ESTATE, BORDER AND AGRICULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE SOUTH OF THE KINGDOM OF VALENCIA. THE VILANOVA LINEAGE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY

José Vicente Cabezuelo
Universitat d’Alacant
Spain

Date of receipt: 29th of June, 2017
Final date of acceptance: 24th of April, 2018

Abstract
In this paper we will analyse the history of the lineage Vilanova in the kingdom of Valencia from the end of the 13th century until midway through the 14th century. We will focus on the methods used by the noblemen in the construction of the borders of the kingdom right up to the critical point mid century when the arrival of the Muslim population triggered political change.¹

Keywords

Capitalia Verba
Corona Aragonum, Regnum Valencie, dominicatus, populatio, saeculi XIII-XIV.
The conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia during the final period of European feudal expansion, within what Robert Barlett identifies as los siglos centrales de la Edad Media brought about—in parallel to the subsequent incorporation of a territory snatched from Islam into Christendom—the opening of a space to colonise which, beyond the feudal forms of colonisation, required a human contingent that could act as a counterweight to the overwhelming majority of Islamic population that remained in the country. It became evident from a very early stage that the arrival of new settlers would not take place in the form of a flood; quite the opposite, especially below the line of the Júcar river, a space which began to appear as the real border in a twofold sense: externally, with a Castilian kingdom of Murcia which had gone through an identical conquering phenomenon; and internally, with a predominantly Islamic population that was still highly rebellious towards the new power. It will be after the Mudejar uprising in 1276 and its quelling when the royal power proceeds to apply a sort of transfer of those “feudal forms” on these southern lands both through ordinary settlers and by means of small lords, who got hold of small properties in this context—sometimes displacing the native population. One of them will be the Vilanova lineage.

Until that moment, the documentary references about the space on which my inquiry will focus, the Pop valley, basically have a military nature and are related to the reigns of Jaime I and his sons Pedro and Alfonso, as well as to the presence of various keepers to whom was linked the retenencia for their maintenance and that of

1. The present paper was initiated within the framework of the Research Project Redes sociales y proyección económica en una sociedad de frontera: el sur del reino de Valencia entre los siglos XIII-XV (HAR 2010-2090), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation and supervised by the University by the author of this study; and the research project PrometeoII/2014/018. It was likewise embryonically debated upon during the seminar entitled Proyección económica en los espacios de frontera e intercambios mercantiles en las fronteras medievales mediterráneas (siglos XIII-XVI) (“Economic projection in border spaces and trade exchanges in medieval Mediterranean borders”), held in Alicante on November 21st and 22nd, 2013. I would like to thanks Noemí Selfa for her meticulous comments in the translation of the original text into English. Also I truly appreciate Professor Vicent Martines due to his linguistic normalization of the documentary transcription to modern Catalan. Used abbreviations: ACA, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó; AHN, Archivo Histórico Nacional; C, Cancelleria.


the fortress, of which news additionally exists about improvement works. Sanchis Sivera mentioned in his *Nomenclator* that the remains of that fortification were still visible at the beginning of last century. Robert Ignatius Burns even wrote that it *comprendia un doble castell en dos pics de la serra que domina la Vall de Pop* and that Pedro el Grande ordered its destruction in 1285. Nevertheless, such references are out of tune with the material reality, the architectural one, it being possible to speak about a “ghost castle” for its non-existence. As André Bazzana wrote, *Pop n’est rien d’autre que la mise à profit d’un relief difficilement accesible pour y établir un refuge temporaire, sans construction.* This same author, along with Patrice Cressier and Pierre Guichard, also defines the place as *un site non construit*, thus refuting the proposal of its existence as an architectural entity. Notwithstanding its immateriality or physical virtuality, its legal reality is unequivocal since, apart from the aforementioned references, all of them from the second half of the 13th century, I have found a reference dated one century before which leaves no room for doubt. On February 8th, 1375, and during the process that led to the possession of that valley by Pere de Vilanova after a donation of his father, Vidal —the Vidaló that I will refer to below—, the notary public Gabriel Sala, accompanied by Pere Gascó, *sayón* goes *personaliter apud castrum de Pop, et ascendendo versus castrum predictum fuit inventus Anthonius Pasquasii, vicinus ville Gandie, et fuit interroga
gatus per dictum Petrum Gasconi pro quo domino tenebat castrum de Pop, qui dictus Pasquasius, presentibus testibus inscriptiss, respondidit quod ipse erat alcaydus dicti castri de Pop et tenebat ipsum pro venerabili Petro de Vilanova, domino vallis et castri predicti de Pop.* Beyond the architectural virtuality and the legal reality, what we can state is, as effectively suggested by Pierre Guichard, that under the formula *castrum et villam de Pop* which appears in some thirteenth-century documents, replaced from the 14th century by *castri et vallis* in most cases, even though references


6. Sanchis, José. *Nomenclator geográfico-ecclesiástico de los pueblos de la diócesis de Valencia con los nombres antiguos y modernos de los que existen o han existido, notas históricas y estadísticas, relación de castillos, pobladores, objetos de arte notables, restos arqueológicos, festividades, cofradías, etc., etc.* Valencia: Tipografía Moderna a cargo de Miguel Gimeno, 1922: 347.


also exist to population environments such as universitates seu aliame sarracenorun vallis de Pop et loci de Murla, an allusion is made to an absolutely clear geographical —corresponding to a comarca [small administrative region]— framework identified by the toponym. The name vall de Pop will be maintained throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern times, becoming lost as la vall was gradually divided into small estates.12

1. The Vilanova lineage, the king and the Infant Pedro

At the end of September 1296, and in return for the services delivered to the Crown, Jaime II grants the following to Ramon de Vilanova, a knight, in two different documents: the farmstead of Sagra, in the lands of La Marina Alta, with inhabitants, limits and rights in perpetuity,13 and very close to it and in franco alodio [estate without any burden], the castle and town of Pop with their limits, inhabitants and rights, the use of civil jurisdiction being the only existing option.14 A few days later, he informs the local Muslim settlers of such granting and urges them to respond before the new lord of the rights associated with that castle and area.15 As highlighted above, the Pop valley refers to a small geographical unit around which are organised some farmsteads referenced by a rural hisn,16 with an equally limited income projection—as will be seen below—, which means that the donation I mention is inserted within the parameters established by the monarchy, which consisted in activating the resettlement of border areas with figures of a socio-military profile, though in tiny properties.17 The granting document contains the unclear limits of that valley, referred to Laguar, Tàrbena, Xaló and Castell de Castells.18 However, in fact, the beneficiary is not an anonymous person. Descending from a lineage located beyond the Pyrenees, Ramon de Vilanova had been a faithful servant of the monarchy from the times of Alfonso III, reaching the appointment as a steward and advisor already

14. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 1. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26th September 1296). Amongst such services stands out the position as keeper of the Morella castle on occasion of the Logroño hearings, in 1293, between Jaime II and Sancho de Castilla. The king will claim that place from him in 1302. ACA. C. reg. 199, f. 123v (9th October 1302).
15. ACA. C. reg. 194, f. 218v (9th October 1296).
with Jaime II. Precisely during that period when he receives such properties in the kingdom of Valencia, Ramon returned from accompanying the king in his successful campaign against the kingdom of Murcia, being one of the high figures who participates as a witness in the agreements between the king and the young Castilian tycoon Juan Manuel, signed in the site of Elche late in July 1296.

For some reason in May 1297, that is, when not even one year had elapsed since the donation, Ramon receives a legal licence to sell or bind —during the three following years— that possession to his incomes and rights, thus maintaining what is stipulated in the granting privilege with regard to duration. That authorisation must undoubtedly have taken place at the request of a party, and probably had to do with the desire to obtain an economic increase in that way which might be used to compensate some kind of debt that the crown had with that lineage. After some time had elapsed, already at the turn of the new century, news arises with regard to the donation of Pop to Ramon de Vilanova. Late in 1305, Jaime II decides to broaden the scope of that grace to his loyal advisor, to whom he extends the time in the following direction, equally taking into consideration the services delivered by him and his son Vidal —whose relationship was described by the king as familiarum.

Despite having granted it for life, the king grants it for a period of twenty years from that very moment, on the understanding that if the beneficiary is still alive at that time, he would continue to enjoy until his death. In the event that he should pass away earlier, his son would inherit such rights, though only for the period of time remaining until the end of those two decades. The property would return to the royal patrimony after applying either of the two cases.

Due to the almost total link —except for some right— between this space and the estate owner, the data existing about it in the Chancery are very scarce. Hence why it was impossible to find any more information related to the evolution of the property as far as the beneficiary is concerned. Ramon de Vilanova dies at an undetermined moment, but not too far in time from 1305. What had been stipulated


21. ACA. C. reg. 195, f. 11v (22nd May 1297).

22. Guinot, Enric. “La creació de les senyories en una societat feudal de frontera: el rengle de València (segles XIII-XIV)”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 88-89. This author sees the granting of estates for a specific period of time as exceptional, rightly associating this fact with the existence of specific ties between the king and the beneficiary. The truth is that such specificity appears in quite a few cases, which would lead us to think that the formula in question —regardless of the fact that it was subsequently modified as suggested in the aforesaid case as well as in others— would be one of the means utilised by the monarchy to build the noble space. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

23. ACA. C. reg. 203, ff. 92v-93v (17th November 1305).
in the privilege of that year was immediately activated, and his son Vidal came to inherit the valley in the conditions established. As a matter of fact, in 1313, the king addressed Vidal de Vilanova to confer that property upon him for life, and not only for the time that remained of the twenty years mentioned in the document of 1305. Nevertheless, Vidal was curiously subject to the same condition as his father; in other words, even though he received the estate for life, if he died during the twenty-year period awarded to Ramon, an heir of his could complete that time, and once that time had elapsed, it would return to the Crown. This happened in June 1313.24 From the end of the previous century, Vidal de Vilanova had been a man closely linked to the Aragonese monarchy circles, to such an extent that he became one of the most influential persons in the court, not only acting as an advisor both of the king and of his different wives but also playing an active and decisive role in highest-level diplomatic affairs for the Crown of Aragon.25

Vidal de Vilanova, the same as his father, exploits the incomes and rights of that valley, with the exception of the mere empire, which belongs to the king, even though he may receive money from that jurisdiction in some case, albeit for its application in public domains. He will have to fight for these rights with other lords, including the Mercer family26 and the almighty Bernat de Sarrià through his wife, the noblewoman Isabel de Cabrera.27 Thus, by way of example, in 1319, and after it became known that a Moor —called Azmet and son of Abdula— had been murdered by Ali, son of Abolaix Abolfaquim, alamín of the farmstead of Benivaquar—it surely must have been Benalbacar—a site located in the Pop valley, the king ordered Ferrer Descortell, general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia, that in the event that a pecuniary composition were made to redeem the crime, it would be necessary to impose a quantity that the criminal could assume, and the product of such justice should be delivered to Vidal de Vilanova so that it could be used for the repair works at the Xàtiva castle.28 This is the Place that he was the keeper of after Jaime II’s appointment —a period during which he paid special attention to the

24. ACA. C. reg. 210, ff. 59r-59v (27th June 1313).
26. Linked to these lands since the early stages of the Christian conquest. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: 199.
27. The Mercer family also fought with Bernat de Sarrià for Murla, the noble wanting to receive an homage for that castle, who in another moment had actually invaded the place with troops from his neighbouring possessions of Laguar and Xaló causing serious damages. ACA. C. reg. 170, ff. 75r-75v (28th July 1320) and reg. 176, f. 190v (24th September 1322). And with the brand new count of Ribagorza, heir of the Sarrià lordship. ACA. C. reg. 177, f. 96r (30th November 1322). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*
28. ACA. C. reg. 216, ff. 128v-129r (17th April 1319). ACA. RP. MR. 774b, f. 3v (no date).
restoration of the defences—29 and of which his son Pere was also going to be the keeper at a later stage.30

The Vilanova family’s rule over Pop suffers an alteration in the early 1320s when king Jaime grants to his son Pedro, amongst other possessions, the Pop castle on a feudo honrado (“honoured domain”) basis, without delivering any services and following the Custom of Catalonia.31 This all within a manoeuvre orchestrated and conducted by and from the crown to relate practically the whole of Bernat de Sarrià’s estate to the young infante’s patrimony. In fact, Bernat de Sarrià transferred his dominions to the infante in a voluntary but agreed way as a means to escape the financial ruin into which he had fallen, even though the reason adduced was the lack of descendants.32 The king endows the operation with grandeur because he not only grants a vast estate to his son, much larger than the one located in Valencian lands, but also links the titles as count of Ribagorza and Ampurias to him.33 However, the practical outcome of such donations is almost non-existent in what regards the Valencian possessions. As for the Pop valley, firstly granted to Ramon de Vilanova and then to his son Vidal for life, the situation remains exactly the same as before. The king of Aragón himself informs Vidal de Vilanova about it on June 28th, 1322. He lets his son Pedro know about the donation of that valley,

