

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

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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

Crown of Aragon, kingdom of Valencia, lordship, repopulation, thirteenth-fourteenth centuries.

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*² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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 from 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 thank 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.

2. “the central centuries of the Middle Ages”. Barlett, Robert. *La formación de Europa. Conquista, civilización y cambio cultural, 950-1350*. Valencia: Universitat de València-Universidad de Granada, 2003: 17

3. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation of de southern frontier of Valencia, 1270-1330”. *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 5 (2011): 193-213.

4. See Torró, Josep. “El problema del hábitat fortificado en el sur del reino de Valencia después de la segunda revuelta mudéjar (1276-1304)”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 7 (1988-89): 53-81. Torró, Josep. “Sobre ordenament feudal del territori i trasbalsaments del poblament mudéjar. La Montanea Valencie (1286-1291)”. *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament*, 7 (1988-89): 95-124. Torró, Josep. “L’assalt a la terra. Qüestions sobre l’abast de la colonització feudal al regne de València (1233-1304)”, *Histoire et archeologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, Phillippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan, 1995: 324-325. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana. Los musulmanes de Valencia (siglos XI-XIII)*. Madrid: Editorial Biblioteca Nueva, 2001: 613-645 (chapter 19). Guinot, Enric. “L’escenari de les senyories medievals a la comarca de la Marina Alta”, *II Jornades d’Estudis ‘Carmel Giner Bolufer’ de Pego y les Valls*. Pego: Ajuntament de Pego, 2007: 83-110. Cabezuelo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: 195-196.



the fortress, of which news additionally exists about improvement works.⁵ Sanchis Sivera mentioned in his *Nomenclator* that the remains of that fortification were still visible at the beginning of last century.⁶ Robert Ignatius Burns even wrote that it *comprenia un doble castell en dos pics de la serra que domina la Vall de Pop* and that Pedro el Grande ordered its destruction in 1285.⁷ 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*.⁸ 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.⁹ 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 interrogatus per dictum Petrum Gasconi pro quo domino tenebat castrum de Pop, qui dictus Pasquasius, presentibus testibus infrascriptis, respondit quod ipse erat alcaydus dicti castri de Pop et tenebat ipsum pro venerabili Petro de Vilanova, domino vallis et castri predicti de Pop*.¹⁰ Beyond the architectural virtuality and the legal reality, what we can state is, as effectively suggested by Pierre Guichard,¹¹ 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

5. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo y valle de Pop durante la Edad Media: contribución al estudio de los señoríos valencianos”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 26. Soldevila, Ferran. *Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1995: II, 65 (doc. No. 12). Torró, Josep. *El naixement d’una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. València: Universitat de València, 1999: 63, 65.

6. Sanchis, José. *Nomenclator geográfico-eclesiástico 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.* València: Tipografía Moderna a cargo de Miguel Gimeno, 1922: 347.

7. “In included a double castle in between two peaks of the mountain range that dominates the Pop valley”. Burns, Robert I. *Moros, cristians i jueus en el regne de València. Societats en simbiosi*. València: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 360.

8. “Pop is nothing more than the use of a relief for a temporary refuge without construction which have a difficult access”. Bazzana, André. *Maisons d’Al Andalus. Habitat médiéval et structures du peuplement dans l’Espagne orientale*. Madrid: Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 1992: 303-304. See likewise Guichard, Pierre. *Nuestra Historia*. València: Mas-Ivars Editores, 1980: III, 32.

9. “A place without construction”. Bazzana, André; Cressier, Patrice; Guichard, Pierre. *Les châteaux ruraux d’Al Andalus. Histoire et archéologie médiévales des husun du Sud-Est de l’Espagne*. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1988: 85-88.

10. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15.

11. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-24.



also exist to population environments such as *universitates seu aliame sarracenorum vallis de Pop et loci de Murta*, 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

12. Halfway through the 16th century, in the ceremony during which Pedro took possession of the place of Benigembla from Pere Andreu, a reference is made to that site inside the Barony of Parcent. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.44, D.3 (8th February 1563). See Costa, José. *El Marquesat de Dènia. Estudio geográfico*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1977: 4-5.

13. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 264v-265r (26th September 1296).

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).

16. Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 23-26. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus...: 254-255, 258, 266-267*.

17. Furió, Antoni. “Senyors i senyories al País Valencià al final de l’edat Mitjana”. *Revista d’Història Medieval*, 8 (1997): 111. Cabezuolo, José V. “The seigneurialisation...”: p. 201. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña. Creación y destrucción del señorío de Bernat de Sarrià*, forthcoming.

18. ACA. C. reg. 194, ff. 265r-265v (26th September 1296). Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 24-25.



with Jaime II.¹⁹ 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 1296.²⁰

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.²¹ 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.²² 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 *familiarem*. 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.²³

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

19. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (1327-1357). La encomienda de Montalbán bajo Vidal de Vilanova*. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988: 41. The counselor figure as an image of the good governance in Cortijo, Adelaida. *La literatura especular de la Edad Media: una imagen de gobierno*, Santa Barbara: Publications of eHumanista, 2012: 177-178.

20. ACA. C. reg. 292, ff. 1r-4r (27th July 1296). See Cabezuelo, José V. “Que me podiesse lamar e sea daqui adelant príncipe de Villena e de la otra terra que jo he en el vuestro senyorio. Don Juan Manuel y la Corona de Aragón”. *Mirabilia. News Approches in the Research of the Crown of Aragon*, 5 (2017): 116-150.

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 regne 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).

25. Martínez, Jesús E. *Jaume II o el seny català*. Barcelona: Aedos, 1956: 174-175, 197-199. Martínez, Jesús E. *Els descendents de Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1980: 113-114. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 41-43. Péquignot, Stéphane. *Au nom du roi. Pratique diplomatique et pouvoir durant le règne de Jacques II d'Aragon (1291-1327)*. Madrid: Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez, 2009: 215-126, 629.

