## REVIEWS

doi: 10.1344/Svmma2014.3.18

BARCELONA MEDIEVAL 2013. *A l'entorn de la Barcelona medieval. Estudis dedicats a la doctora Josefina Mutgé i Vives.* M. Sánchez Martínez, A. Gómez Rabal, R. Salicrú i Lluch, P. Verdés Pijuan (eds.), Barcelona, (Anejos del Anuario de Estudios Medievales 73), Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 496 p. ISBN: 978-84-00-09734-9/ NIPO:723-13-127-4

This collection of articles provides a deserved tribute to Dr Josefina Mutgé i Vives, who retired from office in the Institució Milà i Fontanals (CSIC) in 2012 after a long career as a historian, which began in 1961, when she entered the IMF to prepare her doctoral thesis under the direction of Professor Emilio Sanz. The volume consists of an introduction written by the editors, a list of publications by Dr Josefa Mutgé Vives (1966-2012) and, finally, a total of twenty-four articles written by researchers— colleagues and former students — who have collaborated with Dr Mutgé in research projects and other scientific activities over the years.

The Introduction of the volume covers all the aspects of the professional life that Josefina Mutgé i Vives has led as a researcher and research manager at the IMF. Regarding her research career, the editors highlight the preparation of her doctoral thesis, "La ciudad de Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el benigno (1327-1336)", defended in 1981 and published in 1987, from which her main lines of research derived. The doctoral thesis by Dr Mutgé i Vives, centered on the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, allowed a deeper understanding of a stage in the history of Barcelona which had been relatively ignored by scholars. Her subsequent research dealt with politics, urbanism and city life in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Barcelona. Among the most important studies stand out her works on the convents of La Mercè and the Augustinians and the great Benedictine monastery of Sant Pau del Camp; her work on the relations of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy with the various religious establishments; her studies on the domestic and foreign policy of the Consell de Cent; her essential studies on the Catalan-Genoese war of the first third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the history of the diplomatic relations with Sicily and Naples, together with publications derived from her work on the Libre del Consell. Also remarkable is the participation of Dr Vives i Mutgé in research projects conducted by her colleagues at the Institució, especially Drs Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol and Roser Salicrú i Lluch, centred, in both cases, on the study of Muslim minorities and the role of the Crown of Aragon in the Mediterranean.

Also in the Introduction, the editors acknowledge the valuable administrative and management tasks that Dr. Mutgé i Vives performed at the secretariat of the Institute of Geography, Ethnology and History of Palermo (1980-1984), the management of the Institution Milà i Fontanals (1985-1991)



and the secretariat of the most important publications of the institution, the *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, the *Anejos del Anuario de Estudios Medievales* and the *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievales*. The editors admit that many of the monographs and journals that were published in the Department "no podrían haber salido adelante sin el trabajo constante y la dedicación desinteresada de Josefina Mutgé" (13) (could not have gone ahead without the hard work and selfless dedication of Josefina Mutgé).

The list of publications by Dr Josefina Mutgé and Vives is divided into five sections: ten books, monographs and collective volumes, in which the publication of her doctoral thesis (1987), already mentioned, is included, L'aljama sarraïna de Lleida a l'Edat Mitjana. Aproximació a la seva història (1992) and El "Llibre del Consell" de la ciutat de Barcelona, segle XIV: les *eleccions municipals* (2007); 35 journal articles, some of which were published in the journals of the Institució (Anuario de Estudios Medievales; Miscel·lànea de Textos Medievales) and many other national journals, such as Estudis Castellonencs; Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Estudios Medievales, Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia and Acta Historica et Archaeologica Mediaevalia, while some others were published in foreign journals such as Archivio Storico del Sannio and Medioevo. Saggi e Rassegne. As an example of the various topics covered in her research articles we highlight, "L'Infant Alfons, fill de Jaume II i el monestir de Santes Creus (1319-1327)" (1983), "La guerra contra Gènova de 1330-1335. Documentció barcelonina" (1992), "Activitat piràtica entre catalano-aragonesos i castellans a la Mediterrània Occidental durant el regnat de Jaume II" (1997), "Sociedad laica y sociedad eclesiástica en Cataluña (siglo CIV). Aportació a su estudio" (1999), "Noticias y documentos sobre las Órdenes Militares en Barcelona durante el reinado de Alfonso el Benigno (1327-1336" (2001) and "Alguns camins per a apaivagar els conflictes per incidents de piratería en el Mediterrani Occidental" (2009). She has also written 40 book chapters in collective volumes, including, for example, "Algunas noticias sobre las relaciones entre la Corona catalano-aragonesa y el reino de Túnez de 1345 a 1360" (1988), "Dos ejemplos de negociaciones de la época del rey catalanoaragonés Alfonso el Benigno" (2005), "Alfonso el Benigno y el santuario de Montserrat (Barcelona). Siglo XIV" (2006) and "Los reyes de la corona de Aragón y el monasterio de Leire (Navarra) en el primer tercio del siglo XIV" (2010). Finally, her articles in encyclopaedias and dictionaries and 240 reviews and book reviews in various scientific journals on medieval history are also mentioned.

