

## PHILIP BANKS

### *THE INHABITANTS OF BARCELONA IN 1145*

For the medieval historian any list of names related to a single, clearly defined locality, in a period for which readily available sources concerning the size and constitution of population groups are rare, is precious. Whatever their intrinsic difficulties, such documents illuminate some of the darker corners of medieval demography that private documents, sales and testaments, loans and leases, donations and dowries, however abundant, leave in the shadows, and they can frequently be employed, generally with the support of other evidence, to endeavour put forward hypotheses in such aspects of demography as population numbers, origins and the social constitution of the group.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for the composition of such list were varied, although rarely can they be considered as censuses before the fifteenth century, for it was most commonly the household that attracted the interest of those drawing up the survey. Furthermore, lists which included both sexes and all levels of society were also rare before the later Middle Ages. In some cases, lists of all the inhabitants or citizens appear as signatories to documents which affected the whole population, particularly collective agreements such as the alliance with Siena signed by 4,271 Pisans in 1228.<sup>2</sup> More commonly, they were drawn up for local lords desirous of better control of those over whom they held some form of lordship, usually through some form of imposition. A third group, found in earlier periods, might be constituted by those lists of dues owed to institutions which had exclusive rights over a particular place or zone.<sup>3</sup>

In the case of pre-fourteenth century Catalonia, that is to say before the

1. For some general comments on source material, J.C. RUSSELL, «Population in Europe 500-1500» in C.M. CIPOLLA (ed.), *The Fontana Economic History of Europe: The Middle Ages* (London, 1972) pp. 25-70, especially pp. 25-29.

2. Y. RENOUARD, *Les villes d'Italie de la fin du X<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* Paris, 1969),<sup>2</sup> I, p. 207.

3. In general, R. FOSSIER, *Polyphtiques et censiers* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental, fasc. 28: Turnhout, 1978).

surviving examples of hearth taxes, there are a number of such lists.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the most ancient are the tenth century lists of signatories from the area of Sant Joan de les Abadesses (913), or from Artès (938), or the polyptych of Vilamajor.<sup>5</sup> From towards the end of the same century there survives a document which includes the names of the Jewish heads of family in Girona, and the Jews of Barcelona also attracted attention nearly a century later, as did the Christian inhabitants of the city in the remarkable document concerning the division of that city between Counts Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II in c.1079.<sup>6</sup> Other eleventh and twelfth century sources of demographic information may be found in the charters awarded to groups of settlers or in oaths, such as those sworn to the Count of Urgell by the inhabitants of Ponts and Agramunt.<sup>7</sup> In the thirteenth century, the sources become both more numerous and varied: the documents concerning the conquest of Mallorca and Valencia are of the foremost importance, but other lists, concerning places no longer on the frontier should not be ignored: they may refer to cities, such as the case of an oath by the inhabitants of Tarragona,<sup>8</sup> or smaller urban settlements, like an example from Moia,<sup>9</sup> or even largely rural communities, as in the case of Gava.<sup>10</sup> It is, however, the twelfth century and Barcelona in particular which are of interest here.

4. For the Barcelona region as reflected by the fourteenth century hearth-taxes, J.C. RUSSELL, *Medieval Regions and their Cities* (Newton Abbot, 1972) pp. 166-175 and G. FELIU I MONTFORT, «La Població del Territori de Barcelona en el segle XIV» *«Estudis d'Història Medieval»* 1 (1969) 61-73, both with extensive reference to earlier works.

5. For the Sant Joan document, F. UDINA MARTORELL, *El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los siglos IX-X* (Barcelona, 1951) no. 38, which is studied from the point of view of personal names in A.M. BADIA MARGARIT, «L'acte de reconnaissance de propriété du monastère de Sant Joan de les Abadesses (an 913) et son importance pour l'ononastique catalane» *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Congrès international de toponymie et d'anthroponymie* (Salamanca, 1958) pp. 357-375 with some comments on its importance for demographic studies in P. BONNASSIE, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse, 1975-76) i, p. 91. For that of Artès, E. JUNYENT I SUBIRÀ, *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic* (Vic, 1980...) no. 182 pp. 155-8. For that of Vilamajor, A.M. MUNDÓ, «Domains and rights of Sant Pere de Vilamajor (Catalonia): a polyptych of c. 950 and c. 1060» *Speculum* 49 (1974) 238-257.

6. The tenth century Jews of Girona are studied in J. MARQUÉS CASANOVAS, «Sobre los antiguos judíos de Gerona» *Sefarad* 23 (1963) 23-34. The list of Barcelona Jews (ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Berenguer II, no. 39) was published by F. FITA, «Barcelona en 1079: su castillo del Puerto y su aljama hebrea. Documento inédito» *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 43 (1903) 361-368, with some further comments in Bonnassie, *op. cit.*, p. 851. Another version of the second group of names, undated, but with four additional names, is also to be found in the ACA: Canc., extrainventari, perg. 3437. For the list of Christian inhabitants of c. 1079, ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Berenguer II (sf), no. 71.

7. ACA Canc., pergamins d'Alfons I, nos. 470 and 472. For groups of settlers, J. M. FONT RIUS, *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969) nos. 5, 24, 25, 44, 56, 76, 116, 130, 151, 162 and 178.

8. For Tarragona, J.M. RECASENS, *La ciutat de Tarragona*, II, (Barcelona, 1975) pp. 227-230, discussing a document of 1272 which includes 506 male heads of family, excluding nobles, knights, clerics, Jews and their tenants.

9. For Moia, a list of seventy names is recorded in *Modilianum* 3(1966-68) p. 224.

10. ACA Canc., extra-inventari, perg. 4733 (89 names).

For many decades a key document for studies concerning twelfth century Barcelona society has been one of 1148, first published by Francesc Carreras Candi. The document refers to a loan, totalling seven thousand seven hundred *solidos* of Barcelona, made to Count Ramon Berenguer IV by eleven *burgenses* of the city in order to pursue the siege of Tortosa.<sup>11</sup> These men are all, with one exception, attested to a lesser or greater degree in other charters relating to the city and its surroundings in the mid-twelfth century and, in certain cases, they can be traced as significant figures in one or more of the several fields of activity that were predominant at that moment in the generation of income. Although Carreras Candi made some comments about these individuals, it would seem to be worthwhile to expand his comments on these citizens.

The first to be named, and the contributer of the largest amount, one thousand five hundred *solidos*, was Bernat Marcus. His interests, to a certain extent inherited from his father, Pere Bernat Marcus, and bequeathed to his son, Bernat Marcus (III), on his death in 1167, were widespread and included the exploitation of urban and rural estates, workshops and bakeries, comital service and minting.<sup>12</sup> He was followed by a mysterious Joan Martí, who is otherwise unrecorded in the Barcelona sources, and who may not have been a citizen of Barcelona. The third individual named, Eimeric, should be identified as the Aimeric of Perugia who is first recorded in the city some ten years beforehand.<sup>13</sup> He owned a number of urban properties, especially workshops around the market, which suggests that he was engaged in some form of manufacture, although he is also recorded with rural property, and, several years after this loan, he was able to donate the chapel of Sant Fruitós, located on the mountain of Montjuïc, to the monastery of Sant Pau del Camp.<sup>14</sup> Much of his initial wealth appears to have been gained, like that of a follow immigrant from Perugia, Pere Joan, from money-lending activities.<sup>15</sup> Guillem Pons, the fourth

11. F. CARRERAS Y CANDI, «Los ciudadanos de Barcelona en 1148» *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 9 (1918-20) 137-140. It has been republished in T.N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the early count-kings (1151-1215)* (Berkeley, 1984) no. 143, pp. 260-2.

12. I hope to publish an article on this family in the near future.

13. First found with the «de Perugia» name in Mas 1557 (23.VII.1143), but probably the Aimeric who made loans in 1137 and 1139 (ACA Canc., perg. de Ramon Berenguer IV, nos 75 and 100). For archival abbreviations see appendix II.

14. Property under the comital palace in Mas 1595 (14.III.1146); houses and workshops in the street leading to Santa Maria del Mar (ACB perg. 4-49-303; 12.V.1158; and 1-5-204; 7.XII.1167). Property in the territorium most clearly recorded in a dispute among his son concerning the patrimony (ACB perg. 1-5-253; 4.II. 1180). For the chapel ACB perg. 1-1-2443b (10.VIII.1154). For his descendants, C. BATLLE GALLART, «La burguesía de Barcelona a mediados del siglo XIII» in *Jaime I y su época*: 3,4 y 5 (= X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón, II: Zaragoza, 1982) 7-19, p. 17.

