IDENTITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

APPROACHES FROM
SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE

Edited by
FLOCEL SABATÉ

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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	viii
-----------------------------	------

Foreword	
FLOCEL SABATÉ	ix

Introduction. Identity in the Middle Ages	
FLOCEL SABATÉ	1

Chapter 1. Identity as a Historiographical Concept	
JAUME AURELL	55

PART ONE: CONSTRUCTING INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY

Chapter 2. Baptismal Names and Identity in the Early Middle Ages	
IGOR S. FILIPPOV	67

Chapter 3. Personal Names and Identity in the Iberian Peninsula	
MOISÉS SELFA	113

Chapter 4. Gender and Feminine Identity in the Middle Ages	
ANA MARIA S. A. RODRIGUES	123

Chapter 5. Identity, Memory, and Autobiographical Writing in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century French Literature	
MERITXELL SIMÓ	137

Chapter 6. Why Ibn Ḥazm became a Ṣāḥirī: Law, Charisma, and the Court	
MARIBEL FIERRO	153

Chapter 7. Eunuchs in the Emirate of al-Andalus	
CRISTINA DE LA PUENTE	179

PART TWO: SOCIAL IDENTITIES

Chapter 8. Identity and Minority Status in Two Legal Traditions	
JOHN TOLAN	203
Chapter 9. Medieval Peasants' Image of Themselves in Relation to the Seigneurial Regime	
PAUL FREEDMAN	213
Chapter 10. Chivalric Identity: Arms and Armour, Text and Context	
NOEL FALLOWS	229
Chapter 11. The Emergence of a Bourgeois Urban Identity: Late Medieval Catalonia	
FLOCEL SABATÉ	243
Chapter 12. Culture and Marks of Identity among the Social Outcasts and Criminals of Late Medieval Spain	
RICARDO CÓRDOBA	261

PART THREE: IDENTITY AND TERRITORY

Chapter 13. Identity and the Rural Parish in Medieval Iberia	
RAQUEL TORRES JIMÉNEZ	275
Chapter 14. The Breakdown of Vertical Solidarity among the Late Medieval Basque Nobility	
JOSÉ RAMÓN DÍAZ DE DURANA and ARSENIO DACOSTA	293
Chapter 15. Identity-Making Discourses in the Kingdom of Sardinia and Corsica and the <i>Giudicato</i> of Arborea	
LUCIANO GALLINARI	309
Chapter 16. The Crown of Aragon and the <i>Regnum Sardiniae et Corsicae</i> in the Fourteenth Century: Comparing Institutional Identities	
ALESSANDRA CIOPII	329

PART FOUR: REPRESENTATIVE COLLECTIVE IDENTITIES

Chapter 17. Political Identity and Patrician Power in the City of Burgos during the Fifteenth Century YOLANDA GUERRERO	349
Chapter 18. Fiscal Attitudes and Practices and the Construction of Identity in Late Medieval Cuenca JOSÉ ANTONIO JARA	365
Chapter 19. Constructing an Identity: Urban Centres and their Relationship with the Crown of Navarre, 1300–1500 ELOÍSA RAMÍREZ VAQUERO	379
Chapter 20. Celebration of Identity in Thirteenth- to Fifteenth-Century Florence, Milan, and Venice PAOLA VENTRONE	407
Chapter 21. Local and “State” Identities in Cities of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Northern and Central Italy GIORGIO CHITTOLINI	433

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figures

Figure 13.1: Campo de Calatrava. 276

Figure 18.1: Graph of the Growth and Distribution of Expenditure..... 377

Tables

Table 19.1: Good Towns in the order in which they were granted
their charters 380

Table 19.2: Towns consulted by the monarch 386

Table 19.3: Number of Judges appointed to the Good Towns (1254, July)..... 391

Table 19.4: Fraternity of Good Towns called to supervise the
governor appointed by the Parliament (1254, July 27) 392

Table 19.5: Fraternity (1283) 394

Table 19.6: Sequence of assemblies related to the Good Towns 396

Table 19.7: Assemblies and the Fraternity of Good Towns 401

Table 19.8: Delegations from the Good Towns to Paris
for the swearing-in ceremony..... 404

Table 19.9: Agreements from the Meeting held by the Good Towns
(1328, April 16)..... 405

FOREWORD

FLOCEL SABATÉ

LET ME BEGIN by using this foreword to explain briefly the aims and ideas that inspire the present book, both through a substantial introduction analyzing what we understand by identity in the Middle Ages, and through specific studies that deepen our knowledge of relevant aspects of a topic of great political importance today.

The “power of identity,” to use the title of the second volume of the study of “The Information Age” by sociologist Manuel Castells,¹ has been strongly emphasized during the last decades. Different studies have been devoted to analyze the search for identity in our plural societies, the intertwining of various types and levels of identity, the risks around identity conflicts and, in any case, the rise of identity, with its different meanings, in the articulation of current society.² Too often history has been used to justify real, recreated, or imagined identities. This is not our aim. Noticing the search for identity in individuals and collectivities throughout history, and looking for new perspectives to reach the core of precedent societies, we adopt identity as an object of analysis, that is, as a challenge to open new ways and tools for historians’ work.

Certainly, this book places identity at the centre of a project to better understand medieval society. By exploring the multiplicity of personal identities, the ways these were expressed within particular social structures (such as feudalism), and their evolution into formal expressions of collective identity (municipalities, guilds, nations, and so on) we can shed new light on the Middle Ages. A specific legacy of such developments was that by the end of the Middle Ages, a different sense of collective identities, supported by the late medieval socio-economic structure, backed in law and by theological, philosophical, and political thought, defined society. What is more, social structures coalesced across diverse elements, including language, group solidarities, and a set of assumed values.

We understand that identity occupied that central position in defining medieval society with two allied concepts: memory and ideology. The former served to ground identity, while the latter consolidated a coherent common memory and identity. For this reason, this book has two companions devoted to each of these concepts. We think that

1 Manuel Castells, *The Information Age. II The Power of Identity* (Cambridge, MA), 1997.

2 Among others: Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford, 1996); Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle* (New York, London, 1999); Mario Carretero, *Documentos de identidad. La construcción de la memoria histórica en un mundo global* (Buenos Aires, 2007); Gérard Noiriel, *À quoi sert l'identité 'nationale'* (Paris, 2007); Chatterje Partha, *La nación en tiempo heterogéneo y otros estudios subalternos* (Buenos Aires, 2008); Hermenegildo Fernandes, Isabel Castro Henriques, José de Silva Horta, Sergio Campos Matos, ed., *Nação e identidades. Portugal, os Portugueses e os Outros* (Lisbon, 2009); Francesco Remotti, *L'ossessione identitaria* (Bari, 2010); Diego Bermejo, ed., *La identidad en sociedades plurales* (Barcelona, 2011); Zygmunt Bauman, *Oltre le nazioni. L'Europa tra sovranità e solidarietà* (Bari, 2012); Francesco Remotti, *Contro l'identità* (Bari, 2012).

this is a good path for approaching an understanding of the values and interpretative axes that informed the thinking of women and men in the Middle Ages. This holistic vision requires interdisciplinary approaches, as opposed to academic compartmentalization of history, art history, and the study of languages and literatures.

With this in mind, we present a work structured in a particular way, beginning with a long introductory chapter (by **Flocel Sabaté**) on medieval identity. This introduction does not aim to map out identity in its entirety, but rather to provide insights into key aspects of the medieval understandings of identity. It frames ensuing discussions by exploring the various ways in which individuals affirmed their notion of identity, always involving the individual's relation to a group with which they felt solidarity. A sense of one's own identity involves notions of otherness, and therefore involves both external perceptions and an internal sensibility, and relates to ideas concerning "representativity" (the conditions of a representation, from the French word *représentativité*). In the Middle Ages, this generated various discourses and cultural displays in order to support particular identities, which generated specific collectively-held memories and descriptions of teleological destiny, associated with particular societies and territories.

Having established an overview of identity in the Middle Ages, the introduction is followed by twenty-one focused chapters by leading researchers which delve deeper into specific fields. They share a concern for illuminating medieval thought, focusing on concrete cases, and prioritizing examples from southern Europe, a region with a large amount of documentation, but which to date has occupied a relatively minor position in the overall spread of research into the Middle Ages. We acknowledge this emphasis in the title of this book, *Identity in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, which is offered as a means of enriching study of the Middle Ages.