The twenty-four articles of the contributors to the volume, presented in alphabetical order, masterfully combine the interests and specialities of each contributor with the treatment of the topics to which Dr. Mutgé and Vives has devoted most of her research career. As noted in the Introduction and in the ratio of publications by Dr Mutgé i Vives, the common thread of her research topics has been, as indicated in the title of the volume, "the environment of the city of Barcelona" in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with a focus on municipal and international politics during the reign of Alfons the Benign, the religious orders located in Barcelona, and minorities in

Catalan-Aragonese territories. Many of the articles demonstrate one of the signs of identity that characterize the publications of Dr Mutgé i Vives: a concern for reflecting the close links between the political, economic, military, social and religious aspects of life in late medieval Barcelona.

Among the studies that analyse various aspects of municipal policy we find the contributions of: María Barceló Crespí, "Correspondència entre els jurats de Mallorca i els consellers de Barcelona en temps de Joan II i Ferran el Catòlic"; Carme Battle i Gallart, "Uns prohoms de mar a la Ribera de Barcelona: els Bou, Torsà, Cantull"; Prim Bertran Roigé, "La ciutat de Barcelona, senyora de Vilagrassa, a l'Urgell"; Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "La gent rica de Barcelona al any 1363"; and Miguel Raufast Chico, "Solo para la reina: la exclusiva celebración de la entrada de María de Luna en Barcelona (1400)".

The different aspects of life and the treatment of religious minorities in Barcelona as well as the relationships that existed between locals and the Muslim world are reflected in the articles authored by Iván Armenteros Martínez, "Regular las declaraciones de buena guerra en un centro del comercio interregional de esclavos: Barcelona, 1453"; Damien Coulon, "Entre Almeria y Gênes. Barcelona et les réseaux de grand commerce au XIIe siècle"; Roser Salicrú i Lluch, "Home del papa, home del rei. Guillem de Fanollet, un mercader català entre política i comerç, entre món cristià i món islàmic, a cavall del segles XIV i XV"; and Stephen P. Bensch, "A Jewish merchant in Romania: Isaac Llobell of Barcelona". Josep Baucells i Reig devotes a short section to the coexistence with the Jewish community of Barcelona in his article, "Prospecció vital de la ciutat de Barcelona de 1303 a 1334".

Various aspects of the integration of religious establishments in the city of Barcelona and its impact on urban life and society are treated in the articles authored by Salvador Claramunt Rodríguez, "El bací dels pobres vergonyants de la parroquia del Pi de Barcelona com atenuant de la crisi ciutadana del segle XIV", Carles Vela Aulesa, "Llegats pietosos i misses. L'evolució de la religiositat enfront de la mort a Barcelona a la baixa edat mitjana" and Jill R. Webster, "Reflections on three interacting aspects of late medieval Barcelona: Poverty, piety and prostitution".

The ups and downs of the economic policy implemented in the municipality of Barcelona during the 14<sup>th</sup> century manifested in the economic and social crisis, in the public debt and the economic, political and military relations between Barcelona, the other territories of the Crown of Aragon, other Peninsular kingdoms, other Mediterranean countries and the Muslim world. These are the topics covered in the articles authored by Vicente Cabezuelo Pliego and Leonardo Soler Milla, "El consulado catalán de Sevilla a inicios del siglo XIV: disputas políticas y realidad mercantil en el Atlántico"; María Dolores López Pérez, "La compañía Torralba y las redes de distribución de la lana en el norte de Italia"; Antoni Riera i Melis, "Sucre per a després d'una pesta: Barcelona, 1349-1350"; Manuel Sánchez Martínez, "Barcelona, mercado de la deuda pública emitida por



la Diputación del General de Cataluña" and Jordi Morelló Baget, "La gestió comptable de la Cambra Apostòlica al bisbat de Barcelona deberse el 1390". While the aforementioned authors base much of their research in documents from the Archives of the Crown of Aragon and other archives located in Barcelona, the article by Vicent Baydal Sala, "Haüt diligent colloqui e tractat'. Les negociacions per a l'organització d'una armada valenciana contra els genovesos en 1302", pays tribute to the research conducted by Dr. Mutgé i Vives on the financing and organization of the Catalan-Genoese naval warfare using sources from the Municipal Archive of Valencia.

