

The feudal partitions of Mallorca and their immediate consequences (1230-1245)

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ABSTRACT

The feudal conquest of Mallorca was a technically complex and economically costly undertaking. It was the outcome of joint actions among the monarchy, the nobility and the Catalan bourgeoisie and knights and infantrymen from Aragon and other regions in the western Mediterranean. Once the island had been conquered, the participants received a part of the spoils and properties directly proportional to their contribution to the forces, which resulted in three territorial partitions. Almost all the major participants divided the lands they had received in allodium between knights and peasants in fief and in emphyteusis, respectively. The Catalans were predominant among of the first settlers of Mallorca.

KEYWORDS: Mallorca, territorial partition, feudal colonisation, franchise letter, emphyteutic establishment, fief, chivalry, jurisdictional domain, territorial domain

INTRODUCTION

The conquest of *al-Jazair al-Sharqiya* (the Eastern Islands) and their transformation into the *Regnum Maioricarum et insulas adiacentes* (Kingdom of Mallorca and Adjacent Islands) between 1229 and 1232 signalled the start of a period which witnessed the Christians' swift territorial advances in the east coast of the Iberian Peninsula at the expense of Al-Andalus. Initially designed as a private undertaking among the Catalan nobility and cities, it ended up becoming a crusade of Christians versus Muslims.¹ The military campaigns of James I, which culminated with the conquest of Valencia in 1245 and the subsequent Christian colonisation of the "new lands", had major consequences for the Crown of Catalonia-Aragon: it expanded its area by more than 30% and accentuated its maritime nature. The creation of the Kingdoms of Mallorca and Valencia also increased the safety of the Christians sailing around the northwest Mediterranean by lowering the number of Muslim corsairs and pirates. The ports also soon became major hubs within the incipient network of Catalan trade routes and helped them expand towards the Maghreb and Italy's Mezzogiorno.

Even today, experts continue to wonder how this quick, profound shift in the economic, social, political and cultural structures was carried out in lands spanning from

Alcanar to Vila Joiosa. What were its causes and effects? To answer these questions, we have a set of sources and an extensive, up-to-date bibliography which is quite reliable in a scholarly sense. Since early last century, the kingdom of James I has sparked a particular interest among Catalan, Mallorcan, Aragonese and Valencian mediaevalists, who have devoted two history congresses on the Crown of Aragon to this topic.² During the second half of the century, not only was Ambrosio Huici's document collection reissued,³ but numerous monographic analyses and synthesis works were also published.⁴ At the same time, considerable advances were made in the study of the Muslim economy and society on the Balearic Islands and in Valencia just prior to the Christian conquest.⁵ This keen attention was sustained after 2000, as can be seen from the reissue of James I's itinerary and the appearance of new studies.⁶ The 2008 commemoration of the birth of the Conqueror finally spurred both the regional and scholarly institutions in the lands of the former "Confederation", as well as private publishing houses – not yet shaken by today's dire, prolonged economic crisis – to finance new publications. The Catalan chronicles were recently republished by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans.⁷ The Arab chronicle of Ibn 'Amīra al-Maḥzūmī has been translated into Catalan.⁸ Among the outstanding recent contributions are the reissue of the records of land partitions (*llibres del repartiment*),⁹ the proceedings of the monographic congress organised by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans,¹⁰ two biographies of James I written by Stefano

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Maria Cingolani¹¹ and Ernest Belenguer¹² using quite different methodological criteria, and the synthetic, interpretative speech delivered by Antoni Riera i Melis in Poblet on the 30th of March 2008 upon the opening of the events commemorating the aforementioned centennial.¹³

The purpose of this article is to survey not the conquest of Mallorca but its immediate consequences, the three feudal partitions on the island, in view of the latest historiographic and archaeological contributions which have brought precision and rigour to a complex issue that has not yet been wholly resolved.

THE COLLAPSE OF THE ISLAMIC POPULATION

The Christian conquest of Mallorca had profound demographic consequences: it led to a sudden, steep decline in the Muslim population. Of the inhabitants of Al-Andalus who survived the war and famine, a number impossible to calculate fled to other Islamic lands,¹⁴ while the others remained on the island, with diverse legal statuses and economic and social conditions. The defeated Muslims were reduced to the status of captives and were apportioned among the conquerors as the spoils of war. Some of those who collaborated with the Christian contingent or capitulated left, while others remained on the island, either through their own decision or because of a lack of options. The latter retained their status as free men and some of their property but were subjected to payment of an annual capitation (“*dret d’estada*” or tax for staying).¹⁵

However, experts still have numerous questions regarding the size and evolution of this motley array of Mudejars.¹⁶ Álvaro Santamaría has suggested that the legal status of the Saracens who remained on the island through the capitulation pact must have been quite similar to the status of the Christian *casati*.¹⁷ They were not regarded as free, yet they were not captives either, nor were they bound to the land.¹⁸ Muslims are often mentioned in the Mallorcan documentation from the last two-thirds of the 13th century; however, none of them is categorised as *casati* but instead they are listed as captive, free or in the process of manumission. Therefore, the status of the Muslim *casati* must have deteriorated over time until they became similar to captives, a process which must have led their baptism in a bid to gain full freedom.

Thus, after the feudal conquest, the majority of the Saracen population was reduced to the status of captives and apportioned among the participants. The notary documentation generated by the Christian repopulation shows that these captives nonetheless had some degree of economic autonomy and civil rights: they were allowed to own and manage private assets, grant loans to other Muslim captives and even to free Christians, and file lawsuits against delinquent borrowers.¹⁹

By working in their trades in the city, some of the captive tradesmen were able to meet the amount required for the “*talla*” (redemption fee) to be paid to their respective

owners and were manumitted.²⁰ At the same time, in the countryside, many captives sharecropped a patch of land and paid their ransom with its products. Some were allowed to live on Mallorca as free men without losing the hallmarks of their identity, but under a special tax scheme,²¹ thus equating them with those who had capitulated during the conquest campaigns. Towards the end of the 13th century, numerous free Muslim tradesmen are documented in the City of Mallorca, including dyers, blacksmiths, shoemakers, sword-makers and bakers.²² Nonetheless, the tax sources from the same period show that the majority of this “aristocracy of tools” preferred to emigrate to Menorca, Valencia, the Maghreb or Granada after paying yet another specific tax (“*dret d’eixida dels sarraïns*” or Saracen exit tax).²³ However, for the poorest and least trained, access to freedom was much longer and more complex and often entailed baptism. In order to succeed, the members of this latter group had to pay a very high price: giving up their identity. Yet the analysis of the different population samples in both the city and some of the rural parishes has shown that the group of converted Al-Andalusians had a very low demographic influence and never accounted for more than 5% of the documented total before 1300.²⁴

In the second half of the 12th century, the Muslims who had survived the feudal conquests had been relocated in both Catalunya Nova (New Catalonia) and Lower Aragon, in areas with little strategic value organised into Moorish quarters. However, this institution did not spread to the Balearic Islands. Thus, the conquest of Mallorca was characterised by radical incompatibility with Islamic society and the effective destruction of the pre-existing structures which was unparalleled in the 12th and 13th centuries. What might have been the causes of the conquerors’ behaviour towards the Muslim population on Mallorca? The desire to conjure up the danger of the fifth column in an island enclave of extraordinary strategic value that was particularly difficult to defend? The belief that because of its small size, the island could be colonised by Christian settlers in just a few years?

THE FIRST REORGANISATION OF THE URBAN AND RURAL SPACE

The conquest of Mallorca entailed the first major land partition after the Iberian Christian states’ victory over the Almohad Caliphate in Las Navas de Tolosa. The fact that it was the first makes it particularly interesting not only because of the influence it would have on the subsequent partitions in Catalonia-Aragon and Castile but also because of the qualitative change it heralded compared to its forerunners. The gradual spread of Roman law, the rise of notaries and the enlargement of the administration led to an increase in and very notable diversification of the written documentation. Before, the partition of movable and immovable property after a territorial conquest generated

no specific documentation; however, thereafter it would be put down in writing, with increasing meticulousness, in a specific record book, the *Llibre del repartiment*.

