

MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE, VOLUME 6

This volume of *Medieval European Coinage* is the first English-language survey to bring the latest research on the coinage of Spain and Portugal *c.* 1000–1500 to an international audience. A major work of reference by leading numismatic experts, the volume provides an authoritative and up-to-date account of the coinages of Aragon, Catalonia, Castile, León, Navarre and Portugal, which have rarely been studied together. It considers how money circulated throughout the peninsula, offering new syntheses of the monetary history of the individual kingdoms, and includes an extensive catalogue of the Aragonese, Castilian, Catalan, Leonese, Navarrese and Portuguese coins in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum. This major contribution to the field will be a valuable point of reference for the study of medieval history, numismatics and archaeology.

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MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE

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MEDIEVAL EUROPEAN COINAGE

WITH A CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN
THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM, CAMBRIDGE

6 The Iberian Peninsula

MIQUEL CRUSAFONT
ANNA M. BALAGUER
and
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FOREWORD

MARK BLACKBURN
KEEPER OF COINS AND MEDALS, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

It is with great pleasure that I introduce this volume, the third to be published in the series *Medieval European Coinage*. The special achievement of this volume is to make available in English for the first time a full survey of the coinages of Aragon, Castile, Catalonia, León, Majorca, Navarre and Portugal. While some of these series have been the subject of extensive modern research, others have long been neglected, and in all cases these studies are largely inaccessible to the wider audiences outside Spain and Portugal. The authors have conducted much new research in the process of writing this volume and producing this synthesis. It is complemented by a fully illustrated Catalogue of the collection of these coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, largely formed by Philip Grierson and bequeathed by him in 2006.

Following the publication of *MEC* 14 (Southern Italy, Sicily, Sardinia) and Lucia Travaini's departure to take up a chair in Milan University in 1998, it was agreed that the programme of research for the *MEC* series should be expanded by commissioning experts on the Continent to prepare five additional volumes in their own areas of expertise. Professor Philip Grierson, the Founder and General Editor of the series and co-author of the first two volumes, would continue to work on *MEC* 7 (The Low Countries) assisted by Dr Serge Boffa of Université Libre de Bruxelles, and I would take over responsibility for the general direction of the series, for grant-raising and liaising with the new authors. From April 1999 to April 2004 Dr Elina Screen was employed on an Arts and Humanities Research Board major research grant to assist with the preparation of the new volumes, and facilitate the authors' study visits to Cambridge. In addition, Dr Michael Matzke was appointed in succession to Dr Travaini, on the same research grant, to prepare *MEC* 12 (Northern Italy).

The first authors to be approached were Miquel Crusafont i Sabater and Anna M. Balaguer i Prunes, long-standing Catalan friends of Prof. Grierson and leading authorities on medieval and early modern coinages of Iberia. They readily accepted the invitation to prepare the present volume, and visited Cambridge in July 1998 to study the collection and discuss with Prof. Grierson the scope of the volume, arrangement of the chapters and layout of the text. They made a draft catalogue of the coins of Barcelona and part of Castile, and the following year they returned to reorganise the collection further and continue work on the Catalogue. It was agreed that the volume should cover

the Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula from the first Carolingian issue of coinage in Catalonia in 785 to the early sixteenth century, the terminal dates being 1516 in the case of Spain and 1521 in that of Portugal. The Visigothic coinage of the peninsula had been included in *MEC* 1, and the coinages of the Aragonese kingdom of Sardinia, and of Aragonese rulers of Sicily and Naples, down to and including Ferdinand the Catholic, in *MEC* 14. The coins of Moorish Spain in the Fitzwilliam Museum will be included in the catalogue of Islamic coins in the Museum, to be published by Vlastimil Novak, but it was agreed that a short chapter with a representative selection of coins should be included here, given their importance to the monetary history of the Iberian Peninsula during the period of Islamic rule between the eighth and thirteenth centuries. Coins issued by the Catalan counts and the kings of Aragon in Languedoc and Provence, and the rare Montpellier issue of James I of Aragon, are reserved for the *MEC* volumes on the kingdoms of Arles and France respectively. But this volume does cover the coinages of the kingdom of Navarre and the county of Roussillon, both closely related to those of the peninsula, although half of Navarre and most of Roussillon lie on the northern side of the Pyrenees and now form part of France.