Violence, poverty, prostitution and other social problems encountered in the urban area of Barcelona in the 14th and 15th centuries are discussed in the article of Teresa Vinyoles Vidal, "Violències a l'espai urbà. Barcelona, segle XV", as well as in the aforementioned articles by Jill Webster and Salvador Claramunt. The social problems caused by poverty and famine are just some of the vital aspects that can be grasped in the panoramic outline of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Barcelona traced by Josep Baucells i Reig in his aforementioned article, "Prospecció vital de la ciutat de Barcelona de 1303 a 1334". Based on sources from the Archive of the Crown of Aragon and the Barcelona Episcopal Archive, Baucells i Reig identifies some of the outstanding lay and ecclesiastical "main figures" of the city and outlines aspects of social life such as health care in hospitals, slavery, religious holidays or the functioning of schools. Josep Delgado Hernando examines the issue of schools and higher education in Barcelona in more depth in his article, "Les 'Artes Liberales', les escoles d'Arts i la Facultat d'Arts de la ciutat de Barcelona, segle XV. Tradició i renovació". And finally, two articles draw data about the society of Barcelona long before the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The article by Ana Gómez Rabal and Pere J. Quetglas, "Dins i fora de la ciutat: Els nostres veïns de l'any 1000", analyses documents from the Cathedral Archive of Barcelona that provide amazing facts about the vitality of urban transactions, real estate transactions and commercial activities before and after the raid of al-Mansur in Barcelona. In constrast, the article by Ramon Grau i Fernández, "Jaume Destorrent i la política de Barcelona. L'aforament d'un personatge en la histoiografia, 1879-1931", unmasks the partial and ideologically biased approaches that characterized the research on Jaume Destorrent, Catalonia's conceller en cap de at the time of Ferran the Catholic, carried out by Catalan historians in the 19th and 20th centuries, Salvador Sanpere i Miquel, Elies Serra i Ràfols and Jaume Vicens i Vices.

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## BRAMON, Dolors, 2013. *Moros, jueus i cristians en terra catalana. Memòria del nostre passat,* Lleida, Pagès editors, 152 p. ISBN: 978-84-9975-314-0

Reading a text by Dolors Bramon is always suggestive and rewarding, especially due to the ease with which the author transports us to the distant past while she establishes direct connections with our present. Moreover, her terminological precision should is a warning cry as to how we use vocabulary and the meaning we give to our words. This is an aspect that should be emphasized given the difficulty that we sometimes have using historical terminology related to the Andalusian world, which we master much less than we should as medievalists.

In the present case, again, the author shows us the complexity of relations between Jews, Christians and Muslims, while offering us the opportunity to know and acknowledge the legacy of that past. From the formal point of view, the work is divided into six chapters plus a prologue followed by a section devoted to the clarification of the basic terminology used by the author throughout the text. It finishes with an appendix as a final example that illustrates what has been previously explained. All the text is suitably annotated with both quotations from various authors, who are experts in the topics discussed, and references to other works by the author, providing further explanations for some of the aspects presented here in a more concise manner. Interspersed within the text, we find fragments of chronicles and various documents, as well as quotations from other authors who have delved into some of the topics covered by this book.

Dr Bramon offers, in less than 150 pages, a summary of what the Muslim presence in Catalonia meant. Thanks to her double speciality in Semitic philology and medieval history, the author defines and specifies the correct use of terminology related to Islam and teaches us how to use certain words in one historical context or another. This accuracy is of great interest to us medievalists, who often find ourselves lost while using this vocabulary.

On the other hand, throughout the work, we find relationships between past and present, helping us thus to understand certain situations, beliefs and actions that reach us through the news without the necessary historical background that would make them more understandable. No less important is the criticism of certain historiographical and ideological positions that have followed each other over time; from what the author calls as "absurdities about the arrival of Muslims to Hispania" to the demystification of certain topics that have been used to promote understanding between cultures based on the alleged magnificent relations between Jews, Christians and Muslims, which we should not overestimate.

The ability of the author to create a historical synthesis is evident throughout the work; a good example of her deep knowledge of the subject, it allows her to choose what is essential and deliver it to us in a clear and understandable fashion. This is clearly visible in the chapter on Andalusian society, where she outlines each of the groups that constituted it—Muladi, Mozarabic, Jews, Arabs, Berbers and slaves. It also shows in her definition of the main stages of Andalusian history



in Catalonia, divided into five phases: the invasion, the centrifugal Muladi policy, the centralism of Cordoba, the territorial compartmentalization and the Almoravid unification.

In the subsequent chapter, the philologist appears to show the Arabisms still extant in our language, words, place names and anthroponyms, their evolution and semantic changes. The combination of everyday examples with the detailed analysis of the evolution of certain words facilitates reading, rendering it more enjoyable and understandable for those who are not experts. Thus, we discover the origin of the verb "entabanar" (to dupe) or why substituting "sorbet" (sherbet) with "xarrup" (sorbet) is a mistake, the origin of the name of our towns and villages, such as Albarca and La Sènia. Conversely, we also find names of ancient origin that were Arabized to return, later, to Catalan, through the corresponding transformation. This is the case of the rivers called Llobregat (Rubricatu > Lubriqât > Llobregat) and of Tortosa (Dertosa > Turtûsa > Tortosa), just to mention a couple of examples.

The last chapter is devoted to Moriscos, their presence in Catalonia, their exile and their continued presence, beyond their supposed departure, especially in the region of the river Ebre. Especially interesting is the section devoted to the religious practices of Moriscos, which presents documentary evidence on the way they maintained practices related to the five pillars of Islam. These practices set them apart from the "old Christian population," although the relations between both groups were quite intense, as shown by mixed marriages. In conclusion to this chapter, the author raises a number of questions still to be solved, related to Morisco population and the circumstances of their expulsion, and seems to claim greater dedication of current scholars to this topic.

