WHAT TOUCHES ALL:
COINAGE AND MONETARY POLICY IN LEON-CASTILE
TO 1230

BY

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The Old Grey Donkey, Eeyore, stood by himself in a thistly corner of the forest, his front feet well apart, his head on one side, and thought about things. Sometimes he thought sadly to himself, "Why?" and sometimes he thought, "Wherefore?" and sometimes he thought, "Inasmuch as which?"-- and sometimes he didn't quite know what he was thinking about.

A. A. Milne
"In Which Eeyore Loses a Tail
and Pooh Finds One"

Once in awhile you get shown the light
In the strangest of places if you look at it right.

Robert Hunter

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	Emilio Sáez et. al., eds., Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230), 10 vols. to date (León, 1987-94).
AHDE	Anuario de historia del derecho español.
Alfonso VIII	Julio González, El reino de Castilla en la época de Alfonso VIII, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1960).
Alfonso IX	Julio González, Alfonso IX, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1944).
AN	Acta Numismática.
ANS	Collection of the American Numismatic Society.
BIFG	Boletín de la Institución Fernan-Gonzalez (Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos y Artísticos de Burgos).
BRAH	Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia.
BSAA	Boletín del seminario de estudios de arte y arqueología (de la Universidad de Valladolid).
CHE	Cuadernos de historia de España.
Dark Age	Philip Grierson, Dark Age Numismatics (London, 1979).
Economie et société	Jean Gautier-Dalché, Economie et société dans les pays de la Couronne de Castille (London, 1982).
ES	Enrique Flórez, España sagrada, vols 1-27 (Madrid, 1747-72).
GN	Gaceta Numismática.
HC	Emma Falque Rey, ed., Historia Compostellana, Corpus Christianorum, vol. 70 (Turnholdt, 1988).

"Hallazgos monetarios"	Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios." See bibliography for list of individual installments.
"Hallazgos musulmanes"	Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos numismáticos musulmanes." See bibliography for list of individual installments.
HSA	Coins of the Hispanic Society of America, on permanent loan to the American Numismatic Society.
Jarique I	Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez, ed., I jarique de estudios numismáticos hispano-árabes. (Zaragoza, 1988).
Jarique II	Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez and María Soler i Balaguró, eds., II jarique de estudios numismáticos hispano-árabes (Lerida, 1990).
MAN	Collection of the Gabinete Numismática, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.
MEC	Philip Grierson and Mark Blackburn, Medieval European Coinage, vol. 1, The Early Middle Ages (5th-10th centuries) (Cambridge, 1986).
NH	Numario Hispánico.
Obra completa	Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, Obra completa, vol. 2, Numismática de la edad media y de los Reyes Católicos, ed. Antonio Beltrán Martínez. (Zaragoza, 1972).
PMC I	Mário Gomes Marques, ed., Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area (Santarém, 1984).
PMC II	Mário Gomes Marques and Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, eds., Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area II (Avilés, 1986).
PMC III	Mário Gomes Marques and D.M. Metcalf, eds., Problems of Medieval Coinage in the Iberian Area III (Santarém, 1988).
PSANA	Caesaraugusta: Publicaciones del seminario de arqueología y numismática aragonesa.
RABM	Revista de archivos, bibliotecas y museos.

Sahagún	J.M. Mínguez Fernández, Marta Herrero de la Fuente, and J.A. Fernández Florez, eds., Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (857-1300), 4 vols. to date.(León, 1976-1991).
Santiago	Antonio López Ferreiro, Historia de la santa apostólica metropolitana iglesia de Santiago de Compostela, 11 vols. (1898-1911; reprint, Santiago de Compostela, 1983).
SNB	Symposium Numismático de Barcelona, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1979).
SNB II	II Simposi Numismàtic de Barcelona (Barcelona, 1980).
Ubieto, "Documentos"	Antonio Ubieto Arteta, "Documentos para el estudio de la numismática navarro-aragonesa medieval," parts 1-4, PSANA 1 (1951): 113-35; 2 (1953):85-102; 5 (1954): 147-59; 6 (1955): 183-89.

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INTRODUCTION

> Ye who would more of Spain and Spaniards know,
> Go, read whate'er is writ of bloodiest strife ...
> From flashing scimitar to secret knife.
>
> Byron, "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage"

Although Byron's lines were meant to invoke sympathy for Spain's struggle against Napoleon, they typify what until recent decades was the traditional approach to the history of Iberia in the Middle Ages. The development of the Latin kingdoms of the peninsula and their ultimate unification under the "Catholic Kings," Ferdinand and Isabella, was seen as synonymous with the history of the reconquest or the Christian struggle against Islam. As Richard Fletcher pointed out, as a result of this emphasis on the reconquest much of the less glamorous story concerning the "behind-the-lines" development of these kingdoms still remains to be written.[1]

This present study is concerned broadly with the growth of a monetary economy in the kingdom of León-Castile. More specifically, it seeks to evaluate how effectively the monarchy of León-Castile met the task of supplying the kingdom with an ample and acceptable

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[1] Richard A. Fletcher, The Episcopate in the Kingdom of León in the Twelfth Century (Oxford, 1978), 1.

currency. While Byron no doubt would have found royal monetary policy less inspiring than the deeds of the reconquest, the fate of the kingdom's coinage was capable of stirring surprising emotions among the inhabitants of medieval León-Castile. In 1282, the rebellious son of Alfonso X (1252-84), called a meeting of nobles, clergy and townsmen to Valladolid to hear grievances against his father. One of the chief complaints of that assembly concerned Alfonso X's debasement of the currency. The assembly agreed to support Sancho in his revolt on the condition that he restore the coinage that was current in the kingdom before his father's time.[2] While manipulation of the coinage was not the only policy that led to Alfonso X's ruin, the demands of the assembly at Valladolid illustrate the importance that coinage had come to play in the economy of the kingdom by the thirteenth century.

From a modern perspective, it perhaps comes as no surprise to find a medieval king debasing his coin. Indeed, in the later Middle Ages many of the rulers of Western Europe, including those of León-Castile, resorted often to such measures seemingly with little regard for or understanding of the consequences.[3] The strong response

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[2] James J. Todesca, "Coinage and the Rebellion of Sancho of Castile," in Mediterranean Studies IV, ed. Benjamin F. Taggie et al. (Kirksville, 1994), 27-43.

[3] See Peter Spufford's chapter, "The Scourge of Debasement," in Money and Its Use in Medieval Europe (Cambridge, 1988), 289-318.

which Alfonso X's successive debasements caused among his subjects, however, shows that in the mid-thirteenth century this course of action was not at all taken for granted.

The popular protest that Alfonso X's debasements provoked raises a number of important questions with regard to monetary policy in the kingdom before he came to the throne in 1252. Was the coinage before Alfonso X stable and of good strength or were the men assembled at Valladolid in 1282 simply romanticizing about good old days gone by? If they were not, how long standing was the tradition of a sound currency in the kingdom? Finally, how was this stability achieved? Alfonso X and his successors would resort repeatedly to debasement. How, then, could the earlier kings of León-Castile have avoided such a recourse?

With these questions in mind, the present work addresses the monetary policy of the kings of León-Castile before the ascension of Alfonso X. While the origins of the kingdom of León-Castile date back to the eighth century, incontestable evidence for a royal coinage cannot be found in the sources until the late eleventh century, during the reign of Alfonso VI (1065-1109). The proposition that the kings of León waited until the late eleventh century to issue coins, however, has often struck historians and numismatists as suspect. Since the days of the Carolingian empire, secular as well as religious authorities throughout Europe had increasingly turned to

the business of minting. Furthermore, surviving documents from León clearly show that some form of silver currency circulated in the kingdom from the early tenth century onward. Was this coinage imported, either from the Muslim south or Latin Europe, or was it in fact some type of indigenous currency? If it was a native currency, was it struck by private initiative or by license of the crown? Answers to these questions ultimately affect how we interpret the significance of events from the reign of Alfonso VI and cannot simply be brushed aside. In this work, therefore, I have chosen to survey the growth of the use of money in the kingdom roughly from its inception c.711 to c.1252.

Overall, the diplomatic and numismatic sources relating to the theme of money in León-Castile prior to 1252 are not abundant. Monetary history, however, is perhaps best approached comparatively. The economic or political factors that cause a currency in one state to flourish may cause the money of another to falter. Within the Iberian peninsula in particular, periods of prosperity followed by intervals of political upheaval in Muslim Andalusia repeatedly affected the fortunes of the Christian kingdoms. By using an array of documentary and numismatic evidence culled not just from León-Castile but from the other Spanish Latin states as well as the Muslim south, it becomes possible to examine the monetary history of León-

Castile more fully within the larger context of the developing Iberian economy.

The documentary material falls into three categories, royal diplomas, private charters and narrative sources. For the Crown of León-Castile, no royal archive survives today and we are therefore reliant on what scattered documents are preserved in local ecclesiastical and municipal archives which surely represent only a fraction of what the royal chancery issued. All that primarily survive of royal *acta* before the thirteenth century are charters granting properties or rights to the clergy and *fueros* or law codes granted to towns along the frontier. Within the group of charters to the clergy, there are a number of royal grants touching on the rights of certain bishops to a percentage of local minting revenues which carry obvious import in allowing us to reconstruct the mint network of the kingdom. The town *fueros* are normally filled with references to money since as law codes they established fines for infractions. These codes as they survive today, however, have often been amended. Although they may still retain the original date of issue, any information they offer must be interpreted cautiously.

In the neighboring kingdom of Aragón-Catalonia, the royal record is considerably better preserved. If nothing else, the documents that survive here show us what type of records probably once existed for the Crown of León-Castile. The cartulary known as the *Liber Feudorum Maior*,

for example, preserves charters detailing the rights and properties acquired by the eleventh-century counts of Barcelona and the later twelfth-century count-kings of Aragón-Catalonia. Occasionally, these documents provide some insight into the state of the finances of the ruler. Ramón Berenguer IV's purchase of Genoa's share of the city of Tortosa in 1153 provides a good example. The charter tell us not only the provenance of the various gold pieces Ramón Berenguer used, but which of these gold pieces was accepted as the standard of weight in the transaction.[4] Charters showing similar purchases made by the crown of León-Castile are virtually unknown before the late thirteenth century.

Inventories of revenues owed the crown comprise another genre of documentation which is non-existent for the kingdom of León-Castile before 1252. Fiscal accounts survive for Aragón-Catalonia from the mid-twelfth century.[5] These and other miscellaneous royal *instrumenta* found today in the archives of the Crown of Aragón-Catalonia, such as early mint contracts or proclamations regarding specific coinages, are invaluable for the light they help shed on

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[4] Francisco M. Rosell, ed., Liber Feudorum Maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona, 1945), 1:485-87 no. 463.

[5] Thomas N. Bisson, Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia Under the Early Count-Kings (1151-1213), 2 vols. (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1984).

contemporary events in León-Castile.[6] For example, the significance of a Castilian coin of the late twelfth century, the so-called *pepión*, can merely be guessed at if we rely solely on the extant Castilian sources. The nature of the coin becomes clear, however, if one examines contemporary events in Barcelona under Pedro II (1196-1213).

To supplement the royal documentation, a large body of private charters survives from both the realm of León-Castile and Aragón-Catalonia. The vast majority of these charters are simple records of sales or donations of property. Such records can provide a broad gauge of monetary circulation in that they often indicate the preferred species of payment in a given time frame, i.e., whether transactions were most often conducted in kind, in silver or in gold, but they seldom yield more specific information about the coins that changed hands. References to "good money" or money "of full weight" may reflect notarial conventions more than they accurately describe the coins that were used. There are, of course, exceptions to the ambiguous charter but their rarity is all the more reason to cast a wide net when searching for relevant source material. If a small sale of property in Aragón

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[6] See, for example, a document of Alfonso II (1162-96) of Aragón-Catalonia published in Thomas N. Bisson, Conservation of Coinage: Monetary Exploitation and its Restraint in France, Catalonia and Aragón (c.A.D. 1000-1225) (Oxford, 1979), 201 no. 3.

happened to note the current rate of exchange between the gold dinar and the Aragonese denarius, it may ultimately help explain affairs in neighboring Castile.

Of the narrative sources, the *Historia Compostelana*, which details the career of Diego Gelmírez, bishop and then archbishop of Santiago de Compostela from 1100 to 1140, is by far the most useful. Though its authors were certainly not unbiased in their interpretation of events, they had access to the archives of the see of Compostela and were close contemporaries to the events they chronicled.[7] The *Historia* is a particularly valuable source from the point of view of monetary history in that the town was the site of a prosperous mint throughout the twelfth century. Another first-hand narrative for the period can be found in the memoirs of the Muslim prince of Granada, 'Abd Allāh, whose description of events at the end of the eleventh century provides one of the few detailed accounts of the size and nature of the tribute Muslim rulers were forced to pay the more powerful Latin kings.[8]

Other chroniclers of the period tend to be more removed from the events they describe. Most do not give detailed information on coinage and any passing references

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[7] See Bernard F. Reilly, "The *Historia Compostelana*: The Genesis and Composition of a Twelfth-Century Spanish *Gesta*," Speculum 44 (1969): 78-85.

[8] 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān: Memoirs of 'Abd Allāh B. Buluggīn, Last Zīrid Amīr of Granada, trans. Amin T. Tibi (Leiden, 1986).

they happen to make to financial matters must be weighed carefully. The brief *Chronicon Comopostellanum*, for example, claims that Fernando I (1035-65) of León-Castile was due annual tribute from no less than four Muslim princes but never tells the amount of these tributes or in what species they were paid or how regularly they were paid.[9] While Fernando certainly prospered, he may not have been as wealthy as some historians have ventured to guess.

Any work of medieval monetary history must also take into account the surviving numismatic record. Together, the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid, the collection of the Hispanic Society of America, on loan to the American Numismatic Society, and the American Numismatic Society's own supplementary collection provide an excellent representative sample of the coin types that survive from León-Castile before 1252. This is not a particularly large body of coins. The combined trays of these collections hold probably less than 500 coins pertaining to the period. Nevertheless, the three collections do contain examples of the majority of known types and variations within a type. The cabinets of Spain's provincial museums as well as those of other

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[9] Enrique Flórez, ed., "Chronicon Compostellanum," in ES, 20:609.

European museums and private collections do not hold a great deal more in this regard.[10]

While I have examined each of the coins in the trays of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, the Hispanic Society of America and the American Numismatic Society that pertain to the period prior to 1252 and have likewise examined the major catalogues relevant to private collections as well as published hoard reports, the present work does not pretend to account for all known types. Without better hoard evidence it is impossible to place all these types even in a tentative chronology and it therefore makes little sense in this work to describe type after type solely for the sake of comprehensiveness.

Most coins discussed in the text are described in full in the attached catalogue where I also cite in what collection the type or variety can be found or where it can be found in the numismatic literature. While this is a catalogue of selected types, it nonetheless represents the most comprehensive treatment of the coinage of León-Castile prior to 1252 that is currently available. I have not

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[10] The late Mercedes Rueda Sabater examined the provincial collections within León-Castile and also visited a number of foreign cabinets. At the time, she was most interested in one particular type, but took notes on all the Leonese pieces she saw, information which she was kind enough to share with me. See her Primeras acuñaciones de Castilla y León (Salamanca, 1991) 21 and passim. Antonio Orol Pernas, before his death, showed both Rueda Sabater and I the most notable pieces in his vast collection and shared with us his knowledge of other private collections.

included in the catalogue any of the gold issues of León-Castile, since they can be found adequately described in older catalogues, nor have I included coins discussed in the text which were produced outside the kingdom of León-Castile. Here again the reader is referred to the appropriate numismatic literature that treats these coinages.

Modern scholars have long recognized the need for a detailed study of the early monetary history of León-Castile. In 1928, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz published his paper "La primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla." In his opening paragraphs, the author remarked that nearly a third of a century had elapsed since Antonio Vives presented his survey of the coinage of León-Castile to Spain's Royal Academy of History and that since that time no one had seriously returned to the theme. Sánchez Albornoz noted that Pío Beltrán had been preparing a more in-depth study of the coinage "for some time," but he openly worried that Beltrán's methodology was too like that of Vives before him. While Vives had revealed an expert knowledge of the coinage, Sánchez Albornoz pointed out that he had scarcely dealt with any of the documentary evidence. The bulk of Sánchez Albornoz' paper, then, attempted to

incorporate his own profound knowledge of the archival material with the numismatic evidence presented by Vives.[11]

Vives had accepted the basic chronology given in Aloïss Heiss's nineteenth-century catalogue covering the Christian coins of Spain from the collapse of the Visigothic kingdom. Heiss concluded that there was no clear numismatic evidence for an indigenous coinage in the kingdom, royal or otherwise, until Alfonso VI (1065-1109) retook Toledo, the traditional seat of Visigothic power, from the Muslims in 1085 and minted coins declaring himself ANFVS REX TOLETVM.[12] Sánchez Albornoz did not challenge this chronology, though he expressed "certain reservations" about it. He was mainly concerned with countering Vives's suggestion that when a coinage was finally initiated, the crown took no direct role but granted the right to mint to local authorities in exchange for a share of the profits. By examining select royal documents, Sánchez Albornoz was able to effectively show that in the twelfth century the crown certainly had retained some control over its coin. Still, his paper was limited in scope and he did not intend to answer all the questions he raised. His call for further work on the subject, particularly work that

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[11] Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "La primitiva organización monetaria de León y Castilla." AHDE 5 (1928): 301-45; Antonio Vives, La moneda castellana: Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1901).

[12] Aloïss Heiss, Descripción general de las monedas hispano-cristianas desde la invasión de los árabes, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1865), 3-4.

incorporated the evidence of the documents with the evidence of the coins went largely unheeded.

Serious academic pursuits of any kind, of course, were derailed by the outbreak of civil war in the 1930s. The subsequent emigration of many of Spain's leading artists and scholars following the defeat of the Republic, including Sánchez Albornoz himself, further hampered progress in the early decades of Franco's dictatorship. In the 1950s and early 1960s, Pío Beltrán produced several articles on the early coins of León-Castile and Aragón that attempted to follow the interdisciplinary approach endorsed by Sánchez Albornoz, but with questionable success. Beltrán wrote broadly and seldom paused to fully explain his arguments or properly identify his sources. His work, while important, stands today as enigmatic for both the numismatist and the historian.[13]

In 1960, Sánchez Albornoz returned to the theme of the early monetary history of León in a paper delivered at a symposium on money and exchange held in Spoleto, Italy.[14] Since the publication of his "La primitiva organización" in 1928, another third of a century had slipped by but still

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[13] For León, see primarily Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, "Dinero de vellón de Fernando I el Magno, en la colección 'Los Arcos,'" first published in PSANA 3 (1952): 97-113. For Aragón, see his "Los dineros jaqueses: Su evaluación y desaparición," first published in PSANA 1 (1951): 51-112.

[14] Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio y de cuenta en el reino astur-leonés," Moneta e scambi nell' Alto Medioevo, Centro Italiano di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio 8 (Spoleto, 1961): 171-202.

the author had very little to add to his earlier work. While new hoard finds and some new coin types had been discovered in the intervening thirty years, Sánchez Albornoz scarcely noted them.[15] Most puzzling was his failure to mention a coin type that had come to light in the 1950s which was thought to have been struck by Fernando I (1035-65), the father of Alfonso VI. If this coin was indeed an issue of Fernando I, it revised, if only slightly, the chronology postulated by Heiss.

The alleged coin of Fernando I had been exciting news at the international numismatic exposition held in Madrid in the early 1950s.[16] It was, in fact, the discovery of this coin that prompted Beltrán to publish his first study of Leonese coinage, which he had promised Sánchez Albornoz years before.[17] Yet, Sánchez Albornoz only remarked in his paper from Spoleto, this time more strongly than in 1928, that it struck him as incredible that no monarch in León had minted money before the time of Alfonso VI. The author was, as he noted, "exiled in Buenos Aires," but his failure to mention the coin attributed to Fernando I or cite the paper of Beltrán was perhaps more than just a factor of his

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[15] The author did note one new hoard find and also enthusiastically endorsed a new numismatic explanation for the term solidus *gallicanus* that appears in some tenth-century Asturian documents. Ibid., 181 n. 28, 182 n.31.

[16] See José Luis Los Arcos Elío, "Una moneda atribuida a Fernando I de Castilla," in II exposición nacional de numismática e internacional de medallas (Madrid, 1951), 228-29.

[17] See n. 13 above.

living in Argentina. It was probably also a reflection of the widening gulf between "mainstream" historians and numismatists.

Luis García de Valdeavellano attended the symposium at Spoleto and also delivered a paper on the monetary economy of early medieval Spain. While touching often on the same themes as Sánchez Albornoz, Valdeavellano also made no allusion to Beltrán's paper or the coin of Fernando I, but only repeated the old axiom that royal coinage in León started with Alfonso VI. He did, however, apologize at the outset that he was not a "specialist in numismatics."[18] Though Valdeavellano cited some numismatic works in the course of his paper, his disclaimer that he was not qualified to interpret numismatic evidence is significant. Thirty years prior, Sánchez Albornoz had had no such qualms when reviewing the work of Vives. Now, through the work of Beltrán and others, particularly that of Felipe Mateu y Llopis who launched his ongoing "Hallazgos monetarios" series in 1942, Spanish numismatics had begun to define itself as an independent discipline.[19] As in other

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[18] Luis García Valdeavellano, "La moneda y la economía de cambio en la península ibérica desde el siglo VI hasta mediados del siglo XI," Moneta e scambi nell' Alto Medioevo, Centro Italiano di Studi Sull' Alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio 8 (Spoleto, 1961):203-30.

[19] Mateu Llopis's first installment of "Hallazgos monetarios" appeared in Ampurias: Revista de Arqueología, Prehistoria y Etnología 4 (1942): 215-24. Its subsequent parts are too numerous to give here. The complete listing is provided in the bibliography below.

countries, it was beginning to be viewed as an ancillary science, which the historian was increasingly less able and perhaps less willing to understand.[20]

Sánchez Albornoz made one last attempt to shed light on the monetary history of León-Castile in an article of 1965 which again relied mainly on the documentary evidence, supplemented occasionally by the general works of Mateu y Llopis and Octavio Gil Farrés's Historia de la moneda española which had appeared in 1959.[21] Sánchez Albornoz' student, Hilda Grassotti, also contributed an invaluable review of the documentary evidence pertaining to monetary policy in the twelfth century in 1969, but again relied mainly on Gil Farrés's general survey for her information on coinage.[22]

Since that time, the problems of Leonese monetary history before the thirteenth century have been mainly the concern of numismatists, both self-instructed collectors and scholars who have come to the study of coins largely through their training in archaeology. While a

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[20] In 1962, for example, Philip Grierson felt compelled to address "the problem of 'communication,'" between numismatists and historians. See his "Numismatics and the Historian," Presidential Address of the Royal Numismatic Society (1962), i-xvii.

[21] Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "¿Devaluación monetaria en León y Castilla al filo del 1200?" in Homenaje a Vicens Vives (Barcelona, 1965), 607-17; Octavio Gil Farrés, Historia de la moneda española, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1976).

[22] Hilda Grassotti, "El pueblo y la moneda real en León y Castilla durante el siglo XII," part 2 of "Dos problemas de historia castellano-leonesa," CHE 49-50 (1969): 163-97.

bibliography on money in medieval León-Castile continues to grow, these works have been almost overwhelmingly numismatic in nature. The only full-length monographs dedicated to the monetary history of León-Castile before 1252, Mercedes Rueda's Primeras acuñaciones de Castilla y León published in 1991 and Antonio Orol Pernas's Acuñaciones de Alfonso IX, are characteristic of this trend.[23] Both these authors presented sound numismatic data, but did not attempt to interpret their findings in a broad historical context.

Almost a full century has now elapsed since Vives read his discourse on the money of León-Castile to the Royal Academy. This present work is the first attempt to provide a comprehensive synthesis of the numismatic and diplomatic evidence pertaining to the early monetary history of the kingdom which Sánchez Albornoz called for in 1928.[24] It does not, however, pretend to resolve definitively all the ambiguities inherent in the sources. Medieval monetary history is by nature an optimistic, though potentially humbling field. One always hopes that the discovery of a fabulous hoard, with all the right coins contained therein,

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[23] Antonio Orol Pernas, Acuñaciones de Alfonso IX (Madrid, 1982).

[24] My study "The Monetary History of Castile-León (ca. 1100-1300) in Light of the Bourgey Hoard," American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 33 (1988): 129-203, touched briefly on the period before 1252, though its main concern was the reign of Alfonso X and his successors. Some of the conclusions of that work are revised herein.

is just around the corner. At the same time, the unearthing of that hoard can send previous theories and conclusions crumbling to the ground. I only hope that the work presented here is built upon before another third of a century comes to pass.

PART ONE

THE FOUNDATIONS OF A MONETARY ECONOMY, 711-1065

ONE

ASTURIAS-LEON AND THE IBERIAN MONETARY ECONOMY BEFORE 1000: MUḤAMMAD AND CHARLEMAGNE RECONSIDERED

The Muslim expeditionary forces that crossed from North Africa in 711 did not anticipate the rapid collapse of Visigothic rule in Spain. With reinforcements, these Berber and Arab forces quickly overran most of the peninsula. They failed, however, to pursue the bands of defiant Christians that took refuge in the extreme north. Here the rugged mountains provided a haven that had withstood the central authority of both the Visigoths and the Romans. Rather than become mired in the task of eradicating these pockets of resistance, the Muslim leaders tried to maintain the momentum of their conquests by pushing across the Pyrenees.

Their initial forays into Merovingian Gaul met little resistance and probably impressed upon the raiders that this kingdom was as decadent and as vulnerable as the Visigothic. The Islamic threat, however, helped revitalize the Frankish realm. In the absence of strong royal leadership, the king's *maior domus*, Charles Martel (714-741), took the field against the invaders. His defeat of the Muslim forces at Poitiers in 732 served to increase the strength and prestige of his family. As a result, his son

Pepin (741-68) was able to push aside the last of the Merovingian kings and assume the royal title. Pepin's son, Charlemagne (768-814), not only drove the Muslims back south of the Pyrenees but by repeated campaigns on his other borders transformed the Frankish kingdom into an empire stretching from the North Sea to Rome.

The Muslim invasion of Spain, then, precipitated events that quickly put an end to the old order in Europe. The myth that the Roman emperor in Constantinople still controlled the western provinces was put to rest. By 800, political power in the West was for the most part split between the Carolingians and the Umayyad emirs of Córdoba. If this division did not have the cataclysmic effect Pirenne envisioned, it nonetheless profoundly altered the Mediterranean world.[1] In the northern mountains of Iberia, the nascent Christian kingdoms of Spain stood precariously in the shadow of the day's two super-powers. Their survival is testament to their skill in assimilation. Though conscious of their Visigothic heritage, their institutional and social growth would draw continuously from the juxtaposed cultures they stood between.[2]

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[1] Henri Pirenne, Mohammed and Charlemagne (London, 1939). Philip Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: a Critique of the Evidence," no. 2 in Dark Age, 123-25, provides a good summary of the debate over the Pirenne thesis as well as essential bibliography. See further Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe (Ithaca, 1983).

[2] The Visigothic tradition is emphasized in Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, España: Un enigma histórico, 2

Carolingian influence was strongest in the northeast of the peninsula, in the Pyrenean lands that would eventually be called Catalonia. Charlemagne had made an attempt to capture Zaragoza in 778, but it was not until 801 that his son, Louis the Pious, successfully gained a foothold in Iberia by occupying Barcelona. Throughout the ninth century, Barcelona and the surrounding lands continued under a Frankish protectorate, forming the march or frontier of the empire against Islam. The secular leaders of these districts became counts appointed by the Frankish kings. In the tenth century, the Catalan counts would grow increasingly independent though vestiges of Carolingian rule remained.[3]

As one moved west in Iberia, Carolingian influence diminished. If the Aragonese had first looked east toward Catalonia, they gradually became more allied in the ninth

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vols.(Buenos Aires, 1957). See further Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Evocación de la Hispania goda ante la del año 1050," Archivos Leoneses 5 (1951): 61-69. For the early institutional development of Asturias-León, in general, see the collected studies in Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas, (Mexico City, 1965). For social-economic development, see Jean Gautier Dalché, Historia urbana de León y Castilla en la edad media (siglos IX-XII), 2d ed., trans. E. Pérez Sedeño (Madrid, 1989). On the interaction between Muslims and Christians, see Thomas F. Glick Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages (Princeton, 1979). An overview of all these themes is provided in Joseph F. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain (Ithaca, 1975), 163-90.

[3] Thomas Bisson, The Medieval Crown of Aragón: A Short History (Oxford, 1986), 19-23; Paul Freedman, The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia (Cambridge, 1991), 18.

century with their western neighbors, the Basques of Navarre. In the tenth century, Aragón was virtually annexed by this more aggressive kingdom. To the west of Navarre and Aragón, lay the kingdom of Asturias whose kings claimed descent from the Visigothic royal line. Though the Navarrese made some advances southward in the early phases of the reconquest, it was Asturias that by virtue of its territorial gain would become the dominant Christian power in Iberia in the ninth century.[4]

Under the leadership of Ordoño I (850-866) and his son Alfonso III (866-910), the kingdom expanded beyond the safety of the Asturian mountains south into the Duero River valley. The old Roman town of León was occupied by 856 and in 882 its defenses were strong enough to repel Muslim attack.[5] Meanwhile, Alfonso III pushed further south. He secured Porto at the mouth of the Duero and populated Zamora and Toro along the same river. While these towns were somewhat protected by the Guadarrama and Gredos mountains, further east the lay of the land was more exposed and the Christian advance more cautious. Burgos was founded c.884, but the Duero river would not be reached in this region until the following century. Because settlements here were often reinforced with fortresses, this eastern territory of the kingdom came to be called

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[4] Bisson, Crown of Aragón, 10-11; O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 107.

[5] Gautier Dalché, Historia urbana, 24-25.

Castile.[6] Alfonso's overall success was such that he earned the title "the Great" and the contemporary *Cronicon Albeldense* predicted that by his deeds Spain would soon be entirely rid of the Muslims.[7]

Colonization of the new territory was in part made possible by Mozarabic Christians fleeing Muslim rule in al-Andalus, but a large number of settlers also came from the older regions of Asturias.[8] Many of those who came from the north left landed servitude behind so that, in Sánchez Albornoz' words, "a whirlwind of liberty shook the frontier."[9] This sense of a society in flux is evident in the surviving documentation. Beginning in the early tenth century, there is an explosion in the number of surviving charters. While this may reflect a growing tendency in society to record important purchases, more probably it testifies to a real increase in the buying and selling of land and other goods as people uprooted themselves from the

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[6] Ibid., 26-29.

[7] O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 113.

[8] The Mozarabs were Christians who, living under Islamic rule, had assimilated that culture and so appeared "Arab like" to their northern neighbors. The mid-ninth century saw a growing tension between Mozarabs and Muslims in al-Andalus. One redaction of the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* mentions that successful repopulation of the frontier under Ordoño I was made possible by "populo partim ex suis, partim ex Spania." *Spania* referred to the Muslim south. See, Jan Prelog, ed., Die Chronik Alfons' III: Untersuchung und Kritische Edition der Vier Redaktionen, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 3rd ser., vol. 134 (Frankfurt, 1980), *redactio B*, 59.; cf. Gautier Dalché, Historia Urbana, 35-36; O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 110-11.

[9] Sánchez Albornoz, "The Frontier and Castilian Liberties," 34.

north and established claims on the frontier. Sánchez Albornoz described the phenomenon:

> The charters of the period . . . betray the existence, in the region, of an enormous mass of small free proprietors . . . The freeholders appear in hundreds of charters . . . selling, yielding or exchanging land holdings of insignificant size and value. One document will concern a certain holding of seven, four, or even three *cuartillas* of arable land. Another treats of a vineyard, an orchard, a piece of land, a flax field, or a quantity of fodder.[10]

These purchases were often paid for in kind, in the form of livestock, grain or other foodstuffs. Standards of value, however, quickly developed to help facilitate transactions. A common method was to assess items in the *modius* of grain as seen in a transaction from the cartulary of Santo Toribio de Liébana dated 918 which noted that the price paid was "two cows, each one worth six *modii*." Another monastic document from Santoña in 972 assigned a comparable value to "one cow, blond in color worth four *modii* of wheat."[11] The ox or steer (*buey*) was also used as

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[10] Ibid., 34-35.

[11] "(V)acas duas sub uno in sex modios." Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana (Madrid, 1948), 31-32 no. 25. "(I) baca rubia per colore valiente IIII moios at (sic) civaria." Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., "Cartulario de la iglesia Santa María del Puerto (Santoña)," BRAH 73 (1918): 426. See also Reyna Pastor de Togneri, "Ganadería y precios: consideraciones sobre la economía de León y Castilla (siglos XI-XIII)," CHE 35-36 (1962): 42-43; Departamento de Historia Medieval de la Universidad de Oviedo, "Circulación monetaria en Asturias durante la alta edad media (siglos VII-XII)," Numisma 34 (1984): 244-46.

a standard as was the sheep, but neither appears to have rivaled the *modius*.[12]

Besides such pastoral measures, there were also standards based on monetary values. In some ninth-century documents, prices are occasionally expressed in *tremisses*, an allusion to the gold coin minted under the Visigoths which represented a third of the Roman gold solidus. By the beginning of the tenth century, however, citations to the *tremissis* are eclipsed by references to a solidus of silver. While the solidus of silver, or solidus argenti, appears often in the charters of tenth-century Asturias-León, it is difficult to discern what type of currency the new term represented.

In the Carolingian world, solidus argenti had come to denote a unit of coins called denarii. The medieval denarius (the name was borrowed from the Roman past) was a silver coin that first appeared in the Frankish lands during the late Merovingian period.[13] It was subsequently

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[12] For the use of the steer as unit of value see Jean Gautier Dalché, "L'histoire monétaire de l'Espagne septentrionale et centrale du IXe au XIIe siècles: Quelques réflexions sur divers problèmes," no. 11 in Economie et société, 50-51. The unit based on sheep is less explicit in the documents. See Emilio Sáez, "Nuevos datos sobre el coste de la vida en Galicia durante la alta edad media," ADHE 17 (1946): 879; Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio," 183.

[13] The denarius was originally a coin of fine silver in the Roman Republic but was continuously debased in the early Empire and eventually discontinued. Various silver coins were struck in the early sixth century by the Frankish and Ostrogothic kings. These were imitations of Roman *siliquae*. From the late sixth to the late seventh

reformed by Charlemagne and struck in several mints throughout his empire. The denarius and its half piece the *obolus* or obol were the only coins regularly issued by his successors. Originally, the phrase solidus argenti most likely referred to the number of silver denarii required to equal the gold solidus (or perhaps the gold *tremissis*), a rate which could fluctuate according to the relative market values of silver and gold. By the mid-ninth century, however, convention within the Carolingian world had generally established that the solidus argenti was a fixed unit of account comprised of 12 denarii, regardless of the current market price of gold.[14]

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century very little silver was produced in the West. See Spufford, Money, 11-12, 22-28.

