

The *Germanies* (revolts of the Brotherhoods) in the kingdoms of Valencia and Mallorca*

Pablo Pérez García**
Universitat de València

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ABSTRACT

This article offers a comparative analysis of the brotherhoods (*germanies*¹) and their respective revolts (also called *Germanies*) in Valencia and Mallorca from the historical, historiographic and memorialist vantage points. The most salient aspects of both movements within the historical context of the early 1520s are highlighted.

KEYWORDS: Crisis of the late Middle Ages, early modern period, revolts of the 1520s, Revolt of the Brotherhoods (*revolta de la Germania*), Kingdom of Valencia, Kingdom of Mallorca, Spanish monarchy, Charles I.

VANISHED FROM MEMORY

Memory is a public, open, controversial and contradictory arena. It encompasses those who erect statues and those who douse them in red paint; those who deliver speeches and those who hiss at them; those in favour and those against; the committed and the indifferent; the actors and, to some extent, the spectators. However, the right to express ideas and positions should not conceal the fact that not everyone who participates has the same responsibility. In Spain, the national government and the executive branches in the autonomous communities are able to promote all sorts of commemorations with initiatives, subsidies and public funding, or they can simply look the other way. Some historical events have prompted a broad consensus, such as the '*fasti*' of the fifth centennial of the 'discovery' of America (1492-1992) and the 1992 Universal Exposition in Seville. Others, like the death of Philip II (1998), the birth of Charles V (2000) and the deaths of Isabella the Catholic (2004), Columbus (2006) and Ferdinand II (2016) are being met with less and less interest. Today it is becoming more common not to publicly celebrate certain 'historical taboos'. While Mexican president López Obrador has waxed eloquent about Tenochtitlan, Cortez and Spain, we have turned our backs on these 'fiery and bloody' events and instead chosen to su-

perficially evoke the supposedly 'kinder' globalisation somehow represented by Magellan and Elcano.

And that was the Spanish government. The leaders of the autonomous regions have—or appropriate, or take... it's a bit of a grab bag—their own commemorative calendar. The president of the Generalitat (executive branch) and the Corts (legislative branch) of Valencia have undertaken fairly interesting initiatives. Five years ago, the regional government declared 2017 Blasco Ibáñez Year and consequently promoted and supported a range of cultural initiatives and conferences on this republican writer and politician. The following year, the same government almost forgot the sixth centennial of its own founding: 2018 was left without an official declaration, and a brilliant scholarly conference was held on the origins of the institution and its era thanks only to the last-minute initiative of professor Antoni Furió, leaving a good many local authorities, like the mayor of Xàtiva, off the guest list.²

In 2019, it was time for the *Revolta de la Germania* (Revolt of the Brotherhoods, 1519-1522) to take pride of place on the official commemorative calendar, even though in view of its length, any year between 2019 and 2022 would have worked. In fact, a group of professors from the Faculty of Geography and History at the Universitat de València had met with senior officials in the Generalitat Valenciana's Ministry of Education and Culture back in 2017 to remind them the impending milestone and its importance. However, the Generalitat and its advisors had their own calendar: 2019 was declared Saint Vicent Ferrer Year, in 2020 the institution took a break, 2021 was declared (Luis) García Berlanga Year and 2022

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** Contact address: pablo.perez@uv.es

was Joan Fuster Year, although officially it was also Marià Benlliure Year in honour of the sculptor, even though no specific activities are scheduled.

However, the fact that the *Germania* has officially been relegated to oblivion in Valencia stands in contrast to the record of comparable events in other autonomous regions, like Castilla-León, Castilla-La Mancha and the Balearic Islands. It is common knowledge that the Revolt of the *Comuneros* in Castile (1520-1521) and the *Germanies* on Mallorca (1521-1523) also dovetailed and overlapped with the *Germanies* in Valencia. Regarding their historiographic assessment—which we shall duly discuss—both milestones are clichéd referents in public memory, perhaps more in Castilla-León given that the date of the defeat of Padilla, Bravo and Maldonado in the Battle of Villalar (23-IV-1521) was chosen to be this autonomous community's regional holiday in 1986. Apparently the regional government of Castilla-La Mancha chose to celebrate the *Comunidades* on their own, focusing on Toledo and María de Pacheco—a statue of whom is planned—after having signed a commemorative partnership agreement with Madrid and Castilla-León, which Madrid ended up nixing. Likewise, in Castilla-León there was a rift between the Fundación de Castilla y León, which depends on the region's legislative body, and the Comisión Ciudadana para el Quinto Centenario de la Revolución de las Comunidades de Castilla (1520-1522). Even though its resources were minimal and its composition skewed towards nationalistic and progressive political stances, the latter had a large footprint and became widely known among the public (23 April 2021). In turn, the legislative body of Castilla-León and its foundation held the international conference entitled *El tiempo de la libertad. Comuneros V Centenario* (Valladolid, 19-21 May 2021) with the scholarly support of the eight universities in this autonomous community. A few months later, the Villalar de los Comuneros Town Hall, the Universidad de Valladolid and the Fundación de Castilla y León itself held the *VIII Simposio Internacional de Historia Comunera* (Villalar, 7/9-X-2021) with the theme of *Medio Milenio de la Batalla de Villalar. Comunidades de Castilla y republicanismo: ciudades y estados*.

Compared to Castilla-León and the Community of Valencia, Mallorca's response was much more unified. Civil society's and public institutions' reactions to the fifth centennial of the *Germanies* was coherent and could even serve as a model. A prominent group of the island's cultural promoters associated with political nationalism had created the *Comissió 500 Anys de Germanies, 500 Anys de Lluites Compartides*. Organisations like the *Fundacions Emili Darder-Pere Mascaró*, the *Assemblea Sobirana de Mallorca* and the *Obra Cultural Balear* and personalities from the worlds of culture and academia like Bartomeu Mestre i Sureda, better known as Balutxo,³ Guillem Morro Veny (president of *Esquerra Republicana* on the Balearic Islands between 2015 and 2016) and Maria Margalida Perelló⁴ contributed to founding it. This

civic platform was publicly unveiled on 6 February 2021. The next day a manifesto was read, which was adhered to by the first 19 town halls of the 54 on Mallorca. On 19 May 2021, this initiative was also backed by the government of the Balearic Islands and its Ministry of Education and Culture, the regional Parliament and the *Universitat de les Illes Balears*.⁵ The upshot of these synergies included several milestones: '500 anys de la Germania: memòria i revolta'⁶ was published in issue 101 of the journal *L'Altra Mirada*; the *Jornades la Germania a Mallorca i la seva transcendència* was held (7 and 8 October 2021) at the rectorate of the *Universitat de les Illes Balears*; and the lecture series on *Les Germanies, 1521-1523* organised by the Archive of the Kingdom of Mallorca, was held in the first four months of 2022.⁷

Therefore, of the four public commemorations of the events that transpired between 1519 and 1523, the one on Mallorca was the most consensual,⁸ the Castilian one the most fragmented, the Valencian one the most embarrassing⁹ and the Spanish national one, as General Fernández Campos of the General Navy said on the night of 23 February 1918, '*ni està, ni ningú l'espera*' (it's neither there, nor is anyone expecting it). Some colleagues have mentioned certain keys that, depending on the vantage point, might account for the suppression by the Valencian institutions—at that time governed by the PSPV and *Compromís*—of the public memory of the *Germanies*. Antoni Furió has alluded to the huge budgetary outlay needed for the commemoration of the sixth centennial of the founding of the *Generalitat*.¹⁰ Pau Viciano has offered his view of this 'reaction', explaining it as a kind of 'woke cancellation' of the left and local nationalism in view of a certain 'supposed' homophobia and islamophobia by the Valencian brotherhood members.¹¹ And the woke universe does work like that: as quick, brief, elementary, simplistic and expeditious as stoning. I hope that over the ensuing pages we are able to provide ideas and fodder for judgement in order to first provide an updated overview of the *Germanies* in Valencia and Mallorca and secondly explain why twenty-first-century Valencians and Mallorcans have approached their ancestors from half a millennium ago so differently.

THE EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK OF THE LATE-MEDIAEVAL CRISIS: ADEQUATE FOR MALLORCA, INSUFFICIENT FOR VALENCIA

Perhaps the most extensive study of the *Germanies* was published 40 years ago by the philologist and historian Eulàlia Duran i Grau.¹² The most surprising aspect of this book may not be so much her goal of showing the Revolt of the Brotherhoods as an event with widespread repercussions in the Catalan-speaking lands—which forced the author to highlight brief episodes in Catalonia,¹³ like Cambrils, Tortosa and Ulldecona—as the book's geohistorical imbalance, with an overwhelming focus on Mal-

lorca, a somewhat *événementiel* focus on what happened in Valencia and a very minor role for the *soi-disant* Catalan *Germania*. In fact, this book's most noteworthy contribution may be the pages devoted to the historiography, demographics, conjuncture, events, war and repression of the revolt and the sociology of the *Germania* on Mallorca, all of which are topics that Mallorcan historian Josep Juan Vidal had helped to update after the contributions of Álvaro Santamaria.¹⁴ With unusual detail and rigour, and with laudable bibliographic and archival work, Eulàlia Duran very satisfactorily organised and filled in everything known about the Mallorcan *Germania* at that time. Her working method was the same for Valencia, but her narrative seemed to be an uncanny echo of the story published by the chronicler Martí de Viciana in 1566.¹⁵ Furthermore, Ricardo García Cárcel's doctoral thesis on the Valencian revolt from 1519 to 1522 had been published in 1975, with a heavily reworked version issued in 1981,¹⁶ so readers had a painstaking reconstruction of the events grounded upon the great classical chronicle of the *Germania*, along with a catalogue of historiographic themes and problems addressed in a synthetic and somewhat provocative style.

