

Swarthmore College

## Works

---

History Faculty Works

History

---

2005

### Lordship And Coinage In Empúries (Ca. 1080 – Ca. 1140)

Stephen P. Bensch

*Swarthmore College*, [sbensch1@swarthmore.edu](mailto:sbensch1@swarthmore.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-history>



Part of the [History Commons](#)

[Let us know how access to these works benefits you](#)

---

#### Recommended Citation

Stephen P. Bensch. (2005). "Lordship And Coinage In Empúries (Ca. 1080 – Ca. 1140)". *The Experience Of Power In Medieval Europe*. 73-92.

<https://works.swarthmore.edu/fac-history/345>

This work is brought to you for free by Swarthmore College Libraries' Works. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty Works by an authorized administrator of Works. For more information, please contact [myworks@swarthmore.edu](mailto:myworks@swarthmore.edu).

## Chapter 5

# Lordship and Coinage in Empúries, ca. 1080–ca. 1140

Stephen P. Bensch

The integrity of coinage stands at a crucial intersection of sovereign authority and common utility. Carolingian legislation, drawing upon Roman Law, charged the ruler with the solemn responsibility to secure the regularity of mints and suppress counterfeiting and fraudulent manipulation of coinage. By establishing new standards of weight, alloy, and imprint, Charlemagne's monetary reforms created a new confidence and a reassuring uniformity in the circulation of coined silver. The introduction of the heavy silver *denier* provided tangible representation of regalian authority that circulated throughout the Frankish world and instilled a trust in monetary soundness for societies in which the use of money for palatial and prestige purposes had overshadowed its economic function.<sup>1</sup> As mints slipped from direct royal control with the weakening of royal power throughout Francia, so too did trust in the proliferating local coinages and in the motives that tempted territorial lords to profit from their monetary prerogatives. Yet in Catalonia, as in other parts of the post-Carolingian world, minting primarily remained in the hands of counts, although they occasionally delegated monetary rights to bishops or viscounts.<sup>2</sup> In the late eleventh and early twelfth century, a conjunction of economic forces and consolidating lordships placed increased pressure on lords to

---

<sup>1</sup> Philip Grierson, "Money and Coinage under Charlemagne," in *Karl der Große: Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. Wolfgang Braunsfels, 5 vols. (Düsseldorf, 1965–68), 1:528–30, stresses the standardization of weights and measures rather than economic considerations in Carolingian monetary reforms. On a deep distrust of coined money in early medieval societies, see Marc Bloch, *Esquisse d'une histoire monétaire de l'Europe* (Paris, 1954), p. 32; Carlo Cipolla, *Money, Prices, and Civilization in the Mediterranean World, Fifth to Seventeenth Century* (Princeton, 1956), pp. 7–12; and Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European Economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, trans. Howard B. Clarke (London, 1974), pp. 62–3.

<sup>2</sup> On the resistance to the fragmentation of minting rights in the post-Carolingian period, see Peter Spufford, *Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 57–9; Thomas N. Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and Its Restraint in France, Catalonia, and Aragon (c. A.D. 1000–c. 1225)* (Oxford, 1979), p. 4.

exploit monetary prerogatives. In the coastal territory subject to the counts of Empúries, a struggle to institute and control coinage as a customary right generated a series of pacts that reveal in unusual detail the contested nature of power in the turbulent societies of the eastern Pyrenees.

Despite its small size, Empúries had a long tradition of minting and commercial exchange, although it was temporarily interrupted during the late Carolingian period. Centered on the compact Gulf of Roses and pressed against the rugged peaks of l'Albera, the last projection of the Pyrenees as they descend to the sea, the region provided a natural point of transit for maritime traffic between Languedoc and the vibrant Catalanian coast to the south. The Roman *via augusta*, already referred to as the *via mercaderia* in 921,<sup>3</sup> traced out its western boundary, and the fortress of Rocabertí controlled the critical Pyrenean crossing at the Pertús Gap. In the eleventh century the small ports of Cadaqués and Roses experienced increasing activity and soon overshadowed the Roman *civitas* of Empúries, which had continued to serve as the ceremonial center for the counts during the Frankish period, as sites of maritime exchange. Castelló d'Empúries, with nearby Roses providing access to the sea, emerged as the principal comital residence, and Peralada, site of a Roman fortress just five miles further inland, quickly became a competing market town, closer than Castelló to the *via augusta* and standing at a convergence of roads leading northward to the fertile Pyrenean foothills. By the time the earliest known Carolingian counts appear in the region, they commanded two small, contiguous coastal counties, Empúries and Peralada, which would never be separated. Yet numismatic evidence from the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious suggests that the Frankish conquerors had established two mints, one undoubtedly in the county of Empúries, surely at the ancient *civitas*, and in all likelihood another in the county of Peralada at Roses, a trading settlement of great antiquity and the location of a Visigothic *castrum*.<sup>4</sup> Since the only other mints operating in the *Marca Hispanica* under Charlemagne and Louis the Pious were Barcelona and Girona,<sup>5</sup> the emission of coins from two sites at opposite ends of the cramped Gulf of Roses, well within sight of each other, indicates a stronger sense

<sup>3</sup> *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona (s. IX–XIV)*, ed. Josep M. Marquès i Planagumà (Barcelona, 1993), no. 31 (hereafter CC, with document number). On the Carolingian geography of the region, see Jordi Bolòs and Víctor Hurtado, *Atles dels comtats d'Empúries i Peralada (780–991)* (Barcelona, 1999).

<sup>4</sup> Strong evidence now points to the identification of the two surviving Carolingian *deniers* minted at Roda with Roses rather than with Roda de Ter or Roda de Ribagorça: Miquel Crusafont i Sabater, "Tipo inédito de Carlomagno de la ceca de Roda," *Acta numismàtica* 13 (1983), 125–36; Anna M. Balaguer, "El problema de la localització de la Roda visigoda," *Acta numismàtica* 13 (1983), 109–18. For a recent summary of the numismatic evidence for Empúries during the Carolingian period, see Anna M. Balaguer and Miquel Crusafont i Sabater in *Catalunya romànica*, 27 vols. (Barcelona, 1984–98), 14:118–23.

<sup>5</sup> Miquel Crusafont i Sabater, *Història de la moneda catalana* (Barcelona, 1996), p. 55.

of separate administrative identities than the early subjection of both counties to a single count would suggest. Even after both mints had ceased operation by the mid-ninth century, the tradition attached to independent coinages in the counties of Empúries and Peralada would persist.