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). Cabezuolo, José V. "Formas feudales en el traspaso de la posesión de fortalezas ad Consuetudinem Yspanie", *Alcaidías y fortalezas en la España medieval*, José V. Cabezuolo, ed. Alcoy: Marfil, 2006: 169.

Pere received the job as the keeper of Xàtiva in May 1338, with a *retenencia* of 7,500 *sueldos* and the exploitation of a vineyard next to the fortress, as his predecessors had been doing. And, despite some moments of intermittence, either by the appointment of another keeper—as was the case of Gilabert de Centelles—or by his own absences, when he resigned in 1350 in order to be able to do the jubilee in Rome *eundi ac visitandi basilicas beatorum Petri et Pauli*, his position being occupied by a relative—Vidaló de Vilanova—or when he had to travel to Castile the following year to sort out some personal matters, he remained as the keeper of Xàtiva until the beginning of that decade. This position as a keeper was quite important because, in addition to the fact that Xàtiva had become strategically relevant for the defensive arrangement of the kingdom of Valencia, it also kept Jaime de Mallorca, nephew of Pedro IV, as a prisoner at the time. ACA. C. reg. 1464, f. 22v (23rd September 1350); f. 25r (18th August 1351).

31. ACA. C. reg. 222, ff. 14r-15v. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.33, D.50 (22nd May 1322).

32. See Zurita, Jerónimo. *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas. Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1978: III, 148-149 (book VI, chapter XL). Guinot, Enric. "Reflexions al voltant del senyoriu i el realenc: Pego, segles XIII i XIV", *Primer Congrés d'Estudis de La Marina Alta*. Alicante: Institut d'Estudis Juan Gil-Abert, 1986: 191-195. Guinot, Enric. "'Donamus et concedimus vobis'. Monarquía i senyorialització del patrimoni reial al País Valencià en temps de Jaume II", *XV Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Zaragoza: Gobierno de Aragón-Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1996: I, 2, 226-227. Pastor, José Luís. *Gandia en la baixa Edat Mitjana: la Vila i el Senyoriu dels Borja*- Gandía: Centre d'Estudis i Investigacions Comarcals Alfons el Vell, 1992: 53-54, 130-132. Cabezuolo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 206-210. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

33. Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



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*.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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.³⁶

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 debebamus, tam in mero et mixto imperio et alia jurisdictione, 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, Vilaragut 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 de 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.

38. Fullana, Luís. "La casa de Lauria en el reino de Valencia", *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta del hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1923: 1 (reedited Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2004: 65-164). Cabezuelo, José V. *Poder público y administración territorial en el reino de Valencia, 1239-1348. El oficio de la Procuración*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1998: 152-153; Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 206-211.

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).

42. One of Vidal de Vilanova's sons died during the Sardinia campaign in 1323. "Crònica de Pere el Cerimoniós", *Les Quatre Grands Cròniques*, ed. Ferran Soldevila. Barcelona: Selecta, 1971: 1016. Sáinz de la Maza, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago...*: 43. Another of his daughters, called Agnès, married Bernat de Vilaragut, son of Berenguer de Vilaragut, lord of Albaida, and of Gerdal. ACA. C. reg. 181, ff. 115v-116r (26th January 1324).

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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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*⁴⁷ and jurisdictional rights—mere and mixed empire—of Murla⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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).

49. Documentary appendix, doc. No. 2. ACA. C. reg. 475, f. 101v (16th June 1328). Guichard, Pierre. “El castillo...”: 27.

50. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 1.



title and the patrimony of Ampurias in return for the town of Pego and the valleys of Laguar and Xaló,⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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.⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ On June 15th, the seller designated Ramon Castellà, Macià Desplugues and Guillem Tejada 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.⁵⁵

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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ Within that context of deep enmity, Sarrià did not hesitate to

51. Sobrequés, Santiago. *Els Barons de Catalunya*. Barcelona: Vicens-Vives, 1989: 3, 83-85.

52. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.46, D.15.

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 Tàrbena and to other possessions of this noble to buy a certain amount of cereal—40 *cahíces* [capacity measure] of wheat and 60 of barley—which of course was snatched from him.⁵⁸ 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 1332.⁵⁹ 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).

59. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.9 (11th December 1332).

60. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.10.



case to the legal experience of Guillem de Jàffer, *legum professor*.⁶¹ 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,⁶² 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,⁶³ 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.⁶⁴ 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, quamdiu nobis placuerit, merum imperium et aliam jurisdictionem criminalem et civilem in castro vocato de Murla, situado in regno Valencie, et terminis suis, prout nos ipsam inibi habere consuevimus sive etiam exercere*.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ Pierre Guichard also noticed that this jurisdictional assignment clashed head-on with the sale of those rights to the Vilanova family.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ 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 Desplugues and later

61. ACA. C. reg. 475, ff. 98v-99r (15th June 1328).

62. ACA. C. reg. 184, f. 55r (11th September 1324). Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 25. Cabezuolo, José V. "The seigneurialisation...": 199 and 203 and Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 1.

63. Cabezuolo, 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).

67. Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 30.

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-llòbrega and subsequently Jaume d'Artes 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-llòbrega 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).



Pericó Mercer, on another.⁷⁶ 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.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ Shortly after, he granted to that noblewoman the mere empire over that place.⁷⁹ 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 Lladró, 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.⁸⁰ 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.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.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.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.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.⁸⁵ In fact, the property ended up inside the Vilanova estate.⁸⁶

81. ACA. C, reg. 447, f. 195v (17th July 1331).

82. ACA. C, reg. 445, f. 170r (29th May 1331).

83. ACA. C, reg. 470, f. 203r (3rd October 1335).

84. ACA. C, reg. 595, f. 217r ([11th August] 1338). ACA. C, cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 990 (28th January 1341). Cabezuolo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

85. ACA. C, cc. rr. Pedro IV, No. 569 (7th April 1338).

86. ACA. C, cc. rr. Pedro IV, No. 1945 (1st August 1382).



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,⁸⁷ and who had shortly before taken part, at Jaime II's request and together with the general bailiff Bernat Çanou 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.⁸⁸ 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 Tejada, 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*—⁸⁹ 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

87. Picatoste, Pedro C. "Intereses transalpinos de Jaime II en la época de la conquista del reino de Murcia. La donación de los calatravos al infante Juan en 1304". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 11 (1996-1997): 457-464. Péquignot, Stéphane. Au nom du roi...: 239.

88. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

89. About the toponym Caraita, see Herrero, Abelardo. "Toponimia premusulmana de Alicante a través de la documentación medieval (II)". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 4-5 (1986): 18-19.



de Sarrià, a group of people, Christians and Muslims from those lands and some neighbouring 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.

92. See Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal..."; Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 88-99.

93. Cabezuelo, José V. "The seigneurialisation..."; Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

94. See Fourquin, Guy. *Histoire économique de l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: A. Colin, 1979: 245-258. Duby, Georges. *Economía rural y vida campesina en el Occidente medieval*. Barcelona: Editorial Península, 1973: 379 and following. Bois, Guy. *La gran depresión medieval: siglos XIV-XV. El precedente de una crisis sistémica*. Madrid-Valencia: Biblioteca Nueva-Universidad de Valencia, 2001: 63-74.

95. Torró, Josep. "L'assalt a la terra...": 234-235. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 119-124.

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 Gràf., 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, cequiis 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

99. Documentary Appendix, doc. No. 5.

100. See: Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 17-18 and 63-64. Bru, María; Costa, José; Gisbert, Josep A., eds. *Atlas de la Marina Alta*. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant, 1993: 15-27, 51-52. See: Cartografía militar de España, Mapa General, Serie L, 30-32 (822).

101. For the Valencian case see: Epalza, Mikel de; Rubiera, María J. "La sofra (sujra) en el Sharq Al-Andalus antes de la conquista catalano-aragonesa". *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 33-37.



Such ground rent, legally supported on the *furs* already in Jaime I's times,¹⁰² mentions one fifth of the total production, without making any specifications about non-irrigated or irrigation areas —*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.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,¹⁰⁴ and also to tree-growing and cereal-growing productions associated with an improved non-irrigated land system.¹⁰⁵ Similarly, a more or less significant part of the production corresponded to figs and raisins —products explicitly mentioned in the *stabilimentum*— which were extremely profitable thanks to their easy and quick insertion in the international trade circuits from the nearby wharf of Dènia,¹⁰⁶ vines and fig trees soon becoming the “star cultivation” of a Mudejar agricultural production encouraged by the voracity of Christian landlords,¹⁰⁷ who in the case

Guichard, Pierre. “El problema de la sofra en el reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII”, *Estudios sobre historia medieval*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1987: 205-219. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval. Explotació potscoada de la València islàmica*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987: 214-234. López, Pedro. “Carácter plurifuncional de la sofra”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 17 (1987): 193-206. Guinot, Enric. “Sofras’ y prestaciones personales en los mudéjares valencianos”, *VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*. Actas. Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1995: 329-356.

102. *Furs de València*, eds. Germà Colon, Arcadi Garcia. Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1983: IV, 219-289 (book IV, rubric XXIII).

103. Guinot, Enric. *Cartes de poblament medievals valencianes*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991: 38.

104. Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 64.

105. Torró, Josep. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos. Las cargas agrarias en las aljamas musulmanas del reino de Valencia”, *Los tributos de la tierra. Fiscalidad y agricultura en España (siglos XII-XX)*, Rafael Posada, ed. Valencia: Universitat de València: 202.

106. Which since practically the end of the Christian conquest appears as the outlet for such productions. See Torró, Josep. *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.

107. See Gamal Abd-Al Karim. “La España musulmana en la obra de Yaqut (S. XII-XIII). Repertorio enciclopédico de ciudades, castillos y lugares de Al-Andalus, extraído del Muyam al-buldan (Diccionario de los países)”. *Cuadernos de Historia del Islam*, 6 (1975): 88. Epalza, Mikel de. “Estudio del texto de Al-Idrisi sobre Alicante”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Arabes*, 2 (1985): 215-232. Epalza, Mikel de. “Costas alicantinas y costas magrebíes: el espacio marítimo musulmán según los textos árabes”. *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios árabes*, 3 (1986): 30. Constable, Olivia R. *Comercio y comerciantes en la España musulmana. La reordenación comercial de la Península ibérica del 900 al 1500*. Barcelona: Ediciones Omega, 1997: 247-281 (in particular chapter 8). Ferrer, Maria T. “Figses, panses, fruita seca y torrons”, *La Mediterrània, àrea de convergència de sistemes alimentaris (segles V-XVIII)*, XIV Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals. Palma: Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, 1996: 191-208. Ferrer, Maria T. “Fruita seca, fruita assecada, una especialitat de l'àrea econòmica catalana-valenciana-balear”. *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 31/2 (2002): 883-943. Igual, David. *Valencia e Italia en el siglo XV. Rutas, mercados y hombres de negocios en el espacio económico del Mediterráneo occidental*. Castellón: Comité Económico y Social de la Comunidad Valenciana y Bancaixa-Fundació Caixa Castelló,



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 tinguen figuerals haien 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 landlords' delegates and the peasants

1998: 316. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-230. Barrio, Juan; Cabezuelo, José V. “Rentas y derechos señoriales de las morerías del valle de Elda a fines del siglo XV”, *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*. Teruel-Zaragoza: Centro de Estudios Mudéjares-Instituto de Estudios Turulenses 1999: 43-53. García, Juan V. *Vivir a crédito en la Valencia medieval. De los orígenes del sistema censal al endeudamiento del municipio*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2002: 25, note 13. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales y redes mercantiles marítimas en Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV*. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (Master Dissertation), 2006. Soler, Juan L. “Comercio musulmán versus comercio cristiano: la actividad de los mercaderes mudéjares y la producción de las aljamas sarracenas. Valencia, primera mitad del siglo XIV”. *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 14 (2003-2006): 229-247. Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*; Cabezuelo, José V. “Comercio y puertos comerciales en el señorío valenciano en el tránsito del siglo XIII al XIV”, unpublished. As an example of the Castilian case see Oliva, Hipólito R. “El mundo rural en la Corona de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media: dinámicas socioeconómicas y nuevas perspectivas de análisis”. *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 299.