In late January 1230, just after the bloody siege of Madina Mayurqa, the members of the contingent, alarmed by the outbreak of an infectious disease, requested James I to ask the partition committee to start handing out the spoils of the campaign. The proration of the goods started with the auction of the spoils from the city. The process lasted almost two months and sparked a heated controversy among the large and small participants.²⁵ The next phase consisted in inventorying all the assets of the island and organising their partition among the conquerors following the criterion agreed upon thirteen months earlier in the Courts of Barcelona.²⁶ Therefore, this committee had to divide both the urban properties and the cultivated and fallow lands of Mallorca. The task was in no way easy, given that it had to be done proportional to each participant's contribution to the conquest, which had been quite uneven. The largest contributions had come from the king and the four main magnates (Nunó Sanç, Count of Roussillon; Hug IV, Count of Empúries; Gastó de Montcada, Viscount of Béarn; and Berenguer de Palou, Bishop of Barcelona). They were trailed far behind by a second group led by the Bishop of Girona, the Knights Templar and several members of the upper nobility, such

as Guillem de Montcada. The barons or knights (petty nobility) and members of the lower clergy were at a third tier, which was much larger. These groups were joined by the urban communities in both Catalonia and Occitania, Provence and Italy.²⁷

The onset of the epidemic and the pressure being exerted by a large contingent of the conquerors who wanted to return home forced the committee to agree to a hasty partition of the island, while part of it still remained under the power of the Muslims and had not yet been surveyed. Thus, a complex process got underway which would last several years and generate a considerable amount of documentation.²⁸ The first version of the *Llibre del repartiment*,²⁹ dated the 27th of July, emerged from this initial partition done somewhat haphazardly during the spring of 1230. It contains two different parts: the first one, written in Latin, is simply a list of the royal possessions; the second one, written in Arabic, explains how the first partition of assets was undertaken, delimits the resulting portions, and cites the respective beneficiaries. The majority of experts who have analysed it concur that the Arabic part is slightly older than the Latin part and has not survived in its entirety. However, agreement ends there, because while some view it as a transfer or summary of an original that has disappeared,³⁰ others view it as nothing more than a notebook with field notes,

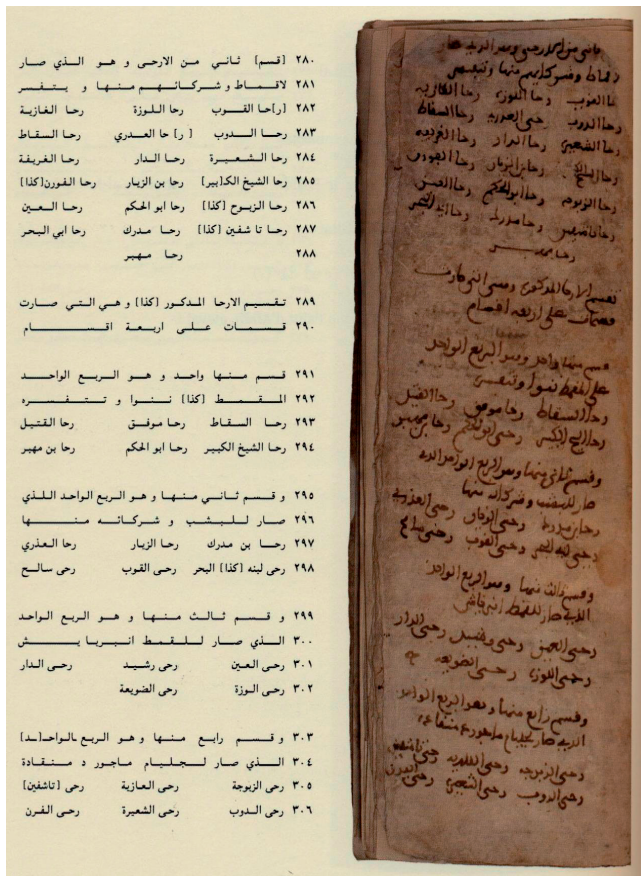


FIGURE 1. Fragment of the arabic version of the Book of Distribution of Mallorca (Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca)

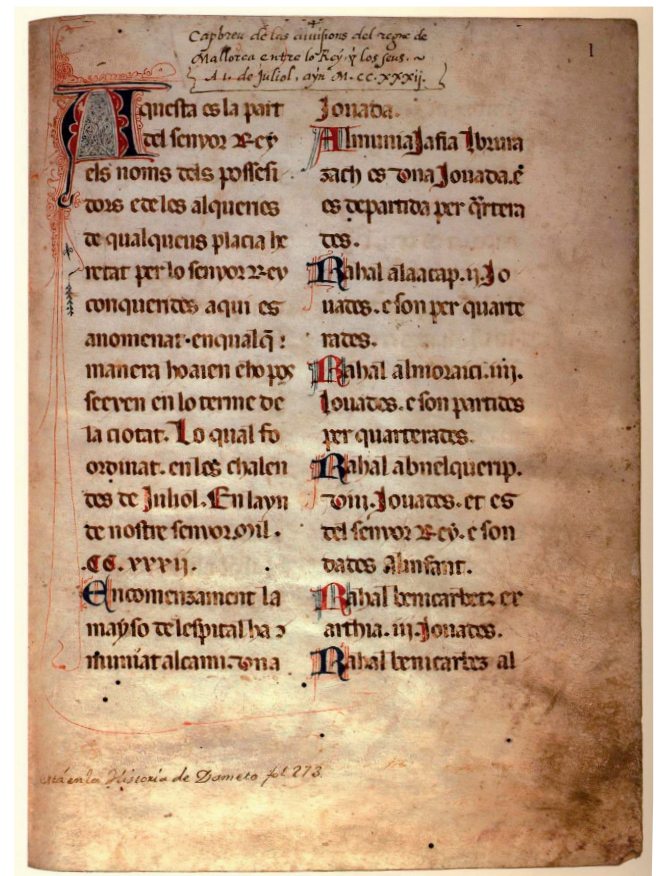


FIGURE 2. Fragment of the catalan version of the Book of Distribution of Mallorca

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FIGURE 3. Murals of the conquest of Mallorca, Master of the Conquest of Mallorca, mural, 1285-1290.
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a partial draft of a final text which no longer survives.³¹ The fact that this important document was written in Latin and Arabic demonstrates that its purpose was not only to leave a record of the rights acquired by the new Christian landowners over the properties given them, but also to accredit the forcible, definitive stripping of these assets from their former owners, who were now reduced to the unfortunate status of the vanquished. It is also clear that despite this, when quantifying and appraising the rural farms, the committee enlisted the compulsory cooperation of the Andalusian land surveyors, who were familiar with the microtoponyms and size of each parcel of land, as well as the identity of the last owner.

After making an approximate appraisal of what each participant had contributed to the conquest in terms of both military troops and economic outlays, the committee members divided them into five *quadrelles* (groups), each led respectively by the king and one of the four main magnates. They then classified the properties to be divided following a rather precise, almost circular, spatial criterion; they organised them into a nucleus and two concentric outer circles. The nucleus matched the urban area of Madina Mayurqa, the first outer circle corresponded to the surroundings near the capital and the second was made up of the twelve rural districts and two outlying sec-

tors of the township. Each of the three parts was then divided into two lots, the first of which "*pertangé al senyor rei e als seus parzoners*" (belonged to the Lord King of Aragon and his participants),³² the second "*pertangé als magnats e als lurs parzoners*" (belonged to the magnates and their participants); then the second was immediately divided into four parts, which were entrusted to the four main magnates. However, the quantity and quality of the codified information is quite uneven: it is complete for the central nucleus but negligible for the outermost circle. The committee members just had enough time to measure the urban nucleus and appraise its properties. The text specifies the number of inhabited and uninhabited houses, shops and stores, ovens, and gardens within each of the five portions. The king also reserved the fortified premises of the Almudaina and ownership of all the streets and squares for himself.

Regarding the area around the city, the committee separately divided the gardens and mills, yet without specifying nearby water courses. The outermost circle, the largest one, was partitioned based on the Muslim districts into which the island had been divided on the eve of the conquest, but with a special division for the lagoon of Alcúdia. There, the committee members were unable to list the farms within each territorial area or specify their size, except for the ones

that were assigned to Nunó Sañç.³³ However, they tried to ensure that there were plains and mountains, seedbeds and pastures in each of the five portions, which meant that they were not compact but dispersed. The sovereign was given the districts of Inca, Pollença, Sineu and Petra, Artà, Montuïri, Les Muntanyes and half of the lagoon; the royal portion was the only one in which all the territorial units were directly connected, despite being scattered about the island. The Count of Roussillon received the districts of Manacor, Valldemossa and Bunyola. The Count of Empúries took over the districts of Muro, two-thirds of the district of Sóller and the other half of the lagoon. The Viscount of Béarn was assigned the district of Canarrossa and one-third of Sóller. The portion given to the Bishop of Barcelona was comprised of the city district minus the urban nucleus and its nearest surroundings.³⁴ Therefore, the Arabic text only contains the “wholesale” partition of the island among the five main participants.³⁵

What was the outcome of this initial partition of Mallorca’s rural lands? If we measure the portions determined by the committee using modern units of measurement, we can see that James I received 47,436 hectares and the Church and secular lords received 66,535; therefore, the lands under seignorial jurisdiction measured 19,099 hectares more than the royal lands.

Even though they were unable to measure the outer districts and had left some small assets undivided, the committee members partitioned the land in a way that must have seemed fairly even, given that unlike the auction of the urban spoils, the documentation from the period does not record any major grievances by any group of participants or any substantive suggestions for adjustments.

