

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

This book describes the history of peasants in Catalonia, the politically dominant and wealthiest part of the medieval Kingdom of Aragon, between the ninth and fifteenth centuries. It focuses on the period from 1000 to 1300 when free peasants who had held property under favorable frontier conditions were progressively subjugated by their lords. Between 1462 and 1486 Catalan peasants mounted the most successful peasants' war of the Middle Ages, and achieved the formal abolition of servitude.

Professor Freedman seeks to explain both the process by which servitude was strengthened over the centuries, and its eventual weakening before a direct moral and military challenge. He addresses both the causes of enserfment and the limitations on its effectiveness.

The book integrates archival evidence with the theories of society elaborated by medieval jurists. Comparisons are drawn between Catalonia and other European regions, and its experience is situated within a spectrum of different social and economic conditions.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE IBERIAN AND
LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

GENERAL EDITOR

P. E. RUSSELL F.B.A.

*Emeritus Professor of Spanish Studies
University of Oxford*

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

E. PUPO-WALKER

*Director, Center for Latin American and Iberian Studies
Vanderbilt University*

A. R. D. PAGDEN

Lecturer in History, University of Cambridge

The Origins of Peasant Servitude
in Medieval Catalonia

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE IBERIAN AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES

HISTORY AND SOCIAL THEORY

- ROBERT I. BURNS: *Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*
- MICHAEL P. COSTELOE: *Response to Revolution: Imperial Spain and the Spanish American Revolutions, 1810–1840*
- HEATH DILLARD: *Daughters of the Reconquest: Women in Castilian Town Society, 1100–1300*
- ANDREW DOBSON: *An Introduction to the Politics and Philosophy of José Ortega y Gasset*
- JOHN EDWARDS: *Christian Córdoba: The City and its Regions in the Late Middle Ages*
- LEONARD FOLGARAIT: *So far From Heaven: David Alfaro Siqueiros' 'The March of Humanity' and Mexican Revolutionary Politics*
- VALERIE FRASER: *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635*
- PAUL FREEDMAN: *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia*
- DAVID GIES: *Theatre and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Spain: Juan de Grimaldi as Impresario and Government Agent*
- JUAN LÓPEZ-MORILLAS: *The Krausist Movement and Ideological Change in Spain, 1854–1874*
- MARVIN LUNENFELD: *Keepers of the City: The Corregidores of Isabella I of Castile (1474–1504)*
- LINDA MARTZ: *Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain: The Example of Toledo*
- ANTHONY H. PAGDEN: *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*
- EVELYN S. PROCTER: *Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072–1295*
- A. C. DE C. M. SAUNDERS: *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555*
- DAVID E. VASSBERG: *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile*
- KENNETH B. WOLF: *Christian Martyrs in Muslim Spain*

LITERATURE AND LITERARY THEORY

- STEVEN BOLDY: *The Novels of Julio Cortázar*
- ANTHONY GASCARDI: *The Limits of Illusion: A Critical Study of Calderón*
- LOUISE FOTHERGILL-PAYNE: *Seneca and 'Celestina'*
- MAURICE HEMINGWAY: *Emilia Pardo Bazán: The Making of a Novelist*
- B. W. IFE: *Reading and Fiction in Golden-Age Spain: A Platonist Critique and Some Picaresque Replies*
- JOHN KING: *Sur: A Study of the Argentine Literary Journal and its Role in the Development of a Culture, 1931–1970*
- JOHN LYON: *The Theatre of Valle-Inclán*
- BERNARD MCGUIRK & RICHARD CARDWELL (eds.): *Gabriel García Márquez: New Readings*
- JULIAN OLIVARES: *The Love Poetry of Francisco de Quevedo: An Aesthetic and Existential Study*
- FRANCISCO RICO: *The Spanish Picaresque Novel and the Point of View*
- DOROTHY SHERMAN SEVERIN: *Tragicomedy and Novelistic Discourse in 'Celestina'*
- HENRY W. SULLIVAN: *Calderón in the German Lands and the Low Countries: His Reception and Influence, 1654–1980*
- COLIN P. THOMPSON: *The Strife of Tongues: Fray Luis de León and the Golden Age of Spain*
- DIANE F. UREY: *Gladós and the Irony of Language*
- MARGARITA ZAMORA: *Language, Authority and Indigenous History in the 'Comentarios reales de los incas'*

