Research Article

Documenting Reconquest and Reform: The Growth of Archives in the Medieval Crown of Aragon

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Abstract: A burst of intensive documentation activity related to the formation of the Crown of Aragon in northeastern Spain and the extension of the Reconquest south into Valencia during the twelfth century is explored to reveal the dramatic growth of medieval archives; archival management systems and records centers; the development of sophisticated methodologies such as simultaneous registration and formalized document production; indexing, tagging, heading, and classification techniques; rudimentary records management and conservation programs; and experimentation in codification, supraregional standardization, format control, multimedia, and improved communications through courier service, addressing, notarization, posting, and proclamation. The institutionalization of increasingly specialized archives distinct from libraries and other scribal enterprises is illustrated by early formation of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona, and the transition between information technologies is shown in the famous royal cartulary, the *Liber Feudorum Maior.* Conclusions are drawn from this medieval information revolution about lasting contributions to Western information programs and documentation systems.

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The author thanks the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (ACA) in Barcelona for supplying photographs for reproduction in the American Archivist *and also acknowledges the artwork preparation by Jeff Ek, of the FSU Media Production Center, and the secretarial assistance provided by Laurie Wernette. Research at the ACA and other archives in 1990 was supported by Ferris State University and American Council of Learned Societies travel grants.*

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ALTHOUGH RECENT CENTENARY observations have reminded everyone about historical events in the Age of Discovery (or Encounter), they have also, but less consciously, celebrated the act of historical recollection. However, few of the countless commemorations have focused on the discovery of history in the archives. Tributes should be paid to society's collective recall and how history is remembered, with a reminder as well about our dependence on the documenting of human affairs, recordkeeping, and archives. The history of archives is not well known. They are often misconstrued as modern inventions based on classical models with a discontinuous history. Presentism pervades this short-range perspective. It seems especially influenced by popularization of the modern "information age" as if no other era experienced similar periods of hyperactivity and information overload. A more stable, longer-range perspective may be achieved by investigating the origins of modern archives during the Middle Ages. Medieval archival development can be related to early European expansionism, the transition from orality to literacy, the advent of New Learning and growth of libraries, the maturity of government by law and bureaucracies, and a futuristic vision that is fundamental to Western progressivism. The relatively rapid transition from oral discourse to written documentation and records for conducting business and providing evidence other than personal witnessing must have seemed an information revolution as monumental as that being experienced today. The change in information and communication technology was as different for folk societies in the twelfth century as the transition to electronic records and telecommunications has been for modern society in the last half of this century.

Surviving documentation in northeastern Spain, ca. 1150–1250 A.D., records not only regional history but also the rapid evolution of medieval archives. There archives were the product of and a contributor to the formation of the Crown of Aragon from the unification of the Principality of Barcelona and the Kingdom of Aragon coupled with the reconquest of Muslim Valencia. The advent of systematic documentation and recordkeeping, organized archives and preservation, and new forms of intellectual access, as well as elements of what today is considered records management, can be identified in the reign of King Anfons I (II), 1154–96. These developments can be related to the expansion of his chancery and the reorganization of government to accommodate the unification and southern expansion of the realm. Increasingly formal archival practice, as distinct from librarianship and other scribal enterprises, is especially evident in a monumental transitional document, the great cartulary or letter book, the *Liber Feudorum Maior*. This arena of experimentation in scribal technology, recordkeeping, and phenomenal growth of public archives beckons exploration.

Archives Historiography

The discovery of modern archival principles, methodology, and techniques in medieval archives requires substantial revision in standard historiography. The origin of modern archives is usually traced to the French Revolution and its aftermath, especially the conversion of state repositories into public archives.[1] Neoclassicism pervades this accepted wisdom of post-Renaissance scholarship. Bypassing the Middle Ages, this view harkens back to ancient models for large, centralized archives. Investigations into classical forms, however, show that household archives of

[1]Ernst Posner, "Some Aspects of Archival Development Since the French Revolution," *American Archivist* (1940) reprinted in *Archives and the Public Interest: Selected Essays by Ernst Posner,* edited by Ken Munden (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1967), 23–35, esp. 29.

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the major curial and noble families were as much the mainstay of government as were the more symbolic and ceremonial archives of classical temples.[2] Roman and most of classical history relies on narrative classics, not records. So little remains of Latin archives from late antiquity that their internal character is largely a matter of conjecture or speculation based on Byzantine forms. With no evidence to the contrary, they have been made into what people thought they should have been. A classical mythology about the greatness of imperial Rome has been echoed through the ages, but the supposed wealth of her archival sources is based on indirect references to archives in Roman histories and relatively few monuments and archeological sites. Nevertheless, temple archives, like the Alexandrian complex for the image of the great library, have become an idealized archetype.[3] Thus modern nations have built both temple archives and libraries as replicas of a myth, to demonstrate that they have a history befitting a literate and accomplished people, just as they have national libraries as monuments to knowledge, and museums to elevate their culture. Because such popular imagery or mythography maintains this unified, monumental ancient model, medieval archives—which were more fragmented, dispersed, and relatively small affairs—have been considered inconsequential. They were of interest primarily for students of government, more than for historians of culture.[4] Consequently, discontinuity prevails in the thinking of most archivists today about the history of Western archives.

The pursuit of a nationalist heritage and fulfillment of classicist aspirations that pervade and distort archival history also explain the concentration on national archives and government records in archives history. Ernst Posner searched for the origins of such archives in the tablets of Nineveh, Sumerian temples, and the documentary hordes of Ebla and Egyptian monumental architecture. For Rome, he stressed the importance of the great *Tabularium* rather than local and regional archives which outlasted the former.[5] The historical lineage of Western archives is blurred further by the Anglo-American experience's being so far

[2]Livy, *History,* 1, lxxiv, 5, for example, refers to the inheritance of familial archives for continuity in the work of the censors. As noted by others, although few records survive and Roman history relies mostly on narrative, inscription, and archeological evidence, the latter attest amply to a well-established system of archives operating at familial, regional, territorial state, and imperial levels. See the overview by Anne-Marie Schwirtlich, "Archives in the Roman Republic," *Archives and Manuscripts* 9, no. 1 (1981): 19–29, esp. 22 for emphasis on familial archives.

[3]For a survey of scholarship treating Roman libraries, see Bruce Lorne, "Roman Libraries: A Review Bibliography," *Libri* 35, no. 2 (1985): 89–106, which has no counterpart for archives.

[4]The history of archives as a field, apart from any special attention to medieval developments, is mentioned only briefly in most archival education programs in the United States, according to surveys in 1989: cf., the case for archival history in archives education and a survey course proposal (with inclusion of the Middle Ages but a relatively modest selection of readings in English) by Richard J. Cox, "The History of Primary Sources in Graduate Education: An Archival Perspective," *Special Collections/Primary Sources and Original Works* 4, no. 2 (1990): 39–78.

[5]The old Roman words for tablets (*tabula*), meaning also accounts; *tabularia,* for the business office; and *tabularium,* for where records were kept, all related to the verb *tabere* (to vanish by going under or melting down), perhaps first pertaining to writing on wax but also wonderfully alluding to the application of ink on parchment or paper and, simultaneously, meaning the covering of the event by reducing it to writing. See Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), esp. 186–223; and his critics, such as Rosalind Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992). Posner (p. 221) was aware, however, of the continuity of Roman provincial archives into the Carolingian era, including registers for municipal records, which are attested by the chronicle of St. Wandrille for the reign of Louis the Pious (814–40). Posner accepts the older conclusion that Roman archival registration practices had fallen into disuse, however, or were mere formalities—"nothing more than stylistic routine"—citing Alain de Boüard's *Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale. I: Diplomatique* (Paris: A. Picard, 1929), 126.

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removed from the post-classic Mediterranean world. Sometimes an irrational disregard of Spain and Portugal persists, as though Europe indeed ended at the Pyrenees. Or there are popularized throwbacks to the Black Legend, with Orwellian connections between archives, recordkeeping, and the Inquisition.[6] Medieval archives as collective memory, an information technology and methodology, or the natural by-product of business and government, are not well understood except when illuminated by such model works as M. T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record* (1979).[7] More is known about medieval documents from diplomatics or a paleographic viewpoint than about medieval archives as forms of continuous documentation for daily business, resulting in long-term historical consciousness. Archives not only serve administrations by providing an objectivity beyond personal recall but also, in saving the raw materials for making history, they provide continuity in the conduct of human affairs.[8] In addition to the study of archives in their own right, much more needs to be done in describing scribal, literate culture versus orality, beyond the issue of how many people could read and write.[9] Critical issues that need further exploration include the following:

- the changing nature of evidence and social structures based on belief or credulity and credibility, observation and proof, witnessing and surrogation (i.e., the essence of documentation)
- authorship, authority, and verification
- information storage and retrieval
- the interplay between scriptoria and chanceries or archives and libraries
- the behavioral transformations that these developments wrought

Posner understood the importance of local practices and depositories: "In the Middle Ages, a period of great experiment in governmental decentralization, record-making and record-keeping became a concern of local authorities."[10] But he was enamored with the orientalist explanation of cultural diffusion—a transfer of high culture in the East to lower Western forms, including information technologies, libraries and archives—and his experience in the national archives meant a focus on "record-keeping

[6]Posner was greatly influenced by the call for historicism in archival theory, including an understanding of the history of archives, by Leopoldo Sandri, "La storia degli archivi," *Archivum* 18 (1968): 101–13, taken from his earlier version in the *Rassegna degli Archivi di Stato,* 18 (1958): 109–34. The Italian school has tended to sustain the continuity thesis regarding archives and ancient recordkeeping practices; see S. Pistolese, "Development et caractére des archives du onzieme siècle a nous jours," *Archivi d'Italia,* series II, no. 1 (1934): 251–98, reprinted in his *Guide international des archives, Europe* (Rome, 1934); cf., C. H. Cheney, *Archives of Medieval Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956). This view is perpetuated by Luciana Duranti, "The Odyssey of Records Managers," *Records Management Quarterly* 23 (July 1989): 3–6, 8, 11; (October 1989): 3–6, 8–11.

[7]M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[8]An example was the reintroduction of diplomatics into American archival training—first occurring at the University of Maryland in 1976—which has its best advocate in Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics: New Uses for an Old Science," *Archivaria,* 28 (1989): 7–27; 29: 4–17; 30: 4–20; 31: 10–35; 32: 6–24; 33: 6–24.

[9]Recent scholarship about literacy in the Middle Ages, including the relation of letters to government and administration—which moves away from the purely literary interests of classicists and Latin literature or of literary historians interested in the early vernaculars also for formal literature—is well represented by Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

[10]Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World,* 2: "In Western Europe, on the other hand, where the direct nexus between the state and the individual had ceased to exist, records were no longer created on a country-wide basis, as had been the case before the downfall of the Roman Empire. But ancient institutions and practices lingered on, and in time would directly and indirectly influence record-making and record-keeping in the cities and nation states that emerged out of a feudal Europe."

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on a large scale," which he identified with Muslim and Byzantine empires rather than with the Latinized West. Elsewhere he speculated that medieval archives "were not connected with the chanceries, which during the Middle Ages were the sole or main administrative agencies, but formed independent units."[11] He more correctly related the growth of medieval archives with the spread of registry systems to control both incoming and outgoing records, whereas earlier manuscript collections were largely compilations of incoming documents. He transferred from Germanic scholarship to American archivists a discontinuity thesis that traced "official archives" to the fourteenth century at the earliest, with (excepting the Papacy) the Angevin regulations for archives in Naples (1284), Pierre d'Etampes's systematization of French registers of the Trésor des Chartes (1318), and William Stapleton's inventory of Exchequer records (1323). He saw the reorganization of provincial archives in the aftermath of the French Revolution as the real turning point for modern archival development.[12] His views might have changed if he had lived to write his projected history of medieval archives as a sequel to his *Ancient Archives*. But the French had so effectively recast the notion of the "public" as the new nation state that it became difficult to think of public records without a republic.[13] Post-Revolution historiography has not overcome this thinking.

Reexamination of medieval developments is thus required, without the hindrance of such postrevolutionary, neoclassical notions at one extreme or modernist and nationalist ideas at the other. The late Robert-Henri Bautier, well known for his work with early medieval diplomas, generalized about stages in the history of Western archives. In one classification he postulated four phases: (1) palace archives, which he equated with antiquity and relegated more to archeology than history; (2) an era of document proliferation, especially deeds and charters from the twelfth through the eighteenth centuries; (3) legal arsenal archives, beginning in the sixteenth century; and (4) historical research archives of the last two centuries—all preceding the advent of official government archives and records management.[14]

This generalized scheme embraces the Pirenne thesis in tracing documentation only to the Carolingian period as the precursor for the so-called Twelfth-century Renaissance. This discontinuity thesis views the chasm when archives did not survive as the "Dark Ages." It, too, looks for the survival of large, central archives as medieval remnants of imperial government, without

[11]Posner, "Development Since the French Revolution," 24. His assumption is questionable, and he may have been influenced by his own interest in an independent National Archives, which was still under the General Services Administration.

[12]This perception in American archival historiography was reinforced by the translation of S. Muller, J. A. Feith, and R. Fruin, *Manual for the Arrangement and Description of Archives Drawn up by Direction of The Netherlands Association of Archivists,* translated by Arthur H. Leavitt (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1940, reissued 1968), esp. 25–29, which focused on state archives and nationalist interest as the sine qua non for public archives.

[13]This pervasive and fundamental transformation, so important for the ideology of making records public, is best treated by Roger Chartier, *Cultural Origins of the French Revolution,* translated by L. Cochrane (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991).

[14]Robert-Henri Bautier, "La phase cruciale de l'histoire des archives: la constitution des depôts d'archives et la naissance de l'archivistique, XVIe- debut du XIX siècle," *Archivum* 18 (1968): 139–49; cf, his "Les archives," edited by Charles Samaran, *L'histoire et ses methodes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 1120–66. For Bautier's contributions, see his posthumously collected studies, *Chartes, sceaux, et chancelleries. Études de diplomatique et de sigillographie medievales,* I-II, in *Memoires et documents de l'école des Chartes,* 34–35 (Paris: École des Chartes, 1990), esp. "Chancellerie et culture au Moyen Age," vol. I, 47–75, a highly stimulating and suggestive lecture given in 1985 and published separately as *Cancelleria e cultura nel Medio Evo. Comunicazioni presentate nelle giornate di studio della Commissione internazionale di diplomatica, Stoccarda, 1985* (Vatican City, 1990), 1–75.

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adequately looking at household governance, local records, and small-scale archives of shorter duration. Moreover, it ignores many relevant continuities between classic and medieval times that might bear on the functions of archives: issues of oral memory, literacy, manuscript production, and archival material synthesized into literature that survived in libraries. The modern notion of archives and libraries as separate entities is an anachronism.[15] So, too, is the divorce of archeology from archives, when in methodology, theory, and ethos they have had much in common. When neoclassical and modern nationalist interpretations of archives are discarded, more subtle continuities may be discerned with greater interplay between daily life and recordkeeping than that of a simple linear development of records accumulating in grand archives.

When reconsidering the medieval foundations of modern archives, Bautier subsequently amplified his original periodization by subdividing the Middle Ages into another four periods: (1) the *early medieval period*, when written records were restricted to only a few ecclesiastical institutions, then service for secular government in the confluence of Roman written and customal or oral law, to more use during the Carolingian "renaissance" and later in other areas; (2) the *eighth through the twelfth centuries*, when household archives of small caches of documents, mostly to hold property rights through the generations, were preserved in churches and palaces where scriptoria and related chanceries were active; (3) *post-twelfth-century developments of more institutionalized government*, with the impact of the Gregorian Papacy, reformed diocesan and provincial organizations throughout Europe, and the rise of the territorial state and hereditary monarchy; and (4) the *late medieval and early modern explosion of familial business archives*, the products of an increasingly litigious society with an active lawyer and clerical class leading to growing bureaucracies and formal diplomatic missions across greater distance.

This latter periodization is more useful, but details of Bautier's skeletal outline have yet to be fleshed out by a history of archives in the Middle Ages or by related studies of the history of libraries, communications, and literacy other than for literature. In the case of northeastern Spain, these problems are being addressed by a plethora of new peninsular scholarship based on several important long-range series of medieval records.[16] Within the burgeoning

[15]The classicist-inspired imbalanced treatment of archives and libraries is reflected in the structure of the *Dictionary of the Middle Ages,* edited by Joseph Strayer (New York: Scribners, 1986); cf., "Archives," *DMA* (1982), vol. 1, 445–49; Lawrence J. McCrank, "Libraries," *DMA,* vol. 7, 557–70; with a longer treatment, "Libraries, medieval," in *Dictionary of Library History* edited by Wayne Wiegand and Donald David (New York: Greenwood, forthcoming). The historical relationship between archives, libraries, scriptoria, and chanceries and literacy and document and book production in the Middle Ages is being explored for a future monographic treatment, to replace James Westfall Thompson's classic, *The Medieval Library* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1936), for which there is no equivalent pertaining to archives.

[16]The foundation created by such archival explorers as Heinrich Finke, ed., *Acta aragonensia: Quellen zur deutschen, italienischen, französichen, spanischen, zur Kirchen- und Kulturgeschichte aus der diplomatischen Korrespondenz Jaymes II (1291–1327)* (Berlin: Walter Rothschild, 1908–22), 3 vols.; and Ambrosio Huici Miranda, ed., *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón,* in *Textos medievales,* edited by María Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt, vols. 49–51 (Valencia: Anubar, 1976–), originally published as *Colección diplomatica de Jaime I* (see below). This listing for post-World War II work is highly selective; cf., the comprehensive bibliographic surveys of historical scholarship and documentary editing through 1980: for comital archives and records, see Josep Trenchs Òdena, "El documento condal catalán: Estado actual de su estudio," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 58 (1982): 315–49; and for the royal chanceries, Ángel Canellas López, "Las cancillerías catalano-aragonesas: Estado actual de la cuestión," *Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura* 58 (1982): 351–95. As they note, each great count and

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American school of Hispanists, special attention must be given to the notable work of Thomas Bisson, mining the fiscal accounts of the early count-kings,[17] and the magisterial prologue by Fr. Robert I. Burns to his *Diplomatarium* of Jaume I (1207-76).[18] Other quincentennial studies highlight the importance of medieval archives development in the Iberian peninsula.[19]

king seems to have found his documentary editor, and lesser figures are now being added to the core list of published documents from the tenth century onward. Still, fewer than 20 percent of the official documents in the rich medieval archives of northeastern Spain have been published, and perhaps only as little as 10 percent of the total volume.

The following constitute the most important collections: J. and M. D. Mateu Ibars, *Colectánea paleográfica de la corona de Aragón, siglos IX–XVII* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1980–), 1 vol. of 2 to date; cf., also their *Bibliografía paleográfica* (Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, 1974); following such work of their father F. Mateu y Llopis as *Estil literari dels documents i formularis diplomàtics durant els segles forals,* in *Cursos de literatura valenciana de Lo Rat Penat,* 13 (Valencia: Vives Mora, Arts Gráfiques, 1964); F. Udina Martorell, ed., *El Archivo condal de Barcelona en los siglos IX–X: Estudio crítico de sus fondos,* in *Escuela de estudios medievales,* 18 (Barcelona: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas [CSIC], 1951); M. Font Rius, *Cartas de población y franquicía de Cataluña* (Madrid and Barcelona: CSIC Instituto Jerónimo Zurita, 1969), 2 vols.; A. Ubieto Arteta, ed., *Colección diplomática de Pedro I de Aragón y de Navarra,* in *Escuela de estudios medievales: Sección de Zaragoza,* 5 (Zaragoza: CSIC, 1951); and his series, *Estado actual de los estudios sobre Aragón* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1979–), 8 vols.; A. Canellas López, ed., *Colección diplomática del concejo de Zaragoza (1119–1285)* (Zaragoza: Universidad de Zaragoza, 1972–75), 2 vols.; Francesco Cesare Casuala, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni il Cacciatore, re d'Aragona, reguardanti l'Italia,* in *Collección de documentos inéditos de la Corona de Aragón,* 44 (Barcelona: ACA, 1970), also published separately in the *Instituto di storia medioevale e moderna,* 16 (Padua: Università degli studi di Cagliari, 1970). Such editions go beyond the pioneering work of Ambrosio Huici Miranda, *Colección diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador* (Valencia: Hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1916–20; Renovación Tipográfica, 1922), 3 vols. in 6. Monastic archives have been worked by José Rius Serra, ed., *Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés* (Barcelona: CSIC, Sección de Estudios Medievales de Barcelona, 1945–47), 3 vols.; Federico Udina Martorell, ed., *El "Llibre Blanch" de Santes Creus* (Barcelona: CSIC Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Sección de Barcelona, 1947); Jaime Santacana Tort, *El monasterio de Poblet (1151–1181)* (Barcelona: CSIC, Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 1974); and Agustí Altisent, *El Monasterio de Poblet durante el abadiato de Esteban II (1181–1186)* (Thesis: Universidad de Barcelona, 1974), with numerous studies since and ongoing editing of the charters of Poblet now housed with those of Santes Creus in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

For a growing literature about scribal methods, recordkeeping, and archives growth, see Trenchs Òdena's, "El documento condal catalán" (1982), and his series of investigations into each set of comital and regnal archives: "La Escribanía de Ramón Berenguer III (1097–1131): datos para su estudio," *Saitabi* 30 (1981): 11–36; "Los Escribanos de Ramón Berenguer IV: Nuevos datos," *Saitabi* 29 (1979): 5–20; "Notarios y escribanos de Alfonso II (1154–1196): datos biográficos," *Saitabi* 28 (1978): 5–24; and "La cancillería de Jaime I: Cancilleres y escribanos," in *Paleográphica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1979), vol. 2, 97–128; integrated into his *Las escribanias Catalano-Aragonesas desde Ramon Berenguer IV a la minoria de Jaime I* (Zaragoza: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1983); cf., his collaboration with A. M. Aragó Cabañas, "Las escribanias reales Catalano-Aragoneses de Ramon Berenguer IV al minoría de Jaime I," *Revista de archivos, bibliotecas, y museos* 80 (1977): 421–42; "Los registros de cancillería de la Corona de Aragón (Jaime I y Pedro II) y los registros pontificios," *Annali dell Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari dell'Università di Roman* (also published as *III Congresso internazionale di diplomatica)* 12 (1972): 26–39; and his contribution to the Battelli festscrift: *Paleográphica diplomatica et archivista,* vol. 1, 295–303.

[17]Thomas Bisson, ed., *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia Under the Early Count-Kings (1152–1213)* (Berkeley: University of California, 1983), 2 vols. See also his related investigation of finance, *Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and Its Restraints in France, Catalonia, and Aragon* (A.D. 1000–c. 1225) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), esp. 50–63, 74–103.

[18] R. I. Burns, *Society and Documentation in Crusader Valencia,* the first volume in his *Diplomatarium of the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: The Registered Charters of Its Conqueror, Jaume I, 1257–1276* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985).

[19]Cf., J. O'Callaghan, "The Medieval Archives of Castile-Leon"; N. Taylor, "Medieval Catalonian Wills: Familial Charter Evidence in the Archives"; and L. J. McCrank, "Archival Development in the Crown of Aragon," in *Discovering History in the Archives of Spain & Portugal,* edited by L. J. McCrank (Binghamton, N.Y.: Haworth Press, 1992 [1993]), also as *Primary Sources and Original Works:* 2, nos. 3–4 (1992), special issue.

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Early Developments

The formalization of archives and creation of official archivists was a transition in a longer tradition of documentary production, accumulation, and recordkeeping. The development of official government archives were the outgrowth of household governance and private familial archives. Both relied on the transition from oral communications and personal contact to written communications and records that achieved authority as extensions of the author's rights and power. Archival instruments served three functions:

1. To record action by which the act *qua* event and *acta* or documents become indistinguishable
2. To retrieve and use a document, with the intent to reenact the original, enforce it, or change it, which is a recreation of the instrument often accompanied by a formal transfer of authority through the scribal process and witnessing of a notary as a testament to custody and veracity
3. To conduct business through transactions, i.e., across distance and time, through writing as a surrogate expressing the will of the author and in many ways acting for him, as when a document was read aloud as a proclamation, or formally entered into the proceedings of a court or council.