Two issues seemed clear at that time and remain so today.¹⁷ First, the *Germanies* of Valencia and Mallorca are part of a series of social conflicts dating back to at least the second half of the fourteenth century and lasting until at least the mid-1530s. This series of fractures in the social order—some of them briefer and others longer, some rural and others urban, many of them both¹⁸—was the most visible, violent aspect of a broad cleft, the late-mediaeval crisis,¹⁹ which signalled the end of the Middle Ages and ushered in modern period with its socioeconomic detonators and its anti-tax, anti-oligarchic and anti-feudal objectives.²⁰ Obviously, no one can question the complexity of European society in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, nor its serious problems, nor the state of affairs that drove society towards upheaval and conflict. The social fabric's splinters and wounds were expressed at the time with words, names and demands common to the era's moral and religious language. However, the events and goals of all the social protests should be understood within their historical context. In this sense, it is also true that the Mallorcan *Germania* and its historiography was then and continues to be fairly consensual, with a story that fits perfectly within the overall explanatory scheme of the late-mediaeval crisis.²¹

The conclusion is slightly different in Valencia, if only because the three uprisings and revolts that account for the late-mediaeval crisis in Mallorca (the 1391 Pogrom, the 1450 *Revolta Forana* [or countryside revolt] and the 1521 *Germania*) are not unanimously confirmed by Valencian historians, for example in the 1347–48 War of the Union and the 1519–22 *Germanies*.²² However, the *Germania* was not a revolt from the very beginning. What was called the '*avalot de la Seu*', or cathedral riot (7 August 1519),²³ simply had nothing to do with the *Germa-*

nia.²⁴ In fact, at that time, nobody was speaking about *agermanament* or *sindicació* [unionising] yet but if anything about *adesenament* [enlistment]. If the *Germania* had been a subversive movement, its main players could have easily seized power in the summer of 1519, taking advantage of that 'perfect storm' stirred up by the epidemic, the flight of the patricians, the power vacuum, the state of need, awareness of the intolerable and the identification of the guilty parties. But that is not what transpired. The brotherhoods and officers obeyed governor Lluís de Cabanyelles (22 June 1519) and helped to defend the capital, accepting the enlistment orders of Ferdinand the Catholic (1515).²⁵ What nobody at the time imagined was that this move could give rise to a political reorganisation—a commune-style recomposition—of the traditional roles of the plebes, that is, *agermanament* or the development of brotherhoods.²⁶

The *adesenament* was an old order from Ferdinand the Catholic which had never been applied until then. It had been arbitrated in August 1515, within the context of the fierce defence of Bugía (*Béjaïa*) against the attack by the troops of Aruj Barbarossa. Valencian and Mallorcan forces had participated under the command of Ramon Carrós and the Balearic viceroy Miguel de Gurrea,²⁷ which some authors have viewed as the people's—especially the Mallorcan people's—first contact with modern firearms.²⁸ In the summer of 1519, after the Valencian estates' refusal to pay for a regular army to defend the coast,²⁹ governor Cabanyelles, with the authorisation of an inexpert monarch and a court with only a vague understanding of the situation, turned to the brotherhoods not only to defend the city but more importantly to mobilise their economic resources to acquire modern firearms and what was known as *ordenanza*, the military organisation with modern armaments introduced by the Catholic Kings in 1496 and still in force at that time.³⁰ The corporations representing the tradesmen found it strange that the governor would ask them to buy weapons and organise themselves militarily into captaincies, *cinquantenes* (groups of fifty) and *desenes* (groups of ten), without being under the command of the city's 'natural' authorities, that is, without the participation of the patrician class made up of gentlemen, squires and citizens.³¹ However, stressing the dire need and the absence of many patrician families due to the plague, Cabanyelles pressurised the brotherhoods and thus paved the way for their supra-corporate organisation, the *tretzena* (the thirteen), an institution that was necessary to manage the *adesenament*.

Nonetheless, the Crown and the authorities had feared the brotherhoods. These organisations' chapters or assemblies posed clear risks. They actually debated any issue, not only their own affairs, even though this was explicitly forbidden. Many of their constitutions required the authorities'—mainly the governor's—prior permission to meet and even the presence of a royal official during the event. Despite this, the pressure on the brotherhoods and trades had diminished over the course of the

fifteenth century.³² Governor Cabanyelles' attitude, allowing the 'guilds' of the city of Valencia to meet freely and discuss the *adesenament*, is not entirely surprising. Unfortunately, the minutes³³ no longer survive of those confraternal chapters where the decision to manage the reform of the militia—the *adesenament*—was discussed through a new corporate formula: brotherhoods.³⁴

Besides the agreements on the allocation of flags, insignias, drums, offensive and defensive weapons, the payment of fees and the organisation of military parades and exercises,³⁵ the most surprising and yet fascinating outcome of those meetings was the creation of a league, alliance, confraternity or *coniuratio* among the different brotherhoods.³⁶ Throughout the third quarter of 1519, July to September, the brotherhoods and their representatives—the *electes*—met several times and reached agreements that ventured beyond the city of Valencia's traditional corporate and sociopolitical frameworks. The trade brotherhoods agreed to gather them all together in a confraternity³⁷ and to establish a more functional commission than the first boards of *electes*. Instead of those 45 to 51 people, a smaller group of 13 *síndics* or *prohoms*—no longer *electes*—was created to be called the '*tretze síndics dels pobles de la ciutat de València i quatre quarters de l'horta*' (thirteen representatives of the peoples of the city of Valencia and four quarters of the agrarian hinterland). This thirteen (*tretzena*) may have been established—as Vallés guesses—in early October 1519. Its constitutional agreement stipulated that the members of this committee would be renovated on an annual basis. Among the thirteen members, there would always be one representative of the largest trades or groups: the farmers from the *horta* (agrarian hinterland), velvet-makers, weavers and wool workers. The remaining new places would rotate among the other trades by lottery. One of the first decisions taken by the first *tretzena* was precisely to send an ambassador—Guillem Sorolla—to court to secure royal approval of this associative process and seek specific measures to offset the scarcity of currency in the kingdom. The backing of certain royal officials and Sorolla's expressions of fealty to the Crown led to the monarch's approval of the grassroots movement in the capital.³⁸

The word for 'brotherhood' in Catalan, *germania*, and similar terms like *ajust*, *cloca*, *confederació*, *conspiració*, *empreniment*, *gabella*, *rebellió*, *unió* and *unió sacramental* (variously translated as clutch, confederation, conspiracy, rebellion, union or sacramental union), were used not by the brotherhood members but by their enemies. Even though it is very clear that it was, its ideologues never considered the brotherhood new. Instead, they viewed it as a '*confraria de confraries*', a brotherhood of brotherhoods, a confraternal union or a confederation of brotherhoods.³⁹ In coherence with the moral and political principles stemming from the Christian imperative of brotherhood,⁴⁰ the thirteen representatives of this 'super-brotherhood' soon expressed their desire to man-



FIG. 1. Valencian brotherhood members before Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht (26 February 1520). In 1872, a total of seven painters participated in the first contest under the rule of the Diputació de València to earn a pension to study in Rome. The topic chosen, 'Cardinal Adrian welcoming the Valencian brotherhood members', had been proposed by the liberal chronicler and historian Vicent Boix i Ricarte (1813-1880). The participants in the contest included the young Josep Benlliure Gil (1855-1937), who did not win the grant. Later, the paintings were exhibited in public on the occasion of the July Fair, where Benlliure did win the prize. After being acquired by the Reial Societat Econòmica d'Amics del País de València, the work became part of its painting collection. This painting was temporarily lent to the Museum of the City of Valencia (2014) and is currently on display in the headquarters of the Corts Valencianes (Palau de Benicarló or Palau dels Borja).

age the *adesenament*, as well as to promote the 'common good'.⁴¹ Until the *tretzena* was established, the brotherhoods had been a movement in which the confraternal and trade elites figured prominently. From then on, however, its spirit began to descend into the lower strata of craftsmen and peasants, penetrated society as a whole and revealed its mission to spread around all of Valencia.⁴²

The members of the brotherhoods not only sought to set up *tretzenes* in the towns of Valencia; they also aspired to overcome the traditional corporate cadres and local *estatutaris* (bylaws). This tension was implicit in the new concept of '*pobles*' or peoples created by brotherhoods. The 'people' would become an example of what Peter Blicke has called 'the common man' or 'commonfolk' (*gemeiner Mann*),⁴³ that is, the amalgam of different social groups—peasants, tradesmen, merchants, artists and the bourgeoisie—united because they had been excluded from full political rights as either individuals or families, or as part of the traditional corporations. The members of these social groups and professions were aware that they were unable to participate in the exercise of local or regional power except as members (*pobles*) of a community, alliance or brotherhood.⁴⁴ The future of this *new* holistic sociopolitical body comprised of peasants, artisans, shopkeepers, merchants and artists in the royal villages—plus middle classes characteristic of the rural world—protected in theory by the king and led by the local *tretzenes*, was not yet clear by late 1519 and early 1520.

VALENCIA AND MALLORCA: DIFFERENT PATHS TO REVOLT

The early stages of the *Germania* in Valencia did not resemble the lead-up to a revolt or even the Hungarian revolution of 1514, which started with the recruitment of 15,000 *hajduk*—volunteer peasant soldiers—to fight the Ottomans.⁴⁵ During the second half of 1519, Valencian artisans organised themselves, signed contracts to supply weapons, debated the political implications of the *adesenament* and sent Guillem Sorolla to court.⁴⁶ The voices against the commoners were soon raised. When Charles I ordered the tradesmen to obey the governor and store the war materiel (4 January 1520), the alarms went off and the tradesmen decided to send a second ambassador to court. This commission's instructions were written by the prestigious jurist and lawyer from Aragon, Jerónimo Soriano, on 6 January 1520.⁴⁷ Guillem Sorolla, accompanied by Joan Llorens, known as the 'father of the *Germania*', according to Viciana; Joan Caro, the future master rational of the brotherhoods; and the notary Jeroni Coll were in charge of defending the Valencian tradesmen's position.

The eleven points in this text include no reference to mayhem or disorder, nor any 'corporate' complaint or claim. Instead, they attest to a deep fealty to the king and the conviction that they had obeyed the Crown at all times via the *adesenament* and the military displays and exercises undertaken by the brotherhoods. The noble estate's accusation of promoting unions, *gabelles* or *cloques* (conspiracies or betrayals) had been malicious.⁴⁸ The tradesmen and their representatives only sought two objectives: to be armed in order to defend the king and the fatherland against the French and the Berbers, and to foster the '*bon govern de la terra*' (good governance of the land), boost trade and tend to the people's needs under the sovereign's authority.⁴⁹ And those needs were manifold, including the decline in the royal patrimony, the partiality of justice, oppression of the people, obsolete and illicit taxes, corruption and fraud, and a lack of currency. The reforms to be undertaken were the king's prerogative; informing him and backing him were the responsibility of '*tot aquest poble i vassalls fidelíssims de S.A.*' (this entire people and the most faithful vassals of Your Majesty), duly advised by their lawyers and procurators.⁵⁰ The mission could not have been more successful. The letter patent from Fraga (31 January 1520) confirmed the *adesenament* and the *tretzenes*, while also authorising the establishment of a legal council of the thirteen made up of the lawyers Jerónimo Soriano and Bartomeu Monfort, along with several procurators, including most notably the king's public prosecutor Nofre Oller, and Miquel Llavata, a personal friend of the regent of the Council of Aragon, Garcia Garcés de Jaunas.⁵¹

Thereafter, the *adesenament* and brotherhoods spread through all the cities and large royal villages of Valencia. By May 1520, the towns of Xàtiva, Sagunt, Oriola and Alacant had joined the capital city's initiative. Between