108. “Still in the 19th century, the shippings of raisin to England were labelled as Pasa de Pop”. Costa, José. *El Marquesat...*: 189. In what regards this production, 182-262.

109. “All the moors of that valley had their fig trees well cultivated”. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.15. (1375).

110. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 202-203.

111. Riera, Antoni. “Crisis frumentarias y políticas municipales de abastecimiento en las ciudades catalanas durante la baja Edad Media”, *Crisis de subsistencia y crisis agrarias en la Edad Media*, Hipólito Rafael Olica, Pere Benito, eds. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2007: 147-151.

112. ACA. C. cc.rr. Pedro IV, No. 2887 (6th September 1344). See Cabezuelo, José V. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*

113. Torró, Josep. “Del almagram a las particiones de frutos...”.



over a crop estimate —a frequently used technique in the kingdom of Valencia known as *alfarrassament*.¹¹⁴ 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.¹¹⁵ 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.¹¹⁶ 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*;¹¹⁷ 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.¹¹⁸ 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*.¹¹⁹ Finally, a reference is also made to the exploitation of beehives, which paid one *dínero* 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.¹²⁰ 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.¹²¹ It seems more than evident that at this stage the coin has become —according to Hopólito Rafael Oliva— *en patró de referencia* for peasant economies.¹²²

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

114. See Febrer, Manuel V. *Dominio y explotación territorial en la Valencia foral*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2000: 138-139. Torró, Josep. "La dinámica...": 17-18.

115. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes de la Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988: 143-144.

116. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 141-142.

117. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. "La carta de població dels sarraïnes de la Vall d'Aiora (1328)". *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Árabes*, 3 (1986): 85.

118. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar en el reino de Valencia". *V Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1991: 119.

119. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 210-212. Ferrer, Maria Teresa. *Les aljames sarraïnes...*: 118-120, 142. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...": 118.

120. Burns, Robert I. *Colonialisme medieval...*: 220-222. Hinojosa, José. "Señorío y fiscalidad mudéjar...": 118.

121. Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 228-230.

122. "a reference pattern". Oliva, Hipólito R. "El mundo rural...": 323.



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, impignorandum, alienandum, obligandum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestras 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

123. Torró, Josep. "La dinámica...": 20.

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") Ferrer, 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 'Capítols' 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 Benilloba (Alicante). Dos comunidades mudéjares valencianas a fines de la Edad Media". *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 16-17 (1999-2002): 45-74.

126. Guichard, Pierre. *Al-Andalus frente a la conquista cristiana...*: 308-317.

127. See Torró, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 213-214.

128. Torró, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal del territori...": 109-114.



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 Abenaçim, 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 *castris et vallibus 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 alqueriis dicte vallibus*, 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 With the

129. Glassow, Michael A. "The concept of carrying capacity in the study of culture process". *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 1 (1978): 3148. Collected in Eiroa, Jorge A. "Pasado y presente de la arqueología de las alquerías". *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum*, 6 (2012): 398-399.

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.

131. Groom, Nigel A. *A Dictionary of Arabic Topography and Placenames*. Beirut: Longman & Librairie Du Liban, 1983: 159. I thank Professor Francisco Franco-Sánchez, a magnificent Arabist and better friend, for the clarification of this toponym.

132. Burns, Robert Iglesia. *El reino de Valencia en el siglo XIII (Iglesia y sociedad)*. Valencia: Del Cenia al Segura, 1982: I, 197. Burns, Robert I. *El regne croat de València. Un país de frontera al segle XIII*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1993: 199.

133. AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C.47, D.13.

134. Guichard, Pierre. "El castillo...": 24-25.



exception of *Benituerdi*, 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 border¹³⁵ 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 time¹³⁸ 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

135. Barrio, Juan A. "Un repartimiento inédito. El repartimiento de Orihuela de 1330", *VI Congreso de Estudios de Frontera, Población y poblamiento*. Alcalá la Real-Jaén: Diputación de Jaén, 2006: 79-92.

136. Furió, Antoni. "Disettes et famines en temps de croissance. Une révision de la crise de 1300: le royaume de Valence dans la première moitié du XIVe siècle", *Les disettes dans la conjoncture de 1300 en Méditerranée occidentale*, Monique Bourin, John Drendel, François Menant, eds. Rome: École Française de Rome, 2011: 343-416, 354-360, 384.

137. "at the threshold of the crisis". Borrero, Mercedes. "El mundo rural y la crisis del siglo XIV. Un tema historiográfico en proceso de revisión". *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 8 (2007): 49.

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139. See Cabezuelo, José V. "Segregación social y complementariedad económica de los mudéjares en la sociedad valenciana bajomedieval", *Islam i Cristiandat. Civilitzacions al món medieval / Islam y Cristiandad. Civilizaciones en el mundo medieval*, Elisa Varela, Gerardo Boto, eds. Girona: Documenta Universitaria, 2014: 251-255. Soler, Juan L. *Métodos comerciales...* Soler, Juan L. *El comercio en el reino de Valencia durante la primera mitad del siglo XIV: instituciones, rutas y grupos mercantiles*, 2 vols. Alicante: Universitat d'Alacant (PhD Dissertation), 2015. Courtesy of the author, Soler, Juan L. "Comercio musulmán...": 229-247. Soler, Juan L. "Relaciones comerciales entre Valencia y el Norte de África en la primera mitad del siglo XIV". *Miscelánea Medieval Murciana*, 37-38 (2003-2004): 125-157.



Europe, except for very concrete issues.¹⁴⁰ 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 context¹⁴¹ causes the dominant structure—which revolves around kings and lords—to activate mechanisms aimed at attracting non-exclusively Christian human elements to those areas,¹⁴² 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.¹⁴³ 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.