The resulting chapters are organized into four domains representing the four parts in the book, offering, in our view, useful ways of exploring identity.

The overall concept is part of a long historiographical journey, linked particularly to the return of cultural history in the search for new perspectives with which to develop historical research. That is why we invited **Jaume Aurell** to launch this volume with an overview of this historiographical development.

Having provided the historiographical framework, we delve deeper into the function of identity in the Middle Ages through four blocks we consider axial: constructing individual identity; social identity; identity and territory; and forms of collective identity.

Constructing individual identity is, in fact, one of the vital contributions of the Middle Ages, by defining the individual elements that allow a person to define himself or herself, and this continues today. For instance, adopting a name seems crucial in the perception and assumption of individuality. **Igor Filippov** provides here a fascinating study of baptismal names and self-identification in the Early Middle Ages. **Moisés Selfa** goes on to show how names reflect a specific identity in a particular social context. **Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues** then shows how the personal identity that one accepts is fundamentally linked to the cultural model of gender. She presents varying degrees of acceptance, by different women, of specific ideals of femininities. At the same time, the awareness of one's individuality, the struggle between individual and group, was evident for instance in twelfth-century literature, where shared memories might include autobiographical

expressions, as **Meritxell Simó** shows. The assumption of an identity means the integration of a memory, and **Maribel Fierro** shows, in Islamic society, how this implies specific religious and legal values. Society supplies models into which individuality can fit, but it can also offer space for exceptions, as in the case of eunuchs in Islamic society, as shown in the chapter by **Cristina de la Puente**.

People were never alone in the Middle Ages. They formed part of a group in which they felt integrated and protected. We therefore need to consider identity in terms of the social group. Given that the rules for social order were based on the majority religion, it was necessary to adopt specific status for minorities when Christians, Jews and Muslims shared a same space, as **John Tolan** analyzes. At the same time, social identity requires us to understand that appropriate models were generated for each social group. **Paul H. Freedman** shows us how a specific image of the peasant was created in line with the values of medieval society, and accepted by the members of that social group. At the same time, at the other social extreme, a clear chivalric identity was formulated, well enough assumed to be widely reflected in contemporary texts, as **Noel Fallows** demonstrates. And **Flocel Sabaté** sketches how the Late Middle Ages supplied the economic, ideological, and cultural framework that gave rise to a specifically bourgeois identity. Social order was achieved by combining these units of collective identity. Conversely, we see these marks of identity in social outcasts in the chapter by **Ricardo Córdoba** that concludes the second part of this volume.

Human activity takes place in a determined space, over which mutual influence is developed. Strong relations between people, territory, and identity arise almost naturally. Hence the third part of this book focuses on identity and territory at different levels: firstly, in the smaller space in which everyday life happens, as **Raquel Torres** shows when analyzing how medieval parishes supported individuals in forming a local community. We see another field for social identity within the lordships, a setting in which **José Ramon Díaz de Durana** and **Arsenio Dacosta** show us the rise and consolidation of factions (*bandos*) from lineage, with their solidarity connections. They were a powerful form of mutual identity, which became very complex and affected all relations, either with other powers or the sovereign, and determined the management of the territory and society. Another very different scenario is derived from the political will to promote identification between territory, population, and certain rulers. This led to interesting discourses in which a common identity tried to fashion a specific memory, as **Luciano Gallinari** shows for Sardinia. Also in Sardinia, **Alessandra Cioppi** presents the changes it underwent after its incorporation into the Crown of Aragon: the shaping of a specific identity through the implantation of a particular institutional model.

Finally, the Late Middle Ages furnished identities based on representativeness, so much so that it is one of the great legacies of medieval society. The rise of the urban patriciate was accompanied by the promotion of a specific identification between the ruling elite, municipal government, and city, as **Yolanda Guerrero** demonstrates. The increasing assertiveness of cities gave them a dominant position over the surrounding territory and the ability to manage their own resources, not least through taxation. **José Antonio Jara** shows us how a city could portray a unifying discourse to reinforce its dominant position, which in turn meant the generation of a shared identity. Urban

power not only assumed a representativeness with which it could address the sovereign on behalf of the municipality, but this in turn affected the profile of sovereignty itself. Thus, urban identity helped model a specific definition of the country, apart from the sovereign, and became a counterpoint in defining a duality between the country and the monarch (a distinction, as **Eloísa Ramírez** presents, in the case of Navarre, that came to be made between the Kingdom proper and the King). In this framework, the construction of an identity for citizenship needed specific rituals, festivals, and symbols. Shared urban self-expression facilitated social cohesion within a common identity, as outlined in **Paola Ventrone's** chapter. The cities then went on to strengthen an identity based on their own social cohesion and projected this over their hinterlands. As a result, urban identity could adopt a social, political, and even the sense of being a "state," as **Giorgio Chittolini** shows from cases in central and northern Italy.

These are the various of lines of enquiry on the theme of identity in the Middle Ages that have occupied the work of the Consolidated Medieval Studies Research Group "Space, Power and Culture," based at the University of Lleida, especially through the research project *Identity, Memory and Ideology in the Middle Ages* (HAR2009–08598/HIST) financed by the Spanish government, to link the study of identity, memory, and ideology in the Middle Ages. It was a challenge taken up from an earlier project: *Historical Memory: Images of the Middle Ages. The Real World and Recreated Space* (BHA2003–00523). Both projects aimed to advance new perspectives on the study of the Middle Ages. Close collaboration with the Institute for Research into Identities and Society (IRIS), based at the University of Lleida between 2009 and 2013, worked towards the same objective. The work of its research team and numerous wider scholarly meetings held at Lleida helped to consolidate these objectives. This was also made possible with the support of various complementary projects financed by the Spanish Ministry of Research: *Identities* (HAR2008–02766–E/HIST); *Sacred Voices* (FFI2008–03031–E/FILO); *Identities: A Definition* (HAR2010–10915–E/HIST); *Identities: Definition and Context: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (HAR2010–10803–E/HIST); and *Hybrid Identities: An Interdisciplinary Vision of the Social World* (HAR2011–13084–E).

Thanks to these projects, various co-authored books on the subject of identity in the Middle Ages have appeared, bringing together the work of leading researchers from varied fields of study related to the Middle Ages.³ This book builds on prior studies and is, to a large extent, a culmination of the work done previously. In producing, selecting, revising, and bringing to fruition the final texts in this volume, the research projects financed by the Spanish government *Feelings, Emotion, and Expressivity* (HAR-2016-

3 Publications involving the present volume editor include: Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Identitats* (Lleida, 2012); Flocel Sabaté and Christian Guilleré, eds., *Morphologie urbaine et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique* (incorrectly published as *Morphologie et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique*) (Chambéry, 2012); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *L'Edat Mitjana: món real i espai imaginat* (Catarroja, 2012); Xavier Terrado and Flocel Sabaté, eds., *Les veus del sagrat* (Lleida, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Identities on the Move* (Bern, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Hybrid Identities* (Bern, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Perverse Identities: Identities in Conflict* (Bern, 2015); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Conditioned Identities: Wished-for and Unwished-for Identities* (Bern, 2015); and Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Medieval Urban Identity: Health, Economy and Regulation* (Newcastle, 2015).

75028-P) and *Power Experienced in the Late Middle Ages: Perception, Representativeness and Expressiveness in the Management and Reception of Power* (PID2019-104085GB-I00), the ICREA–Academia award to Flocel Sabaté (2016–2020), and supported by Arc Humanities Press’s peer review and pre-press processes, have all been instrumental, for which we are sincerely grateful. We hope that this volume, together with *Ideology in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe* and *Memory in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe* will illuminate in new depth the links between identity, ideology, and memory in the Middle Ages and open new pathways to how we interrogate and understand the Middle Ages.⁴

⁴ Translations into English are generally provided as close to the original text as possible, and the original text and edited source is provided in the notes. We follow the press’s practice as a worldwide publisher in retaining native forms as far as possible. Abbreviations to sources from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter MGH) follow the guidelines of the *Deutsches Archiv* journal: www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/DA-Siglenverzeichnis.pdf.