May and July, Alcoi, Castelló, Alzira, Ontinyent, Vila Joiosa, Vila-real, Peníscola and Borriana joined the brotherhood. Only the royal villages of Morella, Onda, Bocairent and Ademús never joined it.⁵² Therefore, the *Germania* had not begun as a social protest or class conflict, nor had it gained momentum and spread around the territory—especially the royal lands—without royal authorisation, sound legal underpinnings or legal counsel. For an entire year, from June 1519 to May 1520, the *Germania* was an organised, peaceful, defensive and legal movement that stemmed from self-managed *adesenament*⁵³ which inspired a sort of programme of political and institutional reforms in the kingdom. What happened later, what made the *Germania* gradually resemble other revolts of its time and ended up turning it into a social and civil struggle with its own religious, millenarian and xenophobic imaginary⁵⁴ was not the outcome of the movement's natural development but the product of political missteps—extraordinarily serious ones—by King Charles and his advisors and ministers, who were determined to dismantle a movement that they themselves had promoted, up-lifted and confirmed.⁵⁵

It has been claimed that the *Germania* in Valencia was an uprising by artisans who were being smothered by very harsh economic and corporate pressures, joined by peasants tyrannised by their lords and at odds with a Mudejar minority that had accepted the harsh conditions of the seigneurial regime in exchange for tolerance.⁵⁶ It has also been written that this union denaturalised the 'bourgeois' impetus of the *Germania*, and that the poorest and most radical members ended up prevailing over the wealthier and more moderate ones who were in favour of reforms and negotiation.⁵⁷ However, a picture like this poses two problems. First, it views the movement as an event instead of a process, and secondly, it more accurately reflects the phase that García Cárcel considers characterised by 'revolutionary radicalism' (from June 1520 to June 1521).⁵⁸ However, the trajectory of the *Germania* was not a straight line. The violence in 1519—the lynching of sodomites, for example—was not promoted by the actors of the *adesenament*, nor did they have anything to do with its claims. 'Radicalism' was not entirely absent from the movement's initial drive, as proven by Sorolla's bold actions and Pere Palomares's early anti-Mudejar speeches in Oriola. Yet anti-seigneurial sentiments could not yet be perceived in the solution of Carlet and Benomodo's lawsuit against their lord, Galceran de Castellví (July-August 1520), nor was anti-Islamism a widespread attitude among the brotherhood members, as shown in the defence of the Mudejar residents of Albaida and Elche in the summer of 1521.⁵⁹

The events that ended up turning the *Germania* first into defiance, later into rebellion and revolt and ultimately into war and resistance are well known. The new viceroy, Count Mélito, was supposed to disarticulate the movement and prevent the promotion of two tradesmen jurors.⁶⁰ However, the election was held. After a mutiny

orchestrated by Sorolla, Mérito fled the capital and took refuge in Cocentaina, Xàtiva and finally Dénia, where he stayed an entire year. The emissaries sent by the king—Garcés de Jaunas, Bernat Despuig and González de Vilasimpliz—did not manage to get the thirteen in the capital to buckle, as they were simultaneously promoting an expedition to punish the viscounty of Xelva (August 1520), while expressing reluctance towards the desires of Elche and Crevillent to revert to royal property (8 September 1520). Even though Mérito declared war—*host i cavalcada*—against the *Germania* on 25 August 1520, not even the nobility responded to the call issued from Dénia. Five months later, the first letters from the Mallorcan wool-worker Joan Crespí (8 and 15 February 1521), the head of the island's resistance to the government of the viceroy Miguel de Gurrea, reached Valencia.⁶¹ The influence of the Valencian movement on Mallorca, whatever it was, could not conceal the fact that the peninsular and the insular *Germanies*, though convergent at that precise time, had had different points of departure and would also go on to evolve quite differently.

On Mallorca, the *Germania* was a reaction—perhaps induced by the events in Valencia, but with strong local roots—to the dire problem of public debt and the onerous fiscal pressure that even king Ferdinand II had been incapable of mitigating despite the Pragmatic of Granada of 1499 and the Arbitral Sentence of Burgos of 1512. Unlike in Valencia, on Mallorca things had begun with a conspiracy similar to the *bewegung Bundschuh* in Schlettstadt/Sélestat in 1493.⁶² The island's viceroy, Miguel Gurrea, imprisoned seven people, including the future *Germania* leaders Joan Crespí and Joannot Colom (6 February 1521).⁶³ The next day, Maundy Thursday (7 February 1521), a mutinous band of armed artisans freed the prisoners, proclaimed Crespí 'captain of the people' and took possession of the Casa de la Consignació, where the debt deeds—the *censals*—and the names of their owners, were kept. Even though the Valencian *adesenament* in June 1519 and the Mallorcan uprising in February 1521 were wholly unrelated, the convergence of both trajectories is quite interesting. On the one hand, the Mallorcan movement adopted certain formulas characteristic of the Valencian *Germania* that had not existed in the *Revolta Forana* rebellion in 1450, while the Valencian movement got the momentum to pursue the issues—perhaps postponed but nonetheless pressing—of fiscal pressure, public debt and the debtors and defaulters of the municipal treasuries.

Regarding the Mallorcan revolt, Valencia's influence was greater organisationally than politically. On Mallorca, the *tretzena* was a late-blooming institution that did not last very long; it also had a much more pyramidal structure and much more *de facto* power than in Valencia.⁶⁴ Crespí had been appointed 'captain of the people' as soon as he was liberated (7 February 1521); however, the next day, his mission shifted towards the political arena when he was appointed the 'instador (solicitor) of the



FIG. 2. Portrait of the Mallorcan brotherhood leaders Joanot Colom and Joan Crespí. Twenty years after the first rehabilitation of the last Mallorcan brotherhood leader, Joanot Colom, during the Liberal Triennium, when his severed head was finally taken down from Porta Pintada (1822) after hanging there for 299 years, the artist from Alaró Gabriel Reinés Pocoví (1807-1885) made this oil painting in the throes of the enthusiasm caused by the fall of the regent María Cristina and the arrival of the progressive general Baldomero Espartero (1840) to power. Colom was named an illustrious son of Palma (8 December 1841) and his portrait was hung in Plaça del Roser. The portrait was once again taken around the city in 1865, after the street running from the Cort to Plaça Major had been dedicated to this radical leader, and again in 1868, on the occasion of the Glorious Revolution. The second portrait, depicting the first *instador* of the brotherhood, Joan Crespí, was commissioned by the Palma Town Hall to the Montpellier-born painter and photographer Jules Virenque Chastain (1824-1876) in 1870 during General Prim's presidency of the government and shortly before the Cortes voted the Duke of Aosta, Amadeus I, as the monarch.

common good' (8 February 1521). In turn, the city officials began to appoint '*electes*', while those from the hinterland appointed '*síndics*'.⁶⁵ In theory, those representatives were supposed to create a mixed commission—with the authorities—to inspect the consignment books and organise the militia, control the artillery and defend the island.⁶⁶ However, Gurrea's failure to cooperate led to his forced dismissal (16 March 1521), even though his appointment was grounded on a royal privilege granted by king Peter IV (1344), which apparently prevented the Aragonese from holding a position that Gurrea had held since 1512 without any impediments. His successor, Pere de Pachs, the bailiff of Mallorca and warden of Bellver castle, catered much more to the brotherhoods. Pachs promoted agreements between the *electes* and the local authorities from the hinterland and authorised the establishment of the first *tretzena* in Palma, presided over by the *instador* and comprised of twelve '*conservadors*' (managers): eight elected from the city and four from the hinterland.⁶⁷

Mallorca's *tretzena* was created with the intention of acting with full jurisdiction, authority and power throughout the entire island. Crespí's envoys achieved incredible propagandistic success on Mallorca, except in the towns of Alcúdia and Santueri. However, they did not manage to convince Menorca and Ibiza to join. Generally

speaking, the two *electes* sent by Palma tended to garner a good number of followers among the locals and—just like in Valencia⁶⁸—they swore the oath,⁶⁹ after which a local *instador* and a board of *electes*, or *tretzena*, was chosen with the same oversight authority of the local government as in Palma. Overall, the brotherhood members respected the existing local authorities, such that wherever the local bailiff and jurors were strong, the *tretzena* did not gain much power, but, conversely, wherever the council of *electes* was founded with considerable momentum—such as in Lluçmajor and Felanitx—the bailiff and jurors were subjected to their authority. The arrival on Mallorca of the imperial warrant signed in Worms (30 March 1521) in June 1521, which vigorously condemned the *Germania*, prompted major tensions among the royal officials and sparked keen radicalisation among the rebels.⁷⁰ Crespí was stripped of his post and locked away in the Torre de l'Àngel in the Almudaina royal palace (23 September 1521), where he died under somewhat murky circumstances.⁷¹ The new *instador*, the milliner Joannot Colom, set out to exert his power in a somewhat dictatorial fashion, putting an end to any prior democratic vestiges (December 1521 to January 1522). He not only dissolved the *tretzena* and replaced it with a loyal council of officers from the city and the hinterland; he also interfered in the election of jurors, councillors and other municipal officials and appointed bailiffs loyal to him in many villages.⁷² His strategy of terrorising the knights and their families began in January 1522 and lasted until the defeat of the *Germania* and the surrender of the city of Palma on 7 March 1521.

At that time, Mallorca and Valencia were grappling with a dire public debt problem. The two kingdoms suffered from extremely heavy fiscal pressure stemming from the payment of interest on the *censals*, although there was a major difference between them. While Valencia enjoyed relative momentum, with moderately dynamic population, production and trade,⁷³ Mallorca was being asphyxiated by a heavy recession⁷⁴ that was only aggravated by a steep reduction in fiscal units due to depopulation, migration from the countryside to the city and the acquisition of peasant lands in ruins by members of the privileged estates in Palma. The impression that the interest payments on many *censals* had far exceeded the initial loan and that certain temporary taxes had become permanent was quite keen among commoners. Furthermore, the way certain taxes were charged—like the '*bollat*' in Valencia—was very slow, bureaucratic and frustrating, which favoured merchants, large textile manufacturers and shopkeepers over smaller and humbler workshops.⁷⁵ The issue of taxes had sparked the *Revolta Forana* in 1450 and had actually been dragging down Mallorca's economy throughout the entire fifteenth century. In Valencia, fiscal pressure, abusive rights, fraud and the graft of the royal officials and lease of taxes had given rise to corporate and local protests but had not promoted united proposals or actions.⁷⁶