The fact that most of the beneficiaries do not appear in the initial partition text generated confusion among experts in the second half of last century. However, this is being dissipated by the publication of new texts and the development of substantially more accurate analyses.³⁶

Based on a careful reading of the written sources available today, we can glean that the four magnates only acted as the “line chiefs”, who received more properties and lands than they should under the condition that they would divide them not only among the members of their respective entourages but also among other lower-ranking nobles who were not bound to them by vassalage agreements, and with the religious orders and bourgeois groups. This explains the inclusion of Guillemó de Montcada, Ramon Alemany, Guillem de Claramunt, the Knights Templar, the provost of Tarragona and almost all the urban communities within the royal sector; the insertion of the orders of Saint George and Calatrava into

Nunó Sanç's portion; the Bishop of Girona and the Abbot of Sant Feliu de Guíxols within the lands given to the Count of Empúries; Ramon Berenguer of Àger within the Bishop of Barcelona's lands; and Bernat de Santa Eugènia and the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in the section given to the Viscount of Béarn. Therefore, by the end of the process, there should have been as many portions as people who participated in the conquest.³⁷

THE INSTATEMENT OF NEW POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURES

In January 1230, just after storming the city, James I added "*rex Maioricarum*" to his titles. Instead of annexing the island to Catalonia, he decided to create a new kingdom with its own political-administrative structure and legal system. On the 1st of March, during the auction of the assets and captives, the monarch granted the franchise letter to the participants in the conquest and future settlers.³⁸ The original does not survive, but an authenticated copy from 1248 does, which was inserted into the *Llibre de Privilegis del Reys de Mallorca*³⁹ and other subsequent codices; it has been repeatedly published⁴⁰ and has generated a considerable bibliography.⁴¹

The franchise letter

The purpose of the settlement and franchise letter of Mallorca, just like those of Catalunya Nova (New Catalonia),⁴² was to accelerate the influx of settlers to a land that bordered on Al-Andalus while offering them a highly favourable economic, social and political status which freed them of many of the servitudes common to the feudal system to compensate for the degree of risk they were taking on. Ten of the 37 chapters of Mallorca's privilege were inspired by those of Tortosa. The remaining provisions were a set of specific concessions befitting an island setting in which being a borderland was not a temporary but a permanent condition.⁴³

The privilege contains measures aimed at stimulating economic activity, such as open, free access to fallow lands and water,⁴⁴ the unification of weights and measures, the persecution of fraud,⁴⁵ the elimination of commercial taxes and the right to the spoils of shipwrecks.⁴⁶ It regulates the practice of credit and precisely outlines the responsibilities of the parties.⁴⁷ The letter also painstakingly defines the individual rights of the settlers: personal freedom and the inviolability of the home,⁴⁸ private property and the free transmission of inheritance,⁴⁹ and the exemption from seigneurial services and taxes.⁵⁰

The presence of ethnic minorities and marginalised and conflictive groups was considerably higher in the borderlands than in the rearguard regions. Therefore, maintaining the public order was one of the authorities' main jobs. The letter contains a series of measures aimed at safeguarding peaceful social coexistence among Christians, Muslims and Jews on the island and preventing

quarrels and theft.⁵¹ It entrusted the administration of justice to the bailiff and the veguer;⁵² it banned the use of ordeals as proof; it stipulated that the magistrates should apply the positive or customary rules of the Kingdom of Mallorca, not the Usatges de Barcelona, which were relegated to the status of common law;⁵³ it allowed for previous settlement;⁵⁴ and it regulated the amount of the fines that could be charged to guilty parties in criminal cases.⁵⁵

The franchise letter finally states that the Kingdom of Mallorca was an inseparable part of the Crown of Aragon. The King pledges not to give it away to or swap it with, either wholly or in part, members of the nobility or Church hierarchies, as well as to protect its settlers from everything, anywhere, as his loyal, faithful subjects.⁵⁶ As we shall see below, this pledge lasted only a brief time.

The quantitative and qualitative scope of the privileges granted by James I to the settlers of Mallorca in the franchise letter did not go unnoticed among their coevals, as the chronicler Ramon Muntaner would remind us in around 1325: "*E poblà la dita ciutat e illa ab majors franquees e llibertats que ciutat que sia al món; per què és vui una de les bones ciutats que sia en el món e noble e ab majors riqueses e poblada tota de catalans*" (And he populated this city and island with better franchises and freedoms than any other city in the world because today it is one of the best and most noble cities in the world with the greatest wealth and is fully populated by Catalans).⁵⁷

The franchise letter has been interpreted by numerous historians using a variety of methodologies and purposes, and they have reached almost opposing conclusions, some of which are quite ideologically loaded. In the opinion of some (Antoni Rovira i Virgili, Antoni Pons and Álvaro Santamaría), he gave the new settlers freedoms that were more similar to those common at the time in the Italian fishing republics than in Catalunya Vella (Old Catalonia), which were incompatible with feudal society, servitude and *mals usos* (bad customs).⁵⁸ Yet to others (Ricard Soto and Jaume Portella), the royal privilege legalised the instatement of feudal-style economic, social and political-administrative structures in Mallorca.⁵⁹ A third group ultimately believes that the franchise letter is a "reformist text, because it eliminates major seigneurial exemptions on production, property and traffic, and is liberal in matters of justice".⁶⁰ The members of this last strain of thinking assert that it shaped a kind of feudal society in which the king merely exerted political sovereignty over the lords, who were related to him via a bond that was not vassalic but instead based on public law, which in turn took shape in an obligatory contribution to the defence of the island.⁶¹ Their opinions, all of which are thoroughly documented and cautious, are acceptable to the majority of experts.

The delimitation of the jurisdictions

The franchise letter did not precisely define the jurisdictional competences of the sovereign and lords and instead entrusted the solution to this important issue to a negotiation among the parties. James I initially granted the

magnates and the other participants the civil and criminal jurisdiction over their respective domains.⁶² However, this initial situation proved temporary; it ended on the 21st of July 1231 with the establishment of the *veguer*, a magistracy which had been provided for in the franchise letter but had not yet been instated. The nobility was fiercely opposed to its creation, as they regarded it as incompatible with their jurisdictional rights. After almost 17 months of negotiations, the two parties reached an agreement which pivoted around three points. The *veguer* would be an official who could solely be appointed by the monarch. He would administer high justice (the "*merum imperium*"); he would hear and rule on all crimes that were punishable not only by the death penalty, corporal punishment or criminal banishment but also by large fines; and his jurisdiction would extend over the entire island, both the lands owned by the monarch and those of the seigniories. From then on, the lords would only administer lower justice (the "*mixtum imperium*") in their respective jurisdictional domains, where their bailiffs could judge crimes related to property or the possession of real estate, along with all kinds of grievances which did not entail corporal punishment.⁶³ However, they would have a share in the revenues generated by the high justice, which would be divided every four months. The sum of the fines, after deducting the 10% which went to the *veguer* for his work, would be distributed between the sovereign and the lords according to the value of their respective contributions to the conquest.⁶⁴

This limitation on the jurisdictional rights of the lords did not exist in the Kingdom of Valencia, where the major magnates enjoyed the "*merum et mixtum imperium*" in their domains. This was an adaptation of the feudal structures to the island setting and size of Mallorca,⁶⁵ as opposed to an early rupture in feudal structures that had just been instated.

The division of the tithe

In Catalonia during the 12th and the first third of the 13th centuries, the tithe, an old Church tax, had become one of the lords' main sources of revenue. The sovereign had to take over the collection of the tithe in many areas within the royal domain; in 1095, Urban II had granted Peter I of Aragon the entire tithe in the lands he conquered from the Muslims.⁶⁶ Both tried to spread this tax appropriation to the Balearic Islands and the Kingdom of Valencia; however, the creation of the bishopric complicated this endeavour on Mallorca. Even though in the Courts of Barcelona of 1228 the sovereign and the magnates had pledged to endow the Church of Mallorca with enough goods and revenues, they reserved the tithe in the jurisdictional domains.⁶⁷ The struggle between James I and Gregory IX over the magnitude of the assets and the election system also delayed the appointment of a bishop for four years, during which the economic management of the dioceses was entrusted to a legal administrator, Jaume de Santa Eugènia.

Some of the participants in the conquest, such as the Viscount of Béarn and the archdeacon of Barcelona, had already earmarked some of the tithe to the future church see in 1230.⁶⁸ A few years later, in 1232, the sovereign granted the Church of Mallorca part of the tithe and the first fruits of the entire royal portion of the island, as well as those of Menorca and Eivissa when those islands were conquered.⁶⁹ However, the Holy See and the monarch were unable to reach an agreement on how to determine the amount or formalise the donation. Eight years later, in 1238, James I, Prince Peter of Portugal and the bishop of Mallorca, Ramon de Torrelles, reached a compromise on the distribution of these revenues. The bishop refused to receive tithes from secular inhabitants as donations since he did not want to admit that the donors rightly owned this property. The form of enfeoffment was chosen: the tithe was once again Church-related and the bishop gratuitously granted part of it in fealty to the sovereign, who would continue to be in charge of all collections. Thereafter, the monarch received two-thirds of the tithes on grain, wine and oil in perpetual fealty, as well as half of the tithe on livestock, wool, cheese and fish, and every year he would give the bishop the remaining one-third and half.⁷⁰

However, Gregory IX refused to ratify the agreement, since he deemed it insufficient, so James I took advantage of the pope's refusal to extricate himself from the commitments he had taken on. The bishop, bereft of resources, had to negotiate the enfeoffment agreements of the tithe with each of the participants separately. The process started in 1239, with Nunó Sanç, and did not conclude until 1247, with the Count of Empúries. The time arc separating both agreements confirms the magnates' resistance to granting part of the tithe to the diocesan church.⁷¹