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

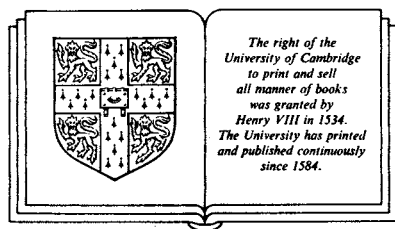
Frontmatter

[More information](#)

The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

PAUL FREEDMAN

Professor of History, Vanderbilt University



CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE

NEW YORK PORT CHESTER

MELBOURNE SYDNEY

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia
 Paul Freedman
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
 Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
 Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
 The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521393270

© Cambridge University Press 1991

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
 and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
 no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
 permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1991
 First paperback edition 2003

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication Data

Freedman, Paul H., 1949–

The origins of peasant servitude in medieval Catalonia/Paul
 Freedman.

p. cm. (Cambridge Iberian and Latin American studies)

Include bibliographical references.

ISBN 0 521 39327 2 hardback

1. Peasantry—Spain—Catalonia—History 2. Serfdom—Spain—
 Catalonia—History. 3. Catalonia (Spain)—Rural conditions.
 4. Peasant uprisings—Spain—Catalonia—History. 5. Catalonia
 (Spain)—History I. Title. II. Series.

HD1536.S7F74 1991

305.5'63'09467—dc20 90—44421 CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-39327-0 Hardback

ISBN 978-0-521-54805-2 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
 accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in
 this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is,
 or will remain, accurate or appropriate. Information regarding prices, travel
 timetables, and other factual information given in this work is correct at
 the time of first printing but Cambridge University Press does not guarantee
 the accuracy of such information thereafter.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

FOR BONNIE

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of tables</i>	<i>page</i> x
Preface	xi
List of abbreviations	xiv
<i>Map 1</i> Densities of Remença households at the end of the Civil War	xviii
<i>Map 2</i> Catalan comarcas and principal towns	xix
<i>Map 3</i> Pyrenees and pre-Pyrenees	xx
1 Introduction: medieval serfdom and Catalonia	1
2 Enduring characteristics of rural Catalonia	26
3 The free peasants of the ninth to eleventh centuries	56
4 Changes in the status of peasants: late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries	89
5 Catalan servitude in the thirteenth century	119
6 Effects of the Black Death	154
7 Peasant agitation and civil war, 1388–1486	179
Conclusion: origins of Catalan servitude	203
Appendix 1	224
Appendix 2	226
Appendix 3	227
Appendix 4	227
<i>Bibliography</i>	231
<i>Index</i>	254

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Tables

2.1	Borders of properties established to tenants of the monastery of Sant Benet de Bages	<i>page</i> 33
2.2	Redemptions by tenants of the Girona Pia Almoïna in the village of Brunyola	35
3.1	Earliest appearance of oppressive customs	70
4.1	Earliest peasant commendations, 1176–1220	94
4.2	Early recognitions, 1200–1220	95
4.3	Protection by military orders, 1171–1210	101
4.4	Earliest redemption charters, 1162–1220	104
4.5	<i>Intestia</i> , <i>exorquia</i> and <i>cugucia</i> grouped together, 1174–1220	109
5.1	Selection of an heir to remain on leasehold, 1154–1283	127

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

In the course of many years of work on serfdom in Catalonia I have amassed innumerable debts to colleagues, archivists, and friends. I am grateful to all who have helped me so generously with their time, advice, learning, and support, and it is a pleasure to be able to acknowledge them here, if only in this cursory fashion that does not adequately express my deep sentiment of obligation.

I received a warm welcome and patient assistance from archivists and librarians throughout Spain and France. I wish to acknowledge in particular the kindness shown to me by the late Mons. Eduard Junyent of the Cathedral Archive of Vic and by his successors and colleagues Dr. Miquel Gros Pujol, Dr. Antoni Pladevall i Font, Dr. Ramon Ordeig i Mata, and Ignàsia Font. Dr. Josep Maria Pons Guri of the Arxiu Fidel Fita has aided me immeasurably from his knowledge of legal history and in making easier the use of his extraordinary collection. I also acknowledge with sincere thanks the access and assistance granted by Rev. Josep Baucells i Reig of the Cathedral Archive of Barcelona, Rev. Benigne Marquès i Sala of the Cathedral Archive of La Seu d'Urgell, Dr. Gabriel Roure of the Archive of the Cathedral of Girona, Dr. Josep M. Marquès i Plangumà of the Diocesan Archive of Girona, Sylvie Caucanas and Philippe Rosset of the Departmental Archives of the Pyrénées-Orientales, Dr. Frederic Udina i Martorell and Dr. Rafael Conde and their staff at the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, and the other directors and staff of libraries and archives that I was able to consult.

