
INTRODUCTION

(a) HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1. *Essential characteristics*

Geographically, the Iberian Peninsula is an almost perfectly defined unit. The same cannot be said of its political structures, however. Today, two principal states (Spain and Portugal), together with the small state of Andorra and the British territory of Gibraltar, coexist within it. It was ever thus, a collection of distinct political entities, even as long ago as the Visigothic era, when territories spent long periods in the hands of the Sueves and Byzantines. On the other hand, the Visigothic domains included the *Narbonensis*, a territory beyond the Pyrenees centred on Narbonne in what is now France. What is now Basque territory was never conquered. One has only to remember, in this context, that at the time of the Arab invasion in 711, the last Visigoth king, Roderic, was engaged in the umpteenth fruitless attempt to bring that obdurate region under control.

The divided, asymmetric, complex and changing nature of the peninsula was never more evident than in the medieval period. On the one hand, there was the Christian/Muslim dichotomy, which spanned practically the entire medieval period, starting in 711 with the Muslim invasion and ending only in 1492 with the conquest of Granada by the Catholic Monarchs. Despite the welding of that territorial fracture, however, nuclei of Moorish populations persisted long into modern times, and their influences on the Christian territories remained an active historical factor that left a significant imprint on the monetary history of the peninsular states.

On the other hand, as the Christian kingdoms slowly went about recovering territory, they found little common ground among themselves beyond a growing intent to conquer the territories of the Muslims. If they had a shared tendency it was to fight one another, only collaborating in times of extreme crisis. It was not only on the political stage that they were at loggerheads, moreover. Their social structures, their sources of wealth and even their expansion strategies all differed. Not unnaturally, this influenced their monetary systems and the conduct and development of their respective monetary policies.

It would therefore be wrong to consider the medieval Iberian Peninsula, or at least the Christian parts of it, as a homogeneous whole, or even as a coherent group of small states. It would be equally erroneous, however, to suppose that the several political entities did not have at least *some* elements in common. A group of countries, situated between

al-Andalus and the rest of Europe, in the process of being reborn amidst a plethora of often similar military and economic problems, must perforce have shared elements of convergence or at least of genuine comparability.

One of these common points of reference was the influence of al-Andalus over the Christian kingdoms, which extended beyond customs, *mores* and culture to leave an indelible mark on the development of some aspects of the coinage. The peninsular Christian states followed the European trend towards the adoption of billon coinage, but at the same time they were deeply rooted in the Muslim economic area, so that they all at some point complemented their low-quality silver coinage with gold coins from al-Andalus. At certain times they even managed to supply the market with mintings of their own pieces that corresponded to Andalusian models.

This should not, however, obscure the numerous differences in the way different states used and disseminated their copies of Muslim coinage, or blind us to the fact that the respective chronologies of their appropriation were not of a piece. As time went on and Andalusian influence began to fade, wide chronological discrepancies in the adoption of the new European silver and gold currencies emerged. The first sign of genuine consensus to appear was the increasingly widespread use of silver and the circulation of the Catalan gold florin, called the Aragon florin, *florí d'Aragó*, practically throughout the peninsula.

These divergences and the lack of synchronicity make it necessary to conduct separate studies of the monetary systems and the history of the coinage of each of the kingdoms. For example, in the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon the unit of account was the diner, based on a coin that really existed. In Castile, on the other hand, the unit of account was the maravedí, which was what could nowadays be called a 'virtual' entity. This factor alone sufficed to lead to the development of completely different monetary systems in the respective regions. It is nonetheless convenient to provide a brief overview of the peninsula's money as a whole before embarking on a detailed study of each kingdom. The idea here is not to highlight common elements, of which there were few, but to try to offer a panoramic view of the similarities and the contrasts. In other words, from a peninsular perspective it is easier to demarcate the particular vistas of each kingdom.

Any attempt at such an overall perspective is bound to comprise several aspects. It is, firstly, important to take into account historical and geographic divergences, resulting in different lines of expansion and chronologies, to say nothing of politics. Secondly, there is the evolution of monetary systems: even where the models in use were very similar, there were frequently widespread variations in chronology, with coinage coming into circulation, attracting widespread use, and being substituted for or yielding to other coinages at different times. Finally, it is necessary to give the general panorama of monetary circulation within the region, which is intimately bound up with the study of monetary finds. The most useful course thus appears to be to highlight in the individual chapters the contrasts and chronological differences as well as the instances of common policy. The sections that immediately follow will therefore give a general overview of the peninsula in these three aspects: historic-geographic, monetary systems and circulation. Thereafter, the histories of the coinage of each kingdom will be considered individually.