Most business in the tenth century was conducted orally—either personally or through envoys who relayed memorized messages. But during the following century communications covered greater distance and crossed customal and language barriers. As Ibero-Christian influence spread beyond the valley confines of the old counties, more written records appeared. Rather than constituting deliberate forgery, variances between documents may reflect a changing communications technology whereby an oral message was recorded in two places, the points of dictation and recitation. The writing of a document and its ceremonial publication were usually two different events that could result in a third act of modification. It is not certain that the practice of simultaneous copying for archival recording and transmission occurred with the first use of written communications for governance. This dual-security and costly practice was introduced much later, when the concept of proxy was more accepted in human affairs. Nor were such conventions as signing a letter, now taken for granted, established as uniform practices until the late tenth century. The earliest documents attempt security through signatures that were signs of the cross, and they reflect oath taking, whereas names now thought of as signatures were identifications sometimes added by the scribe for nonliterate or semiliterate signatories. Documents were solemnized, or "blessed, sealed, and delivered" as the saying goes. Writing retained a certain aura of magic for transference as instruments of a priestly class. An enactment was the attempted capture of action in a timeless capsule; it called for subsequent reaction, often a ceremony of publication when the act was revived.

"Forgery," in the sense of document manufacture by molding different elements into a common instrument, may not have been as sinister (i.e., fraud) as later assumed. Some of the earliest forgeries appear to be clumsy attempts to capture oral memory in the new scribal technology, and some distortion seems to have been a by-product of interpretation in the transfer. If assumed to be true in the oral tradition, such truth could be preserved through documentation. Such transfer processes were in fact inventions. All records, like the archival process itself, are third-hand instruments. The scribal mediation is an intervention. We tend to think of documents as primary and objective sources because their literate manufacturers intended

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them as such. Indeed, their use required this assumption to make the technology and processes of writing work (e.g., written communications, mail delivery, and archival documentation as evidence substituting for first-hand witnesses), as implied by the use of the term *testament* (for testifying or verifying and passing along the seed of truth) as someone's "will" being executed in this life after the willing person's death. Under the influence of Roman law and canonical codes, oral traditions were documented not only in narrative form as stories becoming histories but also as acts remembered becoming *acta,* dedications becoming deeds, and memorized oral repeating becoming recordings and, hence, records. Many medieval documents pass anachronisms from oral tradition into archives, purposefully or by default. Even crude imitations of maturing documentary forms may not be misconstrued as blatant forgeries to be dismissed (as is too often done under the influence of so-called scientific historicism).

Such interplay among preliterate but formal memory, the transition to written records and proto-archives, and the formation of public archives is evident on the frontier of New Catalunya. Four select examples illustrate the gradual ascendancy of written documentation over the personal conduct of human affairs that was prerequisite to the formalization of archives. These pertain to the era of the reconquest of the Catalan frontier and the early Gregorian Reform movement, when local churchmen attempted to imitate Roman use of written instruments to attest the veracity of local property rights and authority relying on historical tradition.

A series of interpolated documents survive from the turn of the eleventh century, when monasteries resisted what they saw as an encroachment of episcopal authority on their rights established more than a century earlier. Peninsular scribes rather awkwardly and blatantly imitated papal bulls as templates for their crude documentary forms. They inserted clauses with privileges that rested on oral tradition as though these were newly sanctioned by Roman authority to counter claims of bishops in their organization of dioceses. And they claimed that these were authenticated copies—i.e., copying oral wisdom and customal law into written form and Roman law.[20]

In a related but earlier case, the abbot Cesarius of Sta. Cecilia de Montserrat in a ploy of one-up-manship claimed to have been consecrated archbishop of Tarragona at Santiago de Compostela. Thus, if he could not ward off episcopal intervention, he could transcend diocesan authority with metropolitan primacy. Without documentation to prove his case, he wrote to Rome with an account of his alleged elevation to the archiepiscopal dignity and asked for papal confirmation. He did not understand how this contravened post-Gregorian ecclesiastical policy of redistricting and ordering diocesan and metropolitan jurisdiction under papal authority, but he knew that papal recognition would legitimize his claim and that the act of writing to Rome was itself the exercise of a documentation strategy hitherto not practiced. Thus records were created, as was a quasi-archival series of monastic-papal correspondence. When his detractors could find no contradictory documentation, in a wonderful example of early archival digging and documentary exegesis, they resorted to document examination and internal criticism. They reasoned that even if Cesarius had gone to Compos-

[20]See the comparison of the bull (1016) of Sant Pere de la Portella, the false bull of Santa Cecilía of Montserrat, and the bull (1002) of Silvester II to Sant Cugat del Vallès by Ramon d'Abadal i Vinyals, "L'abat Cesarí fundador de Santa Cecilía de Montserrat i pretes arquebisbe de Tarragona. La falso butlla de Santa Cecilía," in his *Dels Visigots als Catalans,* ed. Jaume Sobrequés i Calicó, *La formacio de la Catalunya independent* (Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1970), vol. 2, 25–55.

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tela, and even if a bishop there had performed some sort of consecration, the whole affair was illegitimate because any episcopal primacy there rested on St. James's foundation of the see. If the apostle were buried there, he nevertheless arrived already dead. Therefore, legitimate apostolic succession was lacking, and there was no authority to be transmitted to the abbot. Thus the abbot's claim, whether concocted only in writing or in deed, was mere pretense. Cesarius died insisting he was the archbishop, without a single suffragan believing him, records or not.[21] And in still another related instance, the movement to restore the metropolitanate of Tarragona south of the Pyrenees caused scribes north of the mountains to ransack their archives in search of old Carolingian documents and hagiographic materials to compose the *Vita sancti Theodardi*. They sought thereby to secure the metropolitan rights of Narbonne, which, like the claims for Tarragona, rested on oral traditions connecting these sees with the missions of St. Paul.[22]

Then as now, such commemorative or historical preservation efforts pulled together materials from all over. These episodes all resulted in manuscript collections that formed the basis of systematic archives thereafter. Such "false" or noncontemporary and unofficial document production persisted. Some were quite ingenious, as in the case of the monks of Poblet who in the thirteenth century resorted to Arabic documentation (which was far more difficult to analyze than Latin forms) to prove that their land was inherited from preconquest Muslim overlords rather than being bestowed after 1150 by comital authority. It is no wonder that the royal chancery of Jaume I employed a secretary who specialized in Arabic manuscripts.[23] As scribes turned out such inventions, others invented means for forgery detection. Both processes contributed to the escalation of documentation of all sorts, the formalization of record production, better recordkeeping and the practice of appraisal for the admissibility of recorded evidence at court. If one thus relied on written records, archives were automatically the natural result. And once the switch to archives for proof and enforcement in law had been made, their loss could be disastrous, as King Philip Augustus discovered after his troops were routed in 1194 at Freteval, where he lost his supply caravan to the English . . . including his archives.[24] This loss plagued French royal power for a century and became far more embarrassing and troublesome than was the foray itself. The loss of the written claim was like losing the land itself; it then had to be reclaimed by force of the sword, the revival of oral tradition, or invention in the archives. Western culture has ever since

[21]For the letter of Cesarius, see Abadal i Vinyals, supra, 29–30, preserved in the archives of Vic, parchment 76. It is interestingly accepted as authentic by Richard Fletcher, *St. James Catapult* (Oxford University Press, 1984; see pp. 78–81), who inexplicably blames the problems of authentication simply on "a desperately corrupt text." Cf., Lawrence J. McCrank, "Restoration and Reconquest in Medieval Catalonia: The Church and Principality of Tarragona, 971–1177," unpublished dissertation, University of Virginia, 1974, vol. 1, 91–96, which was discussed further in "Forgeries in the Archives: A Long Hispanic Tradition," a session devoted to forgery detection from medieval to modern archives and Spanish forgeries in New World archives at the 1980 Society of American Archivists conference, Austin, Texas.

[22]Lawrence J. McCrank, "La restauración y la reconquista abortiva de Tarragona, 1076–1108," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 61–62 (1979): 145–245.

[23]Astruch Bonsenyor, identified by Trenchs Òdena, "La Cancillería de Jaime I: Cancilleres y Escribanos," *Paleográphica, diplomatica et archivistica Batelli (q.v.)*, II, 119.

[24]In this celebrated case, Philip Augustus lost everything: his fiscal records for his domain property, his seal, and his chests of public documents. This incident caused several monarchs to prefer traveling with bound volumes of transcripts. After the turn of the thirteenth century, copies in such registers seem to have been accepted as evidence without recourse to the original loose parchments.

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been obsessed with papers, their possession, authority, and lore.

The Formation of Comital and Ecclesiastical Archives

The medieval documentation of the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón extends back to the Carolingian period: Its oldest document dates to 844. Such manuscripts, however, came to the Barcelonan archives in accord with the growing autonomy of the Catalan counties from Frankish rule in the old Hispanic March and the hegemony of the House of Barcelona and its subsequent role as cultural conservator. The strongest houses in the post-Carolingian period were the mountain strongholds of Besalú and Cerdagne, Empuries and Roussillon, Pallars and Ribagorça . . . each with its resident local and comital nobility.[25] The descendants of Guifred "the Hairy," whose dealings entwined these families, built their power throughout the tenth century inland on the plains of Urgel, Vic, and Girona, away from the Muslim-dominated sea. Barcelona itself was repeatedly raided, was sacked by al-Hisam, and was so badly burned in 985 by al-Mansur that documents speak for another century of the ruin. Nevertheless, some two hundred parchments survive from before 986, when the scribes reassembled their writings and began copying documents held outside Barcelona for later use in the rebuilt capital. Thus Catalan archivists like Federico Udina Martorell have speculated that the comital archives were begun much earlier in the ninth century but were destroyed by the Muslim raids.[26]

These anonymous scribes from the late tenth century also recorded the resettlement of the Barcelonan territory, documented both the city itself and major landmarks, and alluded to the frontier immediately south of the highlands that protected Barcelona from Muslim Tarragona. But there is little evidence that this documentation activity was immediately centered at Barcelona or that early comital records were kept there. They were stashed in various castle keeps, in trunks or chests (later specifically a "white" *caja* which, like a strong box in a bank vault, was a smaller depository). Archival chests, like treasure chests, were placed in a niche or deposited on a wall-case or bookcase (*armarium*) situated under a stone arch in a secure room, imitating the proper station of a reliquary on a side altar.[27] Indeed, they were enshrined familial treasures, relics that kept past and pres-

[25]The early local household archives were baronial, not royal or imperial; hence they are here designated as comital, from *comes* or count (i.e., county), before the union of Aragon and Catalunya. These comital archives originated as a family archives and converted into a government archives only slowly, as the dynasty increased its power over several counties. Familial archives persisted, but they have been more prone to destruction without the establishment of church and state to protect them. Consequently, we have fewer such records to examine today. Those remaining are very informative for local history and daily life and for trade and commerce, as demonstrated by the Vivas family papers: see Pierre Bonnassie, "Une famille de la campagne barcelonaise et ses activities économiques aux alentours de l'An Mil," *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964): 261–303.

[26]F. Udina Martorell, *Guía histórica y descriptiva del Archives de la Carona u Aragón* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 1986), 21–23.

[27]These were very likely patterned after early Christian reliquaries, which, while suitable for display and a place of respect, were also portable in case of threat or disaster. They were perhaps descendants of the ancient *capsa* (from which the English word *case* is derived), which in the Roman empire resembled modern hat boxes in which scrolls were placed vertically as oblong rolls and were retrieved by their tags. The diminutive *capsula* meant a smaller chest or box, sometimes likened to a satchel or book bag, because of the connotation with the duties of a *capsarius*—a household slave who accompanied Roman school boys to their classes and carried their tablets and writing tools. *Capsella* was even more diminutive, meaning a coffer, which provides the connotation between coin box and personal security boxes, and in Romance the synonym of *caja* for depository bank. The masculine *capsus* is an enlargement, meaning a wagon or coach compartment big enough to carry people, rather than something carried on a person. See C. T. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966 [1st ed., 1879]), 288.

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ent inextricably bound together. The dynasty first relied on monastic labor and secure shelters like Ripoll, the comital pantheon, for its recording and documentary recall. Vic became a convenient stopover for checking documents, once the highland valley was safe, before the lower valley was secured and resettled by the monks of Sant Cugat. Like the Plains of Vic, the valley of Urgel was protected by highland barriers to Muslim incursion from the south. The old see of Urgel became a major records production center for its counts and bishops at the same time that documentation activity increased by the counts of Barcelona. From earliest beginnings of recordkeeping at the Seo de Urgel in 820, record production rates rose slowly before the millennium. Each decade thereafter that doubled, reaching a crescendo of activity between 1030 and 1090.[28] At the peak in 1080, Urgellian scribes were producing so many records that during the following century archivists were able to save more than one for every month.

The counts continued to rely on fortified religious houses as their treasuries and records deposits well into the eleventh century.[29] Comital government was unstable, in constant internecine and frontier warfare, and rulers who extended their lordships over any significant territory necessarily remained seminomadic, on the move between scattered residences. The Church provided the best locus for governmental stability, and its territorial organization was patterned after old Roman districts and along natural geographic boundaries. This situation changed dramatically during the long rule of Count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona, who broke with the older centers of power in the north and then subdued them. He began to concentrate his power base in Barcelona itself. The city was rebuilt, its fortifications extended, settlement spilled outside its Roman walls, and its port was revived. It is most likely under his rule that permanent offices and their records can be placed in Barcelona.

Aggressive military action along the frontier established a buffer between the Christian counties and the Muslim tawaîf or territorial lordships and their strongholds of Lleida and Tortosa, whose boundaries stretched to Tarragona. Document production during this time does not appear to have been regularized until the resurgent dominance of the mainstream of the Barcelonan house under Borrell II (947–92). His hegemony over the family's other branches marks more continuity in lines at Barcelona and Urgel than at Besalú and Cerdagne.[30] Apart from the Caroline and finest monastic exemplars, most surviving records are irregular in form; their texts are abbreviated, Latin is corrupt, the writing is poor, and the parchments are sometimes mere scraps.

More documents survive (704 mss., 1038–77 A.D.) from Ramon Berenguer I's long 39-year rule (hence his nickname "el Viejo") than from the 119 years in which his six predecessors governed (392 mss., 899–1016 A.D.).[31] The increased bulk of

[28]Taylor, "Medieval Catalonian Wills," fig. 1, based on C. Baraut, *Els documents [dels segles IX–XII] conservats a l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d Urgell,* published as a series in *Urgellia: Anuasi d'estudio históricos dels antics Comtats de Cerdamya, Urgell, i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran,* 2: 7–145; 3: 7–166; 4: 7–186; 5: 7–158; 6: 7–243; 7: 7–218; 8: 7–149; and 9: 7–312, cont'd.

[29]Burns, *Diplomatarium,* I, 15, prefers to think of these depositories as "proto-archives," when "charitably" considered. He concludes, "It comes as no surprise that the real founder of our archives as a serious institution was Jaume the Conqueror" (pp. 16–17).

[30]This reconsolidation of power is attested by 76 documents or nearly 3 per year (2.9). One hundred and nineteen documents survive from his son, Ramon Borrell (992–1017), or production at twice the former rate (4.8 per year), mostly after the rebuilding of Barcelona at the end of the millennium.

[31]The frequency of extant documents from such early

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keeping over a thousand parchments may explain why this count moved his chancery to the citadel of Barcelona. His designated "palace" occupied one of the old Roman wall's northeast towers furthest away from the sea. It was situated amid several fortifications facing the Muslim northeast inland passage and previous invasion route from the Penedes to the l'Anoia and down the Llobregat valleys. There his records, in their guarded "keep," were safe.

Subsequent territorial growth and supremacy over the other comital houses also explains the counts' need to establish other repositories which later came under the safekeeping of the Knights Templars. The counts enlisted scribal talent from the major scriptoria and chanceries of the ecclesiastical establishment, notably from the cathedral of Barcelona and from the monasteries of Poblet and Santes Creus. Extant documents through the year 1196 bearing the counts' names numbered nearly 3,000, indicating a gradual increase in production coterminous with this geographic expansion and consolidation of Christian territory under Barcelona's rule.[32] Consider the pattern of production of loose parchments alone. El Viejo's sons produced only a fraction of the documents their father's vigorous rule had required. Government became more local, oral, and customal during their turbulent co-rule (which culminated in fratricide) because so much power returned to the old noble factions. Coincidentally, Ramon Berenguer II's rule likewise ended in a three-year surge of hyperactivity in the chancery.[33] The nucleus for the subsequent comital archives may have been partially a historical preservation effort to recapture the documentation from Ramon Berenguer I's rule and before to create a continuity across this interregnum. Archival development was one means of reestablishing governmental stability.

Rebuilding Barcelonan hegemony by Ramon Berenguer III (1096–1131) meant (1) a consolidation of comital manses northeast of the capital; (2) a tight accountability over revenues, a renewed offensive against Islam, and resuscitated income from the formerly lucrative *parias* or tribute payments; and (3), as one might expect, a revival of documentation that included greater standardization and more continuity in the extant series. His 35-year rule, as long as his grandfather's, produced more than 366 documents at an average rate of 10.5 per year. His son, Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–62), ruled for a shorter time (31 years), but he oversaw the expansion of Catalan suzerainty over New Catalonia and pushed the reconquest to the Ebro by conquering Lleida and Tortosa in 1148–49. Four hundred and

comital record production increased as time marched on, indicating an intensification of formal government and growth of a scribal support system. From the first two counts (Guifre I [870–97] and II [897–911]), only 33 parchments survive (dating 899–913 plus a 968 copy), which is an average of less than one per year. None survive afterward from Barcelona as such, but scribes in Besalú and Cerdanya produced 54 records for Miro II (897–927) and his associates Sunifred II (897–950) and Sunyer (911–47, d. 950) dating through 966, or 1.6 documents per year during this period of fragmented rule. Berenguer Ramon I (1018–35) is remembered by 122 documents (1016–37) or 5.8 per year. ACA Parchment series, carpetas 1–41, enumerated by Udina Martorell, *Guía ACA,* 173–74. These rates contrast to Ramon Berenguer I's more than 17 per year or a rate more than three times previous rules, sustained throughout a remarkably long rule (1035–76), the source of his nickname "el Viejo" or "the old man."

[32]Luis Sánchez Belda, "Archivo de la Corona de Aragón," in *Diccionario de historia de España,* 2nd ed., edited by German Blieberg (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1968), I, 318–19.

[33]Eighty-three manuscripts for Ramon Berenguer II (1076–82) and 92 from Berenguer Ramon II (1083–96), or fewer than 13 documents per year by both brothers. Significantly 32 of Ramon Berenguer II's 83 documents (63%) were written in 1082–83, within a year of his assassination. The relation between this flurry of scribal activity and his tragic fratricide has never been explored adequately. Forty-one manuscripts or 14 per year, the most intensive document production to date. ACA Parchment series, carpetas 41–107 (Anfos I–Jaume I), numerated by Udina Martorell, *Guía ACA,* 174, in a table for 392 carpetas (to 1700), pp. 172-82.

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nine parchments (averaging 13.2 per year) survive; there are more undated records (51) than before, and a number of irregularities suggest scribal work at scattered sites, perhaps closer to the military front than in the old capital. The comital fiscal accounts began under his direction with an inventory in 1151, partially as a tightening of control of assets in the hinterland to defray the burden of the prolonged wars to capture the Ebro fortresses.[34]

Later registers, such as the *Liber testamentum, privilegiorum, statutorum, et gratiarum* (ACA Canc. Reg. 2), formed at the request of King Pere II (1196–1213), abstracted documents dating back to 1066 for this area.[35] The loose parchments are no longer extant, and neither are those used for the early fourteenth-century register to document royal and ecclesiastical rights in the Principality of Tarragona after the expulsion in 1171 of Norman lords, who had participated in the reconquest of this enclave. The *Rescripta et instrumenta super Tarrachonam et campum*, as its title indicates, were copies made ca. 1310–12 of 59 texts dating back to 1091.[36] These later compilations attest the earlier documentation of this frontier expansion across an unpopulated "no man's land" into the Muslim-settled valleys farther south, where comital rule was firmly established. But in the intermediate frontier, the archbishop of Tarragona and his Norman defender ruled a semiautonomous principality. Its records did not automatically accrue for preservation in the comital archives, but presumably they were kept at Tarragona. The outbreak of civil war there after the 1150s between the Normans and Catalans is perhaps the reason for discontinuity in Tarragona's original records and the need for this later reconstruction of the see's archives. The selected rescripts in the surviving register were most likely taken from Tarragona's lost cartulary, but they were limited to those testifying to the overlordships created during the reconquest (particularly to clarify archiepiscopal versus royal rights) rather than to document resettlement or the Church's domain.

Thus the production of records was accelerated with the increased size of the territory under Barcelonan suzerainty and the corresponding growth in government that reached a crescendo under Ramon Berenguer I and recovered nearly to the same level for his namesakes, Ramon Berenguer III and IV. The 2,898 pre-1200 loose parchments that have survived from before the thirteenth century account perhaps for as little as a tenth of total production.[37] Their survival attests to conscious safeguarding of the most important fiscal records, privileges, and treaties, as well as to effective historical preservation mainly from the mid-twelfth century onward. However, the loss of the bulk, which may have documented everyday business, conversely illustrates the lack of effective recordkeeping as a function of government. Formal government's reliance on writing rather than

[34]ACA, Canc. Perg. R. B. IV, f. 233, ed. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts,* II, no. 1 a–q, pp. 3–29. Cf. older treatments in Eduardo de Hinojosa, *El régimen señorial y la cuestión agraria en Cataluña durante la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1905; reprinted, *Obras* [Madrid: Academia de la Historia, 1955], 315–323), 180–92 (although the inventory was misdated by him); José Balari Jovany, *Orígines históricos de Cataluña*, 2nd ed. A. Coriera y Galla (San Cugat del Vallès: Instituto Internacional de Cultura Románica, 1964), II, 550–56; and for recent more interpretative studies, cf. Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu di Xe a la fin du XIe siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société* (University of Toulouse-le Mirail, 1975–76), I, 450–75; and Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts,* I, 23–77.

[35]ACA Canc. Reg. 2, consisting of 161 parchments dating to 1066, added to through 1514.

[36]ACA, Reg. Canc., no. 3; cf. Udina Martorell, *Guia,* 185; McCrank, *Tarragona,* II, 619. Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros" (p. 28), see this Tarraconensian compilation as a cartulary within a series of registers, but it is a meager reflection of grand cartulary production from the preceding century.

[37]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record,* 42–43, estimates even fewer, perhaps only 1 percent of those produced, survived for the English kings.

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oral contact, and an extension of rulership through officialdom instead of the charismatic presence of the ruler, remained relatively weak through Ramon Berenguer IV's years. In all, Pierre Bonnassie estimates that 15,000 documents from this area survive from before 1200 A.D.[38]

A comparison of documentary activity of the counts of Barcelona with the extant manuscripts for the contemporary papacy and the Norman-Angevin and Capetian dynasties, in England and France respectively, reveals that comital documentation in Barcelona began earlier than in other areas, owing primarily to the hyperactivity of Ramon Berenguer I's lawyers, notaries, and fiscal agents (see figure 1).[39] Even though the momentum achieved by this count's bureaucracy was compromised by the strife-ridden rule of his quarreling sons and a threat from resurgent Islam from Africa, document production revived and grew steadily by 1200 at about the same level as for the French crown. Papal archives expanded more rapidly with the Gregorian Reform. More and more French documents were copied to serve Philip Augustus, and Plantagenet dynastic ambitions on the continent from Henry II onward outstripped all other governments in reliance on agents and written instruments across the channel.[40] But these trends seem to be coterminus and indigenous developments rather than simple imitation. All of these governments turned to writing as a means to wield power across greater distances.

This medieval European transition to written documentation is clear in the accumulation of records before 1200 for the house of Barcelona. Lesser counts followed suit in converting their household governments into more official bureaucracies. They began to use written communication to extend their power geographically and to intensify government's role in everyday life as the population grew and became increasingly heterogeneous.[41] Attention only to comital archives as the sole indicator of records production and the growth of archives would be misleading, however, because Catalan and Aragonese government remained largely decentralized, and the union constituted at best a federation of secular and ecclesiastical lordships. The federation produced a network model that struggled for rationalization into a genuine system coterminous with the combined realm. It was not a strictly hierarchical structure as idealized by can-

[38]Bonnassie, *La Catalogne,* 107; he used approximately 4,400 of these for his survey of pre-twelfth century Cataluña.

[39]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record,* 44 (graph), takes its numbers from A. Murray, "Pope Gregory VII and His Letters," *Traditio* 22 (1966): 166; and Philip Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* (1882); R. C. Van Caenegem, ed., "Writs in England from the Conquest to Glanvill," in *Selden Society Publications* 72 (1959): 4; and Robert Fawtier, *The Capetian Kings of France,* translated by L. Butler and N. J. Adam (1962), 8.