The partitions of the monarch's and magnates' portions

During the spring of 1230, the sovereign and the four magnates carried out a second partition of lands and gave the participants that the partition committee had included in their portions the lands, houses, shops, hospices, mills and ovens they were due. After this job was finished, all five of them left the island. They entrusted the bailiffs and legal administrators to populate the new properties and restore their infrastructures – they were lacking a workforce and were in poor condition because of the conquest campaigns – and then to send the revenues generated by the Muslim captives and the first Christian peasants to their customary residences on terra firma. However, they reserved the notary rights in order to avoid a dispersal of documentation and to monitor the property transmissions in their respective domains.⁷²

The partition of the royal part

During the summer of 1230, James I gave the participants within his portion the urban and rural properties they were due. The provost of Tarragona, the Knights Templar and the noblemen Guillemó de Montcada, Ramon

Alemany and Guillem de Claramunt received a total of 7,904 hectares.⁷³ The urban communities of Tarragona, Marseille, Barcelona, Lleida and Montpellier got 1,156 houses and 100 shops in the urban area and 13,697 hectares in the countryside.⁷⁴ In parallel, with the cooperation of a group of advisors, he started the third partition in which he distributed the houses and the 816 rural farms he owned in order to settle his debts, obligations, devotions and commitments. The beneficiaries included members of his entourage, numerous knights, functionaries and individual servants (*"fidei nostri"*), such as Ferrer de Sagrañada, Ramon Maurí, Arnau Salit and Tomasio, a Genovese blanket manufacturer.⁷⁵ He also got several Church communities to move to his lands, including the monks of Bellpuig, the friars of Saint Anthony and the Dominicans.⁷⁶ Among the earliest recipients of the lands on the royal estate were the local Jewish community, which was given a palace inside the walls, a square and an exchange outside the walls, along with 17 rural farms measuring a total area of 1,045 hectares.⁷⁷ Even though not all the beneficiaries had participated in the conquest, these allocations were made with full ownership and were individually authenticated via notary deeds in the royal notary's office. Those made prior to the summer of 1232 are registered in the Catalan codex of the *Llibre del repartiment*. Around the same time, the sovereign, who as a participant had to contribute to the defence of the island with 43 armed horses, also granted lands in fealty to members of the petty nobility in exchange for military services.

However, the main transfer of lands in the royal estate took place in the autumn of 1231 and their recipient was Prince Peter of Portugal, a member of the Portuguese royal family exiled in Catalonia who had just inherited the countship of Urgell from his wife, Aurembiaix. Even though this last representative of the old family line since the 1228 Treaty of Agramunt only administered the countship in fief of the sovereign for her lifetime,⁷⁸ she had bequeathed it to her husband and made it freely available to him.⁷⁹ In view of the countess' unilateral breach of the agreement, James I decided to pursue a negotiated solution: he offered Prince Peter of Portugal the countship of Urgell in exchange for the Kingdom of Mallorca. By virtue of this agreement, the prince, who had not participated in the first two phases in the conquest, became the lifetime lord of the new royal estate (*"regni Maioricarum dominus"*), which he would administer as the sovereign's honorary feudal lord. Once he was invested, he would earn the revenues that corresponded to the monarch, administer the lands of the royal estate, bring settlers there, be authorised to purchase assets from knights and men of the Church, and could bequeath one-third of the inheritances and revenues earned to his heirs, who would own them in fief of the sovereign. James I reserved eminent domain over all the assets given, along with authority over the fortresses, and he pledged to provide the assistance needed to conserve and defend the islands against

any external attack.⁸⁰ Although the agreement did not specify it, he also agreed to supply Prince Peter with enough personal wealth to allow him to maintain an entourage befitting his rank.

The agreement violated two of the articles of the franchise letter: the pledge to keep the Kingdom of Mallorca joined to the Crown of Aragon, and the restriction that prevented secular and Church lords from acquiring real estate on the island. Why did James I allow this violation to take place? What did he obtain in return? With the exchange, he ensured direct control over the Countship of Urgell, a land in the rearguard with consolidated socio-economic, administrative and tax structures which had been the source of previous conflicts; he gave in exchange an insular, ultra-peripheral, sparsely settled site which was in the midst of being reorganised and was still fiscally unprofitable. However, aware of the huge strategic value of the Kingdom of Mallorca, the monarch reserved indirect administration for himself via the feudal bond, which would expire upon the death of the Prince, when the domain would rejoin the Crown.

Peter of Portugal was in no hurry to move to his new domains; he did not disembark on Mallorca until May of 1232, taking advantage of the King's third visit there. While the sovereign led the campaign against the last cells of Islamic resistance in the Tramuntana mountains, his officials finished drawing up a record book of the royal portion in order to delimit the personal assets of the new lord of the kingdom. On the 1st of July, upon completion of the military conquest of the island, the Portuguese prince took over its governance. James I gave him the aforementioned land registry,⁸¹ which contains a description of the entire royal portion, a list of the rural farms allotted during the past twelve months, a list of those that still remained vacant, which were given to him as personal assets, and a list of the chivalries and armed horses which had been given each participant.

As confirmed in this record book, Prince Peter of Portugal received 103 rural farms⁸² measuring a total of 6,100 hectares, which accounted for almost one-ninth of the royal portion. The new lord of Mallorca reserved almost half of this land for himself, 51 plots of land measuring a total of 2,830 hectares, and he divided the rest among the members of his entourage, made up of knights, functionaries and household staff from Portugal and Castile.⁸³ However, the guarantor in many of these donations is the king, which demonstrates that the prince did not enjoy full ownership. After a complicated dynamic, the lands and revenues granted to Peter of Portugal rejoined the royal assets in 1256 through his last will and testament.⁸⁴

The financial hardships faced by some of the large and medium-sized participants, their systematic absenteeism, the insularity factor, the paltriness of the vassalages paid in many of the large domains and the restrictions on the seigniorial jurisdictions instated by James I ended up unleashing a process of property transfers during the second half of the 13th century, the main beneficiary of which

was the monarch. James I and his son James II of Mallorca acquired the domains of Nunó Sanç (1242), Bernat de Santa Eugènia (1268), Gilabert de Cruïlles (1271), the Order of the Holy Sepulchre (1280), Blanca de Montcada (1284) and the monastic community of Poblet (1300).⁸⁵ After the turn of the century, land purchases also alternated with embargoes: using the legal prerogatives which he held, James II of Mallorca confiscated the assets of Gastó de Béarn and the Orders of the Knights Templar and Saint George of Alfama, and finally those of the Count of Empúries (1315).⁸⁶ By around 1330, the royal portion would cover three-quarters of the total island.⁸⁷ Because it was accompanied by the transfer of the corresponding jurisdictions and chivalries, this land transfer would reduce the economic resources, judicial authority, fiscal revenues and military power of the nobility of Mallorca at a time when they were expanding in Catalonia.

The partition of the magnates' portions

The Count of Roussillon was unquestionably the magnate who contributed the most military troops to the conquest of Mallorca, in which he also participated personally in an intense, prolonged way. In the general division of the island, as mentioned above, Nunó Sanç received 427 urban properties and rural farms measuring a total area of around 16,500 hectares, scattered around the plain and the city, the valleys of Esporles, Valldemossa and Bunyola, and the counties of Manacor and Felanitx.⁸⁸ The military services corresponding to these extensive holdings were estimated at 14 armed horses.⁸⁹ Just like the sovereign, the count began to divide his holdings by giving the lands that were owed to the participants included by right of conquest (the Orders of Saint George and Calatrava).

Once the personal properties were precisely delimited, a new partition was conducted, the third one island-wide, with lands given to members of the petty nobility and military service who earned them, giving them sufficient real estate and revenues to systematically maintain one armed horse. Lope Ximénez de Luesia and Alaman de Sádaba stand out in this first group of beneficiaries; they each received around 1,000 hectares in fealty; the others got plots of 227 hectares scattered about different jurisdictions on the island. This contingent of armed men, many of whom were from Aragon, received a total of around 4,043 hectares, equivalent to 30% of the portion given to Nunó Sanç.⁹⁰

The count also designated part of his new holdings for pious purposes. In 1232, after securing the king's specific authorisation, he gave plots of land and urban properties to a Cistercian community in free allodium. The new abbey, which was affiliated with Poblet, was settled in "La Real", a royal farmstead on the northern side of the city's outskirts, which explains why it was named Santa Maria de la Real.⁹¹ Shortly thereafter, in 1234, he monetarily endowed the new urban hospital of Sant Andreu to feed 30 people, including the poor and service staff.⁹²

Nunó Sanç's island holdings, just like those of Prince Peter of Portugal, also had a rather short historical trajectory: they rejoined the royal portion in 1242. With no legitimate heirs of his own, he had appointed James I his heir. The executors of the will distinguished between the assets that the count had received in fealty from Peter the Catholic and those he possessed in allodium. The former, made up of the countships of Roussillon and Cerdagne, were gratuitously restored to the sovereign. The latter were divided into two parts: the island properties, which were sold to James I, and the holdings in Valencia, which were given to the Order of the Hospital.⁹³