So many individuals in Catalonia have helped me in so many ways that I can only begin to list and acknowledge them. I am grateful to my dear friends over many years Montserrat Orriols de Genís, Alexandre Genís i Canal, Montserrat Puig d'Orriols and Joan Orriols. I have received wise advice and unfailing encouragement from members of the Faculty of Geography and History at the

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia

Paul Freedman

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

xii

PREFACE

University of Barcelona, especially from Professors Josep Maria Salrach and Manuel Riu. I am also very grateful to Professors Carme Batlle Gallart, Imma Ollich i Castanyer and Josep Maria Font Rius, and to Rev. P. Agustí Altisent. I have benefited greatly from the generosity of the following who have allowed me to read and cite their as yet unpublished studies: Jordi Bolòs i Masclans, Albert Benet i Clarà, Gaspar Feliu i Montfort, Josep Fernández i Trabal, and Elisenda Gràcia i Mont. Philip Banks has helped me in more ways than he himself probably imagines. Coral Cuadrada furnished me with her works, published and unpublished. Along with Josep Maria Salrach she has encouraged me to think in new ways about the Catalan peasantry.

Many scholars in the United States, Spain, and England have read and commented on all or part of the present study and their remarks and suggestions have vastly improved what would otherwise have been an ill-digested set of notes. They are, of course, in no way responsible for errors and misstatements contained herein. In this connection I acknowledge with sincere gratitude Professors Thomas N. Bisson, Stephen Bensch, Teófilo Ruiz, Peter Sahlins, David Abulafia, J. H. Elliott, Miquel Angel Ladero Quesada, Josep Maria Salrach, Lluís To Figueras, Giles Constable, and Peter Linehan. I have also received valuable help from Father Robert I. Burns, Professor Jill Webster and my colleagues at Vanderbilt: Philip Rasico, James Epstein and Francis Weislo. My mother, Marcia Freedman, translated Lydia Milskaya's Russian study of peasants in New Catalonia. I received the editorial assistance of Dr. Dale Sweeney and my wife, Bonnie Roe.

Research for this project and time to write were made possible by fellowships from the National Endowment for the Humanities (Fellowship for Independent Study and Research, and a Summer Stipend award), the American Council of Learned Societies (under a program supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities), and the American Philosophical Society (Johnson Fund.) A year spent at the Institute for Advanced Study was not only enjoyable and intellectually stimulating but crucial for my undertaking of the implications of my research beyond the confines of strictly Catalan history. I have also received fellowships and research grants from the Vanderbilt University Research Council, and a travel fellowship from the Comité Conjunto Hispano-Norteamericano por Asuntos Culturales y Educativos. I have been enabled to attend conferences in

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia
Paul Freedman
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

PREFACE

xiii

Barcelona through the support of the Generalitat de Catalunya, the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, the University of Barcelona, and the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona. The Program for Cultural Cooperation Between Spain's Ministry of Culture and United States Universities kindly granted a publication subvention. I extend my heartfelt thanks to these foundations, and governmental and educational entities.

I thank the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto for permission to reproduce in Appendices 2 and 3 my transcriptions of two passages from Escorial d.ii.18 which originally appeared in *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986).

To cite all these obligations is a reminder to me of how fortunate I have been in my chosen subject and in receiving the unfailing kindness of so many individuals and institutions.