29. ACA. C. reg. 173, ff. 228v-229r (30th July 1321).
30. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r. See Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 42. Vidal was removed from that job as the keeper in 1329 after the granting of the town and castle to queen Leonor by Alfonso IV, even though his appointment was for life and at the death of his son Pere; the job as keeper of Xàtiva then fell upon Bernat de Sarrià. To compensate for that loss, Alfonso IV also granted 4,000 sueldos [a currency] to father and son, for life and in a successory order 4,000 sueldos per year, a pension that would be subsequently ratified by Pedro IV in return for the services delivered by Vidal both to his father and to his grandfather. ACA. C. reg. 561, f. 73r; reg. 860, ff. 141v-143v (18th November 1336). Cabezuelo, José V. “Formas feudales en el traspaso de la posesión de fortalezas ad Consuetudinem Yspanie”, *Alcaidías y fortalezas en la España medieval*, José V. Cabezuelo, ed. Alcoy: Marfil, 2006: 169.
but admits to him that he would continue to receive the incomes and rights derived from it, as he had been doing until then, according to his enjoyment of those lands in *violario regio*. The same situation is true for the neighbouring valleys of Laguar and Xaló, owned by Bernat de Sarrià on a violario basis and which he was supposed to enjoy until his death and four years after it. On that same day, the king orders Bernat Çanou —general bailiff of the kingdom of Valencia— to give the infante Pedro the possession of those three valleys, informing their Muslim settlers about the ownership of the new estate, albeit on the understanding that no damage should derive from the aforementioned possession with regard to the perception of their incomes, the beneficiaries —the Vilanova and Sarrià families— being able to enjoy them as it had been established in their respective donations. The only novelty for the case of Pop is perhaps that the whole jurisdiction over the valley, both the military and the civil one, was left to the new lord, to whom Çanou had to give the possession of such rights. Hence the early widespread perception that the granting of those Valencian lands to the infante caused a true ownership-related impediment, as was the fact that they did not receive their incomes. Seeking to find a solution to a problem which was undoubtedly economic, at the end of that summer, the king gave instructions for a total estimate to be made of the amount that his son was not going to receive, so that it could be reimbursed to him through the incomes from the town of Elche. The global sum amounted to 36,300 *sueldos*, 26,000 of them corresponding to the annual estimate generated by the valleys of Laguar and Xaló, and which came to be owned by admiral Sarrià, and 9,000 to the Pop valley, now owned by Vidal de Vilanova.

### 2. Towards the construction of the lordship. The purchase/sale of the Pop valley

Since the summer of 1322, the rights over the ownership of the Pop valley belonged to the infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, although the perception of its incomes mostly fell upon Vidal de Vilanova. Despite being finalist, as Vilanova had received that valley *ad vitam* in the form of a *violario*, the situation must have been uncomfortable for the infante since, although the annual income volume generated by the value was not important according to the estimate carried out, that volume actually became important when the accounting was done over longer periods.

34. ACA. C. reg. 222, f. 17r (28th June 1322).
35. *iura nostra que in predicto castro de Pop ac habitantibus in terminis eiusdem habemus et habere deebamus, tam in mero et mixto imperio et alia jurisdiccione, quam aliis quibuscumque prefatus Vitalis de Villanova concessione habet a nobis et de quibus officiales nostri utabatur et uti debebant in castro ipso et suis terminis* (ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 16v-17r).
36. The remaining 1,300 would be obtained from Estopanyà. ACA. C. reg. 280, ff. 61r-63r. (30th August 1322); reg. 222, ff. 19r-20v (30th August 1322) and ff. 21r-22r (6th September 1322). Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*
of time. For that reason or for another simpler one, as is the owner’s need for money, when half a dozen years had elapsed since it had been given to him, the count of Ribagorza decided to sell that belonging to the Vilanova family, who had clearly shown a desire to buy it. One year before that agreement, Vidal became a member of the Santiago militia and, with the support of the infante Alfonso, about to become king, received the Encomienda [control over lands] of Montalbán by papal appointment. 37 This meant that a family of noble descent came to settle down with guarantees of continuity in the southern Valencian border, a matter of utmost interest for the monarchy, who had striven to situate somewhat prestigious figures in those lands —Llúria, Sarrià, Vilagarut and Cruïlles, amongst others— with only relative success. 38 On January 8th 1328, the infante received his brother’s approval to proceed with that sale, since regal rights were involved, even though the count of Ribagorza wanted to do it with a “letter of grace” so that he could recover them when possible. 39 On May 28th, Alfonso IV allowed his brother to carry out that delivery for whatever price he wanted, as had already been decided in January. 40 Nevertheless, one month prior to closing the deal, the king told Bernat de Sarrià—then attorney of the kingdom of Valencia— about the matter, announcing him that his brother was going to sell —vendiderit et tradiderit— such domain to Maria Lladró, 41 widow of Ramon de Vilanova, 42 and to Vidaló, the son of both, as well as to Vidal of Vilanova, in his capacity as tutor and testament guardian of the young Vidaló, his grandson, together with the mere and mixed empire, the tercio diezmo (“a tax/tithe”) and the monedaje (“money paid to the king for coining currency”) in the place of Murla, and ordering him not interfere with that operation. 43 As I see it, the reasons to anticipate such information to the Valencian attorney exceeded the tasks associated with his competences and had to do with his condition as neighbour in estates and, precisely for that reason, also linked to the proven experience of wrong practices over neighbouring domains and owners. 44 The regal consent for the infante to proceed with that sale arrived four days later. On April 28th, Alfonso

---

37. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. La Orden de Santiago...: 43.
39. ACA. C. reg. 473, ff. 61r-61v (9th January 1328).
40. ACA. C. reg. 473, f. 61r (8th January 1328); 475, ff. 96v-97v (28th May 1328).
41. Maria was the only daughter of the couple formed by Pere Lladró, who in turn was the son of Lladró, and Elfa Sanç. ACA. C. reg. 175, ff. 88v-89r (21st May 1322).
43. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 97r (24th April 1328).
44. Cabezuelo, José V. Entre el mar y la montaña...
IV awarded grace to the count of Ribagorza to sell the tercio diezmo of the place of Murla along with the Pop valley for the price that he might eventually agree with the purchaser. By mid-May, the king sent Enric de Quintavall and Ramon Costa, knights, who in the view of the existing disputes regarding the limits of the Pop valley between the count of Ribagorza, lord of the domain, together with Vidal de Vilanova, who had it on a violario basis (“with the right to receive a pension”), on one side, and some neighbours of that castle and municipality, on another, arrived in those lands and called whoever they deemed appropriate, so that a better knowledge of the situation could be acquired, ultimately seeking to define the limits by placing boundary stones as a way of recognising those limits. At the end of the month, the king granted to his brother the chance to include a number of specific regal rights corresponding to that valley, as is the case of monedaje and jurisdictional rights—mere and mixed empire—of Murla in the selling lot. The sale was certified on May 29th and corresponded to the Pop territory with its limits, jurisdiction, belongings and settlers, which now came into the hands of Maria Lladró and her son Vidaló on condition that they had it on a feudo honrado basis, without any service whatsoever, pursuant to the Uses of Barcelona and the Customs of Catalonia, which is how the infante Pedro received it from his father, assuming that the Vilanova family would own it through a fair purchase deed, and no longer on a violario basis, from then on. Once again, the boundaries of that valley are roughly announced: Laguar, Xaló, Castell de Castells and Tàrbena. It all, with the addition of the mere and mixed empire as a free allod, and of the monedaje of Murla. King Alfonso asked the maestre racional about the sum to which the latter amounted. The final figure for the operation amounted to 140,000 Valencian sueldos, which was guaranteed by the king, albeit adding a clause which ensured the return of those lands to the royal patrimony if the family ended up having no legitimate descendants. The price was fixed as an approximate one, though. Two days later, the purchasers and the seller agreed to appoint two delegates, one from each side, who were entrusted with correctly assessing the goods involved in the transaction and had to decide whether the agreed amount was correct or not, the parties pledging to accept and pay the variation of the valuation.

What had been agreed then revealed previous commitments which linked the incomes of that valley with third parties, and which needed to be dealt with so that the purchasers could acquire the property free of any encumbrances. That is how, since November 1325, in the agreements of that same year signed between the count of Ribagorza and Huc de Cardona for the former to be linked to the count

45. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97r-97v.
46. ACA. C. reg. 431, ff. 41r-41v y reg. 475, ff. 98r-98v (1328, 17th May). See Also the Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 4.
47. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96r-96v (28th May 1328).
48. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 96v-97r (28th May 1328).
title and the patrimony of Ampurias in return for the town of Pego and the valleys of Laguar and Xaló, the infante Pedro assumed all the expenses of the expected litigation against the young Huc on account of the inheritance of Malgaulino, the last count with that title, placing as guarantors of such expenses, amongst others, *aliamam et quasdam singulares personas castri et vallis de Pop*, who were bound to it on the aforementioned date. On June 11th 1328 Huc de Cardona freed the infante from that commitment and liberated the inhabitants of the small valley of their condition as payment guarantors.

On June 13th, Alfonso IV placed the Vilanova family, along with the Pop castle and valley with their inhabitants and goods, under his special guidance and protection so that they could not be damaged. The following day, he ordered the deputy of the Valencian attorney from beyond the Júcar river and the deputy of the Xàtiva bailiff to protect them in their newly acquired rights over Murla. On June 15th, the seller designated Ramon Castellà, Macià Desplugues and Guillem Tejeda as his attorneys so that they could give the purchasers possession over the acquired goods and rights and inform the inhabitants of that valley about the obligation to take an oath of loyalty and homage to the new lord. They were obliged to define the boundaries. Vidal de Vilanova similarly received assurance that the price of the *violario* that he had been receiving from the Pop valley would be guaranteed to him by the men of Gandía, Denia and Xàbia.

The king’s request to his officials for defence with regard to the Vilanova lineage made a lot of sense. Not in vain, the aggressiveness of the lords linked to issues such as boundaries and the influence over the territory resulted in a considerable degree of violence, as had been attested in those lands with the neighbour Sarrià who, albeit being already old at that moment, still kept all his fierceness towards his neighbours. Despite the admiral’s good relationship with the new king and his son Pedro, the changes in the lordship of the Pop valley after the arrival of the Vilanova family generated plenty of tension between both nobles, Vidal and Bernat, which essentially stemmed from the great conflict over the possession of Villajoyosa, Orcheta and Torres between the *santiaguistas* of Montalbán and the admiral, a dispute which came from many years before and which, despite being close to its end, still raised a series of problems associated with legal debate and military violence. Within that context of deep enmity, Sarrià did not hesitate to

53. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 97v-98r.
54. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 98r.
55. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 3.
56. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...* Curiously enough, Bernat de Sarrià was the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia at the time. Cabezuelo, José V. *Poder público... :* 189-190.
57. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán (1210-1327)*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: 163-168. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova... :* 119-121. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*
show an aggressive behaviour towards a Moor from that valley who travelled to Tàrbenà and to other possessions of this noble to buy a certain amount of cereal —40 cañices [capacity measure] of wheat and 60 of barley— which of course was snatched from him. After all, the admiral saw that sale as a significant setback, which he obviously reported through an attorney. Halfway through the month of July, he expressed his opposition to that agreement in writing. He saw it as a fraud, this opinion being supported on a legal foundation: the serious damage that it caused to him, since Vilanova owned the Pop domain on a violario basis and at his death, it had to come into the admiral’s hands for life and even four years after his death, as agreed with the infante Pedro, in compensation for the 16,203 sueldos and 3 dineros that the count of Ribagorza owed him over the incomes of Elche and for the change of the valleys of Laguar and Xaló with Gandía, Xàbia, Denia and the valleys of Ebo and Gallinera, ratified by Jaime II. Vidal de Vilanova answered on August 21st, also through an attorney, rejecting the accusations and describing the protest as metiment de mala veu (“injurious”), since he proved that both the sale and purchase and the ownership of the place were legal. Sarrià replied well into August insisting on his arguments based on the criterion that Pop could not be alienated or sold without his consent, pursuant to the explanations provided above. Vilanova answered in September with the same already-adduced argument according to which he rejected the alleged lack of legality in the operation. All of this is known to us thanks to a notification dated in December 1332. That debate ultimately resulted in nothing, the sale and purchase becoming effective.