While counts throughout Catalonia established or intensified their minting operations as monetarized exchange accelerated after 1000, significant alterations in the circulation of precious metals tempted lords to exploit their rights with a new aggressiveness by the early twelfth century. Earlier generations in the Catalan counties had grown accustomed to the gold *mancus* for major transactions. Acquired from al-Andalus through raiding, mercenary pay, and, increasingly during the middle decades of the eleventh century, through regular tribute, gold coins had percolated throughout northeastern Iberia. The count of Barcelona and, briefly, even the count of Besalú struck their own *manculos* in imitation of the prestigious Islamic coin. The economic stimulus provided by the influx of gold has now received extensive discussion, but the abrupt return to silver at the close of the eleventh century has drawn little attention.<sup>6</sup> Although the economic trends in Empúries do not emerge as clearly for the late eleventh and early twelfth century as in the counties of Barcelona, Osona, and Urgell, for which a richer documentation survives, enough material does exist to indicate a sudden shift in the relative circulation of gold and silver coinage. As a result of the Almoravid conquest of al-Andalus in the 1090s and the rapid suppression of tributes paid to Christian lords, the *mancus* rapidly disappeared from circulation during the closing decade of the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> Constricted by a suddenly diminished supply of gold, local

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–76) 1:363–414, remains fundamental; on more recent work, James Tudesca, "Means of Exchange: Islamic Coinage in Christian Spain, 1000–1200," in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, ed. Larry Simon, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1995–96) 1:232–60.

<sup>7</sup> The appearance of gold and silver coinage in land sales, quitclaims, and pledges in the counties of Peralada and Empúries provides the surest indication of the change. The following table is drawn from documents published in *CC, Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Seu de Girona (817–1100)*, ed. Ramón Martí (Barcelona, 1997) (hereafter *CDSG*), *El cartoral de Santa Maria de Roses (segles X–XIII)*, ed. Josep M. Marquès i Planagumà (Barcelona, 1986) (hereafter *CSMR*), and *Diplomatari de Santa Maria d'Amer*, ed. Esteve Pruença i Bayona (Barcelona, 1995) (hereafter *DSMA*), as well as from unpublished parchments in the following archives and series: Girona, Arxiu Capitular; Girona, Arxiu Diocesà (hereafter *ADG*); Seville, Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli, secció Ampurias (hereafter *ADM Ampurias*); Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Arxiu Històric, Pergamins (hereafter *BC*).

Number of Transactions	1071–90	1091–1110	1111–30
in gold	12	1	6
in silver	4	21	23

economies, now accustomed to the valuable Islamic coins, had to fall back upon the available silver in circulation. It proved inadequate for economic demand.<sup>8</sup>

Detailed monetary descriptions in charters betray heightened anxieties about the intrinsic value of coins and possible mutations for decades after the Almoravid advance. With increasing regularity payments were specified in regional coinages from Besalú, Rosselló, and Girona as well as the more prominent issues of Barcelona and Melgueil, which circulated along with the comital *deniers* of Empúries.<sup>9</sup> Neighboring lords were especially willing to manipulate their coins in the early twelfth century. The *deniers* of Rosselló and Melgueil were sharply debased, and those of Girona revealed a remarkable diversity of type.<sup>10</sup> Allusions to payments reckoned in *sous* of unspecified provenance diminished as confidence waned that silver *deniers* from any mint maintained a rough equivalence. Located on both a terrestrial and maritime passageway, the people of Empúries in the early twelfth century possessed a keen awareness of the diverse coinages in circulation as proprietary manipulation threatened to diminish their worth.<sup>11</sup> If this value was of concern to subjects, it clearly interested lords even more directly.

The counts of Empúries appear to have moved more slowly than their neighbors in instituting a regional coinage. Both documentary and numismatic evidence indicates that Barcelona and Vic were particularly active centers of coinage around the year 1000, while moneyers also operated on a smaller scale at Besalú, Berga, Elna, Girona, and Cardona.<sup>12</sup> Only during the reign of Count Hug II

<sup>8</sup> For the effects on the animated economy of Barcelona, see Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 85–121. According to Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 97–8, silver supplies were constricted throughout the Latin world during the early twelfth century.

<sup>9</sup> On the increasing concern for the provenance of various coinages in the early twelfth century, still useful are the lists for Besalú, Girona, and Rosselló collected by Joaquim Botet i Sisó, *Les monedes catalanes: Estudi y descripció de les monedes carolingies, comtals, senyoriales, reials y locals propries de Catalunya*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1909–11) 1:91–2, 113, and 127–8. References to the provenance of coinages in sales, quitclaims, and pledges in Empúries from 1071 to 1130 are as follows: Empúries (7); Peralada (2); Girona (10); Rosselló (3); Melgueil (3); unspecified (22).

<sup>10</sup> Anna M. Balaguer, *Història de la moneda dels comtats catalans* (Barcelona, 1999), pp. 154–6 and 196–8; Mireille Castaing-Sicard, *Monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Toulouse, 1961), p. 31.

<sup>11</sup> Clauses referring to future devaluations are found in BC 9775 (a. 1124), cit. in Josep M. Marquès, *Esriptures de Santa Maria de Vilabertran (968–1300)* (Figueres, 1995), no. 435; CSMR 23 (a. 1122). In their concern for monetary values, residents of Empúries were closer to the inhabitants of Barcelona than those in the uplands; cf. Bisson, *Conservation*, pp. 63–4.

<sup>12</sup> The documentary evidence of mints at Besalú, Berga, Elna, Girona, and Cardona is presented in Botet i Sisó, *Les monedes*, 1:90–183. See the amplifications to his findings in Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, 1:286–9, Miquel Crusafont i Sabater, *Numismática de la corona catalano-aragonesa medieval (785–1516)* (Madrid, 1982), pp. 30–50, and Balaguer, *Història de la moneda*, pp. 137–40, 149–54, 165–6, 185–7, and 193–6.

(1078–1116), however, do the first documentary references to a renewed comital coinage appear in Empúries.<sup>13</sup> His monetary initiatives formed part of a strategy to maintain control over comital prerogatives during a period of consolidating lordships in the eastern Pyrenees. The new issue was a bold step, intended to place his coinage on a par with those in the neighboring counties of Besalú, Girona, and Rosselló. During Hug's reign his moneys were active at the ancient *civitas* of Empúries, Castelló, and Peralada.<sup>14</sup> While the location of mints at the old comital center of Empúries, despite its physical decline, and at the expanding town of Castelló allowed close supervision, the association of a mint with the valuable market of Peralada threatened to weaken the comital monopoly on coinage.