2. Historical evolution

The Suevic–Visigothic era has already been extensively analysed by Grierson and Blackburn (*MEC 1*), while the Muslim period needs to be studied in a wider context. We have therefore chosen as our point of departure the Christian nuclei of resistance against Islam that began to emerge in the north of the Iberian Peninsula during the eighth century and which slowly extended their territories.

Visigothic rule had been overthrown by the Muslims who invaded the Iberian Peninsula in the year 711. The invaders stormed through the peninsula and entered Gaul, where they also succeeded in subjugating wide swathes of territory, until in 732 they suffered a major defeat at the hands of the Frankish Mayor of the Palace, Charles Martel, at the battle of Poitiers. That marked the start of a rapid Frankish recovery, and it seems probable that by the death of King Pepin the Short (751–68) the Franks had succeeded in establishing the border along the line of the Pyrenees.

Soon nuclei of resistance to the Arabs began to emerge in the peninsula. In Asturias the natural protection of the Cantabrian mountains provided them with shelter, and immediately to the south of the Pyrenees such insurgents were able to count on the help of the Franks. From 718, Pelayo, who has been claimed as a noble Goth (though see Escalona 2006, for a survey of contrary views), began to consolidate his domination of Asturias, initiating a kingship that his successor, King Alfonso I (739–57), would extend to Galicia and the Basque regions. At the other end of the northern part of the peninsula, the Muslim *wālīs* of Girona and Barcelona sought help from the Frankish monarch Charlemagne (768–814). Charlemagne was predominantly interested in creating a buffer zone to the south of the Pyrenees, and with that in mind he succeeded in establishing his sovereignty over the high regions of the future kingdoms of Navarre, Aragon and Catalonia. The city of Barcelona, which was captured by a Carolingian army under Charlemagne's son King Louis of Aquitaine, the future Emperor Louis the Pious (814–40), in 801, marked the farthest consolidated point of Frankish penetration into the Iberian Peninsula.

From Galicia and Asturias to Catalonia, autonomy sprouted and gradually expanded. It was a slow process that took practically all the medieval period, ending at last in 1492 with the conquest of Granada. The different nuclei of resistance, each autonomous, rarely acted in concert and indeed usually followed very different policies. For this reason, when trying to construct an overview of medieval Iberia it is necessary to bear in mind two basic factors: first, the permanent Christian/Muslim *dichotomy*, and second, the *plurality* of the Christian kingdoms. The Christian Muslim *dichotomy* was the consequence of the long cohabitation of the two cultures within the peninsula. Over the course of the medieval period, the region passed slowly from being an almost completely Muslim-occupied territory to becoming the home of various sovereign nations that were differentiated politically, economically and socially, and which we know as the peninsular Christian states. This long period of coexistence with the Islamic world, possessor of a more developed culture and a more powerful economic organisation, exerted tremendous

influence over the emerging Christian kingdoms. Monetarily, this influence would be especially important in the early years when the Muslims dominated a good part of the Mediterranean area and the Christian states of Western Europe remained economically very weak. European resurgence on the one hand, and widening divisions within the Islamic world on the other, led in time to a decrease in Muslim influence and a finer balance between the two cultures.

The *plurality* of the Christian states is a historical constant that continues to manifest itself today. The existence of the state of Portugal is its most striking expression, but the ongoing Basque and Catalan conflicts also owe something to this plurality of origin and characteristics, not least the survival of languages peculiar to those two regions. Even the small state of Andorra is a curious survival of the mosaic of Catalan counties.

Though we have referred to 'plurality' among the Christian states, actually, it is wrong to limit this observation to the Christian states, because the Islamic world also suffered its schisms. Whereas within the Muslim context the fragmentations were of a cyclical nature, corresponding broadly to the periods of the so-called *taifa* states (1009–1108 and 1212–1340, to choose significant years within a range of arguable dates), within the Christian grouping they were permanent. Such permanence did not necessarily signify a simple process of expansion begun from one or two initial subgroupings. In the majority of cases the historic evolution turned out to be much more complex. All the same, four particularly stable nuclei, or centres, can be identified: Castile-León, Navarre, Catalonia-Aragon and Portugal. Within and around these four principal cores, transitional kingdoms came and went, such as Asturias, León, Galicia and Majorca. Other forms of association also emerged, for example, the Navarre-Aragonese alliance of the early Middle Ages.