In the summer of 1329, the commander of Montalbán and royal advisor Vidal de Vilanova came to the Royal Seat in the city of Valencia. He did so in his capacity as attorney of her daughter-in-law Maria Lladró and of his grandson Vidaló, providing a delegation document drawn up by Joan Roser, notary public, and signed in Xàtiva on June 24th, and also as the testament tutor of Vidaló, as specified in the last will and testament of his son Ramon, dated on October 5th 1323, and prepared by Bonavent de Benviure, with the aim of paying a homage to the king, orally and with his hands, in accordance with the conventions laid down in the Uses of Barcelona and Customs of Catalonia, pro castro de Pop; his clients had to own the regal domain after its acquisition from the Count of Ribagorza and Ampurias. Alfonso IV received that homage and granted Maria Lladró and her son, in absentia, rights over that possession on August 25th 1329.60 A conflict arose in relation to Murla too. After the valley was sold, Jaume Escrivà, acting as the tutor of the sons of Berenguer Mercer —already dead by then— highlighted the rights of his clients over the place, recalling that some time before, Pere Mercer, brother of the late Berenguer, had received the mere empire of Murla by regal granting. Alfonso IV urged the Mercer brothers’ tutor to appear before him, in person or through an attorney, within six days, to expose those rights, leaving the

58. ACA. C. reg. 434, f. 198v (5th June 1329).
case to the legal experience of Guillem de Jàffer, *legum professor*. Even though the ties of the Valencian Mercer lineage dated back to some decades before, the issue of Murla was not settled until some more time elapsed, thus giving rise to a legal conflict that involved the Vilanova family, the widow of Alfonso IV, the Cabrera family in their capacity as heirs of Bernat de Sarrià’s wife, the Cardona family, and the crown itself. It is within this context that Alfonso IV addresses the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia and the civil justice of the capital of the kingdom in April 1330, asking them to take charge of the issues concerning the Vilanova family, inside their respective jurisdictions, with the help of legal advisors. It seems highly striking, and even hard to understand, unless it was a misunderstanding corrected later that, when not even three years had elapsed since the sale of the Pop valley together with the rights over Murla to Maria Lladró and to her son Vidaló, Alfonso IV granted to Isabel de Cabrera, admiral Sarrià’s wife, the exercise *pro nobis, quandomdium nobis placuerit, merum imperium et aliam jurisdiccionem criminal et civilim in castro vocato de Murla, situato in regno Valencie, et terminis suis, prout nos ipsam inibi habere consuevimus sive etiam exercere*. That right was awarded by the king to his brother the count of Ribagorza and, after the sale, the only thing that remained in the infante’s hands was whatever might result from applying such jurisdiction prior to the mercantile fact which took place at the end of May in the year of the sale. Pierre Guichard also noticed that this jurisdictional assignment clashed head-on with the sale of those rights to the Vilanova family. Nevertheless, as explained above, it all was nothing but a misunderstanding, and Alfonso amended his mistake in May 1331, recognising that he had previously awarded the right in question to his brother Pedro, who had sold it with the king’s authorisation to the Vilanova family, ordering that the purchasers be protected in relation to that belonging, additionally ensuring that they would not be affronted by the noblewoman Isabel Cabrera — undoubtedly through her husband the admiral. This Catalan noblewoman ignored the order and, in fact, she not only disturbed them from her property — *medietas dicte alcharee de Murla* — but also appropriated the rights over the farmstead that the infante Pedro had sold to Maria Lladró, in view of which the king had to urge the Valencian attorney to defend the purchaser’s rights and also to force Isabel de Cabrera to return what she had unduly taken. The relationship between both ladies with regard to the territory came to be under court supervision from that very moment; an issue that the king firstly entrusted to Pere Despluges and later

---

61. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 98v-99r (15th June 1328).
63. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña*...
64. ACA. C. reg. 438, ff. 57v-58r (27th April 1330).
65. ACA. C. reg. 483, f. 143v (6th April 1331).
66. ACA. C. reg. 477, ff. 110v-111r (23rd August 1328).
68. ACA. C. reg. 445, ff. 170r-170v (28th May 1331).
69. ACA. C. reg. 446, ff. 74r-74v (17th July 331).
to Bernat Gomir and to Domingo Aymeric due to the impossibility of the former, who was busy with other matters.70 Francesc de Vall-llobrega and subsequently Jaume d’Arters becoming involved too.71 Although the conflict undoubtedly had to do with boundary issues,72 a connection also existed with the perception of incomes for some lords’ economies which were in serious trouble, as it happened at that same time to Maria Lladró with Huc de Cardona’s attacks against the farmstead of Tormos, causing damages to buildings and exerting violence on the noblewoman’s officials.73 Complaints about identical deteriorations came from Artal de Cabrera, heir of the then late Isabel, in his half of the farmstead of Murla, when he explained to the king in October 1335 that, since they did not live in the kingdom of Valencia, his Muslim vassals of the aforementioned farmstead were vilified and prejudiced by the neighbouring estates, and requested protection for them and their interests in those lands.74 Curiously enough, those estates simultaneously carried out and suffered damages. The noble Artal complained about the actions performed against his domains by Maria Lladró, who in turn had long complained about the same kind of behaviour, since she could not reconstruct the tower of the Murla castle after being denied access to the lime which was produced in the furnace of the territory, when she understood that one tenth of that production corresponded to her, and arrested the keeper appointed by Artal.75

In fact, the issue of Murla during that time was a headache for all those who had not only rights but also interests in the territory. A distinction was made then between the place and the castle of that name. So much so that, in October 1328, Alfonso IV ordered Enric de Quintavall—a knight who had already been serving the Crown for a long time and had a broad experience in the delicate matter that was entrusted to him—to proceed with the division of the boundaries between the Pop castle and the place of Murla, on one side, and the castle with the same name, located in the Puig d’Orba, which was owned on a regal domain basis by

70. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 240v-241r and f. 268v (7th December 1331).
71. ACA. C. reg. 465, ff. 157r-157v (30th April 1334).
72. After the order to put boundary stones in 1328, resources were generated by the parties which considered themselves affronted. In 1331, Pere Desplugues, archdeacon of Alzira, together with Domingo Aymeric, were entrusted with settling such disputes associated with boundaries between Murla, Pop and other places breviter. ACA. C. reg. 447, ff. 269r-269v (22nd September 1331). A judgment was given on the separation between the boundaries of those valleys which Isabel de Cabrera claimed not to have seen and which, according to her report, were in Huc de Cardona’s hands. Arguing for the ownership of half Murla, she demanded to know the content of the judgment, which led Alfonso IV to order Esteve Suau, attorney of Cardona, to provide the noblewoman with the transumptum iamdicte sentencie. ACA. C. reg. 452, f. 84v (11th September 1331). The conflict continued all the same. In the summer of 1332, the king urged Aymeric and Vall-llobrega to issue a judgment, defining the boundaries with stones—the castles of Pop, of Murla, the farmstead of Murla and some others—even though he told them to stop carrying out that activity a few days later. ACA. C. reg. 455, f. 187r (5th July 1332) and f. 230r (21st July 1332).
73. ACA. C. reg. 449, ff. 279v-280r (8th January 1332).
74. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 190r (3rd October 1335).
75. ACA. C. reg. 470, f. 203r (3rd October 1335).
The new estate profile of the valley, in which an interaction took place between the Vilanova family, Bernat de Sarrià through the rights of his wife Isabel de Cabrera, the Cardona family, the Mercer family and the crown itself represented by the count of Ribagorza, and where the boundary issue spearheaded the ‘multilord’ conflict, made the weaker part of that group —the Mercer family— decide to sell their rights. And this in turn activated the other actors’ interest in acquiring them. Thus, in October 1327, Jaime II granted a licence to Pere Mercer, son and heir of Berenguer Mercer and also heir of Ramon Mercer, his uncle, dead too, so that he could sell the Puig d’Orba to the noblewoman Isabel de Cabrera, despite the clause which prevented carrying out that sale to knights and to the clergy. In fact, when the operation was going to be completed, the property had already been sold by the civil justice, at the request of his sister-in-law, the widow of Ramon Mercer, Pere’s late brother, and of various creditors, being acquired by Pere Ribalta, a resident in Valencia. A newly-crowned Alfonso IV understands that this means failing to comply with his father’s wishes, according to which that place should be owned by Isabel de Cabrera, and authorises Ribalta to sell that property to Bernat de Sarrià’s wife. Shortly after, he granted to that noblewoman the mere empire over that place. Nevertheless, a problem of a legal nature originated in relation to that right. On April 6th 1331, Alfonso IV grants the mere empire and the whole jurisdiction over the Murla and its boundaries to Isabel de Cabrera. However, as he had previously awarded it to the count of Ribagorza, the latter sold it to Maria Lladrò, Ramon de Vilanova’s widow, for a certain amount of money. It is then understood that the right granted to Bernat de Sarrià’s wife points at the Puig de Orba, which was owned on a domain basis by the king, and not at Murla, since it was a property in allod and, therefore, its owners —Maria Lladró and her son— would keep the mere and mixed empire and the whole jurisdiction over that area. In his letter to the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia, the king insisted on defending the aforementioned rights of the Vilanova family over Murla, protecting them against any aggression by Bernat de Sarrià’s wife and making sure that the noblewoman Isabel would not erect any military buildings, with the exception of the Puig d’Orba, and also that any such building would be knocked down if it were eventually built. The truth was that Maria Lladró and Isabel de Cabrera clashed over the rights of Murla, and the king had to intervene in order to solve the problem. Maria explained to Alfonso IV that she had to receive the monedaje and the tercio diezmo of Murla for the purchase that she had made from her brother Pedro. However, since Isabel de Cabrera claimed that she owned half of the farmstead, she took part of those rights. The King declared that, before the aforesaid half came into the hands of the Catalan admiral’s wife,

---

76. ACA. C, reg. 430, f. 73r (30th October 1328).
77. ACA. C, reg. 230, ff. 130r-130v (20th October 1327).
78. ACA. C, reg. 473, ff. 132v-133v (27th January 1328).
79. ACA. C, reg. 484, ff. 98r-98v (25th January 1332).
80. ACA. C, reg. 446, ff. 66r-66v (13th July 1331).
he had granted the disputed rights to the infante Pedro, and the latter sold them *pro franco alodio* to the aforementioned Maria Lladró; therefore, Isabel de Cabrera had to abstain from disturbing Ramon de Vilanova’s widow in those possessions.\textsuperscript{81}

The Mercer family also wanted to sell their part in *alcharia seu loco de Murla*. The sale commitment was made with queen Leonor for 52,000 *sueldos* payable in two years, on condition that if that amount was not paid within the time established, the seller could resell the estate, of course incorporating the interests corresponding to that time, which amounted to 2,500 *sueldos* per year. The queen donated such an acquisition to Isabel de Cabrera provided that she paid the price of the purchase to the sellers, which was agreed with 50,000 *sueldos* payable from her dowry over the incomes of the Tàrbena castle. This operation was finally not completed, without a doubt because Maria Lladró lodged a complaint against it on the grounds that the operation had been carried out against the laws, since it affected ecclesiastics or nobles and required the participation of the king, who immediately asked the attorney of the kingdom of Valencia —we are speaking about May 1331— to cancel the sale as illegal if the complaint was right.\textsuperscript{82} In the end, the Vinalova family got away with it and bought their part of rights over the farmstead of Murla from the Mercer family, which was half of it, for 32,000 *sueldos* payable in three years. The other half belonged to the Cabrera family, whose head, Artal, complained to the king about that sale when he was not even called to be present, even though he owned 50\% of the property.\textsuperscript{83} From that date, and at least until the beginning of the next decade, a legal conflict seems to have existed between Artal, as Isabel de Cabrera’s heir, on one side, and the executors of the then dead Bernat de Sarrià in relation to the Murla castle, on another.\textsuperscript{84}

The Murla issue gets tangled again in the late 1520s with the appearance of another actor when, in April 1338, Pedro IV grants to Jaume Pertusa, canon of the Valencia cathedral, the *derecho de fadiga* (“right of first refusal and pre-emptive rights”) over the sale of that castle, which was owned by the aforementioned clergyman on a domain basis. In his capacity as clergyman, he was not allowed to own that place—a layman could own it, though. However, the king told him that one third of the right of first refusal would remain his; the rest would be for the Crown.\textsuperscript{85} In fact, the property ended up inside the Vilanova estate.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{81} ACA. C, reg. 447, f. 195v (17\textsuperscript{th} July 1331).
\textsuperscript{82} ACA. C, reg. 445, f. 170r (29\textsuperscript{th} May 1331).
\textsuperscript{83} ACA. C, reg. 470, f. 203r (3\textsuperscript{rd} October 1335).
\textsuperscript{84} ACA. C, reg. 595, f. 217r ([11\textsuperscript{th} August] 1338). ACA. C, cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 990 (28\textsuperscript{th} January 1341).
\textsuperscript{85} Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*
\textsuperscript{86} ACA. C, cc. rr. Pedro IV, No. 569 (7\textsuperscript{th} April 1338).
3. Marking off the boundaries and starting production. The foundation of a farmstead

Not much is known about the activity developed by the Vilanova family in Pop after its acquisition in 1328. There is one thing, though, namely: the demand by Vidal that the attorneys entrusted by the king to proceed with the establishment of the boundaries for that valley did their job. Nearly two months elapsed after Alfonso IV entrusted Enric de Quintavall and Ramon Costa with such task, when Vidal de Vilanova travelled to Gandía, where Quintavall was, to urge him to carry out that task. Enric de Quintavall was a Valencian knight who had the confidence of the Crown. A man with a long experience in the delivery of diplomatic services for the monarchy who, in the domestic context, had specialised in issues linked to the division of areas, and who had shortly before taken part, at Jaime II’s request and together with the general bailiff Bernat Canou and the Valencian notary public Domingo Claramunt, in the assessment of the estate that Bernat de Sarrià assigned to the infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, in those same lands. Quintavall immediately assumed his task and that same day he wrote a letter to summon Bernat de Sarrià for the latter to appear before him, in person or through an attorney, within six days, in the valley that he had to delimit so that he could provide the information related to his neighbourhood or to any other issue that he deemed appropriate.