[14] Precisely how the Carolingian solidus argenti developed from the old Roman gold solidus has been the subject of considerable debate. As Grierson and Blackburn noted, the polemic "has given rise to a vast literature that...raises problems of great importance to scholars in several fields." (MEC, 102-3) I hope to examine the issue fully in the future. For now, all we need keep in mind is that by the ninth century the solidus argenti was almost always a unit of account of 12 denarii. This is evident in a capitulary of Louis the Pious of 816 which declared that all fines and payments contained in the *Lex Salica* should "in Francia be composed of solidi of 12 denarii" except in the case of litigation between Saxons and Frisians when a solidus of 40 denarii should be employed "according to Salic law." [Alfredus Boretivs and Victor Krause, eds. Capitularia Regum Francorum, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Hanover, 1883-87), 1:268.] Solidus may also have denoted a unit of weight in the Carolingian world. See n. 74 below. For an overview of the Carolingian monetary system one might still begin with Philip Grierson, "Money and Coinage Under Charlemagne," in Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerk und Nachleben, vol.1, ed. W. Braunfels, (Dusseldorf, 1965), 501-36.

The primary problem in determining what solidus argenti meant in the kingdom of Asturias-León in the tenth century is that there is no clear evidence indicating that the kings of Asturias struck coins either along the Carolingian model or any other standard. Indeed, it is not until the late eleventh century, during the reign of Alfonso VI, that numismatic and diplomatic sources clearly reveal that the crown had begun to strike denarii. What type of currency then was represented by the term solidus argenti in the tenth-century sources of Asturias? Was there in fact an indigenous silver coinage this early or did the phrase refer to imported silver? If it referred to foreign silver, was it in the form of Islamic dirhams or Frankish denarii? Or, was the silver of the solidus argenti perhaps not coin at all, but simply silver bullion or plate? As Metcalf pointed out, determining the reality behind the solidus argenti of the Asturian documentation "throws us into the thick of the debate about the Pirenne thesis, the continuity of economic activity through the early middle ages, and the balance between a natural economy and a money economy."[15] To properly understand the issue, we must first briefly review the state of coinage in the late Visigothic period and the affects of the Islamic conquest in the eighth century before turning to the later

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[15] D.M. Metcalf, "Some Geographical Aspects of Early Medieval Monetary Circulation in the Iberian Peninsula," in PMC II, 324.

evidence. In other words, following the advice of Lewis Carroll's King of Hearts, we must "begin at the beginning."

The Loss of Gold

In 309, the emperor Constantine introduced the solidus to the Roman economy, a coin of virtually pure gold weighing approximately 4.55 grams.[16] This piece became the undisputed standard of value in the Roman world for the next four hundred years. The Germanic kingdoms that arose in the western provinces during the fifth century adopted its use for they had no monetary tradition of their own. By the sixth century, most of the barbarian kingdoms were striking imitations of the gold solidus which continued to be minted in Constantinople and other imperial mints.

As urban life declined in the West so did the amount of gold in active circulation. It was both hoarded (evidenced by the treasure chests that repeatedly appear in the pages of Gregory of Tours) and drained to other markets as a result of the West's increasing imbalance of trade.[17] In the early seventh century, most full-weight solidi ceased to be minted in the Germanic states outside Italy.[18]

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[16] Spufford, Money, 7; cf. Allan Evans, "Some Coinage Systems of the Fourteenth Century," Journal of Economic and Business History 3 (1931): 482.

[17] Spufford, Money, 14-22.

[18] Full solidi as well as *tremisses* were struck in Lombardy, at Benevento and Salerno, until the mid-ninth century. As elsewhere in the West, however. their fineness suffered. They may have dropped to as low as one-third fine. MEC, 66-73, 575-79; W.A. Oddy, "Analyses of

The Merovingian, Visigothic and Anglo-Saxon rulers continued to strike only the *tremissis* or third-solidus. These barbarian *tremisses* tended to weigh slightly less than their imperial counterpart (1.3 grams compared to 1.5 grams) and in the course of the seventh century their fineness generally declined as well.[19]

By the close of the seventh century, the continued scarcity of gold in circulation demanded that the Germanic kings take other measures. The Merovingians began to

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Lombardic Tremisses by the Specific Gravity Method," Numismatic Chronicle, 7th ser., 12 (1972): 193-215.

[19] Grierson contended that the change from 1.5 to 1.3 grams in the weight of the *tremissis* was the result not of a scarcity of gold but of metrological convenience. In the Roman system, 1.5 g. was equivalent to 8 carats weight. According to Grierson, 1.3 g. was more practical for Germanic use because it corresponded to 20 barleycorns or grains in their system. Yet, 1.3 g. is also 7 carats in the Roman system and would be a natural increment by which to debase. See Grierson, "Money Under Charlemagne," 529-30. Cf. the section on metrology in George C. Miles, The Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain, Leovigild to Achila II (New York, 1952), 154-64, which suggests that the weight of the Visgothic *tremissis* was in reality sometimes close to the imperial standard.

In terms of the fineness of the Germanic *tremisses*, the Merovingian issues have been most studied. Still, tracing the debasement is hampered by lack of a firm chronology for many of the coins. Spufford's conclusion that the Merovingian pieces were around 33% fine by the end of the seventh century is somewhat simplified but probably a fair assessment. Spufford, Money, 19-20. See also MEC, 107-109, 472-95, particularly nos. 406-408, 437.

In Visgothic Spain, debasement of the *tremissis* may have begun as early as the reign of Leovigild (568-86). For a summary of analyses of Visigothic gold, see Miguel Barceló, "El hiato en las acuñaciones de oro en al-Andalus, 127-316/744(5)-936(7) (los datos fundamentales de un problema)," Moneda y Crédito 132 (1975), 344; cf. Miles, Visigoths, 156. See also D.M. Metcalf, "For What Purpose Were Suevic and Visigothic *Tremisses* Used?" in PMC III, 15 and passim.

supplement their declining gold currency with a silver coin, the coin that in time would be called the denarius. One of the earliest references to it, albeit indirect, is in a charter from Saint-Germain-des-Prés of Paris dated 682 which records a sale of property for the price of 30 "solidos in argento."[20] A silver piece also appeared in Anglo-Saxon England where the *pening* or penny, similar to the Frankish denarii in size and weight, was introduced by the last quarter of the century.[21] In Spain, however, there is no evidence that a silver piece like the Merovingian denarius or Anglo-Saxon penny was introduced. *Tremisses* of low fineness continued until the last of the Visigothic rulers while a limited copper coinage was also introduced at some juncture.[22]

The Muslim conquest of the Visigothic kingdom did little to effectively relieve the shortage of gold in the peninsula. The Islamic gold coin, the dinar, was only minted steadily in North Africa and Spanish mints until A.D. 724/5, though there may have been sporadic issues as

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[20] Some of these early denarii invoked royal authority in their legends while others were issued by ecclesiastical and lay lords. Judging from the names which appear on surviving specimens, the first denarii may have been struck c.673-75. MEC, 93-94.

[21] Silver coin is mentioned in the law codes of Ine of Wessex (688-726). Ibid., 156-7.

[22] See Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, "The Copper Coinage of the Visigoths of Spain," in PMC III, 35-70; cf. Metcalf, "Suevic and Visigothic Tremisses," 15.

late as 744/5.[23] The Islamic silver denomination, the dirham, is known to have been struck in Spanish mints starting in 722/3, coinciding with the time when the dinar began to falter there.[24] In general, however, these were years of uncertainty in the new province and the Umayyad governors, plagued by in-fighting, were unable to establish a steady coinage of either species. Dirhams as well as dinars became scarce and Arab authors commented on the need

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[23] The Muslim dinar was at first a direct adaptation of the Roman solidus. The earliest issues even imitated Byzantine types until caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685-705), bowing to theological pressure, removed all symbols and images from his gold and silver coins. He also reduced the weight of the dinar from the Roman standard of roughly 4.55 to approximately 4.25 grams. By 697 the caliphal mint in Damascus was issuing what would become the classic Islamic dinar, purely epigraphic in design and weighing slightly less than the Roman solidus. (See Philip Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik: Their Metrological Basis and Their Financial Repercussions," no. 15 in Dark Age, 244-48, 260-63.)

'Abd al-Malik's reform, however, was not immediately followed in the western provinces. Dinars struck in North Africa and Spain for a time continued on the old weight standard and retained Latin legends. In Spain, dinars with the abbreviation *SLD* for solidus were minted until c.713/4. Bilingual dinars were then struck on both sides of the straits c.716/7, followed finally by more traditional pieces until 724/5. One late specimen, however, apparently bears a date corresponding to A.D.744/5. See Michael L. Bates, "The Coinage of Spain Under the Umayyad Caliphs of the East, 711-750," in III jarique de estudios numimáticos hispano-árabes, ed., Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez and Carmen Alfaro Asíns (Madrid 1993), 271-89; cf. Barceló, "Hiato," 33 n. 1. The standard corpus for these coins is Anna M. Balaguer, Las emisiones transicionales árabe-musulmanas de Hispania (Barcelona, 1976).

[24] While the dinar of Islam was derived from the Roman solidus, the dirham was based on the silver coinage of the Sassanids of Persia. See Michael L. Bates, "Mints and Money, Islamic," in The Dictionary of the Middle Ages, ed. Joseph R. Strayer (New York, 1987), 421-22; Philip Grierson, Numismatics (Oxford, 1975), 40-41.

to rely on barter.[25] It was revolution in the East at mid-century which ultimately brought stability to al-Andalus.

When the Abbasid revolt in Damascus toppled Umayyad rule in 750, a member of the deposed ruling family fled west to Spain. This Umayyad prince, 'Abd al-Raḥmān I (756-788), and his successors were able to solidify control of al-Andalus. They adopted the lesser title of *emir* and henceforth ruled independently of the Abbasid caliphs. The mint at Córdoba now began to produced a steady supply of silver coins. Dirhams survive from that mint with dates corresponding to almost every year from the beginning of 'Abd al-Raḥmān I's reign up through the final year of Muḥammad I (852-86).

With the death of Muḥammad I, the emirate's silver coinage faltered and finally seems to have ceased entirely. After 897 (A.H. 285), there are virtually no surviving dirhams known from the Córdoban mint for the next thirty years.[26] The immediate cause of this disruption was surely

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[25] Bates, "Coinage of Spain," 287-88. The claim in some Arab sources that coinage remained scarce until the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān II (822-852) is contradicted by the numismatic record; see the discussion in George C. Miles, The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain (New York, 1950), 39-40, cf. 20-24. See also, Evariste Lévi-Provençal, Histoire de l'Espagne Musulmane, 3 vols. (Paris, 1953), 1:180.

[26] Miles doubted a reported specimen dated A.H. 293 (A.D. 905). See Miles, Umayyads, 23-24, 226; also compare his chronological index and the catalogue itself. Miles suggested that this lack of coinage may have been due to a subsequent recall under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, but the hoard known as San Andrés demonstrates that this lacuna in the coinage was real.

the period of rebellion following the death of Muḥammad I. Besides the political upheaval, however, the cessation of minting was probably the result of a long-time drain of the emirate's silver supply across North Africa to the eastern Islamic world and beyond. Andalusian dirhams bearing dates from the 720s to roughly 820 show up repeatedly in hoards from Russia and Eastern Europe alongside other Islamic silver from the Near East.[27]

While the Umayyad emirate did prosper in the ninth century, as is evident in the growth of Córdoba and Seville, the steady loss of silver points to an underlying weakness in the Andalusian economy.[28] At the same time, it is important to note that the emirs also failed to produce

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The hoard contained dirhams from the beginning of the emirate, with steady representation up to A.H. 270 (A.D. 883/4). It also contained a few pieces that Mateu suggested represented issues struck outside Córdoba (probably similar to the copper coins that Miles also assigned to rebel mints.) Since the hoard contained no pieces from the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III, it was clearly interred either before or shortly after his resumption of minting at Córdoba in 928/29. It, therefore, demonstrates that minting had all but ceased in these years. See Jorge de Navascués y de Palacio, "Revisión del tesoro de dirhams de San Andrés de Ordoiz (Estella, Navarra)," Principe de Viana 66, 9-37; cf. Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "El hallazgo de 'dirhemes' del Emirato, en San Andrés de Ordoiz (Estella, Navarra)," Principe de Viana 11 (1950): 85-101. On the troubles of the emirate in these years, see further O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 111-18.

27 Thomas S. Noonan, "Andalucian Umayyad Dirhams From Eastern Europe," AN 10 (1980): 84-86, cf. his appendix of finds, 89-91. See also Andrzej Mikolajczyk, "Movements of Spanish Umayyad Dirhams From the Iberian Area to Central, Nordic and Eastern Europe in the Early Middle Ages," in PMC III, 255-68.

28 See Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain, 37-39.

gold dinars. The Abbasid caliphs in Baghdad as well as the Aghlabid emirs of North Africa both maintained a gold currency throughout this period. The lack of gold coin in al-Andalus under the Umayyad emirs, therefore, should give us pause to reconsider the dynamics of Mediterranean trade in the eighth and ninth centuries.

Pirenne had proposed that as a result of Islam's expansion across North Africa and into Spain, Muslim shipping was able to dominate the Mediterranean in the eighth and ninth centuries. Latin Europe, then, became cut off from trade not only with North Africa, but also with Byzantium in the east. Historians since Pirenne, however, have realized that the idea that the Mediterranean represented an impenetrable barrier for Christian Europe was oversimplified.[29] While Morrison cautioned against the dangers of using numismatic evidence to document trade routes, it remains true that the combined diplomatic and numismatic sources provide one of the clearest means of demonstrating the weakness of the Pirenne model.[30]

Pirenne found "material proof" for the economic isolation of the Latin West in Pepin and Charlemagne's abandonment of a gold currency, which, in his opinion,

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[29] Henri Pirenne, Medieval Cities, trans. Frank D, Halsey (1925; Reprint, Garden City, 1956), 15-16; cf. Robert S. Lopez, "Mohammed and Charelmagne: A Revision," Speculum 18 (1943): 14-38.

[30] Karl F. Morrison, "Numismatics and Carolingian Trade: A Critique of the Evidence," Speculum 38 (1963): 432.

meant European merchants were not seriously engaged in long distance trade.[31] While it is true that the Carolingians did not mint gold, at least not extensively,[32] gold solidi continued to be struck in Italy at Syracuse under Byzantium's authority and in the kingdom of the Lombards as well.[33] More significant, however, in terms of Europe's contact with other regions of the Mediterranean, is the appearance of the dinars of the Aghlabids and Abbasids in the Latin sources.[34] Referred to as the solidus *mancusi* or

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[31] Pirenne, Medieval Cities, 20-26.

[32] Limited gold coins were struck sporadically under the Carolingians. See the discussion in Grierson, "Charlemagne," 530-34. His conclusion (repeated by Spufford, Money, 21) that Charlemagne attempted to forbid the circulation of gold in Lombardy and in so doing was following a "deliberate policy" of preferring silver coinage is based on a very liberal reading of the Capitulary of Mantua which never makes any specific reference to gold. See Boretivs and Krause, Capitularia, 1:191.

[33] The Byzantine gold solidus continued to be minted at Syracuse until 878 and at Constantinople until 1204. Though its weight declined slightly to about 4.40 grams, its integrity was maintained until the eleventh century. See Philip Grierson, "Carolingian Europe and the Arabs: The Myth of the Mancus," no. 3 in Dark Age, 1072 n. 2; cf. Philip Grierson, "The Debasement of the Bezant in the Eleventh Century," Byzantinische Zeitschrift 47 (1954): 379-94. On the Lombard issues, see n. 18 above.

[34] Two hoards illustrate the mixed provenance of the gold in circulation. A find from Bologna discovered in the nineteenth century contained a mixture of Byzantine and Lombard solidi alongside 'Abbāsid dinars. The latest dinar was dated A.H. 198 (A.D. 813/4). One of the Byzantine pieces may have belonged to Constantine VII (813-20). A second hoard from Venice, found in 1934, was reported to contain 6 Byzantine solidi of the early-ninth century along with 1 gold coin "avec des caractères orientaux," presumably a dinar. See Jean Duplessey, "La circulation des monnaies arabes en Europe occidentale du VIIIe au XIIIe

simply the mancus, the dinar is cited repeatedly in charters from Italy throughout the ninth century.[35] In England, Offa of Mercia (757-96) struck imitation mancusos to use in payment to Rome and by the tenth century the gold mancus had become the basis of both a unit of account and system of weight in Anglo-Saxon England.[36] Finally, we should note that gold was sufficiently present in the Frankish economy, either in plate or coin, for Charles the Bald to attempt to regulate its price in his Edict of Pîtres of 864.[37]

The presence of Islamic dinars in Italy in contrast to the lack of gold in Muslim Iberia suggests that, unlike Pirenne's model which divided the economy of the

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siècle," Revue Numismatique, 5th ser., 18 (1956): 122 nos. 6-7; Grierson, "Myth of the Mancus," 1064, n. 3.

[35] The debate over the identity of the mancus has mostly been put to rest. It is now generally recognized that the term could only have meant the Islamic dinar. Grierson, in "Myth of the Mancus," 1059-74, had argued strongly that it referred not to the dinar, but rather the debased solidus of Lombardy. Though this article remains an invaluable introduction to the source material, its reasoning was flawed. Grierson and Blackburn all but abandoned the argument in MEC, 327. The mancus polemic is best summarized in Duplessey, "Monnaies arabes," 108-12; see also 135-36 for the earliest references to mancus in the documents.

[36] J. Allan, "Offa's Imitation of an Arab dinar." Numismatic Chronicle, 4th ser., 14 (1914): 77-89. See also Pamela Nightingale, "The Ora, the Mark and the Mancus: Weight Standards and the Coinage in 11th Century England," Numismatic Chronicle 143 (1983): 248-57; 144 (1984): 234-48.

[37] "Ut in omne regno nostro non amplius vendatur libra auri purissime cocti, nisi duodecim libris argenti de novis et meris denarris." Boretivs and Krause, Capitularia, 2:320.

Mediterranean along religious lines, trade was more likely organized laterally from west to east often ignoring the boundaries of faith. Lopez pointed to the example of Aghlabid emissaries in 813 who aided a Venetian ship in its attack on a Spanish Muslim convoy. The emissaries then continued on to Sicily where they renewed an agreement with the Byzantine governor there ensuring mutual trade. (The Aghlabids did not begin their conquest of Sicily until c.827.)[38] If Andalusian merchants regularly ventured into the eastern Mediterranean in these centuries, they must have expended silver dirhams and at the same time did not have the means to procure gold.[39]

Money in the Hispanic Christian States in the Ninth Century

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Christian kingdoms of Spain gained fame in Europe as lands rich in Muslim gold. Ironically, in the early middle ages these kingdoms may have had access to less gold than the rest of Latin Europe. While Anglo-Saxon trade with Italy drew the

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[38] Robert S. Lopez, "East and West in the Early Middle Ages," in The Pirenne Thesis: Analysis, Critcism and Revision, ed. Alfred F. Havighurst (Boston, 1958), 75.

[39] Olivia R. Constable's recent work unfortunately pays little direct attention to the commercial strengths and weaknesses of Andalusia under the emirate. In particular, she does not seem to realize the emirate's failure to strike gold coinage, leading her to suggest the presence "Andalusi dinars" in southern France at the end of the eighth century. See her Trade and Traders in Muslim Spain: The Commercial Realignment of the Iberian Peninsula, 900-1500, (Cambridge, 1994), 39-40; cf. 3-4.

mancus or dinar of the Abbasids and Aghlabids northward through France, there is almost no evidence that Muslim gold coin or gold of any kind circulated in Christian Spain in this time frame.[40] Although these kingdoms bordered on the Islamic world, their neighbor was the Umayyad emirate, which appears to have been unable to produce its own gold coinage.

In terms of silver currency, we know that the Catalan lands were exposed directly to the reformed coinage of Charlemagne and his successors. Denarii were struck both in the region of Ampurias and in Barcelona by the reign of Louis the Pious. A mint appears to have continued in Barcelona through the reign of Charles the Bald and perhaps later. In 878, a year after Charles's death, his son Louis the Stammerer (877-79) granted the bishop of Barcelona a third of the mint's profits.[41] Denarii also may have been

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[40] Later, in the eleventh century, the Catalans would adopt the name mancus for the dinar of the caliphate. This may imply that previously Catalonia had some exposure to dinars from the east. In Asturias, mancus does not appear in the sources. For a comparative overview of the early documentation, see Octavio Gil Farrés, "La circulación monetaria en la peninsula hispánica entre 711 y 1100 de J.C." Quaderni ticinesi di Numismática e antichità classiche 10 (1981): 375-97. For the mancus in eleventh-century Catalonia, see chapter 2 below.

[41] For Louis the Pious's coinage of the Spanish march, see Karl F. Morrison and Henry Grunthal, Carolingian Coinage (New York, 1967), 141-42, cf. 344-45 no. 14 and 15. Besides the coins of Louis, the other clear product of the Barcelona mint is a denarius whose legend reads CARLVS REX BARCINONA. This was probably a coin of Charles the Bald which was later immobilized after his death, like the Melle coin at Poitou. For a synopsis of the problems of chronology with Carolingian Catalan issues see Pío Beltrán

struck in the town of Vich, north of Barcelona, before 900.[42]

Evidence of coinage in the western Christian lands during the ninth century is scarce. For the kingdom of Asturias, there are a handful of charters preserved mainly in the cartularies of the monasteries of Santo Toribio (Santander), Celanova (Orense) and Sobrado (La Coruña) that sometimes quote prices in solidi and occasionally in *tremisses*.[43] The fourteenth-century cartulary of Santo Toribio contains an transaction dated 796 where part of the

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Villagrasa, "Interpretación del usatge 'solidus aureus'" Memorial Numismática Español, 2d ser., (1921): 20-23. See also Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, Numismática de la corona catalano-aragonesa medieval (785-1516) (Madrid, 1982), 29; Joaquín Botet y Sisó, Les Monedes Catalanes, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1908), 8-9.

[42] In 911, Count Wilfred II of Barcelona, Gerona and Ausona, on his deathbed, granted the bishop of Vich a third of the mint profits of Vich, which the count noted he himself held by grant of the king. Federico Udina Martorell, El archivo condal de Barcelona en los siglos IX-X (Barcelona, 1951), 150-52 no. 33; cf. Bisson, Crown of Aragón, 22.

[43] For the cartulary of Santo Toribio, see Sánchez Belda, Santo Toribio. For Sobrado, see Pilar Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, ed., Tumbos del Monasterio de Sobrado (Madrid, 1976). The cartulary of Celanova was partially published by Manuel Serrano y Sanz, "Documentos del cartulario del monasterio de Celanova," Revista de ciencias jurídicas y sociales 46 (1929): 5-47, 512-24. Many of the Celanova and Sobrado documents also appear in Emilio Sáez, "Documentos gallegos inéditos del período asturiano," ADHE 18 (1947) and Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, Diplomática española del período astur (718-910) 2 vols. (Oviedo, 1949-51). The citations for Santo Toribio and Celanova as well as the few ninth-century transactions from the cartulary of San Vicente of Oviedo and the *Becerro goticos* of Sahagún and Cardeña are summarized in Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 68-95.

price paid was a steer and a cow each appraised at 1 solidus, 1 *tremissis*. Another entry from the same cartulary dated 827 also appraises a steer at the same value of 1 solidus, 1 *tremissis*.[44]

Because these documents specifically mention the *tremissis*, Sánchez Albornoz took them as evidence that Visigothic gold continued to circulate until roughly the mid-ninth century.[45] He ignored the fact that these two documents, and almost all other citations before the tenth century, clearly refer to purchases paid in-kind appraised in solidi and *tremisses*.[46] While it is conceivable that some Visigothic gold circulated in the ninth century, these charters by themselves do not prove it. None of the transactions ever mention solidi or *tremisses* "of gold." The Asturian economy at this point was undeniably based mainly on barter with the solidus and *tremissis* acting as

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[44] "(B)ove in solido et tremme (sic) baca vitulata in solido et tremise," and "bove colore nigro in solido et tremise." Sánchez Belda, Santo Toribio, 4-5 no. 2, 7-8 no. 4.

[45] Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 303 and the same author's "Moneda de cambio," 184-85.

[46] There is one document recorded in the cartulary of Sobrado that might imply actual coin in the transaction. It is dated to 865 and reads, "vendo vobis in aderato et definito precio, id est, una ivicione (sic) et unum animal et vi solidos quos vos dedistis et ego accepi." The cartulary itself dates to the late 13th century and its early entries are jumbled chronologically. Loscertales, Sobrado, 9, 92 no. 58.

abstract values, archaic remnants of the old Visigothic system.[47]

Still, the campaigns of Ordoño I and Alfonso III probably brought some Islamic coin into the royal treasury. In his expedition against Toledo c.906, reported by a later chronicler, Alfonso was said to have accepted many gifts (*munera*).[48] There is one reference to gold coin in the *Cronicon Albeldense* which reports that Alfonso was able to ransom an important Muslim captive for 100,000 "auri solidos." If this citation is reliable, any gold dinars Alfonso III received had to have been either Aghlabid or Abbasid in origin for at his death in 910 there were still no dinars produced in Andalusia.[49]

The Caliphate and the Return to Gold

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[47] *Tremissis* and the adjectival form *tremisale* continue to appear in the Celanova documentation throughout the tenth century. See Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 46, 74-77.

[48] See Justo Pérez de Urbel and Atilano González Ruiz-Zorrilla, eds., Historia Silense (Madrid, 1959), 306. Hilda Grassotti in "Para la historia del botín y de las parias en León y Castilla," CHE 39-40 (1964): 49-50 reviews the evidence from other narrative sources.

[49] Yves Bonnaz, Chroniques asturiennes (fin IXe siècle) (Paris, 1987), 26. A charter from Santiago dated 915 refers to 500 "metcales ex auro purissimo" that Alfonso III had bequeathed to Compostela. In the late-eleventh century, *metcal* was the common term used in the kingdom of León for the Muslim dinar, but it is not known in any other source this early. The text should be treated as suspect. See Santiago, 1: appendix, 85; cf. Sánchez Albornoz "Primitiva organización," 306-7.

'Abd al-Raḥmān III (912-961) was able to gradually quell the unrest that had plagued al-Andalus since the death of Muḥammad I in 886. He does not appear to have reopened the mint at Córdoba, however, until some sixteen years into his reign. His earliest surviving dirham is dated A.H. 316 (A.D. 928/29), on which he assumed the title of caliph. Narrative evidence corroborates that at the same time he ordered gold to be stuck, though the earliest surviving dinar dates to A.H. 317.[50] This new gold piece also proclaimed him as caliph.

Muslim Spain's failure to mint the dinar for two hundred years is sometimes attributed to a deference shown by the Umayyad emirs to the caliph in the east who theoretically had sole authority to issue gold. But, as we have seen, the production of dinars had ceased in Spain before the establishment of the emirate. Furthermore, deference to the caliph had not restrained the Aghlabid emirs in North Africa from striking dinars throughout the ninth century. More likely, it was the demise of the Aghlabid emirate in the early tenth century that gave 'Abd al-Raḥmān III both the means to strike gold and the incentive to adopt the caliphal title.

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[50] Miles, Umayyads, 24 n. 6, 28. Barcelo, "Hiato," 33-34. (The title of Barcelo's article gives A.D. 936(7) for the resumption of gold, but this is clearly a misprint. It should read A.D. 928/29.)

The decline of Aghlabids created a political vacuum in North Africa and 'Abd al-Raḥmān attempted to secure the Maghreb against the rising power of the Fatimids. He occupied Melilla in 927 and Ceuta by 931. His intervention in North Africa probably put the Umayyads in closer contact with the trans-Sahara gold trade from Ghana part of which may already have been diverted to the town of Sidjilmasa south of Fez by the early tenth century.[51] Ibn 'Idhārī reported that 'Abd al-Raḥmān paid for the marble of Madīnat al-Zahra c.937 (A.H. 325) in "dinars of Sidjilmasa."[52] Though the Fatimids were able to establish nominal allegiance in the Maghreb and even briefly minted dinars at Sidjilmasa, their hold on this region was tenuous and would completely falter by mid-century.[53]

'Abd al-Raḥmān III's long reign was followed by that of his son, al-Ḥakam II (961-976). Together these two rulers provided an internal stability for al-Andalus that allowed the culture and economy to flourish. Domestic stability combined with the decline of the Aghlabids, whose dominion had reached across the mid-Mediterranean to Sicily, now appears to have allowed Andalusian merchants to trade more successfully further eastward. Furthermore, for

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[51] O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 119; Barcelo, "Hiato," 35; Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain, 41.

[52] Miles, Umayyads, 46.

[53] The Umayyads would eventually mint directly in Sidjilmasa in the later half of the century. See Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez, Las acuñaciones del califato de Cordóba en el norte de Africa (Madrid, 1984), 63-64.

reasons that are not entirely clear, the balance of trade seems to have shifted so as to draw silver and gold back to al-Andalus. For example, the Andalusian merchant Marawānī, who died in 968, was reported to have lost 30,000 dinars in a shipwreck returning home from the markets of Iraq and India.[54] Under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II, Córdoba's prosperity and wealth was unmatched in both the Islamic and Christian worlds. With the decline of the caliphate that set in after al-Ḥakam's death, coin, particularly gold dinars, would begin to be siphoned north to the Christian lands. At the height of the caliphate's power in the tenth century, however, there is little evidence that the Latin states shared significantly in this wealth simply because of their proximity.

Solidi *Gallicani*

At the very end of the ninth century, the phrase solidus *gallicanus* begins to appear sporadically in charters from the western region of Asturias-León. The cartularies of the two Galician monasteries, Sobrado and Celanova, both preserve documents that use the term while the cartulary of the monastery of Santo Toribio, located further to the east, has none. Outside of these, there are several scattered citations to solidi *gallicani* all in

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[54] Constable, Trade, 79-81. See also Thomas S. Noonan, "The Start of the Silver Crisis in Islam: A Comparative Study of Central Asia and the Iberian Peninsula," in PMC III, 132.

charters from the more western regions of the kingdom.[55] The term seems to signal the appearance of an actual coin, whose use was now undermining the ghost money of the solidi and *tremisses*.[56]

Vives originally suggested that the phrase solidi *gallicani* referred to solidi from Gaul, that is, that the term denoted the Frankish solidi argenti of 12 denarii. Sánchez Albornoz, however, pointed out that references to solidi *gallicani* appear only in documents from the region of Galicia. He therefore suggested that the term may have indicated a coinage peculiar to Galicia.[57] While initially

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[55] There are no more than a dozen known citations to the solidus *gallicanus*. The earliest may date to 885 and the latest c.1004-5. Sánchez Albornoz compiled eleven citations in "Primitiva organización," 309 n. 30. He repeated these with no additions in "Moneda de cambio," 180 n. 23. Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 74-77, included one more citation from Celanova. Gil Farrés excerpts eight of the texts in "Circulación monetaria," 381, 387-88.

[56] The Celanova cartulary shows that some transactions continued to be evaluated in the old manner of solidi and *tremisses* while others employ the solidus *gallicanus*. (See Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 74-77.) One charter from the monastery of Sobrado, in particular, seems to suggest that the solidus *gallicanus* involved real coin. It records the sale of a *hereditas* in 962: "(E)t accepimus a vobis precium solidos VIII usu gallecie, precium integrum quod nobis bene complacavit." Loscertales, Sobrado, 91 no. 57.

[57] Vives, Moneda, 9-10; Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 309-10. In the late Roman empire, *Gallaecia* was the administrative name applied to northwestern Spain, probably reflecting its Celtic heritage. The older, more general name for the land of the Celts or Gauls (modern France) was *Gallia*. Pope Gregory the Great (590-604) was presumably referring to Merovingian gold when he complained of "solidi galliarum qui in terra nostra expendi non possunt." See Philippe Guilhiermoz, Notes sur les poids du Moyen Age (1906), 219-20.

at a loss to explain what this Galician coinage may have been, he eventually embraced Reinhardt's thesis that solidus *gallicanus* referred to gold coins of the old Suevic kingdom. Thanks largely to Sánchez Albornoz' enthusiastic endorsement, this Suevic attribution has generally been accepted since.[58]

The most troubling aspect of this explanation is that by the time the phrase solidus *gallicanus* began to be used in the documents of Galicia, any gold coins struck by the Suevi would have been three hundred years old or more.

The Asturian documents use a variety of spellings. They mainly derive from *gallicanus*, e.g., "in simul solidos *gallicanus*" (Loscertales, Sobrado, 95 no. 62) which in classical usage would be correct to describe things of Gaul. The document quoted above in n. 48, however, uses *gallecie.*

Sánchez Albornoz objected that Asturian society used the adjective *francisca* to designate Frankish items. [See the author's Una ciudad de la España cristiana hace mil años: Estampas de la vida en León, 5th ed.(Madrid, 1966), 64 n. 30.] This does not exclude the use of *gallicanus* to describe things of Frankish origin. Documents originating from Sahagún in the late eleventh century refer to a "barrio de Gallecos" and a "villa que vocifant Gallequellos." It seems more likely that such a settlement would take its name from a predominance of Frenchmen than Galicians. (Sahagún, 3:154-56 nos. 849-50, 168-69 no. 861.) As late as the thirteenth century, the *General Historia* of Alfonso X used *gallo* to refer to the French. [See Martín Alonso, Diccionario medieval Español, (Salamanca, 1986), s.v. "gallo."]

[58] Wilhelm Reinhardt, "Los sueldos 'gallecanos,' monedas gallegas," Cuadernos de estudios gallegos 2 (1944): 177-84. Octavio Gil Farrés accepted the Suevic thesis in his review of Reinhardt in NH 3 (1954): 124-25 and it was later endorsed by Sánchez Albornoz in "Moneda de cambio," 181. See also Gil Farrés, "Circulación monetaria," 381; Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 46; Antonio Orol Pernas, "Numismatica gallega," Numisma 30 (1980): 231; cf. Sáenz-Díez, Las acuñaciones, 18.

This Germanic people had established an independent state around the area of Braga in the fifth century but were conquered by the Visigoths in 585. In their time, the Suevic kings had issued both gold solidi and *tremisses*. As in the other Germanic kingdoms, the *tremisses* was the more common denomination struck.[59] If Galician society resurrected these coins three centuries later and used them regularly as currency, it would represent a phenomenon unique in the monetary history of Europe and indicate a remarkably anachronistic and insular economy.[60] The theory rests upon several flawed assumptions.

First, it is founded on the premise that in the ninth century Visigothic *tremisses* were still circulating. If this were so, then why could Suevic coinage not be resurrected at the beginning of the tenth? The ninth-century documents, however, never attest to Visigothic gold remaining in circulation. They only use the *tremissis* as an abstract unit of value. Even if one allowed that there

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[59] MEC, 78-80, 452; O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 39-40, 43-46.

[60] Archaic coins were certainly known to medieval society, but they must have been rare oddities. The Hon hoard, for example, interred near Oslo in mid-ninth century contained one gold piece of the late Roman empire, but the coin seems to have been used as an ornament. See Philip Grierson, "The Gold Solidus of Louis the Pious and Its Imitations," no. 22 in Dark Age, 9. See also the hoard containing 4 Roman copper pieces from the late-third and early-fourth century alongside ninth-century Islamic coppers. Jorge de Navascués y de Palacio, "Estudios de numismática musulmana occidental," NH 7 (1958): 52-54; cf. the same author's "Tesorillo de cobre romano-musulmán de Córdoba," NH 10 (1961): 172-73.

were occasional Visigothic gold pieces still in circulation, it is difficult to accept that Suevi coins, which ended a full century before the last Visigothic issues, would also be present and that they would be recognized as distinct from their Visigothic counterparts. (In appearance the Suevi coins are at times very similar to the Visigothic issues.)