Of the portions owned by the other magnates, the lists of goods comprising them have not yet been located, which explains why we have been unable to analyse them as accurately as the previous two. Nonetheless, recently there have been attempts to reconstruct the barony of Count Hug IV of Empúries by combining the information provided by the king's *Llibre del repartiment* and Nunó Sanç's *Remembrança* with the information furnished by the coeval notary documentation held by the Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca, the Diocesan Archive of Girona and the Archive of the Fundación Ducal de Medinaceli.⁹⁴ It was made up of one-eighth of the urban nucleus and the innermost outskirts of the city, the district of Muro, two-thirds of Sóller and half of the lagoon,⁹⁵ and for the defence of the island he had to permanently maintain seven and a half armed horses. The partition committee had included within the Count of Empúries' portion the parts corresponding to some of the Church participants from Catalunya Vella (the Bishop of Girona,⁹⁶ the abbot of Sant Feliu de Guíxols,⁹⁷ the provost of Solsona,⁹⁸ a canon from Barcelona⁹⁹ and the sacristan of Urgell), a few knights (Guillem de Sant Vicenç,¹⁰⁰ Pere d'Alcover,¹⁰¹ Jaume de Cervera, Arnau de Bellveí, Ramon de Vernet and Pere Pinell)¹⁰² and an urban community (Narbonne).¹⁰³ The death of Count Hug IV in early 1230 from the epidemic that was unleashed a few days after the sacking of Madina Mayurqa complicated the division of his barony. On the 15th of August 1232, his successor, Ponç Hug, entrusted the administration of his lands to a legal administrator, Guillem Hug.¹⁰⁴ The distribution of lands and properties among the new count and the aforementioned participants in the conquest was long, complex and not bereft of lawsuits;¹⁰⁵ it began in the summer of 1232 and did not conclude until the spring of 1235.

One of the noteworthy participants in the conquest included in the lands given to the Count of Empúries – as mentioned above – was Guillem de Cabanelles, Bishop of Girona. We have been able to reconstruct his barony rather precisely based on two income reports drawn up in 1255 and 1289 by the bailiffs Ramon de Verdera and Pere des Padró, respectively.¹⁰⁶ The prelate received the city, hospices, shops and ovens in the parish of Sant Jaume, shops in the *Sabateria Vella* (Old Shoe Shop) and houses in the Almudaina; around the city, he received a farmstead, two sheds, a garrigue and a plot of fallow land in the

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FIGURE 4. Conquest of Mallorca. The only miniature illuminating the codex which depicts the Supper of Tarragona where James I of Aragón, Pere Martell, Nunó Sanç, Guillem II of Montcada, Hug IV of Empúries and others decided to conquer the island. Manuscript from the *Crònica del rei en Jacme. Llibre dels feits*. Ms. 1. Fol. XXVIIr. CRAI Reserve Library. Universitat de Barcelona.

Pla de Catí, a shed and a set of vineyards near the Monastery of La Real, and two *quarterades* of land and several fields in the Torres Llaveneres. In the parish of Muro, he also had farmsteads, sheds and *jovades* of lands, three-sixteenths of the lagoon, a considerable number of nearby houses on different streets in the village and an oven which he shared with the Count of Empúries. Finally, he also owned the parish of Sóller, farmsteads, vineyards and olive groves in Mont-reial, and three plots of land in El Pla, a nucleus of houses and a set of hospices near the centre of the village and 13 houses on the outskirts.¹⁰⁷ The contribution of these holdings to the defence of the island was appraised at three armed horses.¹⁰⁸

In 1235, after the demarcations were completed, the Bishop of Girona distributed part of his domain among the members of his entourage, just like the other magnates. One of the beneficiaries of this third partition of lands, Arnau de Torrella, received the lands in freehold; three more, Guillem de Torrella, Guillem Sanmartí and Ramon de Saverdera, received them in exchange for mili-

tary services. In the former, the grantee was only obligated to pay a feudal tribute; in the latter, they also pledged to provide an armed horse.¹⁰⁹ When dividing the lands, the prelate did not forget the religious communities operating on the island: he donated a vineyard, olive grove, garden and two hospices in the township of Sóller to the monks from the Santa Margarida monastery in free allodium¹¹⁰ and a farmstead in the township of Muro to the friars of La Mercè.¹¹¹

The Bishop of Girona made his last will and testament on the 13th of November 1245; he bequeathed everything he owned on Mallorca to the chapterhouse of his see; of the revenues generated by these holdings, he assigned 1,000 *sous melgoresos* to the sustenance of the canonries and provostships, and the remainder to having clothing sewn for the local poor which was given out every year on Easter day.¹¹² Even though this prelate's bequest came from his direct participation in the conquest of the island and had been ratified by James I in 1251,¹¹³ his successor, Berenguer de Castellbisbal, interpreted that the barony belonged to the position, not the person, and he filed a lawsuit before the archbishop of Narbonne against the chapterhouse of Girona over usurpation of assets, asking that he be paid 2,000 *sous melgoresos* per year. The case lasted until 1256, when the archbishop issued a Solomon-ic judgement: this Mallorcan barony had to be jointly administered by the bishop and the chapterhouse of the Girona cathedral.¹¹⁴ The revenues from the barony in 1301 would be rented every year for 1,708 *sous* 1 penny of *reials* from Mallorca.¹¹⁵

In the second partition, all of the participants, regardless of the size of their contribution to the conquest, received the properties and lands as full owners;¹¹⁶ therefore, they were not subjected to the vassalage of the magnate who made the distribution, but instead only to the king's eminent domain, following the custom of Barcelona. They became the lords and allodial owners (free of seigniorial charges) and were only distinguished by the size of the assets they received.¹¹⁷ Extensive baronies emerged from the first and second partitions, such as those of Nunó Sanç and the Bishop of Barcelona, as well as smaller domains, such as those owned by the knights Pere d'Alcover and Guillem de Sant Vicenç; however, neither of them was territorially compact, since they systematically included both croplands on El Pla and pasturelands in the Tramuntana mountains. The allodial lords also enjoyed jurisdiction over their respective holdings, modulated by the franchise letter and after 1231 limited by the competences of the *veguer*,¹¹⁸ and they were obligated to contribute to the defence of the kingdom by maintaining a certain number of armed horses.

The main allodial lords established somewhat similar land arrangements and management systems in their island domains. They did not reserve lands for direct farming and instead created domains with a minimum vassalage, oftentimes only comprised of some properties in the city, where they set up the notary's office. They enfeoffed

a considerable part of their lands to a host of members of the petty nobility, most of whom had roots in Mallorca and became the original nucleus of the local nobility, the only island militia. The normal size of the first chivalries was 20 *jovades* (227 hectares); however, the magnates also granted large chivalries measuring 1,000 hectares, as well as medium-sized ones measuring 113 hectares, which they only gave to armigers.¹¹⁹ Because they were given these holdings following the customs of Barcelona, all the grantees had to pay tribute to the respective direct lord and could not build fortresses without their authorisation. Based on an analysis of these early chivalries, such as the one that Arnau de Togores received from the Viscount of Béarn,¹²⁰ we can glean that unlike the magnates' domains, they were internally structured according to the binary criterion typical of the Catalan fiefdoms: either vassalages or tenancies.

The large landowners also created numerous family farms within their allodial domains which they gave to the newly arrived "settlers" to the island who had not participated in the conquest so that they could cultivate them in favourable conditions, with payment of the tithe their sole obligation. This almost wholesale granting of the land by the sovereign and magnates put both the management of the process of land reorganisation and the mobilisation of the resources needed to spearhead agrarian growth into the hands of the intermediate rural estates.

THE CREATION OF NEW AGRARIAN STRUCTURES

In rural Mallorca, on the eve of the Christian conquest, there was a society of economically hierarchised peasants with no lords who enjoyed a high level of labour autonomy. The primary sector there was organised into around 1,500 medium-sized farms, a few owned by clans and others individually, all of them cultivated under the system of owner occupancy.¹²¹ The conquerors introduced a new feudal society to the island via the first two partitions which was initially organised into domains and allodial holdings.

In order to accelerate its colonisation, both the sovereign and the other participants in the third partition granted most of the lands they received to "settlers" without enough resources to restore cultivation in emphyteusis under very favourable conditions. The average size of these first farms, at least in the royal sector, was around two *jovades* (22.72 hectares) in the dry-farmed areas and one *quarterada* (0.7103 hectares) in the irrigated areas.¹²² The recipient swore under oath to establish his residency there and pay the tithe. Nonetheless, many of the first "settlers" followed the example of the magnates and did not directly manage the estates; they sold them or sub-established them and returned home. For these early absentee owners,¹²³ obtaining properties and rural land on the island was nothing more than a profitable speculative operation which spurred the land market. Therefore, the

main players in the feudal colonisation of Mallorca were not the "settlers" but the enfeoffed peasants.