THE EMERGENCE OF A BOURGEOIS URBAN IDENTITY: LATE MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

FLOCEL SABATÉ

THE CONFLICT-RIDDEN MIDDLE AGES, which brought into being the feudal system that was abolished by the revolutionary Assemblée nationale in August 1793,¹ was a period based on seigneurial rule. It was dominated by the nobility and clergy, who were often arbitrary, and even ruthless, in their application of the *ius primae noctis* ("right of the first night")² and, according to Voltaire, included "friars who teach, argue, govern, plot, and burn at the stake, those who do not agree with them."³ The heart-warming Middle Ages, rediscovered by Romanticism in the first decades of the nineteenth century,⁴ were much appreciated for the generous gallantry and deep spirituality of their knights,⁵ though we should not forget that these knights were also responsible for imposing this same "feudal tyranny."⁶ It was a time of increasingly powerful lords. As Lord Lytton once observed, "the Church and the king wish[ed] to strengthen themselves by the gentry."⁷ In such a Middle Ages, marked by feudal nobility, it is understandable that the bourgeoisie, who appropriated the French revolution⁸ and effectively took control of Europe, particularly from 1830 onwards,⁹ came to define a liberal society, allowing it to achieve levels of growth and prosperity that were able to correct the weaknesses inherited from the medieval period.

This liberal bourgeoisie located its own roots in the Middle Ages, but as a combative seed of change which had steered that era into the present. Using this logic, the emergence of cities and of urban communes during the medieval period could be explained

1 John Markoff, *The Abolition of Feudalism. Peasants, Lords and Legislators in the French Revolution*, (University Park, 1996), 516–59.

2 Alain Boureau, *Le droit de cuissage. La fabrication d'un mythe. XIII^e–XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1995), 51–213.

3 "Moines qui enseignent, qui disputent, qui gouvernent, qui cabalent, et qui font brûler les gens qui ne sont pas de leur avis." Cited from François Marie Arouet [Voltaire], *Candide ou l'Optimisme* (Paris, 1995), 107.

4 François René de Chateaubriand, *The Beauties of Christianity*, 3 vols. (London, 1813), 3:156.

5 Ramón López Soler, *Los bandos de Castilla* (Madrid, 1973), 27–51.

6 Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe* (Leipzig, 1845), 2.

7 Lord Lytton, *The Last of the Barons* (London, 1843), 41.

8 Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1964), 34–35.

9 Jacques Droz, *Europa. Restauración y revolución (1815–1848)* (Madrid, 1981), 36–52.

in terms of the confrontation between members of the bourgeoisie who fought against the feudal lords¹⁰ to obtain greater freedoms, similarly to the revolutions of the nineteenth century.¹¹ The future world was a victory for urban dwellers, who “suffocated the feudal aristocracy, whose wealth was less than that of the merchant and industrial class, in terms of enlightenment and regularity of custom: in terms of social power.”¹² Royal abuses were also reduced thanks to the firmness of the bourgeoisie, who did not think twice about personally confronting arrogant monarchs, as shown by the figures adorning the pantheon of nineteenth-century bourgeois mythology, such as Etienne Marcel in France¹³ and Joan Fivaller in Catalonia.¹⁴

City dwellers fuelled the subsequent flourishing of a new society because, in reality, this implied a complete break with the previous feudal system: “a society in which the population lived from the land that it exploited and whose produce it consumed, could not give rise to significant urban agglomerations.”¹⁵ Thus, the origin of the medieval urban world could only be found in the commerce that emerged following the so-called “commercial revolution.”¹⁶ This expression was popularized by R. S. Lopez to equate what happened in the central centuries of the Middle Ages with the only great economic upheaval with which, given its consequences, it could reasonably be compared: “the industrial revolution.”¹⁷ In this way, the feudal world of the nobles and the urban world of the bourgeoisie would become two relentless realities impossible to mix, to the extent that medieval cities would be seen as non-feudal islands in the midst of a feudal sea.¹⁸

The strength of this idea has been rebutted by various groups of scholars in recent decades¹⁹ and the intrinsic contacts and mutual interrelations between feudal system

10 Julio Valdeón, “Revueltas en la Edad Media Castellana,” in *Revueltas y revoluciones en la historia*, (Salamanca, 1990), 13.

11 Raymonde Foreville, “Du Domesday Book à la Grande Charte. guildes, franchises et chartes urbaines,” in *Les Origines des Libertés Urbaines. Actes du XVI^e Congrès des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur* (Rouen, 7–8 juin 1985) (Rouen, 1990), 162–63.

12 “Ofegaren l'aristocràcia feudal, que era inferior a la classe mercantil i industrial en riqueses, en il·lustració, en regularitat de costums, en activitat: en una paraula, en potència social.” Cited from Josep Torras i Bages, *La tradició catalana* (Barcelona, 1966), 147–48.

13 Béatrice Fontanel and Daniel Wolfrohm, *Quand les artistes peignaient l'histoire de France. De Vercingétorix à 1918* (Paris, 2002).

14 Manuel Angelón, *Juan Fivaller. Biografía leída en el acto de colocarse el retrato de aquel ilustre patricio en la galería de catalanes ilustres* (Barcelona, 1882), 5.

15 “Une société dans laquelle la population vit du sol qu'elle exploite et en consomme sur place les produits, ne peut donner naissance à des agglomérations d'hommes de quelque importance.” Cited from Henri Pirenne, *Histoire de l'Europe des invasions au XVI^e siècle*, (Paris – Brussels, 1936), 156.

16 Roberto Sabatino Lopez, *La révolution commerciale dans l'Europe médiévale* (Paris, 1974).

17 Roberto Sabatino Lopez, “La revolución commercial,” in *Historia Universal Salvat*, ed. José Maria Salrach, 10 vols. (Barcelona, 1980), 4:84.

18 Michael Moisessey Postan, *The Medieval Society and Economy* (Berkeley, 1972), 212.

19 Rodney Hilton, *Les ciutats medievals* (Barcelona, 1989), 9–21.

and urban development have been exposed.²⁰ However, it is still widely believed that there often remained a strict separation between the two, with the medieval period characterized by castles and knights and labelled as feudal. Even historical narratives that highlight the urban–rural dichotomy imply that the Middle Ages provided both what is commonly known as “feudality” and, separately, an urban model with its own economic framework, its own social mode, and its own shared values.²¹

Money and Values

Starting from common roots, feudalism and urban growth shared several key moments, particularly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, which suggests that they probably fed off each other. It is easy to show this by looking at some specific examples. The conquest of the Islamic city of Lleida, in 1149, was a paradigmatic action by a feudal army, in which the barons, assisted by their castle tenants, answered the call of their feudal lord, expecting to subsequently benefit from the sharing of conquered domains. Yet, only half a century later, the same city of Lleida was the paradigm of a bourgeois society; it had a rich and powerful urban elite ruling a city that managed itself, projected its control over the surrounding territory, and addressed the monarch as representative of the local society. In the meantime, a group of businessmen from various backgrounds were able to bring together capital from diverse sources and to employ this in different kinds of investment. Urban speculation and the acquisition of rural land²² were particularly prominent: the houses the conquerors received were bought and the whole city was rebuilt, even including a new street plan. This was done with the understanding that those who had money and property, and occupied a powerful position, could also take on the role of representing the city.²³ By the eleventh century, the growth of cities like Barcelona facilitated these property owners to exercise power over the lands on which the new boroughs were constructed.²⁴ The acquisition of property was seen as the most secure asset of the period: the lands of all the towns and cities gradually fell into the hands of members of the urban elite, who continued to invest in anything that was profitable, whether feudal rights or those granted by public bodies, commercial activity, or the administration of baronial or royal goods.²⁵

Far from the historiographical stereotype that would imagine the bourgeois viewing feudal income with apprehension, he in fact looked upon it through the eyes of an inves-

20 Yves Barel, *La ciudad medieval. Sistema social – Sistema urbano* (Madrid, 1981), 9–70.

21 I developed a first approach to this subject during preparatory research which has now been culminated in the present book: Flocel Sabaté, “El naixement medieval d’una identitat urbana i burgesa,” in *L’Edat Mitjana. món real i espai imaginat*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja-Barcelona, 2012), 111–26.

22 Flocel Sabaté, “Il mercato della terra in un paese nuovo. Lerida nella seconda metà del XII secolo,” *Rivista di Storia dell’Agricoltura* 43, no. 1 (2003): 57–90.

23 Flocel Sabaté, *Història de Lleida. Alta edat mitjana* (Lleida, 2003), 355–98.

24 Pierre Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera (segles X–XI)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1979), 1:430–32.