The volume immediately made great progress, assisted from April 1999 by Dr Screen who typed up the authors' draft catalogue entries and prepared drafts for the other series for the authors to revise, as well as drafts of the apparatus for the volume. She also supervised the scanning of the coins by Richard Hodges. With advice from the authors and Prof. Grierson, the Museum made significant purchases to strengthen the collection in all Spanish and Portuguese series, especially of small change, willingly funded by Prof. Grierson despite his dislike of the base petty coins! It had been agreed that to speed preparation of the main chapters, they could be written in Castilian and would be translated in the UK. In early 2003 Dr Screen and I visited Barcelona to discuss the final stages of the preparation of the manuscript. During 2003 the Spanish texts went off for translation by Vicki and John Trenhaile, which proved a more difficult process than anticipated because of technical numismatic language and the complicated history of the period. The resulting translation was meticulously compared with the original by Prof. Ted Buttrey working with Dr Screen to implement necessary corrections, and this text in turn was returned to the authors in early 2004 for their comment and approval. April 2004 saw the end of Dr Screen's employment on the *MEC* project with the failure of an AHRC grant application to continue her post, which has had a detrimental effect on all five of the newly commissioned volumes she was supporting. (She remained in the Department, but working on a new project, cataloguing Anglo-Saxon coins in Norwegian museums for the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* series.) In 2004–5 we employed Jonathan Jarrett, then a Ph.D. student working on early medieval Catalonia, on a freelance basis to sub-edit the manuscript, checking references and supplementing the Bibliography where necessary, and his involvement with this volume continued between 2005 and 2010 when he was employed in the Department of Coins and Medals as a Research Assistant, and thereafter.

Between 2006 and 2009 there was a loss of pace on the volume due to other pressures on the Department, in particular the need to deal with Prof. Grierson's bequest of his

collection, library and papers following his much-regretted death in January 2006, as well as other ongoing projects, while the authors, in turn, had their own commitments and personal difficulties. From 2009 circumstances made it possible for Dr Jarrett to recommence work on the manuscript with a significant injection of time and effort, and he sent each of the authors re-edited versions of their chapters for review with lists of questions for each. These were addressed with enthusiasm by the authors, both eager to see the volume to press. The final stages of pulling together this complicated manuscript, assembling the in-text illustrations, tables and maps, making up the plates, etc. has been achieved thanks to a monumental effort by the authors, Dr Jarrett, notwithstanding his departure from the Fitzwilliam in October 2010 to take up a lectureship in Oxford, and by Dr Screen. My own strong desire to see this and *MEC* 12 (North Italy) completed was given added momentum by the diagnosis of terminal cancer I received in mid-2010, but the consequential appointment in October of Dr Screen as co-General Editor of the *MEC* project has been a boon, for she has collated the final manuscript and overseen its submission to the press.

