THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AN IBERIAN BOURGEOISIE

The Rise and Decline of an Iberian Bourgeoisie is one of the first long-term studies in English of an Iberian town during the late medieval crisis. Focusing on the Catalonian city of Manresa, Jeff Fynn-Paul expertly integrates Iberian historiography with European narratives to place the city’s social, political, and economic development within the broader context of late medieval urban decline. Drawing from extensive archival research, including legal and administrative records, royal letters, and a cadastral survey of more than 640 households entitled the 1408 Liber Manifesti, the author surveys the economic strategies of both elites and non-elites to a level seldom achieved for any late medieval town. In a major contribution to the series, The Rise and Decline of an Iberian Bourgeoisie reveals how a combination of the Black Death, royal policy, and a new public debt system challenged and finally undermined, urban resilience in Catalonia.

JEFF FYNN-PAUL is a lecturer in History at Leiden University.
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THE RISE AND DECLINE OF AN IBERIAN BOURGEOISIE

Manresa in the Later Middle Ages, 1250–1500

JEFF FYNN-PAUL
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This book has been a long time in the making. During the nearly fifteen years since the project's genesis the manuscript has been thoroughly rewritten with an eye to incorporating secondary literature from across Europe, and during that process enough material on Manresa has been analysed and produced to fill a second volume. (This additional matter will be published under a separate title, by a different publisher.) I am most grateful to Cambridge University Press for taking up this project when my original publisher balked at its size; thanks particularly to Elizabeth Friend-Smith, Amanda George, and Jonathan Shepard for their kindness and patience. I wish also to thank the series editors and anonymous readers for Cambridge, whose commentary was immensely valuable.

The nature of this project was largely determined by the guidance and enthusiasm of Mark Meyerson and John Munro. It was Mark who encouraged my desire to produce an urban history of an Iberian city in the later Middle Ages, and John who encouraged me to provide as much quantitative data as possible. Their exacting standards of archival research, logic, and writing set the bar at the level which I have ever since attempted to achieve. I regret that John did not live to see this project reach fruition, but I hope that he would be proud of the result. Paul Freedman, a veteran of the archives of the neighbouring city of Vic, helped point me towards the archival riches that I discovered in Manresa. The Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Manresa was still being converted to the Arxiu Comarcal del Bages when I first arrived. Marc Torras, the archivist, showed kindness and good humour when I began to make requests in less-than-fluent Spanish and Catalan for his assistants to make hundreds of copies from the fourteenth- and fifteenth-century tomes which he had painstakingly reorganized and re-catalogued. His archival efforts and generosity were essential prerequisites to the genesis of this project.

It was my admiration for David Herlihy, especially his classic book on Pistoia, which most determined the structure of this book, although David Nicholas and Charles Phythian-Adams, Stephen Bensch, James
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I graduated from Toronto with a Ph.D. in 2005, at about the time that the managerial class in American universities had discovered that they could cut each tenure-track position into several adjuncting positions and thus ‘save money’. Within a few years, the ratio of tenure to non-tenure jobs went from roughly 80/20 to 20/80. The powers that be would have us believe that this is an economic necessity. On the contrary it is an ideological, cultural, and institutional phenomenon, which can be reversed as easily as it was created, if sufficient will, knowledge, and organization can only be brought to bear. I daresay that one of the purposes of this study is to teach us just how susceptible economic phenomena are to political, institutional, cultural, and ideological influence. A goal of this book is to help empower, by means of wisdom and understanding, that majority of even the smartest and wisest people who have been taught to believe that accepting less as a middle class is somehow economically inevitable, when history can readily teach us that it is not.

As a result of these managers’ overzealous application of supply-side economic theory, I spent three years from 2005 to 2008 as an adjunct professor. During my time as an adjunct, Warren Goldstein of the University of Hartford recognized my teaching and research talent, and strove to provide me with a stable platform and income that might enable me to pursue a career as an historian. He was humane beyond the call of duty, and it is department chairs such as him on whom much of the burden now falls for safeguarding the future of the historical profession in the United States, until saner times return. A turning point came when Jan Luiten van Zanden helped to arrange a postdoc position at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands. Although the 2008 financial crisis hit hard, I was lucky enough to be given another postdoc position, partly by the efforts and guidance of Marjolein ’t Hart, Griet Vermeeesch and Hugo Soly. This stint at the Free University of Brussels enabled me to undertake a thorough revision of this manuscript, and it was the dialogue with these historians, as well as with Frederik Buylaert, Wouter Ryckbosch, Jan Dumolyn, and others, that kept my eye on the state of the literature.