Furthermore, the Suevic attribution assumes that the solidus *gallicanus* was a gold coin although no document describes it as such. In fact, one of the earlier references to the solidus *gallicanus* implies that it was comprised of silver. A charter dated 905 records the sale of two churches to a priest named Homar which reads; "we accept from you a price which pleases us of 25 solidos *gallicenses* in cloth or silver or cattle."[61]

Finally, the Suevic theory ignores important developments in Galicia at the time that the solidus *gallicanus* is cited in the documents. The belief that the Apostle James the Great was buried in northwestern Galicia at Compostela began to take hold sometime in the ninth century.[62] By the close of the century, precisely when the

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[61] "(E)t accepimus de te pretium quod nobis bene complacuit XXV solidos gallicenses in pannos vel argento et boves." Floriano Cumbreño, Diplomática española, 2:334 no. 182; Gil Farrés, "Circulación monetaria," 387; Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio," 192-93.

[62] Jan Van Herwaadren, "The Orgins of the Cult of St. James of Compostela," Journal of Medieval Studies 6 (1980): 1-35.

term solidus *gallicanus* begins to appear in documents, Alfonso III had begun to promote the cult. He rebuilt the church on the site, which was consecrated in 899 and generously endowed it. If his letter to the clergy of Tours dated 906 is genuine, as Fletcher argues it is, he had also made an effort to spread news of the cult to the kingdom of the Franks.[63]

Alfonso's effort to promote the cult of St. James points to several explanations for the solidus *gallicanus*. It is possible that the king struck denarii in Galicia in connection with the project of rebuilding the church dedicated to the Apostle. Or, the clergy there may have themselves struck coin to finance the building. It seems more likely, however, that solidi *gallicani* did in fact refer to denarii from France. While these were years of Viking raids on the coast of France and Asturias, the threat of the Norsemen does not mean that the waters were impassable. Alfonso was said to have brought marble and sculpture by sea from Portugal to decorate the new church of St. James. Again, if the letter to Tours is trustworthy, the king himself planned to travel to Bordeaux by sea and likewise assumed that those in France wishing to visit the shrine of St. James would also come by boat.[64]

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[63] For the letter to Tours, see Santiago, 2: appendix, 57-60, no. 27. See further, Richard A. Fletcher, Saint James's Catapult: The Life and Times of Diego Gelmírez of Santiago de Compostela (Oxford, 1984), 57, 69-73, 317-23.

[64] Fletcher, Catapult, 71, 317-23; Santiago, 2:183-84.

Indeed, there is evidence that at least one person from the Frankish kingdom came and stayed; a charter of the mid-tenth century names "Bertendus francus" as a property owner in Compostela.[65]

It seems plausible, then, that Galicia in the tenth century was exposed to Frankish coin. Perhaps through a maritime connection, the Galicians became familiar with one particular denarius from western *Francia* which they came to identify as the *gallicanus*. A document dated 924 may reflect this sentiment when it referred to solidi *gallicani* "in use in our land."[66] In this regard, it is worth noting that by 919 the clergy at St. Martin of Tours convinced the West Frankish ruler Charles the Simple (898-922) to recognize their right to mint.[67]

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[65] Loscertales, Sobrado, 1: no. 2; Fletcher, Catapult, 10.

[66] "(S)olidos gallicarios usui terrae nostre." Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, (Lisbon, 1867), 1:19; cf. 37 where a second document dated 952 speaks of "XXVIII solidos romanos usum terre nostre." Vives believed this referred to Byzantine solidi while Sánchez Albornoz implied it referred to older Roman coin. (See Vives, Moneda, 8; Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 308 and "Moneda de cambio," 178-79.) No other reference to solidos *romanos* is known to my knowledge.

[67] St. Martin's was not alone. After the death of Charles the Bald (840-77), the Carolingians in general allowed a proliferation of independent or semi-independent mints in the tenth century. See Spufford, Money, 56-60.

Two "Carolingian" coins were reported by Chamoso Lamas in "Excavaciones arqueológicas en la catedral de Santiago (tercera fase)," Compostellanum 2 (1957), which I have been unable to obtain. Joaquín Maria de Navascués in "Hallazgos monetarios en la catedral de Santiago de Compostela," NH 7 (1958): 195-7, catalogued additional specimens and reviewed in detail all finds to date. He and Chamoso both

Solidus Argenti - The Diplomatic Evidence

At the same time that the solidus *gallicanus* is first cited in the sources of the northwest, other Asturian documents, particularly from the town of León, begin to employ the term solidus argenti in describing transactions. A charter from León dated 894 recorded the sale of an enclosure of land with two houses for the price of four solidi "of silver."[68] From that date onward, solidus argenti appears regularly in the charters, far outpacing the few references to the solidus *gallicanus*. As with the solidus *gallicanus*, it is evident in many transactions that the solidus argenti was acting only as standard of value and no silver was trading hands.[69] From the beginning,

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attributed the two "Carolingian" coins to Charlemagne. Both are denarii from the mint at Melle, in south-western France, which had probably operated from the time of Charlemagne. After the death of Charles the Bald, however, the counts of Poitou immobilized the type and minted it until the twelfth century. Therefore, the two "Carolingian" coins recovered at Compostela may be considerably later. One of the two carries the reverse legend METALO which may date it to the eleventh century (MEC, 235-40). Indeed, all other coins found at Compostela date to the eleventh century. Despite this, these two coins continue to be uncritically assigned to Charlemagne. See Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio," 193; Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 48; Anna M. Balaguer, "Troballes de moneda carolíngia a Catalunya," GN 74-75 (1984): 143-46.

68 "(O)rto cum sua clausa et duas kasas ... pretium ... IIII^{or} solidos de argenteos." ACL, 1:18-19 no. 9.

69 This is illustrated by the abbot of Sahagún's purchase of land in 946. The price he paid was a "caballum doinum pro colore et frenum, apetiatum ipso caballo in L solidos", Sahagún, 2:5-6 no. 364. Cf. Sánchez Albornoz,

however, other charters make it clear that some form of silver was present. In 921, a woman named Filia Bona and her sons sold a piece of land in the district of León for 2 solidi, 2 argenti "in silver."[70] Other Leonese documents follow this same pattern, emphasizing that payment was made in solidi argenti *de argento*.[71] Still other transactions refer to mixed payments, such as "100 solidi argenti, and 3 cows valued at 16 solidi argenti, and 3 *modii* of wheat."[72]

While it is clear that the solidus argenti in Asturias-León was not a mere "ghost money," as the solidus and *tremissis* were earlier, the documents do not reveal specifically what this silver was. If we accept that the solidus *gallicanus* represented Frankish denarii coming to Galicia via a maritime link with southern France, then the solidus argenti in the rest of the kingdom may represent

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Estampas, 37, for the average value in solidi assigned to a horse in this period.

Emilio Sáez calculated that between the years 912 and 952, the monastery of San Cosme y San Damian in León made purchases that totaled 477 solidi. In 137 of these instances the documents specify that the solidi were paid in kind, though one cannot extrapolate from this that the remainder were all paid in silver. See Sáez's introduction to ACL, 1:xxxvii.

70 "(P)ro quo accepimus de vos in aderatum et definitum duos solidos et II^{os} argenzos in argento." ACL, 1:87 no. 52.

71 See Sáez in ACL, 1:xxxvii. See also Julio A. Pérez Celada, ed., Documentación del monasterio de San Zoilo de Carrión (1047-1300) (Burgos, 1986), 9 no. 3.

72 "(I)n aderato et definito precio, centum solidos de argento, et IIIes boves adpreciatos in XVI XVI (sic) solidos de argento, et III modios de trigo." The charter is dated 915, but may be as late a 924. ACL, 1:55-56 no. 37.

the simultaneous infiltration of denarii from Catalonia and perhaps beyond. The close of the ninth century represents the beginning of the period when minting privileges were either granted to or usurped by local counts and bishops throughout the Frankish domains. In Catalonia, besides the possible continuation of mints at Barcelona and Vich in the tenth century, Gerona also may have minted sporadically.[73]

As we have seen, solidus argenti in the Carolingian world, normally signified a unit of denarii. By the tenth century, the phrase almost invariably indicated 12 such coins, a convention which had also spread to Anglo-Saxon England.[74] In Frankish practice, if a payment required let us say 26 denarii, the sum was normally expressed as 2

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[73] For the coins of Vich and Gerona, see Crusafont Numismática, 29. See further, Arturo Pedrals y Moliné, "Monedas acuñadas en Gerona en los Siglos X y XI," Memorial Numismático Español 2 (1868): 264-68; Fidel Fita, "Carta de d. Fidel Fita dirigida a d. Celestino Pujol y Camps sobre numismática gerundense," Memorial Numismático Español 3 (1872-73): 201-7.

[74] For the solidus of account of 12 denarii in Carolingian Europe, see n. 14 above. For Anglo-Saxon England, see Pamela Nightingale, "The Evolution of Weight-Standards and the Creation of New Monetary and Commercial Links in Northern Europe from the Tenth Century to the Twelfth Century," Economic History Review, 2d ser., 38 (1985): 196.

Just as there was a pound of weight and a denarius of weight, the Carolingians may also have employed a solidus of weight, though it is not as evident in the sources. The solidus argenti, then, at times may have represented a weight of silver bullion and not a unit of 12 coins. See see Grierson, "Charlemagne," 509; cf. Harry A. Miskimin, "Two Reforms of Charlemagne? Weights and Measures in the Middle Ages," Economic History Review, 2d ser., 20 (1967): 45.

solidi, 2 denarii. The Asturian documents reveal a seemingly similar system, but do not use the term denarius.

A charter preserved in one of the cartularies of the monastery of San Millán de la Cogolla in Castile shows the abbot purchasing time at the mill of Arlanzón from various persons between 943 and 951. Didaco Albura sold three turns at the mill for an even 4 solidi, while Alvaro Ovecoz and his companion sold two turns for 1 solidus and 6 argenti. Godmiro of Arlanzón received 2 solidi and 6 argenti for one of his allotments whereas another person, Alla, received only 11 argenti for one turn.[75] This payment to Alla of 11 argenti represents the largest sum of individual argenti cited in the list. It would seem to imply that a solidus was comprised of 12 argenti just as the Frankish solidus was made up of 12 denarii.[76]

A document from the nearby monastery of Albelda in the Rioja records a contemporary transaction that may further support this conclusion. Around 947, García Ciclevo gave the monastery of Albelda salt lands (*areas salinarum*) that he had purchased in the village of Ganiz. In the charter describing the bequest, he listed the prices he paid for

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[75] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759-1076) (Valencia, 1976), 72 no. 59; cf. 73 no. 61.

[76] By the late tenth century, solidus also clearly denoted a unit of weight in the Iberian Christian kingdoms, comprised of 8 argenti of weight. (See appendix B below.) I hope to explore the relation between this Hispanic unit and the Carolingian pound more fully in the future.

each parcel. Eight *areas* he purchased from a single owner in exchange for a horse. The remaining seven parcels, however, had been purchased individually. The prices paid for each were listed in the following order:

1 *area*	3 "solidos et medio"
1 *area*	3 "solidos"
1 *area*	3 "solidos et medio"
1 *area*	3 "solidos"
1 *area*	3 "solidos"
1 *area*	3 "solidos et medio"
1 *area*	1 "solido et sex argenteis"

One interpretation of this list is that 6 argenti was another way of expressing a half solidus.[77]

There are other parallels suggesting that argentus in Asturias-León was synonymous with denarius. In the abbot of San Millán's purchase of mill rights, some individuals were not paid in silver but in kind. Muño Núñez received 5 *argenzatas* of wax for one turn at the mill which clearly meant a quantity of wax valued at 5 argenti.[78] By contrast, in Catalonia, a payment in-kind amounting to less than a solidus was sometimes expressed in terms of the

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[77] Albelda at this time appears to be in the kingdom of Navarre. See Eliseo Sáinz Ripa, Colección diplomática de las colegiatas de Albelda y Logroño, vol. 1, (924-1399) (Logroño, 1981), 24 no. 2-ii. The document is a copy dating at least to the eleventh century.

[78] "Ego Monnio Nunniz una vice in V aranzatas de cera et tres vices sunt de Salitus abba." The precise meaning here is unclear. He seems to have sold three turns at 5 *argenzatas* each. Another participant was also paid partially in *argenzatas* though these are not modified; "Ego Nunniz Gonzalvo vendo in iii solidos alia vice et iii argenzatas." Ubieto, San Millán, 72 no. 59.

dinerata, i.e., a denarius worth.[79] Both *dinerata* and *argenzata* are also eventually applied in a wider context. Charters from France in the tenth and eleventh century refer to a measure of land called the *denariata* which may have been the equivalent of a twelfth of a rod. In Asturias, one finds references to an *argenzata* of land in the documents, though it is difficult to determine if this represented the same measure as the *denariata*.[80]

Solidus Argenti - The Numismatic Evidence

Despite the similarities between the use of argentus and denarius in the documents, there is little numismatic evidence to support the proposition that Frankish denarii

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[79] For the *dinerata*, see Gil Farrés, "Circulación monetaria," 389; Crusafont, Numismática, 52. Clear citations to the actual denarius in Catalonia in this time frame are not frequent. See the reference of 921, "solidatas VI in rem valentem et dinarios quator," and the later sale of 990 for "precio mancusos uno de auro mero et solidos duos de denarios. Cf. two sales of 921 where the price was expressed as "denarios ... in rem valentem." Udina, El archivo condal, 199-202 nos. 67-68, 204-206 no. 71, 411-12 no. 223. See also J. Alturo i Perucho, "Notes numismátiques dels diplomataris de Santa Anna de Barcelona (fons de Santa Anna i de Santa Eulàlia del Camq) del 942 al 1200," AN 11 (1981), 122.

[80] For the *denariata* of land, see J.F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leiden, 1984), s.v. "denariata," who tentatively concludes that it equaled a twelfth of a rod. For the *argenzata* of land see, for example,"III argenzatas de terra pro populare," in Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 25 no. 11; cf. Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "aranzada." Fletcher in Episcopate, 279, writes that the *argenzata* was a little larger than an acre, though he does not reveal his source. If he is correct, than it was much larger than a twelfth of a rod, but the subject requires more thorough investigation.

circulated in Asturias in the tenth century. The only "Carolingian" coins known to have been found within the confines of the kingdom are the immobilized types of Charles the Bald at Compostela, but these 2 coins could have been struck as late as the eleventh or even twelfth century.[81] More compelling testimony that denarii crossed the Pyrenees to some extent in the tenth century comes from excavations at the chapel of Ibañeta in Navarre. The chapel is located on one of the main pilgrim routes over the Pyrenees at the pass of Cize near Roncevalles.[82] Excavations here uncovered 6 denarii of Ethelred II (978-1016) of England and 1 example of the immobilized MELLE type of Charles the Bald similar to the 2 found at Compostela, indicating that by the close of the tenth century there was traffic entering Spain from beyond the Pyrenees.[83] Some of this traffic was undoubtedly bound for Santiago.[84]

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[81] See n. 67 above.

[82] William Melczer, trans., The Pilgrim's Guide to Santiago de Compostela (New York, 1993), 26-27, 85; Luis Vázquez de Parga, José Maria Lacarra and Juan Uría Ríu, Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela (Madrid, 1948-49), 2:78-93.

[83] Mateu y Llopis in "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 2, 233 no. 68, originally reported only one coin of Ethelred. All of the English coins, however, are discussed in his "El hallazgo de 'pennies' ingleses en Roncesvalles," Principe de Viana 12 (1950): 201-10. The immobilized type of Charles the Bald was reported in "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 7, 250 no. 577. As with one of the specimens found at Compostela, this coin seems to be of the variety that reads METALO instead of MELLE, which may place it in the eleventh century or contemporary with the Anglo-Saxon finds.

In evaluating the degree to which denarii from northern Europe may have circulated in Christian Spain in the tenth century, one must keep in mind that even in Catalonia, which had formed part of the Carolingian empire, reported finds of ninth and tenth century denarii (either from the Catalan mints or from mints beyond the Pyrenees) are extremely limited.[85] Indeed, the overall survival rate of denarii from Carolingian Europe is very low indeed. The total number of coins that exist today surely represents only a fraction of what once circulated.[86]

By the late tenth century, Anglo-Saxon mint output appears to have been high and Anglo-Saxon merchants were probably trading in France and Italy. (Nightingale, "Weight-Standards," 196.) In this light, the finds of English coins at Ibañeta are not surprising.

[84] For the documentary evidence relating to pilgrim traffic to Santiago in the tenth century, see Vázquez de Parga, et al. Las peregrinaciones, 1:41-46.

[85] Balaguer, "Troballes de moneda carolíngia," 143-46. See further, Crusafont, Numismática, 29, who combines the coins known in finds with those known from collections.

[86] For the period from c.800 to the end of the reign of Charles the Bald in 877 there are only several thousand coins known. The relative size of this corpus is even smaller when one considers that most of these coins are immobilized types of Charles the Bald, which may represent mints of the tenth, eleventh and even twelfth centuries. See D. M. Metcalf, "The Prosperity of North-Western Europe in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," Economic History Review, 2d ser., 20 (1967): 352-53.

Our tenuous knowledge of the size of Europe's coinage in the tenth century was demonstrated by the discovery of the Fécamp hoard. Containing nearly 8,000 coins from a wide array of dies, it showed the coinage of Richard I of Normandy to be a substantial issue and revolutionized the estimate of late Carolingian/early Capetian mint output. See Françoise Dumas-Duborg, Le trésor de Fécamp et le monnayage en Francie occidentale pendant le second moitié du xe siècle (Paris, 1971). See also Morrison, Carolingian Coinage, 381-83.

To the scattered finds at Ibañeta, one must add the evidence of two hoards, although they are both probably Muslim in origin. The first, a hoard found in Córdoba, contained approximately 170 dirhams of the Umayyad emirate with dates ranging from 773 to the late ninth century. Interred along with these dirhams were 6 denarii and some 20 fragments of denarii. Those denarii that could be identified belonged to Louis the Pious and either Charlemagne or Charles the Bald.[87] A second hoard, whose provenance is unknown, also contained mainly Islamic silver alongside 20 late-ninth and tenth century Frankish denarii.[88] These hoards, while they do not shed direct light on circulation in the Christian realms, at least support the general proposition that the peninsula was not devoid of commercial contact with the rest of Europe.

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[87] The exact breakdown of the hoard known as "la Sagrada Familia" varies slightly in the published accounts. Exhibited in Madrid in 1951 it was reported that same year by Mateu in "Hallazgos musulmanes," pt. 5, 481 no.60. (He cites a local Córdoban publication I have been unable to obtain.) The hoard was subsequently reported in more detail by S. de los Santos Jener, "Monedas carolingias en un tesorillo de dirhemes del emirato cordobés," NH 5 (1956): 79-87. See further, Anna M. Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions de l'estudi de la moneda catalana comtal," in SNB, 2: 319 no. 3.

In these reports, the denarii are assigned to Charlemagne and Louis, but it is impossible to tell if the authors account for the problems of attribution regarding the coins of Charlemagne and his grandson Charles the Bald.

[88] Morrison, Carolingian Coinage, 384 no. 120; cf. Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions", 319 no. 4 and Constable, Trade, 41 n. 89.

The alternative to accepting that the Asturian solidus argenti was a product of Carolingian influence is to see it as a unit of account based on the Muslim dirham. Within al-Andalus, the absence of a gold currency under the emirate probably promoted the practice of rendering the dinar in silver, what later Muslim chroniclers and jurists would call the *dīnār darāhim* (dinar of dirhams).[89] Beltrán and others have suggested that the Mozarabs who left al-Andalus in that late ninth century to settle along the Asturian frontier established a silver connection between Asturias and Muslim Spain, i.e., that they brought dirhams with them in their initial journey north and then continued to maintain economic contacts with the south afterwards. According to this school of thought, along with silver coin, the Mozarabs also brought the Islamic unit of value, the *dīnār darāhim*, to the north where it became the solidus argenti in the tenth century documents. The growing monetary economy of Asturias-León, therefore, was actually

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[89] It also was referred to as the *dīnār fiḍḍa* or dinar of silver. See Pedro Chalmeta, "El dirham arba'īnī, duhl, qurtubī, andalusī: Su valor," AN 16 (1986): 118-19. See further, by the same author, "Précisions au sujet du monnayage hispano-arabe (dirham qāsimī et dirham arba'īnī)," Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient 24 (1981): 322; cf. Lévi-Provençal, Espagne musulmane, 3:258.

based on the value of the Islamic silver dirham and dinar.[90]

It would be foolish to contend that no dirhams made their way to the Christian kingdoms in these years, particularly as booty in the campaigns of Ordoño I, Alfonso III and his son Ordoño II.[91] Still, there is no basis for supposing a steady flow of Muslim silver north at this time.[92] There are several finds of dirhams from Catalonia,

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[90] Beltrán Villagrasa was perhaps the strongest proponent of the view that the solidus argenti in western Spain was based on the dirham of al-Andalus. See primarily his "Dinero de Fernando I," 595-603. See also appendix A, n. 23 below. Mateu y Llopis in "Evocación," 69, spoke of "una economía que se basaba en los dirhemes musulmanes." See also Chalmeta, "Précisions," 321; cf. Jaime Lluis y Navas "Aspectos de la organización legal de la amonedación en la edad media castellana," Numisma 9 (1959): 13.

Sánchez Albornoz envisioned a hybrid system, proposing that there may have been two solidi argenti, one derived from the Carolingian solidus argenti and another based on the dirham of al-Andalus. See "Moneda de cambio," 200-202. Constable in Trade, 62-63, agrues against the theory that the Mozarabs "forged a vital commercial and cultural link between north and south acrosss the Iberian frontier."

[91] Grassotti, "Botín," 47-50.

[92] Beginning in the late-tenth century and continuing sporadically in the eleventh century, charters in the Latin kingdoms occasionally refer to solidi argenti *kazimi*. These solidi are at times further modified as being from *Spania*, i.e, al-Andalus, leaving no doubt that the term referred to dirhams. But, it has been frequently overlooked in the secondary literature that these citations belong to a later stage, coinciding with the disintegration of the caliphate. See appendix A below.

Besides these references to solidi *kazimi*, there is a solitary reference in a charter dated 933 to solidi *toledanos*. This is puzzling since the caliphate never operated a mint in Toledo. The charter is preserved in a cartulary of the monastery of Lorvão in Portugal and most likely should not be trusted. See Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, 1:24; cf. António Losa, "The Money Among the Mozarabs of the Portuguese Territory: Data Obtained From the 'Livro Preto' of the See of

but they date to the eighth century when the Muslims still controlled much of the area.[93] With the exception of the San Andrés hoard interred in Navarre around the opening of the early tenth century, there are no finds of emirate silver that can be shown to come from Christian-occupied territory.[94]

Coimbra," in PMC I, 284-85. For the Umayyad mints, see Miles, Umayyads, 33-54. On forgeries from Lorvão, cf. the comments in Pilar Blanco Lozano, ed., Colección diplomática de Fernando I (1037-65) (León, 1987), 178-79 no. 70.

[93] The Garraf hoard from Barcelona is the best illustration of this phase. It was interred c.750. See the detailed account in "Hallazgos musulmanes," pt. 8, 439-446 no. 86; cf. "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 11, 253 no. 731. Anna M. Balaguer summarized the known details in "Troballes i circulació monetària: Corpus de les troballes de moneda àrab a Catalunya (segles VIII-XIII)," AN 20 (1990), 98. See also her summary of other finds, 86-88. Likewise, there are several finds of eighth-century Umayyad dirhams in southern France, but none from later years. See Mikolajczyk, "Spanish Umayyad Dirhams," 255-268.

[94] The San Andrés hoard contained several hundred dirhams. The last datable coins in it are late-ninth century, but it contained pieces dating back to the beginning of the emirate. (See n. 26 above.) With such a range of coin dates, one might be tempted to conclude that it represents a long-terms savings hoard from Christian territory. It is more likely, however, that the emirs did not recall coins of their predecessors, which resulted in a very mixed circulating medium. Hoards from the tenth century indicate that the caliphs followed such a policy. (See Alberto Canto Garciá, "Perforations in Coins of the Andalusian Umayyad Caliphate: A Form of Demonetization," in PMC II, 346-53.) Mateu, in "Hallazgo de dirhemes," 85-101, ascribed the San Andrés hoard to the Muslim campaigns against Sancho Garcés (905-925) of Navarre. He was perhaps correct.

There is no other hoard evidence pointing to the circulation of Muslim coins among the Christian states this early. See Mateu's summary of finds of emirate coins in "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 11, 250. See further, Metcalf, "Geographical Aspects", 322-23, though his map here includes finds up to the mid-twelfth century.

On the contrary, there is clear evidence that the silver of the emirate was generally being pulled in an opposite direction. As we have seen, hoard evidence from outside the peninsula shows the emirate's dirhams were drained eastward across North Africa and up into Central Europe, presumably in the hands of Rus traders along the Volga. By the later part of the ninth century, just when the Mozarabs were emigrating to Christian territory and just as the solidus argenti makes its first appearance in the Latin documents, the emirate's silver coinage had in fact come to an end. The production of dirhams resumed under the caliphate, but by then the solidus argenti was already in place in Asturias-León.

The Question of Indigenous Coinage

On balance, there seems little reason to doubt that the phrases solidus argenti and solidus *gallicanus* which appear in the sources almost simultaneously at the opening of the tenth century point to the influence of the Carolingian monetary system. The question remains, however, whether these terms point only to the circulation of foreign denarii in Asturias or if they possibly indicate the beginning of domestic minting based on the Carolingian model. The Asturian monarchs of the ninth and tenth century were not negligible rulers. In his life of Charlemagne, Einhard tells us that Charles "made his reign more glorious" by establishing friendly relations with

Alfonso II (791-842) of Asturias. As Einhard recognized, the rulers of Asturias considered themselves kings in their own right unlike the counts of the Pyrenean lands, whose authority derived from the Frankish emperor.[95] Economic considerations aside, coinage provided a tangible affirmation of a monarch's power and it seems incongruous or, to quote Sánchez Albornoz, "absolutely incredible" that the kings of Asturias-León did not issue coin before the eleventh century [96]

Of the coin types surviving today for the kingdom of León, there are a variety of anonymous issues. The majority of these types share a common characteristic.

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[95] Einhard, "The Life of Charlemagne," in Two lives of Charlemagne, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Middlesex, 1969), 70. It is worth noting that, according to the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the *muwallad* leader Musa, having successfully carved out a dominion centered around Zaragoza, Huesca and Tudela in the mid-ninth century, considered himself the "tertiam regem in Hispania." the other two "kings" in the peninsula presumably being the king of Asturias and the Umayyad emir. See Prelog, Chronik Alfons' III, 60; cf. O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 96, 111-12.

[96] Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio," 171-75. Gautier Dalché in "Histoire monétaire," 52, perhaps expressed the paradox best: "Le roi de León, au xe siècle, n'est pas un personage négligeable. Il se considère comme un soverain, au plein sens du terme, et affirme une sorte de suprématie. Les monarques qui règnent à Oviedo puis à León ont autant d'autorité et de moyens d'action, sinon davantage, que les Carolingiens, et plus, à coup sûr, que les derniers représentants de la dynastie de Charlemagne ou le premier Capétien. Si l'on se place à un point de vue strictement politique, rien ne justifie, semble-t'il, l'absence de frappe monétaire, la renonciation à l'un des attributs essentiels de la souveraineté, d'une souveraineté que l'on s'efforçait de rétablir, de maintenir et d' affirmer par ailleurs." See also Georges Duby, The Early Growth of the European Economy, trans. Howard Clarke (Ithaca, 1979), 66

Their legends carry the title IMPERATOR followed by some form of LEO CIVITAS, LEONIS or LEGIONIS.[97] All these types survive today in relatively few numbers. In some cases there are only one or two specimens known. None have been reported in hoards that give any clue to their time frame, though they can safely be said to be no later than the twelfth century since they are wholly absent from hoards of the thirteenth century onward.

Heiss, in his pioneering work on the Christian coinage of Spain, assigned most of these anonymous coins to the reign of Alfonso VII (1126-57) using two premises. First, he assumed all denarii of León must date to Alfonso VI (1065-1109) or later. Secondly, Alfonso VII is known to have been crowned emperor in León in 1135 and generally referred to as emperor both in his own diplomas and other contemporary documents.[98] Heiss's initial assumption generally has been followed since, even though additional anonymous types have been discovered since his day. It seems unlikely that all were struck in the reign of Alfonso VII. Judging from style and in some cases privy marks, many of these anonymous imperial coins, if not the

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[97] Other types use the title SUPER REX followed by a reference to León. There are 2 further anonymous types which make no reference to either emperor or any secular ruler. They both invoke León and are ecclesiastical in nature. One portrays a church and the other is inscribed IHESUS. For these types and other examples of anonymous imperial issues, see catalogue 1, nos. 1-10 below; cf. catalogue 4, nos. 2-4.

[98] Heiss, Las monedas, plates 1-3.

majority, probably were in fact twelfth-century issues. Besides belonging to Alfonso VII, however, they could be issues of Alfonso VI, Alfonso I of Aragón (1104-34) or Fernando II of León (1157-88), all of whom at one point made claims to hegemony in the peninsula.[99] Nonetheless, there is no way to rule out that some of this imperial coinage belongs to an earlier era.

The earliest claims to Leonese hegemony or *imperium* in the peninsula emerge in the tenth century in the wake of Alfonso III's victories against Islam. In the alleged letter of Alfonso III to Tours, the king is described as "Hispaniae rex."[100] While Alfonso is not known to have made similar claims in any other document, his son Ordoño II described himself as "filius Adefonsi magni imperatoris" in at least two charters drawn up in 916 and 917.[101] It should be held as a possibility, then, that some of these imperial Leonese issues may have been struck by Alfonso III or his close successors.

In the end, the question of whether the kings of Asturias minted their own denarii is of secondary

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[99] The imperial claims of Alfonso VI and Fernando II are discussed in chapter 2 below. The career of Alfonso I of Aragón is treated in chapter 5.

[100] Fletcher, Catapult, 319.

[101] ACL, 1:56-58 no. 38 (probably an original), 64-68 no. 41. See further, Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Imperantes y potestades en el reino astur-leonés (718-1037)," in Investigaciones y documentos sobre las instituciones hispanas (Santiago, 1970), 292-307.

importance. It is more imperative that we reassess the composite picture of the Asturian economy drawn primarily by Vives, Sánchez Albornoz and Beltrán Villagrasa. These authors all contributed to the hypothesis that the kingdom in these centuries was so cut off from economic developments north of the Pyrenees that a unique monetary system emerged that had little in common with the Carolingian. The picture these three authors drew was of a society forced to use whatever coinage it could find. In their model, old Suevic and Visigothic gold coins circulated alongside Byzantine solidi in the ninth and tenth centuries and this gold currency was gradually supplemented by Islamic silver dirhams from the south, i.e., the solidus argenti.[102] This school of thought, then, has tended to portray Asturias-León in these centuries as an economic satellite of the Umayyad emirate to the south. Though a Christian kingdom, it was, in effect, on the wrong side of Pirenne's iron curtain and thus cut off from developments in Carolingian Europe.[103]

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[102] Vives, Moneda, 8, had suggested that the solidus argenti in Asturias was based on the value of the Byzantine gold solidus which he proposed circulated in Asturias in the ninth and tenth century. (The theory was founded on a solitary reference in a tenth-century charter to "solidos romanos." See n. 66 above.)

[103] Angus MacKay, in his overview of Spain in the Middle Ages, for example, spoke of two monetary zones -- a "Carolingian sterling area" restricted to Aragón and Catalonia and that of Asturias, whose monetary system was more tied to al-Andalus. Angus MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages, From Frontier to Empire, 1000-1500 (London, 1977), 50.

While it is true that the kingdom of Asturias-León would long resist some "Frankish" customs, most notably Carolingian script and the Roman liturgy, this does not mean that before the twelfth century it was completely isolated from the rest of Latin Europe. In the late-ninth and tenth centuries, the Asturian monarchs successfully colonized the Duero valley and at the same time began to promote the pilgrimage to Santiago Rather than accept an economic model that suggests that the kingdom in this time frame was the backwater of Latin Europe, where society simultaneously used ancient Suevic gold pieces alongside Islamic dirhams, it makes far more sense to accept the solidus *gallicanus* and solidus argenti in the tenth-century sources for what they on first impression appear to be -- a product of the kingdom's ties with Carolingian Europe.

TWO

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: THE AGE OF *PARIAS*

The death of the caliph al-Ḥakam in 976 initiated a struggle for power in al-Andalus which signaled the end of Umayyad rule in Spain. While Al-Ḥakam's ten-year-old son, Hishām II (976-1009, 1010-13), became caliph in name, dictatorial control fell to his minister, Ibn Abī 'Āmir, who adopted the title al-Manṣūr. Al-Manṣūr's power rested precariously on an army composed largely of Slavs from Europe and Berbers from North Africa. After his death in 1002, his two sons held his office in succession, but the second was overthrown and killed in 1009. This ignited two decades of political chaos fueled by ethnic rivalry between the older Andalusian population and the unassimilated Slav and Berber factions. Claimants to the caliphal throne rose and fell rapidly in Córdoba until finally in 1031 the exhausted town expelled the last of these aspirants and the caliphate was abolished in practice if not completely in theory. In its place, small kingdoms emerged, the so-called taifa states, whose rulers jealously guarded their independence from one another.[1]

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[1] David J. Wasserstein, The Rise and Fall of the Party-Kings: Politics and Society in Islamic Spain 1002-1086 (Princeton, 1985), 38-81; cf. David J. Wasserstein, "Was the Caliphate Abolished in 422/1031?" in his The

More than at any other time since the Muslim invasion, the balance of power in the peninsula now shifted in favor of the Christians. The prosperity of the caliphate had enriched Andalusia's gold and silver stock to legendary proportions and the Latin princes siphoned this wealth northwards by establishing what Angus MacKay has aptly labeled a protection racket.[2] In exchange for tribute payments, called *parias*, they agreed not to attack the taifa kings and to protect them from one another.[3] This movement of coin from al-Andalus to the Christian states in the course of the eleventh century is perhaps unrivaled in the medieval epoch. The Vikings had carried large sums of silver coin back to Scandinavia, but it was often treated as bullion and summarily hoarded alongside silver plate and jewelry.[4] Christian Spain, however, had a Roman heritage and the concept of coinage as a means of exchange was by no

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Caliphate in the West: An Islamic Political Institution in the Iberian Peninsula (Oxford, 1993), 146-61.

[2] MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 15-26.

[3] The term *paria* and the plural *parias* must derive from *pariare*, i.e, to pay. (Niermeyer, Lexicon Minus, s.v. "paria.") This is preferable to Alonso's suggestion that it derives from *par*. (Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "parias.")

[4] The extent of commerce in Viking-age Scandinavia remains the subject of debate. See P. Sawyer, "Coins and Commerce," in Sigtuna Papers: Proceedings of the Sigtuna Symposium on Viking-Age Coinage, 1-4 June, 1984, ed. K. Jonsson and B. Malmer (Stockholm, 1990), 283-88; cf. D.M. Metcalf, "Some Twentieth-Century Runes: Statistical Analysis of the Viking-Age Hoards and the Interpretation of Wastage Rates," in Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, ed. Mark Blackburn and D.M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1981), 347.

means novel to its society. The phenomenon of the *parias*, therefore, brought a supply of precious metal to a society ripe for economic renewal.

While we are concerned primarily with the kingdom of Asturias-León, or what more commonly is called León-Castile in this period, the impact of the *parias* on this kingdom can only be fully understood if contrasted with events in the other Christian states. In the first place, the wealth of al-Andalus was limited and the Christian magnates competed with one another to exploit it. The success of one of the Latin kingdom in collecting *parias*, therefore, often affected the prosperity of its neighbors. Secondly, a comparative approach to this period is indispensable simply because pertinent evidence is scarce and scattered. As with many aspects of medieval Iberia, evidence is strongest for Catalonia. Surviving coins and diplomatic records from Barcelona preserve a wealth of details whose full significance has largely been ignored. By first tracing developments in Barcelona, therefore, we can more confidently reconstruct events in the western kingdoms.