25 Flocel Sabaté, “Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana en Cataluña,” *Revista d’Història Medieval* 9 (1998): 130–33.

tor, including the acquisition of jurisdictional domains.²⁶ This meant having to overcome the moral dilemma of accumulating wealth (*lucrum*). In the thirteenth century, Ramon Llull still disliked this, which explains why he had such a poor impression of artisans: “the drapers are even worse people than the gamblers.”²⁷ Instead, he preferred to promote, as a theoretical ideal, a merchant who gave most of his belongings to the poor and broke off his marital bond, once he had finished his mission and raised his children to adulthood, so that each party could then enter a religious community, “given that the religious order is of greater sanctity than the order of marriage.”²⁸ The ideal was very different a century later, however. In 1376 in the city of Balaguer, it was stated that the wealth of certain citizens was not only good, but also necessary for the common good of the city, “because, given that the ‘res publica’ is supported, maintained, and indeed increased by contributions and help from the local inhabitants, it is important that they should be rich and have plentiful material wealth; if not, in the case of poor inhabitants, the ‘res publica’ diminishes and dies.”²⁹

In fact, throughout the thirteenth century, various authors, and above all those associated with the Franciscans, constructed an adapted discourse that combined Christianity, the city, money, and the market. These ideas were connected to new attitudes to the common good and public utility. Their introduction owed much to the Dominicans, who incorporated the thinking of Aristotle.³⁰ Representatives of the municipal collectives invoked the common good with a cohesive moral and didactic rhetoric.³¹ In identifying the common good and public utility, it tied in with meeting urban social needs³² and with mendicant thought. This was based on the theory that poverty and the organizational and technical structure of the market for both material goods and the circulation of capital were all compatible with Christian thinking.³³

26 Prim Bertran, “El domini cristiano-feudal,” in *Torres de Segre. Panoràmica històrica*, ed. Ismael Panadès, Marc Escolà, and Prim Bertran (Torres de Segre, 1983), 55–61.

27 “Los drapers són pus vil gents que els tafurs.” Cited from Ramon Llull, *Llibre d’Evast e Balnquerna* (Barcelona, 1982), 203.

28 “Perquè orde de religió és de major sanctedat que no és l’orde de matrimoni.” Cited from Llull, *Llibre d’Evast e Blanquerna*, 31.

29 “Com sie gran interès de la cosa pública que ls singulars, per sufragi e ajuda dels quals és sostenguda, mantenguda e exalçada, sien rics e abmidats en béns temporals, car per lo contrari, com són empobrits, la cosa pública pereix e decau.” Cited from Dolors Domingo, *Pergamins de Privilegis de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Lleida, 1997), 138.

30 Bénédicte Sère, “Aristote et le bien commun au Moyen Âge. une histoire, une historiographie,” *Revue Française d’Histoire des Idées Politiques* 32, no. 2 (2010): 277–84.

31 Claire Billen, “Dire le bien commun dans l’espace public. Matérialité épigraphique et monumentale du bien commun dans les villes des Pays-Bas à la fin du Moyen Âge,” in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th–16th c.)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruane (Turnhout, 2010), 71–88.

32 Corinne Leveleux-Teixera, “L’utilitas publica’ des canonistes. Un outil de régulation de l’ordre juridique,” *Revue Française d’Histoire des Idées Politiques* 32, no. 2 (2010): 259–76.

33 Giacomo Todeschini, “Ordini mendicanti e linguaggio etico-politico,” in *Etica e politica: le teorie dei frati mendicanti nel due e trecento. Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1998)* (Spoleto, 1999), 5–27.

For the good of society, it became necessary: to be active (sloth or accidie, in the form of laziness, was regarded not only as a mortal, but a social sin); to be hard-working (Eiximenis understood that poor people were necessary so the rich could redeem their sins through charity but, at the same time, he called for the exclusion of those who did not want to work because “they are not only useless but are also notoriously damaging to the ‘res publica’”);³⁴ not to be miserly—avarice being the other mortal sin with a social side to it;³⁵ and to circulate money, so the machinery for generating wealth would not stop. So Eiximenis recommended people to invest in merchandise and not in credit funds, because, “although this is legal, it could hinder merchant activity, which, with any doubt, is in the best interests of the community.”³⁶ In this way, not only did economic activity support the religious ideal that justified medieval society, but commerce also became the central link in an authentically Christian “res publica.”³⁷

In turn, good rulers should promote wealth in their domains and amongst their people.³⁸ To do this, however, it was necessary to know how the economy worked, which explains why, from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, this question was afforded specific treatment, justified on the basis of Christian ethics and the political duty to stimulate economic growth.³⁹ Sound money, fair prices, credit, and the circulation of capital formed the basic axes of both theory and economic reality in the late medieval period.⁴⁰ By defining the economic framework in these terms, it was possible to draw up a model that inextricably intertwined the ideal of the poverty of the mendicant, the risk inherent to the life of the merchant, and the common good, managing “to anchor an ordered and sacrosanct sociability in voluntary poverty, in the fluidity of trade, to the insight of professionals in the market and finances: the measurable and productive risk that constitutes renouncing the immediate enjoyment of wealth.”⁴¹ Christianity was

34 “Que no solament són inútils ans són encara notòriament damnosos a la cosa pública.” Cited from Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1983), 210–11 (*Dotzè del Crestià*, chap. 377).

35 Carla Casagrande and Silvana Vecchio, *Histoire des péchés capitaux au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2003), 150, 188–91.

36 “Car jatsia açò que aitals coses se puixen haver justament, emperò empatxen la mercaderia qui, sens comparació, és millor per a la comunitat.” Cited from Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià*, 224 (*Dotzè del Crestià*, chap. 290).

37 Paolo Evangelisti, “Per un’etica degli scambi economici. La funzione civile del mercato in Eiximenis e nella pedagogia politica franciscana (1273–1493),” *Caplletra* 48 (2010): 216.

38 Alain Boureau, *La religion de l’état. La construction de la République étatique dans le discours théologique de l’Occident médiéval (1250–1350)* (Paris, 2006), 266–69.

39 Christoph Flüeler, “La dottrina medievale sul governo della casa. Il contributo degli Ordini mendicanti,” in *Etica e politica: le teorie dei frati mendicanti nel due e trecento. Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1998)* (Spoleto, 1999), 175–202.

40 Flocel Sabaté, “El temps de Francesc Eiximenis. Les estructures econòmiques, socials i polítiques de la Corona d’Aragó a la segona meitat del segle XIV,” in *Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409): el context i l’obra d’un gran pensador català medieval*, ed. Antoni Riera (Barcelona, 2015), 119–31.

41 “Ancrer une sociabilité ordonnée et sacrosainte dans la pauvreté volontaire, dans la fluidité du commerce, dans la perspicacité des professionnels du marché et de la finance. dans le risque

now completely assimilated into civic life: Christ died on the Cross, more in defence of the public interest than to save humanity.⁴² In this sense, the very framework of Christianity was urban.⁴³ Religion, therefore, confirmed the high position in which all the late medieval references granted urban life: wider awareness of Aristotle made it possible to understand that the human being is, essentially, an urban being;⁴⁴ knowledge of the Roman classics made people aware of Cicero's observation that "of everything that happens in the world, what gives God, who rules the world, most pleasure are the groups of human beings called cities";⁴⁵ and the spread of the communal models in the north of Italy confirmed municipal councils as the ideal form of government.⁴⁶ This was, in fact, so pertinent that the spiritualist authors of the thirteenth century predicted a future new world order.⁴⁷ Eiximenis echoed this vision according to which, from the fifteenth century onwards, "there will be no kings, nor dukes; do not rely on nobles nor great lords, because from now until the end of time, popular justice shall rule and the whole world will therefore be divided and governed by councils."⁴⁸

The cross of Christianity, the "res publica," and the market established not only a society with towns and cities, but more specifically an urban ideal. According to Eiximenis, as an alternative to urban life, there was only barbarism and brutality: the peasant "is such a brute that he does not employ nor understand any courtesy, urbanity, nor politeness," to the extent that "the fifth root of malice is uncouthness and being a peasant."⁴⁹ Significantly, this was completely opposite from Muslim thinking: despite

mesurable et productif que constitue le renoncement à la jouissance immédiate de la richesse." Cited from Giacomo Todeschini, *Richesse franciscaine. De la pauvreté volontaire à la société de marché* (Lagrasse, 2008), 209.