15. In addition to loans of 1137 and 1139 mentioned in note 13, further examples are ACB perg. 1-5-138 (9.II.1152) and 1-5-180 (30.x.1161). Pere Joan is first recorded as «de Perugia» in CSC 981 (10.X.1149) although he is almost certainly the same as the Pere Joan who loaned cash in ACA Canc., perg. de Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 135 (21.III.1142) and perhaps also the Pere Joan recorded in a

person named, died soon afterwards, and once again his will demonstrates his wealth, with two hundred morabetins being left in pious bequests and ample urban holdings. He was followed by A. Adarró, who contributed a smaller sum, and who must be identified as the Arnau Adarró recorded in contemporary sources with a large residence in the Arcs Antics suburbs: at a later date he describes himself as a «macip», while his descendants were engaged in the transport of redeemed Saracen slaves.<sup>16</sup> Pere Amalric, the sixth individual, was a neighbour of Aimeric's in the area between the modern day carrer de la Tapineria and the later medieval Plaça de l'Oli,<sup>17</sup> while the sons of Arnau Pere d'Arcs belonged to another of the great twelfth century families: their father had shortly before received the *amocstalaria*, or right to supervise the market, from the count.<sup>18</sup> Ermengol de Manresa may have been related to the Bonet de Manresa whose executor he later became, and who had two major residences in the city, one near that of the Adarró family and the other in the present day carrer de l'Argenteria.<sup>19</sup> Bonet was certainly related to the cloth trade, together with his son-in-law, Bertrand de Montpellier, and Ermengol may have had similar interests.<sup>20</sup> Finally, Joan Tota, the last individual to be named, remains similarly obscure, the only definitive point about him being his appearance in an undated «capbreu» of the Dean of Barcelona as a tenant of property near the church of Sant Miquel, which means that, unlike all the others named, he could not strictly be called a *burgensis* as he resided not in the suburbs, but within the old Roman walls.<sup>21</sup>

The importance of the document is threefold. In the first place it indicates, perhaps for the first time, the potentially reciprocal relationship between the count and the citizens of Barcelona, a relationship that was to become even more marked

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similar context in ACA Can., perg. de Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 60 (16.V.1136). His urban property remains unknown although he also held vines on the edge of the *suburbium* (Mas 1620: 24.VI.1147). The fact that there were at least three other individuals with the name somewhat complicates his identification: in addition to a priest of that name, there existed a Pere Joan Sabater and a Pere Joan de Sarrià.

16. The will of Guillem Pons is ADB Santa Anna, carpeta 9, perg. 23 (29.XII.1150). Arnau Adarró's property at Arcs Antics is recorded in ACB perg. 1-5-162 (21.I.1159). Mas 1882 (1.VI.1165) demonstrates that he had married into one of the few major eleventh centuries families which can still be traced in the midtwelfth century, the Donuz. He was described as a 'macip' in his signature to the publication of Bonet de Manresa's will (see note 19). For his descendants, BATLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15.

17. Mas 1595 (14.III.1146) and ADB Santa Anna, Carp. †, perg. 267 (21.VII.1175).

18. ACB perg. 1-5-111 (12.I. 1144). There were probably two branches of the family by the end of the twelfth century, a member of one of which was brother-in-law to Bernat Marcus (III).

19. Bonet's will is ADB Santa Anna, carpeta †, unnumbered parchment (6.II. 1160).

20. This is recorded both by his ownership of workshops in Barcelona, Tortosa and Montpellier and by his possession of a 'saracen' weaver, mentioned in his will.

21. Mas 2765 (undated).

as the century progressed and in the thirteenth century.<sup>22</sup> Secondly, as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, it gives us a rare insight into the composition of this echelon of society, and, thirdly, it does to a certain extent mark a starting point for studies of medieval society in Barcelona, for a marked change seems to have taken place during the first decades of the twelfth century, with an apparent decline of noble and ecclesiastical influence, the disappearance of certain of the leading later eleventh century families and the appearance of the forerunners of the great later twelfth and thirteenth century families, together with the first detectable wave of immigration into the city, both from adjacent rural areas, and, probably more significant, from more distant parts.<sup>23</sup>

The aim of this article is to draw attention to a previously unrecognized document of approximately contemporary date, which shows considerably more light on the composition of Barcelona society in the 1140's.<sup>24</sup>

The parchment in question is to be found in the «Extra-inventari» series of the «Cancilleria» section of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, a series which has produced much new information, particularly for the twelfth century, in recent years.<sup>25</sup> This document bears neither date nor any indication of its function and consists simply of two columns of names, with between two and four names per line, and a number, normally raised, at the end of each line to indicate the total for that line. The names are continued on the dorse of the parchment, although, unfortunately, the first three lines are only partially legible. In spite of the absence of any introduction or conclusion to this bare list, the presence of eight of the nine individuals named in the document of 1148, the only exception being the enigmatic Joan Martí once again, as well as many other contemporaries, indicates both an approximate date and a connection with the city of Barcelona.

This document, however, must be dated slightly earlier than that concerning the loan at Tortosa. A *terminus post quem* of 1140 is indicated by the presence of both Bernat Marcus and his brother, Ramon Marcus, for their father, Pere Bernat Marcus, died in that year and would surely have been recorded instead of them if still alive. Similarly, a *terminus ante quem* of 1150 is provided by the appearance of Guillem Pons, who, as has already been noted, died in 1150. Two approaches can be employed to define the date more precisely. On the one hand, one may use the names of those recorded in the list by their sons or sons-in-law, which suggests that they had died not long before, for the property in question was presumably still being held in

22. Especially in the case of the Durfort family: BATTLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14 and BISSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-149. However, as far as can be detected, there was a tendency for the Vicars of Barcelona to be of burgher rather than knightly background after c. 1160.

23. I consider this point in the article on the Marcus family mentioned above.

24. Published in Appendix I.

25. Apart from the work of Bisson mentioned in previous notes, one might also cite the article of P. FREEDMAN, «An Unsuccessful Attempt at Urban Organization in Medieval Catalonia» *Speculum* 54 (1979) 479-491.

common. Of the thirteen cases so recorded, the will of only one is extant, that of Guillem Ramon, who died late in 1142, although the fact that Joan Metge is apparently still recorded as alive in February 1144 should suggest that the list postdates that month.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, the description of individuals who appear in the list as deceased in other documents provides an upper limit. Joan Eschará is described as having held a property in a document of March 1148.<sup>27</sup> In the same way, if the Pere de Llobregat is identifiable with the Pere Ramon de Llobregat who had held a property recorded on 30th October, 1146, the upper limit can be even further reduced, and a date in the period 1144 to 1146 proposed.<sup>28</sup> This can be supported by the case of Ramon Marcus, who is recorded in the list, but not in the loan of 1148, in spite of the pre-eminence of his brother, which suggest that he had died or left Barcelona by that date. He is last recorded signing a document in February 1145, but as he failed to sign a related act of June 1146, even though his brother did, it is tempting to suggest that he died at some point between these two months.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, the fact that Bernat Escuder appears towards the end of the list, in a section where only one individual is named per line and which may have been a last minute addition or a postscript, may be significant, for he acquired rights over a workshop on 10th March, 1145.<sup>30</sup> However, such indications are based less securely on fact: suffice it to say that the document appears to have been drawn up at some time between 1144 and 1146.

If the document can be dated to c.1145, what was its function? Before any hypotheses can be put forward, it is necessary to analyse the names themselves. These total two hundred and forty.<sup>31</sup> At least twelve percent of those named are attested as owning or holding property in the city of suburbs of Barcelona in the decade of 1141 to 1150, while a further thirty-five percent are recorded at somewhat earlier or later dates.<sup>32</sup> This would appear to make it acceptable to suggest that the list is closely connected with Barcelona.

If this was so, a number of absences are immediately striking. First of all, there is

26. CSC 946 (17.III.1143) for the conditions of Guillem Ramon's will. For the document of 16.II.1144, ACB perg. 1-5-112.

27. Mas 1628 (16.III.1148).

28. Mas 1610 (30.X.1146).

29. Mas 1583 (7.II.1145) and Mas 1603 (2.VI.1146).

30. CP 285 (10.III.1145).

31. Ninety are recorded in the first column of the *recto*, for although the raised numbers only total eighty-eight, line 11 has no number. The second column is more problematical: the raised numbers total a hundred and fifteen, but again lines 23 and 37 have no number: they both contain three individuals which provides a total of a hundred and twenty-one. However, line 27 only has a .ii. at the end instead of .iii., so the true total may really have been a hundred and twenty-two. Finally, the *verso* has a total of twenty-nine, although line 5 has only three names rather than the four indicate. The total is thus 90 plus 121/122 plus 28/29, which suggests a minimum of 239 and a maximum of 241, with an intended total of 240.