Meanwhile, my contacts with the Iberian world have been maintained through conversations with Lluis To Figueras, Aurelia Martín Casares, Carme Batlle, Manuel Sánchez Martinez, Flocel Sabaté, Pere Orti Gost, Antoni Furió, James Amelang (long since an Iberian), and others; special
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In 2012 I came to Leiden, and since that time have been fortunate to have discovered one of the more vibrant, collegial, and enthusiastic departments of which an historian could hope to be part. The size of the department, coupled with its complement of world-class researchers, provides a very stimulating environment for doing scholarship, and this work has benefited immensely from the scholarly conversation which has been possible at many colloquia, and simply during lunchtime conversation and after-hours drinks. The vibrant managerial style of Leo Lucassen has done much to foster this environment, and he has been a great support while I became established at Leiden. To Catia Antunes I owe a lasting debt of gratitude; and Jeroen Touwen has been likewise wonderfully supportive. My fellow hispanists at Leiden, especially Raymond Fagel and Maurits Ebben, have been welcoming and supportive; additional thanks must go to Andre Gerrits, Jeroen Duindam, Judith Pollmann, Peter Hoppenbrouwers, Luuk de Ligt, Jaco Zuiderdijin, Chris Quispel, Marlou Schrover, Manon van der Heijden, Damian Pargas, Jessica Roitman, and Karwan Fatah-Black, just to name a few of the many scholars who have provided support and collegiality. Janet Hunter of the London School of Economics and Roey Sweet of the University of Leicester have likewise provided particularly helpful advice and support at various junctures.

Cutbacks in institutional support such as we have seen occurring across the globe inevitably necessitate a fallback on private means, and it might be the case that the next generation of Ph.D. students will be recruited largely from that minority of people whose families possess enough resources to provide them with the leisure to study without the necessity of earning bread through labour. I am no gentleman scholar; my parents’ middle-class means were gained largely by dint of my father’s ability to get and hold a tenured professorship at Lehigh University, which was itself facilitated by a US Navy scholarship programme at Cornell University. Anxiously dipping into their retirement savings, my parents have spent nearly two decades ‘on call’, stepping in to help with moves, conference flights, and job interview expenses, when my own adjuncting and postdoc wages were insufficient for these necessities of the scholarly lifestyle. Thus, I thank my parents, John W. and Revelly Paul, without
Acknowledgements

whom this book would never have been possible. I suspect that my own generation will find it much more difficult to provide for our children in the way that my parents’ generation has been able to do for us. My wife’s parents Jerry and Ingrid Stevens have likewise helped us in many small and not-so-small ways since we made the fateful, yet wonderful and vitally important decision to pursue careers in the humanities. My wife’s grandmother Anne Chrapko and her uncle Chuck Chrapko were particularly generous in helping us to make more than one international move, with children, when our own savings were exhausted.

Finally, this book is dedicated to my wife Jennifer Fynn, my companion of more than fifteen years. Scholar, friend, poet, philosopher, idealist, musician, art critic, gardener, travel enthusiast, and immensely talented and energetic chef, her ability to make domestic life sparkle wherever we have found ourselves in the world has continually astonished me, and kept me in awe of her powers of mind and spirit. Our children Persephone and Patrick have grown up alongside this Manresa project, and I can only hope that when they visit Manresa for the first time, someday soon, they will find a city as delightful and intriguing as Jennifer and I did when we first stepped off the platform in the shadow of Montserrat over fifteen years ago.
ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACA</td>
<td>Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragon (Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACB</td>
<td>Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona (Archive of the Cathedral of Barcelona).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHCB</td>
<td>Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona (Archive of the City of Barcelona).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHCM</td>
<td>Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Manresa (Archive of the City of Manresa). When most of the medieval volumes were catalogued by Marc Torras Serra in the 1980s and 1990s, the designation given in his guides was AHCM, and the system is still in use. Thus, volumes are referred to by these letters, as opposed to the new appellation: Arxiu Comarcal del Bages (ACBG).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AHPM</td>
<td>Arxiu Històric de Protocols de Manresa. Now part of ACBG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BT</td>
<td>Berenguer de Talamanca (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 175 (1335–1370). Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de Aragón y de València y Principado de Cataluña. (Madrid, 1896–1920). As of initial writing, the first three tomes of the new edition, ed. Sesma Muñoz, covering the period before the 1370s, had not yet appeared.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT1</td>
<td>Família Talamanca, I (Notarial register). No reg. number (1317–69).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FT2</td>
<td>Família Talamanca, II (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 343 (1369–1433).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JS</td>
<td>Jaume Sarta (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 224 (1351–88).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Liber Manifesti, 1408–11. AHCM/AM I-165.</td>
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</table>
List of abbreviations