42 Paolo Evangelisti, "Metafore e icone costitutive del discorso politico franciscano tra Napoli e Valencia (XIII-XV s.)," *Studi Storici* 47 (2006): 1098-1106.

43 Giacomo Todeschini, "Participer au Bien Commun. la notion franciscaine d'appartenance à la 'civitas,'" in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruane (Turnhout, 2010), 225-35.

44 Aristotle, *Política* (Madrid, 1983), 3.

45 "Nihil est enim illi principi deo, qui omnem mundum regit, quod quidem in terris fiat, acceptius quam concilia coetusque hominem iure sociati, quae civitates appellantur." Cited from Marco Tulio Ciceronis, *De re publica* (Madrid, 1958), 132.

46 Flocel Sabaté, "La civiltà comunale del Medioevo nella storiografia spagnola: affinità e divergenze," in *La civiltà comunale italiana nella storiografia internazionale*, ed. Andrea Zorzi (Florence, 2008), 125-39.

47 Robert Lerner, "Eiximenis i la tradició profètica," *Llengua i literatura* 17 (2006), 27-28; Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1998), 1:525; Albert G. Hauf, *D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena. Aportació a l'estudi de la nostra cultura medieval* (Valencia, 1990), 75.

48 "No y haurà reys, ne duchs, ne comptes no nobles ne grans senyors, ans d'aquí avant fins a la fi del món regnarà per tot la justícia popular e tot lo món per consegüent serà partit e regit per comunes." Cited from Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià. Primera part. Volum primer*, ed. Xavier Renedo (Girona, 2005), 427 (chap. 200).

49 "És així brutal que no sap fer ne entendre en neguna cortesia ne en neguna civilitat ne policia;

the continuing importance of urban society within the Islamic world,⁵⁰ according to the fourteenth-century teachings of Ibn Khaldún, “the country people are more inclined to virtue than those who live in cities.” He stated this because “sedentary life is the point at which civilization stops and is corrupted, it is there that evil saps all of its strength and it will not be possible to find good.”⁵¹

Authors such as Bernardo de Siena, Giordano de Pisa, and with them Francesc Eiximenis underlined this bourgeois ideal as a catalyst of religious, economic, and social virtue. A specific model for correct civic manners was in turn defined. It was an adaptation and combination drawn from the courtesy of the seigneurial courts of the twelfth century,⁵² royal practice, and a variety of other sources. By the thirteenth century, veritable manuals of civic behaviour had been drawn up, detailing the different domestic, hygienic, ethical, scholarly, and professional aspects inherent to urban life. New socio-economic stimuli, mendicant spirituality, and philosophical positions such as Aristotelian balance and moderation came together in codes of social behaviour which guided the new urban reality. They, essentially, maintained long-established priorities, facilitated intercourse between the different groups in towns and cities, and structured day-to-day life at the table, when dressing, and in any other aspect of social relations.⁵³ The bourgeois order was therefore established and offered itself as a model with which to govern society.

Privileges and Solidarity

The recovery and spread of Roman law from the twelfth century onwards brought with it the legal baggage with which to organize new social realities, including the needs of the towns and cities.⁵⁴ The *ius gentium* provided an integrated vision of the municipal collective and justified the establishment of specific local governing councils.⁵⁵ The same businessmen who had grown their investments and established themselves as an

la cinquena raïl de malícia és rusticitat e pagesia.” Cited from Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià*, 114 (*Terç del Crestià*, chap. 103).

50 Mikel de Epalza, “Espacios y sus funciones en la ciudad árabe,” in *La ciudad islámica* (Zaragoza, 1991), 9–30.

51 “Les gens de la campagne sont plus enclins à la vertu que les habitants des villes; la vie sédentaire est le terme où la civilisation vient s’arrêter et se corrompre; c’est là que le mal atteint toute la force et que le bien ne saurait se trouver.” Cited from Ibn Khaldun, (*Al-Muqaddima*). *Prolégomènes* (Beirut, 2007), 175.

52 José Antonio Maravall, “La ‘cortesía’ como saber en la Edad Media,” in *Estudios de Historia del Pensamiento Español* (Madrid, 1973), 275–85.

53 Daniela Romagnoli, “La courtoisie dans la ville. un modèle complexe,” in *La Ville et la Cour. Des bonnes et des mauvaises manières*, ed. Daniela Romagnoli (Paris, 1995), 59–69.

54 André Gouron, “Un assaut en deux vagues. la diffusion du droit romain dans l’Europe du XII^e siècle,” in *El Dret comú i Catalunya. Actes del Ier Simposi Internacional (Barcelona, 25–26 de maig de 1990)*, ed. Aquilino Iglesia (Barcelona, 1991), 47–63.

55 Walter Ullmann, “The Medieval Theory of Legal and Illegal Organisations,” *Law Quarterly Review* 62 (1944): 77–87.

economic elite, now led the collective in both the organization of local affairs, whether relating to urban development or managing coexistence, and as spokesmen with the lord on behalf of the commune, or, if necessary, in promoting individual causes. The lord accepted this relationship and even encouraged it, understanding that he required interlocutors with whom to deal with demands formulated by the whole of society, whether these were related to questions of defence or, above all, concerning taxes.⁵⁶

In this way, towns and cities would progressively obtain specific privileges that, beginning with the recognition of their collective legal identity as a *universitas*, authorized their elites to choose municipal governments.⁵⁷ Behind this dynamic, well developed in thirteenth-century Catalonia, there was no determined political strategy on the part of the sovereign; instead, the prevailing socio-economic dynamics gradually consolidated urban power.⁵⁸ On behalf of the commune, the municipal governments took on the task of trying to extend the legal framework to further benefit the interests of their citizens. They sought to do this by strengthening their capacity to apply pressure on the lord himself in order to gradually obtain more and more privileges that would guarantee their institutional power: exemptions and waivers with regard to exactions and taxes, as well as guaranteeing the capacity of the municipality to levy taxes; the adoption of measures that would favour social and economic growth; a favourable legal and judicial regime; the strengthening of control over the local region; the protection and planning of space; and the stability obtained from guaranteeing protection and respect for previously attained freedoms.⁵⁹ Similar objectives are found across different towns, but the ability to apply pressure defined the speed and extent in each case; the inhabitants of thriving places therefore enjoyed a greater number of exemptions and guarantees.

The protection of the citizens who formed part of the municipal collective justified this search for a favourable legal environment, and also the adoption of measures to protect the collective and individual interests of its members. Thus, in 1374, the neighbours of Tortosa took up arms against Flix, having understood that the wheat destined for them was being unjustly retained by Flix despite reasonable requests.⁶⁰ The same local government had also taken action, in 1336, against the goods of all merchants from Girona, on the understanding that a legal claim presented by a citizen from Tor-

56 Max Turull, "'Universitas, commune, consilium': Sur le rôle de la fiscalité dans la naissance et le développement du Conseil (Catalogne, XII^e–XIV^e siècles)," in *'Excerptiones iuris'. Studies in Honor of André Gouron*, ed. Bernard Durand and Laurent Mayali (Berkeley, 2000), 637–77.

57 Josep Maria Font Rius, *Estudis sobre els drets i institucions locals en la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 1985), 401–502.

58 Flocel Sabaté, "Poder i territori durant el regnat de Jaume I. Catalunya i Aragó," in *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari del naixement de Jaume I*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer i Malloll (Barcelona, 2011), 71–80.

59 Flocel Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval. Percepció de l'espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l'Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1997), 410–11.