Guillem Tejeda, the infante Pedro’s attorney, and Pelegrí Romeu on behalf of the old admiral, along with some Moors from Tàrbena and Castell de Castells came on the day when Sarrià was summoned. Quintavall, accompanied by Muslim settlers of Pop and together with the aforementioned persons, started his way across the territory to be delimited, the Muslim members of the delegation being the ones who established the specific place where the dividing boundary stone had to be placed. After finishing that tour of the area, Enric de Quintavall recorded the agreements in writing, with which the limits of the Pop valley were outlined. The document resulting from the visit represents the orographic silhouette of that inland valley. The limits/boundaries are drawn by stretches based on accurate visual references—summits, hills, valleys, streams, ravines, stone mounds—geographic accidents, some of them with a toponym—Alcubla, toçal de Bercha Cilim, Coyl de Rates, barranch de Huedardach, riu Huadalmeyça, vayl d’Almedech, estret d’Alcarayta—and others. The text presented by Quintavall, dated in the farmstead of Benigembla on August 16th, was approved by the attorneys both of the count of Ribagorza and of Bernat

---

88. Cabezuelo, José V. Entre el mar y la montaña...
de Sarrià, a group of people, Christians and Muslims from those lands and some neighboring areas, acting as witnesses.90

The lack of documentation makes it impossible to carry out anything but a superficial monitoring of the Vilanova family’s relationship with the Pop valley lands during those years. Apparently, after the valley had been marked off, the estate owners suggested a project for the agricultural exploitation of one part of that area. This is the context within which a town was established for its exploitation in the Almadig valley in 1341. Despite not having too many demographic data available, it is well attested that this comarca (small administrative division) known as Montanea Valencie became a densely populated area since the late 13th century precisely after the establishment of the town,91 combined with contingents displaced by the Christian colonisation of nearby areas.92 Added to that situation is the presence of small estates eager for income which immediately put as much surface area as possible into production.93 The truth is that, even though the development stage which had spread for two centuries in feudal Europe had come to an end by then, with unmistakable signs—or clear manifestations—of critical times that need not be mentioned appearing everywhere,94 the still young kingdom of Valencia opened to the opportunities offered by the colonisation of a country of Muslims, especially in the lands situated south of the Júcar river. Although a hardly successful political project focused on the foundation of pueblas (farming villages),95 the enterprise remained alive at the end of the century, as can be seen in Ifach —1298—, Villajoyosa —1300— or Benidorm —1325—, clearly encouraged by the lords’ initiative,96 to which were added parallels of Islamic population within an “internal expansion” dynamics97 which, as explained by Josep Torró, structured not only the territory but also a social and economic model.98 We can find one of those projects within that expansive process that was coming to an end.

90. Documentary appendix, doc. No. 4.
91. At the end of 1279, Pedro III confirmed to the Muslim settlers of the valleys located on the inland part of Dènia, including Pop, that they could stay in those lands, as well as the maintenance of their customs and the prohibition for Christian settlers to live next to them. Burns, Robert I. Moros, cristians i jueus...: 415-415, doc. No. 5.
96. ACA. C, reg. 265, f.89r. See Orts, Pere M. La carta de poblament de Benidorm i l’almirall Bernat de Sarrià. Valencia: Premes de Setmana Gráf., 1976. Hinojosa, José; Alemany, Rafael; Couto, Antonio; Cabanes, María L. Carta de poblament de Benidorm. Alcoy: Universitat d’Alacant, 1988. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”; Cabezuelo, José V. Entre el mar y la montaña...
97. Barlett, Robert. La formación de Europa...: 17
98. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal...”: 120-121.
In 1341, and seeking to *populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare* an expanse of land until then *heremam et incultam* located in the Almadig valley, east of the Pop territory, and bordering on the areas of Tàrbena, Castell de Castells and with the same public path which communicates with the farmstead of Ayalt, inside the limits of Castell de Castells, with Guadalest, Maria Lladró —owner of the domain— offers a group of Muslims formed by seventeen heads of families who lived in Murla the building of a new *puebla* from which they could exploit that valley *cum aquis, cequis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint*. The conditions expressed by the estate owner for the exploitation of those lands would start at once, right at the beginning of 1342, the year when the construction of the dwellings meant to be the new settlers’ personal residences had to begin. As a financial house-building aid, each family would receive twenty *sueldos* that they would not need to return. In return for their settlement and land exploitation, the new residents had to give one fifth of the farming production as a charge, as well as a pair of hens per household to be paid annually on Christmas Day. Also on an yearly basis, they would pay some money for each head of cattle that they had, and the same amount for each beehive. Those settlers were obliged to grow vines, fig trees *et alias plantas* during the first four years. It was granted to them as a grace that they could choose two members of the new community for them to estimate the crop with one of the lord’s officials. They had the possibility to exploit those possessions directly or to sell them, to alienate or exchange them, as long as it was not to knights or clergymen, with the corresponding rights over them that the lord reserved for himself, established in the kingdom’s charters, even though they relinquished the two loads of logwood to which they were entitled *pro intrata huius stabilimentum*. The new settlers undertook to respect and not to go against what had been offered by Maria Lladró. The agreement was sanctioned by the notary public Mateu Boix in Murla on December 8th 1341. 99

Nowadays, the name *vall d’Almadig* corresponds to *barranc d’Almadig*, a space marked by a dry river bed of mainly cretaceous soils with a loamy limestone lithology which, from the South-East of the current village of Benigembla leads —downstream of this town— to the middle course of the Gorgos river, which in turn crosses the Pop valley from east to west towards the Mediterranean. 100 The town charter is really laconic when it comes to specifying the requirements that the lords demanded from the future settlers of that small valley, as opposed to the detailed contents expressed in other documents of an identical nature. After the obligation to fix their personal residence in the area to be exploited, the income for the exploitation of the *Almadig* valley exclusively refers to the distribution of fruits, without any references to the delivery of personal services or to lords monopolies. 101

---

Such ground rent, legally supported on the furs already in Jaime I’s times,\textsuperscript{102} mentions one fifth of the total production, without making any specifications about non-irrigated or irrigation areas —\textit{omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit}. The magnitude of that percentage had usually represented the average in such documents related to irrigation areas, whereas the one linked to non-irrigated areas was much smaller —between one eighth and one tenth on average, according to Enric Guinot.\textsuperscript{103} It becomes clear in this case that the rent requested seems to be the whole production, which is why we can assume that one part —probably a significant one— of the future crops in such a limited growable land was linked to the action of the irregular course of the ravine, as well as to the springs existing in that area through a network of ditches mentioned in the (written) deed;\textsuperscript{104} and also to tree-growing and cereal-growing productions associated with an improved non-irrigated land system.\textsuperscript{105} Similarly, a more or less significant part of the production corresponded to figs and raisins —products explicitly mentioned in the \textit{stabilimentum}— which were extremely profitable thanks to their easy and quick insertion in the international trade circuits from the nearby wharf of Dènia,\textsuperscript{106} vines and fig trees soon becoming the “star cultivation” of a Mudejar agricultural production encouraged by the voracity of Christian landlords,\textsuperscript{107} who in the case


\textsuperscript{105} Which since practically the end of the Christian conquest appears as the outlet for such productions. See Torró, Josep. \textit{El naixement d’una colònia...}: 228-229. Cabezuelo, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”: forthcoming.

of the vall de Pop turned his raisin into the most famous one in the Marina Alta for its excellent quality from then to the present day. Todavía en el siglo XIX los embarques de pasa a Inglaterra llevaban el rótulo de ‘Pasa de Pop’, José Costa writes.108 The development and care of these productions in the Pop lands was already a fact in the 14th century. By way of example, it was the only crop mentioned during Pere de Vilanova’s inauguration in 1375 —que tots los moros de la dita vall que tinguéns figuerals hainen aquells lavrats o cavats per tot lo present mes de febrer.—109 It is indeed true that these types of communities located in mountainous areas show what Josep Torró defines as a low productive potential for a feudal form of agriculture, and were thus not attractive for Christian settlers,110 insofar as the orography excluded the availability of large spaces where cereal could be grown in order to cover the needs regarding wheat and other cereals both of the kingdom and of the crown—even of other European territories—judging by certain cereal supply crises not necessarily due to bad crops, which had been taking place since the beginning of the century.111 Perhaps I could stress a certain specialisation of growings, albeit not forgetting the other productions which had traditionally formed part of the Islamic harvesting tradition, one example being the carob bean, as is attested by some documents from that period,112 which would lead us to speak about a polyculture (mixed cropping) organised around the double parameter of “self-consumption and market”. Such percentage over the total production of the aforementioned farmstead appears as an evolution in the pressure exerted by landholders on the Valencian Muslim communities over time.113 A rent which, as we have seen, could be calculated after an agreement between the landholders’ delegates and the peasants
over a crop estimate—a frequently used technique in the kingdom of Valencia known as *alfarrassament*. To that ground rent in kind were added certain levies related to taxes on animals typical of Mudejar taxation: hens, *bestiar menut* and bees. In the Valencian Mudejar context, the first of the taxations could be paid in two possible ways, in kind or in money; and according to Robert Ignatius Burns, it could likewise be linked to exactions of a personal nature. The number of birds per habitat unit was not uniform, and neither was its price when the tax was paid as a monetary rent. In the lands of the Orihuela Government, Muslim communities paid a hen per house and its equivalence in cash, depending on the *aljama*, ranged between six and ten *dineros* per bird. However, in the Ayora valley, a poorer land and community than those of the Valencian south, each family paid two hens and their price per unit was eight *dineros*; the same number of animals, although at a lower price—six *dineros*—was paid in the neighbouring valleys of Gallinera, Ebo, Confrides and Guadalest, whereas the price was five *dineros* in Perputxent. The amount referred to heads of cattle, the *bestiar menut*—mainly sheep and goats—was similar to the one paid by the Mudejars of the Ayora valley and half that of the Islamic communities living in the *Governació d’Oriola*. Finally, a reference is also made to the exploitation of beehives, which paid one *dinero* per unit. Relatively important in this area, according to J. Hinojosa, Valencian Mudejar beekeeping was also subject to a varying tax rate, which ranged between one and two *dineros* per beehive. But beyond the mixed nature of the levy and its amount, it is worth mentioning the monetarisation which exists in small rural economies, forcing those peasants to obtain liquidity so that they could at least pay their rent. It seems more than evident that at this stage the coin has become—according to Hopólito Rafael Oliva—*en patrón de referencia* for peasant economies.