MC  *Manuales Concilii*. AHCM I-series. Most of these, as with other Manresan primary sources used for this volume, are unfoliated. Thus, it was necessary to refer to documents by date. Since dating is regular and generally in good order, this should present no problems in finding entries quickly. Scribal entries were dated in Roman form prior to May 1351, when Manresan scribes changed over to ‘modern’ dating. Thus, 1333 pi3 means *Pridie Idus Martii*, 1335 15k6 is 15th kalends of June, and n7 is *nones* of July. 1363.10.7 is 7 October 1363. In a few instances a question mark (?) has been placed after the dates of certain entries which are either undated, or where it is uncertain whether the entry in question is a continuation of a previous dated entry. Individual I-series volumes are listed in the Bibliography.


PS  Pere Sarta (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 113 (1324–56).

RS  Ramon Sarta (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 323 (1351–93).

RT  Ramon de Talamanca (Notarial register). AHCM Tr. 120 (1328–81).
GLOSSARY

Bages The region around Manresa, centered on the Pla de Bages (plain of the Bages), which offers a rare spot of relatively level ground in the otherwise rugged lower Pyrenean foothills, as the rivers Cardoner and Llobregat approach their confluence some 5km south of Manresa. Long demarcated by the borders of the vegueria (q.v.) of the Bages.

Batlle Bailiff. Royal bailiffs were low-level crown officials who nonetheless had significant executive and fiscal powers at the local level.

Castellan A ‘feudal’ lord who, by right of his status as a member of the gentry, the lowest order of nobility, had a right to monopolize violence on his estate, acting as judge and legislator for his tenants, except where such rights were expressly reserved to the king. In the fourteenth century, castellans could be either donzells (squires) or knights. Persons generoses, as they were known, were represented by the braç armada (noble estate) in the Catalan Parliament.

Censal Originally any annual rent, including ‘emphyteusis’, or quit-rent on land. In its most influential form, this was a perpetual, transferable instrument of public debt secured on civic revenues and paying between 5 and 10 per cent interest. These became widely available after 1359, and their widespread acceptance and contractual legality resulted in the subsequent spread of ‘private censals’, guaranteed by the government, as a means of transferring capital between individuals on a long-term basis. A relatively conservative investment which nonetheless proved both stable and popular with holders of capital throughout the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Conseller The terms conseller and ‘consul’ are used interchangeably to indicate a member of the city’s highest body, the Council of Four (or, from 1323–55, the Council of Six). This council...
Glossary

was never known in any official document as the Council of Four (or Six); the term is only used here for clarity. This body was almost always attended by a larger body of jurats, whose powers, except perhaps during a brief revolutionary spell in the 1360s, were distinctly inferior to those of the consellers. The term ‘councillors’ as used in the text usually indicates the larger governing group of consuls and jurats. Consellers served for one year and were elected every 1 April. Election conferred the lifetime title venerabilis on a conseller, giving them titular parity with knights and donzells, until knights were awarded the superior title honorabilis in 1354.

Corts

Catalan Parliament. This consisted of the branç ecclesiastic (representing the clergy) the branç armada (representing the nobility and the knighthood), and the branç reial (representing the citizens of the royal cities and towns). Beginning in the early fourteenth century, Manresa, like most royal cities, sent two representatives to the Corts. Barcelona customarily sent five.