The kingdom of Castile-León originated in the nucleus of Asturias, and was historically perceptible from the year 718. From it derived the kingdoms of León, Castile and Portugal. León and Castile, after starting life as a union with a distinctly hegemonic Leonese nature (1073–1157), only acquired a clear Castilian identity after their eventual reunion under King Ferdinand III (1217–52). Portugal seceded once and for all in 1128.

Navarre, Aragon and the Catalan counties took their respective origins from the centres of Pyrenean resistance and the actions of the Frankish Carolingian kings. The Catalan counties eventually coalesced around the county of Barcelona, which came to form the nucleus of the Catalan state. Aragon remained united with Navarre until 1134 and then with Catalonia from 1137, thereafter becoming the initial heartland of the kings of Catalonia-Aragon. Navarre, under the domination of the Aragonese in the period 1076–1134, became independent in the latter year, but saw its peninsular ambitions curtailed by the combined opposition of Castile and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon. In short, the peninsular territory was essentially a zone of expansion for Portugal, Castile-León and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon. Portugal expanded towards the south, forming an Atlantic-facing strip between the river Miño and the Algarve, not very different from the territory of the present state.

Castile advanced rapidly towards the south, reaching the limit of its maritime expansion in the thirteenth century, leaving unscathed the south-east Nasrid kingdom of Granada which would not be completely conquered until 1492.

The Crown of Catalonia-Aragon initially advanced slowly, focusing its efforts on the region beyond the Pyrenees where it came to dominate Carcassonne, Nîmes, Montpellier, Béarn, Albi, Bigorra, Rouergue-Gévaudan and the extensive territory of Provence. This process was halted with the defeat at Muret (1213) and terminated by the Treaty of Corbeil with the king of France (1258). In the face of this impasse in the Languedoc, the main thrust of expansion therefore returned to the peninsula, seeing the acquisition of the kingdom of Majorca in 1229, that of Valencia in 1238 and Murcia in 1266. The northern part of Murcia eventually ended up, after various permutations, in the possession of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom, with the rest falling to Castile. After this period of rapid expansion, progress was halted by a series of treaties designed essentially to share out the spoils with Castile, especially those of Cazola (1179) and Almizra (1244). Thereafter, the focus on new acquisitions of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon turned to the Mediterranean belt, an important contribution to its commercial expansion. From the end of the thirteenth century new territories were acquired in this sphere: Sicily (1282), Sardinia (1322) and Naples (1442), as well as more transient dominions in Corsica, in the principality of Achaia, in the duchies of Athens and Neopatria in Greece, and along the North African seaboard.

Throughout the Middle Ages there were occasional attempts on Castile's part to appropriate Portugal, but none of them met with any more success than the reciprocal attempts of the Portuguese to take the Castilian throne. Despite several favourable opportunities in the times of King Ferdinand I (1367–83) and of King Afonso V (1438–81), Portuguese sovereigns who even got as far as striking coins in Castilian mints, Portugal and Castile remained separate throughout the Middle Ages.

Instead, a link between Castile and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon was forged with the marriage of Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castile in 1469. This matrimonial union did not lead to the creation of a unified kingdom, however, but only to the same person (King Ferdinand the Catholic) becoming sovereign of both states, a condition that could be fulfilled as the result of the marriage as long as there were heirs to their respective kingdoms. Isabella inherited the throne of Castile in 1474 and in 1479 Ferdinand ascended to the Catalan-Aragonese throne and also succeeded in being proclaimed king in Castile.

The year 1492 was transformative for Castile. It succeeded in conquering the last Muslim stronghold, the Nasrid kingdom of Granada, and at the same time explorers discovered America, the source of its future wealth. This last achievement proved decisive in the consolidation of Castilian hegemony. It is notable that throughout the fifteenth century, Portugal had embarked instead on an expansion of its extensive exploratory activities in Africa, and only afterwards looked west towards America, culminating in its acquisition of the vast territory of Brazil.

In 1513 Ferdinand the Catholic managed to secure control of the Navarrese territory south of the Pyrenees, while Béarn and the Navarrese lands north of the Pyrenees were consolidated into a new kingdom of Navarre that remained independent for some time, until finally incorporated into France in 1562. Spanish Navarre thus became part of the dominions of Ferdinand the Catholic, who from 1515 considered these lands as a region of Castile, albeit subject to a separate legislative regime.