Regulation of the mint at Peralada generated a series of agreements, known until now only through brief citations.<sup>15</sup> They provide critical evidence for the struggle over proprietary rights of coinage at a decisive moment in the history of the eastern Pyrenees. The emergence of an independent lordship at Peralada, possibly associated with the memory of the Carolingian mint at Roses, tested the ability of the counts of Empúries to maintain their monetary prerogatives. By 1060x61 Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona, had gained control of the market of Peralada, which he then pledged together with two churches to Ponç I, count of Empúries, for ten years.<sup>16</sup> If unredeemed, the pledge may well have provided a means for the count to reassert his authority over Peralada, but it did not long remain integrated with the comital patrimony. By 1085, Ramon Guillem, viscount

<sup>13</sup> BC 9712 (a. 1089), cit. Marquès, *Esriptures*, no. 160: "libram argenti ea ualente denariis monete Vgonensis et Bisuludensis"; BC 10039 (a. 1095), cit. Marquès, *Esriptures*, no. 217: ".xii. solidos monete comitis Vgonis"; *DSMA* 26 (a. 1094): "solidos .vii. de moneta de Vgo comes." The recent rediscovery of a single heavily worn obol, imprinted with a bust bearing a crude overstrike, provides the only suggestion of an earlier comital coinage. Balaguer, *Història de la moneda*, pp. 208–9, associates the coin with Ponç I (1040–78) rather than with Gausbert (931–91), but its identification remains tentative. Even if earlier counts operated a mint, Hug II increased output to a new level; his coinage marks a clear point of departure for a vital regional coinage.

<sup>14</sup> Appendix 3.

<sup>15</sup> Appendix 1–3. Reference to these parchments has depended upon brief notices made by the seventeenth-century archivist of the counts of Empúries, Bernardo J. Llobet, and cited in José de Taberner y de Ardena, "Historia de los condes de Ampurias y Peralada," *Revista de ciencias históricas* 4 (1884), 101. The citations are repeated in the modern literature by Botet i Sisó, *Les monedes*, 1:138, Felipe Mateu y Llopis, *El "ius monetæ" en el condado de Ampurias: Notas diplomáticas sobre la regalia condal, siglos IX–XIV* (Peralada, 1957), p. 26, and Balaguer, *Història de la moneda*, p. 205. On the work of organization by the early comital archivists, see Antonio Sánchez González, *El archivo condal de Ampurias: Historia, organización y descripción de sus fondos* (Girona, 1993), pp. 65–81.

<sup>16</sup> ADM Ampurias, leg. 1, no. 9 (a. 1060x1061): "Ego Poncius Geral viecescomes mito ad te Poncium comitem...in pignora ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Ulastred quam teneo per tuum feuum et ecclesiam Sancti Romani de Dalfiano et ipsum mercatum de Peralata."



of Rocabertí, had obtained rights over the market of Peralada.<sup>17</sup> In order to institute his coinage, Hug II needed to engage this formidable magnate in order to ensure that his money would circulate throughout his territories.

The detailed pact concerning coinage in 1085, one of the few extant records devoted solely to monetary rights in the eleventh century, took the form of a private agreement (*convenientia*) rather than a donation or enfeoffment. Conservative in tone, the agreement expressed concern for authoritarian monetary supervision by specifying that only the count's moneyers, or those whom the count would dispatch with the counsel of the viscount, would operate the mint. By insisting on the use of his own moneyers, who would employ the same dies, Hug II sought to forestall the diversification of standards in a potentially rival lordship. The agreement stressed that both the count and viscount would prevent fraud and be jointly involved in its suppression. The linkage of coinage and market also reinforced the authoritarian regulation of exchange, threatened by accelerating monetary diversification. Concerns for the uniformity and protection of coinage are reminiscent of clauses in a charter of enfranchisement granted in 986 to Cardona, whose viscount would also operate an independent mint.<sup>18</sup>

Yet the most distinctive element in the agreement involved the enlistment of the viscount of Rocabertí to require the circulation of the comital coinage to the exclusion of all others at his market. If the viscount would compel anyone involved in monetary transactions to exchange their unminted silver or monies from any other source for comital coins, the count would grant an increase in his share in profits from the mint from two *deniers* per pound to half of the comital revenues, "just like the rights the count of Besalú or any other count or sovereign power [*potestas*] holds over their money." Through the institution of his coinage, the count of Empúries ensured he would exercise prerogatives characteristic of his peers in neighboring counties. The charter expressed in starkly authoritarian terms the desire of Hug II to increase the use of his money through obligatory exchange, but this could only occur if the local lord collaborated through effective control of the market. Given the difficulties of competing with the variety of other coinages in the region, the count deployed his protectorate over markets and coinage in terms evoking Carolingian legislation, yet he acknowledged the importance of a magnate in extending monetary circulation. Although grounded in traditional expressions of comital authority, the agreement of 1085 took the form of a private contract between magnates rather than a public charter bestowed by the count. The proprietary nature of coinage was paramount, but to exploit this right effectively

---

<sup>17</sup> Appendix 1.

<sup>18</sup> *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José Maria Font Rius, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Madrid-Barcelona, 1969–83), no. 9, and commentary by Bisson, *Conservation*, pp. 57–8. On the close association of market and mint during the Frankish period, see Spufford, *Money and its Use*, pp. 24–5 and 46–9.

the count of Empúries had to ensure the collaboration of the viscount through negotiation and an invitation to share in the exploitative potential of obligatory exchange.

Increasing tensions between the count of Empúries and the lord of Peralada would severely test the arrangements established in 1085. Hug II found it difficult to restrain the exploitative demands of a powerful noble and potential rival over a valuable monetary resource. By 1096, however, the count had reclaimed the share of the mint he had ceded to Viscount Ramon Guillem and granted it to a kinsman, Dalmau Berenguer, grandson of his father, Ponç I, through a younger son, Berenguer.<sup>19</sup> The attachment of the mint of Peralada to a cadet branch of the comital house, however, did little to lessen the difficulty of maintaining effective control. In a far-reaching reorganization of lordship, when Dalmau Berenguer renounced his share of the mint along with other rights inherited from his grandfather, Ponç I, in 1096, Count Hug II in exchange granted in fief the castle of Rocabertí jointly to Dalmau Berenguer and to Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona, who had long ago ceded the market of Peralada in pledge to Ponç I. Direct supervision of the mint at Peralada passed to two other men, Gausbert of Peralada, who received 6 *deniers* per pound, and Bernat Pere, who received 2 *deniers* per pound. Because both men must be counted among the “knights and allies of the honor of Rocabertí,”<sup>20</sup> Hug II did not fully eliminate all potential monetary claims by Dalmau Berenguer. The viscount assured the count that he would distrain everyone at the market of Peralada to use the count’s moneyers and changers if Gausbert of Peralada and Bernat Pere failed to do so, but the count did keep Dalmau a step removed from direct exploitation of the coinage. In an attempt to restrict the possibility that he would lose further command over Peralada, the count in 1099 entered into an agreement with Gausbert of Peralada, who promised not to build a castle in the town or fortify his nearby manses.<sup>21</sup> By removing monetary rights from the control first of an established viscount and then a prominent kinsman, Hug II had embarked upon a strategy to prevent Peralada and its valuable

<sup>19</sup> ADM Ampurias, leg. 6, no. 542 (a. 1096). Santiago Sobrequès, *Els barons de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1957), p. 40, suggested that Berenguer, the younger son of Ponç I, was the father of Dalmau Berenguer. His insight finds substantial confirmation in the document just cited through the cession of Dalmau’s rights in the election of the abbot of Sant Quirç de Colera, which Ponç I in his testament had granted jointly to Hug II and his brother Berenguer.