The list of elements included in the lords’ income was as described above, although others explicitly existed too. On the one hand, the farmers were in charge of collecting the whole crop, the part of it which remained for them and that linked to the lord via profit. On the other hand, they surely had to carry the fifth corresponding to the lord towards the warehouse or place established by the

---

latter for its deposit. It also deserves to be highlighted that, for a number of specific productions, their work exceeded the harvesting and transport and seems to have consisted in delivering it in a relatively elaborate or prepared way.¹²³

An interesting aspect in my view is the type of tie created with the land by the seventeen Mudejar families from Murla who had to occupy an area which until that same moment had been deserted and barren and to put it into production. Unlike what can be seen in other agreements of the same characteristics, where the reference to the private ownership linked to each house is specifically shown,¹²⁴ and in a very specific way on some occasions —tal casa y tal parcela—¹²⁵, the document of 1341 explains that the Muslim community in question would proceed to exploit that valley in perpetuity and on an egalitarian basis —vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus. The fact that the lord allowed the peasants to get rid of the estates individually —possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignoranandum, alienandum, obligandum, excomutandum et ad omnes vesstras et vestrarum voluntates perpetuo faciendas—, unless they came into the hands of the privileged ones, suggests a family control of the exploitation units combined with a collective organisation both in terms of water use and regarding the payment to the estate owner.¹²⁶ Without a doubt, such a precise situation, which almost exclusively links habitat/estate/crop estimate/ground rent in the established percentage, refers to newly-created communities where the lord’s interest only and exclusively lies in obtaining an income.¹²⁷ Similarly, all of this leads us to two issues. One is that the Mudejar community related to the foundation of the new puebla and the exploitation of its lands, more than moving within the estate owner’s scope in a very close area, would suggest peasants deprived from lands and thus forced to exploit marginal lands, perhaps heirs of those farmers who precisely arrived in that mountainous context on the occasion of Islamic population displacements after the failure of the anti-Christian uprising of 1276-1277,¹²⁸ albeit not displaced for any reason other than the mutual interest of lords and peasants. And the other, that the growing

¹²⁴. For the case of Ayora, the settlers of which once again reach an agreement on the settlement conditions with Bernat de Sarrià in 1328, a date certainly close to the one mentioned here, a distinction is drawn between Moors who were owners and sarrahins habitants e habitadors en la dita vall, los quals no hauran heretat (“muslims habitants in the valley mention before, who have not properties”) Ferra, Maria T. “La carta de població...”: 91. Well into the following century, about the farmstead of Fondos (1489). Guinot, Enric. Cartes de poblament...: 685-689 (doc. No. 314). This in contrast with other situations, as in Catamarruc (1490), where Muslim peasants’ rights over the lands that they farm are nowhere to be seen. Pla, Primitivo J. “Acerca de los contratos agrarios de los mudéjares valencianos; los ‘Capitols’ de Catamarruc”. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval, 2 (1983): 119-138. ¹²⁵. “this particular house and this particular plot of land”. Hinojosa, José. “Ares y Benillloba (Alicante). Dos comunidades mudéjares valencianas a fines de la Edad Media”. Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos, 16-17 (1999-2002): 45-74.
space in that barren area —the Almadig valley— theoretically had to permit the maintenance of the family unit that settled there.129

As for gentilicios [names given to the people of a particular region or country], it is worthy of mention that one of them adds to the Arab name another Christian one, with its surname: Çaat Pero Dies. The others are clearly Arab names, some belonging to the same family: three Abenaciim, three Atzintar too and an identical number for Caydo, two Abolaix and only one Atnayar, Abdurrafe and Alcayla. There is one Ayeix and another Hiayeix which I am unable to identify as belonging to the same family.

4. Some conclusions

The document does not mention the name which had to be given to the farmstead130 of the vall d’Almadig, unless it was the actual toponym, the meaning of which —al-madiq: pass, gorge, narrow— would refer to a site drawn by a narrow valley through which a mountain trail runs.131 We know that the geographical area of castri et vallis de Pop contained several small villages inhabited by Muslims. A number of farmsteads appear —the names of some being known to us— which have Murla as the centre, with the category of locus and undoubtedly of caput territorii as an agglutinating place for the Christian population of that valley.132 Pere de Vilanova’s deed of possession dated in February 1375 mentions Parcent, Benituerdi, Alcanicia, Benalbacar, Benigembla and Verniça as such.133 They are undoubtedly not the only ones, though; firstly because when the aforesaid document mentions them —even though it does so in a first block referring to the first ones, and later to the last two—, it speaks about their inhabitants and about those of aliis alquereis dicte vallis, and secondly, because the Repartiment, as highlighted by Pierre Guichard, mentions Parcent, Ceylent, Rahalabelbahar and Benilacruci together with some of the ones listed above —Alcanicia, Benigembla, Benalbacar and Verniça.134

130. Even though the document never mentions the term alquería (“farmstead”), but puebla nueva (“new farming village”), in my opinion there is no doubt that this puebla nueva was an alquería according to its relation between habitat and growing lands. See Lagardère, Vincent. Campagnes et paysans d’Al-Andalus (VIIIe-XVe s.). Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose, 1993: 176-177.
exception of Benituerdá, the rest of those which would have been Islamic qaryas already existed prior to 1341. However, truth to be told, no archaeological remains are known in the area of the barranc d’Almadig, which leads us to wonder: did that farmstead, then deserted area, really exist or was it only a town project?

The lack of an archaeological print—for the time being—makes the second option more likely. In fact, despite the absence of this empirical element, it is attested that at a time near the fourteenth-century critical epicentre, when signs become visible everywhere throughout Europe, including the Iberian peninsula—though with a certain dissymmetry—not so much of deceleration but rather of a fall in the economic push that feudal Europe had been experiencing for two centuries, the kingdom of Valencia and more precisely its southern border\(^{135}\) sees a truly remarkable demographic and productive impulse.\(^{136}\) The fact of having entered western Christendom en los umbrales de la crisis\(^ {137}\) and of still having an under construction status at that time\(^ {138}\) prevented it from assuming the structural weaknesses of the feudal system. As for the clearly slow incorporation of Christian elements—an issue which caused demographic voids in the colonising territories—came to be offsetted with a loss of Islamic population which, unlike what happened in Murcia and Andalusia, was continuous but not traumatic for radical. This made it possible to maintain production levels, which immediately readapted to the new course followed by feudal economy. Furthermore, the kingdom of Valencia’s connection with the sea, through its capital city, allowed for some of those necessarily non-Christian productions to fit in with the great lines of Mediterranean trade, where the kingdom of Valencia was then subsidiary to the Catalan and Majorcan mercantile projects, through the penetration of the market into rural economies.\(^ {139}\)

Along these lines, both the structure and the situation made it possible for practically the whole kingdom, but specifically for the Valencian border lands, to remain free from the spasmodic convulsions of the feudal system experienced in the heart of

---

Europe, except for very concrete issues. In fact, far from showing exhaustion, these territories showed the vitality inherent to a new society. The events linked to the plague at the end of that decade, the impact of which—if any—still remains to be assessed, and essentially the consequences of the war between the two Pedros in these comarcas (“areas”), which resulted in deaths and the abandonment of places with an Islamic population, will be the tip of the critical iceberg. For the case at hand, the certainly still weak demography in that context causes the dominant structure—which revolves around kings and lords—to activate mechanisms aimed at attracting non-exclusively Christian human elements to those areas, which as shown before, had a quantitatively significant population at that time and space which maintains and adapts its economy (or sees how it becomes determined by the events)—agricultural production in this case—to the demands of a new order which already influences the market to a certain extent by then. The stimulus provided by the demand largely helps originally Islamic productions to become better known and accordingly to develop much more than they had traditionally done, thus turning out to be useful for the settlement of barren spaces. We are talking about a project with an economic basis which mainly benefits the landowner, the lord, increasing his income level in quantitative terms, which was certainly stable except for some specific episodes of bad crops, by preventing an update of the levy to raise it, and tangentially, even though its influence should by no means be neglected, the Aragonese monarchy itself in its attempt to settle a borderland and to introduce the feudal society’s forms of organisation into it. Such an agricultural development, albeit highly localised, can be observed on those same dates in the nearby Guadalest valley which, after more than three decades being under the rule of a lord, once again depended directly on the king, by putting barren lands into production.

The peasant family will be relegated to the bottom of that gradation since, despite obtaining a plot of land on an ownership basis, something that entails stability, the family will do so based on the criterion that the yield of its work is the one that underpins the upper power structures.


142. Cabezuelo, José V. “Las comunidades judías del Mediodía valenciano en el siglo XIV. De la vitalidad a la supervivencia”. Miscelánea Medieval Murciana, 29-30 (2005-2006): 75-104. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...” Cabezuelo, José V. “Segregación social...”

143. ACA. C. reg. 860, f. 47v (second numbering), (17th October 1336) and reg. 872, ff. 74v-75r (26th October 1341).
Halway through March 1344, Maria Lladró, pro indiviso owner of the Pop valley together with her son Vidaló, relinquished her part as a usufructuary in favour of the latter, who was already married to Alcamdona, so that he could be its only lord from then on. Ramon de Vilanova’s widow argued that she was tired, and that she aspired to having a quiet life, leaving her son and daughter-in-law, with whom she had stayed until then, so that they could in pacis tranquilitate cum propria familia vivere. Since that moment, different descendants of the Vilanova lineage will be the lords of that valley, which suffered serious damages during the war between the two Pedros, eventually getting hold of other places located in that southern border, such as Montixelvo, Terrateig or Castalla.

Appendix

*Document number 1*

26 September 1296, Valencia
Jaime II grants the castle and town of Pop to Ramon de Vilanova for life, in return for the services delivered.
ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-v.

*Eiusdem*

Cum deceat regalem clemenciam bene merentes milites suos ac sibi legaliter servientes graciis suis ac beneficiis decorare, idcirco nos, Jacobus, Dei gracia, et cetera, attendentes grata et continuas servicia que vos, dilectus miles noster Raimundus de Villanova, nobis semper fecistis et cotidie facere non cessatis, idcirco per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de Villanova, ad vitam vestram tantum castrum nostrum et villam de Pop cum terminis et pertinenciis suis et cum hominibus et feminis cuiscumque legis seu condicionis existant et cum domibus, campis, vineis et terris, cultis et incultis, et cum arboribus, fructiferis et infructiferis, et cum montibus et planis, silvis et garricis et cum aquis et aqueductibus et cum furnis et molendinis et balneis et cum censibus, almagranis ac çofris, alfardis et cum cenis et monetaticis et cum iurisdiccionis et iusticiis civilibus et cum omnibus suis terminis ac pertinenciis et iuribus universis. Predictum vero castrum et villam de Pop dividi terminos cum termino de Alaguar et ex alia parte cum termino de Castel et cum termino castri de Exaloc et ex alia parte cum termino castri de Tarbena. Iamdictum itaque castrum et villa de Pop cum omnibus supraddictis et singulis damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de

145. ACA. C. ccrr. Pedro IV, No. 1945 (1st August 1382).
146. ACA. C. reg. 900, f. 23v (25th February 1358). Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista...:*
627. Cabezuelo, José V. “El castillo de Castalla en el sistema de fortalezas fronterizas del reino de Valencia (Ss. XIII-XIV)”, unpublished.
147. Non-contemporary writing.
Villanova, ad vitam vestram pro franco et libero alodio, prout melius dici potest et intelligi ad commodum et salvamentum vestri et vestrorum et ad dandum, vendendum, obligandum et alienandum in vita vestra tantum. Constituentes nos predictum castrum et villam cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis suis pro vobis et vestro nomine possidere et quasi possidere donec de predictis plenam apprehenderitis potestatem quam liceat vobis apprehendere licenciam nostri minime expectato. Mandantes procuratoribus, baiulis, iusticiis, iuratis et universis alis officialibus nostris, presentibus et futuris, quod predictam donacionem et concessionem nostram firmam habeant et observent et faciant inviolabiliter observari ut superius continetur et non contraveniant nec aliquem contravenire permitant aliqua racione.

Data Valencia, ut supra.

Signum (blank) Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Aragonum, et cetera.

Testes sunt: venerabilis episcopus valentinus; Berengarius de Vilaracuto; Berengarius Guillermus de Entença; venerabilis episcopus dertusensis; et Guillermus Durfortis.

**Document number 2**

29th May 1328.

The infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, sells to Maria Lladró, Ramon de Vilanova’s widow, and to Vidaló, son of both, the Pop castle and valley together with the mere and mixed empire, the tercio diezmo and the monedaje of the farmstead of Murla for 140,000 Valencian sueldos.

ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 90r-93r.