It remains to explain the division of responsibility for various sections of the volume between the authors. The volume is essentially the responsibility of the two principal authors, Miquel Crusafont and Anna Balaguer, but they were firm that they wished the name of Philip Grierson to be joined with theirs. In 1998 he had hoped to be able to play a greater role in contributing to and editing the volume. His declining health and other commitments prevented this, yet the conception and basic structure of the volume was still his, and his initial draft formed the basis for Chapter 3 ('The Muslim element'), his notes were used in compiling the list of Collectors, Donors and Dealers, and of course the collection of coins published here was essentially built by him. Appendices 1 (Finds) and 2 (Mints) and the Catalogue of coins were jointly written by Miquel Crusafont and Anna Balaguer. (The Islamic coin descriptions are based on the forthcoming catalogue by Vlastimil Novak.) Miquel Crusafont wrote Chapters 1 ('Introduction'), 2 ('Monetary circulation'), 4 ('Earliest coinages', with some contribution from Dr Jarrett especially to section w), 5 (Catalonia-Aragon), 6 (Majorca) and 7 (Navarre), Appendices 3 (Heraldry), 4 (Glossary) and 5 ('Numismatists of the medieval Iberian Peninsula'), and had input into the earliest parts of Chapter 8 (sec. c especially). Anna Balaguer wrote Chapter 3 ('The Muslim element') with Philip Grierson, and Chapters 8 (Castile and León) and 9 (Portugal). The authors' Bibliography was extensively revised and supplemented by Dr Jarrett. Dr Screen was responsible for compiling the Concordances, and Index of coin legends with the assistance of Barbara Burstein, and for the General Index. The digital images were produced by Richard Hodges, and the plates were laid out by Eimear Reilly. Many of the in-text images were obtained and adjusted by my research student Andrew Woods. The firms Aureo and Herrero kindly gave permission for the use of their images in Chapter 8, and we are very grateful to Dr Mario Gomes Marques and Francisco Costa Magro for permitting us to reproduce figures 70–3 and 74 in Chapter 9 respectively. The authors read and revised the volume in 2010–11 to bring it up to date prior to publication. While I have overseen and guided the project throughout, save in recent months owing to ill

health, the volume has effectively been edited jointly by Dr Jarrett and Dr Screen. I am immensely grateful to them, to the authors for their tolerant patience, to the Fitzwilliam Museum, and to all those mentioned above. Also to Cambridge University Press for their unwavering support for this series over the past twenty-five years, in particular successive Commissioning Editors for History from Bill Davies to Elizabeth Friend-Smith.

Cambridge
July 2011

FOREWORD ADDENDUM

It is a matter of deep sadness that Mark Blackburn, who died on 1 September 2011, did not live to see this volume in print. The entire *Medieval European Coinage* project is indissolubly associated with him, from his work as a research associate for the first volume up to the present day, and his energy, goodwill and enthusiasm were vital in keeping the network of scholars who form the project in being. He was instrumental in laying the foundations for the further volumes which will come to fruition over the next few years.

We wish to thank Elizabeth Friend-Smith, Chloe Dawson and Carol Fellingham Webb at Cambridge University Press for their assistance in seeing this complicated volume through the press. We owe thanks to Mr M. García Garrido, who drew many of the figures at short notice. David Cox of Cox Cartographic drew the maps. Michael Jones of the Fitzwilliam Museum Photographic Department photographed the cover images. We are grateful to the staff of the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum for their support, especially Barbara Burstein, Ted Buttrey, Eimear Reilly and Andrew Woods. Lastly, we owe thanks to the authors for their long patience and assistance in finally bringing this volume to its readership.

JONATHAN JARRETT
ELINA SCREEN
January 2012

NOTE ON NAMES

Before embarking on this study, it is necessary to consider a number of issues about names, be it the official names of the various kingdoms, royal ordinals or the languages spoken in different regions. A few sentences of explanation here will, it is hoped, avoid much confusion for the reader in what follows.

(a) LANGUAGES

Three principal languages exist today in the Iberian Peninsula, Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese, although Basque, Galician and Aranese also have a co-official status and the Spanish government also recognises Asturian and Leonese, both now confined almost entirely to the written word. At the beginning of the period that this volume covers, however, all of these languages except Basque were, arguably, still no more than dialects of Late Latin (Wright 1982), while in much of the peninsula Arabic was, of course, a *lingua franca*, though how far it was spoken by the general population is much debated (Hitchcock 2008 and refs). While the modern languages are named more or less for the polities where their speakers mainly originated, historical linguistic boundaries have only ever coincided roughly with political realities.

By the end of the period, the most frequently encountered language in the kingdom of Castile-León was Castilian, but there were two exceptions. First, the region of Galicia in the north-west spoke Galician, a language similar to Portuguese. Second, the Castilians vied with the kingdom of Navarre for possession of the Basque country, in the central north region, where Basque was spoken, and by the beginning of the modern era Castile had succeeded in obtaining possession of all this territory. Thus, the principal language of Castile-León and its chancery, once Latin was no longer used there, was Castilian, but two smaller territories used different languages, Galician in Galicia and Basque in the Basque country.