<sup>20</sup> Bernat Pere appears among the group mentioned in BC 9019 (a. 1098), cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, no. 240: “militum et amicorum eorum qui ex honore sunt Rocabertini.” Bernat Pere also appears in charters involving Ramon Guillem, viscount of Rocabertí. ADG, “Notas per la justificació del decimar de Vilabertran,” pp. 17–18 (a. 1085) and 22–4 (a. 1093), cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, nos. 125 and 146; BC 9869 (a. 1087) and 5528 (a. 1093), cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, nos. 145 and 201. Gausbert of Peralada subscribed to the agreement involving the viscount of Rocabertí in Appendix 3.

<sup>21</sup> ADM Ampurias, leg. 6, no. 554 (a. 1099).



mint from forming the core of a competitive lordship close to the emerging comital center at Castelló.

Contested control over the mint of Peralada formed part of a complex realignment of viscomital power in Empúries in the final decade of the eleventh century. An anachronistic assumption that viscounts possessed clearly defined lordships in the eleventh century has created a good deal of confusion about these houses, for historians have anxiously tried to link the viscomital title to stable lordships in order to trace continuous lineages. In the territory commanded by the counts of Empúries, however, obligations of service clung to the viscomital office. Even though territorial lordships were slowly emerging by the second half of the eleventh century, they had not yet consolidated into fully heritable jurisdictions. Ramon Guillem, for instance, appeared as viscount of Verges early in his long life, but he later became associated with the title viscount of Rocabertí.<sup>22</sup> The rights that the viscounts Ponç Guerau and Ramon Guillem had held over the market of Peralada still depended upon comital approbation and participation in public expressions of power, especially given the enduring association of minting with sovereign prerogatives.<sup>23</sup> As Ramon Guillem, viscount of Rocabertí, approached old age without male descent,<sup>24</sup> the count employed the opportunity to reassert his control over key elements of the viscomital holdings. In 1098, two years after granting the castle of Rocabertí in fief to Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona, and Dalmau Berenguer, who had ceded rights to the mint of Peralada, Hug II purchased the castle of Verges and its appurtenances from Ramon Guillem for 113 pounds.<sup>25</sup> Even though through different means, the count reasserted his authority over the two principal castles commanded by Viscount Ramon Guillem just before the death of this formidable magnate. The patrimonial interests of a powerful viscomital house had therefore not completely overwhelmed the counts of Empúries, who could still deploy their prestige and resources effectively to restructure the castle-holdings of their most powerful subjects. The title of viscount

---

<sup>22</sup> Pelayo Negre Pastell, "Dos importantes documentos del conde de Ampurias, Poncio I," *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* 14 (1960), 29: "vicecomes de Virgines"; BC 9877 (a. 1090), cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, no. 169: "vescomes de Rochabertino"; Appendix 1: "vicecomes Rochabertini."

<sup>23</sup> A lingering connection of viscounts to the territory of the old counties appears in late references to the "viscounty of Peralada" (*Liber feudorum maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols. [Barcelona, 1945–47], [hereafter *LFM*] no. 698 [a. 1085]; BC 5487 [a. 1086], cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, no. 140) and to the "viscounty of Empúries" (*LFM*, no. 698 [a. 1085]) and "viscountess of Empúries" (*CDSG*, no. 332 [a. 1068]).

<sup>24</sup> Ramon Guillem *vescomes* first appears in 1061: *LFM*, no. 403; his will is found in ADG Vilabertran, perg. 38 (a. 1090), cit. Marquès, *Scriptures*, no. 170.

<sup>25</sup> ADM Ampurias, leg. 38, no. 4878 (a. 1098). This represents one of the few cases in which a count of Empúries purchased a castle to ensure his command.

still bore a trace of older conceptions of loyal service to the count rather than providing hereditary justification for proprietary lordship. In deference to an older notion of public office, scribes of Empúries began to attach the title of viscount, and now more consistently the proprietary title viscount of Rocabertí, to Dalmau Berenguer only after Viscount Ramon Guillem had disappeared from the scene by the close of the eleventh century.<sup>26</sup>

Once the count had reconfigured the extensive rights that the previous viscount had held in Peralada, Verges, and Rocabertí, Dalmau Berenguer sought to consolidate and expand his power over his share of the viscomital legacy and reassert his rights over coinage. Already holding the "castle of Rocabertí" jointly with Ponç Guerau, viscount of Girona, Dalmau Berenguer quickly sought to strengthen his alliances. In 1099, he ceded his alodial castle of Hortal to Bernat II, count of Besalú, who returned it to him in fief; he also held the castle of Ceret in Rosselló from the count of Cerdanya.<sup>27</sup> Strengthened by bonds to neighboring magnates, Dalmau Berenguer reasserted his claims at Peralada. Despite the clause in an earlier agreement with the count to refrain from constructing new fortifications, in 1104 he swore fealty to Hug II for the castle of Cabanes, part of a coalescing lordship around Peralada, and in 1102 he regained a share of the rights to coinage through another pact with the count.<sup>28</sup>

Unlike many other *convenientiae*, whose terms were repeated verbatim in later renewals, the new pact differed substantially in tone and intention from the earlier agreement in 1085 between Viscount Ramon Guillem and Count Hug. The language now emphasized that the right of coinage derived from a comital grant rather than a negotiated collaboration over monetary exploitation. Hug II bestowed upon Dalmau Berenguer the right to 15 *deniers* in each pound of silver. Not only did the share due Dalmau increase, but the grant specifically included profits from the monetary rights throughout the counties of Peralada and Empúries. As a result of the grant, Dalmau Berenguer reaffirmed the obligation to distrain all those visiting the market of Peralada to use the comital coinage and to ensure that the count's moneyers would operate only where the count intended. The cooperative surveillance of moneyers and a shared responsibility for preventing counterfeiting and collecting any amends emphasized in the early agreement of 1085, however, had given way to an insistence on fulfilling the terms of a comital concession. Any disputes about full compliance with its terms would lead to an inquest by legal assessors (*boni homines*) within thirty days, an increasingly formulaic clause in contemporary agreements, and could result in the reversion of all rights to the

<sup>26</sup> Dalmau Berenguer appears regularly with the title of viscount thereafter, e.g.: *LFM*, nos. 985 (a. 1102) and 685 (a. 1109–17); BC 9930 (a. 1120) and 9775 (a. 1124), cit. Marquès, *Escriptures*, nos. 410 and 435; ADM Ampurias, leg. 6, no. 528 (a. 1116); AD Pyrénées-Orientales 12 J 25, no. 160 (a. 1100).

<sup>27</sup> *LFM* 515–17 and 685.