Finally, in the form of an appendix, Dolors Bramon offers a delightful example, still alive, of the coexistence of Christians, Jews and Muslims, a practice quite common nowadays that consists in slapping the back of the neck of someone who has just had a haircut, while saying "estrena!" (*shapiches*!). A nice and friendly end to a work full of information, critical perspective and present-day projection that places a mirror before us where we can see what we still retain from our Andalusian past.

Personally, I miss a section of general conclusions to the whole work, not just to the final chapter devoted to Moriscos. Also, it would not have been superfluous to end with a bibliography that listed the works cited in the footnotes, as well as graphics, totally absent, which could have included maps or images that illustrated the text and facilitated the understanding of certain aspects. In short, it is a work of great interest both to linguists and historians, a magnificent synthesis, entertaining and enjoyable, about Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Catalan territories.

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## CIUDAD Y HOSPITAL, 2013. *Ciudad y hospital en el Occidente Europeo (1300-1700)*, T. Huguet Termes, P. Verdés Pijuan, J. Arrizabalaga, M. Sánchez Martínez (eds.), Lleida, Milenio, 534 p. ISBN: 978-84-9743-610-6

In times of crisis, such as this, both economic and of values, is when the Humanities must assert themselves, gain prominence and contribute their bit to best interpret the present. This is the role that can be played by studies on medieval hospitals and welfare, which in recent years have increased significantly, either as a matter of fashion (we're convinced that's not the case), or simply because these institutions can provide a better understanding of the social, political and economic reality of our past. The volume before us, edited by Jon Arrizabalaga, Teresa Huguet-Termes, Manuel Sánchez and Pere Verdés, includes contributions from several experts who participated in an international symposium held in Lleida, in the Fall of 2009, as well as other texts subsequently requested that were not presented at this meeting. At the same time, this work falls within the scope of other recent publications that are committed to provide an interdisciplinary view that takes into account the many different aspects that characterize historical hospitals, not only in the Middle Ages but also throughout modernity.

The curtain rises with a suggestive and absolutely essential mise-en-scène, whereby Teresa Huguet-Termes carefully reviews the main contributions of the research currently carried out, while she tries to answer the question of why a history of hospitals is necessary. This introduction suggests that there is still a long way to go and shows that *Ciudad y hospital* represents a huge boost in the right direction.

While it is very difficult to summarize in a few lines the main virtues of this work, one of the aspects it brings to the table is the enormous amount of documentation still to be studied, analysed and/or exhumed. Taking the example of the Hospitals de la Santa Creu, in Barcelona, and l'Annunziata, in Naples, Reis Fontanals and Salvatore Marino introduce the reader to the plurality and richness of their respective archives. As to the chapters authored by Manuel Sánchez, Jordi Morelló and Mari Luz López-Terrada, they emphasize funding, especially through the examination of the books of accounts. This issue is also addressed in relation to other Italian (Giuliana Albini) and Valencian (Agustín Rubio Vela) establishments, which demonstrate the existence of common features, but also the differences between welfare institutions across the continent.

The symbiotic relationship between the hospital and the city is one of the hallmarks of the book, as might be expected considering its title. Through geographically and/or chronologically distant case studies, from medieval England (Carole Rawcliffe) to the court of the Sun King (Rafaël Hyacinthe), through the Granada of the Catholic Monarchs (José Valenzuela) is evident how the city was nourished by an institution with multiple welfare capabilities, and, in turn, how this institution needed the city in order to manage itself and operate at peak performance. Thus, it



is no surprise that different kinds of decisions were made around it, affecting, for instance, its location within the road network or the most suitable way to manage its abundant patrimony. The urban hospital appears at the epicentre of new health practices, but also architectural and artistic applications (as the article by Francesca Español remarks). In many ways, medieval hospitals were an economic and social engine, which helped cities in their path to Modernity, a reality that pervades the text by Miquel Raufast.

We should also bear in mind the healthcare factor. Although maybe this was not the ultimate goal of a hospital, from the Late Middle Ages we can attest to a certain process of medicalization, as Carmel Ferragud notes regarding the introduction of the medical practitioners in the hospitals in Valencia, or as Carlos Vela remarks in connection with the apothecaries of Barcelona. For different diseases involved different solutions, such as leprosy, analysed by Carole Rawcliffe, and the collateral phenomena that accompanied it, such as the *lazaretos*, with which Jane Stevens-Crawshaw deals. Although in this case the main character is a very specific disease, the truth is that it reveals a precept followed everywhere: body care cannot be separated from the care of the soul, whatever the physical condition of body. This aspect, to which some books and articles in the last have been devoted in the last fifteen years, is also the subject of reflection chosen by Jon Arrizabalaga.

Furthermore, we must recall one of the best and closest examples we have at our disposal: the Hospital de la Santa Creu in Barcelona. There is still much work to do around this extraordinary complex, but this volume includes some studies that allow us to move forward, many of them focused on its documents and economy (as mentioned above), but also on its particular architecture (Antoni Conejo). Certainly, it is very rare that such an institution has not enjoyed the attention it deserves until relatively recently.