The issue was rather complex. In any case, the brotherhood member Joan Caro, the master rational of the capital since 10 September 1520, and the fourteen treasurers of the debt cancellation elected on 28 September 1520 strove to do everything within their power to lower the *censal* debt (lods).⁷⁷ The Mallorcan influence likely contributed to accelerating the adoption of much more radical measures, including those contained in the tax report prepared by the councillors and brotherhood members Ballester, Llàtzer and Guanyador in early February 1521.⁷⁸ Given the silence of Caro and the members of the second *tretzena*, the three councillors appeared before the velvet-makers, one of the most defiant trades because it had been severely harmed. Even though the velvet-makers forced an ad-hoc board of *electes* to be created, it primarily came out against abolition. At that point, the person who would become the top military leader between June 1521 and early 1522, the master velvet-maker originally from Sogorb, Vicent Peris, was catapulted to the pinnacle of the *Germania*. In the company of his fellow velvet-maker Gonçal d'Arcos and other colleagues, Peris attacked the committees where the taxes were charged and violently abolished them on 21 and 23 February 1521. A total of eleven taxes were eliminated. Six taxed consumption and affected the entire population: the *quint* on fish and dried fish; the *almodí* on grain and the *cisa* on wine, oil and coal. Another five were applied to trade and affected the tradesmen: the tax on goods, the *portuguès*, the road toll, the *quema* and the *tall*.⁷⁹ The abolition was short-lived—it only lasted eleven days—but it had profound effects on Valencia's economy: the measure was imitated in other towns, the taxes were never fully restored, trade was paralysed and the taxpayer earners' and financiers' losses were immense. Indeed, the violent abolition of rights became one of the main detonators in the war against the brotherhood, led by the viceroy and nobility and backed by many *censal*-holding creditors.⁸⁰

Even though the amortisation or settlement of the *censals* had been the trigger of the pre-*Germania* conspiracies, the fact is that discontent was widespread on Mallorca. Creditors had witnessed their principal diminish and did not always get paid on time. The military estate's immunities and exemptions had been suspended for ten years in 1499, in 1509 and again in 1519. The commission in charge of estimating the kingdom's wealth in order to apply the debt payment system established in the Sentence of Burgos in 1512 based on assets—not production or consumption—had not yet been implemented by 1521. The settlement of the debt—the '*santa quitació*' (holy cancellation)—was in fact the detonator, the key, the epicentre and unfortunately the unfinished business of the Mallorcan *Germania*. Debt settlement had been the main task that Crespí assigned the *tretzena*. The operations, more symbolic than effective, were publicly announced with trumpets, drums and dances. The brotherhood tried to apply the 1512 Sentence by asking all the gentlemen for their property titles (2 May 1521); it announced that it would

use the money owed from delayed pensions to pay *censals* (23 May 1521), actually paid off £22,500 of the salt customs charge (*gabella*) (August 1521), asked the jurors of Palma to renew the commission established in 1512 (12 October 1521)⁸¹ and ended up eliminating taxes on consumption (October 1521) in exchange for a *talla* that had not yet been paid by March 1522. Meantime, the emperor had declared the Mallorcan *Germania* a crime of lese-majesty (Valenciennes, 14 October 1521) and had ordered the jurors of Palma to pay the creditors punctually (Brussels, February 1522). However, the local commissions never took decisive steps to estimate the wealth, and the Sentence of 1512 had yet to be implemented by the time the rebellion was defeated. Only the plunder of the assets of wealthy ‘undercover’ converts (since 14 May 1522) made it possible to finance the war, though only up to a certain point.⁸²

REVOLTS AND WARS OF THE GERMANIES IN MALLORCA AND VALENCIA: A COMPARATIVE APPROACH AND SOME FIGURES

It took almost 350 years to clear the besmirched record of the *Germanies* as a betrayal of the king, blind rebellion, fanaticism, excess and lunacy.⁸³ In the mid-nineteenth century, for the first time progressive liberal historians in Valencia like Vicent Boix and Mallorcans like Antoni Furió, along with celebrated romantic playwrights like Antonio García Gutiérrez and federalist republican essayists like Manuel Fernández Herrero situated the conflict within the historical struggle for freedom and justice. But the figures and events of the *Germania* were definitively vindicated in the *Renaixença* at the end of the same century. From a more grassroots and progressive approach (Constantí Llobart) to a more elitist one (Antonino Chocomeli, Vicent W. Querol, Teodor Llorente), the intellectuals of the *Renaixença* rescued the members of the brotherhoods from their centuries-old historiographic hell,⁸⁴ as well as from being indiscriminately mixed up with the *Comuneros* in Castile and considered mere emulators of their heroes Padilla, Bravo and Maldonado.

In fact, progressive Spanish liberalism had given the *Comuneros* a key role in the process of constructing the political nation, while reducing the *Germanies* to a mere reflex or a simple episode of social or class struggle.⁸⁵ The clearest example is Modesto Lafuente’s *Historia General de España*, originally published between 1850 and 1867. Based on the famous works by William Robertson and Antonio Ferrer del Río,⁸⁶ Lafuente considered the *Germania* of Valencia and Mallorca a ‘grassroots, anarchic, bloody movement’ and essentially a ‘reaction against the oppression of the nobility’.⁸⁷ From a different ideological position—conservative Catholic, in this case—Manuel Danvila accepted this contrast between the ‘organised, political’ *Comuneros* and the ‘poorly organised, social’ *Germanies*.⁸⁸ The same could be said of the neo-Catholic Menorcan Josep Maria Quadrado—at least to some extent.⁸⁹

In the late nineteenth century, the *Germanies* occupied a very low rung within late mediaeval social conflicts, and yet their memory at the time was becoming remarkably rose-tinged. The speech delivered by Pedro de Alcántara Peña on 7 February 1870 at the hanging of the portrait of Joan Crespí in the session room of the Palma Town Hall signalled the starting point.⁹⁰ Streets and broad avenues in Gandia (1884) and Valencia (1885) were dedicated to the *Germanies* thanks to the initiative of liberal and progressive politicians like Josep Rausell and Félix Pizcueta. In turn, in 1887, the man of letters Santiago Ladrón de Cegama i Cortet spotlighted the contribution of the *Germanies* not only to the construction of the political nation but also to the struggle for the very liberation of humanity. In contrast to the assessments of Lafuente, Danvila and Quadrado, Ladrón underscored that the *Germanies* had not only been a fundamental episode in the history of Spain but also a crucial chapter in universal history: no more and no less than the oldest European forerunner of the French Revolution.⁹¹

But the more serious and scholarly historiographic and academic vindication of the *Germanies* did not come until the second half of the twentieth century. Certain examinations, essays, studies and doctoral theses particularly stand out within it, like those by Leopoldo Piles, Joan Fuster, Joan Reglà, Manuel Sanchis Guarner, Álvaro Santamaría, Ricardo García Cárcel, Josep Juan Vidal and Eulàlia Duran, which subsequent historians have tried to carry on.⁹² All these studies enable us to weigh the similarities and differences between the three major conflicts in the 1520s.⁹³

The historical contexts in Valencia and Mallorca were quite different during the *Germanies*. The Balearic Islands were a series of islands measuring approximately 5,000 km², compared to the 20,000 km² of Valencian territory. The kingdom of Mallorca probably had 50,000 inhabitants, while Valencia may have reached the figure of 250,000 by then. One-third of this population was made up of Muslims or Mudejars, none of whom lived on the Balearic Islands since being expelled by James I in 1229. A harsh, aggressive seigniorial regime with a clear tendency to exacerbate the dominical rights and burdens on vassals dominated in the Valencian countryside, while by then the seigniorial regime was virtually unknown on the Balearic Islands.⁹⁴ The islands’ economy was stagnant, and they were besieged by hunger, depopulation, a retraction in trade and fiscal pressure. Even though Valencia’s economy was not as brilliant as it had been the previous decades, it still had relatively good momentum at the time. In the late fifteenth century, public debt was around £680,000 on Mallorca, while in Valencia it was around £531,000. The interest from this *censal* debt totalled around £42,000 on Mallorca, compared to £53,000 in Valencia.⁹⁵

These differences affected not only economy and society; the political, juridical and institutional dissimilarities were also vast. The kingdom of Valencia had five cities—

Fig. 3. Map of the former Kingdom of Valencia with the main events in the *Germanies* (1520-1522). This map was drawn up by a team led by Dr Luis Arciniega García, a full professor of art history at the Universitat de Valencia. It is part of the book that professor Arciniega coordinated, *Germanías e infraestructuras: concomitancias*, which was published by the Demetrio Ribes Chair at the UVEG [Universitat de València] in 2022 (p. 37). Our thanks to professor Arciniega for his permission to reproduce this image.



Valencia, Oriola, Xàtiva, Alacant and Sogorb—while the kingdom of Mallorca only had one: Palma. Valencian territory was divided into four main areas—two governates (Valencia and Oriola) and two sub-governates (Castelló and Xàtiva)—while the Balearic Islands were comprised of three inhabited islands, and Mallorca was divided into what were called the *ciutat* (city, Palma) and the *part forana* (the rest of the island, or the hinterland). In addition to the local and regional courts, Valencia also had a supreme court or *Audiència* in 1506, while one was not created on Mallorca until 1571-72,⁹⁶ where the figure of the viceroy was becoming institutionalised as a result of royal absenteeism. In Valencia, this magistrature had been led by a top-ranking figure, while on Mallorca, their social status was always lower. The inhabitants of Valencia, divided into arms and estates, were represented in Courts summoned by the king and in its permanent delegate institution, the *Generalitat* or *Diputació del General*, established in 1418. Mallorca did not have its own Courts, but it did have a *Gran i General Consell* (Great and General Coun-

cil) which was summoned and presided over by the city's jurors and was in charge of formalising the kingdom's political representation in the Catalan Courts and the island's own administration.⁹⁷

Besides a spiritual atmosphere filled with fairly well-known religious and eschatological concerns⁹⁸ and a perilous context of war in the Mediterranean that affected both Valencia and Mallorca, there were many legal-institutional and socioeconomic differences between them. Within them, the extraordinarily onerous burden of public debt, fiscal pressure and monetary delinquency played a major role as the detonators that sparked the *Germania* protests on the islands, unlike in Valencia, where the influence of these three factors—though unquestionably extremely important—came a bit later. Therefore, it is logical that Mallorcan historians have placed the *Germanies* at the apex of a historical process that started in 1391—the attack on the Jewish quarter—and continued between 1450 and 1453—*Revolta Forana*—all of which was dominated by the issues of the *censal* and debt over

the course of 300 years. In Valencia, the supposed unionist forerunner (1347-1348) was too far back in time and politically too self-interested to be seriously considered as a forerunner of the revolt.