32. See appendix II in which the individuals named are listed in alphabetical order together with details of their urban properties and occasionally other data.

no reference at all to the clergy, nor to Jews, nor to the noble families which are known to have held property in Barcelona. Similarly women are only recorded as the mothers, mothers-in-law or wives of men named in the list.<sup>33</sup> In this respect it is broadly similar to that other list of Barcelona respect it is broadly similar to that other list of Barcelona inhabitants of c.1079, but the number of names recorded must surely indicate that it is too brief to have been a complete list of all adult male inhabitants, even if slaves and servants were excluded. Even in the list of c.1079, which has been considered by some to have been unfinished,<sup>34</sup> the number of inhabitants of half the city is calculated at a hundred and forty-three, and, with all the reservations that must be made when dealing with medieval demography, the total population in the mid-twelfth century must have been in the region of five or six thousand.<sup>35</sup> Thus, even if only heads of family or householders were listed, one might expect a total of seven or eight hundred names after the Jewish community, the nobility and the clergy had been excluded. Moreover, it is apparent that many residents of the city and the suburbs are not included in the list. Of eighty-three male individuals, excluding nobles, knights, Jews and the deceased who are attested as holding property in the decade 1141 to 1150, only thirty-six (43.4%) are found in the list, which might suggest a total of approximately five hundred and fifty households or families. This figure must also be considered rather low, unless it can be demonstrated that the average unit was indeed larger than the standard accepted figure of between five and six. Part of the difference could, of course, have comprised the urban poor, but our information for such subjects can only be guesswork. The document, thus, like so many other potential sources for early medieval demography is attractive but intractable: it may be able to provide answers to certain of our questions, but only if other problems can be solved beforehand. We clearly need to have many others details before it can be used to add to our knowledge of the number of inhabitants in twelfth century Barcelona.

The insistence on families or household units in the previous paragraph has not been without motive, for there do seem to be certain factors in the composition of the list which might help to unravel its function. Primarily, it appears as if a certain route was being composed. The first individuals recorded all seem to have been resident in the suburban area immediately around the market.<sup>36</sup> Thus in the first column, lines two, three and nine, three individuals who held property in the

33. For example, Maria Bord and Pereta.

34. This is the opinion of BONNASSIE, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 852.

35. The urban area covered some sixty hectares by the late twelfth century, which might suggest a population of ten to twelve thousand, especially as the central area seems to have been very densely populated. On the other hand a figure of four to five thousand seems reasonable for a century beforehand. Taking into account the minimal growth of the period 1100-1145, a figure of five to six thousand seems a reasonable guess for the latter year.

36. For referencia see Appendix II. Clearly not all the properties mentioned there are relevant to this line of argument, but it is the only perambulation that can be proposed on the basis of the available evidence.

modern carrer de l'Argenteria are recorded, while in line ten, Jofre Bret clearly resided in the medieval carrer Basea, the modern carrer del Lloctinent Navarro. Lines eleven to twenty-nine are more uncertain, but may well refer to the area closer to Santa Maria del Mar and the eastern fringes of the suburbs, then limited by the course of the Rec Comtal. However, lines thirty to forty clearly correspond to the area of carrer de la Bòria and adjacent zones: in other words the list has returned to its presumed starting point. In the first lines of the second column, the area northwards from the market along the course of the Merdança is described; with the notable case of several neighbours being found in lines two and three.<sup>37</sup> Lines six to fourteen would appear to refer to the upper part of the Merdança, where it entered the twelfth century suburbs, and where the Arcs Antics crossed its course. The next five or six lines correspond to the rest of the Arcs Antics suburb, but by line twenty-one the list had returned southwards for the zone at the foot of the defences in carrer de la Corribia is described. By line twenty-six of the second column, the list is evidently referring to the intra-mural area, perhaps starting with the Sant Just zone, continuing with that around the church of Sant Miquel (lines thirty-one to thirty-four) and Sant Jaume (line forty-one). The dorso would appear to refer to the northern half of the walled city, particularly the quarter around the comital palace.

A number of absences can again be noted. In the first place, there are several districts of the city which are either under-represented or perhaps not represented at all, especially the district near Santa Maria del Mar known as the *villa nova* which stretched from the modern carrer dels Banys Vells towards the Rec. Nor are the areas somewhat further northwards, around the church of Sant Cugat del Rec and the convent of Sant Pere de les Puelles apparently to be found. To the north-west, the Arcs suburb outside the Porta Bisbal also seems to be under-represented, as is the area just beyond it, around the church of Santa Anna, which was being urbanized for the first time in these years. Furthermore, there is no clear reference to the Pi suburb or the area outside the Regomir gate, although it must be stated that these districts were neither intensively settled, nor particularly prosperous in this period.

Moreover, the absence of the tenants of the great ecclesiastical property owners, such as the chapter of Barcelona, the convent of Sant Pere de les Puelles and the Benedictine houses of Sant Benet de Bages, Sant Cugat del Vallès and Sant Llorenç del Munt, is striking, especially as regards the quarter of the walled city around the cathedral, whose residents, although widely documented, are hardly reflected in the list.<sup>38</sup> While not all the men listed had allodial rights, it would appear that most did so, which would go a long way to explaining why the residences of the majority of those named were in the inner suburbs, stretching from the Arcs Antics along the

37. This is the case of Pere Amalric, Pere Grau Cambiador and Dur Sac.

38. For a detailed study of this area in the eleventh and twelfth centuries see P. BANKS, «L'entorn de la Catedral romànica de Barcelona» *Quaderns d'Estudis Medievals* (forthcoming).



Merdança down to a point near Santa Maria del Mar, whereas a minority appear to have lived in the southern and central areas of the old walled city, or were tenants of the count around his palace.

The list would thus appear to contain the names of holders of allodial rights, together with a few tenants of the count, but excludes tenants of the Cathedral chapter and the various monastic houses, which explains why there are large areas which are blank in the presumed perambulation adopted for the composition of the document. Whether it contains all such holders of allodial rights remains uncertain. The raised numbers at the end of each line seem to indicate that it was expected that the list would be referred to at some date after its composition, and in the absence of any other logical reason for the count's officials wanting to record numbers, one might well suspect that it was related to the raising of income.<sup>39</sup>

Certain other factors support a fiscal origin for the list. The document, by recording «the sons of X» as a single unit within its system of computation surely implies that property was more significant than people, even though holders of properties in several districts of the city were recorded but once. Moreover, the fact that the total number of names recorded is two hundred and forty may not be coincidental: what quicker way could there be of levying a certain number of pounds by collecting the same number of pence from each property owner? Its survival is certainly fortuitous, but the fact that the earliest administrative documents of the Counts of Barcelona that survive belong to the same period suggest that its composition was more than pure chance.

Apart from the area of the comital palace, the site of which corresponded to a location of long tradition, the extent of comital estates in the city and its suburbs was not particularly extensive in the first half of the twelfth century. This state of affairs can be partially traced to a considerable degree of alienation of public property by the counts in the tenth century and the last traces of this trend can be seen in the better documented early decades of the following century. Both Ramon Borrell and Berenguer Ramon I are known to have ceded substantial properties on the line of the late Roman defences, property which must have originally been, as described in a late medieval legendary history of Barcelona, entirely at their disposal.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, the few surviving pre-985 charters give the impression that comital estates, both in

39. A juridical function must be excluded: certain major absences imply that it is unlikely that those named were in any way representative of the citizens as a whole. Although it has been suggested that Barcelona received a further charter of liberties, now lost, after the conquest of Tortosa and/or Lleida, this list is clearly too early to have been related to such a context (FONT RIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 593).

40. For the palace, A. M.<sup>a</sup> ADROER I TÀSIS, *El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1978). The first reference to it comes in a charter of 924 (ACB perg. 1-2-499), but it was probably on the same site as the Visigothic royal palace. For the process of alienation of public property in the tenth century, BONNASSIE, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-153. For examples in Barcelona, Mas 417 (29.VIII.1023) and ACA, pergamins de Berenguer Ramon I, n.º 17 (19.XII.1028). For the late medieval legendary history, M. COLL I ALENTORN, «El Llibre de les Nobleses dels Reys» *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 13 (1928) 485-524, referring to *Biblioteca de Catalunya*, ms. 428.

the city and its suburban area, were originally far more plentiful, and that in the course of the tenth century much of this property passed to nobles or the church, with the result that not a single owner of any of the seventy-five towers which lined the Roman defences can be traced in the list here studied.<sup>41</sup>

In the suburban area, donations to the monastery of Ripoll and the cathedral of Barcelona must have been accompanied by others to the monasteries which held large tracts of land in the suburbs in the eleventh century.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the whole of the *suburbium*, in other words the area outside the walls, extending as far as the inner limit of the *territorium*, may have originally formed part of these estates as an inheritance from the fisc of the late Roman and Visigothic periods.<sup>43</sup> This would also explain the comital interest in the church of Santa Maria del Mar, as well as the convent of Sant Pere and the more doubtful community of Sant Pau del Camp.<sup>44</sup> Interest in the intramural churches of Sants Just i Pastor and Sant Miquel could be relayed, in addition to the close dependence of the tenth century church on the predominant civil power, with their location in relation to the late Roman forum and the public buildings surrounding it, for it would have been natural that these should have passed to the dominant civil authority on the decay of the Roman system of urban government and eventually to the counts.<sup>45</sup> It is therefore not surprising that one of the few other recorded intra-mural properties of the count was located towards the centre of what had been the forum.<sup>46</sup>

Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries, property which, in one way or another, passed into the hands of the counts seems to have been ceded to third

41. ACB perg. 1-2-499 (24.IX.924) is a donation of a house near the comital palace by a member of the family of the viscounts of Osona-Cardona (for which see M. ROVIRA I SOLÀ, «Noves dades sobre els primers vescomtes d'Osona-Cardona» *Ausa* 9 (1981) 249-260, p. 254 while ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Berenguer III n.º 253 (30.V.951) refers to intramural property of the Castellvi de la Marca lineage: (A. BENET I CLARÀ, «L'origen de les famílies Cervelló, Castellvell i Castellet» *Acta/Mediaevalia* 4 (1983) 67-86.