At first, Navarre was completely Basque-speaking, but Castilian gradually encroached from the southern area in the vicinity of the Ebro. In general terms, Castilian was used both in the post-Latin chancery and as the language of the majority of the population. This did not prevent the Basque language from surviving in extensive mountainous areas, as indeed it does to this day. It is also worth noting that French was sometimes employed in the chancery during the periods when the kingdom of Navarre was part of France.

The language of Portugal was fully formed Portuguese, although (as previously mentioned) this language had a relation in Galician, in the north, whose homeland belonged to Castile-León.

In the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, Catalan dominated in Catalonia (which of course included the region of Roussillon, now in France, as well as part of Sardinia), Majorca and the greater part of the territory of Valencia, notably the entire coastal strip. Aragon initially had its own language, but it was gradually displaced by Castilian. For this reason, part of the mountainous region of Valencia, though populated by Aragonese, spoke Castilian; it is interesting to note that in Catalonia there still exists a small area of the Vall d'Aran, a river valley open to the north (the river Garonne), that has always maintained a Gascon variant of Occitan, Aranese. Occitan, with Provençal, was the language spoken in a large part of present-day southern France, extending from the Atlantic as far as Italy, and it can still be heard in a few areas, especially the French Massif Central. The main language of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon and its chancery in the post-Latin phase, however, was Catalan.

In short, Castilian was the native language of Castile-León, Navarre and Aragon, Catalan of Catalonia and Portuguese of Portugal. All in all, they were the languages predominantly spoken in each of those kingdoms or political entities.

(b) THE NAMING OF KINGDOMS

The political and linguistic complexity noted here also has implications for the naming of the kingdoms, the sovereigns' ordinals and heraldry. The resulting issues frequently give rise to bitter partisan polemics not noted for their objectivity. Here we shall endeavour to stay within the parameters of strict historical reality.

Throughout the entire medieval period the term *Hispania* designated not the Iberian Peninsula as such but rather that part of its geographic area which was occupied by Muslims, that territory described in Arabic as *al-Andalus*. So when kings of León or Castile sought to take the title of emperor of Spain (*Imperator Hispaniae*) they were not trying to indicate that they controlled the other Christian kingdoms, but wished to allude to their conquests in the Muslim arena (Guglieri 1974, 1, 4). Furthermore, when Catalonia began to receive tribute from the Muslims at the beginning of the eleventh century, the sums were referred to as *parias de Hispania*, tributes of Hispania, meaning the Muslim territory (Balaguer 1993a). Thus in the medieval period Christian kingdoms to the north of the Iberian Peninsula coexisted with a region of Muslim domination that was known as Hispania ('Spain').

The group of the eastern Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula constituted a sort of confederation whose most important nexus was the person of the king. The majority of historians call the group of states thus created the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon. Purists argue that it should really be called the Crown of Aragon, because that was its historical name; but from the historical point of view it is equally true to say that all the peoples of

this territory were known throughout the Mediterranean region as Catalans (Vilar 1968, II, 91; Sevillano 1951, 131). The decision-making centre was Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, where the court resided, as did the most important nucleus of merchants who constituted an oligarchy possessed of considerable power in the state: for example, they enjoyed decision-making powers in such important areas as finance and coinage. On the other hand, the kingdom of Aragon, strictly defined, tended to keep its distance from the commercial undertakings that formed the basis of the state finances. This, admittedly, did not prevent it from lending its name to the group by virtue of its rank being superior to that of Catalonia, which was merely a group of counties or a principality. It was for this reason that Aragon did not develop a stable gold or silver currency, which was unnecessary in an essentially agricultural economy, until the middle of the fifteenth century. For all these reasons the term ‘Crown of Catalonia-Aragon’ defines with much greater precision the historical reality of the state that emerged when Catalonia and Aragon were united by the marriage of Ramon Berenguer IV of Catalonia and Petronilla of Aragon (Vilar 1968, II, 123–38).