Barcelona and the Mancus c.1000-1050

The Catalans realized early on the commercial benefits to be gained from Córdoba's decline. In a letter dated 974, Count Borell (940-992) of Barcelona declared his willingness to become a "client" of the caliph and the

visit of his emissaries to Córdoba was recorded by Muslim chroniclers.[5] Shortly thereafter, gold dinars began to be cited in Catalan documents. True to their Carolingian heritage, the Catalans called the dinar a mancus. Despite al-Manṣūr's sack of Barcelona in 985, mancusos continued to be cited in the Catalan documents in the final decade of the century.[6]

With al-Manṣūr's death the flow of gold from al-Andalus intensified. Bonnassie estimated that by the decade 1010-20, nearly 90 percent of surviving transactions in the region of Barcelona expressed prices in gold and in the whole of Catalonia at least 50 percent of extant transactions were recorded in this fashion. The dinar is quoted not just in records of large land sales, but also in more mundane purchases of grain and livestock. As Bonnassie pointed out, it was used by "all levels of the population."[7] While documents occasionally cite silver

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[5] The Catalans may have sent envoys to Córdoba as early as 950, but there are no indications of commercial exchange that early. See Anna M. Balaguer, "*Parias* and the Myth of the Mancus," in PMC III, 507; cf. Bisson, Crown of Aragón, 22-23.

[6] According to Pierre Bonnassie, La Catalogne du milieu de Xe à la fin de XIe siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société, vol. 1 (Toulouse, 1975), 373, 378-79, mancus does not appear in the Catalan documents before 981. See also, Udina, El archivo condal, 407-9 nos. 220-21, 411-12 no. 223.

[7] Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 373-76, 382-86.

dirhams (under the name solidi argenti *kazimi*), gold was quickly becoming the main standard of value.[8]

Some of this money came to Catalonia from mercenary service. For example, in 1010 the counts of Urgel and Barcelona led troops in support of the caliph al-Mahdī (1009-10) against the rebelling Berbers. According to Muslim sources, they demanded per diem salaries in gold as well as a share of booty.[9] Coin also was undoubtedly procured from border raids. As Balaguer suggested, such raiding activity may have originally provoked al-Manṣūr's attacks.[10] Finally, though it is scarcely attested in the written sources, some coin probably flowed to Catalonia through trade.[11]

By whatever means the coin arrived, Catalan society quickly became familiar enough with the Muslim gold pieces to distinguish between types. The mancus *iafaris* was a dinar of al-Ḥakam II which included the name of his

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[8] For the solidus argenti *kazimi*, see appendix A.

[9] The account is from Ibn 'Idhārī, who wrote in the early-fourteenth century. It is partially translated in Charles Melville and Ahmad Ubaydli, Christians and Moors in Spain, vol. 3, Arabic Sources (711-1501) (Warminster, 1992), 60-65; see further Wasserstein, Party-Kings, 63-65. The expedition is confirmed by at least one Christian source. See, José María Lacarra, "Aspectos económicos de la sumisión de los reinos de taifas (1010-1102)," in Colonización, parias, repoblación y otros estudios (Zaragoza, 1981), 44-46.

[10] Balaguer, "*Parias*," 506-8.

[11] See the evidence reviewed by Bonnassie, 417, cf. 423-25. Constable, Trade, 47-51, overlooks the sudden infusion of gold into the Catalan economy at this early date.

minister Ja'far in its legend. Likewise, mancus *amuris* referred to coins of Hishām II that carried al-Manṣūr's name, 'Āmir.[12] Alongside these imported pieces, at least one goldsmith in Barcelona was prompted to introduce his own version of the mancus. As early as 1018, a Barcelonan document mentions "mancusos ... by the hand of the Jew Bonnom." A slightly later document further describes him as the "Jewish goldsmith named Bonnom."[13]

Only three coins survive today that are unmistakably Bonnom's work. All are gold dinars. Each is distinct from the other in design and they appear to represent different stages of the smith's work from roughly 1018 to 1031. They are not modeled on either the mancus *iafaris* or the mancus *amuris*, but rather on slightly later issues. Two are imitations of dinars of the Ḥammūdid caliph al-Qāsim, who

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[12] For names on the coins, see Miles, Umayyads, 59-60, 67-69. For 'Āmir, see further Francisco Codera y Zaidín, Títulos y nombres propios en las monedas arábigo-españolas (Madrid, 1878), 59.

[13] There are seven known documentary references to mancusos of Bonnom, dated between 1018 and 1029. In addition, there are several documents mentioning a man named Bonnom who died before 1036. Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 380-81; cf. George C. Miles, "Bonnom de Barcelone," in Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémorie de Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1962), 690-91. Botet, Les monedes, 44, 51, alludes to a document of 1091 that refers to the mancus of Bonnom. Also, Anna M. Balaguer, "The Influence of the Moslem Coinages Upon the Monetary Systems of the Medieval Iberian Kingdoms," in PMC I, 314, cites a will of 1064 that mentions mancusos of Bonnom. This document as published in Josep Rius, "Cartes antigues de Sant Martí Sacosta," Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia 4 (1928): 359-62 no. 7, however, contains no such reference.

ruled sporadically in Córdoba from 1018-23. Their Arabic legends are largely faithful to their prototypes, though one gives the mint as "Madīnat Barshalūna" in place of "al-Andalus," the traditional signature of the Córdoba mint. The third Bonnom piece appears to be modeled on dinars issued in Zaragoza by the local Tujībid rulers between c.1026-1032. It is less skillfully executed than the previous two. All three coins prominently carry Bonnom's name in Latin letters on the reverse field.[14]

Bonnom's purpose in producing these coins is somewhat perplexing for they are not noticeably better in weight or fineness than the mancus *amuris* and *iafaris*. They were perhaps struck because the demand for good gold coinage in Barcelona had begun to outstrip the supply. By 1018, the mancus *amuris* and *iafaris* were old issues and the Catalan documents are silent as to whether newer dinars like those of the Ḥammūdids were reaching Catalonia. Bonnom, therefore, may have been prompted to melt worn coins or other gold bullion to produce freshly minted dinars. Based on the three coins of his that survive, it appears that he altered his pieces to keep abreast of current Islamic issues, but such changes have to be dismissed as cosmetic.

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[14] The Bonnom coins and the subsequent Barcelona gold issues are discussed in detail in James J. Todesca, "Means of Exchange: Islamic Coinage in Christian Spain, 1000-1200," in Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J, vol. 1, Proceedings From Kalamazoo, ed. Larry J. Simon (Leiden, 1995), 238-49.

The coins must have been intended mainly for the domestic market since their Latin signatures could only serve to make them suspect in trade with Islam.[15]

With the downfall of the Ḥammūdids c.1026, the splintering of al-Andalus into taifa states proceeded rapidly, bringing with it a proliferation in minting. Bonnom's use of a Tujībid coin from Zaragoza as a prototype serves as evidence that Córdoba was quickly losing its preeminence as the main mint of al-Andalus. Taifa coins can be detected in Barcelona by 1029 when documents distinguish between "mancusos veteres de Spania" and "auro novo." In the 1030s, with the caliphate abolished, the most common taifa coins reaching Barcelona were named according to their provenance; mancusos *denescos* from Denia, mancusos *saragencianos* from Zaragoza and mancusos *ceptis* from the North African port of Ceuta (*Sabtah* in

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[15] There are other imitation dinars in Lavoix's catalogue that may be closely contemporary to the Bonnom coins. Two of these are copies of dinars of Hishām II with a cross imposed on one field and so are clearly Christian in origin. In addition, Lavoix published two dinars of Hishām II that he judged to be forgeries based on their poor execution. They carried no Latin markings. His catalogue also contains a counterfeit dinar of 'Alī ibn Ḥammūd (1016-18), al-Qāsim's brother and predecessor, and several unreadable specimens. We can only speculate whether these are Catalan in origin. See Henri Lavoix, Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. 2., Espagne et Afrique (1891; Reprint, Bologna, 1977), 514-17 nos. 1107-14, 520-21 nos. 1122-23; cf. Crusafont, Numismática, 65, 194 nos. 91-92.

Arabic).[16] This last, the mancus of Ceuta, would have the greatest impact on the Catalan economy in the coming decades.

The last Ḥammūdid to rule in Córdoba had been Yaḥyā ibn Ali who was driven from the city in 1026 and returned to Ceuta, the base of his family's power. Besides Ceuta, he also retained Málaga and Algeciras, giving him control of what had long been the most important ports linking Spain to North Africa. The dinars he struck in Ceuta until his death in 1035, therefore, were most likely common on both sides of the strait. They are undoubtedly the mancusos *ceptis* to which the Catalan documents refer. A hoard found in Igualada, slightly west of Barcelona, contained an authentic dinar of Yaḥyā alongside roughly a dozen imitations of the same coin.[17] Similar imitations of Yaḥyā's dinar have surfaced repeatedly in Catalan finds. Unlike Bonnom's coins, these pieces carry no overt sign that they were minted outside Islam. They are generally

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[16] In addition to mancusos *saragencianos*, the term mancusos *almanzoris* may refer to coins of Zaragoza issued by Mundhir II al-Manṣūr (c.1029-c.1038). See Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 378; Wasserstein, Party-Kings, 94.

[17] Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Dinares de Yahyà al-Mu'talí de Ceuta y mancusos barcelonenses hallados en Ōdena (Igualada, Barcelona)," Al-Andalus 11 (1946): 389-94. For Yaḥyā's career and coinage in general see Wasserstein, Caliphate, 59-60, 80-83; Codera, Títulos, 18. See also George C. Miles, Coins of the Spanish Mulūk al-Tawā'if (New York, 1954), 19-20 nos. 69-71.

only betrayed as imitations by their crude style and also by a deficiency in weight.[18]

These imitations of Yaḥyā's coin seem to have been started by a second Barcelonan artisan named Eneas.[19] References to mancusos of Eneas appear in 1037, shortly after Yaḥyā's death. At first the coins were probably struck at close to the full weight of the authentic Muslim piece. A document of 1039 speaks of "two mancusos of gold, one an *amuris* and the other of Eneas, (both) legitimate in weight."[20] Over the next two decades, however, the imitations became lighter. At the same time, they became less associated with Eneas and more identified with the town of Barcelona, perhaps suggesting that they were now struck by several minters there. For example, in 1050, the count of Barcelona, Ramón Berenguer I (1035-76), promised to provide an annual payment of "mancusos of Barcelona

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[18] The total number of catalogued Yaḥyā imitations varies slightly in the published reports. See Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, Anna M.Balaguer, and Ignasi M. Puig i Ferreté, "Els comtats catalans: Les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència," in SNB I, 414-15; Crusafont, Numismática, 180 no. 51; cf. Balaguer, "Primeres conclusions," 311-13. (It is not clear whether these totals incorporated two examples in the American Numismatic Society.) More recently, Balaguer reported that the corpus now includes 43 specimens but gave no details. She added further that in the 1950s a hoard was discovered that reportedly contained 400 specimens of this type. Balaguer, "*Parias*," 518-19. For the distribution of these imitations in various finds see Balaguer, "Troballes i circulació monetària," 91, 107-8.

[19] See Todesca, "Means of Exchange," 244-45.

[20] "(M)ancusos duos de aureo unum amuri et alium de manu Heneas, legitime pensatos." Botet, Les monedes, 45.

gold" to the Count of Urgel.[21] By 1056, these "mancusos of Barcelona" are described in the documents as weighing 10 to the ounce.[22] Their individual weight at this stage, therefore, was around 2.72 grams as opposed to the original dinars of Yaḥyā which weighed close to 4 grams.[23]

The Yaḥyā imitations differ from the earlier work of Bonnom in two important respects. First, Bonnom put his name on his coins in Latin and in one instance identified the mint as Barcelona. The Yaḥyā imitations are devoid of such tell-tale inscriptions. To this extent, they seem to be true counterfeits, intended to circulate in the Islamic world. Secondly, Bonnom also appears to have frequently changed the design of his coins. The 3 coins surviving with his signature are all based on distinct prototypes. The mancus begun by Eneas c.1037 and continued for several decades thereafter adhered to only one prototype, the Ceuta dinar of Yaḥyā ibn Ali. This preservation of a single type suggests that the later imitative mancus was successfully filling a commercial role and that minters in Barcelona

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[21] Lacarra, "Aspectos," 49; Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 380; Botet, Les monedes, 39ff. See also, Alturo, "Notes," 123-24.

[22] "(Q)uinque uncias auri monete Barchinone ... ut decem mancusos sint in unaquaque uncia." Rosell, Liber, 1:396-97 no. 378, 449-50 no. 430, 203-4 no. 192. See also Lacarra, "Aspectos," 65 n. 77; Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 381-82; Botet, Les monedes, 40-41.

[23] The ounce was the Roman ounce of roughly 27.24 grams. 27.24 ÷ 10 = 2.724. For the system of weight in eleventh-century Catalonia and the other Iberian Christian kingdoms, see appendix B.

were unwilling to jeopardize that success by making unnecessary changes in style.

The political splintering of the caliphate into smaller kingdoms naturally affected the economic balance of al-Andalus. The taifas that sprung up along Spain's eastern seaboard were often little more than city-states that relied on maritime trade to survive. Whereas shipping under the caliphate had been restricted to a few main ports, now commercial routes proliferated as these taifas competed with one another.[24] Barcelona's use of a consistent prototype for its mancus must have been linked to the demands of this burgeoning trade. With virtually each taifa striking its own coinage, some dinars were sure to be more widely respected among merchants than others.[25] Yaḥyā had controlled the important triangle formed by the ports of Ceuta, Málaga and Algeciras and his coinage was certainly well known. By immobilizing Yaḥyā's dinar, Eneas was preserving a coin whose reputation was already established. The continued production of this type over the next two decades should have further established its

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[24] Constable, Trade, 32, cf. 16-23; Wasserstein, Party-Kings, 108.

[25] A good example of the variety of gold apt to be found in circulation is the hoard described by Miles in Mulūk al-Ṭawa'if, ix-x, 55. See also the same author's Fatimid Coins in the Collection of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society, (New York, 1951), 3. It is of unknown provenance, but datable to c.1053. Among the identifiable coins were fractional dinars from the taifas of Valencia, Almería, Zaragoza, and Toledo as well as 54 Fatimid pieces, possibly from Sicily.

familiarity along Spain's Mediterranean coast and thus provided Catalan merchants with an acceptable coin to use in trade with neighboring Muslim ports.

The existence of the Barcelona mancus, then, indicates that Catalan merchants were seeking to participate in the trade of the western Mediterranean earlier than is generally recognized.[26] The Barcelonan coins are in fact contemporary to similar imitative issues minted by the Italian towns of Amalfi and Salerno, whose merchants were also Latin pioneers in the trade of the medieval Mediterranean.[27] Nonetheless, the gradual loss in weight

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[26] Two recent books dealing with the Iberian economy in the eleventh century do not adequately account for the mancus of Barcelona. Constable in discussing early contact between the Christian states and al-Andalus in Trade, 47-51, not only fails to account for the arrival of gold in Catalonia before the onset of formal tribute payments but also does not give any weight to the fact that Barcelona was producing an imitative gold piece.

In general, her treatment of the issue is confused. She at one point concludes that the "northern Christian rulers did not mint their own gold until the thirteenth century." This is not only contradicted by the existence of the Barcelona mancus but also by the gold pieces produced by the independent kingdoms of León and Castile in the late-twelfth century, which she mentions several pages later. At other times, she does allude to an imitative dirham of Barcelona by which she seems to mean the imitative dinar.

Stephen P. Bensch in Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096-1291 (Cambridge, 1995), 100-102, sees the mancus only as filling a demand in Barcelona's domestic economy. He does not see the gradual lightening of the coin as caused by the contraction of gold supplies, rather he concludes that the lighter coins were meant to facilate "minor transactions."

[27] Imitative *tari* were struck in Salerno possibly as early as 1012 and in Amalfi perhaps earlier. See Lucia Travaini, "I tarì di Salerno e di Amalfi," Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana 10 (1990): 7-71.

of the Barcelonan mancus, from the early, full-weight issues of Bonnom to the Ceuta imitations which in 1056 weighed about 2.72 gram, indicates that Catalonia's prosperity was beginning to show signs of strain.

The First *Parias*

It is not possible to pinpoint when formal tribute payments began between the taifa princes and the Catalan magnates, but charters of Count Ramón Berenguer I (1035-76) and Count Ermengol III of Urgel (1038-65) show that by 1048 both men expected tribute from Zaragoza and by 1056 Ramón Berenguer was also collecting from the taifa of Lérida.[28] In the meantime, however, the taifa lords could not maintain the sphere of influence in the Maghreb that the Umayyads had achieved. The Ghana gold trade, much of which the Umayyads had managed to channel through Sidjilmasa and on to Córdoba, was now diverted along several other routes, the most prominent running to the Zīrid capital of Qayrawān, near Tunis.[29] With shrinking gold resources, the

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[28] Charles Julian Bishko, "Fernando I and the Origins of the Leonese-Castilian Alliance with Cluny," in his Studies in Medieval Spanish Frontier History (London, 1980), 43; Lacarra, "Aspectos," 49-52.

[29] Claudette Vanacker, "Géographie économique de l'Afrique du Nord selon les auteurs arabes, du IXe siècle au milieu du XIIe siècle," Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations 28 (1973): 660-61, 667; Spufford, Money, 164-65; E.W. Bovill, The Golden Trade of the Moors, 2d ed. (Oxford, 1968), 59. As evidence of Sidjilmasa's decline, see the poor quality dinars published in J.D. Brèthes, Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques (Casablanca, 1939), 103-4. For Zīrid

taifa princes most likely began to debase their gold issues to meet the growing demand for tribute.[30] The subsequent drop in the weight of the Barcelonan mancus would seem to be a consequence of this contraction. Gold coming to Barcelona from the taifas must have been melted and refined to produce a lighter but still relatively pure coin.

Around 1067, an even lighter weight mancus appeared which weighed only 1.95 grams or one-fourteenth of an ounce. It was still modeled after the Ceuta dinar, but the reverse margin now bore the Latin legend RAIMVNDVS COMES in retrograde letters.[31] The early mancusos, associated as they were with the individual artisans Bonnom and Eneas, may have been private initiatives, tolerated or ignored by the state. As the Ceuta imitation became more successful, however, the count seems to have been drawn to take a more active interest. A charter drawn up sometime after 1069, recorded the oath of two minters, Geraldo and Esteban who

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minting, see Harry W. Hazard, The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa (New York, 1952), 54-55, 89-91.

[30] There is as yet no overall study of the fineness of the taifa gold issues. We do know that by the 1070s many of the kingdoms were issuing fractional dinars that had dropped to about eight carats, i.e., 33% fine. (See the discussion of Valencian gold below). It is reasonable to assume that this debasement started gradually some years earlier.

The calculations of Ramón Berenguer's expenditures in Lacarra, "Aspectos," 64, remain a helpful gauge as to how much wealth the Catalan count was extracting from the taifas. His figures assume, however, that ten mancusos always equaled an ounce of gold, a rate only accurate for one stage of the mancus.

[31] See appendix B.

swore that neither they nor any man in their charge would "make another gold coin in the mint of lord Ramon, Count of Barcelona, except that which he shall order done there."[32]

If Ramón Berenguer attempted to obtain exclusive rights to strike gold in Barcelona c.1067, the venture was short lived. References to the mancus of Barcelona become scarce in the sources after his death in 1076. The piece was succeeded by what Catalan documents refer to as "Valencian gold." The term was used collectively to indicate the debased quarter-dinars which Valencia, Denia and other taifa mints were now issuing in place of full dinars. These smaller coins were only about 33 percent fine or less.[33]

For nearly sixty years, Barcelona had been able to maintain a gold coinage in the wake of the caliphate's

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[32] "Juro ego Gerallus (sic) et Stefanus, quod nec ego nec ullus homo, me sciente, non fecerit aliud aurum in ista moneta de domno Raimundo Barchinonensi comite, nisi qualem ipse mandaverit ibi facere." Botet, Les monedes, 202 no. 7. The charter is not dated but is witnessed by Bishop Umberto (1069-85). It might, then, belong to the brief reign of Ramón Berenguer II (1076-82). See Crusafont, Numismática, 52.

[33] There are several finds of these fractional pieces. See P. Ripolles and J. Lopez Gasco, "Un tesorillo de fracciones de dinar hallado en Benicassim," Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología Castellonense 4 (1977): 203-41; A. Bofarul I Comenge, "Tresoret de fraccions de dinar dels regnes de taifes (segle XI)," AN 20.(1990): 111-22. See also the hoard reported by Miles, cited in n. 25 above. Examples of Valencian gold are published with weights and colored plates in Rafael Petit, Nuestras moneda: las cecas valencianas, (Valencia, 1981), 145ff. Regarding the fineness of the coins, see further James J. Todesca, "Money of Account and Circulating Coins in Castile-León c.1085-1300," in PMC III, 275. See also appendix B below.

collapse. How extensively the economy also relied on silver-based coin as a supplement to gold in this period is not clear. Surviving denarii that can be assigned to eleventh-century Barcelona are very rare and the chronology is far less established than current catalogues pretend. Documents do indicate, however, that there were native denarii circulating in Barcelona by the 1020s and certainly by the 1040s.[34]

As the minting of gold in Barcelona became more difficult toward mid-century and finally stopped altogether, the demand for silver denarii probably increased. It is perhaps not coincidence, then, that in 1056 (the year the light weight mancus of 10 to the ounce first appears in the sources) Ramón Berenguer licensed two men to strike an unspecified number of denarii over a two-year period. In 1058, this privilege was renewed for another year. A third contract survives dated 1066 in which the count provided for denarii to be struck over a five year period.[35] Nevertheless, gold remained the standard of value in and around Barcelona toward the close of the century. With the disappearance of the Barcelona mancus, prices continued to be quoted mainly in mancusos of

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[34] Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 387.

[35] The three documents are published in Botet, Les monedes, 200-202 nos. 4-6; cf. María de los Dolores Mateu Ibars, "Relación cronológica de documentos monetales desde 1066 a 1260, del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón," in SNB II, 205. See also, Crusafont, Numismática, 48-50, 53-56.

Valencian gold with the proviso that they could be paid in silver or in kind.[36]

The Town of León in the Early Eleventh Century

Barcelona's success in maintaining a gold currency from roughly 1018 to 1076 can in part be explained by a lack of competition from the western Christian kingdoms. Internecine struggles preoccupied the rulers of León, Castile, Navarre and Aragón in the first half of the century and they were slower than their Catalan contemporaries to exploit the taifa states. Throughout these kingdoms, the gold dinar is wholly absent from charters in the first half of the eleventh century save for occasional mention in penalty clauses.[37]

Still, there are signs of economic growth in the west at this time particularly in the town of León. With the colonization of the Duero valley in the tenth century, León had gradually begun to replace the more northern town of

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[36] See the citations in Alturo, "Notes," 121-24.

[37] See, for example, the archaic use of *talentas* in the penalty clause of a charter issued in 1019 by Alfonso V. Agapito Fernández, "Documentos reales del monasterio de Sant María de Otero de las Dueñas," pt. 1, Archivos Leoneses 5 (1951): 157-8, no 80; cf. a similar use of *talentas* in Blanco, Fernando I, 64-66, no. 11.

For an overview of the documents in León-Castile, see Gautier Dalché, "Histoire monétaire" 43-95 and Departamento, "Circulación," 242-48. For Aragón-Navarre, see Angel J. Martín Duque, "Documentos para el estudio de la numismática navarro-aragonesa medieval," pt. 5, PSANA 11-12 (1958): 95-99 nos. 57-64.

Oviedo as the favored royal residence. Despite the devastation brought by al-Manṣūr at the turn of the millennium, León, like Barcelona, was quickly re-settled in the early decades of the eleventh century and continued to thrive. If Barcelona enjoyed the advantage of being on the Mediterranean coast, León was located directly on the route to Santiago and open to an increasing flow of pilgrim traffic.[38]

The decrees known collectively as the *Fuero* of León were promulgated by Alfonso V (999-1028) between 1017 and 1020. Roughly half of the forty-eight laws addressed the kingdom as a whole, but the remainder were intended to

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[38] An indication of the growing flow of pilgrims along the *camino de Santiago* can be seen in the toll erected at the mountain pass of Valcarce, west of León. Upon reclaiming the throne of León in 1072, Alfonso VI abolished this unpopular post, which he said had existed since the time of his grandparents ("temporibus auorum et parentum"). Most likely it was established by his maternal grandfather, Alfonso V, who ruled to 1028. Alfonso VI's paternal grandfather, Sancho the Great, briefly occupied the town of León, but his rule may not have extended to Valcarce. (Sancho is, however, credited in the twelfth century chronicles in taking an interest in the road to Santiago. He is said to have established a more southern route through Navarre.)

While the extent of the traffic to Santiago had probably grown by Alfonso VI's day, we can nonetheless safely infer that in the days of Alfonso's grandfathers, pilgrims were already passing through Valcarce in enough numbers to prompt the establishment of this strategic toll. For Alfonso VI's charter, see ACL, 4: 425-27 no.1182. For the pass of Valcarce, see Melczer, The Pilgrim's Guide, 86-89, 276, 301-302. For Sancho the Great and the road to Santiago, see Vázquez de Parga, et al. Las peregrinaciones, 2:12-19. For the growth of pilgrim traffic to Santiago in the eleventh century in general see in the same work, 1:47-52.

regulate life in the town of León as it worked to rebuild in the aftermath of al-Manṣūr's attack. These laws, as we have them today, portray an urban population that included coopers, weavers, butchers, bakers and wine dealers, but the earliest surviving manuscript of the *fuero* dates to the twelfth century and portions of it show clear signs of interpolation.[39] Nevertheless, charters preserved in the archives of the cathedral of León and the monastery of Sahagún provide additional glimpses of a growing artisan population in the town during the time of Alfonso V. *Tiendas* or stores are mentioned in charters as early as 950 and a market by 997. By the 1030's, this marketplace had developed into a well-defined section of town, with houses and stores and a zone called the "king's market" where the products of the royal domains were likely sold.[40]

While the surviving charters from León do not provide an abundance of detail concerning daily life in the town, they do attest to a steady rhythm of buying and trading

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[39] Luis García de Valdeavellano et al., El Fuero de León: Commentarios (León, 1983), 9-16; Gautier Dalché, Historia Urbana, 51-52.

[40] See the transaction dated 1037 involving "kasas nostras proprias que abemus hic in Legione, in Mercato." Also the sale two years later of "tenda mea propria quem abeo in civis Legionis, foris murum, per locis et terminus suis: prima parte tenda de Sancti Pelagii, de secunda terminu karraria qui discurrit ad Mercato, de tercia parte affiget in Merkato de rege." ACL, 4:69-70 no. 948, 128-29 no. 982. See further the discussion in Carlos Estepa Díez, Estructura social de la ciudad de León (siglos XI-XIII) (León, 1977), 121-23, 373-78, though he does not account for the above sale of 1037.

property. In describing such sales, these early eleventh-century charters also employ a new terminology; they at times refer to payments made not simply in solidi argenti but in solidi argenti rendered by weight. One of the earliest references to this manner of transaction is a sale dated 1010, where five people sold a mill and related property for the "price of 5 solidi of silver which were weighed on a scale (*pondere pensato*) in the presence of many people."[41] In 1022, the monks of Sahagún sold property for 45 solidi argenti *pondere pensato*, though their transaction was not said to be publicly witnessed.[42]

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[41] "(I)n pretio V argenteis solidos et fuerunt in pondere pesatos coram multitudine." The document survives in the *Tumbo* of León. See ACL, 3:234-5 no. 688. (Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 310 n. 35, read the price as 10 solidi.) There is an earlier sale in the *Tumbo* dated 958 which speaks of "argento pondere pensa(to)," but this is so far removed chronologically from the other charters using the phrase that the date should be suspect. If not a forgery, it was perhaps interpolated by a later copyist. See ACL, 2:79-80 no. 308.

It is helpful to note that *pondere* is not an infinitive but rather the ablative of the noun *pondus*. *Pondus* could be translated as pound so that *pondere pensato* would mean "weighed by the pound." Given the context, however, it seems more likely that *pondus* signified a balance or scale. This is evident in a document from the Rioja region dated 1071 where an annual *census* was set at "LXX solidos argenti de pondere Alavensi" which can only mean the solidi were to be reckoned on the public scales of Alava. See Angel J. Martín Duque ed. Documentación medieval de Leire (siglos IX-XII) (Pamplona, 1983), 141-43 no. 43. See also Niermeyer, Lexicon Minus, s.v. "pondus."

[42] Sahagún, 2:57-58 no. 410. Though it does not mention weighing silver, a charter of 1002 confirms that purchases were sometimes witnesssed publicly. Bishop Froilán of León, in listing properties he was donating to his church, included "in Valle de Aliere hereditatem quos emi de fratres de Ellanes precio publico emto." ACL, 3:162-65 no. 629.

By the 1030s, references to payment made in silver qualified as *pondere pensato* become fairly common in charters from in and around León for roughly the next thirty years.[43]

To properly understand these transactions, it is important to realize that at some point, perhaps in the course of the tenth century, a solidus of weight had developed in the Latin Iberian states, both in the Catalan lands and in the more western kingdoms. This solidus of weight should not be confused with the solidus of account of 12 denarii. Because the process of minting involved taking bulk weights of metal and producing a certain number of coins, units of weight and units of account often shared the same names. Under the Carolingian system, for instance, the account pound of 240 denarii bore no practical relation to the unit of weight called a pound. By the mid-eleventh century in Latin Spain, it is clear that the solidus of weight was a measure of roughly 15.56

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[43] There are variants of the phrase, e.g., "argenti pondo pensante" or "adcepimus de vobis pondere pensai pensatus solidos VIIII de arientos." The latest use of the formula that I have found is a sale of 1063. See ACL, 4:3-4 no. 896, 179-180 no. 1013, 35-6 no. 922, 341-2 no. 1125 and passim.

Pondere pensato is also used in a sale between the Countess Teresa and Bishop Miro of Palencia dated 1056. The phrase, however, does not seem to have been employed widely throughout the kingdom. See Teresa Abajo Martín, ed., Documentación de la catedral de Palencia (1035-1247) (Burgos, 1986), 21-3 no. 8. Cf. the documents collected by Ubieto Arteta in San Millán, passim, which often cite the solidus argenti but do not specify that it was weighed.

grams, subdivided into 8 argenti of roughly 1.95 grams. This argentus was strictly a unit of weight. There was no Christian or Islamic silver coin circulating in the peninsula that corresponded to 1.95 grams.[44]

In testaments and pious bequests of the late-tenth and eleventh centuries, the solidus of weight was frequently used to describe sundry artifacts, such as the will of 1042 which included a "silver crucifix weighing 400 solidi (and) a silver candelabra of 50 solidi." [45] It is possible, then, that the purchases from León that were conducted by weight of silver involved plate and not coin. None of the documents using the *pondere pensato* formula, however, mention such miscellaneous artifacts changing hands. On the contrary, one of these charters implies that the silver in question was coin.

In 1044, Vellite Eilániz settled a debt with Sancha, described as a countess and nun of Christ. Vellite had stood surety for her sister who had been an oblate at Sancha's convent. Now that the sister had fled with a married man, Vellite was required to pay the surety specified as "numero argenti pondo pensante XXXª solidos."

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[44] See appendix B below. For the general weight standard of Umayyad dirhams, see appendix A below.

[45] See the will of doña Fronilde Peláez dated 1042: "Item ministeria de ecclesia crux argentea una pesante CCCC solidos, kandelabrum argenteum de d solidos, corona argentea de solidos C XX, capsa argentea C Lª solidos, calicem argenteum de solidos LXª at alio kalice argenteo de XX solidos." ACL, 4:161-64 no. 1003.

She could not raise this sum, however, and so bequeathed land. Nonetheless, the phrase "numero argenti" implies that Sancha had expected Vellite to pay "a number of silver (coins) weighed on the scale to 30 solidi."[46] It seems likely, therefore, that the sales that were said to be conducted *pondere pensato* involved at least some coin. But, what money was it and why was it weighed out?

At this time, Sancho the Great (1004-35) of Navarre-Aragón dominated the political stage of western Spain. Toward the end of his life, he annexed the county of Castile and briefly occupied the town of León. He has often been considered a likely author of some of the anonymous imperial coins that survive today, especially a

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46 The document survives not only in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral of León but also in a parchment in Visigothic script that Ruiz Ascencio, in ACL, 4:179-80 no. 1013, took to be an original. The use of *numero* implies coin, i.e., silver that could be counted, even though the sum was ultimately suppose to be weighed. Since classical times *numerare* was associated with coins, so much so that *numeratum* became synonymous with cash or money and the *nummus* was an individual coin. See Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary, s.v., "numeratum," "nummus"; cf. Niermeyer, Lexicon Minus, s.v. "nummata," "nummus." See also Bisson, Conservation, 175 n. 1 and 2.

In the Catalan documentation the mancus was occasionally referred to in a similar fashion. See, "XL uncias auri Barchinonesi de mancusis numeratis" (Rosell, Liber, 1:180-81 no. 171); "monete Barchinone ad numerum" and "a numero monete Barchinone qui penset unumquemque mancuso uno argenti" (Botet, Les monedes, 40, cf. 56.). In León-Castile, see the later agreement of 1090 where Pedro Múniz stood surety for the actions of Xabe Vélaz; "pariem ego iam dictus XXXª solidos numero regis pacatos." (ACL, 4:538 no. 1249.) *Nummo* or *nummus* also appears occasionally in Leonese charters of the twelfth century. See chapter 4 below.

unique type that reads IMPERATOR/NAJERA in place of the more usual allusion to *Imperator Leonis*.[47] Without reliable documentary evidence, however, there is no way to be certain that Sancho minted.[48] If denarii were struck in León, either by Sancho or Vermudo III (1028-37), whom Sancho temporarily dethroned, we can expect that it was on a limited basis. Probably any minting under these rulers

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[47] The type survives in 1 specimen in the collection of the MAN. I have not seen the coin, but its reported weight is 1.59 grams, which would argue in favor of it being an early issue. Charlemagne's reformed denarius weighed 1.7 grams but typically weights dropped in the tenth and eleventh century. (See Spufford, Money, 101-105) By the late eleventh century, Alfonso VI's coins were about 1 gram. (See chapter 3 below.)

On the IMPERATOR/NAJERA piece, see Miguel Crusafont i Sabater and Anna M.Balaguer, "La numismática navarro-aragonesa alto medieval: Nueva hipotesis," GN 81 (1986): 35-66; Beltrán, "Fernando I," 586-88; cf. Octavio Gil Farrés, "Consideraciones acerca de las primitivas cecas navarras y aragonesas," NH 4 (1955): 5-36 and Octavio Gil Farrés, Historia de la moneda española, 2d ed. (Madrid, 1976), 257-60.

[48] There is no reliable contemporary evidence that Sancho used the imperial title. There is a document in the archives of San Millán de Cogolla describing the translation of the body of San Millán, in which Sancho purportedly uses the title "gratia Dei Ispaniarum rex." But, the San Millan archives are notorious for their forgeries and the earliest copy of this particular document is mid-twelfth century. See Ubieto, San Millán, 193-94 no.193. (Beltrán, "Fernando I," 588, accepted the document.)

