar. de quibus sum paccatus.*"[94] In the following entry, however, Bernat acknowledges owing Joan seventeen *lliures* of Barcelona "of the price of the said sale" (*de precio dicte vendicionis*), of which he promises to pay half at All Saints and half at Shrove Sunday.[95] The first entry clearly stated that the price of the houses was paid off, but the second entry shows that actually, 85 percent of it was due at a later date. In fact, nearly all sales of real estate are formulated in this way, likely due both to legal conventions around real estate and notarial norms. The parties, or the notaries, preferred to record sales of real estate, and in fact all direct sale acts as though the price was paid off, and to keep the debts over the portion of the price that was paid only on credit in a separate act and separate notarial entry.

Several surviving examples show that, in some cases, an item was bought in advance and due to be delivered later, and it was bought at least partially on credit, with part of the purchase price also due later. Such a sale is both an advance sale and a sale on credit. As with the land sale discussed above, the parties, or, more likely, the notaries, preferred to keep these two debts separated within different entries. For example, on June 25, 1321, Bernat Querol of La Tor de

[94] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 73r (b).

[95] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 73r (c).

Querol acknowledged owing his brother, Arnau Querol also of La Tor de Querol twelve wool fleeces, plus their *turnus* (an extra wool-fleece per dozen evidently required as a kind of tax), "on account of a sale," for a total price of thirty-six *sous* of Barcelona "which has been paid" (*de quibus sum paccatus).*[96] In the immediately following entry, however, Arnau acknowledges owing Bernat the full thirty-six *sous* of Barcelona "for the aforementioned [fleeces]" (*pro predictis*), promising to pay "whenever you wish" ([sic] *cuando volueris*).[97] In the advance sale of wool recorded in the first entry, the entry clearly and specifically states that the money for the wool has been handed over, but the following entry reveals that this was not, in fact, the case. Similarly, presumably the parchment copy of the second entry (and we can see, based on markings on this entry that one was created), probably stated that the wool had been received with the typical "*emi et habui*" clause, but this also would not have been the case.

What the example of Arnau and Bernat Querol shows is that we cannot necessarily trust that the money and goods supposedly handed over in advance sales and sales on credit (and many other types of acts) was actually handed over at that time, even if the entry states that it was.[98] I have identified at least five other cases, similar to the example of Arnau and Bernat Querol, where an item was bought in advance and paid for on credit. In all cases it was easy to identify that this was the case because the entries were adjacent to one another in the notarial register. I have not been able to cross reference the buyers and sellers in all of the surviving such entries to determine precisely what percent of items bought on credit were not received at the

[96] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 1v (a).

[97] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 1v (b).

[98] In the notarial registers from Bagà, which, as I have noted, were both very similar to those from Puigcerdà but which also recorded more minute details and transactions, it was not uncommon to see cases where a sale on credit is immediately followed by an entry in which the buyer acknowledges having received the purchased item. See for example, ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, fols. 34v (c and d), 35r (a and b) and 39r (d and e).

time of the sale, or what percent of items bought in advance were bought on credit.[99] I consider it likely that, in fact, the majority of items bought on credit were received at or around the time the purchases were recorded, and that many advance sales were paid for up front.[100] But in many cases it is not possible for us to know this definitively, and thus information recorded in these entries on when goods or money were handed over must be taken with a grain of salt. Puigcerdà is not unique in this regard—in fact, the issues described above are common within those parts of southern Europe with a similar notarial culture—but this can be unintuitive for those unfamiliar with these records.

Daily and Weekly Notarial Activity in 1321/2

To understand the impact of agricultural patterns on economic activity it is first necessary to understand the course of the week and year in Puigcerdà. I thus begin by examining the number of days would have been considered working days, and the relative amount of economic activity concentrated on different weekdays, before turning to look at the number of notarial entries produced in each week over the course of the year.[101]

[99] In the case of Arnau and Bernat Querol, both are residents of a small village, La Tor de Querol. Both Bernat's debt to Arnau, and Arnau's debt to Bernat were thus recorded in the book of outsiders. In cases in which one party was from Puigcerdà and one party was from outside of Puigcerdà, however, we could reasonably expect these two entries to be recorded in different registers (a book of debts and a book of outsiders, presumably). This complicates finding these cases, particularly as several registers are missing.

[100] It is not uncommon to see debts of wool, recording advance sales of wool that are combined with loans, in which the person purchasing wool in advance also loans money to the seller that is expected to be repaid at the same time as the wool is due. These are clear cases where money must have been handed over by the buyer to the seller in advance. For example, in January of 1322 [1321], Jaume Colomer of Cortals de Portea (in the Vall de Querol) acknowledged owing seven *lliures* of Barcelona in a loan, and thirty-six wool fleeces on account of a sale to Pere Colomer, a shoemaker (likely of Puigcerdà). ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 58v (d).

[101] As discussed in Chapter 1, at least prior to the 1350s, in the notarial registers from Puigcerdà, most individual *notules* were not dated. The notaries recorded dates at the beginning of each new day, with all subsequent contracts belonging to that date until a new date appears. In a few cases a date cannot be read, and the subsequent contracts cannot be dated precisely. For this section, I have omitted all entries that were cancelled as well as fifty-seven entries for which a clear date cannot be determined, leaving 7,375 entries. There are a small number of entries that were entered out of chronological order. Such entries are marked with a brief note that records the date on which

The Working Year: Work Days versus Festival Days, Individuals versus Shops

By looking at how many days out of the year the notaries and scribes recorded notarial entries we can get a sense of how many days were regular business days and how many days were festivals in Puigcerdà in a typical early-fourteenth-century year. The activities of the notarial *scribania* show they mostly adhered to a calendar in which Sundays and certain festal days were non-working days, meaning the *scribania* was open on 316 days and closed on fifty-four days. [102] In addition to forty-one Sundays, the other thirteen days on which the notarial office was closed were:

1. Feast of Saint John, June 24
2. Feast of Saint Mary in August, August 15
3. Feast of Saint Mary in September, September 8
4. Feast of Saint Thomas, December 21
5. Christmas, December 25
6. New Year's Day, January 1
7. Feast of Epiphany, January 6
8. Feast of Saint Vincent, January 22
9. Candlemas, Feb 2
10. Good Friday, April 9
11. The Monday after Easter, April 12

they were originally created. I count such entries by their original date of creation except when discussing the patterns of days on which notaries worked, in which case I use the day they were entered. The notaries clearly occasionally made errors in recording the dates; it is not uncommon for the date and day of the week not to match what they were known to be in the year 1321/2. The notaries might for example, state that the date is Wednesday, October 21, when October 21 was a Thursday in that year. In these cases, the correct date can usually be determined by examining the dates before and afterwards. In other cases, where it was unclear, I have generally followed the day of the week. This is because I assume that the notaries were less likely to mistake the day of the week that the number of days prior to the upcoming kalends, nones or ides. This is especially true since the nones and ides fall on a different date in four of the twelve months. It is also not uncommon for the day of the week not to be given, and in these cases, it would not always be possible to determine if the notaries had made an error in the date. For these cases, the date is assumed to be as it was recorded.

[102] There were only forty-nine days on which no surviving entry was created. In addition, there were five days where no entries were created except for a single will. I consider it likely that these five days were also days when the notarial office was closed, and that the notaries recorded these wills only due to extraordinary circumstances. Dying without a will came with a penalty and created a great deal of confusion for the family, so it is reasonable to assume that the notaries were either willing or obligated to produce such documents if someone seemed close to death, even if it was not a regular business day. Though in general the notaries were not working on Sundays, there are eleven Sundays on which documents other than wills were recorded.

12. The feast of Saint Philip and Saint James the Minor, May 1
13. The Monday after Pentecost, May 31

Another festival which would likely also have been a day off, but which happened to fall on a Sunday in 1321 was the feast of All Saints, November 1st. Many of these dates fall on or are adjacent to a major Christian holiday. Others, such as the feast of Saint Thomas, the feast of Saint Vincent and the feasts of Saint Philip and Saint James and even Candlemas, are less expected as festivals, because they are less central to the Catholic liturgical calendar and because they are not as common as due dates or reference points within the documents themselves the way other festivals, such as Pentecost, Christmas, Easter, the feast of Saint John and Michaelmas are.[103]

If the estimate of working days based on the number of days that the notaries and scribes recorded documents held true for the rest of the town, then a significantly higher percentage of days in the year were business days than has sometimes been assumed about the medieval world. In their examination of notarial activity in fourteenth-century Girona, for example, Christian Guilleré and Anthony Pinto estimated that public holidays took up a third of the year and therefore that there were only about 243 work days per year.[104] I believe this to be an underestimate; the number of working days, at least in Puigcerdà, was much higher. In the year 1321/2, there were over 290 days in the year on which five or more entries were recorded, showing that the number of general business days was at least this high, if not higher (since not all entries survive).

[103] Further research into other years will be needed to see if some of these less expected feasts are also days off in other years.

[104] Guilleré and Pinto, "Notariat Géronais," 40.

Clearly, there is a difference between the total number of work days for the town of Puigcerdà as a whole and the number of days on which any *individual* might be working. While I estimate that the *scribania* of Puigcerdà was open for business approximately 290-316 days per year, individual scribes and notaries probably did not work all these days. I have investigated the difference by looking at the number of days on which specific notaries or scribes recorded entries. For this analysis, I selected the collection of three registers from this year that were made by the notarial pair Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alp, because both of these two notaries have unusually distinct and easily identifiable handwriting.[105] (As noted in Chapter 2, in general in this period the notaries worked in pairs and shared their notarial registers with a partner). All of the entries in the three registers that survive from this pair were produced by one of these two notaries or by their assistant scribe. The name of this scribe is never explicitly stated, but because a known scribe named Ramon Duran who had also previously worked for Jaume Garriga appears as a witness 692 times in the registers of these two notaries in this year, I consider it almost certain that he was the assistant scribe for this notarial pair in this year.[106] Examining all the entries in these three registers, it is possible to estimate how many days Mateu d'Alp, Jaume Garriga, and Ramon Duran were working in 1321/2.

Across these three registers, entries were recorded on 266 days out of the year. But neither Mateu, Jaume nor Ramon appear to have worked on all 266 days. Mateu d'Alp recorded

[105] ACCE, Regs. 79, 92 and 255.

[106] I know Ramon Duran was a scribe during this period because he mentioned in two sources, one transcription of an entry he wrote and one *notule* that references a contract that he wrote. Both documents are from 1320 and in both cases the contracts that Ramon Duran wrote were undersigned by Jaume Garriga, indicating that Duran worked for Garriga and his notarial partner in that year. See: ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc 105, and ACCE, Reg. 92 folio 41v (a). Neither source shows Duran's handwriting and no other document showing his handwriting survives that states specifically that he wrote it so I cannot say definitively that the handwriting I see in these registers is that of Ramon Duran.

entries on at least 202 days of the year. Jaume Garriga recorded entries on at least 204 days.[107] Their scribe, in contrast, recorded entries on only 103 days, although there were an additional seventy-five days on which he also witnessed an act in one of these notaries' registers and was thus also likely working in the *scribania*, suggesting he was present for a total of at least 178 days.[108] In all cases these are minimum estimates of the number of days the notaries and their scribe were working. The analysis of these registers doesn't give us an exact sum of precisely how many days each notary was working, because we are missing a book of debts by this pair, and because this register would likely have contained the highest number of contracts of any register produced by these notaries in this year. There may well have been days when the only contracts that Garriga, d'Alp or Duran produced were recorded in a missing book of debts, and therefore the average d'Alp and Garriga may have worked a bit more than the minimum 202-204 days that we know about.

Even if these are minimum estimates, they strongly suggest that individual notaries and scribes worked fewer days than the total number of days on which the *scribania* was open. In fact, there were ninety-six days of this year in which these notaries' surviving registers contain only entries by Garriga or d'Alp, but not both, suggesting that there were many days on which only one of them was present. Notaries, like many other medieval workers, engaged in a variety

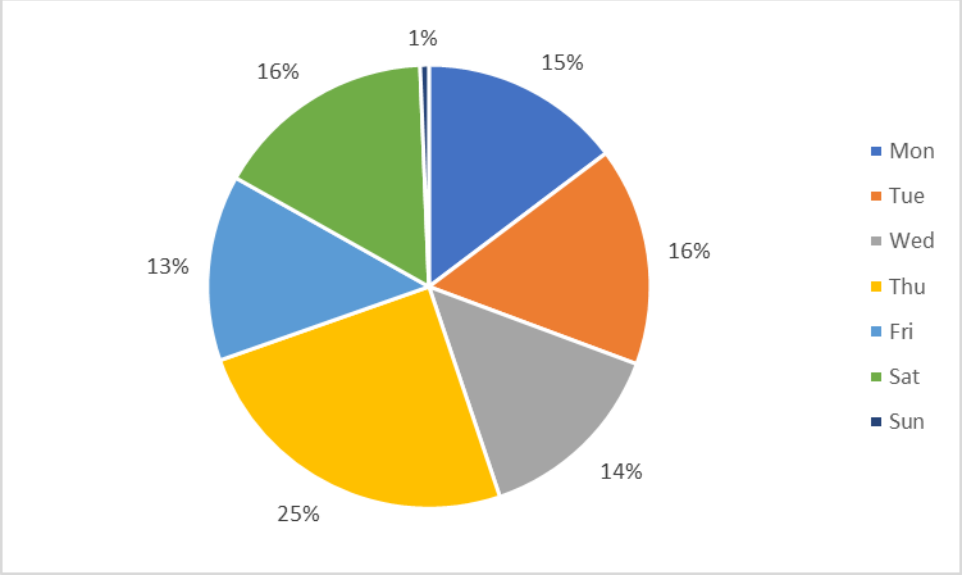
[107] Clearly, the two notaries shared their workload extremely evenly. Based on the surviving registers, they not only worked on nearly the same number of days (202 by d'Alp and 204 by Garriga), but they also recorded nearly the same number of total entries. Mateu d'Alp recorded a total of 669 entries, and Jaume Garriga recorded 661 total entries. Two of the entries were written by d'Alp with a section added by Garriga and are counted for both notaries.

[108] The scribe apparently either worked a bit less often than the notaries, or primarily worked on tasks other than recording *notules.* He not only was demonstrably present on slightly fewer total days, but Duran recorded a total of only 211 non-cancelled entries in comparison to the total of 1,328 recorded by the two notaries. This supports the idea that he was a trainee. While Ignasi J. Baiges i Jardi has stated that it was usually the assistant scribes and not the notaries themselves who wrote *notules* in the notarial cartularies, this appears not to have been the case in Puigcerdà, where a higher proportion of the documents were written by the notaries. Scribes, on the other hand, appear to have been primarily occupied with creating parchment copies. This accords with what Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol has argued. See: Baiges i Jardí, "El notariat català," 160 and Ferrer i Mallol, "La redacció," 81-2.

of market-oriented activities outside of their primary occupation. Various documents concerning the notaries of Puigcerdà show that they invested in land and owned flocks of sheep, for example.[109] Thus there may have been days the notaries and scribes were undertaking business unrelated to the *scribania*. I therefore find Guilleré and Pinto's estimate of around 243 working days to be a reasonably good guess of a notary's number of workdays in his capacity as notary, but not an accurate estimate of the number of days on which business would be conducted in a large medieval town.

Economic Activity Throughout the Week

Figure 6.1: Notarial Entries per Week Day, 1321/2



Looking at the number of notarial entries recorded on each day of the week, we can get a sense of the weekly rhythms of economic activity in Puigcerdà and Cerdanya. Figure 6.1 shows

[109] For example, in January of 1333 Mateu d'Alp, who was a notary in that year (and, on and off in many others beforehand), along with his wife Esclarmonda, placed thirty-two sheep in *parceria* with a man in the village of Alp, showing that, just like many other people in Puigcerdà the notaries also owned flocks of sheep. ACCE, Reg. 239 fol. 84r-84v.

the number of non-cancelled, clearly dated entries from 1321/2 recorded on each day of the week. In general, though the busiest day of the week was clearly Thursday, the day of the local weekly market, business was fairly steady on the other days of the week, showing that Puigcerdà was economically important enough not to be dominated by its weekly gathering.[110] As Figure 6.1 shows, Thursday, Puigcerdà's market day, was a major business day, accounting for twenty-five of the surviving clearly dated entries from this year (1,829 out of 7,375), while the percentage of entries recorded on other days (not including Sunday) were roughly equal. It shows that Sunday was indeed a day of rest on which business was only rarely conducted: less than 1 percent (forty-seven contracts) of the non-cancelled entries were marked with a date that fell on a Sunday in the year 1321/2, and even this small figure is probably an over-count. In only three cases did the notary specifically identify the date as a Sunday; in the other forty-four, the day of the week is not listed and the date may have been incorrect.[111] Further, two of the three

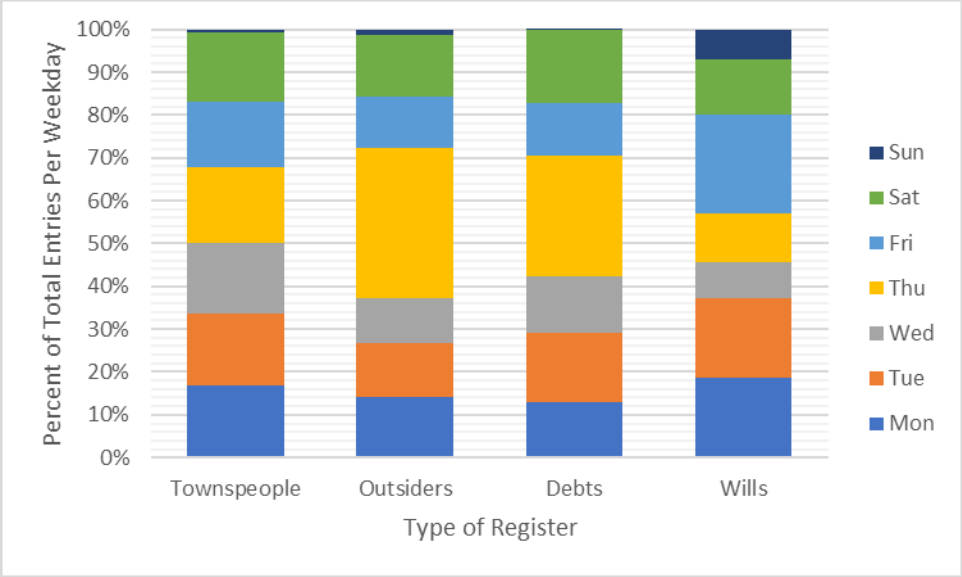
[110] The inhabitants of Puigcerdà were first granted the right to hold a weekly market in the town's founding charter in 1178, although that document does not state the day of the week on which the market would be held. See: Rovira i Solà, "Carta de poblament," 202-203, and ACCE, Parchment 715. The first definitive reference to the market being held on Thursdays is not until 1424, when the right to a market was reaffirmed by Alfonso the Magnanimous in a privilege that specifies it will be held Thursday of each week. See: Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 316, and ACCE, Parchment 423. I am very grateful to Àngels Casadesús for her help in finding this information. While I have found no earlier reference to the day of the market before 1424, I believe that the privilege of 1424 only reaffirmed what had been common practice for many years, and that the weekly market was held on Thursday throughout period between 1260 and 1360. Claude Denjean examined the relative number of loans made by Jews per day of the week in her study of Puigcerdà's medieval Jewish community and stated that the market day was Sunday, as it is currently, based on the fact that she identified the highest number of contracts on Sundays. However, the number of contracts she appears to have used to make this determination is very small. She identified only forty-four contracts on Sunday as opposed to forty-one on Thursday. I believe she was mistaken about the date of the main weekly market. Although based on her information, it does appear that business with Jews may have been more common on Sundays than other types of business (assuming these contracts were actually recorded on Sundays). Denjean also identified only six contracts with Jews on Saturday, the Jewish Sabbath, suggesting that, in general, less contracts involving Jews would have been undertaken on these days. Denjean, *Communauté juive*, 188.

[111] As stated earlier, the notaries clearly sometimes made errors recording the date. When a day of the week and a date were given and the two did not match, I followed the day of the week, but when no week day was given I assumed the date to be correct.

contracts that specifically state they were created on a Sunday were wills, and therefore did not reflect regular business practices.

The above percentages are somewhat misleading, as there were also clear differences in the number of entries recorded per weekday across the four different types of notarial registers surviving from this year. Figure 6.2 shows the percent of total entries recorded on each day of the week for each of the four main types of register from this year.

Figure 6.2: Percent of Entries Per Weekday, 1321/2[112]



As Figure 6.2 makes clear, it is the much higher percentage of the entries in the books of outsiders and the books of debts recorded on Thursdays that accounts for the extra activity. Among the books of outsiders over 35 percent (382 out of 1,088) of entries were recorded on a Thursday, while the average on other days (also excluding Sundays) was 12.7 percent (139 out of 1,088). Among books of debts, 28 percent (916 out of 3,254) were recorded on a Thursday, in

[112] As with all the figures listed in this section, this omits those entries which did not have a clear date.

comparison to a non-Thursday, non-Sunday average of 14.3 percent (466 out of 3,254). Thursdays saw the highest activity from non-residents of Puigcerdà, who appear at disproportionately high rates in the books of debts, and, above all, in the books of outsiders. Non-residents came to the town most frequently on the market day and attended to business before the notary at the same time. By contrast, the number of entries per weekday in the books of townspeople is far more consistent. Five-hundred-twenty-three of the 2,963 (17.6 percent) entries in the books of townspeople were recorded on a Thursday, but the number recorded on other days ranged from 449 on Friday (15.1 percent) to 498 on Tuesday (16.8 percent). Thursday was still the busiest day, but the difference was far less significant.

Puigcerdà's relatively consistent stream of commercial activity is a clear contrast to the situation in some smaller Catalan urban centers, where the great majority of notarial contacts were concentrated only on market days.[113] Gregory Milton has shown, for example, that in late thirteenth-century Santa Coloma de Queralt vastly more notarial contracts were produced on Mondays, the day of that town's local market, than on any other day of the week. In some months in late thirteenth-century Santa Coloma de Queralt, between 60 percent and 72 percent of all contracts were created on Mondays, suggesting that in Santa Coloma, very little commercial activity was happening in the town when it was not a market day. Puigcerdà's more consistent balance of activity across the days of the week reflects the size and importance of the town. The extent to which notarial business is centered only on the market day corresponds to the size of the town and what kind of population the notarial office serves. Small towns with low populations, and with notarial offices that primarily serve a largely rural clientele, saw a higher percentage of entries concentrated on a market day. The notaries of larger cities, with primarily

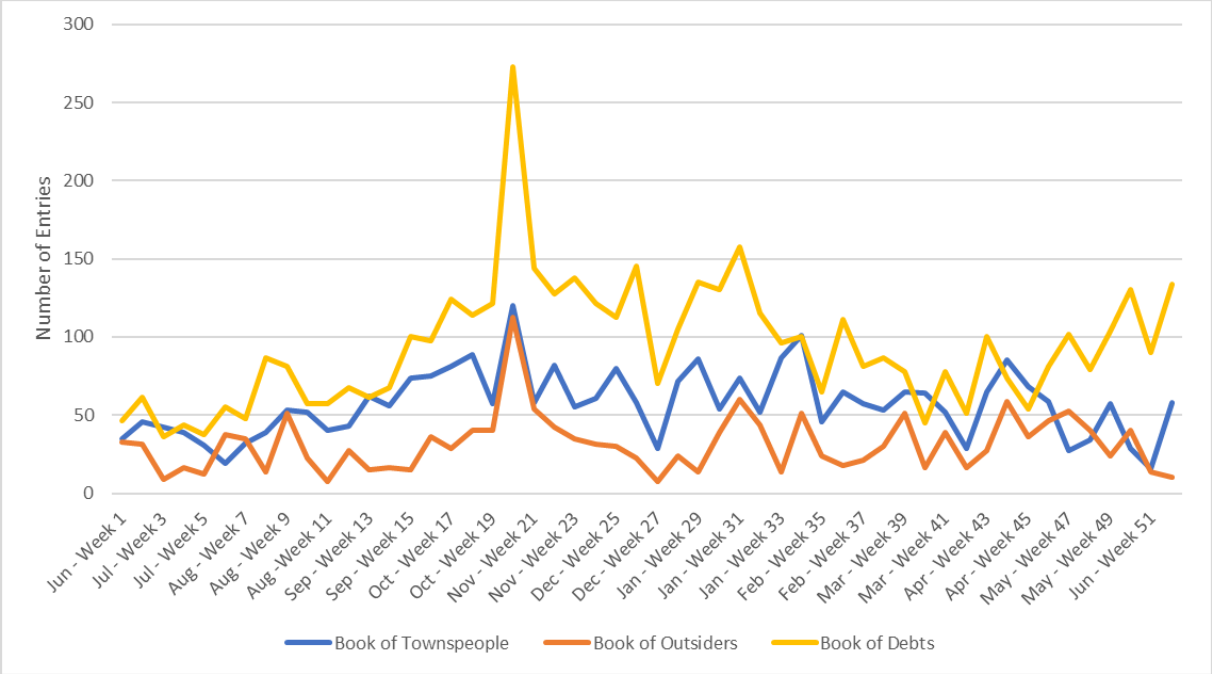
[113] Milton, *Market Power*, 59-61.

urban clientele, such as those in Barcelona and Perpignan, saw almost no impact in the number of entries on specific days due to markets. The *scribania* of Puigcerdà was in the middle: economic and notarial activity in the town, and involving only the townspeople, was high throughout the week and not concentrated on any specific day. But the *scribania* also served a wide swath of the local countryside, whose inhabitants' business was more concentrated on the day of the local market.

Economic and Notarial Activity Week by Week

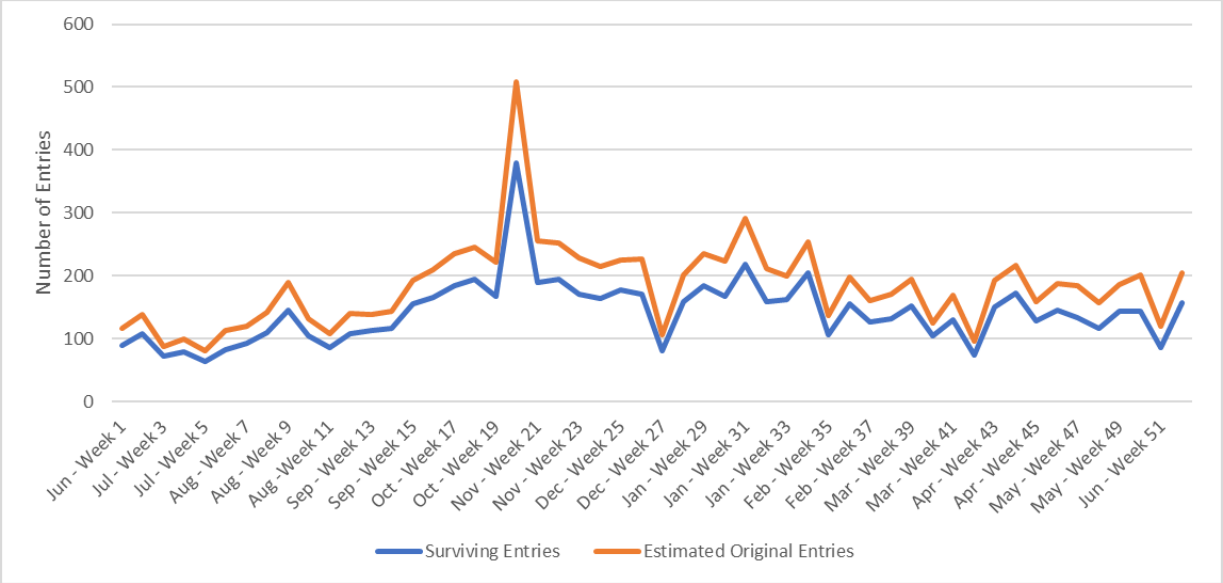
Examining the number of notarial entries recorded each week over the course of the year reveals both the broad trend in economic activity over the course of the year, as well as specific weeks that saw particularly high or particularly low levels of activity. Looking at each type of register individually, we can see that there are some slight differences in the number of entries produced per week in each of the four main types of register surviving from this year. We can thus arrive at a best estimate of the original total number of entries recorded each week of this year by accounting for the average number of entries per week likely to have been in lost registers. An estimate of the likely number of entries per week in the three largest types of register from this year can be seen in Figure 6.3. A comparison of the estimated original entries and the surviving total entries can be seen in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.3: Estimated Original Notarial Entries per Week, 1321/2[114]



[114] This figure includes estimates for entries in books of townspeople, outsiders and debts. For these estimates I assumed that the number of entries originally in books of outsiders and books of debts per week would be about one third higher than the number surviving from those weeks. As noted elsewhere, the last month of one of the books of townspeople from 1321/2 ends in May and afterward the entries from this register were placed in the book of debts by the same notaries. I have not accounted for that in this figure, which may mean the size of entries in books of debts is slightly over represented in the final month of the year here. This does not include wills, which were a very small number of total entries. This graph uses the week within the notarial year. Week 1, therefore begins with Wednesday, June 24th, 1321 and goes until Tuesday, June 30th, 1321. Because the year does not divide evenly into fifty-two weeks, on this chart, Week 52 includes eight days, from Wednesday, June 16, 1322 to Wednesday June 23, 1322. It therefore slightly over represents the number of contracts that would be created in the last week of June. This graph includes only surviving records with a clear date.

Figure 6.4: Surviving and Estimated Original Notarial Entries per Week, 1321/2



As Figures 6.3 and 6.4 make clear, although there were some differences in the number of entries produced per week in different types of registers, the general pattern of economic activity throughout the year was broadly quite similar across them all and the distribution of the total original entries was likely very similar to that of the surviving entries.

The following section will focus more thoroughly on the overall trend of economic activity throughout the year and how it was influenced by the seasonality of local agricultural schedules. But I want to begin with the spikes and dips, which are obvious within Figures 6.3 and 6.4, and which reflect the impact of annual fairs and festivals. Most prominent among these movements is the huge spike in the number of entries recorded during Week 20, the first week of November. This was the date of the largest yearly fair in Puigcerdà. In May of 1270, Prince Jaume, who later became king of Mallorca, granted the town the right to hold a fair at the feast of All Saints (November 1), while also reaffirming the right the town had held since 1182 to hold a

fair at the feast of St. Mary in August (August 15).[115] We can see a small spike corresponding to the fair at the feast of St. Mary in August represented in these figures as well, during Week 9. But, clearly, by the year 1321 (and perhaps far earlier) the November fair had vastly overtaken the August fair in importance and become the major annual fair in the town—reflecting how the local seasonality affected historical and liturgical precedence.[116] The number of entries surviving from each week ranges from as few as sixty-four (in late July) to as many as 380 (in the first week of November). The number of entries for the first week of November (380) was over twice as high as many other weeks of this year, these 380 entries represented over 5 percent of all entries from this year.[117] In contrast, the importance of the August fair was much more modest. Among surviving entries, only 145 contracts were created during Week 9, which was considerably lower than the number of contracts produced in most weeks during the fall and winter months. The two largest dips in this graph (Weeks 27 and 42) correspond to two of the most significant dates in the Catholic liturgical calendar, Christmas and Easter. The lower numbers of entries recorded in these weeks show that these festivals were significant breaks in much regular business activity.

The broader seasonal pattern, as can be seen in the figures above, shows commercial activity was highest in the fall, slowly declined over the winter and spring to a deep lull in summer.

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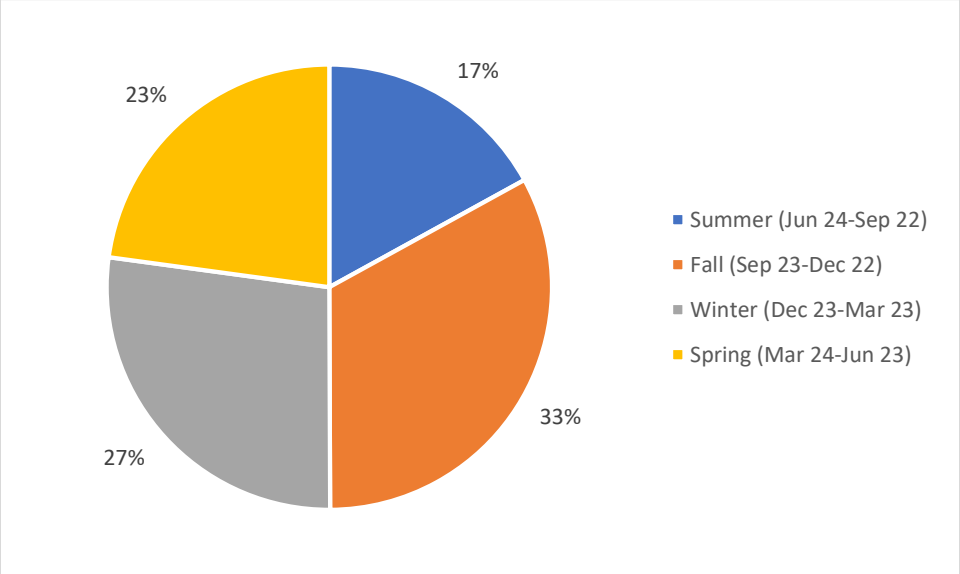
[115] The initial right to a fair in August had been granted by Alfons the Chaste, who founded the town, five years after its foundation and had been reaffirmed by Jaume the Conqueror in 1242. Sebastià Bosom i Isern, *Fires de Puigcerdà 1182-1988* (Puigcerdà: Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, 1988), 3-5, ACCE, Llibre Verd, fols. 1v-3v, and *Llibre Verd*, 305-310.

[116] This fair continues to be held annually in Puigcerdà during the first week of November to this day.

[117] I would estimate that the original average number of entries recorded per week was around 180, and that the original number recorded in the week of the November fair would have been close to 500, or nearly 2.8 times as many.

Figure 6.5: Surviving Entries per Season, 1321/2[118]



As Figure 6.5 shows, 33 percent (2,429 out of 7,375) of surviving entries were recorded in fall, while the number recorded in the summer was just over half that (1,254 or 17 percent of the total). Even though the weeks of Christmas and Easter appear as *seasonal* low points in Figures 6.3, 6.4 and 6.6, more entries were recorded in the week of Christmas (eighty-one) that in most of the weeks in July.[119]

Economic Activity Throughout the Year

The seasonal pattern of notarial activity revealed above was highly influenced by the local agricultural calendar. Three periods—the bringing of sheep between summer and winter

[118] The seasons are calculated using the first thirteen weeks of the notarial year, beginning on June 24th1321, which conveniently roughly correspond to the seasons as calculated by summer and winter equinoxes.

[119] The number recorded in the week of Easter (seventy-four) was roughly on par with most of the weeks in July (which saw, 108, seventy-three, seventy-nine and sixty-four surviving entries, respectively).

pastures, the sheep shearing, and the grain harvest—had particular significance for the recording of particular types of agreements, the extension of credit, and due dates for payments.

Summer: Harvest Season

Summer was a low point for notarial activity in medieval Puigcerdà. Fewer surviving notarial entries were recorded in July, August and September in 1321/2 than in any other months that year.[120] These were the months in which the need for agricultural labor was highest, as villagers harvested arable crops, often later in the mountains than in the lowlands of Catalonia, and thus had little opportunity to engage in commercial and notarial activity. The labor required also drew workers out of the town and into the countryside. Not only did many people from Puigcerdà own fields in or near the town, or in the surrounding countryside, some of which they cultivated themselves, but apprentices and artisanal laborers were also often excused from duties in town during the harvest season.[121] Analysis of the surviving debts of cereals from 1321/2, and their due dates, suggests that the time of their harvest was usually around mid-August.

[120] Only 370 clearly dated entries survive from July, while 478 survive from August and 462 survive from September. The average for all of the other months of the year was 674.

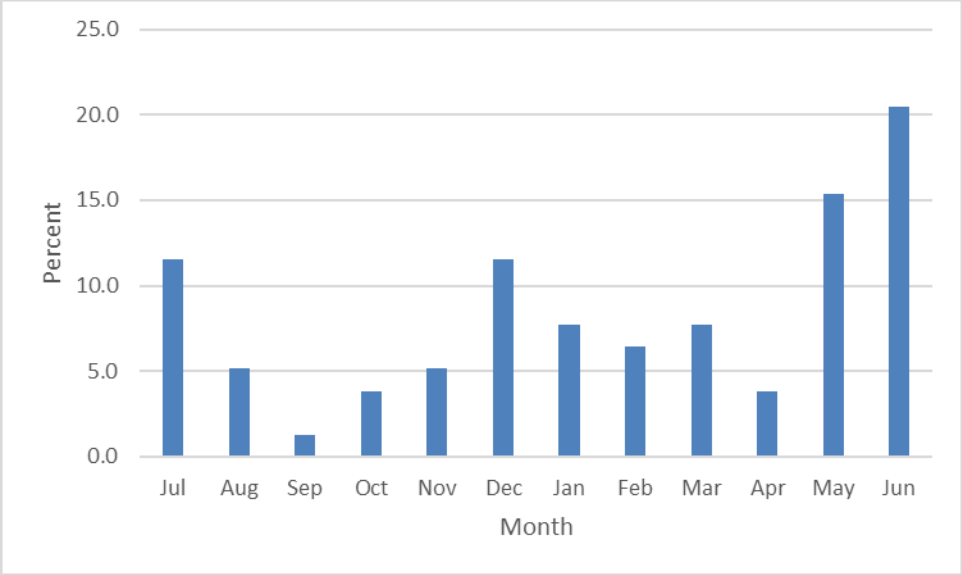
[121] Bensch noted that "many" of the apprenticeships included such a clause in his analysis of apprenticeship and wage-labor agreements from the town prior to 1300, where he says that the time off ranged from two to eight weeks. Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214. Among those artisanal labor agreements from the year 1321/2, at least two apprenticeships and one artisanal wage-labor agreement included clauses allowing for time off at harvest season (*in tempore messum*). Of those from this year, they ranged from one month to two months of leave. See: ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 19v (e) and 38v (d), and ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 67r (c). Several examples from the year 1300 give the laborers only 15 days off at harvest time: ACCE, Reg. 43 fol. 28v (b) and 34r (e). Such clauses can also be found in apprenticeship and artisanal employment agreements from other places. For example, one apprenticeship from 1320, from Bagà, specifies that the apprentice, a woman named Blancha training as a seamstress will have one month off at the harvest and fifteen days of at the grape harvest (*unum mensem de laer tempore messium, et xv dies pro vindemiis*). See: Serra i Vilaro, *Baronies*, Vol. 2, 402. Apprentices in Genoa sometimes received time off for the chestnut harvest. See: Steven A. Epstein, "Labour in Thirteenth-Century Genoa," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 (1988): 114–40, 126.

Most purchases of cereals, as discussed in the previous chapter, were advance sales. Medieval towns and cities often struggled to find sufficient grains for their urban populations, so this may reflect the desire of those with means to secure a good supply of grains for their families. Late spring and early summer (by mountain standards) were the usual times for purchase, with many purchases occuring after the successful sowing but before the harvest.[122] For example, in May of 1322 a man named Guillem Saut of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing a tanner named Pere d'Urús (of an unknown location that was probably Puigcerdà) six *muigs* of wheat (*frumenti*) on account of a sale. Guillem specified that this would be from the "wheat that will be grown this year, god granting, in my field which is below the street of the Pallars," and that he would deliver the wheat by the feast of Saint Mary in August.[123] Figure 6.6 shows the percent of surviving debts of cereals recorded per month in 1321/2.

[122] The smaller second peak in December likely reflects when people had money available, after the harvest had come in.

[123] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 70r (c). "…soluere de illo blado quod elevabitur hoc anno deo dante in campo meo qui est suptus vichum dels payllares in santa maria augusti."

Figure 6.6: Percent of Debts of Cereals per Month, 1321/2



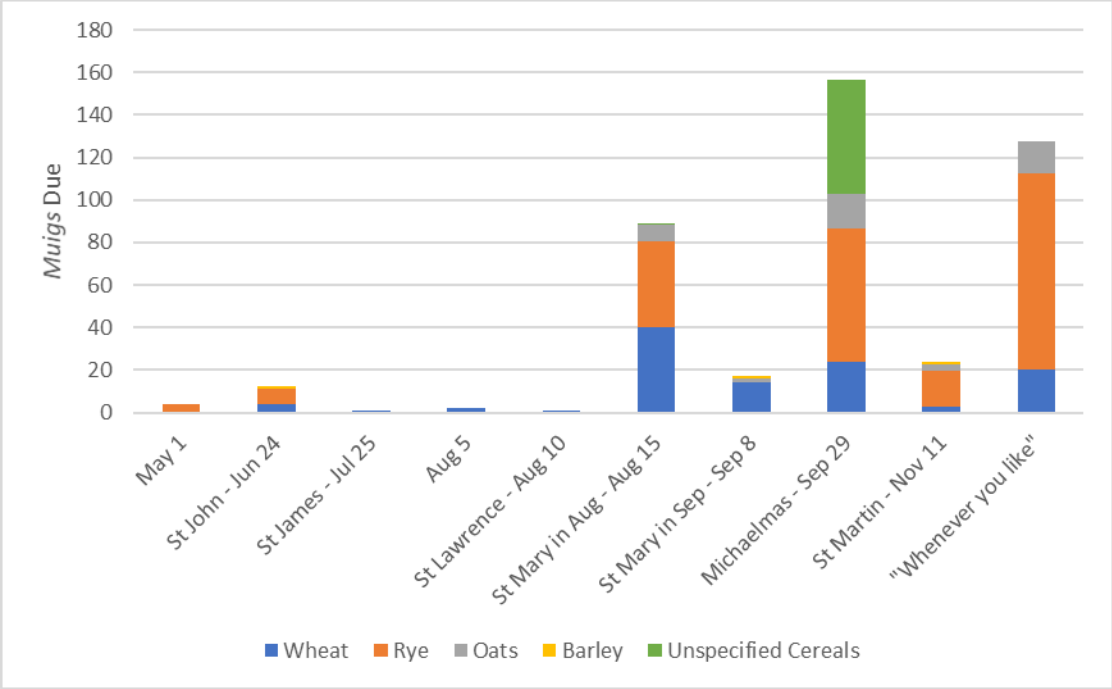
As Figure 6.6 makes clear, debts of cereals were recorded most frequently in May, June and July. In fact, 47.4 percent (thirty-seven of seventy-eight, or nearly half) of all debts of cereals were recorded in these three months. As in the case of Guillem Saut and Pere d'Urús, the cereals bought in advance and owed in these debts of cereals were then primarily due that August or September. In Cerdanya, cereals were sold by the *muig* (a measurement equivalent to 8.896 liters, according to Manuel Riu, also called *modi* in Latin),[124] or by the *quartal*, which a surviving entry from 1321 tells us was equal to one fourth of a *muig*.[125] Together the seventy-eight surviving debts of cereals contain debts for a total of 440.625 *muigs* of cereals. As can be

[124] Manuel Riu Riu, "Pesos, mides y mesures a la Catalunya del segle XIII: Aportació al seu estudi.," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26, no. 2 (1996): 825–38; 831.

[125] In June of 1321 Guillem Bernat Tasquer of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing 125 *muigs* of grains, which he specified would include "24 *muigs* of wheat, fifty *muigs* and two *quartals* of rye, fifty *muigs* of grains, and two *quartals* as a *turnus*" to two men from Puigcerdà. ("…*sciliet viginti quatuor modii frumenti et quinquaginta modii duos quartallos sigalis et quinquaginta modii annone et duos quartallos rectos cum turnis suis*"). If, as this entry states, 124 *muigs* and four *quartals* equal 125 *muigs*, then one quartal is one fourth of a *muig*. ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 5r (b).

seen in Figure 6.7, which sows the quantity of different cereals due on different dates, most of these *muigs* of cereals were due to be delivered in August or September.

Figure 6.7: *Muigs* of Cereals owed in 1321/2, by Due Date[126]



As Figure 6.7 shows, a small number of *muigs* of cereals were due to be repaid in May, June, July or early August. A slightly higher volume was due to be delivered at the feast of Saint Martin in November. But the majority (59.5 percent, or 262.25 out of 440.625 *muigs*) were due either by the feast of Saint Mary in August, August 15th, the feast of Mary in September, September 15, or by Michaelmas, September 29th. This strongly indicates that the wheat harvest would have been expected to begin before August 15th.[127] Wheat dominates the earlier due dates,

[126] This omits those debts of cereals where the due date could not be read due to damage to the contract. This was the case for a total of 5.875 *muigs*, or 1.3 percent of the total.

[127] Some debts of cereals specify where the cereals must be delivered (often, Puigcerdà). It may have taken some time for some people delivering wheat to bring that wheat to Puigcerdà, particularly if coming from a more distant village within Cerdanya. Hence it is natural that some delivery dates would be later than the actual harvest date. The

while rye dominates due dates in September or unspecified due dates. A significant percentage (29 percent) of the debts of cereals, mostly concentrated in rye, do not specify a specific due date, stating only that they will deliver the grains "whenever you wish" (*quando volueris*). Many of these cases, however, may also have been expected to be delivered sometime in the window of time between mid-August and late-September when other cereals were generally due. Presumably, then number of debts of cereals recorded decreased significantly in August and September (as was shown in Figure 6.6), because these crops were ready to harvest, and the purchasers did not need to wait for their delivery. Figure 6.7 also shows the breakdown of what types of cereals were due on what days and makes clear that purchasers wanted their wheat in August by preference, and by the end of September at the latest, while rye could either have a less predictable harvest or a longer delivery window, as it was due beginning mid-August, peaking late September, some in early November, and some "whenever you wish". The earlier delivery dates for wheat may reflect the fact that wheat was more valuable than rye, but more likely reflects when this crop was harvested.

A harvest around August would thus have fit in within the broad pattern seen around medieval Catalonia. According to Max Turull Rubinat, the cycle of cereal cultivation in the region around Cervera was to plow and prepare the land from the beginning of September, then to sow or care for the fields from October until the following July, and to harvest at the beginning of August.[128] Turull Rubinat also notes that the grape harvest follows a different schedule, in which the grape harvest occurs in September and October.[129] The surviving debts of

September deadlines may indicate either that harvesting would have continued into September, or that many purchasers expected to receive crops harvested in August by no later than Michaelmas (September 29th).

[128] Turull Rubinat, "El mal any primer," 36.

[129] Turull Rubinat, "El mal any primer," 36.

wine from medieval Puigcerdà suggest that this may have been the same in Cerdanya. Of these debts of wine, 50 percent were due at either Michaelmas (September 29) or at All Saints (November 1). Thus, the time of highest agricultural demand may have been different in those parts of Cerdanya where wine cultivation was particularly prominent (especially the Baridà).

Fall: Season of Transactions

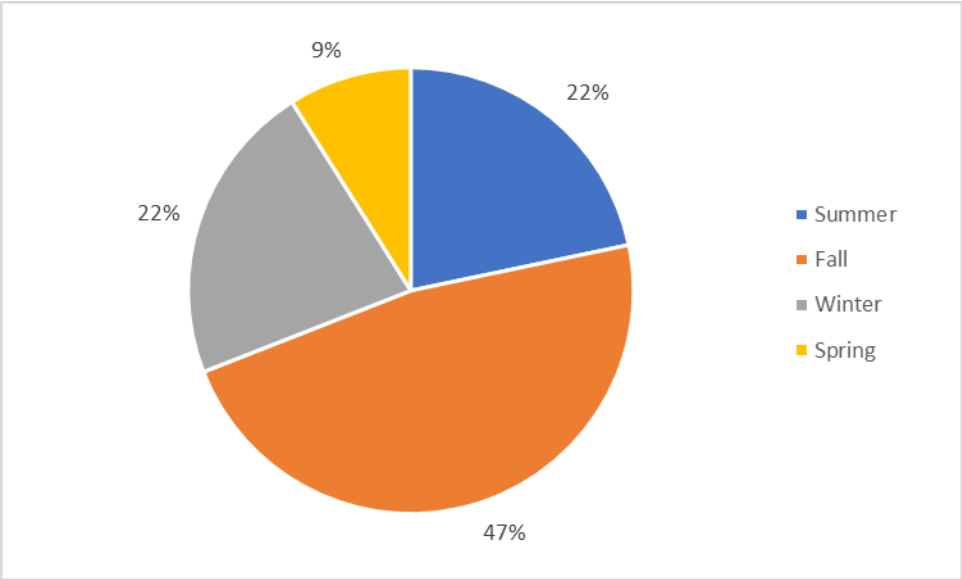
As summer came to an end, the harvest came in, annual rent payments for lands in the countryside of Cerdanya came due, and large quantities of wool were purchased in advance, meaning a high-point in wealth for many that spurred them, flush with money and with a sense of their earnings for the year, toward new purchases. Not only were rural tillers flush, so were the many townspeople who owned and farmed land or owned the right to recurring payments (particularly those that were or had originally been due in the form of cereals), which were disproportionately due in the fall.[130] We can thus expect that an autumnal rise in available money was a widespread phenomenon in medieval Cerdanya. Clearly, although much of the local commerce was centered on animal products (specifically wool), the seasonality of transactions was partly determined by the harvest schedule. As we will see in more detail below, fall was the season for making major purchases, for both those in town and countryside; although the exact timing of transactions made by these two groups did differ.

In Cerdanya, as I discussed in Chapter 5, arable cultivation was less important commercially than husbandry, and the season of wools debts followed hard upon the harvest. As

[130] Most rents for lands in Cerdanya that were not within Puigcerdà itself were due at Michaelmas, September 29 (a few were due at Michaelmas and at Easter approximately six months away). Rents for lands inside Puigcerdà itself were typically due half at Christmas and half at the feast of John the Baptist (June 24).

discussed above, this economically central wool was sold frequently in advance sales. Figure 6.8 shows the percent of debts of wool recorded per season in 1321/2.

Figure 6.8: Debts of Wool per Season, 1321/2



Nearly half of all debts of wool were made in the Fall (375 out of 792, or 47 percent in total). The largest percentage of these wool debts (177 out of 792 or 22.3 percent) were recorded in November, and they were particularly numerous around the time of the major yearly fair at All Saints (November 1st). Another 15.4 percent (122 out of 792) were recorded in October. The reason that advance sales of wool are so concentrated in this period is because this was the season when shepherds were preparing to bring flocks south, so wool-buyers in Puigcerdà would have had an opportunity to see the summer-fattened flocks before they left for the winter pastures, not to return until the late spring (by Pentecost, when they were sheared). As many of these sales record purchases by townspeople of Puigcerdà to herd owners in the country, these sales joined with payments for ready grain as the harvest came in to make fall the season when money flowed into the countryside. As the notarial records make clear, it was wool that drove the

movement. It is not always clear if the purchaser buying wool in advance always paid for it fully up front, because the parties could always create a separate entry recording an outstanding debt. But, if the payment, or a significant portion of it, was handed over at the time of the sale, then October and November saw the what was likely one of the greatest money transfers of the year.

In the year 1321/2, the average wool fleece cost approximately three *sous* and six *diners*.[131] The value of a wool fleece was approximately one third the value of a sheep.[132] Nearly 8,900 wool fleeces were sold in surviving debts of wool in Puigcerdà in the months of October and November of 1321.[133] Assuming that the surviving debts of wool from these months represent approximately two-thirds of the original total, approximately 13,350 wool fleeces

[131] I know this because 171 of the 792 surviving debts of wool identify the price at which the wool was sold. Of these, 140 were debts of wool by the fleece. The other thirty-one were debts of either lambswool, or wool measured in a different unit of measurement, such as the quintal or the pound (or, in one case, a combination of fleeces and lambswool fleeces). The average given here is the average price per wool fleece using only those debts of wool sold by the fleece. The price of wool fleeces (*vellera lane*) sold ranged from a low of two *sous* and three *diners*, to a high of five *sous* and six *diners*, but the majority (103 out of 140, or 73 percent) were between three *sous* and four *sous*. Wool sold in Puigcerdà was apparently subject to a tax of one additional wool fleece per dozen wool fleeces, referred to in these sources as the *turnus*. Debts of wool nearly always specify whether the amount owed includes the *turnus*, or if the *turnus* needs to be added on to it. For example, the seller might acknowledge owing two dozen wool fleeces "with the *turnus*" (*cum suis turnis*), meaning that the *turnus* (which in this case would amount to two additional wool fleeces) would need to be added on top of the two dozen. Or, might state that they owe twenty-six total fleeces, with the *turnus* included (*turnis computatis*). Some of the wool debts which identify the prices give the price per unit (i.e. the price per fleece), but some give the total price for all wool fleeces. In calculating the average price per wool fleece from entries that give only the total price for all wool fleeces, I have counted the *turnus* among those wool fleeces purchased. (This would mean that it was the purchaser effectively paying the value of the *turnus*). If, however, the *turnus* was not meant to be included, (and effectively, the seller pays the *turnus*), the average price of a wool fleece in this year would be slightly higher, at three *sous* and seven *diners*. A small number of the debts of wool recorded prices do not identify the currency, but in those cases I have assumed it was the currency of Barcelona, which appeared in all other cases.

[132] This was clearly the case in Ariege: Le Roy Ladurie notes that one of the heretics from Montaillou sold twenty sheep for ten *livres* turnois, and their wool for six *livres* turnois. Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 103. But it was also clearly the case in Cerdanya. As I noted above, several documents from Bagà but involving buyers from Puigcerdà give us a price for sheep of between nine and fourteen *sous* per sheep. An average fleece price of three *sous* and six *diners* is very close to one third. On this see also: ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 5v (e), 9r (a) and 11v (a) and Rendu, "Aperçu," 94.

[133] The actual total is 8,895 wool fleeces. This does not include lambswool fleeces, or wool measured in a quintals or pounds.

would have been sold in advance sales in these two months. At an average price of three *sous* and six *diners,* collectively that would be a total value of 2,336 *lliures,* and five *sous*.

The vast majority of this value was due from people in Puigcerdà to people in the surrounding countryside (either in Cerdanya or in neighboring Pyrenean areas). Among the 299 debts of wool surviving from these two months, 219 (73.2 percent) of the sellers were from Cerdanya, Baridà, or the Vall de Ribes, and an additional fifty-six (18.7 percent) were from a neighboring area.[134] Only two of these wool debts were sold by inhabitants of Puigcerdà.[135] In contrast, only four purchasers were identified as being from somewhere other than Puigcerdà (all from Cerdanya), while 112 (37.4 percent) were clearly identified as from Puigcerdà. In the other 183 (61.2 percent) their hometown was not identified but was probably Puigcerdà.[136] Thus, the purchase of wool in advance was among the greatest factors making autumn's October and November the wealthy season in the countryside.

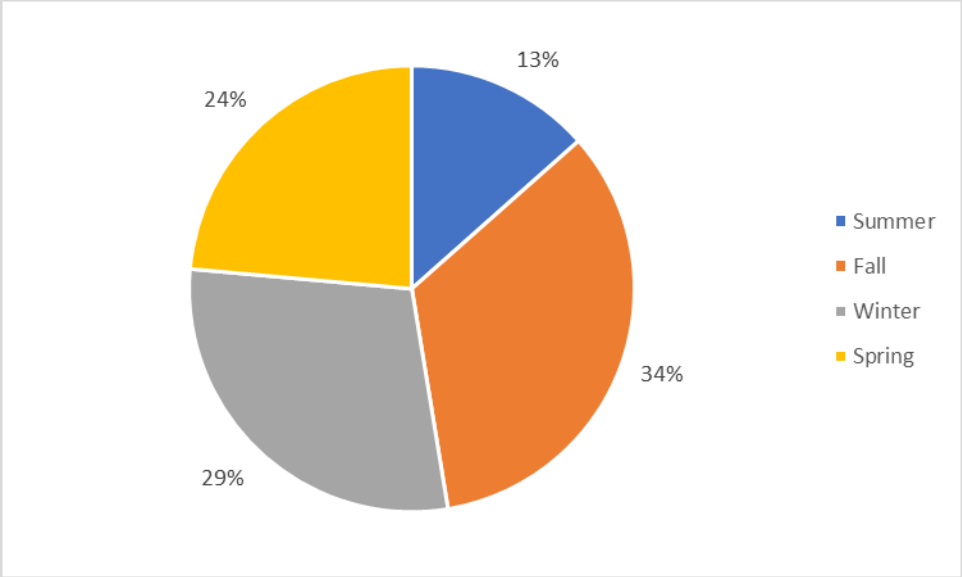
Naturally, as the commercial center of the region, a fair amount of that wealth eventually flowed back to Puigcerdà. The high point for sales on credit, the most-frequently recorded type of transactions in the records, followed fast upon the harvest and advance purchase of wool, as those with money made plans to spend it. Figure 6.9 shows the percent of sales on credit recorded in each season.

[134] On these neighboring areas, see Chapter 9.

[135] Two debts of wool had sellers from a location distant from Puigcerdà, and three had sellers from locations I was not able to identify. Fifteen of these entries did not definitively identify the hometown of the seller. Of those, I find it likely that one was from Puigcerdà, and ten were from elsewhere, while in the other four cases no determination can be made.

[136] See Chapter 4 for how these determinations were made.

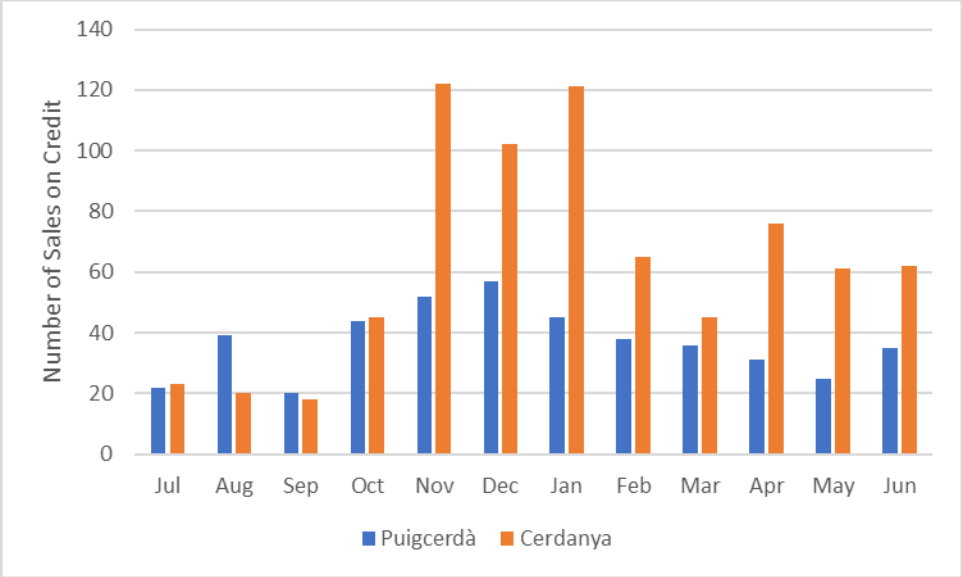
Figure 6.9: Sales on Credit per Season, 1321/2



The highest percentage of sales on credit were recorded in the fall (554 out of 1633 or 34 percent). The high-transaction period that began in the fall extended into the winter, which also saw a relatively high percent of sales on credit from this year.

The uptick in purchases made in the fall was more pronounced among buyers from the countryside than among those from Puigcerdà, reflecting again the stronger seasonality of their activity. This can be seen in Figure 6.10, which shows the number of sales on credit made per month by these different groups.

Figure 6.10: Sales on Credit per Month with Buyers from Puigcerdà and Cerdanya, 1321/2[137]



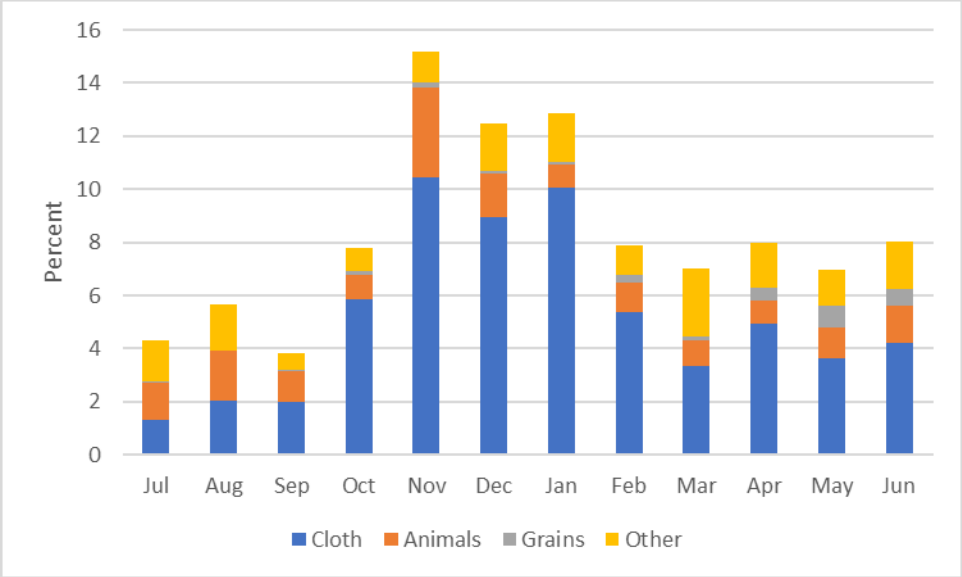
While sales on credit were the most numerous in the fall and winter among both groups (particularly from November to January), the rise in the number of purchases made on credit was far sharper among purchasers from Cerdanya than for those from the town.[138]

The main purchase recorded in these contracts is cloth, helping account for its dominance in the records as a whole, as discussed earlier. Figure 6.11 shows the percent of sales on credit recorded per month by the type of item sold.

[137] This include only those sales on credit in which the hometown of the buyer was clearly stated, and in which the buyer was from either Puigcerdà or Cerdanya (including Baridà and the Vall de Ribes). I have omitted three sales on credit in which there were multiple buyers, one of whom was from Puigcerdà and one of whom was from Cerdanya.

[138] Additionally, while all are lower in the summer, they were disproportionally lower in the summer among buyers from Cerdanya.

Figure 6.11: Sales on Credit per Month by Items Sold, 1321/2[139]



As we can see in Figure 6.11, it is cloth (and to some extent, animals) that account for most of the variability in sales on credit. November was the most active month for animal (especially mule) sales, with 20 percent (fifty-six out of 276) of all sales on credit. *Parcerias* (livestock-sharing agreements) are also the most numerous in the fall: 23 percent of all *parcerias* (thirty-five out of 152) come in November; an additional 27.6 percent (forty-two out of 152) in either October or December. It seems quite clear that the increase in assets that people in Cerdanya (particularly the inhabitants of the countryside, although also, to a lesser extent, the people of Puigcerdà itself) experienced in the fall spurred them toward making their major purchases or rentals of moveables, which in this society meant cloth and animals.

Significantly, even though this was the period when the highest number of sales on credit were made to people from the countryside of Cerdanya, this does not mean it was the period in

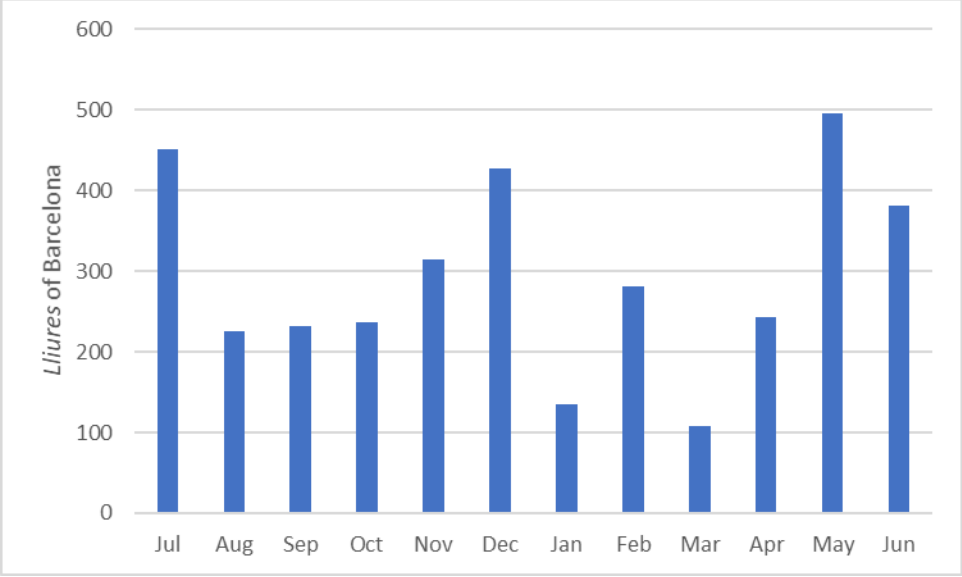
[139] As in the previous section in which I discussed the types of items sold in sales on credit, this charts not entries recording sales on credit but instances of sales of different items. Thus, if a single sale on credit was for both cloth and a mule, it is counted twice.

which the highest amount of credit was extended to them. Sales on credit almost never state the price for which the item was sold (either the total price or the price per unit). They also typically do not include the quantity of the item sold, particularly for cloth.[140] For this reason, it is impossible to know what percentage of the total purchase price was credited versus paid up front.

The Seasonality of Credit

But we can see that the total volume of credit extended to people from Cerdanya was not at its height in the fall. Figure 6.12 shows the total volume of credit extended to people from Cerdanya (including Baridà and the Vall de Ribes) in sales on credit and loans from this year.

Figure 6.12: Total Volume of Credit, in *lliures* of Barcelona, extended in Loans and Sales on Credit per Month, 1321/2[141]



[140] The quantity of the item sold is more common for sales of mules, and for sales of rugs.

[141] This is based on 1,057 notarial entries containing a loan or a sale on credit (or, in some cases, both) in which the debtor is from Cerdanya, including Baridà and the Vall de Ribes, but not from Puigcerdà itself. I omitted those cases in which there were multiple buyers if one of the buyers was from Cerdanya and one was from Puigcerdà.

As we can see in Figure 6.12, the highest volume of credit extended was extended during the period from May to July. In fact, 37.5 percent of all the credit extended to people from Cerdanya in loans and sales on credit in this year was extended within those three months. Loans and sales on credit were not the only types of agreements in which credit was extended, but these types of agreements were particularly numerous in this year and this analysis likely reflects the broad trend of when credit was extended.[142] A pattern in which higher total volumes of credit are extended in the late spring and early summer (from May to July), is consistent with a sense that for the people of the countryside of Cerdanya, like farmers everywhere, the hungriest months were those just before the harvest came in.

We can also get a sense of when people were expected to have the highest assets available by looking at when the credit that was extended to them was due. The vast majority of specifically stated due dates in the notarial entries from Puigcerdà in this year were for one of a short list of major Catholic festivals of the liturgical calendar. The eight most commonly appearing due dates seen in entries from this year were (in chronological order through the notarial year):

1. The feast of Saint John the Baptist, June 24
2. The feast of Saint Mary in August, August 15
3. Michaelmas, September 29
4. All Saints, November 1
5. Christmas, December 25
6. Shrove Sunday, movable, but Feb 21 in 1322[143]

[142] This analysis does omit potential loans to people in the countryside made by Jews, which would have been recorded in the lost books of Jews. In her study of the Jewish community of Puigcerdà, Claude Denjean analyzed one book of debts from the year 1354 and found that the highest number were recorded in November. It is not clear if this is meant to include all loans or only loans involving Jews, but in either case, it does not match what I have seen in the year 1321/2. It is difficult to make a comparison here, however, because Denjean discusses the number of loans and not the total volume of credit extended (which would have differed if the average value of the loans were not the same in every month). Denjean, *Communauté juive*, 191.

[143] This festival is generally recorded in the registers as "*carniprivi quadrageisme*," and sometimes as "*domenica carniprivi quadragesime*." (*Carniprivi* is often misspelled as *carniperivi/carnipreivi*, and *quadragesime* is often

7. Easter, movable, but April 11 in 1322
8. Pentecost, moveable, but May 30 in 1322

Other festivals also appear, but less commonly, as do dates based on the intended duration (i.e. one year from now, one month from now, etc.), and occasionally a date near another festival (i.e. fifteen days after the feast of Saint John).[144] Due dates of a specific calendar date are extremely rare.[145] The rarity of such dates, and the frequent reliance on moveable feasts like Easter and Pentecost, suggests that most people were not attuned to or concerned with calendrical dating when they made business agreements. Creditors instead primarily relied on a shortlist of major festivals and chose to structure the majority of due dates around the major festival in the season in which they wanted to be repaid, or in which the debtor felt he could make repayment.

Figure 6.13 shows the total value credited to people from Cerdanya in loans and sales on credit in 1321/2 by the month in which it was due.

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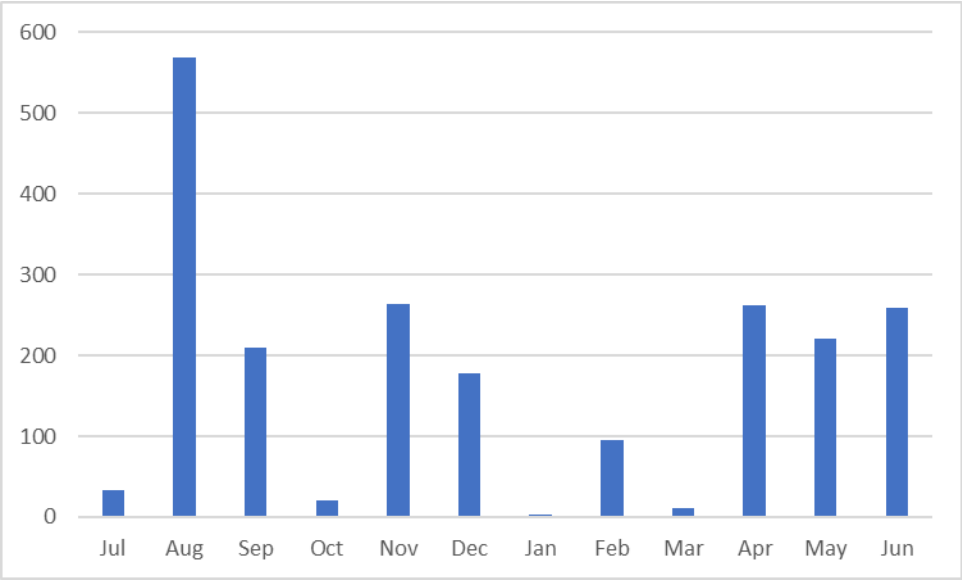
also written *kuadragesime*, and or *XLe*). While etymologically the name would seem to refer to the beginning of Lent (as Gregory Milton thought it meant in his work on Santa Coloma de Queralt), in in fact refers to the beginning of the Carnival festival in the Shrovetide period that precedes Lent. This day is this Quinquagesima Sunday (the Sunday fifty days before Lent, or three days before Ash Wednesday, since Sundays do not count in the forty days of Lent before Easter), which in English is called Shrove Sunday. This is made clear by the fact that the festival of c*arniprivi* is mentioned in the dating headers in several notarial registers. For example, in 1322, the notaries identified February 20th as the "*Vigilia carniprivi kadragesime*," and February 22nd as "*crastina carniprivi kadragesime*," showing that this festival fell on February 21st, or Shrove Sunday, in that year. They identify the actual beginning of Lent differently, as "*prima die XLe,"* on the rare occasions this date was mentioned. See: ACCE, Reg. 28 fols. 72r and 72v and Register 114 fol. 62r. This interpretation is also supported by several Catalan historians who identified *carniprivi* as Carnival (which in modern Catalan is called *Carnestoltes*, and which like *carniprivi* derives etymologically, from something like "putting aside of meat"). For references to this feast, see: Milton, *Market Power*, 152, Gabriel Secall i Güell, "Aspectes socio-econòmics de la comunitat jueva de Valls a través dels Liber judeorum (1314-1329)," *Quaderns de Vilaniu* 5 (1984): 123–48, 127; Graells i Vilardosa, "L'activitat creditícia," 51.

[144] For example, the feasts of Saint James (July 25), Saint Andrew (November 30), Saint Mary in September (September 8), and Saint Vincent (January 22) were used more than ten but less than one hundred times in this year, as was "mid-lent" (*in medio quadragesime*). Others appear no more than a handful of times.

[145] I found only ten such cases in all the entries from this year, all either for the first day of a given month (January 1, May 1, September 1, August 1) or the middle of a month (April and July).

Figure 6.13: Total Volume of Credit, in *Lliures* of Barcelona, Extended in Loans and Sales on Credit per Month of Due-Date, 1321/2[146]



The volume of credit from these entries that was due back in different months is highly uneven, ranging from nearly nothing (less than eleven *lliures* in total in January) to over 565 *lliures* in August, because, as noted above, nearly all due-dates were placed on the dates of important religious festivals and these festivals are concentrated in certain months. This information also only gives us a partial view, because it omits all payments that had a due-date of "whenever you wish" (*quando volueris*, or *ad tuam voluntatem*). The percentage of the total value credited that was due "whenever you wish" is very high, making up 39.4 percent of all of the credit extended (1391.6 out of the total 3,530.2 *lliures* of Barcelona) to people of Cerdanya in

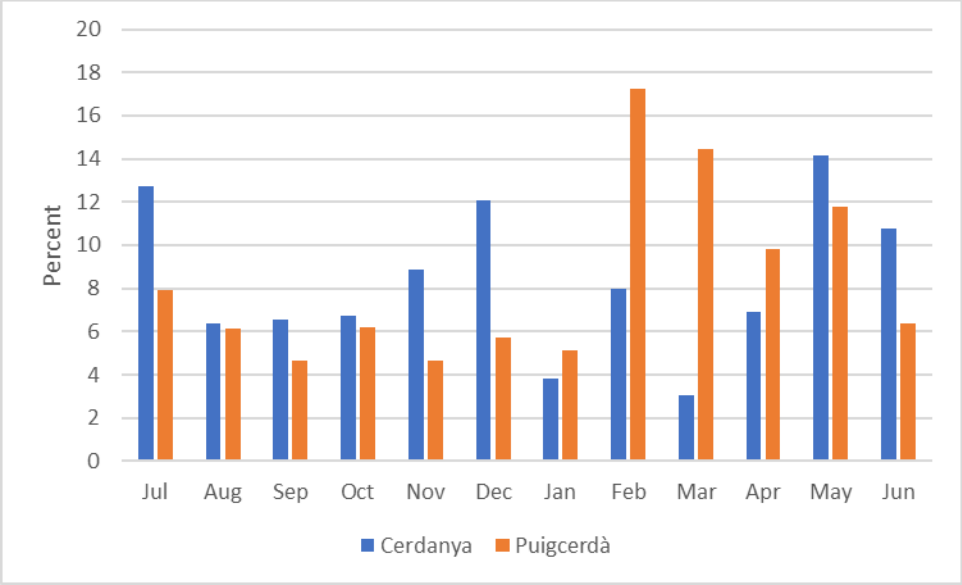
[146] This is based on 1,057 notarial entries containing a loan or a sale on credit (or, in some cases, both) in which the debtor is from Cerdanya, including Baridà and the Vall de Ribes, but not from Puigcerdà itself. I omitted those cases in which there were multiple buyers if one of the buyers was from Cerdanya and one was from Puigcerdà. It also does not include those entries in which the due date was not stated, could not be read or was "whenever you wish" (*quando volueris, ad tuam voluntatem*). Many entries break the total amount up into a series of payments. What is represented here is not when individual entries had due dates but when the individual payments were set to be repaid.

these two types of agreements in this year. The value due "whenever you wish" is thus more than twice as high as the value due in the highest individual month (August). Nonetheless, looking at the volume of credit that had been extended to people within the countryside of Cerdanya in loans and sales on credit one might certainly think that these people expected to have the highest amount of money in August, at the time of the harvest, although as I will show below relatively little credit seems to have been repaid in August.[147]

Patterns of when people had the most assets, and when they made the most purchases were slightly different for townspeople from what we have seen among people in the countryside. As Figure 6.10 showed above, the month with the highest number of sales on credit in which the purchaser was from Puigcerdà (as opposed to the countryside) was in December (as opposed to November), although both groups made the highest number of purchases in the fall and winter. Similarly, the months in which the highest volume of credit was extended to townspeople, and the months in which that credit was due to be repaid differed from what we saw among borrowers in the countryside. Figure 6.14 shows the percent of the total volume of credit extended per month to people from Puigcerdà and people from Cerdanya in loans and sales on credit in the year 1321/2.

[147] Specifically, nearly all of the payments due in August were due at the feast of Saint Mary in August (August 15). The only two exceptions were cases in which the due date was "in one year," both of which were made on August 28, 1321. Denjean has noted that the year can be divided into different periods in which credit was extended for longer or short periods of duration. In Winter, she says, it was more common to see medium-length durations for credit, often of eight to nine months until August. In Summer, it was more common to see only short durations. And in fall one saw the longest duration for credit acts. This fits with what the evidence from 1321/2 shows for people of the countryside, given that the most frequent due-date was in mid-August. Denjean, *Communauté juive*, 192.

Figure 6.14: Percent of Total Volume of Credit Extended in Loans and Sales on Credit per Month, 1321/2[148]



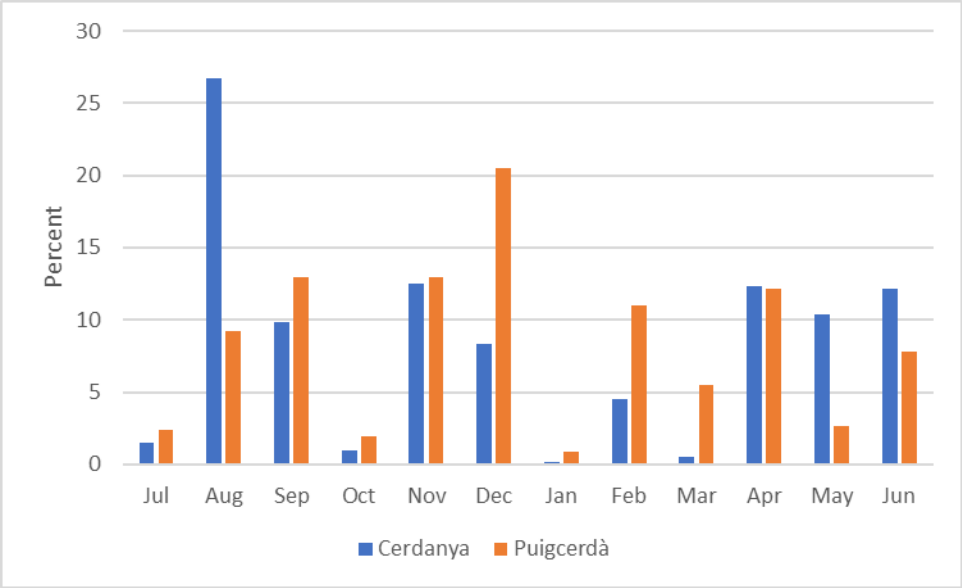
As Figure 6.14 shows, the period of time in which the highest percent of credit was extended to townspeople was slightly earlier in the year than the period in which the highest percent of credit was extended to people in the countryside. People in Puigcerdà took out the highest volume of credit in the period from February to May. In fact, 53.2 percent of all credit extended to townspeople in loans and sales on credit in this year (6,288 out of 11,815 total *lliures* of Barcelona) was during these four months.[149]

[148] As in Figures 6.13 and 6.14, Cerdanya here includes the Baridà and the Vall de Ribes. This does not include four entries in which there were multiple debtors, one of whom was from Cerdanya and one of whom was from Puigcerdà. Analysis on credit extended to Puigcerdà is based on 637 notarial entries containing a loan or a sale on credit (or, in some cases, both) in which the debtor is from Puigcerdà.

[149] As with the people of the countryside, what I have seen in the year 1321/2 does not correspond to what Denjean saw among loans in the year 1354, on which she stated that the highest number of loans was in November. Denjean, *Communauté juive*, 191. This also differs from the monthly distribution of loans made Jews that Christian Guilleré identified from medieval Castelló d'Empúries and Torroella de Montgrí. In Castelló, Guilleré found that the highest number of loans were made in October, November and December. In Torroella he found that the highest number of loans were made in December, April and May. But for one thing, On the one hand these differences may reflect different practices in a region which was more focused on cereal cultivation and less focused on husbandry. On the other hand, Guilleré gives only the number of loans, not the amount of credit, and only looked at loans made by

Credit extended to people from Puigcerdà also differed in when it was due. Figure 6.15 shows the percent of the total volume of credit extended to people from Puigcerdà and people from Cerdanya in loans and sales on credit in the year 1321/2 by the month in which it was due.

Figure 6.15: Percent of Credit Extended to People from Cerdanya and Puigcerdà in Loans and Sales on Credit by Month of Due-Date, 1321/2[150]



As Figure 6.15 shows, the highest percent of the credit extended to people from Puigcerdà was due back in December.[151] The fact that townspeople both made their highest number of sales on credit in December, and that the highest percent of the credit extended to

Jews which may differ. The figures I have for Puigcerdà do not include loans made by Jews since these, which would have been in the books of Jews, have been lost. Guilleré, *Girona al segle XIV*, Vol. 1, 402-3.

[150] This omits four entries with multiple debtors one of whom was from Cerdanya and one of whom was from Puigcerdà. It also omits all those entries in which the due date was not stated, could not be read due to damage or was "whenever you wish." The numbers of such entries with debtors from Cerdanya are given above. Among those with debtors from Puigcerdà, the volume of credit due "whenever you wish" was 21.4 percent of the total volume of credit extended (2,526 *lliures* out of 11,815 *lliures*).

[151] In all but three cases the debt was due at Christmas. The three exceptions included cases where the debt was due "in two months" or "in fifteen days" which had been made in October and November.

them was due back in that period suggests that December was actually the point in the year when townspeople's assets were highest. This was later than the period in which the people from the countryside saw their highest assets, but this makes sense, given that the merchants and artisans of Puigcerdà would likely have had an influx of cash after villagers made significant numbers of purchases in November.

The information on when credit was due is useful for evaluating when people taking out credit expected to be able to pay it back, but it doesn't tell us very much about when credit was actually repaid. Many debts were repaid late, sometimes very late.[152] For example, on September 16th, 1321 Bernat Rigat purchased greasy wool (*lana surzida*) on credit from Ramon de Rossela of Sant Pere d'Or and Bernat Bertrand of Claret (both in the Bages, near Manresa), for which he owed six *lliures* of Barcelona that he promised to pay at the following feast of All Saints (November 1).[153] Eight years later, in October of 1329, however, Bernat Rigat had clearly still not entirely paid off this debt, as the same parties created a new contract that directly referenced the first agreement, in which Bernat Rigat affirmed that he still owed eighty *sous* of Barcelona (two thirds of the original debt) and created a new plan for paying it. The repayment of this debt, which was originally due just six weeks after the original contract (from September 16th to November 1st), was delayed at least eight years if not longer.[154] Similarly, in December of 1321 Esquer Fortuny and Domenec Batlle of Bagà bought cloth on credit from Jaume Mercader of

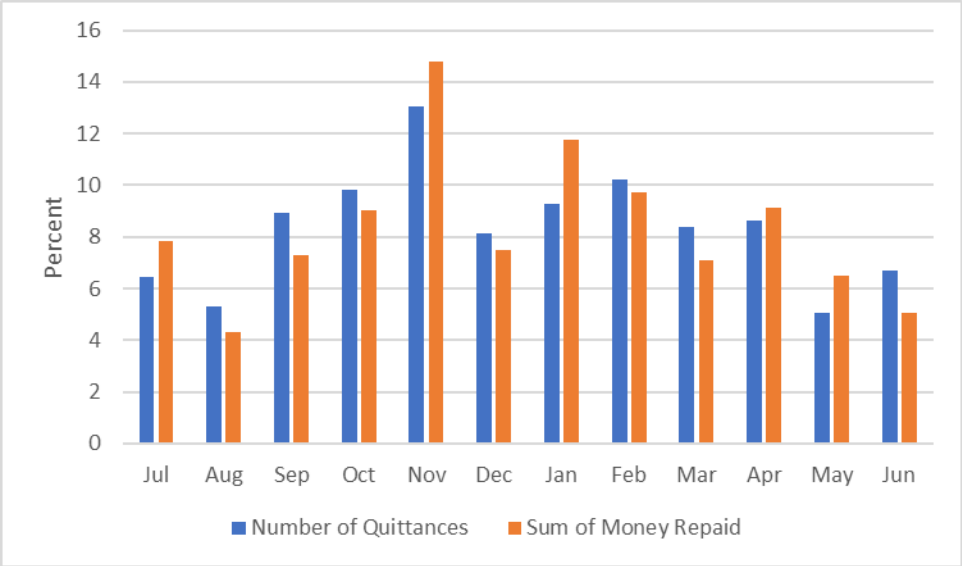
[152] Xavier Soldevila i Temporal has argued, based on evidence from the Catalan town of Castelló d'Empúries that many debts were not repaid on time, and that the delay in repayment could frequently exceed three years. Xavier Soldevila i Temporal, "Rural Courts, Notaries and Credit in the County of Empúries, 1290–1348," *Continuity and Change* 29 (2014): 83–114; 91-92.

[153] ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 8r (a)

[154] ACCE, Reg. 264 fol. 26r (a). It is certain that the second contract refers back to the debt from 1321 because it specifically identifies the original contract by date. Despite the late repayment, the original contract was nonetheless eventually marked as repaid.

Puigcerdà, for which they acknowledged owing thirty-nine *sous* of Barcelona, that the promised to pay at the following Easter.[155] In March of 1328 [1327] Jaume's nephew and procurator, Simó Riba of Puigcerdà, traveled to Bagà to accept partial payment from Esquer Fortuny's widow Gueralda for this debt, which was still outstanding approximately six years after it was originally due.[156] If we look at when the highest number of quittances were recorded in the year 1321/2 we can see that the time when most debts were actually repaid likely did not correspond to the dates when we saw the highest volume of credit due. Figure 6.16 shows the percent of both quittances recorded, and of money repaid in these quittances in 1321/2 per month.

Figure 6.16: Percent of Recognitions of Payment Recorded and of Total Money Repaid per Month, 1321/2[157]



[155] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 31r (a).

[156] ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 19 fol. 91r (c). This entry does not specify that Simó is Jaume's nephew, but I know this from other entries relating to this family.

[157] This is based on the analysis of 774 total recognitions of repayment from this year. I omitted those recognitions of repayment for dowries or *exonarios*, and for bequests, but otherwise this includes repayment of debts of all kinds, including many that were not originally loans or sales on credit. This includes all debtors (whether they were from

As Figure 6.16 shows, both the highest number of quittances and the highest percent of money was repaid in November, even though this was not a month in which a majority of debts were due.[158] Very little money was actually repaid in August, when the highest percentage of debts to people in the countryside had been due. This could potentially reflect a practice derived from what was typical within the broader region of Catalonia, where August may have been when people had more ability to repay debts, but which did not actually fit the mountains' pastoral schedules.

Overall, the credit cycle suggests that the overall patterns of economic activity were different for town and country. The people of the countryside experienced their highest influx of money from August through early November, as harvests came in and townspeople paid, in advance, for wool. This spurred them toward a flurry of purchasing in October and November, in which they bought up cloth and animals on credit, and probably, many other lower-value items in cash. This purchasing frenzy in turn transferred value back to the merchants and artisans of Puigcerdà, who produced and sold the goods these villagers were buying. Townspeople had their highest-asset point later on and made the highest number of purchases on credit (again, mostly cloth) in December. Most of the credit extended to them was also due in that month. Among both groups, late fall also saw the highest number of debts repaid. While the patterns between these two groups, we can see clearly that the fall, from late September to late December was by far the period in which the greatest number of transactions occurred. This was clearly, directly influenced by the local agricultural calendar.

Cerdanya, Puigcerdà or elsewhere). Twenty-three of the recognitions of payment do not include the volume of the sum that was repaid and are therefore excluded from the sums of money repaid per month.

[158] In an analysis of debts repaid in 1355 that had been made in 1354, Claude Denjean also found that the highest total number of reimbursements were recorded in November. Denjean, *Communauté juive*, 199. It is not clear if this involves all debts or only debts to Jews.

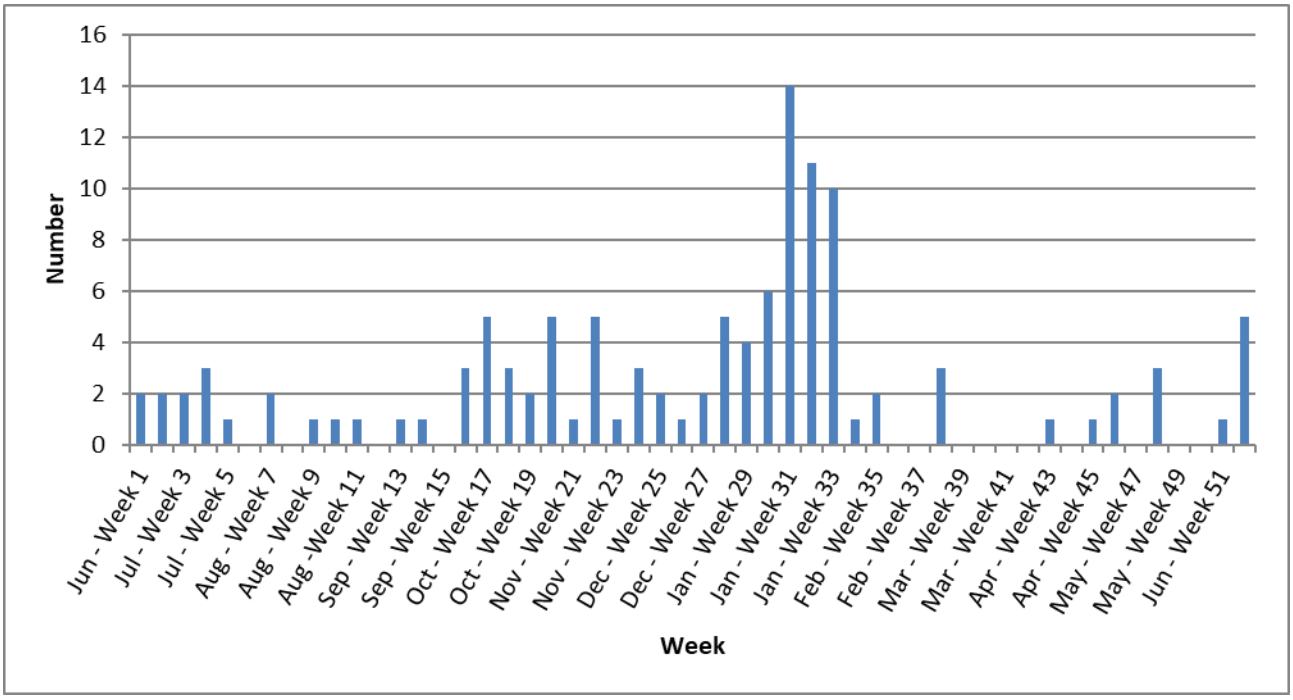
Puigcerdà was clearly not the only medieval town that saw a rise in overall economic, commercial and notarial activity in the fall. John Drendel has shown that in Provence debts for the sale of cloth, tools and seeds were all more common in the fall than in other seasons. And Christian Guilleré and Xavier Soldevila i Temporal have both shown that in the county of Empúries the majority of debts were created between November and April.[159] Medieval towns that were closely tied to the agricultural practices and schedules of their surrounding countryside had rhythms of commercial activity related to the cyclical movement of money between town and country.

Winter: Marriage Season

Overall, commercial and economic activity decreased as fall became winter. But winter season was particularly notable for one reason: it saw the highest concentration of marriages. This wintertime marriage season was a surprising, but significant impact of the way the local agricultural practices influenced the overall ebb and flow of goods and money in this society over the course of a year. Marriage agreements recorded by the notaries of Puigcerdà in this year were disproportionally concentrated within a short period in January and February. Figure 6.17 shows the number of marriage agreements recorded each week during 1321/2.

[159] Monique Bourin, François Menant, and Lluís To Figueras, "Propos de conclusion," in *Dynamiques du monde rural dans la conjoncture de 1300: échanges, prélèvements et consommation en Méditerranée occidentale*, ed. Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 490 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014), 655–700, 667; John Drendel, "La bourgade provençale comme axe de commerce local et régional (1300–1450)," in *Dynamiques du monde rural dans la conjoncture de 1300: échanges, prélèvements et consommation en Méditerranée occidentale*, ed. Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 490 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014), 239–52, and Xavier Soldevila i Temporal, "Crédito y endeudamiento popular en el Ampurdán (ca 1300-1348)," in *Dynamiques du monde rural dans la conjoncture de 1300: échanges, prélèvements et consommation en Méditerranée occidentale*, ed. Monique Bourin, François Menant and Lluís To Figueras, Collection de l'École Française de Rome 490 (Rome: École française de Rome, 2014), 469–91, 478; Guilleré, *Girona al segle XIV*, Vol. 1, 402-3.

Figure 6.17: Marriage Agreements per Week, 1321/2[160]



As Figure 6.17 shows, small numbers of marriages were recorded throughout the year, but the plurality of marriages recorded in this year (forty-six out of 118, 39 percent) were recorded within the three weeks between January 11th and February 8th. The density of marriages within this period was true in both city and countryside. Of those marriages recorded within a book of townspeople or a book of debts (for which we can assume at least one of the parties was a resident of Puigcerdà), 39 percent (thirty-seven out of ninety-four) were recorded during this

[160] Four entries from this year record double weddings. In these cases, two brides, usually from one family (either a widowed mother and her daughter or two sisters), marry two grooms from a second family (a widowed father and his son, or two brothers), in what is recorded as a single entry. These are counted here as two separate marriage agreements. This chart follows weeks during the notarial year, beginning on Wednesday June 24.

period. Of those recorded in a book of outsiders (marriages between two parties who did not live in Puigcerdà) this was 37.5 percent (nine out of twenty-four).[161]

This pattern was not unique to the year 1321/2. I sampled all the entries containing marriage agreements from one year out of every decade from 1260 to 1360, finding a total of 721 non-cancelled such entries.[162] A total of 328 of these marriages (45.5 percent) were recorded within January and February. The preference for marrying in January and February had been strikingly consistent over time, at least prior to the Black Death. In the one surviving register from the year 1260/1, twenty-one out of forty surviving marriage agreements (or, 52.5 percent) were recorded in January and February.[163] This register is incomplete, having ended on February 6, 1261, so the overall percentage cannot be taken as accurate for the whole year, but it clearly demonstrates a high density of marriages in January and February.[164] Similarly, in the year from 1339/40, twenty-two out of sixty-three total entries recording marriage agreements were (34.9 percent) were recorded in these months.[165]

The dates when marriages were recorded were clearly highly influenced by the liturgical calendar. During this period, the Catholic Church officially banned the holding of wedding solemnities and the consummation of marriages during the three major festival seasons of the liturgical calendar, although they allowed marriages and engagements to be contracted during

[161] These twenty-four marriages recorded in the books of outsiders likely represent only approximately two-thirds of the total original such marriages from this year, as one book of outsiders has been lost.

[162] This does not include those from the year 1321/2. The specific years and the sampling method is described in Chapter 7.

[163] ACCE, Reg. 1.

[164] Seven marriages were recorded in the first six days of February alone.

[165] The percent of marriages recorded in January and February in the two years sampled from after the Black Death is lower, suggesting that by that point practices had shifted. The reasons for why this may be would require further study that is beyond the scope of this project at this time.

these times. The festival periods included: Advent (the period beginning November 27 and leading up the Christmas) and the Christmas season until the feast of Saint Hilary (January 13th); the period beginning at Septuagesima (the 7th Sunday before Easter) through the Octave of Easter (the Sunday after Easter); and the period between Rogation (April 25) and Trinity Sunday (the first Sunday after Pentecost).[166] It is not clear that these proscriptions would always have been followed, but officially marriages could only occur without restriction during three periods of the year, a long one from May or June to November, and two brief periods, whose dates would vary depending on the date of Easter, one in winter and one in late spring.[167] In the notarial year of 1321/2 specifically, therefore, marriage was allowed between June 24th 1321 to November 27th 1321, between January 13th 1322 and February 8th 1322, between April 18th 1322 and April 25th 1322, and between June 6th 1322 and June 23rd 1322. A significant proportion of marriages were recorded on days outside of this window (twenty-nine out of 118, or 24.6 percent), suggesting that the people of Puigcerdà either ignored the church's prohibition, or that they recorded these marriages at a different time than when they were solemnified. But in general, it seems that most families preferred to arrange the marriage contract during one of the periods in which the marriage could actually take place, and that the liturgical calendar was highly influential in the making of marriages.

But the high frequency of marriages during January and February was clearly not solely due to the influence of the liturgical calendar. The density of marriages during the short winter

[166] Guido of Monte Rochen, *Handbook for Curates,* in *Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, trans. Anne T. Thayer (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2011), 154.

[167] The permitted periods were the long period of time between Trinity Sunday (May or June depending on the year) and Advent (late November or early December), and two brief periods, whose length would vary depending on the date of Easter, the first in winter, between the feast of Saint Hilary and Septuagesima, and the second, in late spring, between the Octave of Easter and Rogation.

window from January 13th to February 8th shows that many families had a preference for holding their weddings in the winter, given the rather modest flow of marriages through the long permitted period from late June to late November.[168] Puigcerdà was certainly not unique in this regard, and this may well have been a common feature of life within many medieval towns and villages. For example, John Drendal has also found that in Provence, dowries were negotiated principally in the winter.[169] As I discussed in the previous section, the flow of goods and money throughout the course of the year suggests that fall was when people had money, and when they chose to make the highest volume of purchases and other transactions. It seems that families preferred to begin the business of negotiating and holding weddings within the first allowed period of the liturgical calendar after this high-asset, high-transaction season ended. This may have been when people had sufficient capital to hold a wedding and help set up a new household, or they may have felt they needed to wait until the dust had settled at the end of the purchasing season before knowing how much they could afford for a dowry, trousseau or wedding feast. January and February, the coldest, darkest months in the year in Puigcerdà, were also a period in which the demand for agricultural labor was low and people had more time to devote to other matters, such as the negotiation of a dowry. They may also have sought the cheer of wedding festivities in an otherwise dark and cold season. In sum, through the example of the timing of marriage agreements, we can see that the seasonality of the agricultural calendar had far-reaching effects on the patterns of economic and social activity throughout the year in this society.

[168] Marriages were also allowed during the similarly short window of time between April 12th and April 25th but only one marriage was recorded in this period. ACCE, Reg. 17 fols. 167r-168r.

[169] Bourin, Menant, and To Figueras, "Propos de conclusion," 667.

Spring: Sheep Shearing Season

Overall, the spring saw less notarial activity than winter, but it was notable for several reasons. As noted above, late spring, beginning in May, saw the period in which the highest volume of credit was extended to people in the countryside. This season (from April to June) also saw the highest number of sales on credit of cereals.[170] But above all, this season was notable as the time when sheep were sheared, and wool delivered.

The wool that started off the process of cloth-production was primarily due to be delivered in the late Spring. The great majority of the wool that had been sold in advance was due to be delivered at Pentecost. This can be seen in Table 6.1, which shows the quantities of wool sold in advance that was due at different due dates.

[170] These agreements were not particularly numerous but the greatest percentage of them were clearly recorded in the spring. This is different from advance sales of grains, which were highest in July, as shown in Figure 6.20.

Table 6.1: Quantities of Wool Due at Different Due Dates, based on Wool Debts from 1321/2[171]

Type	**Due at Pentecost (May 30 in 1322)**	**Due at feast of Saint John (June 24)**	**Due at feast of Saint James (July 25)**	**Due at another date**	**Date not stated or damaged**
Wool Fleeces	22,692	842	1	434	117
Quintals of Wool	47	82.5	3	14	0
Lliures of Wool	201	78.5	0	27	0
Ounces of Wool	11	0	0	0	0
Lambswool Fleeces	140	313	1,005	0	12
Quintals of Lambswool	0	3	3.5	2	1
Lliures of Lambswool	0	12	63	24	0

As Table 6.1 shows, 94 percent of all wool fleeces (22,692 of 24,086), clearly the vast majority, were due at Pentecost. Debts of wool due in ounces and *lliures* were also due primarily at Pentecost. This is clearly when the flocks of sheep that had been sent south to graze in warmer areas during the winter had returned to Cerdanya and when the adult sheep were sheared. The sheep were probably not all sheared at Puigcerdà, in many cases they were sheared closer to the pastures, with the wool brought in by mule. In a notable exchange from the interrogation of Joan Maury of Montaillou, he stated: "We were shearing our sheep. Pierre Maurs came to see us there on a mule that he owned… and then Pierre Maurs loaded Arnaud Maurs' wool on to his mule to

[171] In order to focus on the pattern throughout the course of a single year, I count all due dates as though they were in a single year. Therefore, for example, payments in which the wool is due "at the second coming Pentecost" are still counted as Pentecost. "Pentecost" includes four debts for a total of 136 wool fleeces in which the due date was given as "in one year," but which were all made during the week of Pentecost. "The feast of Saint James" includes two debts for a total of forty-four lambswool fleeces in which the due date was given as "in one year," but which were all made during the week of the feast of Saint James, and one debt for half a *quintal* of lamsbwool in which the due date was given as "in one month," but which was made one month before the feast of Saint James. The only two other dates were the feast of Saint Mary in August (August 15) and the feast of Saint Peter in June (June 29).

take it to Puigcerdà."[172] Only debts for lambswool and debts due in the higher volume *quintal* (a measurement equivalent to roughly 41.6 kilograms)[173] were due primarily on other dates. Lambswool was due most often at the feast of Saint James in July (July 25), which was clearly soon after the lambs were first sheared. Q*uintals* of wool were due more often at the feast of Saint John (June 24). In many cases, the sale of *quintals* may reflect the reselling of wool that had already been sold by the fleece to intermediaries.[174] It may also reflect the movement of wool through the chain of production on its process toward becoming cloth. As I also discussed in Chapter 5, once wool fleeces were delivered, the townspeople of Puigcerdà began the long process of cleaning, carding and spinning it so that it could eventually be turned into cloth. Some of the debts of quintals of wool may reflect the transfers between the people involved in the first steps along this process. For example, in late December of 1322, a cloth-finisher named Joan Jaulent of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing "one quintal of washed wool" (*unum quintale lane*

[172] Guilhèm Maurs of Montaillou, who specifically worked for men in Puigcerdà also noted having sheared his sheep nearer to a mountain pass. Le Roy Ladurie specifies that this occurred in May. See: Le Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou*, 112-3. For further evidence of this, documents from Puigcerdà in which people promise to send wool often state that the wool will be sent "in solutum", meaning unbound, or likely sheared. See for some examples: ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 23v (f), 25r (i) and 70v (h). Additionally, a fourteenth-century French guide to shepherding states that sheep were sheared in May. Jean de Brie, *Le Bon Berger*, in *The Medieval Shepherd: Jean de Brie's Le Bon Berger (1379)*, ed. and trans. Carleton W. Carroll and Lois Hawley Wilson (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 125. Pentecost is a moveable feast that can occur as early as May 10 and as late as June 13 but is generally in late May. Very likely, the date of the shearing (and delivery) was not specifically on the day of Pentecost but intended to mean sometime thereabouts. This can be inferred based on the fact that this Pentecost is used consistently as the preferred due date for wool fleeces in Puigcerdà over many years, and not only in 1321/2. This pattern is notably different to what I have observed in wool debts from the town of Bagà, some thirty km south of Puigcerdà, where wool debts were consistently due at the feast of Saint John (June 24). This is based on my own observation of several surviving early fourteenth century notarial cartularies from Bagà. See, as an example, ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 14, 29v (a).

[173] Riu Riu, *Pesos, mides y mesures*, 832. *Quintal* is an alternative spelling of *quintar*.

[174] There is no significant difference in the due dates seen in *quintals* of "greasy" wool (*lana surgie, lana surdzida*) and *quintals* of clean wool (*lana lanuta, lana lote*). Both were due most commonly at the feast of Saint John.

lote) to Guillem Soler, a carding-archer (*archiator*), to be delivered at the feast of Saint John in June.[175]

Conclusion

The notarial office of Puigcerdà appears to have been open for business approximately 290-316 days a year. Business conducted by townspeople was fairly similar across the days of the week (except Sundays), and not concentrated only on the market day—although the business of the countryside was more heavily weighted toward the day of the weekly market. Notarial business was not static throughout they year, however. The seasonal course of notarial and economic activity and the flow of goods and money throughout the year were both highly influenced by the local agricultural practices. Specifically, summer appears to have been a low point for most notarial activity, likely as people were busy with the harvest. Fall, in contrast saw the highest volume of notarial records. It was an intensive season of exchange, likely prompted by the end of the harvest season, but which also saw a considerable transfer of wealth from the town to the countryside as townspeople bought up wool in advance sales before sheep left the valley for their winter pastures. Some level of transactions continued into the Winter, which also saw an intensive marriage period around January and February. Spring, in contrast, was notable as the season in which sheep returned and were sheared, and when numerous wool fleeces were delivered.

[175] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 33r (d).

Chapter 7: The Growth of Puigcerdà and the Development of the Cloth Industry

Introduction

Puigcerdà was founded as a new town in 1177. By the year 1321/2, as I have already shown in Chapter 4, it had grown into a small city of between 7,000 and 10,000 people and was likely around the fifth largest urban center in Catalonia. In this chapter I discuss the growth of Puigcerdà, particularly in the second half of the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth century, when the town seems to have seen particularly strong economic development. The period of growth coincides with the development of Puigcerdà's cloth industry, which stands out as both precocious and unusually economically dominant when compared to most Catalan towns. Chapter 5 provides the evidence to show that by 1321/2, the cloth industry was by far the town's dominant industry. Here, I will trace that industry's early development, and the impact its growth had on the town's strong overall expansion during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. I discussed prior research on the early Catalan cloth industry in the introduction. On the whole my own investigation of the development of the cloth industry in Puigcerdà fits within Riera Melis's model, although, my more detailed analysis of this town will refine his timeline. It also causes me to question some of Riera Melis's points. Below, I will focus primarily on the development of the cloth industry up to the year 1300 (approximately corresponding to Riera Melis' first phase). Future research would be able to trace Puigcerdà's adoption of technological advances around the year 1300 in greater detail.

I start with a discussion of the methodology used to examine the development of the town's economy over time in this and following chapters. Then, I discuss the economy of Puigcerdà in the mid-thirteenth century (around 1260-1270), showing that the distribution of

notarial acts at that point were quite similar to those in 1321/2, but that, although the valley was already awash in sheep, it was not yet a center of cloth production. The cloth industry of Puigcerdà began to grow around the 1280s, after which point it developed very rapidly. At the end, I discuss the general physical and economic growth of the town of Puigcerdà in this same period and its correspondence with the development of the cloth industry.

Sampling Method 1260-1360

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the first part of my analysis of Puigcerdà involved the in-depth study of every surviving notarial entry from a single year (1321/2). To address shifts within the economy over time, however, I sampled selected types of acts from one year out of each decade between 1260-1360. I selected a number out of ten at random and sampled from notarial years that began in years that ended in that number (i.e. 1309/10, 1319/20, 1329/30, etc.). For some years no notarial registers, or no registers of a specific type were available from the sampling year, in which case I selected substitute registers from adjacent or close years.[1] Table 7.1 shows the years sampled, the registers surviving from those years that were used, as well as substitute registers that were used.

[1] In some cases, I did not use all the registers of a given type that survive from that year. In the year 1329/30, for example, I chose not to sample from Register 289, a book of townspeople, due to the poor condition of this register and the fact that there were two other books of townspeople surviving from this year.

Table 7.1: Registers from Sampled Years, 1260-1360[2]

Planned Sampling Year	Actual Sampling Year	Surviving Registers	Type of Book
1259/60	1260/1	Reg. 1 - 84 fols.*	"Outsiders"
1269/70	1270/1	Reg. 3 - 101 fols.*	"Townspeople"
1279/80	1280/1	Reg. 53 - 41 fols.	Cloth-sellers
		Reg. 57 - 78 fols.*	Cattle-sellers
1289/90	1289/90	Reg. 19 - 103 fols.	Outsiders
	1291/2	Reg. 111 - 94 fols.	Townspeople
1299/1300	1300/1	Reg. 42 - 84 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 56 - 121 fols.	Townspeople
		Reg. 43 - 106 fols.	(Townspeople)
1309/10	1309/10	Reg. 47 - 99 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 82 - 123 fols.	(Outsiders)
		Reg. 96 - 99 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 71 - 152 fols.	Townspeople
		Reg. 39 - 111 fols.	Townspeople
1319/20	1319/20	Reg. 309 - 46 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 285 - 107 fols.	(Outsiders)
		Reg. 102 - 54 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 78 - 48 fols.*	Townspeople
		Reg. 284 - 71 fols.	Townspeople
1329/30	1329/30	Reg. 398 - 106 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 264 - 44 fols. *	Outsiders
		Reg. 132 - 69 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 329 - 123 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 115 - 216 fols.*	(Townspeople)
		Reg. 290 - 148 fols.	Townspeople
1339/40	1339/40	Reg. 440 - 206 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 447 - 216 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 432 - 251 fols.	Townspeople
1349/50	1349/50	Reg. 776 - 230 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 528 - 206 fols.	Outsiders
		Reg. 552 - 58 fols.	Debts
	1350/1	Reg. 774 - 195 fols.	Townspeople
1359	1358	Reg. 535 - 115 fols.	Outsiders
	1359	Reg. 807 - 49 fols.*	Outsiders
		Reg. 560 - 161 fols.	Debts
		Reg. 795 - 140 fols.	Townspeople
		Reg. 504 - 225 fols.	Townspeople

The first two years in the table, 1260 and 1270, each contain only one extant register, which are the first two notarial registers surviving from medieval Puigcerdà. For these, I looked at all the documents in those registers more fully to get a broader picture of the economy of Puigcerdà in the mid-thirteenth century. I discuss the contents of the register from 1270/1 in greater detail than that of the register from 1260 because it includes more documents relating to the town of Puigcerdà and not only the countryside.[3]

From the registers of the later years, I sampled the following types of acts: apprenticeships and artisanal wage-labor agreements, marriages, sales of real estate, appointments of procurators, and debts (advance sales) of wool. I selected marriages because of the insight they offer into demographic trends. I chose to look at apprenticeships, artisanal wage-labor agreements and advance sales of wool because they allow me to trace the development of two key aspects of the cloth-industry (the percent of artisans training and working in cloth industry crafts, and the growth in the advance sale of wool). I selected sales of real estate to examine shifts in the rate of commercial activity over time. And I selected appointments of

[2] I have sampled only from books of townspeople, outsiders and debts, except for in the year 1280/1, when the only two surviving registers are the book of cloth-sellers and the book of cattle-sellers, both of which have already been the subject of intensive study (See: Rendu, "Aperçu" and Denjean, "Réseaux de credit"). I did not sample from books of wills. Registers marked with an asterix are incomplete, except in the case of Register 115 from 1329/30, for which I could only sample a portion of the register (folios 96-216) due to damage to the remaining portion. In addition to sampling only part of Register 115 from 1329/30, I also did not sample from an additional book of townspeople from that same year, Register 289, due to the poor condition and extensive water damage of this register. As discussed in Chapter 2, the first two registers surviving from Puigcerdà, from 1260/1 and 1270/1, include nothing on the register that identifies their type. While previous archivists and historians have identified them as a book of outsiders and a book of townspeople, it is not entirely clear that such designations were used in this period. Those registers in which the type appears inside parentheses are also registers in which the register does not clearly state the type, but for which I believe the type can be reasonably identified based on my own analysis of their contents. 1359 is not a combination year (i.e 1359/60) because by that point the notarial year began and ended around December, as was discussed in Chapter 2).

[3] As noted in Chapter 2, neither of these registers are clearly identified as either a book of townspeople or a book of outsiders, but it is likely that the register from 1260/1 is a book of outsiders and the register from 1270/1 is a book of townspeople.

procurators because they offer strong insight into the town's longer-distance connections. This chapter, devoted to the growth of the cloth industry, thus relies primarily on analysis of apprenticeships and artisanal employment agreements up to the year 1310. Similarly, Chapter 8 on the economic stagnation and then decline of Puigcerdà in the fourteenth century, uses marriages, land sales, apprenticeships and debts of wool from 1300-1360. Later chapters make use of appointments of procurators between 1260 and 1360 as one aspect of my study of extra-regional connectivity.

Cerdanya in the Mid-Thirteenth Century (1260-1270)

Based on analysis of the earliest surviving two notarial registers from Puigcerdà, from 1260/1 and 1270/1 respectively, I can offer some insights into the nature of the economy of Cerdanya in the mid-thirteenth century. The distribution of types of acts recorded in the notarial entries from during these two years is broadly similar to that seen in the year 1321/2, but with several key differences. Most notably, we see a higher proportion of item debts, but very few of them are for wool. There was little sign in these notarial cartularies of intensive cloth production in Puigcerdà in this early period, but sheep were already in plentiful supply. Both of the two earliest two registers only provide a partial record, not only because each are the only register surviving from that year, but also because both registers do not cover the entire year.[4] The first surviving register, probably a book of outsiders, covers the period from June 24, 1260 to

[4] I have already discussed, in Chapter 2, the fact that it is more difficult to assess the total original number of notarial registers would have been created each year for the mid-thirteenth-century than for the fourteenth century. It is not entirely clear that the earliest registers were organized in the same types of register that would become common later. Tentatively, it is likely that the notaries kept at least a book of townspeople and a book of outsiders throughout the whole year, but they may also have kept additional registers, such as a book of wills, a book of Jews, and possibly one or more registers taking the place of what would later be organized as the books of debts, but which may have looked more like the book of cattle-sellers (ACCE, Register 57) or book of cloth-sellers (ACCE, Register 53) that were survive from the year 1280/1.

February 6, 1261;[5] the second surviving register, probably a book of townspeople, covers the period from July 1, 1270 to January 31, 1271, with some additional folios covering the private business of individual merchants over a slightly different time period.[6] Nonetheless, these registers offer valuable insight into the nature of the economy of Cerdanya during this earlier period.

Distribution of Types of Agreements

Register 1, covering July 24, 1260 to February 6, 1261 contains 1,480 non-cancelled notarial entries.[7] Six of these entries contain multiple agreements, so these 1,480 entries record a total of 1,486 agreements.[8] Including those entries in the final three folios that are essentially private registers for specific cloth merchants, Register 3, mostly covering July 1, 1270 to January 31, 1271 contains a total of 1,641 non-cancelled notarial entries.[9] Thirty-seven of these entries contain multiple agreements, so the total number of agreements recorded is 1,678. The range of types of agreements seen in these two registers is very similar to that described for 1321/2 in

[5] ACCE, Register 1.

[6] ACCE, Register 3. The bound section of this register in which the dates can be determined ends on folio 96v, but this register does include some documents from beyond January of 1271. Several loose folios that are currently included in the end of this register cannot be definitively dated to any specific day, month or even year, although some of the documents on folio 99v can be dated to May 22, 1271. In addition, the final three folios of the register are essentially very brief "private registers" for certain individuals, both cloth-merchants (Pere Claira and Ferrer de Rispa). The documents for Pere Claira are dated between May 1 and December 5, 1270 (although the order of them is odd and some, thus, may be from 1271). The documents for Ferrer de Rispa are dated between September 11, 1270 and June 11, 1271.

[7] In addition, there are fifty-three cancelled entries and fragments.

[8] What is counted as a separate agreement in this section follows the same method used to examine the distribution of different types of agreements in 1321/2, as described in Chapter 3.

[9] This does include those entries from the three not definitively dateable folios that appear after those that end in January of 1271. In addition. there are seventy-two cancelled entries or short fragments. The three folios pertaining to the merchants Pere Claira and Ferrer de Rispa contain fifty-one of these entries, most of them sales on credit of cloth of cloth.

Chapter 3. The ten most common individual types of agreements in each of these two years are as follows can be seen in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2: Most Common Surviving Types of Agreements from 1260/1 and 1270/1

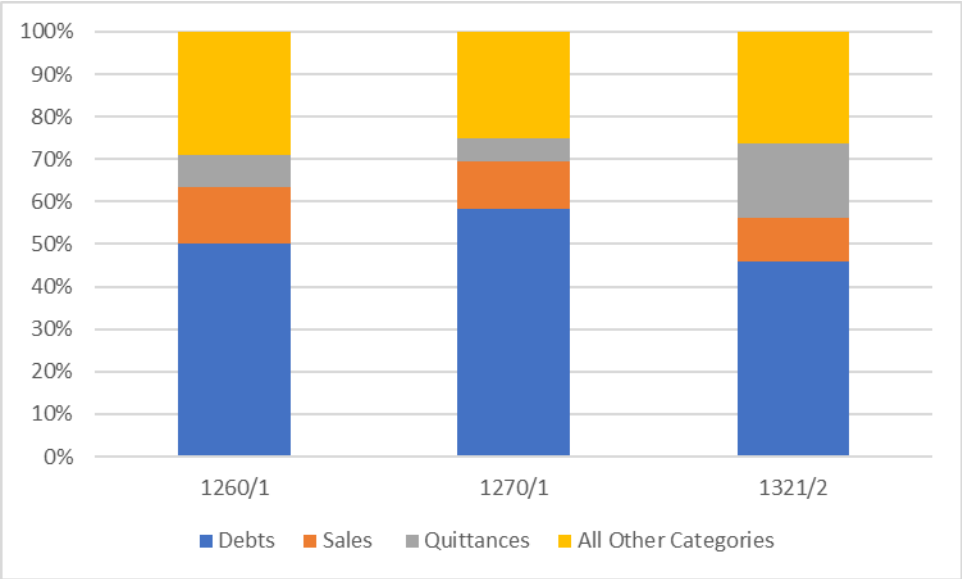
	1260/1			**1270/1**		
Rank	**Type**	**Number**	**%**	**Type**	**Number**	**%**
1	Debt	321	21.6%	Sale on Credit	531	31.6%
2	Sale on Credit	228	15.3%	Debt	138	8.2%
3	Debt due in Kind	152	10.2%	Loan	137	8.2%
4	Sale of Land	114	7.7%	Debt due in Kind	128	7.6%
5	*Parceria* (Livestock share)	93	6.3%	Sale of Land	107	6.4%
6	Quittance	66	4.4%	*Parceria* (Livestock share)	80	4.8%
7	Release (*Soluo et Diffinio)*	47	3.2%	Quittance	72	4.3%
8	Sale	44	3.0%	Release (*Soluo et Diffinio)*	68	4.1%
9	Marriage	41	2.8%	Transfer of Debt	38	2.3%
10	Loan	39	2.6%	Marriage	29	1.7%

In addition, the broad categories of types of agreements that the surviving agreements fall into was very similar in 1260/1, 1270/1 and 1321/2. As I noted in Chapter 3, in the year 1321/2 Debts of all kinds comprised 46 percent of the surviving agreements, while Quittances of all kinds comprised 17.5 percent, Sales of all kinds comprised 10.1 percent and all other categories comprised 26.4 percent.[10] This breakdown of categories among the surviving entries from 1260/1

[10] As I noted in Chapter 3, we can be reasonably confident that the surviving collection of registers for this year, at least among the four main types of register (Townspeople, Outsiders, Debts and Wills) is a good representation of

and 1270/1 is quite similar to that seen in 1321/2. A comparison of the breakdown of these main categories can be seen in Figure 7.1.

Figure 7.1: Agreements from 1260/1, 1270/1 and 1321/2 by Category



As Figure 7.1 shows, despite differences in types of registers and the percent of original registers surviving, the percent of recorded agreements that were debts, recognitions of receipt, or sales of some kind were quite similar in 1260/1, 1270/1 and 1321/2. The similarity across these years speaks to continuity both within the region's economy and its notarial culture during this period. And in particular, the high percentage of debts seen in all three years suggests that the widespread use of credit was already thoroughly entrenched within Puigcerdà and Cerdanya by the 1260s.

The most important difference lies the kinds of advance sales made, and their overall proportion in the records. On the whole, wool was a far less significant commodity in this

the original registers, and that the percentages of each of these categories would have been similar in the original total collection registers from this year to what we see in the surviving registers.

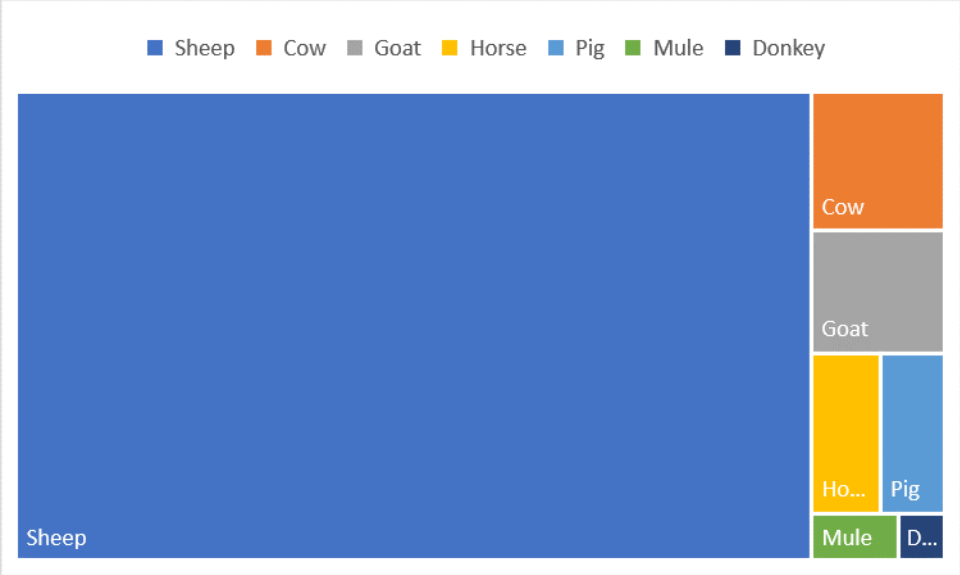
economy in that period. Overall, advance sales are a smaller proportion of transactions: 7.7 percent (114 out of the 1,486) in 1260/1, 7.6 percent (128 out of 1,677) in 1270/1 as opposed to 12.4 percent in 1321/2. But much more striking is the near-absence of advance sales of wool (wool debts) in this period. As discussed in Chapter 3, the overwhelming majority of advance sales in 1321/2 are wool debts (82 percent of advance sales, but also a notable 10.2 percent of *all* contracts). In extant 1260/1 records, there are none; for 1270/1, there remains evidence for two (0.1 percent of agreements).[11] Even with the possibility that some wool debts were recorded that are no longer extant, it is almost certain that the wool market of Cerdanya looked very different in the mid-thirteenth century than it did in the 1320s.

Plentiful Sheep Raised for Meat

The low number of debts of wool and sales of wool on credit in this early period is somewhat surprising given that the valley was already full of sheep. This can be seen by looking at the animals shared in the eighty surviving *Parcerias* from the year 1270/1, as shown in Figure 7.2.

[11] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 66r (h) and 87r (f). Additionally, five of the 531 (less than 1 percent) surviving sales on credit from the year 1270/1 are sales of wool ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 9v (d), fol. 17r (d, l and m) and fol. 22v (c).

Figure 7.2: Total Animals mentioned in *Parcerias* from 1270/1, by Type[12]



As Figure 7.2 shows, as was the case in 1321/2, sheep (of whatever age or sex) far outnumbered any other type of animal. Over 81 percent of the animals mentioned in these eighty *parcerias* were sheep (1,178 out of 1,453).

Most likely these sheep had been raised primarily for meat and not for the commercial production of wool. The surviving sales on credit from 1270/1 show that butchers and meat-sellers from Rosselló, and from especially Barcelona and the region around Narbonne, bought large quantities of sheep in Cerdanya in this year. There are thirty-seven sales on credit for either sheep, a flock of sheep or other livestock (*ovibus*, *multonibus*, *bestiario*) surviving from the year 1270/1.[13] In twenty-one (56.8 percent) of these sales, the purchaser was from either Barcelona, the region of Narbonne, or Rosselló. Of these twenty-one, seventeen were clearly for sheep (*ovibus, multonibus*), and four may have been sheep or possibly other livestock (*bestiario*).

[12] As with the information on animals in *Parcerias* from 1321/2 in Chapter 5, animals here are counted by their species regardless of their sex or age. Seventy-six total animals were omitted because their type could not be identified due to damage to the contract.

[13] The term *bestiario* is used both for flocks of sheep and herds of cattle.

Eleven of these twenty-one involve a buyer from Barcelona, eight involve a buyer from a town close to Narbonne, one involves a buyer from Perpignan, and one involves a buyer from Clairà (near Perpignan).[14] These buyers placed high value purchases, suggesting that they were buying quite large quantities of sheep. For example, Raimon Joan of "Rochfort de Narbones" (likely modern-day Roquefort-des-Corbières, just south of Narbonne) purchased sheep or a *bestiario* in eight different notarial acts, paying at minimum cumulative total of 372 *lliures* and nine *diners* of Barcelona for the collective sheep.[15] Many of the sellers, most of whom appear to be from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya, appear multiple times. One pair, who dealt frequently with butchers from Barcelona, Berenguer Raolf and Pere Domenec, both of Puigcerdà, sold sheep in a total of seven surviving entries, earning at least 288 *lliures*, eighteen *sous* and six *diners* of Barcelona.[16] Cerdanya was clearly something of a meat-basket for larger cities within Languedoc and Catalonia, cities whose populations had outgrown (both in population and in wealth) what the meat-suppliers in their immediate hinterlands could support. It had certainly long been known as a prime area for sheep-raising. During the late twelfth century two significant Cistercian monasteries in Catalonia, the Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Poblet and the Reial Monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus had acquired rights to pasture sheep in Cerdanya[17].

[14] There were six individual buyers from Barcelona, some of whom appeared multiple times. One of these, a butcher named Pere Bartomeu did not travel to Puigcerdà himself but sent agents on his behalf. For those involving buyers from Barcelona see, ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 27r (i and j), fol. 35r (d and g), fol. 43v (i), fol. 57v (a), fol. 66r (i), fol. 69r (e and f), fol. 73v (a) and fol. 92r (b). For those involving buyers from Rosselló, see: ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 49v (a) and 53r (b).

[15] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 18r (b, f, g and h), fol. 32r (f, g and h). The sum owed here is only a minimum because this includes only the value that he had to pay on credit.

[16] In an additional one of the sales of sheep these two appear as the buyers, showing that they were also building up their flocks by buying from others. See: ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 52v (f).

[17] In both cases these acquisitions date from 1175, and they covered large tracks of lands on the slopes of Carlit and in Saltèguel. The monastery of Poblet would retain pasturage rights in Cerdanya until 1298 when the consuls of Puigcerdà would purchase them. The consuls would purchase pasturage rights from the monastery of Santes Creus in 1329. On this see: Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà,* 167-8, 177-8, 180, 182, 345, 348, 662, 670-8; Rendu,

Few Indicators of Cloth Production

Overall, the surviving entries from 1260/1 and 1270/1 also provide little evidence of commercialized cloth production in medieval Puigcerdà during this period. Firstly, as noted above, there is no sign of the kind of active market for wool that I have documented was in full swing in the year 1321/2 in 1260/1 or 1270/1. Secondly, only one of the apprenticeships and artisanal wage labor agreements from these two years was for a cloth-industry craft. A total of nineteen artisanal employment agreements survive from these two years (four from 1260/1 and fifteen from 1270/1).[18] These agreements include seventeen apprenticeships, and two artisanal wage labor agreements. One of the apprenticeships appears to have been renegotiated,[19] another involves a master who was not from Puigcerdà (but from Capcir), both of which I have

"Aperçu," 95; Joan Papell Tardiu, ed., *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Santes Creus (975-1225)*, Diplomataris 35 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2005), 296, 339, 366-7 and 396; Manuel Riu Riu, "Formación de las zonas de pastos veraniegos del monasterio de Santes Creus en el Pirineo, durante el siglo XII," *Santes Creus: Butlletí de l'Arxiu Bibliogràfic de Santes Creus* 2, no. 14 (1961): 137–53; Joan Papell Tardiu, "L'economia ramadera del monestir de Santes Creus a finals del segle XII," *Historia et documenta*, no. 1 (1994): 41–55.

[18] As Register 1 appears to be a type of book of outsiders we would expect to find relatively few artisanal employment agreements in this register. As I noted in Chapter 3, in the year 1321/2 no apprenticeship or artisanal labor contracts were found in books of outsiders. If this register is indeed a book of outsiders that may indicate that the master craftsmen in these contracts are not in fact from Puigcerdà. On the other hand, it is difficult to tell whether the same norms for which types of contracts are placed in which registers would have been in place in 1260 as in 1321.

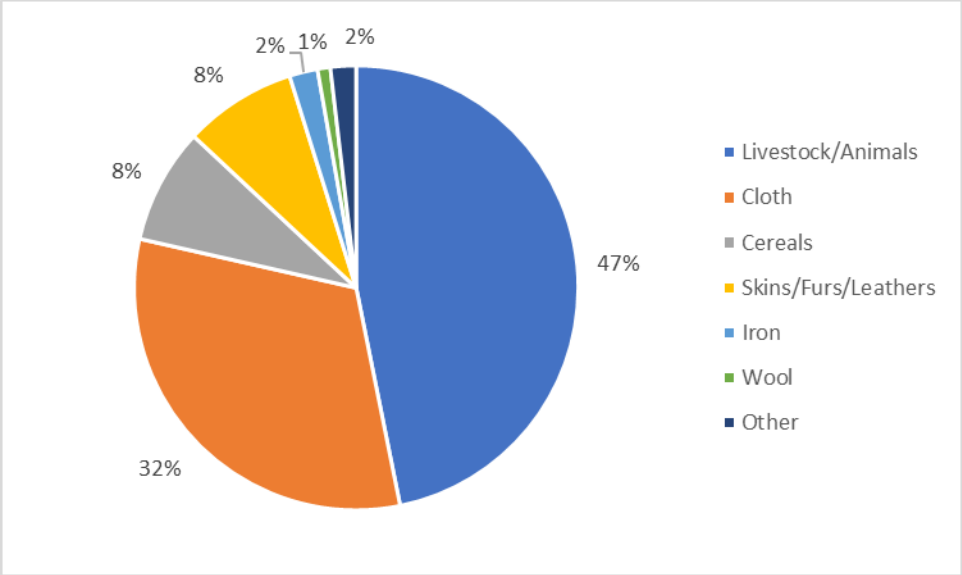
[19] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 65v (c) and fol. 79r (h). On November 28, 1270 "Elisenda, the daughter of the late Joan Lobet" apprenticed her son Pere to a shoe-maker named Bartomeu Roquer for a duration to last three years beginning at the coming Christmas. But although the entry recording this apprenticeship does not mark it as having been cancelled, it seems that that apprenticeship did not take place as planned. On January 3, 1271, "Pere Lopez and Elisenda the daughter of the late Joan Lobet" apprenticed "their" son Pere to a different shoemaker named Pere Pelisser this time to last for three years beginning at the following Easter. Assuming Elisenda Lobet did not have multiple sons named Pere, this is almost certainly the same apprentice. It is not clear what happened in the first case; it is possible that the original master had died or that the boy's father had wished to have more say in with whom his son was apprenticed. The fact that Elisenda originally had acted alone in apprenticing her son, and the way that Elisenda and Pere Lopez's names are recorded (with Elisenda referred to as her father's daughter but not Pere's wife) strongly suggests that they were not married and that the apprentice was an illegitimate child.

omitted.[20] This leaves a total of seventeen artisanal employment agreements from this period. Of these, only one (5.9 percent) is for a cloth industry craft. In this case, on December 23, 1270, Guillem Vesia of the village of Vià (in Cerdanya) affirmed himself as an apprentice to Arnau de Cardona, a carding-archer of Puigcerdà. One of the apprenticeships did not identify what craft it was for. Eleven of the seventeen (64.7 percent) were for shoe-makers, two were for carpenters, one was for a blacksmith and one, which follows an atypical contract format, was for *a harness-maker* (*correger*). From both years we have only a partial record, but the distribution of artisanal crafts seems aimed at serving the needs of the local population.

Cloth was certainly sold frequently in Puigcerdà, although it seems to have made up a smaller percentage of the total items bought on credit than it would in the early fourteenth century. As I discussed in Chapter 5, in the year 1321/2, 62 percent of the items sold in surviving sales on credit were cloth of some kind. In contrast, in the year 1270/1, only 32 percent of the items sold in surviving sales on credit were cloth. The breakdown of items sold in sales on credit in 1270/1can be seen in Figure 7.3.

[20] ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 70v (h). This is an apprenticeship for blacksmithing with a blacksmith from Matamala, Capcir. I omit it here because it does not reflect the breakdown of artisanal labor in Puigcerdà. Although I do include the three other apprenticeships from this register, all of which do not identify the hometown of the master craftsmen (are may be cases in which the master is also not from Puigcerdà).

Figure 7.3: Items Sold in Sales on Credit, 1270/1[21]



As Figure 7.3 shows, although credit sales of livestock and other animals made up a far larger percentage (47 percent) than cloth did (32 percent), cloth was still the second-most common item bought on credit. As was also true in 1321/2, and in other periods, most of the notarial entries describing sales on cloth do not describe the cloth or where it is from.[22] Of the 170 sales on credit for cloth, ninety-nine (58 percent) are just for "cloth" (*pannis*); an additional forty-eight (28 percent) are for *serges*. Only twenty-three cases describe the cloth in more detail.

These cases mainly pertain to cloth that was imported from Northern France/Flanders, or from Languedoc. For example, nine of the sales on credit surviving from the year 1270/1 are for "white cloth from Narbonne" (usually *pannis albis de Narbona*, but in one case *draps blanchs de*

[21] As in the similar analysis for 1321/2 in Chapter 5, sales on credit which contain more than one item of different types (such as rye and sheep, etc.) are counted separately. Eight of the 531 sales on credit surviving from this year contained multiple items. This chart also omits three sales on credit in which the item sold could not be read due to damage.

[22] Rendu, "Aperçu," 96, and Denjean, "Réseaux de credit," 147. As Denjean notes, they describe horses and mules in far more detail than cloth.

Narbona).[23] An additional five were for "white cloths" which may also have been from Narbonne.[24] Three sales on credit were for "cloth from Montolieu" (*pannis de Monteolivo*) which is also in Languedoc, near Carcassonne.[25] Three were for cloth from Saint-Omer,[26] one was for "French cloth (*Pannis francie*),[27] and one was for stamfort cloth (*pannis stamus fortis*),[28] all of which would likely have been imported from northern France or Flanders.[29] Interestingly, in many of these sales on credit of imported cloths, the buyers were not from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya. Out of the sixteen, seven (44 percent) involved buyers from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya. Two had buyers whose hometown was not stated.[30] The other seven cases (44 percent) involved buyers from La Seu d'Urgell, Berga, or Ripoll. Clearly a portion of the imported cloth-trade in Puigcerdà involved not only serving the valley of Cerdanya but bringing cloths from France and Flanders to other Pyrenean towns.[31]

[23] ACCE, Reg. 3 fols. 17v (a), 35v (f), 30v (b), 88r (e), 100r (f, g, k, and l) and 100v (h).

[24] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 15v (a), 18v (b), 23v (g), 53r (j) and 100v (i).

[25] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 1r (d), 14r (b), and 89v (d).

[26] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 21r (g), 29v (a) and 51v (a).

[27] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 100r (h).

[28] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 32v (a).

[29] There was also a sale on credit for "*burell* cloth" (*pannis de burell*). I do not know if that would have been imported or not. ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 38r (a).

[30] Although at least one of these was likely to have been from Puigcerdà, which would bring the total percent of these cases involving buyers from Cerdanya to 50 percent.

[31] What I have found for this period matches well with Rendu's findings on the year 1280/1. She also noted that French and Flemish cloths were imported, some from quite a distance away, and then redistributed to Tremp and Camprodon through Puigcerdà. Rendu, "Aperçu," 96-8. This would undoubtedly contributed to the gradual increase of earnings from the cloth-trade that Riera Melis discussed as a precursor to the growth of the cloth industry in Puigcerdà. Riera Melis, "Draperia," 769. See also, Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 825.

In addition to imported cloth, some cloth does appear to have been made locally. My findings, however, call into question some of the previous research on the state of the Cerdanian cloth industry in the 1270s. According to Antoni Riera Melis, "In 1270 there appear documented [in Puigcerdà] local *panni agnorum* (lambswool cloths), that just ten years later were already being acquired, during the fairs, by merchants from around Cerdanya and the surrounding counties."[32] This is the first evidence of cloth-production in Puigcerdà that he cites. It is known that in the mid-fourteenth century, Puigcerdà would specialize in making cloth out of lambswool.[33] Lambswool cloth is both very warm and very lightweight, but also very fine and thus less resistant to wear and tear. Claude Carrère identified that this kind of cloth was produced in Puigcerdà in her study of the 1345 statutes ratified by the king Pere the Ceremonious.[34] There are also references to lambswool in the ordinances on cloth production from the year 1331 [1330],[35] and there were many sales of lambswool in the year 1321/2 (as discussed in Chapter 6). Rendu stated that this cloth was already sold "in great quantity" in 1280, based on one case in which two merchants from Tolouse acknowledged owing 400 *lliures,* fifty-six *sous* and three *diners* of Barcelona on account of having purchased it.[36] And Bensch stated that it had been sold as early as 1270, and was appearing "in significant numbers well before 1300".[37] If this

[32] Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 833. Riera Melis was basing this mainly off the work of Christine Rendu, Claude Denjean and Stephen Bensch.

[33] Rendu, "Un aperçu," 102.

[34] Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 246.

[35] ACCE, Parchment 763.

[36] Rendu, "Un aperçu," 102. Rendu considers this particularly large because the largest debt for a purchase of French cloth that she found in the same year was for only 115 *lliures*. The same document cited by Rendu is also cited by Denjean. See: Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit," 147. The document that both are citing is: ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 5r (i).

[37] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 221. Bensch cites six different folios containing this reference to this item (ACCE, Reg. 3 fols. 6r, 9r and 12r, and Reg. 10 fols. 11r, 12r and 30v). I did not find any entries containing this item on the

interpretation is correct, it means that there was already a cloth industry in Puigcerdà able to produce such a quantity and quality of a specific, delicate type of cloth that merchants from Languedoc would travel to buy it as early as the 1270, as I have found another sale on credit for what is clearly the same item from August of 1270.[38]

My own findings, however, do not support this view. I believe that what has been cited in prior scholarship as "lambswool cloths" (*p**a**nnis agnorum*) is in fact lamb skins (*p**e**nnis agnorum*). While this detail may seem minute, it has important consequences for when we should date the beginning of the cloth industry in Puigcerdà and therefore, how we should understand the early development of the cloth industry in Catalonia as a whole.

I identified a total of eight sales on credit that refer to sales of what to my eye is "*pennis agnorum*" from the year 1270/1, as well as at least one from 1260/1.[39] I have also examined the four additional sales of this same item from the year 1277 and one from the year 1280/1 cited in prior scholarship.[40] In two of these entries, the second letter of this item is difficult to distinguish, and it is not entirely clear if it should be read as an E or as an A;[41] in another it looks like the

folios ACCE, Reg. 3 fols. 9r or 12r, but I did identify that his other references referred to these documents: ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 6r (f), and ACCE, Reg. 10 fol. 11v (b), fol. 12r (b and c), and fol. 30v (a).

[38] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 18v (a).

[39] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 3v (b), 4r (g), 6r (f), 7v (e and f), 17v (b), 18v (a) and 20r (a). The one from 1260/1 is ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 19r (g). It will be discussed in further detail below. There may be additional similar cases from 1260/1 that I have not found.

[40] These documents from 1277 and 1280/1 were first cited by Bensch, Rendu and Denjean. ACCE, Reg. 10 fol. 11v (b), 12r (b and c), and 30v (a) and ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 5r (i). There may be other sales of this item in Register 10 (from 1277)—it was not possible for me to go through this register thoroughly.

[41] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 3v (b) and Reg. 10 fol. 30v (a).

notary may originally have written *pannis* but then attempted to turn the A into an E to change it to *pennis*.[42] But in the other ten cases it is clear that this second letter is an E and not an A.

The Latin word *penna* primarily means feather or plume. But in the middle ages, according to several sources cited by Du Cange, it could also mean skins or furs.[43] I have also found additional sources from medieval Puigcerdà that make clear that the term *penna* was regularly being used to refer to furs of various kinds. For example, one sale on credit from December of 1270 is for "*unam pennam cuniclarum*" (one rabbit fur). A quittance from December of 1306 acknowledges the receipt of payment for a "cloak of scarlet cloth with a white squirrel fur" (*clamidis panni de escarlata cum pena squirollorum alborum*).[44] Four entries from 1321/2 attest to women who received, as part of their trousseau, a cape or over-tunic with a fur lining or trim, three of which were rabbit furs (*pennis cirogrillarum)* and one of which was just "furs" (*pennis*).[45] Additionally, a series of documents from August of 1260 is particularly

[42] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 7v (e). Since many sales are for cloth we can assume that the notaries would have been very used to writing "pannis" and that this would be an easy mistake to make.

[43] Charles Dufresne Du Cange, et al., *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis* (Niort: L. Favre, 1883-7), vol. 6, col. 257b. Du Cange cites a document from the year 1036 that refers to a "*Penna angina vel pelicia"* (lambskin). See also, Joseph Strutt, *A Complete View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England: From the Establishment of the Saxons in Britain to the Present Time* (London: Bohn, 1842), page 17.

[44] ACCE, Reg. 233 fol. 31r (d). This document was originally cited by Denjean, who stated that the word between *pena* and *alborum* was illegible, but it seems quite clear to me. The notary originally wrote that it was rabbit fur (*pena cogillorum*) but then crossed out *cogillorum* and replaced it, above the like with *squirollorum*). See: Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit," 147. In a similar document from 1293 from the close town of Bagà, the noble Galceran de Pinós acknowledges owing two drapers from Berga "cloth and a rabbit fur" (*pannorum et penarum cirogrillorum*). Serra i Vilaro, *Baronies*, Vol. 2, 390.

[45] One bride received a "cape and over-tunic of *arangey* and a tunic of good cloth, deemed sufficient to the said witnesses, with rabbit furs" (*capam et supratunicalem de arangey et tunicam bona panno dictis testibus sufficientis cum penis cirogrilloarum*). Another received a "cape of good and sufficient cloth whose value per cana will cost twenty-eight *sous* of Barcelona, with a black rabbit fur" (*capam boni panni et sufficientis cuius quidem cana quilibet de costabit xxviii sol. bar. cum pena cirogrillarum nigrarum*), A third was given a "cape and over-tunic of *arange* cloth with furs and other ornaments" (*capam et supratunicalem panni de arange cum pennis et aliis suis ornamentis*). A fourth received a "cape of *arange* cloth with white rabbit furs" (*capam panni arange cum pennis cirogrillorum albis*). See: ACCE, Reg. 17 fols. 61v-62r, Reg. 79 fol. 64v (d), 67v (a) and 75r (b). I have not been able to determine what "Arange/Arangey" cloth refers to, but it was clearly a high value cloth that was very popular

enlightening on this subject. On August 21, 1260 a man named Pere Canals, identified as *pelicer* (a skinner, tanner or fur-trader, but definitively someone who works with skins), purchased *pennis agnorum* (lambskins) from Bernat Gasch, for which he acknowledged owing twenty *lliures* of Barcelona.[46] The following day, August 22, 1260 (almost certainly the same) Pere Canals *pelicer* bought *pennis* (furs/skins) from Andreu de Peguera for which he owed 375 *sous* of Barcelona.[47] Later that same day he bought "*pellis agnorum*" (lambskins) from Arnau Florença for an additional 250 *sous* of Barcelona on credit.[48] Then in two further entries on the same day he bought *pelliparia* (furs or skins) from different sellers.[49] This is clearly a case of a fur-trader or skinner buying up a variety of skins and furs at once. Finally, the 1288 *lleudes* (customs taxes on goods entering certain towns or regions) from the Vall de Querol (through which merchants going between Languedoc and Puigcerdà would have to pass) includes a specific fee for "lambskins" (*pells anyines*), suggesting that this was not an uncommon commodity on that route.[50]

The only conclusion that we can arrive at, based on all this evidence is simple: these are not *pannis agnorum,* lambswool cloths; they are *pennis agnorum,* lambskins. The items that Languedocian merchants where buying in large quantity in Cerdanya in 1270 and 1280 were

in trousseaus in the year 1321/2. In at least one source it was identified as having been imported from Ypres (*panni d'arange dipre*). See: ACCE, Reg. 39 fol. 22v (f).

[46] ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 19r (g).

[47] ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 19r (1).

[48] ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 19v (a).

[49] ACCE, Reg. 1 fol. 19v (b and c).

[50] For a transcription of these *lleudes*, see: Miguel Gual Camarena, ed., *Vocabulario del comercio medieval. Colección de aranceles aduaneros de la Corona de Aragón (siglo XIII y XIV)* (Tarragona: Publicaciones de la Excelentísima Diputación Provincial, 1968), 152.

skins, not cloth.[51] Puigcerdà was not, in fact, producing specialized, high-value lambswool cloth as early as the 1270s.

There are some entries surviving from the year 1270/1 that suggest that some cloth was being produced in Puigcerdà, but it was likely of low-value and possibly made on home looms. I have identified seven entries recording debts, or advance sales, of cloth from the year 1270/1.[52] Four of these involve one buyer, a woman identified as Maria, the widow of Guillem de Prat.[53] In September of 1270 Pere den Jacme and Beatriu de Palnola, both of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Maria de Prat "six dozen *pelada* cloths" (*vi duodenas pannis pelade*) "on account of a sale" (*causa emptionis*).[54] That October, someone named Joan dez Camps of Puigcerdà acknowledges owing Maria "forty *canas* of finished, *pelada* cloth, according to the *cana* of this town" (*XL canes pannis pelade adobada ad canam istius ville*).[55] Maria then made two additional purchases in November. Llorenç Castela, son of the late Miquel Castellet of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing her "three dozen brown *pelada* [cloths]" (*iii dotzenes de pelada bruna*).[56]

[51] Rendu, "Un aperçu," 102; ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 5r (i). I also think that Rendu may have overstated the size of the sale that she identified to these Tolousain merchants. She states that the 400 *lliures*, fifty-six *sous* and three *diners* of Barcelona they acknowledged owing was the full price of the merchandise purchased. Even putting aside the issue that she mistakes the amount owed for the actual sale price (as discussed elsewhere), to my eye this document actually states that the sum owed is "for *pennis agnorum* and on account of a loan." It is not uncommon to see entries that include both sales on credit and loans in this way, but it is not possible to determine what percent of the sum is for the loan and what percent is for the merchandise. It is however, clear that merchants from Tolouse were buying furs and skins in Cerdanya regularly for not-insignificant sums. For example, the sale on credit of *pennis agnorum* that I identified from August of 1270 was for 187 *sous* and six *diners* of Barcelona, and in another entry recorded on the same day a different merchant from Tolouse bought additional furs and skins (*pelliceriis*) for which he owed a total of 488 *sous* and nine *diners* of Barcelona. See: ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 18v (a and c).

[52] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 27r (k), 30v (d), 39r (f), 59r (d and i), 64r (c) and 66r (c).

[53] Maria's hometown is not stated but was probably Puigcerdà.

[54] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 27r (k). Pere and Beatriu each owe three cloths.

[55] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 39r (f). Joan is identified as formerly being from a place that I have not been able to identify, which appears to be called "*Berters*."

[56] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 59r (d).

And a group of three people, Guillem dez Grau "a man of Fenouillet" (*vir Fonollete*), his wife Ramona, and Ramon Esteve, acknowledge owing "five dozen brown *borra* cloths" (*v dotzenes panni borre brune*).[57]

Further, Maria was not the only buyer of this kind of cloth. In September of 1270 Ramon de Sola of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Pere Embler of Ripoll "two-hundred *canas* of brown *pelada* cloth" (*cc canes pannis pelade bruni*).[58] In November, Pere *de Armanciones* of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Arnau Peguera of Puigcerdà "six dozen and four *canas* of *pelada* cloth" (*vi duodenas et iiiior canes pannis pelade*).[59] And that same month Pere de Miralpeix of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Guillem Urús "five dozen painted [dyed?] *pelada* cloths" (*v duodenas panni pelade pintenada*).[60] All are some form of advance sale where the cloths will be delivered at a later date.

These appear to be rough, low-value cloths. According to Claude Carrère, *pelada* refers to scraped wool that is a byproduct of the leather industry, so these may refer to cloths woven from this type of wool.[61] One was made of *borra*, which refers both to short textile fibers (in this case, probably wool flock), or to coarse cloth made from it.[62] Most of them were to be brown, not a high-value color. They were probably, thus, the type of simple cloths that peasants and

[57] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 64r (c). Denjean cites a similar case of a debt of cloth from 1280, in which Guillem Rigat and his wife Bernarda acknowledge owing "40 *canas* of borra cloth" to Guillem d'Isòvol. ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 18r (a). See: Denjean, "Réseaux de crédit," 147.

[58] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 30v (d).

[59] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 59r (d).

[60] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 66r (c).

[61] We can see that cloth made of this type of wool is being produced in Puigcerdà in 1330 and in 1345. See: ACCE, Parchment 763, and Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 244-6.

[62] Riera Melis noted that borra abrata, a course fabric for the lower classes may have "characterized the initial stage" of woolen manufacture in Puigcerdà. Riera Melis, "Draperia," 776.

townspeople made for their own use on home looms. Given the fact that these are advance sales and given that most of the sellers are identified as being from Puigcerdà, it is likely that this cloth was also produced there.[63] Thus, while cloth produced in Puigcerdà was evidently being traded there, it does not appear to have been the kind of cloth that would have been particularly attractive to those from beyond the local market. In one sale on credit from January of 1271: a man from Limos, in Languedoc did buy "*borra*," but in this case I believe that *borra* may refer to woolly fibers, and not to cloth.[64] The sellers in this case are Berenguer Raolf and Pere Domenec, the same partners who also appeared several times selling flocks of sheep to butchers from Barcelona, as I discussed above.[65]

It is difficult to interpret the circumstances that prompted the buyers in Puigcerdà who bought these rough cloths in advance sales. Why did Maria de Prat by this kind of low-quality cloth on four occasions? Was she perhaps reselling it? Or was she merely elderly and no longer able to make cloth herself? One of these purchasers of cloth, Arnau Peguera, shares the surname of a family that would go on to be major cloth-merchants in Puigcerdà in the early fourteenth century. Could this purchase be an early sign of merchants beginning to invest in a nascent cloth-industry in Cerdanya? Future research may help shed more light on these questions, but for the time being it seems clear that to the extent that a cloth industry existed in Cerdanya around 1270/1, it was small and produced only cheap, low-quality cloths. Cloth production was clearly not yet the predominant commercialized artisanal craft in this region.

[63] If the sellers were not making the cloth themselves, why would it need to be purchased in advance?

[64] ACCE, Reg. 3 fol. 97r (f).

[65] In this entry their hometowns are not identified, but in other entries they are identified as being from Puigcerdà. It seems plausible that sheep-raisers may have ended up with woolly fibers they sought to sell.

The Rise of the Cloth Industry in Puigcerdà

The cloth industry in Puigcerdà experienced extremely rapid growth during the final two decades of the thirteenth century. Although there was very little evidence of a cloth industry in Puigcerdà around the 1260s and 1270s, there were signs it was beginning to grow around the year 1280, and it had clearly become the dominant commercially oriented artisanal activity in this region by the year 1300.

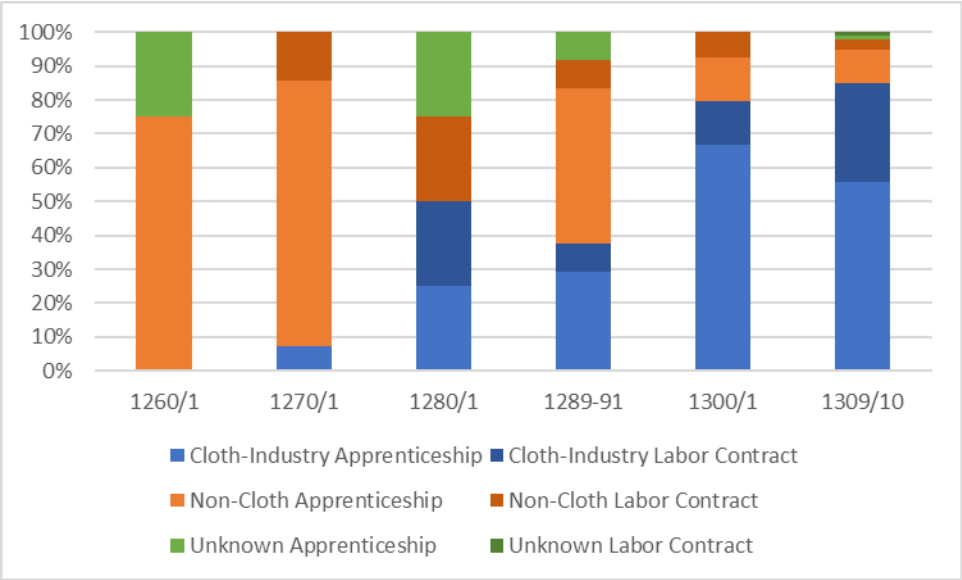
Cloth Industry as a Rising Percentage of Artisanal Labor

As Stephen Bensch noted in his study of apprenticeship and artisanal wage labor agreements from Puigcerdà from 1260 to 1300, those working in the cloth industry (including carding-archers, weavers, cloth-finishers, dyers) made up 66 percent of the artisans appearing in the labor contracts. He argues that this shows that that the cloth industry had already attained a dominant position in the town by this period.[66] But looking at all of the surviving artisanal employment agreements from this forty-year period together flattens out the shifts over time, and obscures the fact that the proportion of artisanal employment agreements that involved the cloth industry was low around 1260, and only grew in the last two decades of the thirteenth century. As I stated above, in the years 1260/1 and 1270/1, out of seventeen surviving artisanal labor agreements, only one (5.9 percent) involved a craft in the cloth industry.[67] One aspect of the industry's rise can be seen in Figure 7.4, which shows the percent of apprenticeships and artisanal wage labor agreements involving the cloth industry per sampled year from 1260 to 1310.

[66] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 210.

[67] This excludes the one case where the employer was not from Cerdanya and one renegotiated apprenticeship.

Figure 7.4: Percent of Artisanal Employment Agreements Involving the Cloth Industry, 1260-1310[68]



As Figure 7.4 shows, in the mid-thirteenth century the only a small percent of the artisanal employment agreements involved the cloth industry, but by the year 1300/1 79.7 percent (ninety-eight out of 123) of surviving cases involved this industry, and this percentage would rise to 84.9 percent of surviving cases (seventy-nine of ninety-three) in 1309/10.

As I also discussed in Chapter 5, the distribution of crafts in apprenticeships and artisanal labor agreements do not correspond perfectly to the distribution of crafts practiced in a town. Many children learned the crafts of their parents or other relatives without ever entering a formal apprenticeship. Apprenticeships also vastly outnumber artisanal wage-labor agreements, and those wage-labor agreements that are recorded in notarial entries tend to be biased in favor of

[68] Those entries that were cancelled or renegotiated have been omitted, as have four cases in which the employer was from outside of Cerdanya. In one case a single notarial entry contained two separate apprenticeship agreements, and both agreements have been counted. "Unknown" refers to those cases in which the craft was either not stated or could not be read due to damage.

small, specialized occupations where it may have been generally difficult to find skilled labor (and thus where the employer sought the additional security of the written notarial contract to keep their laborer bound for the term of the agreement).[69] Crafts that apprentices (or their families) chose, however, can represent either crafts that were considered a good bet for an orphan, or an opportunity to move a child into a more profitable occupation than that of his own family. Surely the number of artisans working in the cloth industry was growing in absolute numbers during this period, but the high number of apprenticeships in cloth-industry crafts toward the years 1300 and 1310 may also reflect that this was seen by people as a growing industry with a strong future that would be profitable for those who could gain skills in it.[70]

The Emergence of the Cloth Industry and its Guilds in the Late Thirteenth-Century

The sum given for the year 1280/1, when 50 percent of artisanal employment agreements involve the cloth industry, may be somewhat misleading: only four such agreements survive from this year, one of which is an apprenticeship with a cloth-finisher and one of which is a wage-labor agreement among cloth-finishers.[71] Such a small sample set may not accurately reflect the broader pattern of artisanal labor in the town in this year. Nonetheless the fact that there are two artisanal employment agreements for cloth-finishing by this year shows that the cloth industry was beginning to take off by this point.

[69] On this see: Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 210-11. Bensch notes that there were only twenty-eight wage-labor contracts in contrast to 269 apprenticeships surviving from 1260-1300.

[70] As Riera Melis notes, "For many families from Puigcerdà, wool manufacturing seemed like a sector with a future." Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 834.

[71] The sample set for this year does not include any books of townspeople as none survive from this year or any closely adjacent years. Technically, five artisanal employment agreements survive from this year, but one is omitted as the employer was not from Cerdanya.

Certain features of these two labor contracts suggest that the craft of cloth-finishing may have been relatively new to Puigcerdà around the year 1280 and make them worth discussing in greater detail. Firstly, in November of 1280 a man named Ramon Roull of Eina (in Cerdanya) entered into an apprenticeship with Guillem Giscafre for two years "in the craft of cloth-finishing or finishing and [illegible] cloths" (*in ministerio de paireire siu parendi et* [illegible] *pannos)*.[72] In the standard format of apprenticeship and labor agreements from this period, used in nearly all of those that survive, the notary identifies the craft with no further explanation on what it involves (such as, for shoemaking "*in ministerio czabaterie*," not "in the craft of shoemaking, or the making of shoes"… etc.). The fact that, in this case, the notary (or his clients) included additional explanation on what the craft was suggests that it may have been uncommon or little known. In addition, in this and the second such contract from this year, the notaries refer to this craft using the word "*parairie*," similar to the modern Catalan "*paraire*," rather than the Latin form, *parator,* which will become more common later. The use of the Catalan spelling may suggest that the notaries, relatively unfamiliar with this craft, did not yet know a standard term for it in Latin. Secondly, in March of 1281 two brothers Guillem Sabollera and Bernat Bosom, entered into a three-year business partnership to which they each contribute fifty *lliures* of Barcelona, "which we place in a cloth-finishing workshop and should be directed and spent on cloth merchandise" (*mitimus et ponimus in operatorio parairie et ducantur emertentur in mercaturis pannorum*).[73] In the contract immediately following, the two hire a cloth-finisher

[72] ACCE, Reg. 57 fol. 16v (b).

[73] ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 29v (a).

named Joan de Fornols as an employee for three years.[74] These two agreements may represent a case of a brand new cloth-finishing workshop opening up in Puigcerdà.

The craft of cloth-finishing clearly grew quickly after this point. There was a guild of cloth-finishers from at least the year 1285, and possibly from as early as 1283. No foundational or early cloth-finishing guild statutes from Puigcerdà have been found; evidence of these guilds can instead be found in the surviving notarial entries.[75] Stephen Bensch identified the earliest surviving reference to the overseers (*supraposit*i in Latin, *sobreposats* in Catalan) of the craft of cloth-finishing was from 1294 and noted that the appearance of these overseers was a sure sign that a guild had already been formed.[76] Similarly, the first mention of overseers of the guild of weavers survives from July of 1294.[77] Bensch also identified an entry from January of 1285 in which the *consuetudines* (customs, or ordinances) of the cloth-finishers were mentioned, but considered the *consuetudines* to be less certain of a sign of a guild than the overseers.[78] Having

[74] ACCE, Reg. 53 fol. 29v (b).

[75] This is not unusual for Catalonia, though there are other medieval towns where some very early guild ordinances do remain. See for example, those from Tolouse: Mary Ambrose Mulholland, ed., *Early Guild Records of Toulouse* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941). A copy of some guild ordinances for the cloth-industry guild of "peinadores, cardadores y fabricantes de borra" from Puigcerdà do survive, but these are from 1389. See: Manuel de Bofarull y Sartorio, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón,* Vol. 40, (Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1875), 332-8.

[76] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214, and 222 n. 41. The original document is: ACCE, Reg. 54 fol. 22v (a). As Bensch also notes, Carrère doubted that Puigcerdà had a guild because she assumed that guild leaders would be referred to as consuls, as they were in this period in Barcelona. However, the term *sobreposat* is used for guild leaders in other northern Catalan towns, including Perpignan and Castelló d'Empúries, and clearly refers to guild leaders. See: Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 244. On the use of this term in Perpignan, see: Robert Freitag, "La protección real de los gremios en el siglo XIV y los tintoreros de Perpiñan," in *La corona de Aragon en el siglo XIV. VIII Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, vol. 2 (Valencia: Artes Gráficas, 1970), 141–62, 145. On the use of this term in Castelló d'Empúries, see: Elizabeth Comuzzi, "Guild Formation and the Artisanal Labor Market: the Example of Castelló d'Empúries, 1260-1310" (unpublished manuscript, July 10, 2020).

[77] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214, and 222 n. 41. He also found the mention of the overseers of the guild of shoe-makers in May of 1298.

[78] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214, and 222 n. 41. The original document is ACCE, Reg. 70 fol. 47r (e).

examined the apprenticeship in question, however, I have found that the entry from January of 1285 not only mentioned the craft customs but also includes the guild overseers. In this entry, Guillem Adrover of Bolquera (in Cerdanya) affirms himself as an apprentice for three years to a cloth-finisher named Ramon Roull (almost certainly the same Ramon Roull who was himself apprenticed in this craft in 1280, as discussed above). Guillem promised to "observe the customs of the said craft" (*promito servare consuetudines dicti ministerii*), and the contract was witnessed by Pere de Sant Joan and Bernat Avià, overseers of the said craft (*suprapositi dicti ministerii*).[79] Thus it is clear that there was a guild of cloth-finishers in Puigcerdà from at least the year 1285.

In fact, an additional piece of evidence indicates that the original founding date of the guild of cloth-finishers may have been even earlier, in 1283. In 1789 a lawyer named Francisco de Zamora sent a questionnaire of between 146 and 183 questions to every town and city in Catalonia asking about the local geography, history, and economy, etc.[80] The questionnaire sent to Puigcerdà was answered by a local lawyer, Francesc de Solanell i Sicart, along with the help of some others. In response to a question asking whether in the past there had been more or fewer guilds, if they had ordinances and if so, what year they are from, de Solanell and/or his associates responded that "Formerly there had been more guilds. The ordinances of all [guilds] are old, namely those… of the cloth-finishers and weavers from the year 1283."[81] While this is an early-modern questionnaire, it is plausible that the authors of this response had access to more

[79] ACCE, Reg. 70 fol. 47r (e). For Roull's own original apprenticeship see: ACCE, Reg. 57 fol. 16v (b).

[80] Xavier Puig and Salvador Vigo, *La Cerdanya de finals del segle XVIII vista per Francisco de Zamora.* (Tremp: Garsineu Edicions, 1999), 8-9. Fransisco had also traveled extensively within Catalonia and left extensive diaries of his travels. Puigcerdà received the questionnaire with 186 questions, though some towns received a questionnaire with only 146.

[81] "Respostes de la Cerdanya al qüestionari de Fransisco de Zamora," in Xavier Puig and Salvador Vigo, eds., *La Cerdanya de finals del segle XVIII vista per Francisco de Zamora.* (Tremp: Garsineu Edicions, 1999), 49.

information about the founding of the guild of cloth-finishers (and weavers) than remains available to us today. Guilds often retained records of their founding and original ordinances; many of these were lost when these institutions fell out of power. The year 1283 is an oddly specific year to cite if the author didn't have some evidence; it is thus likely that there were guilds of cloth-finishers and of weavers by 1283.[82] If the guild of cloth-finishers does date to the year 1283, could it be entirely coincidental that this occurred during the same year when, as Reglá argued, conflict broke out between France and the Crown of Aragon (conflict that began with a military maneuver in the Pyrenees not too far from Cerdanya)?[83] This subject certainly invites future study.

In any case, whether the first cloth-industry guild of Puigcerdà can be dated to 1283 or 1285, the early history of commercial cloth production (up to around 1300) is now clearer. Although Puigcerdà was not producing high quality lambswool cloths as early as some previously thought, the development of an intensive cloth industry in Puigcerdà was indeed unusually early, relative to other Catalan towns, having begun to take off by the year 1280, or perhaps just beforehand. The appearance of the first cloth-industry guild in Puigcerdà is also unusually early. In Perpignan the first clear evidence of a guild, that of the guild of cloth-finishers and dyers, is not seen until 1299/1300, although this guild could have existed beforehand.[84]

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[82] It is possible that these crafts originally formed two separate guilds in the same year. It is also possible either that there was originally only one guild for both cloth-finishers and weavers, either at its founding or, at a later point if two guilds merged into one.

[83] Reglá, "Comercio," 7.

[84] There are also ordinances of wool-workers in Perpignan from 1298, which Riera Melis says alludes to a guild, but does not provide clear evidence of one. See: Antoni Riera Melis, "La aparición de las corporaciones de oficio en Cataluña (1200-1350)," in *Cofradías, gremios y solidaridades en la Europa medieval: XIX Semana de Estudios Medievales, Estella 20-24 de julio de 1992* (Pamplona: Gobierno de Navarra, Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1993), 285–318, 305; Gual Camarena, "Orígenes y expansión," 517; Bernard Alart, ed. *Documents sur la langue*

Continued Expansion of the Cloth Industry in the Fourteenth Century

From its very rapid expansion beginning around the year 1280, the Cerdanian cloth industry continued growing into the fourteenth century. I will only provide a brief survey of this topic here, though the rich documentation certainly invites a more thorough analysis of the development of this industry in the early fourteenth century. In 1289 eight cloth-finishers hired a man named Magister Joan d'Avignon to come for one month a year for eight years to sharpen the shearing scissors of all the cloth-finishers of Puigcerdà, suggesting that already the number of cloth-finishers had grown considerably even by that point.[85] By 1301 [1300], there were at least seventy-five master cloth-finishers living in the town of Puigcerdà. On March 18 of that year seventy-one individual men, together identified as "all master cloth-finishers" (*omnes paratores magestri*) appointed four procurators (all also cloth-finishers) who were to act for them and for "in our name and that of the whole craft of the town of Puigcerdà" (*nomine nostro et totius ministerii ville podiieritani*).[86] As I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 10, Italian merchants selling woad and other cloth dyes began traveling to Puigcerdà at least as early as 1302, and would continue to do so at least into the 1360s.[87] People in Puigcerdà were almost certainly finishing and dyeing cloth in Cerdanya that had originally been woven in Languedoc during this

catalane des anciens comtés de Roussillon et de cerdagne (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, Editeurs, 1881), 122-3. The first evidence of a cloth-industry guild in Barcelona is not until 1308. Riu, "Organización gremial."

[85] On this document see: ACCE, Reg. 108 fol. 81r (c), Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 429-430, and Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 864. This is also discussed in Chapter 10.

[86] ACCE, Reg. 43 fol. 75r (b). The reason they were appointing procurators is not stated. It seems likely that this includes all of the master cloth-finishers of the town. Three of the names appear to have been added at a later date, suggesting that originally only sixty-eight had been present at the initial meeting.

[87] See Chapter 10. But for the earliest documents involving these merchants, see: ACCE, Reg. 228 fol. 68r (c, d, e and f).

period. For example, in November of 1301 Bernat Maurot, a dyer of Puigcerdà entered into a business partnership with three men of Limos, in Languedoc, Guilhém Arnaud Gar, Arnaud Comte and Sicart Raera in which Bernat Maurot would dye cloths that were presumably coming from Languedoc.[88] They were clearly engaging in precisely the act that would prompt the French king to ban not only the export of unfinished cloth and raw materials, but also for those of Languedoc to enter into partnerships with Catalans or to give them help.[89]

Soon after, we see the first evidence of a guild of dyers, from at least 1306.[90] As I showed above, by 1309/10, 84.9 percent of surviving artisanal employment agreements (seventy-nine of ninety-three) were for a cloth-industry craft. The percentage of artisanal employment agreements involving this industry would begin to decline slightly after this point, although this would clearly remain the predominant industry of Puigcerdà throughout the fourteenth century. As I noted in Chapter 5, in the year 1321/2 cloth-industry crafts can be seen in 72.4 percent of surviving apprenticeships (seventy-one of ninety-eight) and 70.3 percent of surviving artisanal labor contracts (twenty-six of thirty-seven). A decline in the number of apprenticeships in a craft

[88] ACCE, Reg. 240 fol. 45r (f).

[89] According to several scholars, Jaume Vicens Vives has hypothesized that one reason for the growth of the Catalan cloth industry may be because Cathar heretics fleeing persecution in Languedoc moved to Catalonia and spread the knowledge of cloth production there. This theory has attracted a lot of interest, although no one has found any actual evidence in support of it. See: Gual Camarena, "Para un mapa," 111, and Gual Camarena, "Gual Camarena, "Orígenes," 513, Riu Riu, "Organización gremial," 548, and Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 152 and 171-2. I am not certain where Vicens Vives discussed this, as it is not mentioned in overview of the growth of the Catalan cloth industry in his *Economic History of Spain* and none of the authors discussing this theory give a citation, Vicens Vives, *Economic History of Spain*, 199-200. I find this theory unlikely; instead I believe that the Languedocian transmission of cloth-production techniques was likely due more to economic interests than a need to flee persecution.

[90] ACCE, Reg. 233 fol. 10r (c). There may be earlier references to this guild that I have not found, having not done an exhaustive search intentionally looking for the earliest reference to this guild. In this act a group of cloth-dyers of Puigcerdà name the *sobreposats* of their craft, who will also act as their procurators (*constituimus facimus et creamus suprapositionis et procuratores ministerii tinctorie*), and charge them with observing their privileges and customs, and with presenting certain requests to the king of Mallorca. Interestingly, only six total dyers are named in this document, including the two *sobreposats*, which may suggest that some early guilds were formed even when the craft had only a few members.

does not necessarily indicate that the craft itself was declining; one potential cause for the decline is that the cloth-industry could have become less open to newcomers, with training being more restricted to the family members of existing masters. The decline in the percentage of artisanal employment agreements that involve this one industry may also be due partly to the overall growth of the town; as the town grew in population and in prosperity, its residents may have sought a greater variety of goods and services, leading to an increase in other industries. There was clearly an increasing diversification of the skilled occupations in Puigcerdà between the late thirteenth century and the fourteenth century. For example, Bensch noted only seventeen different crafts among the employment agreements from 1260-1300, but there were at least thirty-five different occupations attributed to men identified in the list of men from the town from 1345.[91]

The cloth industry continued to develop throughout the early fourteenth century. In 1321/2, over 53.6 percent (468 out of 873) of the total number of uniquely identifiable male artisans who appeared in a notarial entry from this year and whose occupations are known worked directly in the cloth-industry (as either a carding-archer, weaver, cloth-finisher or dyer).[92] In the list of men from the town recorded in 1345, similarly, 52.2 percent (271 of 519) of the men with a stated occupation worked in one of these four crafts.[93] These lists aren't fully comparable, but clearly the cloth industry comprised a large percentage of the town's commercialized artisanal labor in both 1321/2 and 1345. Out of the twenty-six artisanal

[91] Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 211. The rise in the number of crafts suggests a possible expansion, although of course not all occupations were skilled and thus not all would appear in artisanal employment agreements.

[92] Others worked in adjacent fields, such as shepherds and cloth-sellers.

[93] Boson i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 29.

employment agreements sampled from the 1358 and 1359, twenty-one (80.7 percent) involve a cloth-industry craft.

There was also increasing regulation over the specific techniques and processes in the production and sale of woolen cloth in this period. In 1301, for example the king issued an ordinance that standardized the weight of wool.[94] In both 1331 [1330] and in 1345 the king ratified certain ordinances over the production of woolen cloth in Puigcerdà.[95] By 1345, Puigcerdà was producing a range of cloth that was finer than what was produced in Toulouse and Barcelona. In Puigcerdà they produced cloths with as few as sixteen *lligadures* up to as many as twenty-one *lligadures*, while in Toulouse this ranged from thirteen to eighteen, and in Barcelona between fourteen and eighteen.[96] A higher *lligadura* count produces finer cloth. As stated above, they were also producing some cloth from lambswool, which was particularly warm and lightweight, but less resistant to wear, and thus a type of specialized, fine cloth.[97]

During the fourteenth century, cloth produced in Puigcerdà also began to be exported to very distant locations, including throughout the Iberian Peninsula and across the Mediterranean. I will discuss shifts in the long-distance connections of Puigcerdà more systematically in Chapters 9 and 10, but here I will also outline some key examples that are particularly relevant to the cloth

[94] ACCE, Reg. 43 fol. 61r-61v. See also, Bensch, "Apprenticeship," 214.

[95] The first of these has been until recently unknown, having been among those parchments that were only returned to the archive of Puigcerdà in 2010, while the other was transcribed and studied by Carrère. ACCE, Parchment 763. Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne." The subject of the technical development of cloth production, and in particular the practices described in this until-recently unknown parchment deserve more thorough future study that was beyond the bounds of this project.

[96] Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 245-6. According to Margalida Bernat i Roca *lligadures* are sections or strands within the warp threads, likely similar to "ends per inch." See: Margalida Bernat Roca, "L'obratge de la llana i els Capítols del Rei Sanxo: una hipòtesi de treball," *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana* 42 (1986): 63–77, 68 n. 40.

[97] Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 246.

industry here. From at least the 1320s merchants from Puigcerdà had established bases in Aragonese towns such as Calatayud from which they were trading as far as Castile, and by the 1330s, Navarre, selling mainly cloth but sometimes other merchandise. According to Máximo Diago Hernando, they were the predominant merchants engaging in this trade.[98] Puigcerdà also sold cloth to people from Valencia. In September of 1336 the agent of a cloth-seller from Valencia traveled to Puigcerdà and acknowledged that he had purchased "cloth of Puigcerdà of diverse colors" (*pannorum podiiceritani diversorum colorum*) from several different merchants in Puigcerdà (*in villa podiiceritani a diversis mercatoribus*).[99] Puigcerdà was one of only two Catalan towns that Miguel Gual Camarena identified for which the names of their cloth passed from being proper names into being common names. In some parts of the Iberian Peninsula, such as Castile, cloths from Puigcerdà themselves became known simply as *Puçardàn*s.[100]

Cloth from Puigcerdà was also traded around the Mediterranean. And in 1337 we can find five pieces of colored cloth from Puigcerdà within a shipment of forty-eight total pieces being sent to an agent of a Barcelona-based mercantile company in Cagliari in Sardinia.[101] The

[98] I will discuss the development of this trade more in Chapter 10. On this see: Máximo Diago Hernando, "El comercio de tejidos a traves de la frontera terrestre entre las coronas de castilla y aragon en el siglo XIV," *Studia historica. Historia medieval* 15 (1997): 171–207; Máximo Diago Hernando, "Relaciones comerciales entre los reinos de Aragón y Navarra durante el siglo XIV," *Príncipe de Viana* 59, no. 215 (1998): 651–88; Máximo Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo de las ciudades aragonesas fronterizas con Castilla como centros mercantiles durante el siglo XIV: Tarazona, Calatayud y Daroca," *Revista de historia Jerónimo Zurita* 74 (1999): 211–46; Máximo Diago Hernando, "Introducción al estudio del comercio entre las coronas de Aragón y Castilla durante el siglo XIV: las mercancías objeto de intercambio," *En la España Medieval* 24 (2001): 47–101; and Máximo Diago Hernando, "La irrupción de los mercaderes catalanes en el interior de la península ibérica durante el siglo XIV: el ejemplo de los vecinos de Puigcerdà," in *La Corona catalanoaragonesa, l'Islam i el món mediterrani: estudis d'història medieval en homenatge a la doctora Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol*, ed. Josefina Mutgé i Vives, Roser Salicrú i Lluch, and Carles Vela i Aulesa, Anejos del Anuario de estudios medievales 71 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2013), 211–20.

[99] ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 115v (c).

[100] Gual, "Para un mapa," 114 and 147.

[101] Víctor Hurtado, *Els Mitjavila: una família de mercaders a la Barcelona del segle XIV*, Textos i Estudis de Cultura Catalana 123 (Barcelona: Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 2007), 161. For more on the exportation of Catalan cloth into the Mediterranean generally, see: Carrère, *Barcelone*; Eliyahu Ashtor, "Catalan Cloth on the

same merchant company's register also describes an undated (but mid-fourteenth century) voyage to Beirut with a cargo of 16 sacks full of pieces "*d'aynes*" (cloth of lambswool), cloth of Puigcerdà and other merchandise.[102] In 1338 and again in 1339 a merchant of Barcelona named Berenguer Benet traveled to Puigcerdà and Vilafranca de Conflent to purchase cloth, which were them exported on to agents in Cagliari.[103] In a document possibly from 1385, colored cloth and "*rolls vermells*" from Puigcerdà were exported out of Barcelona toward Tunis.[104] In 1388 the Perpignanais merchant Bernat Saquet exported twenty-three cloths from Puigcerdà toward Cyprus and Beirut.[105] Cloth exports from Puigcerdà would continue into the fifteenth century, even as the town's population declined considerably.[106]

The Growth of Puigcerdà Around the year 1300

The growth of the cloth industry in the last two decades of the thirteenth century appears to have shortly preceded and probably contributed to the broader demographic and economic growth that the town experienced in this period, growth that continued through the first decades

Late Medieval Mediterranean Markets," *Journal of European Economic History* 17, no. 2 (1988); Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Catalan Commerce in the Late Middle Ages," *Catalan Historical Review* 5 (2012): 29–65.

[102] Hurtado, *Els Mitjavila*, 172.

[103] Daniel Duran i Duelt, *Manual del viatge fet per Berenguer Benet a Romania, (1341-1342): estudi i edició* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003), 24-5 and 33, n. 9.

[104] Gual, "Para un mapa," 147; Miguel Gual Camarena, "Un manual català de mercadería (1455)," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* I (1964): 431–50, 449.

[105] Pierre-Vincent Claverie, "Les Roussillonnais dans le royaume de Chypre à la fin du Moyen Âge, une minorité comme toutes les autres ?," *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 43, no. 1 (2013): 363–77, https://doi.org/10.3406/cchyp.2013.1074, 374. For more on this merchant, see: Guy Romestan, "Un marchand perpignanais au XIVe siècle: Bernard Saquet," *Société Agricole Scientifique et Littéraire des Pyrénées-Orientales* 103 (1995): 439–74.

[106] Gual, "Para un mapa," 147.

of the fourteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 2, the total number of acts recorded by notaries per year in Puigcerdà appears to have been rising steadily throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth century, a sign that commercial activity in Cerdanya, and likely, the population of Puigcerdà, was growing during that period. While in the 1280s there were generally only two notaries working per year, after the year 1300 it became common for the consuls to appoint four notaries per year, and this would rise further to six notaries per year by 1321.

In addition, the town rapidly expanded its physical area during this same period.[107] In the mid-thirteenth century the original oval-shaped nucleus of the town was encircled in walls. But starting in the late thirteenth-century, even despite a series of fires (including one, in the year 1280 that was particularly severe), the town rapidly expanded beyond these walls with new construction concentrated primarily in three areas 1) to the north-east of the original walls in a neighborhood called *Liczes* or, *de la Lliça* where the Dominican Convent would be located, 2) to the north west, just outside of the original walls close to the church of Santa Maria, in a neighborhood that would be called the *vilanova* (new town) where the first Jewish quarter and the Franciscan Convent would be located, and 3) to the north, toward the pond, in a neighborhood called the *populacione nova,* where the second Jewish quarter would be located. According to Claude Denjean, the *vilanova* saw a real estate boom and rapid expansion from the end of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth, while the *populacione nova*

[107] On the overall urban growth of Puigcerdà, and on the findings of an archeological investigation into one of the medieval sections of Puigcerdà undertaken in the 1990s, see: Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 62-80; Claude Denjean, "Naissance et croissance d'une ville de montagne: Puigcerdà du XIIe au XIVe siècle," in *Habitats et territoires du sud*, ed. Benoît Cursente (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2004), 131–45; Claude Denjean, "Une ville retrouvée : Rues et maisons à Puigcerdà au temps des premiers registres notariés," *Ceretania: Quaderns d'estudis cerdans* 6 (2012): 15–30; Denjean, "Puigcerda, 1177;" Mercadal Fernández, "El barrio judío"; Mercadal et al, *Conguem*; Mercadal Fernández et al, "Urbanisme medieval" ; Mercadal Fernández et al,"El call jueu"; Mercadal et al., *La vila nova.*

developed slightly later.[108] By the mid-fourteenth century, new walls were constructed around a larger footprint that included the *Liczes* and the *vilanova*.[109]

In addition to the physical expansion of the town in this period, we find other markers of growth: multiple mendicant orders established chapters in Puigcerdà and the townspeople embarked on several large-scale infrastructure projects. First of the mendicants to arrive was a community of Brothers of the Order of Penitence of Jesus Christ, or, as they were more commonly known, Friars of the Sack, beginning around at least 1270 and through at least 1328, even though this order was officially disbanded in 1274.[110] Next were the Dominicans, who appeared in Puigcerdà as early as 1288, and would decide to found a chapter and build a convent in 1290. Construction on the massive Dominican convent began in 1295.[111] The Franciscans expressed a desire to found a convent by 1317; received permission to do so from the king and the town consuls in 1320; and began construction in 1333.[112] In the 1320s, the town would undertake major construction projects including the reconstruction of the high altar of the main church, Santa Maria, and the building of a bridge across the Aravó river in Sant Martí d'Aravó, a

[108] Denjean, *Juifs et chrétiens*, 67-8, and Denjean, "Puigcerda, 1177," 53-4. Town expansion to the south and south-west was hindered by the steep drop of the hill on which Puigcerdà is perched (and which is referred to in its name).

[109] In several maps Mercadal refers to planned fourteenth-century walls that were originally to encapsulate a wider area, one that would include the lake and the *populacione nova*. He refers to these as the "abandoned" plans and notes the actually constructed fourteenth-century walls as encircling a smaller area. I am not certain what the original source for this information on the planned walls is. See, for example: Mercadal Fernández et al., "Noves aportacions," 649 and Mercadal et al., *La vila nova,* 3.

[110] Burns, "The Friars of the Sack."

[111] Delcor, *Les ordres mendiants*. The church of this convent remains standing today.

[112] The Franciscan convent does not survive to the present day, having sustained significant damage during the earthquake of 1428 (a likely 6.5 magnitude earthquake whose epicenter was in Queralps, in the Vall de Ribes, just over the mountains from Cerdanya to the south-east). On the Franciscans in Puigcerdà, see: Delcor, *Les orders mendiants*; Oriol Mercadal Fernández et al., *Conguem;* Webster, "El desconocido convent"; Webster, "Els Franciscans"; Webster, "The Struggle against Poverty." There was also a convent of the Poor Clares founded in 1351. See: Webster, "El convent de Santa Clara."

village just to the west of Puigcerdà.[113] Puigcerdà was clearly experiencing a period of growth and increasing prosperity exactly in the decades of cloth-industry expansion—the last two decades of the thirteenth century and first few decades of the fourteenth century.

Conclusion

As I showed above, the cloth industry of Puigcerdà appears to have grown at an incredibly rapid pace around the early 1280s. In the 1270s, contrary to what some previous scholars had thought, there was no real evidence of an intensive cloth industry in Puigcerdà. There does appear to have been some cloth-production, but it included only very cheap, rustic cloths, probably produced on home looms and not different from what peasants produced for themselves. Around 1280 we see a small number of artisanal employment agreements that show that cloth-finishing was being undertaken in Puigcerdà, but which also suggest that the craft of cloth-finishing may have been fairly new to Puigcerdà in that time. By 1285, and possibly as early as 1283, this craft had grown to the extent that the cloth-finishers organized themselves into a guild.

The Catalan cloth industry did not spread outward from the coasts, as Jaume Vicens Vives and Claude Carrère theorized, it began first in the northern-most Catalan towns, Puigcerdà and Perpignan, which were closest to Languedoc, and then spread south. We know, thanks to some rare documents, that skilled artisans from Puigcerdà traveled elsewhere in Catalonia and

[113] The first surviving mentions of these renovation projects can be found in a parchment from 1324 in which the King of Mallorca, Sanç the Peaceful, ordered that the sums collected from certain fines for breaking town ordinances would go to the construction work on Santa Maria and on a local bridge. The bridge is not specified but was almost certainly the Pont d'Aravó. See: ACCE, Parchment 112 and Boson i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 46 and Simon Lleixà, "Pont d'Aravó," 158-9, and 167. Two books of expenses relating to the construction of this bridge survive, one from 1326 and one from 1328. For the original books, see: ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibres de l'obra del pont d'Aravó, 1326 and 1328. On these books see: Simon Lleixà, "Pont d'Aravó;"

spread their knowledge of cloth-production during the decades of the 1290s and 1300s. As early as 1292 a dyer from Puigcerdà, whose name is given only as Guerau, entered into a partnership with a man from Torroella de Montgrí (in the region of Empuries, south of Perpignan), in which Guerau promised to teach the craft of dyeing wool and linen cloth.[114] And in 1302 a weaver from Puigcerdà promised to stay in Manresa for five years weaving cloth there.[115]

As the contributions of this chapter have made newly clear, the craft of cloth-finishing appears to have developed at an extremely rapid pace. There does not appear to have been much evidence of a cloth-finishing industry in Cerdanya around the 1260s and early 1270s. But in the space of perhaps at most about ten years, and perhaps as few as three, this craft rapidly developed to the point that the craftsmen wanted to organize themselves corporately. It then continued booming, in line with the rapid adoption of new technological advancements occurring within the cloth-industry broadly in Catalonia from the 1290s on.[116] By 1301 [1300], there were at least seventy-five master cloth-finishers living in the town of Puigcerdà and, in the year 1300/1, at least eighty-two individuals were apprenticed in cloth-industry crafts within just the surviving records from that year alone.

The rapid development of the cloth industry in the last two decades of the thirteenth century, which continued into the early fourteenth century occurred simultaneously with and very likely contributed to a period of overall growth in the town of Puigcerdà. The town not only physically expanded into new neighborhoods, but the overall level of notarial activity rose,

[114] Víctor Farías Zurita, "L'economia tèxtil a les viles de la Catalunya Vella vers el 1300," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia*, no. 26 (2005): 363–65.

[115] Gual Camarena, "Para un mapa," 112 and Gual Camarena, "Orígenes y expansión," 515.

[116] Riera Melis, "Draperia," 767; Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 826; Riera Melis, "L'aparició," 166-7.

and—likely a sign of economic and demographic growth—new mendicant orders appeared in the town, and people embarked on several ambitious infrastructure projects.

Chapter 8: The Decline of Puigcerdà in the Fourteenth Century

Introduction

As I discussed in the introduction, around the fourteenth century most of Western Europe saw the beginning of an economic transition, often characterized as a crisis, in which the long period of economic and demographic growth that had been underway for over three centuries came to an end, and Europe instead began to experience widespread economic and demographic contraction. While in the early fourteenth century the town was among the largest urban centers in Catalonia, by the middle of this century the town had begun to decline and lose population. For Puigcerdà this reversal of economic fortune was both particularly severe and long-lasting. In fact, the town would not recover its pre-plague population until the end of the twentieth century. Historians continue to debate the extent and cause of this economic 'crisis' (such as whether it was caused primarily by endogamous or exogamous forces), when it began and, in some cases, whether it was a crisis at all. Recent work has emphasized the need for greater attention to variation in the timing, severity and nature of contraction across different regions. A series of scholars working on southern European regions have found that a previously dominant model—one that argued, based on northern European evidence, that the crisis began well before the Black Death—does not hold true in Mediterranean Europe.[1]

In this chapter, I discuss the development of the economy of Puigcerdà toward the middle of the fourteenth century, focusing on when we can first identify signs of economic and demographic decline. I begin with discussing the overall trend in the volume of notarial activity from 1300 to 1360, which is remarkably consistent (but perhaps growing slowly) up to the year

[1] Bourin, et al., "Les campagnes," 704.

1340, after which it clearly and dramatically declines. I then discuss the trend over time in the total original numbers of four types of notarial contracts: apprenticeships, debts of wool, land sales and marriages. Each of these types of act follows a different pattern over the decades between 1300 and 1340. Apprenticeships decline, debts of wool grow, at least up to 1340, land sales remain static, marriages may rise and then fall and then rise again. In all cases there is clear numerical decline starting in the 1340s. Overall therefore, although there may be signs of a decline in economic growth or a period of economic stagnation, there is little sign of significant economic decline prior to the 1340s, In the second section of this chapter, I turn to discussing some of the major events in the mid-fourteenth century that may have contributed to the town's shift from economic expansion to stagnation (or at least growth at a far, far slower rate), and finally, to economic contraction: the famine of 1333; the forced reincorporation of the Crown of Mallorca into the Crown of Aragon in 1344; and the Black Death in 1348. Finally, I discuss the population trend of Puigcerdà over time, showing that from at least the 1350s, the town began what would prove an enduring demographic collapse.

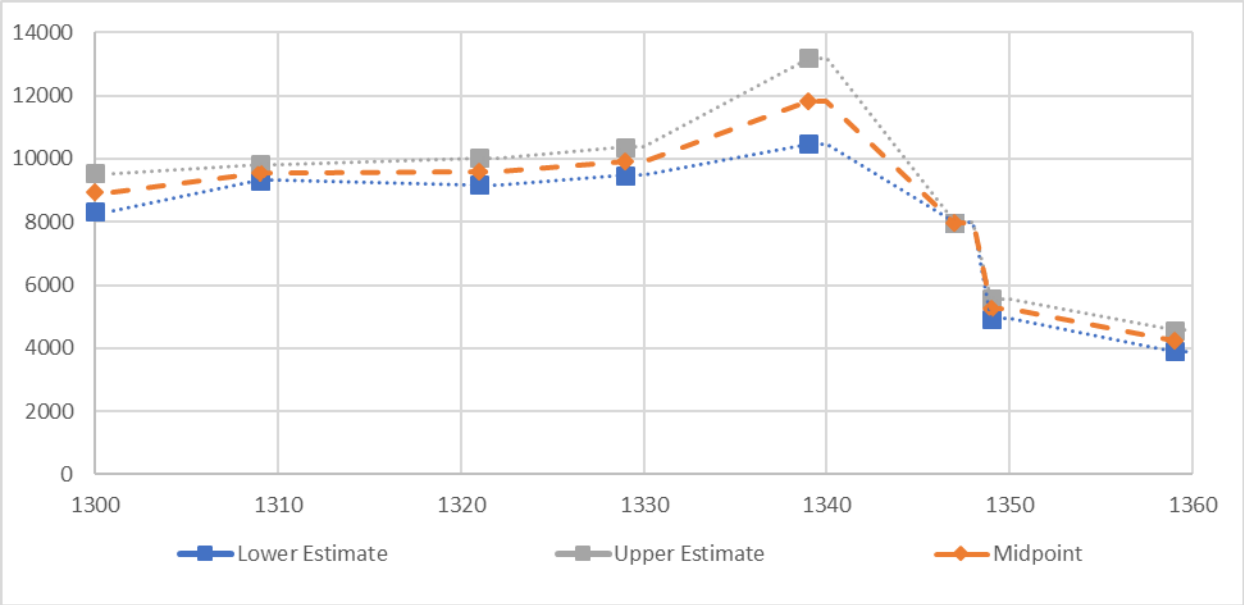
Economic and Notarial Activity in Puigcerdà 1300-1360

The Overall Trend of Notarial Activity

If, as I argue throughout this dissertation, notarial activity in fourteenth-century Puigcerdà can be taken as a proxy for demographic and economic activity, the overall volume of notarial entries between 1300 and 1360 show no evidence of a "crisis" prior to the 1340s. As discussed in Chapter 2, the overall volume of notarial entries recorded during the fourteenth century remained consistent from around 1300 to at least the 1330s. While the number of folios recorded by notaries grew in this time, the average number of entries per folio declined and the two offset

each other. This can be seen in Figure 8.1, which shows the estimated original total number of entries per year from 1300-1360.

Figure 8.1: Estimated Total Original Entries in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1300-1360[2]



What Figure 8.1 shows is, firstly, that there was no evidence of decline prior to 1340 (to the extent that there is a trend at all it is one of moderate increase), and, secondly, that the volume of notarial activity had apparently already begun to decline by 1347, although it would then decline further by 1349, clearly due to the Black Death, whose main wave hit the town in 1348.

[2] This figure includes the same information as Figure 2.6 but shows only data from 1300-1360. It includes estimates based only on the books of townspeople, outsiders and debts and future research would be needed to determine the likely number of entries per year in manuals, or other types of registers. Shifts in the organization of notarial registers around the 1330s and 1340s do make the overall estimate for these last few decades of the period under study less certain than it is in the period from 1300-1330. Unless a significant proportion of entries began to be recorded in books other than books of townspeople, outsiders, or debts after 1340, however, the total volume of entries had clearly begun to decline in the 1340s.

Sampling Select Acts from 1300 to 1360

A more detailed view of how the economy of Puigcerdà developed between 1300 and 1360 can be seen by looking at trends for a number of agreement types. I focus on four: 1) apprenticeships; 2) debts (advance sales) of wool; 3) sales and exchanges of land;[3] and 4) marriages. I use the sampling method outlined in Chapter 7 for raw numbers of surviving agreements of each type.[4] Using the methods discussed in Chapter 3, I estimate the original numbers of agreements produced in each of the sampled years in order to compare them to the generated estimates for the 1321/2 baseline year. It is possible that the shifts in the number of each type of act over time estimated here reflect shifts in where (i.e. what kind of book) certain types of agreements were recorded, rather than the total number that were recorded. I will argue below that this was almost certainly the case with the debts of wool.[5] The other three types of acts I have chosen to focus on (marriages, land sales and apprenticeships) were all of the type that were most frequently recorded in books of townspeople or books of outsiders. I thus consider it more likely that they continued to be recorded in these types of registers and that the trend we see for these types of agreements over time is more accurate.

[3] Exchanges are technically a separate type of contract, structured more similarly to a gift, but functionally they are essentially a sale of land in which the price of the land is a different piece of land.

[4] As noted in Chapter 7, I looked through all of the surviving registers from a given year, except the year 1329-30, from which some extant registers are in poor condition.

[5] Early in the fourteenth century, debts of wool had most frequently been recorded in books of debts, but later in the fourteenth century they may have begun to be recorded more in the books of cloth-sellers. As noted in Chapter 2, one of these registers survives from 1280-81, but after that they disappear and then the types of acts that were included within that register begin to be seen more commonly in books of debts. However, in 1333 we see that the notaries had returned to creating books of cloth-sellers, often combining them with books of Jews. As we will see below it is certainly possible that entries like debts of wool which were previously common in the books of debts were instead moved to these registers. Additionally, after around 1338 they begin practicing double-registration and keeping manuals. Future research will be needed to investigate to what extent non-cancelled entries may have been recorded in manuals.

Table 8.1 shows the surviving registers from the sampled years from the period of 1300 to 1360 along with my estimates of the likely number of folios from missing registers.

Table 8.1: Surviving and Missing Folios from Sampled Years, 1300-1360[6]

Register Type	**Surviving Registers**				**Missing fols.**
1300/1					
	R de Caborriu and G Cog		**R de Coguls and A de Bonany**		
T	Reg. 56, 121 fols.		Reg. 43, 106 fols.		0
O			Reg. 42, 84 fols.		80-100
D					160-200
1309/10					
	B Blanch and J Garriga		**R de Coguls and A de Bonany**		
T	Reg. 71, 152 fols.		Reg. 39, 111 fols.		0
O	Reg. 82, 123 fols.		Reg. 47 137 fols.		0
D	Reg. 96, 99 fols.				85-110
1319/20					
	GB de Sant Feliu	**J Garriga junior**	**M d'Oliana**	**RG de Lorà**	
T	Reg. 284, 71 fols.	Reg. 78, 48 fols.*	Reg. 285, 107 fols.		85-210
O	Reg. 309, 46 fols.				80-120
D		Reg. 102, 54 fols.			120-180
1321/2					
	M d'Oliana and G Hualart	**J Garriga junior and M d'Alp**	**B Blanch and A Esteve**		
T	Reg. 17, 169 fols.	Reg. 79, 109 fols.	Reg. 114, 89 fols.		0
O		Reg. 92, 59 fols.	Reg. 125, 75 fols.		60-95
D	Reg. 28, 97 fols.		Reg. 131, 96 fols.		65-95
1329/30					

[6] This table includes books of townspeople (T), outsiders (O) and debts (D), and omits books of wills, as I did not sample from books of wills. Registers marked with an asterix are incomplete, except for Registers 115 and 289. These registers both survive completely but are so damaged by water damage that large sections of them are unreadable. I was able to sample some folios from Register 115 (folios 96-216), I was not able to sample any folios from Register 289.

	B Blanch, J Garriga and BG de Lorà	G Roquer and A Esteva	GB de Sant Feliu	
T	Reg. 115, 216 fols.*	Reg. 289, 163 fols.*	Reg. 290, 148 fols.	0
O	Reg. 264, 44 fols.*	Reg. 398, 106 fols.		125-180
D	Reg. 132, 60 fols.	Reg. 329, 123 fols		70-100
1339/40				
	RG de Lorà	**A Embertat and J Muntaner**		
T	Reg. 432, 251 fols.			300-390
O	Reg. 440, 206 fols.			200-380
D	Reg. 447, 216 fols.			200-290
1349/50				
	B Manresa	**G Castells**		
T				480-600
O	Reg. 528, 200 fols.	Reg. 776, 230 fols.		0
D	Reg. 552, 58 fols.			50-70
1359				
	B Manresa	**J Torrelles**		
T	Reg. 504, 225 fols.	Reg. 795, 140 fols.		0
O		Reg. 807, 49 fols.*		320-430
D	Reg. 560, 161 fols.			150-200

Table 8.1 makes clear that there were some differences throughout the sampled years in how many notaries there were and how they were organized, but aside from 1329/30, it is easy to determine where registers would have been missing and to estimate their approximate size. The estimate for the 1329/30 year must be treated with caution, owing to some organizational anomalies in the notarial office in that year.[7]

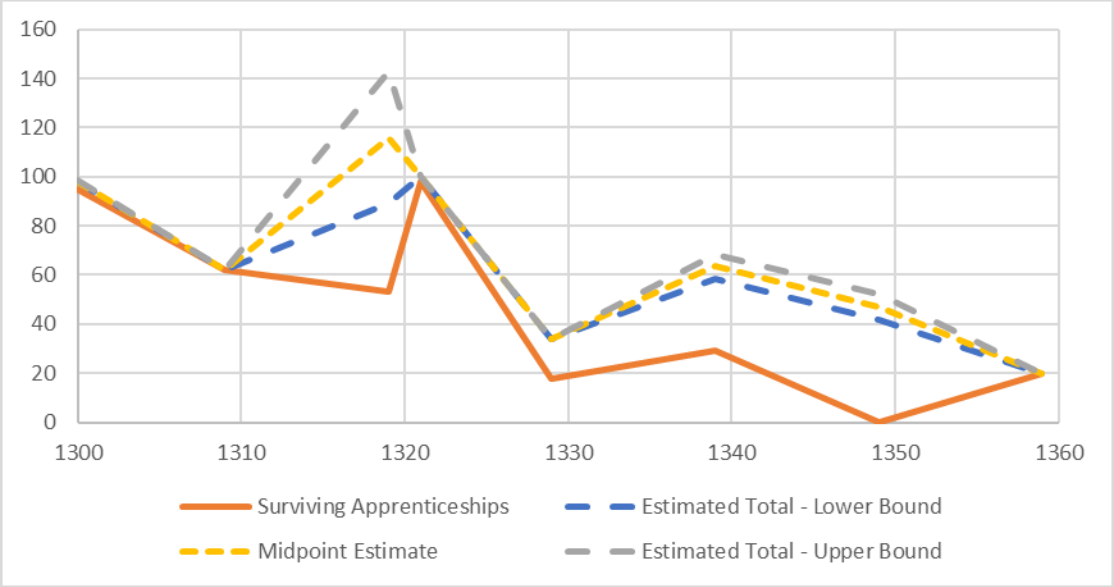
[7] In the year 1329-30 the notaries initially began the year working in two groups of three. One of the notaries working in one of the groups, however, also kept a separate register on his own beginning at least in early July. ACCE, Reg. 289 shows clearly in the heading that it is a book of townspeople from 1329 of the notaries G Roquer, Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu and Arnau Esteva, notaries. The name Jaume Lorà also appears afterwards, but I believe that this is intended to note that he was a sworn scribe. This register begins on June 26, 1329. However, Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu also created a separate register, ACCE, Reg. 290, with a heading that states that it is a book of townspeople from 1329 that began on July 3, 1329 and lists only Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu as the sole notary. Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu has extremely distinct and easily identifiable handwriting, which can be seen clearly throughout Register 290 and ceases to be seen in Register 289 after the first week. It is not clear why this was done, and it is very possible that in this separate register he did not record all the same kinds of agreements as his partners, or that he did not records them in the same rates as the other two did (perhaps having specialized in certain types of agreements or working only with certain customers). Additionally, while all three of the books of townspeople that would have been created in this year survive, two are in a very poor state of conservation due to a high level of water damage. Large sections of these registers are not readable (including tens of folios that have

Apprenticeships

The overall trend of apprenticeships between 1300 and 1360 is a downward one. This can be seen in Figure 8.2, which shows the surviving and estimated number of apprenticeships over this period.

fused together and cannot be separated). Thus, for this year I was only able to sample from the book of townspeople of the one notary who began working alone, and a portion of one of the other books of townspeople. (These registers are: ACCE, Reg. 115 and Reg. 289). The other book of townspeople from this year, Reg. 290, is also damaged by water, but to a lesser extent. Many of the registers from years around 1328-1331 are highly damaged by water damage. It is likely that this was caused by the water used to put out the fire when the town hall of Puigcerdà, where the registers were then stored, was set on fire in 1938. On this fire, see: Bosom i Isern, "Arxiu Històric Comarcal," 132. Estimates of the total numbers of certain types of agreements for this year look unusually low; a possible explanation for this is that the sampled folios (from the one register from the notary working alone, and the portion of one from a group of notaries) are not as representative of the total books of townspeople from this year as a whole (as would make sense if, for example, the notary working alone did not record all types of acts at the same rate as the other notaries). Future research, perhaps looking at other years close to 1329 may offer more insight into this issue, but in the meantime the estimates for the year 1329-30 should be treated with extra skepticism. Additionally, for the year 1319-20, while it is clear that there were four notaries working, it is not entirely clear whether Ramon Guillem de Lorà was working alone or he an Mateu d'Oliana were working together, but I have accommodated this uncertainty with a wider range for potential missing folios.

Figure 8.2: Surviving and Estimated Apprenticeships in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1300-1360[8]



Despite some questions as to the accuracy of figures for 1329/30, Figure 8.2 clearly records declining numbers of apprenticeships--the estimates show around one hundred per year in the early decades to around sixty-three in 1339, forty-seven in 1349 and twenty in 1359.[9] Unless apprenticeships had begun to be recorded in manuals or another type of register, the total number of apprenticeships recorded yearly in Puigcerdà had declined around 80 percent between 1321 and 1359.

There are several possible reasons for this decline aside from economic contraction: people may have begun to rely more on informal (non-notarized) agreements for artisanal training; crafts could have become more closed to outsiders with training limited to the family

[8] Years given are the first of the two notarial years sampled, such that for example 1300 refers to the notarial year 1300-01. In one case there were two apprenticeships recorded in a single entry, both are counted separately.

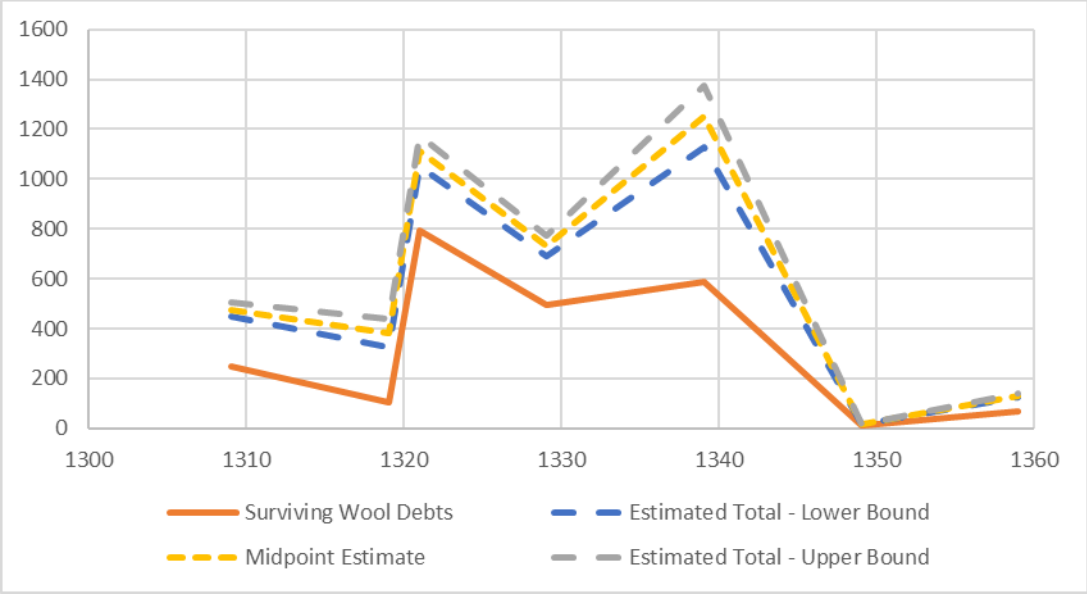
[9] In all three cases I am using the midpoint estimate, which averages the estimates derived from the upper and lower estimates of the number of missing folios.

members of established craftsmen (such training was often not done under the auspices of a formal apprenticeship contract in Catalonia). But just as the rising number of apprenticeships, particularly within the cloth-industry, in the late thirteenth century suggested that the town was experiencing a rapid growth spurt accompanied by the adoption of new technology and occupation switching, the declining number of apprenticeships in Puigcerdà toward the mid-fourteenth century suggests the end of this economic growth and a beginning of economic stagnation.

Debts of Wool

The method used here estimates the number of agreements of various types per year in certain types of register. For some types of entries, recording practices change. This is particularly clear with debts of wool, which almost certainly began to be recorded in a different type of register in the mid-fourteenth century. The number of debts of wool per estimated per year show continued strong growth up to the year 1340, when they essentially disappear. This can be seen in Figure 8.3.

Figure 8.3: Surviving and Estimated Debts of Wool in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1300-1360[10]



Estimates may be off for the year 1319/20 and 1329/30.[11] Additionally, it is also likely that the estimates for the years 1350 and 1360 are not accurate. Debts of wool virtually disappear from the books of debts, townspeople and outsiders from these two years, but such agreements may have begun to be recorded only in books of cloth-sellers during this period.

[10] Years given are the first of the two notarial years sampled, such that for example 1300 refers to the notarial year 1300-01. I could not provide a reliable estimate for the year 1300-01, because there were no surviving books of debts (the type of register, by far, in which these entries appeared most frequently) from this year or any nearby year. As noted in Chapter 2, the first surviving book of debts is only from 1307. As for other types of agreements, the estimate for the year 1329 should be considered with extra skepticism. In addition, the estimate for the year 1319 seems unusually low (particularly in comparison to the estimate for the year 1321. Using the method described above I arrived at a midpoint estimate of approximately 383 debts of wool for the year 1319-20.

[11] The estimate for 1319-20 is far lower than that for 1321/2, but I find it unlikely that the number of debts of wool would have tripled in only two years. It seems more likely that the folios from books of debts sampled for the year 1319-20 may not be truly representative of the entire year. The only book of debts surviving from the year 1319-20 is only fifty-four folios long. It does not appear to be incomplete but is the only one of a likely original four books of debts from this year. Debts of wool appear in this register at a rate of 1.83 debts of wool per folio (ninety-nine debts of wool across fifty-four folios). In contrast debts of wool appeared at an average of 4.1 debts of wool per folio in the books of debts from the year 1321/2 (792 debts of wool across 193 folios).

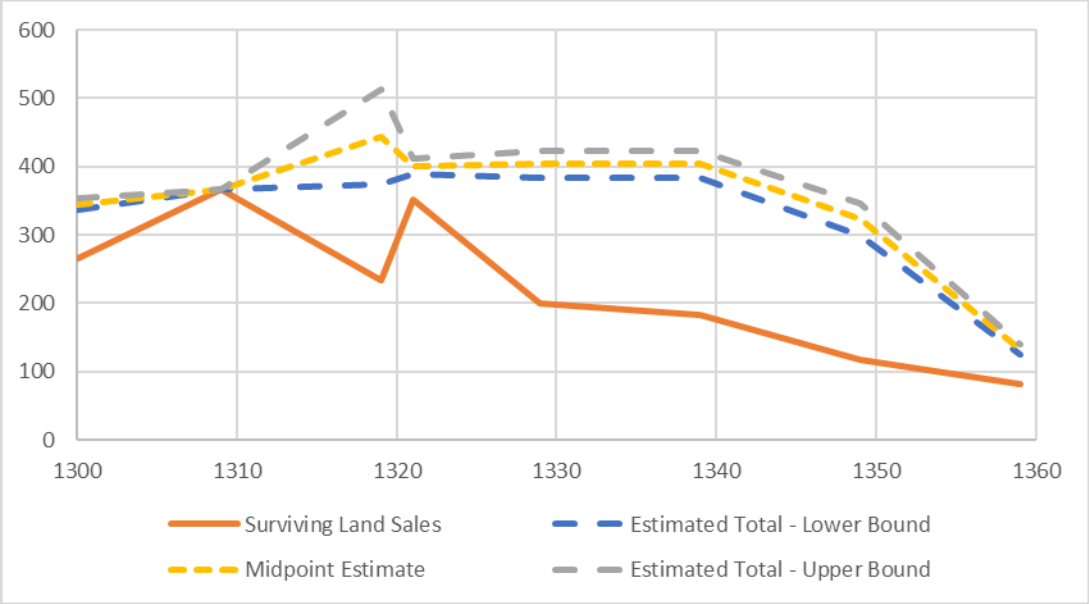
While our understanding of how the total number of debts of wool shifted over time is considerably less clear, due to some problematic years, to the extent that there was a trend over time, it appears that the number of debts of wool per year was rising in the first half of the fourteenth century. While I estimate there were originally approximately 1,113 debts of wool in 1321/2, I estimate there were approximately 1,252 in 1339/40.

Sales and Exchanges of Land

The total number of land sales recorded per year in Puigcerdà remained extremely consistent year to year between 1300 and 1340, but then declined considerably.[12] This can be seen in Figure 8.4.

[12] For convenience, within this section I will refer to both sales of land and exchanges of land together as land sales. Exchanges of land involve two parts – one in which the first party gives over the first piece of land, and a second in which the other party gives over theirs. These can be found in the registers either together in a single entry or spread across two separate entries. I have however counted each exchange only once as a single transaction, no matter how many entries it includes.

Figure 8.4: Surviving and Estimated Land Sales in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1300-1360[13]



As Figure 8.4 shows, the estimated total original number of land sales was very consistent between 1300 and 1340. While I estimate that there were originally around 345 total land sales in 1300/1, I estimate that there were 404 in 1339/40 and the figures of the intervening years were all very close as well. After the 1340s the total number of land sales appears to have declined, first at a low rate, and then much faster. In the year 1349/50 I estimate that there would have been 346 total land sales and in the year 1359 I estimate that there would have been only 139.[14] The trend lines shown here, which are based on one point every ten years or so (with the addition of an extra point at 1321/2) may gloss over year to year differences in the real estate market. In the case of at least one of the years sampled above, 1349/50, we can reasonably assume that the

[13] Years given are the first of the two notarial years sampled, such that for example 1300 refers to the notarial year 1300/1. Land sales refers to all sales of real estate no matter what type of real estate, including houses, fields, vineyards, etc.

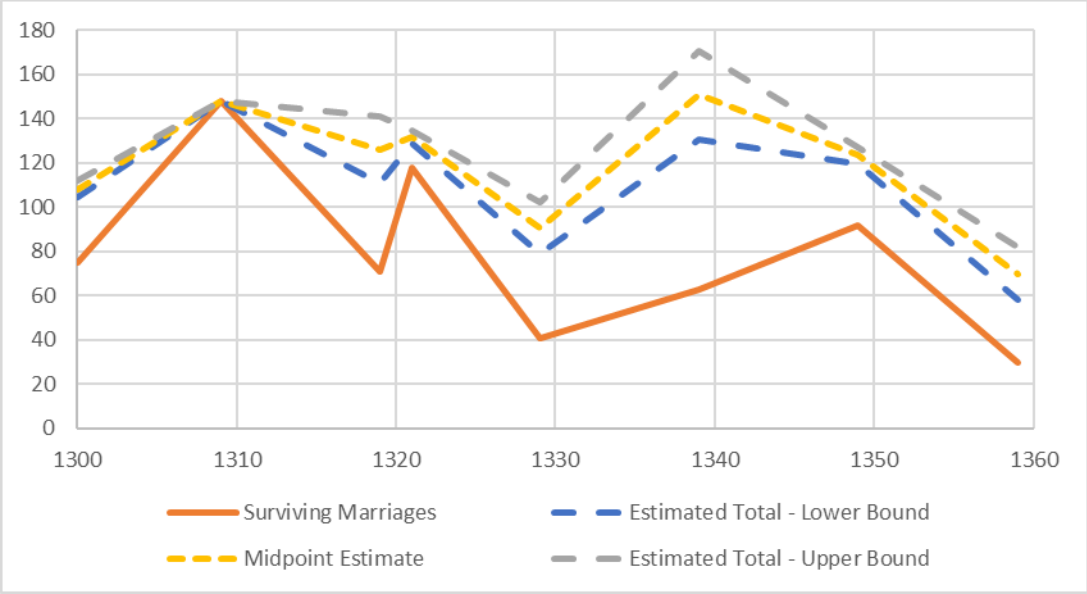
[14] These are the midpoint estimates.

real estate market may not have been truly typical. Specifically, it is possible that the year 1349/50 was particularly active for real estate, given that the high number of fatalities caused by the Black Death the year before sparked additional land transfers (as they did elsewhere in western Europe). Given that assumption, we could guess that the actual rate of decline of land sales after the 1340s was even stronger. In any case, land sales as recorded in books of townspeople, outsiders and debts had clearly declined a great deal (roughly 65 percent) between the approximately 400 that was common throughout most of the fourteenth century and the estimate of 139 we see for 1359.

Marriages

Marriages are particularly interesting to examine over time because the shifting number of marriages can offer insight into the size of the population and the demographic trend of the society. Even accepting that the estimate for the year 1329/30 is not reliable, marriages appear to have risen and then declined within the first quarter of the fourteenth century, then to have risen and then declined yet again in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. This pattern can be seen in Figure 8.5.

Figure 8.5: Surviving and Estimated Marriages in Books of Townspeople, Outsiders and Debts, 1300-1360[15]



As Figure 8.5 reveals, the total original number of marriages was probably fairly consistent throughout the early fourteenth century, at least up to the year 1340. Using this method, I estimate there would have been around 108 marriages in 1300/01, and 148 in 1309/10.[16] I estimated only 126 originally recorded marriages for 1319/20 and only 132 for the year 1321/2, slightly lower, but likely not in a significant manner. The figure for 1329/30 is quite low, but as noted above this figure may be skewed by an unrepresentative sample from this year. My estimate for the year 1339/40 is higher again, at approximately 151 total marriages. The number of marriages after 1339/40 does drop considerably, however, falling to only seventy estimated marriages in 1359. While in Figure 8.5 the number of marriages may appear to have declined

[15] Years given are the first of the two notarial years sampled, such that for example 1300 refers to the notarial year 1300/1. Some entries contain multiple marriages recorded in the same family (frequently when two members of one family marry two members of another family). This figure counts individual marriages separately regardless of the number of entries. This includes all marriages recorded in notarial entries in Puigcerdà regardless of where the bride and groom were from.

[16] These are the midpoint estimates.

only gradually between 1339/40 and 1349/50, in reality it is likely that the population had plummeted but the overall rate of marriage within the population had risen considerably. The population of Puigcerdà probably dropped by somewhere around thirty to 60 percent in the year 1348, with the impact of the Black Death. But by the following year there were surely numerous marriages—both the remarriages of survivors and the first marriages of newly eligible people who had suddenly inherited the capital needed to marry.[17] On the other hand, the number of marriages recorded by notaries in Puigcerdà had clearly declined by 1359. Only thirty marriages survive from that year and I estimate the original total may have been only about seventy. If so, it had apparently declined approximately 80 percent between both the years 1309/10 and 1349/50 and the year 1359.

Agreements Over Time Conclusion

Over the course of the period between 1300 and 1340 the number of apprenticeships appear to have declined and the number of debts of wool appear to have risen, while the number of marriages and land sales were more static. Except for debts of wool, the figures for which cannot really be considered reliable after 1340, all of the types of agreements show a consistent pattern after 1340: decline. Decline between 1339/40 and 1349/50 was, in general more modest, but the sampling year of 1349/50 can also not be taken as truly typical as it fell just one year after the Black Death, when the society of Puigcerdà was surely still experiencing a major societal

[17] Although in this case the overcount is partially mitigated by the fact that, because no books of townspeople survive from the year 1349/50 I drew the rate of marriages per folio from a book of townspeople from the following year. I drew the rate of marriages per folio from the book of outsiders (which contains mainly marriages in which neither party lived in Puigcerdà) from the year 1349/50, however. The ratio of marriages to entry was quite a big higher in the books of outsiders from 1349/50 than in the book of townspeople from the following year (.21 marriages per folio versus .06 marriages per folio) but more research would be needed to determine if this is due to the shift in the year or whether perhaps marriages always made up a higher proportion of the entries in the books of outsiders in this period.

upheaval. But the decline seen between the early fourteenth century and the year 1359 is undeniable. In all three of the types of agreements in which we can examine this (debts of wool omitted), the total number of entries recorded in 1359 appears to have declined by over two-thirds from a previous high point. In the case of apprenticeships and marriages this was a decline by approximately 80 percent. What I have tracked here is the total number of these types of agreements that I estimate would have originally been recorded by notaries. It is certainly possible that to some extent the differences we see here are due to shifts in what the people of Cerdanya chose to have recorded but I consider this unlikely. Land sales and marriages (due to the high value of dowries) were likely among the types of acts most likely to be notarized.[18] Thus, we can assume that there truly was a decline in the number of such acts in Cerdanya during this period. Puigcerdà's economy appears to have fallen in the immediate aftermath of the Black Death, judging by the records of 1349/50. But it had not only not recovered a decade later, it had continued declining.

Events Potentially Contributing to Decline

The Famine of 1333 as The First Bad Year?

In the years 1333 and 1334, Catalonia—like much of southern Europe—experienced a severe famine after a series of harsh winters and heavy rains led to poor harvests. This year has often been referred to as "the first bad year" in scholarship on Catalonia due to a statement in one medieval chronicle that "in the year 1333, there was a shortage of all foodstuffs, and among

[18] An additional possibility, as I mentioned above is that these acts were recorded but no longer recorded within the books of townspeople, outsiders and debts. As I noted above this is what I think happened with the debts of wool. I consider it less likely for the other three types of acts I have examined, and particularly unlikely for marriages and land sales. It is possible, however, that some percentage of marriages and land sales were recorded only within manuals and never copied over a second time into the books of townspeople and books of outsiders. Future study may shed light on this question.

ourselves we called this 'the first bad year".[19] Focus on this quotation led some previous scholars to consider 1333 as point when Catalonia turned from growth and prosperity to crises and contraction. More recent scholarship has questioned that view, noting for example that there were numerous famines prior to 1333.[20] Future research specifically into the years around 1332-1334 could offer more specific insight on to what extent this famine affected Cerdanya and how severely. But looking at notarial activity over the long-term between 1300 and 1360, as shown above, it does not appear that 1333 marked a "first bad year" for Cerdanya.

The famine of 1333 certainly affected Cerdanya, but it may have been less severe than in large coastal cities that imported a higher percentage of their grains (like Barcelona and Perpignan). In a brief notation from 1334, one of the notaries of Puigcerdà stated that:

> "In the present year, on the day of August 4, around the hour of vespers, Pere Lasus, Andreu d'Alp and Jaume Guimera were hanged; the said Pere in the middle of the plain of Puigcerdà, the said Jaume in the street of Saint Mary of Puigcerdà, near the house of Arnau Guerau, and the said Andreu at the fountain of Age, on account of the sedition or disturbance that occurred in Puigcerdà on account of the grains that Ramon Tolosa, procurator of the king, wanted to take from the town of Puigcerdà because in the land of Rosselló there was a great scarcity of grains, in which one *muig* of rye cost, in Perpignan, six *lliures* of Barcelona".[21]

[19] The original source for this quote has not been fully located by modern scholars with various historians saying the chronicler was from Barcelona and others from Girona. Evidence seems stronger that it was originally in a chronicle from Girona. On this see: Kelleher, "Corrupted Table," 51.

[20] On this see: Kelleher. "Corrupted Table"; Batlle Gallart "El mal any primer"; Turull Rubinat "El mal any primer"; and Rubio Vela, "Crisis agrarias"; and Benito i Monclús and Montoro i Maltas, "Fams immortalitzades."

[21] ACCE, Reg. 141 fol. 1v (a). "Anno presenti die ii nones augusti circa ora veserporum fuerunt suspensi P. Las[us] Andreas de Alb et Jacobus Guimera scilicet dictus P. in medio platee podiiceritanii, [dictus Jaco]bus Guimera in vicho beate marie podiiceritani juxta domum Arnaldi Geraldi et dictus Andreas [illegible] [f]onte de Agia racione seditionis siue avalot quod extitit in villa podiiceritani racione bladi quod R. Tolosa procurator regius volebat abstrahere de villa podiiceritani ex eo quia in terra rossillionis erat magna penuria bladi quorum unius modi sigalis decostbat perpiniani vi libri barchinonensis." This event was also included within the sixteenth-century "Dietari" of the town. See: Galceran Vigué, "Dietari," 57.

Evidently, in the summer of 1334 as the grain shortage entered its second year (perhaps as it was becoming apparent that the harvest of 1334 would also be bad), the king or his procurator ordered the forced sale of grains from Cerdanya to be sent to Perpignan. In response some people of Cerdanya rioted.

Cerdanya was obviously not untouched by the shortage: the people would not have rioted had grain been in plentiful supply. But some other aspects of this event suggest that Cerdanya was less affected than Perpignan (and likely, other coastal cities). The very fact that the king's procurator sought to acquire grain in Cerdanya itself suggests at least that there was grain for the king's procurator to take. Additionally, the notary's description refers to the "great scarcity of grains" happening in "the land of Rosselló," and mentions the high price that the cost of a *muig* of rye had risen to in Perpignan, with no suggestion that the "great scarcity" was also affecting Cerdanya or that the price of rye had risen in Puigcerdà.[22] As I noted in Chapter 5, a high percentage of the grains grown in Cerdanya were rye, which was more tolerant of low temperatures and maybe survived bad weather better than other grains.[23] An alternate explanation for the notary's evidence could be that coastal towns suffered more because they relied more heavily on importing grain from distant areas. Grain could be transported more easily over by sea than by mule in the mountains, but grain-exporters may have been unwilling

[22] The price for a *muig* of rye quoted here was indeed considerably higher than what rye had cost in Puigcerdà around a decade earlier. As I noted in Chapter 5, in one of the rare cases in which the price per *muig* of rye was quoted, from 1321, it cost fifteen *sous* and six *diners* per *muig*. See ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 10v (b). At seven *lliures* the price in Perpignan in 1334 was almost eight times higher than that.

[23] Bourin, et al., noted that regions whose main crop was not wheat may have fared better in a "bad year." See: Bourin et al., "Les campagnes," 672. On the growing of rye in Cerdanya and how it fares better in low temperatures, see also, Rendu, "Aperçu," 88. In contrast to Cerdanya, according to Rendu, the more common crop in Rosselló was barley. And according to Guilleré in the region around Girona they grew primarily wheat and barley and grew rye very little. See: Guilleré, *Girona al segle XIV*, Vol. 1, 358-9. We also know that the famine was known to be particularly bad in the regions around Girona. Carme Batlle Gallart, *L'expansió baixmedieval (segles XIII-XV)*, ed. Pierre Vilar, (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1987), 87.

to (or even unable to) export grain once it became clear there would be a shortage. Surviving notarial entries that reveal ties between Puigcerdà and more distant regions (as I will discuss in Chapters 9-10) do not suggest that Puigcerdà frequently imported grain from outside of the immediately surrounding area (Cerdanya and a few adjacent valleys). Regardless of how the grain shortage in Cerdanya compared to that of other towns, it was clearly not "the first bad year" there. As I showed above the economy of Puigcerdà, judging by notarial activity overall and by certain types of agreements, did not start declining in the 1330s.

The Reincorporation of Crown of Mallorca

The Crown of Mallorca had faced problems with the Crown of Aragon almost since becoming a separate realm following the death of Jaume the Conqueror in 1276; its half-century existence (1276-1343) was marked, as David Abulafia notes, by "constant attempts by the neighboring kings of Aragon to assert their authority."[24] In 1279 the king of Aragon invaded Rosselló and, in the Treaty of Perpignan, forced the king of Mallorca to acknowledge him as a feudal overlord.[25] In 1285 when (as a result of the War of the Sicilian Vespers) Pope Martin IV declared a crusade on the Crown of Aragon and the French king Philip III invaded, Jaume II of Mallorca allied with the French and allowed them to pass through his lands in Rosselló on their way to Catalonia.[26] In response, the Crown of Aragon invaded and conquered the Balearic

[24] Abulafia, *Mediterranean emporium*, xi.

[25] Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració,* Vol 1., 90-2. Albert Lecoy de La Marche, ed., *Les relations politiques de la France avec le royaume de Majorque (îles Baléares, Roussillon, Montpellier, etc.)*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1892), Vol. 1, 446-9, Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragon*, 32, and Antoni Riera Melis, "El comerç d'articles agropecuaris entre Catalunya i els districtes pirinencs del regne de Mallorca durant la primera meitat del segle XIV," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* 26 (2005): 367–77, 369.

[26] According to Antoni Riera Melis, this was in an attempt to escape the binds of the Treaty of Perpignan. See: Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragon*, 33, Lecoy de la Marche, *Les relations politiques,* Vol. 1, 453-4.

Islands; it held them until 1298.[27] In 1302, Jaume II of Majorca would promulgate secret protests against the fealty owed to the Crown of Aragon.[28] And from 1318, Jaume the Just, king of Aragon, would say that the lands of the Crown of Mallorca should revert to him if their ruler died without legitimate heirs, as would happen in 1324 with the death of Sanç the Peaceful.[29]

But the conflict between these two realms would come to a head a generation later, between Jaume III, king of Mallorca (the Unfortunate) and his second cousin twice removed and brother-in-law, Pere the Ceremonious, king of Aragon. Problems began when in 1336 Pere the Ceremonious became count of Barcelona and king of Aragon. Jaume the Unfortunate delayed multiple times in performing homage to him for his lands in the Crown of Mallorca, attempting to perform this homage only on his own terms, and only doing so in 1339.[30] Jaume turned away from the usual pro-French course of Mallorcan foreign policy, alienating the French king (who might otherwise have aided Mallorca against the expansionist designs of the Crown of Aragon), and sparking a series of conflicts that obliged him to ask Pere the Ceremonious for aid.[31] In 1342 Pere, called Jaume to appear before him in Barcelona, but Jaume did not appear, so Pere began a

[27] Pere III (the Great) of the Crown of Aragon was planning this invasion when he died in November of 1285, but it was carried out by his son and successor, Alfons the Liberal. He had agreed to return them to the King of Mallorca in the Treaty of Anagni in 1295 but did not do so until 1298. Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 89-90; Riera Melis, *La Corona de Aragon*, 33 and 69-71 and Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol., 92-5.

[28] Lecoy de la Marche, *Les relations politiques*, Vol. 1, 473-6, and Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol., 96.

[29] Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol., 98-99.

[30] Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 105; see also: Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol., 101-6. Pere the Ceremonious discusses these delays at length in his own, highly biased chronicle. See: Pere the Ceremonious, *Pere III of Catalonia: Chronicle*, trans. Jocelyn N. Hillgarth and Mary Hillgarth, 2 vols. (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), Vol 1., 215-224.

[31] On how he turned away from the pro-French foreign policy, see: Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 107-8. Specifically, he initiated conflict with the English king, against whom the French were engaged in the Hundred Years' War and refused to do homage to the French king for the lordship of Montpellier. See also: Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106. Pere discuses this as well. Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 238-9.

legal process against him.[32] Pere had long had a desire to reclaim the territories of the Crown of Mallorca, because, as Thomas Bisson notes, becoming "diplomatically and economically burdensome to Catalonia."[33] The sentence in this process was passed down in February of 1343, with Jaume the Unfortunate condemned as a contemptuous vassal, and all his territories declared to be forfeit to Pere.[34] Thus legally armed, Pere invaded.[35]

As the war broke out, in May of 1343 Pere sailed to the Balearic Islands and quickly conquered Mallorca. Gabriel Ensenyat Pujol notes that the jurats and *prohoms* of Mallorca were "disposed to negotiate with the occupiers to settle the conflict as soon as possible."[36] Pere then invaded Rosselló, which, along with Cerdanya, would resist for a full year.[37] Most of the fighting during this year was concentrated in Rosselló, and not in Cerdanya, but some men from Cerdanya surely joined in the fighting in Rosselló. In August of 1343, Pere noted that "1500 men on foot and twelve horsemen… were coming from Cerdagne to help the former king of Majorca

[32] This process charged, among other things, that Jaume was minting money in his mainland territories contrary to a law that all coinage in Catalonia must be minted in Barcelona. On this see: Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106; Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 243-4; Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 115-131; Lecoy de la March, *Les relations politiques;* and Bofarull y de Sartorio, *Proceso contra el Rey de Mallorca.*

[33] Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 105-6; Jocelyn and Mary Hillgarth note that Pere's lawyers had already been preparing the legal case over the minting of money well before Jaume failed to appear when summoned. Hillgarth and Hillgarth, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 444, note 33. Lecoy de la Marche also suggests that Pere, with ulterior motives, had encouraged Jaume to negotiate with the king of England. Lecoy de la March, *Les relations politiques,* Vol. 1, 32. Bisson notes that Pere's issues with the Crown of Mallorca were because Jaume III sided with Morocco in a conflict against the Crown of Aragon, because merchants from Mallorca were developing markets and colonies in the Mediterranean at the expense of Barcelonan merchants and because other important powers including France and the pope treated Mallorca as an independent power.

[34] Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106; Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 123.

[35] See the whole two volumes of Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració,* for the most thorough investigation of this war.

[36] Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 187. According to Thomas Bisson, Mallorca capitulated quickly because Jaume was unpopular for having taxed them heavily. Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106.

[37] Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 207. See also: Pierre-Vincent Claverie, *La conquête du Roussillon par Pierre le Cérémonieux, 1341-1345* (Canet-en-Roussillon: Trabucaire, 2014).

in Perpignan."[38] Pere would finally succeed in his campaign in July of 1344, when he entered Perpignan and towns and castles throughout Rosselló and Cerdanya, including Puigcerdà, began surrendering and doing homage to him.[39] He went to Puigcerdà on August 31, 1344, receiving homage from the syndics, consuls and jurats of the town, and publishing and confirming the union of Cerdanya with the Crown of Aragon.[40]

But the war was not yet over. In November of 1344 Jaume the Unfortunate would attempt to reclaim his territories, beginning with Puigcerdà, where he suffered a humiliating defeat. According to Pere's chronicle, some people of Cerdanya promised to surrender Puigcerdà and the castles of Cerdanya to Jaume, telling him that "the lower classes of Puigcerdà commended themselves to his grace and they would receive him in the town." With the help of some people from Puigcerdà, Jaume and his army not only entered Cerdanya but managed to enter the town. The veguer and the other royal official "and the consuls of the town and leading citizens and important men all fled… and many concealed themselves in the town," and Jaume began to exercise power and install new officials.[41] Jaume then left Puigcerdà in a failed bid to reclaim Vilafranca de Conflent. While he was gone, an opposing faction within the town mounted an attack on his garrison and managed to shut the gates and man the walls. When Jaume returned to Puigcerdà they would not open the gates for him; he and his remaining men were forced to flee

[38] Additionally, Pere's brother, Jaume, the count of Urgell and some troops did pass through Cerdanya in mid-July of 1343, concentrating in the village of Age, very close to Puigcerdà but had left, according to Pere himself, "for lack of food" without ravaging the countryside. Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 292 and 306.

[39] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 354-6. That August the town of Puigcerdà sent syndics to perform homage to him, although they were attacked in Vilafranca de Conflent and one of them was killed.

[40] Pere did not seem to enjoy Puigcerdà. Having only arrived there on a Tuesday he stated that he was forced to stay until Saturday because of the "great cold and great wind and snow" that occurred on Wednesday and Thursday. Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 360-1.

[41] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 372-4. He also brought his baggage train into the town.

to Foix without his baggage train of supplies and possessions.[42] Pere issued new orders to suppress further revolts and had fourteen men who had assisted Jaume executed in Puigcerdà, including six from Cerdanya and eight from Perpignan.[43]

From 1344 we can speak of Puigcerdà and Cerdanya as definitively reincorporated into the Crown of Aragon, but Jaume the Unfortunate of Mallorca, and later his descendants, would keep trying to revive the Crown of Mallorca. In May of 1347 Jaume attacked and occupied Vilafranca de Conflent, from which he then attacked Puigcerdà. One of the notaries of Puigcerdà recorded a brief note on this event, writing:

> Monday the 28th of May, Jaume of Montpellier, with a great multitude of infantry and knights approached Puigcerdà with the intention of conquering it. He was at the Comabela gate and there he was defeated and, they say, a certain of the said knights was killed, along with many others. And this being done, he retreated, fighting, to Vilafranca which he had held for some days.[44]

And very little business was conducted in Puigcerdà in the week preceding that date.[45] Jaume sold the lordship of Montpellier to the king of France for funds to raise a new army that could reconquer Mallorca, but then died in 1349 in that attempt.[46] But this conflict would touch

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[42] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 374-7. Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 247.

[43] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 379. For transcriptions of some of Pere's correspondence relating to the investigation and punishment of these rebels, see Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 2, 227-9. Only one of the names of the men from Puigcerdà who was executed is known: Ramon de Dòrria, whose body was taken down and returned to his family in response to their petition to the king.

[44] "Lun. XXVIII die madii jacobus de montepesulano cum maxima multudine tam peditum quam militum proponens venite ad villa podiiceritani causa expugnandi eandem. Fuit in portalis de comabela et ibi fuit victus et interfectus ut dicit quondam miles et plures alii. Et hoc facto pugnenti recesit apud villafrancha quam tenuit aliquibus diebus." ACCE, Register 642 fol. 59r (a). Jaume III of Mallorca became known as Jaume of Montpellier following his defeat in 1344.

[45] It is not as easy to determine to what extent normal notarial business shut down in the year 1343/4 due to the loss of relevant registers.

[46] Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106.

Puigcerdà once more, in 1358, when four men would be sentenced to death for helping Jaume the Unfortunate's son, also named Jaume, in his desire to reclaim the lands of the Crown of Mallorca, and for plotting to assassinate the king of Aragon.[47]

Some aspects of Puigcerdà's reincorporation are particularly significant. Though the initial stages of the conflict between the two Crowns took place far from Puigcerdà, the war, and war casualties, would eventually reach Cerdanya. While most of the fighting in 1343-44 was in Rosselló, for instance, Pere once noted that 1,500 men from Cerdanya had gone to Perpignan to help king Jaume.[48] Some more probably died when those loyal to Pere overtook Puigcerdà in November of 1344. According to Pere, in this uprising his supporters "rushed out of their houses, all in arms crying 'Aragon! Aragon!' intending that any man crying 'Majorca!' should be cut to pieces."[49] Secondly, there were clearly two different factions within the society of Puigcerdà, one supporting the king of Mallorca, but the other clearly interested in having Cerdanya reincorporated into the Crown of Aragon. In his chronicle Pere appears to imply that there was some division along class lines. He specifies that it was the "lower classes of Puigcerdà," who aligned with Jaume and who "would receive him in the town," while in contrast the "consuls of the town and leading citizens and important men all fled."[50] Pere is certainly biased—he also

[47] Galceran Vigué, *Dietari*, 32.

[48] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 306. We don't know what happened to them, but their side was not victorious. Denjean notes that 500 footmen and twelve nights who had gone to defend Perpignan were arrested in Rosselló in August of 1343, some of whom may be the same. Additionally, one of the men who had gone to give homage to Pere in Perpignan in August of 1344, Pere Adrover, was killed in a riot in Vilafranca. See: Claude Denjean, "La Cerdagne autour de 1350 : pratiques politiques d'une périphérie convoitée," in *Hommes et terres du Sud : structures politiques et évolution des sociétés, XIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, ed. Philippe Contamine (Toulouse: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2001), 217–42. See also, ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Registre de Consells, 1342-1345.

[49] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 376.

[50] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 372-3.

refers to Jaume's supporters as "some vile persons"—but as I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter 10, there is reason to suspect that this class divide might actually be true. The wealthier, mercantile segment of the town of Puigcerdà may well have wanted either to be part of the Crown of Aragon, or simply to have the war over with.[51] (As noted above, something similar appears to have happened with the leading citizens of Mallorca.) And as I will discuss more in Chapter 10, by 1340 the merchants of Puigcerdà had considerable interests trading cloth in Aragon, and through Aragon to Navarre and Castile, and certainly the war with the Crown of Aragon would have been bad for business.[52] On that point, it is hard to not also note that the war, which was in outright conflict from 1343-44, but whose tensions had been building for several years beforehand, coincides quite clearly with the years when we begin to see a decline in the overall volume of notarial records in Puigcerdà. The reincorporation may well have been one factor contributing to Puigcerdà's economic slowdown and transition toward long-lasting economic and demographic decline.

The Black Death

A full investigation of the impact of the Black Death in Puigcerdà is beyond the scope of the present study, but, as in many other parts of southern Europe, this pandemic killed perhaps 50 percent of all the residents in the space of less than a year, with correspondingly massive societal and economic disruption. Although it was likely in the town earlier, the plague appears to have reached epidemic proportions in Cerdanya around July of 1348. This was a bit later than Perpignan, where Richard Emery has argued the plague flourished between March and June of

[51] I will discuss this more in Chapter 10. On this see also, Claude Denjean, "La Cerdagne."

[52] For specific examples on how the war hindered Puigcerdan merchants' trade of cloth in Aragon, see Chapter 11.

1348,[53] but more on par with La Seu d'Urgell, where the plague was particularly strong in June, July and August of 1348.[54] The number of notarial acts being recorded per week in Puigcerdà falls off suddenly around July 16th, 1348. In a certain book of townspeople begun by the notary Jaume Muntaner, for example, there was one entry recorded on July 18th, six recorded on July 19th, and then none until July 26th, when there were three.[55] In the book of outsiders begun by the same notary, there were two entries on July 16th, two on July 18th, one on July 19th, and then none until August 20th.[56] In that year there were two notaries originally appointed, Jaume Muntaner and Francesc Esteve, each writing one set of notarial registers, but both died by late August, presumably of the plague.[57] In an undated document possibly from July of 1348, the count-king Pere the Ceremonious noted "owing to the pestilence and sickness that, by God's will, intensified within various parts of the world, all the notaries and officials of the counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya died."[58] The town had to appoint two new notaries, Bernat Manresa and Guillem Castells, neither of whom had ever served as a notary in Puigcerdà before—likely

[53] Richard W. Emery, "The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan," *Speculum* 42 (1967): 611–23, 612.

[54] On this see: Albert Villaró, "La Peste Negra, el 1348, a la Seu d'Urgell.," *Urgellia: Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* 8 (1987): 271–302 and Albert Villaró, "Noves dades sobre la pesta negra a la Seu (1348): disposicions pietoses l'any de la pesta.," *Urgellia: Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* 9 (1989): 343–64.

[55] ACCE, Reg. 497 fols. 72r-73v.

[56] ACCE, Reg. 660 fols. 60v-61r. Future research will be able to determine the timeline of the plague more fully.

[57] Jaume Muntaner's will, dated July 19, can be seen here: ACCE, Reg. 567 fol. 88v-89r. Francesc Esteva's executors, who include one of the notaries who would replace him, Bernat Manresa, can be seen in an act from late August: ACCE, Reg. 483 fol. 18r.

[58] This document was undated but was entered with others from July 16, 1348 so it was likely from close to that period. "Undated document by Pere the Ceremonious beginning Nos Petrus," in Amada López de Meneses, "Documentos acerca de la peste negra en los dominios de la Corona de Aragón," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 6 (1956): 291–447, 302. It states: "Attendentes quod pretextu pestilencialum infirmitarum que, in diuersis mundi partibus, inualuerunt ex ordinatione diuina, officiales et notarii comitatum Rossilionis et Ceritanie fere omnes decesserunt." On this see also: Jean Gautier-Dalché, "La peste noire dans les États de la Couronne d'Aragon," *Bulletin hispanique* 64 (1962): 65–80, 79.

evidence of the plague's ravages on the professional class.[59] On August 26th these two new notaries wrote near headers in the middle of all the notarial registers identifying their new positions.[60] Judging by the number of wills recorded in this year, the mortality rate must have been very high. The one surviving book of wills from this year includes 218 folios.[61] In comparison, a more typically sized book of wills from the year 1342/43 contained twenty-four folios,[62] and one from the year 1349/50 twenty-eight.[63]

There were clearly wide-ranging impacts within the society. As I noted above, the marriage rate in the year 1348/49 was high (extraordinarily so if we consider likely mortality among those of marriageable age): many people who had lost their spouses remarried, and heirs became newly able to marry. As elsewhere, many professions suffered a loss of skilled knowledge—the two novice notaries represent just the tip of the iceberg.[64] Several other contracts suggest this posed a problem in artisanal crafts, including in the cloth industry that was so central to the town's economy. For example, in May of 1351 a man named Ramon Mercader, who identifies himself as a cloth-dyer, hired another cloth-dyer named Ramon Sala to be his

[59] Bernat Manresa had served as an assistant scribe in the *scribania*, but not a full notary.

[60] See: ACCE, Reg. 551 fol. 62r, Reg. 497 fol. 80r, Reg. 660 fol. 63r, Reg. 550 fol. 59r, Reg. 754 fol. 39r and Reg. 483 fol. 18r.

[61] ACCE, Reg. 567. I believe that there would not have been a second book of wills in this year. In some years around this period it was common for the two notaries appointed to keep their own set of registers but to share the book of wills and both of the names of the original notaries are identified at the beginning of this register. On the other hand, the normal notarial organization was clearly disrupted, so it is difficult to say for certain.

[62] ACCE, Reg. 453.

[63] ACCE, Reg. 568. A book of wills from the year of March 1347 to March 1348 was also unusually long, containing 118 folios. This may suggest that either the plague had come to Puigcerdà by March of 1348, or that some wills from after March 1348 were placed in this register, although the high number of wills could also have been for another reason, such as a famine.

[64] On this pattern more broadly, see: Harry A. Miskimin, *The Economy of Early Renaissance Europe, 1300 - 1460* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 85.

teacher (specifically, Sala affirms himself to Mercader "as your teacher of dyes" (*pro magistro tincti tui*) for a period of one year, for a salary of forty *lliures* of Barcelona. This reverse-apprenticeship agreement shows how much harder it must have been in this moment for people to find skilled artisans in some crafts.[65] Future research will be needed to determine the mortality rate and the losses to the population of Puigcerdà in more detail, it is beyond doubt that the advent of the Black Death in 1348 had an immediately negative impact on the population and economy of Puigcerdà.

Population Decline after 1350

As I argued in Chapter 4, Puigcerdà had a population of at least around 7,000 people and potentially as many as 10,000, with a middle estimate of approximately 8,500 people. When we compare this figure to other estimates for the population of medieval Puigcerdà, we see that the during the second half of the fourteenth century Puigcerdà entered a period of severe and long-lasting demographic decline. Given its population in 1321/2, Puigcerdà was likely one of the largest towns in Catalonia. Yet, this fact continues to be little known. As I will discuss below, other population estimates for the town are all lower, but are all also from several decades later than the year 1321/2. By the late-fourteenth century the town's population was clearly considerably smaller than ~8,500 people, as can be seen by the hearth-censuses that survive from 1359 on. Like many other European cities, the town experienced rapid, severe population decline between the mid-fourteenth century and the later fourteenth century and may even have already been declining prior to the Black Death. But, as later hearth-censuses show, the town continued its demographic contraction into the fifteenth century, such that it was relatively minute by the

[65] For more on reverse-apprenticeship agreements, see: Comuzzi, "Guild Formation".

early modern period. The severity of Puigcerdà's sustained population decline has also not been understood, as many historians have underestimated the early-fourteenth century population of Puigcerdà and its importance as an urban and economic center in medieval Catalonia.

Most historians agree that there was widespread population growth from the year 1000 onwards, both across western Europe and in Catalonia specifically, at least until around the end of the thirteenth century. It is also universally accepted that the first wave of the Black Death took a considerable demographic toll on the European population. Estimates of population loss range somewhere between 20 and 65 percent, depending on the location.[66] There is less agreement about whether the population had already begun to decline in the early fourteenth century, and if so, when, why and how severely. Few historians have even attempted estimates of the population of Catalonia or Catalan towns for the early fourteenth century, and therefore it has been difficult to assess the pre-plague population trend in the region, or to determine when the population might have peaked.

We only have reasonably accurate information on the relative size of most Catalan cities beginning in 1359 when a major hearth-census was conducted throughout Catalonia, although some earlier figures are occasionally available for certain towns or regions. Scholars have used the hearth-counts from 1359 to estimate earlier populations, generally by assuming a certain standardized rate of population loss over time, but often only as far back the eve of the Black Death. Admittedly, as the analysis presented here covers only one year in the early fourteenth

[66] Christine Klapisch-Zuber states that "global estimates vary between one fifth and one half of the European population." Klapisch-Zuber, "Plague," 131. Robert Lopez placed the mortality rate higher, at 35 to 65 percent of the European Population. Lopez, "Trade," 385-6. Carlo Cipolla placed this number lower, at one third. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution,* 146-7.

century, I can only discuss the town's early fourteenth-century population trend tentatively.[67] Nonetheless, comparing my estimate of 8,500 people in 1321/2 with other early population estimates for Puigcerdà, which can be seen in Table 8.2, reveals some key insights.

[67] Applying the population-estimation method outlined here to other years between 1300 and 1350 would allow us to determine this trend in a more definitive manner, and is a goal of my future research.

Table 8.2: Population Estimates for Puigcerdà, 1321-1424

Date	Population Estimate	Source
1321/2	8,500	Analysis presented in Chapter 4
1345	6,100	Estimate by Sebastià Bosom[68]
Before 1348	7,900	Estimate by Josiah Cox Russell[69]
1350	6,500	Estimate by Salvador Claramunt[70]
1359	5,544 (1,232 hearths)	*Fogatge* of 1359[71]
1365	3,699 (822 hearths)	*Fogatge* of 1365[72]
1378-81	2,943 (654 hearths)	*Fogatge* of 1378/1381[73]
1424	1,800 (400 hearths)	*Fogatge* of 1424[74]

[68] Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 30. Bosom officially estimated 5,592 people, but I have modified his estimate in two ways. Firstly, he seems to have made a minor multiplication error: 1,265 multiplied by 4.5 is about 5,692, not 5,592 as he states, so it seems that he meant to say the population was around 5,700. Secondly, he acknowledges that this estimate would need to be raised to accommodate the Jewish population, which he did not include. A more accurate estimate would be somewhere around 6,000 and 6,100 assuming a Jewish population of 300-400 people. Additionally, as will be noted below, this estimate is very likely to be an under-estimate.

[69] Russell, *Medieval Regions,* 169.

[70] Salvador Claramunt Rodríquez, "Prosperitat del mon urbà entre 1200 i 1350: patriciat i artesanat," in *Història de Catalunya* Vol. 3, ed. Juan Salvat (Barcelona: Salvat, 1978), 87–100, pages 88-89. See also: Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 30-31.

[71] The figures for the census of 1359 (also called the census of Cervera according to the name of the town where the Corts that ordered this census were held) were first published along with those related to the census of 1365 (also called the census of Tortosa) by José Iglesies Fort, who thought they were both related to a census of 1365. See: José Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365-1370. Contribución al conocimiento de la población de Cataluña en la Segunda mitad del siglo XIV," *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona* 34, no. 11 (1962): 249–356; page 348. As Pere Ortí Gost has shown, this document also included information drawn from the *fogatgement* of 1359. Se: Pere Ortí Gost, "Una primera aproximacio als fogatges catalans de la decada de 1360," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 29 (1999): 747–73.

[72] Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365," 348.

[73] The census of 1378/1381 was originally identified as that of 1359, and was published with this year designation twice, first in Próspero de Bofarull, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos del archivo general de la corona de Aragón*, Vol 12, (Barcelona: Imprenta del Archivo, 1856) and secondly in, *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y principado de Cataluña*, Vol II (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1899), 55-134. Doubts about the year were raised by Joaquim Llovet and Josep Maria Pons Guri during the 1960s, and these *fogatgements* were reordered with the census originally published as being from 1359 now known to be that of 1378/1381. On this see: Joaquim Llovet, "Sobre la data de l'anomenat 'primer cens de Catalunya,'" *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* III–IV (1963): 25–26, Pons i Guri, "Un fogatgement desconegut," and Gaspar Feliu, "La demografia baixmedieval catalana: estat de la qüestió i propostes de futur," *Revista d'història medieval* 10 (1999): 13–44 ; page 21. A new study of the 1378 *fogatgement* has since been made available. See: Esther Redondo García, *El fogatjament general de Catalunya de 1378*, Anejos del Anuario de estudios medievales 48 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002). For figures on the popuation of Puigcerdà in this study, see page 293.

There are three other estimates of the population of Puigcerdà from the year 1350 or earlier. The first of these is the estimate produced by Sebastià Bosom based on his analysis of the list of 1,265 men (discussed above) who met in the town in 1345 to appoint new town procurators. Bosom estimated a total Christian population of 5,700 people in 1345 by assuming that there were 4.5 total people per each of the 1,265 men in this list.[75] His estimate would need to be modified to somewhere around 6,000-6,100 total people, counting the Jewish population (and assuming a Jewish population of around 300-400 people), which he did not include. It is not clear how reliably this figure represents the town's total population in 1345. This is not only because of the difficulty in knowing how accurate a multiplier of 4.5 is in this case, but also because it's not certain that the list of 1,265 men represents all the men of the town.[76] It probably only includes men who were officially citizens of Puigcerdà, and not additional men who resided there. In addition, this list certainly does not include clergy. If my estimate of at least 8,500 people in 1321 and Bosom's estimate of somewhere around 6,000 people in 1345 is accurate, then the population of Puigcerdà would have declined nearly 30 percent in those two decades, and this would support a view that the town's population was already declining considerably prior to the Black Death. Further research would be necessary to proof this definitively, however, given a strong potential that Bosom's figure is an underestimate.

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[74] Monique Batlle and Raymond Gual, *"Fogatges" Catalans. Capcir-Cerdanya-Conflent-Rosselló-Vallespir (Recensements du XIe au XXe siècles)*, Revue "Terra Nostra" 11 (Prades: Revue Terra Nostra, 1973), 24.

[75] Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 30. As noted above, I adjusted this estimate to account for a multiplication error and for the fact that it did not include the Jewish population.

[76] The document itself does state that the all the men of Puigcerdà were convened for this agreement (*convocata et congregate universitate hominum ville podiiceritaii*) but given the evident absence of at least 128 of them from the initial meeting it is certainly possible there were others who were not present for either meeting and whose names were never recorded. Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 38. Further research analyzing the appearances of men from Puigcerdà in notarial registers in this year, or in immediately preceding or succeeding years may help shed light on this question.

In contrast, the latter two estimates for the town's population, from around 1348 and 1350 respectively, when compared to an estimate of around 8,500 people in 1321, seem to suggest that the town's population would not have declined very significantly between the 1320s and the eve of the plague. Estimating backward from later hearth-censuses, Josiah Cox Russell estimated that Puigcerdà had a pre-plague population of somewhere around 7,900 people. He appears to have been calculating his estimate for Puigcerdà based on the figure given in the hearth-census of 1359, in which there were 1,232 hearths, and states that he assumes five people per hearth and that the population had decreased by one sixth between the eve of the plague and 1351, and then an additional one fifth between 1351 and 1360.[77] Russell thus identifies Puigcerdà as the fifth largest of the cities in Catalonia, placing it behind only Barcelona (estimated at 48,000 people), Perpignan (12,300), Lleida (9,600) and Tarragona (9,000), and just ahead of Tortosa, Cervera and Girona (all between 7,500 and 7,800).[78] Similarly, Salvador Claramunt Rodriguez claims that Puigcerdà had approximately 6,500 inhabitants around 1350 (after the plague) and that it was therefore probably the fifth largest town in Catalonia at that

[77] Russell, *Medieval Regions,* 169. Carme Batlle Gallart also uses this population estimate in her discussion of the growth of towns in Catalonia. Carme Batlle Gallart, "The Growth of the Cities of the Crown of Aragon in the Later Middle Ages," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages, 2: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns* S.J., ed. Paul E. Chevedden, Donald J. Kagay, and Paul G. Padilla (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 321–43, page 343. It is worth noting that one issue with extrapolating earlier populations based on later populations and a set estimated rate of change is that historians using this method tend to assume the rate of population change was the same everywhere, when this may not have been the case. If there was clear population migration, for example, in which many people from Town A moved to Town B, and also overall population decline in both towns, then the population in Town A would decline at a much higher rate than that of Town B. Russell essentially flattens the potential differences between different Catalan towns, assuming one rate of population decline for all of them.

[78] Russell, *Medieval Regions,* 169. I am omitting cities in the regions of Valencia and Aragon, as well as Palma de Mallorca in the Balearic Islands, which were larger than Puigcerdà. If one examines all cities in the Crown of Aragon territories of Catalonia, Aragon, Valencia and the Balearics, then Russell listed Puigcerdà as the ninth largest. Catalonia as a whole was far less densely populated and included fewer large cities in close proximity to one another than the most densely populated regions of Europe during this period, such as northern Italy. For comparison see: Russell, *Medieval Regions,*44 and 80. On the whole the population of Catalonia has been estimated at a height of around 500,000 in the first half of the fourteenth century. On this see: Batlle Gallart, *L'expansió baixmedieval*, 89.

time,[79] although he gives no information on how or where he got this figure of the town's population, and his list of largest towns does not include Girona or Tarragona, which were both relatively close to Puigcerdà in size.[80] In his estimation, in 1350 Puigcerdà was definitively smaller only than Barcelona (which he says had 25,000 to 40,000 inhabitants), Perpignan (12,000 to 14,000 inhabitants), Lleida (around 12,000 inhabitants), and Tortosa (6,000 to 7,000 inhabitants). Claramunt's estimate, that Puigcerdà had about 6,500 people in 1350 (after the Black Death would surely have removed a large portion of the population in each town), seems to align at least roughly with Puigcerdà having had a population of somewhere around 8,500 in 1321, as does Josiah Cox Russell's pre-plague estimate of 7,900. These estimates suggest that the population of Puigcerdà had not declined significantly between the 1320s, and the eve of the Black Death.

These estimates all suffer from difficulties and owe their high variation to the fact that the base numbers used (i.e. those numbers used before a multiplier is applied) are not measuring the same thing. Claramunt and Russell working primarily with the number of *fochs* (hearths or households) in the town based on later-fourteenth-century censuses drawn up for the payment of

[79] Claramunt Rodríquez, "Prosperitat del mon urbà," 88-89 and Bosom i Isern, *Homes i oficis*, 30-31.

[80] It is difficult to get accurate information about the size of both Girona and Tarragona during this period. We only have hearth-counts for these two cities beginning in 1365 and there is some suspicion for both cases that the available hearth-counts include the counts of surrounding villages. Ramon Alberch i Fugueras and Narcís Castells i Calzada estimated that Girona had about 2,092 hearths in 1300, which might have equaled a population of around 8,500 people. Their estimate for 1300 is calculated by taking the available number of hearths listed for 1365 (which was 1,590, although in fact they mistakenly claim this number was from 1359) and assuming that there was both 5 percent population decline between 1300 and 1350 and that 20 percent of the population was lost in the Black Death. No truly reliable figure on the population before 1365 can be established, given the dearth of documents on Girona during the first half of the fourteenth century. Alberch i Fugueras and Castells i Calzada, *La Població de Girona*, 16-18. Christian Guilleré argued that the population of Girona in 1360 was approximately 10,000 people, including 500 Jews. Guilleré, *Girona al segle XIV*, Vol. 2, 38-51. My suspicion is that Guilleré overestimates the population, given that he decided to count the 230 hearths of Sant Feliu de Guíxols, a town about thirty-four km away with those of Girona. His figures for the town's size are also considerably larger than those identified by Alberch and Castells. Tarragona was listed as having 1,366 hearths in 1365, but this may include parts of the surrounding countryside and no earlier figures are available. See: Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365," 325.

hearth-taxes (*fogatges*). Population estimates based on multiplying the number of hearths by about four to five people only ever provide a very rough estimate, because we do not know how many people there were per hearth. Hearths are not defined in the same way everywhere, at every time. And worse, what constitutes a taxable *foch* in Catalonia does not correspond precisely to a household in the sense of a group of people living together, but rather to a taxable stream of income.[81] Hearth-censuses can also vary in whether they include the fiscal poor, and they often omit Jews. In future work, I will apply the method of finding uniquely identifiable men in notarial cartularies to estimate the total number of men over age fourteen in the town for years in which censuses were conducted, and thus offer some useful insight into how well the number of hearths might compare to the number of adult men. In the meantime, the relationship remains unclear. Similarly, Bosom uses a list of men who could participate in town assemblies while my own estimate uses with a list of contract-worthy men over age fourteen. We do not know how these various counts would compare to each other.[82] Additionally, while Bosom uses the same multiplier applied to hearths to the list of adult men, he seems not to be acknowledging the fact that many hearths were headed by women, and he may be undercounting the total population by assuming that the same multiplier can be used.

[81] As discussed in the introduction, Robert S. Smith has noted that the regulations of the census of 1365 state that widows living with children who do not provide for themselves are counted as one *foch*, but widows living with a son or daughter of independent means are counted as two *fochs*. Similarly wards living with a guardian are counted as one *foch* if they have no independent income, but two *fochs* if they do. Smith, "Fourteenth-Century Population Records," 499-500. What the tax census was really interested in was income streams, not households in the sense of familial units dwelling together.

[82] The list of adult men participating in the town assembly in 1345 is far smaller than even the lowest number of adult men I have estimated for Puigcerdà in 1321/2. Several factors account for the difficulty: the number of citizens as opposed to residents; the lack of clergy and religious; and lack of information about the age at which a man would gain full citizenship rights and the right to participate in such assemblies. The list from 1345 may include only citizens over the age of twenty-five, or only citizens who owned property.

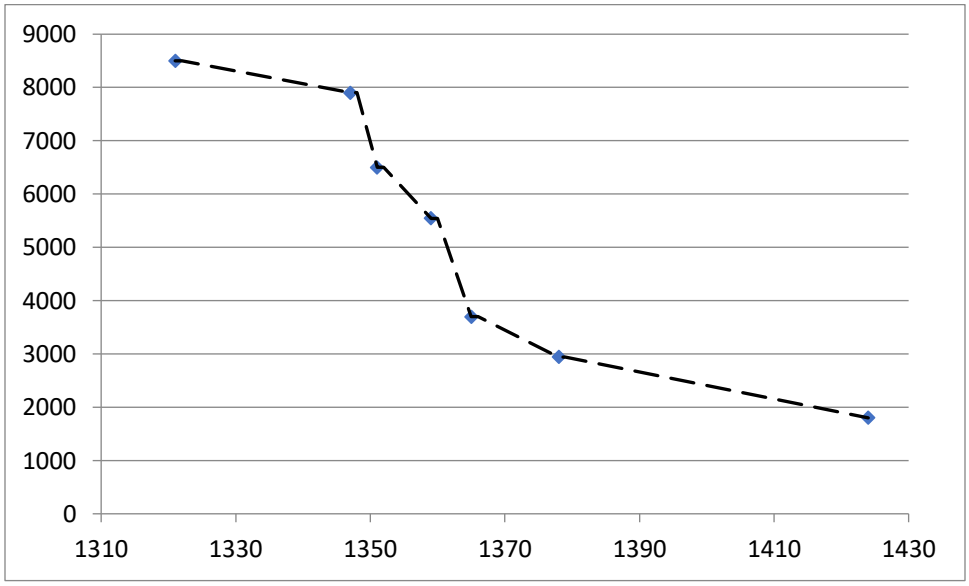
Despite the difficulties, nevertheless we can draw some general conclusions. If we accept that Russell's estimate of the pre-plague population is roughly accurate, and that Bosom's is at least a slight underestimate, we can estimate that to the extent that the population of Puigcerdà had declined between the 1320s and the mid-1340s, it had declined only moderately. Further research will help reveal this population trend in even greater clarity. Using the figures from the later hearth-taxes, we can also see that throughout the second half of the fourteenth century, the population of Puigcerdà continued to decline steeply, over a prolonged period of time. In the hearth census of 1359, Puigcerdà was listed as having 1,232 hearths. By the hearth census of 1365 it had only 822 hearths,[83] by 1378/1381 only 654[84] and by 1424, just 400 hearths.[85] The severity of this decline can be seen in Figure 8.6.

[83] Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365," 348.

[84] Redondo García, *El fogatjament general,* 293.

[85] Batlle and Gual, *"Fogatges" Catalans,* 24.

Figure 8.6: Estimated Population Decline in Puigcerdà, 1321-1424[86]



Even accepting that there might have been some differences in the manner of determining what constituted a hearth between these censuses, the pattern of severe population decline is beyond doubt. In the century between 1322 and 1424, the town seems to have lost at least 65 to 80 percent of its population. Notably this level of decline (80 percent) is the same as the level of reduction I noted between certain types of notarial agreements between their high point in the early fourteenth century and the year 1359, as noted above. This drastic reduction in population was clearly noted by the early-modern inhabitants of Puigcerdà. A portion of the sixteenth-century history of the town, the *Dietari de la fidelíssima vila de Puigcerdà,* states that although by that time the town had only about six or seven hundred inhabitants, it had once had between six and seven thousand inhabitants, and that this could be seen by the size of the old town

[86] This chart omits Bosom's estimate for 1345 as it may be an underestimate.

walls.[87] This population decline was also extremely long-lasting, and the town's loss of relative importance permanent.[88] The town did not regain a population of over 6,500 people until the very end of the twentieth century, when a tunnel was built through the Cadí mountain range (the southern side of the valley) that significantly reduced the time needed to travel there by car from Barcelona.[89] As I mentioned in the introduction, Tarragona, which was roughly the same size as Puigcerdà in the fourteenth century is now has a population well over 100,000. Barcelona, of course, is no longer a city of 30-40,000, but of 5.5 million

The relatively small size of Puigcerdà both in the early modern period and today has led many historians to inaccurately assume that it had also been very small during the middle ages.[90] Robert Burns, evidently unaware of the revised chronology of Catalan hearth censuses and using the number now known to be from the 1378/1381 census, claimed the town had only 660

[87] Galceran Vigué, *Dietari*, 59. As noted in the introduction, while the text technically states that the town had once had between six and seven thousand households, it seems certain that the author of this text meant to say it had been a town of some six or seven thousand inhabitants, not households. I have in fact identified that the population was in fact, probably once higher than 7,000 inhabitants. In addition, it is curious that, although this document identifies the town as having only 600-700 people, a hearth-census from 1553 identifies the town as having 377 hearths. We should thus take the figures listed in this source with a grain of salt. But, as also noted in the introduction, the townspeople estimated that the town had decreased some 90% in size.

[88] For a brief overview of later population estimates for the town, including the 1553 hearth-count, see: Joan Carreras i Martí, ed., *Gran geografia comarcal de Catalunya*, vol. 15 (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia catalana, 1985), 284-5. For a more in-depth examination of the town's population decline from the late-fourteenth century to the nineteenth century, see: Marc Conesa, *D'herbe, de terre et de sang: la Cerdagne du XIVe au XIXe siècle* (Perpignan: Presses universitaires de Perpignan, 2012), Chapter 2.

[89] Getting exact population numbers for Catalan towns after 1981 is surprisingly difficult because most figures available are for the number of people *empadronat*, or officially registered, as a resident of the town, and not necessarily for the number who actually resided there on a regular basis. The town still had only about 5,800 residents in 1981 when the last census of the "real" population was taken. It had 6,580 *padrons* (registered inhabitants), in 1998, and only surpassed 7,000 in 2001, when 7,262 *padrons* were registered. Carreras i Martí, *Gran geografia comarcal* , vol. 15, 284-5, and "Puigcerdà," Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya, accessed October 1, 2018, https://www.idescat.cat/emex/?id=171411.

[90] For example, writing about a pastoral visit to the town in 1313 Michelle Armstrong-Partida referred to it as "a village," albeit acknowledging it as "a relatively large village by Pyrenean standards." Michelle Armstrong-Partida, "Concubinage, Clandestine Marriage, and Gender in the Visitation Records of Fourteenth-Century Catalonia," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no. 2 (April 20, 2017): 207–38, 207.

Christian households in 1359,[91] when the town in fact had over 1,200 Christian *fochs*.[92] Widespread misunderstanding of the town's population has contributed to a general misunderstanding of the town's medieval history and its role as a major urban and economic center in the medieval Pyrenees. But, as I have shown, the town of Puigcerdà was one of the largest cities of Catalonia during its peak in the first half of the fourteenth century, but it experienced extremely steep and prolonged demographic decline after the Black Death.

To what extent was the population trend of Puigcerdà typical for medieval Catalonia? While further study would be required in order to fully compare this later demographic decline with the population trends of other Catalan and European towns, a few points are worth noting. Firstly, clearly not all Catalan towns experienced this degree of demographic decline during the fourteenth century. The population of Puigcerdà appears to have declined approximately 33.3 percent between 1359 and 1365, and 20.4 percent between 1365 and 1378/81. The population of Perpignan, in contrast, which had 3,346 hearths in 1359, 2,675 hearths in 1365, and 3,640 hearths in 1378/81[93] only declined 20 percent between 1359 and 1365 and actually increased 36.1 percent between 1365 and 1378/81. On the other hand, Puigcerdà was clearly not alone in seeing severe demographic decline throughout this century. The population of Cervera, which had 1,212 hearths in 1359 (making it almost exactly the same size as Puigcerdà in that same

[91] Burns, *Latinate Wills*, 109. Claude Carrère made the same claim in her article on the town's mid-fourteenth century cloth industry, before the chronology of Catalan hearth-censuses had been revised. Carrère, "Draps de Cerdagne," 243.

[92] This interpretation was then picked up by others, such as David Wasserstein, who cited Burns. David Wasserstein, "Questions of Identity: The Structure of the Cohen Family in Puigcerdá in the Early Fourteenth Century," *Sefarad: Revista de Estudios Hebraicos y Sefardíes* 58, no. 2 (1998): 406.

[93] Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365," 335, and Batlle and Gual, *"Fogatges" Catalans,* 18. There were in fact a total of 4,242 hearths of Perpignan, but 602 of them were noted as relating to people, presumably citizens of Perpignan, who were not actually residing in the city but in other locations in Rosselló, Conflent or Capcir.

year), 1,057 hearths in 1365 and 485 hearths in 1378/81,[94] seems to have experienced similarly severe, if slightly delayed, population decline. Cervera lost only 12.8 percent of its population between 1359 and 1365, but then lost 54 percent of its population between 1365 and 1378/81, ending up even smaller than Puigcerdà by 1378. Clearly, not all Catalan cities followed the same demographic developments in the later middle ages, but there may have been one pattern for the largest cities, or for coastal areas, like Perpignan, and another for the medium sized towns in the Catalan hinterlands.

Conclusion

As I have shown in this chapter, there is no sign that the economy of Puigcerdà began to decline prior to the 1340s, although there may have been a period of economic stagnation, and a loss, or at least decline in economic growth before then. This can be seen both by looking at estimates of the total original number of all notarial entries over time, and by looking at the estimated original number of specific types of agreements over time. The economy appears to have clearly declined between 1339 and 1349, and, notably it continued declining in the following decade. Estimates for certain types of acts in the year 1359 are around 80 percent lower than for the early fourteenth century. Similarly, while I estimate that the population was likely at least around 8,500 in the year 1321/2, by the year 1359 it had decreased considerably to likely around 3,700. This economic and demographic decline would be incredibly severe and long-lasting, with the town not reaching its pre-plague population again until the very end of the twentieth century. As there was no sign of economic decline prior to 1340, it seems quite clear that, although the major famine of 1333 would touch Cerdanya to at least some extent, 1333 was not the "first bad year"

[94] Iglesies Fort, "El fogaje de 1365," 326 and Redondo García, *El fogatjament general,* 392.

in this region. Two other major events of the first half of the fourteenth century likely had a far more significant impact. Certainly, the first outbreak of the Black Death, which hit Cerdanya in 1348 had a massive impact on the local society, as it did in other parts of the world. But more specifically to Cerdanya, it is almost certain that the forced reincorporation of the Crown of Mallorca into the Crown of Aragon in 1344—which would see a violent outbreak in Puigcerdà itself—may also have contributed to the town's decline.

In Chapters 7 and 8, I have focused on the development of the town of Puigcerdà and on tracing its period of growth in the late thirteenth century, its period of economic stagnation in the early fourteenth century and its transition to enduring economic decline in the second half of the fourteenth century. In the following two chapters I turn to examining the Puigcerdà's connections to places outside of Cerdanya, both in 1321/2 and over time between 1300 to 1360 and how the shifts in the town's economic connections can further enlighten our understanding of the town's economic development.

Chapter 9: Economic Connections Outside of Cerdanya in the Year 1321/2

In the previous two chapters I discussed the development of the economy of Puigcerdà and Cerdanya over the course of the century from 1260 to 1360, showing both that it was growing, at the same time as the cloth industry developed in the late thirteenth century, but that it had begun to stagnate and then to decline in the mid-fourteenth century. In this section I discuss what cities and regions outside the valley of Cerdanya the town of Puigcerdà was connected to, and how the town's longer-distance connections shifted over time over the course of the century from 1260 to 1360. This analysis offers a fuller picture of the town's economic role, and thus additional insight into the extent and the causes of the town's growth and decline over the course of this century. The present chapter provides an overview of all of Cerdanya's external connections—connections between Cerdanya and places outside of Cerdanya—seen in notarial entries from the year 1321/2. I first introduce the method I used to count regional connections within notarial entries and discuss the total number, frequency and distribution of external connections in this year. I then discuss local Pyrenean connections and show that Puigcerdà was highly connected to neighboring Pyrenean valleys and was at the center of an inner Pyrenean region that extended over the local administrative and political boundaries. I then discuss the town's longer-distance economic connections from this year. The surviving entries reveal that the town was connected to Languedoc, Catalonia, Aragon, Castile and Valencia, among other regions, including Tuscany. While the nature of some of the connections are unclear, many relate to the cloth trade.

Measuring Connections in 1321/2

A thorough picture of Puigcerdà's economic connections in the early fourteenth century can be seen by examining the places outside of Cerdanya that appear in the surviving records from the year that I examined in detail: 1321/2. In this year, at least 1,561 (21 percent) of the 7,432 total surviving non-cancelled notarial entries mention a person from or place that was outside of the valley of Cerdanya.[1] Cerdanya is defined here as the administrative *vegueria* of Cerdanya—including not only the valley of Cerdanya itself but also the valley of Baridà and the Vall de Ribes.[2] An additional fifty-four of the entries include a place whose specific location I could not identify but which was likely outside Cerdanya. Thus, the total number of the surviving entries that mention a person or place outside of Cerdanya was probably closer to 1,615 (21.7 percent).[3] In either case, it is clear that over one fifth of all the surviving entries recorded in Puigcerdà in this year involved a location that was outside the bounds of the local area as it was defined politically and administratively. This statistic refers to surviving entries,

[1] As I discussed in Chapter 4, many people appear in these records without having their hometown stated, and others appear with a certain degree of ambiguity as to their hometown, based on the way in which their identity was recorded. For example, it was common for men to identify themselves as the son of their father, i.e. Joan Pages, son of Arnau Pages. In some of these cases we see named recorded with a hometown only following the father's name (i.e. Joan Pages son of Arnau Pages of Puigcerdà). In these cases, it is not always entirely clear whether it is Joan, or Arnau (or both) who is from Puigcerdà. Despite this ambiguity, however, in this section I have included all contracts involving such cases if the place that is mentioned is outside of Cerdanya – since in all cases the contract clearly demonstrates a tie of some kind to that more distant location. I have, however, not included cases in which the only tie is that a person acknowledges previously having been from somewhere else if their former hometown is the place outside of Cerdanya.

[2] The *vegueria* (viguerie in English), was the administrative district, which was governed by a *veguer (*or vicar*)* on behalf of the king. Both the Baridà and the Vall de Ribes retained a certain separation as distinct areas, but both were *sotsvegueries* (subvigueries) within the *vegueria* of Cerdanya at this time. As *sotsvegueries* they enjoyed considerable political and administrative autonomy but would still broadly have been considered part of the county of Cerdanya. On *veguers* and *vegueries* in medieval Catalonia, see: Flocel Sabaté Curull, "El veguer a Catalunya: anàlisi del funcionament de la jurisdicció reial al segle XIV*," Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 6 (1995): 147–59. The inclusion of these areas in Cerdanya marks a difference between the medieval and modern administrative geography. Today the Baridà is divided between the comarcas (modern Catalan administrative districts) of Alt Urgell and Cerdanya, while the Vall de Ribes is in the comarca of Ripollès.

[3] I say that this is likely, but not certain because it is possible that some of these locations were in fact within Cerdanya.

but in fact it is highly likely that the percent of the original total number of entries produced in this year that involved a person or place from outside of Cerdanya would have been similar.[4]

Clearly the people of Cerdanya were coming into regular contact with people and places outside of their immediate valley during the year of 1321/2. Which other geographic areas were the people of Puigcerdà conducting business with? Which were the areas they connected to the most frequently, and why?

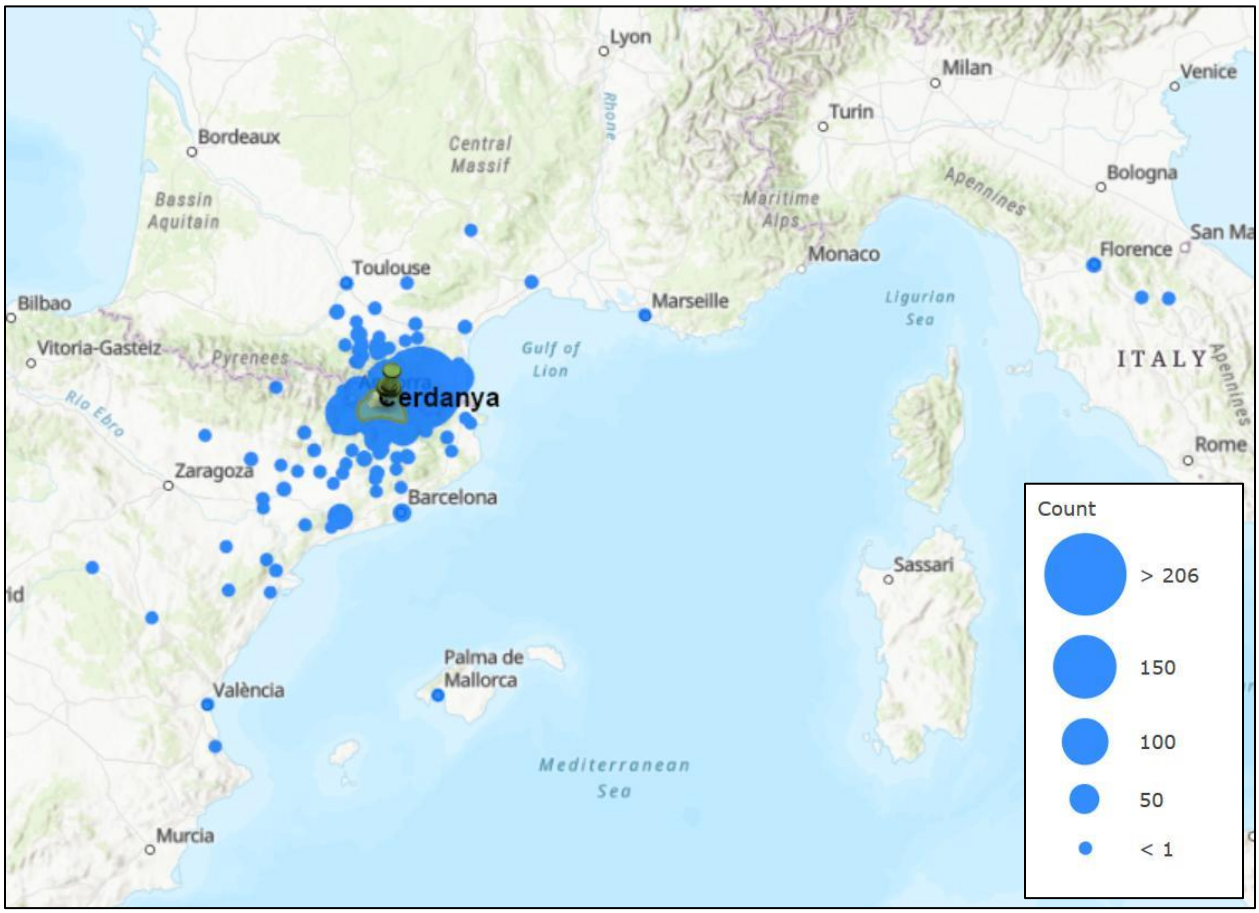
The 7,432 non-cancelled entries surviving from this year include references to at least 269 distinct places outside of the valley of Cerdanya.[5] This includes both locations in areas that bordered Cerdanya (Capcir, Conflent, Ripollès, Berguedà, Urgellet, Andorra and the county of Foix), as well as those in farther, non-neighboring areas. The geographic distribution of these places, and the range in the frequency of their connections to Cerdanya can be seen in Figure 9.1.

[4] Entries that involve a person or place from outside of Cerdanya do appear at different rates across all four of the main types of registers surviving from this year. They comprise 12 percent of the non-cancelled entries in the books of wills, 17.3 percent of those in books of debts, 21.3 percent of those in books of townspeople and 32 percent of the non-cancelled entries in books of outsiders. But even when calculating the total number of entries out of the likely total original numbers of entries in such registers based on the likely numbers of missing folios of each type of register, entries including a person or place outside of Cerdanya would still have likely comprised approximately 20 to 21 percent of the total original entries in such registers from this year. Of course, as discussed elsewhere, we can only guess on the rate at which people from outside of Cerdanya appeared in the books of Jews. It is not clear to what extent the entries involving Jews would have involved people from outside of the valley. Certainly, the Jews of Puigcerdà were connected to Jewish communities in other places, including in southern France and Catalonia. But to what extent Jews in Puigcerdà would have engaged in business with Christians from outside of Cerdanya is less clear.

[5] This list of 269 places includes the names of towns, villages and cities, but also the names of larger geographical or political areas, i.e. "the land of Capcir," "the lands of the count of Pallars," if they were outside of Cerdanya (i.e not "Cerdanya" or "the Vall de Ribes"). It also includes "the lands of the King of Mallorca," even though this would have included Cerdanya as well as other areas. It does not include an additional sixty-five places that I have not been able to identify precisely, but which I believe were very likely to have been outside of Cerdanya. It does however, include those places which I cannot identify precisely but know the general area. For example, several people appear in the records from this year identified as being from "czela" in the parish of Canillo in Andorra. I have not been able to determine where, precisely, within the parish of Canillo "czela" is, but I can know it is not only in Andorra, but more specifically that it is in the north-eastern corner of Andorra near Canillo. Even though I cannot identify the precise location in these cases, I do not count them as "unidentified". The sixty-five unidentified locations include cases where there are several potential locations with a similar name and the notarial entry does not sufficiently distinguish which of these the location they were recording is meant to be as well as cases for which I have simply not been able to find a modern location that could correspond to the location as named. This may be because the location has changed, disappeared or is very far from Puigcerdà and in a broader region that is not identified.

Table 10.1 shows the thirty-seven places that appeared in ten or more surviving entries from this year.

Figure 9.1: Map of External Connections of Puigcerdà, 1321/2[6]



[6] This map omits those places whose location could not be precisely identified. It also omits references to a broad region including "Urgell," "the lands of the King of Mallorca," or the "Diocese of Toulouse," etc.

Table 9.1: Locations Outside of Cerdanya Appearing in Ten or More Surviving Entries from 1321/2

Rank	**Location**	**Area**	**Surviving Entries from 1321/2**
1	Monestir de Sant Miquel de Cuixà	Conflent	206
2	La Seu d'Urgell	Urgellet	94
3	Bagà	Berguedà	66
4	Perpignan	Rosselló	63
5	Monestir de Santa Maria de Ripoll	Ripollès	61
6	Canillo	Andorra	51
7	Ripoll	Ripollès	43
8	Vilafranca-de-Conflent	Conflent	39
9	Berga	Berguedà	37
9	Monestir de Santes Creus	Catalonia	37
11	Laguna	Capcir	36
12	Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses	Ripollès	30
13	The lands of the king of Mallorca		27
14	Rus	Berguedà	26
15	Matamala	Capcir	23
15	Turbians	Berguedà	23
17	Angles	Capcir	22
18	Conangla	Capcir	20
18	Formiguera	Capcir	20
18	Gavarrós	Berguedà	20
18	Laroque-d'Olmes	Foix	20
18	Monestir de Santa Maria de Cornellà	Conflent	20
23	Monestir de Santa Maria de Serrabona	Rosselló	19
24	Valsera	Capcir	17
25	Ax-les-Thermes	Foix	16
25	Rodome	Languedoc	16
28	Bescaran	Urgellet	13
28	Quillan	Languedoc	13
28	Pamiers	Foix	13
25	Barcelona	Catalonia	12
31	Castelar de n'Hug	Berguedà	12
31	Encamp	Andorra	12
31	La Mosquera	Andorra	12
34	La Massana	Andorra	11
34	Poble de Lillet	Berguedà	11
36	Cardona	Catalonia	10

The method used to track the number of connections outside of Cerdanya, as shown in Figure 9.1 and Table 9.1, counts the number of times one of the surviving, non-cancelled notarial entries from this year referred to a person or place from outside of Cerdanya. If a single entry referred to multiple places that were outside of Cerdanya, then the tie to each place is included. Each of these ties records an individual external connection (i.e. a connection to a place outside of Cerdanya). For example, one entry from November of 1321 refers to eight locations outside of Cerdanya. In this case, a man named Jaume Capcir of Vilafranca-de-Conflent, who had previously been granted the *decimas* (payments originally due to the church, but later often in the hands of lay lords) of six villages in Capcir by the abbot of the Abbey of Saint-Jacques de Joucou (now in the French department of Aude in Languedoc), sells these *decimas* for a period of two years to a man from Puigcerdà.[7] Under the method used here, this entry records eight different connections (one to each of these six villages in Capcir, one to Vilafranca-de-Conflent, and one to the Abbey of Saint-Jacques de Joucou).[8] Another entry from December of 1321, in which a man from Puigcerdà transferred a number of debts to his son-in-law, refers to three different villages within Andorra (all the hometowns of various debtors).[9] The ties to each of the three villages mentioned in this entry are all recorded separately. The 1,561 entries that include a person or place from outside of Cerdanya thus actually record 1,789 different instances of an external connection, when entries that refer to more than one location are taken into account.

I have only counted the ties between a given entry and a given location, not the *number* of times a place (or a person associated with that place) was mentioned within each entry. Thus,

[7] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 78r (d).

[8] The connection to this monastery is omitted, as I have not been able to determine its location.

[9] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 54v (e). This contract also references the valley of Andorra as a whole when naming the Andorran notary who recorded several of these debts.

the method used here for tracking connections, as shown in Figure 9.1 and Table 9.1, is not a perfect model of the frequency of long-distance connections in all cases. For example, in the entry discussed above, in which a man transferred several debts owed to him to his son-in-law, each of the villages in Andorra that were mentioned as the hometown of one of the debtors appears separately in Figure 9.1, but these maps do not record the fact that five of the named debtors were from one village, two were from the second, and only one was from the third.[10] Nonetheless these figures offer a strong representation of the relative frequency of connections between Cerdanya and other areas in this year.

Connections to Neighboring Areas and the Pyrenean Region

As the distribution of connections in Figures 9.1 and 9.2 show, the people of Cerdanya engaged in business the most frequently with people and places in the areas bordering Cerdanya. In this section I examine the distribution of these connections to see the intensity of economic interactions with different areas and the extent to which the town's external connections within the Pyrenees was determined by political boundaries. Cerdanya was under the authority of the king of Mallorca. But it bordered other lands of the Crown of Mallorca only on one side. These lands were Capcir, to the north-east of Cerdanya, and Conflent, to the east. Technically, Conflent was a dependency of the county of Cerdanya and the king of Mallorca controlled Conflent in his capacity as count of Cerdanya.[11] However, Conflent was certainly considered to be a distinct

[10] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 54v (e).

[11] The originally distinct county of Conflent had been under the control of the counts of Cerdanya since the late ninth century. On this see: Pere Ponisch, "Le Conflent et ses comtes du IXe au XIIe siècle," *Études Roussillonnaises, Revue d'Histoire et d'Archéologie* 1, 1951, 241–336, specifically page 270. The mainland territories of the king of Mallorca, as established by the will of Jaume I, were referred to as "the counties of Rosselló and Cerdanya," although these lands clearly included Conflent, Capcir and Vallespir. Conflent and Capcir were part of Cerdanya, as they had been for over a century prior to 1117, when Cerdanya came under the control of the count of Barcelona (after the death of the last independent count of Cerdanya, Bernat Guillem). Legally, Conflent

area, one regularly referred to in the Cerdanian notarial entries as "the land of Conflent" (*terra de Conflent*, or *terra confluentis*), and within the internal organization of the lands of the king of Mallorca, Conflent and Capcir formed the separate *vegueria* of Conflent. I am thus discussing Conflent as a distinct area here.[12]

On the other three sides, Cerdanya was surrounded by five distinct areas that, though all culturally very similar to Cerdanya and to each other, were politically distinct. To the south-east and south, Cerdanya bordered lands ruled by the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona. The first among these was a collection of small valleys that today comprise the Catalan *comarca* of Ripollès. In the early fourteenth century, this area did not enjoy the same jurisdictional unity that it does now. Firstly, as noted, the Vall de Ribes, (today part of the Ripollès), was at that time part of the lands of the king of Mallorca and, as noted, included within the *vegueria* of Cerdanya. Additionally, the remaining sections of the contemporary Ripollès were divided into three small *veguerias*, those of Camprodon, of La Ral and of Ripoll and the Ripollès, although frequently several or all of these three *veguerias* shared a single *veguer*.[13] For the purposes of this chapter I

continued to be part of the county of Cerdanya into the seventeenth century, although this fact had long been forgotten by 1659, when representatives from Spain and France were attempting to negotiate the terms of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, are were confused over whether Conflent was a dependency of Cerdanya or of Rosselló. See: Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 33-34.

[12] The region of Capcir was constituted as a sotsvegueria within the vegueria of Conflent.

[13] On the political divisions of this region during this period, see: Joan Ferrer Godoy, "L'organització del territori al Ripollès: estructures de poder al llarg de la història," *Annals - Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès*, 2009, 143–70; and Antoni Pladevall i Font, "Creació i antagonisme de les vegueries de La Ral i Camprodon," *Estudis d'història medieval* 4 (1971): 29–55. The Vegueria of Camprodon covered the town of Capmrodon and the surrounding Vall de Camprodon. The Vegueria of La Ral covered the Vall de Sant Joan (primarily the lands under the control of the Monestir of Sant Joan de les Abadesses), the Vall de Bianya and a few other villages, including one, Tregurà that was otherwise surrounded by the Vegueria of Camprodon. Pladevall notes that these veguerias commonly shared one veguer, but that this veguer was obligated to go to specific towns in order to administer justice in his capacity as vaguer of that vegueria. He could only administer justice in the Vegueria of La Ral from La Ral, for example, and had to travel to Camprodon to administer justice concerning the Vegueria of Camprodon.

will refer to all three of these small *veguerias* together as the Ripollès.[14] Secondly, immediately south of Cerdanya and on the other side of the imposing Cadì mountain range was the large *vegueria* of Berguedà, which was also ruled by the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona. Berguedà includes both a heavily mountainous northern section centered around the town of Bagà, but also extends into a less mountainous section in the pre-Pyrenean hills to the south of the town of Berga.

To the west, Cerdanya bordered the northernmost section of the independent county of Urgell, comprising the valley centered around La Seu d'Urgell, which was commonly called Urgellet.[15] The county of Urgell had long remained independent of the counts of Barcelona and was governed directly by an independent count.[16] To the north-west, Cerdanya bordered Andorra, which since 1278 had been ruled jointly by two co-princes, the Bishop of Urgell and the count of Foix.[17] Finally, to the north, immediately north of the Vall de Querol, Cerdanya

[14] The term Ripolles was used in the middle ages, and several documents from medieval Puigcerdà refer to the "*Terra ripulesii*". However, this term had a more restricted meaning in the middle ages than it does now. In that period this referred only to the area immediately surrounding the town of Ripoll. I will however use the expansive modern meaning, to refer to all the lands of the contemporary Comarca of Ripolles (except for the Vall de Ribes), in order to make it easy to refer to this area as a whole. The close proximity of all three of these small veguerias, the fact that they are now commonly referred to as a single, unified zone, and the fact that all three shared a single veguer during this period (and were thus, even then seen to share some administrative unity), justifies the use of this term for this whole area.

[15] The contemporary Catalan *comarca* of Alt Urgell comprises the majority of the historical region of Urgellet, as well as a few additional areas to the south, and the westernmost section of the historical Baridà.

[16] In 1321/2, this county was ruled by Teresa d'Entença or her husband, Alfons, the second son of the count of Barcelona/king of Aragon, later to become count-king himself (as Alfons the Benign). The previous count of Urgell, Ermengol X, had died without sons in 1314, and left the county to his grand-niece, Teresa d'Entença. Alfons would eventually inherit the kingdom of Aragon and county of Barcelona in 1327 after his father's death. At that point he bestowed the county of Urgell on his younger son, Jaume. The county of Urgell remained independent from the direct rule of the counts of Barcelona/Kings of Aragon until the early fifteenth century. Josefina Mutgé i Vives, "Els reials: la descendència il·legímita de Martí el Jove; la descendència de Joan I; la descendència de Pere el Cerimoniós; la descendència d'Alfons el Benigne; la descendència de Jaume II," in *Martí l'Humà: el darrer rei de la dinastia de Barcelona, 1396-1410 : l'Interregne i el compromís de Casp*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol (Barcelona and Cagliari: Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Sardegna; Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2015), 717–31, 723.

[17] On this see: Ferran Valls Taberner, *Privilegis i ordinacions de les valls pirinenques. III. Vall d'Andorra.* (Barcelona: Impremta de la Casa de Caritat, 1920); Cebrià Baraut, "L'origen i l'evolucio de la senyoria d'Andorra

bordered the southernmost sections of the county of Foix, an independent territory ruled by the count of Foix.[18] These southernmost sections of the county of Foix included the Sabarthès, the Pays d'Ax, the Pays d'Aillon and the small territory of Donasà (which the count of Foix held in fief from the king of Mallorca), however, for the purposes of this chapter, I will refer to this entire region as the county of Foix without any further subdivision.[19]

In all, Cerdanya bordered seven distinct territories, two of which (Capcir and Conflent) shared the same ruler as itself (the king of Mallorca), two of which (Ripollès and Berguedà) were ruled by the count-king of Barcelona/Aragon, and three of which (Urgellet, Andorra and Foix) were ruled by independent counts or co-princes. It is important to recall that, with a population of around 8,500 people in 1321/2, Puigcerdà would have been, by far, then the largest urban center in all seven of these surrounding territories. The second largest urban center among these seven territories was Pamiers, which was probably around half the size of Puigcerdà at this time, or maybe smaller.[20]

During the year 1321/2, 76 percent, or over three fourths of all the connections to areas outside of the valley of Cerdanya seen in the surviving notarial entries were to one of these seven

(Segles IX-XIII)," *Annals de la 1era Universitat d'Estiu Andorra* 82 (1983): 126–33. This unusual system of shared rule continues to this day, although the rights of the count of Foix are now executed by the president of France.

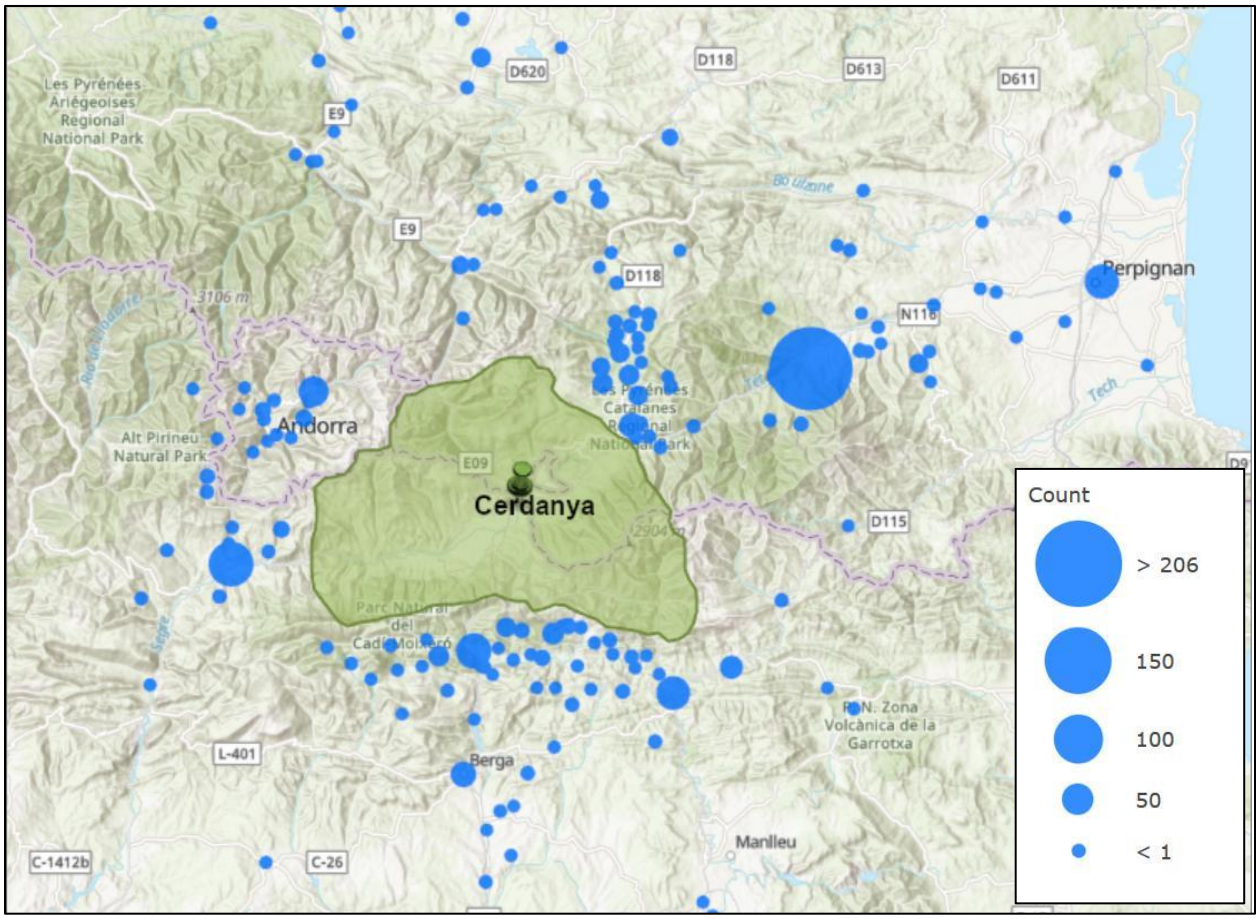
[18] On this county in a slightly later period, see: Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2008). In 1321/2, the count of Foix was Gaston II.

[19] Donasà, which was immediately north of Capcir, had once been part of the county of Cerdanya and had been granted in fief to the count of Foix by the count-king by Pere the Catholic in 1208. Sanç the Peaceful, king of Mallorca demanded fealty from the count of Foix for this territory in 1304, necessitating an arbitration. Claude Devic, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec notes et pièces justificatives*, Vol. 9 (Toulouse: Privat, 1879), 278. Documents from medieval Puigcerdà sometimes refer to the county of Foix as a whole, but sometimes identify locations as being either in the Sabartès (*terra savartesi*) or in Donasà.

[20] Josiah Cox Russell estimates that Pamiers pre-plague population would have been approximately 3,500 people. If this is accurate it would have been approximately half the size of Puigcerdà or perhaps even smaller. Russell, *Medieval Regions*, 156.

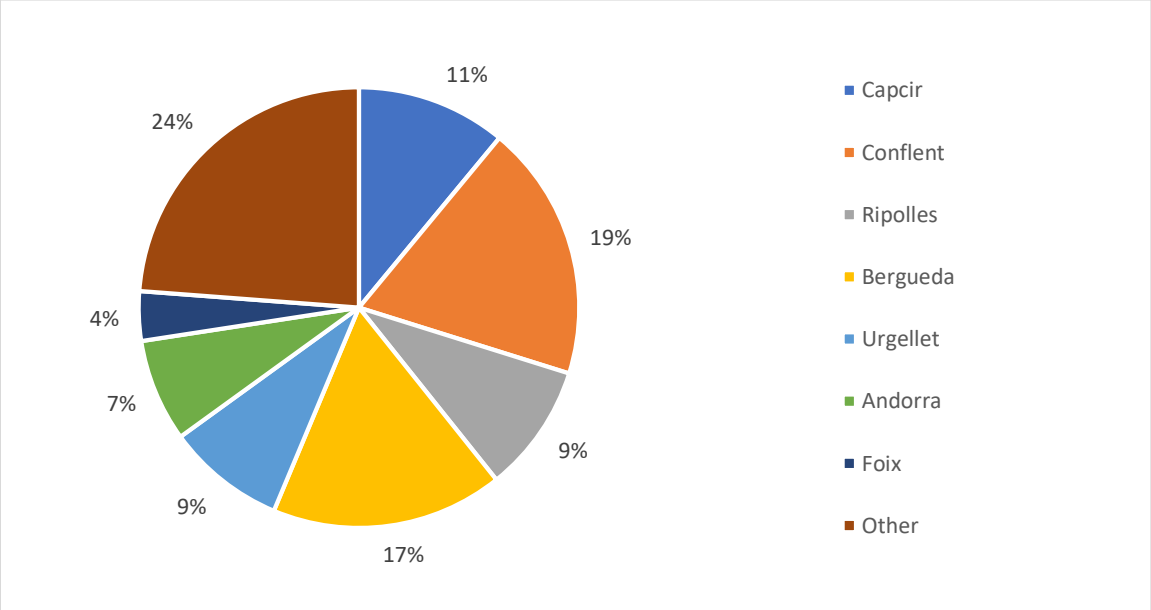
neighboring areas. A closer view of the geographic distribution of these connections can be seen in Figure 9.2, while a breakdown of the number of connections per neighboring territory can be seen in Figure 9.3.

Figure 9.2: Map of External Connections of Puigcerdà, 1321/2, Magnified[21]



[21] This is the same map as seen in Figure 9.1 but zoomed in to focus on the Pyrenean region and the areas surrounding Cerdanya.

Figure 9.3: References to People and Places from Outside Cerdanya in 1321/2, by Area[22]



As Figure 9.3 shows, the extent of Cerdanya's connections to neighboring areas varied considerably. Only 4 percent of the connections seen in this year involved Foix, for example, while 19 percent of them involved Conflent.

The high number of connections to Conflent does not mean, however, that the people of Cerdanya were trading with the people of Conflent more than any other geographical area. While many of the connections reflected in Figures 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3 do reflect commercial or economic ties, many of them also reflect connections that derive more from the structures of local legal, political or religious jurisdiction or administration than from purely commercial concerns. Cerdanya was particularly connected to Conflent in part because of its relationship to just one place: the monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixa. As noted in the introduction, the land on which

[22] This graph omits those places which could not be identified but includes those where the general area of the location could be identified, even if the precise location could not. The category "Other" includes all places that are not in Cerdanya and not one of the other seven named territories. Connections to territories as a whole are included in this map in the appropriate categories, such that, for example, a connection to "the land of Conflent," is included in the category of Conflent. Similarly, twenty-eight entries from this year refer to "the lands of the King of Mallorca". These are counted as "Other".

the town of Puigcerdà was located originally belonged to this monastery. The king bought the land for the town in 1175, but the monastery retained all of the land immediately surrounding the town's original walls.[23] As the town expanded beyond its original boundaries, this monastery retained key rights over the surrounding land. For example, as the surviving notarial entries from this year show, the monastery had to affirm their assent to any transfer, sale or sublease of land within this outer zone, and had to the right to receive a payment equivalent to one fortieth of the sale price. The monastery thus appears in a large percentage of the land sales that involve land in or around Puigcerdà, and representatives from this monastery, usually the provost (*propositus* – in that year, a monk named Brother Bernat de Guixeres), appear frequently in land sales, affirmations of land sales and other types of acts from this year. As shown in Table 9.1, the connections to this monastery alone make up 206 (11.5 percent) of the 1,789 instances in which an entry records a connection to a place outside of Cerdanya. In fact, over half of the connections that involved Conflent were to this monastery alone. An outlier, it appears in over twice as many entries as the second most-commonly appearing place, La Seu d'Urgell, (mentioned in ninety-four entries).

The monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixa was also not the only monastery possessing land in Cerdanya during this period. The monasteries of Sant Martí del Canigó, also in Conflent, the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll, and the monastery of Santes Creus, which was located quite a distance away in southern Catalonia, about thirty km north of Tarragona, also had sizeable holdings in Cerdanya.[24] In order to provide a more accurate (albeit imperfect) view of the

[23] Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 172. The monastery's rights over land outside the original walls were settled after a conflict between the town and the monastery in 1304.

[24] As mentioned previously, the Cistercian monastery of Santes Creus had possessed rights in Cerdanya (largely but not only to pastures) since the late twelfth century. See: Papell Tardiu, Diplomatari; Papell Tardiu, "L'economia ramadera"; and Riu Riu, "Zonas de pastos veraniegos."

economic ties that Cerdanya had to other regions, Figures 9.4 and 9.5 include the same information as Figures 9.1, 9.2 and 9.3, but omits all connections to monasteries.

Figure 9.4: Map of External Connections of Puigcerdà, 1321/2, without Monasteries, Magnified

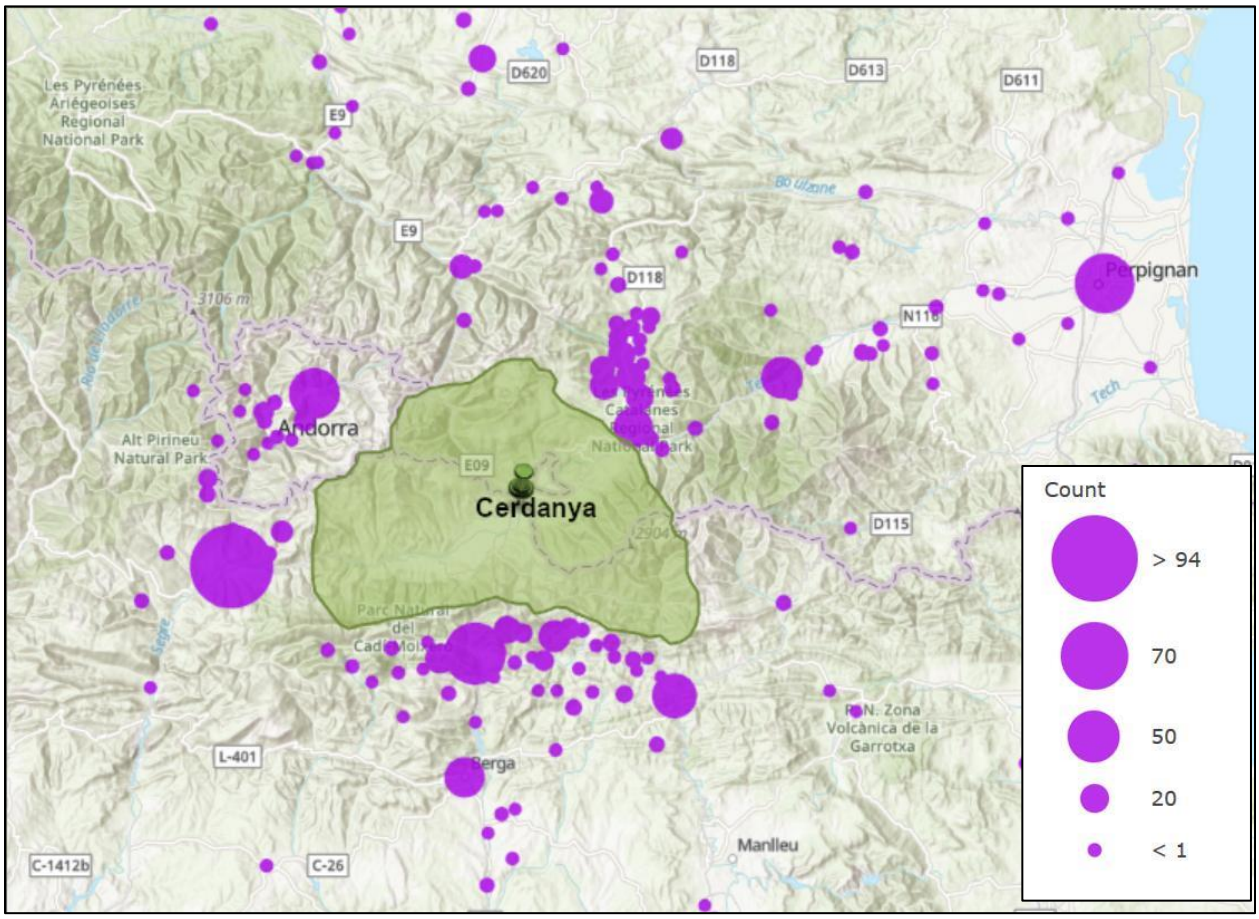
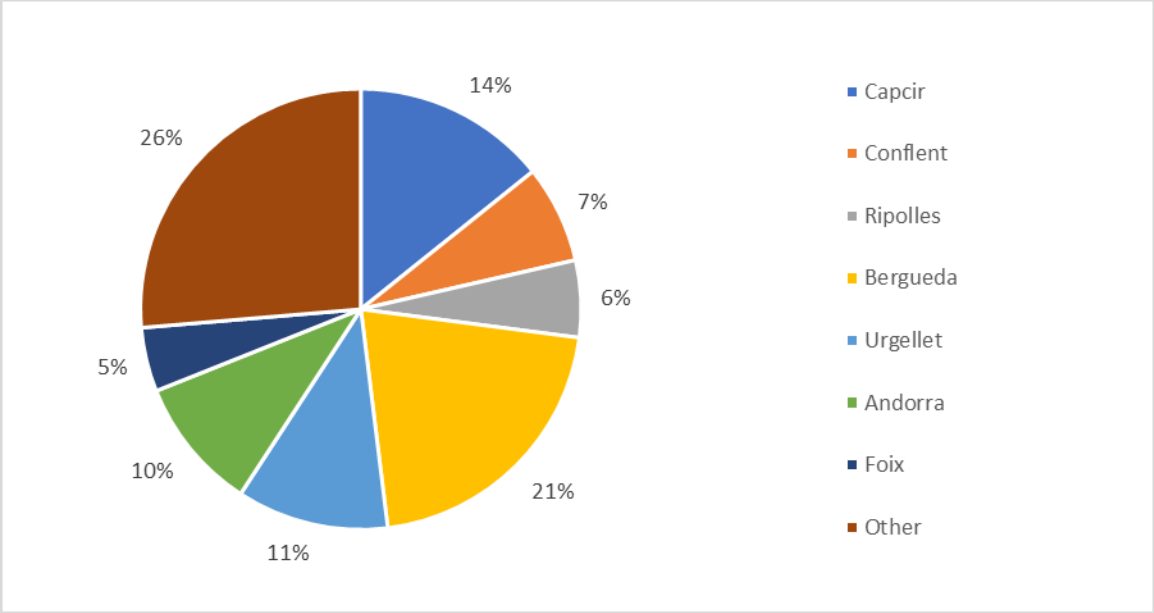


Figure 9.5: References to People and Places from Outside Cerdanya, 1321/2, by Area, without Monasteries



As Figures 9.4 and 9.5 reveal, when connections to monasteries are removed, the image of Cerdanya's connections to other areas looks quite different. While the neighboring areas still make up a majority (73.6 percent) of connections outside of Cerdanya, the breakdown area by area is quite different. Conflent, which previously appeared to be the most connected to Cerdanya, making up 19 percent of all of Cerdanya's external connections, now appears to be considerably less important, comprising only 7 percent of Cerdanya's non-monastic external connections. The area around Ripoll is also reduced. While 9 percent of Cerdanya's total external connections are in Ripollès, this area accounts for only 6 percent of Cerdanya's non-monastic external connections. This is because many of Cerdanya's connections to Ripollès in this year were to the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll and monastery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses.

In contrast, when we look at connections that were not to monasteries, other neighboring regions had far more frequent contact with Cerdanya. As Figure 9.5 shows, towns and villages within Berguedà comprised 21 percent of the total non-monastic external connections, while

those in Capcir comprised 14 percent. The people of Cerdanya were engaging in business with these two areas more than any other. Among neighboring areas, Urgellet and Andorra saw the third and fourth highest numbers of connections, while Conflent, Ripollès and Foix all saw the least. Many of the connections to Urgellet recorded in the surviving entries relate to the fact that Cerdanya was in the Diocese of Urgellet and involve either canons or business before the Bishop of Urgell.[25]

Of course, any image of Cerdanya's connections to places outside of the valley that is drawn only from the notarial entries recorded in Puigcerdà will inherently be incomplete. Many instances in which a person from Puigcerdà engaged in business involving a town or village in an area outside of Cerdanya would have been recorded only in that other area. Some people from outside of Cerdanya clearly traveled to Puigcerdà. But the people of Puigcerdà and Cerdanya also traveled out of Cerdanya to conduct legal and commercial business elsewhere. We are able to see traces of both types of travel within the records from Puigcerdà—some notarial entries recorded in Puigcerdà do concern cases in which a person from Cerdanya would have traveled outwards—but we do not have a full picture of the economic connections of Cerdanya. This raises an important question: does the distribution of Cerdanya's connections to places outside of the valley seen in the notarial entries from Puigcerdà accurately reflect the distribution of the town's external economic connections? And if it does not, are we able to estimate in what ways it may be biased? This is a question that we are able to investigate more thoroughly for the connections to neighboring areas, than for more distant connections.

[25] For more on the connections between Puigcerdà and La Seu d'Urgell, see: Carme Batlle Gallart, "Les relacions entre la Seu d'Urgell i Puigcerdà a l'edat mitjana," in *Primer congrés internacional d'història de Puigcerdà* (Institut d'Estudis Ceretans, 1983), 112–23.

One factor that would surely have influenced the rate at which connections between Cerdanya and another location were recorded in Puigcerdà was the availability of an alternate notary in the other location or between that location and Puigcerdà. There appears to have been no public notariate in Capcir, but there were notarial offices in all of the other neighboring Pyrenean areas.[26] These public scribanias were located in Vilafranca-de-Conflent, in Ripoll and Camprodon (both in Ripollès), in Bagà, Poble de Lillet (both in the northern section of Berguedà), and Berga (in the southern section of Berguedà), in La Seu d'Urgell, in Andorra and in Ax-les-Thermes (in Foix).[27] Any potential notarial act involving a person or place in one of those areas and a person or place in Cerdanya had a chance of being recorded by the notaries in those towns, and the notarial registers from these towns almost certainly originally contained entries involving people from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya. No notarial registers from the early fourteenth century survive from, Ripoll, Berga, Ax-les-Thermes or Andorra. The earliest surviving notarial register from Vilafranca-de-Conflent is from 1348, and it is the only one surviving from before 1360.[28] But there are a small number of early surviving cartularies from La Seu d'Urgell, Bagà and Poble de Lillet.[29]

[26] While I cannot rule out the possibility that in the future some document may be discovered to disprove this, I have not been able to find any evidence of a notarial office in Capcir.

[27] The scribania at Ax-les-Thermes was not the only scribania in Foix, but it was the one closest to Puigcerdà. Similarly, in Berguedà there was also a public scribania in Berga. The precise location within Andorra of the scribania of Andorra is not clear, the notaries of this scribania are referred to as "public notary of Andorra" and seem to have served the whole valley.

[28] ADPO, 3E3/927.

[29] Those from La Seu d'Urgell can be found in the Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell. Those from Bagà can be found in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. Those from Poble de Lillet can be found in the Arxiu Diocesà de Solsona. For a discussion of the registers from Bagà, see: Serra i Vilaro, *Baronies de Pinos i Mataplana*, Vol 1., 28-35. For those from Solsona, see: R. Planes i Albets, *Catàleg dels protocols notarials dels arxius de Solsona* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1985). For those from La Seu d'Urgell, see: Benigne Marquès i Sala, "Catàleg dels protocols de l'arxiu Capitular d'Urgell (segles XIII-XIV)," *Urgellia: Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* 7 (1985): 381–439 and Benigne Marquès i Sala, "Catàleg dels protocols

While a full examination of the early registers from these towns was beyond the scope of this study, I have looked at one register from Bagà from the year 1326/7 in detail.[30] This register contained a total of 915 non-cancelled entries, forty-two (4.6 percent) of which included a person from Puigcerdà or Cerdanya. How well this register from Bagà represents the total that would have been recorded there in that year is not clear.[31] But, if the year 1326/7 was similar to the year 1321/2, a not-unreasonable assumption, this register confirms that the people of Cerdanya conducted business with the people of Bagà that was recorded in Bagà and not in Puigcerdà. In the year 1321/2, there were a total of sixty-six entries that involved Bagà or a person from Bagà that were recorded in Puigcerdà (less than 1 percent of the total 7,432 non-cancelled entries). While this is surely an underrepresentation of the original total, since some registers have been lost, these two figures (the number of Cerdanians appearing in the register from Bagà in 1326/7 and the number of people from Bagà appearing the registers from Puigcerdà in 1321/2) show that business between Cerdanya and Bagà was fairly regularly recorded in both places.

The fact that Capcir does not appear to have had a notarial office of its own makes it likely that connections to this region are slightly over-represented, relative to other neighboring areas, in the surviving notarial entries from Puigcerdà. Presumably, for example, any act involving both a person from Conflent and a person from Cerdanya stood a good chance of being

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de l'arxiu Capitular d'Urgell (segles XIV-XV)," *Urgellia: Anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* 8 (1987): 303–77.

[30] ACA, Fons Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 19. In Bagà in this time period the notarial registers began and ended on March 25th, which also marked the beginning of the new year and in this notation system this year covers only the medieval year of 1326. I have, however, translated this dating into modern dating in which the year begins on January 1.

[31] Given the small size of the town, it could well have been only one per year. There appears not to have been separate books of wills, given that this register includes at least one will. This subject could be addressed in future research with a more thorough investigation of the surviving registers.

recorded either in Puigcerdà or in Vilafranca-de-Conflent, but an act involving a person from Capcir and a person from Puigcerdà was far more likely to have been recorded in Puigcerdà. Thus, while Capcir had the second highest number of non-monastic external connections to Cerdanya according to surviving records, it may actually have comprised a smaller proportion of Cerdanya's original total non-monastic external connections. The same would not apply to northern Berguedà, which had not only one, but two notarial offices. We can thus assume that Puigcerdà was indeed more connected to Berguedà (particularly the northern sections of Berguedà) than it was to other neighboring areas.

Further, as has already been discussed in Chapter 1, there were additional notarial offices within Cerdanya, in Bellver de Cerdanya and in the Baridà. Both of these may well have recorded contracts involving the people of Cerdanya and people or places outside of this valley, particularly from Urgellet or Andorra, both of which are closer to the Baridà and to Bellver than to Puigcerdà. It may well be that connections between Cerdanya and Urgellet and the southern part of Andorra are underrepresented in the surviving entries from Puigcerdà because a higher percentage of any business involving those places and Cerdanya were recorded in Baridà or Bellver. This same logic would not apply to Foix, Ripollès, Berguedà, Conflent or Capcir, however.

Examining the connections between Cerdanya and neighboring Pyrenean areas as seen in the surviving entries from the year 1321/2 reveals that the Cerdanya was highly connected to neighboring valleys and that Puigcerdà's sphere of economic influence, as the largest city in the region, extended beyond the political boundaries of Cerdanya and of the Crown of Mallorca. In particular, Puigcerdà was highly connected to towns and villages across the northern sections of Berguedà, as well as to places in Capcir, to Urgellet and to Andorra. Cerdanya was also

connected to Conflent, Ripollès and Foix, but evidently to a lesser degree. The fact that Puigcerdà's economic connections extended beyond the political boundaries demonstrates that Puigcerdà and Cerdanya were the center of a broader region within the Eastern Pyrenees which had a degree of economic unity, even if not political unity.

External Connections to More Distant Areas in 1321/2

As Figure 9.1 will have made clear, in the year 1321/2 the people of Cerdanya were also connected to numerous locations in areas that did not directly border it. Some of these, such as Languedoc and Rosselló, were comparatively close. But connections seen in the surviving entries from this year also include places as far west as Castile, as far south as Valencia and, as will be discussed in more detail in a later section, as far east as the Tuscan and Umbrian towns of Florence, Arezzo and Città di Castello. Connections to places and regions that did not border Cerdanya comprised a substantial percentage of the town's total number of connections documented in this year. Out of the total 1,789 different instances of a connection to somewhere outside of Cerdanya in the surviving entries from this year, 395 (22 percent) were to a place that was not in a neighboring area. And this rises to 24.1 percent (334 of 1,382) when considering only those connections that were not to monasteries.[32] In this section I discuss the extent and the nature of Puigcerdà's connections to more distant areas, with a focus on town's longer-distance commercial ties.

Southern Languedoc: The Pays de Sault and Pays d'Olmes

[32] Both figures do not include connections to "Catalonia" (i.e. as a whole), or "the lands of the king of Mallorca," but do include connections to "the Kingdom of Aragon," and the "Kingdom of France".

One region which did not directly border Cerdanya, but which was frequently connected to Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2, was the southern-most portion of Languedoc. Technically, Cerdanya did not border Languedoc, as they were separated by Capcir and the southernmost sections of the county of Foix (particularly Donasà). But while some parts of Languedoc were quite distant from Cerdanya, the south-western most areas of this region, the Pays de Sault (in the modern French department of Aude) and the Pays d'Olmes (in the modern French department of Ariège) was quite close.[33] Indeed, the Pays de Sault was as close to Cerdanya as much of the county of Foix (which it bordered to the east). This region was, to an extent, part of the broader Pyrenean region that surrounded Puigcerdà, although, like the county of Foix, it was not as connected to Puigcerdà as Capcir, Berguedà or Andorra were.

Although the records from 1321/2 do document a small number of connections between Cerdanya and the larger, famous Languedocian cities that were farther from Puigcerdà, as I will discuss below, Cerdanya was clearly far more connected to the smaller Languedocian towns in the far south-western corner of Languedoc near the county of Foix. For example, the surviving entries include twenty connections to Laroque d'Olmes, sixteen to Rodome, thirteen to Quillan, five to Limbrassac, and four to Lavelanet, all towns or villages in the far south-west corner of Languedoc, about halfway between Puigcerdà and Carcassonne, as well as several others in this

[33] The Pays de Sault had been part of the county of Razès, until that county was brought under the control of the French crown after the Albigensian Crusade. On this area see: Christian Raynaud, "Villages disparus dans les Pyrénées audoises : les mutations médiévales de l'habitat," *Annales du Midi : revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale*, 1986, 433–67; Jean-Pierre Sarret, "Geographie historique du Pays de Sault au Moyen Âge.," *Archéologie du Midi médiéval* 3 (1985): 93–102. The Pays d'Olmes had originally been part of the county of Foix, but this was no longer the case by the fourteenth century. On this see: Florence Guillot, "Les fortifications des comtes de Foix au Moyen Âge (Ariège).," *Archéologie du Midi Médiéval* 23, no. 1 (2005): 265–92, https://doi.org/10.3406/amime.2005.1836, and Jules de Lahondès, "Les prieurés de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse, dans le pays de Foix (suite)," *Bulletin Monumental* 52, no. 1 (1886): 435–49, https://doi.org/10.3406/bulmo.1886.10642.

region that appeared less frequently.[34] In contrast there were only four connections to Carcassonne, five to Narbonne, one to Limoux, four to Toulouse and four to Montpellier.[35]

The entries involving the towns and villages of the Pays de Sault and the Pays d'Olmes make clear that the primary commercial tie between these areas and Puigcerdà was the mule trade. Cerdanya was regularly importing mules from this part of Languedoc during this year. Inhabitants of Laroque d'Olmes, Lavelanet, Limbrassac, Rodome and Quillan appear in a total of forty-four surviving entries from this year.[36] Of these forty-four, twenty-six are sales on credit in which the item sold was one or more mules (or a percentage share of a mule). Three additional entries record debts relating to the price of the *turnus* owed in exchanges of mules, and one records a renunciation relating to a 50 percent share of a mule sold in the previous contract. Many of the other surviving entries are quittances of debts for unstated reasons that may well also have involved the mule trade. The mule trade was by far the most central reason for economic interactions between Cerdanya and this corner of Languedoc.

This mule trade appears to have flowed primarily in one direction: from Languedoc to Cerdanya. In the twenty-four out of these twenty-six sales on credit, or 92 percent of them, the sellers were from Languedoc. In only two of these twenty-six sales on credit of mules was the person from Languedoc the buyer. The three debts related to the *turnus* for an exchanged mule show reveal that some mules were exchanges for other mules, but on the whole it is clear that

[34] Rodome and Quillan are both in the Pays de Sault. Laroque d'Olmes, Limbrassac and Lavelanet are all in the Pays d'Olmes, slightly north-west of the Pays de Sault.

[35] Politically, Montpellier was, like Puigcerdà, under the control of the King of Mallorca. I will discuss it in this section because, geographically it lies within Languedoc.

[36] These forty-four entries document fifty-eight connections, because all of the entries that involve a person from Quillan also involve a person from Rodome and three additional entries involve a person from Rodome but no one from Quillan, and because of those these also includes a person from Lavelanet.

mules were imported from Languedoc into Cerdanya far more frequently than the reverse.[37] Additionally, although there were some merchants or teams of merchants who were particularly active within this trade, mules were not brought to Cerdanya from only one place in Languedoc: men from at least six different towns in this corner of Languedoc appear in these sales on credit of mules. Fifteen of the sales on credit of mules were made by one or more merchants from Laroque d'Olmes (most commonly either Arnaud del Burch, or a pair of men named Estève Guillhermat and Arnaud del Serrat, though there were also others).[38] Seven were made by a pair of merchants working together who were from two different towns, Guilhèm Enart of Rodome and Bernart Serena of Quillan. One mule sale on credit was by a seller from Limbrassac, two involved people from Lavelanet working alone, and in one case the sale was made jointly by someone from Lavelanet and someone from Chalabre. Clearly, the mule trade was widespread within this southwestern corner of Languedoc.

Notably, different Landuedocian mule-traders appear more frequently before some notaries than others. This fact may clearly bias the image of which Languedocian towns Puigcerdà was most connected to. As noted above, there were twenty entries involving Laroque d'Olmes. Of these twenty, seventeen, or 85 percent were recorded by the notarial pair Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alb. In contrast, if we look at the thirteen entries that involve both Rodome and Quillan together, eleven of them, or 91.6 percent were recorded by the notaries Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve. Across all thirty-three of those entries, only two (6 percent) were recorded within books of townspeople and only one (3 percent) was recorded within a book of

[37] It is possible that mule traders from Puigcerdà traveled to Languedocian towns to sell mules and that such entries were recorded only in those places.

[38] Of these fifteen, seven were by Arnaud del Burch, and five by the other paid. Estève Guillhermat's name sometimes appears as Estève den Gat, but I consider it highly likely that these two names referred to the same person.

debts. The vast majority (thirty out of thirty-three or 91 percent) were recorded in books of outsiders.[39] Clearly individual merchants or pairs of merchants strongly preferred certain pairs of notaries, and the nature of their business in Puigcerdà was most likely to be recorded in a certain type of register.[40] We see the frequency of the interactions that these merchants had in Puigcerdà because the book of outsiders from their preferred notaries from this year survived. But the book of outsiders from the third notarial pair working in this year, Mateu d'Oliana and Guillem Hualart does not survive to the present day. If there were other similar merchants that preferred this notarial pair, then their activities in Cerdanya would have been undercounted. In particular our understanding of which of these small Languedocian towns was the most frequently connected to Puigcerdà may be impacted because the majority of merchants from one location may have appeared only within that lost register.

A smaller number of entries attest that a secondary economic connection between these two regions was the cloth industry. Twice, once in November and once in December, a cloth-seller from Puigcerdà named Bernat Serrador sold serges to inhabitants of Rodome.[41] Also in December, the cloth-seller Jaume Mercader of Puigcerdà sold cloth to a man from Limbrassac.[42]

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[39] This is unsurprising, given that these entries are primarily sales on credit in which the money is owed to a person from outside of Cerdanya, and fits within my broader theory of how the entries were divided across registers.

[40] Arnaud del Burch of Laroque d'Olmes apparently preferred to go to the notaries Jaume Garriga and Mateu d'Alp, as did the other pair of merchants from Laroque d'Olmes, Estève Guillhermat and Arnaud del Serrat. In contrast, the pair of merchants from Rodome and Quillan, Guilhèm Enart and Bernart Serena preferred to go to the notaries Bernat Blanch and Arnau Esteve.

[41] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 40r (k) and fol. 55v (b) In both of these entries Bernat Serrador's hometown is not listed, however, a man by this name appears in 176 entries from this year, the vast majority of time as the seller in sales on credit of cloth. Forty-two of these entries identify Bernat Serrador as a resident of Puigcerdà, while the remaining 134 do not list his hometown. It is almost certain this is the same Bernat Serrador and he is an inhabitant of Puigcerdà.

[42] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 32v (h). As in the case above, the seller, Jaume Mercader, is not identified as a cloth-merchant nor as being from Puigcerdà, however this can be inferred as highly likely given the fact that a man by this name appears numerous times identified as a cloth-seller from Puigcerdà. On the specific references, see Chapter 4.

In March of 1322, a man named Pere de Lillet of Puigcerdà appointed Berthomeu Verger of Querigut (in Donasà) as his procurator to collect a debt owed to him by Guilhèm Vidal of Mirepoix (in Languedoc) that Guilhèm owed him on account of a sale on credit of cloth, in an agreement they had made without a written instrument ("*sin carta*").[43] And finally, in an additional entry from September of 1321, a man named Raimon del Molins of Rodome acknowledged a debt of sixty wool fleeces to Bernat Vives and the shepherd Ramon Soler, both likely of Puigcerdà.[44] Thus we can see that cloth-sellers of Puigcerdà sometimes sold cloth within Languedoc, or purchased wool from inhabitants of Languedoc. In both cases, this appears to have been far less common than the rate at which residents of Cerdanya purchased mules from residents of Languedoc, but this may be due to the bias of the sources. The relatively high number of connections between Puigcerdà and the towns in the south-western corner of Languedoc suggests that, though these areas did not directly border Puigcerdà, they too were part of the broader Pyrenean region centered around Cerdanya, discussed in the previous section.

Perpignan and Rosselló

By far, the non-contiguous location to which Puigcerdà was the most connected in this year was Perpignan. The city of Perpignan and/or people from Perpignan appear in sixty-three of the surviving entries. As Table 9.1 shows, Perpignan was the fourth most frequently mentioned location outside of Cerdanya mentioned within the documents from this year, after only the Monastery of Sant Miquel de Cuixà, La Seu d'Urgell and Bagà. Cerdanya was also connected to

[43] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 85v (c). This contract also notes that Guilhèm had then sold on these cloths in the markets of Foix (*dictus G. Vitalis emit autem dictos pannos in nundinis de Foix*).

[44] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 18r (i).

other locations in Rosselló, the county of which Perpignan was the capital, though to a far lesser extent than to the city of Perpignan itself. A total of twelve additional locations in Rosselló (two of them monasteries) appear, across thirty-two different entries.[45]

Although there were a relatively high number of documented connections between Puigcerdà and Perpignan in this year, a large number of them do not reveal anything to us about commercial ties between these two locations. In eight entries the only connection was that one of the witnesses was from Perpignan. Other entries involve people who moved from Cerdanya to Perpignan, but in which the reason for the move is unclear.[46] Additionally, many of these connections derived not from commercial ties but from the fact that Perpignan was the mainland capital of the king of Mallorca. The type of act that most frequently mentions Perpignan or people from Perpignan is the appointment of procurators. These acts, which will be discussed in greater detail below, are cases in which one person empowers someone else to act legally on their behalf. Perpignan appears in seventeen appointments of procurators for this year. Seven of these were related to legal appeals or to a need to appear before the king of Mallorca.[47] For example, in July of 1321 Fina Mercader of Puigcerdà, acting on behalf of her underage son Pere, appointed her father Pere de Cornellà of Perpignan and her brother Guillem to act for her and for her son, to appear before the King of Mallorca to recognize him as lord over certain rights her

[45] Nineteen of these thirty-two connections involve the priory of Santa Maria de Serrabona, no other location appears in more than four entries.

[46] For example, in July of 1321 Bernat Forn, who identified himself as a merchant from Perpignan but the son of a man from Osséja in Cerdanya, renounces rights to his inheritance in favor of his brother's daughter. ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 5r (f). Similarly, a few days later Pere Czakall, identified as an inhabitant of Perpignan and the son of Arnau and Bartolomea Çakal of Olopte in Cerdanya, renounces his inheritance in favor of his sister Ramona. ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 8r (b).

[47] One of these is a substitution of a procurator. In one of these cases the only connection to Perpignan is a witness who was from Perpignan, but in the majority either the person naming the procurator or the procurator are from Perpignan or the act specifies that the procurator must undertake some business in Perpignan.

son held in Llívia and to perform homage to him on her and her son's behalf.[48] On January 26 of 1322, Jaume Peyrona of Onzés named Guillem Amalrich of Perpignan to act as his procurator in an appeal involving him and the veguer of Cerdanya, Ramon de Mosset, that will be heard by Guillem Saura, judge of the king of Mallorca.[49] These appointments of procurators suggest that one of the main causes of the frequent connections between Puigcerdà and Perpignan was the fact that Perpignan housed the mainland court of the king of Mallorca. We also see hints of this type of connection in other entries. For example, two entries record quittances for payments that were ordered in disputes adjudicated by a lawyer from Perpignan.[50] And in other cases residents of Perpignan acting as a representative for the king appears on business in Puigcerdà.[51]

A few of the entries from this year that mention Perpignan do reveal evidence of trade between Perpignan and Puigcerdà. Only six of the sixty-three entries involving Perpignan from this year are sales on credit. Of these, five involve a buyer from Perpignan; only one involves a seller from Perpignan.[52] These sales on credit, along with additional surviving entries, reveal that the main commodities that moved between Puigcerdà and Perpignan in this year were livestock and cloth. Livestock and cloth moved from Puigcerdà to Perpignan, while cloth and Tuscan woad were imported into Puigcerdà from or through Perpignan. Similarly, to those entries relating to Perpignan, most of the entries documenting connections to villages within Rosselló

[48] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 4v (b).

[49] "*...causa apellationis qui vertitur seu verti sperantur inter me ex una parte et venerabilem et discretum dominum Raimundum de Mosseto militem vicarium ceritanie sub examinatione venerabilis et discretus domino Guillelmus Saura judices illustris domini regis maiorica*." ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 36v (a).

[50] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 59r (b and d).

[51] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 27v (a).

[52] One additional sale on credit involves a witness from Perpignan, and one that involves no people form Perpignan mentions that the purchased merchandize was received in Perpignan.

also do not offer any insight into commercial connections between Cerdanya and Rosselló. Only one sale on credit involves people from a location in Rosselló other than Perpignan; it demonstrates a similar trade in livestock as several of the entries involving Perpignan record.

A number of entries reaffirm the centrality of husbandry in Puigcerdà. Four of the sales on credit involving a person from Perpignan record debts owed by a butcher of Perpignan for the purchase of livestock. On July 28 of 1321, the butcher Berenger Ripoll of Perpignan acknowledged that he owed eight *lliures* of Barcelona to Jaume Cerdà for goats.[53] On November 16 of that year Bartomeu Pelicer, butcher of Perpignan, acknowledges owing forty *lliures* of Barcelona to Pere Vila of Puigcerdà, on behalf of a debt he owed to Pere Bruguera of Llívia for some sheep that Bruguera had sold him.[54] Three days later on November 19, Bartomeu Pelicer acknowledges owing a further fifty *lliures* and eight *sous* of Barcelona to Pere Bruguera (here identified as being of Puigcerdà but formerly of Llívia) for sheep.[55] Finally, on December 1 of that year, a butcher named Ramon Mascaros of Perpignan acknowledged that he owed Guillem Espanyol (probably of Puigcerdà), sixty-six *lliures* of Barcelona for sheep.[56] While these four entries may reflect only three actual sales, it seems clear that the trade in livestock (likely destined for the meat-markets in Perpignan) was a primary commercial tie between Puigcerdà and Perpignan. The one sale on credit involving a purchaser from Rosselló but not Perpignan

[53] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 8r (c). Cerdà's hometown is not stated but was probably Puigcerdà based on the fact that this appears within one of the books of debts (on the reasoning for this, see Chapter 2). As is very common within sales on credit, the quantity of goats is not stated.

[54] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 44v (a). Evidently Pere Brugera owed Pere Vila, but his manner of repaying Vila was to have the debt that Pelicer owed him paid directly to Vila.

[55] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 45v (h). This entry and the previous one may reflect only one actual sale that was recorded in two separate entries because of the way that Pelicer paid a portion of his total debt to one of Brugera's own creditors.

[56] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 49v (e).

also involves a sale on credit of sheep. In this entry, from November 2, 1321, during the week of Puigcerdà's major yearly fair, two men, Guillem Miro and Guillem Pastor of Tuïr acknowledged owning twenty *lliures* of Barcelona to cloth-finisher and a weaver who were likely from Puigcerdà for sheep (*pro multonibus*).[57] In this case the sellers were not butchers and it is not clear that the sheep would not be kept for wool, but this may demonstrate a similar case to the other entries involving buyers from Perpignan.

The fifth sale on credit from this year involving a buyer from Perpignan is a sale of cloth. In this case, Profait Mair, a Jew from Perpignan, acknowledged that he owed seven *lliures* of Barcelona to Arnau *Payllares* of Puigcerdà for cloth.[58] The specific type of cloth is not stated, so it is not clear that this was cloth produced in Puigcerdà. However, the fact that higher quality imported cloth would almost certainly have been more prevalent within Perpignan than in Puigcerdà, (which was not only a larger city, but also closer to the coast), makes it highly likely that this was local Cerdanian cloth.

Only one sale on credit from this year includes sellers from Perpignan. In this case, from July of 1321, Jaume Mercader, identified as a merchant from Puigcerdà acknowledged owing Joan Giutart and Arnau Castella, a cloth-finisher, both of Perpignan twenty-two *lliures* and eighteen *sous* of Barcelona for cloth.[59] The fact that Mercader purchased this cloth directly from a cloth-finisher suggests that this may have been cloth produced in Perpignan. Further study would be needed in order to discuss what other commodities the people of Puigcerdà imported

[57] ACCE Reg. 28 fol. 35v (c). It isn't clear whether both men are from Tuïr, but this seems like the plausible interpretation. The hometown of the sellers is not stated but was probably Puigcerdà.

[58] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 56v (e).

[59] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 5r (c). We can assume that this is likely the same Jaume Mercader who was a cloth-seller, and who appeared in numerous other acts recorded in this year.

from Perpignan. Presumably acts recording sales by people from Perpignan were recorded in a higher proportion in Perpignan than in Puigcerdà.[60]

Additional entries from this year show that merchants from Puigcerdà also imported cloth from more distant areas through Perpignan. For example, one entry from September of 1321 discusses a purchase of French cloth (likely luxury, northern-French cloth), through Perpignan. In this case, Arnau Guerau, a money-changer of Puigcerdà, and Jaume Peguera, a merchant (likely also of Puigcerdà), acknowledged owing 128 *lliures*, fifteen *sous* and nine *diners* of Barcelona to the brothers Berenguier and Pèire Benedeit of Montpellier "for French cloth" (*pro pannis francie*) that Jaume Peguera "had and received in the town of Perpignan" (*habui et recepi in villa Perpiniani*).[61] In an additional entry that will be discussed in more detail below, a merchant named Guillem d'Arsèguel from Puigcerdà purchased cloth that was coming from Valencia and that was brought toward Puigcerdà through Perpignan.[62] Clearly, cloth circulated between Puigcerdà and Perpignan in both directions. Some cloth (probably local, Pyrenean cloth) moved from Puigcerdà to Perpignan. While other cloth, both that likely produced in Perpignan and foreign, imported cloth (likely of a higher quality) moving through Perpignan inward to Puigcerdà.

Cloth was also not the only commodity that moved through Perpignan. As I will also discuss below in more detail, Tuscan woad, which was imported into Puigcerdà by Tuscan merchants, was also brought through Perpignan where several of these Tuscan merchants had

[60] Future study of the surviving early-fourteenth-century notarial registers from Perpignan could help illuminate this subject.

[61] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (d). In other entries from this year a merchant named Jaume Peguera who engaged in the cloth trade is clearly identified as being from Puigcerdà.

[62] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 7v (c).

established residency. Four entries from this year include Italians who were living in Perpignan and conducting business in Puigcerdà. For example, in October of 1321 Taddeo Brunacini of Florence, but residing in Perpignan, acting as the procurator for the merchant Giovanni Xochi, also of Florence but residing in Narbonne, acknowledges to Ramon Castelar (probably of Puigcerdà) that he has received from him copies of seven debts (*septem instrumenta debtoria* [sic]) that record sales Giovanni made of fifteen sacks of woad (*de venditionibus quindecim sacarum pastelli*).[63] In February of 1322 Pere Vidal, a dyer of Puigcerdà, transferred a debt owed to him by a man from Puigcerdà to the procurator of Griffo Homodei, who is identified as being from Arezzo but residing in Perpignan. The entry notes that Pere Vidal originally owed Griffo for woad (*pro pastello*).[64] In another case from February of this year another dyer from Puigcerdà, Guillem Esteve transfers a debt owed to him by a man in Vilafranca-de-Conflent to Hugo Decani of Città di Castello (in Italy), inhabitant of Perpignan.[65] In this case it does not state the reason for the debt, although the debt owed to Guillem Esteve is owed to him on the behalf of a man identified as a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà and it very likely also involved dyes.

I will discuss the rise and development of the Italian woad trade in Puigcerdà in more detail below, but here it worth emphasizing Perpignan's role as a hub through which Puigcerdà

[63] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 44r (a).

[64] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 71v (b). The debt owed to Pere Vidal was owed by a man named Guillem de Linars of Puigcerdà and was for cloth dyeing (*pro tincturis pannorum*). While his occupation is not stated, it seems likely that this is the same Guillem de Linars of Puigcerdà who was a cloth-finisher and who appeared in other entries from this year. If so this document shows directly how the cloth-dyer passes the debts he owes for acquiring cloth-dyes on to his customer, so that the cloth-finishers ultimately end up paying the woad-suppliers, and not the dyers. This will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

[65] ACE Register 131 fol. 50r (f). This probably demonstrates a similar arrangement to the act involving Pere Vidal discussed above. Hugo Decani's surname appears in various forms in different entries, including in this particular entry as "Daga". I have chosen to standardize this name for clarity. This same merchant also appeared in another entry from this year, from September of 1321 in which he acknowledged receipt of a debt paid by a man from Puigcerdà on behalf of a man from Perpignan. ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 23v (b).

gained access to products imported from more distant regions. This hub function is shown by the fact that cloth coming from Valencia and Montpellier and woad coming from Tuscany came to Puigcerdà through Perpignan.

In sum, only a small number of the entries documenting connections between Puigcerdà and Perpignan or between Puigcerdà and Rosselló demonstrate commercial connections. Many of the connections between Puigcerdà and Perpignan derive from the fact that Perpignan was the home of the mainland capital of the kings of Mallorca. The commercial connections that there were, however, show that people in Perpignan purchased sheep and cloth from people in Puigcerdà, and that people in Puigcerdà purchased cloth in Perpignan, and imported goods from more distant areas, including cloth and cloth-dyes that were brought through Perpignan.

Languedoc

As noted above, merchants from some of the smaller towns in the southern-most areas of Languedoc that bordered the county of Foix regularly visited Puigcerdà during this period, mainly selling mules, though occasionally purchasing cloth. The larger towns of Languedoc, such as Carcassonne, Narbonne and Toulouse also appear regularly within the surviving entries from this year, but less frequently. The entries from 1321/2 record five connections to Narbonne, four to Carcassone, four to Toulouse, four to Montpellier and one to Limoux. Several of the entries involving these towns are cases in which the person from Languedoc appears only as a witness.[66] While this still demonstrates a connection, given that someone from one of these towns was present in Puigcerdà, it makes it difficult for us to determine the nature of that

[66] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 3v (e and f) and 30r (c).

person's business there. Overall, there is no one economic pattern that clearly dominates the entries involving these towns. A small number of them do, however, relate to the cloth trade.

For example, a labor agreement from October records that Bernart Bonet, son of Pèire Bonet of Carcassonne agreed to work for a draper from Puigcerdà named Pere d'Alp.[67] In the following entry the same Bernart appointed several people to act as his procurators in collecting debts owed to him in the diocese of Carcassonne.[68] While it is not entirely clear what kind of work Bernart would be doing for Pere d'Alp, it likely involved the cloth trade given the fact that Pere is identified as a cloth-seller. Additionally, the entry, mentioned above, in which Pere de Lillet of Puigcerdà appointed a procurator from Querigut to collect the debt that Guilhèm Vidal of Mirepoix owed him for cloth, specifies that Guilhèm had promised to pay in Toulouse. This thus suggests some connections between Puigcerdà and Toulouse relating to the cloth-trade, even if the entry does not involve any individuals from Toulouse. In addition, two of the entries documenting a connection to Narbonne relate to the trade of Italian woad (a cloth-dye), which will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. In one of these, as was noted above in the section on Perpignan, an Italian merchant residing in Perpignan but acting as the procurator of an Italian merchant residing in Narbonne acknowledges receiving copies of certain acts recording debts due to sales of woad.[69] The other is a quittance of a debt owed by a man from Puigcerdà to an Italian merchant residing in Narbonne and collected by an Italian merchant residing in Puigcerdà.[70]

[67] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 14v (d).

[68] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 15r (a). This same man also appears once as a witness: ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 30r (c).

[69] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 44r (a).

[70] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 109r (a). Woad is not mentioned in this act, but it was likely that this transaction involved woad given that, as will be discussed later on, this was the predominant business of these Italian merchants.

Finally, one of the entries relating to Narbonne is a labor agreement in which a man named Magister Joan de Limoges, inhabitant of Narbonne, affirms to Jaume de Villallobent and Pere Muntaner of Puigcerdà, the overseers of the guild of cloth-finishers, who are acting in their own names and in those of all the other cloth-finishers of Puigcerdà, that he will come and reside in Puigcerdà for two months of the year (every May and September) for the following six years, for the purpose of restoring and sharpening all the shearing scissors of all the cloth-finishers of Puigcerdà, which he agrees to do for a price of two *sous* and four *diners* per pair of scissors (and no more).[71] While several of these documents do relate in some way to the cloth-trade or the cloth industry, there is no clear, direct evidence of import of cloth in either direction between Puigcerdà and these larger cities of Languedoc, at least from this year.

Looking only on at the small number of entries that involve people from Montpellier, however, there is clearer evidence that the people of Puigcerdà imported French cloth through that city. While surrounded by Languedocian lands under the control of the French crown, Montpellier was, like Puigcerdà, under the control of the king of Mallorca. Only four of the surviving entries from 1321/2 document a connection to Montpellier. Of these, one provides explicit evidence of the import of cloth, while the other three allude to it. As was discussed above, on September 9, 1321, Arnau Guerau of Puigcerdà, a money-changer, and Jaume Peguera

[71] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 76v (c). "Magister Johannes de Limotges habitator de Narbona affirmo me ipsum ubicum Jacobi de Vilalobent et Petri Muntaner de Podioceritano suprapositis paratorum podiiceritani nomine vostro et aliorum suprapositorum qui pro tempore fuerint in dicta villa hinc ad sex annos proprio venientes ad abtantum [sic] et reficiendum forfices de baxar paratorum ville podiiceritani. In huc modo videlicet quod ego bis in anno predictorum sex annorum videlicet per totum mensem madii et etiam septembri ero et faciam continuam residensiam in dicta villa et atornare seu esmolare bene et legaliter omes tesores paratorum dice ville de baxar... pro unaquaque dictarum forficium duos sol. iiii. denarii et non magis..." This was not the first case in which cloth-finishers from Puigcerdà had hired someone from elsewhere to come and sharpen their instruments. In 1289 eight cloth-finishers hired a man named Magister Joan d'Avignon to come for one month a year for eight years for the same reason. On this document see: ACCE, Reg. 108 fol. 81r (c), Martí Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 429-430, and Riera Melis, "Els orígens," 864. Riera Melis mistakenly identified this man as being from Avinyó in the Catalan comarca of Bages, but the original document makes clear that this person is from Avignon "in the land of Provence".

merchant acknowledged owing 128 *lliures*, fifteen *sous* and nine *diners* of Barcelona to two brothers, Berenguier and Pèire Benedeit of Montpellier, "for French cloth" (*pro pannis francie*) that Peguera received in Perpignan.[72] This was likely northern-French cloth that was clearly brought through Montpellier and then through Perpignan before reaching Puigcerdà. The other three entries involving Montpellier all involve a deceased merchant from Puigcerdà named Jaume Andreu. On his death sometime prior to 1321, Jaume Andreu evidently left several debts outstanding to merchants from Montpellier. Several of these were ceded to other merchants, and over the course of 1321/2, repaid by Jaume's widow, Elisenda (who was acting on behalf of her two sons).[73] In September, Domènec Dort, a merchant of Tremp in the Catalan county of Pallars, acknowledges repayment of a debt of sixty-eight *lliures* and fifteen *sous* of Barcelona that Jaume Andreu had originally owed to the merchants Gèli and Pèire de Ponat of Montpellier.[74] The following April, Arnau Guerau of Puigcerdà, along with Ramon Peguera, acting as the procurator of his brother Jaume (presumably the same men who had purchased French cloth in the entry discussed above), also acknowledged to Elisenda Andreu that the debt of ninety-one *lliures*, eighteen *sous* and four *diners* of Barcelona which her husband had owed to the cloth-sellers Berenguier and Pèire Benedeit of Montpellier, and which had been ceded to them, was repaid.[75] While these latter three entries do not state the reason for Jaume Andreu's debts to merchants from Montpellier, the high values, and particularly the fact that in the last

[72] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (d).

[73] Elisenda appears across fifteen notarial entries from this year as was noted in Chapter 3.

[74] In the following entry he promises to confirm to Gèli and Pèire de Ponat that the debt was repaid. ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 20r (b and c).

[75] ACCE, Reg. 87v (d).

case the merchants were known cloth-sellers, certainly makes it likely that Jaume Andreu had also been importing cloth before his death.[76]

Catalonia

Even omitting those locations in the areas that immediately border Cerdanya, the surviving entries from this year include references to a wide variety of place within Catalonia. However, the majority of these locations appear in only a few entries. For example, the Cerdanian registers from this year record connections to Olot, Banyoles, Girona, Vic, Manresa, Cardona, Solsona, Tremp, Cervera, Agramunt, Balager, Lleida, Tortosa, Caldes de Montbui and, of course, Barcelona, among others.[77] And yet, among all these places only five appear in four or more entries: Tremp (four entries), Vic (five entries), Lleida (seven), Cardona (ten), and Barcelona (twelve).[78] As was the case among entries involving Languedoc, several of these entries do not make clear what the nature of the connection between Cerdanya and the other cities is or have nothing to do with economic or commercial ties. Of the twelve entries mentioning Barcelona, for example, two are cases in which the only tie is because one of the witnesses is from Barcelona. But a small number of the entries involving places in Catalonia

[76] Further investigation of earlier notarial registers might prove this fact. If Jaume Andreu was trading in French cloth, then the fact that one of his debts was purchased by a merchant for Tremp also begs the question of whether perhaps the same French cloths were also being exported out of Puigcerdà even further into the Pyrenees, toward Tremp.

[77] I have omitted from this list many smaller villages, listing primarily small towns and cities. This also omits monasteries in non-neighboring areas of Catalonia, of which only one, the Monastery of Santes Creus, appeared with any regularity. As was discussed above this monastery possessed certain lands in Cerdanya. It appeared in thirty-seven surviving entries from this year.

[78] This omits places in Catalonia but within areas that neighbor Cerdanya, such as Ripollès and Berguedà.

provide some hints at the nature of economic exchanges between Puigcerdà and these other places.

The connections to those places in Catalonia with at least four connections suggest that the primary items traded between Puigcerdà and other locations in Catalonia were cloth, salt and salted meats. For example, two of the entries involving Tremp are sales on credit in which a buyer from Tremp purchased cloth.[79] The other two are those, already discussed above, involving the merchant from Tremp, Domènec Dort, who purchased a debt originally owed by a man from Puigcerdà to merchants from Montpellier.[80] Two of the entries involving Vic are sales on credit in which the purchaser was from Vic. One is for salted meat (*carnibus salsis*), the other for canvas (*pannis canapis)*.[81] In another case a merchant from Vic settled debts with the widow of an apothecary of Puigcerdà, suggesting that the apothecary had been importing materials from or through Vic.[82] Only two of the entries involving Lleida give an indication of commercial ties. Both relate to the cloth industry. Firstly, on September 1, 1321 Ramon Roig, the assistant (*nuncius*) of Francesc de Montgai, a cloth-merchant of Lleida, acting in his own name and that of his employer Francesc, acknowledges owing 358 *lliures* and ten *sous* of Barcelona to Pere Grimau of Puigcerdà for cloth Francesc had bought from him on credit for his cloth-selling business in Lleida (*pro pannis quas ate emi et habui ad opus societatis operatori draperie quam*

[79] From Tremp; ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 38r (d) and 92v (d).

[80] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 20r (b and c).

[81] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 46v (d) and 59r (b).

[82] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 61v (a).

tenet in ciutate Illerde).[83] The second is a loan in which the debtor is a cloth-dyer from Lleida and the lender is another cloth-dyer who was likely from Puigcerdà.[84]

Among the contracts mentioning Cardona, four relate to a debt of 5,000 *lliures* of Barcelona that Guillem d'Aragall, lord of Estoll and Cortàs, owed to Ramon Folc, viscount of Cardona and Ramon de Josa on account of the barony of Josa.[85] Four of the other entries mentioning Cardona, however, are sales on credit. Unsurprisingly, given that Cardona is located on a mountain of salt,[86] two of these sales on credit are for "salt from Cardona," and one was for salted meat.[87] In all three cases the purchaser was in Cerdanya, showing that salt and salted meat were being imported into Cerdanya from Cardona. (This is unsurprising, the mountains, far from the coasts tend to be lacking in salt). The fourth sale on credit was for cloth, and in this case the buyer was from Cardona.[88]

Additionally, several entries include references not to specific locations in Catalonia, but to Catalonia as a whole. These also often relate to the cloth trade. For example, in August of 1321 Bernat Romeu of Puigcerdà confirmed to Pere Jover, also of Puigcerdà, that he had sold cloth in his name in the county of Urgell, in the land of Catalonia, and in the land of Aragon

[83] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 17r (c).

[84] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 69v (b).

[85] At the time this debt was made, in March 1321 [1322] in Cardona, thirty-six men of Cardona agreed to be guarantors for Guillem's debt. In the contracts recorded several days later in Cerdanya, he pledges certain rights to the villages of Estoll and Cortàs to these men. See: ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 49r (a), 49v (a), 49v (b) and 50r (c).

[86] On the salt of Cardona in the middle ages, see: Laura de Castellet, "La sal al Pirineu: com Cardona va fer canviar la Seu d'Urgell a l'edat mitjana," *Annals del Centre d'Estudis Comarcals del Ripollès* 29 (2018): 67–85.

[87] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 20v (g) and 51v (l) and Register 92 fol. 47r (b).

[88] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 46v (a). In this entry from January of 1322, man named Ramon Garrigosa of Cardona acknowledged owing nine *lliures* and ten *sous* to Guillem Vives, a butcher of Puigcerdà, for cloth. The currency is not stated but was probably that of Barcelona.

(*confiteor et recognosco tibi petro jouerii me vendidisse nomine tuo et pro te pannos in comitatu urgelli et in terra catalonie et in terra aragonum*…).[89] Romeu also cedes to Jover his position in actions against the debtors and guarantors in all of the instruments and debts in which he sold cloth (*dono et cedo tibi omnia loca voces acciones quas et que habeo in dictis instrumentis et in debitis supradictis et pro eis contra debitores et fideuissores in debitis seu comendis...*). Several entries later, Pere Jover then appoints his brother Ramon Jover to act as his procurator in collecting all debts and deposits owed to him "in all the lands of Catalonia and Aragon or in any other place for any reason with charters or, for whatever reason, without" (*ad petendum et recuperandum omnia debita et deposita que mihi debeantur et teneatur debebuntur et tenebuntur in tota terra Catalonie et Aragonum et alibi usque ab aliquo vel aliquibus alique racione cum cartis et sin quolibet racione*), as well as "in buying and selling cloth and other merchandise," (*ad emendum pannos et alias merces et vendendum).*[90]

The following January, Bernat Romeu contracted himself to Pere Jover as an assistant and agent (*mancipio et nuncio*), from then until the following feast of Saint John in June. He confirmed that he had received twenty cloths from Puigcerdà of a value of 190 *lliures* of Barcelona, as well as three debt instruments in which two drapers from Balaguer acknowledged owing Jover 210 *lliures* of Jaca. Romeu promises to sell the said cloths, to collect the said debts and then, using the money from the said debts and cloths to buy merchandise in Catalonia and

[89] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 12v (d). In this entry Pere Jover is not identified as being from Puigcerdà, however, this page includes a series of entries involving the same parties and in one of the later entries it identifies the said Pere Jover as being from Puigcerdà. In the first of the subsequent entries, Jover confirms to Romeu that they have settled debts relating to these debts and comendas. In the second, Jover acknowledges owing Romeu twenty-three *lliures* of Barcelona. ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 12v (e and f).

[90] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 12v (g).

Aragon.[91] Pere Jover's business clearly involved both selling cloth in a wide variety of locations in Catalonia, Aragon and the county of Urgell. He also clearly imported items from Catalonia and Aragon, sometimes including cloth, but otherwise of an unclear nature. Interestingly, this wording appears to imply that the county of Urgell was not considered to be part of Catalonia. Likely this indicates that by "Catalonia," these merchants meant those parts of the Catalonia that were under the control of the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona.

Other entries suggest that wool was also brought to Puigcerdà from Catalonia. For example, in December of 1321 Cortvassil Oliba, a shepherd of Puigcerdà acknowledged owing to Bernat Espinavell of Puigcerdà forty quintals of wool, which included all the wool from his own flock and wool that he had bought in Catalonia (*quadraginta quintalia lane prime et bene recipie in quibus sunt tota lana mei bestiarii et faciam tibi complementum de lana quam emi in catalonia*).[92] An entry from February 1322 also records a sale on credit in which a man from Puigcerdà purchased cloth, for which he promised to send shorn wool that he will bring from Catalonia (*pro quibus promito tibi mitere in solutum lanam quam atulero de Catalonia*).[93]

The picture of Puigcerdà's ties to Catalonia is different when looking at entries that include a reference to Barcelona. While Barcelona appeared in twelve total entries, only one of these gives an indication of commercial ties. In this case, an entry from May of 1322, Ferrer Ça Codina of Barcelona acknowledges to the guardians of the underage children of the late Ramon

[91] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 59v (g). "Confiteor tibi quod tu dedisti mihi xx pannos podiiceritanii qui de costiterunt centum nonaginta libri bar. et etiam tradidisti mihi tria instrumenta debitoria in quibus debuntur tibi pro Bn de costo et petrum sola draperii de balager duocentas et decem libri jaccensis quas pannos promito vendere et dicta debita recupere et cum peccunia dictorum debitorum et dictorum pannorum emere merces in terra Catalonia et aragonum et omnia alia negocia tua fideliter ducere..." Romeu is to be paid a salary of seven *lliures* and ten *sous* (of an unstated currency probably that of Barcelona), for this work.

[92] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 55r (i).

[93] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 70v (h).

Vidal receipt of partial payment on a debt that Ramon Vidal had owed them for fustians (a type of cloth).[94] Three entries related to a two-year temporary sale of harvests and recurring payments that were due to a canon of Barcelona.[95] As mentioned above, two are cases in which the only tie to Barcelona was one of the witnesses. Others include a quittance of a debt in which the reason for the debt is not stated, and an acknowledgement of the receipt of a bequest owed to the house of Santa Eulalia in Barcelona.[96] Clearly, Puigcerdà was regularly connected to Barcelona. But, for the most part, the entries recorded in Puigcerdà that mention Barcelona indicate very little commercial interactions between these two towns. This suggests either the people of Cerdanya were not trading much with people from Barcelona, or that, if they were, these trades were not being recorded in Puigcerdà. On the other hand, however, the higher total number of connections to Barcelona and other Catalan towns, in comparison with Languedocian towns that were similarly distant from Puigcerdà, demonstrates that even though Puigcerdà was politically divided from the majority of Catalonia at this time, it remained more connected to the region of Catalonia and to the Catalan capitol, Barcelona, than to other regions.

This fact is also echoed in several other entries that mention the broad regions in which business people from Puigcerdà planned to conduct business. Firstly, as discussed above, the several entries pertaining to the business of Pere Jover show that his agents (either Bernat Romeu or his brother Ramon Jover) conducted business on his behalf in either "the county of Urgell, Catalonia and Aragon," or "Catalonia and Aragon."[97] Other cases offer similar insights into the

[94] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 87v (b).

[95] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 99r (e), 99v-100r and 100r (a).

[96] ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 44r (c) and Register 79 fol. 53r (f).

[97] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 12v (d and g) and 59v (g).

regions in which men from Puigcerdà conducted business. For example, in August 1321, Ramon Bertran, a cloth-finisher and Arnau Puig entered into a business partnership (*societas*) together.[98] They both contributed funds to this partnership, and also acknowledged holding funds from two other men, Pere de Vilacorba and Arnau's brother Pere Puig. The funds were to be for the use of the investors "in all of the lands and jurisdictions of the kingdoms of Aragon, Mallorca, and France," (*pro universis et sinulas terras regnorum et jurisdictionum aragonum et mayoricarum et francie*), and in "whatever other kingdom, whether by land, by sea or by fresh water" (*et quorumlibet aliorum regnorum tam pro terram mare quam aquam dulcem*). The nature of their business is not stated, but the fact that one of these men is clearly identified as a cloth-finisher suggests the business may have involved the cloth industry or cloth trade. Bertran and Puig evidently wanted to keep open the possibility of conducting business anywhere they thought would be profitable, stating that they could use the partnership's funds in "whatever other kingdom". But they also clearly expected the majority of their business would be conducted within the kingdoms of Aragon, Mallorca and France.

Also, in August of 1321 Bernat Pere the son of Guerau Pere and Guillem de Areis of Puigcerdà, partners, jointly empower each other to act as their procurator in conducting business "in the kingdoms of Aragon and Mallorca" (*in regnis Aragonum [et] maoircarum*).[99] In another entry from the following March presumably the same Bernat Pere of Puigcerdà confirms holding funds in *societas* from another man from Puigcerdà that are to be put to use in all the lands of the king of Mallorca and Aragon (*ad utilitatem tuam et meam per tota domini rege maioirca et rege*

[98] ACCE, Reg. 28 fols. 11v-12r.

[99] ACCE, Reg. 17 fols. 13v-14r.

aragonum).[100] In February of 1322 Bartomeu Planes of Puigcerdà acknowledged holding funds in societas from the chaplain of the village of Saneja for use "through all the lands of the most illustrious lord king of Mallorca and Aragon" (*per totam terram illustrissimi domini rege maoirocarum et aragonum*).[101] In another case from September 1321 Bernat Gil of Puigcerdà acknowledged holding funds in societas from another man for their use in "the lands of the king of Mallorca and the land of the king of France" (*pro terra omini rege maiorica et pro terra rege Francie*).[102]

The breakdown of regions mentioned across these acts suggests that Puigcerdan mercantile associations conducted business more frequently with Catalonia and particularly with Aragon than with Languedoc (or any other part of the kingdom of France). Only two of these acts refer to France, while five refer to Aragon/Catalonia. While this is a small sample, it supports a view that Puigcerdà remained more connected to the territories of the kingdom of Aragon than to Languedoc in this year.

Aragon and Castile

Thirteen entries from this year include connections to Aragon, and one of these also mentions a location in Castile. The connections to Aragon include six to Monzón, three to Fraga, one to Huesca, one to Alcañiz, one to Teruel and one that seems to refer to Benasque. The one

[100] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 75r (f).

[101] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 69v (d).

[102] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 17r (e).

connection to Castile is to Molina de Aragón.[103] The two entries involving Huesca and Alcañiz offer little insight into commercial ties between these locations and Cerdanya. In the entry involving Huesca, a man whose name and hometown cannot be read due to water damage appoints someone from Huesca as his procurator to collect a debt.[104] The entry involving Alcañiz records the payment of a debt owed by a man from Alcañiz to another man from Alcañiz, and which was paid by a man named Ramon Poch, who is identified as an inhabitant of Alcañiz but originally from Puigcerdà.[105] In both of these two entries the reason for the debt is not stated.

The entries involving Monzón, Teruel, and Molina de Aragon, reveal that the primary tie between these locations and Puigcerdà was the cloth industry. All six of the entries that include a connection Monzón either include a draper or are a sale on credit of cloth. For example, in August of 1321 Bertolomeu de Fontetova of Monzón, acting as the procurator for the cloth-seller Ramon d'Aura of Monzón, acknowledges a debt of thirteen *lliures* of Barcelona for cloth sold on credit that d'Aura owed Ademar Julià of Puigcerdà.[106] In early October of the same year presumably the same Ramon d'Aura, identified as a draper of Monzón, acknowledges owing presumably the same Ademar seven *lliures* of Barcelona for cloth sold on credit,[107] and in a separate entry from the same day appoints Domingo de Rist, also of Monzón to act as his

[103] Despite the name, Molina de Aragón is located in Castile. It had been conquered by Alfons I of Aragon in 1128 but then ceded to Castile. On this see: Carlos Estepa Díez, "Frontera, nobleza y señoríos en castilla: el señorío de Molina (siglos XII-XIII)," *Studia historica: Historia medieval* 24 (2006): 15–86.

[104] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 33v (f).

[105] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 82r (h).

[106] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 11v (b). In this entry Ramon d'Aura is identified as a *pannerarius.* Guillem de Das, presumably a relative of the Ramon de Das that Ramon d'Aura also did business with in other entries serves as d'Aura's guarantor.

[107] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 27r (h).

procurator.[108] Then in November, Domingo de Rist, acting on d'Aura's behalf, acknowledges a debt of 109 *lliures* of Barcelona owed to Ramon de Das, a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà, for cloth sold on credit.[109] And in January the same parties appear in another sale on credit in which de Rist acknowledges that d'Aura owes de Das ninety-nine *lliures* of Barcelona for cloth.[110] Ramon d'Aura was not the only draper from Monzón purchasing cloth in Puigcerdà. The final entry involving Monzón is a quittance from April of 1322 in which Pere Vila of Puigcerdà acknowledges receipt of a payment of forty-seven *lliures* and ten *sous* of Barcelona, paid by Jaume Saragossa of Puigcerdà originally owed by Pero Dalmacio, a draper of Monzón, probably for cloth.[111] In all cases the origin of the cloth that was sold is not stated, but the fact that several of the purchases are made from cloth-finishers of Puigcerdà makes it seem likely that this was cloth that was originally produced in Puigcerdà, and not that these were cases in which foreign cloth was imported into Puigcerdà but then sold westward to Monzón.

The one entry documenting connections between Puigcerdà and Teruel and Molina de Aragon also emphasizes the cloth industry. In this act, Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu, identified as a merchant of Puigcerdà, appoints Pere de Riu, his nephew or grandson, and Pero Gasol of Teruel, who was absent, as his procurators.[112] The two procurators are appointed to collect all

[108] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 39v (b). In this entry Ramon d'Aura is identified as a *draperius*, indicating that *pannerarius* and *draperius* are used interchangeably.

[109] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 45r (j).

[110] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 63r (a). It is not entirely clear that these represent different sales. That could be the case, though it is also possible this represents refinancing of debts owed from a single sale.

[111] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 92r (a). Jaume Saragossa had been Pero Dalmacio's guarantor.

[112] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 65v (f). This was possibly the same man who served as a notary in Puigcerdà on and off between 1312 and 1338, but who was not a public notary in the year 1321/2, or possibly a relative of his. Pere de Riu is described as Guillem Bernat's *nepotem*, which can mean nephew or grandson – although it seems more likely that Pere de Riu is his nephew.

debts owed to de Sant Feliu in the towns of Teruel and Molina de Aragon, and to sell cloth and other merchandise (*ad vendendum pannos et alias mercaturas*). The fact that cloth is the only merchandise named directly in this act suggests that it made up the bulk of Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu's business in these locations.

The entries recording ties to Benasque and Fraga also relate to the cloth industry to an extent, but less directly. Instead of cloth, they involve sheep and wool. In July of 1321 Pero Cortils, "staying in" Fraga ("*commorans a Fragua*") acknowledged owing Joan Blanch of Puigcerdà 250 wool fleeces at the following Pentecost that Blanch could chose from his flock of 450 sheep.[113] In another entry from June of 1322, Pero Cortils, this time described as "of Fraga," appears as the seller in a sale on credit, in which Guillem Ferrer of Flori (in Cerdanya), who works as a shepherd for Joan Blanch ("*qui moror pro pastor cum Joh. Blanch"*), acknowledges owing thirty-five *lliures* and ten *sous* of Barcelona for sheep (*pro multonibus*).[114] These two entries suggest that shepherds from Puigcerdà likely brought their sheep to Fraga in the wintertime, and that shepherds from Fraga may have their sheep to Cerdanya in the summer as part of a broader pattern of pastoral transhumance. A final entry from this year records a debt owed by a man originally from Err who had moved to Fraga, in which the reason for the debt was not stated.[115]

As with the entries involving Fraga, the entry that mentions Benasque, a town in a Pyrenean valley in the far north of Aragon, also relates to pastoral transhumance. In this act, from October of 1321, a man named Pere Lobet of Ulldecona (in the far south of Catalonia, near

[113] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 9r (a). Given the way his town is listed, the entry suggests that Cortils may not originally be from Fraga.

[114] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 97r (l).

[115] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 16v (e).

Tortosa), sells Guillem de Talltendre of Puigcerdà all the wool of his flock (*totam lanam bestiarii mei*) and promises to deliver it at Pentecost "either in Benasque or in Cerdanya" (*apud Benasch vel in Ceritania*).[116] This entry suggests that there was a pastoral transhumance network linking Ulldecona in the far south of Catalonia, where sheep were brought in the winter, to Pyrenean valleys including Benasque and Cerdanya, where sheep may have been brought in the summer.[117]

Valencia and Mallorca

Only six total entries document connections to the kingdom of Valencia or to Mallorca. Of the two entries that mention the city of Valencia, one involves the cloth trade and the other gives no insight into the cause of the connection. Both, however, demonstrate that Puigcerdà's connections to Valencia went through Perpignan. Two additional entries mention Morella, in the far north of the kingdom of Valencia. Only two entries mention Mallorca, but neither points to any kind of commercial tie between Cerdanya and the Balearic Islands.

In August of 1321 a muleteer (*aventurerius*) named Guillem d'Arsèguel of Puigcerdà, confirmed to Berenguer d'Araleu of Vilafranca-de-Conflent that Berenguer had delivered five loads of cloth to him in Vilafranca and an additional load of cloth to his agent (*mancipium*) Marimon Guilabert of Valencia in Perpignan.[118] Guillem also noted that he had contracted for

[116] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 21r (a). This entry is not worded as a sale on credit but as a straightforward sale, but it does seem that this is an advance sale in which Pere will deliver the wool at a later date.

[117] As I also noted in Chapter 5, three documents from around this period in which men from Puigcerdà bought flocks of sheep from men in Bagà note that the sheep are wintering (*in exivernal*) in either Fraga or Tortosa, attesting to these same transhumance networks. ACA, Notarials de Bagà, Reg. 16, 5v (e), 9r (a) and 11v (a).

[118] ACCE, Reg. 92 fol. 7v (b). *"Confiteor… quod idem Berengerius tradidit michi in villa villalibera confluentis v caregues panorum in quibus sunt x daus et tradidit mihi quoddam mancipium marimon guilabert de ciutate valencie unam caregam pannorum in villa perpiniani in quo sunt ii daus…"*

Berenguer to bring these loads of cloth in Valencia.[119] The specific origin of this cloth is not mentioned but it seems to have been cloth coming from, or at least through, Valencia. In an entry from later that month the widow of a man from Puigcerdà and her two sons absolve a debt that had been transferred to her by Bartomeu Sàlit of Puigcerdà and Ramon Sàlit of Valencia and which had been entrusted to Ramon by a man from Perpignan.[120] The reason for the debt is not stated, but it attests to a similar network linking Valencia and Puigcerdà through Perpignan.

Two entries document ties to Morella, in the north of the kingdom of Valencia, both of which suggests that the primary tie between these places was also the cloth-industry.[121] Both entries involve the same man from Morella. In October of 1321 Pere Agilo of Morella transferred three debts to Jaume and Ramon d'Iravals of Puigcerdà that had been owed to him by men of Puigcerdà (one of them a cloth-finisher) for greased wool (*lana surgia*).[122] The following March an innkepper (*hospes*) from Puigcerdà named Jaume Saragossa promised to pay Pere Agilo of Morella on behalf of other men of Puigcerdà who owed Pere for wool.[123] It appears that on both occasions Pere Agilo was selling wool in Puigcerdà.

[119] "*...quas michi conducxit ad portandum illos in ciutate valencie*".

[120] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 16r (c). Ramon Sàlit is identified only as "R Sàlit de ciutate valencie" but he or some of his ancestors were likely originally from Cerdanya, given that his surname refers to the village of Sàlit in the Vall de Querol. The man from Perpignan is not named, only referred to as "some man from Perpignan" (*aliquem hominem perpiniani*).

[121] Morella is known to have been a center of cloth-production at this time. See: Carles A. Rabassa Vaquer, "La manufactura tèxtil en l'àmbit rural dels ports de Morella (Segles XIV-XV)," *Millars. Espai i Història* 29 (2006): 151–73.

[122] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 26r (e).

[123] ACCE, Reg. 125 fol. 52r (d).

Only two entries mention Mallorca.[124] Both are long-term leases of land from May 1322 in which a man from Puigcerdà, Joan Cadell, leases land in the town of Puigcerdà through his procurator Jaume Roquer of Puigcerdà.[125] The only tie to Mallorca is that each entry notes that the original act appointing Jaume to act as Joan's procurator was recorded in Mallorca ("*cum instrumento publico facto maiorice*") the previous March. While this suggests that at least Joan Cadell, if not both he and Jaume Roquer, were in Mallorca in March, the reason for their presence there is not given. The fact that these two entries—which both refer to what might more properly be considered only one connection—are the only two that refer to Mallorca, suggests that the people of Cerdanya did not have much interaction with the Balearic Islands.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of Cerdanya's external connections—connections between Cerdanya and places outside of Cerdanya—in the year 1321/2. It shows that Puigcerdà and Cerdanya were connected the most frequently to neighboring Pyrenean valleys. Approximately 76 percent of all external connections noted in the surviving entries from Puigcerdà in this year were to a neighboring area. Omitting monastic connections, we can see that the town was particularly frequently connected to Capcir and northern Berguedà. The town's zone of economic influence clearly extended beyond the local political borders and the town was a center of a broader Pyrenean region. Beyond the Pyrenees, Puigcerdà was also connected to more distant regions, frequently through the cloth industry. Puigcerdà saw frequent connections in Rosselló, mainly to Perpignan, and cloth and livestock clearly circulated between these two

[124] This includes only those specifically referring to Mallorca as a place, not those referring to the king of Mallorca or the lands of the king of Mallorca collectively.

[125] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 86v (a) and 88r (c).

towns. Puigcerdà was also connected to Languedoc and Catalonia, to Aragon, Castile and Valencia—where merchants from Puigcerdà sold cloth—and even to Tuscany, from which Puigcerdans imported woad. Puigcerdà does not appear to have had many economic connections to Barcelona or to Mallorca in this period. How the town's external economic connections shifted over time will be addressed in the next chapter.

Chapter 10: Puigcerdà's External Connections Over Time, 1260-1360

Introduction

In the previous chapter I examined the connections between Cerdanya and locations outside of Cerdanya in the year 1321/2, showing that Puigcerdà was at the center of an interconnected Pyrenean region that extended beyond its political borders. In this chapter I turn to discussing how Cerdanya's connections shifted over time between 1260 and 1360.

I start with addressing this subject using the external connections seen in only one type of act: acts in which someone appoints or substitutes a procurator (hereafter called appointments of procurators).[1] To sample these acts I have examined every notarial entry containing an appointment of a procurator from one year out of each decade between 1260 and 1360. The specific years chosen, and the method used in selecting the samples are discussed in Chapter 7. The shifting locations seen in appointments of procurators indicates that while Puigcerdà consistently had a high number of connections to towns and villages in the areas immediately bordering Cerdanya, the town's connections to more distant areas shifted over time. Overall, the town's connections outside of Cerdanya appear to have increased over the course of the thirteenth century and early fourteenth century. More specifically, the town's connections to Languedoc rose in the late thirteenth century before declining, and the town's connection to the city of Perpignan grew considerably after the creation of the independent Crown of Mallorca, and then decreased in relative prominence after 1344 when Cerdanya was reincorporated into the Crown of Aragon. The town also became connected, through broader Mediterranean trade networks, to Tuscany beginning at least by the early fourteenth century, and saw a strong

[1] I am including substitutions of procurators in appointments of procurators.

increase in its connections to more distant locations within Catalonia, particularly Barcelona and Lleida, from the 1340s on.

In the second part of this chapter, I examine some of Puigcerdà's long-distance economic connections, focusing on three developments. These are 1) the Tuscan woad trade, in which merchants from the cities of Arezzo, Florence and Città di Castello began visiting Puigcerdà to trade woad, madder, alum and other dye products, which took off from the very beginning of the fourteenth century and was sustained into the 1360s. 2) The growth of Cerdanian commercial interest in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, where numerous Puigcerdan merchants were trading a significant volume of cloth, and sometimes other items, from at least the 1320s on. And 3) the movement of a number of wealthier mercantile families from Puigcerdà to Lleida and Barcelona, concentrated particularly around the late 1340s. This major shift in the town's connections suggests that toward the end of the century under study, from the 1340s -1360s, Puigcerdà was in the midst of a major restructuring of its role within the wider regional economy of Catalonia, which very likely was among the factors contributing to (possibly driving) the town's long-term decline.

Appointments of Procurators

Appointments of procurators are acts in which one or more people empowers someone else (or several persons) to act legally on their behalf. As was discussed in Chapter 3, they were particularly common in Catalonia, where people were expected to provide written proof when attempting to conduct business for someone else. Procurators were named in a wide variety of circumstances, many, but not all of which were economic in nature. People frequently appointed procurators to collect debts or bequests owed to them, to reclaim dowries, or to manage their

legal and financial affairs for a set period of time or in a set geographic area. The extent of the authority granted to the procurator could be very narrow or very wide-ranging.

In some cases, the act empowers the procurator only to undertake only one specific action, such as to collect one specific debt. For example, in February of 1301, Bernat Batlle, son of the late Bernat Batlle of the village of Angostrina appointed Joan Sicarts, also of Angostrina, to act as his procurator in collecting a debt of seventy-five *sous* of Barcelona that a man named Pere Vila of Thuïr (in Rossellò) owed his father.[2] Similarly, in July of 1350, Sibil·la, the widow of Esteve Fabre of Puigcerdà named her son, also named Esteve Fabre, to act for her in requesting the return of the dowry of her deceased daughter Jacmona from Jacmona's husband, Mateu Volo of Villefranca de Conflent.[3] In both cases the procurator is appointed only to undertaken a specific action on a specific matter.

In other cases, procurators could be granted a far wider scope of authority. For example, in August of 1300, Maria, daughter of the late Berenguer Fabre of the village of Das appointed her brother Pere Fabre of Das to act as procurator in her name and that of her natural son Bernat, while she goes on pilgrimage to Saint Peter's in Rome. She charges her brother to keep and provide for her son until she returns from her pilgrimage or, if she dies on her journey, until her son turns fourteen, and to pay for his care from her goods and from a debt of 220 *sous* of Barcelona that is owed to her.[4] In this case, Maria grants her brother a wide scope of authority, for a period that could have been set to last for potentially many years.

[2] ACCE, Reg. 42 fol. 47r (b).

[3] ACCE, Reg. 774 fol. 77v (a). It seems plausible, based on the timing, that Jacmeta may have died in the Black Death. Jacmeta presumably died without children, which would have meant that her dowry was required to be returned to her family.

[4] ACCE, Reg. 42 fol. 13r (i). The act does not address this, but it certainly seems plausible that she is undertaking the pilgrimage as a form of penance related to the fact that she has an illegitimate son.

In another example, from August of 1321, as was discussed in the previous chapter, Pere Jover of Puigcerdà empowered his brother Ramon Jover to act as his procurator in collecting all debts and deposits owed to him "in all the lands of Catalonia and Aragon or in any other place for any reason," as well as "in buying and selling cloth and other merchandise," entering into debts in his name, pledging his possessions, (*ad emendum pannos et alias merces et vendendum et instrumenta debiti faciendum et bona mea obliguandum*), and "managing all of his other business, specific and general" (*tractandum generali omnia alia et singula negocia mea*).[5] The extent of authority Pere granted to Ramon was extremely broad, with Pere essentially empowering Ramon to act legally on Pere's behalf in whatever capacity he thought necessary in any aspect of his business, in whatever location. In another example, from February of 1301, Mercadera, the widow of Arnau Florencza of Puigcerdà named two men to act as procurators in her name and that of her two sons, in:

> …requesting, finishing, protesting, having, accepting and regaining, in my name and the name of my and my husband's children, each and every good and thing that my aforementioned husband had or was owed at the time of his death, in all of the land of Catalonia and in the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia and in all other places or lands both on land and at sea or in freshwater, whether the good or thing exists in *diners* or any other money, or in cloth or any other merchandise, or in debts or in deposits, or commercial partnerships or in any other thing…[6]

Mercadera may not have been fully aware of all her of husband's business dealings, or where they took place and seems to have made this procuratorship extremely broad to ensure that her procurators were covered for all potential circumstances.

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[5] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 12v (g).

[6] ACCE, Reg. 43 fol. 62v (b). "*Ad petendum exigendum querendum habendum accipiendum et recuperandum nomine meo et dictorum filiorum meorum et dicti mariti mei universa et singula bona et res que et quas dictus maritus meus tempore obitus sui habebat et habere debebat quelibet racione in tota terra Catalonie et in regnis Murcie et Valencie et in cunctis aliis locis siue usque terrarum tam videlicet in terra quam in mari et aqua dulcia siue dicta bona et res existat in denariis uel alia quelibet moneta siue in pannis uel quibuslibet aliis mercimoniis siue in debitis siue in depositis siue in societatibus uel quibuslibet allis rebus*…"

Clergymen and members of religious orders also commonly appoint procurators to act in matters related to their ecclesiastical or monastic duties. For example, in August of 1321, Bernat de Capdevila, rector of the church of Sant Esteve of Lluç, recognizing that he had reached an advanced age and that he was "scarcely able to celebrate the divine offices in a dignified manner in that church or any other place" (*attendens et recognoscens me ad decrepitam etatem senectitatem pervenisse intantum quod vix in dicta ecclesia seu alibi divina officia digne possum celebrare*), appointed Bernat Tresvila, the priest of Enveitg to appear on his behalf before the Abbot of the Monastery of Santa Maria of Ripoll to resign and renounce in favor of the abbot the collection (*collatio*) that the church of Lluç expected.[7]

People also appointed procurators to appear before or petition the king, the bishop, a lay lord, or a judicial court. For example, in May of 1310, Thomasia, the daughter of the late Arnau de Venzilles of Sanavastre, appointed Guillem de Venzilles of Sanavastre as her procurator to petition Ramon Embró, the judge of Bagà, that he order the notaries of Bagà to locate copies of notarial instruments relating to the transfer of her father's *mas* to herself that had been made ten years earlier at the time of her marriage.[8] In June of 1322 Arnau Cog appointed his brother Guillem Cog to have Guillem make homage to the noble Arnau de Saga (*ad faciendum et prestandum pro me et nomine meo homagium*).[9]

Not all the appointments of procurators created in medieval Puigcerdà involve a location outside of Cerdanya. Many involved only people from Cerdanya or only places within Cerdanya

[7] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 4r (a).

[8] ACCE, Reg. 82 fol. 106v (e). This may be another case similar to that discussed in Chapter 1, in which it proved to be difficult to obtain a copy of a notarial act through the regular process.

[9] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 88v (c). This homage was owed because Arnau and Guillem Cog had jointly purchased the sixth part of and Bartholomeus d'Al.lod's rights to the decimas of the villages of Pedra, Riu and Borr, of which Arnau de Saga was the lord. For the original sale see: ACCE, Reg. 131 fols. 86v-87r.

(or only people from places that were not identified).[10] But, appointments of procurators clearly disproportionately involve locations or people from locations outside of Cerdanya. As was noted in an earlier section, 21 percent of the 7,432 surviving, non-cancelled entries from Puigcerdà in this year include a person from or refer to a location that was outside of Cerdanya. However, if we look only at the 192 surviving appointments of procurators from that year, 43.8 percent (eighty-four out of 192) of them include a location outside of Cerdanya.[11] Appointments of procurators were thus more than twice as likely to include a reference to a place outside of Cerdanya as the average type of act. Similarly, this type of act is also disproportionately weighted toward connections to more distant areas. As also noted in the previous chapter, among the 1,789 total external connections from the year 1321/2 seen across all types of acts, 76 percent were to a neighboring area (either Capcir, Conflent, Ripolles, Berguedà, Urgellet, Andorra or Foix). But among the 106 external connections seen only within appointments of procurators from this year, only 57 percent (sixty-one out of 106) were to one of these neighboring areas. This type of act thus records connections to more distant regions more frequently than average.

This is partly because acts in which one person appoints a procurator can reflect multiple possible scenarios relating to long-distance travel. While many of these acts involve cases in which a person in Cerdanya appoints someone else to travel on their behalf to a distant location, they also include cases where someone from elsewhere appoints someone who is planning to stay in Cerdanya to act on their behalf in Cerdanya.[12] Thus, to an extent, these sources allow us

[10] As was noted in Chapter 4, it was also very common for people to appear without their hometown listed.

[11] These eighty-four entries contain a total of 106 connections.

[12] They also can also include cases where someone from Cerdanya appoints a procurator to act for them within Cerdanya while they travel elsewhere, as in the case of Maria Fabre discussed above. See: ACCE, Reg. 42 fol. 13r (i).

to see both sides: both cases in which people from Cerdanya had an interest in going elsewhere, but also cases in which people from elsewhere had an interest in something in Cerdanya. Although acts involving the first of these two cases are more prevalent among the surviving appointments of procurators from Puigcerdà.

It is also clear that there are certain types of long-distance interactions that are not well-represented among appointments of procurators. For example, as was discussed above, we know that the people of Cerdanya were connected to places in southern Catalonia through pastoral transhumance networks, but these types of connections do not get recorded in appointments of procurators. But, appointments of procurators are, nonetheless, among the best sources of insight into Puigcerdà's external connections and a logical choice of an act to sample as a means of examining this subject.

As with other sampled contracts seen in previous chapters, samples of appointments of procurators were drawn from notarial years beginning with a year ending in nine (i.e. 1299/1300, etc.), though substitute registers from close years were used when no registers of a certain type survived from a given sampling year. Across the eleven sampled years, I identified a total of 1,090 surviving, non-cancelled appointments of procurators. Their distribution can be seen in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1: Sampled Appointments of Procurators 1260-1360[13]

Year	Number of Appointments of Procurators	Period
1260/1	7	

[13] The number of appointments of procuratorship in the registers surviving from around 1349/50 which I sampled is unusually high relative to other years. This is likely because so many people required procurators to help deal with legal business (including acquiring bequests) in the wake of the numerous fatalities caused by the Black Death in 1348.

1270/1	22	Period 1
1280/1	17	
1289/90	105	Period 2
1300/1	127	
1309/10	189	
1319/20	99	
1329/30	112	Period 3
1339/40	106	
1349/50	225	
1359	81	
Total	**1,090**	

In order to examine the shifts in connections to different regions over time, I have decided to divide the sampled years into three time periods, 1260-1289, covering the first three sampled years, 1289-1325, covering the following four sampled years, and 1325-1360, covering the final four sampled years. While the first period is slightly shorter than the other two (containing only three sampled years instead of four), the final two periods include both the same number of sampled years and almost the same number of surviving appointments of procurators.

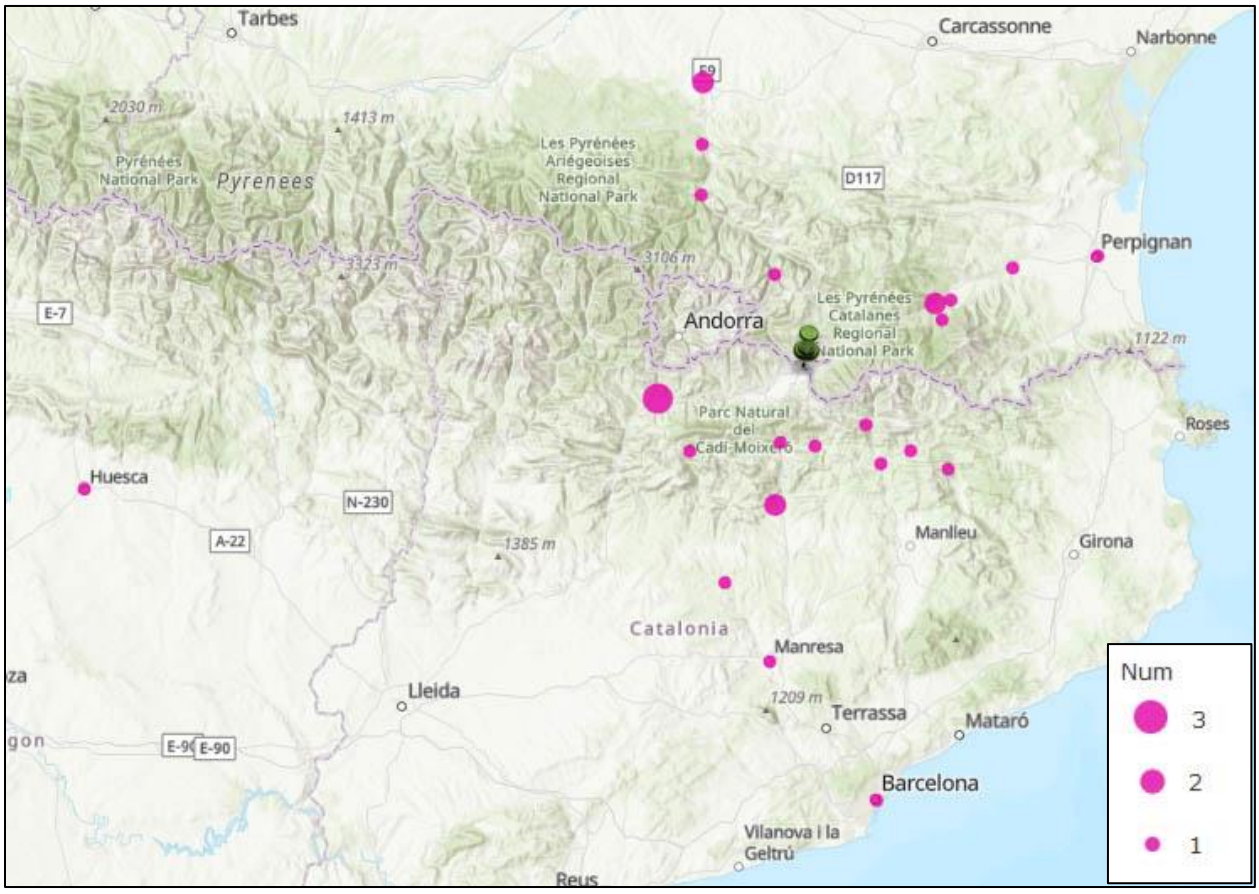
Period 1: 1260-1289

In line with the generally lower total number of notarial entries recorded in the years between 1260-1289 (as was discussed in Chapter 2), I was only able to identify forty-six appointments of procurators from the three years I sampled in that period.[14] These forty-six entries included twenty-six connections to places outside of Cerdanya, covering twenty-one

[14] For a sense of proportion, in this period there were forty-six appointments of procurators out of 304 sampled folios. In the following period, I identified 520 appointments of procurators out of 1,319 total sampled folios. Appointments of procurators were thus over 2.6 times more frequent per folio in the second period, in comparison to the first. This should be taken somewhat with a grain of salt, however, as direct comparison is hindered by the fact that the types registers surviving from these two sets are not all the same.

individual towns or villages.[15] The distribution of connections to places outside of Cerdanya seen in the appointments of procurators for this year can be seen in Figure 10.1.

Figure 10.1: Map of External Connections from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1260-1289



Only three places appeared in more than one entry and none appeared in more than three; La Seu d'Urgell was mentioned in three of the entries, while Pamiers and Berga each appeared in two. The majority of the external connections from this period (twenty out of twenty-six, or 77 percent) were to places in areas that bordered Cerdanya (including Conflent, Berguedà, Urgellet

[15] For consistency, I am also including Baridà, the Vall de Querol and the Vall de Ribes as part of Cerdanya in this section as well.

and Foix, but not Andorra or Capcir). Only six places outside of this Pyrenean area appeared, all of which were in Catalonia (including Rosselló) or Aragon. These included Illa and Perpignan (both in Rosselló), Barcelona, Cardona, Manresa (all in Catalonia) and Huesca in Aragon.

While the number of surviving appointments of procurators from this early period is small, they nonetheless point to certain conclusions about the nature of the town's longer-distance commercial connections in the mid-to-late thirteenth century. Firstly, most of the town's connections outside of Cerdanya were to neighboring Pyrenean valleys. Secondly, Puigcerdà was surprisingly unconnected to any places in Languedoc at this point in time. The most distant connections the town did have were all to other places in Catalonia or Aragon. This is consistent with the idea that in this period Puigcerdà was still a small town and not particularly tied to broader geographic networks. The small number of appointments of procurators from this period may itself reflect that the people of Puigcerdà were less connected to other areas during this mid thirteenth century than they would come to be later. If people conducted business only infrequently with other areas, they may correspondingly have appointed procurators less frequently to handle that business.

Period 2: 1289-1325

In contrast to the first period, I have identified 520 surviving appointments of procurators from the period between 1289 and 1325. These entries include 254 connections to places outside of Cerdanya, distributed across eighty-three distinct locations. The distribution of these connections can be seen in Figure 10.2 and Figure 10.3.

Figure 10.2: Map of External Connections from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1289-1325

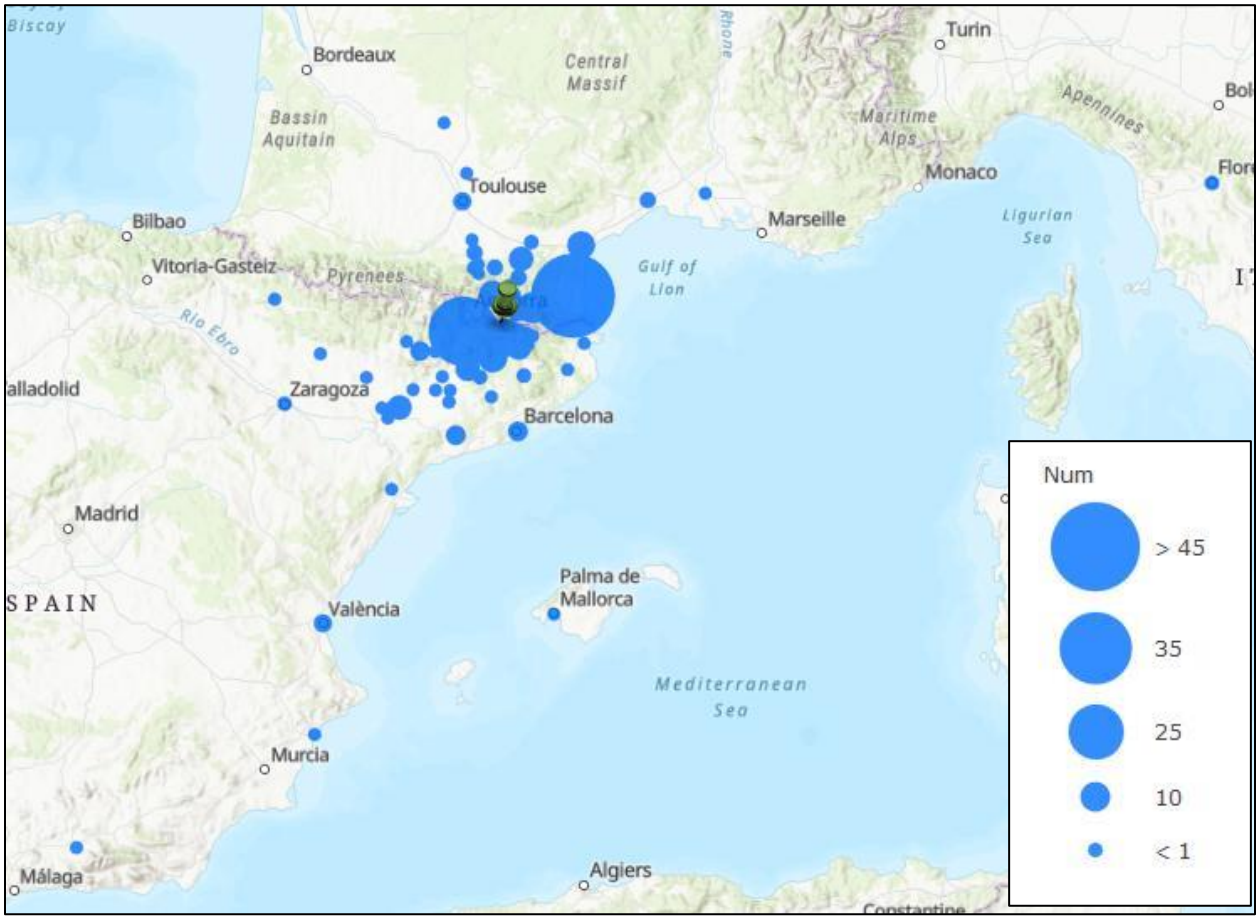


Figure 10.3: Map of External Connections from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1289-1325, Magnified

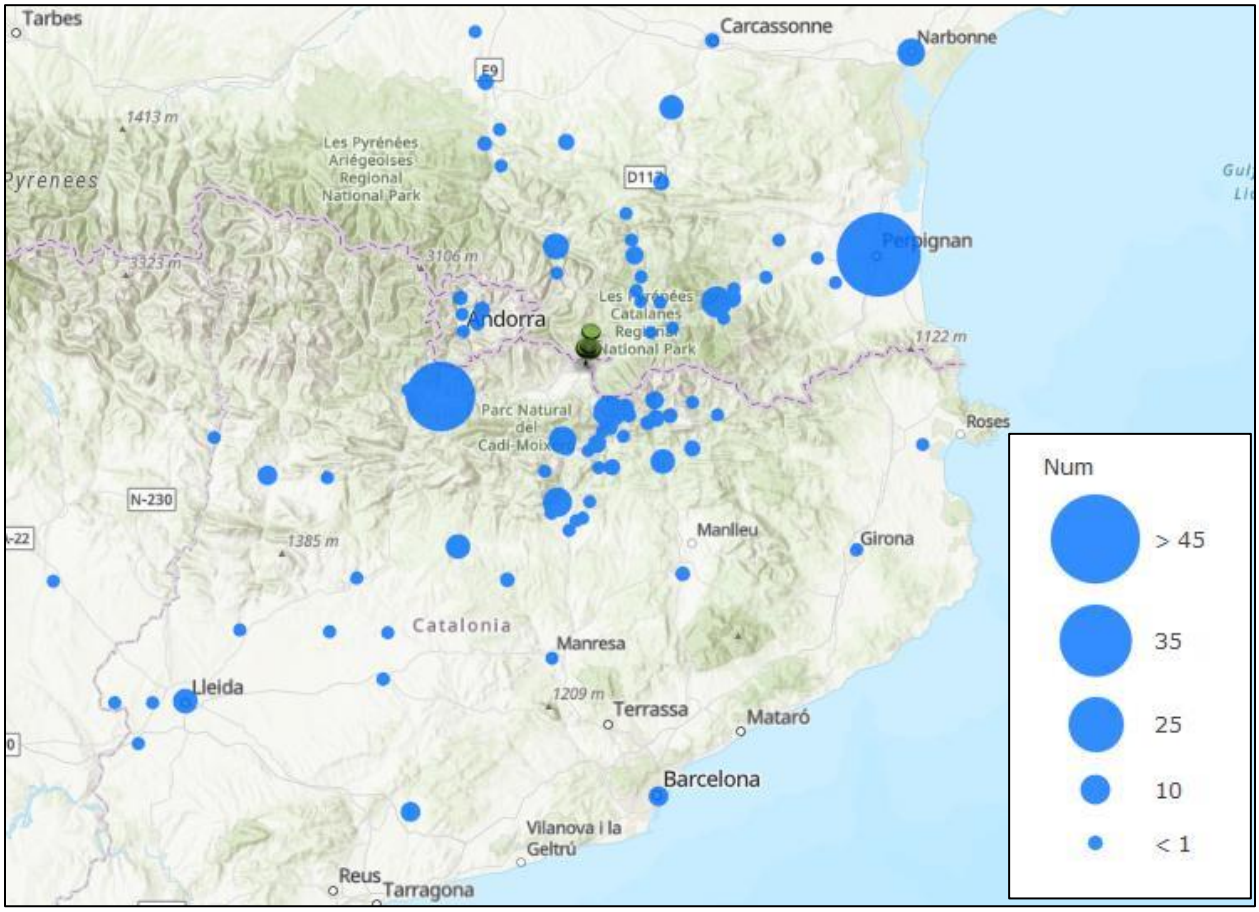


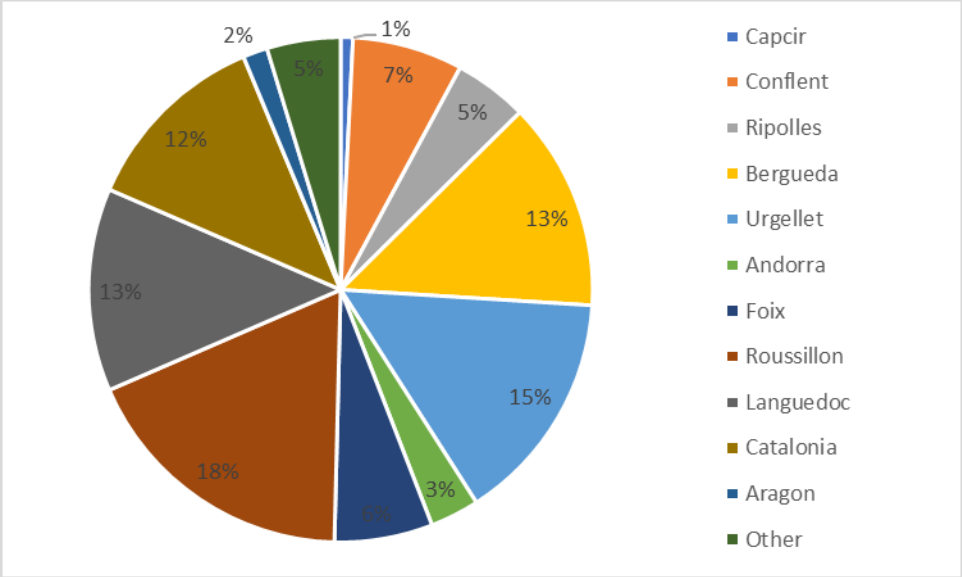
Table 10.2 lists the top twelve most commonly seen towns, all places that appeared in five or more of the appointments of procurators from the four sampled years in this period.

Table 10.2: Locations outside Cerdanya Appearing Five or More Times in Appointments of Procurators, 1289-1325

Rank	Location	Area	Number of Connections
1	Perpignan	Rosselló	40
2	La Seu d'Urgell	Urgellet	34
3	Narbonne	Languedoc	10
3	Vilafranca-de-Conflent	Conflent	10
5	Bagà	Berguedà	9
6	Ax-les-Thermes	Foix	8
6	Berga	Berguedà	8
6	Limos	Languedoc	8
9	Ripoll	Ripolles	6
9	Solsona	Catalonia	6
10	Lleida	Catalonia	5
10	Tremp	Catalonia	5

Several things stand out when comparing the image of Puigcerdà's external connections seen through the sampled appointments of procurators from this period to that of the previous period. Firstly, one particularly striking difference between this period and the period of 1260-1289 is that a far smaller percentage of the external connections are to neighboring areas. Between 1260-1289, 77 percent of the sampled appointments of procurators were to a neighboring area, but in the period between 1289-1325 only 127 (or 50 percent) of the 254 external connections were to a neighboring area. Figure 10.4 shows the breakdown of the 254 connections from this period by area or region.

Figure 10.4: External Connections from Appointments of Procurators 1289-1325, by Area[16]



Additionally, the range of non-neighboring areas in which there were connections is far greater in the period from 1289-1325 than it was in the earlier period. In the first period, the only connections to non-neighboring areas were to Rosselló, Catalonia and Aragon. But in this second period not only do we see a far higher percentage of connections to non-neighboring regions, but in addition to Rosselló, Aragon and Catalonia, connections to Languedoc make up 13 percent of the total, and further, 5 percent of the connections were to a location in some other region. More distant locations seen in one of the appointments of a procurator in this period include Mallorca, Valencia, Alicante, Granada, Montpellier, Arles, Rome, and Montcuq (near Cahors in France).

The image of the town's external connections revealed through the appointments of procurators in this period (1289-1325) also differs from that seen through the study of all

[16] The two connections to Montpellier noted in this time period are not counted as being in Languedoc even though, Montpellier was geographically surrounded by Languedoc, in this period, it was part of the lands of the king of Mallorca.

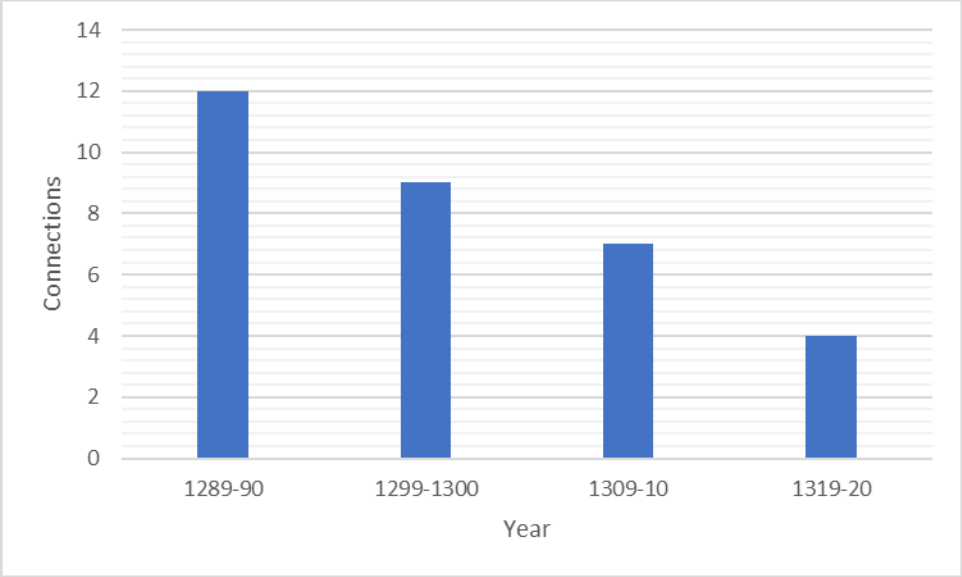
surviving entries from the year 1321/2 that was discussed earlier in this chapter. As has already been noted above, the appointments of procurators are more heavily weighted toward connections to more distant areas. It is no surprise, therefore, that we see few connections to close places such as Capcir in the connections from 1289-1325.[17] A more notable difference between the period of 1289-1325 and the year 1321/2 is that the connections from the sampled period of 1289-1325 reveal a higher number of connections to Languedoc than was seen in 1321/2. As shown in Figure 10.4 and Table 10.3, in the sampled appointments of procurators from 1289-1325, 13 percent of all external connections were to Languedoc. The Languedocian towns of Narbonne and Limos both featured among the most frequently mentioned individual places.[18] In contrast, in 1321/2 connections to Languedoc were lower. Among the connections within the appointments of procurators from that year only three out of 106, or 2.8 percent were to locations in Languedoc.

Looking closer at how the connections to Languedoc break down across the four years sampled in the period from 1289-1325 it seems clear that Puigcerdà's connections to Languedoc were the most active in the earliest part of this period and were consistently declining afterwards. This can be seen in Figure 10.5.

[17] Among the connections from the sampled appointments of procurators in 1289-1325, only 1 percent of the connections are to Capcir, while connections to Capcir made up 11 percent of all external connections across all types of acts in the year 1321/2. The people of Cerdanya apparently appointed procurators less frequently for business involving Capcir, unsurprisingly, since this area was close enough that they could often travel there themselves.

[18] Narbonne ties for the third most frequently seen location while Limos tied for eighth.

Figure 10.5: Connections to Languedoc from Sampled Appointments of Procurators Over Time, 1289-1325



In the sampling year of 1289/90, there were twelve connections to Languedoc. This decreases consistently each year, such that by 1319/20 there were only four. The evidence from 1321/2 thus fits very nearly within this broader pattern. Cerdanya's connections to Languedoc appear to have increased significantly around the 1280s, but then dropped consistently during the succeeding decades.

The cause of a decline in ties between Languedoc and Cerdanya during this period is not clear. To an extent, the decline may be the result of the French ban on the export of the raw materials associated with cloth-production that began around 1305 (as was discussed in Chapter 7). Further study on the nature of trade between Languedoc and Cerdanya in the 1280s and 1290s would be needed to determine whether cloth-production materials had made up a major part of commercial connections between these two areas in that period. The twelve surviving appointments of procuratorship from the 1289/90 sampling year reveal very little about commercial connections between these places in this period. The majority of these appointments

appoint the procurator to collect debts, but in only one case is the reason for the debt stated. In that case, from December of 1289, Bernard *de Magna* a tanner/fur-trader of Limos, appointed Joan de Rech of Puigcerdà as his procurator to collect debts owed by men for the sale of pigs or droves of pigs (*pro porcariis*).[19]

Period 3: 1325-1360

The number of appointments of procurators identified in the sampled years from the period between 1325-1360 is quite similar to that of the preceding period. I identified 524 appointments of procurators from the four years sampled in the period between 1325 and 1360. These include 239 connections to places outside of Cerdanya, which appear across seventy-eight individual locations. The distribution of these connections can be seen in Figure 10.6 and Figure 10.7.

[19] ACCE, Reg. 111 fol. 41r (c).

Figure 10.6: Map of External Connections from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1289-1325

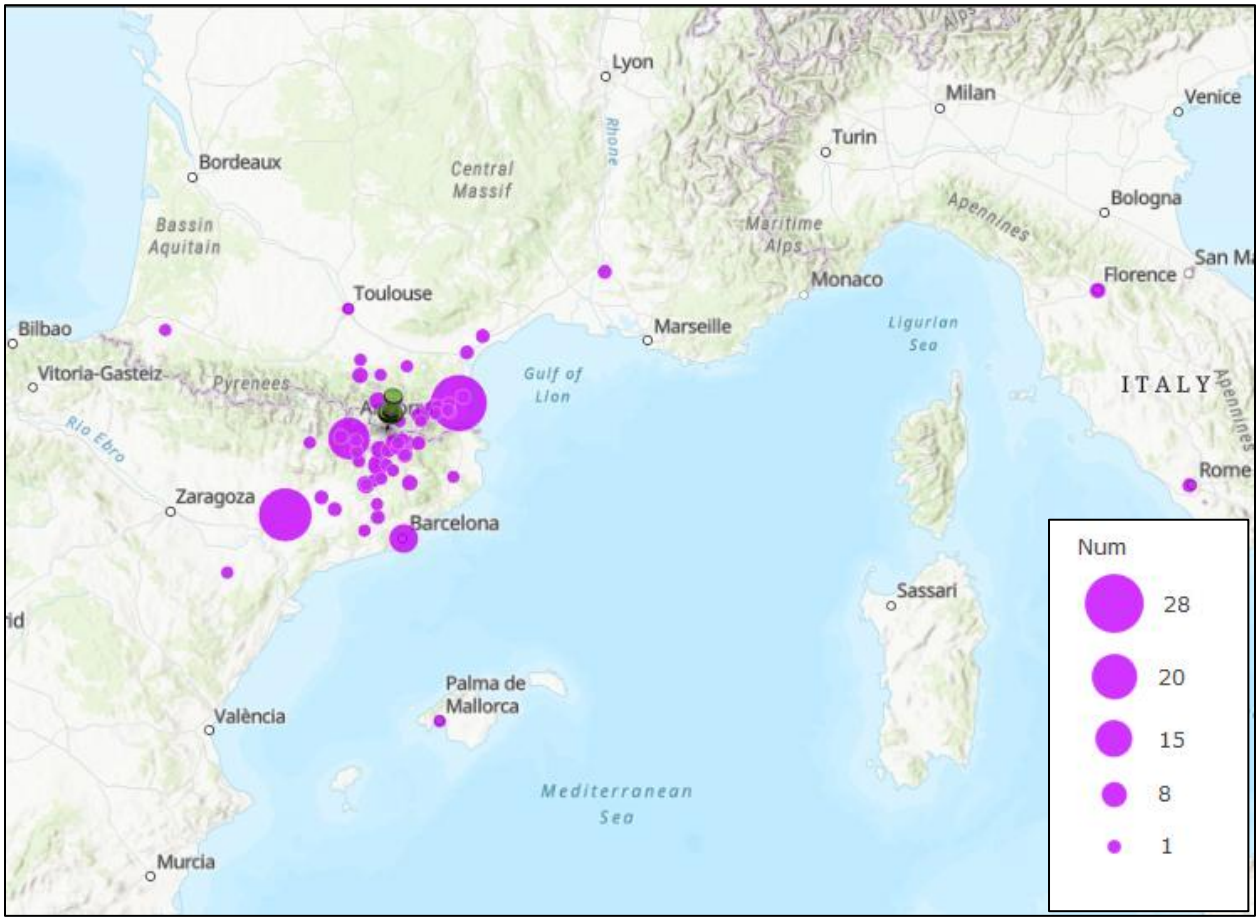
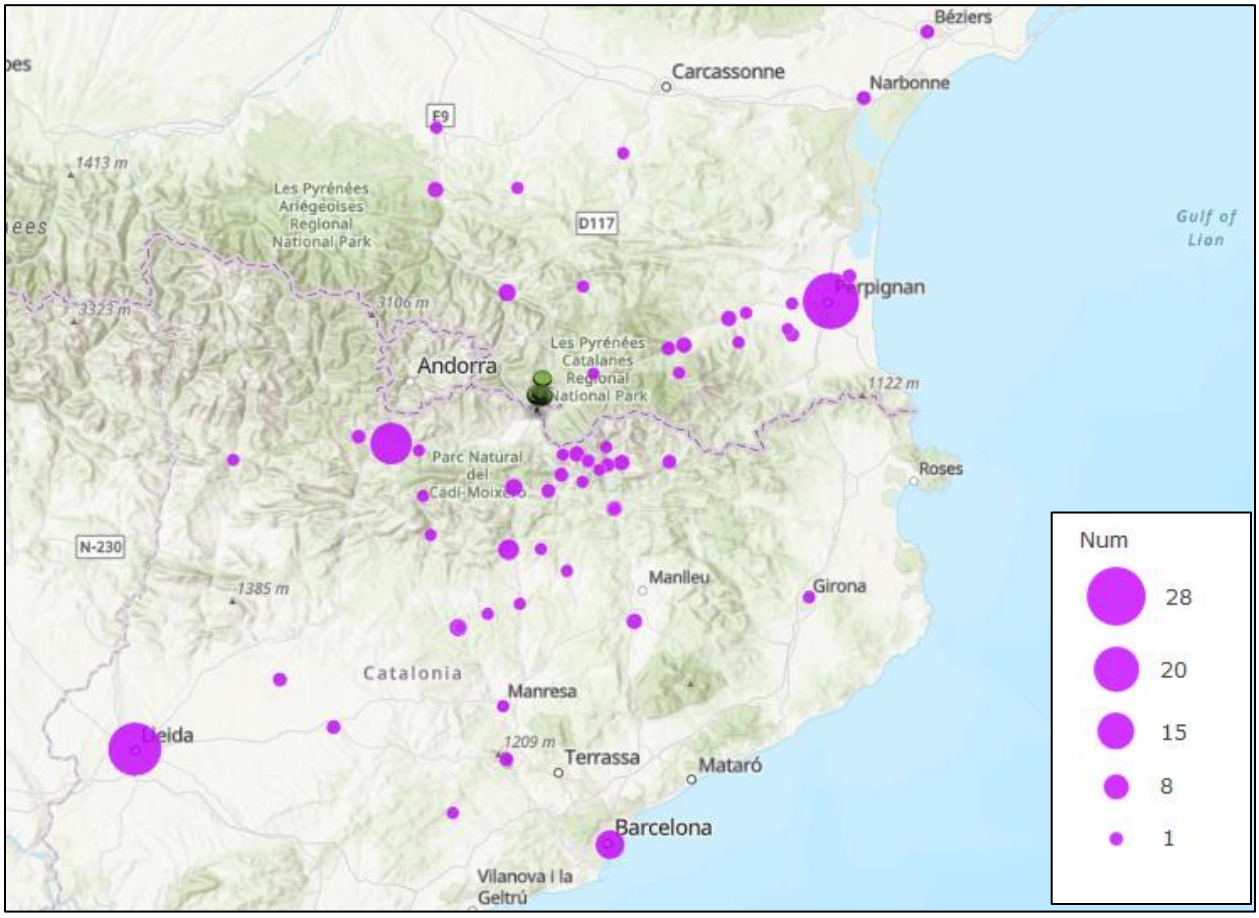
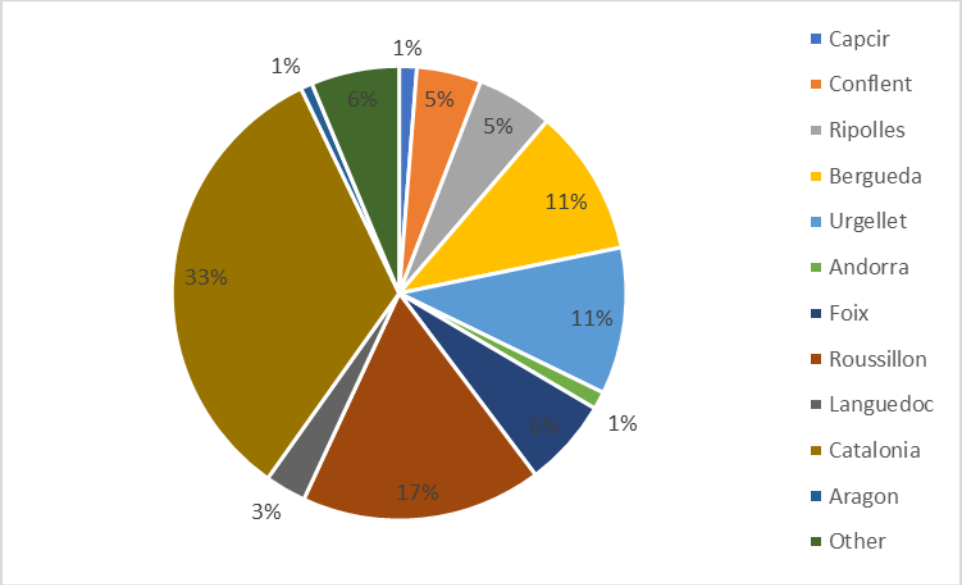


Figure 10.7: Map of External Connections from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1289-1325, Magnified



The distribution of external connections from this period, when compared to the previous period, reveals certain key shifts. Most prominently, it reveals that in the second third of the fourteenth century Cerdanya's external connections to other places in Catalonia grew considerably. Figure 10.8 shows the breakdown of external connections seen in the sampled appointments of procurators from this period by area.

Figure 10.8: Map of External Connections from Appointments of Procurators 1325-1360, by Area[20]



As Figure 10.8 makes clear, in the sampled appointments of procurators from 1325-1360, connections to Catalonia comprised 33 percent of the total number of connections (79 out of 239). In the previous period, in contrast, connections to Catalonia had made up only 12 percent of the total number of connections (thirty-one out of 254). The rise in connections to Catalonia was driven by the rise in connections to two cities in particular, as can be seen in Table 10.3. Table 10.3 lists the top eleven most commonly seen towns, all places that appeared in five or more of the appointments of procurators from the four sampled years in this period.

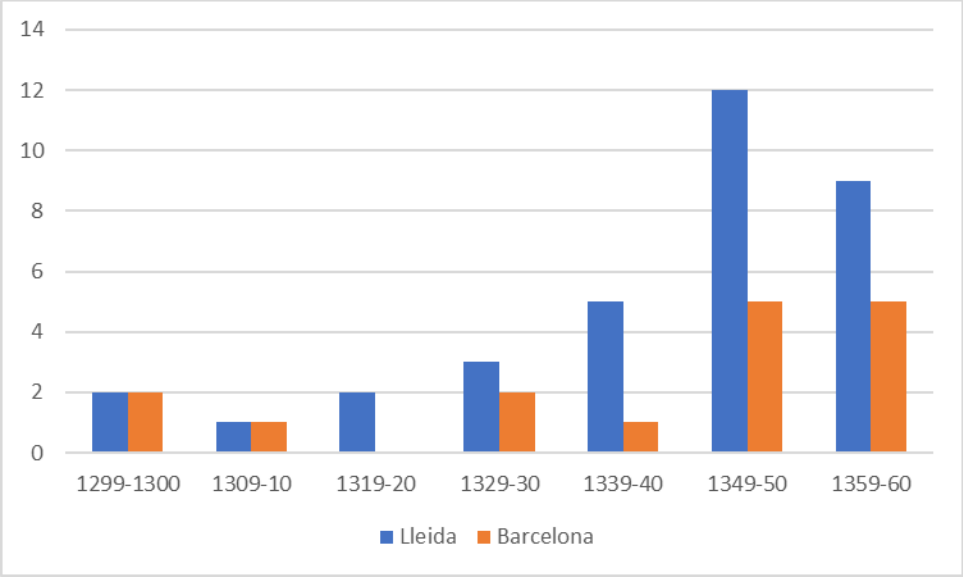
[20] As in the previous section, the one connection to Montpellier noted in this time period is not counted as being in Languedoc.

Table 10.3: Locations outside Cerdanya Appearing Five or More Times in Appointments of Procurators, 1325-1360

Rank	Location	Area	Number of Connections
1	Perpignan	Rosselló	33
2	Lleida	Catalonia	29
3	La Seu d'Urgell	Urgellet	21
4	Barcelona	Catalonia	13
5	Berga	Berguedà	9
6	Cardona	Catalonia	6
6	La Poble de Lillet	Berguedà	6
8	Ax-les-Thermes	Foix	5
8	Bagà	Berguedà	5
8	Florence	Tuscany	5
8	Ripoll	Ripollès	5

As Table 10.3 shows, between 1325-1360, Lleida was the second most frequently mentioned city, after only Perpignan, and Barcelona was the forth most frequently seen city. In contrast, in the preceding period, Lleida was tied for tenth and Barcelona did not appear in the top twelve most frequently mentioned locations at all. A distribution of appointments of procurators mentioning each of these two cities over the course of the period from 1300-1360 can be seen in Figure 10.9.

Figure 10.9: Connections to Lleida and Barcelona Over Time from Sampled Appointments of Procurators, 1300-1360



As Figure 10.9 shows clearly, connections to these two cities rose considerably in the 1340s. This rise in connections within Catalonia, and specifically to these two locations, very likely related to the fact that in 1344 Puigcerdà, and all of Cerdanya, were reincorporated into the lands of the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona. The rise in connections to these two locations will also be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

In contrast to the rise in connections to Catalonia, connections to some other regions, including Languedoc, appear to have declined. While connections to Languedoc made up 13 percent of external connections from 1289-1325, they comprised only 3 percent of those from 1325-1360. They declined in absolute numbers from thirty-three in the period of 1289-1325 to only seven in the period from 1325-1260. Connections to more distant areas remained about the same. This category comprised 5 percent of external connections in 1289-1325 (twelve out of 239) and 6 percent in 1325-1360 (fifteen out of 254). Distant locations not within Rosselló, Catalonia, Aragon or Languedoc that were seen within this final period include Mallorca,

Valencia, Montpellier, Avignon, Rome, Florence, and Sauveterre-de-Béarn. Florence, in fact, was mentioned in five different appointments of procurators from this period. Cerdanya's connections to Tuscany are discussed below.

The Tuscan Woad Trade in Puigcerdà

As been noted above, during the first half of the fourteenth century Puigcerdà was connected to several Italian cities, including Florence, Arezzo and Città di Castello. Merchants from these cities appeared regularly in Puigcerdà throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, selling woad and other materials related to cloth-dying, including alum and madder.[21] In this section I turn to discussing the development of the town's connections to these Italian cities between 1300 and 1360 to provide a more in-depth view of the town's very-long-distance commercial connections this broader Mediterranean trade network, and the way such connections were mediated by trans-regional centers.

Italian merchants probably began trading in Puigcerdà in the earliest years of the fourteenth century.[22] They were present in Puigcerdà from at least 1302, when Lando Bruno and

[21] Woad and madder are plant materials that dye cloth blue and red, respectively. Alum, a colorless compound, was used to affix dyes to cloth. On the medieval trade of these materials see Franco Borlandi, "Note per la storia della produzione e del commercio di una materia prima: il guado nel Medio Evo," in *Studi in onore di Gino Luzzatto*, vol. 2 (Milan: Milano Guiffrè, 1950), 297–324; José Miguel Gual López, "El pastel en la España medieval: datos de producción, comercio y consumo de este colorante textil," *Miscelánea medieval murciana* 10 (1983): 133–65; Christian Guilleré, "Commerce et production du pastel en Catalogne: l'exemple du diocèse de Gérone au XIVe siècle," in *Actes / 2ème Congrès International "Pastel, Indigo et Autres Teintures Naturelles: Passé, Présent, Futur,"* ed. Dominique Cardon, Beiträge zur Waidtagung 7, 1995, 99–104; Anthony Pinto, "Les sources notariales, miroir des cycles d'exportation du pastel languedocien en Roussillon et dans le Nord-Est de la Catalogne (XIVe siècle-premier quart du XVe siècle)," *Annales du Midi : revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale* 113, no. 236 (2001): 423–55, https://doi.org/10.3406/anami.2001.2740; and Anthony Pinto, "Woad Production in Catalonia and Roussillon at the End of the Middle Ages," *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 21 (2008): 51–58.

[22] While it has not been possible for me to read every surviving notarial entry from before 1360 to check each one for Italian merchants, I have examined all entries from the year out of each decade that I sampled, and I examined the registers from the period between 1300 and 1306 thoroughly. I have also compiled a large collection of references to Italian merchants from other years, recorded as I came across them.

Giovanni de Cimo, both of Arezzo in Tuscany, appeared in four contracts between March 25 and March 27 of that year.[23] These contracts included a sale on credit of woad, a sale on credit of woad, madder, and alum, and two entries recording promises to accept the repayment at a set rate of exchange between two currencies. Only Lando was identified as being present in Puigcerdà to conduct these trades. It is not clear that these four documents represent the first time Italian merchants ever traveled to Puigcerdà, but certain differences between these contracts and the others involving Italian merchants from later years do suggest that the presence of these Aretines in Puigcerdà was still a relatively new phenomenon at that point in time. Firstly, the notary takes care to note the hometown of these merchants as "Arezzo in Tuscany" (*Arets in Toschana*), although in later contracts the notaries often omitted the reference to Tuscany and record only that merchants are from Arezzo, with no further elaboration as to location. This suggests that in 1302 the Puigcerdan notaries were less familiar with the location of Arezzo than they would come to be later on. In addition, both of the two sales on credit are followed by entries in which Lando Bruno promises to accept the payment at a set exchange rate between the money of Toulouse and that of Barcelona. While sales on credit of dyestuffs would make up the bulk of all the documented business Italian merchants would conduct in Puigcerdà in the following decades, only one of the subsequent sales on credit that I have identified is followed by a similar promise relating to the payment's exchange rate. This suggests that in 1302 there remained some

[23] ACCE, Reg. 228 fol. 68r (c, d, e and f). These are the earliest entries involving Italian connections to Puigcerdà that I have been able to identify. I acknowledge that still-earlier references could remain to be found, but no document involving an Italian merchant survives from Puigcerdà from between 1300 and March of 1302. It is also possible that the earliest contracts involving Italian merchants in Puigcerdà have not survived. It is notable that the first Tuscan merchants seen conducting business in Puigcerdà came not from the major city of Florence but the much smaller town of Arezzo (itself, like Puigcerdà, not near the coast). This was likely due to Arezzo's location at the center of a region that was already producing woad by the late fourteenth century: Borlandi, "Il guado," 303. 303. In discussing the Italian merchant I have left their surnames in the original Latin form in which they appear in the notarial entries but have made an effort to change their first names into an Italianate form, at least for common names.

insecurity in Puigcerdà over how to conduct this type of international commerce, and that it was still fairly new.

Soon after 1302, Aretine merchants came to dominate the trade in dyestuffs in Puigcerdà, at the expense of Occitan merchants. In the earliest years of the fourteenth century, Occitans coming from towns in Languedoc (mainly from Narbonne and Limoux), also sold the same trio of woad, madder, and alum in Puigcerdà. It is unclear, given the limits of the evidence, whether Aretine merchants began moving in as competition in a deliberate attempt to disrupt a trade network already dominated by Occitans, or if both Occitan and Italian merchants began selling cloth-dyes in Puigcerdà at approximately the same time.[24] I have identified twenty-two individual contracts involving the sale of woad, madder or alum by a merchant of Narbonne between in the year 1301/2, in comparison to the two sales mentioned above by Italians in the same period. But this changed in 1305 when the French king outlawed the export of raw materials related to cloth production from his lands.[25] The enforcement of the ban shows the power of the French state, and the immediate effects of that ban on the dye merchants: in the year 1309 /10, for example, I could not find any sales on credit of dyestuffs involving a merchant

[24] The reference to woad in the customs taxes of the Vall de Querol (just north of Puigcerdà, on the French border) from 1288 certainly suggests that Occitans had been bringing woad to Puigcerdà in the late thirteenth century (perhaps from the Lauregais region near Toulouse, a well-known center of woad production): Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval*, 148-150.

[25] On this ban, which was also discussed earlier in Chapter 7, see: Romestan, "Draperie". Anthony Pinto first saw Italian merchants selling woad in the Catalan town of Castelló d'Empúries from the year 1305 onwards, and argued they moved in at the moment when Occitan trade was banned: Anthony Pinto, "Commerce et draperie dans le comté d'Empuries (1260-1497)," PhD dissertation, (Université de Savoie, 2002), 329. The evidence from Puigcerdà, however, shows that Tuscan merchants had clearly been selling dyestuffs at least a few years earlier.

from Languedoc.[26] Lando Bruno, the Aretine merchant, in contrast, appeared in at least 132 individual contracts in that year, 115 of which mention the sale of dyestuffs.[27]

Tracing the history of this Italian trade in Puigcerdà through the first half of the fourteenth century is complicated by the incomplete survival of notarial registers, but the early expansion is clear. In the years immediately following 1302, the number of transactions in Puigcerdà that involve Italian merchants grew dramatically. This is likely due to an overall increase in the cloth industry in Puigcerdà in this period, as discussed in Chapter 7. From four in 1302, contracts between Italian merchants and residents of Puigcerdà increased to thirteen in 1303/4,[28] and fifteen from 1304/5.[29] As noted above, by the year of 1309/10, Lando Bruno appeared in 132 individual contracts.[30] The vast majority of these contracts in all three years were for dyestuffs: twenty-four of twenty-eight from between 1303 and 1305, and 115 of 132 for 1309/10. As with some of the cases involving Italian merchants and Perpignan that were discussed above, most of Lando's contracts also follow a certain form: a combination of a transfer of a debt with a sale on credit, in which the end customer, purchasing dyed cloth, ends

[26] There is one from May of 1309, by a merchant of Pamiers in the county of Foix, but none from towns under the control of the French state. ACCE, Reg. 47 fol. 94v (c).

[27] In one of these 132 contracts the name of the Aretine merchant is illegible, but I have assumed that this was also Lando Bruno. The other contracts in which Lando appears are plain debts or transfers of debts.

[28] One of these thirteen involves the merchants Bernardo Luti de Pelegrini and Comando de Bonsenyor, both citizens of Arezzo, the others all involve Lando Bruno of Arezzo.

[29] These involve the merchants Lando Bruno, Lauso Bruno, and Raniero de Cimo, all of Arezzo. The vast majority of the contracts from both years were sales on credit for cloth-dyeing materials (woad, madder, alum or "colors"); four were transfers of debts.

[30] Surviving records suggest that between 1304/5 and 1309/10 the overall number of notarial acts recorded in Puigcerdà probably grew slightly, but the number of acts involving an Italian merchant clearly grew at a disproportionately higher rate.

up owing Lando, instead of owing the dyer or cloth-finisher.[31] It is clear that Lando's business as the main dye-supplier in Puigcerdà was thoroughly established by this period, even though he himself was frequently noted to be absent.[32]

Throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, most of the Italian trade with Puigcerdà was dominated by just one or two merchants at a time: until the second decade of the fourteenth century, the leading Italian was Lando Bruno. Afterward the Aretine merchant Matteo Brandayla and the Florentine merchant Andrea Manet begin to take over. While references to Matteo Brandayla become less common after the 1320s, Andrea Manet remained the primary Italian trader operating in Puigcerdà into the 1360s. As I will discuss below, each of these merchants was probably the representative of a larger mercantile association, likely based in Perpignan, and tasked with either traveling to Puigcerdà regularly or establishing himself there on a more permanent basis.

In later years, Italian merchants appear in fewer contracts, even as the overall number of notarial acts recorded in Puigcerdà continued to grow. In the year 1321/2 Italian merchants were mentioned in only seventeen contracts, most of which relate to debts and none of which is a direct sale on credit of dyestuffs, but the import of Tuscan dyestuffs into Puigcerdà may still have been increasing. Here, the decrease in the number of recorded entries does not necessarily indicate a decline in the volume of trade; certain aspects of those contracts that do survive in the

[31] In these cases, Lando sold dyestuffs on credit to customers (mostly cloth-dyers) in Puigcerdà. Those cloth-dyers then sold dyed cloth to their own customers. Both transactions were recorded in a single contract in which the end customer ended up owing Lando, without the cloth-dyer himself having to accept payment or pay Lando directly. A similar format may have been used in woad sales in Castello d'Empuries, where Pinto was surprised to see woad purchased by people with no connection to the production or sale of cloth, including the inhabitants of small villages. Pinto, "Sources notariales," 434. If those people were the end-purchasers of dyed cloth, this would explain why they appear in debts evidently for woad.

[32] Lando was specifically noted as being absent in at least sixty-six or 50 percent of the 132 contracts in which he is mentioned.

main registers (notably the lack of contracts in which the Italians sell dyestuffs, otherwise their main commercial activity) suggest that, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the notaries of Puigcerdà most likely had begun recording most transactions with Italians in private registers just for them. Such a practice would indicate that the business undertaken by these merchants had become so numerous as to require separate registers. This year also saw at least eight different Italians working in Puigcerdà, another indication of an increase in their trade. Furthermore, by 1321/2, Italian merchants had expanded beyond selling dyestuffs, with one merchant, Andrea Manet of Florence, appearing in multiple sales on credit purchasing cloth.[33] In general, however, the sale of dyestuffs would remain these merchants' main activity. For example, Andrea Manet appeared in twenty-seven documents in a single notarial register from the year 1339/40, all but one being sales on credit for some combination of woad, madder or "colors".[34] And he was still engaging in contracts of exactly this type as late as November of 1359, and possibly later.[35]

The specific connections to different Italian cities did shift over time. While all the references to Italian merchants in the first decade of the fourteenth century were to merchants from Arezzo, by 1321/2 only three of the eight individual merchants referenced in documents were from Arezzo, while three were from Florence—Arezzo's closest major neighbor further down the Arno valley—and two were from Città di Castello, the nearest city to Arezzzo's east. By the 1330s, references to Florentine merchants far outnumber references to Aretines.

[33] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 15v (b) and 89v (i). Several of the transfers of debts from this year also refer to Andrea Manet having purchased cloth on credit.

[34] These documents are all found in ACCE, Reg. 447. Andrea's activity at this point looks very similar to that of Lando Bruno several decades earlier. The one contract that was not a sale on credit was a transfer of a debt, and most of the sales on credit relied on the same compounded format transferring the debt of a customer buying dyed cloth to the woad-supplier, Andrea.

[35] ACCE, Reg. 560 fol. 138r (c). I did not examine the commercial activity of Italian merchants in any notarial registers after 1359, except to check the books of wills for Andrea Manet's will, as discussed later on.

Merchants from Città di Castello, itself a more minor city in the period, and not in Tuscany but in nearby Umbria, appear in these documents far less often than either Florentines or Aretines.

As mentioned above, many of the entries involving Italian merchants in Puigcerdà also show how Puigcerdà's connections to Italy were filtered through Perpignan.[36] Out of the total twenty-four Italian merchants I have identified in documents from Puigcerdà up to the year 1364, six, were identified as residents of Perpignan.[37] This includes Lando Bruno, the Aretine first-comer, and also includes merchants from all three Italian cities (Arezzo, Florence and Città di Castello). Most of the Italians operating in Puigcerdà were probably associates of mercantile groups operating out of Perpignan, sent to Puigcerdà from a regional hub near to the coast, rather than directly from Italy.[38] Having established a business and base of operations in Perpignan, individual merchants could travel to the smaller inland centers in the surrounding region. Puigcerdà itself may have served as a satellite base though which to reach even less accessible markets. A contract from Puigcerdà from 1313, for example, mentions a debt owed to the Aretine Grimaudo Bonaventura by a man from La Seu d'Urgell, a town deeper into the Pyrenees, about a day's journey from Puigcerdà.[39]

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[36] The existence of Tuscan merchants selling dyestuffs in Perpignan has already been noted by Marcel Durliat, although no full analysis of these merchants has been completed: Durliat, *Royaume de Majorque*. Richard Emery did not discuss Italian merchants selling dye-stuffs in Perpignan, but he noted the presence of Italians, primarily from Tuscany, in Perpignan in the first two decades of the fourteenth century: Emery, *Jews of Perpignan*, 99-100.

[37] As noted above, one Florentine merchant, Giovanni Xochi, was identified as a resident of Narbonne, suggesting this was another base of operations. Pinto notes that this same merchant also engaged in business in Castelló d'Empúries, and that an employee of his (a native of Montepulciano who had previously worked in Narbonne) later moved to Perpignan and eventually to Castelló d'Empúries; see: Pinto, "Sources notariales," 428. The French ban on the export of cloth-production materials did not apply to materials coming from Italy.

[38] As noted in a previous chapter, Perpignan was, like Puigcerdà, one of the earliest centers of Catalan cloth production. It also may have been preferred over cities such as Barcelona or Valencia, because these latter cities periodically expelled Italian merchants due to conflicts with locals: Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Els Italians a terres catalanes (segles XII-XV)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 10 (1980): 393–467.

[39] ACCE, Reg. 85 fol. 41r (h).

Only two merchants appear to have established themselves on a permanent basis in Puigcerdà. One of these, Feu Bransala, identified as a citizen of Arezzo but inhabitant of Puigcerdà, appears in only one of the entries that I have found, from 1322.[40] The second is Andrea Manet, originally of Florence. Andrea Manet was operating in Puigcerdà as a seller of dyestuffs at least by 1320, when he appears as the procurator of a merchant from Città di Castello.[41] As late as 1340 Andrea was still labelled only a merchant of Florence, but at least by 1344 he began to be identified as a merchant of Florence and inhabitant of Puigcerdà.[42] Sometime between 1346 and 1348 he began to be identified merely as "Andrea Manet, merchant of Puigcerdà".[43] By that point he had been working in Puigcerdà for over twenty-five years.

Andrea Manet seems to have worked in Puigcerdà until the end of his life. He appeared in sales on credit of woad at least as late as 1359 and created a will there in 1364, naming two of his nephews, Antonio Thedey and Manet Thedey (both likely Florentines), as his executors and universal heirs, and asking to be buried in the cemetery of the Franciscan monastery in Puigcerdà.[44] Despite having worked in Puigcerdà for over forty years and having lived there

[40] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 109r (a).

[41] ACCE, Reg. 16 fol. 33r (b).

[42] ACCE, Reg. 183, f. 203r (c).

[43] ACCE, Reg. 497, ff. 81v-82r. It is clear that this is the same person. This shift in identification shows how certain identification markers, such as place of origin, could shift over time. It also raises interesting questions about how medieval people were identified: would this change have been one made by Andrea himself, by the notaries, or by other people from Puigcerdà? Does this shift in identification bear any relation to a shift in legal status – possibly indicating that Andrea had become a citizen of Puigcerdà? This is certainly a subject worth further investigation.

[44] ACCE, Reg. 574, f. 11r (a). The hometowns of Andrea's nephews are not given, but in other contracts Anthonio Thedey was identified as a merchant of Florence. See: ACCE, Reg. 795, ff. 43v-44r. A sixteenth-century chronicle from Puigcerdà records that the tomb of a Florentine merchant named Manethedei (Manet Thedey) was located close to the entrance to the choir of the church of the Franciscan monastery, complete with a large marble statue of a man dressed as Saint Francis. This suggests that at least this nephew would also live out his days in Puigcerdà. See: Galceran Vigué, *Dietari*, 30.

permanently for at least twenty, his will suggests a lack of connection to the local community. There is no evidence he married or had children of his own.[45] He left everything to his nephews except for two items. First was a bequest to the Franciscan monastery of Puigcerdà. Second, and more interestingly, he ordered that a debt of 6,000 *sous* of Barcelona owed to him by the community of Vilafranca-de-Conflent, the halfway point between Perpignan and Puigcerdà, be given to the Christian poor of that town.[46]

Manet's continued business in the town into the 1360s shows how long the regional trade network that brought Italian merchants into the Pyrenees endured. Yet it is likely that in general, Tuscan woad imports into Puigcerdà had begun to decline before this time, probably in the mid-1340s. This would have been due partly to the local shocks in Cerdanya following its reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon in 1344 and the Black Death in 1348. But also, Tuscan imports of woad into Catalonia suffered in this period due to internal political problems in Tuscany, as well as increasing competition from Occitan merchants after Philip VI of France lifted the French export bans in 1332.[47]

Growing Trade with Aragon, Castile and Navarre

[45] Curiously, there is one document from March of 1340 that refers to Manet as a tonsured cleric ("Andreas Maneti clericus tonsuratus de Florencia"), which may explain why he does not seem to be married. In this document he names procurators who are to collect sums owed related to Italian commerce in France, and to make pleas related to clerical privilege before the seneschal of Tolouse. ACCE, Reg. 747 fol. 1r-1v.

[46] That Andrea would have a connection to Vilafranca-de-Conflent is not surprising, as it was a logical stopping point for anyone traveling between Perpignan and Puigcerdà and mentioned regularly in other contracts involving the Italian merchants who worked in Puigcerdà. It is somewhat unusual that he left the poor of that town a bequest while making no bequests to anyone in Puigcerdà except for the Franciscans.

[47] Pinto, "Sources notariales," 440-42. Pinto notes that in the late fourteenth century, imports of Italian woad into Catalonia would be overtaken by Lombards, who operated more frequently out of Barcelona and Valencia than Perpignan, and that the import of Occitan woad, from both Languedoc and the Lauregais region near Toulouse would grow considerably. On the repeal of these bans, see: Romestan, "Draperie," 43.

As the research of Máximo Diago Hernando has shown, throughout the fourteenth century many merchants from Puigcerdà sold cloth (and sometimes other products) in Aragon and in Castile, and Navarre. They were particularly active in Calatayud, used as a base through which to also reach Castile, but also had bases in Teruel and Tarazona, which was used as a base through which to access Navarre. Some merchants from other Catalan towns, including Lleida and Berga, and more rarely, Barcelona, also sold cloth in these regions, but the merchants from Puigcerdà were by far the most predominant.[48] In fact as I will show below, many of the merchants from Lleida who engaged in this trade were originally from Puigcerdà (or the descendants of men from Puigcerdà), and frequently partnered with men from Puigcerdà. This being the case, the predominance of Puigcerdan merchants in this trade is even greater than Diago was aware. Below I will offer a survey of the development of this trade in a loose chronological order, drawing heavily from Diago Hernando's excellent work but also adding in some of my own findings from the notarial registers from Puigcerdà.[49]

I already noted in Chapter 9 that, in the year 1321/2 we can see merchants from Puigcerdà selling cloth in Aragon and Castile: various merchants in that year, such as Pere Jover, were conducting business either in Catalonia and Aragon, or in the "Lands of the king of Aragon," and Guillem Bernat de Sant Feliu specifically appointed a procurator to collect debts and sell cloth in Teruel and Molina de Aragon (in Castile).[50] This was part of a widespread trend that would continue to expand throughout the fourteenth century. Diago has noted that the

[48] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 213, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 179-80, Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 685. He also notes that there were some merchants from Valencia and Morella trading cloth in these regions as well.

[49] Diago Hernando's analysis is primarily based on documents, such as complaints to the king, that are held in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. I have not been able to examine these documents personally at this time.

[50] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 65v (f).

appearance of a Puigcerdan merchant, Ramon Rovira at a fair in Molina de Aragon in the year 1322.[51] This Ramon, moved to Teruel to work as a factor (an agent in a mercantile company) for his uncle, who was a cloth-merchant from Puigcerdà, and then settled there permanently.[52] He also did a lot of business in Daroca, and reported in 1333 that many Christians, Jews and Saracens from Daroca and the surrounding villages owed him debts that he had not been able to collect.[53] Rovira was also clearly not the only man from Puigcerdà to move to Teruel in this period or to conduct business there. In 1331 a man from Cuenca owed Joan and Ramon Rovira of Puigcerdà, along with Guillem *Stavar* of Teruel, for merchandise that he had purchased in Teruel.[54] This Guillem *Stavar* (Estavar, in modern Catalan) was almost certainly also from Cerdanya, given that his surname refers to the Cerdanian village of Estavar.[55]

In August of 1324 four brothers from Puigcerdà, Ramon, Pere, Bernat and Bertran Muntaner entered into a *societas* together in which they planned to conduct business "in the lands of the kings of Mallorca, Aragon and Castile" (*pro terras illustrissimi domini Regnum Maioricarum, Aragonum et Castelle*).[56] As I will also discuss in more detail below, the Muntaner family was a prominent family in Puigcerdà with significant ties to the craft of cloth-finishing.

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[51] Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 204.

[52] Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 204. In April of 1325 the king of Aragon ordered a Jew from Teruel imprisioned for failing to repay debts he owed to Joan Rovira and Jaume Serra, merchants of Puigcerdà. On this case, and on Ramon Rovira, see: Antonio J. Gargallo Moya, *El concejo de Teruel en la Edad Media (1177-1327)*, 4 vols. (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, Departamento de Cultura y Educación del Gobierno de Aragón Ayuntamiento de Teruel and Ayuntamiento de Escucha, 1996), Vol. 2, 349 and 510, Vol. 4, 383.

[53] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 217 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

[54] Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 201.

[55] This was a common surname in Puigcerdà in this period.

[56] In the following document, in which they name each other all as each other's procurators, they specify that they are going to do business in: "Cerdanya, the Vall de Ribes, Baridà, Catalonia, Aragon and Castile". ACCE, Reg. 346 fol. 34r (d and e).

Men named Ramon, Bernat and Pere Muntaner were all cloth-finishers in Puigcerdà in 1321/2, and Pere Muntaner specifically was an overseer of the guild of cloth-finishers in that year.[57] A portion of a private register for this *sociates* survives from the years 1332-4, in which we can see that they deal mainly in cloth and in cloth-dyes, including woad.[58] In one of the entries from this register they hired an agent to conduct business for them "through the whole land of the king of Aragon" (*per totam terram illustrissimi domini rege Aragonum*).[59] By at least the early 1330s this mercantile company begun conducting business not only in Aragon and Castile, but also in Navarre. In October of 1334 three brothers, Ramon, Bertran and Bernat Muntaner of Puigcerdà, all merchants, appointed Perico de Pi of Puigcerdà as their procurator to collect debts and sell "all cloths and other merchandise" (*omnes pannos et alias mercaturas*), "in the kingdom of Aragon, the kingdom of Castile and in Navarre" (*in toto Regno Aragonum et in regno Castellie et de Navarra*).[60]

By 1328 a Jaume Peguera, originally of Puigcerdà, was living in Calatayud, where he complained that although he had renounced his original condition as an inhabitant of Puigcerdà and subject of the king of Mallorca to become an inhabitant of Calatayud and a subject of the king of Aragon, the city officials would not grant him the same privileges as other inhabitants.[61] This man was probably the same Jaume Peguera who was an active cloth merchant in Puigcerdà

[57] On Ramon and Bertran as cloth-finishers: ACCE Reg. 17 fol. 59v (c) and Reg. 28 fol. 16r (c). On Pere Muntaner as an overseer of the guild of cloth-finishers: ACCE, Reg. 114 folio 76v (c). These brothers seem to be just four of the six total sons of Ramon and Guillelma Muntaner who settled some matters related to a substantial inheritance in 1320. See: ACCE, Reg. 16 fol. 228v b).

[58] ACCE, Reg. 260 fols. 6r-18r.

[59] ACCE, Reg. 260 fol. 6r (b). This is a labor contract, not a procuratorship.

[60] ACCE, Reg. 316 fol. 81v (c).

[61] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 216 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

in the year 1321/2 and who had imported French cloth through Montpellier and Perpignan into Puigcerdà in that year (as discussed in the previous chapter) or possibly a relative of his.[62] In 1331 Jaume Peguera and Guillem Blanch, both merchants from Puigcerdà, along with some others from Aínsa, Calatayud and Lleida, were traveling back from Castilian fairs at Alcalá de Henares (between Madrid and Guadalajara) when they were robbed.[63] Jaume Peguera and Guillem Blanch had been involved in a business partnership together (along with Jaume's brother Ramon Peguera) in 1321/2.[64] In fact these two merchants were the debtors in the highest-value individual debt owed in a sale on credit from this year—the debt of 417 *lliures* and twelve *sous* of Barcelona that they acknowledged owing Bertran de Luarteres for cloth, on August 6, 1321, which I discussed in Chapter 3.[65] It is certain that the main business that Jaume Peguera was conducting in Calatayud in 1328 was cloth-selling. Numerous other references to men from Puigcerdà who operated shops in Calatayud (chosen, Diago Hernando believes, because of its proximity and ease of access to the Castilian border) in the following decades were clearly selling cloth, which they sold not only to men from Aragon, but also to many Castilians.

As Diago Hernando has shown, by the late 1330s, the commercial route between Puigcerdà and Calatayud, through Lleida, "traveled by numerous mules loaded with merchandise, among which cloths undoubtedly occupied a primary place," had become an

[62] ACCE, Reg. 131 fol. 5v (d).

[63] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 219-20, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 179-80 and 205, and Diago Hernando, "Introduccion," 65.

[64] See ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 20r (a), in which Jaume Peguera acting in the name of Ramon Peguera and Guillem Blanch, his "associates" (*sociis*) acknowledged owing a cloth-finisher from Puigcerdà eighty-nine *lliures* and fifteen *sous* of Barcelona for cloth, to choose just one of numerous potential examples from this year.

[65] ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 10r (e).

important route that guaranteed a significant income to the toll collection points along the way.[66] This naturally sparked some conflict among different towns who wanted to gain or preserve access to these profitable tolls. In September of 1337 merchants from Puigcerdà complained to the king of Aragon that the governor of Aragon was forcing them to pass through Zaragoza on their way to Teruel, Daroca, Calatayud, Molina de Aragon and Hijar, when they had previously been allowed to choose the path they preferred.[67] This shift was of considerable importance not only to the merchants, but to affected towns. During the previous March, the officials of Daroca complained that if the merchants went through Zaragoza and Epila, and not Daroca then the town (of Daroca's) tolls would be so reduced they would not be able to pay the owners of the castles on the Castilian border that were financed from it.[68] In December of 1338 (when this change had evidently been reversed), the lessors of the tolls of Zaragoza, Epila and Rueda complained that because the merchants of Puigcerdà and their muleteers, carrying goods from Lleida to Calatayud, had stopped passing through their towns the profits from the tolls had been dramatically reduced.[69]

Evidence of Puigcerdan merchants trade with Aragon, and through Aragon, Castile and Navarre only grows in the 1340s. In the early 1340s two merchants, Pere and Berenguer Molner, established themselves in Tarazona (in Aragon, but close to the border with Navarre) where they

[66] Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 183-4.

[67] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 215, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 183-4 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

[68] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 215, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 183-4 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

[69] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 215, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 183-4 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

travel into Navarre to make sales.[70] In 1346 Jaume Luga and Guerau Meranges, both of Puigcerdà, along with Ramon Bertran and Bernat Bor, identified as being of Lleida, but who, as I will discuss later, were both originally from Puigcerdà, filed a complaint against the confiscation of cloth they had been taking to sell in Navarre.[71] Then in 1359 Bernat Companys, and Guerau Meranges, Pere Fustany, and Joan Blanch, all of Puigcerdà, complained that in El Real, close to the Aragon-Navarre border, ten loads of cloth of various colors that they had been planning to sell in Navarre was taken from them.

The Cerdanians continued to use mercantile bases in Calatayud during this period. A man from Cerdanya named Pere Foguet had apparently moved permanently to Calatayud by 1347. In July of that year his brother Jaume Foguet, a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà, sold him a debt in an act that refers to Pere Foguet as an "resident of Calatayud, in the kingdom of Aragon" (*vicino de calatiu in regno aragonum*).[72] In a second act from the same year he appoints a different brother of his as his procurator and in this case is identified as "native of Puigcerdà, now a resident and inhabitant of Calatayud" (*oriundus de podioceritano nunc vero vicinus et habitator calatiuensis*).[73] In 1350, Ramon Mercer of Puigcerdà sent his son, Pere Mercer, to Calatayud as a factor for the family business, where Pere was killed by his innkeeper's son in an attempted

[70] We can follow their activities due to certain conflicts they came into in this border region, such as then a horse was stolen from them. See; Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 217-8, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 189 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218, and Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 668-9.

[71] Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 186 and 195 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 220, and Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 654 and 670. In 1351 Jaume Luga's heirs would complain that they had not been able to collect the many debts owed to him in Aragon, Navarre and Castile. See: Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 218, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 186, and Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 669.

[72] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 67v-68r.

[73] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 76r (c). He also appears once more on this year, see: ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 82r (b).

robbery.[74] Then, in 1351, several merchants from Puigcerdà, including Bernat Companys, and Guerau Meranges, along with Ramon Bor, Bernat Bor, and Pere Fustanya of Lleida (at least two of whom also had origins in Puigcerdà) complained to the king that the city of Calatayud wanted them to pay taxes there even though they were not true inhabitants.[75] A Guillem Muntaner, originally of Puigcerdà, almost certainly a relative of the Muntaner family discussed above, also had a shop open in Calatayud in 1362 along with Bernat Fabre and Bernat Jaulent; he entered into a partnership with Berenguer Jaulent in 1366 to do business in Calatayud and "diverse parts of the kingdom of Aragon and Castile".[76] He also had business interests in Navarre.[77] Additional merchants would continue operating in these realms throughout the fourteenth century.

I have only provided an outline of some of the evidence of Puigcerdan merchants operating in Aragon, Castile and Navarre during the fourteenth century, but the examples here illustrate that trade with the inner Iberian Peninsula, particularly the trade of cloth, became a major economic activity of merchants from Puigcerdà during this century. As Diago Hernando has noted, although there are cases of merchants from other Catalan cities trading in these regions, the Puigcerdan merchants were clearly predominant. Speaking of Navarre, for example, he writes that:

> The Catalan city that probably had the largest number of merchants interested in trade with Navarre throughout the fourteenth century was that of Puigcerdà, however, most of them used Navarre as a market more for their own products,

[74] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 217, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 182, and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218.

[75] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 216, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 182, and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 213-4.

[76] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 218, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 186, Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 218, Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 660-1.

[77] Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 669.

> which they also sold in significant quantities in the kingdom of Aragon and in Castile.[78]

My research helps put Diago Hernando's significant findings into better context, and to correct a few points. Firstly, Claude Carrère noted that there was little evidence of the export of cloth from Barcelona to Aragon, and argued that the reason for this was because the Aragonese was already producing its own cloth products.[79] Diago Hernando notes, however, that this explanation is not convincing "considering that many cloths from Puigcerdá and others of inferior quality to that of the Barcelonans were taken to Aragon to be sold."[80] He instead believes that it is "perhaps because in these Aragonese regions there was less demand for the type of cloths produced in the Catalan capital, of a quality relatively superior to those of Puigcerdá and other cities in inland Catalonia, and consequently more expensive."[81]

I do not agree, however, that the cloth of Barcelona was actually of higher quality than that of Puigcerdà. As I have shown in Chapter 7, Puigcerdà began producing cloth over two decades before this industry took off in Barcelona, and by the fourteenth century was producing high-quality, high-value lambswool cloths, and cloth with a high number of *lligadures*. It reflects the assumption, prevalent in early historiography (particularly that of Carrère, which Diago Hernando cites), that the cloth industry must have begun in Barcelona before spreading outward into other centers. Equally, the assumption that Puigcerdà's cloth was worse than that of Barcelona arises from a misunderstanding of Puigcerdà's importance (particularly as a center of

[78] Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 685.

[79] *Carrère, Barcelone*, 539 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 222.

[80] Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 222.

[81] Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 222.

cloth production) during the middle ages; as a result, its economic history has been minimized or erased.

Instead, I argue that the dominance of Puigcerdan merchants (and cloth) in Aragon is likely due mainly to geography. Puigcerdà was a major, early cloth-producing center in medieval Catalonia, and among the largest cities in Catalonia in this time. But, situated far from the coast, it was not well suited to export cloth into the Mediterranean, as Barcelona and Perpignan were. As I have noted, some cloth from Puigcerdà was exported into the Mediterranean in the mid-fourteenth century.[82] But much more of it seems to have been sold into the inner Iberian Peninsula (where indeed, as Gual Camarena noted, the cloth becomes known simply as *Puçardàn*s.)[83] Puigcerdà was located directly on a road to Lleida (one following the river Segre, which begins in Cerdanya and flows, through La Seu d'Urgell and Lleida to the Ebro), and thus, through Lleida to roads into Aragon. It was thus well positioned to access markets in Aragon, and through Aragon, in Castile and Navarre. But also, due to its own nature as an inland town, merchants in Puigcerdà had already invested heavily in land-transport animals (above all, as I showed in Chapter 5, mules). Where a coastal city like Barcelona imported many items by sea, and then sought to send its own products back out by sea, Puigcerdà had to import and export by mule—so it was a logical choice for them to focus more on exporting toward other inland towns, like those in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, that were also far from the sea. Merchants from Puigcerdà may also have faced less competition, moving west inland to Aragon, than trying to

[82] See Chapter 7, but also: Hurtado, *Els Mitjavila,* 161, Duran i Duelt, *Manual del viatge,* 24-5 and 33, n. 9, Gual, "Para un mapa," 147, Gual Camarena, "Un manual català," 449.

[83] Gual, "Para un mapa," 114 and 147.

establish themselves as sellers in Barcelona or Perpignan, where local there were large, established mercantile communities.

Relocation to Lleida and Barcelona

As I noted above while discussing the shifts in Puigcerdà's external connections between 1260 and 1360, over the course of the first half of the fourteenth century, and particularly from about 1340 on, Puigcerdà's connections to Lleida and Barcelona grew considerably. As I will show in this section, not only did Puigcerdà become more connected to Lleida and Barcelona in this period, but in fact an increasing number of residents of Puigcerdà, and in particular, some of the wealthier consular families, also relocated to Lleida and Barcelona permanently. This pattern of outward migration would have had a significant impact on Puigcerdà's overall economic development in the later fourteenth century.[84]

Relocation to Lleida

Most of the acts that mention a person from Puigcerdà who moved to Lleida that I have found are from the late 1330s or the 1340s, but there are a few earlier cases. For example, in September of 1309 a man named Ramon Pere, identified as "merchant of Lleida" and son of a man from Puigcerdà (*mercator ylerde filius G. P. Pelicer de Podioceritano*) transferred a debt of 500 *sous* of Barcelona owed to him by five other men for a mule to a cloth finisher, and in

[84] As with my examination of the development of the Italian woad trade in Puigcerdà, it has not been possible for me to conduct a thorough examination of all surviving registers in order to find every reference to residents of Puigcerdà who relocated to Lleida and Barcelona. I have recorded all instances of such relocations as I came across them, but this is only a preliminary study that could surely benefit from further research. Nonetheless, the examples identified here are highly suggestive of a broader pattern.

exchange accepted cloth (*accepi pannos tuos*).[85] Ramon Pere also appears in another entry from several weeks later, in which he is referred to as "a merchant from Lleida, formerly an inhabitant of Puigcerdà" (*mercator yllerde olim habitator podiiceritanii*), and in which he is named by a widow of Lleida to collect a debt owed to her husband by a man from Pamiers.[86] Clearly, Ramon Pere had moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida sometime prior to 1309. Similarly, in March of 1320 a man named "Ramon Rossell of Puigcerdà, citizen of Lleida" (*de podioceritano civis ilerdensis*) appointed two men from Puigcerdà, Arnau de Puig and Ramon Bertran, both associates of his (*socios meos*), to act as his procurators in collecting depts, deposits, commendas and merchandise for him.[87] Ramon Rossell had also moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida relatively early, at least by 1320.

The flow picks up in the next two decades. Firstly, a merchant named Ramon Bertran, likely the same man of this name who appeared in the above-mentioned act as one of Ramon Rossell's procurators, moved to Lleida at some point prior to 1336. In August of that year he appeared in a land-sale in which he was identified as "a merchant of Puigcerdà, citizen of Lleida," and in which he sold some houses in Puigcerdà.[88] He had clearly moved to Lleida and lived there long enough to earn citizenship there at some point between 1320 and 1336. Though he appeared in other entries in Puigcerdà over the next decade, he remained consistently identified as being a resident of Lleida and he appears to have died there. In October of 1338 he

[85] ACCE, Reg. 39 fol. 20r (e).

[86] ACCE, Reg. 39 fol. 26r (g).

[87] ACCE, Reg. 284 fol. 40r (a).

[88] ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 109v (a). In this particular entry the fact that the houses are in Puigcerdà is omitted. However, in the following entry the buyer acknowledges his debt to Ramon Bertrand for the houses and specifies that they are in Puigcerdà. Notably, in this second entry, Ramon Bertran is identified only as a citizen of Lleida.

named a man from Puigcerdà to act as his procurator in collecting rents owed to him in Osseja.[89] And in July of 1340 he acknowledged having received payments from Arnau Ferrer of Flori and Arnau's brother Guillem, which were owed for *decimas* and because the brothers' flocks had summered in the *decimalia* of Sant Vicenç de Vilata in Cerdanya (*pro decima et jure mihi pertinentibus in tuo bestiario tuo [sic] quod estiuasti in decimali sancti vicentii de vilalta*).[90] In early October of 1344, he died, likely in Lleida. We know this because an act from October 11, 1344 describes him as being deceased and mentions the will that he made on October 1, 1344 in Lleida.[91] He left behind at least two sons, Joan Bertran "of Puigcerdà," and Ramon Bertran (the younger), "citizen of Lleida".

Another man, Jaume Amill, moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida sometime between 1337 and 1345. In October of 1336, Jaume Amill, at that point identified as being "of Puigcerdà," and the son of the late Bernat Amill, purchased a *mas* (a farmhouse, often with associated lands) called Mas Duran in Osseja from Arnau Embertat, also of Puigcerdà.[92] Amill then purchased more rights relating to this *mas* in August of 1337, in a series of acts in which he was identified only as "Jaume Amill, merchant of Puigcerdà".[93] By November of 1345, Amill had clearly moved to Lleida. In that month "Jaume Amill, citizen of Lleida" (*Jacobus Amyll civis civitatis*

[89] ACCE, Reg. 161 fol. 184r-184v.

[90] ACCE, Reg. 182 fol. 122v (a).

[91] ACCE, Reg. 640 149v-150v.

[92] ACCE, Parchment 124 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 385-6. See also, ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 139v-140v, 141r (a and b), 142v (a), and 142v-143r. The *mas* is held by Guillem and Guillelma Duran. Arnau Embertat made this sale to provide money for the dowries of his two daughters, who were to be married to two brothers. Jaume Amill also appears in an entry among the acts relating this double marriage, acknowledging his debt to Embertat for the price of the *mas*. See: ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 141v-142v. Several of the various entries relating to the sale of this mas refer to Jaume Amill as a merchant.

[93] ACCE, Parchment 131 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 387. See also, ACCE, Reg. 302 fol. 113v-114r, 114r (a), 114v (a and b).

illerdensis) reduced the census payment due by the holder of Mas Duran.[94] In July of 1346 Jaume Amill "citizen of Lleida" appointed his agent (*mancipium*) Mateu Borser as his procurator. Borser was originally described by the notary as "of Puigcerdà," but this was crossed out and replaced with "resident of the same place [Lleida]".[95] Borser may also have relocated from Puigcerdà to Lleida, but this could just have been an error. Amill created a will in Lleida in March of 1348 (and likely died shortly after, probably of the plague) in which he was identified as "Jaume Amill, citizen and money-changer of Lleida". In this will he named multiple men from Puigcerdà among his executors and left bequests to the two hospitals of Puigcerdà.[96] Jaume named his son Bernat as his universal heir but specified that if Bernat and any potential posthumous son of his die without descendants the estate should pass to his cousin, also named Bernat Amill, the son of his uncle, also named Jaume Amill.[97] We can see clearly from later acts that both of these Bernat Amills, originally of a family from Puigcerdà, continued to live in Lleida. In May of 1347 the younger Bernat Amill, identified as a citizen of Lleida and son of Jaume Amill, citizen of Lleida, but under the guardianship of his mother Sibil·la and his maternal uncle Guillem Pages of Puigcerdà appointed Pere Fustenya of Lleida as his procurator.[98] Then in September of 1350, the same Bernat Amill "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a

[94] ACCE, Parchment 154 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 389.

[95] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 92v (b).

[96] ACCE, Parchment 159 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 189-90. We can be certain this is the same man, given that he names Mas Duran among his possessions, but in any case, while the will does not state that Jaume Amill was originally from Puigcerdà, he names numerous land possessions in Puigcerdà and Cerdanya, and leaves bequests to various people and institutions in Puigcerdà.

[97] It is challenging that there were not only two men named Bernat Amill but that both were Bernat Amill, son of Jaume Amill. They come to be called Bernat Amill the younger (the son of the money-changer who wrote his will in 1348) and Bernat Amill the elder (the cousin of that money-changer).

[98] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 51v-52r.

true resident of Lleida," appointed his cousin as his procurator.[99] The cousin was identified as Bernat Amill the elder, "reisdent of the said city [Lleida] and my cousin" (*Bernardum Amyll maiorem… vicinum dicte civitatis consobrinumque meum*). It seems certain that these two Bernats are the son and cousin mentioned in the above-discussed will.

Similarly, two brothers named Pere and Guillem Mercader moved to Lleida from Puigcerdà by at least 1346. In an entry from July of that year Pere Mercader gave his maternal half-sister Esclarmonda Soler in marriage to Bernat Jaulent, a cloth-finisher of Puigcerdà.[100] In this entry he is identified as "a native of Puigcerdà, now, however, a resident and inhabitant of the city of Lleida" (*oriundus de podioceritano nunc vero vicinus et habitator civitatis ilerde*). One month later in August, his brother Guillem, "resident of the city of Lleida" (*G Mercatoris vicinus civitatis ilerde*), transfers to Pere Mercader "resident and inhabitant of Lleida," all of his business interests in "goods, trades, merchandise, beasts, cloth, wool, saffron and whatever other goods and rights" (*merces, mercaturas, mercimonia, averia, pannos, lanas, crocea et alia quocumque bona et jura*).[101]

Three more, Berenguer Cugot, Pere Querol and a merchant named Bernat Bor clearly moved by 1347. In July of 1347 Berenguer Cugot "citizen of Lleida, son and universal heir of the late Berenguer Cugot of Puigcerdà" sold a field in Cerdanya.[102] In September of 1347 Pere Querol "formerly of Puigcerdà, now, however, a resident of Lleida" *(Pere Querioll olim de*

[99] ACCE, Reg. 774 fol. 114r (a).

[100] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 86v (a).

[101] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 105v-106r.

[102] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 74v (a). He also appears in several other entries in this year, naming his brother as his procurator and hiring priests to say masses for his late father, among other things, sometimes identified only as "a resident of Lleida." See: ACCE, Reg. 642 fols. 75r (e) and 75v-76r, and Reg. 745 fol. 53v (b).

Podioceritano nunc vero vicinus civitatis Ilerde) sold a debt to a weaver from Puigcerdà.[103] In August of 1347 Bernat Bor "resident of Lleida" (*vicinus ilerde*), and Bernat Companys and Guerau Meranges of Puigcerdà, all three "associates and merchants" *(socii et mercatores*), appointed two procurators.[104] A few days later Bernat Bor "resident of Lleida" sold some houses in Puigcerdà.[105] Then in October "Bernat Bor, resident and money-changer of Lleida and son of Jaume Bor of Puigcerdà" (*Bn Borr vicinus et campisor ilerde filius Jac Borr de Podioceritano*) sold land in Cerdanya.[106] All three had clearly moved to Lleida by the summer of 1347.

Yet three more men had moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida by 1351. In several entries from July of 1350 Ramon Ferrer "native of Puigcerdà but now, however, a resident and merchant of Lleida" (*oriundus de Podioceritano nunc vero vicinus et mercator ilerde*) and Bernat Bor "resident of the said place, Lleida" (*vicino dicti loci ilerde*) appear as the executors of the will of a man from Puigcerdà.[107] Then in June of 1351 a widow from Puigcerdà who had been named as the guardian of the three underage children of Jaume de Riu, "resident of Lleida and native of Puigcerdà" appoints three men to act as procurators for these children, one from Puigcerdà, and then Ramon Ferrer and Pere Fina, both "merchants, residents of Lleida and natives of Puigcerdà"

[103] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 67r (c).

[104] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 89r (a).

[105] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. r (a).

[106] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 103r (b). Notably his two associates Bernat Companys and Guerau Meranges witnessed this act. Additionally, in several entries from July of 1353 a man originally from Lleida but living in Puigcerdà appears as the tutor of children of the late Bernat Bor, who was described as a "resident of the said city [Lleida] and native of Puigcerdà. ACCE, Reg. 498 fol. 128r-128v and 128v (a and b). The surname Bor also refers to the village of Bor in Cerdanya.

[107] ACCE, Reg. 777 fol. 44v (b). See also, the eight following entries in which they distribute bequests by this man, Bartomeu Benet of Puigcerdà, who made the Christian poor his universal heirs.

(*mercatores, vicinos ilerde de podioceritano oriundes*).[108] The first of these is likely the same Ramon Ferrer mentioned above, but this entry attests to two new cases of moves from Puigcerdà to Lleida: those of Jaume de Riu and Pere Fina. Finally, a man named Ramon Querol had moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida at least by 1359, when he appointed a procurator to sell a house of his in Lleida.[109]

As the above cases show, at least fourteen individual men moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida in this period. While two of these moves were early, most only appear in the late 1330s, the 1340s or the 1350s. Many of them share the names of cloth-merchants who were actively trading cloth in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, and, as I will discuss more below, this widespread movement was surely connected to the continuing development of that trade network—which passed through Lleida—in the fourteenth century. Many of these men were connected to cloth-production and sale and came from the wealthier, consular elite of Puigcerdà.

Ramon Bertran, Jaume Amill, Bernat Bor, Ramon Ferrer, and Pere Fina were all described as merchants. Bernat Amill, Ramon Bertran and Bernat Bor "merchants of Lleida" appear in numerous documents relating to the trade of cloth in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, as I discussed above.[110] Guillem and Pere Mercader weren't identified as merchants, but the fact that Guillem renounced his interests in "goods, trades, merchandise, beasts, cloth, wool, [and] saffron" in favor of Pere makes this almost certain (their surname also literally means merchant). Several of these men who moved share the names or surnames of men who served as consuls of

[108] ACCE, Reg. 788 fol. 45v-46r. The relationship between the widow, Blanca, widow of Jaume Cerda, and the children is not clear. She may have been an aunt or a maternal grandmother.

[109] ACCE, Reg. 504 fol. 29r-29v. He was perhaps a relative of the Pere Querol who had moved earlier.

[110] See for examples on Ramon Bertran and Bernat Bor: Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 186 and 195 and Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 220, and Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 654 and 670. On Bernat Amill: Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 660.

Puigcerdà.[111] During this period four men were chosen to serve as consuls of Puigcerdà for one-year terms. As in other towns, a small pool of families dominated town governance, appearing multiple or many times.[112] A man named Ramon Bertran was a consul of Puigcerdà in 1326/7.[113] Members of the Mercader family appear frequently among the town's consuls. Someone named Pere Mercader was a consul of Puigcerdà in 1329/30, 1333/4, 1339/40, and 1343/4 and someone named Jaume Mercader appeared as a consul at least seven times between 1308 and 1339.[114] This may have been the same Pere Mercader who moved to Lleida, or possibly a relative of his, although, it is hard to say, because there were certainly multiple men in Puigcerdà with this name.[115] Members of the Amill family also served as consuls of Puigcerdà at least six times between 1295 and 1361, and specifically, someone named Jaume Amill was a consul in 1295/6, 1336/7, and 1340/1.[116]

[111] I do not have a complete list of the consuls of Puigcerdà prior to 1360. I have, however, noted all instances that I have come across which mention the names of the town's consuls, and have therefore identified consuls for all but eight of the years between 1300-1361.

[112] Denjean has states that there were some twenty-five to thirty families that shared the places of consuls and jurats in Pugicerda. See: Denjean, "La Cerdagne," 227. On the small number of families in consular governance in Catalan towns, see: Daileader, *True Citizens*, 161-74, and Christian Guilleré, "Politique et société: les Jurats de Gérone (1323-1376)," *En la España medieval* 7 (1985): 1443–64.

[113] ACCE, Reg. 152 fol. 74v-75r. In all cases I am providing only one citation per year the person was consul even if there are multiple documents showing them as consul.

[114] Pere Mercader as consul: ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fols. 39r-39v and 125r (a). Jaume Mercader as consul: ACCE, Reg. 37 fol. 117r (a), Reg. 209 fol. 17r (c), Reg. 77 fol. 155v (c), Reg. 18 fol. 78r (b), ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 21r. Both Pere and Jaume Mercader as consuls: ACCE, Reg. 290 fol. 69v (c), Reg. 260 fol. 40v (a). Someone with this name was also a consul of Puigcerdà in 1282/3, but this was likely a different man.

[115] In the year 1321/2, at least three different men from Puigcerdà had this name, a tailor, a shoemaker and a cloth-finisher. There were also possibly others.

[116] ACCE, Reg. 54 fol. 169r (c), Reg. 13 fol. 58r (b), Reg. 178 fol. 4v (a), Reg. 504 fol. 5v (b), Reg. 796 fol. 112r (a), and ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fols. 73r (a). Possibly it was the elder Jaume Amill who was consul in 1295/6, and the younger one, his nephew who eventually moved to Lleida who was a consul in 1336/7 and 1340/1, though there were likely more men in this family with this name and more information would be needed to determine which members were consuls.

In at least two of the cases, those of Ramon Bertran and Jaume Amill, we know the men who moved to Lleida were very wealthy, at least by the standards of Puigcerdà. When Ramon Bertran died in October of 1344 he left his son Joan Bertran of Puigcerdà two-hundred and fifty *lliures* of Barcelona and the right to the decimas of Sant Vicenç de Vilalta and Sant Feliu de Vallsabollera.[117] And this is clearly stated to be in addition to the seventeen thousand *sous* of Barcelona that Joan acknowledged having received at the time of his marriage (ten thousand in inheritance and seven thousand from the dowry of his wife Margarita, the daughter of Guillem Hualart).[118] For perspective, the largest dowry recorded in the year 1321/2 was ten thousand *sous*, and most in that year were considerably smaller.[119] We don't know what was left to Ramon's other son, the younger Ramon Bertran, who was a citizen of Lleida, but the younger Ramon was named as the elder Ramon's universal heir, suggesting that he was probably the elder son, and may well have received the larger portion of his father's estate. Since we do not have Ramon's full will, we also cannot be sure if Ramon had any additional children or what other bequests he made, but he was clearly a wealthy man by the standards of Cerdanian society.

Jaume Amill was similarly wealthy. In 1336, he purchased Mas Duran for a price of four thousand *sous* of Barcelona.[120] In 1337 he purchased additional rights over this *mas* for sixty

[117] ACCE, Reg. 640 149v-150v.

[118] This marriage of Margarita and Joan occurred around July of 1339. Acts relating to this marriage can be found here: ACCE, Reg. 432 fols. 96v-97r. These acts show that Bertran had promised to leave the *decimas* in Cerdanya to Joan after his death by the time of this marriage. Margarita likely herself came from an elite or wealthy family. A man with the same name of her father served as a consul in Puigcerdà in 1328/9, see: ACCE, Reg. 235 fol. 249r (a). He may well have been the same man by this name who was a notary in Puigcerdà on and off between 1314 and 1328, although by 1339 he was identified as a rector.

[119] ACCE, Reg. 114 fol. 46v-47r.

[120] ACCE, Parchment 124, Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 385-6, and ACCE, Reg. 178 fol. 139v-140v.

lliures of Barcelona.[121] In his will from 1348, he also specified that if his son, potential posthumous son and cousin Bernat should all die without heirs, he leaves a series of serfs, lands and rights to his other cousin Arnau Amill, including serfs in Escàs and Baridà and Mas Duran in Osseja, some land in St. Martí d'Aravó and the right to a census payment from a *mas* in Saga. Separately, in this event of all the other heirs dying without their own heirs, he leaves ten thousand *sous* of Barcelona to each of his daughters, and the rest of his estate to the Hospital Maior of Puigcerdà and to their poor.[122] The named possessions, likely only a portion of his total estate indicate that Amill was a very wealthy man by the standards of Puigcerdà.

We know little about the nature of Jaume Amill's business. As mentioned above, in the 1330s he was identified as a merchant, and in 1348 he was identified as a money-changer, but I haven't seen any direct evidence of what type of commerce he may have engaged in.[123] However, it is also almost certain that Ramon Bertran, at least, was involved in cloth-finishing and cloth-selling. As noted above, a man by this name was appointed as a procurator by his associate Ramon Rossell, who had moved to Lleida from Puigcerdà, in March of 1320, along with Arnau de Puig.[124] While this entry doesn't state the nature of their business, several entries from the following year make clear that it involved cloth. Ramon Rossell died not long after 1320. We know we had died by October of 1321, when Ramon Bertran and Arnau de Puig, his

[121] ACCE, Parchment 154 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 389.

[122] ACCE, Parchment 159 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 189-90. He does not identify how many daughters he has or give their names.

[123] Further research into additional notarial sources may illuminate this. In one act from July of 1346 he acknowledges having received a debt originally owed by a cloth-finisher, which may indicate that he was involved in the cloth-trade, but this is uncertain. In this act he is identified only as "Jaume Amill resident of Lleida." ACCE, Reg. 657 fol. 86v (c).

[124] ACCE, Reg. 284 fol. 40r (a).

executors handed over the sum of a bequest he had made to the Franciscan convent of Puigcerdà.[125] But he liked died as early as August of 1321, when Ramon Bertran, identified here as a cloth-finisher and Arnau de Puig, who had previously been identified as his partners, created a new business partnership together.[126] The two partners appear in six sales on credit for wool or cloth together, either as the buyers or sellers, over the course of the rest of this year.[127] Additionally, at one point Ramon Bertran, acting for himself and Arnau de Puig, settled debts with Joan Tasquer and "his shepherds" (*pastores tui*), which may also have related to purchases of wool.[128]

As some of the examples discussed above show, when a man moved he often moved his family. But some families divided their interests between the two cities. The Pere Mercader who moved to Lleida had a son named Perico Mercader who in 1359 was identified as Perico Mercader of Puigcerdà, son of Pere Mercader of Lleida.[129] The Ramon Bertran who moved had one son, Joan, who also remained a resident of Puigcerdà. But Ramon Bertran's other son, probably the eldest, Ramon the younger, remained a citizen of Lleida, as can be seen not only from the above-mentioned acts from the 1340s, but from his own will from November 1375, in which he is identified as "Ramon Bertran son of Ramon Bertran, citizen of Lleida and lord of the

[125] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 57v (f).

[126] ACCE, Reg. 28 fols. 11v-12r. This entry was discussed above, where I noted that the invested sums are to be used "in all of the lands and jurisdictions of the kingdoms of Aragon, Mallorca, and France," and in "whatever other kingdom, whether by land, by sea or by fresh water". Presumably the new partnership was needed as part of a general restructuring of their business after one of the primary partners died, suggesting that Rossell likely died prior to August 1321.

[127] ACCE, Reg. 28 fols. 20r (c), 20v (e and f), 23r (i), 94r (a and j). They also appear in one sale on credit buying a mule: ACCE, Reg. 28 fol. 58v (b).

[128] ACCE, Reg. 17 fol. 117r (d and e).

[129] ACCE, Reg. 795 fol. 18r-18v.

honors of Enveig."[130] Similarly, Jaume Amill's son Bernat, and his cousin Bernat both also relocated to Lleida and remained there.

In sum, between 1335 and 1355 a relatively high number of men from Puigcerdà relocated to live in Lleida. The cases I have identified are surely only a portion of the total number of such men who relocated. Some families moved wholesale to Lleida while retaining economic stakes in Puigcerdà; in other cases, some members remained in the town, at least for the next generation. In either case, the economic consequences were significant, as discussed below.

Relocation to Barcelona

As with Lleida, a relatively large number of men formerly from Puigcerdà relocated to Barcelona around the 1340s. As with relocations to Lleida, there are a few early examples of moves to Barcelona. For example, a man named Ramon Robí had moved from Puigcerdà to Barcelona by at least May of 1306.[131] But the vast majority of the documented relocations that I have found come from a very narrow window in time around the years 1345 to 1347, suggesting that the trend in moving from Puigcerdà to Barcelona occurred more suddenly than did the trend of moving from Puigcerdà to Lleida.

For example, in March of 1345 Gil Gil "formerly an inhabitant of Puigcerdà, now a resident of Barcelona" (*olim habitator podiiceritanii nunc vicinus barchinona*) sold a man from Laguna (in Capcir) the harvest he is accustomed to receive from a *mas* in Laguna for the

[130] ACCE, Parchment 244, and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 299.

[131] ACCE, Parchment 50 and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 157-8. In this act he is identified as Ramon Robí "who was from Puigcerdà, now citizen of Barcelona" (*qui fui de podioceritano nunc civis barchinona*). In this act he acknowledges receipt of his wife's dowry. The wife was likely also from Puigcerdà, given that this act was originally recorded there.

following six years.[132] Gil had clearly moved from Puigcerdà to Barcelona prior to this point, though perhaps had not yet lived there long enough to become a citizen of Barcelona. In May of 1346 a man named Pere Mercader "formerly of Puigcerdà, now, however, a citizen of the city of Barcelona" (*olim de podioceritano nunc vero civis civitatis barchinona*), appeared in several acts.[133] This was presumably not the same man by this name who moved from Puigcerdà to Lleida by 1346. This Pere Mercader confirmed having received a series of payments due by a man from Vilafranca-de-Conflent and placed several houses in Puigcerdà into perpetual leases.[134] The following July Pere Mercader "citizen of the city of Barcelona" purchased the expected harvests and payments due for the decimas of three Cerdanian villages and several census payments for four years from Guillem Das of Puigcerdà.[135] That same month, July of 1346, a man named Roger Das (perhaps a relative of Guillem Das), who was "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a true citizen of the city of Barcelona," permanently sold a series of payments due from the *decimas* of some of these same villages to a man from Puigcerdà.[136] Roger Das "citizen of Barcelona, formerly of Puigcerdà" also repaid a debt owed to the Jaume Amill who had moved to Lleida for which he had been the guarantor.[137] He also appears again in August of 1347, when he sold some of the recurring payments owed to him, appointed a procurator from

[132] ACCE, Reg. 750 fol. 215r (c).

[133] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 24r-25r and 657 fol. 26r-26v.

[134] He specifies that these were houses his father Pere Mercader had left the younger Pere's brother Guillem Mercader in a will made in 1320, and that Guillem had given to him in an exchange in 1333. Despite the fact that the Pere Mercader who moved to Lleida around 1346 also had a brother named Guillem I find it almost certain that these were not the same men.

[135] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 92v-93r. The following year he again placed land into a perpetual lease, among other business. See: ACCE Reg. 745 fol. 44v (a), Reg. 642 fol. 3v (c), 32v-33r and 34r (a).

[136] ACCE, Reg. 640 fol. 97v-98v.

[137] ACCE, Reg. 657 fol. 86v (c).

Puigcerdà to collect others and acknowledged receiving payment for a large debt.[138] Clearly, just as Gil Gil had moved to Barcelona by 1345, both Pere Mercader and Roger Das had moved there by 1346. In fact, they had likely moved even earlier, given that both were already designated as not just as residents but as citizens of Barcelona by mid-1346.

Nine additional men had clearly moved from Puigcerdà to Barcelona by 1347. These include: Bernat Esteve, Jaume Vilallobent, Pere de Riufred, Ramon de Sant Joan, Jaume Grayllera, Jaume Onzès, Pere Oliba, Bertran Muntaner and Pere Muntaner. In February of 1347 Bernat Esteve "formerly of Puigcerdà, now citizen of Barcelona" acknowledged receipt of 141 *lliures* of Barcelona from the procurators of the noble Arnau de Cabrera.[139] In April of 1347 Jaume Vilallobent "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a true citizen of Barcelona" sold a field in Santa Eugenia de Pallarols, near Puigcerdà.[140] That same month Pere de Riufred "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a citizen of Barcelona" made a donation.[141] In May of that year Ramon de Sant Joan, "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a true citizen of Barcelona" entered his daughter Agnes into marriage with Joan Blanch son of Ramon Blanch of Puigcerdà.[142] A Jaume Grayllera "native of Puigcerdà, now a true citizen of Barcelona" appears in several acts in 1347. In April he was engaged in an arbitration with his brother-in-law and then sold a tenancy in Vilanova.[143] In July he sold a tenancy in a field in Santa Eugenia de Pallarols as well as some land in the village of

[138] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 61r (b) and Reg. 642 fols. 69v (a), 77r (a) and 93v (d).

[139] ACCE, Reg. 657 fol. 231v (c).

[140] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 17v-18r.

[141] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 14r (c).

[142] ACCE Reg. 642 fol. 50r-50v. Another of this man's daughters, Francesca, who was married to a cloth-finisher named Bernat Blanch appears in another entry from this year. See: ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 88v-89r

[143] ACCE, Reg. 642 fols. 31r-31v and 36r-36v.

Ans in the name of his wife.[144] A man named Jaume Onzès also "now a citizen of Barcelona, formerly of Puigcerdà" did as well. In September and December of 1347 his procurator sold recurring payments owed to him.[145]

A Bertran Muntaner the elder, originally of Puigcerdà, had moved to Barcelona, become a citizen there and then died there by 1347. In January of 1348 [1347] three cousins of his (all daughters of Guillem Bernat Muntaner) sell the bequest owed to them from Bertran's will to Pere Oliba, who was also "a citizen of Barcelona, native of Puigcerdà."[146] Another member of this family, Pere Muntaner had also moved there by that time. Guillem Muntaner, procurator of his father Pere Muntaner, sold livestock owned by his father in the village of Valsabollera in June,[147] and accepted a payment due to his father in December.[148] In the first of these entries Pere Muntaner was identified only as a citizen of Barcelona, but in the second he was labelled as "formerly of Puigcerdà, now a citizen of Barcelona." Additionally, the Pere Oliba and Bernat Esteve mentioned above would appear in entries in later years that also pertain to Pere Muntaner's estate.[149] All nine men of these men had clearly moved to Barcelona at least by 1347, and likely earlier, given that they were all *citizens* of Barcelona by that point.

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[144] ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 62r (b). He notes that he had been appointed to act as his wife's procurator in this matter in a notarial act recorded in Barcelona in April of that year. He also accepts repayments on some debts in this year, see: ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 38v (a) and 118r (c).

[145] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 68v-69r and Reg. 642 fol. 177r-177v. He would then record a will in 1348. See: ACCE, Reg. 567 fol. 102r-104v.

[146] ACCE, Reg. 753 fol. 138r (b). Bertran had died at least by the previous December, when these sisters named a procurator to collect these bequests. See: ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 187r (c). For other acts on Bertran's affairs, see: ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 193v (b) and 206v (b).

[147] ACCE, Reg. 745 fol. 40r (e).

[148] ACCE, Reg. 659 fol. 159r (a).

[149] In an entry from July of 1351, Pere Oliba, "native of Puigcerdà and now true citizen of the city of Barcelona," and holder of the goods of the late Pere Muntaner of Barcelona, confirms receipt of a payment that Bernat Esteve, citizen of Barcelona formerly of Puigcerdà and his brother Arnau Esteve of Puigcerdà owed to Pere Muntaner.

Evidence of several other examples appear slightly later. In November of 1349 a mercer named Jaume Sunyer "native of Bolvir [a village near Puigcerdà], now citizen of Barcelona" appointed a procurator.[150] An act from August of 1365 shows that Arnau Fabra "native of Puigcerdà and citizen of Barcelona" had moved to Barcelona at least by that point.[151] Finally, a series of criminal cases from Barcelona in 1374 involve several members of the Marques family, including a merchant named Arnau Marques "of Barcelona," but also his relative Sancia Marques, who resides in Barcelona but is the widow of "Jaume Marques of Puigcerdà".[152] Two brothers, Jaume and Simó Marques had been merchants and consuls in Puigcerdà during the 1320s-1340s and it seems likely that Arnau and Sancia were relatives of theirs. Simó Marques had a son named Arnau, who was probably the Arnau who moved to Barcelona.[153] Jaume Marques senior (the former consul and brother of Simó) had a son named Jaume Marques junior who was conducting business in Barcelona at least in the late 1350s.[154] The legal case involving

ACCE, Reg. 788 fol. 58v (a). There is also a sale on credit from the previous April in which Pere Oliba of Barcelona sold woad in Puigcerdà. This may be the same man. See: ACCE, Reg. 813 fol. 72v (b). Later on, in February of 1356 the same Pere Oliba who moved to Barcelona, permanently sells a recurring census payment that "the late Pere Muntaner of Puigcerdà, who was a true citizen of the said city [Barcelona]" had been accustomed to receiving, and which Muntaner had purchased in November of 1344. ACCE, Reg. 533 fol. 26v-27r.

[150] ACCE, Reg. 776 fol. 128v (b).

[151] ACCE, Parchment 205 and and Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 203-4. Arnau Fabra received a bequest from the widow of the late Bernat Fabra of Puigcerdà.

[152] The exact relationship between Arnau and Sancia is not clear, but it was close enough that he went to her house when he thought he was poisoned. There are two different transcriptions of this legal process. See: Joan Anton Rabella i Ribas, *Un matrimoni desavingut i un gat metzinat: procés criminal barceloní del segle XIV* (Barcelona: L'Abadia de Montserrat, 1998), and Carlos López Rodríguez, *Sexe i violència en la Corona d'Aragó: Processos criminals dels segles XIII al XV* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2014). I am grateful to Marie Kelleher for sharing this reference with me.

[153] He can be seen in the wills of his mother Sibil·la, who was the wife of Simó Marques, and of his sister Blanca. See: ACCE, Reg. 567 fols. 82r-82v and 152-152vr.

[154] For example, in October of 1359 Guillem Urús a merchant of Puigcerdà, appointed both Jaume Marques junior, of Puigcerdà, and Guillem de Donagats of Barcelona to act as his procurators in collecting a debt owed by a cloth-finisher in Barcelona. See ACCE, Reg. 504 fol. 185r-185v. Thus, we can see that Jaume Marques junior was clearly traveling between Puigcerdà and Barcelona in this period. It is not entirely clear that this Jaume Marques was the husband of Sancia, but this is certainly possible. By 1347 Jaume Marques junior had married Esclarmonda, the

Arnau and Sancia Marques also includes several other people who may have had ties to Cerdanya including a Jaume de Monegals (whose locative surname was not uncommon in Puigcerdà but probably wouldn't have been elsewhere), and a Pere Das, nephew of Berenguer Marques, who is possibly a relative of the Das and Marques families of Puigcerdà.[155] The name Das refers to the village of Das in Cerdanya, so a connection of some sort to Cerdanya is highly likely. While the exact connections of this family are difficult to sort out it strongly suggests that multiple members of this family also moved from Puigcerdà to Barcelona at some point prior to that 1374.

Who were these men who moved? As was the case for a number of those men who relocated to Lleida, several of the men who relocated to Barcelona share the surnames of members of the consular elite of Puigcerdà and appear to have been wealthier by Cerdanian standards. The men who I could document having moved to Barcelona from Puigcerdà had the surnames Gil, Mercader, Das, Esteve, de Vilallobent, Grayllera, Onzès, Oliba, de Riufred, de Sant Joan, Muntaner, Fabra and (probably) Marques.[156] Seven of these surnames also appear among the names of consuls of Puigcerdà in the first half of the fourteenth century. I already noted above that a Pere Mercader was a consul of Puigcerdà in 1329/30, 1333/4, 1339/40, and 1343/4 and a Jaume Mercader appeared as a consul at least seven times between 1308 and 1339. The Das, Esteve, Vilallobent, de Sant Joan, Onzès, Muntaner, Fabra and Marques families were

daughter of Ramon Bor and niece of Bernat Bor (almost certainly members of the consular Bor family whose members moved to Lleida), but Sancia could have been a second wife. See: ACCE, Reg. 642 fol. 104v (a).

[155] In fact, the Simó Marques just mentioned had a daughter, Jacmona, who married Guillem Das of Puigcerdà. Thus, we know that the Das family, whose member Roger also moved to Barcelona was already connected to the Marques family of Puigcerdà. In fact, when Guillem Das made a will in 1348, he named a Roger Das as one of his executors, and both Jaume Marques senior and Jaume Marques junior witnessed the will. See: ACCE, Reg. 567 fol. 85r-85v.

[156] I omit Jaume Sunyer, as he was from Bolvir, not Puigcerdà.

also connected to town consuls. A Guillem Das served as consul in 1307/8 and 1312/3, while someone named Roger Das was consul in 1311/2, 1332/3, 1340/1 and 1345/6.[157] This Roger was probably either the man who himself moved to Barcelona or his father, though it may have been another relative. A Bernat Esteve, perhaps the same Bernat Esteve who later moved to Barcelona, was consul of Puigcerdà in 1322/3,[158] and a Jaume Vilallobent, perhaps the same man by this name who later moved to Barcelona was a consul of Puigcerdà in 1320/1, 1325/6 and 1343/4.[159] Ramon de Sant Joan, perhaps the same one who moved to Barcelona later was consul in 1344/5.[160] Members of the Onzès family were consuls six times between 1308/9 and 1323/4;[161] Muntaner family were consuls five times between 1304 and 1344;[162] and members of the Fabra family were consuls three times between 1337 and 1356.[163] Finally, two members of the Marques family served as consuls in this period, a Jaume Marques in 1335/6 and a Simó Marques in 1339/40.[164] It seems likely, therefore, that a good number of these me who relocated from Puigcerdà to Barcelona had either been consuls themselves or were related to families in

[157] See: ACCE, Reg. 45 fol. 9r (a), Reg. 60 fols. 78r (b) and 104r-104v, Reg. 252 fol. 114r (a) and, ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fols. 73r (a) and 156r (b).

[158] ACCE, Reg. 79 fol. 104v (b).

[159] ACCE, Reg. 78 fol. 37r (b), Reg. 389 fol. 44v (b) and ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 125r (a).

[160] ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 144r (a).

[161] ACCE, Reg. 37 fol. 117r (a), Reg. 210 fol. 3v (a), Reg. 13 fol. 58r (b), Reg. 16 fols. 119v-120r, Reg. 114 folio 39r (c), and Reg. 18 fol. 21v (a).

[162] ADPO, 7J105, HBE, Book 1, Doc. 85, ACCE, Reg. 78 fol. 37r (b), ACCE, Reg. 290 fol. 69v (c), ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fols. 39r-39v and 125r (a).

[163] ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 1r (b), ACCE, Reg. 774 fol. 37r (a), and ACCE, Reg. 792 fol. 73v-74r.

[164] ACCE, Reg. 300 fol. 113r (c) and ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 39r-39v. Simó's son Pere Marques would also be consul in 1350, see: ACCE, Reg. 774 fol. 117v (a).

which their relatives had served as consuls of Puigcerdà. This would suggest that these men who moved came from the wealthier segment of Puigcerdan society. The fact that these men were probably wealthier by Cerdanian standards is also attested by the fact that much of the business we see them engaging in in these entries from Puigcerdà involves the sale of recurring payments (of census payments or *decimas*, etc.), owed by people from villages surrounding Puigcerdà.

Several of the men who moved to Barcelona may also have had ties to the cloth industry or cloth trade. As noted above, members of the Muntaner family were prominent cloth-finishers in Puigcerdà in the 1320s, and in fact a Pere Muntaner was one of the overseers of the guild of cloth-finishers in the year 1321/2.[165] In fact, the Bertran Muntaner, the elder, who moved to Barcelona may well have been a relative of the Muntaner family whose mercantile company had been trading in Aragon, Castile and Navarre since the 1330s, if not the partner of this company who had this name. Pere Oliba "of Barcelona" also sold woad in Puigcerdà in April of 1351.[166] The Marques brothers, Simó and Jaume, who had been active in Puigcerdà in the 1320s to 1340s were also involved in this industry. In 1321/2 they appeared in a total of eighteen sales on credit, all of which were for cloth or wool. The Arnau Marques of Barcelona, who seems likely to have been related to them, was a merchant with ties to Genoa, possibly also related to the cloth industry.[167]

Together I have identified a total of at least thirteen men who moved from Puigcerdà to Barcelona at some point between 1345 and 1349, and one additional man who had moved at

[165] ACCE, Reg. 114 folio 76v (c).

[166] ACCE, Reg. 813 fol. 72v (b).

[167] López Rodríguez, *Sexe i violència*, 228-31.

least by 1365.[168] These cases are likely only a portion of a larger movement, in which there was significant relocation from Puigcerdà to Barcelona. In comparison to the trend in relocations to Lleida, the evidence of relocation to Barcelona I have found is far less gradual, and instead is highly concentrated within a period of around four years (1345-1349). That this apparently occurred very shortly after the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona forcibly reclaimed Cerdanya from the king of Mallorca and reincorporated it within his own territories is certainly no coincidence. The reintegration of Cerdanya into the same political entity as the rest of Catalonia clearly had a relatively immediate effect in Puigcerdà, as a part of the city's elite moved to the regional center of power, perhaps to access broader economic networks available in the great seaport city.

Town Elites, the Reincorporation of the Crown of Mallorca and Moves to Lleida and Barcelona

The fact that many wealthier members of Puigcerdan society moved away, to Lleida and Barcelona, particularly in the years immediately following the recinorporation of the Crown of Mallorca into the Crown of Aragon, and the fact that many of them had ties to the cloth industry, and particularly to the luctrative cloth trade in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, suggests a possible explanation for their involvement in aiding the Crown of Aragon in the war of reintegration. As recounted in Chapter 8, in 1342 Pere III, king of Aragon/count of Barcelona began a legal process against Jaume the Unfortunate of Mallorca which, when it was concluded in February of 1343 gave Pere legal cause to invade the Crown of Mallorca.[169] After a year and a half of war, Jaume was defeated in Puigcerdà itself in November of 1344. According to Pere III's own

[168] This does not include Jaume Sunyer, of Bolvir, or any members of the Marques family.

[169] Bisson, *Crown of Aragon*, 106; Ensenyat Pujol, *La reintegració*, Vol. 1, 123.

chronicle, the two factions within the town of Puigcerdà, each aligned with one of the two kings, were divided according to class lines. He states that Jaume had gained entry to the town of Puigcerdà with the help of some men from the "lower classes of Puigcerdà," while "the consuls of the town and leading citizens and important men all fled... and many concealed themselves in the town,"[170] and that it was these consuls and leading citizens who overtook the city while Jaume was out trying to reconquer Vilafranca-de-Conflent, and who then locked him out and ensured his defeat.[171] Claude Denjean has already noted that the town's elites cooperated with Pere and ensured his conquest, and that in the preceding decades envoys of the consuls of Puigcerdà had been in direct contact with the king of Aragon, as evidenced by a book of town expenses from 1325.[172] Given that many of the consuls and leading citizens of Puigcerdà had considerable ties to the cloth trade, and specifically that many of them were involved in trading significant volumes of cloth in the kingdom of Aragon, it certainly seems likely that many of the wealthier members of Puigcerdà's society would have wanted either to be part of the Crown of Aragon, or at least for the war to end.

Firstly, the war was certainly bad for business, not only locally within Cerdanya, but in Aragon. As Diago Hernando notes, in 1342 the lessors of a certain tax—the *quema*, a tax on merchandise that crossed the border between Castile and Aragon, used to compensate merchants from both kingdoms who were robbed or experienced misfortunes in the other kingdom—complained that the lawsuit that the king of Aragon had brought against the king of Mallorca had brought down tax collection because the merchants from Puigcerdà could not conduct their

[170] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 372-4.

[171] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 374-7.

[172] Denjean, "La Cerdagne," 224-5, and 232.

regular business there.[173] The problem wasn't that Puigcerdans were not able to pay this tax—in fact, they almost certainly never paid it, because the king of Aragon denied them the right to be compensated for robberies and violence committed against them in Castile—the problem was that Castilians (who paid the tax) could not come to buy the cloth, because, as the lessor of this tax complained in 1342, the assets of subjects of the king of Mallorca in Calatayud had been seized.[174] This exchange shows that although in 1342 the war had not yet broken out, the tensions between the king of Aragon and the king of Mallorca were already creating considerable problems for Puigcerdan merchants trying to sell cloth in the king of Aragon's lands. By 1344, in the midst of the war of reintegration, these issues would have been going on for over two years – potentially posing considerable losses Puigcerdan merchants' profits.

Secondly, there were clearly benefits afforded to subjects of the king of Aragon in the kingdom of Aragon that the merchants of Puigcerdà were not able to enjoy while they were subjects of the king of Mallorca. In 1181, shortly after Puigcerdà was founded, the count-king Alfons the Chaste granted several valuable privileges to the inhabitants of Puigcerdà, including exempting them from having to pay *lleudes*—a customs tax required for merchandise to enter a city or territory—anywhere in his lands.[175] But by 1342 the residents of Puigcerdà were apparently not able to enjoy this privilege in the lands of the Crown of Aragon, as they were subjects of the king of Mallorca.[176] In 1342 the king of Aragon complained to some of his

[173] Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo, 216-7.

[174] Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo, 216-7.

[175] For this document, see: ACCE, Parchment 716, *Llibre Verd*, 304-5, Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 39-41. On *lleudes* in general, see: Bolòs i Masclans, *Diccionari de la Catalunya medieval*, 157, and Gual Camarena, *Vocabulario del comercio medieval.*

[176] It is not clear to me whether this had been true since the creation of the Crown of Mallorca, or if this was new with the rising tensions between these two lands.

officers in Lleida that residents of Puigcerdà were claiming to be residents of Lleida with the sole objective of exempting themselves from paying tolls and *lleudes*, even though they did not maintain residences in Lleida.[177] The merchants of Puigcerdà clearly wanted to be able to take advantage of exemptions from paying *lleudes* – and the count-king clearly did not want them to.[178] The benefits afforded to subjects of the king of Aragon included being reimbursed for violence and misfortunes committed against them by Castilians, a benefit not granted to subjects of the king of Mallorca. Puigcerdan merchants operating in Aragon and Castile would certainly have been aware that becoming subjects of the king of Aragon would have opened them up to greater protections than they experienced as subjects of the king of Mallorca.[179]

We can also see clearly that those specifically operating in the town government around the war of reintegration were some of the same men (or family members of those) who either traded in Aragon, or later moved to Lleida or Barcelona. Many of the men who were consuls precisely around the time of the war had ties to the cloth trade in Aragon, Castile and Navarre, and/or moved to Lleida or Barcelona shortly after the reincorporation. In 1343/4 the consuls were Pere Mercader, Jaume de Vilallobent, Bertran Muntaner and Simó Riba.[180] The first three of these men were likely the same as men of those names who moved to Lleida or Barcelona, or at least family members of theirs. In 1344/5 the consuls from the town included Ramon de Sant

[177] Diago Hernando, "Irrupcion," 214, Diago Hernando, "Comercio," 179-89, Diago Hernando, "Desarrollo," 219, and Diago Hernando, "Relaciones," 654.

[178] The timing of this altercation, coming in 1342 just as Pere the Ceremonious was undertaking his lawsuit against Jaume the Unfortunate hardly seems coincidental. The merchants of Puigcerdà – with their luctrative trade in the kingdom of Aragon were not going unnoticed by the count-king. Could they have been another of the annoying aspects of the Crown of Mallorca that spurred Pere to try to reconquer it?

[179] See the sections above for several examples in which merchants from Puigcerdà were robbed or attacked in these lands.

[180] ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 125r (a).

Joan, perhaps the same one who then moved to Lleida.[181] In August of 1344, after Pere III had succeeded in entering Perpignan and was receiving homage from the lands Rosselló and Cerdanya, Puigcerdà sent three men to do homage to him for the town. They included Pere Mercader, Bernat Companys (perhaps the same man of this name of traded frequently in Aragon, Castile and Navarre), and Pere Adrover.[182] The syndic chosen as a replacement for Adrover was Roger Das, surely the same one who moved shortly after to Barcelona.[183]

Finally, regaining the privilege of the *lleuda* was apparently one of the main requests of the town of Puigcerdà when they did accept Pere the Ceremonious as their king in August of 1344. In his chronicle Pere noted that, while in city at the end of that month—where he was forced to stay for a few days longer than he had expected, due to the "great cold and great wind and snow"—he "granted the leading citizens and municipality of Puigcerdà a confirmation of their ancient privileges and liberties, which they had not been using."[184] And indeed, we see that on September 3, 1344, as Salvador Bosom i Isern and Susanna Vela i Palomares put it, Pere "confirmed to the community of Puigcerdà the freedoms and privileges that had been conceded to it by the king Alfons I in 1181, especially the freedom from the *lleuda*."[185] This being done, as Pere notes: "the people were very glad and confirmed in their loyalty to Us."[186] The speed with

[181] ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Llibre d'arrendaments 1337-1356, fol. 144r (a).

[182] Adrover was killed in a riot in Vilafrancha-de-Conflent on route. See: Denjean, "La Cerdagne," 229, Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 360. See also, ACCE, Fons de l'Ajuntament de Puigcerdà, Reg. de Consells, 1342-5, fol. 26v.

[183] Denjean, "La Cerdagne," 231.

[184] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 361. Likely they had not been "using" these privileges because Pere had blocked them from doing so.

[185] ACCE, Parchment 38a and 38b. Bosom i Isern and Vela i Palomares, *Llibre de Privilegis*, 141-6.

[186] Pere the Ceremonious, *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, 361.

which these elite townspeople moved to have this privilege confirmed after accepting Pere as their king shows how important it was to them, and suggests that it was a key motivator in determining their loyalty. Shortly afterward Pere made this confirmation, two of the merchants from Puigcerdà who had been particularly actively trading cloth in and through Aragon, Bertran Muntaner and Bernat Companys, petitioned the king to make their new status as subjects of the king of Aragon who were exempt from paying the *lleuda* clear. They begin to present parchments bearing proof of their new status in various locations throughout Aragon, in one case with an order to the officials of Calatayud to make it known to the entire populace of Calatayud that the people of Puigcerdà were now exempt from the *lleudas* by the king's order. In fact, there are at least sixteen parchments surviving that relate to the people of Puigcerdà seeking prove their freedom from *lleudes* (mainly in Aragon, and above all most frequently in Calatayud, and sometimes in Catalonia) in the mid-fourteenth century, showing how important this shift in status was to these merchants.[187]

We may not fully know the motivations of the leaders of Puigcerdà around the year 1344 when they decided to side with Pere the Ceremonious over Jaume the Unfortunate, but there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that economic factors played a considerable role. It seems likely that the leaders of the town, many of whom were directly involved in a lucrative commercial network importing Puigcerdan cloth into the inner Iberian Peninsula, sought to end the disruption to this trade which had been going on for over two years and reduce their own business costs by regaining privileges available only to the subjects of the Crown of Aragon.

[187]. See: ACCE, Parchments 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 50,51, 52, 53, 55, 60a and 60b. Bosom i Isern and Forns de Rivera, *Catàleg de pergamins*, 55-67.

Significance

The numerous cases in which men, many of them probably from the wealthier, consular elite of Puigcerdà, relocated out of that town to either Lleida or Barcelona suggest that a significant portion of the wealthier segment of Puigcerdan society moved away from the town in the mid-fourteenth century, first during the late 1330s early 1340s, and then, in even greater numbers, in the first years immediately after Puigcerdà was reincorporated into the lands of the king of Aragon/count of Barcelona. In many cases, these men did not sever their ties to Puigcerdà. They continued to hold business interests in Cerdanya; they appointed procurators to act on their behalf there; and those who were merchants probably traded there. Many of those trading in Aragon, Castile and Navarre continued working in companies with merchants from both Lleida and Puigcerdà. They were surely buying up cloth from Puigcerdan workshops to distribute in new markets. In some cases, the men who had moved clearly continued to feel connected to Puigcerdà. Although Jaume Amill had become a citizen of Lleida by 1345, when he died in that city around 1348 he left bequests to the two hospitals of Puigcerdà. In other cases, however, this may have been less true, and the men may have more completely severed ties to Puigcerdà. In such cases we would naturally find fewer traces of them in the notarial acts.

Yet, even if some of the men who had relocated retained some ties to Cerdanya, this relatively large-scale relocation of wealthier members of society must have had a significant, negative impact on the local economy in Puigcerdà. Clearly, in many cases, harvests and recurring payments owed by people in the small villages of the Cerdanian countryside that had once been paid to wealthier townspeople form Puigcerdà, and whose value had thus continued to circulate within Cerdanya, were now more frequently owed to men who had left Puigcerdà and lived in distant cities like Lleida or Barcelona. This would have pulled wealth away from the

region toward these larger cities. The loss of a relatively large number of men, and their wives and children, particularly form the wealthier segment of society, would undoubtedly have had an impact on the underlying artisanal and service industries that relied on such men as their clients. If such men continued to profit off earnings from Cerdanya but no longer spent these profits in Puigcerdà, it would certainly have harmed other industries within the town.

This widespread trend toward relocations that had clearly begun in the 1330s in the case of Lleida and by 1345 in the case of Barcelona shows that Puigcerdà's late-fourteenth century decline was not purely the result of the Black Death in 1348. It was not a coincidence that, as I discussed in Chapters 2 and 8, the overall level of notarial records produced per year seems to have begun declining around 1340. Instead, the plague clearly hit a town that was already in the middle of restructuring, as Puigcerdà was drawn into an increasingly centralized, politically integrated state, but also one at which it would be increasingly on the periphery.

Conclusion

Examining the external connections seen in surviving appointments of procurators for each year at ten-year intervals reveals several clear patterns. Firstly, during third quarter of the thirteenth-century (from approximately 1260-1280), Puigcerdà does not appear to have been well-connected to distant areas. The total number of appointments or procurators and connections to places outside the valley were both low, and most of those connections that there were, were to neighboring areas within the Pyrenees. Beginning around the 1280s the town's number of external connections grew, and in the last decades of the thirteenth century and first decades of the fourteenth century Puigcerdà became connected both to more places and within a wider geographic range. Fewer of the town's external connections, at least as seen in this type of

act, were restricted to the local area. While the town's connections to grew considerably around the 1280s, they declined consistently thereafter. Puigcerdà's overall level of connectivity remained similar between the late thirteenth century/early fourteenth century and the mid-fourteenth century but beginning around the 1340s the distribution of external connections shifted more toward Catalonia. Connections to Lleida and Barcelona in particular grew during this period.

Tracing the growth of specific trade patterns in more depth, we can see that Puigcerdà's connections to Tuscan towns—mainly through the woad trade—began in the earliest years of the fourteenth century and grew rapidly thereafter, persisting at least into the 1360s. Throughout the early fourteenth century the cloth-merchants of Puigcerdà also traded extensively in Aragon, which they reached through Lleida, and through Aragon, Castile and Navarre. In the mid-fourteenth century, and particularly in the first years immediately following the Crown of Mallorca's reincorporation into the Crown of Aragon, many members of Puigcerdà's wealthier, consular elite (often men associated with the cloth-industry) moved away from the town to Lleida or Barcelona. This was clearly related to the town's growing integration with wider Mediterranean, and more importantly Iberian commercial networks, and ultimately probably contributed to the town's long-term decline.

Conclusion

In my in-depth analysis of the notarial practice in Puigcerdà, as seen in the first three chapters, I have argued that notarial sources may be used as accurate proxies for understanding economic and demographic trends. I have shown that the development of the notarial institution in Puigcerdà was similar in timeline to that of the rest of Catalonia, and that the unusual organization of the notarial office makes it possible to estimate of how representative the surviving records are, opening these sources to new forms of statistical analysis. Examining the total number of notarial entries recorded each year over time, I showed that the that the overall volume of notarial documentation likely rose in the late thirteenth century, stagnated or at grew very slowly in the early fourteenth century and then began to decline considerably in the early 1340s prior to the Black Death. Analyzing the full range of types of agreements originally recorded in the year 1321/2 I revealed that approximately two thirds of all recorded agreements involved credit, and half were debts.

In Chapter 4, I argued that it is possible to estimate population based on the unique number of men appearing in notarial entries and outlined a method for doing so using the surviving entries from medieval Puigcerdà in 1321/2. Using this method, I have found that the town had a population of somewhere between 7,000 and 10,000 people in that year. This research also explored the rate at which the inhabitants of medieval Puigcerdà participated in the use of notarial records. The model I have outlined also suggests one of two two possible outcomes: either the percent of contract-worthy men from Puigcerdà who participated in at least one notarial entry in a given year was very high (around 78.3 to 84 percent according to my estimates), or the town's overall population was even higher than I have estimated here.

Chapters 5 and 6, on the economy of Puigcerdà in the year 1321/2 show how strongly the commercial economy of late-medieval Puigcerdà was centered on the production and sale of woolen cloth. Sheep-raising was clearly the predominant form of market-oriented agricultural activity in Cerdanya, wool and cloth were the most frequently sold items, and a plurality of artisans were in the cloth industry. The seasonal course of notarial and economic activity and the flow of goods and money throughout the year were both highly influenced by the local agricultural practices, particularly the schedules of shepherds. Fall and spring, points when the sheep left for or returned from their winter pastures marked points of significant transfers of value.

My analysis of the town's overall development over this century, as discussed in Chapters 7 and 8 shows that the region's economy grew rapidly in the late thirteenth century likely stagnated, or at least experienced a far lower level of growth in the early fourteenth century and then experienced a significant, severe and enduring decline that began around the 1340s. In Chapter 7, I traced how the town was growing in the late thirteenth century, mainly due to the rapid development of the local cloth industry. Contrary to the findings of prior scholarship, there does not appear to have been an intensive cloth industry in Puigcerdà in the 1270s. There was some cloth-production, but it included only very cheap, rustic cloths, probably produced on home looms. The cloth industry intead began to take off in the town around the early 1280s, and then developed at a very rapid pace, becoming by far the dominant industry in the town by 1300. The rapid growth of this industry occurred at the same that the town itself grew both in size and in wealth. In the early fourteenth century the town's economy appears to have stagnated, or at least experienced a far lower level of growth.

As I argued in Chapter 8, there is no sign that the economy of Puigcerdà began to decline prior to the 1340s, although there may have been a period of economic stagnation, and a loss, or at least decline in economic growth before then. There was a notable decline in the number of certain types of agreements between 1339 and 1349, that continued declining in the following decade. Estimates for certain types of acts in the year 1359 are around 80 percent lower than for the early fourteenth century. The population also declined by over half in the same period and continued declining even in the decades after the Black Death. The timing of the town's transition to economic contraction is clearly prior to the Black Death, and quite close to the period when Puigcerdà (and the rest of the Crown of Mallorca) was forcibly reincorporated into the Crown of Aragon after a year and a half long war, in 1344. While more research is needed, this strongly suggests that the town's reintegration into the broader Crown of Aragon contributed to the beginning of its enduring economic decline.

In the early fourteenth century, as I argue in Chapter 9, the town of Puigcerdà was at the center of a broader Pyrenean economic zone that clearly extended beyond the local political boundaries of Cerdanya. It was also connected to numerous other regions, particularly due through the cloth industry. These regions included Rosselló, Languedoc and Catalonia, to Aragon, Castile and Valencia—where merchants from Puigcerdà sold cloth—and even to Tuscany, from which Puigcerdans imported woad. Looking at shifts in the town's connections over time, as I did in Chapter 10, I have shown firstly that the town's external connections likely grew in the early fourteenth century, in comparison to the late thirteenth century. Further, I have traced the development of Puigcerdà's long-distance economic ties to four areas. I showed firstly that Cerdanya was regularly visited by woad-traders from Tuscany and Umbria from the earliest years of the fourteenth century through at least the 1360s. Throughout the early fourteenth

century cloth-merchants from Puigcerdà also traded extensively in Aragon, which they reached through Lleida, and through Aragon, Castile and Navarre. Finally, I have shown that in the mid-fourteenth century, and particularly in the first years immediately following the reincorporation of the Crown of Mallorca's into the Crown of Aragon, many members of Puigcerdà's wealthier, consular elite (often men associated with the cloth-industry) moved to Lleida or Barcelona. This movement, which almost certainly contributed to the town's decline, was likely connected to the fact that Puigcerdà was being more drawn in to the increasingly integrated Iberian and Mediterranean markets.

Appendix

As I noted in Chapter 1, I have created a list of all public notaries and scribes who can be identified working in Puigcerdà each year between 1177 and 1360. This list is drawn from analyses of four types of sources: 1) the covers and opening headers of notarial cartularies, 2) the eschatocols, or formal endings, of parchments 3) documents on the concession of the notariate or on appointment of notaries, and 4) contracts referencing earlier documents by other notaries. The purpose of this appendix is to provide more detail on how this information was collected, and on the location of the registers and parchments produced by the notaries of Puigcerdà before 1360 that I consulted. I cannot include the full list of notaries and scribes working each year here, due to space constraints, but this may be available in a future work.

Headers of notarial cartularies:

The names of notaries (and sometimes scribes) using a specific register are typically recorded in a header on the first or second folio. Some registers, at least in the late thirteenth century, include a similar header at what was then the medieval New Year, March 25th. I have examined the beginning headers of all the surviving cartularies, and the New Year headers of all those in which the beginning header is missing, damaged or does not list the notaries' names. I have used the references to the registers' recording notaries that appear on the parchment covers only when the notation appears to be from a medieval script original to the creation of the register.

Eschatochols:

My second main source of information on the notaries working each year was eschatocols, or, formal endings of parchments.[188] The eschatocols record both the name and sign of the notary who undersigns or officially authorizes the act, along with the name of the scribe or other notary who physically wrote the document if these are not the same person. Scribes and notaries copying an act will also add an additional eschatocol with their names. I have looked only at eschatocols on documents that were either produced or copied by the notaries of Puigcerdà, which had a clear date and recorded the names of a notary or scribe active in any year prior to 1360.[189] The number of such acts I have been able to identify is certainly not the full number that survive to the present day; more qualifying acts undoubtedly remain to be found.

In the Arxiu Comarcal de la Cerdanya I found 165 parchments meeting these requirements, along with one additional parchment now used as the cover of a notarial register and two loose documents found within the pages of notarial cartularies.[190] In the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales I found 190 such acts, ten in Series B,[191] and 180 in the Fonds Salsas.[192] Interestingly, the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales thus

[188] I have also used a few eschatocols on documents that written out on paper.

[189] There are other documents, particularly within the Fonds Salsas, which clearly name a notary of Puigcerdà but which either do not state the date the document was created or in which the date cannot be read due to the damage.

[190] ACCE, Reg. 160, inside of cover. ACCE, Reg. 81, Sol., and Reg. 274, Sol.

[191] Fifty-six of those in the Fonds Salsas are contained with the *Llibre segon dels actes del hospital de Bernat de Enveig:* ADPO, 7J77. Note that this number does not include the references to notaries from Puigcerdà in the Liber Feudorum A, (ADPO 1B16). Although the original of this source is contained in the ADPO within Series B, I decided to rely only on the published transcription. See: Tretón, *Liber Feudorum A.*

[192] The Fonds Salsas contains the collected papers, including original medieval documents, notes and transcriptions, of Cerdanian historian Albert Salsas, donated to the Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales by his widow in 1940. The collection has been only rudimentarily inventoried. I have examined every box in this collection that is labelled as containing original medieval documents from Cerdanya, though more may remain to be found. In addition to original notarial registers, register fragments, parchments and loose medieval papers, the Fonds Salsas also includes numerous transcriptions, and in one case a photograph, of medieval documents. This collection does not appear to have been used by earlier scholars writing about medieval Puigcerdà, except Salsas himself, although Sebastià Bosom was aware of the existence of the collection. He noted in 1992 that some of these documents were "plundered" from the archive in Puigcerdà. Sebastià Bosom i Isern, "Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Puigcerdà," in

actually contains a higher number of surviving parchments recorded or copied in medieval Puigcerdà than the ACCE does, at least prior to 1360.[193] In the Arxiu Capitular d'Urgell, I have found twenty-four such parchments.[194] I also found four such parchments in the collection of the Ajuntament de Llívia,[195] and one in the Joan Gili collection of the Houghton Library of Harvard University.[196] In addition to the original documents from these three collections, I have also relied on information from acts that have been transcribed and published, including thirteen documents from the *Liber Feudorum A*,[197] eight from the *Diplomatari de de la vall d'Andorra*,[198] four documents published by Jaume Marti Sanjaume in his *Dietari de Puigcerdà* but which cannot otherwise be located,[199] one from the Llibre Verd,[200] and five others.[201]

Guia dels arxius històrics de Catalunya, vol. 5 (Barcelona: Departament de Cultura de la Gerenalitat de Catalunya, 1992), 127–217, 133 and 187.

[193] I am planning an inventory of these parchments in future work.

[194] It was not possible to examine all the parchments in this collection; thus, this number should not be taken to reflect the total number of parchments originally produced in Puigcerdà that are contained within this archive. I examined those between 1195-1304, and some of those from 1320-22, and from 1328-332.

[195] These parchments are kept within the town hall in Llívia but are also catalogued as part of the collection of the ACCE. The parchments are: ACCE, Col·lecció de pergamins de l'Ajuntament de Llívia, Parchments dated: March 11, 1303 (copied in August of 1327), October 17, 1346, December 1, 1349, and September 28, 1355.

[196] Houghton Library, MS 14 (Joan Gili Collection of Manuscripts), Box 3, Document 8.

[197] Tretón, *Liber Feudorum A,* Docs 230, 232, 233, 234, 236, 237, 254, 259, 260, 275, 298, 328, and 331.

[198] Baiges Jardí and Fages, *Diplomatari*, Docs 22, 25, 27, 28, 34,35, 36, and 43.

[199] Jaume Marti Sanjaume, *Dietari de Puigcerdà*, 2 vols., (Lleida: Impremta Mariana, 1928), Docs 249, 356, 369, and 407.

[200] This is a document from 1297. See: ACCE, Llibre Verd, fol. 12r-15v, *Llibre Verd*, 330, Marti Sanjanume, *Dietari*, page 669.

[201] These include: 1) a document from 1282 published in Stefano Maria Cingolani, ed., *Diplomatari de Pere el Gran. 1. Cartes i Pergamins (1258-1285)*, Diplomataris 62 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2011), 484; 2), a document from 1302 published in Bofarull y de Sartorio, *Proceso contra el Rey de Mallorca*, 155; 3) a 1319 copy of a document from 1175 published in Joan Ferrer i Godoy, ed. *Diplomatari del monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses (995-1273)*, Diplomataris 43 (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2009), 193-4; 4) Ostos-Salcedo, "Los notarios," 174-5; and 5) Jordi Bolòs i Masclans, ed., *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de Serrateix (segles X-XV)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2006), 391-2.

The Fonds Salsas of the ADPO contains numerous transcriptions of medieval acts and parchments written by Albert Salsas. I did not use the eschatocols from most of the transcriptions within this collection due to the difficulty involved in locating and cross-referencing all such transcriptions. I did, however use Albert Salsas' transcriptions of the 108 documents in the now lost *Llibre primer dels actes del hospital de Bernat de Enveig*.[202] Salsas' transcriptions may not all be complete, but for each of the documents, Salsas was careful to note the date in its original format, the name of the notary, the number of lines of text and whether or not it was an original or a later copy. I believe these to be a faithful and accurate notation of these details, and the acts they contain offer invaluable insight into the early history of the notaries of Puigcerdà.

Documents on the concession of the notariate and the appointment of notaries

I have discovered forty-two documents related to the selection and appointment of new notaries by the town from before the year 1360. Identifying all such documents was outside the scope of this study, but I detected that at least prior to the year 1335, many of these contracts were created in the week-long period around June 20th (close to the end of the notarial year), and that they were primarily recorded within books of townspeople. I thus read all documents within this week in all surviving registers of this type to find as many of these documents as I could.

Contracts referencing earlier documents by other notaries

It is not uncommon for a recorded act to reference an earlier, connected notarial act. For example, an entry in which a man acknowledges that he has received payment for a piece of land

[202] This cartulary was once among the holdings of the ADPO but has now disappeared and may be in a private collection. It contained 108 medieval parchments from the period of 1222-1321. Salsas' transcriptions are found within ADPO, 7 J105.

might refer to the initial act in which he sold the land, giving the date of the first contract and the name of the scribe and notary who recorded it. It was possible to conduct a thorough search for all documents that include such a reference, nor is there an easy way to search systematically for such cases. I did however record these references as came across them

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ACCE, Notarial del districte de Puigcerdà, Registers dated between 1260-1364

Perpignan, France - Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales

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ADPO, 3E1/38 and 3E3/927

ADPO, 7J1-30, 7J40-2, 7J45, 7J57-8, 7J62, 7J77, 7J82, 7J103-5, 7J177

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