Finally, we note an interesting project that reflects, perhaps better than any other initiative, the interdisciplinary trends of recent years. Christopher Bonfield illustrates how the former Norwich Hospital was fortunate enough to receive an investment in order to recover its past, which has helped to build an accurate three-dimensional recreation of how it would have been during the Middle Ages. Obviously, a project of this nature involved the participation of professionals of all possible areas, to the point of becoming a metaphor for the current situation of studies on medieval and modern hospitals. Only by bringing together multiple viewpoints do we get to grasp the reality of these institutions, both in terms of their internal functioning as their usefulness for the society of the time. And it is for this reason, among others, that this volume is so important, because it leads us to outline a complete network of welfare.

Ultimately, *Ciudad y hospital* becomes, hereinafter, and essential reading within the scope of European hospital historiography. On the one hand, it can be a good introduction for those unaware

the subject, but, on the other, includes many contributions, some of them very suggestive, that will undoubtedly spur specialists on and predict a great future for projects that revolve around this issue.

CLARA JÁUREGUI Ardit Cultures Medievals

COBOS FAJARDO, Antoni, TREMOLEDA TRILLA, Joaquim, 2009. L'Epigrafia medieval dels comtats gironins. I. El comtat de Peralada, Figueres, 214 p. ISBN: 978-84-96905-33-7 COBOS FAJARDO, Antoni, TREMOLEDA TRILLA, Joaquim, VEGA FERRER, Salvador 2010. L'Epigrafia medieval dels comtats gironins. II. El comtat d'Empúries, Figueres, 225 p. ISBN: 978-84-96905-51-1

From now on, we must bear in mind a new epigraphic collection in Spain. And it's a good thing. With the publication of the first two volumes of medieval inscriptions of the counties of the province of Girona, we have at our disposal a large part of Catalan epigraphic documentation. Hitherto scattered in ancient and inaccessible publications, this documents have found in the volumes by Antoni Cobos Fajardo and Joaquim Tremoleda Trilla (volume 1) and Salvador Vega Ferrer (volume 2), a preminent position.

The format chosen by the editors is as unexpected as it is interesting, and the manipulation of works is facilitated by the clear layout of the pages and the structure of the collection. From a formal point of view, the publication of the inscriptions of the province of Girona is admirable. Clear, richly illustrated, printed in color on a high quality paper, it fills a significant historiographical gap given the epigraphic wealth of the territories of Girona.

Volume I, devoted to the inscriptions of the County of Peralada, offers a general introduction to the collection, which, to sum up, is composed of seven volumes. In this short text, the authors present their intentions and the principles governing the edition. The overall quality of this work would have certainly deserved a more detailed introduction, especially regarding textual criticism. Medieval epigraphy, the "youngest sister" of the auxiliary sciences devoted to the Middle Ages, still faces certain editorial pitfalls and all the updates, thoughts or methodological proposals are more than welcome. Apart from this, the introduction offers a short summary of the following aspects: support and epigraphic elements (frames, font, *décor*, heraldry), text, geographical and chronological distribution, types of inscriptions, and heraldry selection, all in about ten pages. The authors have opted for efficiency and conciseness (see, for instance, the description of the fonts, divided into three main palaeographic categories), no doubt, to place inscriptions at the foreground. Thus, by avoiding an introduction that is too dense or long, they do not give rise



to confusion between an epigraphic corpus and epigraphic manual or a synthesis work. While we appreciate this conciseness, over-simplified descriptions can sometimes lead to dangerous shortcuts, and provide a distorted picture of the epigraphic reality discovered in the pages that follow. It seems clear that balance and measure are not fashionable.

After the introduction we find a section entitled "Estudi", which contains general reflections on the great documentary ensembles of the county. This section is organized according to the order of appearance of the pieces in the catalogue, namely, a geographical classification which is rather difficult to follow. First, we find the texts of the capital city, then the great monasteries of the county and, finally, the rest of the locations. When there are multiple inscriptions in one place, they are divided first into broad categories (funerary inscriptions, monumental inscriptions) and then chronologically. This classification is debatable, as are all editorial elections. This one, however, complicates the reading of the study and the consultation of the catalogue study, making it confusing although ech piece is identified with a continuous numbering in each volume.

In the "Estudi", the authors of the synthesis have gathered in brief paragraphs, corresponding to each of the locations, the comments of most of the inscriptions. Thus, we find a mixture of palaeographic inscriptions, linguistic review, historical and biographical information, lists of the inscriptions preserved in one place, data on their preservation conditions and the manuscript tradition of some texts now lost, preservation sites ... All of them of great wealth and immense interest. This is where the reader measures the depth of the knowledge the authors have of monumental inscriptions and their context. Then again, why on earth have they concentrated this wealth of information at the beginning of the catalogue? Although the transition from one section to another is facilitated by the use of a continuous numbering, this structure partially conceals the interest of the collected documents. Like all editions of sources, a collection of inscriptions is analysed and each notice should have consistency and autonomy.