60 Albert Curto, *La intervenció municipal en l'abastament de blat d'una ciutat catalana: Tortosa, segle XIV* (Barcelona, 1988), 217.

tosa had not received appropriate attention in Girona.⁶¹ The sense of solidarity among neighbours therefore justified a collective response in favour of either the group, or of a single person who had been harmed, with appropriate action taken against any member of the jurisdiction of the accused. The legal framework provided protection for such actions. When legal remedies were considered to have been exhausted or unsatisfactory (*fadiga de dret*), a right of pre-emption existed, which justified the organization of a process of branding the goods of any person belonging to the same jurisdiction as the accused.⁶² Using the same argument, the extreme case involved summoning the local militia (*sometent*), which also implied the bearing of arms by all the local inhabitants:⁶³ in 1338, the people of Cervera took up arms against Tarroja, a neighbouring settlement subject to a different jurisdiction, which had refused to hand over those responsible for attacking a townsman of Cervera on the public way.⁶⁴ In any such case, the municipality granted protection to its own people. So, in 1395, when the lord of Vilaclara detained Guillem Coll in Roussillon, the municipal government of Perpignan was duly mobilized. This resulted in armed intervention, as the locals considered that the person affected was a townsman of Perpignan.⁶⁵ In this case, however, a dispute followed concerning the status of Guillem Coll; the lord of Vilaclara considered him a subject of his own, despite his occasionally residing in Perpignan. This situation was repeated in many different places, making it necessary to establish who could be considered a townsman, and therefore have the right to the benefits of this status. Throughout the course of the fourteenth century, across Catalonia, measures were introduced which made it necessary for townsmen or citizens to verify their place of residence, or at least their preferred place of residence, as well as where they would pay their taxes and, in some cases, where they would contribute to, and participate in, local festivities and civic ceremonies. A demonstrable increase in population gave the particular municipality power in its dealings. This explains why every town and city took action to prevent depopulation and strove to attract immigrants by offering privileges and protection to newcomers.⁶⁶

Municipality and Region

Leaving aside stereotypes of what separated urban and rural economies and societies, the medieval town or city can only be understood in relation to its role presiding over a hinterland. This fits in with Mieres's view of Catalonia in the fifteenth century: the sum of a dozen cities and towns presiding over their respective territories.⁶⁷ In fact, it could

61 Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, I.1.2.1, folder 3, book 1, fol. 1r.

62 Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Les repressàlies a Catalunya en l'edat mitjana," *Revista Jurídica de Catalunya* 31 (1925): 289–417.

63 Flocel Sabaté, *El sometent a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2007).

64 Cervera, Arxiu Històric Comarcal de Cervera, Clavari, 1338, fols. 45v–46r.

65 Perpignan, Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales 1B–158, fols. 108r–116v.

66 Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval*, 168–69.

67 Francesc de Paula Maspons, "Fisonomia del Dret Públic Català," *Revista Jurídica de Catalunya* 36 (1930): 335.

not have been otherwise. From the very first moment, the urban elite invested in rural properties of the urban hinterland and assumed a wide range of rights, incomes, and even jurisdiction in these areas. At the same time, the inhabitants of these rural areas used the services provided by the towns and cities, where they were able to participate in the redistributive function of markets, obtain credit, or enjoy the services of notaries, authorities, and legal and religious authorities. So understood, it was only natural for areas of influence to emerge whose dimensions were proportional to the draw of their respective urban nuclei, as well as the emergence of centres of capital, paving the way for pyramidal models of how the territory functioned. We can see this in correspondence of the period: while Prats de Rei acted as a centre for different places in the historic region of La Segarra, its local councillors communicated with the councillors of Cervera who, in turn, conferred with their peers in Lleida and Barcelona. It was by no means strange, therefore, that Barcelona not only addressed itself in writing “to the Royal Cities and Towns of the Principality of Catalonia” (*a les Ciutats e viles Reials del Principat de Catalunya*), but that it also sought to preside over the Crown of Aragon through its relationship with Zaragoza and Valencia.⁶⁸ The stability of the territorial organization was only really achieved when the judicial and administrative authority adapted to this economic and practical reality on the ground. When, therefore, in 1301, James II divided the whole of Catalonia into various administrative districts called vicariates (*vegueries*), the royal chancery simply placed a court under royal jurisdiction where there had previously been a socio-economic capital subject to the monarch’s jurisdiction. This adaptation to contemporary reality largely explains why this territorial organization of the country survived, with minor modifications, until the suppression of Catalonia’s medieval institutions in 1716. The regional character remained stamped on the official names of the Catalan *vegueries*, the majority of which included the name of the capital and of the region itself: Vic i Osona; Tortosa i Ribera d’Ebre; Tarragona i el Camp; Vilafranca i Penedès; or Moià i Moianès, for instance.⁶⁹

The urban elite also shaped the countryside: by growing crops there according to the demand for consumption or trade; by including peasant farmers in networks linked to the bourgeois elite; and, finally, by undoing any previous native structures.⁷⁰ The region thus took on the image of its capital: adopting its weights and measures, as well as opening itself to infection by the same social factions based on group loyalties.

The municipal governments in the capital cities did not rule solely over their own people. They did not think twice before taking measures that went beyond their own city boundaries to affect the whole of their area of influence. Examples of this included measures such as imposing limits to the circulation of certain products and on them leaving a given region, as often happened with wine and grain. These were decisions

⁶⁸ Flocel Sabaté, *Cerimònies fúnebres i poder municipal a la Catalunya baixmedieval* (Barcelona, 2003), 9–14.

⁶⁹ Flocel Sabaté, “La divisió territorial de Catalunya: les vegueries,” in *Història Política, Societat i Cultura dels Països Catalans*, ed. Borja de Riquer, 13 vols. (Barcelona, 1996), 3:304–5.

⁷⁰ Josep Fernández i Trabal, *Una família catalana medieval. Els Bell-lloc de Girona 1267–1533* (Barcelona, 1995), 264–68.

that bound the region to its capital, which usually benefitted the latter. They could be applied, for example, to impose the priority of supply and access to basic products, or when threatened by war they could force people from the surrounding villages to take refuge, with their food, within the city's walls. Significantly, the sovereign accepted this reality and agreed to deal with the capital over matters that affected the whole region. Whether these were fiscal demands or military duties, all such questions were managed from the respective regional centres.⁷¹

By imposing boundaries in line with the radii of influence of the socio-economic capitals, the urban centres began to adopt these demarcations as their own. This worked in the interests of the same urban elite. Accordingly, the officials in the constituent districts, although appointed by the relevant jurisdictional lords, were always supported by the municipal governments as if they were their own. The Catalan vicariates (*vegueries*) were regal entities, dependent upon the monarch, and governed by his representative, but their boundaries were negotiated by the councils that sat in the district capitals. When there was an argument concerning the boundaries between the vicariate of Berga and Berguedà and that of Manresa and Bages, or between the latter and Cervera, or between the latter and the sub-vicariate of Igualada and Conca d'Òdena, these disputes were therefore taken before the respective municipal governments: Berga and Manresa, Manresa and Cervera, and Cervera and Igualada, who sought an agreement. In fact, the gradual increase in the power of the urban nuclei may have resulted in them wielding control beyond the boundaries of what had been their initial administrative envelopes. This situation led the local authorities of some big towns and cities to seek new territorial definitions and enhanced administrative power more in keeping with socio-economic reality. As a result, Girona claimed its position as capital of its diocese; Perpignan sought to become the capital of the counties of Roussillon and Cerdanya; and Barcelona claimed the role of capital of the vicariates of Barcelona and Vallès.⁷²

In 1366, the Infante Joan had to remind the district official (the vicar or *veguer*) of Girona that La Bisbal, Rupit, and Bàscara all formed part of his demarcation, despite their being under full jurisdictional control of the bishop of Girona.⁷³ This shows the problem when the two radii did not coincide: the city had established a radius of influence around itself based on its role as the socio-economic capital, but it did not match the different administrative realities, a common refrain in fourteenth-century Catalonia. Royal officials could not act in parts of their districts where jurisdiction did not belong to the king. Often, far from collaborating, different jurisdictions would actively block each other. This meant, for instance, that it could be impossible to reclaim unpaid debts or breaches of contract peasant farmers had with the urban elite. The consequences

71 Flocel Sabaté, "Els eixos articuladors del territori medieval català," in *L'estructuració territorial de Catalunya. Els eixos cohesionadors de l'espai*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Barcelona, 2000), 61–65.

72 Flocel Sabaté, "Limites et villes dans la Catalogne médiévale," in *Reconnaître et delimitar l'espai localment au Moyen Âge*, ed. Nacima Baron, Stéphane Boissellier, François Clément, and Flocel Sabaté (Lille, 2016), 181–87.