<sup>28</sup> ADM Ampurias, leg. 6, no. 543 (a. 1104); Appendix 2.

count.<sup>29</sup> While Dalmau Berenguer enjoyed increased profits to acknowledge his influence, the count expressed his authority by insisting that his concession represented a reward for service.

A subsequent agreement on coinage in 1108 amplified both tendencies.<sup>30</sup> Although still framed as a *convenientia*, the concession of a share in monetary rights was now specifically termed a fief. Viscount Dalmau received an even larger share than earlier of monetary revenue, set at 2 *sous* per pound; in return, he agreed to enforce the use of the comital coinage no longer just in the market of Peralada but wherever he was able. The increased profits from monetary exploitation were significant. The share in the rights of coinage for the lord of Peralada had grown from 2 *deniers* per pound (0.8 percent) before Christmas in 1085 to half of the comital yield afterward, then to 8 *deniers* (3.3 percent) in 1096, 15 *deniers* (6.3 percent) in 1102, and finally 2 *sous* (10 percent) in 1108. If the latter figures continued to represent half the comital revenues from coinage as established in 1085, profits from the mint had risen sharply. Proprietary exploitation of coinage became an increasing burden on the population of Empúries in the opening decade of the twelfth century. The growing revenues from the control of mints and markets also strained traditional arrangements to secure profits for counts and their collaborators. Behind the tangled language of compliance clauses to the agreements of 1102 and 1108, one can detect a struggle to articulate new forms of power. During a period when the prerogatives of lordship depended upon castle command and authoritarian control of utilities rather than upon attendance at the comital court, restraint upon an aggressive magnate carving out a formidable lordship strained traditional forms of agreement.

A final clause, phrased virtually as a challenge, pointed to the novelty behind the pact: "And if you the aforesaid count will swear to the coinage and you order me, I [Viscount Dalmau] will swear to it." Although unilateral oaths frequently accompanied castle agreements, these emphasized by their personal nature the subordination of the recipient to the grantor. Mutual oaths, on the other hand, embodied common obligations. Besides securing the growing profit the viscount would receive from coinage and reinforcing his duty to compel the use of comital money wherever possible, the proposed oath by both parties must surely have dealt with the main issues covered in the agreement, namely, the use of common dies employed by the count's moneyers and possibly the joint responsibility of persecuting counterfeiting or fraud evident in the first agreement of 1085. Surviving engagements sworn by moneyers to Ramon Berenguer I, count

---

<sup>29</sup> On changes in the form of *convenientiae* in the decades around 1100, see Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 255–6.

<sup>30</sup> Appendix 3.

of Barcelona, offer a suggestive parallel.<sup>31</sup> But both count and viscount would swear the oath. In contrast to the first agreement between Dalmau Berenguer and Hug II in 1102, in which only two subscribers appear in addition to the parties themselves, the broader agreement of 1108 occurred at a gathering of regional notables, eleven of whom subscribed. The occasion would have served perfectly for a ceremonial swearing to ensure the issuance of a common coinage in the counties of Empúries and Peralada and prevent fraudulent manipulation, but no record of an oath survives. While conservative in its stipulations, such an oath by the count and viscount would have represented a significant innovation.

The suggestion of a mutual oath in the monetary agreement of 1108, whether actually sworn or not, provides a background for one element in the far more consequential innovations established in *Cunctis pateat*, the solemn confirmation of sound coinage in Cerdanya.<sup>32</sup> Publicly entering into a sworn engagement before a regional assembly in 1118 upon his hereditary succession to the county, Ramon Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, committed himself to refrain from any mutation of his coinage in weight or alloy; embedded in the archaic provisions of the Peace of God, his commitment to monetary stability justified the novelty of levying a general tax known as the *bovatge* on oxen, ploughs, and peasants as a redemption of the coinage. The monetary convention between the count of Empúries and the viscount of Rocabertí in 1108 was far more customary and limited than *Cunctis pateat*. Rather than restrain arbitrary mutations to promote general confidence in money, the convention for Empúries and Peralada in 1108 confirmed an intensification in the proprietary exploitation of coinage; in spite of the public setting of the proposed oath for both count and viscount, the bestowal of a right to monetary profits and supervision upon the viscount found expression in the awkward label of "fief under agreement" (*feudum sub convenientia*). The solutions to monetary control undertaken by Hug II in 1108 and Ramon Berenguer III in 1118 diverged radically, but their efforts converged in revealing a general anxiety about coinage in the Pyrenean region in the early decades of the twelfth century.

The expansion of the count of Barcelona into the Pyrenees and disruptions in monetary circulation heightened these concerns in Empúries. Upon the deaths of Bernat III of Besalú (1111) and Bernat I of Cerdanya (1117) without legitimate issue, Ramon Berenguer III moved quickly to annex these mountainous counties to his dynasty. As a sign of his lordship, the new ruler appears to have suppressed the regional coinages of Besalú and Cerdanya and instituted that of Barcelona. In order to strengthen his control over regional markets, in 1102 he had already entered into

<sup>31</sup> Botet i Sisó, *Les monedes*, 1, appendix 6; *LFM*, no. 838. Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 142–3, notes the unusual use of oaths between the counts of Empúries and Rosselló in 1121 and 1154 as added guarantees for ensuring their pacts.

<sup>32</sup> Bisson, *Conservation*, pp. 50–64, esp. pp. 57–8 on the background to the public oath.

an agreement that relocated the market at Anyells (near Corçà) to Monells, located just outside the county of Empúries and along a strategic access route to the major road from Barcelona to Languedoc that passed through the territory of Hug II.<sup>33</sup> The counts of Empúries found themselves under increasing pressure from the hegemonic designs of the House of Barcelona over the independent Catalan counties. Resistance to this pressure would punctuate the history of Empúries for the next two centuries and test the allegiances of regional nobles. Tensions did not reach a breaking point, however, until Ponç Hug I succeeded his father as count of Empúries in 1116. The rivalry between comital houses provided an opportunity for Dalmau Berenguer, now regularly employing the title viscount of Rocabertí, to consolidate and expand his lordship, including exploitation of the mint at Peralada.

During the 1120s and 1130s, scribes began to record payments in the "money of Peralada."<sup>34</sup> Overlooked until now, citations of a coinage distinct from the comital issue suggest that Ponç Hug I had lost control of the mint at Peralada to Dalmau Berenguer, who had taken full advantage of the conflict between the counts of Barcelona and Empúries to intensify monetary exploitation in an increasingly independent lordship. When the growing tension erupted into violent confrontation, the count of Empúries seized the honor of Berenguer Renart, son of the viscount of Rocabertí. Forced to return it as a condition for his release from captivity in the pacification treaty with Ramon Berenguer III in 1128, Ponç Hug I also agreed to lift the prohibition preventing his subjects from visiting the market of Peralada and to change the market day at Castelló from Saturday to avoid competition.<sup>35</sup> Allied with the count of Barcelona, who placed Peralada under his protection in 1132,<sup>36</sup> the Rocabertí with their followers strengthened their hold over the market and mint of Peralada in an attempt to subtract their lordship from the count of Empúries. A subsequent agreement with the count of Barcelona in 1138, following a decade of stability, returned to Ponç Hug I a number of prerogatives, and among them the mint of Peralada figured prominently. Peace was restored between the count of Empúries and Ramon of Peralada as well as his

---

<sup>33</sup> Elvis Mallorquí, "La vila de Monells, del segle IX al XII," *Estudis del Baix Empordà* 18 (1999), 41 and appendix 1.