The positive counterpart of this choice is the brevity of the notices. They concentrate key information that allow, to put it simply, to distinguish an inscription from the one that follows. After the identification number we find the name of the place where the inscription is preserved and its date, generally found in the text. Then we find the type of inscription to which it belongs (monumental or funerary inscription) followed by a precise description of the inscribed archaeological object. In a separate paragraph we find the following information: language and prosody, font, number of lines, size of the letters, size of the epigraphic field, and punctuation. The text of the inscription is immediately transcribed in capitals without abbreviations or restitution of the gaps, which appear in the critical edition that follows the transcription and precedes the Catalan translation. Since the comment has been relegated to the section of the "Estudi" nothing remains but to read the references and see images of the inscription. The quality of the photographic reproductions, in colour, often accompanied by a numerical tracing with a

drawing of the inscription, is exceptional. The choice of the double transcription (transcription and critical edition) is also adequate. With these two elements, the reader has a very suitable tool to make their own comments and satisfy their curiosity, despite the paucity of philological and historical development.

We can perceive the rigour and dedication of the authors as we walk through the catalogue. All entries have been seen in situ, the stone used has been systematically analysed, heraldic elements have been carefully identified, the Latin metre has been painstakingly described... in short, an admirable epigraphic collection, which begs to be exploited by medievalists interested in all matters realted to the local and global history of written culture.

The original form of the publication and its clear concern, for efficiency purposes, involves certain methodological problems, at least in regard to the presentation of the notices. First, it is difficult to be satisfied with the typology provided by the authors: the monumental and funerary inscription. It is obviously simple, but not clear enough, especially considering that the adjective "commemorative" sometimes appears without explanation. While we cannot but congratulate the authors for not having taken up the classification of the Corpus inscriptionum Hispaniae Mediaevalium, excessively "diplomatic" and discriminatory, or the typology of the Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale, too "literary" and fluctuating, the choice made in Epigrafia medieval dels comtats gironins is actually a lack of choice. The artificial distinction between monumental inscription/funerary inscription misleads readers and prevents them from posing the right questions, to which any product of an act of communication, such as the medieval inscriptions, must be submitted. Another weak spot: the dating. The date given in the catalogue is usually the one that appears in the text, especially when it is a funerary inscription indicating the year of death. It is a simple and justifiable choice, although it tends to establish a synchrony which is certainly relative, between the event that prompts the writing process and the object produced at the end of that process. Although this method is the de facto choice across European epigraphic corpora, the notices must include an explanation of the criteria used to establish the date. The compilations of inscriptions are too often consulted with an utilitarian purpose by historians, art historians and linguists, who seek epigraphic (irrefutable) evidence of an evolution, an emergence, a transition ... When dating plunges into a methodological imprecision induced by the use of criteria that only obey to the wish of the editor of the notice, we run the risk of seeing our conclusions resumed, sidetracked and even manipulated. For the sake of honesty (and perhaps due to excessive caution), we must provide readers with all the heuristic tools that enable them to verify the approach of the selections and the comments of the editor, and even to discuss them.

These observations do not relativize the overall quality of the first two volumes of this magnificent collection; not only should we congratulate the authors, but also encourage them to publish as



quickly as possible the remaining five volumes, because they look exciting, and also because the inscriptions on objects will not be published until volume 7. These are essential to approach the documentary reality of counties of Girona in its formal, linguistic, and functional amplitude. Suffice it to identify the proportion of unpublished inscriptions included in the catalogue of volumes 1 and 2 to measure the extent to which medieval epigraphic documents have been greatly enriched by them, especially regarding the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries excluded from *Catalunya Romànica* and volume 11 of the *Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale*.

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FINANCIAR EL REINO TERRENAL 2013. *Financiar el reino terrenal. La contribución de la Iglesia a finales de la Edad Media (siglos XIII- XVI)*, J. Morelló Baget (ed.), Barcelona, (Anejos del Anuario de Estudios Medievales, 72), Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Institució Milà i Fontanals, 412 p. ISBN: 978-84-00-09713-4 / NIPO:723-13-098-4

As Jordi Morelló points out, this volume focuses on the analysis of fiscal pressure on the clergy. Thus, without losing sight of the immunity and privileges of the clergy, the role of the Church as a contributor to the papal, royal, seigniorial and municipal coffers is emphasized; and all this within a timeline spanning from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> centuries and within a geographical framework that comprises France and the peninsular kingdoms.

One of the fundamental aspects of the book refers to the administrative area on which fiscal framworks settled, being paramount in this sense the evolution of territorial, civil and ecclesiastical structures, as well as the organization of the papal system, based on the *colectorias*. Several articles refer to this administrative framework.

Armand Jamme shows the relationship between the papacy and France during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. To address the difficult question of the taxation of clergy by both powers, he uses mainly the one-tenth income tax as the common thread of his contribution. This papal tax on ecclesiastical benefices was meant to combat the infidels and serve the papacy's own reasons: heresy, conflicts in Italy, etc. Despite this, late medieval tenth went hand in hand with the monarchy and cannot be understood without it, as the next two articles also show. The entire exposition being chronologically divided, one of the most attractive periods is the reign of Philip the Fair (1268-1314), crucial in the process of building the French monarchy, during which the French king exerted great pressure on the papacy, which was annoyed by the continual usurpations and royal interventions on the incomes of the clergy.