Neither is there any direct documentary evidence that Sancho struck coin. There is a document preserved in the cathedral archives of Palencia that claims to be Sancho's restoration of the see c.1034. In it, he grants the cathedral the right to a tenth of *moneta*. The document is almost certainly a forgery as are the separate confirmations of the act by Fernando I in 1059 and Alfonso VI in 1090. See the discussion under Palencia in chapter 7 below.

was farmed out to artisans on an ad hoc basis as Ramón Berenguer I did in Barcelona.

Furthermore, it seems safe to assume that, if they minted, neither Vermudo or Sancho possessed the machinery necessary to prohibit the circulation of foreign currency in the realm. The amount of denarii entering León-Castile from the Catalan lands and Europe beyond the Pyrenees had probably increased over the course of the tenth century as the popularity of the cult of St. James grew.[49] Still, there is no obvious reason why foreign denarii would be weighed out rather than counted. In all likelihood, the purchases by weight in the Leonese documents reflect an influx of dirhams from al-Andalus. In the Islamic world, the weight of individual coins normally was not strictly controlled at the mint which probably made transactions by weight rather than tale more common.[50]

The bulk of the Muslim coin that flowed to Catalonia in the early eleventh century as a result of the decline of the caliphate was clearly in gold dinars. Nonetheless, the Catalan sources in those years also refer to a solidi argenti *kazimi* from *Spania* or al-Andalus, which could only

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[49] See the finds discussed in chapter 1 n. 58 and n. 78. In general, the quantity of denarii struck in western Europe increased in the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries. This growth was fueled in part by the discovery of the Goslar silver mines in the 960s. See Spufford's chapter "Saxon Silver and the Expansion of Minting," in Money, 74-105.

[50] See appendix B, below.

be a solidi comprised of dirhams rather than denarii. An examination of the Catalan documents demonstrates that this solidus argenti of dirhams most likely was not reckoned by weight.[51] While the charters from León which record transactions *pondere pensato* do not use the term solidi argenti kazimi, it seems likely that they involved dirhams.[52]

In the course of the eleventh century, the gold dinar became an integral part of the Catalan economy. It was used domestically and seemingly also for foreign trade. When the taifa issues began to fail, the town of Barcelona attempted to maintain its own gold currency. Like Barcelona, the Italian towns of Amalfi and Salerno also struck imitations of Islamic gold, demonstrating that gold was the preferred species in western Mediterranean trade.[53]

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[51] See appendix A for the origin of the term *kazimi* and its appearance in the Latin documents in general. See appendix B for how the dirham was reckoned in Catalan purchases.

[52] While the Leonese and Castilians did not establish the same level of commerce with al-Andalus that Barcelona was able to achieve in the early-eleventh century, there was still contact between León-Castile and the south. For example, when Ibn 'Idhārī tells of the Catalan mercenaries who came to Córdoba in 1010 to assist the caliph al-Mahdī, he also informs us that several months earlier the count of Castile had led an expedition to Córdoba in support of the Berbers rebelling against al-Mahdī. The Castilian demand, however, was not for gold but for the return of fortresses taken by al-Manṣūr. See above, n 8.

[53] Finds of Fatimid gold in Spain emphasize the international character of this Western Mediterranean market. See the hoard reported by Miles cited in n. 25 above; cf. the hoard of dinars interred c.1042 which contained Fatimid and "Moroccan" gold, reported by Joaquín

In contrast to the use of gold in the Mediterranean, dinars were clearly excluded from contemporary trade between al-Andalus and northern Europe. Hoards from Germany and Scandinavia and England plainly show that large amounts of silver dirhams flowed northward from al-Andalus in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, most likely in exchange for slaves and furs, but gold dinars are entirely absent from these finds.[54]

The northern European monetary economy was based on silver. As a result, gold at this juncture was perhaps undervalued there in comparison to it strength in the Mediterranean. If this was true, Andalusian merchants would naturally have been inclined to use silver in trade with the northern Europe and reserve gold for use in the Mediterranean. Likewise, in León-Castile, which was shut off from the Mediterranean, gold may have been undervalued. Consequently, what coin León-Castile did attract from al-Andalus in the early eleventh century may have been mainly in silver dirhams. It is possible that some of the commerce between al-Andalus and northern Europe in fact,

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María de Navascués, "Tesoro arabe de la calle de Cruz Conde, Córdoba," NH 10 (1961): 170-73. Fatimid silver also surfaces in Iberian finds. See Joaquín María de Navascués, "Tesorillo de monedas de plata del califato cordobés y fatimíes," NH 7 (1958): 207-10. Also see "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 4, 253 and the Menorca hoard in "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 12, 135-36, no. 777.

[54] For the hoard evidence, see appendix A, n. 21 below. For the importation of slaves and furs to Andalusia from the north, see Constablle, Trade, 198-99, 203-208.

passed through León-Castile. Nightingale pointed out that the anonymous geographer who composed the *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* around 982 referred "tantalizingly to Britain as an emporium or bridge between Christian Europe and Muslim Spain."[55] While al-Andalus merchants could have sailed directly to England, an alternative route may have involved Leonese merchants as middlemen. Certainly by the opening of the twelfth century, commercial ties between León and England were well established.[56]

Silver coin, however, was still not abundant in León in these decades. In the above agreement between Vellite and the nun Sancha, the surety was supposed to be paid in silver but Sancha in the end accepted land in recompense.

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[55] Pamela Nightingale, "The London Pepperers' Guild and Some Twelfth-Century English Trading Links with Spain," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Reserach 55 (1985): 128-29; Ḥudūd al-'ālam: "The Regions of the World," A Persian Geography, trans. V. Minorsky (London, 1970), 158; cf. Constable, Trade, 42.

[56] The trade between northern Europe and al-Andalus is in need of further study. Constable, Trade, 41, ignores that there were two chronological periods in which dirhams from Andalusia reached northern Europe. During the late-eighth and early-ninth centuries, Andalusian dirhams were drawn to the near East and upward through the Ukraine to central and northern Europe. For the late-tenth century, hoard evidence shows the emergence of a second route. As Noonan pointed out, hoard finds indicate this later commerce was by a "very different route." (Noonan, "Dirhams," 84-86) While part of this later trade may have been through central Europe, it is clear that there was also a route along the Atlantic seaboard. There are several reports of Vikings reaching Asturias in the eleventh century, which may be another side of the same maritime link. (Fletcher, Catapult, 23.) For later commercial contacts between the kingdom of León, England and northern Europe, see chapter 4 below.

Likewise, in 1033, two brothers gave the monastery of San Salvador de Matallana a piece of property to amend a wrong committed against the house. They were originally supposed to pay the house 100 solidi in silver.[57] In a similar act dated 1037, Feles Teudemíriz transferred to Juan Pépiz the houses he owned near the marketplace because he could not raise the 26 solidi *pondere pensato.*[58] Still, while these examples show that payment in-kind was not uncommon, they also indicate that silver was becoming a preferred if not expected means of payment.

By mid-century, the solidus argenti was the main standard of value in León by which almost all other transactions were assessed. The agrarian values of the modius and ox, while still used in other parts of the kingdom as standards, were no longer employed here.[59] While León in these decades did not share in the gold boom of Barcelona, it had without doubt been propelled toward a

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57 "(I)n precio de centum solidos que non abuimus unde dare." ACL, 4:23-4 no. 912.

58 "Damus tibi ipsas kasas pro argento que abuimus tibi a dare solidos xx vi, pondere pensatos, et non potuimus invenire ipso argento, et pro id damus tibi kasas." ACL, 4:69-70 no. 948. Outside León, in Burgos, an act of 1027 records that Countess Urraca received land "pro illos dc solidos aurienzos (sic) que abuimus ad pariare." José Manuel Garrido Garrido, ed., Documentación de la catedral de Burgos (804-1222) (Burgos, 1983), 1:33 no. 13.

59 The *modius* was used into the twelfth century. In the 1120s, the monks of Santa María del Puerto in Santoña still assessed the value of a cow at between four and six *modii*. Pastor de Togneri, "Ganadería," 43. For the continued use of the ox, see Departamento, "Circulación," 246, table 6.

more monetized economy. Under the rule of Fernando I (1035-65), this process accelerated.

The *Parias* and the Western Kingdoms

Fernando I of León-Castile was the son of the Navarrese ruler Sancho the Great, who had installed him as king in Castile. Upon Sancho's death, Vermudo III reclaimed the throne of León and sought to take Castile from Fernando. The issue was decided at the battle of Tamarón in 1037. Vermudo was killed and Fernando became king of a reunited León-Castile. By the 1060s, after two and a half decades on the throne, Fernando emerged as one the strongest of the Christian rulers in the peninsula and began a series of successful campaigns against the taifas.

According to later chronicles, at the time of his death Fernando was due annual tribute from Toledo, Seville, Zaragoza and Badajoz, yet how consistently he or his son Alfonso VI (1065-1109) procured these payments cannot be determined.[60] We do know that Alfonso added tribute from Granada. The ruler of that kingdom, 'Abd Allāh (1073-90),

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[60] The anonymous *Historia Silense*, composed during the reign of Alfonso VI, reports that Toledo and Seville paid Fernando I tribute as a result of his campaigns in the 1060s. See Pérez de Urbel, Silense, 197-98. The brief *Chronicon Compostellanum*, apparently composed in the early years of Alfonso VII (1126-57), adds Badajoz and Zaragoza to the list of Fernando's clients and claims that all four taifas rendered tribute annually. See Flórez, "Chronicon Compostellanum," 609. See also, Bernard F. Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castilla Under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109 (Princeton, 1988), xv, 7-13.

provides in his memoirs one of the few explicit indications of the amounts involved in these *parias*. According to his testimony, he was forced to pay Alfonso 30,000 dinars to conclude peace c.1075 and promised 10,000 more per annum.[61]

A measure of León's new wealth can be seen in Fernando's pledge of 1,000 dinars annually to Cluny, a sum later doubled by Alfonso.[62] Yet, despite the collection of these *parias*, there is little evidence of gold circulating within León-Castile itself. No document of Fernando survives which shows him using dinars in domestic gifts or purchases and the same seems to be true for Alfonso's reign.[63] To an extent, we can attribute this to the scant

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[61] 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 91-92. Bishko's conclusion that Fernando could expect "some 30,000 or more dinars a year" is little more than a guess, though not an unreasonable one. It is apparently based on the 10,000 dinars per annum figure of 'Abd Allāh and the 12,000 per annum later promised to Sancho of Navarre (see discussion below). Bishko must have concluded that if Fernando received at least three of the four *parias* assigned to him in the chronicles, at 10,000 each, he would receive 30,000 annually. See Bishko, "Fernando I," 42-53. MacKay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 25, raised the amount to 40,000. More recently, Bernard F. Reilly in The Contest of Christian and Muslim Spain, 1031-1157 (Cambridge, 1992), 58-59, suggested that Alfonso VI may have received 70,000 to 100,000 dinars annually, which is almost certainly too high an estimate. See the more cautious treatment by Grassotti, "Botín," 51-55. Balaguer in "*Parias*," 514-24, 531-33, also attempted to quantify the total amount flowing to all the Christian princes, but admitted the results were tenuous.

[62] Alfonso doubled the Cluny *census* in 1077, shortly after his agreement with Granada. While payment lapsed temporarily, he was able to send 10,000 dinars of arrears c.1088. Bishko, "Fernando I," 27-39, 46-48; see also chapter 3.

[63] Fernando's documents are collected in Blanco, Fernando I. The documents of Alfonso VI have not been

preservation of Leonese royal documents. (Our knowledge of events in Barcelona, by contrast, owes much to the existence of the royal cartulary called the *Liber Feodorum*.[64]) The chronicle known as the *Historia Silense*, however, claims that Fernando generously endowed the churches and monasteries of his kingdom with Muslim booty and presumably the lay aristocracy also shared in this wealth.[65] Yet, there is no lack of private charters recording monastic and aristocratic land acquisitions in this period and these, like the royal documents, reveal almost no sign of the dinar in active circulation. Only later in Alfonso VI's reign does gold begin to surface sporadically in wills or religious bequests that list "aurum" among the donor's wealth, though usually without specifying whether the gold was in coin.[66] Occasionally, however, these documents do refer to mencales, the term

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similarly edited, but to my knowledge there is no act of his involving gold coin other than his payments to Cluny.

[64] Ramón Berenguer had used his gold income to purchase castles and rights that helped build his hegemony in Catalonia. The *Liber Feudorum*, compiled by Alfonso II (1162-96) of Aragón-Catalonia in the late twelfth century carefully preserved the documents that proved these rights. Our records of the acts of Fernando I and Alfonso VI, on the other hand, tend to be limited to donations and confirmations of rights that they made to their subjects which were subsequently preserved by the recipients. Charters recording purchases by the crown would likely be saved by no other party but the crown. On the *Liber Feodorum*, see Bisson, Crown of Aragón, 50-51; cf. Blanco, Fernando I, 15-18.

[65] Pérez de Urbel, Silense, 205-6, cf. 190.

[66] See Sahagún, 3:20-21 no. 744, 75-76 no. 785, 85-86 no. 794, 389-93 no. 1049, 203-4 no. 888, 443-45 no. 1093.

used in León for the dinar which derived from the Arabic *mithqāl*.[67]

If the kings of León-Castile were the recipients of so much tribute, why was gold scarcely used in the domestic economy?[68] Two treaties between Sancho IV of Navarre (1054-76) and al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza (c.1049-c.1083) help shed light on the paradox. Besides 'Abd Allāh's testimony, these treaties are the only direct record we have of a

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[67] Two exceptional documents that mention the mencal are the wills of Count Gonzalo Salvadórez and Count Pedro Ansúrez. Gonzalo's bequest to the monastery of Oña in 1082 survives only in a copy, probably of the twelfth century. It was published by Juan del Alamo, Colección diplomática de San Salvador de Oña (822-1284) (Madrid, 1950), 1:113-14 no. 77, with reference to a sum of 1600 "morabetinos." The morabetino or the Almoravid dinar, however, would not have been common in Iberia in 1082. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, in La España del Cid, 5th ed. (Madrid, 1956), 1:739, was surely correct in suggesting that the original will had read "mtis" as an abbreviation for *metcalis* not morabetinos. A few years later, Pedro Ansúrez left 300 "metkales de auro" to the church of León. See ACL, 4:557-59 no. 1262. On this document, see further chapter 9, n. 76.

Two examples of the mencal used in actual transactions can be found in the documents from Sahagún. A transfer of land dated 1076 required "ad confirmanda kartula ista xxx° emetkales de oro." A bequest of 1103 included "una mula comparet de D metkales." Sahagún, 3:21-22 no. 745, 452-53 no. 1099.

[68] The discrepancy has engendered only vague explanations. Lacarra advanced the idea that the gold stayed mainly in the hands of the aristocracy who used it for expenses in war and to purchase luxury items from Andalusia. (Lacarra, "Aspectos," 74-75.) But war investment and trade with al-Andalus both imply that the coins should have trickled into local circulation. Despite this, Pastor de Togneri in "Ganadería y precios," 53-55, adopted a similar conclusion. Cf. Glick, Islamic and Christian Spain, 127-28. More recently, Richard A. Fletcher in The Quest for El Cid (New York, 1990), 70-71, simply assumed that gold freely circulated despite its absence in the documentation.

tribute accord between a Christian lord and his Muslim client in this era. In the first, dated 1069, al-Muqtadir agreed to pay Sancho 12,000 dinars per annum, a sum comparable to what 'Abd Allāh paid Alfonso. The alliance, however, soon broke down and had to be renewed in a second document of 1073. On this occasion, the same annual tribute in dinars was agreed upon, but Sancho now added a protective measure. He reserved the right to refuse the gold offered him if the quality did not please him and demand payment in silver at a specified rate per dinar.[69]

Sancho's suspicion regarding payment in gold was not unfounded. By mid-century, the taifas were most likely already beginning to debase their coinage to compensate for the steady loss of gold to Catalonia. The added demands of the western kingdoms for tribute in the second half of the century now must have rapidly depleted al-Andalus' gold resources. The failure of the Barcelonan mancus after 1076 is a clear indication of this crisis. With the increased competition, the town could no longer procure enough good gold to make minting profitable. Like the "Valencian"

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[69] "Convenit Almuctadir . . . per singulos annos dare regi domino Sancio duodecim milia mancusos auri obtimi, ita ut si regi placuerit accipere aurum accipiat, si enim plus sibi placuerit accipere argentum pro unoquoque mancuso auri accipiat rex VII solidos argenti de moneta de Cesaraugusta." Both texts were published by José María Lacarra, "Dos tratados de paz y alianza entre Sancho el de Peñalen y Moctadir de Zaragoza (1069 y 1073)," in Colonización, parias, repoblación y otros estudios, 92-94. The second treaty is discussed further in appendix B.

pieces that replaced the Barcelonan mancus, the gold struck by many of the taifas in the last quarter of the eleventh century was unmistakably poor and scarce.[70] 'Abd Allāh had been so worried about depleting his gold stock that he attempted to pay Alfonso VI partially in "mattresses, garments and vessels."[71] By stipulating in advance that he required silver if suitable gold was not found, Sancho of Navarre was depriving al-Muqtadir of the opportunity to offer similar tribute.[72]

The most important aspect of Sancho's second treaty is that the tribute was still conceived of as 12,000 dinars even though it may be paid in silver dirhams. Here lies the source of confusion in evaluating the impact of the *parias* in the western kingdoms; the dinar was serving as a

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[70] According to Dozy, there are two accounts in Arabic sources of al-Mu'tamid of Seville making payment to the Christians in dinars of poor alloy. In the first, the king was said to pay Ramón Berenguer II 30,000 debased dinars as ransom for his son c.1078. In the second, a court poet reported that Castilian envoys dared to complain about the poor alloy of the dinars offered them c.1082. Reinhart Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne jusqu'à la conquête de l'Andalousie par les Almoravides (711-1110) (1861; Reprint, ed., Évariste Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1932), 3:book 4, 107, 119. See also, Lacarra, "Aspectos," 55; Balaguer, "*Parias*," 521; Grassotti, "Botín," 57-58; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 163-64.

[71] 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 91. For other examples of *parias* paid in-kind, see Balaguer, "*Parias*," 524.

[72] A similar concern with the quality of tribute might be seen in Alfonso VI's negotiations with al-Qādir between 1075 and 1085. According to 'Abd Allāh, one of Alfonso's conditions for reinstating al-Qādir in Toledo, was that the Muslim prince purchase a fortress near Toledo from Alfonso for 150,000 "*mithqāls* of good alloy." 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 93.

unit of account for silver. When 'Abd Allāh spoke of the sums of mencales or dinars that he paid Alfonso of León, he did not necessarily mean that they were always rendered in gold. In referring to a large payment of arrears he was forced to pay Alfonso c.1089, the Granadan king explained that he dared not ask his subjects for help, so he sent the 30,000 dinars "without causing anyone to lose a single dirham."[73] The reality then behind the tribute payments of the second half of the century is that they were at best paid in debased gold. More frequently, they were probably made up of a mixture of poor dinars, silver dirhams and at times other goods. Therefore, while the kings of León-Castile, and to a lesser extent Aragón and Navarre, prospered in the late eleventh century, their real intake in gold was not as large as has often been assumed. They had in fact missed the gold boom that Barcelona and the other Catalan counties earlier enjoyed.

The Leonese Domestic Economy Under Fernando I

What gold the monarchs of León-Castile, Aragón and Navarre did receive in the eleventh century probably was used sparingly. Fernando had promised 1,000 dinars

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[73] 'Abd Allāh refers directly to dinars of dirhams in discussing the revenues of Guadix. Later, he employs the concept again in discussing the siege of the same town. He reports that the effort required 6 treasure chests of dirhams, each chest being the equivalent of 1,000,000 dinars. Ibid., 61, 76-77, 132.

annually to Cluny. From what we know of these payments during the reign of his son, they do seem to have been rendered in gold when actually paid.[74] Gold was not only more convenient for international payments (it was less bulky and so easier to transport safely), but it probably added to the prestige of the Spanish kingdoms as they formed closer ties with Christian Europe. It is apparent from documentary sources that Sancho Ramírez of Aragón-Navarre (1063-94) minted his own gold pieces for the expressed purpose of paying an annual tribute of 500 mancusos to Rome.[75] Gold that trickled down from these rulers to their native church and aristocracy was probably hoarded, and hence surfaces mainly in wills and pious donations, or was used for ornamental purposes.[76] Bishop Pelayo of León (1063-c.1087), in composing a detailed list of items that he was leaving to the church in 1073, recalled that he had received gold from the *Infanta* Urraca with which he adorned one wooden cross and made another of gold.[77]

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[74] Bishko, "Fernando I," 36-37.

[75] Balaguer, "Influence," 323-24.

[76] Gold at this level was also prone to be drawn out of the kingdom. The monastery of Oña, for example, was required to pay 1 ounce of gold per annum to Rome. See del Alamo, Oña, 1:131 no. 104. See also Lacarra's discussion of pious donations paid in gold to Rome and monastic houses in France in "Aspectos," 67-68.

[77] ACL, 4: 439-47 no. 1190. Pelayo also mentions a cloak and shawl both adorned with gold. Similar cloaks appear as gifts in at least two charters of Fernando and one of Alfonso VI. See, Blanco, Fernando I, 64-66 no. 11, 124-26, no. 41, 129-32, nos. 43 and 44; Eduardo de

Fernando's contemporaries frequently chose to endow their bishoprics with shares from Muslim tribute. For example, in 1048, Ermengol of Urgel granted the see of Urgel a tenth of all the *parias* he received "from parts of Spain". The same year, Ramón Berenguer assigned the church of San Pedro of Vich a tenth of the tribute paid to him from Zaragoza. In 1052, Fernando's brother, García of Navarre (1035-1054) gave the abbey of Santa María de Nájera a tenth of the "*parias* or tribute" he received from the "land of the Saracens." Likewise, Fernando's other brother, Ramiro I of Aragón (1035-1063), promised the see of Jaca a third part of a tenth of his tribute from Zaragoza and Tudela.[78] These gifts were essentially tithes. They carried the obvious advantage that the prince was not bound to guarantee his church a fixed amount. If he failed to collect payments from a Muslim lord, the church's income would suffer proportionately. This type of endowment also did not guarantee the kind of payment the church would receive. It could be gold, silver or items in-kind.

The only example we have of Fernando providing a see with an annual endowment is distinct from these

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Hinojosa, Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de León y de Castilla (siglos X-XIII) (Madrid, 1919), 28 no. 17. See also the chasuble woven in gold sent by Santiago to Rome in 1120, discussed in Fletcher, Catapult, 205.

[78] Lacarra, "Aspectos," 48-51; Bishko, "Fernando," 42-45.

arrangements. After Fernando's death, Bishop Pelayo of León drew up a charter in 1074 in which he provided 30 solidi argenti per annum for the purpose of keeping the altars of his church lit. He explained that this was to be funded from the bishop's portion of "500 solidi of excellent silver" that Fernando had assigned to his see from a *census* paid by the Jewish community of the city.[79] Pelayo explained that this donation took place during the episcopacy of his predecessor Alvito (1057-1063), or relatively late in Fernando's reign, and that 300 of the solidi were for the bishop's use and 200 for the clergy of the see. Whether the 500 solidi represented the entire Jewish *census* or just a portion of a larger payment to the crown is not clear.[80]

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[79] "(Q)uingentes (*sic*) solidos argenti probatissimi de censu Iudeorum." The document survives in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral. (ACL, 4:450-52 no. 1193.) This charter is dated exactly one year later then Pelayo's inventory of goods cited above in n. 74. If one of the documents is not misdated and the two acts were actually done a year to the day apart, they support the theory that the medieval fiscal year generally came to an end on Martinmas, November 11. (See chapter 8, n.- below.) Pelayo's charter does not specify that the *census* was from the *judería* of the city, but a later charter of 1120 makes this clear. See below, n. 81.

[80] Fernando's original grant of 500 solidi to the bishop does not survive. The earliest reference to the gift seems to be in a private charter dated 1065. It is also mentioned twice by Pelayo's successors, in documents of 1092 and 1120. Blanco, Fernando I, 197 no. 83; ACL, 4:563-5 no. 1265; ACL, 5:90-93 no. 1368. See also, Estepa, Estructura, 166. Bishko in "Fernando," 28, inexplicably concluded that the king's original grant was done in 1049, a date inconsistent with Pelayo's testimony.

Rather than granting a percentage of tribute payment from al-Andalus, Fernando had guaranteed the see of León 500 solidi of "excellent" silver annually from a domestic source. This might imply that Fernando was consciously directing silver into the local economy and allowing the crown the option of retaining whatever gold came in by way of paria payments. More importantly, however, the arrangement sheds light, faint though it may be, on the vitality of the local economy.

The see's income of 500 solidi based on the Jewish census was evidently reliable. Almost ten years after Fernando's death, Pelayo still considered the income steady enough to budget around. Therefore, we have testimony that every year the Jewish community prospered enough to pay the crown at least 500 solidi argenti. These 500 solidi were in turn given to the cathedral and divided between bishop and clergy. From the bishop's portion, Pelayo was able to earmark smaller portions however he saw fit. The 30 solidi allotted for keeping the altars lit obviously was used to purchase supplies and perhaps even pay someone to see to the task. It is hard to accept that this whole chain of payment was feasible without the aid of some form of regulated currency, i.e., a native coinage.

We can only note further that the custom of weighing silver for purchases in León appears to have become less frequent in the second half of the century. The use of the *pondere pensato* formula in charters dies out after roughly

1040 which may indicate that the silver coin found in circulation was becoming more homogenous and more likely to be accepted by tale. While the crown under Fernando I probably still could not effectively prevent foreign coin from circulating in the realm, the king at least may have been able to establish his own coin as the predominant one within the environs of León. Still, there is no reliable evidence which can confirm that Fernando had coins struck.

The Solitary Denarius of Fernando I

In terms of numismatic evidence pertaining to minting under Fernando I, we are confronted with the existence of a single coin type that is perhaps more troublesome than it is helpful. The obverse of the coin displays a plain, equilateral cross surrounded by the legend FERNAND REX. The reverse portrays an uncrowned bust facing front with the legend SPANIA. The type is known from a single specimen that was first brought to light by José Luis Los Arcos Elío. It was the coin's reference to "Rex Spania" that convinced Los Arcos, Beltrán and others that the coin was an issue of Fernando I.[81]

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[81] The piece was presented at an international numismatic exposition held in Madrid around 1950. See Los Arcos Elío, "Una moneda atribuida a Fernando I," 228-29. Octavio Gil Farrés added no further details about the coin in his review of Los Arcos Elío in NH 1 (1952), 327, nor did Beltrán in "Fernando I," 590. I have been unable to determine what ultimately became of the coin. The original sketch that Los Arcos Elío published of it remains the basis for illustrations used in current catalogues. See, for example, Fernando Alvarez Burgos, Vicente Ramón

It would not be surprising to find Fernando I claiming hegemony in the peninsula since he was one of the more powerful of the Christian princes. Yet, as with his father Sancho the Great, there is no clear evidence that Fernando ever made such claims in his diplomatic. He is listed as "of the Spains" in the obit commemorations of Cluny as described in the *Consuetudines* of Bernard of Cluny. Bishko, however, argued that the *Consuetudines* date to after 1077 and the inclusion of the Leonese monarchs in them is the result of Alfonso VI having doubled the *census* in 1077 in an attempt to enlist Cluny's support against Gregory VII.[82] Reilly pointed out that at precisely the same time, 1077, Alfonso VI began to include the title "imperator totius hispaniae" in his diplomatic which may also have been a response to Gregory's effrontery.

Benedito and Vicente Ramón Perez, Catálogo general de la moneda medieval hispano-cristiana desde el siglo IX al XVI. (Madrid, 1980), 7 no. 1.

Reilly in Alfonso VI, 374 n. 8, wrote that Alvarez Burgos, Catálogo general, "shows a coin attributed to Fernando I and minted at Palencia," but the catlogue makes no claim that this coin was from Palencia. In describing some coins, the authors of this catalogue often place the letter *P* after a coin's description, indicating it is known in "colleciones particulares." While they did not place a *P* after the entry for the Fernando I coin, this was likely the source of Reilly's confusion. It is an important matter to clarify because there are spurious documents which claim that Palencia had mint rights dating back to Sancho the Great. See the general discussion of minting at Palencia in chapter 7.

[82] Charles Julian Bishko, "Liturgical Intercession at Cluny for the King-Emperors of León," in Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600-1300. (London, 1984), 57-65.

(Gregory had written condescendingly to "the kings, counts and other princes of Spain," informing them of papal suzerainty.) Reilly, therefore, believing that it was primarily Gregory's claim that prompted Alfonso VI to use the imperial title, concluded that it was "safe to say that there is absolutely no evidence that his father, Fernando I, ... had ever employed (the title)."[83]

Two points, however, need to be clarified. First, two charters of Alfonso VI dated between 1067 and 1068 when he was king of independent León refer to him as son of the emperor Fernando. Since these charters survive only as copies, Reilly dismissed the references to the emperor Fernando as interpolations.[84] This explanation may be true, but it is not certain. We therefore cannot safely say that there is no evidence that Fernando used the title. Secondly, Reilly seemed unaware that as early as November of 1172, in one of his first acts as king of a reunited León-Castile, Alfonso described himself as "at the present time prince and king of Spain."[85] It is certainly within

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[83] Reilly, Alfonso VI, 102-4.

[84] Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VI of León-Castile (1065-1109)," in Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York, 1985) 3-4; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 104.

[85] "(E)go Adefonsus, presenti tempore princeps et rex Spanie." ACL, 4:425-27 no. 1182. The charter appears to be original. Reilly accepted the authenticity of this charter both in Alfonso VI, 69, and in "Chancery of Alfonso VI," 9, 26 n. 54. In both cases, however, he was only aware of the copy in the *Tumbo* and not the original

the realm of reason, then, that his father Fernando had minted a coin with the legend FERNAND REX SPANIA.[86]

A second argument for assigning the Los Arcos coin to Fernando I can be made on stylistic grounds. The coin resembles another rare denarius, this one in the name of Alfonso, which is known in at least two specimens. On the obverse, this type has a crowned bust facing front and a legend reading AL_ _EX (presumably meant to read ALF REX.) The reverse has an equilateral cross and the legend IN SPANIA. If one accept that the Los Arcos coin, reading FERNAND REX SPANIA, belonged to Fernando I, the Alfonsine type might then be reasonably assigned to Alfonso VI.[87] These attributions are perhaps supported further by the fact that Alfonso's daughter Urraca (1109-26) minted a coin similar in style, with a forward facing bust on the obverse and a plain cross on the reverse. In the end, however, this chronology is far from unassailable [88]

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document and so perhaps did not give it the full weight it deserves.

[86] Ironically, Reilly elsewhere accepted the assignment of the Los Arcos coin, which reads FERNAND REX SPANIA, to Fernando I. See above, n.78.

[87] This piece had previously been assigned to Alfonso I of Aragón (1104-34) on the basis that he had claim to hegemony in the peninsula through his marriage to Urraca of León-Castile. See the unsigned article, probably by Arturo Pedrals y Moliné and Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes, "Série Castellana: ¿Alfonso I de Aragón, el Batallador?" Memorial Numismático Español 4: 22-24. See also Arturo Pedrals y Moliné, ed., Catalogo de la colección de monedas y medallas de Manuel Vidal Quadras y Ramón de Barcelona, vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1892), no. 5297.

[88] For the Urraca type, see catalogue 3, no. 1 below.

The most serious objection to assigning the Los Arcos coin to Fernando I is the existence of another coin in the name of Fernando whose significance has gone unnoticed in the numismatic literature. Similar to the Los Arcos piece, this second coin carries a cross and the legend FERNANDVS REX on the obverse. Based on two known specimens, the reverse legend on this coin can be made out as SPAN__ or SPANIA, again paralleling the Los Arcos coin. The reverse type on this second coin, however, is without question a motif used by Fernando II of León (1157-1188).[89] Though this king ruled only León and not Castile, for roughly the first ten years of his reign he acted as regent in the later kingdom for his young nephew and probably hoped to reunite the two realms under his own rule. His use of REX SPANIA on a coin reflects that ambition. It is possible that Fernando II modeled this coin on the Los Arcos coin struck by his namesake, Fernando I, but the more conservative interpretation would dictate that both types in fact belonged to Fernando II.[90]

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[89] See catalogue 6, no. 1 below.

[90] The late Antonio Orol Pernas had an unpublished denarius in his collection in the name of Fernando that invoked Toledo in the legend. He speculated that it might belong to Fernando I, though Toledo was not actually conquered until the reign of his son Alfonso VI. Again, Fernando II occupied Toledo from 1162 until at least 1163 if not slightly longer. This coin, if authentic, is almost certainly his. Denarii of Fernando II are in general very scarce today. See further, chapter 9.

In some ways, the issue of the attribution of the Los Arcos coin can be set aside. It seems inconceivable that there was not some coinage struck during Fernando I's reign. The documents as a whole repeatedly hint that the pace of monetization was quickening. Fletcher pointed to the case of Count Gómez Díaz who was a generous patron of the monastery of San Zoilo de Carrión. One of his charters, preserved by the monastery, lists forty-seven distinct properties that the count had acquired mainly by purchase.[91] Similarly, Citi Memez and his wife asked King Fernando to confirm in 1064 the diverse properties they had "bought or acquired" to facilitate their donation of these lands to the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña.[92] As Fletcher commented, the amount "of commercial transactions will surprise anybody who thinks that the economy of the eleventh century was sluggish or in some way 'primitive.'"[93]

León-Castile as well as the rest of Christian Spain was exposed to two tremendous and interrelated economic forces in the eleventh century, the decline of the Umayyad caliphate and the simultaneous commercial re-awakening of Western Europe.[94] There can be little doubt that the

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[91] Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 6-10 no.3; Fletcher, El Cid, 71.

[92] "(Q)uas conparasti vel adquisti ex tuo precio." Blanco, Fernando I, 182-83 no. 71.

[93] Fletcher, El Cid, 71.

[94] As Spufford wrote, "the last years of the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century were in

wealth drained from al-Andalus dramatically affected the economies of the Christian north. The gold coinage of Barcelona is only the most obvious manifestation of this growth. In León-Castile, the wealth of the *parias* allowed Fernando to establish closer ties with Latin Europe, primarily through his endowment of Cluny. Indeed, in the Cluny obits he is included in the *magnum anniversarium* alongside the German emperors Henry II and Henry III. Within his realm, Fernando's revenue from *parias* probably helped fuel the growth of the economy and increased the use of coin. León-Castile was less and less reliant on a system of cumbersome barter. The strength of the kingdom at his death was arguably what allowed his son Alfonso to successfully annex the taifa of Toledo. To Alfonso would also fall the task of expanding and refining the crown's coinage so that it truly became a money of the realm.

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many ways the most significant period for the early growth of the use of coin in western Europe. One might almost think of this century as witnessing the real start of a monetary economy in western Europe." Spufford, Money, 77

PART TWO

ESTABLISHING A COIN OF THE REALM, 1065-1126

THREE

ALFONSO VI (1065-1109)

AND THE EXPANSION OF MINTING

The years of Alfonso VI's reign saw dramatic changes in western Spain. His conquest of the taifa kingdom of Toledo in 1085 made León-Castile by far the largest of the Christian states and brought within his domain the city that had been the traditional seat of Visigothic power. At the same time, the pace of the kingdom's integration with the rest of Europe quickened. Alfonso continued and strengthened his father's alliance with Cluny by paying the *census* of gold when he could afford to and placing a number of monasteries under the French house's rule. His good relations with Abbot Hugh of Cluny helped bring about his first two marriages, both to French princesses. Furthermore, he successfully enlisted the aid of a French army to help counter the Almoravid threat in Andalusia and married three of his daughters to French noblemen, two of whom were later endowed handsomely with territory in his kingdom.[1]

In many respects, however, the increasing "Frankish" presence in León-Castile was not so much the result of Alfonso's personal inclination as it was inevitable.