<sup>34</sup> BC 9749 (a. 1121): "decem solidos denariorum monete Petralate"; 9051 (a. 1126): "duodecim solidi Petralatensis"; 9630 (a. 1130): ".v. solidi moneta Petralatensis"; 9023 (a. 1140): ".iii. solidi moneda de Peralada"; ADG Vilabertran, perg. 28a (a. 1130): ".iv. solidi moneta Petralatensis"; cit. Marquès, *Esriptures*, nos. 417, 446, 460, 463, and 500.

<sup>35</sup> *LFM*, no. 523. Dalmau Berenguer left part of his legacy to his son Berenguer Renart: ADM Ampurias, leg. 6, no. 525 (a. 1139). On the struggle between Ponç Hug I and Ramon Berenguer III, see Santiago Sobrequès, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961) pp. 196–8.

<sup>36</sup> *LFM*, no. 529.



brother Eimeric, who evidently held the mint from the viscount.<sup>37</sup> They were compelled to employ the count's money at Peralada (*distringant ipsam monetam in Petra Lata*) and received 6 *deniers* in every pound in fief.<sup>38</sup> Ponç Hug I had managed to rein in a threatening rival. Although nobles had successfully challenged many elements of comital lordship in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, the sovereign attributes of coinage remained remarkably resilient. The agreement of 1138 effectively suppressed the independent coinage of Peralada and reduced profits of those who held the mint to 2.5 percent of the strike.<sup>39</sup> If this still represented half the comital share, then the counts of Empúries had returned the proprietary profits from coinage to a level comparable to that of the Carolingian period.<sup>40</sup>

The first two decades of the twelfth century proved singularly consequential in reshaping monetary prerogatives in the eastern Pyrenees. The convergence of consolidating lordships and anxiety about monetary stability created novel forms of control over the proprietary exploitation of coinage, even though couched in conservative language of sovereign responsibility to preserve the coinage from fraudulent manipulation. While the count of Barcelona initiated a constitutional pact with the leading men of Cerdanya in 1118 when he swore to conserve the coinage in his lifetime in exchange for a general levy, the *bovatge*, the count of Empúries struggled to retain his control over coinage from the usurpations of a rival magnate through traditional agreements and the unstable subordination of fief-holding. The initiative of Ramon Berenguer III would eventually lead to a formidable restraint on arbitrary manipulations by the ruler; the pact established between Hug II and the viscount of Rocabertí in 1108 merely rendered customary a new level of monetary exploitation. By the late twelfth century, the counts of Empúries began to imitate the ascendant count-kings in instituting a series of territorial peaces, in part to justify the levy of the *bovatge*. This innovation, however, did not lead to a constitutional struggle between the count and his subjects to limit monetary prerogatives. As in the lands of the count-kings, the general levies to maintain the peace (*bovatge*) and the coinage (*monedatge*) became confused in Empúries, but there the tax was treated not as a redemption of

<sup>37</sup> The testament of Ramon of Peralada mentions fiefs at Peralada held from the viscount of Rocabertí: ADG Sant Feliu de Cadins, perg. 10, and BC 9705 (a. 1176), cit. Marquès, *Esriptures*, no. 603.

<sup>38</sup> *LFM*, no. 526.

<sup>39</sup> Two late references to the money of Peralada probably indicate coins already in circulation: BC 9057 (a. 1161) and 8969 (a. 1163), cit. Marquès, *Esriptures*, nos. 562 and 566.

<sup>40</sup> The early Carolingian rulers allowed their moneyers 4.5 percent of the strike, Bisson, *Conservation*, p. 5.

coinage by the ruler but simply as a proprietary right that could even be shared with powerful magnates, including the viscounts of Rocabertí.<sup>41</sup>

Yet the sovereign attributes of coinage remained remarkably durable. Eventually surrounded by the house of Barcelona/Aragón, the counts of Empúries continued to strike their own coins intended for limited regional circulation. For larger transactions, the count's subjects came to prefer the coinage of Melgueil to that of Barcelona. The imperious count-kings took a dim view of residual claims to sovereignty; they came to regard the county of Empúries as a haven for counterfeiters and pirates.<sup>42</sup> A separate coinage bolstered the independence of the counts of Empúries, who could look back on a dynasty originally as illustrious as that of the counts of Barcelona. Until the extinction of the comital house in 1322, the sword regularly imprinted on the recto of the *deniers* of Empúries from the mid-twelfth century onward provided a stubborn symbol of regional resistance to the kings of Aragón.

## Appendix 1

April 18, 1085

Count Hug and Ramon, viscount of Rocabertí, enter into an agreement concerning the coinage the count wishes to institute in his county and in the market of Peralada. The division of profits from the *moneta* is established: until Christmas, the viscount will receive 2 *deniers* from each pound of silver; if he compels everyone at the market of Peralada to exchange coins or unminted silver for comital coinage, he shall receive half the customary right in the *moneta* thereafter. The viscount agrees to allow the count's moneyers to mint at Peralada, and the count and viscount will supervise the moneyers jointly and share in any amends from fraud.

A. Original parchment. ADM Ampurias, leg. 7, no. 614–1.<sup>1</sup> 147x202mm. Chirograph at bottom VGO COMES RAIMUNDO.

<sup>41</sup> Stephen P. Bensch, "Three Peaces of Empúries," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26 (1996), 588. On the equivalence of the *bovatge* and *monedatge* in Empúries, see ADG Sant Feliu de Cadins, perg. 67 (a. 1240); ADM Ampurias, leg. 44, no. 5966 (a. 1264).

<sup>42</sup> King Jaume II pardoned counterfeiters of silver and gold French coins operating in Empúries: ADM Ampurias, leg. 53, no. 7319 (a. 1300).

<sup>1</sup> Verso, fourteenth-century hand: "Instrumentum conueniencie habita inter H. comitem et R. uicecomitem Ruppebertini qualiter dominus comes possit mittere suam monetam in mercatis dicti uicecomitatus et apud Petralatam prout largo non hic expressatur."

B. Parchment, contemporary copy. ADM Ampurias, leg. 7, no. 614–2. Damaged in upper section and bottom left corner.

C. Parchment *translatum*, dated June 19, 1264. ADM Ampurias, leg. 7, no. 614–3. Cit. Taberner, “Historia de los condes de Ampurias,” p. 101.