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143. ACA. C. reg. 860, f. 47v (second numbering), (17th October 1336) and reg. 872, ff. 74v-75r (26th October 1341).



Halfway 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 tranquillitate cum propia familia vivere*.¹⁴⁴ 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,¹⁴⁵ eventually getting hold of other places located in that southern border, such as Montixelvo, Terrateig or Castalla.¹⁴⁶

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*¹⁴⁷

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 continua 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 cuicumque 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 atque garricis et cum aquis et aqueductibus et cum furnis et molendinis et balneis et cum censibus, almaganis ac çofris, alfardis et cum cenis et monetaticis et cum iurisdiccioni 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 castris de Exaloc et ex alia parte cum termino castris de Tarbena. Iamdictum itaque castrum et villa de Pop cum omnibus supradictis et singulis damus et concedimus vobis, dicto Raimundo de

144. AHN. Nobleza. Parent. C.47, D.13.

145. ACA. C. cc.rr. 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 francho et libero alodio, prout melius dici potest et intelligi ad comodum 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 aprehenderitis potestatem quam liceat vobis aprehendere licenciam nostri minime expectato. Mandantes procuratoribus, baiulis, iusticiis, iuratis et universis aliis 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*¹⁴⁸

In Dei nomine, pateat universis quod nos, inffans Petrus, illustrissimi domini Jacobi, \bone memorie regis Aragonum filius, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum comes,/ etc. Bono animo et spontanea voluntate et ex certa sciencia 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 imperpetuum, 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 castri. 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, dictoque Vitalono, filio vestro, ac vectris perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori ac curatori predicto nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, pro feudo honorato iuxta Consuetudines Catha-// lonie, cum militibus et domiciliis 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, proventibus et iuribus universis, et cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis eorundem et singulorum, et cum iusticiis accum mero et mixto imperio et omni iurisdictione, et cum hoste, exercitum et cavalcata et redempcionibus eorundem, \et cum tertia decima/ et cum monetatico ac cum pace, guerra et adempriviis, talliis, collectis, subsidiis, questis, caloniis, districtibus, placitis et firmamentis, bannis, faticis, dominiis, carnalagais, herbaticis, mensuraticis, pensis, obvencionibus, invencionibus 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 vel aliis quibuscumque causis, iuribus sive modis. Predictam itaque vendicionem de dicto castro cum valle eiusdem facimus vobis, dicte Marie atque Vitalono et vestris acquibus velitis perpetuo, et vobis, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori predicto, nomine dicti pupilli, ementi et recipienti, sub hoc 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 Cathalonie 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 paccati, 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 Cathalonie quamdocumque et quocienscumque inde fueritis requisiti et alia facere que alii tenentes pro ipso domino rege in Cathalonie feuda honorata facere tenentur et debent. Et est sciendum 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 gratiis et certa sciencia vendimus et ex causa huius vendicionis tradimus et concedimus vobis, dicte Marie Latronis, et Vitalono, 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 terciam partem decime/ et etiam monetaticum alcharee seu loci de Murla, prout melius nobis competunt et ad nos spectant ex concessione seu concessionibus inde nobis factis per // illustrissimum dominum Alffonsum, regem Aragonum, karissimum fratrem nostrum, et alias quacumque racione vel causa. Hanc autem vendicionem et ex causa vendicionis, 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 Vitalono, filio vestro, et vestris et quibus velitis perpetuo ac vobis, dicto Vitali de Villanova, nomine tutoris supradicto, sicut superius continetur, prout melius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum vestrorumque comodum et salvamentum et bonum etiam intellectum. Extrahentes predicta omnia et singula que vobis vendimus de iure, dominio et posse nostri et successorum nostrorum eademque in vestrum vestrorumque 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 possideatis et tenere ac possidere possitis ex causa et titulo vendicionis presentis sic quod aliam tradicionem nos vobis facere non oporteat ex quo iam penes vos existit ratione vestri violarii supradicti. Preterea ex causa huius vendicionis et tradicionis cedimus 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 ratione dictarum donacionum et alias competant et competere possunt ac debent aliquo modo in predictis que supra vobis vendimus et contra quascumque personas et res ratione eorum quibus accionibus et iuribus supradictis possitis vos et vestri et quos volueritis perpetuo ute et experiri agendo, respondendo, deffendendo, excipiendo et replicaldo (sic) et omnia alia faciendo in iudicio et extra iudicium quecumque nos possemus ratione 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 vestram propriam ad faciendum inde vestras proprias voluntates sine contradiccione, impedimento et retencione quacumque nostri et successorum nostrorum et aliarum quarumlibet personarum. Mandantes cum testimonio huius publici instrumenti quod in hac parte volumus vicem epistole obtinere militibus, domicibus et aliis hominibus et feminis predicti castri cuiuscumque generis, gradus aut condicionis existant et sub fide qua nobis ratione dicte donacionis astricti sunt et tenentur quod vobis et vestris vel cui volueritis respondant et satisfaciant plenarie, integre et complete de omnibus singulis supradictis vobisque pareant, obendant et attendant atque homagium, iuramentum et fidelitatem prestant tanquam dominis eorundem. Nos enim ex nunc ut ex tunc et ex tunc ut ex nunc in posse notarii infrascripti paset paciscentis // pro personis quarum intersit absolvimus vos et eorum quemlibet ab omni fide, homagio, fidelitate et iuramento ac aliis omnibus quibus nobis ratione dicte donacionis ascripti sunt seu etiam obligati pro precio autem huius vendicionis confitemur nos habuisse et recepisse a vobis centum quadraginta mille solidorum regalium Valencie super quibus renunciamus et certa sciencia excepcioni non numerate peccunie et non recepte et doli, mali et in factum accioni. Renunciamus etiam quantum ad hec ex certa sciencia et consulte legi vel foro que subvenit deceptis ultra dimidia iustiprecii et omni alii 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 successores nostros promittimus vobis, dicte Marie, et Vitalono, eius filio vestro vobisque, dicto Vitali, tutori et curatori eisdem et eius nomine paciscenti et recipienti, quod predicta 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 tenebimur vobis et vestris de firma et legali eviccione eorum. Et si forsan aliqua vel alique persone facerent vel moverent vobis vel vestris aliquo tempore aliquam questionem, petitionem sive demandam in predictis que vobis vendimus vobis ratione eorum, promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod nos incontinenti cum a vobis vel vestris inde fuerimus requisiti opponemus nos deffensionem vestri et vestrorum et respondebimus et satisfacimus pro vobis et vestris cuilibet querelanti seu querelantibus et quod in principio litoris seu litiium suscipimus in nos anus litigii et agemus et ducemus causam seu causas propriis 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 eligeritis tractare et ducere causam seu causas in propria persona promittimus per nos et omnes successores nostros quod restituemus et solvemus vobis et vestris ad vestram voluntatem omnes expensas 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 facietis 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 probacionum 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 illustrissimum dominum Alfonso, regem Aragonum, fratrem nostrum karissimum, ut premissa concedat, laudet, approbet, ratificet et confirmet et se vobis etiam fideiussorem constituat pro premissis.