*Marie Latronis, uxoris Raymundi de Villanova*

In Dei nomine, pateat universis quod nos, infans Petrus, illustissimi domini Jacobi, bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum comes, etc. Bono animo et spontanea voluntate et ex certa scientia per nos et omnes successores nostros, cum presenti publico instrumento perpetuo valituro vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus atque concedimus vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raymundi de Villanova, quondam, ac etiam Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro et dicto Raimundo de Villanova comuni, et vestris ac quibus velitis imperpetuam, nec non vobis, Vitali de Villanova, consiliario domini regis, tanquam tutori et curatori testamentario dicti Vitaloni et eius nomine, ementi et recipienti castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinenciis ipsius castrī. Quod siquidem castrum dictus dominus rex quondam nobis dedit atque concessit pro hereditate titulo pure, perfecte et irrevocabilis donacionis inter vivos in feudum honoratum sine aliquo servicio inde sibi vel suis successoribus faciendo predictum. Itaque castrum de Pop, cum tota valle, terminis et pertinenciis ad ipsum castrum spectantibus vendimus et ex causa

148. Non-contemporary writing.
vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, dicto Vitalone, filio vestro, ac vectris perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori ac curatori predicto nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, pro feudo honorato iuxta Consuetudines Cathala-// nie, cum militibus et domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis, tam christianis quam sarracenis, in predicto castro et valle habitantibus et habitaturis, et cum terris cultis et incultis, alchareis, aquis, furnis, molendinis, redditibus et exitibus, preventibus et iuribus universis, et cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis eorumdem et singularum, et cum iusticiis accurum mero et mixto imperio et omni iurisdictione, et cum hoste, exercitum et cavalcata et redempcionibus eorumdem, \et cum tercia decima/ et cum monetatico ac cum pace, guerra et ademprimiis, talliis, collectis, subsidiiis, quostis, calonis, districtibus, placitis et firmamentis, bannis, faticis, dominiiis, carnalagiiis, herbaticis, mensuraticis, pensis, invencionibus, inuenicionibus sive trobis, et cum omnibus et singulis que nos ibi habemus et habere debemus aut possemus et prout melius et plenius hec et singula ad nos spectant et spectare debent ex dicta donacione regia nobis facta vel aliis quibuscumque causis, iuribus et modo et condicione, quod dictum castrum de Pop, cum valle eiusdem et terminis et pertinenciis suis vos et vestris teneatis in feudum honoratum absque aliquo servicio secundum Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathaloniae pro domino rege et herede suo universali qui rex fuerit Aragonum et Valencie et successoribus eius regibus Aragonum et Valencie et non pro quocumque alio et teneamini vos et vestri pro predictis prestare et facere homagium dicto domino regi et eius successoribus antedictis et etiam teneamini vos et vestri, irati et pacati, dicto domino regi et predictos successoribus eius dare potestatem vel postestates de dicto castro et fortalicio suo et terminis eius secundum predictos Usaticos Barchinone et Consuetudines Cathaloniae quaedamque et quocienscumque inde fueritis requisiti et alia facere que alii tenentes pro ipso domino rege in Cathaloniae feuda honorata facere tenetmur et debent. Et est scientum quod dictum castrum de Pop afrontatur et terminatur ex una parte cum valle de Alaguar et ex alia cum valle de Exalo et ex altera cum castro seu loco de Tarbena et ex altera cum valle de Castell. Item gratis et certa scienza vendimus et ex causa huibus vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalone, nato vestro, et quibus velitis perpetuo vobisque, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, ementi et recipienti, per franchum et liberum alodium, merum imperium atque mixtum \et tercia partem decime/ et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loci de Murla, prout melius nos competunt et ad nos spectant ex concessione seu concessionibus inde nobis factis per // illustrissimum dominum Alfonsum, regem Aragonum, karissimum fratrem nostrum, et alias quacumque ratione vel causa. Hanc autem vendicionem et ex causa vendicions, tradicionem et concessionem de castro predicto de Pop et valle eiusdem ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio et tercia parte decime/ et monetatico loci de Murla per franchum et quitium alodium et de aliis supradictis facimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalone, filio vestro, et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo ac vobis, dico Vitali de Villanova, nomine tutoris supradicto, sicur superius continetur, prout melius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum vestorumque comodum et salvamentum et bonum etiam intellectum. Extranentes predicta omnia et singula que vobis vendimus de iure, dominio et posse nostri et successorum nostrorum eademque in vestrum vestorumque ius, dominium et posse mitimus et transferimus irrevocabiliter ad habendum et perpetuo pacifice possidendum
et quasi. Et de presenti inducimus vos in corporalem possessionem omnium predictorum que vobis vendimus, volentes et permitentes quod dictum castrum et vallem de Pop, quod et quam vos, dictus Vitalis, tenetis et possidetis ratione vestri violarii, vos decetero nomine predicto teneatis et possidere possitis ex causa et titulo vendicionis presentis sic quod aliarm tradicionem nos vobis facere non opportunat ex quo iam penes vos existit racione vestri violarii supradicti. Preterea ex causa huinis vendicionis et tradicionis cedinis vobis, dicte Marie dictoque Vitalono et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo et vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, omnes acciones et voces ac omnia iura que nobis racione dictarum donacionum et alias competant et competere possunt ac debent aliquo modo in predictis que supra vobis vendimus et contra quascumque personas et res racione eorum quibus accionibus et iuribus supradictis possitis vos et vestri et quos volueritis perpetuo ute et experiri agendo, respondingo, deffendendo, excipiendo et replica(e) (sic) et omnia allia faciendo in iudicio et extra iudicium quecumque nos possemus racione dicte donacionis regie nobis facte ante presentem vendicionem et iurium cessionem vel etiam postea quandocumque. Nos enim facimus et constituimus vos in hiis dominos et procuratores ut in rem vstram propriam ad faciendum inde vstras proprias voluntates sine contradiccione, impedimento et retencione quasquaque nostri et successorum nostrorum et aliarium quarumlibet personarum. Mandantes cum testimonio huinis publici instrumenti quod in hac parte volumus vicem epistole obtinere militibus, domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis predicti castru catuscumque generis, gradus aut condicionis existant et sub fide qua nobis racione dicte donacionis astricti sunt et tenentur quod vobis et vestris vel cui volueritis respondant et satisfaciet plenarie, integre et complete de omnibus singulis supradictis vobisque pareant, obendiandt et attendant atque homagium, iuramento et fidelitatem prestant tanquam dominis eorumdem. Nos enim ex nunc ut ex tunc et ex tunc ut ex nunc in posse notarii infrascripti paset paciscentis // pro personis quamarin interstit absolvimus vos et eorum quemlibet ab omni fide, homaggio, fidelitate et iuramento ac aliis omnibus quibus nobis racione dicte donacionis astricti sunt seu etiam obligati pro precio autem huinis vendicionis confitemur nos habuisse et recepisse a vobis centum quadraginta mille solidorum regalium Valencia super quibus renunciamus et certa sciencia exceptioni non numerate peccantie et non recepte et doli, mali et in factum accionii. Renunciamus etiam quantam ad hec ex certa sciencia et consulto legi vel foro que subvenit deceptis ultra dimidia iustiprecii et omni aliii iuri foro, racioni, statuto et consuetudini contra hec repugnantibus, dantes et remittentes vobis et vestris graciis et ex certa sciencia siquid hec vendicio plus valet vel potest valere precio supradicto. Insuper per nos et omnes successoros nostros promittimus vobis, dicte Marie, et Vitalono, eius filio vobis vobisque, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori eiusdem et eius nomine paciscenti et recipienti, quod predicts omnia et singula que vobis vendimus faciemus vos et vestros et quos volueritis habere, tenere et possidere et quasi in pace perpetua contra omnes personas et quod tenebimus vobis et vestros de firma et legali evicione eorum. Et si forsan aliqua vel aliqua persone facerent vel moverent vobis vel vestris aliquo tempore aliquam questionem, peticionem sive demandam in predictis que vobis vendimus vobis racione eorum, promittimus per nos et omnes successoros nostros quod nos incontinenti cum a vobis vel vestris inde fuerimus requisiti opponemus nos deffensioni vestri et vestorum et respondebimus et satisfacimus pro vobis et vestris cuilibet quereolanti seu quereolantibus et quod in principio litiis seu litiium suscipimus in nos anus litigii et agemus et duecemos causam seu causas proprios sumptibus a principio usque ad finem et quod vos et vestros servabimus super hoc prosus indemnes vel vos aut vestri
possitis ipsam causam vel causas agere et ducere si malueritis per vos ipsos et hoc sit in eleccione vestri et vestrorum. Nos enim per nos et omnes successores nostros remittimus vobis et vestris ex pacto necessitatem denunciacionis. Et si vos aut vestri elegeritis tractare et ducere causam seu causas in propria promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod restituemus et solvemus vobis et vestris ad vestrnam voluntatem omnes expenses circa littem vel lites factas et quicquid ac quantum a vobis et vestris evictum fuerit cum omni damno et interesse que inde vos et vestri facetis et sustinebitis aliquo modo sive obtinantis in causam seu causas sive etiam succumbatis. Et credatur vobis et vestris super predictis omnibus et singulis plano et simplici verbo nullo alio probationum genere requisito pro predictis autem omnibus et singulis complendis et attendendis obligamus vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra tam [habita] quam habenda. Et ad maiorem // vestri et vestrorum cautelam rogamus humiliter prefatum illustri ssimum dominum Alffonsum, regem Aragonum, fratrem nostrum karissimum, ut premissa concedat, laudet, approbet, ratificet et confirmet et se vobis etiam fideiussorem constitut quam premissis.

Ad hec nos, Alffonsus, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, considerantes predictam vendicionem de expresso assenssu, licencia et voluntate nostra fore factam certificati ad plenum de substitucionibus, condicionibus et retencionibus appositis et adiectis in donatione dicto domini regis, patris nostri, vobis, dicto infante Petro, fratri nostro karissimo, de dicto castro de Pop, ut premissitur facta ex si vos videlicet vel succesores vestri quicunque sine masculuni aut feminini sexus decederetis sive decederent quod absit quandocumque absque prole legitima quod inter cetera vobis tunc data atque concessa predictum castrum de Pop, cum valle ipsius, ad dictum dominum regem seu eius heredem universalem qui esset pro tempore rex Aragonum atque Valencie libere et absque contradiccione, onere et impedimento quolibet integraliter devolveretur et per eos revertetur dictusque dominus rex et sui in eo casu predictum castrum de Pop et eius vallem recuperet et recuperare posset propria auctoritate absque aliqua impedimento, contradiccione, onere et obligacione vestri, dicti infantiis Petri, atque vestrorum, prout in dicto instrumento vidimus contineri. Idcirco per nos et omnes successores nostros gratis et exponta voluntate predicta substitucione, condicione et retencione omnino sublatis ex pacto vendicionem predictam per dictum infantiem Petrum, ut premissitur factam vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, et Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro, vobisque dicto Vitali, nomine tutorio et curatorio dici pupilli, de dicto castro de Pop et valle eiusdicto, cum videlicet iusticiis, mero et mixti imperio et omni iure diccione et aliis superius in spe et genere expressatis ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio \et tercia parte decime/ et monetatico pro alodio franco et quiitio predicte alaciree de Murla laudamus, probamus, ratificamus et ex certa scencia confirmamus atque de novo concedimus et donamus prout melius et largius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum comodum et vestrorum. Promittentes vobis quod racione dictarum substitutionum, condicionum vel retencionum nunquam contraevniusm vel aliquem contraventire faciemus aut etiam promittemus predicte vendicioni vel aliqubis supra contentis predictis racionibus vel quacunque alia racione vel causa. Et ad ubiorem securitatem vestri et vestrorum inducti precibus domini infantiis Petri constitutsimus nos vobis pro eo fideiussores pro premissis omnibus attendendis et firmiter ad implendis et pro firma et legali evicione omnium premissorum que vobis promittimus facere, tenere, habere et possidere vel quasi et inde vobis de evicione teneri cum dicto infant se
sine eo contra omnes personas obligantes pro inde vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra // et renunciante novo iuri dicendi quod prius conveniatur principal quam fideiusser et omni aliis iuri, foro, racioni, statuto et consuetudine contra hec repugnacionibus quoquomodo. Et quia in carta dicte donacionis prefati domini genitoris nostri facta dicto inflanti Petro specialiter continetur quod dictum castrum de Pop et cetera castra inibi expressata cum suis terminis et pertinenciis universis teneret dictus infans et sui in feudum honoratum pro dicto domino rege et herede suo universali qui esset rex Aragonum et Valencia eique tenerentur tradere potestatem cum inde existenter requisisit. Ideo volentes mentem et verba dicte donacionis et convenit racioni observare per nos et omnes heredes et successores nostros per solempnem stipulacionem concedimus et promittimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, vobisque dicto Vitali, tutorio et curatorio nomine dicti pupilli, paciscenti nec non statuimus atque decernimus imperpetuum sub virtute iuramentum a nobis inferius prestiti quos directum et alodiarium dominium dicti castris de Pop et vallis ac terminorum eiusdem aut postetatem ipsius castri seu ius petendi ac reciproci et constandarum. Nunciam dabimus, concedimus, vendimus, infeudabimus, impignerabimus, permutabimus, legabimus aut quomunque iure modo vel titulo alienabimus nec in alium sive fratrem aut filium nostrum preter quam pro dicto domino rege et herede suo universali qui esset rex Aragonum et Valencia quomodolibet transferemus aut dividimus, aloditabimus, segregabimus vel quomodobilum separabimus a Corona regnorum Aragonum et Valencia, mediante vel immediata, imperpetuum ad violarium vel ad tempus immo ea omnia tenebimus nostre Corone regie perpetue continuo ac immediate incorporata, coniuncta, aplicata, cognexa, pariter et unica, ita videlicet quod nos solum et successores nostri illi duntaxat qui erunt pro tempore reges Aragonum et Valencia et non aliis quomunque habeant directum pro alodiarium dominium ac postetatem in casro et valle predictum ac terminis eorumdem nec vos aut vestri alicui teneamini tradere potestatem nec de ipso feudo aliquatenus respondere vel alium dominum proclamare vel ei racione dici feudi perere. Immo si per nos aut successors nostros hiis existeret contrafactum predictum feudum reverteretur in alodium ipso facto vosque et vestri haberetis et teneretis dictum castrum pro franco alodio, quito et inimini, nisi infra x dies post hostensionem huius publici instrumenti vel transumpti autentici eiusdem revocaretur alienacio supracta et quicquid contra premissa existeret contra factum. Et ut premissa omnia maior gaudeant firmitate iuramus per Deum // et eius sancta quatuor Evangelia manibus corporaliter tacta predicta omnia firmiter attendere et complere et in nullo contravenire aliquo iure causa vel aliqua racione predicta. Itaque omnia et singula firmamus, pascimem et promittimus nos, rex, et infans predictis, in presence manu et posse notarii infrascripti, recipientis, pascimem et legitime stipulantis pro vobis, dictis Marie, et Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris, et pro vobis, dicto Vitali, nomine quo supra, et pro omnibus aliis quorum interesse, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodobilum in futurum.