Through emphyteutic contracts, the lords and participants gave the free peasants useful domain (possession) of the rural farms and houses in the urban nuclei of the villages in perpetuity in exchange for an amount of cash (the entry payment), an annual tax and a series of rights, while reserving legal ownership for themselves. The emphyteuta could freely dispose of the goods whose usufruct he held, bequeath them to his legitimate heirs and even sell them to another peasant. In the latter case, the sale had to be suspended for a certain period, usually ten days, called the *fadiga* (leave), during which the legal owner of the property had the first right of refusal to purchase it; that is, they could restore their own usufruct for the same price offered by the buyer. If the lessor did not exercise this right and authorised the purchase, he was given a percentage of the price (the *laudemium*), which at that time was usually 16.66%. The new owner also pledged to pay the owner the same tax as the seller had been paying and declared himself to be subject to the pre-existing *fadiga* and *laudemium*.¹²⁴

The emphyteuta was also authorised to install new peasant families on the lands he received through sub-establishing contracts. Each transfer meant that the recipient paid a entry payment and an annual tax to the transferrer, which thus generated income for the rentier. Each link in this chain meant an increase in the tax. The successive lessors could recover the transferred rights when the grantee did not pay the tax or the *laudemium* or when they allowed the land they received to deteriorate.

Emphyteusis offered considerable advantages for the original owner and was a factor of control over the emphyteuta. The contract ensured the former legal ownership of the asset granted in perpetuity. It required the emphyteuta to populate and farm the land, otherwise he could be evicted, and it assured him a certain "productive dirigisme" over the farm so the composition of the taxes in kind conditioned the crops that could be grown there. The cession of the beneficial ownership of the properties in perpetuity, though onerous, also favoured the beneficiary: it did not degrade their legal status, they remained free men without any kind of restriction on their mobility, it did not obligate them to provide personal services to the original owner, and they could rescind the contract.

During the second third of the 13th century, there was an increasing influx of families from different places into Mallorca in the quest for better living conditions. Because we still do not have a detailed analysis establishing the provenance of the settlers based on their anthroponyms, such as the one made by Enric Guinot for the Kingdom of Valencia,¹²⁵ researchers have formulated somewhat distinct hypotheses. Some have tried to maximise the demographic contribution of Catalonia, while others have striven to downplay it.¹²⁶ In any event, the more adamant supporters of the latter admit that in the second half of the 13th century, approximately 40% of the population on the

island must have been from Catalonia. Without yet being able to cite rigorous figures, we can therefore claim that among those requesting land, there was a predominance of natives of Catalunya Vella, Languedoc, Liguria and Provence, along with many natives of Aragon, Navarre and even Portugal, albeit in much smaller contingents.

The gradual arrival of immigrants and the instatement of agrarian structures based on small emphyteutic farms led to a highly visible change in the habitat of the rural world of Mallorca, which went from semi-dispersed to concentrated, and in its administrative organisation: the twelve Almohad districts (*ayza*) were transformed into 25 smaller jurisdictions, which resembled villages, the original element of which was usually a rural church. In 1248, Pope Innocent IV gave the first churches built by the repopulators in both the city and the country official status.¹²⁷ These tiny churches, built with extremely rudimentary structures, were not scattered evenly around the entire island. Areas of concentration (Pla de Mallorca) coexisted with areas of dispersion (the Tramuntana mountains, Migjorn and the entire coastline), which reflects the uneven distribution of the population at the time.

However, the newcomers had to move to an island enclave where the property structure was already fixed and the concessions of estates in allodium had been reserved for the participants in the first and second partitions who had defrayed part of the costs of the conquest. The ways to access land which remained open to them were establishing, subestablishing and rent, all of which, however, led to fallow land or largely infertile fields. Two-thirds of the lands registered in the *Llibre del repartiment* were fallow; their swidden was largely performed by the peasants who had usufruct. They, not the lords and the allodial owners, were the ones who after 1235 would spread the seedbeds of grain and the vineyards through the dry-farmed and fallow lands of Mallorca, the ones who created the new rural landscape¹²⁸ which would last until the late 19th century.

Short-term rental contracts of rural farms are documented in Mallorca since 1230, although they never became as common as emphyteutic contracts. Of the 19 agrarian contracts documented by Álvaro Santamaría in 1240, seventeen of them (84.21%) were establishing and only three (15.79%) were sharecropping.¹²⁹ After analysing the agrarian contracts reached in the district of Bunyola-Valldemossa, Ricard Soto reaches quite similar results: rental contracts only accounted for 11.86% of the total between 1230 and 1300.¹³⁰ In some cases, the grantee was a slave or freed Muslim. The overseers of the majority of the farms were not the full owners who emerged from the third partition of land but peasants with usufruct who had moved there afterward. Much of the process of land transfer and fragmentation took place between these two social groups, between wealthy *aloers* and poor farmers,¹³¹ between city-dwelling rentiers and tax-paying peasants.

Over the years, emphyteutic and rental contracts became more onerous for the peasants; as the available land

contracted, they were left with the fallow lands, the hierarchical chain of people who had rights over the same land increased, and the safety of the island increased. With their work, they had to maintain more and more rentiers, a direct lord and even two middle-ranking lords. Nonetheless, the farmers' ascription to the land and the *mals usos* (bad customs) that started to characterise the servile peasantry in Catalunya Vella did not come to Mallorca. This has led a series of historians, led by Álvaro Santamaría, to assert (as mentioned above) that the society resulting from the Catalan colonisation was not feudal.¹³² However, a monographic study of several peasant families, such as the Ripolls from Bunyola, has revealed that despite these peasant "freedoms", the lords could still subject them to all sorts of situations using their jurisdictional authorities and credit.¹³³

As discussed above, the rural society resulting from the Christian colonisation was primarily made up of two kinds of people: owners and peasants with usufruct. The former had acquired the land through the right of conquest, in free allodium exempt from any private economic burdens and solely to reward their contribution to the defence of the island. Since they had renounced the direct farming of their lands, many of these owners earned taxes and other exactions from their peasants, making them rentiers. Though free men, the peasants cultivated the land via agrarian contracts whose requirements varied over space and time.¹³⁴ Because they did not have full ownership of their farms, they had to pay not only a tithe but also a tax to the owner, who exerted a kind of "dirigisme" over their work and could evict them if they failed to fulfil their contractual obligations. If, according to Guy Bois, the essence of the feudal system is the predominance of small peasant farms subjected to seigneurial deductions from their income,¹³⁵ then the Mallorcan society resulting from the Catalan colonisation was indeed feudal.

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- [16] Experts from different generations have examined this issue: E. LOURIE. "Free Moslems in the Balearics under Christian rule in the thirteenth century". *Speculum*, no. 45 (1970), pp. 624-629; A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-108; R. SOTO. "Mesquites urbanes i mesquites rurals a Mayurqa". *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, vol. xxxv (1979), pp. 113-135; R. SOTO. "Sobre mudèixars a Mallorca fins a final del segle XIII". In: *Estudis de prehistòria, d'història de Mayurqa i d'història de Mallorca dedicats a Guillem Rosselló Bordoy*. Museu de Mallorca, Palma, 1982, pp. 195-221; R. SOTO. "La situació dels andalusins (musulmans i batejats) a Mallorca després de la conquesta catalana de 1230". *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, vol. XXX/1 (1994), pp. 167-206; D. ABULAFIA. *Un emporio mediterráneo...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-78. A. MAS. "Les conquestes de Mallorca i d'Eivissa". In: *Jaume I. Commemoració...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, 2013, pp. 433-435.
- [17] At that time, this term was used to designate free peasants affiliated with the land they cultivated, for which they periodically paid taxes and provided labour to the owner.
- [18] A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 191.
- [19] A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-119; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 192.
- [20] In the Mallorcan documentation dating from after the conquest, several contracts for self-redemption via labour have been conserved (A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-172; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, pp. 195-198).
- [21] See *supra*, note 15.
- [22] E. LOURIE. "Free Moslems...", *op. cit.*, pp. 633-634.
- [23] A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, p. 97.
- [24] A. MAS. "Una aportació al coneixement de les característiques i dels ritmes de la immigració colonial al regne de Mallorca durant el segle XIII". In: *El regne de Mallorca:*