In short, by the end of the medieval period the peninsula essentially consisted of two political entities: Portugal and Castile, with its associated states of Navarre and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, which also maintained dominion over Sicily, Sardinia and Naples. It was not until 1714 that this conglomerate of realms matured, after a bloody war, into what we now consider the Spanish state.

(b) THE COINAGE

1. *Between two worlds: Carolingians and Muslims*

As noted in the previous section, after the Muslim invasion of 711 various Christian centres of resistance began a process of recovering conquered territories. These movements had different origins: in Asturias they were essentially autochthonous, while in Navarre, Aragon and, above all, Catalonia, they were dependent on the Carolingians. The first centres in any case appeared in a region more or less equidistant from the Christian world of Western Europe and the greater part of the Iberian peninsula occupied by the Muslims, the territory of al-Andalus.

In monetary terms, these were two completely different territories. In the Frankish kingdom, silver coins of a relatively low weight (1.20g/1.70g) circulated practically exclusively, while in the Muslim state territories gold, silver and copper were all widespread, with some units of gold and silver attaining weights of 3.85g and 2.60g respectively. This situation was inevitably reflected in the monetary initiatives of the peninsular Christian kingdoms. The latter could be considered, on the one hand, as members of a loosely defined European Christian union, but on the other hand, their contacts with the Muslim region were constant and took many forms. Wars may have been frequent, but so too were various military interventions as allies, the payment of tribute, and a general process of cross-fertilisation via exchanges of expertise, culture and goods.

The earliest known currencies of the peninsular Christian kingdoms, from the most primitive Catalan issues to the latest coinage of Portugal, consisted of deniers of silver or billon. In all of them, at least at the beginning, accounting was carried out in deniers and in their notional multiples: the *solidus*, reckoned as 12 deniers, and the libra (pound), reckoned as 20 *solidi*. It was, therefore, a system of coinage and accounting derived from the Carolingian system, although the deniers of the peninsular kingdoms had a silver content that was much inferior to those of Carolingian Francia.

Alongside these coins of their own, and even before these came into existence, some kingdoms had a circulation consisting of Hispano-Muslim coins, some of silver but mostly of gold. This currency did not form part of the kingdom's own monetary system, but its use in numerous transactions ensured that it played a significant part nonetheless. So, for example, at certain times in the eleventh century in the county of Barcelona, the dinar or gold mancus came to represent more than 90 per cent of the money recorded in documented transactions. Of necessity, this forced Christian kingdoms in the Iberian Peninsula to take account of these complementary circulations when formulating their monetary policies.

The influence of these coinages manifested itself in two ways. On the one hand, the Andalusi gold coin became a value-standard in preference to the volatile billon coin of the Christian kingdoms, which tended to lose its silver content over time. Indeed, the Andalusi standard (as represented by the gold coinage) became a complementary element of the Christian monetary systems and necessary to their circulations. This led to these coins being struck in the Christian kingdoms to supplement the circulation whenever for any reason the supply of Muslim money temporarily dried up. When the Christian kingdoms at last began to consider issuing some permanent gold coins of their own, they frequently, and especially at first, followed Andalusi standards.

We can summarise this situation by saying that the Christian peninsular kingdoms' own currency was initially (that is to say, during the tenth to twelfth centuries) silver and billon of European inspiration, but was eventually complemented by an Andalusi circulation of gold and, in smaller measure, of silver. Then, during the eleventh to fourteenth centuries, Muslim influence came to determine the introduction of various gold types struck to the Arab standard, for example, in the Catalan counties (mancus, eleventh century), and in Castile, León and Portugal (morabitanos, twelfth to thirteenth centuries). Finally, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a combination of ascendant European influence and the Muslim decline led to the substitution of these Andalusi models for other European ones, but not all at the same time or in the same way within the different kingdoms. We are referring here to Italian monetary standards such as the florin and the ducat, and French ones like the écu.

Arab influence, then, was of varying intensity and visible at different times in each kingdom, but it was present in all of them. It carried least weight in the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, which adopted the florin, according to a Florentine standard, from the middle of the fourteenth century. It had its greatest influence in Castile, where the standard of the Almohad *dobla* was maintained right up to the end of the fifteenth century.

2. *The earliest coinage issues*

One of the most inconsistent elements in the monetary history of the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula in this period concerns the dates at which they began to issue their own money. In the light of current research we can say that Catalonia started in about 794, Navarre (with Aragon) about the year 1000, Castile around 1050, and Portugal in approximately 1128. Portugal was a late starter because it took a long time to emerge as a separate state, which did not happen until the reign of King Afonso I (1128–85), Portugal's first sovereign. It was he who initiated minting, but at a date that is hard to pin down with certainty.