[40]Thomas Bisson, "The Problem of Feudal Monarchy: Aragon, Catalonia, and France," *Speculum* 53 (1978): 474, reporting on the surge of documentation during the reign of Philip Augustus: "Once again the import of the statistics must not be exaggerated. Many of the acts counted above [1,400 royal documents from 1180–1215, of which 100 pertain to the definition of royal rights and 70 of these] were preserved only in the registers and the Trésor des Chartes, which were created in Philip's time. Yet it is difficult to escape the conclusion that such repositories were required precisely because then, for the first time, the records of homages and fiefs were being multiplied routinely." He reacts skeptically to John Baldwin's observation that "we know Philip as a feudal king because it was he that began to collect the evidence, and because it survived." Bisson cautions, "But, for all we know, it may also have been because it was Philip who began to *make* the evidence, and fortunately it is not necessary to rely on the facts of survival alone to conclude that this was probably the case." These observations pertain as well to practices south of the Pyrenees, even if the kings in northeastern Spain did not adopt the feudal model in its entirety.

[41]In "Problem of Feudal Monarchy (460–78), T. Bisson delineated the differences between state building in the Crown of Aragon, where the count-kings relied on regalian rights and inherited power based in Roman law more than feudal custom, and in France or other feudal monarchies, which used the fief and landholding mechanisms to define their domains.

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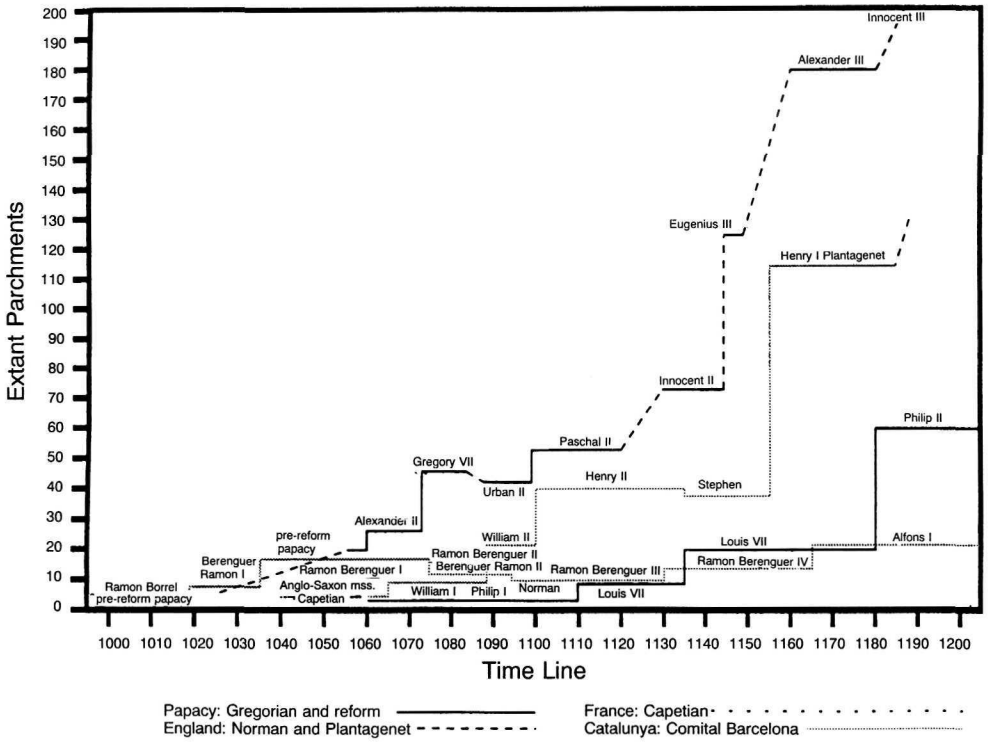

Figure 1. Growth of Royal and Papal Archives: Average Charter Production per Year of Reign

onists and secular lawyers, whose vision of feudal order was more orderly than it commonly was. On the other hand, nor was it as fragmented as seen elsewhere by feudal lords who regarded their fiefs as private rights and property.[42] Because government was more a matter of public administration than of authoritarian power and private right in the Arago-Catalan realm, governors and their agents (lay and churchmen) began to rely on public records. In all, civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the counties of the old Hispanic March of the Carolingians and the territories they incorporated produced an incredible number of records, of which more than 25,000 survived—a mere fraction of actual production.[43] It is no idle

[42]Bisson, "Problem of Feudal Monarchy" (468), characterizes northeastern Hispanic feudal forms as rooted more in Roman law than in local customs, and as more of a matter of public administration than of private right: "The vassalic and feudal structures, military and economic, were adjuncts to an authority built theoretically upon Romanist fidelity and majesty. The great prince-counts were grafting a Frankish (or neo-Frankish) custom of fiefs onto Roman-Visigothic principles of public order. These rulers continued to think of feudal grants as conditional rewards made from public domain, and such grants could be made at all levels. . . . The law of fiefs remained a part of public administration."

[43]Canellas López, "Cancillerías catalano-aragonesas" (369), counts 7,000 parchments and 20,000 paper documents, i.e., 27,000 total, through Jaume II (cf., the survey for all Catalan depositories by J. Trenchs Òdena, "Els documento condal catalan," *supra*). T. Bisson remarks in his *Medieval Crown of Aragon,* (190) that Catalan *masia* or fortified rural farmhouses and enclosures often contained parchments back to the fourteenth century and beyond, "reaching back like the rough-hewn stone of the house itself." And there are disparate Catalan familial archives still circulating in the antiquarian trade, some of which have recently found homes in the United States in the Spencer Li-

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boast that this accumulated record constitutes "the largest documentary fond of Europe" for these Middle Ages.[44]

Monastic and ecclesiastical archives paralleled the growth of comital collections. Some of the most intensive scribal documentation work in all Europe was initiated indirectly by Ramon Berenguer IV through his encouragement and patronage of the Cistercians in the frontier areas. Santes Creus and Poblet were founded as frontier institutions in New Catalunya, in the newly reconquered territory of Tarragona, even before the subjugation of the Muslim highlands (1150–55).[45] The Catalan Cistercians produced neither great works of spirituality and mystical treatises nor great charismatic leaders in the era of Bernard of Clairvaux and other giant figures. But in the process of building a monastic estate and serving as a catalyst to resettle most of Catalunya Nova, the white monks left behind a legacy of documents that is a true marvel. Their cartularies and registers, inventories, and loose parchments are among the greatest continuous series in all European archives.[46] The great horde of Cistercian charters was rescued after the destruction of the monasteries in 1836, and most records were conserved in Madrid's Archivo Histórico Nacional. They contribute significantly to a situation that has daunted medieval historians of northeastern Spain in their investigations of the Reconquest frontier. The problem has been described by Thomas Bisson: "Even among Iberian scholars the poverty of narrative sources together with a daunting superabundance of archival records, individually terse and drab, has discouraged the study of east Pyrenean societies in the twelfth century."[47] Indeed, these Catalan Cistercians have been subjected to serious archival research only since the 1970s, a full two centuries after the chronicler Finestres de Monsalvo sorted through their legacy of documents.[48]

This change in reliance on written documentation for comital government and for the great baronial and monastic domains is apparent when the Cistercian archives are compared with previous monastic documentation. The Benedictine cartulary of Sant Cugat de Valles is based on a series of loose charters (now lost) that were copied in the mid-thirteenth century and that have been conserved in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon. The series begins with copies of documents (lost in the fire of 985) dating to 875, and it continues with 1,391 manuscripts to 1249 A.D., or 3.7 per year. Of these, 450 are from the twelfth century (4.5 per yr.).[49] This impressive medieval archives nevertheless pales in contrast to Cistercian production. The monks of Santes Creus copied 32 documents into their archives to attest land claims based on original settlement from 925 A.D. onward, but the original manuscript series from 1150 continues to 1833, with 66 *carpetas*, or

brary at the University of Kansas and Special Collections at Georgetown University. Still, as Bisson remarks further, "Throughout the former Crown's lands the civil and ecclesiastical records are preserved in a relative abundance perhaps unmatched elsewhere in Europe—a national treasure that owes its existence partly to benign neglect, partly to the forbearance of modernizers, but chiefly to the pride of people for whom the medieval past retains vital immediacy. So rich a heritage is still far from having yielded all its secrets."

[44]As cited by Burns, *Diplomatarium,* I, 15, who notes that the edition of 250 charters from the comital archives by Udina Martorell (Barcelona, 1951), reveals "nothing about the counts' own exiguous holdings."

[45]Cf. Altisent, *Poblet,* 20–99; McCrank, "Monastic Inland Empires and the Mediterranean Coastal Reconquest in New Catalonia, 1050–1276," in *Spain and the Mediterranean,* edited by B. Taggie, et al. (Kirksville, Mo.: Thomas Jefferson University Press, 1992), 21–34.

[46]AHN (Madrid), Sección Clero, Poblet, carpetas nos. 1992–2290; Santes Creus, carpetas nos. 2756–2812.

[47]Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts,* I, preface, vi.

[48]J. Finistres y de Monsalvo, *Historia del real monasterio de Poblet* (Barcelona, 1746), 6 vols.

[49]Rius Serra, ed., *Cartulario de Sant Cugat* in 3 vols. (supra).

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folders, of 20 parchments each. This constitutes a series of approximately 1,320 manuscripts in 150 years (averaging 9 per year) before 1300 A.D.—double the rate of the older Benedictine establishments. Santes Creus's domain was limited compared with that of Poblet, situated farther westward, strategically midway between Tarragona and Lleida (or Lérida, the inland capital of the Arago-Catalan realm).

Poblet's location contributed to the importance of its scriptorium serving as a chancery whenever the court passed by the monastery. Subsequently it became a familial memorial as the pantheon for the count-kings of Arago-Catalunya. The records kept there included royalty's ultimate deposit of last testament, the entombment of the count-kings through Jaume I (1276).

One hundred and eighty-four documents dating back to 960 A.D. were added to the archives of Poblet after the monastery's foundation in 1150-53. Thereafter these archives survive in continuous series until 1833, when the abbey was sacked by angry mobs. Sixteen thousand and two documents survived this catastrophe, and they are now stored in 762 carpetas, or sheaths of twenty to twenty-two parchments each, in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid. Of these, 6,279 date to the end of the reign of Jaume I, at an average of 50 parchments per year, or a production rate averaging five times that of comital chanceries. Such documentation is not evenly distributed, however, and its chronological distribution reflects low ebbs and periods of heightened activity. Consider variance by decade as charted in figure 2.[50] A simple graph of this production indicates the great expansion periods of Poblet's domain as a frontier monastery before 1200, a peak of consolidation activity through the reign of Jaume I, and a leveling of activity thereafter.[51]

It was then, after the greatest production of archives through the mid-thirteenth century, that it was necessary for the monks to copy rescripts into a codex for easier retrieval, and for itinerant justices to carry these to multisite courts to litigate disputes—i.e., to codify the archives. This included a reclassification of documentation both by (1) holdings and place names used as subject, and (2) chronology, with standardized incipits highlighted for easy scanning and the production of indexes.[52] The Cistercians seem to be the first documentary indexers from the 1170s onward, with interesting experimentation in standardized orthography, abbreviations, nomenclatures, alphabetization, and subordination of terms, as well as cross-referencing. Such developments paralleled the increased reliance on inventories in the archives for retrieval of records and the use of rudimentary registration methods to ensure tracking of records, abstracting them if archival copies

[50]Number of charters surviving per decade at the two largest Cistercian foundations in the frontier of New Catalonia: Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Ser. monásticos:

Decades	*Poblet*	*Santes Creus*
pre-1149	176	44
1150s	124	65
1160s	185	61
1170s	313	46
1180s	373	60
1190s	488	71
1200–09	541	119
1210–19	506	79
1220s	610	75
1230s	667	97
1240s	580	53
1250s	480	63
1260s	500	50
1270s	340	28

[51]See Lawrence J. McCrank, "The Frontier of the Spanish Reconquest and the Land Acquisitions of the Cistercians of Poblet, 1150-1276," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 29 (1973): 57–78.

[52]Such classification was not, as Theodore R. Schellenberg thought (*Modern Archives. Principles and Techniques* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1956], 65–67), a form of library classification. Records were grouped by agency, region, and date into naturally ordered series, following a rudimentary form of provenance and evolving principle of original order.

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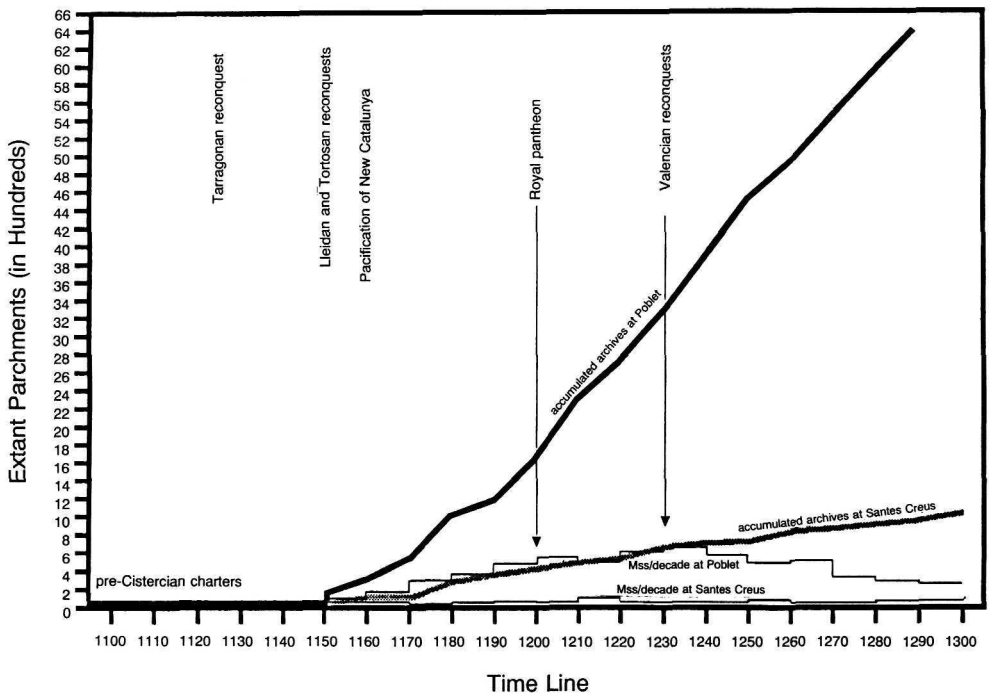

Figure 2. Cisterian Archives in New Catalunya

were not made, and classifying them geographically so there were means of retrieval other than addressee and date of issue. Registration was primarily a mechanism to guard against forgeries and loss of documents sent out, but it would become the basis for archival information retrieval by the thirteenth century. This transition (ca. 1150–1200 A.D.) marks the critical conversion from the earlier historical record-keeping to the management of contemporary records in the late twelfth century and, subsequently, a major effort in the preservation of earlier archives during the thirteenth century. It is crucial for understanding the history of Western archives.

Codification and the Formalization of Archives

This intensification of notarial activity occurred coterminously with scribal efforts to stock libraries and canonist's efforts to secure the ascendancy of uniform Roman law over customary and local varieties. Because so much documentation work was done by the same scribes who were employed in medieval book production, there was a tendency to see the ordering of archival records as a variation of codification (as implied in the notion of law codes). Binding loose parchments into codices was considered the best method of combining preservation and portability. Scribes specialized as librarians when building libraries, bringing an enlarged twelfth-century corpus of literature under bibliographic control through codification and cataloging. From the time of Ramon Berenguer I onward, the scholia of Barcelona acquired codices (e.g., Priscilian's *Grammar*) from monastic scriptoria and older libraries to the north and from production centers in Italy through loans, gifts, and extensive

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copying.[53] Likewise, notaries assigned the curatorial tasks of recordkeeping became protoarchivists in facing an ever greater abundance of parchments. Perhaps in Spain as in England, and at the same time (1170s through their heyday before 1250), cartulary production was at first a monastic activity, coupled with such collection development, which spread into the cathedral scriptoria and thence into secular chanceries.[54]

This was an era (1150–1250) that may be seen as the first large-scale investigation of information-control techniques with innovations in standardized orthography, name authority control, tagging and annotation, abstracting and extracting, indexing, and addresses and titles. There were stylistic changes in writing, such as the adoption of Gothic forms replacing Caroline miniscule, the wider acceptance of cursives, more abbreviations, and more linear script to speed production. And there were experiments in binding structures (loose documents in series, chests and cases, casings and portfolios, and codices or sewn collated bindings), new materials (parchment, limp vellum, and paper, even before its widespread availability), and formats (documents on separate membranes, composites of multiple documents on one membrane, rolls written vertically, volumes or scrolls written horizontally, and oversized folios). These changes, internal to archives, must be related to externals, such as (1) a greater mix of more people; (2) larger governments with layers of authority becoming increasing systematized; (3) specialization of offices, more agents, and schools to train them; (4) proliferation of scribal centers and multiple archival depositories; (5) greater distances, with more territory and wider markets, which required established routes, secure roads, and courier systems; (6) translation, transcription, and authentication services associated with notaries; and (7) lawyers everywhere.[55] As in England, "The increasing mass of royal documents tended to enlarge and stratify the bureaucracy which produced them."[56] The same was true of the Church. Such changes, their suddenness and magnitude, must have seemed to late twelfth-century innovators truly revolutionary, much as twentieth-century observers wonder at the so-called information age—which might be perceived as one of several such accelerations in the development of information technologies and the overwhelming geometric increase of infor-

[53]Martínez Ferrando, *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (31–33), associates the acquisition of classical manuscripts from northern monastic and episcopal libraries with the build-up of comital archives at Barcelona. Others note the influx of codices in Beneventan script during the twelfth century, when Barcelona was allied with Genoa and Pisa.

[54]Clanchy, "Cartularies," *Memory to Written Record,* 79–80, points to the monastic origin of both chronicles and cartularies, and he defines the latter as "a collection of title-deeds copied into a register for greater security." He contrasts them with the more ancient practice of chronological tables and narratives, maintaining that in England cartularies "were products of the insecurity brought about by the Norman Conquest and the civil war of Stephen's reign, combined with greater competition between monastic houses to acquire and retain lands." His observation may be appropriate for northeastern Spain as well, since cartulary production was favored by the largest religious houses and cathedral chapters that struggled to retain lands acquired in frontier areas before competition from increased lay settlement. Codified chirographs served the same purpose, in similar forms, at the same time in these two diverse regions of medieval Europe.

[55]Whereas Trenchs Òdena was able to identify 36 scribes producing comital documents from 1135 through 1160 ("Escribanos de Ramón Berenguer IV," 7-8), his examination of Jaume I's chancery ("Cancillería de Jaime I," 115–22) resulted in lists of 20 scribes using the royal insignia (1218–1273); 24 serving as notaries (1218–1268); 77 scribes serving the chancellor and the king; 4 more for the Queens Leonor and Violante; and 27 who served the infantes Alfons, Jaume, and Pere, with his wife Contanza. This suggests that within a century the scribal bureaucracy of the Crown quadrupled in size. So did the archives.

[56]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record,* 46.

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mation itself . . . with attendant records to keep!

A cartulary is a copybook of titled deeds. The earliest use of the term *chartararium* or cartulary by the monks of Sant Cugat in 988 refers not to a bound codex but to the chest safeguarding the monastery's charters, which provides the precedent for confusing a cartulary with an entire archives.[57] The earliest use of codices as account books dates from the rule of Ramon Berenguer III.[58] Some speculate that Catalans followed precedents set as early as ca. 1150 by scribes such as the consul Oberto of Milan, who worked for Emperor Frederick Barbarosa (d. 1190). Hohenstaufen and Barcelonan Mediterranean trade empires were so interconnected that both government and business recordkeeping practices could have readily influenced each other.

To attempt greater archival control over more documentation—now spanning some time and a wider geographic area—Arago-Catalan scribes in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries produced a number of codified rescript bound cartularies. Among them were those of the Benedictine houses of Tavernoles, Bages, Estany, and Sant Cugat[59] and the newer Cistercian houses of Poblet and Santes Creus;[60] The cathedrals of Tarragona and Barcelona had their celebrated *Libri Antiquitatum*;[61] and earlier compilations came from Girona and later at Tortosa.[62] At about the same time, scribes at Urgel and Vic gathered together rescripts of their deeds and privileges into their *Libri dotationum antiquitatum*[63] and, in Girona, scribes emphasized the continuity of their compilation activities with the earliest foundations of the diocese by attributing the authority for its cartulary to Charlemagne himself.[64] Six comital and royal cartularies were produced, as were another five for the Knights Templars.[65]

So pervasive was this compilation activity and the codification of loose parchments into rescript cartularies for security and

[57]*Cart. Sant Cugat,* vol. 1, no. 218; noted also by Bonnassie, *La Catalogne,* I, 26, n. 31.

[58]ACA, Canc. Perg., RB III, no. 252. The regular appearance of account books, however, is linked to the office of the local *battles* or bailiffs who served as the Crown's agents, especially in the reign of Alfons I, by Arágo Cabañas, "Folium, rotuus, y liber," 299, esp. n. 299.

[59]Archivo capitular de Vic, ms. *Cartulario de Santa María de l'Estany.*

[60]Juan Pons y Marques, ed., *Cartulari de Poblet, edicio del manuscrit de Tarragona* (Barcelona, 1938) which is the *minor* or smaller cartulary that survived at Tarragona: Biblioteca provincial de Tarragona, Ms. 241: *Llibre Blanch: Cartulario menor de Poblet* (siglo XIII). Cf., the equivalent for the sister monastery, BPT MS. 169, *Llibre Blanch: Cartulario del monasterio de Santes Creus* (siglos XII–XIII). The loose parchments for Santes Creus were taken to Madrid with the Poblet's parchment series, AHN, carpetas 1992–2073 (960–1200 only) for Poblet; Carp. 2756–68, *Cartulario mayor de Santes Creus* (925–1201); cf. AHN sign. 1325, Codex 992B, *Cartulario mayor de Poblet* (1152–1311). The last dated charters in this cartulary provide *a terminus ante quem* for determining when some of this major compilation activity took place around Tarragona.

[61]Unfortunately, the grand cathedral cartulary of Tarragona has been lost, possibly destroyed in the civil war. It was extant at the turn of the century, when it was last used by Emilio Morera y Llauradó, *Tarragona cristiana. Historia del arzobispado de Tarragona y del territorio de su provincia (Catalunya la Nueva)* (Tarragona, n.p., 1898–99), 2 vols.. A later set of documents was pulled together for Tarragona after the ecclesiastical principality's reintegration into the Crown of Aragon, i.e., Archivo Archdiocesano de Tarragona, *Cartulari A.B.* of Abp. Benet de Rocaberti. The grand four-volume cartulary of Barcelona remains unedited, although publication was promised more than a decade ago. Its documents are accessible through Josep Más, *Notes historiques del bisbat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1906–21), 13 vols.

[62]ACA volumes, *Cartulari de Tortosa.*

[63]Seo de Urgell, archivo capitular, ms. *Liber dotaliorum ecclesiae Urgellenses* (early 13th century), contains 766 documents in 2 vols.; cf., larger series edited by Cebrià Baraut, 1978– (1,449 documents published to date).

[64]Archivo diocesano de Girona, *Cartulari "Carles Many"* and in the Archivo capitular de Girona, the *Llibre Vert.* Cf. the index to the former by Joaquin Botet y Siso, "Cartoral de Carles Many: index cronologich.," *Boletín de la Real Academic de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 3 (1905–06) and 4 (1907–08).

[65]Sánchez Belda, *Diccionario,* I, 318; "Los Templarios de la Corona de Aragón. Indice de su cartulario del siglo XIII," *Boletín de la Real Academic de la Historia* 2 (1898): 451–63; 23 (1898): 90–105.