42. The donation to Ripoll, now lost, is recorded in Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 428 p. 29 (8.VIII.966), while that to the cathedral is Mas 44 (21.XII.965). Other monasteries (Santa Cecília de Montserrat, Sant Benet de Bages, Sant Llorenç del Munt, Sant Cugat del Vallès and Sant Pere de les Puelles) and the cathedral of Vic are recorded with extensive estates by the early eleventh century.

43. M. MITJÀ SAGUÉ, «Condado y ciudad de Barcelona. Capítulos de su historia en los siglos IX y X» *Estudios históricos y documentos de los archivos de Protocolos* 3 (1955) 267-281, p. 279.

44. The church of Santa Maria del Mar was given to the cathedral by the count in 1009 (Mas 493: 9.III.1009). All the evidence points to Sant Pere having been a comital foundation (F. UDINA MARTORELL, «El milenario del Real Monasterio de San Pedro de las Puellas de Barcelona y el acta de consagración de su primitivo templo» *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 18 (1945) 217-244, while, even if the tenth century community of Sant Pau del Camp must remain debatable, there can be little doubt that Count Guifre Borrell was buried there.

45. Sants Just i Pastor was in comital hands until 965 (Mas 44) while, although Sant Miquel was closely related with the cathedral-complex in the second half of the tenth century, it was still necessary for the count to cede rights over it in the mid-eleventh century (Mas 586: 12.VIII.1046 and Mas 697: 17.IV.1056).

46. Property near Sant Jaume had been bought from Count Ramon (Berenguer I?): recorded in ACA Mon. SLIM perg. 161 (4.VI.1051).

parties within a short space of time. It almost seems as if the counts had no mechanism to control their Barcelona estates. Thus property of a Jew caught *in flagrante* was sold for grain and other goods in 1023, while the property of a counterfeiter was simply ceded to a member of the comital family.<sup>47</sup> In the same way, property acquired through the right of *exorquia* was sold to unrelated individuals or back to the family.<sup>48</sup>

Although comital property was to be found scattered throughout the *territorium*, the only parts of the city where their estates remained more or less intact were around the palace and in the area of a short-lived lesser palace in the area of the modern carrer Comtal, although in the latter case rights were eventually ceded to the monastery of Santes Creus.<sup>49</sup> As for the former area, structures adjoining the palace were ceded to artisans in the later eleventh century, but with little coherent pattern or apparent concern for potential returns.<sup>50</sup> It is only in the mid-1140's that a change in attitude can be detected.

As Professor Bisson has recently demonstrated, it was in the years immediately following the conquest of Tortosa and Lleida that Count Ramon Berenguer IV set about the financial reorganization of his domains.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, in the case of Barcelona, for which the sources are far more piecemeal, certain efforts may have been made towards the middle of the 1140's to exploit the fiscal potential of the city more thoroughly. The prime place among the count's sources of income in the city was occupied by the mills: although one part of these, as with so many other rights, was in the hands of the bishop, the majority were under comital control, namely those at Soler and near the convent of Sant Pere.<sup>52</sup> But it is in 1144 that the first reference to the New Mills, originally dubbed *de Hostia*, appears, in a context which suggests that they were of very recent foundation. Probably four in number, they were to be exploited by individuals who retained a third of the income, the remaining two-thirds passing to the count.<sup>53</sup> Although such mills may well have been necessary to

47. Mas 417 (29.VIII.1023) and Mas 965 (10.IV.1078).

48. ACA Canc. perg. de Ramon Berenguer III n.º 67 (27.VIII.1101) and ADB Santa Anna, carpeta 6 perg. 18 (6.VIII.1173).

49. The palace is mentioned in ACB perg. 1-5-73 (18.IV.1114) and ACA Canc. perg. de Ramon Berenguer III n.º 191 (30.VI.1116) and its existence is implied in ACB perg. 1-1-255 (21.III.1100). It was donated to Santes Creus by Alfons I (LL.B.137: 26.VI.1168).

50. ACB. perg. 1-2-136 (23.VIII.1090); Mas 1154 (22.XII.1097). This is also suggested by some of the entries in the list of c. 1079 cited in note 6.

51. BISSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-77.

52. The Molins del Mar, which were under episcopal control, numbered there until 1148 (Mas 1641: 15.X.1148), were located towards the eastern end of the modern carrer dels Assahonadors. Those at Soler, between Sant Pere de les Puellas and Santa Eulàlia del Camp, numbered at least three by the later eleventh century (CSC 765: 10.I.1097). Those at Sant Pere are not recorded until 1153: (ACA Reial Patrimoni, sub-secció de la Batllia, clase 2.ª, B.1 fol. 19 r.: 3.VI.1153), but had probably been in existence for some time.

53. Four mills were probably built in 1144-45. Although the copies of the relevant donations are much later date, there is no reason to doubt validity. Two are dated 30.VIII.1144 (ACA Reial Patrimoni, sub-secció de la Batllia, clase 2.ª, B.1 fol. 21 r. and *ibid.*, clase 3.ª, 6, fol. 69 r.) while the third is of 18.I.1145 (*ibid.*, fol. 68r.-v.).

feed the growing population of Barcelona, they were the first mills to have been erected since the previous century, which may suggest a recognition on the part of the count or his officers that they were a valuable source of income.

This, however, was not the only innovation of 1144, for it was in that year that Ramon Berenguer IV ceded the *almotafasia* for the sum of one hundred and fifty morabetins to Arnau Pere d'Arcs.<sup>54</sup> Although it has been assumed that the functions attributed to this post were similar to those of the later medieval «mustaçaf», there is in fact no proof of this and they may have been limited to those of the supervision of measurement, for although the official is referred to again towards the end of the twelfth century, the post then disappears from our sources, although the right of *mensuraticum* returns.<sup>55</sup> Other income from the market was largely controlled by the vicar, at that date perhaps Berenguer of Barcelona, both in his role as comital official and via the *quartera* of the market which he held from the bishop as his father, Berenguer Ramon, had done.<sup>56</sup> He may also have held the «lleuda» in the 1140's as he did fifty years later.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, in spite of these limitations, the count constituted one further source of income in the years 1144-1145. Near the palace stood a structure which had been ceded a century beforehand by his great-grandfather to be used as the Hospital d'en Guitart.<sup>58</sup> This hospital, however, had long ceased to function, but it was not until 1145 that the count began to exploit it by ceding the ground-floor vaults as workshops and the terrace above as a residence. Even though the income from such workshops was minimal, the acts denote a change in attitude on behalf of the count towards a class of urban property which was to play a greater role in his finances towards the closing years of his reign and also provide one of the earliest appearances of a comital bailiff operating alongside the «prohoms» of the city.<sup>59</sup>

54. See note 18.

55. BONNASSIE, *op. cit.*, p. 851 equates this post with that of 'mustaçaf', for whose functions see J.N. HILLGARTH, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1210-1516* (Oxford, 1976) i, pp. 80-82. The post is cited again in 1198 (ACB Cartas Reales C. 1-25: 1.IV.1198) when Berenguer d'Adarró, granddaughter of Arnau Pere d'Arcs was confirmed in its possessions. The *mensuraticum* of Barcelona first appears in ACB perg. 4-30-740 (1222) while the 'mustaçaf' as such does not appear until a century later. See also T.F. GLICK, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the early middle ages* (Princeton, 1979) pp. 121-124.

56. Berenguer Ramon was Vicar of Barcelona until his death in c. 1144 and may have been succeeded by one of his sons, Berenguer de Barcelona, according to F. CARRERAS CANDI, *Geografia General de Catalunya: la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, n.d.) p. 269 although there is no incontrovertible proof of this. That this family held the *quartera* is demonstrated by ADB Mensa Episcopal, Título V n.º 2 (18.II.1196) of which, however, I have only seen an eighteenth century summary.

57. J. SOBREQÜES and S. RIERA, «La lleuda de Barcelona del segle XII» in *Miscel·lània Aramon i Serra IV* (Barcelona, 1984) 329-346. Further influence in the market is demonstrated by his rights over workshops: ACB perg. 1-5-256 (24.VII.1180).

58. Mas 578 (28.V.1045) published in P. de Marca, *Marca Hispanica sive limes hispanicus* (Paris, 1688: reprinted Barcelona, 1972) col. 1085 n.º CCXXVII. For the hospitals of Barcelona in this period, J. BAUCELLIS I REIG, «La Pia Almoyna de la Seo de Barcelona: origen y desarrollo» *A Pobreza e a Assistência aos pobres na Península Ibérica durante a Idade Média* (Lisbon, 1973) 73-135, esp. pp. 81-86.

59. CP 287 (4.III.1145); CP 285 (10.III.1145); ACB perg. 4-49-479 (26.II.1145). The first

The period leading up to March 1145 was thus one of unusual activity in Barcelona as far as the count was concerned and it is surely no coincidence that the list here presented belongs to the same period. Whether it was related to some standard imposition or can be interpreted as some form of precedent for the 1148 loan is a question to which it is difficult to give an answer. The principal ordinary imposition would have been tallage, which forty years later provided four hundred *solidos per annum*.<sup>60</sup> However, exemptions from the obligation to pay this and other, less well-known impositions for the houses of Sant Cugat del Vallès and Santa Maria de Ripoll in the city of the first decade of the thirteenth century might suggest that ecclesiastical properties would have been included in the list if such impositions were here being collected, unless, of course, there was some change in practice in the following sixty years.<sup>61</sup> The appearance of «molars» alongside four of the names in the first column is a similarly intriguing and unanswerable problem, for although comparison with the list of c. 1079 shows that the Montjuïc quarries were also picked out for special mention, there is no clear explanation.<sup>62</sup> In view of these unanswered questions, it seems best to suggest that the list was most probably connected with the raising of finances for the projected campaigns against Almería, Tortosa and Lleida.

Leaving aside any further comment on the historical context and any philological analysis, the list is clearly also a valuable source of personal name evidence. Over half the individuals named bear one of the seven most popular names: Pere (36), Bernat (17), Guillem (17), Arnau (13), Berenguer (11), Joan (9), Grau (8). Apart from these another eight are found on between two and six occasions, while sixty-six are used only once. Forty-five trade-derived names are supplied and twenty-six place-name-derived *cognomina*. The former are of particular interest for they provide a wider range than any other contemporary source: the most numerous group was that of the shoemakers with a total of eight. This corresponds well with the impression that other sources give that this craft was already well-organized in the twelfth century, long before the first mention of the «gremi» or the brotherhood of Sant Marc, which was closely associated with the trade.<sup>63</sup> Other leather-working

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two documents are discussed by J.F. CABESTANY I FORT, «Bernat Escuder, un barceloní, convers de Poblet (1185)» in *Miscel·lània Històrica Catalana* (= Scriptorium Populeti 3: Poblet, 1970, 1970) 147-153, although he mislocates the evidence between the cathedral hospital and the hospital d'en Guitart. Later interest in workshops is demonstrated by ACA Canc., perg. de Ramon Berenguer IV n.º 344 (19.VIII.1160; ACB perg. 1-5-287 (13.II.1186); LIB 372 (I.1194).

60. BISSON, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

61. CSC 1278 (I.XI.1209) an exemption for the houses of Sant Cugat, probably those located behind the cathedral, and Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 430, fol. 46 v. (VI.1207) referring to property of the monastery of Ripoll near the church of Sant Miquel.

62. The document of c. 1079 lists three names after the entry *de molarriis de Monte Judaici*.

63. P. BANKS, «The origins of the 'Gremi de Sabaters' of Barcelona», *Quaderns d'Arqueologia i Història de la Ciutat* 18 (1980) 109-118.

trades include three «corretgers» (strap and harness makers), three «pellicers» (skinner and tanners) and a possible saddler (*Seller*). Other general manufacturing trades are also well represented with three «torners» (i.e. those who used a lathe; perhaps also including coopers), a weaver and another wool-worker («paraire») and perhaps two linen weavers (*canneiador*). Trades connected with military metalwork are surprisingly poorly represented with a solitary shieldmaker and a possible helmet maker (*cervuner=cerveller?*) although there were three smiths. Services on the other hand are well-represented with two merchants, two doctors, a money-changer, a moneyer, an «hortelà» (a man who farmed orchards and kitchen gardens), a butcher, two bakers, an innkeeper, a sailor, a shipwright and a retailer. The other four remain unidentified.<sup>64</sup>

In the case of the place-name derived *cognomina*, six of the names are directly related to the city (Arcs (twice), Corribia, Rec (twice) and Sant Just), while a further five are too generalized to be of much value (Claustra, Palau, (twice), Pou and Sca-la).

The remaining fifteen can be divided as follows:

Territory of Barcelona	3
Bages	3
Penedès/Garraf	3
Osona	1
Segarra	1
Rest of Catalonia	1
Languedoc	3

These figures contrast strangely with those available for the century as a whole, a sample seven or eight times greater, in which the Vallès and the Maresme figure predominantly, demonstrating that most immigrants came from within a forty kilometre radius of the city, with less than thirty-percent from further away. Two comments might be made: first, the earliest immigrants recorded, that is to say those found before 1150, do seem to have travelled on average further than those recorded in later decades, and include a number of foreigners.<sup>65</sup> Secondly, if this list was principally concerned with relatively wealthy sectors of society, it is no surprise that many of the immigrants from the local catchment area were excluded, for they would have been among the poorest in the majority of cases.<sup>66</sup>

64. Madeler, Galedar, Corola, Pecador: needless to say, they may not have been trade-derived names at all.

65. I hope to publish a more detailed study of immigration in the near future: for the moment, P.J. BANKS, *The topography of the city of Barcelona and its urban context in eastern Catalonia from the third to the twelfth centuries* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Nottingham, 1980) pp. 836-841.

66. Certainly at local date there was a high concentration of immigrants from areas relatively near the city in the western suburbs between Santa Anna and Santa Maria del Pi, which were always among the poorest of the medieval city. See in general, F. MARSA *et al.*, *Onomàstica barcelonina del segle XIV* (Barcelona, 1977) and S. CLARAMUNT RODRÍGUEZ, «El arrabal de las Ramblas en la Barcelona del

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the document is that certain major Barcelona families are recorded either for the first time or by the name of the founder of the line. This tends to support the hypothesis that they had arrived in the city or established themselves above their fellows in the immediately preceding decades. Apart from those mentioned in the 1148 loan, one can point to the Alfous, the Grunys, the Ombaus, the Burguets, the Dionis, the Estirats and the Arbert Pons. Few of the families recorded, on the other hand, can be traced back to the later eleventh century, with the exception of the Marcus and the Guanalgods, both associated with the mint. Whatever the intrinsic difficulties of this document, it is clear that it marks a new starting point for the study of twelfth century Barcelona society.

### Appendix I

List of names, relatable with the city of Barcelona. Undated (c. 1145). Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancilleria, pergamins extra-inventari n.º 3508 (27.8 × 12.6 cms). Lined in dry point.

Guillem Suner, cum filio, <sup>ii</sup>	Paga, Alari, Morot Cabater, Beren Tron, <sup>iii</sup>
Aimeric, et Pere Etard, <sup>ii</sup>	Pere Amalrig, Pere Geral Camiador, <sup>ii</sup>
R.P. Altafua, Bonet de Menresa, <sup>ii</sup>	filius Petri Gerall de Pod, Dur sac, <sup>ii</sup>
Morages, Arnal de Tolosa, <sup>ii</sup>	Arnal Canneiador, R. Guillem Medicus, <sup>ii</sup>
5 Pere Arnal, Guillem Arbert, <sup>ii</sup>	G.R. Ripoper, Pere Mulet, Arnal Pelicer, <sup>iii</sup>
Arnal Suner, R. Guanalgod, <sup>ii</sup>	Molto, Umbalt, Guillem Arnal de Vico, <sup>iii</sup>
filli Guillelmi Raimon, Pere Alfod, <sup>ii</sup>	Gili, Arnal Buft, Burget, <sup>iii</sup>
Guillem Ceruuner, Pere Arbert, <sup>ii</sup>	Ponc Cabater, et frater, filius Johannis medici, <sup>iii</sup>
Beren casa, Ramon Pere, <sup>ii</sup>	Arnal Adarró, Johan Correier et filius, <sup>iii</sup>
10 Gandulf, Jofre Bret, et Beren Belot, <sup>ii</sup>	Berenger Buldrig, filius Geralli Bernardi, <sup>ii</sup>
Pere de Beders, P.R. Canaz,	gener Arnalli Canneiador, Lauret, <sup>ii</sup>
P.R. Torsa, cum filio, et filiastro, <sup>ii</sup>	Pere Bernad, Pere Buft cum genero, <sup>iii</sup>
Vivas Suner, Pere de Lobregad, <sup>ii</sup>	Bernad Estepha, Vivas Tixidor, Ramon Joha(n), <sup>iii</sup>
gener Bernardi Martini, Pere Bofi, <sup>ii</sup>	Arnal Madeler, Bernad Mir, Pere Ponc, <sup>iii</sup>
15 Morot, Mateu, Dorcha, <sup>iii</sup>	Pere Alideni, Johan Parador, Barral, <sup>iii</sup>
Pere Grón, R. Pere Od, <sup>ii</sup>	Bernad Racha Iofr, Bernad Andreu, <sup>ii</sup>
Beren Taunrner, Archimbal, <sup>ii</sup>	Guillem de Archs, R. Correier, Arnal Correiger, <sup>iii</sup>
Geral Pimparel, Pere Compan, <sup>ii</sup>	Bernad Moneder, et gener, Pere Buft, Bernad(d) Amad, <sup>iii</sup>
Bernard Mascord, Paxo, Ermgod, <sup>iii</sup>	Guillem Ferrer et socer eius, Ricard, <sup>iii</sup>
20 Beren de Rego, Bernad de Rego, <sup>ii</sup>	gener de Dorcha Calaphat, et filius eius, Arnal Esclesia, <sup>iii</sup>
Bunuz Ferrér, Dorcha Taunrner, <sup>ii</sup>	Geral de Coda Rubia, Geral Ferrér, <sup>ii</sup>
Lanbert, Ranux, Ramon Dormer, <sup>iii</sup>	Buft Iozbert, cum filio suo et genero suo, <sup>iii</sup>
Alegret, Johan Eschará, et frater, <sup>iii</sup>	Dalmacius Episcopi cum genero suo Petro,

siglo XV» in *El Pla de Barcelona i la seva història* (Barcelona, 1984) 183-203. Nevertheless, one should bear in mind that many, perhaps most, immigrants were not so identified: for example, neither Pere Joan de Perugia nor Aimeric de Perugia were so described in the list.

- Carbonel Pelicer, Arnal Ferriua,<sup>ii</sup>  
 25 gener Petri Guillelmi, Burrul de Provonzal,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Burrul Cabater, Johan Rodbal,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Ponc Rodbal, Bernad de Menresa,<sup>ii</sup>  
 filius Anfussini, Johan Segarra,<sup>ii</sup>  
 G. Goceran, Ponc de Schala,<sup>ii</sup>  
 30 gener de Pereta, Guillelmo Ponc,<sup>ii</sup>  
 R. Sudau, Pere Bonet,<sup>ii</sup>  
 filius Marie Borde, Rugi,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Johan Ponte, Pere Geral cum filio,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Bernard Ponc, Pere Estirad,<sup>ii</sup>  
 35 Burrul Mazeler, Ermengod de Me(n)resa,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Geral de gal val clam, Pere Benedet,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Bernad Marchúc, Ramon Marcuz,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Calver, Porcel, Benenchasa,<sup>iii</sup>  
 R. Pere Flecher, homo Sancti Andree de  
 furno,<sup>ii</sup>  
 40 Ber, Rrover, Gid Mercader, Deusde,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Porcel Pecador, Guillem de Claustra,<sup>ii</sup>
- (Dorse)  
 (.....) de Archis, Ponc de Tolosa,<sup>ii</sup>  
 (.....) al Torto, Barrul Pelicer,<sup>ii</sup>  
 (.....) god, Raimon Geral,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Pere Johan Mercader, Mascharo,<sup>ii</sup>  
 5 Beren, Bonsia, Marti Petit,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Guillem Compan, Guillem Arnal Taunrer,<sup>ii</sup>  
 gener eius, Pere Carbonel,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Andrea Beleta, et Cunil,<sup>ii</sup>
- Berenguer de Apiera, Adal Beret,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Renard, cum fratre suo, et cognato suo,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Geral Rog, Machord, Feranni cum fratribus suis,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Muza, Arnal Pere, et frater eius, Beren,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Bernad Basset, et filius et gener, et Suner,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Geral Cabater, Miró, Ponc Galedar,<sup>iii</sup>  
 R. Corola, Pere Cab de Bou, Bernad Ortola,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Corral, Bernad Burru(n)ga, R. Zabater,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Johan Tota, Marci cum filius,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Estepha Zabater et gener eius, Geral,<sup>ii</sup>  
 R. Arnal, et gener, Gifre Salamó et Domenge Johan,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Guillem Pere Ranchaios, cum vicino, et Pere de S. Just,<sup>iii</sup>  
 P. B. Rossel, Beren Grua, Pere Samuel,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Guillem dez Palad et Bernad de Palad, Pere Griú,  
 gener eius et R. Arbert, Jorner, Obertini,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Bonet, Buti, Bertran, Andreu de zes Moles,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Johan Rodei, filius Arberti Poncii, Pere Johan Cabater,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Pere de Mirapex, Berenger Ponc, Dorchia Pisator,<sup>iii</sup>  
 Guillem Taverner, Arnal Zabater,<sup>ii</sup>
- Guillem Bernad Negre, Carbonel,<sup>ii</sup>  
 10 Ponc Mariner, Guillem Rog,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Mud et filius, Tido,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Guillem Daunis, R. Seler,<sup>ii</sup>  
 Bernad Escuder,<sup>i</sup>  
 Marid de Ermissen Revenedrid,<sup>i</sup>  
 15 filius Petrus Lupsanci<sup>i</sup>

## Appendix II

Identification of the individuals listed in appendix I. The number in brackets after each name indicate the line where the name appears. A = column 1, B = column 2, D = dor-se.

Abbreviations used:

ACA = Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó.

Canc. = Cancilleria series.

Mon. = Monacals series.

SLIM = Sant Llorenç del Munt.

Div. = Diversos series.

MM = Marquès de Monistrol.

ACB = Arxiu Capítular de Barcelona.

ACV = Arxiu Capítular de Vic.

ADB = Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona.

AHN = Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

APR = Arxiu del Palau Requesens.



ASPP = Arxiu de Sant Pere de les Puelles.

CP = *Cartulari de Poblet* (ed. J. Pons Marqués: Barcelona, 1938).

CSC = *Cartulario de 'Sant Cugat' del Vallés* (ed. J. Rius Serra; Barcelona, 1945-47) 3 volúmenes.

LIB = *El 'Llibre Blanch' de Santes Creus* (ed. F. Udina Martorell: Barcelona, 1947).

Mas = J. Mas, *Notes històriques del bisbat de Barcelona (vols. IX-XII). Rúbrica dels Libri Antiquitatum de la Seu de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1909-15).

perg. = pergamí (parchment).

1. Adal Beret (B.24).
2. Aimeric (A.2): de Perugia; see note 13.
2. Alari (B.1).
4. Alegret (A.23): property *ad ipsos archos in ipsa carrera sancti Petri* (APR perg. 12: 17.I.1156) and houses in carrer Basea (ACB perg. 1-1-2151 (=Mas 1889): 4.V.1166).
5. Andrea Beleta (D.8): more correctly Andreu Bellet; houses in Basea (ACA Mon. SLIM. perg. 266 (16.I.1129); Mas 2698 (4.IX.1143); Mas 2026 (31.VII.1177)).
6. Andreu de zes Moles (B.39).
7. Anfussini (A.28): deceased.
8. Archimbal (A.17).
9. Arbert Poncii (B.40): deceased. Possibly recorded in a pledge (ACB perg. 1-2-1691 (= Mas 1312): 9.VI.1121 and a related sale, both referring to the Codols district (Mas 1381: 26.IV.1130), but another Arbert Pons died in 1160 (ACB Div. MM perg. 6).
10. Arnal Adarró (B.9): see note 16. Died in the summer of 1164 (ACB perg. 4-1-70: 30.IX.1164).
11. Arnal Bufi (B.7): rural property recorder (Mas 1552: 22.V.1143).
12. Arnal Canneador (B.4).
13. Arnallus Canneador (B.11): probably the same as 12.
14. Arnal Correiger (B.17).
15. Arnal Ferriua (A.24): possibly the Arnau Ferrer recorded in 1150 (ACB perg. 3-18-163: 11.VI.1150).
16. Arnal Esclesia (B.20).
17. Arnal Madeler (B.14): property adjoining that of Alegret at Arcs Antics: see n.º 4.
18. Arnal Pelicer (B.5).
19. Arnal Pere (B.27): unlikely to be the Arnau Pere *miles* whose will is recorded (Mas 1545: 13.II.1143).
20. Arnal Suner (A.6).
21. Arnal de Tolosa (A.4).
22. Arnal Zabater (B.42): workshop inside the walls by the Castell Vell and the Freginal (ACA Canc. Varia vol. 1, fol. 6r.: 9.I.1139). Signed documents between 1125 and 1166.
23. Barral (B.15).
24. Barrul Pelicer (D.2).