In quorum omnium testimonium et cautelam presens publicum instrumentum nos, rex predictus, plumbe bulle nostre et nos, infans predictus, sigilli nostri appenzione iussimus comuniri. Quod est actum in castro regio civitatis Ilerde, IIIIº kalendis iunii, anno Domini Mº CCCº XX octavo.

Signum (blank) infans predicti, qui hec laudamus, concedimus et firmamus.
Signum (blank) Alffonsi, Dei gracia regis/ Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comitii Barchinone, qui predictis assenssum nostrum prestamus eaque laudamus, concedimus, firmamus atque iuramus.

Testes sunt qui presentes fuerunt: venerabilis et religiosus frater Petrus de Tous, magister domus ordinis milicie de Muntesia; Gondïçalbus Garsie, consiliarius; Petrus de Castlarino; Petrus Despens; Jacobus de Arteriis, iudices Curie dicti domini regis; et Bernardus Pallaris, notarius dicti domini infantiis.

S (symbol) num Dominici de Biscarra, scriptoris dicti domini regis ac regia auctoritate notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis, cum litteris in raso positis in Vª linea ubi dicitur et de redempcionibus eorumdem et cum tercia parte decime et cum monetatico, et in XIª linea ubi legitur et tercia parte decime et etiam monetaticum, et in XIIª linea, ubi continetur tercia parte et monetatico loci de Murla et in XXXª prima ubi dicitur honoratum et de mero et mixto imperio et tercia parte decime et in XXX VIIª ubi legitur in feudalibus impignoracionibus permitabimus.

**Document number 3**

15th June 1328, Lleida.

The infante Pedro, count of Ribagorza, proceeds to appoint attorneys so that they could give the Vilanova family the possession of the Pop valley.


Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum quartodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

Noverint universi quod nos, infians Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie / et Impuriarum comes, attendentes nos vendidisse dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, uxori Raimundi de Villanova, quondam, ac Vitalone, ipsorum coniugum filio, necnon venerabili Vitali de Villanova, tutori et curatori testamentario Vitaloni predicti, castrum nostrum de Pop, situm in regno Valencie, cum tota / valle eiusdem et eius mero et mixto imperio ac cum eius terminis, pertinentiis et iuribus universis ad feudum videlicet honoratum sine aliquo servicio. Vendidisse eis etiam per franchum et liberum alodium merum et mixtum imperium et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loco de Murla, prout in instrumento dictæ / venditionis plenius continetur. Idcirco, volens emptores predictos inducere in plenam et corporalem seu quasi possessionem omnium premissorum, cum presenti publico instrumento facimus, constituimus ac etiam ordinamus certos et speciales procuratores nostros vobis, Raimundi Castellani et Macianum Despelunt-/ cis, consiliarios nostros, et Guillermum Texeda, de domo nostra, licet absentem tanquam presentes, quemlibet vestrum in solidum. Ita quod occupantis condicio potior non existat ad tradendum pro nobis et
nomine nostro dicte Marie Latronis ac dicto Vitalone necnon Vitali de Villanova nomine tutoris ipsius / vel cui voluerit loco sui plenam et corporalem possessionem vel quasi castris predictis de Pop et eius vallis, meri et mixti imperii ac omnium iurium ipsius castri et vallis pro feudo, videlicet honorato, necnon ad recipiendum a domino rege vel a deputatis per ipsum ad hec ad tradendum predictis emortibus / possesione meri et mixti imperii, tercze partis decime et monetatici dicti loci seu alcharee de Murla pro franco, qui et libero alodio. Et ad faciendum eis fieri per habitatores castris predicti homagium, iuramentum fidelitatem et omniam aliquam que eorum dominis facere teneantur ad que nos / teneamur ex dicta vendicione per nos eis facta vel alia quacumque racione vel causa. Et ad faciendum fieri predicto Vitali de Villanova nomine proprio qui nunc precibus nostris cedit violario quod ex concesione regia percipiebat in dicto castro de Pop pro securitate ipsius violarii, quod / sibi super aliis locis duximus assignandum et eorum que sibi deebuntur occasione ipsius violarii sacrementum et homagium per homines de Gandia, de Denia et de Exabea, prout in instrumento inde per nos facto dicto Vitali plenus continetur. Et ad faciendum apochas vel apochas de soluto / et alias cautelas et absoluciones quascumque super precio antedicto. Necnon ad faciendum dividi et limitari terminos dicti castris et vallis de Pop cum terminis convicinis et eius contiguus. Et ad faciendum poni in ipsis divisis terminis mollones vel fitas et ad laudandum, fir-/mandum, approbandum ac ratificandum nomine et pro parte nostra omnes et singulas sentencias, divisiones, limitaciones mollonorum, fixuras que late et facte fuerunt in premissis. Et generaliter omnia alia et singula faciendum, explicandum et expediendum, firmandum et obligandum super /premissis et singulis et super intendentibus et emergentibus ac dependebantis ex premissis que eis necessaria et vobis expediencia videbuntur etiam si mandatum exigam speciale queque nos possemus personaliter constituti. Nam vobis et cullibet vestrum in solidum tradimus, concedimus atque committimus / super omnibus supradictis et singulis plenarie vices nostras et plenam, liberam et generalem amministracionem cum omni plenissima facultate. Promittentes vobis, dictis procuratoribus et cullibet vestrum in solidum ac notario infrascripto stipulanti, paciscenti et recipienti nomine vestro / et dictionem emortorum et omni aliorum quorum interest intereret ac interesse poterit in futurum nos gratum et ratum ac firmum habere perpetuo quicquid per vos et quemlibet vestrum in solidum super predictis et quolibet predictorum actu, gestum fuerit ac etiam procuratum et nullo tempore revocare / sub honorum nosorum omnium ypotheca.

Quod est actum Ilerde, septimo decimo kalendis iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.

S [cross] num infantis Petri predicti, qui hec concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes sunt: Gaucerandus de Vilarig, miles; Petrus d’Espens, consiliarii, et Jacobus Fivellarii, scriptor potioris dicti domini infantis. /

Sig [cross] num Dominici de Biscarra, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem eiusdem, qui hec scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis. /

S [cross] num Jacobi Crespi, iusticie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit et decretum. /
Sig [cross] num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobo Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati iusticie eius vissu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit. /

Sig [cross] num Geraldi de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatari ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit loco, die et anno in prima linea expressatis. /

**Document number 4**

16th July 1328.
Marking off the boundaries and divisions of the Pop valley.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum sextodecimo kalendis decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentessimo tricesimo secundo, sumptum a quodam publico instrumento tenor cuius sequitur per hec verba.

In Christi nomine. Sapien tuit que dispate, septimo idus iulii anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo, / el loch de Gandia lo senyor En Vidal de Vilanova, per provisió del sant pare apostoli comanador maior de Muntalbà, presentà a l´honrat n´Orrigo de Quintavall una letra en paper del senyor rey, oberta e segellada ab son segell, de la qual és aytal.

Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, Valencie, / Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, dilectis nostris Enrico de Quintavalle et Raymundo Costa, militibus, salutem et dileccionem.

Cum racione terminorum castri de Pop, siti in regno Valencie, et quorundam aliorum castrorum seu locorum cono vicinorum dicto castro inter inclitum infantem Petrum, Ripacurcie et Impuriarum co-mitem, karissimum fratrem nostrum, ad quem velut ad proprietarium dicti castri, idem castrum finito volario infrascripto debet devolvi, seu venerabilem et dilectum consiliarium nostrum Vitalem de Villanova, comendatorem Montisalbani, dictum castrum ad violarium detinentem, ex partem unam, et quasdam alias personas in ipsius castri / convicino populatis, ex parte altera, controversia seu questio at exorta seu oriri speretur. Nosque ipsam questionem [corrupted] vel alterum vestrum velimus decidi. Ideo, vobis et utrique vestrum expressim vel alterum vestrum velimus decidi. Ideo, vobis et utrique vestrum expresse dicimus, cum omnibus et mandamus quatenus vocatis ecovisus ad dicta castra seu loca vos vel alter vestrum personaliter acce-ndo visisque ad occulum terminis supradictis certificetis vos de ipsis, tam per testes antiquos locorum circumvicinorum etiam per instrumenta publica, quam alia legitima documenta, et ipsa certificacionem habita seu recepta terminos ipsos dividatis, prout de foro et racione inveneritis faciendum, ponendo inibi mollones seu fitas / ad eternam rei memoriam et re deinceps insurget questione super ipsis. Nos enim in predictis et circa predicta vobis et utrique vestrum in solidum plenarie comitimus vices nostras.

Data Cesarauguste, septimo decimo kalendis iunii, anno Domini millesimo CCCº vicesimo octavo.
La qual letra presentada, lo dit honrat en Vidal de Vilanova requerí / lo damunt dit n’Orrigo de Quintaval que, enantàs a partício o divisió dels dits térmens, segons lo manament a ell feyt. Et lo dit honrat n’Orrigo dix que era aparellat d’obeyr lo manament del senyor rey en totes cases. Et, a instància del dit senyor En Vidal, cità lo noble en Bernat de Sarrià per / letra sua, segons que’s segueix.

Al molt noble e molt honrat senyor en Bernat de Sarrià, de mi, n’Orrigo de Quintaval, jutge per lo senyor rey assignat a les coses deius scrites, salut ab bona honor. Sapiats, senyor, que yo he rebuda una carta del senyor rey, la tenor de la qual és aytal. / Alfonsus, Dei gratia rex Aragonum, et cetera, segons que damunt és contengut pus longament, hi fo tota encorporada et après de la data fo hi ajustat, ço que’s segueix, per que de part del senyor rey vos dich e us man e de la mia vos prech que, dins VI dies comptadors de la recepció de les presents, / comparegats per vós o per vostre procurador ledesmament stablit denant mi en la vall de Pop, aparellat de mostrar del dret que havets en els térmens dels castells e lochs vostres, veïns e contigües dels térmens del castell e vall de Pop e en altra manera enantat en les cases damunt dites, segons que de fur / e de rahó serà faedor. En altra manera passat lo dit terme, lo qual peremptori vos assigne, yo enantaria en lo dit feyt segons que serà faedor de fur e de rahó, no contrastant vostra absència e requerent vostra contumàcia. Data in loco Gandie, septimo idus iulii, anno infrascripto.

En après / el dit dia al dit noble assignat, comparech en la vall de Pop en Guillem Texeda, procurador del molt alt senyor inffant en Pere, havent plen poder a les cases deius scrites, segons que a mi, notari, fo cert per carta pública per en Domingo de Biscarra, per auctoritat del senyor rey notari per tota la / sua senyoria, fya septimodecimo kalendis iulii, anno predicto, d’una part. Encara comparech per nom del dit noble en Pelegrí Romeu ab alguns moros veyls de Tàrbera e de Castell, de l’altra. Et lo dit jutge, ensemps ab los damunts dits Guillem Texeda e En Pelegrí Romeu, per nom / que dit és, e ab los dits moros de Tàrbera e de Castell e ab d’altres moros de la vayl de Pop anà als dits térmens a departir. Et com fo el dit loch, certificàs ab los pus antinchs moros de cascuna de les parts axí com mils poch ne pus plenerament dels dits térmens on se devien partir e en / qual loch se devien mollonar. Et haüda certificació, departí per sa sentència los dits térmens en aquesta manera.