73 Josep Maria Pons Guri, "El conflicte de la notaria de Girona," in *Reculls d'Estudis d'Història Jurídica Catalana*, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1989), 1:69.

of this could be devastating, as occurred at Manresa in 1350 and at Girona in 1396⁷⁴ when the local authorities protested to the king: “the people of your cities and towns cannot follow up debts or any of the other things they demand in the places within the said alien jurisdictions.”⁷⁵

As a result, municipal governments were the main bodies pushing for administrative homogeneity. There was no specific agreement with the monarch at the expense of the lords, as has naively been suggested by some historians. Their objective was always to seek the minimum degree of exemption in order to maintain a homogeneous jurisdiction within the region of urban influence. This meant that during the second half of the fourteenth century⁷⁶ and, above all, around the turn of the fifteenth century, municipal governments began to apply policies of jurisdictional recovery in favour of the crown.⁷⁷ As the villages affected were required to pay for this return to administrative homogeneity, they were compensated with guarantees that included protection from the main town or city in their region. This explains why we see recurrent jurisdictional formulae such as the neighbourhood (*veinatge*) or the “right to the street” (*carreratge*), since they allowed these places to be officially treated as members of the city or town, with all the associated privileges and protections.⁷⁸

The towns and cities responsible for the respective regions, as a result of these measures, ended up wielding enormous power. They therefore began to arm themselves with powerful artillery and head their network of dependent settlements or those linked to them through the *carreratge*. Rallying troops from the hinterland would convert their urban armies into much more dangerous assets than the forces of the barons, even if they were mentioned as military forces. This was particularly clear in mid-fifteenth-century Catalonia, just before the outbreak of civil war. But this demonstration of urban power was accompanied by municipal discourses that no longer spoke of controlling their local region, but of legitimizing power and sovereignty.⁷⁹

Power and Sovereignty

The common good that officially guided the municipal commune required providing benefits to all. This discourse envisaged everyone advancing together towards greater weal (*bene esse*), perfection (*optime esse*), and good (*bonum*), all of which would guar-

74 Flocel Sabaté, “Municipio y monarquía en la Cataluña bajomedieval,” *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval* 13 (2000–2002): 265–66.

75 “Per ço com les gents de les ciutats e viles vostres no poden aver no conseguir deutes ne altres coses que demanen en los lochs de les dites alienades jurisdiccions.” Cited from *Cortes de Catalunya*, 7 vols. (Madrid, 1896), 1:439.

76 Flocel Sabaté, “Discurs i estratègies del poder reial a Catalunya al segle XIV,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995): 635–38.

77 Maria Teresa Ferrer, “El patrimonio reial i la rescuperació dels senyorijs jurisdiccionals en els estats catalano-aragonesos a la fi del segle XIV,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 7 (1971): 351–492.

78 Flocel Sabaté, “Igualada, carrer de Barcelona,” *Revista d'Igualada* 4 (2000): 7–11.

79 Flocel Sabaté, “Barcelona. The Building of a Territorial and Ideological Capital,” *Viator* 48, no. 1 (2017): 107–18.

antee a peaceful social order.⁸⁰ Traditional historiography believed this to be fact in Catalonia: “patrician government, like all good government, was that of an oligarchy whose interests exactly coincided with those of the country. Their personal affairs progressed in harmony with those of Catalonia, without causing any animosity or jealousy, because, ultimately, they all sought the common good.”⁸¹ Reality, however, was entirely different. Economics underlay the urban lineages, and booms and busts resulted from their success, or otherwise, in the management of their patrimony and in their marital strategies. In view of this, those who held power tried to safeguard their positions and block the path for those on the rise. This caused tensions and justified the different reforms applied to the composition of local governments during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁸²

These social tensions came on top of those with the other estates in society. Both the clergy and the lords tended to prefer urban life,⁸³ but they used to avoid paying taxes, citing the privileges inherent to their respective statuses.⁸⁴ Moreover, the Christianity that emerged from the Gregorian reform, fed on Aristotelian realism, was increasingly an integrating force in society. This made peaceful coexistence with unassimilable minorities, such as Muslims and, even more so, Jews, more and more difficult. The latter, who were accused of deicide, were subjected to growing marginalization through both popular attitudes and municipal by-laws.⁸⁵ The Jews lost their comfortable economic position and physically segregated,⁸⁶ and the Jewish quarters became increasingly unhygienic in the fifteenth century.⁸⁷ The Alhambra Decree of 1492 was the culmination

80 M. S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford, 1999), 347–62.

81 “El govern dels patricis, com tot bon govern, fou el d’una oligarquia els interessos de la qual coincidien exactament amb els del país. Llurs afers personals marxaven d’acord amb els de Catalunya, sense promoure animadversions ni gelosies, perquè, en definitiva, procuraven el bé comú.” Cited from Jaume Vicens Vives, *Els Trastàmars (segle XV)* (Barcelona, 1988), 32.

82 Flocel Sabaté, “Oligarchies and Social Fractures in the Cities of Late Medieval Catalonia,” in *Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2009), 1–19.

83 Salimbene de Adam expressed surprise about France, where “the nobles lived in their rural possessions” (nobiles morantur in villis et possessionibus suis). Cited from Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia, 2 vols. (Bari, 1966), 1:318.

84 Flocel Sabaté, “L’augment de l’exigència fiscal en els municipis catalans al segle XIV. elements de pressió i de resposta,” in *Col·loqui Corona, Municipis i Fiscalitat a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, ed. Manuel Sánchez and Antoni Furió (Lleida, s.d.), 455–58.

85 Flocel Sabaté, “L’ordenament municipal de la relació amb els jueus a la Catalunya baixmedieval,” in *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media. Polémica, conversión, dinero y convivencia*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2009), 733–804.

86 Flocel Sabaté, “L’espace des minorités ethniques et religieuses: les juifs dans les villes catalanes au Bas Moyen-Âge,” in *Morphologie urbaine et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Christian Guilleré (Chambéry, 2012), 231–86.

87 Susana M. Likerman de Portnoy “El mundo íntimo de los sefardíes en las aljamas castellanas, siglos XIV–XV: encuentros y desencuentros intracomunitarios,” *Estudios de Historia de España* 5 (1996): 72–74.

of a process of growing persecution, forcing Jews to opt finally between conversion or expulsion; the majority chose the latter.⁸⁸

This situation was further destabilized by a significant vertical fracture in city life: the existence of rival factions. In each town or city, people became aligned into different groups based on ties such as “friends and family” (*amici et parenti*) and to whom people would look for support under adverse circumstances. This often gave rise to an escalating spiral of feuds and intimidatory acts that upset local coexistence and called the official institutions into question.⁸⁹ As long as these factions formed part of a social, anthropological structure, no one sought their elimination, but instead tried to sooth tensions by means of pacts and truces. In this way, efforts were made to keep the city from gaining a bad reputation. This was particularly important as street violence hurt economic activity and could even cause emigration. Great care was taken of the image projected to the outside world in order to aid economic growth and political interests. Municipal governments went to great lengths to ensure that their respective lords should receive the impression of a harmonious population, in the most politically convenient sense of the term. To this end, not only did they carefully prepare ceremonies, such as funerals, births, or celebrations, to express an apparent collective sentiment, but they also took many other measures to demonstrate communal harmony, and hide the true sentiments that actually existed amongst the local populace.⁹⁰

Supporting the same strategy, heraldic signs that represented the city⁹¹ were displayed on the canopies used at these ceremonies and highlighted in relief at key points such as on symbolic gallows,⁹² or on fountains, at markets, on walls, and at gates, as well as on the municipal building. Likewise, stamps and illuminations on books were all applied with the intention of highlighting and emphasizing municipal power.⁹³ The image of power needed to be projected via monumental decorations, but this must be done with order and beauty. In 1426, new placing of the tables at a butcher’s shop in Terrassa was carried out “to embellish the said town.”⁹⁴ This also formed part of the program explicitly adopted by the municipal council of València: “it is official policy to

88 Flocel Sabaté, “Jewish Neighbourhoods in Christian Towns (Catalonia, Late Middle Ages),” in *Intricate Interfaith Networks in the Middle Ages. Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout, 2016), 178–81.

89 Flocel Sabaté, “Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV siècle,” in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), 339–65.

90 Flocel Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort!* (Lleida, 1994), 219–64.

91 Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, “Du modèle à l’image. les signes de l’identité urbaine au moyen Âge,” in *Le verbe, l’image et les représentations de la société urbaine au Moyen Âge*, ed. Marc Boone, Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, and Jean-Pierre Sosson (Antwerpen, 2002), 189–205.

92 Flocel Sabaté, “La pena de muerte en la Cataluña bajomedieval,” *Clío & Crimen* 4 (2008): 117–276.

93 Christian de Merindol, “Représentations du pouvoir urbain. sceaux, décors monumentaux, bibliothèques d’échevinage,” in *La ville au Moyen Âge*, ed. Noël Coulet and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1998), 569–84.