As has been previously noted, this influence of the monarchy on the papacy—and vice versa can be observed in the concession of pontifical tenths. The article by Mario Farelo is particularly enlightening in this regard; it focuses on the series of papal tenths that taxed Portuguese clergy over the 14<sup>th</sup> century, which had as their principal beneficiary the Portuguese monarchy. Besides providing an interesting historiographic outline of the studies devoted to this tax in the medieval West, Farello discusses how the tenth was transferred to the Portuguese crown, noting the political and administrative framework that existed behind its collection, as well as the accountability of the tax itself.

Amandine Le Roux shows how the evolving system was quite complex, both due to its bureaucratic apparatus and to the staff needed in order to manage it. To do this, Le Roux studies the way in which this framework developed in Provence, and analyses how the collectors of the main papal taxes were established between 1249–1514, focusing on the collection of tenths and *anatas*. Thus, she notes the hierarchy associated with the collection of tenths: the general collector, diocesan collectors and sub-collectors, and the particularly suggestive administrative development of the second third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Meanwhile, the *anata*—which taxed the income of the first year of a benefice—seems to peak between 1370 and 1453. The author notes that, from mid-14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, many collectors of tenths and *anatas* alternated in their mission. Moreover, during the Avignon papacy and the Western Schism, Le Roux shows how these networks were strengthened, intertwining the various administrations, and also including the royal officials or individuals financiers who collaborated significantly with this machinery.

A similar process can be seen in the article by Maria Bonet, who delves into the fascinating world of the military orders; specifically concerning the order of the Hospital—mainly the *Castellanía* of Amposta and the Priory of Catalonia—and its contribution to the Master of Rhodes. As the centre of the order, Rhodes received economic and military resources from the territories over which it had jurisdiction. The fiscal demands and the process of administrative development consolidated in the late medieval centuries, following a pattern similar in many ways to the papal taxation system. As the author notes, the *encomienda* of Saint Johnan created a model of government that was crucial to ensure tax efficiency. But—after the outline of the different taxes provided by Bonet—one of the most striking sections of her work deals with the use of debt by the chapters of the order and the local convents, in which Catalan banks played a role of extraordinary importance, especially in mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, a critical moment for the financial condition of the order.

The relations between Western monarchies and the Holy See underlie all the aforementioned topics and are one of the common threads of the book. For the Castilian case, we must take note of the article by Oscar Villarroel, who reflects on the interference of the royal Treasury in the ecclesiastical revenues through the imposition of numerous taxes, such as the *tercias*, which



became a revenue for the monarchy, or the *subsidios*, recurrent especially during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, the Castilian contribution to the coffers of the Apostolic Chamber was quite small compared to that of the other the peninsular kingdoms, although the papacy strove to involve Castilian clergy in the papal finances.

This interference of the royal Treasury in Castile can also be perceived in the article by Ángel Galán and Ágatha Ortega concerning the kingdom of Granada. Their study shows the complex implementation of the ecclesiastical apparatus after the Christian conquest, through, for instance, an isuue as striking as the influence of royal patronage on local churches. Moreover, the church of Granada needed the royal endowment for its sustenance, an aspect that lasted over time and led to serious problems in relation to the support of the churches and the collection of rents.

A similar dynamic—with a similar kind of regional analysis—can be seen in the article by Elena Catalán, who focuses on the bishoprics of Calahorra and La Calzada in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Through a review of the initial contributions, Catalán shows how diocesan structures consolidated and refers again to lay patronage, a complex issue that is of great importance also in the northern area of the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, the role of financiers, who managed some ecclesiastical revenues in a context where the monarchy made increasingly greater use of these levies, as we saw in the case of Villarroel, is also interesting. The author also notes how the diocese of Calahorra-La Calzada contributed to major royal demands: *cruzada, subsidio* and *excusado*, which led to a marked increase in the tax burden. Leaving aside the *cruzada*, the other two levies taxed more directly both the income and the agricultural production; the fiscal burden was quite unevenly distributed, which raised strong opposition during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Finally, in all these processes we cannot fail to refer to the resistance of the clergy to taxation. To do this, we have two very suggestive articles that introduce us to the Crown of Aragon.

Centred on the Catalan municipal level, the article by Pere Verdés emphasizes the dichotomy between tax contribution and the immunity of clerics in local levies. Thus, the clergy was—theoretically— exempt from the levies charging the patrimony, but local authorities tried to force them to contribute to the city coffers. Therefore they sought to tax the tonsured, clerics with private properties or exercising economic activities, and *mortmain* goods, being the latter an aspect of great interest. Thus, despite the theoretical tax immunity, ecclesiastics were pressured to participate in these taxes—always voluntarily and graciously—in times of dire need of the municipality; being the construction of walls and fortifications the most common demands, as Verdés explains in these cases. However, conflicts were common, as were also the municipal attempts to obtain a higher contribution from the clergy.