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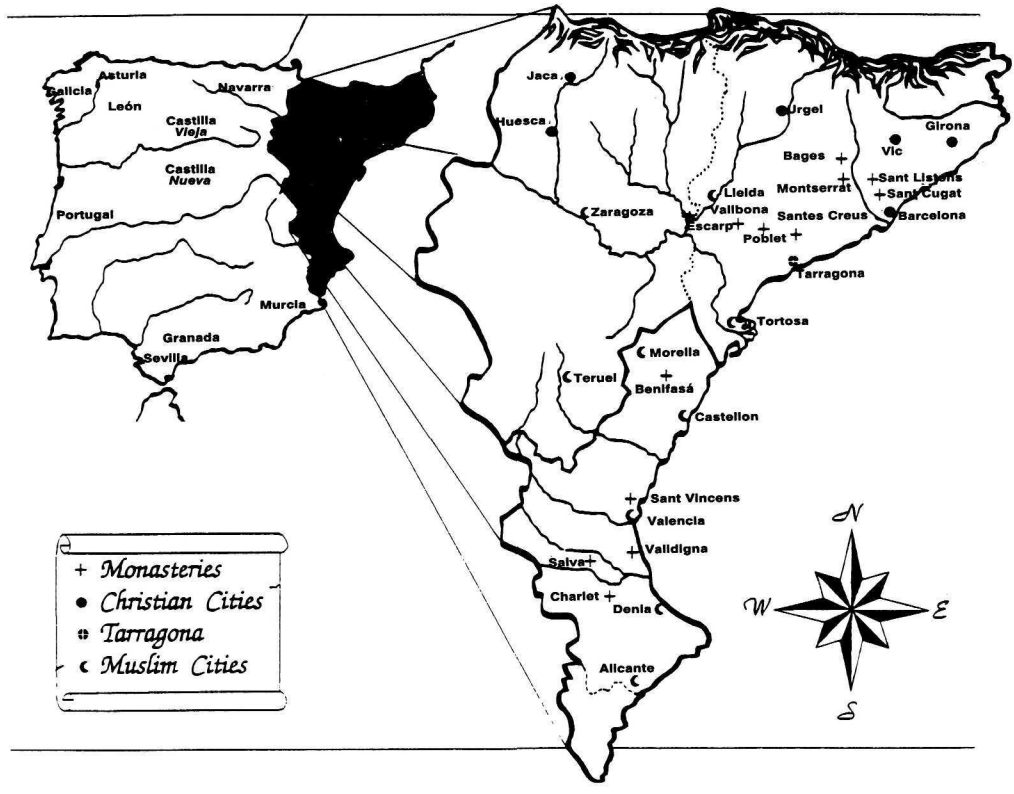

portability at the same time, that the very term *cartulary* began to be used synonymously for archives.[66] Such confusion was widespread, as illustrated by Pere III's later allusion in 1285 to "all kinds of writings and instruments which we believe to be in our cartulary in Barcelona." His explanation of checking the registers for the instruments and writings in question reveals that he was talking about his entire archives.[67] The confusion is similar to the later problem when *biblioteca* was replaced by *libraria* (from *liber* for library). This change in usage misconstrued serial compilations of individual works and collections for dissemination and sale, with a deposited or institutional collection in a library facility.[68] Then as today, such terminology in common parlance often lacks precision. Registers, of which a cartulary

[66]Note that a cartulary is a form of register for all official and formal documents. As such, it is more selective than a general registry of all records (incoming and outgoing), and it preserves the final form, rather than a draft of outgoing records, which may be in a register of protocols or draft versions. But such definitions underwent considerable clarification in the nineteenth century (eg., Muller, Feith, and Fruin, *Manual,* 168–70, 191, 206). Before that time there was confusion arising from local usage and a wide variety of synonyms (eg., *repertoire* for "register").

[67]ACA, Pere III, Canc. 56, f. 96v, cited by Burns, *Diplomatarium,* I, 49–50, esp. n. 4: "Nos indigeamus aliquibus scriptis seu instrumentis quos esse credimus in nostro cartholario barchinonensi; mandamus vobis quatenus registros, instumenta et scripturas dicti cartholarii nostri hostendatis."

[68]McCrank, "Libraries, medieval," *DMA* 7: 557. For terminology, see Felipe Mateu Llopis, "<Carta>, <liber>, <littera>, <pagina>, y <tomus> en la Bibliografía y Diplomática hispanas," *Bibliotecon-omía* 27 (1970): 19–28.

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is but one variety (the most formal, authorized version) and need not be a bound codex to function as such, are also called cartularies in the sense of a charter book (i.e., formalized documents that have been subjected to some form of archival control).[69]

In this era of experimentation to bring more records under control, medieval scribes strengthened their archives by inventing systematic "records management." This activity was commensurate with the strengthening of fiscal controls, including new accounting techniques, such as property and tax surveys performed by auditors on circuits who compiled fiscal records for better administrative planning. Thomas Bisson's edition and study of these early auditors notes that fiscal accounts, as he prefers to call them, indicate the rise of accountable government and bureaucracy, which clearly is a precursor of the elaborate tax records resulting from even more grand surveys a century later to raise money for the crusades.[70] There is more in common between medieval and modern fiscal and records management than is often understood: field inventory records and unified accounts; notarization and authorized document copying; systematic appraisal and conservation, including reproduction and binding; audit procedures; and primitive forms of retention scheduling for transfer from local repositories into letter books and into loose records series where insertions are clearly recorded to avoid interpolation. Cartulary production was a merger of two methodologies—one of ordering for access and the other of conservation. Both were predicated on prior appraisal and selection for long-range retention. Such activities on the part of monastic and ecclesiastical scribes produced a variety of documentary tools for an enlarged court system, increased litigation, and a reliance on written evidence which was unheard of during the previous century. Why?

After the 1150s, the Christians absorbed New Catalunya and the old tawaïf kingdoms of Zaragoza (captured in 1118, but whose territory was not controlled for another decade, as indicated by the disastrous defeat of the Christians at Corbins in 1124). Ramon Berenguer IV finally secured the valley and rolling plains in this annexed territory by taking Lleida and Tortosa in 1148–49. However, the rugged highlands (sometimes called the "badlands") between the Ebro River and the Plains of Tarragona were not subdued until after several military campaigns around 1155. Nevertheless, they were not pacified totally or freed from bandits for still another century after the Christians in the 1180s pushed into

[69]The earliest registry systems in Europe have been traced to Rome, where magistrates kept private notes or *commentarii* for tracking their daily agenda; these were eventually transcribed into court journals (*commentarii diurni*) in chronological order. Primitive systems kept just two parallel files, outgoing and incoming series, and then cross-referenced them to relate two records for the same business. Theodore Schellenberg identifies registration systems that interfiled and used separate indexing to collate records about the same subject as "more advanced" in his *Modern Archives* (65–67). He does not include Iberian practices as background, but does cite Galbraith (69) to point to the enrollment of royal letters by the king's chaplain and in 1199 by the chancellor (i.e., the rolls series) as among the earliest systematic medieval registry methods. Cf., V. H. Galbraith, *Introduction to the Use of the Public Records* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934). Note that Burns (*Diplomatarium*, I, 49) prefers to think of a cartulary as a "proto-register," because they do not indicate registration on the spot or as being simultaneous with production and mailing, but are artificially created after the fact. The ACA's "registers proper," by which he means registration immediately upon production, begin systematically only in the reign of Jaume I. Of course, if rudimentary registers were replaced by cartularies and were at first temporary tools leading to the more formal charter books, then one may think of Jaume's "registers proper" as not necessarily the first simultaneous registry with scribal production but as the first to stand alone as discreet and independent finding aids.

[70]Cf. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts,* with McCrank, "La anatomía fiscal de post-restauración de la Iglesia de Tarragona. Una revisión de las *Rationis Decimarum Hispania* (1279–80)," *Hispania: Revista Expañola de Historia,* 45 (1985 [1986]): 245–97.

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northern Valencia. Christian couriers were robbed regularly and retinues attacked on the coast road between Tarragona and Tortosa until after the 1280s. During this expansion, the count-king Ramon Berenguer IV and his spouse, Queen Petronila of Aragon, had a critical need to codify more than cartularies to restore order, consolidate their realm, and reform it for the new era. They had to revamp the entire legal system, accommodate customal and Roman law through such efforts as the codification of the Catalan *Usatges*, and secure their archives as well as make them work with the scriptoria and chanceries that generated records. Unification was an enormous task, with an enlarged span of control three times the former magnitude. Moreover, this had to incorporate two Latin-based cultures with two vernaculars and more than six regional dialects (not counting the supra-Pyrenean complex), a sizable Jewish minority, and a third kingdom in which Muslims constituted the majority. What the sword could not accomplish, the pen would.

The new literati applying their skills and writing technology knew that they were reshaping society and creating culture. Their documents attest their own feelings of empowerment. By the 1160s, phrases appear repeatedly in Catalan documents showing that the act of writing and creating a document was thought of more and more as the accomplishment itself. Just as in oral communications, the spoken order was understood to create the *ordo* or order of things, and increasingly the letter of the law became law itself. So, too, the act and deed were the critical action and transaction of giving something to another or transferring intangible authority. *Facta,* or facts, were not conceived then to be static information or mere data. Instead, they derived meaning from the action verb *facere,* to make something happen. One scribe from Besalú acknowledged in 1165 that mere mortal facts were saved from oblivion when, with proper authority, they were enviously saved in the future memory through writings. Bishop Guillem of Lleida in 1168 maintained that the series of human events, when faithfully committed to letters, is truth never to be subtracted from the memory of posterity. In 1178 a scribe taking notes in Tortosa asserted that by so doing they could remember so much the better, and in 1198 still another argued that one could hardly put into motion or govern, or even retain something by memory, unless one brought it back (recalled, mentally and actually) in writing.[71] If eleventh-century Catalan society underwent "cultural mutations," as Pierre Bonnassie calls them, without a sure sense of control and direction except in ecclesiastical reform, the generation thereafter sought increased control of its own destiny.[72] This is evidenced not only in re-

[71]These highly illustrative examples of scribal faith in writing technology, and in being able to keep what is written, were gleaned from Catalan preambles and protocols to twelfth-century documents by Michel Zimmerman, "Protocoles et préambules dans les documents Catalans du Xe au XIIe siècle: Évolution diplomatique et signification spirituelle," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velaźquez,* pts. 1–2, 11 (1974): 41–77, and 11 (1975): 51–79, quoted in pt. 2, p. 79 from published documents of January 9, 1165 (Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, ed., *Colección diplomatica del condado de Besalú* [Olot, 1889–1907], II, p. 11); May 7, 1168 (Jaime Villanueva, ed., *Viaje Literario a las iglesias de España* [Madrid: Real Academía de la Historia, 1851], vol. 16, no. 14, 259); December 11, 1178 (Villanueva, *VL* [1806], vol. 5, 269); and an unpublished record of February 27, 1198, from Sta. María de Ridaura (ACA, Ridaura mss., no. 16).

[72]Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* (1974), 2 vols. Bonnassie analyzes statistically the records dating between 900 and 1150 in Catalan archives for Sant Benet de Bagés, the cathedrals of Vic (825 mss.) and Barcelona (1,064 mss.), comital archives of Barcelona (1,350 mss.), and inclusions in the archives of Poblet (91 mss.) predating its foundation; see esp. notes and graphs, vol. II, 885–93. His graphs show a dramatic increase in documentation in Barcelona, both for the church and comital government, after Ramon Berenguer I, ca. 1050, when the rate of documents at older sites such as Vic and Bages was declining. The height of activity at the latter appears in 1010, with a precipitous rise and decline to and from this point, whereas more regular records production at Vic indicates the continued importance of this center through the eleventh century and decline in the twelfth.

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forming how business was conducted (with greater forms control, precision of language, and documentation), but in the obvious forethought of the future, as indicated by recordkeeping and bookkeeping practices and the justifications for these scribal and archival activities in the preambules and protocols of the documents themselves.

The case of the *Usatges* illustrates the scouring for documents and organization of archives which the Reconquest inspired.[73] These legal usages originated in local customal law, mostly in the Catalan counties, with origins back to Visigothic law, which could conflict with the new Roman law and in setting Catalan customs against Aragonese tradition. All had to be reconciled as the new amalgamation of Arago-Catalunya was being forced, with the addition of Muslim Zaragoza, Lleida, and Tortosa. Scribes were assembling the *Usatges* into codified form for such comparative study and use in the courts, beginning under the rule of Ramon Berenguer IV (1131–62) in anticipation after 1137 of his son's ascendancy to the comital and royal titles (Ramon Berenguer V, who became Alfons I of Catalunya and Alfonso II of Aragon [1162–96]). At the same time a search was under way for older authority, precedents, proof and evidence, whatever its source, to compile the new codified and authoritative law.[74] The result was a conscious fusion after 1150 of local judicial tradition with selected regalian criteria, such as the perpetuation of the Peace and Truce of God, to create a tool for standardized precedent. There was also continued interpretation after 1172–73 along lines intended by the Crown to govern Catalunya. The *Usatges* remained a living legal code through the constitutional crisis of 1188 and was repromulgated in 1192 with the Peace and Truce of God.

During the same period, after 1150 but before the death of Ramon Berenguer IV in 1162, the comital court busily researched what records and oral traditions its investigators could find to compose the family's genealogy, the *Deeds* or *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium,* to link the family to Carolingian origins and thereby make it worthy of the dynastic union with Aragon.[75] Greater historical consciousness is also exhibited in the documents themselves, which allude to previous events beyond personal experience. A telling example was provided by the monks of Sant Cugat del Valles, who in 1155 referred to the destruction of their monastery in 985. They thus kept alive the memory of that fateful year—no one who lived in their region was ignorant of the incident.[76] Like this precedent citation, history production, and law codification, cartulary manufacture from loose parchments assembled in rudimentary archives was a means of capturing history both as a memorial device and as documentary information retrieval. In book form, this also could serve the promotion of supraregional royal authority through ritual and exemplary ceremonial use at court and in court.[77] The history of this legal work

[73] *Usatges de Barcelona*, edited by Ramon d'Abadal i Vinyals and Feran Valls Taberner (Barcelona, 1913), relying still on the older interpretation (1876) of Balari Jovany, *Orígines históricos de Cataluña* II, 452–501.

[74] The dating *Usatges*, first redated from Ramon Berenguer I's rule, to that of Ramon Berenguer IV after the Lleidan and Tortosan reconquests, was suggested by Ramon d'Abadal after his collaboration with Ferran Valls i Taberner, eds., *Usatges de Barcelona* in *Textes de dret catala* (Barcelona, 1913), but was not fully explored until Bonnassie's *La Catalogne*, II, 711-28. This was qualified by Joan Bastardas i Parera, *Sobre la problemàtica des l'Usatges de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1977).

[75] *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Louis Barrau Dihigo and J. J. Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925).

[76] *Cart. Sant Cugat*, no. 1002 (June 27, 1155), cited by M. Zimmerman, "Protocols et préambules," pt. 2, 78. Zimmerman argues that earlier formulas were prone to express religious sentiment or state a theological proposition rather than to cite historical precedent.

[77] It may be that for preliterate men, being inscribed in a book had a certain magical touch, not dissimilar to some tribal peoples who regard being photographed

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was forever confused by the scribes' invoking for the *Usatges* the authority of Ramon Berenguer I (1035–76) and namesake of the Barcelonan counts directing such compilation, in the same vein that Ramon Berenguer IV's son took on the name Alfons to cloak himself in the aura of Alfonso I, the Battler (1104–34), who had extended the mountain kingdom of Aragon into the greater arena of peninsular affairs by conquering Zaragoza in 1118. The invocation of previous regnal names, emulating pontifical naming to characterize a future direction in papal policy or more personally choosing baptismal names to invoke the guardianship of a saint, is characteristic of the historicism and self-consciousness that also inspired chronicle writing and motivated archival development as historical preservation.

The intellectual process of naming itself promoted archival information retrieval through identification and classification. The twelfth century experienced a process of clarification in individual identity at the same time royal, episcopal, and baronial rights were being clarified. Such disambiguation as personal naming, with increasingly standardized orthography for cognomens and patterns in familial name taking, created continuity with ancestors (thus assisting modern genealogical reconstruction and prosopography). Assumptions of place names as cognomens to associate oneself with ancestral homes or bases of power also enabled men to address each other in oral communication or by letters with directions to couriers, tax collectors, and bailiffs as a precondition for the conduct of business by proxy. Such developments provided (1) external controls, such as rudimentary name authority, evident in more formal protocols in signing documents and making lists; and (2) the basis for increasingly elaborate classification systems and indexing by name, place, date, and subject matter. These intellectual concepts and scribal technologies were instrumental in the formation of archives.

These phenomena of recording history, recordkeeping, legal codification, and archives development are all reflected in the career of the dean of the cathedral of Barcelona and master scribe for King Alfons I, Ramon de Caldes (ca. 1135–1200). He entered the king's service in 1178, and after 1192 he oversaw the thorough survey of the chancery archives in Barcelona (a massive copying and codification project) and the compilation of the famous *Liber Feudorum Maior* (LFM), or Great Book of Fiefs.[78] After the Pact of Cazola of 20 March 1179, when King Alfonso VIII of Castile recognized Alfons II's rights to proceed against Valencia, the latter king slowed the Reconquest instead of waging vigorous warfare in the south. He focused on the consolidation of his realms and sought the unification of Aragon and Catalunya in more than name or inherited rights. He enlisted scribes from the episcopal scriptoria, where codification of archival material had already begun, and hence the book orienta-

as an endangerment, believing the picture captures their spirit. The Church behaved this way when connecting sacramental rites, such as baptism or confirmation, with enrollment (literally, writing one's name into a continuous roll wherein one's name could be linked to ancestors and progeny), and in certificates that memorialized original acts. Such modern customs have their remote origins in medieval scribal practices.

[78]Anscari M. Mundó, "El pacte de Cazola del 1179 i el <Liber Feudorum maior>: notes paleogràfiques i diplomàtiques," *X Congrés d'història da la Corona d'Aragó* (Zaragoza: CSIC and Ayuntamiento de Zaragoza, 1979–), II, 119–29. Ramon de Caldes was born ca. 1135, perhaps at Caldes de Montbui, son of the bailiff Porcell de Caldes. He entered the cathedral chapter of Barcelona in 1156, became dean ca. 1162, worked for both the chapter and the royal chancery after 1178, and continued in the king's service until his death. Cf., the references in Josep Más, *Notes historiques* vol. 11, nos. 1767–2069. Más placed the dates for Ramon de Caldes between 1161 and 1199, as noted by Miguel Rosell, ed., *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, viii; cf., Bisson, "Ramon de Caldes," and his summary biography, *Fiscal Accounts*, I, 93–97.

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tion of ecclesiastical and monastic scribes was carried into chancery offices. R. I. Burns calls Ramon de Caldes a "proto-archivist,"[79] but Pierre Bonnassie more resolutely calls him Alfons's archivist.[80] Thomas Bisson claims that he was "the first great archivist of the Crown of Aragon."[81] Because Ramon was responsible for the reorganization of royal financial accounts, he was also familiar with data collection and records surveys. The dean resorted to paper records, producing what Bisson sees as "possibly the first of the great series of paper registers of the Crown of Aragon."[82] These, too, he gathered into folders and either had them bound or copied as parchment rescripts forming the codex *Liber domini regis,* which unfortunately has been lost.[83] Reform during this era, as rightly observed by Bisson, rested on "the secular clerks and scribes through whose labors professional literacy became indispensable to government. In this sense Ramon de Caldes and his associates were not so much the reformers as the founders of public administration in Catalonia."[84]

[79]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 17 (ill. 2).

[80]Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*, I, 26.

[81]Thomas Bisson, "Ramon de Caldes (c. 1135–c. 1200): Dean of Barcelona and King's Minister," in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, edited by Kenneth Pennington and Robert Sommerville, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1977), 288.

[82]Bisson, "Ramon de Caldes," 286.

[83]For an example of such financial records after 1151, see Bisson, ed., *Fiscal Accounts*, 171 edited documents, 1151–1211.

[84]Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon* (51-52); in his earlier "Problem of Feudal Monarchy" (468), he characterizes the *LFM*, despite its title, as "exclusively a land book concerned with proprietary or reversionary right, and there is no reason to suppose that it was connected with any systematic effort to strengthen suzerain rights or vassalic obligations." He sees it as a result of the Crown's reliance on written instruments and archives to counter the tendency of fief holders to convert their properties from public domain to allods or free-holdings, i.e., private property. In this sense, the *LFM* would have served the same purpose as ecclesiastical and monastic cartularies to protect church domains from lay encroachment.

Rescript Cartularies Versus Registered Records

The *Liber Feudorum Maior* is the key to understanding this twelfth-century revolution in documentation practices. This remarkable production of more than 870 grand folios attests the experimentation which occurred and the vacillation between codified manuscripts as books and the other forms of loose records control. Ramon de Caldes describes (as paraphrased, *passim*) the undertaking in his "Prologus in Libro Domini Regis" as a compilation of faithful copies, with interspersed princes of the realm decorating the great folios, written legibly for everyone to read, with nothing that would not shed clear light on the right of the faithful in the principality. The chancery scribes thus labored to reproduce for the use of the king and his successors all of the important documents, all with proper subject access, now under one order where previously there had existed inordinate confusion. Thus, proclaims this master, one had in this tool something useful: all the instruments needed for memory recall to account even to eternity all the great things to be memorialized for the king and his *prohomines,* or leading men. They therefore could settle questions and quiet discord without resorting to force (a situation he likens to oblivion). The prologue maintains that he presented to the king a two-volume work; there were simply too many documents for a single ponderous volume. These volumes had titles, clear divisions, distinctions, summaries, and standardized punctuation. They represented arduous investigation of the archives. With trust in his staff, the deacon swore that he was unaware of any error before presenting the compilation to Alfons I (II of Aragon).

Alfons I died unexpectedly in 1196. His faithful servant expired, perhaps in the archives, three years later. The *Liber Feudorum Maior* survived them unfinished, and today it lives as a seminal document of the Middle Ages and the primary source for the

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history of the principality of Barcelona and all Catalunya in the twelfth century. But this codex is an enigma. It presents numerous problems, both for the history of archives and codicology and for the reconstruction of royal government at the critical juncture of the new century. History was not kind to this source, partially because its grand size made it vulnerable. It survived intact as a self-contained archives for centuries, until the modern era wrought intermittent destruction, ranging from the aftermath of the French Revolution and French invasion, through the turbulent social upheavals of the nineteenth century. It thus survives now as mere fragments of its former double-volume rescript.[85] Fortunately indexes survive as well as most of the original loose parchments that were copied into it. Lost sections were reconstructed from two other cartularies manufactured later in the chancery: the *Liber Feudorum Ceritanae* (ca. 1237–41) and the *Liber Feudorum Formae Minoris,* which was an attempted continuation of the work of Ramon de Caldes with the documents of the early thirteenth century.[86] This special register may never have been intended as a genuine codex or bound cartulary. Instead, it may represent a transitional tool, more like a loose series of bi-folios in sheaths or arranged by sets in a case binding or portfolio.[87] Neither the words *volume* or *liber* indicate conclusively that this was a codex, and the latter descriptor is not employed in the prologue.[88] Aragó and Trenchs concluded also that there was "a period of vacillation between the roll register and the codified register" in the Arago-Catalan chancery.[89] It certainly lacks the conserv-

[85]Miguel Rosell, *LFM*, I, preface, pp. viii–xii, reconstructs the manuscripts' provenance from the fourteenth century.

[86]ACA, Registers 4 and 287 respectively.

[87]The layout of documents would not allow it to work as a *rotulus* or roll, but since miniatures also were placed in central margins so that sewing through the fold would not be functional either, one is left with the loose portfolio as the only viable option from the formats in use. During this formative period in the history of archives, there was no guarantee that loose-document series, with their susceptibility to misfiling and loss of individual records, would prevail over codification or reentry into scrolls, e.g., enrollment, as in the registers of England, the famous rolls series. At least two registers were produced in roll form for the Crown of Aragon, in the thirteenth century, and one inventory from 1151 is in that form. Others could have been produced originally in roll form over the turn of the century and transformed into a loose series. Because scribes tried not to write across sewings, one would need only to unstitch membranes at their junctures and cut those membranes with more than one record into pieces, each document becoming its own separate parchment. Later other documents were produced, well after rolls were experimented with, perhaps as memorial rolls with more iconographic significance for ceremonial use than record functions. Consider, for example, the two parchment scrolls from San Pedro de Roda in 1357, preserved at Vic, which contain ten and twenty-one documents each, and another contrived for Alfons el Magnanimo in 1424 (ACA, Canc. perg., Alfons IV, no. 206).