In any case, the arcs, claims and objectives of both *Germanies* contradict the cliché that their main players 'didn't even know what they wanted',⁹⁹ a refrain repeated in the more popular and widely read histories of Spain, from Lluís Vives to Leopoldo Piles, not to mention the humanist writers, chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Father Josep M. Miñana, who followed Father Juan de Mariana, and Juan Bautista Perales himself, following Gaspar Escolano, as well as Modesto Lafuente and Pedro Aguado Bleye. The brotherhood members were keenly aware of their objectives of political and institutional reform, a change in the system of electing the executive government of the municipalities, the remediation of justice and the administration, the wholesale restitution of the royal patrimony and the limitation of seigniorial-feudal power, the settlement of the public debt, a fairer and more equitable division of tax burdens and reclamation of the delayed debt in the municipalities,¹⁰⁰ partly because many of them were familiar with the magistracies and representations within the local councils,¹⁰¹ and partly because they enjoyed the solidarity and counsel of professional groups and lawyers like royal officials, jurists, lawyers and notaries.¹⁰²

The differing degrees of political representation of the different social groups in the cities and kingdoms of Mallorca and Valencia—the former much more open and the latter much more oligarchic—explain why the *Germania* of Valencia was a more political movement than its island counterpart. On Mallorca, peasants from the countryside, tradesmen and merchants occupied a place established by pragmatics and privileges within the *juraria* of the city and kingdom, its municipal council and the Gran i General Consell, the kingdom's utmost representative body.¹⁰³ In Valencia, even though the city's Consell General included representatives of the trades, none of the six jurors on the Consell Secret—or Consell Executiu—was a tradesman or artisan, and this absence was obviously conveyed to or echoed in the arms of the Generalitat and the estates of the Corts.¹⁰⁴ Valencia's *Germania* not only called for the presence of tradesmen in the city's and kingdom's governing bodies but also tried to give political clout and voice to all the social groups excluded from power in the capital and barely represented in the kingdom's other cities and villages, in an attempt to develop the *coniuratio* 'brotherhood of the peoples' so it could actually materialise.

Personal leadership did not formally exist in Valencia, where the brotherhood decided to organise itself into *tretzenes* made up of *síndics* and *prohoms*. However, on Mallorca, the strong personalities of the *instadors* Joan Crespí and Joanot Colom detracted from the importance of the *tretzenes* and commissions that were set up in imitation of Valencia.¹⁰⁵ Even though in theory this dichoto-

my seems like a feature that distinguishes the two movements, the fact is that the officials in the city of Valencia—and probably other local associations, like charitable foundations, pious works, factory boards, etc.—never totally delegated their autonomy to the *tretzenes*, so these boards never had absolute political authority and organisational power.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the influence of certain local personalities—like Guillem Sorolla in Valencia, Pere Puig in Sagunt, Llorenç Nadal in Alcoi, Jaume Biulaigua in Alacant, Baltasar Vilaquirant in Elx and Pere Palomares in Oriola—and the military leaders who emerged during the war—Urgellés, Peris, Estellés, Agulló, Enyego, Espanocchi, Torró, Bocanegra, Machín, Virues and obviously the three or four *encoberts* (undercovers) from 1522 to 1524—increased in the land between the Xúquer and Xixona Rivers throughout the second half of 1521 and during 1522.

The brotherhood members from Valencia and Mallorca participated in and conditioned local politics in many different ways. The organisation of the *adesenament* and control over the village militias, infrastructures and strategic castles in Valencia,¹⁰⁷ coupled with the frustrated attempts to fulfil the Sentence of 1512 on Mallorca—with its famous slogans: '*santa quitació*' and '*pac qui deu*' (who owes, let him pay)—were the main goals of both movements. The failure to assemble a brotherhood—as in Gandia (13 March 1521)—did not necessarily mean the failure of the *Germania*, given that, as Francesc Pons Fuster stresses, the refugees from Gandia in Valencia were the same ones who forced the thirteen in the capital to declare war against Joan de Borja.¹⁰⁸ In any case, the territories and villages that did not join the Valencian *Germania* were not a fundamental factor in its defeat, even though Morella's favour to the royalist cause was decisive in the reduction of El Maestrat and La Plana.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, Menorca's and Ibiza's failure to join the Mallorcan movement, and especially the resistance of Santueri (August 1521) and Alcúdia (November and December 1521 and 10 September 1522) became the Achilles heel of the Mallorcan *Germania*.¹¹⁰ Palma and most of the island were under the control of the *Germania* between early February 1521 and late October 1522. Despite the numerous forces that laid siege to Alcúdia in 1521 and 1522,¹¹¹ the village held out and became a strategic key in the military reduction on the island (from October 1522 to March 1523) by viceroy Gurrea and captain Juan de Velasco.¹¹²

In Valencia, the military failure of the brotherhood members in the lands north of Sagunt (18 July 1521) can partly be explained by the outside assistance from the Catalan soldiers of Tortosa native Lluís Oliver de Boteller, Jerónimo Pérez de Arnal's Aragonese soldiers, Berenguer Ciurana's soldiers from Morella, the vassals of the Order of Montesa and the Mudejar vassals of the Duke of Sogorb. The intervention of the Marquise of Vélez's forces from Murcia in the southern lands of the kingdom also proved crucial in the conquest of Oriola (30 August 1521),

and the Marquise of Moya's forces from La Mancha played a key role on the southern front. However, it is essential to underscore the fact that the three key factors that can explain the *Germania's* victory in Gandia (25 July 1521) and the resistance of the territories along the Xàtiva-Alzira corridor throughout 1522 include the relatively urbanised structure of this territory, with larger and better organised local militias than those in the northern lands; the loot resulting from the plunders of the Mudejar quarters, which were followed by forced baptisms and occasionally by violence and death;¹¹³ and the *Germania's* control over the castle of Xàtiva, from which they could spy any movement on the Xàtiva River bank as far as Cullera, though not so much the rearguard, where the royalist victories in Llutxent and Bellús took place in August and September 1522.¹¹⁴

With the surrender of Xàtiva and Alzira in October and December 1522 and the capitulation of Mallorca on 7 March 1523, both revolts, which had assembled forces of around 8,000 men in Valencia and 6,000 in Mallorca, came to an end.¹¹⁵ No assessment has been made of the human and material cost of the battles on Mallorca.¹¹⁶ In Valencia, however, we have the meticulous estimate made by Juan F. Pardo, who calculated the war expenditures in Valencia at around 142,500 *ducats*.¹¹⁷ The repression last-

ed for years, and we could generally say that it conditioned life in these two territories until 1530 and beyond. Apart from the casualties on the battlefield, from defending the walls and in certain acts of collective repression or raids, there seem to have been many more summary executions in the war in Valencia than on Mallorca; however, there were more executions on the island after the fact. A likely figure, give or take a bit, could be around 200 people executed in either place, which in relative terms shows that the bloody repression was more intense on Mallorca than in Valencia.¹¹⁸ The economic repression meted out by the Valencian viceroys Germaine de Foix and her third husband, Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria, and by the viceroys of Mallorca, Miguel Gurrea and Carlos de Pomar, affected the assets of the those who were condemned to death and personally fined, but it primarily consisted of collective compositions imposed on trades, townships and villages. On Mallorca, the compositions apparently totalled £136,596 (£25,260 paid by the city of Mallorca and £111,330 by the hinterland), while in Valencia it totalled around £311,744,¹¹⁹ that is, two-thirds more than on Mallorca, which in relative terms once again reaffirms the idea that the punishment was more onerous on the island.

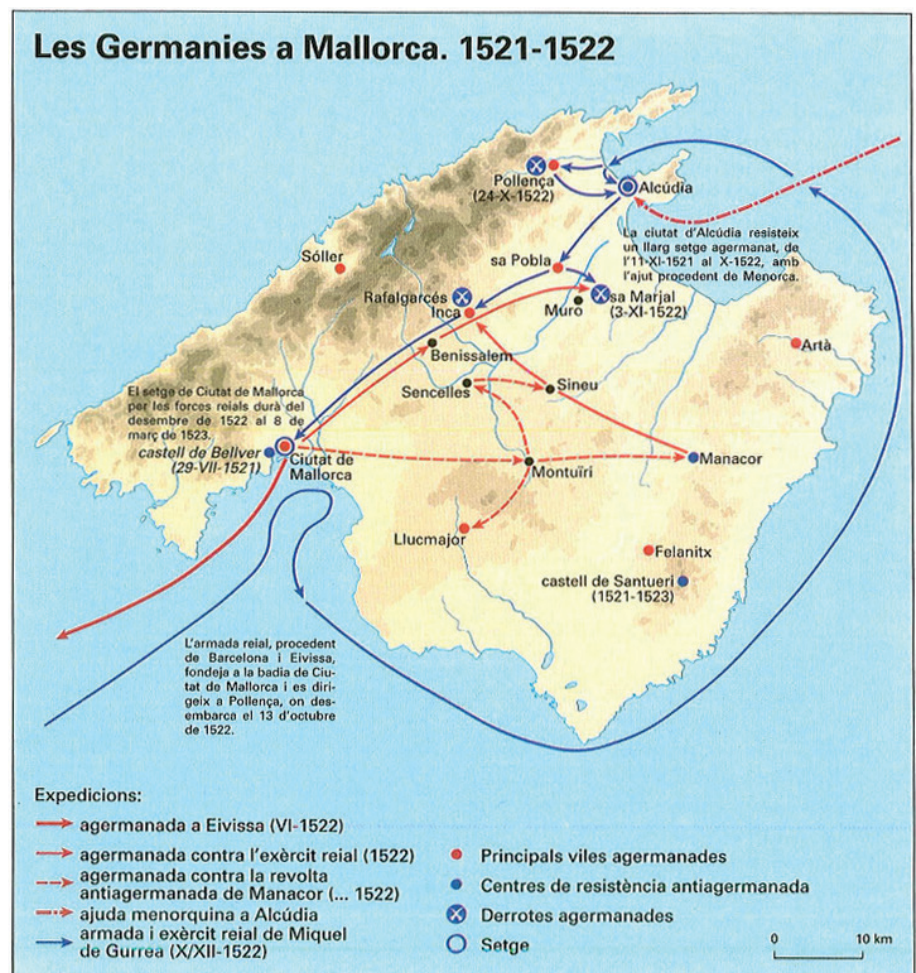


FIG. 4. Map of the island of Mallorca with the main events in the Germanies (1521-1523). This map illustrates the entry on 'La primera Germania' in the Enciclopèdia Catalana. <https://www.enciclopedia.cat/historia-politica-societat-i-cultura-dels-paisos-catalans/la-primera-germania>.