Ad hec nos, Alfonso, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comes Barchinone, considerantes predictam vendicionem de expresso assensu, licencia et voluntate nostra fore factam certificati ad plenum de substitutionibus, condicionibus et retencionibus appositis et adiectis in donacione dicto domini regis, patris nostri, vobis, dicto infanti Petro, fratri nostro karissimo, de dicto castro de Pop, ut premittitur facta ex si vos videlicet vel succesoribus vestri quicumque sine masculini aut femini sexus decederetis sive decederent quod absit quancumque 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 ac etiam reverteretur dictusque dominus rex et sui in eo casu predictum castrum de Pop et eius vallem recuperet et recuperare posset propria auctoritate absque aliquo impedimento, contradiccione, onere et obligacione vestri, dicti infantis Petri, atque vestrorum, prout in dicto instrumento vidimus contineri. Idcirco per nos et omnes successores nostros gratis et expontea voluntate predicta substitutione, condicione et retencione omnino sublatis ex pacto vendicionem predictam per dictum infantem Petrum, ut premittitur factam vobis, dilecte nostre Marie Latronis, et Vitalono de Villanova, filio vestro, vobisque dicto Vitali, nomine tutorio et curatorio dicti pupilli, de dicto castro de Pop et valle eiusdicto, cum videlicet iusticiis, mero et mixti imperio et omni iurisdictione et aliis superius in spe et genere expressatis ad feudum honoratum et de mero et mixti imperio \et tertia parte decime/ et monetatico pro alodio francho et quitio predictae alcaerie de Murla laudamus, probamus, ratificamus et ex certa sciencia confirmamus atque de novo concedimus et donamus prout melius et largius dici et intelligi potest ad vestrum commodum et vestrorum. Promittentes vobis quod racione dictarum substitutionum, condicionum vel retencionum nunquam contraveniemus vel aliquem contravenire faciemus aut etiam promittimus predictae vendicioni vel aliquibus supra contentis predictis racionibus vel quacumque alia racione vel causa. Et ad uberiores securitates vestri et vestrorum inducti precibus domini infantis Petri constituimus nos vobis pro eo fideiussores pro premissis omnibus attendendis et firmiter ad implendis et pro firma et legali eviccione omnium premissorum que vobis promittimus facere, tenere, habere et possidere vel quasi et inde vobis de eviccione teneri cum dicto infante et



sine eo contra omnes personas obligantes pro inde vobis et vestris omnia bona nostra // et renunciantes novo iuri dicendi quod prius conveniatur principal quam fideiussor et omni alii iuri, foro, rationi, statuto et consuetudine contra hec repugnacionibus quoquomodo. Et quia in carta dicte donacionis prefati domini genitoris nostri facta dicto infanti Petro specialiter continetur quod dictum castrum de Pop et cetera castra inibi expressata cum suis terminis et pertinentiis universis teneret dictus infans et sui in feudum honoratum pro dicto domino rege et herede suo universali qui esset rex Aragonum et Valencie eique tenerentur tradere potestatem cum inde existenter requisiti. Ideo volentes mentem et verba dicte donacionis et convenit rationi 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 iuramenti a nobis inferius prestiti quos directum et alodiarium dominium dicti castri de Pop et vallis ac terminorum eiusdem aut potestatem ipsius castri seu ius petendi ac recipiendi eandem. Nunquam dabimus, concedimus, vendimus, infeudabimus, impignerabimus, permutabimus, legabimus aut quocumque iure modo vel titulo alienabimus nec in alium sive fratrem aut filium nostrum preterquam in regem Aragonum et Valencie quomodolibet transferemus aut dividimus, aloditabimus, segregabimus vel quomodolibet separabimus a Corona regnorum Aragonum et Valencie, mediante vel immediate, imperpetuum ad violarium vel ad tempus immo ea omnia tenebimus nostre Corone regie perpetuo continue ac immediate incorporata, coniuncta, applicata, cognexa, pariter et unica, ita videlicet quod nos solum et successores nostri illi dumtaxat qui erunt pro tempore reges Aragonum et Valencie et non alii quicumque habeant directum pro alodiarium dominium ac potestatem in castro et valle predictis et terminis eorundem nec vos aut vestri alicui teneamini tradere potestatem nec de ipso feudo aliquatenus respondere vel alium dominum proclamare vel ei ratione dicti feudi perere. Immo si per nos aut successores nostros hiis existeret contrafactum predictum feudum reverteretur in alodium ipso facto vosque et vestri haberetis et teneretis dictum castrum pro franco alodio, quitio et immuni, nisi infra x dies post hostensionem huius publici instrumenti vel transumpti autentici eiusdem revocaretur alienacio supradicta et quicquid contra premissa existeret contra factum. Et ut premissa omnia maiori 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 ratione predicta. Itaque omnia et singula firmamus, pascimus et promittimus nos, rex, et infans predictis, in presencia manu et posse notarii infrascripti, recipientis, pascientis 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 interest, intererit aut interesse poterit quomodolibet in futurum.