Con yo, n’Orrigo de Quintavall damunt dit, vista la comissió e manament del dit senyor rey a mi fet e altres cases que a determinar los dits térmens veure pogui se en a manera / de jutge e haven Deus solament denant mos huûls dich e pronunciu, per ma sentència, que los térmens de la vall de Pop e de Tàrbera e de Castell affroten a la part d’Almorog, ço és a la Carayra a un estret a avall l’Almorotg on fa punta lo cingle de la rocha tallada, axí que lo dit cingle de les / roques tallades a avall roman terme de Pop, e, de les cingles a amunt, roman per terme de Tàrbera, és axí emperó que de la dita Carayra hon fa punta lo dit cingle del hom comptar IIII barranchs que venen ferir en lo dit cingle e del qual barranch, ço és del cap del cingle hon lo dit barranch/ a punta deu ferir a fita cuberta sus el cap de la rocha tallada, la.
qual és appellada Alcubla. Et del cap de la dita rocha appellada Alcubla va ferir a la punta pus alta de sobrecap dalmuntanyer, axí que de la dita punta pus alta roman ves terme de Pop a avayl per terme de Pop e de la / dita punta a enlà de terme de Tàrbena, la qual damunt dita punta dalmontanery pus alta can ve que hom és en lo toçal de Bercha Cilim e guarda hom devés l’Alcubla veu hom la dita punta pus alta, axí que ninguna altra no-m par pus alta roman de vers lo terme de / Tàrbena Matil Albecim et Matil Tutilla. Et del dit cap dalmuntanyer, ço és de la dita punta pus alta, va dret ferir a la rocha de Penalba e per lo cap de la serra va ferir vers Coyl de Rates e les vertens de les dites montanyes devés Pop e devés Parçen, axí com hom les pot / veure lo mirar de Parçen, romanen per terme de Pop, aygües vertens del cap de les dites montanyes a avant ves Tàrbena roman per terme de Tàrbena. Emperò és axí que les guareytetes que són o la terra que-s pot laurar en lo Coyl de Rates prop la rocha del castell, la hon passa lo / camí, roman a Tàrbena tro al molló que perteix terme entre Pop e Exaló. Item, dich e pronuncian lo terme de Castell ab lo terme de Pop que perteix terme de la part dayant ab lo barranch de Huedardach que va ferir al riu de Hualdmayça, lo qual barranch és miger axí com talla a avant / tro sus a les roques on comença lo pla de la montanya hom s’es fet un claper de pedres en la dita roqua. Les quals roques són sobre-l dit barranch a la part devés la part de la vayl d’Almedech, terme de Pop, axí que devés les roquetes e claper devés lo barranch roman per terme d’Ayant terme / de Castell. Et de les dites roquetes e claper devés la dita vayll d’Almedech roman per terme de Pop aygües vertens e de les dites roquetes e claper vasen hom dreta linya per lo cerito a un puyet que hi pot haver un cir de pedra de ma dom e aquí en lo dit puyet ha un claper de pedres / et del dit claper de pedres per lo cerrito a avant devés les terres panificades de Tàrbena e d’Ayant vassen dret per lo cerito ha un toçale ha un altre claper de pedres e les vertens devés la vayl d’Almedech romanen per terme de Pop e de los dits ceritos e clapers devés / Ayant roman per terme de Castell e del dit toçale hon és lo dit claper de pedres pren hom per lo socosta un poch de la vayl d’Almedech e traversa hom la carrera hon apunta un barranch e puxa de la vayl d’Almedech e, sus en la punta del barranch alt en la loma, / pren a hom per la loma a avall, axí que-l dit barranch roman per terme de Pop e per la loma avall ha un claper de pedres e del dit claper de pedres va hom a fita cuberta al estret d’Alcarayta, que és en lo cap de la vayl d’Almedech, alí on s’afronten los termens de Pop e / de Tàrbena e de Castell. Et de la dita loma prop la punta del dit barranch e camí devés les laurades d’Ayant e devés Almorog tro en lo cap del dit estret appellat Alcarayta alt sobre-ls cingles de les roques roman ab l’Almorog per terme de Castell. Com del/ dit estret e cingles de roques segons que va ferir al dit molló de la dita loma segons que damunt dit és a avall ves les vertens roman per terme de Pop. Et tots los sobre dits clapers de pedres hi foren posats en presència de les parts.

Quod est actum apud alcharea / de Benigemble, septimodecimo kalendis augusti, anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo octavo.
Presents lo dit en Guillem Texeda, procurador del dit senyor infant en Pere, e en Pelegrí Romeu per nom del dit noble en Bernat de Sarrià, qui spressament la present sentència loaren e aproven.


Foren-hi encara presens per testimonis en Pere Fuster, tenent loch de batle en Xàtiva, Steve Suau, Pascal Descallar, Domingo d’en Ana, Martin Perez de Vera, Garcia Martí, Arnau Cau, Çaýt Abuxaxell, alcadi de la vayl de Exaló, et Ramon Solzina.

Sig (symbol) num Galcerandi de Lobera, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totam terram et dominacionem domini regis, qui premissis interfuit et hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis.

S (cross) num Jacobi Crespi, justicie Valencie in civili, qui viso prefato originali instrumento huic translato auctoritatem suam prestitit ac decretum.

Sig (symbol) num Philipi de Rossilione, notarii publici Valencie, auctoritate regia et curie eiusdem pro Jacobi Scribe, qui auctoritatem prefati justicie eius iussu in hoc translato apposuit ac scripsit.

Sig (symbol) num Geraldi de Benviure, notarii publici Valencie, qui hec fecit fideliter translatari ac cum suo originali comprobavit et clausit.

**Document number 5**

8th December 1341, Murla.

Establishment of population in the Almadig valley, within the area of the Pop castle, carried out by Maria Lladró for certain Muslims living in Murla.

Estat, BordEr and agricultural Expansion In thE South of thE Kingdom


populare, crescere, alimentare, agricultare et meliorare. Ideo, in Dei nomine et eius divina
gracia per nos et omnes nostros, presentes pariterque futuros, populamus sive ad populam /
novam sub formis retencionibus et conditionibus infrascriptis donamus, tradimus, stabilimus
atque concedimus vobis Somade Abenacim, Mahometa Atzintar, Abraham Abolaix, Azmeto,
filio de Çayt Abençaydo, Azmeto Alvalençi, Atanar Azmeto, Açim Abenacim, Hilel / Abolaix,
Çaat Podies, Solomen, filio de Taher Atzintar, Azmeto, filio Mahometi Ayeix, Ayeix Caydo,
Jahiël, filio de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayeix, Ali, filio Azmeto Caydo, Caat Aldurrarfe, Azmeto
Alcayla et Faraig Abenacim, sarracenis et habitatori- / bus in dicto loco de Murla, equis
partibus inter vos, presentibus et recipipiens et utrique vestrum et vestriss ad imperpetuum
vallem predictam nostram de Almedich, prout confrontatur cum terris nostris et nobis
restantibus vallis de Pop et cum termino Tarbene et cum termino vallis de / Castell et cum
camino publico per quod homo tenditur apud Ayalt et Godalest. Iamdictam itaque vallem,
ut superius confrontatur et terminatur, videlicet domus seu hospicia que ibi feceritis cum solis
rectis peritetibus supprapositis et fundamentalis, a c elo in abissum, et terras seu po-
sessions que ibi sunt cum aquis, cequis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint
aut fuerint, introytibus, exitibus, afrentagonibus ac pertinentiis suis universis et singulis
per omnia loca. Sic vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestrisset perpetuo et equis partibus donamus, /
tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus in hunc modum, videlicet quospiam vallem laboretis
seu Agriculti et melioretis et in aliqno non deterioretis ad usum et consuetudinem honorum
laboratorum et adquisitorum. Et quod faciatis seu edificetis ibi quisque vestrum do-
/ mos vestris seu hospicia que incipietis facere seu prepari in hoc anno primo venturo et completo
et ibi manere teneamini et semper facere residenciam personalem. In adiutorio cuiuscumque
operis dictorum domorum nos damus cuicumque vestrum viginti solidos et de gracia spe-
ciali quos nunquam nobis nec nostris dare, solvere ac tradere teneami. Immo sint vestri et
vestrorum perpetuo et in aiutorio dicti operis ut dictum est. Et quod vos et vestri detis ac dare
teneamini nobis et nostris perpetuo et quoliet annio pro ñusu et iure nostro quisque vestrum
/ quinta parte omnium fructuum et expletorum arborum, vinarum, terrarum ac bladorum
et quorumcumque seminum que in dicta valle colligeritis, habueritis et Deus ibidem dederit.
Detis inquam nobis et nostris pro ñusu dictarum domorum seu hospiciorum vestrorum
perpetuo et / quoliet anno in festi natalis Domini unum par gallinarum. Detis etiam
perpetuo et annuatim pro quilibet capite animalium seu vultuum vestrorum propriorum que
ibi habueritis et tenueritis unum denarium. Et pro qualiet colmena apum seu abellarum
/ similiter alium denarium. Et quod teneamini ibi facere plantare quilibet vestrum vineas
et figueralles et alias plantas, quas vineas, figueralles ac plantas faciatis et facere teneamini
hinc ad quatuor annos primos, venturos et completos. Et nos de gracia speciali con-
cedimus vobis quos vos eligatis per nos in et quilibet anno duos vestros qui cum officiale nostro estiment
seu acarraçent expleta que in dicta valle fuerint. Et quod non eligatis seu proclametis alium
dominum seu patronum, nisi tantum nos et sucessores / nostros. Et sic vos et quilibet vestrums
et vestri sucessores amodo habeatis predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento
facto et faciendo teneantis, possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum,
impignorandum, alienandum, obligan- / dum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestrums et vestrarum
voluntates perpetuo faciendas, exceptis militibus atque sanctis, clericis ac personis religiosis.
Salvo tamen semper nobis et nostris censu et parte et aliis iuribus predictis dominio, laudimiis
et faticis et alio ple- / no iure emphiteutico in omnibus ad forum Valencia. Promittentes in fide

bona convenientes predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo
vobis et vestris perpetuo defendere et salvare et facere, habere, tenere, possidere et expletare / 
quiete, potenter et in sana pace contra omnes personas conquerentes vel aliquld perturbantes
ad forum Valencie. Et tenemur inde vobis et vestris perpetuo de firma et legali eviccione et ab
omni dampno ac etiam interesse. Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris nos et / omnia bona
nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Preterea confirmetur et in veritate
recognoscimus nos a vobis habuisse et recipisse pro intrata huius stabilimenti duas carricas
lignorum seu lenye quare renunciamus scierter / omni exceptioni intrate predicte a vobis non
habite et recepte, ut predictitur et doli. Ad hec autem vos, dicti Somade Abenaçim, Mahometus
Atzintar, Abrafim Abolaix, Azmetus, filius de Cayd Abencaydo, Azmetus Alvalenci, Atnayar
Azmetus, Acim Abenacim, Hilell Abolaix, Çaat [corrupted] filius de Taher Atzintar, Azmetus,
filius Mahometi Ayeix, Abeyx Caydo, Jahiel, filius de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiaye [corrupted]
Caydo, Çaat Abdurrafe, Azmetus / Alcayla et Faraq Abenaçim, sarraceni sepedici [corrupted]
a vobis, domina supradicta, stabilimentum predictum ad dictum censum, partem et tributum
et ad dictam intratam, et sub formis retencionibus et comissionibus antedictis. Promitentes et
fide bona convenien-tes predictam vallem et partem ipsius culibet vestrum con[corrupted]
exermare, agricultare, plantare et meliorare et dictas domos seu hospicia nostra ibi facere et
defficicare et hoc adversum convenientem bonorum populorum, agricultorum et adquisitorum
/ et dictam partem censum, tributum et omnia alia iura nostra per vos superius penes vos
retenta vobis et vestris solvere et deliberare perpetuo et quolibet anno, et omnia alia supradicta
per vos et quamlibet vestrum attendenda et compleienda vobis et vestriss attendere / et compleure ut
superius dicta scripta ac narrata [corrupted] Obligantes scierter ad hec vobis et vestris, videlicet
quilibet vestrum pro parte sua vallis predicte omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita
et habenda, ubique. Renunciates super hiis çune et / xare sarracenorum et omni alii iuri
contra hec veniendi.

Quod est actum Murle, sexto idus decembris, anno Domini millesimo trecentessimo
quadragesimo primo.

S (cross) num nostri, dompne Marie Latrons de Vidaure.

S (cross) num So-/ made Abenaçim.

S (cross) num Mahometi Atzintar.

S (cross) num Abrafim Abolaix.

S (cross) num Azmeti, filii de Çayt Abençaydo.

S (cross) num Azmeti Alvalenci Atnayar.

S (cross) num Azmeti Açim Abenaçim.

S (cross) num Hilell Abolaix.
S (cross) num / Çaat Pero Dies.

S (cross) num Solomen, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cross) num Azmeti, filii Mahometi Ayeix.

S (cross) num Ayeix Çaydo.

S (cross) num Jahiel, filii de Taher Atzintar.

S (cross) num Çaat Hiayeix.

S (cross) num Ali, filii Azmeti /Çaydo.

S (cross) num Çaat Abdurrafe.

S (cross) num Azmeti Alcayla.

S (cross) num Faraig Abenaçim,

...sarracenorum populatorum et adquisitorum predictorum, qui hec laudamus, approbamus et omnibus concedimus et firmamus. /


Sig (symbol) num Mathei Boix, auctoritate regia notarii publici per totum regnum Valencie, qui hec scripsit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis.