

THE SEIGNEURIALISATION OF THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER OF VALENCIA, 1270-1330

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines the process of Christian colonization on the Southern borderland of the Kingdom of Valencia in relation to the settlements of army officers of certain prestige from the last third of the thirteen century to the first third of the fourteen century. It also shows the extraordinary mobility of this feudal class and the fluid activation of the land market as a consequence of the exiguity of the plots of land originally distributed as well as the appearance of urban buyers that invest their capitals in agricultural renting at the end of the period¹.

KEY WORDS

Conquest, lordship process, Kingdom of Valencia, borderland, thirteen century, fourteen century.

CAPITALIA VERBA

Debellatio, Cursus honesti viri, Regnum Valentiae, Fines, Tredecimum saeculum, Quartum decimum saeculum.

1. This work has been carried out as part of the research project "Redes Sociales y proyección económica en las sociedades de frontera: el sur del reino de Valencia entre los siglos XIII-XV" (HAR 2010-22090) funded by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación and led by the author of this article. Abbreviations used: ACA (Archivo de la Corona de Aragón).

1. Introduction

In the presentation of a review of the colloquium held in 2002 in Barcelona about the formation and expansion of Catalan feudalism,² A. Furió summarised the state of research into the conquest and feudal colonization of the kingdom of Valencia.³ These pages, as is common knowledge, present a panorama where this topic was initially in the hands of two great Hispanists, P. Guichard and the late R. I. Burns, who established the basis through the complementary, rather than antagonistic, historiographical and methodological observations which a large group of medievalists have been reflecting on for more than two decades, plus a third analysis developed by A. Ubieto Arteta through his controversial “*Orígenes del reino de Valencia. Cuestiones cronológicas sobre su conquista*”,⁴ expanded by some of his disciples. What is written there, together with the references to the works of those who have worked on related aspects of Valencian medieval history, exonerate me from dealing with them individually, first as the Valencian historiographical situation in these and other works is very explicit,⁵ and second because this study aims to deal with seigneurialisation, a particular aspect of the historiographical debate about feudalism in Valencia, in a specific territory, namely the lands on the southern frontier, within a clearly defined geographic area, in the last third of the 13th and first third of the following century⁶. Despite this, a good part of the work on which it is based is included in texts and notes in this study, which will allow me, without theoretical, conceptual or historiographic preambles, to focus on the subject of my inquiry.

Almost two decades ago, it was pointed out in the *Historia del pueblo valenciano*, that the issue of repopulation was one of the themes of Valencian medieval history that had received most attention, and not only from a historiographical point of view, but rather at the more colloquial or popular levels. Within the first of these fields, the authors of the above-mentioned pages, R. Ferrer and E. Guinot, referred to the phenomenon of repopulation as obviously going beyond shifting people from one place to another to become “Un proceso mucho más complejo por el cual

2. Barceló, Miquel; Gaspar, Feliu; Furió, Antoni; Miquel, Marina; Sobresqués, Jaume, eds. *El feudalisme comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003.

3. Furió, Antoni. “Balanz final (i provisional)”. *El feudalisme comptat comptat i debatut. Formació i expansió del feudalisme català*, Miquel Barceló, Feliu Gaspar, Antoni Furió, Marina Miquel, Jaume Sobresqués, eds. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003: 564-565.

4. Ubieto Arteta, Antonio. *Orígenes del reino de Valencia. Cuestiones cronológicas sobre su conquista*. Saragossa: Anubar, 1981.

5. Furió, Antoni. “La història medieval valenciana: un itinerari historiogràfic”. *Millars*, 13 (1990): 73-80; Furió, Antoni. “De la autarquía al intercambio: la historia medieval valenciana entre 1939 y 1989”. *Hispania. Revista española de historia*, 50 (1990): I, 903-920; Viciano Navarro, Pau. “La recerca sobre el feudalisme català medieval: un assaig des de la perifèria”. *Afers: fulls de recerca i pensament*, 20/50 (2005): 43-71.

6. There is a publication which deals with the same topic, although it focuses exclusively on the valencian Marina Alta through the entire medieval period. Rodríguez, Enric. “L'escenari de les senyories medievals a la comarca de la Marina Alta”, II Jornades d'Estudis “Coronel Giner Bolufer” de Pego i les Valls. Pego: Ajuntament de Pego, 2007: 87-100.



toda una sociedad, en este caso la cristiana, ocupa militarmente otros territorios donde existe una sociedad muy diferente en sus características —la musulmana— y superpone su modelo de sociedad feudal reestructurando al mismo tiempo las relaciones sociales existentes en esa sociedad musulmana derrotada”.⁷

It is equally well known that Christian settlement went hand in hand with the conquest, which began with the mythical date of the fall of Morella in the early 1230s. It continued with the conquest of the city of Valencia in 1238 and culminated in the Treaty of Almizra in 1244 and the acquisition of Biar the following year. With a firm frontier established with Castile,⁸ which was then beginning an offensive against the Hudite lands of Murcia, and the military occupation of Valencian territory “officially” finalised,⁹ the great Christian assault on the area, until then in Muslim hands, had to take place.¹⁰ However, the Christian population was extremely weak during the first decades, especially south of the River Júcar. In this respect, it would have been very costly to recruit enough people of this origin to colonise the wide area opened by the conquest. On the other hand, the vitality of a huge majority of the Muslim population, who retained their homes and property thanks to the pacts with King James and their own bellicosity, although militarily defeated and to a great degree leaderless, allowed them to respond equally violently to the Christian aggression in the revolts of 1246 and 1276.¹¹

7. “a much more complex process with which a whole society, in this case, the Christian, militarily occupied other territories where there was a society with very different characteristics —the Muslim— and overlapped its model of feudal society while restructuring the existing social relations in this defeated Muslim society”. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon; Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. “La repoblación valenciana medieval”, *Historia del pueblo valenciano* I. Manuel Cerdá, dir. Valencia: Levante, 1988: 241-242. See, Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. “La conquista y colonización del reino de Valencia”, *Ocho siglos de historia medieval. De al-Ándalus a la sociedad feudal (711-1519)*. La Gran Historia de la Comunitat Valenciana, III. Francesc A. Martínez, Antonio Laguna, eds. Valencia: Prensa Valenciana, 2007: 50.

8. Torres Fontes, Juan. *La delimitación de Surdeste peninsular*. Murcia: Imprenta Sucesores de Nogués, 1950-1951. Una síntesis de la obra de este historiador murciano al respecto lo encontramos en Menéndez Pidal, Ramon. “La incorporación del reino de Murcia a la Corona de Castilla”, *Historia de España*, XIII, *La Corona de Castilla*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1995: I, 431-474; Ferrándiz Leal, José. *Data Almizrano... Siete siglos y medio de historiografía valenciana sobre el Tratado de Almizra (1244-1994)*. Alicante: Patronat del Tractat d’Almirra, 1994.

9. Torró Abad, Josep. “Guerra, repartiment i colonització al regne de València (1248-1249)”, *Repartiments a la Corona d’Aragó (Segles XII-XIII)*. Enric Guinot, Josep Torró, eds. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007: 201-202 and following.

10. Torró Abad, Josep. “L’Assalt a la terra. Qüestions sobre l’abast de la colonització feudal al regne de Valencia (1233-1304)”, *Histoire et Archeologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*. Philippe Sénac, ed. Perpignan: Presses Universitaires de Perpignan-Centre de Recherche sur les problèmes de la frontière, 2005: 317-338.

11. Bañó Armiñana, Ricard. “Contribució a l’estudi de les sublevacions d’Al-Azraq en les comarques de l’Alcoià i el Comtat”. *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Alicantinos*, 33 (1981): 39-63; Burns, Robert Ignatius. “La guerra de Alazraq de 1249”. *Sharq al-Andalus*, 4 (1987): 109-122; Burns, Robert Ignatius. “The Crusade against Al-Azraq: A Thirteenth-Century Mudejar Revolt in International Perspective”. *The American Historical Review*, 98 (1988): 80-106; Soldevila, Ferran. *Pere el Gran*. Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1995: I, 403-423; Torró Abad, Josep. “Guerra, repartiment...”: 201-276, Specially 214, who points out that in the southern lands of the kingdom the Muslim resistance continued for at least a decade in the first major revolt.



Regarding the southernmost lands of the kingdom, being conquered later meant that settlement by the conquering population also began later, in the second half of the 13th century. With a clear strategic interest in securing the feudal forms through the human element in areas close to the north/south communication lines, the Crown awarded population charters to Cocentaina (1250-51) and Alcoi (1256), both promulgated by the then procurator of the Kingdom of Valencia, Eximén Pérez d'Arenós.¹² From this date on, there were ongoing awards of land to farmers and knights.¹³ However, the social level of the settlers was low.¹⁴ Nobody doubts that these were, to a large extent, men of war, who were offered land in return for a commitment to defend a frontier land. The presence of these new settlers, very few in number, had a great impact on the neighbouring Muslim population. While it seems that the latter were wanted clearly for fiscal and employment reasons in Cocentaina,¹⁵ Alcoi was founded as a Christian settlement with the Andalusian element little linked to the town, unlike in the surrounding countryside. This desire for an exclusively Christian population for the new settlements is patent throughout the area in the period that I present here, both in the interior, as in Alcoi, and on the coast, as happened half a century later with Villajoyosa or Benidorm.¹⁶

However, the truth is that this was an extraordinarily mobile population. The cases studied from the south of Valencia, Alcoi and Cocentaina, clearly point in this direction,¹⁷ within the general context referred to in the 1980s by A. Furió and F. García.¹⁸ And thus it is seen that after few years, many of the early settlers had abandoned their properties and been replaced by new elements. The need to have an active population on an active frontier with strong internal resistance from the Mudéjar elements meant that, in full Muslim revolt in October 1276, despite the death of his father some months earlier, the yet uncrowned Prince Peter ordered Roger de Llúria to announce that all those men who had obtained inheritances in Alcoi and Cocentaina and did not reside there should lose them.¹⁹ This is undoubtedly typical of frontier colonisation, where war as a synonym of constant

12. See the governmental activity of this person in Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público y administración territorial en el reino de Valencia, 1239-1348. El oficio de la Procuración*. Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana-Conselleria de Presidència, 1998: 50-54.

13. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. "Repoblación de tierras alicantinas por Jaime I". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 2 (1983): 33-48. Albeit with ups and downs, determined colonising efforts, such as Calpe, 1249 and others in the southern border area of Valencia, are deferred by a decade Torró Abad, Josep. "Guerra, repartiment...": 238-239.

14. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. "La repoblación de una comarca alicantina: la serranía de Alcoy". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 1 (1982): 21-22.

15. Ferragut, Carmel. *El naiximent d'una vila rural valenciana. Cocentaina, 1245-1304*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2003: 64.

16. Cabezuelo Priego, José Vicente. *Entre el mar y la montaña. Creación y destrucción del señorío de Bernat de Sarrià*, (forthcoming).

17. Torró Abad, Josep. *La formació d'un espai feudal. Alcoi de 1245 a 1305*. Valencia: Diputació de València, 1992: 128-129; Ferragut, Carmel. *El naiximent d'una vila rural...: 66-69*.

18. Furió, Antoni; García, Ferran. "Dificultats agràries en la formació i consolidació del feudalisme al país Valencià". *Estudi General*, 5-6 (1985-1986): 305.

19. Soldevila, Ferran. *Pere el Gran...: II*, 202-203 (doc. nº 30).



fighting was presented as a pivot or pole of attraction for a population of great vitality in its movements, who moved there when they understood that there were business opportunities, not only for acquiring houses and land and defending these, but also for the exercise of arms with no other link to the frontier area than booty.²⁰

2. First question

This same mobility took place among the lords, although on a much smaller scale than was usual among the colonisers. A key element of the repopulation carried out by James I in these distant Valencian lands were settlers related to the profession of arms and of humble social origins. As R. Ferrer accurately puts it, the strategy of the Conqueror king was to settle the frontier, and this would have been difficult with only the noble element. This was, as we shall see in the specific case of the lordship of Bernat de Sarrià, a double frontier, with Castile and Granada —exemplified by the 1304 attack on the lands of *l'Alcoià* and the *Comtat* by horsemen from Granada,²¹ or Ridwan's plan to invade the kingdom at the beginning of Alfonso IV's reign.²² This, together with the relative paucity of documentary sources about the phenomenon of repopulation, leads us to think that during the first two or three *post* conquest decades, the few noblemen there were, were of low social standing. It is true that there were names of high dignitaries linked to land nowadays in Alicante (Carroç²³ or Eximén Pérez d'Arenós),²⁴ although obviously only as a source of income as they had no desire to settle and defend them. However, it was basically after Al-Azraq's second uprising, at the end of James I's reign and stifled by his successor, Peter the Great, when the presence of this social elite in lands near the frontier with Murcia began to increase. This grew as a reward for services rendered under James II and the conquest of this kingdom at the end of the 13th century.

20. Torró Abad, Josep. *La formació d'un espai feudal...*: 128-137; Torró Abad, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276)*. Valencia: Institut de cultura Joan Gil-Albert-Universitat de València, 1999: 68-72. In a Hispanic context see: Lourie, Elena. "A Society Organized for War: Medieval Spain". *Past and Present*, 35 (1966): 54-76; Powers, James F. *A Society Organized for War. The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1248*. Berkeley-London: University of California Press, 1988; Powers, James F. "Dos reyes guerreros y sus milicias municipales: El ciudadano-soldado en la ley y en la vida", *Los mundos de Alfonso el sabio y Jaime el Conquistador. Razón y fuerza en la Edad Media*, Robert Ignatius Burns, ed. Valencia: Edicions Alfons el Magnànim, 1990: 23-158; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. "Guerra y violencia en un espacio fronterero". *Canelobre: Revista del Instituto Alicantino de Cultura "Juan Gil-Albert"*, 52 (2007): 42-57.

21. Ferrer Mallol, Maria Teresa. "La incursió de l'exèrcit de Granada de 1304 pel regne de València i l'atac a Cocentàina". *Alberri*, 15 (2005): 53-150.

22. Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. "Cristiano de Alá, renegado de Cristo. El caso de Abdalla, 'fill d'En Domingo Vallés', un valenciano al servicio del Islam". *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios mudéjares y moriscos*, 13 (1996): 27-46.

23. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. "Repoblación de tierras...": 37-38.

24. Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 52.



At this point, it is worth pausing to define a “social elite” not only as members of the great Catalan and Aragonese lineages who acquired domains in these lands, but also, and fundamentally, to settlers who were linked to the frontier and whose socio-military rank was above that of mere farmers, seen not only in the size of the property acquired, but also in their relations with the defence of the territory through the control of strongholds. It is more than probable that some of these *milites* acquired their property directly from the Muslim elites, their *rahals* and *reals*. This is indicated by Guichard,²⁵ Ferrer²⁶ and in the documentation. Others, who perhaps through their socio-military position acted as leaders of small groups of settlers, received larger areas.²⁷ In this sense, some years ago, E. Guinot raised the difficult question of relating the noble hierarchy with seigniorial property in the kingdom of Valencia during the reigns of James I and Peter III, and observed that together with the real social elite made up of the great noblemen and a second level composed of knights closely related to the profession of arms and jurisdictional and military posts, in this case in the southern areas of the kingdom, we find a growing list of non-nobles, inhabitants of towns and cities, in charge of tiny lordships, on most occasions *alquerías*,²⁸ who perhaps first acquired the land through a grant and who gradually acquired rural property through purchases, through which their “level of wealth”, but not their social condition, turned them into territorial lords.²⁹

The relative absence of documentation mentioned above prevents us from knowing the roster of settlers, whatever their condition, who repopulated the southern frontier of Valencia in detail. What the documents do indicate is their mobility, as lineages that appear in a one place at a given moment, disappear from the lists in the following decade, while others fill the gaps left.³⁰

When —if there is any specific moment— did the project to seigneurialise the south of the kingdom of Valencia begin? The question I ask is certainly categorical, but reflects the fact that while it is widely accepted that the first settlement was basically by common men related to the profession of arms, five or six decades later, in the area of the Marinas, the *Montanea* of 13th-century documents, there was an important seigneurialisation that meant that practically all the rural communities linked their income to a lord, whether noble or not.

In an interesting article mentioned above, E. Guinot indicates a limited but symptomatic presence of noblemen and lords in southern Valencia in the times of

25. Guichard, Pierre. “El impacto de la reconquista en la sociedad musulmana”, *Historia del pueblo valenciano*, Manuel Cerdá, dir. Valencia: Levante, 1988: I, 227-229.

26. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. “Repoblación de tierras...”: 47.

27. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. “La repoblación de una comarca...”: 22.

28. The *alquería* was a generally unfortified rural farmstead or hamlet inhabited by one or more families. Translator’s note.

29. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. “Els senyorius de la noblesa valenciana a l’època de Pere el Gran (1276-1285)”, *Estudios en recuerdo de la Profesora Sylvia Romeu Alfaro*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 1989: I, 489-502, Specially 490-491.

30. See: Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. *Els fundadors del regne de València. Repoblament, antroponímia i llengua a la València medieval*. Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1999.



Peter the Great. Prominent among these were people of high rank related to the royal family, such as Pere Ferrando, illegitimate son of James I, with possessions (Orcheta and Torres) on the Almisra line, where a three-sided conflict would later arise between the nobleman's heirs, the Order of Uclés and Bernat de Sarrià. There were noblemen with great political weight in the Crown of Aragon, such as the future admirals, Roger de Llúria and Bernat de Sarrià, and other secondary lineages, then headed by Bertrand de Bellpuig, Eximén Pérez d'Oris, Pere Roís de Corella, Jaume Gruny, Jaume de Leys, Arnau de Materó and some others with small possessions in the Marinas and the inland districts of Alcoià-Comtat.³¹ However, the truth is that many of these people had already appeared in the times of James I, and the creation of lordships was the unequivocal result of the conquest and colonization of the Sharq al-Andalus.³²

From a very early date, we see grants of lands by the above-mentioned king to individuals to induce them to move to this area. In this case, I refer to grants of a certain size, more than a few *jovadas*³³ of dry and/or irrigated land or houses. A review of the different documentary repertoires from the kingdom of the Conqueror reveals an early link between a certain military elite in these frontier lands. For example, in January 1249, Alfonso Berenguer Mercer received the fiefs on *Puig de Orba* and the *alquería* of Murla from the king, according to the *Costums* of Barcelona.³⁴ Two years later, Eximén Pérez d'Oris was given the castle and town of Sella³⁵ while Eximén Pérez d'Arenós, Valencian deputy, obtained Cheste and Villamarchante in exchange for Castalla and Onil.³⁶ In 1257, Carrós did the same with the valleys of Laguar, Jalón and Pop.³⁷ Eximén Pérez d'Oris, already settled in this area, exchanged possessions in Cocentaina for others in Penáguila.³⁸ The following year, one Martín Ximenis de Forauren, or Soverre, received the *alquería* of Alcocer in Cocentaina as well as various houses.³⁹ In 1260, Gil Garcés de Azagra was awarded Perputxén and its castle in exchange for the castle and town of Planes,⁴⁰ and Bernat de Clora received the salt pans of Calpe in perpetuity.⁴¹ Three years later, the king and Pons de Vilafranca exchanged the castle of Gorga for the one

31. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "Els senyoriis de la noblesa valenciana...": 492-502.

32. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "La implantació de la societat feudal al País Valencià del segle XIII: la gènesi de les senyories i l'establiment de les terres", *Natura i desenvolupament. El medi ambient a l'edat mitjana*, Flocel Sabaté, Joan Farré, coords. Lleida: Pagès Editors, 2005: 421-442.

33. A measure of the land a pair of oxen could plough in one day. Translator's note.

34. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio en la época de Jaime I de Aragón*. Alicante: Institut de Cultura Joan Gil-Albert, 1993: 56 (doc. n° 65).

35. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 79* (doc. n°136).

36. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 79-80* (doc. n° 138).

37. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 88* (doc. n° 164).

38. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 104* (doc. n° 215).

39. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 107* (doc. n° 138).

40. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 118* (doc. n° 259).

41. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...: 119-120* (doc. n° 264).



in Travadell.⁴² In 1265, Lope Sánchez de Vergais received an *alquería* near Polop and Callosa and the castle of Aljubea.⁴³ In 1268, various properties in the Marina area fell into the hands of Berenguela Alfonso, the king's lover,⁴⁴ the same date that the castle of Relleu came into Bernat Porter's power.⁴⁵ In 1269, the castle and town of Polop, plus some *alquerías* in the limits of Jalón, swelled the patrimony of Algaziro Abiat,⁴⁶ while the castles of Gallinera, Alcalá, Serra and Torres did the same for Ferrán Sánchez, the king's illegitimate son.⁴⁷ Then, an *alquería* in the limits of Jijona came under Guerau de Mur⁴⁸ and Olocaiba and Pedreguer went to Pascalino de Montebruno.⁴⁹ In 1270, Ramon de Balbs received the castle of Sanxet and the *alquería* of Alarch,⁵⁰ Jaume Gruny the *alquerías* of Albalat, in the limits of Altea, and Benebrafim and Murla in those of Jalón,⁵¹ extending his domain in 1272 to include the *alquería* of Beniam.⁵² Berenguela Alfonso widened his possessions to include the castles and towns of Orcheta, Serra, Finestrat and Torres,⁵³ although the following year, he was given Mogente in compensation for some of these places, which went to Santiago.⁵⁴ Bella d'Amichi and her son, Roger de Llúria, received Seta and Xeroles, the beginning of the Italian admiral's lordship.⁵⁵ In 1271, Jaume de Lleys was given Favarella, near Castalla,⁵⁶ and Bertrand de Bellpuig the castles and places of Torres Torres, Serra and Polop.⁵⁷ In 1272, the Catalan Asbert de Mediona received Altea, which he exchanged two years later for Cabrera⁵⁸ and Bernat Des Molins Murla.⁵⁹ On an unknown date, but prior to 1265, Jimeno Pérez de Arcieda received an estate in Ibi from Zeyt Abuzeyt, which went as a dowry to his daughter Elfa, married to Gonçalvo de Alcaydon or Gonçalvo Roïs de Cayón, a knight from whom James I seized the property during the campaign to repress the Murcian Mudéjars, as he believed him to be Castilian. It was James II who ordered its return to its

42. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 133-134 (doc. n° 308).

43. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 153 (doc. n° 378).

44. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 171 (doc. n° 442), 175 (doc. n° 455).

45. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 175-176 (doc. n° 457).

46. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 180-181 (doc. n° 475).

47. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 181 (doc. n° 478).

48. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 183-184 (doc. n° 486).

49. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 184-185 (doc. n° 489).

50. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 187 (doc. n° 497).

51. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 188 (doc. n° 501).

52. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 208 (doc. n° 571).

53. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 188-189 (doc. n° 503).

54. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 196 (doc. n° 528).

55. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 189 (doc. n° 504); Fullana Mira, Lluís. "La casa de Lauria en el reino de Valencia", *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Valencia: Imprenta fill F. Vibres Mora, 1923 (reed. Valencia: Ajuntament de València, 2004): I, 68 (docs. n° 1,2).

56. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 193-194 (doc. n° 519).

57. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 201 (doc. n° 547).

58. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 209 (doc. n° 575), 241 (doc. n° 686).

59. Martínez Ortiz, José. *Alicante y su territorio...*: 211 (doc. n° 582).



rightful owner.⁶⁰ There were also unconfirmed earlier acquisitions via royal grant or purchase by the abovementioned people. I do not mention more in order to avoid making the text cumbersome.

This repetition of some place names for having passed through different hands in such a short period of time speaks very clearly about how, over a few decades, the south of the kingdom of Valencia, like practically all the kingdom, became a *terra de feudals*, to paraphrase one of F. Garcia's titles. This seigneurialisation was consented to by the crown, not forced by the need for military advance, as had happened in the early stages of the Sharqí conquest, perhaps as the result of the reciprocal resort to gratification for services rendered, which in turn, meant a clear benefit for the monarchy by simplifying the transfer of the feudal forms of organisation to places where the Christian presence was very limited.⁶¹ This process of seigneurialisation in no way clashed with, but rather reinforced the monarchy, with the grantor establishing the size of the property granted, as a reference for security in this royal/lordship relation.⁶²

Therefore, as Ferran Garcia notes, from the start there was a "circulació incessant de patrimonis fundiariis" in this territory, "veritable entrebanc per a una identificació dels llinatges a la terra, per a la constitució d'un arbre genealògic específicament valencià".⁶³ Such seigneurial mobility was to a great extent the result of the meagre size of the grants that, with the exceptions mentioned below, comprised an *alquería* or a few *jovadas* of land, although the economic difficulties of some of these lords can also be mentioned as both the cause and consequence of what is called seigneurial mobility.⁶⁴ This limitation of the size of the properties undoubtedly allowed the crown to favour a large number of small lords, be they noblemen or not, as well as activating a market in land that would very soon include people from towns and cities relatively near to the land acquired, who invested their capital in agricultural income. With a clear social interest, for prestige, and obviously economic reasons, for income from agriculture products, these were lordships where the highest level of jurisdiction, the *mero imperio*, remained in royal hands, as obviously being more beneficial for the royal coffers for the amount of the sanctions. As has been repeated *ad nauseam*, it was in the Cortes of 1329 when, through the "Alfonsine jurisdiction",

60. ACA. Cancillería, register. 120, f. 172r.-v (1301, diciembre, 13), f. 210r.

61. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "La creació de les senyories en una societat feudal de frontera: el regne de València (segles XIII-XIV)". *Revista d'història medieval. Les senyories medievals. Una visió sobre les formes del poder feudal*, 8 (1997): 98-99. In the case of the Military Orders in the same spatial context see: Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. "Las Órdenes Militares y la frontera valenciana. Siglos XIII-XIV", *Las órdenes militares: un puntal de la historia de occidente*. Soria: Cátedra Internacional Alfonso VIII, 2006: 73-105.

62. Furió, Antoni. "Senyors i senyories al País Valencià al final de l'edat Mitjana". *Revista d'Història Medieval. Les senyories medievals. Una visió sobre les formes del poder feudal*, 8 (1997): 111.

63. "never-ending circulation of property, a true obstacle to identifying the lineages on the land, to drawing up a specifically Valencian family tree"; García Oliver, Ferran. *Terra de feudals El País Valencià en la tardor de l'Edat Mitjana*. Valencia: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 1991: 69.

64. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "La creació de les senyories...": 94-101; Furió, Antoni. "Senyors y senyories...": 125-132. For this question, see: Bois, Guy. "Noblesse et crise des revenus seigneuriaux e France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: essai d'interprétation", *La Noblesse au Moyen Age XI^e-XV^e siècles. Essais à la mémoire de Robert Boutruche*, Phillipe Contamine, ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1976: 219-233.



the small feudal properties with a limited number of settlers acquired the civil and lesser criminal jurisdiction, thus leading to a fully fledged reinforcement of the seigneurial system, even if only at the lowest level.⁶⁵

3. Second question

Any area of the land in the Marina, whether town or *alquería*, is an example of this process discussed: early seigneurialisation, although with a difference in the quality of the lord, and changes of ownership. A paradigmatic case is that of Altea, and the reason for the paradigm is the quality of its holders. We see how over less than a quarter of a century it passed through the hands of Asbert de Mediona, Jaspert Viscount of Castellnou, Bernat de Sarrià and Roger de Llúria.⁶⁶ The access of the social and economic elites to land, creating large and small lordships, certainly happened at an early date. Guinot points out that by the end of James II's reign, one could talk about a "territorial map of seigneurialisation" from a spatial point of view, which contrasted with a royal Valencia practically closed in size.⁶⁷ It was in the area between the Júcar and the frontier with Castile, and Almizra until 1296, where this policy of the numerical growth of property assets was concentrated.⁶⁸

However, I am in no doubt that the phenomenon began earlier, although perhaps on a lesser scale. I also understand that this activation had much to do with the Islamic revolt of the mid 1270s and its repression.⁶⁹ We have seen that at the beginning of 1251 (14th January), James I awarded the fief of the castle and town of Sella to Eximén Pérez d'Oris and his descendants in perpetuity as a frank and free estate, according to the *Usatges* of Barcelona. After some time in the family, the first

65. A general framework to explain the phenomenon can be observed in Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "Els senyorius de la noblesa...": 490-491. Also more recently in López Rodríguez, Carlos. *Nobleza y poder político en el reino de Valencia (1416-1446)*. Valencia: Universitat de València, 2005: 32-33. On the question of Alfonsian jurisdiction see: Romeu Alfaro, Sílvia. "Los fueros de Valencia y los Fueros de Aragón: Jurisdicción alfonsina". *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español*, 42 (1972): 75-115; Pla Alberola, Primitivo. "Los señoríos de jurisdicción civil en el derecho foral valenciano". *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 6 (1988): 351-360; Pla Alberola, Primitivo. "La jurisdicción alfonsina como aliciente para la recolonización del territorio". *Revista de Historia Moderna*, 12 (1993): 79-139.

66. Gutiérrez del Caño, Marcelino. *Monografía histórica de la villa de Altea*. Alicante: Diputación Provincial de Alicante, 1980: 39-43; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 92, 101.

67. Guinot Roidríguez, Enric. "*Donamus et concedimus vobis*. Monarquía y senyorització del patrimoni reial al País Valencià en temps de Jaume II", *El poder real en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIV-XVI)*. *Actas del XVº Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*. Saragossa: Departamento de Educación y Cultura, 1996: 1/2, 219-236, specially 221-222.

68. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "*Donamus et concedimus vobis*. Monarquía y senyorització...": 229-231.

69. This is also understood by Josep Torró, who designates the reign of Alfonso III as the time when the land passed into noble hands. Torró Abad, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia...*: 89. The presence of new settlers, one of many elements of the pressure of Christian authority over Valencian Muslims, caused them to fear being expelled from their homes. To allay their fears James II addressed the Muslim communities of southern Júcar in mid-1293, reassuring them that he had no intention to expel them or to apply forced baptism. ACA. Cancillería, register. 98, f. 239r. (1293, july, 15).



beneficiary's son, named after his father, and his wife, Sanxa Martínez d'Eslava, sold it, together with other properties, on the first of March 1313 to Bernat d'Olms from Cullera, for 33,000 *sueldos*.⁷⁰ The fortress and town of Tibi, that was given to Sanxo Pérez de Lenda on 15th April 1270 with the commitment not to pass it to a nobleman, knight or anyone who was not *de dominacione vel regno ipsius domini regis*, ended up being sold to Bernat de Cruïlles.⁷¹ Then, under Alfonso III, in the summer of 1288, the latter delivered the castles and towns of Alcalá and Gallinera, in perpetuity with their inhabitants, rights and incomes, excluding the *mero imperio*, to Bernat Guillem de Vilafranca in compensation for the damage inflicted on his Catalan possessions. This grant to his son, Pons Guillem, was ratified by James II in 1301.⁷² In January 1289, King Alfonso conceded the *Puig* de Orba near the hamlet of Murla to Berenguer Mercer, son of the deceased Pere Mercer from Valencia, in perpetuity in honoured fief and without any service, to build a *fortiam turrem vel domum muratam vel alia fortitudini*. As we have seen, this had earlier been in the possession of another Mercer. In October 1310, Ramon Mercer, Berenguer's son, paid homage to James II in the royal palace in Barcelona for the fief of *Puig* de Orba according to the *Usatges* of Barcelona and the *Costums* of Catalonia.⁷³ This was despite these feudal uses having taken longer than the stipulated time, a year and a day, which meant that he could have been stripped of them.⁷⁴ Earlier, under Alfonso, he exchanged more than ten *jovadas* of land on which he had a concession in Montesa, and a thousand *sueldos* a year that he received as income from the *taula del pes* in the city of Valencia, with Ramon de Bellvís for the castles of Rugat and Carbonera, in honoured fief with licence to rebuild them. The change was later annulled, but after appeal by Guillem de Bellvís, the beneficiary's son, James II reconsidered the sentence and in early 1302, he reactivated it, awarding him the fief over these places, according to the above-mentioned *Usatges*.⁷⁵

After James the Just inherited the Crown of Aragon we see the presence of a series of lineages whose assets grew strong in the lands of the deputy *dellà Xúquer*, where the king clearly placed them for the joint purpose of defending a frontier territory with strong internal unrest because of the large Islamic population, and controlling or monitoring each other to avoid any pre-eminence that could lead to a challenge to the monarch's power. This policy of seigneurialisation of the southern frontier of Valencia on the basis of important concessions to families that were to become the origins of a nascent Valencian nobility appeared soon after he was crowned. In September 1291, he gave Alcoi and Cocentaina, the two great inland strongholds, to Admiral Roger de Llúria,⁷⁶ together with other property by grants

70. Apéndice documental, doc. N°3; ACA. Cancillería register, 287, f. 48v.-49v.

71. Documentary Appendix, doc. n°4.

72. ACA. Cancillería, register. 287, f. 51r.-v., ff. 63v.-64r.

73. Documentary Appendix, doc. n°1 and ACA. Cancillería regia. 287, f. 38v.

74. ACA. Cancillería, register. 207, f. 159r.

75. ACA. Cancillería, register. 287, f. 59r.-61v.

76. ACA. Cancillería, register. 192, f. 3v.-4v. Also ACA. Cancillería, register. 287, f. 39r.-v. In April 1297 James II exempts Roger de Llúria from the duty of the military service of "hoste et Cavalcata" on account



or the purchase of land in the Alcalá valley, in the limits of Denia and Xàtiva, Altea, Calpe or Torremanzanas, together with what he already held, thus extending his domains over the area defined by the Treaty of Almizra.⁷⁷ Months before this grant, the young king ratified the grant of the Laguar and Jalón valleys by Alfonso III to Prince Peter in honoured fief and without service, among other possessions.⁷⁸

At this time, in January 1291, James II seized Castalla castle from Eximén Pérez de Calahorra, its then holder, to hand it to the Aragonese noble Artal de Alagón, perhaps in an attempt to implant a nobleman and his lineage in the kingdom of Valencia.⁷⁹ In compensation for this loss, Pérez de Calahorra was rewarded with the *alquería* of Favarella, as well as a *jovada* of vines next to the castle, half a *jovada* of orchards and a plot to build houses on, all for life.⁸⁰ The properties changed hands so fast that in 1300 the Favarella estate was owned by Bertomeu de Font, the royal doctor, who obtained it by royal grant. Given the location of these properties on the frontier and the beneficiary's fear of Castilian incursions, the king ordered them to be protected by the warden of the castles of Castalla and Biar.⁸¹ In these early years, Pop came under the power of the royal counsellor, Ramon de Vilanova.⁸²

The Vilaragut lineage is another of the families found in the area of the viceregency *dellà Xúquer* in the summer of 1296, when James II conceded the fief of the castle and town of Albaida and the tower of Carrícola with its *alquería* to Bernat de Vilaragut, royal counsellor. This had previously been owned by Conrado Lanza, with all the rights except the *mero imperio* and a service of four armed men.⁸³ I envisage something similar in the operation organised by James II with Bernat de Cruïlles in September 1311, when a few days before appointing the latter procurator of the kingdom of Valencia, he handed over Castalla and Penáguila in exchange for a series of places owned by the nobles in Catalonia, adding the *alquería* of Favarella, in the limits of Castalla. Although this situation did not last, with both soon returning the properties that had been exchanged, King James's desire to involve a leading Catalan nobleman in the lands on the southern frontier, offering him a lordship right on the Almizra line with the aim of inducing the lord to settle in the kingdom of Valencia clearly indicates the direction indicated above.⁸⁴ Another example is the concession of the fortress of Oramblo, near Denia, by James II to Andreu Oriol, the royal falconer, in 1313, for services rendered, for him

of the concession of Cocentaina in fief honored, while in December of that year he increases his rights, granting him the exercise of "mero imperio" over his possessions. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 38v.-39r. and ACA. Cancilleria regia. 195, f. 101r. See: Fullana Mira, Lluís. "La casa de Lauria...": I, 68-76 (docs. nº I-V). Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: note 473.

77. Fullana Mira, Lluís. "La casa de Lauria...": I, 68-76 (docs. nº I-V).

78. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 192, f. 2r.-v. (1291, August, 19).

79. Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 163-170.

80. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 192, f. 85r. (1292, January, 21).

81. Documentary Appendix, doc. nº2.

82. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 194, f. 281v. (1296, October, 9).

83. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 52r.-v.; 55r.-v.

84. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 40r.-42v; Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 151-153.



to live in.⁸⁵ There were numerous knights settled there at the beginning of James II's reign, and the king had to force them to contribute, together with the town's neighbours, to the listening service and watch towers and the cost of maintaining the walls.⁸⁶ There is one more example, which, while not referring to anyone from an important lineage, does refer to the socio-military position of some of those who settled there, such as the knight, Alfonso Pérez, who bought Almizra castle. He presented himself before the king in 1307 to request protection as the castle had been confiscated from him by the *baile general*.⁸⁷ This position was not applicable to all the landowners, since at that time there was a man from Valencia named Berenguer Ricard, who held the Alcoi *alquería* of "Benihalim", which bordered Alcoi, Penáguila and Torremanzanas, whose property was sacked by people from these places in disputes over the boundaries.⁸⁸ This must undoubtedly have been Benifallim, property of Pelegrí de Bolas, who had to sell his incomes temporarily, together with a certain *jovada* he also owned in Torremanzanas, to Bernat Calvet at the end of the 13th century.⁸⁹

The seigneurial fragmentation of Valencia can be clearly seen in these grants. In specific areas, such as the Laguar valley, the incomes were split between various lords. One of them was Guillem Solans, to whom James II awarded half the *alquería* of Tormos in the valley in 1296 for services rendered.⁹⁰ At the end of the following year, James gave him a life freehold on the part that belonged to the king and that Jaume de Llinars enjoyed for life under a concession from Alfonso III. It would become his on Llinars' death.⁹¹ On an unknown date, the above-mentioned Guillem Solans acquired a *jovada* of fig trees in this *alquería* from Bernat Desplugues,⁹² a tenth of the property, or a sixth, depending on how one measures it, which had belonged to Ferrán Garcés de Rueda before Desplugues.⁹³ Tormos passed to Guillem's brother, Francesc Solans, who Bernat de Sarrià, claiming this possession, harassed after taking the Laguar valley, with James II having to rebuke his counsellor, then procurator of the kingdom of Murcia, ordering him to stop all action against the lord of Tormos.⁹⁴ What is curious is that while in May 1312 it was a member of the Solans family who received royal protection for this property, in August, Vidal de Vilanova appeared as the owner of the *alquería* through purchase.⁹⁵ Another of those who

85. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 50r.

86. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 94, f. 68r. (1293, March, 16).

87. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 139, f. 224v. (1307, April, 22).

88. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 139, f. 376v. (1307, August, 16).

89. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 104, f. 62r. (1296, August, 25).

90. ACA. Cancilleria register. 194, f. 285v. (1296, October, 8).

91. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 195, f. 103r.-104r. (1297, December, 8).

92. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 139, f. 177v. (1307, March, 7).

93. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 149, f. 188v. (1312, March, 4). In 1290 Alfonso III granted Ferrando G. de Rueda, ten *jovadas* on that farm, four of them irrigated and six of fig trees, Torró Abad, Josep. "L'assalt a la terra...": 327.

94. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 125, f. 62v. (1302, September, 14).

95. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 151, f. 42v. (1312, August, 5).



exercised lordship over these lands was Constanza, Empress of the Greeks, who James II granted the incomes from a series of Valencian possessions for life. Among these were Laguar, Jalón, Almazarof and Alcahuy with their jurisdictions, incomes and rights.⁹⁶ When Bernat de Sarrià bought these valleys from James II, the king compensated Constanza with the concession for life of the valleys and places of Uxó and Pego, also in the kingdom of Valencia.⁹⁷ However, the symptomatic case of this fragmentation and dealing in lands in the Laguar and Jalón valleys refers to Alfonso III's grant in perpetuity of ten *jovadas* of land, four of them irrigated, in Alfás, in the limits of Laguar, to Ferran Garcés de Rueda. With his wife, Elisenda, the beneficiary bartered the estate with Bernat Desplugues for the tower of Lorquí, which had belonged to Jordà Dezuig, and other properties that appear on the bill of exchange, and Desplugues ended up selling the ten *jovadas* to Guillem Solans, together with other rights he held on the *alquería* of Tormos. James II certified and validated this sale in 1298.⁹⁸ We find almost the same with another *alquería*, Xirles, which we know to have been linked to Bernat de Sarrià. However, in 1306, James II echoed a dispute about this property between Ximen Pérez de Pina, who had assigned his right to Pere Ferris de Isarre, on one hand, and Jaume Vallespín, who owned this *alquería*, on the other.⁹⁹

4. Third question

However, where we can see this seigneurialising project most clearly is in the person of Bernat de Sarrià, to whom I will pay more attention to show the criteria used in the process of creating lordships and one of its evident consequences, the decrease in royal patrimony. Bernat de Sarrià was perhaps, or undoubtedly, the leading name in the Marina area during the medieval epoch.¹⁰⁰ His public projection, the fruit of his great political importance, converted him into a leading figure, not only in these lands, the kingdom of Valencia or the Crown of Aragon, but also around the Western Mediterranean for almost fifty years, in the period between the reign of Peter III the Great and that of his son James II, from the late 1270s to his death in 1335. From an early age, Bernat de Sarrià served the *Casal* in Barcelona under Peter the Great, although it was under James II that he reached the peak of

96. He had previously obtained Alfàndec Valley, where he had to build a Cistercian monastery the abbey of Santa María de Vallidigna -*vallem olim vocatam de Alhandech, nunc vero vocatam Vallem Dignam*-. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 196, f. 195r.-196r. (1298, March, 18). Véase a este respecto ACA. Cancilleria, register. 196, f. 195r. (1298, March, 18) y Cancilleria, register. 264, ff. 299v.-300r. (1298, April, 16).

97. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 198, f. 220v.-221r. (1300, November, 17). Mas luego Burriana. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 198, f. 298v.-299r. (1301, April, 26).

98. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 195, f. 116r.-v. (1298, January, 9).

99. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 138, f. 159r. (1306, March, 29).

100. Some thoughts on the subject of this character in relation to the lands of La Marina have been further developed in Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. "Bernat de Sarrià, señor de La Marina". *Poblament, 725 Anys*. Alicante: 2006; Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



his public fame. His relationship with James dated from when the latter was first vice-regent, then king of Sicily, where Bernat filled high posts, such as the vice-admiralty in 1286. This continued after 1291, when James took over the throne of the Crown of Aragon after the childless death of his brother, Alfonso.

Under James II, now an Iberian monarch, Bernat de Sarrià began a meteoric political career in high government positions. In the early years of the reign, Bernat was appointed crown treasurer and shortly after, admiral.¹⁰¹ He was soon found in the highest governing posts, first in the island kingdom of Majorca, although very briefly, in 1298,¹⁰² then between 1300 and 1303, in a kingdom at war, Murcia, and finally between 1322 and 1329 in the kingdom of Valencia.¹⁰³ Throughout this time, and while fulfilling his political responsibilities, he remained close to James II, who rewarded him by entrusting him with diplomatic missions to various courts,¹⁰⁴ as well as requiring his advice and involvement in the crown's two great expansionist undertakings after the fall of Murcia at the end of the 13th century, namely the abortive crusade against Almeria in 1309 and the successful conquest of Sardinia in 1324.¹⁰⁵

During this time, Admiral Sarrià built up vast estates in the south of Valencia that made him the leading lord south of the Júcar. The starting point were the lands his father, Vidal de Sarrià, obtained in the Guadalest valley in the mid 13th century. Vidal agreed to repopulate a very conflictive area for the opportunities the new society offered and, in his condition as a man of arms, he enjoyed a clear socio-military prestige given that he received three times as much land as the average obtained by the other Christian settlers.¹⁰⁶ From this small enclave, Bernat de Sarrià would accumulate urban and rural property of considerable value, almost all near

101. ACA. Cancillería, register. 321, f. 34v. (1297, February, 7). See: Gallofré Guinovart, Rafael; Trenchs Odena, José. "Almirantes y vicealmirantes de la Corona de Aragón (1118-1462)". *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals*, 5 (1989): 117-194.

102. ACA. Cancillería, register. 196, f. 255v.-256r. (1298, May, 23). Although he may not have exercised that office, since by then the Majorcan dynasty regained control of the island after the harmony domain with James II of Aragon. Zurita, Jerónimo de. *Anales de Aragón*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1977: II, 5-34. About the Government of the Kingdom of Mallorca see: Cateura Bannaser, Pablo. "La Gobernación del reino de Mallorca". *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia Medieval*, 12 (1999): 79-111. The same institution after the demise of the dynasty of deprivation in Ensenyat Pujol, Gabriel. "L'Administració a la Corona d'Aragó a la baixa Edat Mitjana. Les terres de l'antiga Corona de Mallorca després de la reincorporació a la Corona catalanoaragonesa", *Los cimientos del Estado en la Edad Media. Cancillerías, notariado y privilegios reales en la construcción del Estado en la Edad Media*, José Antonio Barrio, ed. Alcoy: Marfil, 2004: 169-180.

103. Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 178-198.

104. For allegations led by Bernat de Sarria in northern Africa see: Dufourq, Charles Emmanuel. *L'Expansió catalana a la Mediterrània Occidental. Segles XIII i XIV*. Barcelona: Biografies catalanes, 1969.

105. ACA. Cancillería, register. 246, f. 92v. (1320, August, 23).

106. Ferrer Navarro, Ramon. "Repoblación de tierras...": 47; Torró Abad, 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): 57; Torró Abad, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal del territori i trasbalsament del poblament mudéjar. La *Montanea Valencie* (1286-1291)". *Afers. Fulls de recerca i pensament (Catarroja)*, 4/7 (1988-89): 109; Torró Abad, Josep. "La herencia de la conquista. Inmigración colonial, ocupación del espacio y reparto de la población en el reino de Valencia", *La*



the frontier of Almisra, an area offered by the monarchy for the creation of small lordships.¹⁰⁷ Such homogeneity in his patrimony did not prevent his ownership from spreading to other lands, such as Aragonese Murcia,¹⁰⁸ which he later lost after the Treaty of Torrellas in 1304, and for which he had to be compensated.¹⁰⁹ He also held property in Calabria and Sicily in Italy, which he had acquired in his times as James's deputy in that part of the world. These possessions were castles and places that he enjoyed by royal commission and grant and that presented some difficulties after James II rose to the throne of Aragon in 1291 in the sense of control over them.¹¹⁰

However, as mentioned earlier, the bulk of his possessions were around the old frontier of Almisra, where his father had settled. This was an extremely fertile area, more for the benign climate and good soils than for the skill of the Mudéjar peasants and the output of their toil. The Crown greatly helped to constitute this important lordly state in this specific point of the Valencian geography. The presence of a numerous and combative Muslim population whose belligerence would continue throughout the Middle Ages, in close connection with their Nazarine and North African brethren, and which continued until their expulsion in the early 1500s,¹¹¹ in this abrupt craggy district, also very close to the frontier with Castile, up to 1296, can explain the ease with which Bernat de Sarrià built a lordship from which to control and repopulate a potentially conflictive area. Despite these facilities, it was also in the Crown's interest to maintain a balance of power between the fiefs, given that while time would allow Sarrià to enlarge his patrimony, his great enemy, Roger de Llúria, was doing the same in the

población valenciana. Pasado, presente y futuro. Actas de las II Jornadas de Estudios sobre la Población Valenciana. Orihuela, 23-25 de septiembre de 1996. Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1988: I, 321-344.

107. Guinot Rodríguez, Enric. "Donamus et concedimus vobis...": 222.

108. In 1301 James II granted to this character, as compensation for services rendered, the castle and town of Mula with its terms and inhabitants, except for certain rights which the king reserved. ACA. Cancillería regia. 198, f. 259r.- 260v. (1301, February, 20). Maria Teresa Ferrer understand, with good reason, that this donation was made by King James to stimulate Bernat de Sarrià in the conquest of the place: Ferrer Mallol, Maria Teresa. *Organització i defensa d'un territori fronterer. La Governació d'Oriola en el segle XIV.* Barcelona: Institució Milà i Fontanals, 1990: 33.

109. But not for all of them, for twenty years later Bernat de Sarrià still felt aggrieved by the loss of *de quibusdam castris, alchareis et locis vestris* —writes James II— *que adquisiveratis et habebatis in partibus regni Murcie que vobis pretere dimittere et amittere habuistis.* ACA. Cancillería, register. 248 primera parte, f. 109v.-110r. (1324, February, 20); Ferrer Mallol, Maria Teresa. *Organització i defensa...:* 48.

110. ACA. Cancillería, register. 92, f. 97v. (1292, mayo, 1). P. M.³ Orts refers to the existence of Sicilian dominions in the possession of Bernat de Sarrià: Orts Bosch, Pere Maria. *La carta de poblament de Benidorm i Bernat de Sarrià.* Valencia: [s.n.], 1976: 13.

111. Bañó Armiñana, Ricard. "Contribució a l'estudi...": 39-63; Torró Abad, Josep. "Sobre ordenament feudal...": 95-124. Torró Abad, Josep. *El naixement d'una colònia. Dominació i resistència a la frontera valenciana (1238-1276).* Valencia: Universitat de València, 1999; Torres Delgado, Cristóbal. "Las sublevaciones musulmanes en el reino de Valencia durante el siglo XIII. Jaime I (1213-1276) y Pedro III de Aragón (1276-1285)", *Estudios Árabes. Dedicados a D. Luis Seco de Lucena (En el XXV Aniversario de su muerte).* Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1999: 189-237; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. "Cristiano de Alá...": 27-46; Requena Amoraga, Francisco. *La defensa de las costas valencianas en la época de los Austrias.* Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1997: 207.



same area, with their possessions bordering on each other. The bad relations between the two admirals, together with such proximity, led to a series of violent disagreements that spread out to their families.¹¹²

Through royal munificence, grants, and his own purchases, Bernat de Sarrià extended his domains until they basically coincided with the territory of the *Marina Baixa*. This process began in 1286, when Alfonso III presented him with Confrides castle and its incomes, and the obligation to pay him military service on horseback.¹¹³ He established Callosa as the capital of his domains, *dominatus loci*, and the town would end up taking his name —Callosa d'En Sarrià. It was referred to by this name in documents of the epoch that mentioned that area “as all the valley of Coçentayna to the sea at Alicante, in what is said to be the land of Bernat de Sarrián.”¹¹⁴ This was a great lordship not without problems due to the profiteering character of the lord. The conflicts firstly with Roger de Llúria, and later with his heirs, normally boundary disputes with adjoining properties caused by territorial usurpation almost always from the Sarrià side, shown by various sentences that question the rights he claimed in each of these cases, and which were the extension of the problems that Bernat de Sarrià had with all the neighbours he shared boundaries with, must be added to another with the Order of Santiago.¹¹⁵ The dispute with Santiago, specifically against the Santiagans of the *Encomienda* of Montalbán, the Aragonese home of the Military Order, not only affected the places of Orcheta and Torres the then master, Juan Osore, gave to Bernat de Sarrià in exchange for the sum of 25,000 *maravedís*, of which the admiral failed to pay 12,000, but also La Vila Joiosa as a village he had founded in the limits of Orcheta and that the Santiagans claimed precisely for this reason. The question was legally even more complicated, given that there was a third party, the heir to Pedro Fernández de Híjar, of the same name,

112. The enmity reached such a point that in March of 1292 came to letters of defiance turned to each other in which the threat of war-time against their persons and possessions. Gallofré Guinovart, Rafael; Trenchs, José. “Almirantes y vicealmirantes...”: 117-194 (docs. n° 25, 26). From here onwards the Chancellery documentation illustrates a multitude of attacks by both sides with the intention of mutual perjudication, which not even the punitive action of the King could avoid.

113. Gallofré Guinovart, Rafael. Documentos del reinado de Alfonso III de Aragón, relativos al antiguo reino de Valencia y contenidos en los registros de la Corona de Aragón. Valencia: Institución Alfonso el Magnánimo, 1968: doc. n°. 127; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 195.

114. “como taja la vall de Coçentayna faz a la mar fasta Alacant, en que dizen que es la tierra de Bernat de Sarrián” “as all the valley of Coçentayna to the sea at Alicante, in what is said to be the land of Bernat de Sarrián” ACA. Cancillería regia. 247, f. 252v.-253r. (1323, abril, 9); Ferrer Mallol, Maria Teresa. *La frontera amb l'islam en el segle XIV. Cristians i sarraïns al País Valencià*. Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1988: doc. n° 51.

115. On the conflict between Bernat de Sarria and the santiaguista Knights of Montalban on those possessions see: Orts Bosch, Pere Maria. *Introducció a la Història de la vila de Vila Joiosa i el notari Andreu Mayor*. Vila Joiosa: Ajuntament de Vila Joiosa, 1972: 15-27; Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón. La encomienda de Montalbán (1210-1327)*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1980: 163-168; Sáinz de la Maza Lasoli, Regina. *La Orden de Santiago en la Corona de Aragón (1327-1357). La Encomienda bajo Vidal de Vilanova*. Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1988: 119-121; Torres Faus, Francesc. *Les divisions territorials de La Marina*. Alicante: Instituto de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1998: 74-77; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



original lord of these places and which he received *a violario* from Peter III after the uprising and later submission of the Valencian Muslims in the mid 1270s. The lord of Híjar, James I's illegitimate son, perhaps wished to return these possessions to the Order on his death, as he wrote in his will, but the truth is that he had previously handed them to Bernat de Sarrià for a certain amount of money. Thus it was his death that provoked the multifaceted litigation in which the most sensitive party was the Catalan admiral, who under a first royal sentence in 1312 lost these possessions in favour of Fernández de Híjar, who, in turn, transferred them to the *Encomienda* of Montalbán. The noble's combative attitude led him to challenge the sentence and to continue litigation against the Santiagans for almost two more decades, although without recovering these places.

The loss of these places, without being seen as a premonitory sign, can be linked to the reality of a seigniorial project based on the endemic ills of the medieval nobility: the weakness of their finances. Added to this was that the lineage reached its nadir and headed towards biological extinction through the lack of a male heir. The first of the questions was further aggravated by the level of indebtedness acquired, a result of both the ruling class' lifestyle, which, as well as excesses, embarked on unsustainable economic adventures, such as increasing their patrimony through purchases, and taking calamitous political decisions with high financial costs that ended up affecting their treasury. In both bodies, the result was the same, the loss of patrimony through sales or cessions that also depleted their capacity to generate income. The documentation shows how many of these old possessions fell into the power of other lords who, affected by the same difficulties, put them on the market thus producing a stream of names of owners of the same places. A good part of Sarrià's domains were affected by their lord's debts either through sales or the capture of incomes to pay off these debts. These included Murta, Benibrafim, Puçola, Guadalest, Tárbenà, Confrides, Beniceclí, Ondarella, Algar, Xirles, Padul, Beniardà, Ondara, Jovate, Piles, and a long list of *alquerías* scattered around the lordship.¹¹⁶

His debts led Bernat de Sarrià on a path of no return that culminated with the annihilation of the lordship after its cession to Prince Peter, count of Ribagorza, in exchange for cancelling the debt, in the early 1320s. With this, and although the admiral ensured his very partial control over it while he lived, James II broke up the principal lordship in the south of the kingdom of Valencia.

Bernat de Sarrià's grant to Peter de Ribagorza did not separate him from what had been his domain until then. His constant intrusions, seizing undue incomes or disputing legally and militarily with neighbours, strained his relations with James II, although the king always apologised for and pardoned him. With the king's death in 1327, the old admiral knew that his political time was up, although he was still the Procurator of the Kingdom of Valencia until early 1329. His social prestige was reduced to his noble condition, received from James II in

116. See: Cabezuolo Pliego, José Vicente. *Entre el mar y la montaña...*



1310,¹¹⁷ and to performing a role of minor responsibility, as the warden of Xàtiva castle, property of Queen Leonor, Alfonso IV's wife, the place where he would die in 1335.¹¹⁸

5. Documentary appendix

Document number 1

1289, January, 27. Valencia.

Alfonso III concedes the Puig de Orba, in the kingdom of Valencia, to Berenguer Mercer in perpetuity in honoured fief.

ACA, Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 38r.

Super feudo illius podii quod vocatur de Orba, quos est prope alqueriam vocatam Murla, quod fuit concessum Berengario Mercerii et suis, ut prima pars.

Alfonsus, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Maioricarum et Valencie ac comes Barchinone, per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, Berengario Mercerii, filio Petri Mercerii, condam, civis Valencie, et vestris, perpetuo ad feudum honoratum absque servicio, iillud totum podium quod vocatur Podium de Orba, quod est prope alqueriam vestram de Murla, cum pertinenciis suis, prout a vortice dicti podii aque vertuntur ac discurrunt versus alqueriam vestram de Murla a loco vocato The Portella dAlaguar, usque ad locum vocatum Pillar. Ita quod dictum podium et montes ipsius habeatis, teneatis ac possideatis perpetuo vos et vestri ad dandum, vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum et ad omnes vestras vestrarum voluntates faciendas, exceptis militibus atque sanctis, salvo tamen nobis et nostris dicto feudo, ut superius dictum est. Volumus preterea et vobis concedimus sive damus liberam licenciam quod possitis in dicto podio facere forciam turrem vel domum muratam vel aliam fortitudinem et retinemus nos in ipsa turri seu forcia potestatem et valençam ad consuetudinem Barchinone absque aliquo servicio. Et si forte nos castrum de Pop vel de Alaguar alicui daremus vel aliter alienaremus, volumus quod pro predicta alqueria de Murla seu podio predicto vos vel vestri non teneamini in aliquo domino seu dominis dictorum castrorum nec ipsi habeant in predicta alcharea et podio aliquo dominium nostrum nec iurisdiccione non obstantibus foris Valencie vobis contrarium in predictis. Verumtamen dum nos retinuerimus in dominum nostrum castra predicta et in alios non transtulerimus habebamus in dicto alcharea nostra in dicto podio iura que habemus et habere debemus in aliis alchareis regni Valencie que pro alodio a quibuscumque possidentur. Retento nobis in dicto podio feudo superius antedicto. Mandantes universis officialibus et subditis nostris quod predicta omnia firma habeant et observent et faciant observari et non contraveniant aliqua racione.

Data Valencie, VIº kalendas febroarii, anno Domini Mº CCº LXXXº octavo.

117. ACA. Cancilleria, register. 206, f. 117r.-v. (1310, abril, 20); Ferrer Mallol, Maria Teresa. *Organització i defensa...*: 48; Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 196-197.

118. Cabezuelo Pliego, José Vicente. *Poder público...*: 198.



Signum (signo) Alfonsi, Dei gracia regis Aragonum, Maioricarum et Valencie ac comitis Barchinone.

Testes sunt: Raimundus Fulchonis, vicecomes Cardone; Raimundus de Angularia; Dalmacius de Castronovo; Berengarius de Podioviridi; Arnaldus de Cursavino.

Sig (signo) num Raimundi, dicti domini regis scriptoris, qui mandato eiusdem hac scribi fecit et clausit loco, die et anno prefixis.

Document number 2

1300, February, 26.

James II orders the warden of the castles of Castalla and Biar to protect Bertomeu de Fonts, owner of the estate of Favarella, from any attack from the Castilian side.

ACA, Cancilleria, register 115, f. 273v.

Guillermo de Farxio, alcaydo castrorum de Castayla et de Biar, salutem et ceteram. Cum fidelis noster Bartholomeum de Fontes, chirurgicus de domo nostra, ex donacione et concessione nostra habeat et teneat hereditamentum de Favarella, situm in termino castrum de Castayla, et timeat per hostes nostros de partibus Castelle sibi vel tenentibus dictum hereditamentum pro eo dampnum seu gravamen inferri. Ideo ad eius supplicationem vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus in quantum comode poteritis ut prefatus Bartholomeus vel quos voluerit predictum hereditamentum tenere et excolere tuto valeat assistatis eidem ope consilio et auxilio opportunis.

Data Barchinone, IIII^o kalendas marcii.

Bernardus de Aversone.

Document number 3

1313, February, 17.

Transfer of the charter with which James I awarded the castle and town of Sella to Jimeno Pérez d'Oris and his descendants, in fief and perpetuity, in January 1251.

ACA, Cancilleria, register 287, f. 48r.

Hoc est translatum bene et fideliter factum, terciodecimo kalendas marcii, anno Domini M^o CCC^o duodecimo, sumptum a quodam carta pergamenea sigillata sigillo maiori illustrissimi domini Jacobo, bone memorie regis Aragonum, cereo pendenti, divisa per alphabetum, cuius tenor talis est.

Noverint universi quod nos, Jacobus, Dei gracia rex Aragonum, Maioricarum et Valencie comesque Barchinone et Urgelli et dominus Montispesulani, per nos et nostros damus et concedimus vobis, Eximino Petri d'Oris, et vestris, imperpetuum per hereditatem propriam, francham et liberam in feudum ad consuetudinem Barchinone castrum et villam de Sella, quod est in regno Valencie, ad habendum, tenendum, possidendum et explotandum tam introitibus et exitibus, aquis, erbis, pratis et pastuis, montibus, lignis, silvis, furnis et molendinis, pistacionibus et venacionibus terminis suis pertinenciis universis a celo in abissum, ad dandum etiam vendendum, impignorandum, alienandum et ad omnes vestras vestrorumque voluntates cui et quibus volueritis perpetuo faciendas, exceptis clericis et personis religiosis.



Retinemus tamen in dicto castro et eius fortitudinibus potestatem et pacem et guerram ad consuetudinem Barchinone, qua faciatis quod nobis et nostris vos et vestri et detis nobis irati et peccati quandocumque per nostras literas vel mandatum inde fueritis requisiti. Hanc autem donationem vobis facimus tali pacto quod hinc ad decem annos predictorum aliquas non vendatis et omnes possessiones quas habetis extra regnum Valencie vendatis hinc ad duos annos vel aliter ex toto alienis sine retencione vestra et de precio quod habueritis possessiones in regno Valencie ematis et ibi semper vestrum caput maius teneatis quod nisi feceritis possimus a vobis et vestris predicta recuperare. Revocamus etiam denunciacionem quam feceramus Garsie Eximini de Muruçavall et suis de duodecim jovatis terre in termino dicti castri et de omnibus molendinis que sunt in eodem termino, eo quod ipso cum inimicos nostros se oposuit contra nos et facit malum terre nostre.

Data Morelle, XIX^o kalendas febroarii, anno Domini M^o ducentos quinquagessimo.

Signum (signo) Jacobi, Dei gracia regis Aragonum, Maioricarum et Valencie, comitis Barchinone et Urgelli et domini Montispesulani.

Testes sunt: Petrus Cornelli, maiordomus Aragonum; Guillermus de Montecatheno; Carrocus; Guillermus de Angularia; Eximinius Petri de Arenosio.

Sig (signo) num Petri Andree, qui mandato domini regis per Gonsalvo Petri, notario suo, hec scripsit loco, die et anno prefixis.

Sig (signo) num mihi, Petri F., notarii publici Valencie, qui hec feci fideliter translatare et clausi cum raso et emendato in linea tercia in [...] que dicitur in et in linea VII^a [...] que dicitur donacionem.

Document number 4

1314, March, 8. Valencia.

Chancellery note related to the seigniorial mobility of Tibi castle between 1270 and 1314.

ACA, Cancilleria, register. 287, f. 45v.

Super castro de Tibi, in regno Valencie

In instrumento transaccionis facte inter illustrissimum dominum regem Jacobum, bone memorie, et Sancium Petri de Lenda super castro de Tibi, fuit retentum per dictum dominum regem Jacobum quod dictus Sancius Petri de Lenda non posset vendere, obligare vel alienare dictum castrum nec villam alicui richohomini, militi vel aliis personis qui non sint de dominacione vel regno ipsius dicti regis. Quod instrumentum fuit factum per Simonem de Sancto Felicio in Valencie, XVII^o kalendas madii, anno Domini M^o CC^o LXX^o.

Postea dictum castrum fuit venditum per dictum Sancium Petri nobili Bernardo de Crudiliis, cuius nunc est cui vendicioni dominus rex consentiit salvis et retentis sibi condicionibus et retencionibus supradictis. De hocque fuit facta carta regia dicto nobili Bernardo, clausa per Guillermum Lupeti, scriptorem domini regis, et bullata bulla plumbea in Valencia, VIII^o idus marcii, anno Domini M^o CCC^o XIII^o.