- cruilla de gents i de cultures, segles XIII-XV*. Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, Palma 2007, pp. 283-301.
- [25] F. SOLDEVILA. *Les quatre grans cròniques, op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 184.
- [26] Idem, vol. I, pp. 129-138, and vol. II, pp. 72-78.
- [27] R. SOTO. "Repertiment' i 'repertiments': l'ordenació d'un espai de colonització feudal a la Mallorca del segle XIII". In: *De Al-Andalus a la sociedad feudal: los Repertimientos bajomedievales*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona 1990, p. 12; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII, op. cit.*, p. 32.
- [28] The analysis of the partition of Mallorca, which has sparked heated controversies, has taken leaps and bounds since the end of the past century based on the appearance of the documentation generated by the process in highly accurate editions (see *infra*, notes 29, 84 and 91). The following are among the contributions worth noting: A. SANTAMARÍA. "Alba del Reino de Mallorca". In: *Historia de Mallorca, op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 1-134; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, pp. 203-212; R. SOTO. "'Repertiment' i 'repertiments'...", *op. cit.*, pp. 1-51; R. SOTO. "La porció de Nunyo Sanç. Repertiment i repoblació de les terres del sud-est de Mallorca". *Afers*, no. 18 (1994), pp. 347-366; R. SOTO. "Conquesta, repertiment i colonització de Mallorca durant el segle XIII. Un estat de la qüestió". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, vol. 26/2 (1997), pp. 605-646; P. CATEURA. "Los caballeros en la repoblación señorial de Mallorca". In: *El Regne de Mallorca i el Sud francès* (IV Jornades d'Estudis Locals). Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, Palma 1986, pp. 83-89; P. CATEURA. "La repoblació nobiliària de Mallorca per Nunyo Sanç". In: *XII Congrés d'Història de la Couronne d'Aragon*, vol. II. Montpellier, 1988, pp. 99-114; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII, op. cit.*, p. 30-44; G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "De Mayurqa a Mallorca. El Repertiment". In: *Jaume I. Commemoració del VIII centenari, op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 441-456; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals a la Mallorca baixomedieval (segles XIII-XVI)". *Revista d'Història Medieval*, no. 8 (1997), pp. 217-274; A. MAS. "Conquesta i creació del regne". In: E. BELENGUER (dir.). *Història de les Illes Balears*, vol. II. Edicions 62, Barcelona 2004, pp. 9-39; A. MAS and R. SOTO. "El repertiment de Mallorca: diversitat de fonts i d'intepretacions metrològiques". In: E. GUINOT and J. TORRÓ (ed.). *Repertiments a la Corona d'Aragó (segles XII i XIII)*. Universitat de València, Valencia 2007, pp. 75-114; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232. Reflexions a partir de la relectura del còdex llatinoaràbic del repertiment". *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, vol. LXVI (2010), pp. 9-34; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "De jovades i quarterades. Amidaments i equivalències a partir de la relectura del 'Llibre del Repertiment' de la porció reial de Mallorca (segle XIII)". *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, no. 22 (2011), pp. 165-179; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repertiment feudal de Mallorca: la porció del comte d'Empúries (1230-1235)". *Butlletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana*, vol. LXX (2014), pp. 51-73.
- [29] The version that Jaume I deposited in the house of the Knights Templars in the capital of the Balearic Islands, which is conserved today in the Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca (ARM, cd. s. n.). The two parts were published separately: J. BUSQUETS. "El còdex latino-aràbig del Repertimiento de Mallorca (Parte latina)". *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, vol. XXIX-XXX (1947-1952), pp. 708-758; J. BUSQUETS. "El còdex latino-aràbig del Repertimiento de Mallorca (Parte árabe)". In: *Homenaje a Millás Vallicrosa*, vol. I. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona 1954, pp. 243-300. These first two publications signalled a turning point in the study of the partition of Mallorca. Recently, an even more accurate edition of these two preliminary texts has appeared: G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Còdex llatinoaràbic del Repertiment de Mallorca". In: *Documents cabdals del Regne de Mallorca*, Parliament of the Balearic Islands, Palma, 2007, II. *op. cit.*, pp. 8-46.
- [30] A. MUT, "Llibre del Repertiment". In: *Gran Enciclopèdia de Mallorca*. Palma 1988-1991.
- [31] G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Llibre del Repertiment de Mallorca o Llibre del Rei". In: *Documents cabdals...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 34.
- [32] G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Llibre del Repertiment...", *op. cit.*, pp. 330-333.
- [33] G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Còdex llatinoaràbic...", *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
- [34] J. BUSQUETS. "El còdex latino-aràbig del Repertimiento de Mallorca (Parte árabe)", *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 305; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII, op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "De Mayurqa a Mallorca...", *op. cit.*, pp. 447-449; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 32.
- [35] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 12.
- [36] See *supra*, note 28, and *infra*, notes 84 and 91.
- [37] R. SOTO. "'Repertiment' i 'repertiments'...", *op. cit.*, p. 11.
- [38] A. SANTAMARÍA. "La Carta de Franquesa de Mallorca, estatuto constituyente del reino". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, no. 17 (1987), pp. 207-228; In: SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, p. 31; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 177.
- [39] Folios 1r-1v.
- [40] A list of the publications can be found in A. SANTAMARÍA. "La Carta de Franquesa...", *op. cit.*, p. 210, note 2, and in A. MUT. "Los pergaminos reales del reinado de Jaime I del Archivo de Reino de Mallorca". In: *XIII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*. Comunicacions, II. Palma 1990, p. 287.
- [41] Among which we can highlight the following: B. PONS. "Les franqueses concedides a Mallorca per Jaume I". In: *I Congrés d'Història...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-60; B. PONS. *La Carta de franquesa del rei Jaume I constituint el Regne de Mallorca*. Estampa L'Esperança, Palma, 1917; J. SALVÀ. "Jaime I y los pobladores de Mallorca". In: *Historia de Mallorca, op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 361-473; A. GUILARTE. "El municipio de Mallorca en su primera carta". In: *Home-*

- naje a don Nicolás Pérez Serrano, vol. I. Ed. Reus, Madrid 1959, pp. 361-408; P. CATEURA. "Jaume I i el govern de Mallorca i Eivissa (1230-1276)". In: *Jaume I. Commemoració...*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 131-132.
- [42] Edited and studied by J. M. FONT RIUS. *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona 1966-1983, vol. I, pp. 121-126, 128-132, 176-179 and 208-210, and vol. II, pp. 216-243.
- [43] A. SANTAMARÍA. "La Carta de Franquesa...", *op. cit.*, p. 212; A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
- [44] J. M. QUADRADO. *Privilegios y franquicias de Mallorca*. Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura del Govern Balear, Palma 2002, p. 26.
- [45] Ibid.
- [46] Idem, pp. 25 and 26.
- [47] Idem, p. 27.
- [48] Idem, pp. 26 and 27.
- [49] Idem, pp. 25 and 27.
- [50] Idem, p. 25.
- [51] Idem, pp. 26 and 27.
- [52] Ibid.
- [53] Idem, p. 26.
- [54] Ibid.
- [55] Idem, pp. 26-27.
- [56] Idem, p. 27.
- [57] F. SOLDEVILA. *Les quatre grans cròniques*, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 34.
- [58] A. SANTAMARÍA. "La Carta de Franquesa...", *op. cit.*, p. 227.
- [59] R. SOTO. "Mallorca, 1229-1302: del Repartiment a les Ordinacions". In: *Historia de los pueblos de España*, overseen by M. Barceló. Argos-Vergara, Barcelona 1984, pp. 117-129; J. PORTELLA. "Mallorca: la consolidación del feudalismo". In: *Historia de los pueblos de España*, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-146; J. PORTELLA. "Notes de lectura sobre la qüestió del feudalisme a Mallorca". In: *Estudis de prehistòria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-237; J. PORTELLA. "Baronies i cavalleries de Mallorca dels segles XIII i XIV". *Afers*, no. 18 (1994), pp. 427-441.
- [60] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.
- [61] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 26.
- [62] Ibid.
- [63] A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-522; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 54; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.
- [64] A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 521-522; P. CATEURA. "Exceptis Militibus et Sanctis". In: *Homenatge a Antoni Mut Calafell*, *arxiver*. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esports del Govern Balear, Palma 1993, pp. 53-62.
- [65] R. SOTO. "Mallorca, 1229-1302...", *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.
- [66] G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 229.
- [67] See *infra*, note 70.
- [68] Regarding the distribution of the tithe: L. PÉREZ, "Corpus documental balear, II: Reinado de Jaime I", *Fontes Rerum Balearium*, vol. II (1978), pp. 37-39 and 42; J. F. LÓPEZ BONET. "La dotació de l'Església de Mallorca després de la conquesta Cristiana". In: *XII Congrès d'Història...*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 115-124; J. F. LÓPEZ BONET. "Dominis seculars, patrimoni eclesiàstic i rendes decimals a la Mallorca Cristiana". *Mayurqa*, no. 22 (1989), pp. 353-366; J. SASTRE. "La producción agraria de Inca, Valldemosa, Lluçmajor y Montuiri según la declaración del diezmo de 1310". In: *XIII Congrès d'Història...*, *op. cit.*, Comunicacions I, p. 248; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
- [69] L. PÉREZ, "Corpus documental balear, II...", *op. cit.*, p. 106; J. SASTRE. "La producción agraria...", *op. cit.*, p. 247.
- [70] M. ROTGER and J. MIRALLES. "Biografía y cartulario del primer obispo de Mallorca". *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana*, vol. XXXII (1961-1967), p. 293; U. DE CASANOVAS and J. F. LÓPEZ BONET. *Diccionario de términos históricos del Reino de Mallorca*. Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics, Palma 1986, p. 43; J. SASTRE. "La producción agraria...", *op. cit.*, pp. 247-248; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 230.
- [71] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 59; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 230; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.
- [72] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- [73] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
- [74] A. SANTAMARÍA. "El patrimonio de las comunidades de Marsella y de Montpellier en el Repartimiento de Mallorca". In: *XII Congrès d'Història...*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 109-133; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.
- [75] J. MIRET I SANS, *Itinerari...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 and 88; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- [76] J. MIRET I SANS, *Itinerari...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 and 88; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 33.
- [77] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 36; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 19.
- [78] F. SOLDEVILA. *Les quatre grans cròniques*, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 107-127; S. M. CINGOLANI. *Jaume I...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-16.
- [79] A. SANTAMARÍA. "Mallorca del Medioevo a la Modernidad". In: *Historia de Mallorca*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 19-20.
- [80] The best analysis of the context, content and consequences of the agreement is still the one by A. SANTAMARÍA. "Mallorca del Medioevo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 21-27.
- [81] We have two recent editions of it: R. SOTO, *El còdex català del Llibre del Repartiment de Mallorca*. Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura del Govern Balear, Palma 1984, and G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Llibre del Repartiment...", *op. cit.*, pp. 7-367.
- [82] G. ROSSELLÓ BORDOY. "Llibre del Repartiment...", *op. cit.*, pp. 151-159; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Mallorca del Medioevo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 30-36.