TO CONCLUDE

The *Germanies* in Mallorca and Valencia were two colossal manifestations of social discontent on the antagonistic threshold between the mediaeval and modern periods. Despite their chronological coincidences, long duration,¹²⁰ formal resemblances and occasional convergences,¹²¹ they were two quite different revolts in their contexts, origins and arcs. Their territorial scope was quite broad but did not encompass all of either kingdom. The brotherhood members aspired not to overturn the political and social order they had inherited but to put an end to its perverse effects. As ‘revolts of the common man’, their ranks varied socially and professionally, although we can distinguish between the leaders—including craftsmen, artists, a few notaries, royal officers and members of the local elite—and the bases—with a heavy presence of peasants and young people, the much-feared *fadrins*. On the whole, we could claim that the two movements struggled for a more balanced division of political power, a sufficient number of grassroots representatives in decision-making institutions, a balanced budget and low fiscal pressure, as well as a remediation of the actions of the courts of justice.¹²²

The anti-seigneurial issue was moot on Mallorca—where the problems were more hunger, poverty, depopulation, levies and taxes—but it did overwhelmingly affect the Valencian countryside, perhaps as a result of war and chaos within the longstanding hostility stemming from the lords’ jurisdictional aspirations over the royal villages or the desire among villages freed from the nobility to go back to being royal assets, more than of increasing the dominical pressure on the vassals.¹²³ The Mallorcan revolt was part of a longstanding threefold complaint over the *censal* burden, tax pressure and the unfair division of debt which spanned the entire late mediaeval crisis, with such famous milestones as 1389, 1450 and 1521. The Valencian movement was a bit more complex. It was divided into a legal, reformist phase (1519-20); another phase of defiance, resistance and revolt (1520-21); and a final phase of widespread violence, civil war and war resistance located along the Alzira-Xàtiva corridor (1521-22). The way they have been studied by historians over time is also different—more consensual by Mallorcans and more diverse by Valencians—and most notably so has their public use and their memory: fitting on the Balearic Islands and shameful in the Community of Valencia.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] *Germanies* is the plural of *Germania* in Catalan and should not be confused with the European country.
- [2] <https://www.uv.es/gv600/>
- [3] He is in charge of a blog or website about the *Germanias*, among other historical matters, that is very interesting and accurate: <https://blocs.mesvilaweb.cat/balutxo/>
- [4] <https://www.elperiodic.cat/article/13073/exit-de-linici-a-mallorca-de-germanies-500>
- [5] <https://www.dbalears.cat/balears/balears/2021/07/19/354315/cort-consell-uib-uneixen-commemoracio-dels-500-anys-les-germanies-amb-programa-actes-arranca-juliol.html>
- [6] Maria Margalida PERELLÓ (coord.): *L’Altra Mirada*, n.º. 101 [new period] (2021), 74 pp.
- [7] The lectures can be seen at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D0fjkVrQ0JE&t=2477s&ab_channel=ARXIUDELREGNEMALLORCA
- [8] Which contrasts a bit with the content of the study by Gabriel ENSENYAT. ‘El (no) record de la Germania a Mallorca (segle XVI)’. In: *Revista Valenciana de Filologia*, V (2021), pp. 129-152.
- [9] The contributions have been limited to certain town halls (but not the town hall of the city of Valencia, the cradle of the *Germania*—‘paradoxically’ governed by a socialist-nationalist coalition—which has always inhibited the memory of the movement), some civic associations, Caixa Popular and the Universitat de València.
- [10] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3wr_71dHHY8&t=92s&ab_channel=ARXIUDELREGNEMALLORCA
- [11] Pau VICIANO. ‘Les Germanies en l’espill literari’. In: *La veu dels llibres. Revista d’informació i crítica literària* (20 March 2021).
- [12] Eulàlia DURAN. *Les Germanies als països catalans*. Curial, Barcelona, 1982. Several recent historiographic studies on Valencia and Mallorca are cited throughout this article.
- [13] On the other hand, not so long ago Catalonia had suffered from its own series of major urban revolts (la Busca and la Biga), as well as rural ones (Revolt of the *Remences*). Santiago and Jaume SOBREQÜÉS. *La guerra civil catalana del segle XV. Estudis sobre la crisi social i econòmica de la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Causes i desenvolupament de la crisi* (vol. I) and *La societat catalana durant el conflicte* (vol. II). Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1973; Carme BATLE. *Barcelona a mediados del siglo XV. Historia de una crisis urbana*. Ediciones El Albr, Barcelona, 1976; Jaume VICENS. *Historia de los remensas (en el siglo XV)*. Vicens-Vives, Barcelona, 1978 (original, CSIC-Institut Jaume Balmes, 1943); César ALCALÁ. *Las guerras remences*. UOC, Barcelona, 2010.
- [14] Josep JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats*. Ajuntament de Palma de Mallorca, Palma, 1981, pp. 128-129.
- [15] Rafel Martí de VICIANA. *Libro quarto de la Crónica de la ... ciudad de València y de su reino ...* Casa de Pablo Cortey, Barcelona, 1566 (there is a modern version overseen by Joan IBORRA: Universitat de València (UVEG), Valencia, 2005); J. IBORRA. ‘Alimares en la fosca. Martí de Viciana i la Germania’. In: *Revista Valenciana de Filologia*, 5 (2021), pp. 15-40.
- [16] Ricardo GARCÍA CÁRCEL. *Las Germanías de València*. Ediciones Península, Barcelona, 1975 and 1981 (revised).
- [17] Good proof of what I am trying to say is the doctoral thesis by the Argentinian Mariana V. PARMA. *Guerras ple-*

- beyas. *Luchas polítiques en la Germania, 1519-1522*. UVEG, Valencia, 2023 (esp. chapters I and II).
- [18] From the Flemish revolt (1323-1327) and the *jacquerie* of Paris (1358) to the *comunidades* and *Germanias* (1519-1523), the *Bauernkrieg*, the German peasant war and the parallel *révolte des rustauds* in France in the regions bordering on Alsace and Lorraine (1525), the *Revolt of the 104 Men* in Bremen (1532), the anabaptist revolt in Münster (1534), the *Pilgrimage of Grace* in England (1536) and the Second Revolt of Ghent (1539-1540), including the *Revolta Forana* on Mallorca (1450), the Revolt of the *Remences* in Catalonia (1462-1486) and the first *Bundschuh* insurrections (1490). Pablo PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Fuego, furor y fe: Europa en llamas (1450-1525). Rebeldía y lucha social en Sagunt y el Camp de Morvedre*. Tirant Humanidades Plural, Valencia, 2023, pp. 13-182.
- [19] Paulino IRADIEL. 'La crisis bajomedieval, un tiempo de conflictos'. In: *Conflictos sociales, políticos e intelectuales en la España de los siglos XIV y XV*. Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, Nájera, 2004, pp. 13-48.
- [20] Antoni FURIÓ. 'La gran depressió baix-medieval. Una mirada des dels països catalans'. In: *Recerques*, 72-73 (2016-2017), pp. 45-103; Pau CATEURA and Lluís TUDELA (coords.). *La crisi baix-medieval a la Corona d'Aragó (1350-1450)*. Illa, Palma, 2019.
- [21] According to Álvaro Santamaría, this view of the attack on the Jewish quarter in 1391, the *Revolta Forana* in 1450 and the *Germanies* in 1521 as critical episodes within the same European historical process dates back to Josep Maria Quadrado: Álvaro SANTAMARÍA. 'José María Quadrado, historiador'. In: *Mayurqa. Revista del Departament de Ciències Històriques i Teoria de les Arts*, 3-4 (1970), pp. 99-225 (esp. 128-129). The studies compiled in the fourth part of the book about to be published on Mallorca from the *Jornades sobre la Germania a Mallorca i la seva transcendència* confirm this as well, as do the following publications: Eduardo PASCUAL. 'Consideraciones sobre la revuelta foránea de Mallorca (1450-1452) y las insurrecciones campesinas en la Península durante la segunda mitad del siglo XV'. In: *Mayurqa*, 28 (2002), pp. 271-285; Margalida BERNAT and Jaume SERRA. *La veu de la revolta. Sermonadors i profetes a les Germanies de Mallorca (1521-1523)*. Lleonard Muntaner, Palma, 2008, pp. 11-63; Jordi MAIZ. *Contra lo mal govern. Poder i revolta a la Mallorca dels segles XIV-XVI*. Ateneu Lo Tort-Calumnia, Palma, 2017; Guillem MORRO. *Les revoltes populars a Mallorca. El conflicte de 1391. Forans contra ciutadans (1450-1453). La Germania (1521-1523)*. Lleonard Muntaner, Palma, 2020; and 'Lo poble era senyor de la terra'. *La Germania de Mallorca (1521-1523)*. Lleonard Muntaner, Palma, 2021; Maria M. PERELLÓ. *La Germania mallorquina. Un estat de la qüestió*. Lleonard Muntaner, Palma, 2021 (which starts with an interesting historiographic analysis, pp. 9-39).
- [22] What does not fit in the kingdom as a whole may well fit locally. One example is Albaida, where Teruel reconstructed the different episodes of the antifeudal struggle between 1445 and 1520. Vicent TEROL. *El comte, la vila i el rei. La Germania al Comtat d'Albaida (1445-1534)*. UVEG (bachelor's thesis), Valencia, 1997; Javier HERNÁNDEZ, Pablo PÉREZ GARCÍA and V. TEROL. 'Introducción'. In: P. PÉREZ GARCÍA (coord.). *Más allá de la capital del reino. La Germania y el territorio valenciano: del Maestrazgo a la Safor*. UVEG, Valencia, 2021, pp. 18-19.
- [23] E. DURAN. *Les Germanies ...*, pp. 150-152.
- [24] The riotous lynching of several 'sodomites' and extraordinary measures adopted afterward to maintain the public order. See P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'Conflicto y represión. La justicia penal ante la Germania de València (1519-1523)'. In: *Estudis. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 22 (1996), pp. 148-155.
- [25] Juan F. PARDO. *La defensa del imperio. Carlos V, València y el Mediterráneo*. Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V (SECCCVFII), Madrid, 2001, pp. 89-92.
- [26] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanias de València, en miniatura y al fresco*. Tirant lo Blanch, Valencia, 2017, pp. 55-75.
- [27] Francisco SEVILLANO. 'Mallorca y la defensa de Bugía (1515)'. In: *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana [BSAL]*, 33/814-815 (1972), pp. 337-345. J. F. PARDO. *La defensa ...*, pp. 60-66. Andreu SEGUÍ. 'La administración de la artillería del reino de Mallorca en el siglo XVI'. In: *BSAL*, 69 (2013), pp. 143-157 (esp. 145-146).
- [28] M. BERNAT and J. SERRA. *La veu de la revolta ...*, pp. 43-48.
- [29] Regarding the estates of Valencia and their political and financial role: Vicente GIMÉNEZ CHORNET. 'La representatividad política en la València foral'. In: *Estudis. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 18 (1992), pp. 7-28; José M. CASTILLO. *En la periferia del centro. La hacienda de la Generalitat valenciana durante el siglo XVI*. UVEG, Valencia, 2019.
- [30] Vicent J. VALLÉS. *La Germania*. Institució Alfons el Magnànim, Valencia, 2000, pp. 73 and forward.
- [31] Rafael NARBONA. 'La ciudad de València y las Germanias'. In: *De la unión de coronas al imperio de Carlos V. SECCCVFII*, Madrid, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 309-334.
- [32] Juan MARTÍNEZ VINAT. *Cofradías y oficios. Entre la acción confraternal y la organización corporativa en la València medieval (1238-1516)*. UVEG (unpublished doctoral thesis), Valencia, 2018, pp. 740-748.
- [33] The loss of the documentation during the subsequent repression also affects the *comunidades* of Castile and the *Germania* of Mallorca.
- [34] We are unable to determine the exact number of brotherhoods summoned by Cabanyelles nor assert whether only the trade brotherhoods attended. It is most likely that the *adesenament* order affected the 45 that had the right to send representatives to the city's general council and another five to eight more. Pilar VALOR. 'Los miembros del consell general de València desde la muerte de Fernando el Católico hasta las Germanias (1515-1523)'. In: *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 19 (2001), pp. 11-38.