[88]For diplomatic definitions, see Arthur Giry, *Manuel de diplomàtique* (Paris, 1894), 212–13; and specifically for the ACA, see Antoni M. Aragó Cabañas, "<Folium>, <Rotulus>, <Liber>, en la documentación Catalano-Aragonesa (s. XI-XIII)," *Paleográphica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulo Battelli* in *Storia e letteratura, raccolta*, 139-40 (Rome: Ed. di Storia e Letteratura, 1979), 294-303, especially 298.

[89]"Que existe, en nuestra Cancillería, un periodo de vacilación entre el registro-rolla y el registro-codice," Aragó and Trenchs, "Los Registros," 39; but they do not entertain transitional forms like the portfolio or relate the codified cartulary to the experimentation with multiple forms. This is done, however, by Aragó Cabañas in his "Folium, rotulus, y liber," 300-03. He provides an appendix classifying Arago-Catalan medieval documentation (mainly from the ACA) by formats: (1) "compaginated" documents from the eleventh century copied onto a single membrane folded as quarto to produce four sections, each with a document copied into it; (2) volumes from Ramon Berenguer IV onward, in which documents are read left to right *ad seriatum* on a scroll; (3) rolls from Ramon Berenguer I onward, in which documents are read top to bottom *ad seriatum;* (4) vertical compilations of two related documents on one parchment; (5) vertical arrangements of three or more documents resembling a roll, the earliest dating to 1067; (6) account rolls, the earliest of which is a 70-document roll from the monastery of Obarra in the Archivo Histórico Nacional (ms. 1238) and which is also represented in Vic's productions. The same mix of forms is apparent in England during this time, e.g., 1170s onward: Clanchy, "Rolls or Books?," *Memory to Written Record*, 105–15.

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ative formalism of Barcelona's *Libri Antiquitatum*. Both were edited from loose parchments. Thus reexamination of the extant codex is indicated (see the appendix to this article for a codicological layout) to ascertain archival methodology in this critical period.[90]

The work entails one script, but slight variations suggests several hands and production over some time, perhaps more than a decade if it is assumed that the compilation began in 1192 but was left incomplete several years afterward. Since it was never finished, it is doubtful that it was ever presented to Alfons I as the prologue maintains. Moreover, in the frontispiece miniature (see front cover), the artist depicts the deacon sorting through an archives of loose parchments, rather haphazardly layered in a chest, rather than thumbing through a book. Thus, this miniature does not depict the presentation, the most common perspective on the relationship of author and patron in medieval codices. Instead the frontispiece represents the project's conceptual beginning, when Alfons discovered the richness but disorganization of his archives. The page layout of the extant *LFM* folios follows norms for codex production, with documents in columns reading left to right, rather than single columns reading top to bottom as in most rolls.[91] Preparation of folios included no pricking, but lead pencil lining and compartmentalization established a uniform sequence of documentary texts and inner margins between columns for sewings of large bi-folios. The extra large outer margins, which were usually cropped when bound for a uniform text block, remain irregular.[92] They were not trimmed and bound for one of two reasons: Either the planned codex was left unfinished and survived only as loose folios (which might explain the *LFM's* vulnerability and near destruction), or the folios were never meant to be bound but were instead designed as pages protected by extra-large margins for handling as bi-folio separates. Because miniatures on some prepared folios were placed in the inner margin, which would have become the gutter of a sewn bi-folio if the cartulary originally were meant to be a bound codex, the design was perhaps for a casing rather than a binder.[93] In either case, the project

[90]Although it is often assumed that the registers were always bound, very little is known about the transition from manuscript handling of loose sheets layered in chests piled on shelves in *armaria*; to binding into codices, storing these flat rather than upright; then a reversion to loose sheets, kept upright in binders for easier fingering but without sewing and codification. The ACA parchments and paper records were bound into vellum casings during the reign of Alfons III (1285-1291), according to the earliest ACA ms., *Liber inventarii monumentorum regii archivi Barchinonae,* "I. registre ab posts cubertes de vedell ab bolles de llato, de temps del rey n. Anfos antich," cited by Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 32, n. 55. No ACA conservation records have been discovered to provide clues to the original formats. Folds in originals often are attributed to mailing rather than to archival storage, which has always been presumed to have been flat document storage, as illustrated in the *LFM* frontispiece.

[91]Of course, some rolls in late antiquity read like *Torah* scrolls. Illustrations are interspersed between texts from left to right as they were unfurled, almost like story boards for multimedia production; this is in contrast to sequential single-file documents, meant to be read from top to bottom. Although the Arago-Catalan chancery seems to have had little direct imitative contact with the papal chancery of John XIII at the turn of the millennium, the top-to-bottom scroll form may have imitated the long papyrus scrolls extant in the diocesan Museum of Vic (ill. in Abadal i Vinyals, *Visigots als Catalans*, II, opposite p. 49).

[92]The archivist Tomas Pardo described the decision to bind the register, December 4, 1807, in a certified letter that is appended to the cartulary and is transcribed by Miguel Rosell, *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, viii–ix, n. 4. He compared the remnants with the indexes, which indicated that the original consisted of 489 *hojas* in the first volume and 399 in the second. The preserved volume contained only 88 surviving folios (183 documents), of which 59 (118 documents) were from the original first volume and 29 (65 documents) from the second.

[93]If originally designed for a portfolio, wherein each sheet could be independent from the rest, then copyists presumably would not have continued texts from one folio to another; they would have left blank spaces, beginning each folio with a new document. Since that is not the case, it cannot be assumed that the folios

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could have been considered transitional or ongoing, with provision for added documentation.

Scholars eager to place the codex production into the reign of Alfons I because of the frontispiece and dedicatory prologue have pushed the dating of the codices to the early 1190s. Anscari Mundó's arguments on paleographical grounds for the work's compilation and initial copying before the king's and scribe's deaths are convincing, but his case for the codices' completion between 1194 and 1196 is questionable.[94] His argument is based on a comparison of a contemporary rescript on paper (the earliest such use by the chancery) of the treaty from the 1179 meeting of the two kings on their borderlands.[95] This he compares with another document in Alfons I's extant parchments where the copyist is identified: *Signum Raimundi subdiaconi.*[96] He maintains that the scribe was subdeacon Ramon de Sitges, whose hand is identified in other documents from the royal chancery from 1179 through 1192. Mundó argues that the same Ramon's hand appears in several folios of the *LFM* which were executed for his immediate superior, deacon Ramon de Caldes.[97] Because most of the copied documents pre-date 1192, and the original copy of the treaty of Cazola—which was copied into the *LFM*—can be dated to 1191–92, this provides the *terminus post quem* for the work. Alfons I's death provides the *terminus ante quem,* if one takes Ramon's prologue at its word.[98]

At issue is the cartulary's alleged completion for Alfons I, since the work in fact was left unfinished. Plans may have called for the inclusion of more documents than were finally selected for the compilation. Once the script and style were set, a prolonged production could have remained imitative, especially given the authority of the revered deacon of Barcelona as Alfons I's chief minister and the collaboration of his master scribe. The prologue could have been written in anticipation of the work's completion. While Mundó's identification of Ramon de Sitges's autographic hand is convincing, this scribe's work appears in the front (before ff. 22r-v) of the first volume (except for no. 632 [dated June 1192] which appears on f. 69) and is followed by several other unidentified hands.[99] The lay-

were to be used as giant broadsides. This format was perhaps meant to guard against interpolation in the series, and yet to ensure flexibility for information display. Such experimentation in format reflects similar flux in registry systems to attempt flexibility before the advent of current computer technology. "A register need not be a volume, and nowadays it probably will not be; more likely it will be a binder into which predesigned leaves can be placed," observed Michael Cook, *Archives Administration: A Manual for Intermediate and Smaller Organizations and for Local Government* (Kent, England: William Dawson & Sons, Ltd., 1977), 100.

[94]M. Mundó, "El Pacte de Cazola," 119-32.

[95]ACA Canc. perg., Alfons I (Catalan numbering), no. 268, ill. in Mundó, "Pacte de Cazola," 129, lam. 1.

[96]ACA, Canc. perg. Alfons I (Catalan numbering), no. 292, cited by Mundó, "Pacte de Cazola," 128, n. 26. The nonextant original was made for the senior king, Alfonso VIII, by his scribe and notary, Master Geraldus. Ramon's copy is notarized for authenticity: "Hoc est translatum fideliter translatatum."

[97]LFM, ff. 16, 63v, 73, 75, 78, 79v, 22–22v. Mundó, "Pacte de Cazola," 124–25, argues the autographic identification on the basis of the rota, typically Hispanic paraules, double-stroked *a*, prehumanistic *D*, vertical *E*, squared cross strokes in the *F*, zig-zag *f*, gothic *g*, beneventan *i, m, n*, and *u*, squarely cross-stroked *L*, capital *M*, elegant *R*, dual-pointed *S*, gothic *s*, angled *z, ct* ligature, classic *et*, and abbreviated *est*.

[98]The *LFM*, ff. 56–56v, includes documents from 1194 (*LFM* ed., vol. I, nos. 412–13) and 1196 (no. 414), perhaps during the transition to Pere I's rule, which is first documented in April 1196, soon after his father's death. Mundó, "Pacte de Cazola," believes these post-1192 documents were added later, after the main compilation, because the transcripts lack the vermilion initials found in the other texts.

[99]Other identified contemporary notaries and scribes include Pere de Corro, Bernat de Caldes, Guillem de Bassa, and Berenguer de Parrets, who in 1239 copied the pact of Cazola into the documents of the *proceso*, or litigation between the sees of Tarragona and Toledo over the reporting line of the new Valencian suffragan: Mundó, "Pacte de Cazola," 123, 127. He argues (126) that document no. 632 dated 1192 was also Ramon's work (*LFM*, f. 69, ed. vol. II, 138-39).

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out is very conventional and pre-set, but two styles of miniatures are scattered throughout. Several of these were left in various stages of incompletion: some are only sketched in; some are sketched and filled in with colored wash; and others have varying amounts of detail added. Both forms are highly stylized, and the assembly-line sketches routinely portrayed the same settings, postures, and gestures, usually the act of homage; the people all look the same and their identities are dependent on the text of the following document. Little creativity is in evidence beyond the drawing of the original design. The two styles, however, reveal a distance in time between efforts to begin and to finish the manuscript. The first imitates Romanesque forms, presumably the style embarked on at the onset. The second is a Gothic form, elongated and more elaborate in costume, more detailed in facial expression, and more colorful. Although the change from Romanesque to Gothic architecture may have taken longer in concrete form than in manuscript depiction, the time span for this transition in medieval Catalunya, as suggested in the transitional cathedral of Tarragona, for example, took a half-century. The second set of miniatures was left incomplete in the folios where scribes completed text, indicating that the artwork was added after the copying. However, parchments without text, on which the miniatures have been begun, do exist. Their presence suggests that an initial effort to complete the project as a coherent, timely product waned after the deaths of Alfons I, the original patron, and of the deacon Ramon, its chief executor. There seems to have been a post-1200 historic preservation effort to finish the project, which again failed.

It is difficult to explain why this grandest cartulary of all was left unfinished or scaled down, when the related smaller project, the *Liber Feudorum Ceritanae,* was completed—as were the cathedral's cartularies. Perhaps the others were begun first, and the *LFM* was supposed to function less as an information retrieval or preservation tool than as a memorial to the government consolidation and reform efforts of Alfons I. This would explain both the heavy artistic emphasis on the act of homage and the title stating that this was a book of fiefs, when Catalan feudalism was not so well modeled after French forms. Allegiance to Barcelonan hegemony was not so dependent on fief holding as on hereditary rights and legal precedent, except in the mind of Alfons "the Chaste," who was also called "the Troubadour" for his affection for supra-Pyrenean culture.[100] French kings using feudal law to enforce their claims would have been loath to have themselves depicted, as is the king in the *Liber Feudorum Maior,* doing homage himself before a prelate.[101] Of course, if this memorial work

[100]Of course, the codex was not always called the *Liber Feudorum Maior*. It was known also by a slightly altered title, *Liber Feudorum Vicararum Cathaloniae*, which stressed its use by royal agents rather than the king himself, and by the more general title, simply *Libri domini regis*, which seems to downplay the supra-Pyrenean emphasis on fiefs. The titles were perhaps added to the register when it was bound previously, as speculated by its editor Miguel Rosell in *Liber Feudorum Maior*, I, viii.

[101]Bisson, "Problem of Feudal Monarchy," 468, notes this for the *LFM* 1: nos. 247, 254. He thus characterized the codex as "exclusively a land book

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Homage of nobles to Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer III (*LFM*, I, f. 67r) in the comital palace at Barcelona: Old style, amber and red background, blue columns, and blue dress of count on red seat.

Homage of noble Ponc de Cabrera to King Pere, enthroned with regalia (blue throne, gold leaf, uncolored dress) without compartment: New style, red and orange outline drawing (*LFM*, I, f. 56v).

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were completed not by Alfons I but by his son, Pere II, who paid such homage for his realm to the papacy, this would not have seemed like such an anachronism.

All these observations argue against Anscari Mundó's reckoning of 1194–96 as the completion date for the *LFM*, although his argument is acceptable that the compilation essentially tried to conserve documentation from the archives only through Alfons I's reign. It is as likely that this royal cartulary was planned in the late 1180s, when a chancery survey pulled together the most important documents attesting royal land claims in Catalunya proper. Its physical beginnings were during the last years of Alfons I's reign. There seems to have been an early thirteenth-century second effort, perhaps sponsored by Pere II (1196–1213) in memory of his father, to complete the codex or add to it. Moreover, its utility as a land book, to counter tendencies of ambitious lords to convert fiefs from the public domain into allods, may have been greater after Alfons I's reign. In any case, several ruled but blank folios, with miniatures sketched in, were left in the aftermath of this work, and they were used much later as scraps for binding material (see appendix to this article). Thus, the *LFM* presents unanswered riddles, with one exception: One cannot, as so many have, accept the prologue at face value and assume that the original *LFM* was a two-volume codex actually presented to the king before his death in 1196.

The frontispiece depiction is itself one of the earliest illustrations of archival operations in medieval Europe: The scribe and archivist Ramon de Caldes instructs his king with the finer points of evidence from the archives, while the court looks on and a seated scribe (supposedly subdeacon Ramon de Stiges?) busily copies selected documents (for the *Liber Feudorum Maior*?). It is also the most boastful and blatant propaganda for the importance of officialdom and written records over custom, court, and even the temporary rule of individual kings. Although the compartment structure, with its round arches and domed city towers within the walls of Barcelona, is clearly Romanesque, as is the costuming and figure representation with colored fields omitting any sense of depth, there are some pre-Gothic influences in the use of depth by placing the curia behind the king. (The absence of any bishops is notable; the six figures [plus two partially hidden heads] representing the court, are all secular.) The king is in the left side compartment, in no more space than is allocated on the right to the diminutive scribe at his writing desk with an oversize or scroll-like parchment in the right-hand compartment (which has a purple background, the color of penance!). The deacon-archivist is seated in the foreground, even in front of the king, as depicted by Ramon's feet overlapping the miniature's lower frame, and he is larger and more centrally located than the royal portrait. The compartments for the royal court and personage, and for the archivist, are blue with stars added, signifying darkness or night. The background for the central compartment, in which the archives chest itself is located, is gold illuminated, signifying the illumination from written records. Such an iconographic statement promotes an ascendancy of written records and of the officials in charge of them, which is not apparent in earlier illustrated manuscripts. Even for all later illustrations, none contains such an assumption of self-importance for a bureaucrat or case for the centrality of archives to government.[102]

concerned with proprietary or reversionary right, and there is no reason to suppose that it was connected with any systematic effort to strengthen suzerain rights or vassalic obligations. On the contrary, it shows the crown-prince doing homage for certain fiefs to his prelates at the very time when the king of France was contriving to avoid such acts."

[102]Such a depiction could have backfired as an af-

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The *LFM* frontispiece depicts another anachronism, showing reliance on loose parchments being organized and copied in a major preservation effort. A copyist is working on what appears to be an oblong scroll or part of a multiple-membrane *rotulus* (perhaps imitating the roll format used in the 1151–52 inventories) instead of large rectangular bi-folios, or preparation for a codex.[103] Was what has been thought always to have been codification (i.e., binding rescripts into codices) itself a transitional technology in archival methodology? By the mid-thirteenth century, grand cartulary production ceases in most sub-Pyrenean scriptoria, and the fate of the *Liber Feudorum Maior* may suggest that the chancery dropped this practice after producing the related *Liber Feudorum Ceritanae* for Cerdanya, whose charters figure prominently in the former. Were there ambitious plans for a series of smaller cartularies, region by region, which were collapsed into a single compilation, one region per section? The *LFM* contains sections for each of the old counties of the realm, gathering together the 951 most important instruments in the archives. The fact that these texts were copied documents, with extant versions available in other codices and in archival registers, enabled Francisco Miguel Rosell to recreate its contents even though two-thirds of the original had been destroyed.[104]

The *LFM* as a cartulary served as a combination register and abstract tool.[105] It also served to combine, as it did, feudal instruments from both Aragon and Catalunya, treating the two as one entity in the internal design. This was of great semiotic importance. Archives as a unifying function, bringing order from chaos, would have been understood by the Catalan scribes who undertook the work. In time it was understood as well by the Aragonese, whose culture of peasant freedoms would come under increased royal pressure to conform to a whole larger than the old kingdom. Consequently, the codification of historical documents, edited and doubtlessly selected to serve the Crown's program of territorial consolidation, was nicely symbolized in this documentary compilation. The *LFM* also represents a transitional archival technology between the charter book of earlier monastic origin and the codified register, which may be seen as a precursor to a registry system that was to mature in the thirteenth century. Ultimately these cartularies came to be bound into a series of registers in imitation of library reference tools. This

front to a king, and it therefore postulates another reason why the *Liber Feudorum Maior* was never finished and actually presented to Alfons I, or to his son whose temperament would have made the idea even more preposterous. In most manuscripts depicting a scribe's presentation of a book to his patron, the benefactor is central and enlarged and the presenter is in a supplicant position, often kneeling. Regardless of how suspect the event depicted by the LFM is, the miniature unquestionably displays a pretense to central power of the growing bureaucracy and of ministers like Ramon de Caldes, who, although a deacon, assumes the companion position hitherto reserved by artists for a queen or a bishop. Never before was this the place for an archivist.

[103]Not only was Ramon Berenguer IV's inventory (ACA, Canc. perg. RB IV, 233) done in a roll format of five membranes sewn together (294.6 x 22.5 cms.) (ed. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, II, no. 1, 3–29), but after 1300 two chancery compilations returned to scroll formats—one for Alfonsine documents compiled posthumously at the turn of the century and another for Jaume II, dating to 1269 (ACA, Canc. Perg., Alfons I, 275; Jaume I, 1598). See Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 29. These are relatively short *rotuli* (18 documents in 271 cms. and 27 documents in 515 cms., respectively) compared with the chancery rolls of England, 1199-1230. The aforementioned scrolls of 1357 and later seem more ceremonial, although the census or inventory records of San Juan de las Abedesas were taken down as a roll call, as noted by Aragó Cabañas, "Folium, rotulus, y liber," 298.

[104]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 16, praised Miguel Rosell, who "ingeniously reconstructed the whole from stray copies." Rosell, *LFM* ed., I, preface, explains his reliance on a fourteenth-century index created by copying the headings and *incipits* of the *LFM* folios.

[105]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 79. Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 51, called the *LFM* "one of the earliest—and finest—administrative registers of a medieval monarchy."

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early-modern development seems to have been a throwback to this turn-of-the-thirteenth-century methodology—i.e., codified cartulary production, of which the *Liber Feudorum Maior* is one of the most puzzling exemplars.[106]

Registered Paper Archives

The temporary experimentation with account books such as bound registers and cartularies, and the return to loose records management despite the insecurity of unbound series, was a matter of expediency and efficiency resulting from the sheer mass of new documentation. Old scribal techniques of record gathering, of making copies and rescript books, and of circulating whole copybooks were unaffordable.[107] The *Liber Feudorum Maior* experiment may have been the very project to prove that and to prompt a return to the archival storage of first-hand copies from the originals (which were sent out) and to use for reference copies, which were often abbreviated or merely abstracts for most cases. Such a transition would have been possible only because of a previously established ascendancy of written evidence as acceptable proof and because of a faith in an objective, professional recordkeeping system that routinely recorded information in formal instruments—literally, as the cliché goes, "as a matter of record." Archives amassed during the thirteenth century could not have been accomplished without these twelfth-century intellectual foundations.

The year before Alfons I's death, the African Almohades had defeated Alfonso VIII of Leon-Castile at Alarcos and even threatened the borderlands of Catalunya beyond the Ebro, but Pere I (Pedro II) was drawn more into affairs north of the Pyrenees than into a united front against Islam. He joined the crusade that led the Almohad defeat in Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, but a tactical tragedy befell him one year later, 12 September, at Muret outside Toulouse, where the king was killed by northern crusaders invading his realm to uproot heresy. His son, Jaume I, still a minor under the regency of Pope Innocent III and the protection of the Templars, ascended to the throne as a boy-king whose majority at age fourteen was symbolized by his knighthood in 1221. He proved to be one of the most vigorous monarchs of all Europe. He consolidated support by a crusade against the

[106]Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 28, regarded the *LFM* as a "compilación podia ser considerada como una especie de precedente dentro de la serie. Creemos mejor que el citado manuscrito se mantiene en la linea de los *Cartularios* catalanes de la epoca," referring to those already mentioned of San Cugat, Poblet, and Santes Creus, but also to the *Cartulario de Tavernoles*, edited by J. Soler Garcia (Castellon de la Plana, 1964).

[107]To understand the cost of such a production in modern terms, one might think of a National Historical Publications and Records Commision-funded historical document editing and publishing project, beyond the costs of producing and maintaining original records. An exercise parallel to one used in my teaching historical bibliography to today's students (which attempts to make medieval book production relevant to the profession's modern business-mindedness) would be a rough calculation to illustrate comparative costs: 870 folios = 435 bi-folios, or 435 sheepskins plus the labor of 10 or more part-time scribes, a rubricator and at least two miniaturists, for a period of 4 or more years, in addition to the archivist's time to survey and gather the originals for copying, may be estimated at 100 *solidi* or *sous* per scribe, divided by 2 for part-time, to cost 6,000 sous or more for labor and some 1,300 sous for materials based on sheep sales, or 7,300 sous divided by 300 sous (an average twelfth-century annual knights' fee in northeastern Spain) = 24 knights' services, each of which was worth two to three times a scribe's commission. A knight's fee, which was the income needed to field a horse and bear arms by a knight (i.e., afford armor, attendants, and the cost of maintaining a trustworthy mount), that is lesser nobility, might be likened to a lower upper-class income today, which, if reckoned conservatively at about $100,000 per year, would mean that the *LFM* cost the equivalent of $2,400,000! Such extrapolations are always fraught with danger in their exactitude, but the general scale is the point here: Such codification projects were extraordinarily expensive. Such an exercise at least drives home the cost of medieval archives and explains the modest, by today's terms, rate of record production before paper was adopted as an acceptable inexpensive medium.

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Balearics (1229); reopened the southern wars against Muslim Valencia (1233), which fell in 1238; pushed onto Jativa (1244); and even invaded Murcia, in conjunction with Castile. While extending his realm far southward and engaging far-flung alliances across the Mediterranean, Jaume I consolidated ultra-Pyrenean claims to the coastline to Montpellier and, by the treaty of Corbeil (1258), gave up the Midi while the Capetians renounced claims to the old territory of the Carolingian March that had become Catalunya. His last years (d. 1276) were preoccupied with his new acquisitions and with keeping the peace internally amidst repeated and increasingly serious baronial revolts. His long reign witnessed not only vast territorial expansion but also a geometric growth in government, as evidenced by an enlarged bureaucracy, innovation in taxation and fiscal management, regularized mail systems, recurrent reform that always pushed a pan-regnal program . . . and, yes, swollen archives, too.