Diputació

The ‘permanent arm’ of the Catalan Corts, which began its existence in 1359, at the time that the public debt became permanent as a result of the massive borrowing (facilitated by sales of violarís and censals) that occurred as a result of the Castilian War (commonly known as the War of the Two Peters, 1356–75). The formation of the Diputació was the result of a compromise between the Corts and the Crown over the management of the newly expanded funded public debt.

Jurat

One of between sixteen and thirty men who sat as an advisory body to the consellers. They sat for one year and received no title. Together with the consellers, the jurats made up the Consell Special, which was most often entrusted with voting on the legislative decisions of civic government. Jurats were drawn from a more economically diverse background than the generally much wealthier consellers.

Mas

Manse. An isolated, usually fortified farmhouse held by a (frequently prosperous) tenant family, who were subject to the jurisdiction of a lord, usually a castellan.

Rentier

A term usually reserved in the Catalan context for a non-noble, urban-dwelling male householder who identified himself by his not having to work or engage in active entrepreneurial activity due to his ability and inclination to live off the income from rents. In the early xvii
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fourteenth century such rentiers sought to base their claims on descent from a castellan family. By the fifteenth century, rentier-ism was increasingly identified with the emergent urban ‘class’ known as ‘ciutadans honrats’ (honoured citizens).

Sèquia An ambitious irrigation system begun by Manresan civic authorities after the droughts of 1333 and complete under private contract towards 1400. One of the most extensive engineering projects of late medieval Catalonia. It includes 26km of canals and many aqueducts, and brought ample irrigation to many parts of the Pla de Bages.

Veguer Catalan rendering of the Latin Vicarius, or ‘lieutenant.’ This was the name given to the high-level royal officials appointed to administer royal justice in Catalonia, whose functions were expanded from the late twelfth century until about the mid-fourteenth century, when the system reached maturity.

Vegueria A substantial territory administered by a veguer, often more than 50 × 50km in extent. The vegueria of the Bages also included for much of the fourteenth century a sotsvegueria (sub-vegueria) whose capital was Berga, a smaller royal town to the north.

Violari An annuity secured on civic revenues, paying between 14 per cent and 17 per cent interest, which paid only for the duration of the life of the buyer and a named heir. The principal was not repaid. These were promulgated in large numbers in Catalonia only between 1359 and about 1370, when they were phased out of government finance due to their high interest rates compared with censals. Private violaris also spread from this time, and continued to exist after the phase-out of their public cousins.
NOTES ON CITATIONS, MONEY, NAMES, AND ACCENTUATION

CITATIONS

With the notable exception of the Liber Manifesti, few of the Manresan volumes utilized in this study contain page numbers, that is, they were unfoliated. It has therefore been necessary to cite Manresan sources using the dating of the entry. In almost all cases, the registers followed a strict chronological order, so that references should be almost as easy to locate as if folio numbers were present. After 1352, Catalan scribes used the ‘modern’ system of noting the date, and these have been converted to the modern system, using the notation yyyy.mm.dd. For earlier references, the scribes used the Roman system, and these have been abbreviated for easy reference. 3id means the third day before the ides of June, 3kd means the third day before the kalends of June, and 3nd means the third day before the nones of June. Data for certain Liber Manifesti householders have been cited according to the folio upon which their entry begins. In cases where data from many householders have been compiled, individual citations have been omitted.

MONEY

The primary Catalan money of our period was the diner de tern of Barcelona. This was derived from the old Carolingian system where a pound (librum) comprised 20 shillings (solidi) with each shilling valued at 12 pence (denarii), making a total of 240 pence per pound. The Catalan names were lliura, sou, and diner, abbreviated £ / s / d. In 1346, Pere III ordered the creation of a gold Aragonese Florin, in deliberate imitation of a recent Florentine issue that itself followed earlier Genoese and Venetian issues. After several devaluations these were fixed at a rate of 11 sous per florin from 1366.¹ These florins were never much used or quoted in our sources, however. Similarly uncommon was the old judicial money

¹ ACA, Real Patrimonio, Maestre Racional, Reg. 347, unfoliated, final (summary) page.

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Notes on citations, money, and names

of account, mostly used in our period for the purpose of levying fines, which was also reckoned in gold and known as the morabatí. By the 1370s this was valued at 9 sous. In Aragon proper the basic coinage after 1197 was not the Catalan sou but the dinar of Jaca. Valencia also had its own silver diner, from 1247.