It is also necessary to examine the true extent of the political consequences that the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon to Isabella of Castile entailed. Ferdinand was recognised as sovereign of Castile, where he shared royal status with Isabella. In contrast, Isabella was not seen as the queen of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, but only as Ferdinand’s consort. It is for this reason that the names of both sovereigns invariably appeared on all Castilian coinage but were never given together on that of Catalonia or Majorca. They did occasionally appear together on the coinage of Valencia and Aragon, and (with greater frequency) in some Italian dominions. In both Aragon and Valencia, however, the Estates (*estamentos representativos*) of the kingdom objected to this tendency, which resulted in issues once again being made in Ferdinand’s name alone. The marriage of the Catholic Monarchs thus established a basis for future joint sovereignty in Castile-León and the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon (and later in Navarre also), but each kingdom kept its own laws, usages, customs, weights and measures, and coinages. Castile’s assimilation of the kingdoms of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon did not occur until Franco-Castilian military intervention in the War of the Spanish Succession (1705–14) and the final defeat of Archduke Charles of Austria and his supporters in 1714.

(c) THE NUMERATION OF KINGS

The ordinals of the sovereigns present no particular difficulty in the case of Portugal, where they occasionally appeared on both coins and seals from the reign of Afonso III (1248–79) and with increasing frequency under Afonso V (1438–81) (Teixeira de Aragão 1875–80, I, 49). The first sovereigns of Navarre, on the other hand, can cause considerable confusion: two different methods of numeration coexist, leading some historians to avoid ordinals altogether and distinguish the kings by their soubriquets. We have opted for the

system that seems to us to be the one in more general use. As far as coins were concerned, ordinals first appeared with the Prince of Viana, whose official title was Charles IV.

When dealing with the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon, some historians adopt the succession of the sovereigns of Aragon as their point of reference, following the Catalan dynastic series via the male line. They even go so far as to detail the ordinal for each separate kingdom: Alfons II of Catalonia, III of Aragon, I of Majorca and Valencia, and so on. We think it more appropriate to separate out the ordinals for Aragon and Catalonia respectively until their union, when the creation of the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon laid the foundation for a new political entity. At that point it becomes practical to recommence the series of ordinals without distinguishing between the constituent kingdoms that were later incorporated, thus providing a single and coherent sequence. Ordinals made their first appearance in Catalonia on the coins of Peter of Portugal (1464–6).

Castile used a rather singular system, although it would eventually spread over a wide area. The ordinals began with the kings of Asturias, continued with those of León and were afterwards apportioned between those of León and Castile, even while they retained the status of separate kingdoms. Thus in the thirteenth century, King Alfonso of Castile (1158–1214) was the eighth of that name, while his contemporary in León, having the same name, was Alfonso IX (1188–1230). On the other hand, Ferdinand I was initially ‘the first’ (I) only of Castile (1035–7), later becoming Ferdinand I of Castile and León (1037–65). Ferdinand II (1157–88) was king only of León; Ferdinand III was initially king of Castile (1217–30), subsequently becoming king of Castile and León (1230–52) but without this change affecting his ordinal. It was in the latter’s reign that Castile and León became united once and for all. When considering the run of ordinals, one should note that, for reasons that are hard to understand, Sancho the Elder of Navarre, who was king of Castile between 1028 and 1035 and of León between 1032 and 1033, appears often to have been omitted. Ordinals appeared on some of the coinage of John II (1406–54), and with the accession of Henry IV (1454–74) they began to be given on the majority of the seals and many of the coins.

(d) PLACE, PERSONAL AND COIN NAMES

Selecting the most appropriate forms of place-names, personal names and coin names has also presented difficulties. For place-names, where a very familiar English form exists, we have used it (thus Majorca, not Mallorca). Most other place-names take their modern spelling in the relevant language, though sometimes in a form without accents (Cordoba not Córdoba, Aragon not Aragón). Exceptions include certain Catalan counties now in modern-day France, for which the French form has been preferred (e.g. Roussillon not Rosselló).