Two forces motivated this revolution in records production and administration after the turn of the century. The first was the revival of the Reconquest, absorption of the kingdom of Valencia, and the amalgamation of territory with a large Jewish and Muslim population, which required assimilation and reorganization on an even greater scale than the twelfth-century union of Aragon and Catalunya and takeover of the Ebro valley kinglets. The second force was the explosion of knowledge created by the mainland reconquest, the western Mediterranean military alliance and trade system, and the availability of new technology, including paper as an inexpensive and durable writing material. Indeed, the very adoption of paper for chancery registers and for such important originals as the Valencian *Repartiment* indicates an innovative scribal bureaucracy in Arago-Catalunya, which contrasts with other more conservative chanceries that continued to rely on parchment for permanent records. Alfonso "the Learned" in Castile limited the use of paper to certain types of less important documents. The Emperor Frederick II forbade its use altogether, and other governments accepted it only reluctantly. But by 1268 Jaume I accepted the high-quality paper of Jativa, even for treaties. The use of paper gradually spread without fuss throughout the Crown of Aragon and gained acceptance more rapidly there than elsewhere, although the ratio of paper to parchment throughout the thirteenth century remained relatively low. Such changes appear revolutionary in retrospect, but to accommodating contemporaries they were gradual and natural. Clanchy observed this glide in technological change, so necessary for continuity:[108]

> When documents produced by the king's government began to proliferate in the twelfth century, they were also accepted because, by and large, they used traditional materials and skills. The changes which were made in the technology of writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries went largely unnoticed by contemporaries. They were subtle and technical. . . . But because known methods of writing were adapted and extended, rather than revolutionized, fundamental changes in this most conservative area of human skills were set in motion. Techniques of writing records tended to be conservative because conservation was their main purpose.

Alfons I had slowed territorial reconquest to favor the internal amalgamation of Aragonese- and Catalan-speaking lands and to encourage absorption of the Ebro Valley from the plains of Zaragoza and commercial center of the inland empire to the delta below Tortosa. He used his archives to consolidate his claims, as in the case of 1180 when the king sued Pere de Lluça for

[108]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 114-15.

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access to the latter's familial castles of Lluça and Merles near Vic, which the Lluça claimed were held freely as allods. But the king, with documents "from his archives" showed that Pere's ancestor had first held them in fealty to Count Ramon Berenguer I.[109] On the other hand, Alfons I's grandfather had once lost control of a castle for want of proper documentation to substantiate his claim, and his grandson, Jaume I, once had to drop a royal claim when his notary could not find a document in his archives.[110] The king had to back down, rescind his orders, nullify the lost document in case it were found later, and accept the negative consequences of the government's conversion to written records. Burns cites from Jaume I's registers several cases in which lost charters created problems for both royal agents and the men and women with whom they had business. In another case, Aragonese knights who disliked the king's edicts for the settlement of Valencia took advantage of Jaume I's absence to get rid of the offending records; they burned the inn where royal scribes had taken up residence. There were special procedures for replacement of lost charters,[111] including formal oaths taken to record another charter from memory and dictation; more exacting methods included sending criers forth to spread news about the transaction to see if anyone could produce evidence to the contrary before the drafting of a new document.[112] Burns also calls attention to "transumpts"—public copies of documents incorporated into other records, such as confirmations—which tended to supersede the original.[113]

Such incidents reveal the common recourse to documentation, record retrieval, and public examination. Royal agents retrieved documents because they had been classified by lineage and holding, even before the registers were organized for the production of the codified registers of the most important administrative records of the Crown. Such methods, then as now, were not foolproof. This archival work, i.e., accessioning and registering; appraising; selection for copying, mailing and filing, etc., went hand in hand with other reforms, such as the aforementioned codification of law, historical writing, and the standardization of currency to facilitate commerce and of weights and measures for trade in kind and with currency or coinage.[114]

The output of documentation by Jaume I's death in 1276 is truly remarkable. Equally noteworthy is the revolution in ordering, control, and preservation in one of Europe's largest-scale archival developments. In addition to sheer mass, the characteristics of this archival revolution were (1) centralization; (2) use in litigation, where

[109]Bisson, *Medieval Crown of Aragon*, 50.

[110]ACA, Perg. RB III, no. 174; also cited by Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, I, 97. For Jaume I's occasional loss of records, see Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 21, citing the *Llibre del repartiment de Valencia*, edited by Antoni Ferrando i Frances, et al. (Valencia: Garcia eds., 1978), no. 243., and a series of incidents recalled, 53-54.

[111]Burns translated *reparari* as "restore" rather than "repair," which reflects a Platonic, idealized reading rather than an Aristotlean emphasis on the physical artifact. The idea was to restore the order both of the record series and of the *ordo* or socioeconomic and political system being ordered, and the idea of restoration is in keeping with the coalescence of legal reformulation, scribal reformatting, and religious reformation and the Christian ideal of man's restoration.

[112]This interesting procedure to replace a document developed because "they mislaid or lost the said instrument, and they could not find it, nor did they know where it was" in 1260 at Santa Linya near Urgel (ACA, Canc. Jaume I, perg. 1622, translated by Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 53-54, n. 15).

[113]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 54; he showed that the incorporated document was given credence through witnessing and signing by testators. If a later transcript were inserted into a loose series, as a kind of interpolation, the date of the original transaction could be confused easily with the date of the insertion to the running record.

[114]Bisson, *Conservation of Coinage*, 76-83 for the recoinages and confirmations of mint rights and currency values during the 1170s; cf. his *Fiscal Accounts*, I, 78-121 for the larger economic picture of tight money.

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written evidence assumed ascendance over oral tradition; (3) assembly-line production on paper, mass copying, and standardization of diplomatic form, formulas, abbreviations, punctuation, and terminology; (4) use of classification by region, subunits, and chronological series, cross-referenced through toponymical and subject indexes; (5) abstracts and extracts; (6) records management through registration systems that produced summaries and archival control data (author, addressees, dating, subject and purpose statements, authorizations, and witnessing) simultaneous with the production of documents for both retrieval and verification or authentication. Medievalists have focused on the methodology of registration to the exclusion of other methodologies being introduced, arguing too narrowly about the exact identification of a protoregister versus a true register on the criterion of registry simultaneous with production. However, with genuine registers and full registration of outgoing and incoming records, the broader and more basic archival functions of records scheduling, accessions, arrangement, description, reference, and interpretation are all practices in evidence before the mid-thirteenth century.

Jaume I relied on mobile archives, both loose charters in travel chests and copies in even more portable volumes, but he also established depositories in Valencia's religious houses and other cities, perhaps as temporary local records-retention centers. He continued to send valuable documents back to Barcelona and treaties to the Aragonese fortress-monastery of Sigena, both under the guard of the Knights Templars and Hospitalers.[115] When the documents he needed were important, they were entrusted to military knights as armed couriers, who sometimes retrieved originals, specifically at the king's orders and with his promise of their safe return; at other times, they carried orders to make official copies of certain records but to retain the originals.[116] The orders attest the maintenance of detailed finding aids to retrieve documents from afar.

The outstanding feature of thirteenth-century records, however, is their number, both of those extant and of those surviving in surrogate form—namely the "incomparable" registers, "the greatest treasure of the chancery."[117] The inventory of 1306 by the notary Mateu Botella indicated that ten codified registers existed for Jaume I's reign alone.[118] "No other country boasts so abundant a set of crown registers for this

[115]Trenchs Òdena tried to make sense out of Jaume I's multiple archives by seeing this "auxiliary network" (as Burns called it, *Diplomatarium*, I, 21) as being coordinated with the royal archives in Barcelona. If so, here is evidence of the development of an archival system that looks similar to modern relations between records centers, regional archives, and the "national" archives at the capital. It is known, for example, that the king did order religious houses (as in the case of the Zaragozan Dominicans, 13 November 1240) to safeguard important documents while he traveled back to the reconquest field and until they could be transferred to their permanent keep.

[116]Royal orders to retrieve records were gathered by Francesc de Bofarull i Sans to illustrate the use of archives, "Don Jaume y l'arxiu reyal," *Boletín de la Real Academic de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 4 (1907-08): 253-54; cited also by Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 20, n. 12, who added orders of 1260-1261 to retrieve all of the treaties he made with Castile and, in the second case, to obtain "omnes cartas" pertaining to his treaty with Abu Zayd of Valencia. Burns showed that Pere III continued his father's recourse to the archives by transcribing one charter (ACA, Pere III, Reg. Canc. 41, f. 28) from 1278 which elaborates the exact number of parchments, paper documents, and those with and without seals pertaining to Ramon de Escorna. This attests to the detail in finding aids kept by the scribes who attended the king, and it suggests similar finding aids at the archives.

[117]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 48.

[118]Twenty-four codices altogether through the reign of Jaume II, i.e., for four kings: Jaume I, Pere II, Anfos III, and Jaume II. Cf. Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 48-57; A. M. Aragó and J. Trenchs Òdena, "Los registros de cancillería de la corona de Aragón (Jaime I y Pedro II) y los registros pontificios," *Annali della Scuola speciale per archivisti e bibliotecari dell'Universita di Roma* 12 (1972): 26-39.

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century," Burns maintained.[119] But there were similar contemporary developments in the Vatican archives under Innocent III; and somewhat later for Castile-León under Sancho IV (1283–) and at Naples (1265–); and a sophistication of such practice in France and England, going back respectively to rudimentary registration in 1205–12 and 1199– (chancery rolls for outgoing letters).[120] Burns argued convincingly that the formal registers of Jaume I were compiled mainly in the last twenty years of his sixty-year reign, i.e., post-1257.[121] Their scope was not all inclusive; certain kinds of records, judged as repetitive, were habitually excluded. Some types seem to have been sampled rather than registered consistently, and others, seemingly trivial, nevertheless were recorded in detail. Burns concluded that these registers were multipurpose:[122] (1) They fulfilled the "record-memory" ideal postulated by Alfonso the Learned's contemporary descriptions of proper chancery procedures.[123] (2) They comprised the running account or "overview of policies" judged so important at the turn of this century by the diplomaticist Alain de Böuard.[124] (3) They satisfied the file of "administrative precedents" most recently emphasized by Antoni Aragó Cabañas and José Trenchs Òdena.[125]

Historians of archival development have linked the late medieval records explosion to the availability of paper as a cheaper medium than parchment for document production.[126] Burns went further by linking the practice of systematic registration with volume of records produced after the conquest of Jativa and the resultant transition from parchment to paper archives.[127]

> The paperwork attending King Jaume's conquest and reorganization of this mixed Christian-Muslim kingdom was extensive. An array of lawyers and scribes was more vital to his achievement than were the contingents of crossbowmen and knights. Thousands of parchments went out to settlers, franchisers, and officials; thousands more proliferated at local levels. Almost all of these dispersed, eventually falling victim to the tooth of time and disappearing forever. Shortly after the conquest, however, an event transformed this scribbling scene, ushering

[119]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 48-49, noted that only papal registers compare, so it is often assumed that the peninsular archives imitated Roman advanced methodology, but he and others (Aragó, Trenchs, etc., supra) posit independent but parallel contemporary archival development in the Mediterranean during the 1200s.

[120]Cf. Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 48-49 for English practice; and for the Vatican, see Leonard E. Boyle, *A Survey of the Vatican Archives and of Its Medieval Holdings* in *Subsidia mediaevalia*, I (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), 100-05, and the comparison of papal and Arago-Catalan regal procedures by Aragó Cabañas and Trenchs Òdena, "Registros," *supra* (n. 113).

[121]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 54-55, noted that the fiscal records begin in 1253 and that, although the entries are systematic after 1257, their immediate systematization suggests somewhat earlier beginnings or "proto-registering" (following Francesco Cesare Casula, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni il Cacciatore, re d'Aragona, riguardanti l'Italia* in *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la corona de Aragón*, 48 [Barcelona: ACA, 1970, from earlier publication, Padua: Universita degli studi di Cagliari, n.d.]).

[122]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 52.

[123]See Burns's analysis of King Alfonso's descriptions of the chancery and notariate in León-Castile for the thirteenth century, in his *Diplomatarium*, I, 38-43; cf. Filemón Arribas Arranz, "Los registros de la cancillería de Castilla," *Boletín de la Real academia de historia* 162 (1968): 171-200 and 163 (1969): 143-62.

[124]A. de Boüard, *Manuel de diplomatique*, 191-93.

[125]Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 38.

[126]Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 31-32, note that the earliest use of paper for the *libri notularum* or minutes at Vic in old Catalunya was as early as 1230, and at the castle-refuge of Ciurana in the mountains of new Catalunya (1229-30). In the 1240s, the practice was spreading northward to Queralt, Manresa, Santa Pau, and Baga.

[127]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 56, explored in detail, 156-81; he expounded this thesis much earlier in his "The Paper Revolution in Europe: Crusader Valencia's Paper Industry—A Technological and Behavioral Breakthrough," *Pacific Historical Review* 50 (1980): 1-30.

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> Christendom into the modern age of government bureaucracy. It is not too strong to dub it the Paper Revolution. The Spanish Islamic paper industry, largely centered at Jativa in southern Valencia, fell progressively under direct crown control in the years after the mid-century. The consequent flood of inexpensive paper revolutionized crown record keeping; it encouraged the bureaucrats to file cheap copies of the charters they set out on expensive parchment. The result was the most impressive archives of registers outside those of the international papal series, and the first monumental use of paper by a European government.[128]

As paper registers proliferated, production of bound parchment cartularies ceased.[129] Registration was a methodology developed slowly over time to ensure against forgery by a double-entry system, one being the outgoing record and the other an extract or abstract in the register drafted immediately upon completion of the original document. This method had been practiced since the late 1170s and followed precedents used in account books summarizing detailed fiscal records, leading to the cartulary as a transitional form. However, scheduled registration before issue was accelerated and regularized in response to the volume of records produced in Jaume I's long reign; their variety in purpose, form, and language; and their distant destinations. Burns speculated that if systematic registry had been practiced throughout Jaume I's reign, over 30,000 items would have been so accounted. As is, Huici Miranda estimated that 14,000 documents survive whole or in abbreviated form for the Conqueror's reign.[130] Burns's *Diplomatarium* is projected to include 2,300 documents from the registers alone, which he estimates as up to 15,000 entries. The loose parchments for Jaume number 2,000, in addition to 100 papal documents and 200 *Cartes reales,* and there are 3,000 entries for nonextant charters in the king's land-grant volumes, for a total of more than 20,000 records—or more than survive for the previous two centuries. Even so, record production under Jaume I marks a crescendo but not an apex. Alfons the Benign's scribes produced enough records to fill 93 volumes of registers (now in 135 volumes) or 43,872 pages, another 65,808 loose documents, 900 parchments, and 4,000 letters. When graphed against comital production and set against a time line for the territorial expansion of the Crown of Aragon, this exponential explosion of record production and corresponding swell-

[128]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 9; elsewhere in his "Paper Revolution in Europe," 30, he concluded "The paper of this century, and to a considerable degree of this place (Jativa), represents a technological breakthrough in European history more significant than wars or kings. More than anywhere else, the remarkable incorporation of paper into the high business of government began here, and the psychological transformation it implied began here; in one essential way, therefore, the modern world began here. Like Roman law and the fast notarial scribble, this Paper Revolution helped usher in our modern age."

[129]The last wave of cartulary production in codex form seems to have been in the first decade of the fourteenth century as a conservative reversion by monastic scriptoria, while royal scribes refined their registers but did bind them as a series of codices. Cartularies in bound form remained more useful for estates that were relatively stable, but they proved unmanageable for government records, especially in a rapidly expanding territorial state. The later paper registers, which some have called cartularies (Aragó and Trenchs, "Los registros," 28, n. 23)—including the <*Diversorum*> of Jaume II (ACA, Canc. Regs. 24-25), which is described as a "cartulario regio formado en tiempo de Jaime II"—are comparatively less formal compilations than the great cartularies of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. At best, they are imitative works for convenience and reference.

[130]Huici collected 1,483 documents dating from 1217 to 1276, most of which predate the systematic registers: see Ambrosio Huici Miranda, ed., *Colleción diplomática de Jaime I, el Conquistador* (Valencia: Hijo de F. Vives Mora, 1916-20), 3 vols. in 6, expanded in the reprint edition *Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón*, ed. Maria Desamparados Cabanes Pecourt in *Textos Medievales*, 49-51 (Valencia: Anubar, 1976–).

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ing of the archives becomes readily apparent (see figure 3). Although one would expect an upward trend in document production, the radically sharp, almost vertical skyrocketing of this projectory reveals the magnitude of the records revolution in the early Crown of Aragon, when from 1180 to 1236 there was a crucible in the history of the realm. It was then that full-blown, large-scale archives were formed, first by great historical manuscripts-preservation efforts, and then by rigorous and systematic efforts at contemporary records management.

Historians who have discovered these medieval archives, such as the German Heinrich Finke who thought they were "the most important archives of the world," cannot be accused of overstatement. Martinez Ferrando's national pride in his archives showed in his declaration that "no country of Europe can boast of a comparable documentary treasure."[131] Burns remarked, "Scholars are forever rediscovering this collection, and having their careers reoriented by its massive and still relatively untapped treasures."[132] These scholars are mining the records mainly for the history of the Iberian kingdoms. The records must be examined further for the history of archives as well.

The Archives of the Crown of Aragon

The Archives of the Crown of Aragon (ACA) administrative lineage of fifty-seven archivists extends from today back to 1346, with the creation of the office on 6 July by King Pere IV and the appointment of Pere

[131]Martínez Ferrando, *Archivo*, 6, 11.
[132]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 25.

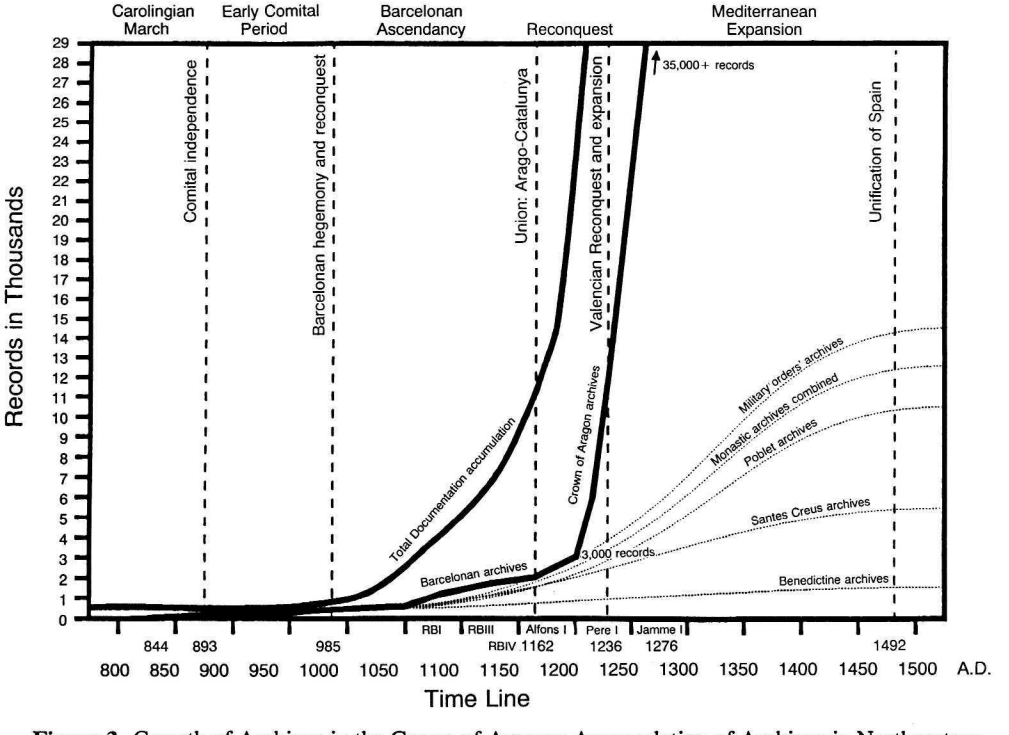

Figure 3. Growth of Archives in the Crown of Aragon: Accumulation of Archives in Northeastern Spain

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de Passeya:[133] "to control and preserve the documents, writings, and registers which are stored in our royal archives at Barcelona, lest they be ruined or consumed by the inroads of worms or feeding insects, as they have in various ways been corrupted up to now."[134] De Passeya received the respectable per diem wage of three Barcelonan sous; an annual allocation of 150 sous in the spring, presumably for operating expenses and supplies; nearby housing ("continual residence") so he could be at the archives building daily; and fees for authorized copying of documents. The physical archives were presumably where they had been deposited in the days of King Jaume I a century before, when he referred to "our public archives at Barcelona" and "the archives of our palace at Barcelona."[135] This refuge was more substantial than the scattered lodgings used by the itinerant kings. Just before the creation of the archivist office, Barcelona was by Jaume II's reign a home base, if not the declared capital.[136] The permanent archives was in a stone fortress at the northwest corner of the old Roman quad where the remnants of Roman walls provided a strong exterior, and it could be guarded by the Knights Templars.[137] There the archivist was to examine documents already placed in strongboxes and book cupboards (*armaria*) and those yet to be sorted and stored properly, which needed dusting and cleaning to prevent their further deterioration.[138] The archivist's investiture of authority included the handing over of the keys to these chests and cabinets. This was a real responsibility once assigned to the keeper of the royal and comital seals or the head notary,[139] but it was also in keeping with the long-standing and still-used metaphor of unlocking memory or producing finding aids thought of as *claves,* or the keys to knowledge.[140] Thus a key of one sort or another still unlocks, in common parlance, the contents of medieval archives and libraries.

Pere de Passeye left as his legacy an inventory of 174 folios for twenty armoires. These indicate that the documentary foun-

[133]Prospero de Bofarull, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona: ACA, 18), VI, 259. See Udina Martorell's list of archivists and directors: *Guía*, 150–52.

[134]Burns's translation, *Diplomatarium*, vol. 1, 22 from Antoni Rubió y Lluch, ed., *Documents per l'historia de la cultura catalana mig-eval* (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans, 1908–21), I, 137–38, doc. 129: "pro recognoscendis et conservandis instrumentis, scripturis, et registris que in archivo nostro regio Barchinone recondita sunt, ne corrosionibus tinearum seu arnarum morsibus vastari valeant seu consumi, prout [h]actenus diversimode sunt corrosa."

[135]Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 18, n. 7 relying on Anna Maria Adroer i Tasis, *El palau reial major de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Imprenta Fidel, 1978), speculated that this location was a carryover from the pivotal defensive function of the praetorium in Roman cities. The reference to "public" is important because documents retrieved from the archives were presented for scrutiny in the courts. Posner was mistaken that "the French Revolution may be credited with making archives accessible to private examinations" and to limiting earlier examples to the privileges of a few scholars, such as Geronimo Zurita (1512–80) researching his *Annales de la Corona de Aragón:* "Development Since the French Revolution," 29.

[136]Jaume II reiterates his namesake's references to the palace archives, where the king sought records held "in archivio nostre curie" or "in archivio palacii nostri barchinonensis," as noted by Burns, *Diplomatarium*, I, 18, relying on citations to Jaume II's records by H. Finke, ed., *Acta aragonesia* I, xxvi.

[137]The Templars residence presumably contained quarters for the king when he was in Barcelona, and hence it was referred to as a palace in the sense of *palatium* or elevated, protected place. Other lodgings used by the kings were also referred to as palaces, without the connotation associated with Nero's residence on the Palatine Hill, renowned for its spaciousness and luxuries (and incidentally, for archives as well). The idea that the Barcelonan palace was a more comfortable royal residence pertains to Pere the Ceremonious's rebuilding of the palace for his queen on the site of the old Templar fort.

[138]"Domum dicti archivi . . . recondita tam in armariis ex caxiisquam extra . . . excuciendo ea a pulvere," Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, no. 129.

[139]The first Barcelonan *notarius comitis* appears in 1129 and *scriptor* or *scriba* for the kings of Aragon in 1135: J. Trenchs Òdena, "Los Escribanos de Ramón Berenguer IV" in *Storia e letteratura*, 139–40 (Rome, 1979), 5–6.

[140]"Claves dicti archivi et armariorum et caxiarum": Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, no. 129.