- [35] Based on Viciana's account—which is not always reliable—we know that the first ones to appoint a captain and organise their militia were the silversmiths (3 July 1519), followed by the wool-workers (23 July 1519), the wool-weavers (28 August 1519) and the velvet-makers (29 September 1519). M. VICIANA. *Crónica ...*, pp. 15-23.
- [36] Very briefly, the *Treccani* dictionary defines the *coniuratio* as the legal association of free people free to defend the communal rights, which must have been the origin of the resurgence of communes in the Middle Ages: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/coniuratio/>; see, too: J. HERNÁNDEZ, P. PÉREZ GARCÍA and V. TEROL. 'Introducción' ..., pp. 17-18.
- [37] This decision transformed the self-management of the *adesenament* ordered by Cabanyelles into a *confraternal and sacramental adesenament*, with explicit pledges and oaths within the confraternities, an act and therefore a phase prior to brotherhoods and the *Germania* themselves. P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanías ...*, p. 188.
- [38] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...*, pp. 48-49 and 145-146. Sorolla was in the favour of García Garcés, the regent of the Council of Aragon; Joan Ram Escrivà, master rational of Valencia; and Nofre Oller, the king's fiscal procurator, yet he was also rejected by the three Valencian estates.
- [39] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 33-55.
- [40] Extensively discussed and elaborated upon by Francesc Eximenis, the Franciscan from Girona, with whom Joan Llorenç, the 'father' of the Valencian *Germania*, seems to have been familiar.. E. DURAN. 'Profecia i revolta social al regne de València a l'inici del segle XVI'. In: *Storia e figure dell'Apocalisse fra '500 e '600*. Viella Libreria Editrice, Rome, 1996, pp. 175-194; V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...*, pp. 28-29.
- [41] Peter BLICKLE. 'El principio del "bien común" como norma para la actividad política. La aportación de campesinos y burgueses al desarrollo del Estado moderno temprano en Europa central'. In: *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, 1 (1998), pp. 29-46.
- [42] The brotherhood members were aware that their initiatives were not very well received in the Mudejar realms and villages, but they trusted that they had the general backing of the royal domain. P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 179-205.
- [43] Peter BLICKLE. *Der Bauernkrieg. Die Revolution des Gemeinen Mannes*. C. H. Beck, Munich, 2012; Heide WUNDER. "'Gemeiner Mann" und "Weyberregiment"'. In: *Lesebuch Altes Reich*. De Gruyter, Oldenbourg-Munich, 2006, pp. 161-167.
- [44] J. F. PARDO. 'Ideas de corporación y de gobiernos entre los comuneros y los agermanados'. In: *Paradigmes rebelles. Pratiques et cultures de la désobéissance à l'époque moderne*. Peter Lang, Brussels, 2018, pp. 285-311.
- [45] Norman HOUSLEY. 'Crusading as Social Revolt: the Hungarian Peasant Uprising of 1514'. In: *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 49/1 (1998), pp. 1-28; Gabriella ERDÉLYI. 'Tales of a peasant revolt. Taboos and memories of 1514 in Hungary'. In: *Memory before Modernity. Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*. Brill, Leiden/Boston, 2013, pp. 93-109; Katalin PÉTER. 'Peasant Rebellion in 1514'. In: *Studies on the History of the Reformation in Hungary and Transylvania*. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 2018, pp. 53-62.
- [46] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...*, p. 26; J. F. PARDO. 'Movidos de equidad. El Consejo Real y el gobierno del Patrimonio en València (1506-1531)'. In: *El gobierno de la virtud. Política y moral en la Monarquía Hispánica (siglos XVI-XVIII)*. FCE, Madrid, 2017, pp. 53-88; P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'Entre Fernando y Carlos: conflictos y violencia política en el reino de València (1516-1519)'. In: *El advenimiento de la casa de Austria a los reinos hispánicos*. Dykinson S.L., Madrid, 2021, pp. 319-351.
- [47] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...* (documental appendix [ap], 3), pp. 322-327.
- [48] As part of a virtual catalogue of *iusnaturalist* and *iusprivatistes* institutions prior to the advent of the modern, sovereign, centralised state, halfway between joint agreements and contractual political leagues, (Christian) *agermanament* (*Germanías*) did not entail infidelity to the Crown, nor did it entail a recusal of the king's authority in and of itself. In fact, the *Germania* in Valencia never intended to create—formally, at least—a league or federation of villages belonging to the brotherhood, that is, a kind of *Eidgenossenschaft des Königreichs* ('confederation of the kingdom'), nor a '*Bund des einfachen Mannes*' ('league of the common man') nor a *brüderliche Vereinigung* ('fraternal union'), like the ones established by the *Niederale* ('knights') of the *Reich* in August 1522. No communal institution representing all the cities and villages belonging to the brotherhood, or their *tretzenes* or local *prohoms*, was ever created, even though all of them apparently recognised the 'moral' authority of the thirteen in the capital and during the war, the different local militias were somewhat militarily coordinated or shared a kind of hierarchised command.
- [49] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...* (ap, 3), point IV, p. 325.
- [50] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...* (ap, 3), point III, p. 324.
- [51] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 121-135.
- [52] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA (coord.). *Más allá de la capital del reino. La Germania y el territorio valenciano: del Maestrazgo a la Safor* (UVEG, Valencia, 2021) and *Más allá de la capital del reino. La Germania y el territorio valenciano: de Xàtiva a Orihuela* (UVEG, Valencia, 2022).
- [53] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...* (app., 6), pp. 337-341.
- [54] E. DURAN. 'Aspectes mil.lenaristes en les Germanies valencianes'. In: *El Contemporani. Revista d'Història*, 5 (1995), pp. 21-29 and 'El mil-lenarisme al servei del poder i del contrapoder'. In: *De la unió de coronas al imperio de Carlos V*. SECCCVFII, Madrid, 2001, vol. 2, pp. 293-308.
- [55] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 77-95.
- [56] Enric GUINOT. 'El campesinado mudéjar de la Valencia bajomedieval. De la libertad a la servidumbre (siglos XIII-XV)'. In: *Campo y ciudad. Mundos en tensión (siglos XII-*

- xv). Government of Navarra, Pamplona, 2018, pp. 147-170.
- [57] From *Nosaltres els valencians* (1962) by Joan FUSTER in *La Germania* (2000) by Vicent J. VALLÉS, this interpretation of the movement has affected historians' fieldwork and reflection (GARCÍA CÁRCEL and DURAN, along with V. TEROL and M. V. PARMA).
- [58] R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 116-122.
- [59] Manuel DANVILA. *La germanía de València*. Urgoiti, Pamplona, 2016, p. 213; V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germanía ...*, pp. 246-250; V. TEROL. *Un regne sense cavallers? La Germania a la governació de Xàtiva* (in press).
- [60] M. DANVILA. *La germania ...*, pp. 86-92.
- [61] E. DURAN. *Les Germanies ...*, pp. 266-268.
- [62] Albert ROSENKRANZ. *Der Bundschuh. Die Erhebung des südwestdeutschen Bauernstandes in den Jahren 1493-1517*. Schriften des Wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsaß-Lothringer im Reich, Heidelberg, 1927, 2 vols.; P. BLICKLE and Thomas ADAM. 'Bundschuh. Untergrombach 1502, das unruhige Reich und die Revolutionierbarkeit Europas'. In: *Sehepunkte*, 5/78 (2005). URL: <http://www.sehepunkte.de/2005/07/6324.html>
- [63] E. DURAN. *Les Germanies ...*, p. 268.
- [64] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, p. 67.
- [65] Even though *la part forana* (the hinterland) had had a tradition of association since 1315 with the *Sindicat de Fora*, which represented the villages at the *Gran i General Consell*, all its 28 members belonged to what was called the *ma major* (knights and citizens). However, the 1520 *Sindicat* was open to the other two *mans*: *mitjana* (merchants) and *menor* (artisans and farmers). Despite its elitist composition, the *Sindicat* had taken a stance in favour of Lluçmajor over the nobleman Pere Descatlar (1436-1441) and had played a very prominent role in the first claims in the 1450 *Revolta Forana*, with bold proposals, even though it was ultimately overtaken by events. Antoni PLANAS. *El Sindicat de Fora, corporación representativa de las villas de Mallorca (1315-1834)*. Moll, Palma, 1995; G. MORRO. *Mallorca a mitjan segle XV. El sindicat i l'alçament forà*. Documenta Balear, Palma, 1997. Some institutions similar to the *Sindicat de Fora*, like the *Contadinanza* in Friuli, emerged after the revolt of Udine (1511) to contribute to bringing peace to the land. Carlo GINZBURG. *El queso y los gusanos*. Península, Barcelona, 2002, p. 54.
- [66] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, pp. 65-66.
- [67] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, p. 67.
- [68] In the Valencian lands, first the oath of the *Germania* was taken, and then the act of syndication and the election of procurators, *prohoms* or *síndics* who were first in charge of the *adesenament*, as long as the local authorities had not already taken that responsibility.
- [69] The oath consisted of four points: fealty to the king and the Catholic faith, support for the *Germania* and the *quitació* or debt settlement. J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, p. 71.
- [70] G. MORRO. 'Lo poble era ...', pp. 35-41.
- [71] The suspicions of a murder ordered by Joanot Colom are plausible.
- [72] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, pp. 73-74.
- [73] Ernest BELENGUER demonstrated that Valencia's Golden Age had been more like a 'Tinsel Age'. *València en la crisi del segle XV*. Edicions 62, Barcelona, 1976.
- [74] E. DURAN. 'La crisi rural mallorquina: els segles xv i xvi'. In: *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, 3 (1979), pp. 53-77.
- [75] While the merchants and shopkeepers already had the fabrics cut and sealed in standard pieces they could sell immediately, the small producers had to send off for the official cutter of the Generalitat before they could sell any piece of fabric.
- [76] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...*, p. 26; Germán NAVARRO. 'La primacía de los sederos en el mundo gremial valenciano y su participación en las Germanías'. In: *La participación valenciana en la Ruta de la Seda: historia, paisaje y patrimonio*. UVEG, Valencia, 2021, pp. 22-27. In reality, there was a bit of everything. For example: to avoid ruckuses and protests, the jurors of Ontinyent assigned four treasurers, who were brotherhood members, to collect the village's marriage tax (JUNE 1520). Instead of refusing, they accepted the assignment and contributed to appeasing their coreligionists. V. TEROL. 'Els síndics del Poble i Germania, reformadors de la cosa pública. Constitució i intervenció de la Germania en la política municipal a Albaida i Ontinyent'. In: *Actes del Primer Congrés d'Estudis de la Vall d'Albaida*. Ajuntament d'Aielo, Aiello, 1996, p. 849.
- [77] In any case, it is impossible to deny that the *lluïment* or *quitament* (settlement) of the *censals* was proceeding at a good pace prior to the *Germania*. R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 113, 170-171 and 182-183; Remedios FERRERO. *La hacienda municipal de València durante el reinado de Carlos V*. Ayuntamiento de València, Valencia, 1987, pp. 139-141; V. J. VALLÉS. 'Vida pública i mort de Joan Caro, mercader'. In: *L'univers dels prohoms. Perfils socials a la València baix-medieval*. Eliseu Climent, Valencia, 1995, pp. 257-291 and *La Germania ...*, pp. 216-219;
- [78] V. J. VALLÉS. *La Germania ...*, p. 220.
- [79] R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. 'Los censales y su repercusión en las Germanías'. In: *Primer Congreso de Historia del País Valenciano*. UVEG, Valencia, 1976, vol. 3, pp. 133-142.
- [80] J. M. CASTILLO. 'Diputación y Germanía. Nueva historia de una aportación financiera'. In: *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia*, 193 (1996), pp. 497-515.
- [81] Josep BARCELÓ and Cèsar MURILLO. 'Escrit d'en Joanot Colom dirigit als Jurats de Mallorca a 12 d'octubre de 1521'. In: *BSAL*, 59 (2003), pp. 327-334.
- [82] All the details of the issue of the *censal* are examined in J. JUAN VIDAL. 'La problemática de los censales: su incidencia en las Germanías (1521-1523)'. In: *Mayurqa*, 13 (1975), pp. 101-158, and *Els agermanats ...*, pp. 68-78 and 84-85; G. MORRO. 'Lo poble era ...', pp. 41-46.
- [83] Anne-Lise RICHARD. 'Entre interprétations et omissions. Les Germanías de Valence dans quelques textes