In quorum omnium testimonium et cautelam presens publicum instrumentum nos, rex predictus, plumbee bulle nostre et nos, infans predictus, sigilli nostri appensione iussimus comuniri. Quod est actum in castro regio civitatis Ilerde, IIII^o kalendis iunii, anno Domini M^o CCC^o XX octavo.

Signum (blank) infantis Petri predicti, qui hec laudamus, concedimus et firmamus.



Signum (blank) Alfonsi, Dei gracia \regis/ Aragonum, Valencie, Sardinie et Corsice ac comitis 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; Gondiçalbus Garsie, consiliarius; Petrus de Castlarino; Petrus Despens; Jacobus de Arteriis, iudices Curie dicti domini regis; et Bernardus Pallaris, notarius dicti domini inffantis.

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 V^a linea ubi dicitur et de redempcionibus eorumdem et cum tercia parte decime et cum monetatico, et in XI^a linea ubi legitur et terciam partem decime et etiam monetaticum, et in XII^a linea, ubi continetur tercia parte et monetatico loci de Murla et in XXX^a prima ubi dicitur honoratum et de mero et mixto imperio et tercia parte decime et in XXX VII^a 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.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 2.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 8.

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, inffans 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 Vitalono, 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 cuius mero et mixto imperio ac cum eius terminis, pertinenciis 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 dicte / vendicionis 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 Guillermmum Texeda, de domo nostra, licet absentes 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 Vitalono necnon Vitali de Villanova nomine tutoris ipsius / vel cui voluerit loco sui plenam et corporalem possessionem vel quasi castri predicti 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 emptoribus / possessionem meri et mixti imperii, tercie partis decime et monetatici dicti loci seu alcharee de Murla pro francho, quitio et libero alodio. Et ad faciendum eis fieri per habitatores castri predicti homagium, iuramentum fidelitatem et omniam aliam 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 dicto Vitali de Villanova nomine proprio qui nunc precibus nostris cesit violario quod ex concessione regia percipiebat in dicto castro de Pop pro securitate ipsius violarii, quod / sibi super aliis locis duximus assignandum et eorum que sibi debebuntur occasione ipsius violarii sacramentum et homagium per homines de Gandia, de Denia et de Exabea, prout in instrumento inde per nos facto dicto Vitali plenius continetur. Et ad faciendum apocha vel apochas de soluto / et alias cautelas et absoluciones quascumque super precio antedicto. Necnon ad faciendum dividi et limitari terminos dicti castri et vallis de Pop cum terminis convicinis et eius contiguiis. 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 dependentibus ex premissis que eis necessaria et vobis expediencia videbuntur etiam si mandatum exigant speciale queque nos possemus personaliter constitui. Nam vobis et cuilibet vestrum in solidum tradimus, concedimus atque committimus / super omnibus supradictis et singulis plenarie vices nostras et plenam, liberam et generalem amministrationem cum omni plenissima facultate. Promittentes vobis, dictis procuratoribus et cuilibet vestrum in solidum ac notario infrascripto stipulanti, paciscenti et recipienti nomine vestro / et dictorum emptorum et omnium aliorum quorum interest intererit 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 actum, gestum fuerit ac etiam procuratum et nullo tempore revocare / sub bonorum nostrorum omnium ypotheca.

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

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

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

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 translatare 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.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 137, D. 14.

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

In Christi nomine. Sapien tuit que disapte, 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 convicinarum dicto castro inter inclitum inffantem Petrum, Rippacurcie et Impuriarum co-/ mitem, karissimum fratrem nostrum, ad quem velut ad proprietarium dicti castri, idem castrum finito violario infrascripto debet devolvi, seu venerabilem et dilectum consiliarium nostrum Vitalem de Villanova, comandatorem 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 expresse dicimus, comitimus et mandamus quatenus vocatis evocandis ad dicta castra seu loca vos vel alter vestrum personaliter acce-/ dendo visisque ad oculum terminis supradictis certificetis vos de ipsis, tam per testes antiquos locorum circumvicinarum 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 insurgat questione super ipsis. Nos enim in predictis et circa predicta vobis et utrique vestrum in solidum plenarie comittimus vices nostras.

Data Cesarauguste, septimo decimo kalendis iunii, anno Domini millesimo CCC^o vicesimo octavo.



La qual letra presentada, lo dit honrat en Vidal de Vilanova requerí / lo damunt dit n'Orrigo de Quintaval que, enantás a partició 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 coses. 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 los térmens dels castells e lochs vostres, veÿns e contigües dels térmens del castell e vall de Pop e en altra manera enantat en les coses damunt dites, segons que de fur / e de rahó serà faedor. En altra manera passat lo dit terme, lo qual preemptori 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 infant en Pere, havent plen poder a les coses 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, *feyta septimodecimo kalendis iulii, anno predicto*, d'una part. Encara comparech per nom del dit noble en Pelegrí Romeu ab alguns moros veyls de Tàrbena 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 Tàrbena 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 coses que a determenar los dits térmens veure pogui se en a manera / de jutge e haven Deus solament denant mos huylls dich e pronunciu, per ma sentència, que los térmens de la vall de Pop e de Tàrbena 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 Tàrbena, és axí emperó que de la dita Carrayra 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 nenguna 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 guareytes 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 Huadalmeyça, lo qual barranch és miger axí com talla a avant / tro sus a les roques on comença lo pla de la montanya hon s'és 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'Almadech 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 aqui 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 vasen dret per lo cerito ha un toçalet ha un altre claper de pedres e les vertens devés la vayl d'Almadech romanen per terme de Pop e dels dits ceritos e clapers devés / Ayant roman per terme de Castell e del dit toçalet 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'Almadech 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 inffant en Pere, e en Pelegrí Romeu per nom del dit noble en Bernat de Sarrià, qui spressament la / present sentència loaren e aprovaren.