Catalonia's comparatively early start can be explained by the stable nature of its Carolingian rule. The Carolingian kings Charlemagne, Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald all minted coins in Catalonia after wresting this territory back from the Muslims, that is, from at least as early as Charlemagne's reform of the coinage in 793/4. It is possible that

Table 1. *Type and date of first coinages in the Iberian Peninsula*

	Carolingian issues	Transitional issues	Autonomous issues
Catalonia	794	862	920
Navarre			1000
León-Castile			1050
Portugal			1128

some issues dated even prior to that, perhaps from 785 and the acquisition of Girona, but the absence of pre-reform specimens prior to 793/4 makes that later date a preferable point of departure. Regular Carolingian issues here did not continue beyond 862, since from that date a particular transitional currency was initiated which may have run on into the tenth century. In 912 we find indications of the usurpation of the right of coinage, and there is clear evidence that this had already happened by 934. Consequently we can extend this stage of transition until approximately 920 at the latest. From then on, fully autonomous minting began, even if evidence for it, in terms of finds, is limited and ambiguous until the reign of Count-Marquis Ramon Borrell (992–1018) in Barcelona, and in other counties until the middle of the eleventh century.

Navarre, subject to much briefer and less stable Carolingian dominion, did not reap the same benefit from this precedent, but such facts as are available lead to the belief that the coinage began with King Sancho the Great (1000–35). From this reign on there were regular issues throughout the medieval period, interrupted only by the fourteenth-century interlude of French dominion.

In Castile-León, the first minting can be dated to the eleventh century. Some authors take the date of 1085 (the conquest of Toledo) as the starting point, but in fact there must have been previous issues by King Ferdinand I (1035–65) or by the bishops of Santiago de Compostela, or both. It is probably safe to date the beginning of the issues to around 1050.

The most striking result of the differences in chronology in the different Christian states is the existence of a series of issues of silver deniers in the Catalan counties that had no equivalent elsewhere. When Navarre, Castile-León and Portugal embarked upon their earliest issues, Europe was already a 'billon zone', and those three kingdoms naturally adapted themselves to the new alloy. Each kingdom, however, used very different percentages of silver. This chronological disparity also influenced the process of adoption of Muslim gold models. Thus in the Catalan counties, dinars or mancuses were minted as replacements for genuinely Islamic coins in the eleventh century because the already well-entrenched monetary system required them. The parallel development in Castile, León and Portugal occurred later, in the period of the Almoravid morabitino; for this reason, when similar measures were taken in these kingdoms, the coin copied was the morabitino and not the Umayyad dinar. The chronology of the appearance of silver and billon in the peninsular currency is outlined in Table 1.

3. Weight standards

In the high medieval period, at least, the standard weight of coins was defined by the monetary 'mark'. The required weight of each coin was determined by the number of coins that, when weighed together, equalled the weight of the mark. Thus a measure of seventy coins to the mark meant that the weight of each coin had to be that of the mark divided by seventy (Ghyssens 1986). The introduction of the mark in substitution for the Roman pound seems to have occurred throughout the Iberian Peninsula at different times, but certainly by the twelfth century. So in 1056 Count-Marquis Ramon Berenguer I (1035–76) of Barcelona, when discussing the characteristics of coins, seems to be referring still to the pound (*Comtal* 1999, II, no. 468; see Botet 1908–11, I, p. 36), while King Alfons I (1162–96) of Catalonia-Aragon, in a document dated c. 1185, refers to the mark (Bruniquer 1912–16, III, cap. 61; see Grierson 1979a, 278–9). These are the oldest documents concerning minting known to us in the Iberian Peninsula.

The adoption of the mark in coinage was a response to outside influences, and various documents show which European model was followed. In some cases it was the mark of St Peter of Cologne, in others the mark of Troyes or of Paris. But not all the peninsular states adopted the same marks, and the bare fact of common origin was no guarantee that the weights employed would actually be identical. The precariousness of the technology of the period and other factors, such as wear and tear and counterfeiting, resulted in an increasing divergence of weight with regard to the original model. This divergence normally occurred downwards, as we shall see in the cases of Castile and Portugal, but there are also cases of upward deviations, as the following text of Pegolotti, written between 1310 and 1340, confirms:

Lo peso e la misura de Barzalona di tutte cose è tutto uno peso e una misura con quello di Maiolica, però che Barzalona quando i catalani conquistorono Maiolica il diedoro a Maiorica tale com'ene in Bazalona. Marco 1 d'argento di Maiolica fa oggi in Barzalona marchi 1 e sterlini 1. (The weight and the measure of Barcelona is one weight and one measure with that of Majorca, except that Barcelona when the Catalans conquered Majorca gave to Majorca such as there was in Barcelona. One mark of silver of Majorca today in Barcelona makes one mark and one sterling.)

(Pegolotti 1970, 127, trans. W. R. Day, Jr)

Bearing in mind that the conquest of Majorca occurred in 1228, we can conclude that in the space of approximately a century, a deviation had occurred of around 0.6 per cent, or 1.50g out of 234.27g. (We cannot be certain, however, that on this occasion Pegolotti was alluding specifically to the monetary mark.)

No extant document confirms the precise moment of the adoption of a particular standard, but from later references it is often possible to deduce the kind of mark adopted initially. The principal difficulty lies in establishing the weight that was actually used, and whether or not it coincided exactly with its model.

In Castile and Portugal the mark adopted for the coins was that of St Peter of Cologne, although in both countries it is evident that the Troyes mark also had a role to play, as weight of reference for other types of products if not for coins or such metals as silver,

gold, etc. (Gomes Marques 1996, 19; Balaguer 1995a, 14). Evidence for the adoption of the Cologne mark in Portugal stems from 1261, when King Afonso III (1248–79) alluded specifically to this standard – *marcham de colonia de octo uncis* (Teixeira de Aragão 1875–80, I, 343) – while creating the *dinheiro novo*. In Castile, the use of a mark called the alfonsí was documented in the time of King Alfonso X (1252–84), and in 1347 we find references to this mark that describe it as Toledan. In 1348, however, its true origin is found stated: it was the mark of *Colonna*, that is to say, of St Peter of Cologne (*Cortes* 1861–1903, I, cap. LVIII, 534–5; see Balaguer 1995a, 12–13). It was customary to give the mark the name of the city that was responsible for it (in this case Toledo) regardless of its true place of origin.

The mark of Cologne weighed 233.80g and this is the weight that was adopted in Castile throughout the medieval period, as can be demonstrated by comparative calculations against other contemporary marks (Crusafont 1999, 51, 134). But when trying to reconstruct the weight of this mark at the beginning of the eighteenth century, investigators erroneously concluded that it was 230.00g (Botet 1908–11, II, 16), a misconception that prevailed from then on. Moreover, in Portugal a devaluation reduced the mark to 229.50g, or so it would appear from a verification of sixteenth-century weights carried out in 1815 (Gomes Marques 1996, 21). Portuguese scholars believe that this is the weight that prevailed in the country during the medieval period, but it is impossible to be sure.

In Navarre, the mark of Troyes, or Paris, of 244.75g was the norm: we know this from a regulation of 1428 which calls it the mark of Pamplona, and another dated 1495 which equated this mark with that of Paris (Ibáñez 1998, 45; Ibáñez *et al.* 1991, I, 82). Its use in later times may be a consequence of Navarre's intermittent unions with France; we do not know whether it employed another mark previously. Pio Beltrán asserted that the first mark was that of St Peter of Cologne, but did not explain why (Beltrán 1972b, 396).

In contrast, there is a great deal of information available concerning the Barcelona mark. Botet assessed its weight as 234.27g (Botet 1908–11, II, 20), and today this is accepted practically universally, but we do not know whether it was based on any existing European standard. From 1340 a mark of 240.00g for gold coinage appears: this derives from the Perpignan mark, inspired in turn by that of Montpellier, weighing 239.12g (Crusafont 1999, 51). The adoption of the Montpellier mark may have been ordained by the autonomous kings of Majorca, who also ruled Perpignan and Montpellier. Montpellier had long had a mint where deniers called *melgorenses* were made. When the Majorcan sovereigns began their own issues in the year 1300 in their territories of Majorca, it seems logical that they would have adopted a mark that already existed in another of their dominions: that of Montpellier. The reabsorption of the kingdom of Majorca by King Peter III of Catalonia-Aragon involved the adoption of the Perpignan mark for the gold coin (the florin), following the initiative of the last sovereign of Majorca. In consequence, the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon thereafter had two monetary marks: that of Barcelona (234.27g) for the silver coinage, and that of Perpignan (240.00g) for the gold (Crusafont 1999, p. 52).

These same marks were introduced throughout the rest of the territories of the Crown, but that is not to say that they retained identical values in all of them. So, for example, we