CATALAN NAMES

The rulers of the House of Barcelona (to 1410) are given in their Catalan form whenever possible, since Catalan was their primary language. These are followed by regnal dates at the first mention in a chapter. The Counts of Barcelona are referred to as kings, because with very few exceptions this is how they were known in contemporary Catalan documents. Furthermore, the Trastámara kings who came to the Aragonese throne from 1412 are called by their Castilian names, since the family was, and remained, more Castilian than Catalan. Later medieval Manresan sources give personal names in both Catalan and Latin; where possible, these have been Catalanized to reflect vernacular practice. The Catalan official known as the veguer presents some difficulties in translation. While Stephen Bensch and Philip Daileader use ‘vicar’ for veguer, I have opted here to keep the Catalan term ‘veguer’ for the most part, since the term ‘vicar’ has other connotations in English. In a similar vein, while ‘batlle’ translates quite nicely as bailiff, both terms are used for variety. The terms consellers and ‘consuls’ are used interchangeably to indicate a member of the city’s highest body, the Council of Four (or, from 1323–55, the Council of Six). The term ‘councillors’ as used in the text usually indicates the larger governing group of consuls and junats. The sèquia of Manresa is usually spelled using modern Catalan spelling, although early twelfth-century Catalan spelled it ‘cequia’, and there were several medieval variations. Zaragoza, which is an Aragonese (as opposed to Catalan) city, is spelled as per modern Aragonese spelling. The names of Spanish historians, whether Catalan or Castilian, are increasingly subject to a movement to use only a single surname (the primer apellido); in this book both surnames are generally used in bibliographical entries and when authors are first introduced; sometimes, particularly with repetition, only the primer apellido is used.

2 MC 1372.5.21.
Notes on citations, money, and names

ACCENTUATION

Regarding accentuation: fourteenth-century Manresan sources in Catalan do not regularly utilize accents, but, rather, the medieval system of abbreviation carried over from Latin (in which the ‘i’ looks like an accent agut); transcriptions of medieval texts, including names, will sometimes lack accents where modern Catalan usage would so dictate. Meanwhile, while efforts have been made to utilize correct accentuation, there are increasingly frequent cases in which modern databases (Iberian and otherwise) have dropped accents from the names of Iberian authors, or where transliteration from one Iberian language to another has occurred, or where there has been a change of accepted practice in Castilian or Catalan since the publication date of older works, or indeed, a simple inability to agree on the part of native speakers, all of which result in a plurality of acceptable representations. French is likewise problematic, as when some older spellings of Moyen Age insist upon a circumflex over the A (thus Â), while others (seemingly the majority now) drop it.
### The Kings of Catalonia-Aragon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Catalan name and regnal number</th>
<th>Aragonese name and regnal number</th>
<th>Name in English</th>
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<tr>
<td>1162–96</td>
<td>Alfons I</td>
<td>Alfonso II</td>
<td>Alphonse</td>
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<td>1196–1213</td>
<td>Pere I</td>
<td>Pedro II</td>
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<td>1213–76</td>
<td>Jaume I</td>
<td>Jaime I</td>
<td>James</td>
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<tr>
<td>1276–85</td>
<td>Pere II</td>
<td>Pedro III</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1285–91</td>
<td>Alfons II</td>
<td>Alfonso III</td>
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<td>Jaume II</td>
<td>Jaime II</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1327–36</td>
<td>Alfons III</td>
<td>Alfonso IV</td>
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<td>1336–87</td>
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<td>1396–1410</td>
<td>Marti I</td>
<td>Martin I</td>
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<td>(Ferran I)</td>
<td>Fernando I</td>
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<td>(Alfonso IV)</td>
<td>Alfonso V</td>
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<tr>
<td>1479–1516</td>
<td>(Ferran II)</td>
<td>Fernando II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The native Catalan House of Barcelona, which could trace its ancestry back to Count Guifré el Pelos (Geoffrey the Hairy) in the late ninth century, perished with King Martí I in 1410. Parentheses indicate that from the time of the first Trastámara king of Aragon (1412), the Aragonese monarchs were largely Castilian (or in the case of Alfonso V, Italian) in language and outlook.*