Hec<sup>a</sup> conuenientia que<sup>b</sup> est facta inter Vgo comite et Raimundo uicescomiti Rochabertini de ipsa moneta quod predictus comes uoluit mittere in suo comitatu uel in suos merchatos<sup>c</sup>. Conuenit namque predicto uicescomiti ad iamdicto comite ut moneta quod comes faciat facere ad suos monetarios uel alios monetarios quod comes miserit cum consilio iamdicto uicescomiti moneta sine engan predictus uicescomes faciat ea discurrere et abriurare et accipere et dare cunctos<sup>d</sup> homines uel feminas in ipso merchato de Petralata sine engan de ipso comite quod hoc habeat factum usque ad natiuitatem domini prima ueniente. Ita ut qualiscumque negociator adduxerit plata de qualiscumque terris in iamdicto mechato Petralata ad camios de iamdicta moneta adducat et camiet sine engan de iamdicto comite. Et simili modo de denariis qualiscumque monetis uenientes ad negociari in iamdicto merchato ad camios ueniant de iamdicta moneta de predicto comite sine engan et nullus negociet in iamdicto merchato cum denarios nec cum plata nisi ad camios de iamdicta moneta de predicto comite. Et ego predicto Vgo comes propter hoc quod tu michi predictus uicescomes facias et atendas iamdicta conuenientia sine engan dono tibi de ipso monetatico de unamquamque libram denarios .ii. usque ad natiuitatem domini prima ueniente. De natiuitate domini in antea si ita est abriurata sicut superius scriptum est habeas ipsa medietate de ipso monetatico qui per directum exierit uel sicut comes Bisulduno uel alius comes uel potestas habuit per directum de sua moneta et si ipsi monetarii qui fecerint iamdicta moneta ea falsauerint sicut falsarii emendentur. Et si placitum exierit de falsitatem de predicta moneta nos ambo placitemur et ipsa emenda inter nos equaliter diuidamus. Et si ambo non fuerimus in hac patria ipsud ex nobis qui<sup>e</sup> aderat placitet et ipsa emenda qui inde exierit diuidat per medium et ad<sup>f</sup> alium qui non fuerit uel cui ipse iusserit ipsa medietate sine engan donet. Et si tu predictus Remundus uicescomiti non potueris facere discurrere iamdicta moneta in predicto merchato<sup>g</sup> fideliter sicut suprascriptum est facias usque ad alia festa secunda natalis domini sine engan et habeas iamdicto .ii.<sup>h</sup> denarios sicut supra de primo anno dictum est et postea de ipsa festa natalis domini secunda ueniente in antea habeas ipsa medietate de ipso

<sup>a</sup> C: Haec

<sup>b</sup> A: que, *above line*

<sup>c</sup> C: mercatos

<sup>d</sup> C: cuntos

<sup>e</sup> A: qui, *above line*

<sup>f</sup> A: ad, *above line*

<sup>g</sup> B: mercato

<sup>h</sup> B: duos

monetatico sicut superius scriptum est sine tuo engan. Et conuenio tibi ego predictus comes ut si guerram habueris per iamdictam monetam ex qualicumque parte et per te ipsum distringere non poteris ego adiuuem tibi sine tuo engan. Et ego predicto Remundo uicescomiti conuenio tibi iamdicto Vgo comite quod tua moneta et tuos monetarios ego guardem ac defendam sine engan. Et si predicta moneta falsauerint tuos monetarios et sine engan non facis ea facere sicut suprascriptum est ego nec faciam tibi nec attendam quantum suprascriptum est. Et si tu predictus comes adteneris<sup>i</sup> michi iamdictum donum et predicta conueniencia et ego predictus uicescomes non attendero tibi iamdicta conuenientia aut in aliquod transgressus fuero<sup>j</sup> iamdicta omnia nisi sicut suprascriptum est ad tuum damnum et infra .xxx. dies quod tu mihi requisieris per te ipsum aut per tuos non uolero tibi redigere nil habenti de iamdicto monetatico. Et si tibi redigero habeam de iamdicta moneta sicut superius scriptum est. Et si ego predictus comes fregero tibi iamdicta conuenientia aut in aliquod transgressus fuero nisi sicut suprascriptum est et similiter infra .xxx.<sup>a</sup> dies non redigero tibi minime attendas michi iamdicta conuenientia. Et sicut suprascriptum est ego predictus Vgo comes ita collaudo et ego predicto Remundo uicecomiti similiter collaudo iamdicta<sup>k</sup> conueniencia. Hacta est autem hec conueniencia .xiiii. kalendas madi anno .xxv. regnante Philipo rege.

Sig. Vgo gratia dei comes qui iamdicta conuenientia et dono collaudo et confirmo. Sig. Remundo uicecomiti predicta conueniencia collaudo et confirmo. Sig. Remundus Gillelmi<sup>l</sup> de Palacio. Sig. Gauzberti de Kastilion. Sig. Hechardus Gauzberti. Sig. Poncio Ademari. Sig. Chauceran<sup>m</sup> Gauzfredi.

Petrus presbiter qui hanc conueniencia scripsi cum litteras dampnatas et suprapositis sub SS. die et anno quod supra.

## Appendix 2

March 2, 1102

Count Hug and Dalmau Berenguer enter into an agreement in which the count grants Dalmau the right to take 15 *deniers* in each pound of silver from the *moneta* in the counties of Empúries and Peralada. Dalmau Berenguer will force everyone at the market of Peralada to use the comital coinage.

---

<sup>i</sup> C: atenderis

<sup>j</sup> A: transgressus fuero, *above line*

<sup>k</sup> A: iamdicta, *repeated*

<sup>l</sup> C: Guillelmi

<sup>m</sup> C: Gauceran

- A. Original parchment, damaged along bottom edge. ADM Ampurias, leg. 10, no. 1118. 120x80mm.
- B. *Translatum* in fourteenth-century register, dated August 26, 1298. ADM Ampurias, leg. 110, no. 10616, fol. 82r.
- a. María Isabel Simó Rodríguez, "Documentación de Ampurias en el Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli de Sevilla (años 949–1108)" (Tesis de licenciatura inédita, Universidad de Sevilla, 1971), no. 31.
- Cit. Taberner, "Historia de los condes de Ampurias," p. 101.