25. Ber.Rover (A.40): houses near the market and the Merdança recorded (ACB perg. 3-29-30: 25.IX.1141).
26. Benenchasa (A.38): property near the market (ACB perg. 1-5-159 and 4-49-303: 12.V.1158).
27. Beren (D.5).
28. Beren de Apiera (B.24).
29. Beren Belot (A.10).
30. Beren Buldrig (B.10): market stall mentioned (ACB perg. 4-49-550(b): 25.X.1158); 'horr' in the *villa nova* (ACB perg. 1-1-2151 (= Mas 1889): 4.V.1166) and houses at Cort Comtal (Mas 2148: 23.VII.1184).
31. Beren Casa (A.9).
32. Beren Grua (B.36).
33. Beren (brother of Arnau Pere) (B.27).
34. Berenguer Ponc (B.41).
35. Beren de Rego (A.20): presumably resident near the Rec.
36. Beren Taunrner (A.17).
37. Beren Tron (B.1): workshop in the market (Mas 1462: 3.II.1137).
38. Bernad Amad (B.18).
39. Bernad Andreu (B.16): houses in Arcs Antics suburb (ACB perg. 1-2-1412: 23.IX.1168; 1-2-1444: 23.III.1183).
40. Bernad Basset (B.28): a Pere Basset is mentioned in 1165 (ACB perg. 1-5-195: 17.VII.1165).
41. Bernad Burru(n)ga (B.31): a person of the same name, perhaps his father, is found with property near Sant Jaume (ACB perg. 1-4-306: 3.XI.1090).
42. Bernad Escuder (D.14): property in carrer de la Freneria (CP 285: 10.III.1145).
43. Bernad Estepha (B.13).
44. Bernad Marchúic (A.37): see note 12.
45. Bernardus Martini (A.14): deceased; probably the Bernat Martí Escuder with property in the *villa nova* (Mas 1311: 18.V.1121).
46. Bernad Mascord (A.19).
47. Bernad de Menresa (A.27).
48. Bernad Mir (B.14).
49. Bernad Moneder (B.18): father of Pere Moneder; both signed a document of 1161 (Mas 1829: 6.IV.1161) and the latter had property inside and outside the defences in the Regomir district, first recorded in 1158 (ACB perg. 1-1-1911: 18.VIII.1158).
50. Bernad Ortola (B.30).
51. Bernad de Palad (B.37).
52. Bernad Ponc (A.34): had an oven in the eastern suburbs (Mas 1648: 19.IV.1149) and other property nearby (Mas 2210: 11.VII.1190).
53. Bernad Rancha Iofr (B.16).
54. Bernad de Rego (A.20) presumably resident near the Rec.
55. Bertran (B.39): perhaps Bertrand de Montpellier, son-in-law of Bonet de Manresa; first recorded in 1147 in the donation of his daughter to the convent of Sant Pere de les Puellas (ASPP perg. 80: 29.I.1147) although not recorded with the cognomen until later

(Mas 1655: 11.XII.1149).

56. Bonet (B.39).

57. Bonet de Manresa (A.3): houses in the street leading towards Santa Maria del Mar mentioned in his will (ADB Santa Anna, Carpeta, unnumbered parchment: 6.II.1160); other property near the Arcs Antics (Mas 1855: 9.I.1163).

58. Bonsia (D.5): perhaps the Bonassa, husband of Saurina, with an 'hort' at Codols (ACB perg. 1-5-120: 27.VII.1146).

59. Bufi Iozbert (B.22).

60. Bunuz Ferrer (A.21).

61. Burget (B.7): property at Cort Comtal (LiB 123: 8.V.1166) and at Arcs Antics (ACB perg. 1-5-281: 10.VII.1185). For the later history of the family, C. Batlle i Gallart, «La família i la casa d'un draper de Barcelona, Burget de Banyeres (primera meitat del segle XIII)» *Acta/Mediaevalia* 2(1981) 69-91.

62. Burrul Cabater (A.26).

63. Burrul Mazeler (A.35).

64. Burrul de Provonzal (A.25).

65. Buti (B.39): had once held property in the *territorium* at the Torre Blanca (ACA Mon. Lligall 17/2, plech 17 n.º 1: 1.II.1161).

66. Calvet (A.38): houses near the market sold to Calvet Escuder (ACB perg. 1-5-3: 2.XII.1103); property in the *territorium* (Mas 1527: 19.III.1142).

67. Carbonel (D.9): *miles*? (LiB 116: 15.IX.1135).

68. Carbonel Pelicer (A.24).

69. Corral (B.31).

70. Cunil (D.8).

71. Dalmacius Episcopi (B.23).

72. Deusde (A.40): a Deusde *negociatoris* signs Mas 1617: 25.IV.1147.

73. Domenge Joan (B.34).

74. Dorcha (A.15).

75. Dorcha Calaphat (B.20): deceased.

76. Dorcha Pisator (B.41).

77. Dorcha Taunrner (A.21).

78. Dur Sac (B.3): houses in the suburbs under the comital palace (ACA Real Património, subsección de la Bailía: Clase 2.ª, A.º, vol 9, fol. 180 r.: 12.IV.1131).

79. Ermengol (A.18).

80. Ermengol de Me(n)resa (A.35): see note 19.

81. Ermessen Revenedrid (D.14).

82. Estepha Zabater (B.33).

83. Feranni (B.26).

84. G.Goceran (A.24).

85. G.R.Ripoper (B.5).

86. Gandulf (A.10): probably Gandulf Gras (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, perg.267: 21.VII.1175): various properties in the suburbs.

87. Geral (B.33).

88. Gerallus Bernardi (B.10): deceased. Property at Arcs Antics (ACA Canc. perg. de Ramon Berenguer III, n.º 67: 27.VIII.1101) and also towards Sant Pere (ACB perg.

1-5-151: 2.VIII.1155).

89. Geral Cabater (B.29): had vines at Monterols (Mas 1491, 20.IX.1139).

90. Geral de Coda Rubia (B.21): presumably resident in carrer Corribia.

91. Geral Ferrer (B.21): property leased in carrer Corribia (ACB perg. 1-5-224: 29.VI.1172); also intramural workshop (cp 287: 4.III.1145).

92. Geral de Ga val clam (A.36): will? (ACB perg. 4-9-166: 9.VII.1149).

93. Geral Pimparel (A.18): had held an 'hort' near the Molins del Mar (ACB perg. 3-34-242: 22.I.1180).

94. Geral Rog (B.26).

95. Gid Mercader (A.40): the same as Guido de Moravid, who held intramural houses (ACA Canc. pergamins de Ramon Berenguer IV n.º 31: 22.IV.1134).

96. Gifre Salamó (B.34): to judge by the *cognomen probably a convert, which fits the location near the Jewish Call suggested by the perambulation.*

97. Gili (B.7).

98. Guillem Arbert (A.5): son of Arbert Berenguer (Mas 1317: 25.VII.1122); workshops in the market (ACB perg. 1-5-132: 17.I.1151) and towards Santa Maria del Mar (ACB perg. 4-49-303: 12.V.1158). The latter document states he was a doctor.

99. Guillem de Archs (B.17): brother of Ramon and Berenguer d'Arcs, who held property in the Arcs Antics suburb (ACA Mon. SLIM perg. 276: 38.XI.1166).

100. Guillem Arnal Tauprer (D.6).

101. Guillem Arnau de Vico (B.6).

102. Guillem Bernat Negre (D.9): a Pere Bertran Negre had houses near Sant Miquel (Mas 1621: 22.VII.1147).

103. Guillem Ceruuner (A.8).

104. Guillem de Claustra (A.41).

105. Guillem Compan (D.6).

106. Guillem Daunis (D.13): intramural property in carrer de la Freneria described in his testament (Mas 2050: 16.III.1179).

107. Guillem Ferrer (B.19): vines at Vinyals (Mas 1557: 23.VII.1143).

108. Guillem dez Palad (B.37): possibly resident near the comital Palace where the family is later recorder (Mas 2344: 21.XII.1201).

109. Guillem Pere Ranchaiós (B.35): a Guillem Pere, possibly the same, is found with property in the Arcs Antics suburb (ACB perg. 1-5-126: 16.VII.1149).

110. Guillelmo Ponc (A.30): property in the *villa nova* (Mas 1607: 22.VI.1146) and elsewhere (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta 9, perg. 23: 29.XII.1150).

111. Gillem Ramon (A.7): deceased; will recorded in note 26.

112. Guillem Rog (D.10).

113. Gillem Suner (A.1).

114. Guillem Taverner (B.42): property near Sant Just (Mas 1629: 17.III.1148).

115. homo Sancti Andree de furno (A.39).

116. Jofre Bret (A.10): houses in carrer Basea (Mas 1511: 21.I.1141 and Mas 2698: 4.IX.1143).

117. Johan Correier (B.9): vines at Vinyals (Mas 1672: 12.IX.1151 and ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, perg. 565: 27.IX.1145).

118. Johan Eschará (A. 23): property near Santa Maria del Mar (Mas 1628: 16.III.1147).

119. Johannis Medici (B.8): deceased; property in the Arcs Antics suburb (ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Berenguer III, no. 216: 5.VII.1119; *ibid.*, Ramón Berenguer III, no. 37: 19.VII.1134; and ACB perg. 1-5-112: 16.II.1144).

120. Johan Parador (B.15).

121. Johan Ponte (A.33).

122. Johan Rodbal (A.26).

123. Johan Rodei (B.40).

124. Johan Segarra (A.28): a Berenguer Segarra is found with property near the shore a generation later (ACB perg. 1-2-1074: 22.XI.1168).