Encontinent foren-hi encara presens Domingo Roiç, justícia de Tàrbena, Johan Darocha et Garcia Sánchez, jurats del dit loch de Tàrbena, et Johan Roys et Romeu Çavila, vehins del dit loch, Çayt Abenapdoramen, Mahomat Aberrafe, Azmet Quibir / et Hacen Abnapdalla et Çaat Ammane e Mahomet Abnaxup, sarrahins veyls de loch de Tàrbena, et Barcha Amparell et Alii Amparell et Cilim Abolaquen et Mahomat Abraquich et Jucef Algalinayri, moros de la dita vayl de Pop.

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, Çayt 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 translatare 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.

AHN. Nobleza. Parcent. C. 47, D. 12.

ABC

ABC

ABC

Noverint universi quod nos, dompna Maria Latronis de Vidaure, uxor quondam venerabilis Raymundi de Villanova, militis, defuncti, ac domina loci de Murla et vallis de Pop, attendentes nos habere quandam vallem vocatam de Almedich, sitam in territorio et limi-/ tacionibus ac termino vallis predictæ nostre de Pop, heremam et incultam, et velimus ac cupiamus ipsam



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 condicionibus infrascriptis donamus, tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus vobis Somade Abenacim, Mahometo Atzintar, Abraham Abolaix, Azmeto, filio de Çayt Abençaydo, Azmeto Alvalenci, Atnayar Azmeto, Açim Abenaçim, Hilell / Abolaix, Çaat Podies, Solomen, filio de Taher Atzintar, Azmeto, filio Mahometi Ayeix, Ayeix Caydo, Jahiel, filio de Taher Atzintar, Çaat Hiayeix, Ali, filio Azmeti Caydo, Caat Aldurrafe, Azmeto Alcayla et Faraig Abenaçim, sarracenis et habitatori- / bus in dicto loco de Murla, equis partibus inter vos, presentibus et recipientibus et utrique vestrum et vestris 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 perietibus suprapositis et fundamentis, a çelo in abissum, et terras seu po- / ssessiones que ibi sunt cum aquis, cequitis ad rigandum et arboribus et plantis cuiuscumque generis sint aut fuerint, introitibus, exitibus, affrontacionibus ac pertinentiis suis universis et singulis per omnia loca. Sic vobis et cuilibet vestrum et vestris perpetuo et equis partibus donamus, / tradimus, stabilimus atque concedimus in hunc modum, videlicet quospiam vallem laboretis seu agricultetis et melioretis et in alioquo non deterioretis ad usum et consuetudinem bonorum laboratorum et adquisitionum. Et quod faciatis seu edificetis ibi quisque vestrum do- / mos vestras 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 cuiusquidem operis dictorum domorum nos damus cuiuscumque vestrum viginti solidos et de gracia spe- / ciali quos nunquam nobis nec nostris dare, solvere ac tradere teneamini. 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 quolibet anno pro çensu 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 çensu dictarum domorum seu hospiciorum vestrorum perpetuo et / quolibet 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 qualibet colmena apum seu abellarum / similiter alium denarium. Et quod teneamini ibi facere plantare quilibet vestrum vineas et figuerallos et alias plantas, quas vineas, figuerallos 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 successores / nostros. Et sic vos et quilibet vestrum et vestri succesoros amodo habeatis predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo teneatis, possideatis et in pace perpetuo expletetis ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum, obligan- / dum, excomutandum et ad omnes vestras 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 Valencie. Promittentes in fide



bona convenientes predictum stabilimentum cum omni suo melioramento facto et faciendo vobis et vestris perpetuo deffendere et salvare et facere, habere, tenere, possidere et expletare / quiete, potenter et in sana pace contra omnes personas conquerentes vel aliquid perturbantes ad forum Valencie. Et tenemur inde vobis et vestris perpetuo de firma et legali eviccionem 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 confitemur et in veritate recognoscimus nos a vobis habuisse et recipisse pro intrata huius stabilimenti duas carricas lignorum seu lenye quare renunciamus scienter / omni excepcioni intrate predictae a vobis non habite et recepte, ut predictur 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 Hiayei [corrupted] Caydo, Çaat Abdurrafe, Azmetus / Alcayla et Faraig Abenaçim, sarraceni sepedicti [corrupted] a vobis, domina supradicta, stabilimentum predictum ad dictum census, partem et tributum et ad dictam intratam, et sub formis retencionibus et comisionibus antedictis. Promittentes et fide bona convenientem / tes predictam vallem et partem ipsius cuilibet vestrum con[corrupted] exermare, agricultare, plantare et meliorare et dictas domos seu hospicia nostra ibi facere et edificare et hoc adversum convenientem bonorum populatorum, agricultorum et adquirentium / et dictam partem census, 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 complenda vobis et vestris attendere / et complere ut superius dicta scripta ac narrata [corrupted] Obligantes scienter ad hec vobis et vestris, videlicet quilibet vestrum pro parte sua vallis predictae omnia bona nostra, mobilia et immobilia, habita et habenda, ubique. Renunciantes super hiis çune et / xare sarracenorum et omni alii iuri contra hec veniendi.

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

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

S (cross) num So-/ made Abenacim.

S (cross) num Mahometi Atzintar.

S (cross) num Abrafim Abolaix.

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

S (cross) num Azmeti Alvalençi 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 adquiretorum predictorum, qui hec laudamus, approbamus et omnibus concedimus et firmamus. /

Testes huius rei sunt: Michael Peris, alcaydus de Beniomar, termino Denie; Jacobus de Calidis, vicinus Gandie, et Eximinus Martini, vicinus Murle, et Ayeix Abenayeix, sarracenus, habitator in Parçen, termino vallis de Pop, et / Mahometus Abenhadir, sarracenus Murle.

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