Abbreviations

i Archives and libraries

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
ACB	Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona
ACF	Arxiu de la Cúria Fumada, Vic
ACG	Arxiu Capitular de Girona
ACS	Arxiu Capitular de Solsona
ACSU	Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell
ACV	Arxiu Capitular de Vic
ADB	Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona
ADG	Arxiu Diocesà de Girona
ADPO	Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales, Perpignan
AEV	Arxiu Episcopal de Vic
AFF	Arxiu Històric Fidel Fita, Arenys de Mar
AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
AMEV	Arxiu de la Mensa Episcopal, Vic
ASJA	Arxiu Parroquial de Sant Joan de les Abadesses
ASPP	Arxiu de Sant Pere de les Puel·les, Barcelona
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya (Arxiu), Barcelona
BMP	Bibliothèque Municipale de Perpignan
Madrid, BN	Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid
Paris, BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

ii Publications

<i>ABL</i>	<i>Antiquiores Barchinonensium Leges . . .</i> (Barcelona, 1544)
------------	--

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

xv

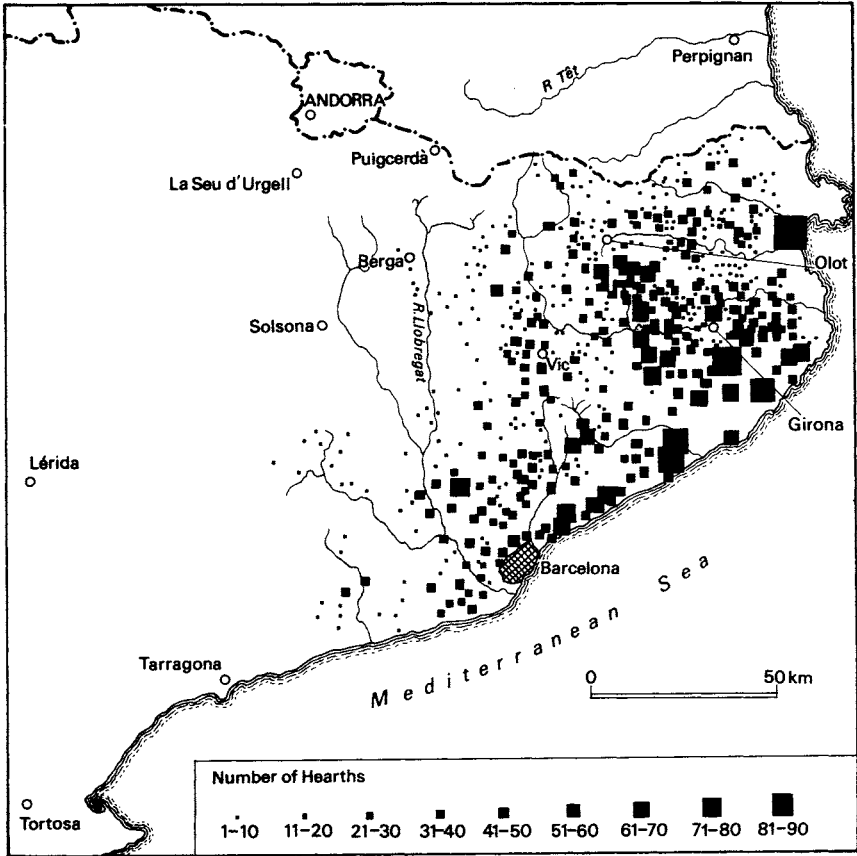
- AEM* *Anuario de estudios medievales*
- AHDE* *Anuario de historia del derecho español*
- Baraut Cebrià Baraut, "Els document dels segles ix–xi conservats a l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* 2 (1979), 7–145; 3 (1980), 7–166; 4 (1981), 7–186; 5 (1982), 7–158; 6 (1983), 7–243; 7 (1984–5), 7–218; 8 (1986–7), 7–149.
- Bisson, *FA* Thomas N. Bisson, ed., *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984)
- Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle, croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–6)
- BRABLB* *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*
- Cart. Gerri Ignasi M. Puig i Ferreté, "El Monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri (segles XII–XV)," Doctoral Dissertation, Univ. Autònoma de Barcelona (Bellaterra, 1980)
- Cart. Lavaix* *El Cartoral de Santa Maria de Lavaix: El monestir durant els segles XI–XII*, ed. Ignasi Puig i Ferreté (La Seu d'Urgell, 1984)
- Cart. Roca Rossa* *El Cartoral de Santa Maria de Roca Rossa*, ed. Josep Maria Pons Guri (Barcelona, 1984)
- Cart. Tavernoles* *El Cartulario de Tavernoles*, ed. Josefina Soler García (Castellón de la Plana, 1976)
- Cartas* *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José María Font Rius, 2 vols. (in 3 parts) (Madrid and Barcelona, 1969–83)
- Col. doc. inédit.* *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *et al.*, 42 vols. (Barcelona, 1847–1973)

- Cortes* *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, 27 vols. (Madrid, 1896–1922)
- CR* *Catalunya Romànica*, 6 vols. to date (Barcelona, 1984–)
- CSC* *El Cartulario de “Sant Cugat” del Vallés*, ed. José Rius Serra, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–7)
- La formació del feudalisme* *La formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, ed. Jaume Portella i Comas = *Estudi General: Revista del Col·legi Universitari de Girona*, vols. 5–6 (Girona, 1985–6)
- Golobardes* Miquel Golobardes Vila, *Els remences dins el quadre de la pagesia catalana fins el segle xv*, 2 vols. (Peralada, 1970–3)
- HL* Claude Devic and J.-J. Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, rev. edn, 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904)
- Huici/Cabanas* *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, ed. Ambrosio Huici Miranda and María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, 4 vols. (Valencia and Saragossa, 1976–82)
- LFM* *Liber Feudorum Maior. Cartulario real que se conserve en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragon*, ed. Francisco Miguel Rosell, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–7)
- Marca Hispanica* *Marca Hispanica, sive Limes Hispanicus . . .*, ed. Pierre [Petrus] de Marca (Paris, 1688; repr. Barcelona, 1965)
- Monsalvatje, Noticias* Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Noticias históricas*, 26 vols. (Olot, 1889–1910)
- Recueil . . . droit écrit* *Recueil de mémoires et travaux publiés par la société d’histoire du droit et des institutions des anciens pays de droit écrit*
- Structures féodales* *Structures féodales et féodalisme dan l’Occident méditerranéen (Xe–XIIIe siècles): bilan et perspectives de recherches*, Colloque Internationale organisé par le Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique et

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

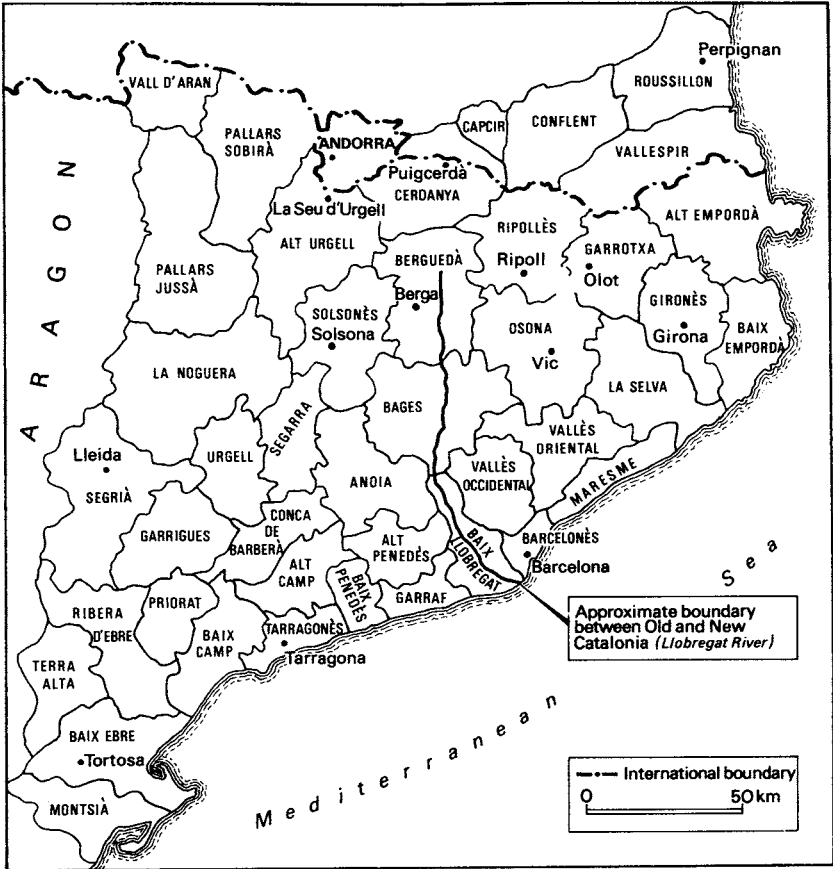
xvii

	l'Ecole Française de Rome (Rome, 1980)
Vicens Vives, <i>Historia</i>	Jaime Vicens Vives, <i>Historia de los remensas (en el siglo XV)</i> (Barcelona, 1945, repr. 1978. Citations are to reprinted edn)
VL	Jaime and Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva, <i>Viage literario a las Iglesias de España</i> , 22 vols. (Madrid and Valencia, 1806–1902)
III Other	
c.	calaix, cajón
Canc.	Cancelleria (section of ACA)
carp.	carpeta
Cart.	Cartulari, Cartoral, Cartulario, Cartulaire
LA	Libri Antiquitatum (in ACB)
LD	Liber Dotationum Antiquarum (in ACV)
LDEU	Liber Dotaliorum Ecclesiae Urgellensis (in ACSU)
Ord. mil.	Ordes militars (in ACA)
perg.	pergamí, pergamin