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[1] See Reilly, Alfonso VI, 191-95.

Cluniac expansion, the Gregorian reform, the Norman invasions of England and Sicily and the First Crusade were all facets of the same restless and expansive spirit that engulfed Western Europe in the late eleventh century. Fueled by advancements in agriculture and population growth, this commercial and intellectual renaissance had begun to permeate Spain before Alfonso's time and would have continued whether he welcomed it or not.[2] Alfonso VI, therefore, should not be viewed as an early forerunner of Russia's Peter the Great, eager to force "modern" ways on a backward and isolated country.

This caveat is important to keep in mind when turning to Alfonso VI' monetary policy. The sources for the reign reveal that by his death in 1109 a small network of at least three mints had been established within the kingdom which were capable of producing coins impressive in their uniformity and detail. Today, the "christogram" coin, which was almost certainly an issue of Alfonso VI, stands out even to the untrained eye as one of the more carefully struck denarii of twelfth-century Europe.[3] While this

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[2] Ibid., 93-115, 375-79; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Integration of Christian Spain into Europe: The Role of Alfonso VI of León-Castile," in Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York, 1985), 101-20. See further the collected studies in Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable, eds., Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1982).

[3] In theory, the piece could have been issued by Alfonso VI's grandson, Alfonso VII, but this seems unlikely. See the discussion below.

accomplishment may have owed a debt to Alfonso VI's initiative and to French influence, increased minting, in the long run, could only be successful in so far as there was a demand for coin in society. Monetary developments under Alfonso, then, are best seen as the next logical step in a process that had been going on since the first denarii trickled into the kingdom from Charlemagne's empire.

The Early Years of the Reign

On his death in 1065, Fernando I divided his domains among his three sons. The eldest, Sancho II (1065-1072), received Castile, Alfonso VI received León and the youngest, García (1065-1072), was made king in Galicia. After his father's death, Sancho set about consolidating what he considered his proper inheritance. He soon deposed García, who fled to Seville, and by 1072 had defeated Alfonso, who took refuge with the king of Toledo. Sancho had himself crowned king of León but shortly thereafter was murdered outside the walls of Zamora, probably in October of 1072. Alfonso, not as far removed as his brother García in the south, moved quickly to regain his kingdom and also lay claim to Castile and Galicia.

The story that Alfonso VI was compelled to take an oath in Burgos before the Cid and other Castilian magnates stating that he had no part in Sancho's death is at best apocryphal. Nonetheless, the basic premise underlying the tale is valid. Just as Henry I of England (1100-35) was

naturally suspected when his brother William II (1087-1100) died in a hunting accident, we can be sure there was suspicion regarding Alfonso's role in his brother's demise.[4] Henry I helped secure his succession as king by issuing a coronation charter that promised to right the many abuses of his brother's reign. Alfonso likewise felt the same pressure and took similar steps. Before journeying to Castile, he appears to have proceeded directly to León where within a few weeks of Sancho's death he assembled a curia that included magnates and prelates from all three realms.

Two charters survive from this meeting both of which were clearly aimed at winning support for the king by addressing popular grievances.[5] Not surprisingly, these grievances were financial in nature and thus the charters allow a slight glimpse of the economy at the opening of the reign. The first document, dated November 17, 1072, contains Alfonso's abolition of the toll at the castle of Santa María de Autares which commanded the mountain pass of Valcarce on the road to Santiago. Alfonso announced that

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[4] For Sancho's assassination, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 65-71; cf. Fletcher, Cid, 117-19. For the death of William of England, see Frank Barlow, William Rufus (Berkeley, 1983), 420-32.

[5] Typical of documents of this era, neither charter records that it was drawn up in León. Both, however, are preserved in the cathedral archives there. The first survives in what may be the original copy and in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral. The second is preserved only in the *Tumbo*. It seems safe to infer, therefore, that the *curia* was held in León. (See ACL, 4:425-29 nos. 1182-83.)

he was doing away with the toll not just for the benefit of the people of Spain, but for those of Italy, France and Germany as well.[6] While the main purpose of the charter was to accommodate a growing number of international pilgrims along the road to Santiago, Alfonso also used the occasion to make more sweeping promises. He declared that there should now be peace and quiet throughout the land no matter what road one took and specifically added that no one should dare to trouble merchants on the highways.[7]

The growth of commercial and non-commercial traffic traversing Spain by the late-eleventh century is evident not only in this charter of Alfonso but also in acts of his contemporaries. In 1069, in the first of the two surviving treaties between Sancho García IV of Navarre and al-Muqtadir of Zaragoza, the two rulers declared that "the roads which run between the two (kingdoms) should be secure and safe, so that no impediment or harm comes to those who

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[6] "(A)d salutem anime nostre et ceteris populis non solum Spanie, set etiam Italie, Francie et Alemandie." Ibid.

[7] "Set sit pacifica et quieta omnis illa terre (deambulatio ex omni par)te, nec sit qui presumat alium inquietare vel perturbare ad suo itinere nec inmodico ad nullo omine qui negotiator fuerit." Ibid.

Estepa, Estructura, 417, suggested that since Alfonso in the beginning of the charter referred to the people of Italy, France and Germany, this provision regarding merchants was for the benefit of foreign merchants. It seems best to assume, however, that when Alfonso spoke of people from other lands, he had in mind the "pilgrims and poor" going to Santiago.

travel them."[8] Likewise, the customary laws known as the *usatges* of Barcelona, which date in part to the mid-eleventh century, pledged safe travel by land as well as by sea for all men, including *mercerii* and *negociatores*.[9]

Promises of this nature were more than empty gestures. Indeed, Sancho García was forced to abide by the spirit of these ideals when border disputes erupted between him and Alfonso VI in the Rioja region c.1073-74. The Navarrese king explained in a charter to San Millán de la Cogolla that he had allowed Castilian pilgrims to be seized as they traveled to visit the relics housed at that monastery until the Castilian Count Gonzalo Salvadórez of Lara shamed him into abandoning the practice and freeing the captives along with their goods.[10] Likewise, Alfonso VI also may have felt pressure to take his pledge at the curia of 1072

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[8] Lacarra, "Dos tratados," 92-93 no. 1; Constable, Trade, 45-46. On population growth combined with the agricultural advances that forced people off land holdings, see the synopsis in Reilly, Alfonso VI, 367-68.

[9] See *usatge* 62, "Camini et Strate," in Ferran Valls Taberner, Los usatges de Barcelona: Estudios, comentarios y edición bilingüe del texto (Málaga, 1984), 88. The *usatges* were a collection of customary law that had their roots in the eleventh century. A codified version was promulgated by Ramón Berenguer IV probably between 1149 and 1151. See Bensch, Barcelona, 78, 80; cf. Estepa, Estructura, 77-8. For similar appearances in contemporary English customary law, see Frederic W. Maitland, The Constitutional History of England (1908; reprint, Cambridge, 1968), 108-9.

[10] Ubieto Arteta, San Millán, 384 no. 408. The charter is undated. Ubieto assigned it to 1073, while Serrano previously dated it to 1074. I am inclined to accept 1074 on the basis of the witnesses appearing in a second charter of Sancho's dated March 1074. (See 388 no. 414.) See further, Reilly, Alfonso VI, 70-71, 82.

seriously. The author of the *Cronica Najerense* writing in the later twelfth century reported that during Alfonso VI's reign the peace was so respected that a woman could travel alone carrying gold and silver and meet no trouble and merchants and pilgrims "feared nothing for themselves or for their goods."[11] Alfonso's contemporary, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo, added that the king kept "all the bridges from Logroño to Santiago" in good repair.[12]

The second document generated from the curia of 1072 is dated two days later than the first and is concerned with judicial fines in cases of unsolved homicide. According to this charter, when the king's *sayones* could not establish proof against an individual, they had adopted the recourse of levying a double fine against all villages in the district (apparently on the premise that someone was protecting the guilty party). Alfonso now denounced this practice and ruled that his men should only exact the normal fine and only against one town. In term of its reflection on monetary matters, the charter is most noteworthy for its inclusion in the witness list of four men listed as *solidarii*. Such a title would seem to

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[11] Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed., Crónica Najerense. (Valencia, 1966), 118. The chronicle was probably composed between 1152 and 1157 and its author's account of the peace under Alfonso VI is likely exaggerated. After the long years of violent civil strife in the kingdom following Alfonso VI's death, his reign tended to be remembered as a "golden period." See chapter 6, n. 1.

[12] Benito Sánchez Alonso, Crónica del obispo don Pelayo (Madrid, 1924), 84; Reilly, Alfonso VI, 374.

indicate men on cash retainer to the crown, i. e., men who received solidi for their service.[13]

Combined, the two charters that Alfonso issued upon reclaiming the throne of León speak of a toll that was collected from all who passed, protection to merchants on the roads, salaried attendees at court, and complaints about the price of fines, all which point to a growing reliance on coin. Nonetheless, minting in León-Castile was probably still very limited. There is no evidence, for example, that Alfonso's brother, Sancho II, struck coins in his own name as king of Castile or during his brief tenure as king of León. The Alphonsine type that reads ALF REX IN SPANIA might possibly belong to the period after 1072, when Alfonso VI had successfully re-united the three realms following Sancho's death. At his curia of November 1072, Alfonso did describe himself as "at present prince and king in Spain," and by 1077 he had begun to use the title

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[13] See ACL, 4:428-29 no. 1183. Pedro Múñoz, son of Count Muño Alfónsez, is one of those listed as a *solidarius*. These *solidarii*, then, were perhaps part of the group of young, untitled sons of established families that Reilly sees surrounding Alfonso early in the reign. (Reilly, Alfonso VI, 54-56.)

On the origins of money stipends in León, see Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas para el estudio del 'petitum,'" in Estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas (Mexico, 1965), 492-93. His use of the *fuero* of Castrojeriz to date the custom to the tenth century, however, is problematic. See further Fletcher, El Cid, 61-62. For the problems surrounding the earlier *fueros* in general, see Bernard F. Reilly, The Kingdom of León-Castile Under Queen Urraca 1109-1126 (Princeton, 1982) 315-16.

"emperor in all of Spain."[14] In this light, we might also tentatively assign to this period a second obscure type, which is reported to read ANFONS __X on the obverse and INPERATOR on the reverse.[15]

Beyond this, there is little to say of monetary circulation in the first two decades of the reign. We can surmise that the royal treasury prospered at first with the income it garnered from *parias*. Alfonso, after all, doubled the *census* to Cluny in 1077. The gold that filtered down to the native clergy and aristocracy was, as we have seen, largely hoarded. But this may have had the complimentary effect of freeing up silver plate or coin previously retained as treasure. Such may have been the case when Muño Blasco sold land to the monastery of San Millán in 1077 and received 16 solidi argenti "de tesauro."[16]

Perhaps a more direct indication that a native currency was slowly establishing itself is found in a letter of Gregory VII. In 1083, the Cluniac monk Bernardo,

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[14] See the discussion under "The Solitary Denarius of Fernando I," in chapter 2.

[15] The only known example of this type is a plaster cast of an obol, or half denarius. According to Beltrán Martínez, the cast was from the collection of Antonio Vives. See Antonio Beltrán Martínez, "Notas de arqueología y numismática almeriense," in Crónica del I congreso nacional de arqueología y del V congreso arqueológico del sudeste (Almería, 1949) (Cartagena, 1950), 225. He prefered to assign the type to Alfosno VII.

[16] María Luisa Ledesma Rubio, ed., Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (1076-1200) (Zaragoza, 1989), 14 no. 7.

then abbot of Sahagún and soon to be archbishop of Toledo, journeyed to Rome. As a result of this visit, Gregory granted Sahagún papal protection, freeing it from local episcopal jurisdiction. In return, the monastery was to pay yearly to Rome "2 solidi of the money of the land."[17] Since Bernardo had been in Rome to negotiate the bargain, this reference to money of the land can hardly be dismissed as an erroneous assumption on the part of the Roman curia that there was a native currency in the kingdom.

Still, coin was far from abundant in everyday transactions. Charters from the lower ranks of society continue to show a system of barter with the solidus as a standard of value. A sale of land between two private parties dated 1074 reads much the same as documents one hundred years earlier:

> And we accept from you this price which is well pleasing to us, a mule, yellow in color, worth 60 solidi argenti; and a Moroccan ass, worth 20 solidi argenti; and two good cattle, yellow in color, worth 30 solidi argenti; and a cow, worth 10 solidi argenti; and a cape with a vermilion lining (*una kapa vermelia per colore fazezale*) worth 15 solidi argenti.[18]

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[17] "(P)ensio duorum solidorum illius terre monete annuatim reddatur." Sahagún, 3:102-105 no. 809. The privilege was confirmed by Urban II in 1096. See 325-27 no. 991. Cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 148.

[18] Sahagún, 3:7-9 no. 732. Pastor de Togneri in "Ganadería y precios," 50-55, suggested that the economy of León-Castile suffered from inflation in the early-eleventh century and that prices then stabilized. Any such analysis is highly tenuous, however, since prices in silver were often mere ghost values assigned to in-kind payments whose worth obviously fluctuated with quality. For example, five charters from Sahagún dated between 1071 and 1073 show

Shortly after Bernardo made his journey to Rome, Alfonso VI achieved his greatest triumph, the annexation of the kingdom of Toledo. It must have been an impressive host the king assembled before the walls of Toledo in the spring of 1085. When aid was not forthcoming from other taifa rulers, the city capitulated and the entire kingdom was ceded to León-Castile. Such a victory at so little cost placed Alfonso at the height of his power both politically and financially. Any expense he had incurred to mount the campaign was easily offset by the resources now at his disposal.[19]

Alfonso at this point in his rule had probably paid scant attention to minting. His experience was likely limited to contracting local artisans in León to produce coin on an ad hoc basis -- the method employed by Ramón Berenguer I in Barcelona. After the conquest of Toledo, the Muslim mint in that city apparently continued to produce coin. There are a number of surviving dirhams from Toledo that bear dates corresponding to the years A.D. 1085 to 1087.[20] Since the king had granted favorable terms to

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horses valued from sixty to three hundred solidi. (Sahagún, 2:426-27 no. 703; 435-38 nos. 711 and 713; 443-44 no. 719; 447-48 no. 723; 450-51 no. 725.) Furthermore, in 1057, Sancho of Navarre accepted in payment a horse valued at 500 solidi. (Sáinz Ripa, Colección de Albelda, 27 no. 5; cf. Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 13-14 no 5; Blanco, Fernando I, 82-84 no 22, 143-144 no. 51.)

[19] See Reilly's account in Alfonso VI, 167-74.

[20] Antonio Prieto y Vives in Los reyes de taifas: Estudio histórico-numismático de los musulmanes españoles en el siglo V de la hegira (XI de J.C.) (Madrid, 1926),

the inhabitants of the city who wished to remain, some of the moneyers must have stayed at least temporarily.[21] Whether authorities eventually halted the production of dirhams or whether these artisans simply drifted away is impossible to tell. Still, the existence of these post-conquest dirhams stands as a further indication that the crown had no clear monetary policy as yet. By the end of Alfonso's reign, however, this laissez-faire attitude toward minting had been abandoned.

In 1107, after protracted negotiations, Alfonso agreed to allow the bishop of Santiago complete rights to the royal mint in Compostela.[22] In the grant, Alfonso went so far as to guarantee the bishop and his canons a minimum

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145, 241, proposed that the legends on these "Christian" dirhams deliberately omitted the reference to the prophet Muḥammad. The one specimen I have seen, however, is barely legible and it seems hazardous to conclude that such an omission was intentional. See Todesca, "Means of Exchange," 240 no. 5, 254.

[21] Reilly, Alfonso VI, 171.

[22] The earliest copy of the charter granting these rights is preserved in *Tumbo A* of the cathedral archives of Santiago which was redacted between 1129 and 1131. It bears an abbreviated but corrupted date reading "Era .I.C.X 'I." Part of the dating clause also informs us that it was done at the time the king and host were at Burgos preparing for an expedition against Aragón. Based on this, and that a later copy of the document lists the king's son Sancho as "regnum electus patri factum," Reilly, Alfonso VI, 324-25, argued convincingly that it should be dated to 1107. Sánchez Albornoz, in "Primitiva organización," 343, proposed the date should be 1105 based on the pertinent passages in the *Historia Compostelana*. López Ferreiro, however, had originally assigned it to 1107 and, in my opinion, dealt effectively with the chronology of the *Historia*. See his publication of the charter in Santiago, 3:appendix, 70-71 no. 23, see also 280-83. For *Tumbo A*, see further Fletcher, Catapult, 303.

profit. He explained that if they should have trouble, he would order the provost or director of all his other mints (*prepositus omnium mearum monetarum*) to take custody of the Santiago operation and render the bishop as good a profit as the king would get from the best of his mints. Multiple mints, a director to supervise them and a sureness of profit suggest that Alfonso had learned a lot about monetary matters in the two decades since the fall of Toledo.

Expansion and Reform, 1085-1109

Heiss assigned two coin types to Alfonso VI.[23] The first of these carries a simple cross on the obverse surrounded by the legend ANFVS REX. The reverse has two stars and two annulets in the center field encircled by the legend TOLETVM.[24] The coin's design somewhat resembles the popular coinage of Melgueil in lower Languedoc, which was surely known below the Pyrenees to some extent by Alfonso VI's reign.[25] The second coin Heiss gave to Alfonso has the same obverse as the first, a cross with the legend

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[23] Heiss, Las monedas, plate 1, nos. 1-5.

[24] See catalogue 2, nos. 1-2 below.

[25] The Melgorian denier carried a cross on one side and a cluster of annulets on the reverse. It served as a model for a coin of Gerona perhaps struck during the reign of Ramón Berenguer I. See Arturo Pedrals y Moliné, "Monedas acuñadas en Gerona en los siglos X y XI," Memorial Numismático Español 2 (1868): 264-68 and plate 7, no. 13. For the Melgorian denier, see also Mirielle Castaing-Sicard, Monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc (Xe-XIIIe siècles) (Toulouse, 1961), 29-31.

ANFVS REX, but the reverse displays a christogram instead of the stars and annulets.[26] This same christogram can be seen on coins from Urgel usually attributed to Ermengol VI (1102-1154) and on some French denarii.[27] Furthermore, whereas the reverse legend of the first Alphonsine coin always reads TOLETVM, the reverse legend on the christogram type reads either TOLETVO (on some rare specimens it remained TOLETVM), LEO CIVITAS or, in a few cases, S IACOBI.

Today, both coins survive in relatively high numbers and more variants are known than Heiss originally catalogued. The first, the star-annulet type, was struck in at least nine varieties, which are distinguished by a system of small dots on the reverse. In one variety, a dot appears in the center of the field, among the annulets and stars. In others it appears inside one of the annulets, inside both annulets or inside both annulets and in the center of the field. The simplest explanation for these privy marks is that they were used for quality control. They may designate individual mints, workers within a mint, or some combination thereof.[28] Whatever the case, the

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[26] Catalogue 2, nos. 3-12.

[27] Crusafont, Numismática, 199-98 no. 100; cf. Pedrals, "Moneda en Gerona," 265 and plate 7, no. 14. Heiss saw the christogram as an influence of the coinage of Aquitaine, the home of Alfonso's first wife. See Heiss, Las monedas, 4.

[28] Alternatively, the secret marks may not have been to identify mints or workers therein. They may have been

number of combinations employed in this coinage indicates that it was a substantial issue.

The second coin, the christogram type, can be divided into 3 sub-types based on the reverse legends TOLETVO, LEO CIVITAS and S IACOBI. Of the 3, the 1 reading TOLETVO survives in greater numbers and shows an extensive system of markings. These marks are generally dots placed in the legend itself, such as TOLE.TVO:. At other times a dot may appear in a quadrant of the field. There are at least 16 varieties of the sub-type based on the placement of these dots.[29] Metcalf in a study of 180 of the TOLETVO christogram coins estimated that this sub-type alone was "struck from hundreds of dies."[30]

There is nothing immediately apparent about either the star-annulet or the christogram type that shows they were issues of Alfonso VI. Since both types allude to Toledo, however, we can assume that they were not issued before his reign. Secondly, since neither type is known in hoards from the thirteenth century, we can further assume that they were twelfth-century issues. Within this time-frame, the star-annulet coin, whose legend reads ANFVS REX TOLETVM, could have been struck by Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII, Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) or even Alfonso I of Aragón (1104-

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intended to aid officials, either of the crown or otherwise, in detecting counterfeit coins in circulation.

[29] See catalogue 2, nos. 3-10.

[30] D.M. Metcalf, "A Parcel of Coins of Alfonso VI of León (1073-1109)," in PMC III, 288, 301-3.

34). The Christogram type, however, which alludes not only to Toledo but León and Santiago as well, could only have been struck by Alfonso VI or his grandson Alfonso VII. No other Alfonso in the twelfth century had a claim to all three cities.

To help determine whether the christogram coin likely belonged to Alfonso VI, we can turn to the most detailed document of his reign on coinage -- his grant of 1107 turning over control of the mint at Compostela to the town's bishop and canons. In the charter, Alfonso reveals that he was having trouble with counterfeiters and seems to say that the forgers most often attempted to copy the coins of Compostela. He therefore allows the episcopal community the freedom to "change the letters of their dies" in an effort to frustrate this crime.[31] It makes sense that Compostela was troubled by false money. We know that by

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[31] "(E)t quia omnes falsificatores monetarum mee patrie crimen falsitatis super conpostelle monetarios semper solent obicere; si episcopo eiusdem loci cum consilio canicorum placuerit et profectum maiusque lucrum sue ecclesie in hoc esse cognoverint, volo ut mutent cuneorum suorum litteras et de illo unde magis impetraverint faciant sue monete prepositum et semper hereditario iure ad usus supra scripte ecclesie possideant.

"Si vero non tantum lucrum sibi in commutione (*sic*) litterature cuneorunt cognoverint quantum in omnium mearum monetarum communitate timendo communis monete falsitatem mando ut prepositus omnium mearum monetarum de iure vestro teneat et legitime custodiat et tam magnum vobis lucrum tribuat de vestra sicut michi dederit de una ex melioribus monetis mee parie: et sic vobis de vestra: sicut michi ex una de meis melioribus conplaceat, et in omnibus satisfaciat." Santiago, 3:appendix, 70-71 no. 23. The complete text is also reproduced in Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 342-44.

the early twelfth century, money changers thrived in Santiago accommodating the incoming pilgrims.[32] What better way was there to pass bad money than to pawn it off on unknowing foreigners? The king's charge, however, also implies that by the time of his grant there was already a recognizable coin of Compostela for forgers to imitate such as a coin which bore the legend S IACOBI.

The christogram coin, therefore, with its reverse legend reading either TOLETVO, LEO CIVITAS or S IACOBI would seem a likely candidate for the coinage current in 1107. The name of the towns on the coin most likely refers to mint sites. Assuming that this was the coin in circulation at the time of Alfonso VI's grant to Santiago also aligns well with the king's instructions to the episcopal community there. Strictly interpreted, the terms of his grant allowed the chapter to change the *letters* of their dies. While they could alter the spelling or markings in their mint signature as a device against counterfeiters, it seems the king envisioned that they would retain the main design that his other mints were using, i.e., the christogram.

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[32] The *Historia Compostelana* includes decrees promulgated by the canons and *concejo* of Santiago in 1133, which stipulated that "the innkeepers, moneyers and money changers, as well as the citizens, should not use false marks, pounds or any false weights." HC, book 3, chap. 33. The *Liber Sancti Jacobi* affirms that in Santiago "one finds money changers, innkeepers and merchants of all sorts." Melczer, Pilgrim's Guide, 122-23.

Now this system of variable legends was not used on the star-annulet coin. As far as we know, this coin always read ANFVS REX TOLETVM. There is evidence, however, that the star-annulet and christogram coins were roughly contemporary. A hoard from the province of Palencia was reported to contain 550 examples of the star-annulet type alongside 600 of the christogram type.[33] This is the only known hoard that contains these two types, but it nonetheless indicates that they were most likely successive issues.[34] If we accept the christogram type as the coin

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[33] In 1958, Mateu y Llopis reported that a jug had been found in Santibáñez de la Peña in the province of Palencia containing 1,200 coins all supposedly of the christogram type, though he did not see the hoard. (See "Hallazgos monetarios" pt. 16, 181 no. 981.) Two years later, Mateu reported that he had received additional information. The hoard actually contained 2,500 coins of Alfonso VI and had been given to the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid. ("Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 18, 191 no. 1067.) Mercedes Rueda Sabater, however, established that these were actually two different hoards. The 2,500 coins given to the MAN were coins from a later period. [See her Primeras acuñaciones, 81.] The first hoard Mateu reported must be the one that now belongs to the Museo Provincial de Palencia. Contradictory to Mateu's original information, it is said to contain both the star-annulet type and the christogram type. (See Mercedes Rueda Sabater and Immaculada Sáez Sáiz, "Hallazgos medievales de moneda castellana y leonesa," forthcoming; cf. Rueda, Primeras acuñaciones, 90.)

[34] In 1966, D.M. Metcalf purchased a lot of 180 coins of the christogram type which he suspected represented part of a hoard. (See his "Parcel of Coins," 271.). In 1963, Juan Caballero Alcaráz published "Dineros de Alfonso VI: Una correción de Heiss," Numisma 13 (1963): 9-16, where he discussed 260 coins of both types but never claimed they were from a hoard. Considering the date of the Santibáñez find (1958), these two lots may have actually been part of that hoard. The hoard was at some point stolen and later recovered, at least in part, by the museum.

current in 1107, only two years before Alfonso VI's death, then the star-annulet type most likely preceded it.[35]

In turning over the mint at Compostela to the bishop and chapter there, Alfonso referred twice to "all my other mints." This vague reference may imply that there were at this point more mints than just Santiago, León, and Toledo. Other evidence tends to point to toward that conclusion. A later charter of Fernando II claims that a mint existed in Lugo in Galicia in the days of Alfonso VI. Though there is no direct evidence from Alfonso VI's reign indicating that a mint operated in Lugo in his time, there is no obvious reason to dismiss the later monarch's testimony.[36] In addition, there is some reason to believe that a mint also existed at Palencia.

The first indisputable evidence for minting in Palencia comes in the reign of Alfonso VI's daughter, Urraca. In confirming the see of Palencia's rights in 1140, however, Urraca's son, Alfonso VII, spoke of gifts that his predecessors (*mei antecessores*) were accustomed to

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[35] In excavations at the castle of Santa Eulalia near Coimbra, three coins were found that were "classificadas como sendo de Affonso VI de Leão, cunhadas depois da tomada de Toledo." Undoubtedly, these were either examples of the star-annulet coin or the christogram coin. After the reign of Alfonso VI, Portugal began to emerge as an independent kingdom, with its own coinage. Finds of these coin types in Portuguese territory, therefore, very tentatively suggest that they did in fact belong to Alfonso VI. See Pedro A. de Azevedo, "O castello de Santa Eulalia," O Archeologo Português 13 (1908): 70.

[36] See the section on Lugo in chapter 7.

give the bishops of Palencia on those occasions when the mint changed over to a new coin type. While Alfonso VII possibly was mistaken or misled about the history of the mint in this town, his charter implies that it predated his mother's reign.[37]

Reilly pointed out that before the conquest of Toledo, Palencia was strategically important in Alfonso VI's plan to repopulate the trans-Duero. The documentary record shows that Bishop Bernardo of Palencia (c.1062-1085) was present in the royal curia "more than any other single person, including the royal *infantas*." Despite the reservations of Rome, Alfonso apparently allowed Bernardo to assume the title of Archbishop of Palencia in the final years before his death.[38] It is within reason, then, that Palencia may have been the site of an early mint, even though the plan to raise the see to metropolitan status was ultimately abandoned with the restoration of the archbishopric of Toledo after 1085.

If there were more than three mints in operation, then some of the privy marks used on the christogram coin must have indicated lesser mints. Tentatively, we can propose the following sequence of events. Sometime after the fall of Toledo, Alfonso VI issued the star-annulet coin

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[37] See the sections on Palencia in chapter 7.

[38] See Reilly, Alfonso VI, 53-54, 140-41. See also Bishko, "Fernando," 16-17, who suggests that Bernardo was a Catalan.

proclaiming him ANFVS REX TOLETVM in recognition that he now reigned in the seat of the old Visigothic *imperium*.[39] This coin may have been struck in several locations, with the privy marks on the reverse identifying the mints. On his next issue, the christogram type, the legend read either ANFVS REX TOLETVO, ANFVS REX LEO CIVITAS or ANFVS REX S IACOBI. Of these three variants, the subtype reading TOLETVO seems to have been far more widely struck than the other two. It also shows significant use of privy marks. Therefore, we might conclude that the christogram type, as the successor to the star-annulet type, was initially issued with only TOLETVO on the reverse and with the various mint still identified by privy marks. It may mot have been until later in the reign that the mints at León and Santiago were allowed to sign their coins, while lesser mints such as Lugo and Palencia continued to operate under the TOLETVO legend.[40]

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[39] Into the last decade of his life, Alfonso still invoked the Toledan ideology in his diplomatic. The grant to Santiago opens with "Ego Adefonsus dei gratia toletani imperii rex et magnificus triumphator." For the same formula, see also Francisco J. Hernández, ed., Los cartularios de Toledo: Catálogo documental (Madrid, 1985), 13-14 no. 9. REX may appear on these coins instead of IMPERATOR simply because of space constraint. Consider the truncated ANFVS for *Adefonsus*.

[40] Cf. Metcalf, "Parcel of Coins," 302. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 374, suggested that Alfonso VI also operated mints at Zamora and Oviedo. There is no real evidence, however, to support a mint at Zamora this early and the evidence for Oviedo is very suspect. For minting at Zamora, see chapter 7, for Oviedo, see chapter 9.

Mention should also be made of a coin Orol Pernas brought to light which closely parallels the christogram

According to the *Historia Compostelana*, when Bishop Diego Gelmírez received lordship of the mint at Compostela from the Alfonso VI, he called on the best of the moneyers in Santiago to become its mint master.[41] The appointment of such an officer seems to have been intended to take the place of the king's own provost or supervisor of mints who was now to be called in only if necessary.[42] The combined

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issue. Its complete legend reads ALFONSVS REX COLIMB, leading Gomes Marques de Abreu and Gomes Marques to suggest that it represents a mint at Coimbra under Alfonso VI. The coin's execution, however, is far from the quality of the other christogram coins. As Orol suggested, it almost certainly represents an issue of Afonso I Henríques (1128-85) of Portugal, a grandson of Alfonso VI. See Antonio Orol Pernas, "Interpretación histórica de las acuñaciones con influencia hispano-potuguesa," in Primera reunión hispano-portuguesa (Avilés, 1983) 29-33; cf. Teresa Gomes Marques de Abreu and Mário Gomes Marques, "From County to Kingdom: Some Economic Signs of Evolution in the *Territorium Portugalensis*," in PMC III, 320-22.

[41] "Recepat ergo, sicuti patula cordis aure superius audistis, omnino libere moneta, eiusdem presulis summa sollerta omnibus suis nummulariis Randulfum maiori ingenio preditum cum magna cautela preposuit, cuius custodie omne monete dominium, ne fasificaretur, attribuit." HC, book 1, chap. 28. Before Diego's death, the mint occupied a permanent position outside the northern portal of the cathedral. See Book 2, chap. 25.

[42] A provost or *prepositus* of mints is not heard of in any other charter of Alfonso VI or of his successors. The royal grant to Compostela, however, uses the term twice. In the first instance, the meaning of the text is not entirely clear, but it seem to say that the chapter at Compostela should appoint its own *prepositus* to supervise the now independent mint: "faciant sue monete prepositum." Hence, the *Historia Compostelana* tells us that the bishop put Randulf in charge (*preposuit*) of the mint. (See n. 42 above.)

In the second reference to *prepositus*, the royal charter speaks of "prepositus omnium mearum monetarum." At this point in the text, the syntax of the Latin is better. The king seems clearly to be referring to a person that he would discharge to Compostela in the event of trouble. The

evidence of the *Historia* and Alfonso's actual charter indicates that the king's coinage at this stage was not farmed out. Rather, it was supervised by the crown or, in the unique case of Compostela, by the bishop.

A glance at either the christogram or star-annulet coins shows plainly that they were the product of a carefully controlled and supervised minting operation. Their relief is high and they are noticeably more legible than many contemporary issues of western Europe. In short, they are handsome coins. Metcalf in his study of the TOLETVO christogram type, remarked that the die cutting involved was remarkably uniform in style. He noted the attention to details such as the consistent alignment of the beginning of the legend with the top of the christogram. More important from an economic standpoint, he added that "the weights of individual flans were controlled with quite impressive accuracy."[43]

A large group of the star-annulet coin is not available for study, making it more difficult to judge its consistency in style or weight. Nonetheless, one noteworthy aspect of this earlier type was that a good number of obols or half-pieces were struck. The obol, for two reasons, was a more troublesome and costly denomination

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complete relevant passage from the charter is reproduced in n. 31 above.

[43] The term flan refers to the cut piece of metal before it is struck with the dies and turned into a coin. Metcalf, "Parcel of Coins," 293-99.

to produce. First, the dies for an obol were smaller than for a denarius, making engraving more difficult. Second, to produce the smaller obol from a given amount of metal rather than the denarius, the minters had to cut and strike twice as many flans. Consequently, the denomination was often struck in small numbers by medieval mints and sometimes not at all. Yet, with the star-annulet type, there are obols known for 6 of the 9 varieties catalogued, which suggests that this was, in general, a carefully-produced issue.[44]

On balance, the two coin types that Heiss originally assigned to Alfonso VI align well with the evidence from the later half of the reign. There seems no reason to doubt that the star-annulet and christogram coin were issues of this king. But accepting these attributions raises more questions than it immediately settles. We are left wondering why and how the crown of León-Castile suddenly changed from having almost no visible coinage to producing what Metcalf called "the first large-scale billon coinage of Christian Spain -- at least a generation earlier than the first really plentiful coinages of Aragón or Barcelona?"[45] An examination of the political events of

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[44] Predictably, the number of obols struck may have dropped off in the christogram issue. The hoard from Palencia, for example, is reported to contain obols of the star-annulet type but none of the christogram coin. See Rueda Sabater and Sáez Sáiz, "Hallazgos," forthcoming.

[45] Metcalf, "Parcel of Coins," 288.

the reign after 1085 help place this coinage in its historical context.

The Impetus For Reform

While the conquest of Toledo added to Alfonso's prestige and increased his resources, it immediately set off a political reaction in al-Andalus that placed his realm in jeopardy. The remaining taifa kings now appealed to the leader of the Almoravids, Yūsuf ibn Tāshufīn, who had just recently completed his consolidation of power in the Maghreb. An Almoravid army landed in Andalusia in the summer of 1086 and in October defeated Alfonso's army at Zalaca.[46] Although the Leonese fled the field in disarray, Yūsuf did not press his advantage and soon departed the peninsula.