94 “Per embelliment de la dita vila.” Cited from Salvador Cardús, *Ordinacions de bon govern de la batllia de Terrassa (1299–1625)* (Barcelona, 2000), 127.

embellish the city with public places and decorate it, particularly a city as remarkable and well-known as this one.”⁹⁵

The image presented, the power displayed, and the capacity to exert pressure, linked to its economic resources, made it possible for a town or city to embark upon negotiations with the lord or even the sovereign himself. It was important to obtain the best privileges, those that would strengthen its activities and safeguards, emphasize its influence and control over its hinterland, and would also have an impact upon general policy. A medium-sized town like Piera, in 1351, was able to improve its general affairs by promising to provide economic support to the king for him to conquer Alghero, on Sardinia, in exchange for the commitment not to give, sell, borrow, or mortgage the place in future.⁹⁶ Such actions should not be interpreted as economic abuse of a weak sovereign, but as part of an alternative discourse to that invoked by the monarch, who sought to place himself at the core of society, by the grace of God. The local governments believed they were directly linked to the roots of the society, as Francesc Eiximenis wrote:

For as long as communities have existed, men have been divided by houses [...]. And since then, with men being separated, they have sought to improve the community by improving their status, so that they, having formed communities, should not be deprived of freedom, as freedom is one of the excellent principals that free men should have.⁹⁷

The consequence of this was also highlighted by Eiximenis: “Once the communities are themselves free, as stipulated in the first point, each community should be able to choose the lord that it wants, if it should choose that this be under a prince, let it be so; if it should be under some other temporal regime, then another way should be sought.” In any case, the community held a pre-eminent position over the ruler, “because the community did not choose lordship out of love for the ruler, but chose the ruler out of love for itself.”⁹⁸

It was no wonder, therefore, that the Catalan Estates should be presented before the king as the representatives of the “land,”⁹⁹ a position they were able to confirm,

95 “Sia cosa política enbellir la ciutat de lochs públics e decorar aquella, majorment en aquesta ciutat axí insigne e notable.” Cited from María Milagros Cárcel, “Vida y urbanismo en la Valencia del siglo XV. Regesta documental,” *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals* 6 (1992): 255.

96 “No pusca donar, vendre, manlevar ne per lonch temps empenyorar.” Cited from Flocel Sabaté, “Història medieval,” in *Història de Piera* (Lleida, 1999), 214.

97 “Ans que les comunitats fossen, estaven los hòmens separats per cases [...]. E com lavors, estant axí los hòmens separats, proposassen de ffer comunitat per millor estament llur, donchs ells, après que hagueren fetes comunitats, no.s privaren de libertat, com la libertat sia una de les principals excel·lències qui sien en los hòmens franchs.” Cited from Eiximenis, *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià. Primera part. Volum primer*, 337 (chap. 156).

98 “Pus que les comunitats de si matexes són franques, axí com diu lo primer punt, segueix-se que cascuna comunitat poch elegir senyoria aytal com se volch, si-s volch que fos sots príncep, si-s vol sots regiment de alguns de si matexa a temps, si-s vol per altra via [...] car la comunitat no alagí senyoria per amor del regidor, mas elegí regidor per amor de si matexa.” Cited from Eiximenis, *Dotzè Llibre del Crestià. Primera part. Volum primer*, 337–38 (chap. 156).

99 Flocel Sabaté, “L’idéel politique et la nation catalane. la terre, le roi et le mythe des origins,” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Paris – Rome, 2015), 2:113–40.

in the second half of the fourteenth century, when a permanent disputation from the parliament (Diputació General) was established.¹⁰⁰ While the noble estate justified its position, rights, and ability to rule the people (regiment de gents),¹⁰¹ the municipalities monopolized the parliamentary representation, employing formulas by which, as leaders of the Estates, they became able to choose the prince, or even depose him, as happened in the Catalan interregnum (1410–1412) in what was called the Sentence of Caspe,¹⁰² and in the civil war of 1462–1472.¹⁰³

The Medieval Legacy

The medieval legal system, with the notion of power based on its balance between different social groups, and a legal system subject to privileges and freedoms, enabled economic and social evolution. It gained its justification through a form of Christianity that was invigorated by both Aristotelian realism and spiritualism, and which was, in any case, well-adapted to the social and economic needs of the late medieval period.

This produced a society that was Christian, bourgeois, and market-oriented, and as genuinely medieval as other familiar models purporting to encapsulate what was typical of the era. If we perceive the Middle Ages as only occupied by feudal lords, Weber could argue that capitalism could only emerge as a major rupture as a product of Protestant morality and ethics.¹⁰⁴ As Todeschini joked, we need not go to the opposite extreme and claim the Franciscans as the inventors of capitalism,¹⁰⁵ but we can appreciate that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries a specific economic theory was developed that combined Christian ethics, favoured political participation, and the ideal of the common good.¹⁰⁶ This ideal dominated until the period after the Council of Trent.¹⁰⁷

This way of thinking places human beings within their own identities and deeply immersed in the social community. This “res publica” is the natural habitat of the human being. It is a very different theory from the one which became dominant in later centu-

100 Tomàs de Montagut, *Les institucions fiscalitzadores de la Generalitat de Catalunya (Des dels seus orígens fins a la reforma de 1413)* (Barcelona, 1996), 47–126.

101 José Ángel Sesma, “La noblesia bajomedieval y la formación del estado moderno en la Corona de Aragón,” in *La noblesia peninsular en la Edad Media. VI Congreso de Estudios Medievales* (Ávila, 1999), 372–77.

102 Flocel Sabaté, “Per què hi va haver un Compromís de Casp?,” in *Els valencians en el Compromís de Casp i en el Cisme d’Occident*, ed. Ricard Bellveser (Valencia, 2013), 45–119.

103 Flocel Sabaté, “El poder soberano en la Cataluña bajomedieval. definición y ruptura,” in *Coups d’État à la fin du Moyen Âge? Aux fondements du pouvoir politique en Europe occidentale*, ed. François Foronda, Jean-Philippe Genet, and José Manuel Nieto (Madrid, 2005), 509–15.

104 Max Weber, *L’ètica protestant i l’esperit del capitalisme* (Barcelona, 1994).

105 Todeschini, *Richesse franciscaine*, 9.

106 Walter Ullmann, *Historia del pensament polític en la Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1983), 190–216.

107 Odd Langholm, “The Economic Ethics of the Mendicant Orders. A Paradigm and a Legacy,” in *Ètica e política: le teorie dei frati mendicanti nel due e trecento. Atti del XXVI Convegno internazionale (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1998)* (Spoleto, 1999), 155–72.

ries, which interpreted the State as a product of the sacrifice of the individual freedom of the members of the society.¹⁰⁸ This medieval political legacy and a sense of community-based collective positions clashed, during the modern era, with the very different models associated with Absolutism.¹⁰⁹

In late medieval Catalonia, the wealth of the urban elites contrasted with the limited resources of the sovereign;¹¹⁰ meanwhile the country was heavily influenced by the ideas of political participation that came from Europe.¹¹¹ We have seen the emergence of an urban bourgeois collective, one that then gained an elite role among the other social groups in Catalan society. At the same time, this development was related to the cohesion of the country and to the creation of a common identity during the Late Middle Ages. The representative power attained by the Catalan bourgeois elites reached a level whereby they spoke on behalf of the people before the king,¹¹² and the legacy of this can be seen in political tensions into modern times.¹¹³

108 Josep Olives, "Del pactisme medieval al contractualisme modern," *Finestrelles* 6 (1994): 238–39.

109 Marie Gaille-Nikodimov, ed., *Le gouvernement mixte. De l'idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle)* (Saint-Étienne, 2005).

110 Flocel Sabaté, "Expressões da representatividade social na Catalunha tardomedieval," in *Identidades e fronteiras no Medioevo Ibérico*, ed. Fátima Regina Fernandes (Curitiba, 2013), 49–90.

111 Alain Boureau, "Pierre de Jean Olivi et l'émergence d'une théorie contractuelle de la royauté au XIII^e siècle," in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1995), 174.

112 Flocel Sabaté, "The Medieval Roots of Catalan Identity," in *Historical Analysis of the Catalan Identity*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2015), 29–104.

113 Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Els orígens ideològics de la revolució catalana de 1640* (Barcelona, 1999); Antoni Simon i Tarrés, *Construccions polítiques i identitats nacionals. Catalunya i els orígens de l'estat modern espanyol* (Barcelona, 2005).