- [83] A. SANTAMARÍA. "Mallorca del Medioevo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 30-43; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 220.
- [84] A. SANTAMARÍA. "Mallorca del Medioevo...", *op. cit.*, pp. 57-81.
- [85] P. CATEURA. "Mallorca y la política patrimonial de la monarquía (siglo XIII i primera mitad del XIV)". *Estudis Baleàrics*, no. 6 (1982), pp. 85-100.
- [86] A. SANTAMARÍA. "En torno a la evolución del modelo de sociedad en el Reino de Mallorca (siglos XIII-XVIII)". *Estudis Baleàrics*, no. 3 (1981), pp. 64-70; A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, p. 531; P. CATEURA. "Mallorca i la política...", *op. cit.*, pp. 102-112.
- [87] G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 226.
- [88] Inventoried in a specific codex that was discovered recently (Archive of the Crown of Aragon, Miscellaneous, no. 455) of which we have a painstaking edition: *La "Remembrança..." de Nunyo Sanç. Una relació de les seves propietats a la ruralia de Mallorca*, facsimile edition, transcription and notes by A. Mut and G. Rosselló Bordoy. Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Esports del Govern Balear, Palma 1993. The editors of this important document have performed a meticulous codicological, palaeographic and toponymic study of it, but they have not specified the total number of farms mentioned, nor have they calculated their overall size in *jovades*, two of the first pieces of information that researchers check for.
- [89] A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 206; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
- [90] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.
- [91] On the creation and early years of the monastery, see: *Diplomatari del monestir de Santa Maria de la Real de Mallorca*, edited by P. Mora and L. Adrinal, vol. I. Generalitat de Catalunya, Poblet 1982, pp. 1-44 and 171-263.
- [92] P. CATEURA. *Sobre la fundación y dotación del hospital de San Andrés, en la Ciudad de Mallorca, por Nuño Sans*. Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, Palma 1980.
- [93] P. CATEURA. "Mallorca i la política...", *op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.
- [94] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 56-73.
- [95] "Una octava de la terra fora la villa, octava del terminal de la villa, et tota Muro, e los dos terços de Sullar, e la mitat de l'Albufera del pescar" (*La "Remembrança..." de Nunyo Sanç...*, *op. cit.*, p. 174). See too: J. BUSQUETS. "El códice latino-arábigo del Repartimiento de Mallorca (Parte árabe)", *op. cit.*, pp. 280-281; A. SANTAMARÍA. "Reconquista y repoblación...", *op. cit.*, p. 305; P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 32; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
- [96] See *infra*, notes 109, 110 and 111.
- [97] Bernat Descoll. Cf. P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.
- [98] Guerau Calvó. *Idem*, pp. 61-62.
- [99] Ramon de Pertegàs. *Idem*, pp. 62-63.
- [100] *Idem*, p. 64.
- [101] *Idem*, pp. 63-64.
- [102] *Idem*, pp. 56-57 and 66.
- [103] J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari de la Seu de Girona i l'illa de Mallorca". In: *XIII Congrés d'Història...*, *op. cit.*, Comunicacions II, p. 220; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.
- [104] Archive of the Fundació Ducal de Medinaceli, bundle 43, no. 5,813.
- [105] J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, p. 220; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 69.
- [106] Diocesan Archive of Girona, Vestuari, no. 40. J. M. MARQUÈS, "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, pp. 223-224; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 59.
- [107] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.
- [108] *Idem*, p. 59.
- [109] *Idem*, p. 67; J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, pp. 219-221; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.
- [110] Diocesan Archive of Girona, Vestuari, no. 13. J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, p. 220; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- [111] Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca, Notaries, G-45, f. 63v and 269v; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 67.
- [112] Diocesan Archive of Girona, Vestuari, no. 21, and Mitra, no. 181. J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, p. 221; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- [113] Diocesan Archive of Girona, Vestuari, no. 24, and Mitra, no. 199. J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, p. 221; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- [114] Diocesan Archive of Girona, Vestuari, no. 26-29 and 31; J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, pp. 222 and 223; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.
- [115] J. M. MARQUÈS. "El vestuari...", *op. cit.*, p. 225.
- [116] A. SANTAMARÍA. "En torno a la evolución...", *op. cit.*, p. 186; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 247; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 70.
- [117] R. SOTO, *El còdex català...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 23.
- [118] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "El repartiment feudal...", *op. cit.*, p. 70. See too *supra*, notes 65 and 66.
- [119] P. CATEURA. *Mallorca en el segle XIII*, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
- [120] In 1232, in exchange for an armed horse; it was located in Pla de Mallorca in the jurisdictions of Lloseta, Aiamans and Biniali, and it measured a total of around 454 hectares: G. JOVER and R. SOTO. "Els dominis feudals...", *op. cit.*, p. 240.
- [121] R. SOTO. "L'organització agrícola de les noves terres a Mallorca i el paisatge rural". In: *Jaume I. Commemoració...*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 458-459.
- [122] P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "Mallorca, 1230-1232...", *op. cit.*, p. 20; P. PÉREZ PASTOR. "De *jovades* i *quarterades*...", *op. cit.*, p. 174.

- [123] Like the one from Barcelona, Duran de Coc, who prior to 1232 had received from the king houses in Ciutat and Inca, and around 136 hectares of land in the township of this village, as well as a property in the township of Manacor, in the portion owned by Nunó Sanç. Eleven years later, he sold the houses, broke up the lands into units measuring around 23 hectares each, subestablished them and vanished from the island forever; R. SOTO. “Repartiment’ i ‘repartiments’...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-32.
- [124] L. PUIG and E. ROCA. *Instituciones del Derecho civil de Catalunya*. Bosch, Barcelona 1987, pp. 229-254; A. SANTAMARÍA. “Reconquista y repoblación...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 223-226; G. JOVER and R. SOTO. “Els dominis feudals...”, *op. cit.*, p. 249; R. SOTO. “L’organització agrícola...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 465-468.
- [125] E. GUINOT. *Els fundadors del regne de València: Repoblament, antroponímia i llengua a la València medieval*. Eliseu Climent, Valencia 1999; E. GUINOT. *Sobre pre-noms i cognoms: L’antroponímia medieval, una eina d’anàlisi històrica*. Institut d’Estudis Catalans, Barcelona 2002.
- [126] To accomplish their goal, they have denied scientific validity to the conclusions drawn from the anthroponymic-toponymic analyses by claiming that, based on the linguistic normalisation undertaken by the Renaixença, surnames were Catalanised that were documented in an area larger than the Principality at that time, spanning from Navarre to Provence (A. SANTAMARÍA. *Ejecutoria...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-275). They did not even hesitate to include the natives of Roussillon in the section on “southern France”, anticipating the borders established in the Treaty of the Pyrenees by more than 300 years (Idem, pp. 276-277).
- [127] J. VILLANUEVA. *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, vol. XXI. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1851, pp. 288-289.
- [128] As proven, based on the archaeology and notary sources from the same period, by both Catalan disciples of Miquel Barceló (see *supra*, notes 4, 5, 27, 28, 61 and 124) and a few Mallorcan experts in economic history (see *supra*, notes 16, 24 and 28).
- [129] A. SANTAMARÍA. “Reconquista y repoblación...”, *op. cit.*, p. 224.
- [130] R. SOTO. “Repartiment’ i ‘repartiments’...”, *op. cit.*, p. 21, note 67.
- [131] Whose process of enrichment has been analysed by P. CATEURA. “Aproximación a la dinámica de un grupo familiar foráneo de Mallorca en la Baja Edad Media (la diferenciación social y el proceso de formación de las élites)”. *Fontes Rerum Balearium*, vol. III (1979-1980), pp. 359-372.
- [132] See *supra*, note 60.
- [133] G. JOVER and R. SOTO. “El dominis feudals...”, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-256.
- [134] An economic and social duality thoroughly analysed by Ricard Soto and Antoni Mas: R. SOTO. “De soldats de fortuna a pagesos: els primers colonitzadors de Mallorca”. In: M. BARCELÓ *et al.* (ed.). *El feudalisme...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-347; A. MAS. “Petits senyors i grans pagesos. Diferenciació i conflictivitat social a la ruralia de Mallorca (1229-1350)”. In: M. BARCELÓ *et al.* (ed.). *El feudalisme...*, *op. cit.*, p. 465.
- [135] G. BOIS. “Què és el feudalisme?”. *L’Avenç*, no. 33 (1980), pp. 23-25; G. BOIS. *La crisi del feudalisme a Europa a la fi de l’edat mitjana*. Societat Catalana d’Estudis Històrics, Barcelona 1986, pp. 23-25.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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