The next summer Alfonso attempted to recoup some of his loss by laying siege to Tudela. Even with the help of recruits from France, however, the campaign was unsuccessful.[47] In 1089, Yūsuf appeared again in Andalusia though retreated before Leonese forces could engage him. In addition to the expense of campaigning against the Almoravids, Alfonso now faced dwindling tribute payments

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[46] 'Abd Allāh, who participated in the battle does not give the date, but other contemporary sources give it as 12 *Rajab* 479 or 23 October 1086. (Wasserstein mistakenly gives this as 23 September.) See 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 116-17 n. 369; Wasserstein, Party-Kings, 289; Reilly, Alfonso VI, 189.

[47] Reilly, Alfonso VI, 190-91.

from the taifa lords, emboldened as they were by the Almoravid intervention. 'Abd Allāh recalled that it was not until Alfonso sent Pedro Ansúrez to Granada c.1089 that he was forced to render tribute three years in arrears which totaled 30,000 dinars.[48]

With these financial constraints, it is not surprising that the crown's pledge to Cluny of 2,000 dinars a year had ceased. Alfonso's success in collecting lapsed payment from 'Abd Allāh, however, apparently inspired the king to show good faith toward the French house. Sometime prior to Easter of 1090, Alfonso wrote to Hugh of Cluny, apologizing for his lapse and informed him he was sending 10,000 *talenta* or gold dinars. Presumably this represented five years of payment which indicates that the gold to Cluny had stopped around the time of Zalaca or perhaps earlier.[49] By April of 1090, Hugh himself was in Spain, and Alfonso formally reaffirmed his promise of the annual *census* at Burgos on Easter.[50]

If Alfonso had been hopeful of a renewed flow of *parias* to furnish the Cluny *census*, the return of the Almoravid armies for a third time in the summer of 1090 cut short these prospects. Yūsuf at first aimed to take back

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[48] 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 132.

[49] Alexandre Bruel, ed., Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny (1876-1903; reprint, Frankfurt, 1974), 4:697-98 no. 3562; Bishko, "Fernando I," 47-9.

[50] Bruel, Chartes de Cluny, 4:809-810 no. 3638; cf. Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 28-30 no. 14; Reilly, Alfonso VI, 219-20.

Toledo, but, receiving little help from the Andalusian princes, he abandoned the siege and instead set about subjugating the taifas themselves. 'Abd Allāh of Granada was deposed and taken prisoner, as was his brother who ruled in Málaga.[51] That fall, Yūsuf returned to North Africa as usual, but his lieutenant Sīr ibn Abī Bakr was back in the peninsula perhaps as early as December attempting to complete the conquest of al-Andalus. Alfonso could hardly have been unaware of this campaign.

On February 7, 1091, with Sīr ibn Abī Bakr perhaps already laying siege to Córdoba, Alfonso addressed a charter to the lesser nobility (*infanzones*) and villagers (*villanos*) of the territory of León. A second version of the same act dated March 31 was addressed specifically to Bishop Peter of León, Count Martín Laíñez as well as the inhabitants of the region.[52] The document was largely concerned with regulating litigation between Christians and Jews. In the final passage of both versions, however, the king revealed that in return for the grant he was entitled to collect 2 solidi from every household, noble as well as common, for the war against the Almoravids.[53] By the time

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[51] See chapter 11 in 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 150-62.

[52] The February version is contained in the *Becerro gótico* of Sahagún. The version dated March is preserved in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral of León. See Sahagún, 3:164-66 no. 858; ACL, 4:547-49 no. 1256. For Count Martín Laíñez, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 229-30.

[53] "(U)t reddatis mihi de unaque corte populata, tam de infanzones quam etiam de villanos, ii solidos in isto anno." This quote follows the later text from March

the second version of the charter was drafted in March, Cordoba may have already fallen.[54] Alfonso's request for an extraordinary levy at this juncture demonstrates that he did not take events in the south lightly.[55]

The king's charter of 1091 calling for a levy of 2 solidi per household in León is the first direct evidence we have of the crown imposing such an encompassing tax.[56] As one might expect, the king appears to have gained consent for this extraordinary tax in a well-attended meeting of his curia. In both versions of the charter, the

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preserved at León. The version from Sahagún varies slightly. *Corte* in this sense is equivalent to house. See the sale of a "corte cum suo solare que est in Legione, intus civitas murum," ACL, 4:490-91 no. 1219.

The February version of the text preserved at Sahagún is actually dated 1090. Rather than suggesting that the tax was collected in two successive years, it seems obvious that the two documents were drawn up a little over a month apart. In the spring of 1090, Alfonso was confident enough in his finances to renew payment to Cluny and it would therefore seem unlikely that he would have sought an emergency levy to fight the Almoravids at this time. The two versions of this charter are discussed further in chapter 4.

[54] Amin Tibi in his notes to 'Abd Allāh's memoirs argues that Córdoba probably did not fall until late July, as opposed to March, the date Reilly accepts. See 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 167, 265-66 n. 595 and n. 596; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 222-23.

[55] Reilly accused Alfonso of taking no significant action in the face of the mounting threat in the winter of 1090-91. He sees the king as preoccupied with the rebellion of at least one of his Castilian nobles and further with dissension among his bishops. See Reilly, Alfonso VI, 223-25.

[56] By Fernando's reign, the king was entitled to a *census* from the *judería* of León. (See chapter 2.) Alfonso VI may have been entitled to collect an annual head tax from the Jewish and Muslim populations that remained in Toledo. See Julio González, Repoblación de Castilla la Nueva (Madrid, 1975-76), 1:77-79.

bishops and magnates of the realm are well-represented in the list of those said to have confirmed it. Furthermore, the two versions of the charter, since they are dated more than a month apart, suggest that after the initial decision was reached, the crown had copies of the proclamation drawn up and distributed, a practice which would become characteristic of later royal assemblies in the kingdom.[57] The exaction was certainly viewed as an exceptional measure made necessary by dangerous times.[58] A passage in the *Historia Compostelana* seems to indicate that in addition to the tax in León a similar levy was imposed in Galicia around the same time.

The long narrative known as the *Historia Compostelana* was the work of several authors. The first book was largely compiled by Muño Alfonso, who served as treasurer at Santiago and seems to have completed his portion of the work before becoming bishop of Mondoñedo in c.1112. The other major contributor was Geraldo, a canon and teacher at the cathedral who probably began his continuation of the history c.1120 and worked on it until roughly 1140. Geraldo attempted to give the *Historia* a unified sense and

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[57] The witness lists vary just slightly between the two documents, perhaps reflecting the change in the attendance at court in the time that had elapsed. For the later practice of distributing *cuadernos*, see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, The Cortes of Castile-León, (Philadelphia, 1989), 6, cf. 72-77.

[58] Cf. Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 485-86.

so reworked earlier portions of the text and in some cases inserted additional chapters.[59]

Chapter 33 of the first book is an obvious example of one of Geraldo's additions for it begins with, "we also insert the following." The chapter concerns work that was conducted on the fortification called the *Torres del Oeste* located at the mouth of the Ulla river and protecting Compostela from attack. According to Geraldo, the castle had suffered frequent devastation at the hands of the "Ismaelites" and was constantly being repaired by the inhabitants of the region. Finally, the king, who Geraldo does not name, saw that the castle was in such disrepair that he concluded it should be strongly rebuilt. Taking counsel, he ordered that each household of the bishopric pay 1 solidi of "the money of the king" to accomplish the construction. After this, the people of the district were to be freed from further labor on the castle. Geraldo goes on to note, however, that when the levy was collected it was found insufficient because "the money at that time was base and weak both in weight and in fineness."[60] The king was therefore forced to cover the remaining costs himself

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[59] For the compilation of the *Historia*, see Reilly, "*Historia Compostelana*," 78-85. For the careers of Muño Alfonso and Geraldo, see also Fletcher, Episcopate, 61-62, 91-92.

[60] "Quoniam moneta tam pondere quam lege tum temporis erat attentuat et debilis." HC, book 1, chap. 33. The ruins of the fortress stand today. See Carlos Sarthou Carreres, Castillos de España (Madrid, 1990), 297.

and in this way the castle was strengthened so that "the Almoravids as well as the Ismaelites" could not approach it.[61]

Geraldo's reference to the Almoravid threat seems to place the event he describes sometime in the reign of Alfonso VI. This is confirmed when he returns to the subject in a later passage of book 2. Here Geraldo credits Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Compostela with having petitioned Alfonso VI and Alfonso's son-in-law Count Raymond as well as the canons of Santiago and the magnates of Galicia to aid in the project of rebuilding the castle. With Diego's determination, we are told, the project was completed and the people of the area were relieved of the burden of castle-building.[62] If Geraldo is correct, these details place the event sometime before Raymond's death in 1107.

Could this levy of 1 solidi per household in the diocese of Compostela have been imposed as early as 1091, at the same time that the tax of 2 solidi per household was decreed in León? Diego Gelmírez did not become bishop of Santiago until 1100, but he had been integrally involved with the administration of the see for ten years previous when there was no appointed bishop. In a royal document of

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[61] HC, book 1, chap. 33.

[62] Geraldo relates the events a second time as a prelude to describing how Archbishop Diego (his see was raised to metropolitan status in 1120) eventually improved further on the castle. Probably around 1122, Diego undertook adding a strong keep inside the walls. See HC, book 2, chap. 23 and 24. Cf. Fletcher, Catalpult, 246-47.

January 28, 1090 done in Santiago, Diego confirmed as "majorinus et dominator Compostelle honoris" alongside Raymond "imperans Gallicia."[63] The case for placing the levy in Galicia as early as 1091 is more compelling if we consider Geraldo's comment that at the time the coinage was so poor, "both in weight and in fineness," that the tax failed to cover the building costs.

It is very unlikely that Geraldo could be referring to either the star-annulet or christogram coin. Both coins had intended weights of close to 1 gram, if not slightly more, which was respectable for denarii of the period.[64] No satisfactory analysis has been conducted to determine the silver content of these two types, but documentary evidence suggests that in the final years of Alfonso VI's reign the denarius was 50 percent silver, which again was not likely to be considered a base coinage by contemporary standards.[65] Unless we are willing to completely

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[63] Santiago, 3:appendix, 31-34 no.5; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 216, 244-45; Fletcher, Catapult, 104-10.

[64] Metcalf, "Parcel of Coins," 298-99, concluded that the intended weight of the Christogram TOLETVO series was between 1.07 and 1.09 grams. The few weights avaibale for the León and Santiago christogram coins support that they were struck on a similar standard. (See catalogue 2, nos 11-12.) For the star-annulet series, there are 30 such coins in the combined trays of the ANS and MAN. Of these 30, 16 fell in the interval between .85 grams and 1.04 grams. For weights of contemporary European deniers see the table in Spufford, Money, 102-3, though the figures presented here on fineness should be used cautiously.

[65] Medieval mints defined the fineness of alloy in terms of denarii. Pure silver was 12 denarii fine. A coin 6 denarii fine, then, was 50% silver and a coin 4 denarii fine was roughly 33% silver.

disregard Geraldo's remark, the most logical conclusion is that the levy in Galicia was imposed before the star-annulet and christogram types were struck.

The star-annulet coin, which probably preceded the christogram coin, was almost certainly minted sometime after the fall of Toledo in 1085, since it invokes Toledo in the legend. The mint at Toledo, however, continued to strike dirhams until c.1087, so the star-annulet denarius was perhaps not introduced until after that date. Indeed, it may not have been introduced until the 1090s. There is a singular charter from the territory of Portugal, dated 1090, that lists payment of a mule and its saddle appraised

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Metcalf in "A Parcel of Coins," 300, 304, reported the results of electron-probe micro-analysis of 4 examples of the christogram type which showed the coins to be roughly 33% silver or 4 d. fine. This type of analysis, however, involved mounting the coins on their side and scanning four points along the edge. One has to consider that the silver in each individual coin is unlikely to be uniformly distributed, making readings of this type haphazard. (See Giles F. Carter, "Enriched Silver Coatings on Some Portuguese *Dinheiros* and Castilian *Cornados*," in PMC III, 557 and the illustration on 563. See also J.N. Barrandon et al., "Chemical Compositions of Portuguese *Dinheiros*," in PMC III, 347 and the illustration of an electron-probe micro-analysis scan on 367.)

Until more reliable chemical analysis is available for these coins, we should trust the documentary evidence which points to a stronger standard. A charter dated 1103 preserved at Sahagún mentions 600 solidi *de medietate*, an allusion to denarii that were half-silver or 6 d. fine. (Sahagún, 3: 452-53; cf. chapter 5, n. 93 below.) Indeed, 6 d. appears to have been the accepted standard in León, Aragón and Barcelona up until the 1120s. In that decade, the coinage of Melgueil in southern France dropped from 6 d. to 4 d. and may have influenced the abandonment of the *medietate* standard in Latin Spain. See the discussion in chapter 6 under "Rates of Exchange."

at 200 solidi of "brown denarii."[66] To the extent that this reference can be trusted, it indicates that there was base coin current around 1091 when Alfonso called for the extraordinary tax in León.[67] It seems probable that the levy which Geraldo remembered as unsuccessful because of poor coin was at the same time.[68]

Alfonso in the early part of his reign paid little attention to developing a monetary policy. He perhaps allowed older, worn coins to circulate and only added to this supply intermittently as the need arose. Debased dirhams that he received from his taifa clients as tribute may also have been pressed into service. If there was no uniform and ample currency in the early 1090s, however,

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[66] "(U)no mulo cum sua sel et cum suo precio pretiato in CC solidos de denarios brunos." Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae (Lisbon, 1867), 1:442; Sánchez Albornoz, "Moneda de cambio," 202 n. 102; cf. Gomes Marques de Abreu and Gomes Marques, "From County to Kingdom," 320-21, who found only this one reference in their survey of the documentation.

[67] The coins that we have tentatively attributed to the early years of Alfonso's reign are extremely scarce and there is no way to ascertain whether they were particularly base. There are not even reported weights for the few catalogued specimens.

[68] In the case of the tax in Santiago, Alfonso was content to let the revenue go to strengthening local defenses. If the revenue from the levy in León was used in a similar manner, it would explain why in the summer of 1091 we hear of no major campaign led by the king. The defeat at Zalaca in 1086 had left León-Castile perilously open to attack and Alfonso may have thought twice about risking another decisive battle with Yūsuf's forces. There are reports in Muslim sources of minor engagements at Jaén, Palma and Almodovar del Río. See Tibi's notes to 'Abd Allāh, The Tibyān, 167, 265 n. 594; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 223.

collecting a fixed sum from every household in León and Santiago would have proved difficult. Payments in kind, in plate or in different types of coin would have engendered constant quarrels as the king's agents attempted to collect from every household, noble as well as common, and then in turn render that back to the crown. It may have been this upheaval that Geraldo remembered when he wrote years later that the effort in Santiago had not yielded sufficient revenue. The attempt may also have served as a catalyst for reform of the coinage.

The only practical course of action after collecting such a sundry array of coin and bullion was to remint it. Alfonso wisely does not seem to have issued worse money than he had just called in. His star-annulet and christogram coins were surely an improvement over the "brown" denarii that seem to have come before.[69] The uniformity evident in both types is testimony to a carefully produced coinage, with dies perhaps centrally controlled.

Alfonso's struggle with the Almoravids continued through the remainder of his reign culminating in the Leonese defeat at Uclés only a year before his death.

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[69] By analogy, there are some grounds for concluding that William the Conqueror, faced with an unreliable and scarce coinage in Normandy, introduced a reformed coin of 6 d. around 1080 so as to better exploit his resources there. See Bisson, Conservation, 23-24; Nightingale, "Weight Standards," 200-201.

During this time, he was decisively stripped of all income from *parias*. By the close of 1091, only the taifa of Badajoz and the north-eastern kingdoms of Zaragoza and Valencia remained independent of Almoravid rule. Badajoz, ostensibly a paying client of the Leonese crown, fell c.1095 and Valencia succumbed by 1102 despite Alfonso VI's attempt to save it. Zaragoza was not annexed directly by the Almoravids until 1110, but its king, al-Musta'īn (c.1083-1110), had perhaps begun to negotiate with the Almoravids as early as 1102. Consequently, any tribute that al-Musta'īn had been accustomed to pay Alfonso VI may have stopped at this time.[70] In his charter announcing the general tax of 1091 in León, the king had promised it would be the only one of its kind and the sources give no indication that he attempted to impose it again. Deprived of the income in *parias*, Alfonso had to find other effective ways to tap the resources of his subjects.

Despite his removal of the toll at Valcarce in the first years of his reign, Alfonso VI could hardly have been expected to permanently forgo this manner of raising money.

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[70] Alfonso's best-paying tributaries may have been Seville and Málaga, which both fell to the Almoravids in the winter of 1090-91. The sources tells us nothing directly about tribute from Badajoz, but the *Chronicon Compostellanum* does insist that Fernando I enjoyed annual tribute from this kingdom. (See chapter 2 above.) For events in Zaragoza and Valencia see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 282-83, 301-2, 310-11. The fall of the individual taifas can be conveniently traced in the dynastic tables assembled by Wasserstein, Party-Kings, 83-98, cf. 289-90.

Traffic to Santiago appears to have been lucrative enough in 1090, that Sancho Ramírez of Aragón was prompted to ask the monks of San Juan de la Peña to repopulate the old settlement of Lizzara so that the pilgrim route could be diverted through the new town.[71] By the reign of Alfonso VI's daughter Urraca toll stations are evident in León-Castile at Logroño, Burgos, Castrojeriz, León, Astorga, and perhaps another in the vicinity of the old station at Valcarce.[72] The *Historia Compostelana* tells of an additional toll at Puente Sampayo in Pontevedra that was hated by travelers not only because of the money they lost there, but also because they were apparently subjected to strip searches.[73]

The imposition known as *fossataria*, a cash payment in lieu of military service, may also have arisen in these later years.[74] Likewise, as in the case of the *Torres del*

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[71] The new town would become Estella which, as Sancho Ramírez must have hoped, flourished in the following century. Vázquez de Parga, et al., Las peregrinaciones, 3:14-15 no. 2; cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 215; Melczer, The Pilgrim's Guide, 281-82.

[72] See Reilly, Urraca, 270.

[73] (N)on solum propter sue pecunie amisionem, verum etiam propter magnum sui corporis dedecus nudato exuuiis sepius corpore." HC, book 1, chap. 24.

[74] Reilly assumed that Alfonso levied a *fossataria* before his campaign against Toledo, but I know of no explicit reference to the tax this early. (Cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 168, 220 and 301) A donation of 1090 to León was dependent on whether the donor came back alive from the *fossato*, but references to *fossataria* before 1100 all come from the context of *fueros* which were subject to later emendation. One of the more reliable early citations to the payment is perhaps Count Raymond's confirmation the *fueros* of Santiago in 1105, though this too exist only in

Oeste in Santiago, the obligation of castle-building may have been converted more frequently to a payment in cash. For less than vital fortresses, such revenue could be funneled elsewhere. No matter how the crown chose to raise money, however, it is obvious that the maintenance of an ample coinage was a crucial element. The age of *parias,* which in León-Castile appears to have reached its peak at the end of Fernando I's reign and lasted into the first half of Alfonso VI's rule, may have discouraged the crown from developing an ample, native currency. By the 1090s, however, accomplishing that task was a matter of survival. As Alfonso VI's general levy of 1091 demonstrates, proper defense of the realm required coin

The expansion to three mints or perhaps even more greatly enhanced the crown's ability to accomplish the task of building a substantial coinage and at the same time allowed a further opportunity for profit. The mint at Santiago in particular was well placed to receive a steady flow of foreign denarii from the hands of pilgrims and

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Tumbo A of the cathedral of Santiago which was compiled between 1129 and 1131. A private charter from Sahagún, however, also dated 1105 and surviving in what may be the original copy, mentions exemption from "fossadera." See Santiago, 3:appendix, 61-63 no. 19; Sahagún, 3:485-86 no. 1125. For the donation of 1090, see, ACL, 4:539-540 no. 1250. See further James F. Powers, "The Origins and Development of Municipal Military Service in the Leonese and Castilian Reconquest, 800-1250." Traditio 29 (1970): 94, 97 n.25.

By contrast, shield money or *scutage* is not known to have been collected in England until 1159. See Maitland, Constitutional History, 13.

exchange them, at a discount, for coin of the realm.[75] This site was obviously thriving by the opening of the twelfth century and Alfonso parted with it reluctantly. Diego Gelmírez seems to have pressured Alfonso for two to three years before the king finally gave him the charter endowing his see with full rights to the mint.[76]

With at least three mints in operation in the kingdom, the populace could more readily turn plate into coin and the sphere of monetary circulation increased. In the last two decades of the reign, references to purchases in silver are no longer restricted to centers like León and Burgos but spread north to more isolated regions such as Asturias. Indeed both an example of the star-annulet coin and the christogram coin were found in excavations under St.

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[75] The mint at Santiago was open by 1099. In that year, Alfonso VI's sister, the *infanta* Elvira, made a final bequest to the church of Compostela in which she referred to a *corte* and houses in Santiago that she had purchased from the moneyer Adhemar. See Santiago, 3:appendix, 50-51 no. 15. The document is dated November 13, 1100, but Reilly, Alfonso VI, 274 n. 55, argues convincingly that the year should be 1099. The document is also alluded to in HC, book 1, chap. 25.

[76] The *Historia* claims that it took three years until the charter concerning the mint of Compostela was actually handed to Diego Gelmírez. López Ferreiro, taking into account the passage in the *Historia* and the actual charter, suggested the following chain of events. Diego obtained the verbal consent of the king as early as 1105. By 1107, the bishop dispatched two of his canons to Alfonso's court where they witnessed the drawing up of the charter. The king, however, retained possession of the diploma and did not deliver it into Diego's hands until after the defeat at Uclés in 1108. See Santiago, 3:282-83; cf. HC, book 1, chaps. 28-29.

Peter's in Rome.[77] Through a combination of reform of the coinage and expansion in minting Alfonso was able to muster the funds necessary to successfully defend his expanded domain against the Almoravids and at the same time provide León-Castile with its first plentiful and popularly accepted coin.

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[77] Departamento, "Circulación," 247; For the St. Peter's find, see "Hallazgos monetarios," pt. 9, 292-3 no. 676.

FOUR

THE MARK AND THE DENARIUS: NEW MONETARY AND NOTARIAL LINKS WITH LATIN EUROPE c.1100

Before crossing to al-Andalus in the 1080s, the Almoravids restored stability to the Maghreb and re-established control of the trans-Sahara gold routes. In keeping with their vision of reforming Islam in the West, they produced dinars of outstanding quality which were close to pure gold and weighed slightly more than the dinars of the old Córdoban caliphate.[1] These dinars were

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[1] The Almoravids probably meant to return the dinar in the West to its traditional or orthodox weight of around 4.25 grams. In reality, their pieces tended to weigh a little less. Hazard assembled 400 recorded weights and found their average to be 4.05 grams. See Hazard, North Africa, 48, 61. See further Hanna E. Kassis, "Observations on the First Three Decades of the Almoravid Dynasty (A.H. 450-480 = A.D. 1058-1088): A Numismatic Study," Der Islam 62 (1985): 311-25.

R. A. Messier, in "The Almoravids, West African Gold and the Gold Currency of the Mediterranean Basin," Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient 17 (1974): 31-47, proposed, on the basis of radio-chemical analysis, that the morabetino was slightly less pure than other contemporary dinars. The mean standard of fineness of the morabetinos he examined was 92.2% pure, while the mean standard of fineness of dinars from Egypt was 97.4% pure and 96.5% pure for dinars of the Zīrids. If these results are accurate, the slight weakness of the morabetino hardly hurt its extrinsic strength. As Messier points out, the textual evidence testifies that the morabetino's prestige was very high in Mediterranean trade.

soon struck in several mints in al-Andalus as the Almoravids consolidated their control there at the close of the eleventh century. In reference to the name Almoravid (*al-Murābiṭ*), the new gold piece was called the *murabiṭūn* in al-Andalus and would come to be called the morabetino by the Christians to the north.[2] With the exception of the Catalans, however, the Christians were largely denied access to this gold during the first decades of the Almoravid presence in Spain. The morabetino is not cited with any regularity in the sources from the western Christian states until the 1130s.[3]

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[2] Hazard, North Africa, 61, concluded that the bulk of Almoravid gold was eventually struck in Spanish mints.

[3] The morabetino is cited in Barcelonan documents in the last decade of the twelfth century. See Botet, Les monedes, 56; cf. Alturo, "Notes," 128-29. See also the quantitative data compiled in Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, "Del morabatín almorávide al florín: Continuidad o ruptura en la Catalunya medieval," in Jarique I, 198-99, though his failure to distinguish between references to mancus and morabetino is unfortunate.

For western Spain, two documents are at times cited to support the notion that the morabetino flowed north soon after the Almoravids crossed to Spain. Duplessey in "Monnassie," 137 no. 16, cited a cartulary charter from Portugal dated 1084 which spoke of "marabetinos menequis." The charter is clearly either misdated or interpolated. The adjective *menequis* refers to one of the later issues of the Almoravid taifas, probably from Almería or Málaga, which circulated c.1130 onward. See, for example, the sale from Zaragoza in 1141 "per xxx morabitis, medios marinis medios melikis" in José María Lacarra, ed., Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del valle del Ebro (Zaragoza, 1982-85), 1:300-301 no. 307; cf. chapter 6, n. 37 below. See also the comments in Losa, "Money Among the Mozarabs," 291 n. 42. The second document is the will of Count Gonzalo Salvadórez dated 1082 which Alamo, Oña, 1:113-14 no. 77, published with a reference to 1600 morabetinos. The text, however, almost certainly referred

To compensate for the cessation of tribute from al-Andalus, Alfonso VI had expanded production of the denarius. His contemporary, Sancho Ramírez, who after 1076 ruled the united realms of Aragón-Navarre, may have undertaken a similar course, striking denarii in two mints if not more.[4] The bitter wars that erupted between the heirs of these two kings in the early decades of the twelfth century only increased the need of both governments for ample coin. The root of this conflict can be traced back to the realignment of the Latin states that occurred in 1076.

In that year, the king of Navarre, Sancho IV, met his death by being thrown from a cliff. Alfonso VI moved quickly to occupy the Rioja region while Sancho Ramírez of Aragón laid claim to the rest of Navarre. During the

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to mencales and not morabetinos. See chapter 2, n. 67 above.

[4] Sancho Ramírez's monetary policy remains to be studied in detail. Though there are references in the sources to his gold mancus struck at Jaca, a limited coinage intended mainly for fulfillment of a *census* owed Rome, there is no clear diplomatic evidence confirming that he minted denarii. There is a document that claims to be his confirmation of Cluny's rights at Leire that refers to "solidos de mea moneta" but the charter is suspect on other grounds. (See Martín Duque, Leire, 189-92 no. 131.)

There are, however, surviving denarii in the name of Sancho that can be reasonably assigned to this ruler. Some read IACCA and MONSON which may indicate mints in Jaca and the recently captured fortress of Monzón. Other coins attributable to him read ARAGON and there are still other types that read NAVARRA. These last, of course could belong to Sancho IV of Navarre. See Crusafont and Balaguer, "La numismática navarro-aragonesa," 35-66. See also Octavio Gil Farrés, "Consideraciones acerca de las primitivas cecas navarras y aragonesas," NH 4 (1955): 5-36.

remaining years of Alfonso VI's life, relations between León-Castile and the newly united Aragón-Navarre proved relatively tranquil as the monarchs of both kingdoms were more concerned with the Almoravid threat to the south.[5] Therefore, when a crisis of succession arose in the final years of Alfonso VI's reign, the aging king looked towards Aragón-Navarre for a solution.

Alfonso VI's young son and heir, Sancho, had been killed in the aftermath of the Almoravid victory over the Leonese at Uclés in 1108. The next logical choice for a successor to the throne was Alfonso VI's eldest-surviving daughter, Urraca, whose husband, Raymond of Burgundy, had died unexpectedly in 1107. With an eye to strengthening her ability to succeed him, Alfonso VI proposed marriage between Urraca and the current king of Aragón-Navarre, Alfonso I (1104-34), the son of Sancho Ramírez. Despite opposition from several factions, the couple was married in 1109, a few months after the passing of Alfonso VI. The marriage, however, quickly proved unworkable and set off a period of prolonged war between the two crowns that did not completely subside until Alfonso I of Aragón's death in 1134.

The long conflict distracted both kingdoms from more actively pursuing the offensive against the Almoravids,

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[5] There was some tension between the two crowns over claims to the kingdom of Zaragoza. See Reilly, Alfonso VI, 282-83.

whose control of al-Andalus had begun to falter. Alfonso I of Aragón did take the city of Zaragoza in 1118, an accomplishment on par with Alfonso VI's conquest of Toledo, and he eventually died from wounds received fighting on the Muslim frontier in 1134. Still, the often fierce, internecine struggle between Alfonso of Aragón, Urraca and Urraca's successor, Alfonso VII, probably contributed to the delay of the two kingdoms in procuring Almoravid gold. The campaigns these rulers waged against each other were financed almost solely by the billon denarius.

Since the fighting took place mainly in León-Castile, with the Aragonese intermittently occupying the eastern sections of the realm, it was León-Castile that was most visibly affected by the struggle. The result in monetary terms was a proliferation of new mints and probably an increase in the amount of denarii actively in circulation. At the same time, however, largely independent of the political turmoil, the expanding commerce of Western Europe served to introduce new customs to the developing Leonese economy. Before turning to the complex political events of the anarchy that followed the death of Alfonso VI, indeed before we can fully understand them, it is therefore necessary to examine two commercial innovations evident in the sources of León in the early decades of the twelfth century. Both can be seen in a charter from the monastery of Sahagún drawn up in the year 1100.

In the summer of that year, a man named Muño Pérez, inspired by the success of the First Crusade, prepared to depart for Jerusalem. Like many of his contemporaries throughout Western Europe, Muño needed cash for his journey east and used his landed property to raise it. He mortgaged three villages to the monastery of Sahagún in return for 1,000 solidi of silver.[6] According to the charter recording the mortgage he was paid "500 solidi of pure silver (rendered) by the mark of St. Peter of Cologne and another 500 solidi of denarii."[7] Over half the silver then was clearly in some form of bullion equivalent to 500 solidi of weight. The other half was in coin reckoned by solidi of account.

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[6] Sahagún, 3:396-97 no. 1053; cf. 389-93 no. 1049. Muño's intention to go to Jerusalem in itself testifies to the increasing contact between León and the rest of Europe at the turn of the century. Leonese prelates had heard Urban II preach the First Crusade at Clermont. The resulting enthusiasm in León-Castile was substantial enough that late in 1100 Paschal II was compelled to write to Alfonso VI forbidding his subjects from undertaking the expedition to Jerusalem since his own kingdom was in imminent danger from the Almoravids. For Leonese involvement with the First Crusade, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 262-63, 301, 305.

The custom of mortgaging land for cash was not new in León in 1100. In 1092, doña Mayor gave assorted properties to the monastery of Arlanza in the event that her sons did not come back from the wars against the Saracens. If they did survive, however, they could redeem the land for 100 solidi argenti. Luciano Serrano, ed., Cartulario de San Pedro de Arlanza (Madrid, 1925), 162-64 no. 85.

[7] "quingentos solidos de mera plata per el marcu de Sancti Petri de Colonia, et alios quingentos solidos de lineros (sic); pro quo accepimus de eo tres villas in pignus." Sahagún, 3:396-97 no. 1053.

The document is unusual in a number of respects. Transactions by weight of silver in León in the eleventh century had been conducted in solidi (of 8 argenti each).[8] In this mortgage of 1100, we still see the solidus of weight but it is now reckoned by the mark of Cologne, a unit of weight that emerged in northern Europe in the eleventh century and was somewhat lighter than the Roman pound. More surprising than the reference to the mark, however, is the overall clarity in which the sum given to Muño was recorded.

For almost two centuries, scribes in León-Castile had been content to list prices simply in terms of the solidus argenti comprised of argenti. Such a practice normally made it impossible for anyone later examining the charter to tell whether the sum was paid in bullion by weight or in coin. But the monks of Sahagún hoped to see Muño again within five years and it was important to make clear what he owed. Thus, we are further told that the second sum of solidi given him was in denarii. This in fact is one of the earliest citations of the term denarius in the Leonese sources, but it would be increasingly employed in the records of the twelfth century. Together, the use of the mark and the citation of the denarius in this transaction are indicative of a growing sophistication in León

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[8] See appendix B below.

regarding how business was to be conducted in the expanding European economy of the twelfth century.

The Introduction of the Mark

The precise origin of the unit of weight called the mark, which would become so common in Europe by the late twelfth century, is obscure. References to it begin to appear in the sources of Northern Europe in the mid-eleventh century. According to Nightingale, by the end of that century "England, Normandy, Flanders, Scandinavia, and the Rhineland" all used a common mark of 216 grams. This was the weight that came to be called the mark of Cologne. The slightly heavier mark of Troyes, which seems to have arisen out of the Champagne fairs, may also have existed before 1100, though there is no specific reference to a mark by that name until 1147.[9]

The earliest citation of the mark in León-Castile may be in a charter of Alfonso VI dated 1089 where the penalty for infringing on the terms of the document was "mille marchas argenti." This diploma, however, survives only in a twelfth-century copy and might possibly have been interpolated, though otherwise there is nothing suspect about it.[10] The next citation of the mark in León, to my

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[9] According to Nightingale, "Weight Standards," 200-207, the heavier Cologne mark of 233 grams was not adopted until c.1170. See also Bisson, Conservation, 191 n. 1.

[10] ACL, 4:529-31 no. 1244; cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VI," 13.

knowledge, is in the mortgage agreement of Muño, which refers specifically to the mark of Cologne. This document, dated 1100 exists in what may be the original version and was also copied into the *Becerro gótico* of Sahagún, compiled not long after 1110.[11] It therefore provides fairly secure corroboration that the mark was familiar in the kingdom before the death of Alfonso VI in 1109.

In the opening years of Urraca's reign, the use of the mark as a means of weighing silver plate or bullion became well-established. In 1111, in the early stages of the war with the Aragonese, the queen gave land to the monastery of Oña in exchange for, among other items, a silver vessel (*copam*), a serving dish (*mensorium*) and seven large spoons (*coclearia*) that were said to total 51 marks. Preparing for the campaigning season the following spring, she acquired more silver reckoned in marks from the bishops of Oviedo, Santiago, and Lugo as well as from the Galician monastery of Samos. In the case of Lugo, we are told that the silver was comprised of "sacred ornaments of the altar."[12] Later in the reign, in an accord reached with Bishop Diego of León, she compensated the bishop for a

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[11] Sahagún, 3:396-97 no. 1053. On the *Becerro* and its author, see Barbara A. Shailor, "The Scriptorium of San Sahagún: A Period of Transition," in Santiago, Saint-Denis and Saint Peter: The Reception of the Roman Liturgy in León-Castile in 1080, ed. Bernard F. Reilly (New York, 1985), 42, 55, 58.

[12] The documents attesting to Urraca's search for bullion in 1111 and 1112 are discussed in detail in chapter 5.

table of silver taken from the altar of the cathedral that equaled 97 marks.[13]

While these acquisitions of Urraca were exceptional measures, the mark was also used in more mundane transactions. In 1113, the queen sold land to Vermudo Pérez for the combined price of 3,000 solidi of denarii and 12 marks of silver.[14] As in Muño Pérez' mortgage, it is clear from this sale that the mark was bullion treated by weight as opposed to coin reckoned by tale.[15] In 1117,

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[13] ACL, 5:95-101 nos. 1370-71 This and several of Urraca's earlier acquisitions also included some gold items. The weight of gold is consistently given in ounces which could simply be a division of the mark. When Geraldo of Compostela was sent to the papal curia in 1119, one of the items he carried with him was a gold reliquary, which weighed nine marks. (HC, book 2, chap. 10; cf. n. 33 below.)