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dations for these archives lay in the preceding centuries, but the designation of a special records officer for the most important depository for the realm is a hallmark in the history of these archives. Moreover, the professionalization of archival work within the copyist tradition of the scriptor, such as preservation, records management, and reference and information dissemination, is significant.[141] Before this time, such work was integrated into the scriptoria and chanceries where records were produced and was assigned as one of myriad duties to chief notaries and master scribes.[142] Consequently, the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries may be seen as the critical transition from household governance, disorganized recordkeeping, or scattered deposits, to the creation of centralized, funded, and professionally maintained public archives.[143]

The unification of the Crowns of Castile-León and Aragó-Catalunya to form Spain, and the subsequent growth of central government and national archives in Madrid, meant that the ACA became regional from the Spanish perspective but remained national from the Catalan-Aragonese separatist viewpoint. Its preponderant focus on historical documentation and conservation is understandable, given these circumstances and the vast documentary wealth entrusted to this archives. If the "modern" era of these archives pertains to post-Civil War history, the intermediate periodization would be the century before, and the early-modern transition would date from the Trastamara dynasty of Castilla after the interregnum of 1410–28, i.e., from Fernando I onward (1412–16). Juan II on 30 November 1472 ordered the conservation of the archives after the Barcelonan revolts were quelled; the order was part of a general pacification effort that included an outpouring of historical research and publication portraying a unified history of the Iberian peninsula. The restoration of the archives was part of this historical renaissance, illustrated by such works as the *Croniques de Espanya* of the historian, poet, archivist, and proclaimed humanist Pedro Miguel Carbonell y des Soler (1476–1517).[144] Thus King Fernando el Católico in 1480 was able to continue an older tradition of referring to the Barcelonan center as "our royal archives."[145]

The cultural identity of the northeastern three states (the kingdoms of Aragon and Valencia and the Principality of Catalunya) was continually reinforced, moreover, by histories that focused on the Crown of Aragon. The most important of these continuations of the chronicler tradition were by the archivist Antonio Viladamor (1553–53,

[141]Burns (*Diplomatarium*, I, 23) noted that the only other general archives were established much later, in 1419 at Valencia, and in 1461 those were destroyed by Napoleonic forces at Zaragoza.

[142]Bernat d'Averco, for example, was a twelfth-century precursor but was also an archivist, notary, scribe, and lawyer rolled into one generalist. A. M. Aragó Cabañas, "Funciones del archivero real en el siglo XIV," *Homenaje a Federico Navarro: miscellánea de estudios dedicados a su memoria* (Madrid: Asociación nacional de bibliotecarios, archiveros y arquéologicos, 1973), 39–52. J. Trenchs Òdena ("Escribanos de RB IV," 7–19) has identified by name the thirty-six scribes who were in the service of Ramon Berenguer IV and three for Ramiro II from 1135 onward, classified by their regularity in the documents and title, each with a range of dates for their work. He also identified six scribes who worked intermittently and across boundaries between Aragon and Catalunya. The thirteen chief Catalan scribes came from the cathedral chapters of Barcelona and Tortosa, the monastic scriptoria of Poblet and Santes Creus, the Templars, and older sites at Besalú and Banyolas. Another ten, used occasionally, are more difficult to identify.

[143]Trenchs Òdena identified a growing bureaucracy of *literati* serving as scribes. The numerical increase suggests professional specialization, as in the case of head scribes appearing under Pere II. An official hierarchy with a chancellor at its head seems well articulated only by 1218: Canellas López, "Cancillerias catalano-aragonesa," 359–61.

[144]Martínez Ferrando, *ACA*, 47–48; Udina Martorell, *Guía*, 116–18.

[145]"[A l'a]mat scriva e tenint las [claus] de nostre Archivu reyal": ACA, Col. Historia del Archivo, doc. 613; cf. Udina Martorell, *Guia*, 117.

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a member of an archivist dynasty from 1530–94); the chronicler Francesc Pujades; the historian Jerónimo de Zurita of *Anales* fame;[146] and, later, Fray Francisco Diago, whose *Historia de los Condes de Barcelona* (1603) explored the earliest records of the archives.[147] These preceded the documentary editing projects of several wandering scholars who visited in the archives: the Archbishop of Paris, Pierre de Marca (1624); Antonio de Campmany; and Fr. Jaime Villanueva. They could not gain access to all of the documents preserved in the city, however, because the records were not totally drawn together until the administrations of archivists Prosper de Bofarull y Mascaró (1814–40, 1844–49) and his son Manuel (1850–92). After 1853, following another era of civil war that ravaged local and regional depositories, the father and son undertook a widespread records survey and amassed whatever they could in the old palace archives.[148] They began the most systematic mining of the reassembled archives and left as their legacy the *Colección de los documentos inéditos* of the ACA.

Today the ACA stands adjacent to the cathedral of Barcelona in the "Gothic barrio," or old medieval city, as part of a late medieval and Renaissance complex of chapels and palaces that were built on ruins of the old Roman forum and its temples.[149] The edifice itself, the Palace of the Viceroys (Virreys) dates mainly to the mid-sixteenth century. The archives building once had been the lieutenant's headquarters and also served for a time as a Benedictine convent. Its exterior has been preserved to safeguard the historic ambience of the old city, but the storage chambers were expanded by discreet remodeling from 1964 to 1979, extending the archives to the Palacio Real Mayor next door. The earlier installation dates to 1954–59, when the final work begun in the 1940s reassembled the archives' 4,000 registers of the chancery, the collections of royal letters, 18,000 parchments, and the codices of the monasteries of Ripoll and Sant Cugat del Vallés, plus papal bulls and other treasures that had been safeguarded during the Spanish Civil War in the mountain stronghold of Viladrau under the watchful care of Ferran Valls i Taberner (1929–36, 1939–40) and his successor, Jesus Ernesto Martínez Ferrando (1936–39, 1940–61). Its floors are now buckling under the weight of records accumulated over ten centuries. Researchers enter through the door of St. George (the conquering knight and patron saint of the Crown of Aragon)[150] to an inner courtyard and climb historic stairs (restored in 1961) under Mudejaresque carved ceilings. Readers toil in an old-style reading room overlooking the Plaza del Rey, which is surrounded by a gothic chapel, other components of the palace complex housing the city's archeological museum, and a medi-

[146]Jeronimo de Zurita, *Anales de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas (Zaragoza: CSIC, Institución "Fernándo el Católico," 1970).

[147]Francisco Diago, *Historia de los victoriosissimos antiquos condes de Barcelona* (Barcelona: Sebastian de Cormellias al Call, 1603), repr. *Bibl. Hispanica Puvill* 2 (Barcelona: Puvill, 1974).

[148]The history of the ACA has been reconstructed by E. Gonzàlez Hurtebise, *Guía histórico-descriptiva del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* in *Guía histórica y descriptiva de los archivos, bibliotecas, y museos arqueológicos de España* (Madrid: Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1916), reprinted 1920; J. E. Martínez Ferrando, *El Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. A. Duran Sanpere, *Barcelona histórica y monumental* (Barcelona: Ediciones Ayma, 1944), for which he relied on a nonextant manuscript history of the archives by his predecessor, González Hurtebise; cf. his later *Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Guía abreviada* (Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1958); and F. Udina Martorell, *Guía del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (1986) and his earlier *L'Arxiu de la Corona d'Arago* (Barcelona: Ministeri de Cultura, 1980).

[149]Since 1966 the ACA also uses a remote-site depository for newer regional records in the buildings of the old University of Cervera, which by the mid-1980s contained eight kilometers of linear files: Udina Martorell, *Guía*, 100; *idem, Archivo* (1980), 53–55.

[150]F. Udina Martorell, *La puerta de San Jorge* (Barcelona: ACA, 1979).

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eval street. The street, which is more like an alley, cuts through remnants of even older construction, through sections of extant Roman walls, and past a monument of Count Ramon Berenguer I to the modern city across the Via Layetana, which follows an old creek bed from the Barcelonan hills to the sea. It is a setting in the Barrio Gothico that will be missed when the archives are moved by the end of this decade to their new facilities, now under construction. Ambience will be lost, but the medieval records will survive in a modern archives.

Conclusion

If one counts the accumulation of archival records in the Crown of Aragon—even before the conquest of Valencia by Jaume I and the subsequent taking of Jativa and end of the Muslim monopoly over paper production, before the first archival "paper mountain" began to form—one can detect expected correlations between major reconquest, ecclesiastical reform, and political consolidation activities and the growth of archives as the natural product of these actions. Conversely, the archives were also instruments of such reconquest, reform, and consolidation of the realm. The result was more than territorial gain, and included the following: (1) the transformation of a feudal principality into a monarchical state; (2) a cultural revolution in the ascendancy of literacy, written proof, documentation, and procedural law; (3) the growth of bureaucracy and a greater continuity between regimes than previously had been the case under household governance and charismatic leadership; and (4) the formation of newly amalgamated cultures, which we today like to think of as modern. Certainly twelfth-century literati who swelled the ranks of the new bureaucracies and filled the archives of the Crown of Aragon thought of themselves as modern, not as medieval.[151] Their archives came into being as integral components of reconquest and reform, intimately tied to the growth of government and power of the chancery; they were not separate enclaves or mere collections of historical manuscripts. They meet the criteria established by twentieth-century archivists for modern archives: the five basic archival functions were performed as systematically as possible while a system of records management simultaneous with records creation was evolving. The success of these developing archives is attested by the increased numbers of extant documents as time marched on, in contrast to the meager survivals from earlier ages. Their early official nature cannot be overstressed, and their public utility is manifest in the documents themselves.

What can be concluded generally about the historiography of Western archives, apart from these observations about those in northeastern Spain during these Middle Ages—their integration into government and the connection between the parallel growth of archives, bureaucracy, population, and territory?

- *Although the idea of archives may have survived from the Roman Empire, actual archives did not.* Ideological survivals via literature could not have been widespread until after the Carolingian revival of classical literature, when there would have been greater association of letters with libraries. Although regional continuity may have survived in a few places as family archives for local governors and bishops, surviving documents are scarce. Such connections are there, however, and the medieval record is as creative as it is imitative.

- *Archival developments appear indigenous, not direct copies from either ancient Roman or Byzantine forms, or from Islamic*

[151]M. T. Clanchy, "*Modern* in Medieval Education and Government in England," *Speculum* 50 (1975): 671–88.

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forms, despite the proximity of the two cultures in the Iberian peninsula. The orientalist explanation in archival historiography is not credible, and it counters the Pirenne thesis, which seems indicated in the discontinuity of archives between the Roman and medieval Christian centuries.

- *The growth of recordkeeping was gradual, but it had accelerated by the eleventh century, entering into a period of creative experimentation from 1150 to 1250 for information technology, communications, and archival methodology.*

- *After a brief experimentation with bookkeeping for more than fiscal accounting, but also to manage loose manuscripts as rescripts bound into codices and a confusion of textual records as accounts with literary works, the resulting cartularies failed to achieve their recordkeeping purposes except as memorials.* They lacked flexibility precisely because the codex was a preservation instrument. Scribes reverted to managing loose manuscripts as authentic records in series, and they devised other means of intellectual access parallel to classification, cataloging, and book indexing. Codification of rescripts remained important for reference functions and preservation, but the management of contemporary records as activities distinct from library practices began to dominate archives. The two institutions, archives and libraries, remained closely connected, and they relied on similar scribal technology and manpower. But the two also began divergent traditions, which were distinguished by separate missions, roles, and practices.

- *Such developments were motivated by the reform of ecclesiastical jurisdictions and rise of the territorial state, in response to similar incentives, needs, and viability of technology and techniques in several places during the same time.* Neither proximity in place nor the contemporaneity automatically provided linkage from a first instance through an imitative process of cultural diffusion. Then as now, archives very much reflected the culture in which they existed and exhibited idiosyncrasies from the circumstances of their creation.

Modern archives rest on these medieval foundations, especially the reorganization of government and reliance on written records during the late-twelfth century, the innovations in archival methodology at the turn of the century, and proliferation of paper records by the mid-thirteenth century. Clanchy's characterization of England pertains also to northeastern Spain: "The twelfth century had been a great period of making documents, the thirteenth was the century of keeping them."[152]

Although watersheds such as the French Revolution had to be bridged to reconstruct archives with long histories, the modernist discontinuity thesis that Western archival development can be traced only to the post-1789 reorganization of European governments does not properly credit the innovation of the medieval scribes and archivists in the very creation of the first official archives. Archival historiography tends to confuse modern archives with the nation state and to view the disjuncture of the French Revolution as a beginning, rather than an intermission. The more justified discontinuity thesis is Pirenne's, with its acknowledgement of the re-creative aspects of medieval society prompted by practical necessity and inspired by memory—sometimes scant and fragmented—of the ancient heritage. The scope and size of the archives assembled by the Crown of Aragon were decidedly different from those of the personal scattered records, memorabilia, or retrospective collections of historical manuscripts.

The late twelfth century may be seen as a crucible for innovative information technologies and methodologies. In it was cast the form of the Western archival tradition.

[152]Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 49.

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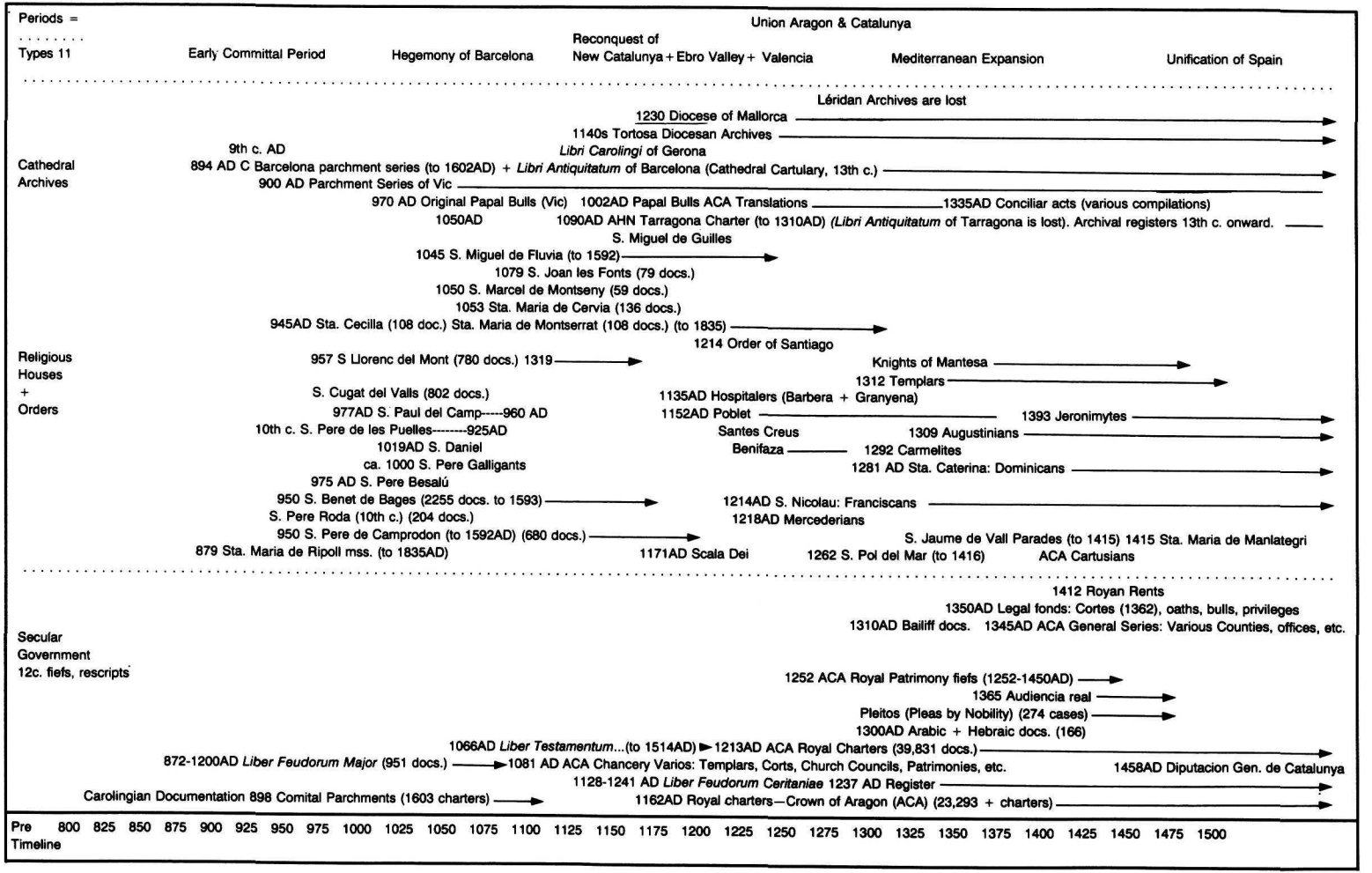
MAJOR DOCUMENTATION SERIES
Archivo de la Corona de Aragon



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APPENDIX

CODICOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE *LIBER FEUDORUM MAIOR*

MS. Liber Feudorum Maior. Latin ms., 2 vols. in 1 [ca. 1200 + 10]. Barcelona, comital scriptorium and chancery, in continental protogothic book script. x, 123ff; signatures: [1] i–vii, [2] viii–x, A–B^6, C^{12}, D^{1+6}, G^2, H–J^1, L–N^2, O–P^1, Q^{2+1}, R^2, S^{2+1}, T^4, U^{2+1}, V^2, W^{4+1}, X-Y^1, Z-$2B^2$, $2C^{26+2}$, $2D^4$, $2E^1$; 30.5 × 43 cms., ill.

Provenance

Manufactured under the direction of the master scribe and secretary of Anfons I, king of Aragó-Catalunya (1162-1196) in a post-1179 effort to codify the major enfeoffments and acts of homage in old Catalunya, thereby ensuring the suzerainty of the Crown over the once quasi-independent Catalan countries, this codex is both a symbol of the newly consolidated monarchial and comital power of the houses of Aragon and Barcelona into one realm and an instrument toward that achievement. The documents were assembled in the 1180s, ca. 1192, but were not completed. The work was done in Barcelona itself by a task force of no fewer than ten scribes and two artists, but it was left unfinished. As depicted in the portal frontispiece, this register attests an archival compilation and reorganization under the personal guidance of Ramon de Caldes in consultation with the king, witnessed by the court.

The original loose parchments (*pergaminos*) had been conserved in the comital family archives in the palace of Barcelona, part of a Templar fortress in the northwest corner of the old city. They were stored in one large *caixa* or trunk, in no particular order, and their bulk overflowed the original container. These were sorted by attribution to the old counties, and within these record groups manuscripts were arranged chronologically and were transcribed in columns, two per page, on large folios (ca. 60 × 90 cms.) with varying layouts of text and illustration.

Conservation

The codex was once assembled as two volumes consisting of 489 and 399 leaves (*hojas*) respectively, entitled *Liber primus feudorum forma majoris* and *Liber secundus feudorum forma majoris*. It was thus conceived as one Great Book of Fiefs in two parts, but it may not have been constructed originally as a bound codex. Theoretical reconstruction of the original cannot be accomplished with surety because of the destruction of codicological evidence in rebinding and savage trimming. But because the compilation was left unfinished, there is evidence in varied folio preparation that the transcriptions may not have been intended as a bound codex, but instead for a booklike casing and sheath for a loose portfolio. Folio 63v, for example, is laid out so as to defy binding by sewing through the fold, making bi-folios into quartos, without destroying a centered miniature (see figure 4).

The original compilation may have been perceived as needing to be expandable, accommodating inserted folios, rather than a definitive reference tool but also as a ceremonial symbol of power and embodiment of past enfeoffments and homages by those depicted therein.

If the original remained unfinished, as indicated by prepared folios laid out for transcriptions which were never executed (some stages of completion), and the folios remained loose in a casing, this could explain partially the severe damage to the original and its forced trimming and fold-

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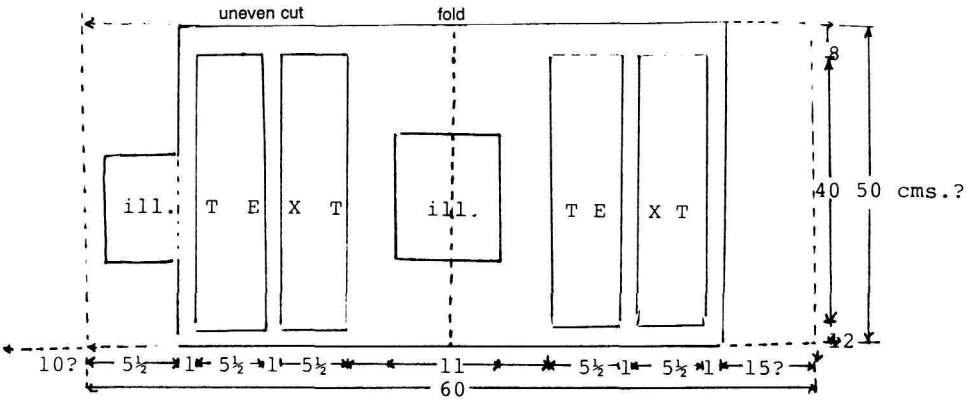

Width:			*Height:*	
11 cms.	Outer margin		11 cms.	upper margin
16.5 cms.	3 (5.5 cms.) cols.			
2 cms.	colum. spaces	left pag.	33 cms.	columns
11 cms.	inner margin		11 cms.	lower margin
11 cms.	illustration		55 cms.	minimum
11 cms.	inner margin	center		
11 cms.	inner margin		5 cms.	allow. for greater
16.5 cms.	3 (5.5 cms.) cols.	right pag.		bottom margin
11 cms.	outer margin			
90 cms.			60 cms.	

Figure 4. Layout of *LFM* Folio 63v.; Reconstructed Original Folio

ing into binding bi-folios rather than more common quartos. The volumes' bindings were not saved or adequately described by archivists to determine the transition to completed codex form.

By the mid-1800s, however, it appeared as two damaged codices with loose fragments and miscellaneous unfinished folios. Some of the latter had been reused as binding material for other volumes, particularly the *Intruso diversorum . . . Ludovico Regis Galliae* or a chronology of the kings of France, where twenty-six folios intended for the *LFM* were discovered by the archivist Pedro Miguel Carbonell (1434–1517) and notary of King Peo el Ceremonioso. These were bound into the *LFM* volume 2, on 31 December 1944 (as certified on 20 March 1945 by archivist Jesus Ernesto Martinez Ferrando [1936-1961]).

Binding

The current condition of the *LFM* as a two-volume codex is owed to the well-meaning but ill-informed intervention of Tomas Pardo, a military commander of the palace guards who had fought the French and who became director of the archives (1805–08) as part of his role as defender of the city and its palaces in the old quarter. The archives had been leaderless since 1789, except for their attempted care by Juan de Letamendi (1790– , 1804–05) and by Pedro de Laugier y Madrid (1799–1804) during the years of turbulence and occupation. The *LFM hojas*, or grand folios, were apparently separated from their damaged binding (or possibly merely a casing) to be rebound in the order of a separate index, combining fifty-nine and twenty-nine surviving folios into a one-volume codex of eighty-eight folios. Tomas Pardo placed a paper and wax seal (see figure 5) into the codex (f. 2R), attesting the binding of all extant originals then known (using his two titles: "Capitan de los Reales Exercitos y Archivero del Real y General Archivo de la Corona de Ara[gón] certifico.").

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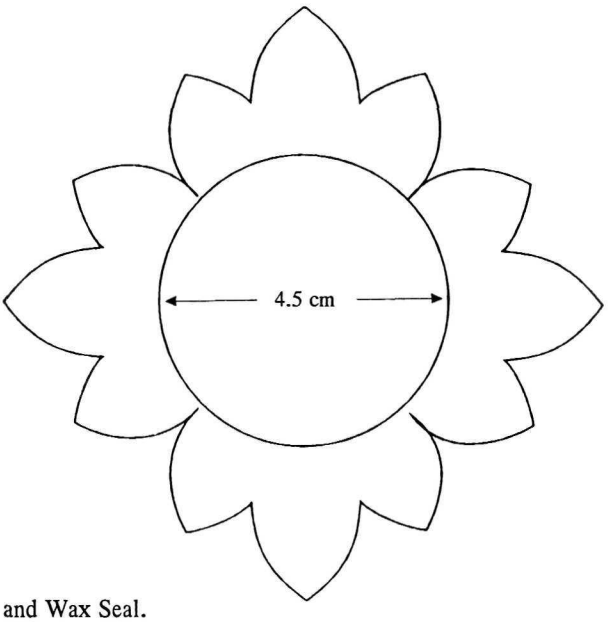

Figure 5. Paper and Wax Seal.

The "gran pergaminos" were brutally cropped, trimmed, and split into single folios to fit into a 30-by-40 centimeter format, sewed into quires of six, using one of two methods (see figure 6).

The binding was upgraded when a second seal was added in 1870 (f. 2R) on the front papers with a stamp ("para despachos de oficion quatro mts. Sello de Varto, Ario de Mil ochocientos siete") into a white vellium over boards, 30.5-by-43 millimeters, gold-tooled and lettered with five raised bands, a red-leather inlay for the title, and head bands covered with red silk thread (see figure 7).