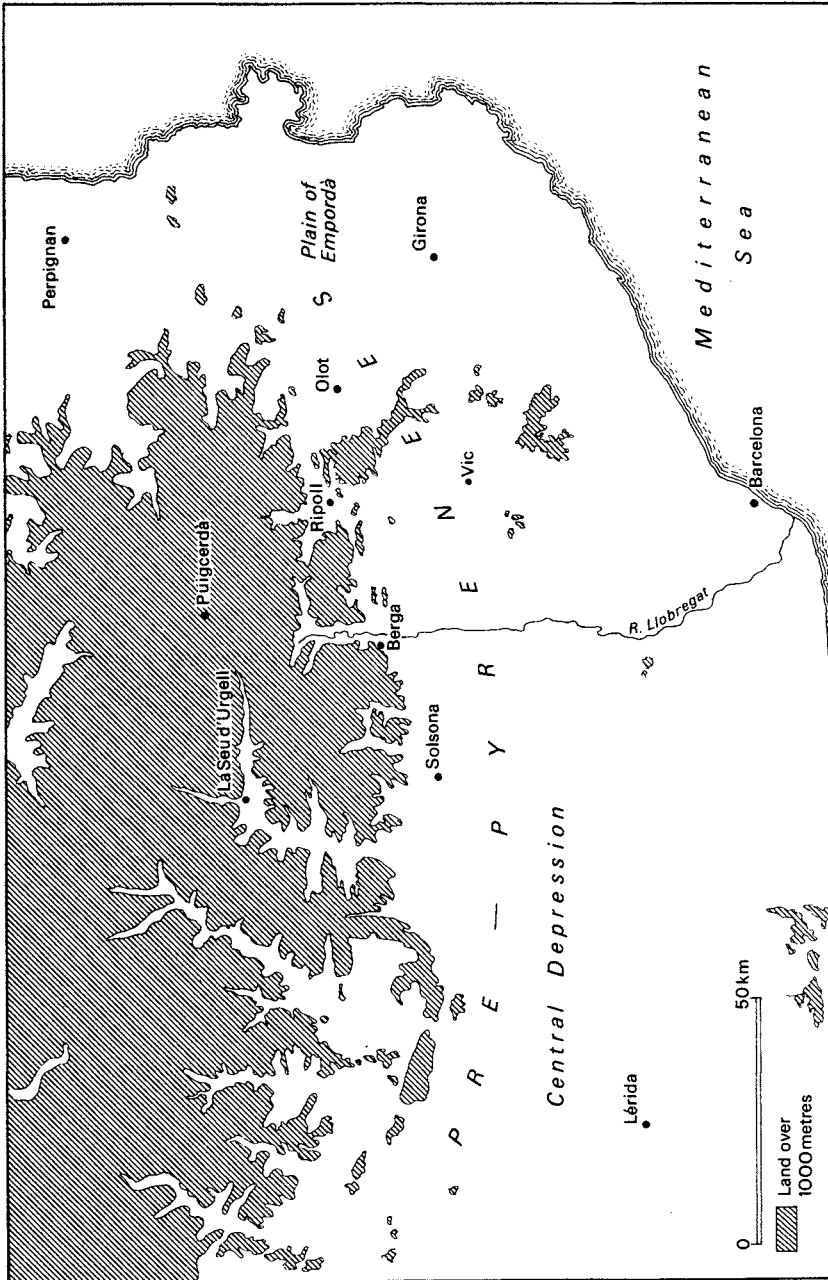


Map 1 Densities of Remença households at the end of the Civil War

Cambridge University Press
 978-0-521-39327-0 - The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia
 Paul Freedman
 Frontmatter
[More information](#)



Map 2 Catalan comarcas and principal towns



Map 3 Pyrenees and Pre-Pyrenees