125. Johan Tota (B.32): see note 21.

126. Jornet (B.38): houses at Regomir (ACB perg. 1-1-1163: 29.I.1154).

127. Lanbert (A.22): probably the Lanbert Pisani who signs Mas 1362: 11.X.1127). A Pere Lanbert, perhaps his son, had property near Santa Eulàlia del Camp later in the century (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, perg. 338: IV.118?).

128. Lauret (B.11).

129. Marci (B.32): perhaps the Marc who had held property in the eastern part of the suburbs (ACB perg. 1-5-27: 19.IV.1149).

130. Marie Borde (A.32): probably related to the Esteve Bord found with property near Sant Jaume (ACA Mon. unnumbered parchment: 9.VIII.1147).

131. Marti Petit (D.5): houses and workshops adjoining the comital palace (e.g. Mas 1538: 12.VIII.1142).

132. Mascharo (B.26): houses adjoining the episcopal palace (Mas 1888: 1.III.1166).

133. Maschord (B.26): houses near Sant Just (ACB perg. 1-5-90: 7.XI.1130) and in the suburbs (ACB perg. 1-5-88: 13.X.1128).

134. Mateu (A.15): possibly the Mateu, deceased, with allods in Sants (Mas 1579: 20.X.1144).

135. Miró (B.29)

136. Molto (B.6): houses by the Merdança (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, perg. 226: 16.X.1174).

137. Morages (A.4): houses by the Merdança (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, n.º 255: 27.XI.1168).

138. Morot (A.15): will (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta 9 perg. 27: 22.I.1179).

139. Morot Cabater (B.1).

140. Mud (D.12): Possibly the Pere Udalgard *mutto* who held property in the southern part of the intramural area (ACV *Liber Dotationum*, fol. 91: 23.V.1117).

141. Muza (B.27).

142. Obertini (B.38): probably Obertinus de Regomir (ACB perg. 1-5-224: 29.VI.1172).

143. P.B. Rossel (B.36): probably Ponç Bernat Rosell who had a manse in the *territorium* (LIB 45: 26.IV.1150).

144. P.R. Canaz (A.11).

145. P.R. Torsa (A.12): *burgensis* (LIB 116: 15.IX.1135).

146. Paga (B.1): intramural house by the Castell Vell (ACB perg. 1-2-1614/i: 6.VII.1142).

147. Paxo (A.19).

148. Pere (B.23).
149. Pere Alfod (A.7): widespread property of the family, concentrated in the urban area towards Santa Maria del Mar and later known as the «Vila d'Alfou» (ACB perg. 1-2-1074:22.XI.1168 and 1-5-340:14.III.1195).
150. Pere Alideni (B.15).
151. Pere Amalrig (B.2): houses in the suburbs under the comital palace (Mas 1595: 14.III.1146 and ADB Santa Anna, carpeta, perg. 267: 21.VII.1175).
152. Pere Arbert (A.8): land at Codols (Mas 1554: 1.VII.1143) and in the intramural area by the Miracle (Mas 1703: 4 IX. 1154).
153. Pere Arnal (A.5): estates in the suburbs *ad ipsas Tapias* (ACB perg. 1-5-202: 1.IV.1167) and houses near Santa Maria del Mar (AHN Clero, carpeta 2006 perg. 2: 12.VII.1161).
154. Pere de Beders (A.11): the same as Pere Betherris (of Bésiers) with houses near the Arcs Antics and the lesser comital palace (ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Beren - guer III, no. 191: 30.VI.1116).
155. Pere Benedet (A.36): member of the brotherhood of Santa Eulalia del Camp ADB Santa Anna, Carpeta +, no. 565: 27. IX.1146) alongside Pere Gruny and Pere Amalric.
156. Pere Bernard (B.12).
157. Pere Bofi (A.14).
158. Pere Bonet (A.31).
159. Pere Bufi (B.12).
160. Pere Bufi (B.18): the same as 159? Once had a market stall (ACB perg. 1-5-287: 13.II.1186).
161. Pere Cab de Bou (B.30).
162. Pere Carbonel (D.7): houses near the later episcopal palace (Mas 1717: 8.VI. 1154).
163. Pere Compan (A. 18).
164. Pere Estirad (A.34): property near the market and Merdança (Mas 1413: 27.II.1132 and ADB Santa Anna, carpeta +, no. 200: 2.IX.1175).
165. Pere Etard (A.2).
166. Pere Geral (A.33): property near Santa Eulalia del Camp (Mas 1821: 17.IX.1160).
167. Pere Geral Camiador (B.2): houses in the suburbs under the comital palace (ACB perg. 1-5-15: 29.IX.1144 and Mas 1595: 14.III.1146).
168. Pere Geralli de Pod (B.3): deceased.
169. Pere Griú (B.37).
170. Pere Grón (A.16): intramural workshop (ACA Canc., Varia vol. 1, fol. 6 r: 9.I.1139) and probably property towards Santa Maria del Mar where the later estates of the family were concentrated.
171. Petrus Guillelmi (A.25): deceased.
172. Pere Johan Cabater (B.40): attested in the 1140's only.
173. Pere Johan Mercader (D.40): probably Pere Joan de Perugia for whom see note 15.
174. Pere de Lobregat (A.13): possibly the same as Pere Ramon de Llobregat, who had

intramural houses (Mas 1610: 30.X.1146).

175. Pere Lupsanci (D.15): deceased. Property adjoining the «cases del Paradís» and the Jewish Call (Mas 1743: 13 V.1156).

176. Pere de Mirapeix (B.41).

177. Pere Mulet (B.5).

178. Pere Ponc (B.14): property around the market and elsewhere (ACB perg. 1-5-282 (Mas 2165): 13.VI.1185).

179. Pere Samuel (B.36). possibly a convert.

180. Pere de S. Just (B.35): resident near that church?

181. Pereta (A.30): property including workshops near the market (ACB perg 1-2338) (=Mas 1966): 3.IX.1172).

182. Ponc Cabater (B.8): otherwise documented in 1141-2.

183. Ponc Galedar (B.29).

184. Ponc Mariner (D.9).

185. Ponc Rodbal (A.27): Held property at Cogoll (ACB perg. 1-5-125:20.iV.1149).

186. Ponc de Schala (A.29).

187. Ponc de Tolosa (D.1): houses and workshops on both sides of carrer de la Freneria (ACB perg. 1-1-327: 4.VIII.1135; 1-5-97: 19:XI.1135; 4-49-479: 26.II.1145).

188. Porcel (A.38).

189. Porcel Pescador (A.41).

190. R. Arbert (B.38): property at Codols (Mas 1554: 1.VII.1143).

191. R. Arnal (B.34): *miles* (LIB 116: 15.IX.1135).

192. R. Correier (B.17).

193. R. Corola (B.30).

194. R. Guanalgod (A.6): property in the eastern part of the suburbs (ACB perg. 3-29-230: 11.III.1143), in the intramural area and on Montjuïc (ACA Canc., pergamins de Ramon Berenguer IV no. 312: 27.IX.1157). Connected with the mint.

195. R. Guillem Medicus (B.4).

196. R.P. Altafuia (A.3).

197. R.P. Flecher (A.39).

198. R. Pere Od (A.16).

199. R. Seler (D.13): workshop in carrer de la Freneria (CP 285: 10.III.1145).

200. R. Sudau (A. 31).

201. R. Zabater (B.31): houses near Sant Jaume (ACA Mon. St. Pau del Camp, unnumbered parchment: 9.VIII.1147).

202. Ramon Dormer (A.22): possibly Ramon Dormaseder with houses near Santa Maria del Mar (ACB perg. 4-30-695: 24.IX.1151).

203. Ramon Geral (D.3).

204. Ramon Joha(n) (B.13).

205. Ramon Marcuz (A.37): brother of Bernat Marcus and see note 29.

206. Ramon Pere (A.9): houses at Arcs Antics (ACB perg. 1-2-1368: 1.VII.1117) in the eastern suburbs (ACV Fons capbreu, unnumbered parchment: 16.VII.1142) and adjoining the Castell Vell within the intramural area (ACB perg. 1-5-193: 1.VI.1164).

207. Ranux (A.22).

208. Renard (B.25): possibly resident in the Sant Miquel area as he signs Mas 1609: 18.VII.1146.
209. Ricard (B.19).
210. Rugi (A.32).
211. Suner (B.28): workshops in the market (ACB perg. 1-5-132: 17.I.1151).
212. Tido (D.12).
213. Umbalt (B.6): property on the upper part of the Merdança (ACB perg. 1-2-784: 7.III.1135), near Santa Anna (ADB Santa Anna, carpeta 2, unnumbered parchment : 6.VI.1146) and in the market (ACB perg. 4-49-550/i: 25.X.1158).
214. Vivas Suner (A.13).
215. Vivas Tixidor (B.13).
216. ...de Archis (D.1): possibly Arnau Pere d'Arcs, for whom see note 18.
217. ...al Torto (D.2): possibly connected with the Torta family ACB perg. 1-5-112: 16.II.1144; 1-5-151: 2.VIII.1155).
218. ...god (D.3).
- The remaining twenty-two individuals are not named.