Writing

The *pergaminos* of the *LFM* are all quality skins of even weight, but the folios as they exist now were cut to similar sizes from different areas of the larger parchment originals so that there is no pattern in laying hair and flesh sides of the skin to face each other, as in standard medieval book production. Formats were laid out, not ac-

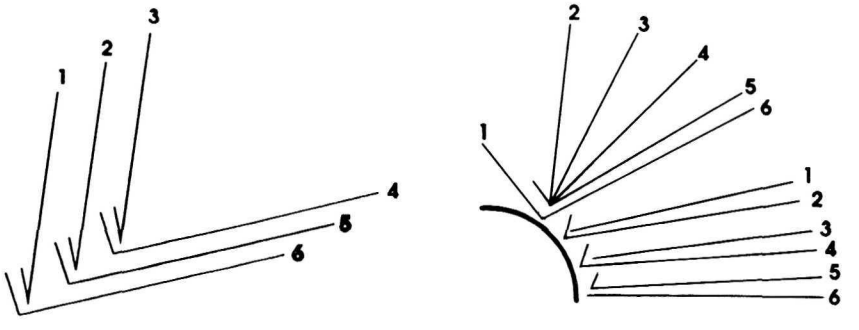

Figure 6. Two Methods of Construction

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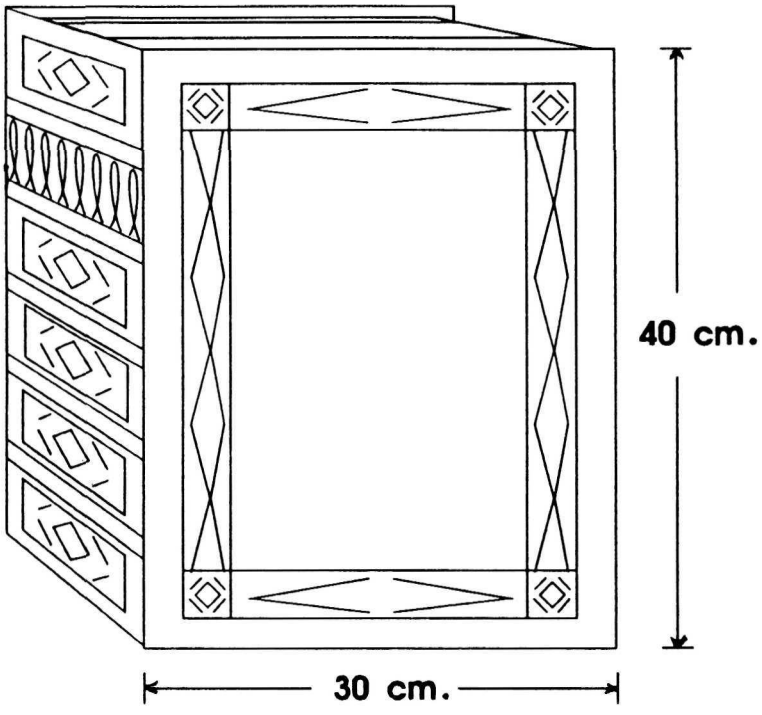

Figure 7. *LFM* Binding Decoration

cording to prickings, but according to graphite and light brown ink rules, some of which are quite visible (eg., F. 13R). Incipits are in red ink; the text varies in opaqueness, from dark brown to black. Old foliations sometimes appear in upper-right corners. Marginal decoration and enlarged Gothic capitals in red and blue are scattered throughout the text with no apparent pattern. Rubricators can be identified by sections of the decorations (e.g., beginning on f. 2R), often at the same time scribal bands change. At least three different styles of rubrication appear and minimally ten scribes worked on *LFM* transcriptions.

The textual script is a continental protogothic miniscule bookband common to France and northeastern Spain in the late twelfth and thirteenth century, with standard abbreviations. Marginalia are more highly abbreviated, and many appear as later thirteenth- and even fourteenth-century cursives. The dominant script, having evolved from the Caroline miniscule, corresponds to the Romanesque period, matching the artwork, but the hands exhibit transitional tendencies from local varieties and not yet a formal Gothic *textualis* or *quadrata* grade. Such lettering is found throughout areas of Norman and Angeven influence from England and Spain and Italy, from 1050–1250 A.D., displaying Caroline letter forms, somewhat oval formation, and compressed minums, with eradically produced feet created by a fairly rapid upward turn of the pen. Such scripts are found in both books and documents because of their semiformality but ease in formation, and, hence, appropriateness for large production.

The archival or recording character of the script, as distinct from very carefully, individually formed letters for very formal book production, is evident in the irregularity of the ductus, linked minums, and occasional broad (looped?) ascenders, which

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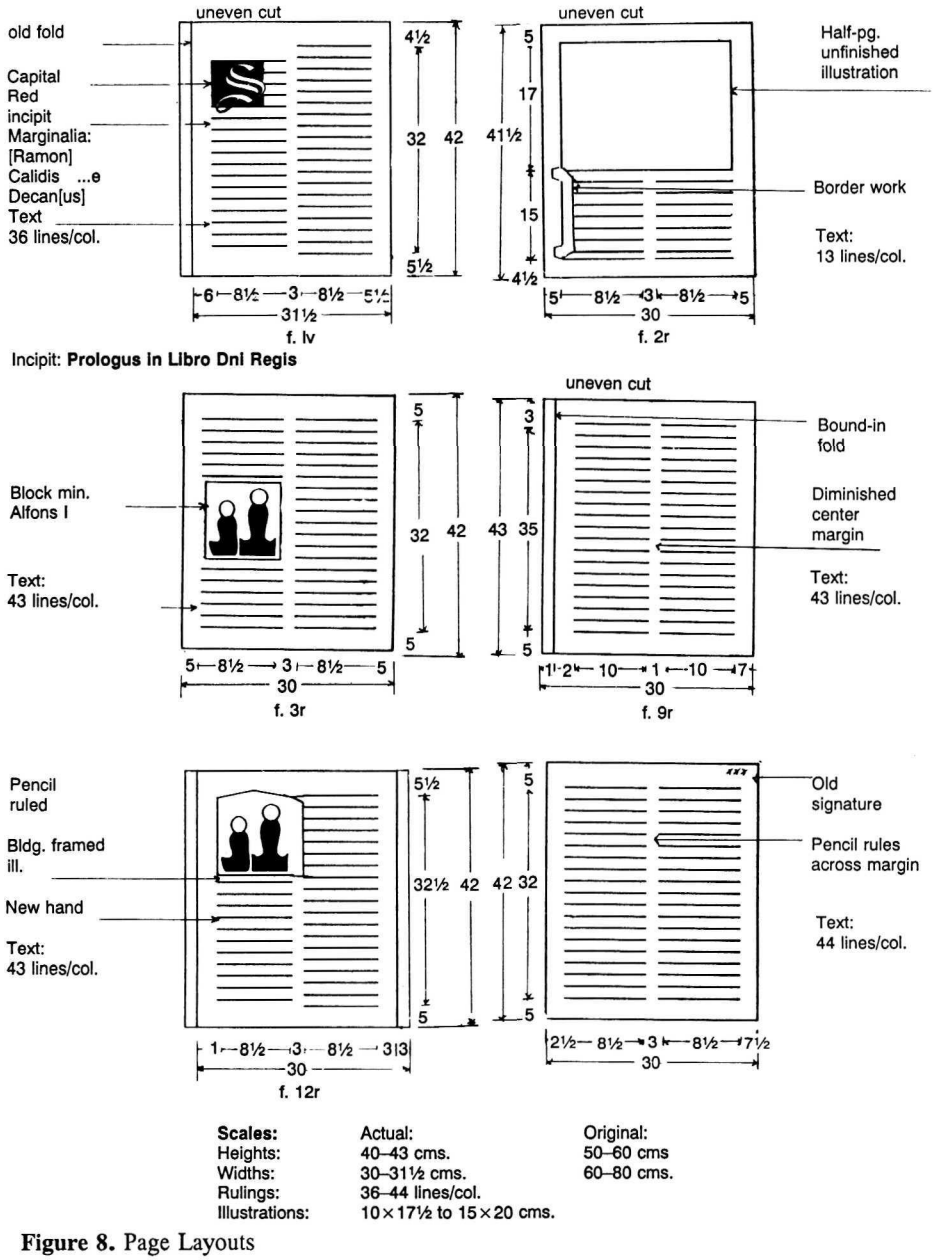

Figure 8. Page Layouts

some paleographers see a semicursive influence. It may be classified as *littera minuscula protogothica textualis documentaria formata*.

The protogothic display capitals are mixed square and rustic forms. The incipit miniscule scripts display more cursive influence and are less formal than the documentary script, whereas the reverse is common in much book production, where the incipits are the most formal and where quadrata forms appear first. This feature also characterizes the *LFM* production as archival or documentary.

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Layout

The *LFM* parchments are not uniformly laid out and were not controlled by a strict set of standards for margins (varying from 3 to 8 cms.), column sizes (8.5 to 10 cms. wide), or line spacing (36–43 lines per col.). Some parchments were ruled by pencil, others by pen. Typical page format treatments are displayed in Figure 8.

Artwork

Unfinished illustrations indicate initial rough sketches in pencil, outlined in black ink, with washes in orange and green in a primitive Romanesque style, and in red and blue for a second, more embellished and fanciful Gothic style. Both silver and gold are used for highlight. Miniature no. 18 combines both styles in one, using a Romanesque framework, but the enthroned king is in the second style. Some figures (e.g., no. 20, style 2) hang outside the compartment. A third style appears in the latter unfinished parchments, characterized by more free-form figures, with a salmon-colored wash for the robe, using a blue background and gold and red highlighting and outlining (no. 23), similar to colors and styles of margin decorations. Figures in column-size compartments are usually limited to two, a noble kneeling and swearing homage to a seated king. Occasionally a noble's wife witnesses the act. Many of the homage scenes are generic; they do not attempt realism or detail identifying individuals in them other than to differentiate the noble by posture (kneeling) and gesture (hand outreached or clasping), and the king (seated, robed, and crowned). Unfinished blank parchments with sketches of these *acta* suggest no particular relation of any depiction to a single text.

The second style is the famous portal frontispiece (f. 3R) depicting the comital palace in five Romanesque arches. The city of Barcelona is in the upper compartment, with its fortified stone palace district, the cathedral in its garden, and two enclosed towers, all within the city's walls, and two main fortified gates. Other buildings are outside the walls. Inside the compartment, from left to right, are the crowned King Anfons I, seated with sceptre in one hand and the other gesturing to the master scribe, Ramon de Caldes; seven figures representing the court witness the act. The archives occupy the center arch, depicted as parchments piled on a rich gold-star red carpet, and to the left a scribe seated at a lecturn-style desk transcribes a document. Decan Ramon dominates the work, seated in the center with feet outside the inner compartment, extended into the frame, which brings him into the foreground; his size is larger than that of the king. He holds a parchment in his right hand and gestures with his index finger to the king, making his point while selecting this document for inclusion in the *Liber Feudorum Maior*.

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
[1]	1+6(i–vii)	Blank				
		Attestation (1870): Tomas Pardo	[2R]		2 seals: paper + red wax	[2R–2V]
		Index + prologue	[3R]		Signature: Tomas Pardo	
		Title: *Liber Primus Feudorum*				
		Instrumenta Regni Aragon	[3R–4R]			
		Instrumenta Sacramentali	[4R]			
		Instrumenta Comitis Pallariensis	[4R–6R]			
		Cartae Guillermi de Sancto Martino	[6V]			
		Cartae Arnaldi de Lercio				
[2]	1+2(viii–x)	Title: *Liber Secundus Feudorum*	[7R-]			
		Prologue				
		Comitatus Bisuldensis (Besalú)				
		Comitatus Ceritanensis (Cerdagne)				
		Comitatus Rosseleonsis (Rosellon)	[7V]			
		Carte Guillermi de Apiano	[8R–V]			
		Comitatus Carcasonensis . . .				
		Cartae Melgonii (Maguellone)	[9R]			
		Blank	[9V–10]			
A	6(1–6)	Frontispiece	1R		Court and archives of Barcelona: Full-pg. gold + silver (20.5×33.5 cms.) Scribe/archivist Ramon de Caldes + Anfons I	1R
		Prologus in Libro Domi Regis	1V		Margin Signature (?): [Raimundo] Calidis [Barchinon]e Decan.	1V
		Scribe 1				
			2R	1	Kings of Navarre + Aragon half-pg. unfinished gold leaf, orange + green miniature (13×19.5 cms.)	2R
			2V	2	Bertran of Toulouse + Anfons I (10.5 × 11 cms.)	
			3R–			
			3R	3	Urban II, 2 bps., + Ct.	
				4	Unfinished min. (17 × 13 cms.)	
		Notes (*LFM* notes, p. 8)	4R–V	5	Rota (papal seal) + Benevalete	5R
			5V	6	Unfinished min. (11.5 × 15.5 cms.)	

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
B	6(7–12)		6R (old f. ii)	7	Outline sketch, Ramiro + RB IV	
			6V	8		
			7R (old f. iii)	9		
				10		
			7V	11	Patriarch of Jerusalem Unfinished Min. (9 × 9.5 cms.)	7V
			8R (old f. iiii)	12	Master of Hospitalers + RB IV Unfinished min.	8R
			8V	13	Incomplete min.: gold leaf background only	8V
C	12(13–25)		9R	14	Incomplete min.: gold + silver background	
			9R–V	15	Graphite layout	
			10R–V	16	Incomplete min.: gold + silver background	
			10V	17	Incomplete min.: gold + silver background	
			11R	18	Unfinished min.: 2 figures, as queen + son?	
		Apocryphal bull of Gregory VII added in 16th-c. hand (see *LFM*, p. 25, n. 1) Scribe 2	12R–V	19	Min. (9 × 9.5 cms.) Graphite layout; format change.	
		Missing docs. + folios		[20–21]	Old fold visible	
		Margin date: 1178 with emendations	13R (old f. xx)	22	Graphite layout	
			13R–V	23	Alfons I and Hospitalers: Incomplete min.	
				24		
			14R	25		
		1 col. blank Missing docs. and ff	14V		Red + blue rubrication	

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
C	12(13–25)—*continued*					
		Scribe 3	15R	[26–27]	Style change Min. cut off (13 × 13 cms.); new artist introduced	
		Marginal notes by latter hand identifying Emp. Alfonso + King Garcia of Pamplona (same hand as f. 16R)	15V–	28	Treaty of Alfonso VI + Ramon Berenguer IV: seals of king and count	
		Marginal dates: MCCXCV era	16R–18R	29		
		Marginal dates: MCCXCV era + Incarnational date MCLVI	(old f. xxi)	30		
			18V	31		
			19R–	32	Alfonso VIII and Anfons I min. in different style	
			20R		Layout change	
			(old f. xxx)		Red rubrication	
			21R	33		
			21V	34	Red + blue rubrication	
		Scribe 4 (?)	22R	35		
		Blank	23R		Ct. of Pallars' homage to RB IV, unfinished min.	
		Missing folio		[36]		
			24R	37	Arnau Mir's homage to RB I	
			24V	38		
			25R	39	Rubrication style changes	
			(old f. xli)	40		
		Inserted copy of doc. 26	26R	41 + 42		
			26V	43 + 44y		
			26R–27V	45		
D	1 + 6(26–32)	Blank	27V			
		Missing folios		[46–52]		
		Scribe 5	28R	53	New rubricator	28R
			28R	54		
			28V	55		
			29R	56		
		Blank	29V			
		Scribe 6	30R	57		

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
D	1+6(26–32)—*continued*					
		Marginalia identifying King Ataric	30R–V	59–[60]		
		Copy of doc. 67		61–62		
		Missing folios	(old f. lxx)	[63–67]		
			31V	68–69		
			31V	70		
				[71]		
			32R	72		
		Incomplete text (doc. 77).	32V	73–77		
		Missing folios; out-of order folios		[75–76]		
		Half blank	33R	[77]		
			34R	78–79		
E	6(33–38)	Incomplete text (doc. 82)	34V	80–[82]		
				[83–84]		
			35R		Miniature in style 1(17.5 × 17.5 cms.)	35R
			35V	85		
		Incomplete text (doc. 86)		[86]		
		Missing folios		[87–89]		
			36R	90	Min. Homage of Ct. Bernat of Pallars	36R
			36V	91		
				92–93		
		Half blank	37R	94		
			37V	95–97	New artist	37V
			38R-V	98–100		
			39R-V	101–102		

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
F	6+1(39–45)	Scribe 6 (?)	40R	103–104		
		Half blank	40V			
			41R			
			(old f. lxxx)		Min. (green style 1)	41R
			41V	106–107		
			42R	108–109		
			42V		Min. (green style 1) with gold (11.5 × 16 cms.)	42V
			43R	110–111	Incomplete min. with gold background	43R
			43V	112–114		
		Half blank	44R			
		Blank	44V		Ramon Berenguer I: incomplete min., orange + green background, gold trim.	
			45R	115–117	2 min., brown = red backgrounds in green frame	
			45V	118	Gold trim on clothing; styles are unique in ms.	45V
			46R	119		
			46V	[120–129]	Arnau Mir + RB I min. (9 × 16 cms.)	46V
G	2(46–47)		47R	130	Layout changes: indentation	
			47R	131		
			48R	[132]	Blank space left for min.	
				133–134		
		Incomplete text (doc. 136)	48V	135–136		
		Missing folios		[137–141]		
H	1(48)		49R–V	142		
		Missing folios: major loss		[143–		
I	1(49)	Marginalia identifying Montjuich	50R			
			(old f. mxx)	150]	Cropped min. of homage scene outside frame; folio folds out	
		Major lacunae		[151–294]		
			50R	295		
		Incomplete text (doc. 296)		296		
				[297–380]		

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
J	1(50)	Scribe 6	51R	381	Blank space for min.	
			51R–V	382		
		Incomplete text (doc. 383)		383		
K	[?]	Missing folios				
L	2(51–52)		52R	384	Blank space for min.	
				[395–398]		
			53R	399		
				400		
M	2(53–54)	Scribe 7	54R	401	New rubrication	
			54R	402		
		Blank	54V		Min. (12.5 × 15.5 cms.)	
		Scribe 8	55R	403		
		Missing folios		[404–410]		
				[411–412]		
N	2(55–56)	Incomplete text	56R–V	413	Rubrication unfinished	
				[414?]		
		Incomplete text (doc. 415)	56V	415	Viscount Ponc de Cabrera and King Pere min.	
			57R	416		
		Missing folios: major lacunae		[417–484]		
O	1(57)		58R	485		
			58V	486		
		Incomplete text (doc. 487)		487		
				[488–494]		
		Blank	59R			
P	1(58)	Copy of latter hand; 13th-c. addition	59V	495		
Q	2+[i]+1(59–62)	Incipit *Liber eccles.*	60R		Juncture between old vols. 1 & 2	
		Blank	60V			
			61R	496	2 min., Ct. Bernat of Besalú	
			61V	497		
		Misnumbered folio	[62]			

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
Q	2+[i]+1(59–62)—*continued*					
		Marginalia	63V	498	Added min.; 1 foldout uncropped min.	
			63V	499		
		Incomplete text (doc. 500)		[500–513)		
		Missing folios				
R	2(63–64)		64R	514		
			64V	515–516		
		Doc. 518 copied in later hand	65R	517	Graphite layout; ink spills	
			65V	518		
S	2+1(65–67)	Ampurias section	66R	519–520		
			66V	521–522		
		Incomplete text (doc. 523)		[523–528]		
			67R	529	Min. homage to Ct. RB III (style 1)	67R
			67V		Min. (style 2) of homage ceremony outside frame	
		Cerdagne section		[530]		
			68R	531		
			68V	532		
		Missing folios		[533–630]		
		Major lacunae				
T	4(68–71)	Scribe 9	69R	631		
		Doc. 631 omitted in Rossell ed. (p. 45)?				
		Missing folios	69V	632		
				[633–635]		
		Major lacunae	70R–V	636		
		Rosellon section		[637–696]		
		Scribe 10	71R–V	697		
		Incomplete text (doc. 698)				
				698		
				[699–710]		
		Missing folios	72R	711		
			72V	712–714		
				[715–734]		

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
U	2+1(72–74)		73R	735	Ct. of Rosellon min. (style 2: 17 × 13 cms.)	73V
			74R	736–737		
			74V	738	Oversized min. (style 2: 14.5 × 17 cms.)	74V
			75R	739–741		
		Incomplete text (doc. 744)	75V	742–744		
				[745–758]		
V	2(75–76)		76R	759–761		
			76V	762–763		
		Incomplete text (doc. 764)				
		Half blank	77	[764–782]		
		Missing folios				
W	4+1(77–81)	Incomplete text (doc. 783)	78R	783–785		
				786	Half-pg. min. (17 × 22 cms.)	
			79R	787		
			79V	788		
		Mallorcan section	80R (old f.iixxx)	790–791	foldout	
		Marginalia dating	81R	792		
			82R		Oversized min. (16 × 25.5 cms.)	
		Blank	82V			
		Missing folios		[793–797]		
X	1(82)	Scribe 10	83R	798–799	Cutout to preserve marginalia	
		Added by later hand		800		
		Insert	83V	801	Full-pg. min. (16 × 22 cms.)	
		Missing folios:		[802–811]		
		misnumbered	[83]	812–813		
		Missing folios: major lacunae		814–853		
Y	1(83)		84R	854	Anfons I + Viscount Roger of Bearn min. (style 2)	
		Incomplete text	84V	855–856		
		Doc. 868 from 14th-c. copy		[857–868]		

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
Z	2(84–85)	Incomplete text	85R	869	Min. (style 2)	
		Missing folios	86R	[870–878]		
		Partial text: signatures only	86V	878		
		Incomplete text (doc. 881)		879–881		
				[881–891]	Incipits added	
2A	2(86–87)		87R	892–893	Blank space for min.	
		Right col. blank.	87V–88	894–		
			88V		Alfons I and Alfonso of Castile in 2 min. (Rossel plate 12)	
				[895–902]		
2B	2(88–89)	Paper addition: Hallazgo a nuevos folios miniados	89R			
		Blank	89V			
2C	26+2(90–116)	Certification of Jesus E. Martinez Ferrando, July 1945; Binding certification of Don Tomas Pardo	90V		26 ff. added from *Chronology of the Kings of France,* discovered by Pedro Miguel Carbonell:	
				[f.1R]	Alfons I seal (*Guide* cover) (29.5 cms. diameter)	91R
			117–118			
				[f.2R]	Min. (13 × 19.5 cms.), style 1 modified (Rossell *Lam* XIV)	92R
				[f.3R]	RBIII and Guillem Dalman de Cervera, min. (Rossell *Lam.* XIII)	93R
				[f.4R]	Min. (14 × 23 cms.)	94R
				[f.5]	Min. (15 × 20 cms.) primitive style (Water wash on ink sketch)	95R
				[f.6]	Min. (13 × 19.5 cms.) prim. style	96R
				[f.7]	Min. (11.5 × 17.5 cms.) prim. style	97R
		Cropped annotation		[f.8]	Min. (10.5 × 17.5 cms.), prim. style of Alfons I	98R
				[f.9]	Min. (14.5 × 21.5 cms.)	99R

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Sign	Folios	Text	Folios	Doc. Nos.	Decoration	Folios
2C	26+2(90–116)–*continued*					
				[f.10]	Min. (12 × 17 cms.)	100R
				[f.11]	Min. (12.5 × 19.5 cms.), prim. style of Ct. + Countess	101R
				[f.12]	Min. Alfons I (10.5 × 17.5 cms.)	102R
				[f.13]	Min. (11 × 17 cms.)	103R
		Illegible annotation		[f.14]	Min. (19 × 22 cms.), damaged	104R
			(old f. xxlii)	[f.15]	Min. (10 × 18.5 cms.)	105R
				[f.16]	Min. (12 × 18 cms.), damaged	106R
				[f.17]	Min. (11.5 × 16 cms.), water damage	107R
				[f.18]	Min. (15× 13 cms.), combination of 2 styles (collaboration of 2 artists?)	108R
		Signed (?)		[f.19]	Min. (13 × 16.5 cms.), style 2	109R
				[f.20]	Min. (15.5 × 17 cms.), style 2 homage scene outside frame	110R
				[f.21]	Min. (15 × 17 cms.), homage	111R
				[f.22]	Min. (15 × 18 cms.)	112R
				[f.23]	Min. (12 × 16 cms.), style as in rubrication	113R
				[f.24]	Min. (13 × 16 cms.)	114R
				[f.25]	Min. (14 × 18 cms.)	115R
				[f.26]	Min. (14 × 15.5 cms.)	116R
				[f.27]	Min. (14 × 19 cms.)	117R
		Blank parchment	118 (old f. 414)	[f.28V]		118V
2D	4(119–122)	Endpapers				
2E	1(123)	Endpaper				

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