Hec est conueniencia facta inter Vgonem comitem et Dalmacium Berengarium. Donat namque predictus Vgo comes Dalmacio Berengario in sua moneta quam abet Impuritanensi patria siue Petralatensi in unaquamque libra<sup>a</sup> plata .xv. denarios. Et propter hoc conuenit sibi Dalmacius Berengarius ut suprascripta moneta distringat et forcet in ipso merchato de Petralata et plata siue denarios qui de qualicumque parte aduenerit ad cambiare ad ipsum merchatum de Petralada ipse prescriptus Dalmacius distringat et faciat distringere ut ad cambiatores prescripti comiti hec omnia ueniant ad cambiare. Et hoc faciat Dalmacius Berengarii sicut melius potuerit sine engan iamdicti comitis et nullus in iamdicto merchato de Peralada nichil negociet nisi cum denariis iamdicti comitis et ipsa moneta non sit facta nisi ubi comes uoluerit et si de ipsis monederis iamdicti comitis conquerabatur Dalmacii Berengarii et inde eos comprobatum potuerit predictus comes faciat sibi emendare. Et si hoc Dalmacius comprobare non potuerit ipsi monetarii comitis non faciat sacramentum neque emenda. Et si hoc quod superius est scriptum non faciebat Dalmacius Berengarii et comes inde conquerebatur Dalmacius haec omnia<sup>b</sup> ridiguit<sup>c</sup> in laudamento bonis hominibus quos comes ibi posuerit qui bene de hac causa uoluerit infra .xxx. dies. Et si hoc quod superius est scriptum non faciebat Dalmacius Berengarii hoc iamdictum quod sibi est datum incurrat in potestate iamdicti comitis ad agendum quicquid uoluerit.

Actum est hoc .vi. nonas marci anno .xl.ii. Philipi regis regni.

Sig. Vgoni<sup>d</sup> comitis. Sig. Dalmacius Bernegarii. Sig. Raimundi Ademarii.<sup>e</sup> Sig. Raimundi Renardi.<sup>f</sup>

---

<sup>a</sup> B: libra, *lacking*

<sup>b</sup> Simó: hominia

<sup>c</sup> Simó: redentat

<sup>d</sup> B: Vgonis

<sup>e</sup> Simó: Ademari

<sup>f</sup> A: *illegible*



## Appendix 3

July 30, 1108<sup>1</sup>

Viscount Dalmau enters into an agreement with Count Hug for the 2 *sous* he receives from each pound from the rights of the *moneta*, which he holds in fief. He agrees to distrain everyone he can to use the comital coinage.

A. Original parchment. ADM Ampurias, leg. 1, no. 15.<sup>2</sup> 204x94mm.

B. Original parchment (contemporary copy). ADM Ampurias, leg. 1, no. 15 (duplicate numbering). 150x120mm.

C. *Translatum* in fourteenth-century register, dated July 7, 1290. ADM Ampurias, leg. 110, no. 10616, fols. 38v–39r.

a. Simó, "Documentación," no. 34.

Cit. Taberner, "Historia de los condes de Ampurias," p. 101.

Hec<sup>a</sup> est conueniencia que facio ego Dalmacio uicecomiti tibi seniori meo Vgoni comite. Couenio namque tibi ut<sup>b</sup> per duos solidos de<sup>c</sup> denarios quod mihi<sup>d</sup> donas de tua moneta ad feuum de unamquamque libram ego etiam tibi distringam et faciam eam tenere et discurrere quo modo melius possim sine tuo engan. Et si de hoc me distraxero et non attendero tibi districcionem monete sicut suprascriptum est sine tuo engan et infra .xxx.<sup>a</sup> dies quod mihi<sup>e</sup> requisieris non uolero tibi redigere sine tuo engan tu impares iamdictos duos solidos quod mihi<sup>f</sup> donas sine ullo mee marrimentum. Et teneas tantum usquequo ego tibi redigam. Et quando ego tibi redigero statim reccuperem ad feuum iamdictos duos solidos sine engan de

<sup>1</sup> King Philip I died on July 29, 1108. The scribe evidently computed the regnal year from the Feast of Sant Joan (June 24) to arrive at the forty-ninth year of the reign rather than from the date of succession (August 4). If he had used the latter form, the pact would have been written on July 30, 1109, a full year after the king's death. The document provides further evidence for the widespread use of June 24 as the beginning of the regnal year in Catalonia. See the recent discussion in *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, ed. Gaspar Feliu et al., 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1999) 1:170–71 and Marquès, *Escriptures*, p. xv, n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Verso, fourteenth-century century hand: "Instrumentum quod est factum per Dalmacium uicecomitem Hugoni comiti quod per duos solidos de quadam libra quos dictus dominus comes dedit ad feudum uicecomiti. Item uicecomes debet facere distringere monetam quam dominus comes faceret apud Impurias uel Castilione uel Peralatam."

<sup>a</sup> B: Haec

<sup>b</sup> Simó: ut, *lacking*

<sup>c</sup> Simó: quod

<sup>d</sup> C: michi

<sup>e</sup> C: michi

<sup>f</sup> C: michi

unamquamque libra sicut supradictum est. Et de ipsos quons de ipsa moneta qui fuerint in mea potestate quantasque uices ipsos monetarios requisierint quando monetare uoluerint meum baiolum qui eos tenuerit non contendat eos portare ubi iamdicto comite uoluerit facere ipsa moneta ubi comite iusserit uel suis hominibus. Et si predictus comes iuraueris iamdicta moneta et mihi<sup>g</sup> mandaueris ego eam iurem. Et simili modo conuenio facere post mortem tuam ad filio tuo qui tuum honorem habuerit et ipsa moneta si uiuus fuero propter hoc quod mihi donet iamdictum feuum sub conueniencia facio ut in<sup>h</sup> Impurias aut in uilla Kastilione<sup>i</sup> aut in uilla Petralata fiat facta iamdicta moneta<sup>j</sup> et hoc fiat in feria .v.<sup>a</sup> aut in .vi.<sup>a</sup>

Acta est autem hec conueniencia .iii. kalendas augusti anno .xl.viii. regnante Philipo rege.

Sig. Dalmacio uicecomiti qui hec conueniencia facio. Sig. Dalmacio de Petrataliada. Sig. Guillelmi Sonifredi. Sig. Ademar<sup>k</sup> Remundi. Sig. Gauzbert<sup>l</sup> de Petralata. Sig. Bernardi Poncii. Sig. Bernardi Adalberti. Sig. Dalmaci<sup>m</sup> Bernardi. Sig. Vmbertus Vmberti. Sig. Dalmacio Renardi. Sig. Remundi Ademari<sup>n</sup> de Porcheres. Sig. Vgo uicecomiti Tacidone.

Ego namque prefato uicecomiti collaudo et confirmo ut iamdicta moneta monetarii et camiatores quos prefato comite miserit ad monetare uel camiare ut hoc quod iuste et recte debent habere ita habeant.

Petrus presbiter qui hoc scripsit SS.

---

<sup>g</sup> C: michi

<sup>h</sup> C: in, *lacking*

<sup>i</sup> C: Castilione

<sup>j</sup> B: monea

<sup>k</sup> B: Ademari

<sup>l</sup> C: Gausbert

<sup>m</sup> B: Dalmacii

<sup>n</sup> B: Ademari