- historiographiques espagnols de l'époque moderne au XIX^e siècle'. In: *La Mémoire des révoltes en Europe à l'époque moderne*. Garnier, Paris, 2018, pp. 41-58. A symbol of this rehabilitation was the fact that during the Liberal Triennium (specifically in 1822), the severed, caged head of Joanot Colom was taken down after 299 years of shameful display in public in Palma's Porta Pintada.
- [84] Rafael ROCA. 'El record de la Germania en a segona meitat del segle XIX i el primer terç del XX'. In: *Revista Valenciana de Filologia*, 5 (2021), pp. 181-202.
- [85] R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. 'Comunidades y germanías: algunas reflexiones'. In: *En torno a las Comunidades de Castilla*. Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha, Toledo, 2002, pp. 209-230.
- [86] W. ROBERTSON. *Historia del reinado del emperador Carlos V*. P. Madoz and L. Lagarti, Madrid, 1846, 8 vols.; A. FERRER. *Historia del levantamiento de las Comunidades de Castilla, 1520-1521*. Mellado, Madrid, 1850.
- [87] Roberto LÓPEZ VELA. 'Carlos V y España en la obra de Modesto Lafuente. La interpretación liberal de la nación española dentro del imperio de los Austrias'. In: *Carlos V y la quiebra del humanismo político en Europa (1530-1558)*. SECCCVFII, Madrid, 2001, vol. 3, pp. 180-183.
- [88] M. DANVILA. *La Germania de València. Discurso leído ante la Real Academia de la Historia en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. D. ___ el día 9 de noviembre de 1884*. Manuel G. Hernández, Madrid, 1884 and *Historia crítica y documentada de las Comunidades de Castilla*. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1897.
- [89] M. BERNAT and J. SERRA. 'La Germania de Mallorca. Història i memòria, 500 anys després'. In: Josep M. QUADRADO. *Informacions judicials sobre els addictes a la Germania en la ciutat i l'illa de Mallorca*. Lleonard Muntaner, Palma, 2021, pp. VII-XXX.
- [90] Pedro de A. PEÑA. *Consideraciones sobre el levantamiento de los comuneros de Mallorca, llamados ajermanats ...* Pedro José Gelabert, Palma, 1870.
- [91] S. LADRÓN de CEGAMA. *Memoria histórica sobre la guerra de Germanías de València*. Imprenta de Esteve Pàmies, Tarragona, 1887, pp. 5 and 37.
- [92] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'La Germania 500 años después'. In: *Reflexiones históricas y artísticas en torno a las Germanías de València*. UVEG, Valencia, 2020, pp. 17-85; M. M. PERELLÓ. *La Germania mallorquina...*, pp. 9-39; Antoni FURIÓ. 'El record de la Germania en a segona meitat del segle XIX i el primer terç del XX'. In: *Revista Valenciana de Filologia*, 5 (2021), pp. 265-296.
- [93] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'Germanies i Comunidades, 500 anys després'. In: *L'IO. Lectures de l'Institut Obrer. Revista de Pensament i Acció Social*, 7 (2021), pp. 5-17.
- [94] Gabriel JOVER and Ricard SOTO have analysed why no land ownership structure was created on Mallorca with large portions for the nobility based on direct, useful domain over the land. 'Els dominis feudals a la Mallorca baix-medieval (segles XIII-XVI)'. In: *Revista d'Història Medieval* 8 (1997), pp. 217-274.
- [95] Even though the fraud in the management of the consignment on Mallorca has been valued at around £20,000 per year, which should be added to the £42,000 in expenditures mentioned. Á. SANTAMARÍA. 'Sobre los orígenes de la Germania de Mallorca'. In: *Mayurqa*, 5 (1971), p. 32; R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. *Las Germanías ...*, p. 180.
- [96] One of the first measures adopted by the Count of Mélito (30 May 1520) was to demand 2,000 ducats from the military and Church estates to restore the Reial Audiència, after it had been suspended for four years.
- [97] There is a great deal of literature on these issues. We shall only cite a few brief compendia: Joan REGLÀ. *Aproximació a la història del país valencià*. L'Estel, Valencia, 1968; J. JUAN VIDAL. *Mallorca en tiempos del descubrimiento de América*. El Tall del Temps, Mallorca, 1991.
- [98] José POU. *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII-XV)*. Universitat d'Alacant, Alicante, 1996; E. DURAN and Joan REQUESENS. *Profecia i poder al Renaixement. Texts profètics catalans favorables a Ferran el Catòlic*. Tres i Quatre, Valencia, 2012; M. BERNAT and J. SERRA. *La veu de la revolta ...*, pp. 181-259.
- [99] E. DURAN. 'Aspectes ideològics de la Germania'. In: *Pedralbes. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 2 (1982), pp. 53-67.
- [100] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, pp. 63-93; R. GARCÍA CÁRCEL. *Las Germanías ...*, pp. 168-191; V. J. VALLÉS. *Bases ideològiques y programa reivindicativo de la Germania*. Ediciones Histórico Artísticas S.A., Borriana, 1990.
- [101] Pilar VALOR. 'Los miembros del consell general de València desde la muerte de Fernando el Católico hasta las Germanías'. In: *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 19 (2001), pp. 11-38; P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'Cofradías y Germania: la Real Cofradía de Inocentes y Desamparados (1519-1524)'. In: *Palacios, plazas, patíbulos*. Tirant lo Blanch Humanidades, Valencia, 2018, pp. 421-431 (esp. 430-431)
- [102] V. J. VALLÉS. 'Notarios y juristas al servicio de la Germania'. In: *Estudis. Revista d'Història Moderna*, 26 (2000), pp. 203-226; Pilar VALOR. 'Los abogados de la ciudad de València durante el reinado de Carlos I'. In: *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 38-1 (2016), pp. 319-350.
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- [108] Of everything he has written, I shall only cite the last one, penned in conjunction with Enrique GARCÍA HERNÁN. *Entre un papa y un santo: Juan de Borja (1494-1543)*. CEPC, Madrid, 2021, pp. 87-90.
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- [114] J. F. PARDO. *La defensa ...*, pp. 143-148 and 'Después de la Germania: control militar en Xátiva y Alzira (1522-1524)'. In: *Saitabi*, extra issue 1 (1996), pp. 95-114.
- [115] In the first siege of Alcúdia between November and December 1521. In subsequent campaigns, the number of men must have been lower, around 2,000 in the best-case scenario. A. SEGUÍ. 'Contra la diabòlica desmandada ...', p. 802.
- [116] We could say, very cautiously that the deaths in the war of the *Germania* in Valencia were, according to Viciana's perennially biased count, around 12,000; on Mallorca, the figure may have been approximately 3,000 or 4,000.
- [117] J. F. PARDO. *La defensa ...*, p. 148. The military spending may likely have been higher.
- [118] J. JUAN VIDAL. *Els agermanats ...*, pp. 95-114; E. DURAN. *Les Germanies ...*, pp. 334-363; G. MORRO. 'Lo poble era ...', pp. 61-65.
- [119] The 46 individual compositions totalled £26,100; the 53 Valencian trades and guilds must have paid £75,804; the 126 Valencian villages must have been fined £209,840 (divided as follows: 33 royal villages = £143,170 + 62 secular seigneuries = £44,368 + 34 ecclesiastic seigneuries = £22,302).
- [120] Both rebellions lasted more than two years, becoming among the longest periods of social upheaval between 1490 and 1530.
- [121] P. PÉREZ GARCÍA. 'Alguns aspectes de les relacions entre València i les Illes Balears durant el conflicte agermanat'. In: *La Germania a Mallorca i la seva transcendència*. Universitat de les Illes Balears, Palma, 2022, pp. 91-109.
- [122] In any case, the local actions of the brotherhood members varied widely: supplies, public works, manufacture of churches, care of the poor, policing, night watches, collections, taxes, defaulters, defence, etc.
- [123] Ardit defines the *Germania* as 'the most important anti-seigneurial revolt of Valencian history'. Manuel ARDIT. *Els homes i la terra al país valencià (ss. XVI-XVIII)*. Curial, Barcelona, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 153-154.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Pablo Pérez García (Valencia, 1961) is a full professor of Modern History at the Universitat de València. He is a member of the consolidated research group 'El mediterrani hispànic a l'època moderna – MEDHISMO' [GIUV2016-313] at the same university. He has studied different aspects of modern history of Valencia and Spain, including social history and the history of conflict, political and institutional history, the history of criminality and criminal justice, the history of culture and thought and the early Enlightenment. In recent years, he has studied the *Germania* of Valencia and published a range of books and articles on this topic.