The article by Verdés has links to the study of Jordi Morelló, who draws on the tax of the *generalitats*, whose origin is found in the Cortes of Monzón (1362-1363). This levy taxed with customs duties the movement of goods and properties, as well as the manufacture and sale of cloths, being another mechanism to collect the *subsidios* and donations requested in the Cortes. In principle, all citizens were required to contribute to it, including ecclesiastics, but between 1371-1375 the clergy sought to escape the tax imposed on textile production, adducing that they already suffered other charges. For this reason, they were returned, a posteriori, the amounts they had paid for this tax. Specifically, the amount equivalent to what the clergy with benefices had contributed through the acquisition of cloths in each bishopric was deduced from the total amount of the triennial tenth granted by Pope Gregory XI to Pere the Ceremonious in 1371.

In sum, the various articles collected here offer different interpretations, from an institutional, social or purely fiscal perspective, where the clergy appears as an active part of the process of creation and consolidation of the different late medieval tax systems.

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## SALRACH, Josep M., 2013. *Justícia i poder a Catalunya abans de l'any 1000*, Vic, Eumo Editorial, EPub 2: 224 p. ISBN: 978-84-9766-486-8/ Paper: 248 p. ISBN: 978-84-9766-475-2

Some historians have the enviable ability to weave into their works a historic account that perfectly combines high level scientific content with a stimulating and enjoyable discourse. This is the case of Josep Maria Salrach, one of the key figures of Catalan medievalism and the author of a recent work entitled, in an excessively modest fashion, "Justícia i poder a Catalunya abans de l'any mil". As Jaume Sobrequés, the current president of the Catalan Society of Historical Studies, remarked in the presentation of this volume at the Museum of History of Catalonia, the title chosen by Salrach does not do justice—pun intended— to the dimension of this work and its contribution to the medieval history of our country. Beyond the legal issues and the management of power in Catalonia before the year 1000, Salrach's work provides a rich and well-founded vision of Catalan society from early medieval times through legal sources.

Salrach's work, included in the collection *Referències* published by Eumo and directed by Joaquim Albareda, has the virtue of concentrating, in a little over two hundred pages, the results of an investigation based on the corpus of legal documents prior to 1000, mostly published in several volumes of *Catalunya Carolíngia* and *Pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona*, by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans and the Fundació Noguera, respectively. The exceptional amount of extant information, with regard to the size of the country, is a well-known fact that still surprises today both Catalan and foreign scholars. Abundance, on the other hand, that acquires its full value



through research projects such as this one. The great knowledge of these documents displayed by the author—who has himself co-edited some of their editions in recent decades—is evident from the first pages, which contributes to the strength of the work and the approach put forward by one of the world leading specialists in the early medieval Catalan world.

After an initial section on the functioning of justice in the Catalan counties in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, from the composition of the courts to the legal basis through the mechanics of litigation, the author structures his work in a series of chapters according to a thematic division. The structure itself shows the historiographic positioning of the author, implicit throughout the work, and heir to that "French style" historical materialism that has influenced Catalan historiography so much. Thus, Salrach emphasizes the conflict between "powerful and weak" and the struggles among the former "for the land and the surplus," with special attention paid to the "anonymous protagonists of history", which the author tries to remove from oblivion through necessarily biased documentation. Through case studies and inviting the reader to read the actual documents thanks to faithful Catalan translations of original texts, Salrach moves with subtlety and rigour between microhistory and general historical phenomena. Thus, the case of Llorence Canavelles, accused of being a serf of the Treasury before the comital court in 874, serves the author to reflect on the concepts of *servus/servitium* and the reality of slavery and serfdom in the early medieval period, while the detailed analysis of the 913 trial against the peasants from Vilamacolum, along with other examples, allows him to outline the conflicts related to the public duties of peasant communities, their relationship with the comital and diocesan authority, and the structure of the Treasury in territories increasingly distant from the Carolingian power. At the same time, numerous case studies serve the author to raise crucial issues as the influence of the Visigothic tradition enshrined in the *Liber Iudiciorum*, the importance of the connections with the Carolingian world regarding legal culture and the role of the judge in society or the confidence in memory and in writing as sustainers of the law and auxiliaries of justice.

The systematic interpretative caution of his proposals, coupled with the rigour in the presentation of the evidence on which each case is based, go along with a factor both necessary and valuable for any high level historical work: the use of intuition. A necessary resource, we say, given the fragmented nature of the documentation; and a precious resource, because it is inextricably linked with a deep understanding of the sources and the historical context of the period.

Thus, although it might seem a priori a catalogue or repertoire of case studies, it actually becomes a masterful study of Catalan society in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries derived from its relationship with justice. In other words, it is not simply—despite its title— a history of justice before the year 1000, but a brilliant approach to the Catalonia of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries through the extant legal documents. In short, an essential book in order to understand early medieval Catalan reality with the aid of one of its leading specialists.