For personal names, familiar English forms have been used for rulers where they exist (thus Henry not Enrique, John not Juan). Names of other persons have generally not been anglicised. Less familiar names appear in their appropriate local form (thus Alfons (Catalonia-Aragon), Alfonso (Castile-León and Navarre) and Afonso (Portugal)).

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Note on names

<i>English</i>	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Castilian</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>
	Alfons	Alfonso	Afonso
Blanca	Blanca	Blanca	
Catherine	Caterina	Catalina	
Ferdinand	Ferran	Fernando	
Henry	Enric	Enrique	Enrique
Isabella	Isabel	Isabel	
James	Jaume	Jaime	
Joanna	Joana	Juana	
John	Joan	Juan	João
Martin	Martí	Martin	
Peter	Pere	Pedro	
	Sanç	Sancho	Sancho
William	Guillem	Guillermo	

For coin names, we have followed the convention of the series, which is to refer to coins by the names used in their country of origin. Thus we refer to dineros in Castile-León, diners in Catalonia-Aragon, dinheiros in Portugal, denaros in Italy and deniers when speaking of the coins struck by the Carolingians and the later coins of France and the Latin East. A table of some key equivalent terms follows; further details about each coin type mentioned in the text, with their alternate names, may be found in the Glossary (Appendix 4).

<i>English</i>	<i>Catalan</i>	<i>Castilian</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>
Billon	Billó	Vellón	Bolhão
Blanc	Blanc/a	Blanco/a	Branco/a
Carat	Quirat	Quirate, quilate	Quirate
Cinquen		Cinquén	Chinquinho
Coin weight	Pesal	Ponderal	Peso monetario
Countermark	Contramarca	Resello	Carimbo
Crown	Corona	Corona	Coroa
		Cuaternal <i>see</i> quatern	
Dies	Encunys	Cuños	Cunhos
Dinar	Dinar	Dinar	Dinar
Dirham	Dirham	Dirham	Dirham
Denier (Engl. penny)	Diner	Dinero	Dinheiro
Dobla (Engl. double)	Dobla	Dobla	Dobra
Double denier	Dobler	Doble dinero	
Double striking	Repicat	Doble acuñación	Dobre cunhagem
Ducat	Ducat	Ducado	Ducado
Écu	Escut	Escudo	Escudo
Enrique	Enric	Enrique	Henrique
Fels/felous	Fals/fulus	Fals/fulus	Fals/fulus
Field	Camp	Campo	Campo

Note on names

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Fineness	Llei	Ley	Lei
Florin	Florí	Florin	Florim
Grain	Gra	Grano	Grão
Groat	Gros	Gros	Gros
Jaques	Jaquès	Jaqués	
Libra (Fr. livre, Engl. pound)	Lliura	Libra	Livra
Malla (Fr. maille)	Malla	Meaja (or miaja)	Mealha
Mancus	Mancús		
Maravedí		Maravedí	Maravedí
Mark	Marc	Marco	Marco
Millares	Millarès		
Morabitorio	Morabatí	Morabatin	Morabitorio
Mazmudina	Masmudina	Mazmudina	Mazmudina
Mint	Seca	Ceca	Ceca
Mint mark	Marca de seca	Marca de ceca	Marca de ceca
Mithcal		Metcal	
	Monedatge	Moneda forera	
Obol (Fr. obole)	Obol	Obolo	Obolo
Piefort (or piedfort)	Patró	Muestra	Padrão
Prieto ('black')		Prieto	Preto
Privy mark	Marques complementàries	Marcas complementarias	Sinai's oculos
Quarter		Cuarto	
Quatern	Quatern	Cuaternal	
Real, reals	Ral, rals	Real, reales	Real, reais
Restrike	Reencunyació	Reacuñación	Recunhação
Solidus, plural solidi	Sou, sous	Sueldo, sueldos	Soldo, soldos
Tariff	Talla	Talla	Talha
Teston	Testó	Testón	Tostão
Tournois	Tornès	Tornés	Tornês
Tressure (Fr. polylobe)	Orla lobulada	Orla lobulada	Moldura gotica