On the other hand, there is some indication that the pound was retained as a measure for gold, though it is normally only cited in penalty clauses. See, for example, the *fuero* of Castil de Peones, said to a have been granted by Alfonso I of Aragón in 1116. It declared that anyone infringing on the terms of the charter should pay 12 pounds in Arab gold: "XII libras arabici auri pectet." José Manuel Lizoain Garrido, ed., Documentación del monasterio de Las Huelgas de Burgos (1116-1283) (Burgos, 1985-87), 1:3-5 no. 1. Municipal legislation promulgated at Santiago in 1133 warned the innkeeper, minters and money-changers as well as all citizens not to use false marks, pounds or any other false weight ("non habeant marchas falsas et libras falsas vel pesas"). HC, book 3, chap. 33.

[14] ACL, 5:32-33 no. 1340; cf. chapter 5 n. 95 below. See also the sale between Urraca and the bishop of León in 1118 (ACL, 5:72-73 no. 1361) and the *infanta* Elvira's sale of property in 1120 for "duos marcos de argento, et trigenta solidos de bona moneta, et una tella tota integra de fustan." (94-95 no. 1369).

[15] Reilly identifies Vermudo Pérez as the son of the Galician count, Pedro Froilaz. (See Reilly, Urraca, 92, 69-70.) It is not clear if Muño Pérez is related to him, though a witness named Vermudo appears in an earlier grant

Bishop Diego of León purchased property using 7 silver marks and in 1129 used an additional 6 marks, described as "purissimi," to acquire more estates.[16] Elsewhere, the bishop of Orense purchased land in 1127 for 6 marks of silver from a man who, like Muño Pérez, aspired to go to Jerusalem.[17] Leonese society, therefore, was to some extent still conducting purchases by weight of bullion as it had earlier in the eleventh century. The old solidus of weight, however, was quickly growing obsolete.

Although some of Urraca's acquisitions from her clergy clearly involved silver artifacts that were to be melted and struck for coin, it seems very probable that on other occasions references to the mark indicated ingots of refined silver.[18] In 1123, a decade after he purchased land from Urraca, Vermudo Pérez drew up a testament revealing that he was accustomed to send each year either a mark of silver or an ounce of gold to the Hospitallers in Jerusalem. The most practical method of sending that

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made by Muño to Sahagún. (See ACL, 5:389-93 no.1049.) In addition, Bishop Diego's purchase of 1129 (see n.18 below) was from two brothers Pedro Pérez and Cipriano Pérez.

[16] ACL, 5:67-68 no. 1357; 139 no. 1391.

[17] Documentos del archivo de la catedral de Orense (Orense, 1923), 1:15-27.

[18] Spufford in Money, 209, concludes that, "The use of ingots for large payments was by no means new in the twelfth century." The evidence for the first half of the twelfth century, however, is not as clear cut as Spufford implies. He tends to ignore the possibility that references to marks of silver also can indicate plate, as the Leonese evidence demonstrates.

silver would have been in ingot form.[19] Geraldo tells us in the *Historia Compostelana* that in Diego Gelmírez' final negotiations with the papacy to have his see raised to metropolitan status in 1120, his envoy at the papal curia sent urgent word for an additional 260 marks of silver to help the cause. Among the items used to raise the sum was a serving table weighing nearly 40 marks. Again, it would seem likely that items like this were melted down for easier transport.[20]

The 6 marks used by Bishop Diego of León in 1129 which were described as "purissimi" likewise may have been bars

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[19] ACL, 5:113-18 no. 1378. In the accord of 1122 between Urraca and Bishop Diego of León, we are told that Diego's predecessor, Pedro (c.1087-1111) had been accustomed to distribute money to "pauperibus et clericis, tam in Ispania quam utra portos." (ACL, 5:95-98 no. 1370.) This perhaps means that the bishop gave alms to pilgrims and cleric who passed through his diocese from other lands, though it could indicate he was sending funds abroad, perhaps to the Holy Land.

By the time that Paschal II confirmed the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in 1113, the brethren of that order had apparently already established a hospice at Saint-Gilles near Marseilles on the route to Compostela as well as an number of houses in Italy which probably served as departure points to the Holy land. They quickly developed a reputation for their efficiency in channeling funds to the East. See Jonathan Riley-Smith, The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem and Cypress, c. 1050-1310, (London, 1967), 40. For the Order's early presence in the western regions of Spain, see Santos A. García Larragueta, El gran priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalem siglos XII-XIII (Pamplona, 1957), 1:40-51.

[20] "(M)ensa rotunda argentea, que vulgo intremissa vocabatur, que fuerat Almostani regis Sarracenorum, continens XL marchas argenti." HC, book 2, chap. 16. On the meaning of *intremissa*, cf. Manuel Suárez Lorenzo and José Campelo, trans., Historia Compostelana o sea hechos de don Diego Gelmírez, primer arzobispo de Santiago (Santiago de Compostela, 1950), 273, n. 1.

of silver. Finally, the 500 solidi of weight that Muño received from Sahagún was perhaps rendered in ingots, each representing a mark. The silver was said to be pure (*mera plata*), though this may have been used loosely to describe the quality of plate given him. Five hundred solidi of weight should have given him 36 marks of silver, if our calculations are correct.[21] How much of this in addition to the 500 solidi in denarii, he intended to take with him we do not know. Still, if the bullion was not in bars when Sahagún gave it to him, it is hard to imagine that Muño did not have some made into ingots for such a journey. While ingots of high grade silver were obviously more convenient than carrying sundry bullion, they were also more compact than alloyed denarii and one could exchange them directly for local currency in the course of travel.[22]

The use of ingots of refined silver is corroborated by contemporary evidence from Barcelona. A document of 1097 refers to "500 solidi of silver of which each solidus has only $^1/_2$ an argentus that is bad."[23] According to this

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[21] The solidus of weight corresponded to roughly 15.56 grams. (See appendix B below.) Therefore, 500 solidi equaled 7,780 grams. If Nightingale is correct that the mark of Cologne originally weighed 216 grams, Muño would have received almost exactly 36 marks of silver. Indeed, that this equation results in an even number of marks would tend to support the accuracy of Nightingale's estimate.

[22] See the example of the Bishop Wolfger of Passau's travel to Rome in 1204 discussed in Peter Spufford, Handbook of Medieval Exchange (London, 1986), xxvi-xxvii; Spufford, Money, 209-10.

[23] "(Q)uingentos solidos de plata qui non teneat unus quinque (sic) solidos nisi medium argentum de mallo." I

prescription, each solidus of weight of 8 argenti was to contain no more than $^1/_2$ an argentus of alloy. This formula would result in silver that was 93.75 percent pure, a fineness slightly better than English sterling.[24] Such a high standard, however, may have proved difficult to obtain. Botet cited several later documents, dated between 1101 and 1128, that referred to "pounds of silver, (with) an alloy of 1 argentus per solidus."[25] This more lenient tolerance would result in silver that was 87.50 percent fine. In both cases, these prescriptions make it clear that the silver in question was not miscellaneous bullion nor even denarii. It could only have been refined silver in ingot form.

One important difference stands out between the Barcelona documentation and the contemporary Leonese sources. At Barcelona in the opening decades of the twelfth century, silver was still reckoned by the pound. There is no sign of the mark in the sources.[26] Also, Castaing, in her study of monetary circulation in Languedoc, found that, as at Barcelona, the pound continued

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agree with Botet that *quinque* must read *quisque*. See Botet, Les monedes, 56 and 191-94.

[24] The prescription called for the solidus of fine silver to be only one-sixteenth alloy, which translates to 93.75% pure silver. English sterling was 92.50 % pure.

[25] "(L)liures plata, ab lliga d'un argenç per sou." Botet, Les monedes, 55.

[26] Bensch, Barcelona, 107-108, corroborates that references to pounds of silver begin in the Barcelona documentation c.1080 and last until 1140.

to be used in the early decades of the twelfth century to reckon silver. She found no evidence of the mark until 1137.

In contrast to the records from southern France and Catalonia, the mark is cited possibly as early as 1089 in León. It appears in another Leonese document of 1100, where it is specifically called the mark of Cologne, and then becomes common in documents dated after 1110. The logical conclusion to be drawn from this evidence is that the early appearance of the mark in León stands as additional testimony to trade between the Cantabrian coast and Northern Europe. As we have seen, the existence of this maritime commerce is hinted at by earlier evidence, particularly the hoards from England and the Baltic that contained dirhams of the late caliphate.

By the early twelfth century, the sources no longer leave any doubt of the existence of this trade. The *Historia Compostelana* twice refers to English landings in Galicia. According to its account, Englishmen bound for the Holy Land c.1111 stopped to plunder the Galician coast. The second incident in the *Historia* tells specifically of English and Lotharingian merchants arriving in Compostela probably around 1130. After disembarking at the port of Padrón and making their way along the road to Compostela, they were robbed of their merchandise.[27] Fletcher, drawing

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[27] HC, book 1, chap. 76, book 3, chap. 18.

from the anonymous, eye-witness account of the Anglo-Flemish expedition that assisted in the siege of Lisbon in 1147 (the so-called *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi)*, pointed out that "skippers on both sides of the narrow seas were evidently conversant with the lanes that led across Biscay to northern Spain."[28] In addition, the Muslim geographer Idrīsī, writing in the middle of the twelfth century, described the Bay of Biscay as the "sea of the English."[29]

Finally, Nightingale pointed to the existence, by 1119, of a church in London called St. Antoninus which appears to have been owned by a prominent merchant and moneyer. Nightingale's argument that this church was dedicated to St. Antoninus of Apamea and that this dedication was influenced by the popularity of that saint's cult in Spain is convincing. To accept the validity of her argument one need look no further than the coins which Urraca initiated at Palencia c.1114-16 which bore the legend S B ANTONINI.[30]

Nightingale suggested further that it was perhaps the increasing presence of Lombard merchants in the markets of northwest Europe at the end of the eleventh century that

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[28] Fletcher, Catapult, 184; Charles W. David, ed., De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi (New York, 1936). See further, Giles Constable, "The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries," Traditio 9 (1953): 214, 221.

[29] Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 129.

[30] Ibid., 125-30. Nightingale's suggestion, however, that foreign merchants were drawn specifically to the city of Palencia is unjustified. See chapter 6, n. 28 below.

encouraged English merchants to "look elsewhere for the high profits they expected from Mediterranean trade."[31] The appearance of the mark in León at the opening of the twelfth century indeed supports Nightingale's suggestion. Although trade may have existed for sometime previous between Northern Europe and Cantabria, contact probably intensified at this time. It was a commercial link that would maintain itself into the later Middle Ages.[32]

This is not to imply that trade was not at the same time continuing to develop between León-Castile and Southern Europe. When Diego Gelmírez sent Geraldo to meet with the pope in France in 1119, the treasure he brought along included 211 solidi in denarii of Poitou, 60 solidi in denarii of Milan and 20 solidi in denarii of Toulouse, a clear indication of the money flowing overland to Compostela at this time.[33] By 1092, the town of León

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[31] In the records of London for the first decade of the twelfth century, Nightingale found "at least three different men with the surname 'Lumbardus'" See Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 124-25. See also Duby, Early Growth, 153-54.

[32] See Teofilo F. Ruiz, "Castilian Merchants in England, 1248-1350," in Order and Innovation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Joseph R, Strayer ed. W. C. Jordan et al. (Princeton, 1976), 171-85; Wendy R. Childs, Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages (Manchester, 1978).

[33] "Commisimus autem pecuniam huic negotio necessarium, scilicet archam auream novem marcharum, centum morabetinos, CC at XI solidos Pictaviensis, sexaginta solidos Mediolanensis, XX solidos de Tolosanis et cetera." HC, book 2, chap. 10; cf. Fletcher, Catapult, 205. Geraldo actually entrusted the treasure to two other clerics, who traveled separately from him. Their arrival in France was delayed, because they feared to cross Aragonese territory.

already had a neighborhood referred to as "of the Franks."[34] Likewise, a charter attributed to Alfonso VI, dated 1091 refers to "men of Burgos, (including) Franks or Castilians" and another of c.1103 adds "men of Burgos, Franks, Castilians or from whatever province they may be."[35] As the last phrase indicates, *Frank* was used more in the general sense of foreigner. These communities undoubtedly included merchants and artisans, some from the Mediterranean and some from northern Europe.

A small glimpse of the mixed makeup of one such community of foreign businessmen can be gleaned from the sources of Compostela. In her deathbed bequest to Santiago in 1099, Alfonso VI's sister, Elvira, referred to property in Compostela which she had purchased from the moneyer Adhemar. Adhemar is not a name of Spanish origin.

The year before, the Aragonese had robbed Diego Gelmírez's envoys. To the extent that we can trust Geraldo's memory, this is one of the earlier references to morabetinos in the Leonese sources.

[34] Bishop Pedro of León in 1092 was due as part of his rents 1 pound of incense from the church located "in Vico Francorum." ACL, 4:563-65 no. 1265; Estepa, Estructura, 176-77. The nearby monastery of Sahagún owned property in a "villa que vocifant Gallequellos," which also may denote a predominately French settlement. See Sahagún, 3:154-56 nos. 849-50, 168-69 no. 861.

[35] The two grants of Alfonso VI to Burgos survive in confirmations made by Alfonso X (1252-84) and should be treated somewhat cautiously. See F. Javier Peña Pérez, ed., Documentación del monasterio de San Juan de Burgos (1091-1400) (Burgos, 1983), 3-5 no. 1, cf. 118-19 no. 82; Emiliano González Díez, ed., Colección diplomática de concejo de Burgos (884-1369) (Burgos, 1984), 57-59 no. 4, cf. 89-92 no. 25. See further the discussion in Estepa, Estructura, 79-84, though he accepts the evidence from these and other *fueros* uncritically.

Fletcher hazarded the guess that he may have come from southern France.[36] The other moneyer we meet by name at Compostela is Randulf, whom Diego Gelmírez selected to run the mint after he was awarded full lordship of it by Alfonso VI. Randulf's name also indicates that he was not a native of Galicia. Besides identifying him as mint master, the *Historia Compostelana* tells us that Randulf was selected to plead a dispute before the king between two brothers, John and Godfrey, from Lombardy.[37] Since he represented these two Lombards, Randulf was perhaps Italian-speaking himself. Judging from his name, however, he may just as easily have arrived in Spain from Normandy or England.[38]

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[36] Santiago, 3:appendix, 50-51 no. 15; HC, book 1, chap. 25. Two examples of men named Adhemar from Languedoc are Bishop Adhemar of Le Puy, the leader of the First Crusade and the eleventh-century chronicler Adhemar of Chabannes, a monk at Limognes. See Fletcher, Catapult, 184, 93. On the date of Elvira's death, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 274 n. 55.

We should keep in mind that minting at this time was probably not a full-time occupation. Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 126-27, shows that moneyers were likely to be involved in trade as well. See also her "Some London Moneyers and Reflections on the Organization of English Mints in the 12th and 13th Centuries," Numismatic Chronicle 142 (1982): 34-50.

[37] Fletcher, Catapult, 184, suggested that John the Lombard was a minter, but the text does not support this. He is described as *repositarius* to the king's daughter which inducates that he was her chamberlain or treasurer. His brother, Godfrey, was in the service of a man named Pedro, described as *consul* indicating perhaps that he was member of the town council. See HC, book 1, chap. 28.

[38] Curiously, Randulf is the name of one of four moneyers known in Normandy under William I. His son Osbern appears to have succeeded him in Normandy before 1066. Another son, Waleran, became an important moneyer in

While trade with northern Europe was probably responsible for the early adoption of the mark in León-Castile, merchants arriving from France and Italy surely contributed as well to the growing business acumen of Leonese society. Duby's sketch of the character of the early Italian traders can perhaps be applied in general to the foreign merchants arriving in Spain in the early twelfth century:

> They ...brought techniques which, in the rustic economic system over the mountains would confer on them that superiority to which the Jews had long held a preferential right: practical experience of writing, figures and those contracts of joint capital association which were in use along the whole Mediterranean coastline ... They also brought another economic outlook, an attitude towards specie, value and profit that was very different from that of peasants and lords.[39]

It was probably this new economic outlook that helped prompt Leonese scribes in this period to begin using more specific vocabulary with regard to money and prices in their documents.

The Appearance of the Solidus Denariorum

England. Could Randulf of Santiago, described by the *Historia* as one on the most knowledgeable minters at Compostela ("nummulariis Randulfum maiori ingenio"), be a member of this same Norman family? In 1121, a moneyer named Randulf witnessed an act of Alfonso I of Aragón in Zaragoza. Had the Aragonese king recruited the same man to organize his mint in the recently reconquered city? See David C. Douglas, William the Conqueror (Berkeley, 1964), 135-36, 304; Lacarra, Ebro, 1:90-91 no. 75.

[39] Duby, Early Growth, 263.

A charter of sale dated 1086 from San Millán de la Cogolla provides one of the earliest examples of the use of the term denarius in Christian Spain outside of Catalonia. The price paid for the land is recorded as "14 solidi argenti and *in raisce* 14 denarii."[40] The phrase *in raisce* is clearly synonymous with *in albaroc* which appears in other charters. Both denote a tip or a small sum added to the original price, ostensibly as a gesture of goodwill to help cement the transaction.[41] A series of purchases made between 1089 and 1095 by a man describing himself as the custodian of the hospice (*alberguería*) at San Millán, also employs a very similar formula, expressing the main price in solidi argenti and adding a number of denarii as the

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[40] "XIIII solidos argenti et in raisce XIIII dineros." Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 104-5 no. 148. There is an earlier document from San Millán dated 1058 in which doña Sancha donates three monasteries which she bought from the king for "III denariorum solidos argenti," but this survives only in a sixteenth-century copy. See Ubieto Arteta, San Millán, 293-94 no. 303. See also the confirmation by Sancho Ramírez and his son Pedro dated 1085 in Martín Duque, Leire, 172-73 no. 116, cf. 234-37 no. 164. The *fuero* granted to the hospice in Burgos by Alfonso VI and dated 1085 also mentions denarii. Again, however, the text is not original and almost certainly interpolated in places. See Gonzalo Martínez Díez, ed., Fueros locales en el territorio de la provincia de Burgos (Burgos, 1982), 124-25 no. 3. Cf. Reilly's remarks on the *fueros* of Alfonso VI in "Chancery of Alfosno VI," 10.

[41] The phrase *in raisce* appears in the San Millán documents as early as 1037 (See Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 208 no. 210) and is used frequently thereafter. See Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "albaroc." The term *alboroque* survives today in modern Spanish.

payment *in raisce*.[42] Not long afterward, similar references to the denarius emerge in the documents of Sahagún. One charter from Sahagún, for example, recorded a sale of land in 1102 for the price of 2 "solidi argenti and *in albaroc* 6 denarii."[43]

At first glance, the sudden use of the term denarius might suggest that these coins had just recently come into circulation in León-Castile. While this interpretation may fit well with the long-accepted theory that Alfonso VI was the first king of León to mint such coins, it would mean that all the citations of argenti and solidi argenti that appear in the sources for two hundred years previous to 1100 referred to either silver plate or perhaps Muslim dirhams. It is far more plausible that it was not the coin that was new to León-Castile, rather it was the terminology. Denarius was a Frankish term for a coin which in León had long been called simply an argentus

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[42] Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 131 no. 188, 144-45 no. 210, 146-47 no. 213, 156 no. 227, 158-9 nos. 231-32, 164 no. 243. There are a few later purchases by Sancho, but those cited here suffice to illustrate the pattern. His purchases are all entered close together in the so-called *Becerro galicano* and do not seem to have been included in the other main cartulary of the monastery, the *Becerro gótico*. Sancho is clearly not abbot, see no. 210 that lists Blasius in this position.

[43] Sahagún, 3:429-30 no. 1082. This survives in a non-cartulary version, perhaps an original. A slightly earlier charter from Sahagún, dated 1101, cites the denarius, but this survives only in the *Becerro gótico* of that archive. See 410-11 no. 1066.

That argentus and denarius were interchangeable terms for the same coin is implied in the documentation from San Millán. Contemporary to the sales that express the *raisce* payment in denarii, a charter of 1085 recorded a purchase where the abbot of the monastery was said to pay "20 solidi, *in raisce* 10 argenti."[44] Likewise, in 1088, the monastery purchased an orchard (*huerto*) for "20 solidi and *in raisce* 10 argenti."[45] The gradual use of the term denarius instead of argentus at the close of the eleventh century becomes clearer if we compare different versions of the same document.

Alfonso's charter announcing his levy of an extraordinary tax to help fight the Almoravids in the spring of 1091 survives in two copies. One version, dated February 7, is preserved in the *Becerro gótico* of Sahagún. The second version dated March 31 is found in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral of León.[46] The texts are in substance very similar. Perhaps the most noticeable difference is that the first is addressed only to the people of the *terra* of León, *infanzones* as well as *villanos*. The second, which survives in the cathedral archive of León, was addressed to

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44 "XX solidos, race X argentos." Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 74-5 no. 97.

45 "XX solidos et in raisce X argentos." Ibid., 127-28 no. 183.

46 Sahagún, 3:164-66 no. 858; ACL, 4: 547-49 no. 1256. The February version preserved at Sahagún is dated 1090. It is evident, however, that both texts are from the same year and 1091 is the more logical choice. See above chapter 3, n. 53.

the current bishop of León, Pedro, and Count Martín Laíñez and then the people of the region. The later document also is signed as a confirmation whereas the earlier version is not.[47]

Now, as Reilly noted, the February version from Sahagún seems "improved" upon.[48] Compared to the March version, it is more detailed and the Latin is somewhat better. We can perhaps assume then that these improvements were the work of the scribe that copied the document of February into the *Becerro gótico* of Sahagún, sometime soon after 1110.[49] The March version from León, while also a cartulary copy, may be truer to the original text. In the text of March from León, where the king stipulates that no one should seek to be excused from the payment of the tax, the text reads "nemo vestrum veniat mihi petere ipsum debitum." The Sahagún version attempts to make this clearer with, "nullus ex vobis veniat me rogare pro ipsos denarios." Again, where the León version states simply

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[47] The February version concludes simply "facta carta" followed by the date and then "Ego Adefonsus ... hoc meum factum quod ego facere elegi, cum propria manu meum signum imprimo." The March version reads "Facta cartula confirmationis" followed by the date and "Ego Adefonsus ... hoc factum meum quod facere elegi libenter confirmo."

[48] Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VI," 13.

[49] For the composition of the *Becerro gótico,* see Shailor, "Scriptorium," 55-58. Shailor concluded that the scribe Monnio was solely responsible for the *Becerro* and that he "copied the documents accurately and with diligent attention to detail." The interpolations in the royal charter of 1091, then, may have already occurred before he incorporated it in the cartulary.

that the king will not demand the payment again ("et amplius non demandem (sic) eos vobis altera vice"), the Sahagún copy adds a more elaborate line saying that neither Alfonso nor any of his successors will require "illos denarios in nullo anno nec in nullo tempore."

On the basis of these two copies, it seems that the original version of the royal charter calling for the levy of 2 solidi per household did not employ the term denarius. By the time the text was copied into the *Becerro* of Sahagún, sometime after 1110, the use of denarius had probably become more common. Therefore, when the copyist at Sahagún attempted to make the royal text more comprehensible, he incorporated the term into his revisions. A similar infiltration of the denarius is hinted at in other charters of the period. The *fuero* of Sepúlveda was granted by Alfonso VI in 1076. In monetary terms, it employs the customary terminology of solidi and individual argenti. For example, a woman who abandons her husband is to be fined 300 solidi while a husband abandoning his wife pays only 1 argenti.[50] By contrast the *fuero* granted to the colonizers of the lands of Sahagún in 1085 never speaks of individual argenti but of denarii.[51]

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[50] Emilio Sáez, ed., Los fueros de Sepúlveda: Edición crítica y apéndice documental (Segovia, 1953), 47; Heath Dillard, "Women in Reconquest Castile: The *Fueros* of Sepúlveda and Cuenca," in Women in Medieval Society, ed. Susan Mosher Stuard (Philadelphia, 1976), 72.

[51] The earliest surviving version of the Sahagún *fuero* is again found in the *Becerro gótico*. Justiniano Rodríguez

Finally, the *fuero* of Lara reveals a confusing blend of both old and new terms.

In 1135, Alfonso VII repromulgated the *fuero* of Lara. In the preamble of his diploma, the king noted that the people were originally granted these laws in the time of his grandfather, Alfonso VI, but he was now "improving them."[52] The *fuero* as granted by Alfonso VI does not survive, but in Alfonso VII's revised version, when the laws need to express sums of less than a solidus both argentus and denarius are employed, seemingly interchangeably.[53] For each day a man did not show up for military service he was to pay 1 argentus with a maximum fine of 5 solidi ("pectet ... i arenzo usque inpleat v solidos"). But, anyone who put up a fence (*palos*) where it did not belong and failed to take it down within eight days was to pay 6 denarii for each stake erected with the maximum fine set at 5 solidi ("pectet vi denarios ... usque compleat v solidos").[54] The impression the text gives is

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Fernández, ed., Los fueros del reino de León (León, 1981), 2:35-41 no. 6; cf. Sahagún, 3:121-25 no. 823.

[52] "Facio vobis barones civitatis Larensis cartam de vestros foros, de illos quos habuistis ex parte aviorum meorum et ego do vobis in illos melioranza." González Díez, Burgos, 61-66 no. 7.

[53] There is another version of the *fuero* of Lara that claims to have been issued by Count Fernán González in 922. It survives only in a confirmation of Sancho IV (1284-95) and is clearly a forgery, probably intended to establish the extent of the town's territory. See Martínez Díez, Fueros locales, 21, 217 no. 49.

[54] See also the passage, "Hominem qui in defesa de rege ligna abciderit et fuerit preso, unde fuero habuit illa defesa o el face, i denario por la cargadura, i

that argentus is a remnant from the older laws while the denarius was used in the revised sections.

The term denarius, in its medieval context, was a Carolingian innovation. When Gregory of Tours referred to the silver coins of the early Merovingian kings, he called them simply argenti. In the reign of Charlemagne, the old Roman term denarius was resurrected and applied to the silver coins that had begun to be issued by the last Merovingian kings and which were then subsequently reformed under Charlemagne. Since Catalonia was part of the Carolingian empire, the term was known and used there. But just as the western Iberian kingdoms had never adopted the Carolingian term mancus for the dinar (using *mithcal* instead), so they did not employ denarius until the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

There are similar examples of French vocabulary introduced into Latin Spain in this time frame. The Carolingians had normally used *hoste* or *in hoste* to signify the duty to take part in military expeditions of the king. While the kings of León imposed a parallel obligation on their subjects, they called it *in fossato* or *fondsado*.[55]. Powers noted, however, that by the late eleventh century

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arienzo pectet por carrada, vi denarios de pastura, arienzo a iuga bouum, a la bestia iii denarios." González Díez, Burgos, 61-66 no. 7.

[55] The term derived from the Latin *fossatum*, used probably in the sense of an entrenched or fortified camp. See Niermeyer, Lexicon Minus, s.v. "fossatum."

the term *hoste* began to appear in Aragonese *fueros* and eventually made its way into Leonese usage.[56] Conversely, Valdeavellano pointed out that the French *burgés* never successfully overtook the Spanish *vecino* as the common term for townsmen.[57]

The appearance of new French terms in the written records of León at the opening of the twelfth century can in part be attributed to the gradual substitution of Carolingian minuscule for the Visigothic script. In her study of the scriptorium of Sahagún, Shailor concluded that "a whole new generation of scribes trained in Carolingian

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[56] Tracing the use of *hoste* and *fossato* in eleventh and twelfth-century Spain is extremely difficult in that the terms tend to appear mainly in *fueros*, almost all of which survive only in later copies that were frequently revised. See, however, the charter of 1090 in ACL, 4:539-86 that refers to serving *in fossato*. For the earliest use of *in hoste* in León, see James F. Powers, "The Origins and Development of Municipal Military Service in the Leonese and Castilian Reconquest, 800-1250," Traditio 29 (1970): 90 n. 21. See also his discussion in "Frontier Competition and Legal Creativity: A Castilian-Aragonese Case Study Based on Twelfth-Century Municipal Military Law." Speculum 52 (1977): 469-75.

In his A Society Organized For War: The Iberian Municipal Militias in the Central Middle Ages, 1000-1284 (Berkeley, 1988), chap. 1, 13-39, Powers does not re-address the question of when *in hoste* began to replace *in fossato*. Overall, he often does not give sufficient weight to the problems inherent with the *fueros*. To contend, for example, that cash payment in lieu of military service (*fossataría*) was already established c.1017 based on its appearance in the *Fuero* of León, ignores the fact that the earliest text of that document dates to the early twelfth century and shows obvious signs of interpolation. (See García de Valdeavellano et al., El Fuero de León, 13-16.)

[57] Luis García de Valdeavellano, Orígenes de la burguesía en la España medieval (Madrid, 1969), 134-38; Powers, "Frontier Competition," 468.

begins to appear around 1110."[58] Some of the scribes using the new script may have been French natives, such as the Bernardo or Bartolomeo that Shailor finds at Sahagún. These men would have been naturally inclined to list prices in terms of denarii. Other scribes at Sahagún using the new script, such as Ordoño, probably were native Spaniards. In endeavoring to learn the new Carolingian hand, they may well have assimilated new vocabulary at the same time.[59] Indeed, the term denarius seems to have been unfamiliar enough in the early twelfth century that it baffled some scribes working at Sahagún. Twice in those documents the vernacular form *dinero* is rendered as *linero*.[60]

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[58] Shailor, "Sciptorium," 44.

[59] See, for example, the documents in José María Fernández Catón, ed., "Documentos leoneses en escritura visigótica: Fondo M. Bravo del archivo histórico diocesano de León." Archivos Leoneses 27 (1973): 99-146. One of the texts records a purchase of land in 1097 by Count Froila and his wife in which the price is given simply as 400 "solidos" (140-41 no. 17). Fernández judged the script to only show some Carolingian influence. Another purchase by the same party, however, he described as showing strong Carolingian influence. This time the scribe was careful to note that the price was "50 solidos of denarii" (137-8 no. 15).

[60] One case is the document recording Muño Pérez's mortgage agreement. The second is a sale of 1109 for the price of "una mula apreciata in septemcentos (sic) solidos et trecentos solidos in liteira et IIII^{or} centos solidos in lineiros." (Sahagún, 3:396-97 no. 1053, 547-48 no. 1168.) The confusion may have stemmed from the similar forms of *l* and *d* then in use at Sahagún. See Shailor, "Scriptorium," 53-54. *Liteira* in the above price I suspect means a measure of cloth (from *lintearius*) which occasionally appears in other prices as *lenzos*. See, for example, "in precio una lorica & uno mulo & XXX lenzos." Angel Rodríguez González, ed., El tumbo del monasterio de San Martín de Castañeda (León, 1973), 211 no. 160; cf Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "lenzal."

On the other hand, the use of a more specialized vocabulary in commercial transactions probably reflects more than just the influence of Carolingian script. Besides the appearance of denarius, charters of this period also begin to employ the more general term *moneta*, which surprisingly does not surface in earlier Leonese sources.[61] A charter from Portugal dated 1091, for example, refers to "solidos argenteis ab moneta domno Adefonsi regis." A charter of 1104 from Sahagún, written in Carolingian script, refers to "solitus (sic) quale moneta corruerit" and the forged *fuero* of Salas speaks of "monete terre."[62] We also find sporadic mention of *moneta publica* and *moneta regis*.[63] The use of such phrases might reflect a growing

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[61] Less frequently, the term *nummus* also appears in substitution for either denarius or *moneta*. See "solidos numorum" in an agreement of 1120 in Martín Duque, Leire, 356-57 no. 265; cf. Sahagún, 3:535-37 no. 1160. See also the judicial sentence of 1090 that spoke of 30 "solidos numero regis." ACL, 4:538 no. 1249. The price decrees past at Compostela in 1133 also use *nummus*. See HC, book 3, chap. 33.

[62] Gomes Marques de Abreu and Gomes Marques, "From County to Kingdom," 320-21; Sahagún, 3:459-60 no. 1104. The *fuero* of Salas probably dates to the twelfth century. See Martínez Díez, Fueros locales, 21-22, 219-21 no. 51; cf. Serrano, Arlanza, 181-85 no. 96.

[63] See the purchase in 1113 for 300 solidos "publice monete" in Sahagún, 4:37-39 no. 1190. See also the penalty clause in a royal charter of 1128, which called for payment of "mille solidos publice monete." Enrique Cal Pardo, ed., El monasterio de San Salvador de Pedroso en Tierra de Trasancos: Colección documental (La Coruña, 1984), 239 no. 4. See also the citation from Barcelona dated 1118 in Botet, Les monedes, 55, "mancusada de monete publice Barchinone." Finally, see the later sale of 1177 for 12 "solidos publice monete" in Augusto Quintana Prieto, ed., Tumbo viejo de San Pedro de Montes (León, 1971), 318-19 no.

sense within the kingdom that there was now an identifiable coinage of the realm. While Alfonso VI most likely was not the first monarch in León to strike coins, he did make money more commonly available by striking at least two sizable issues, the star-annulet and christogram coins.[64]

Overall, however, the less-ambiguous terminology of the twelfth-century documents is probably in large part a result of León's increased commercial contact with Latin Europe at this time. As more foreign merchants and travelers came to León-Castile, it became inevitable that such vocabulary would emerge. As with the adoption of the mark, using more "modern" notarial practices allowed León-Castile to participate more easily in the expanding economy of Europe.

Of these two changes, the adoption of the mark was clearly the more substantive. It reflected a real change in how transactions were conducted. The use of ingots weighed by the mark, in particular, helped facilitate

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217. "Solidos monete regis" appears in a sale of 1106, (Sahagún, 3: 515-16 no. 1145) and again in a penalty clause of 1111. (Cal Pardo, San Salvador, 235-36 no 1.) The phrase becomes more common at the close of the century.

64 A piece of land was sold in Burgos in 1098 for 150 "solidos bone monete" (Garrido, Burgos, 1:108 no. 51). It is tempting to interpret this as a reference to Alfonso's reform coinage that we have suggested was introduced in the 1090s. Older documents, however, also use similar language, i.e., "solidos...argenteis bonis, quos magnus et placibiles" in a sale of 1050 (ACL, 4:258-59 no. 1073) or "solidis argenti obtimi" in one of 1067 (Sahagún, 3:373-74 no. 661). Cf. the sale of 1111 which evaluated payment in-kind as worth 200 solidos "monedam obtimam." (Sahagún, 4:27-29 no. 1183.)

exchange with foreign markets using that weight standard. (If León was the first of the Latin Iberian kingdoms to use the mark, neighboring Christian states soon followed its lead.)[65] The adoption of terms like denarius and *moneta* by Leonese scribes did not correspond to a "real" change, but this is precisely the point that must be held in mind. The appearance of these terms at the beginning of the twelfth century should not be mistaken as signaling the introduction of the denarius in León-Castile. Rather, it marked an updating of notarial practice. Leonese documents in the twelfth century frequently would continue to list prices in terms of solidi argenti with no further modification. Yet, when the component parts of the solidus were described, the use of the idiosyncratic term argentus vanished in favor of denarius and *moneta*.[66]

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[65] Ramiro II (1134-37) of Aragón twice received silver bullion weighed in marks from the monastery of San Juan de La Peña. See Ubieto, "Documentos," pt. 1, 116-18 nos. 4-5. Likewise, King García IV Ramírez of Navarre (1134-50) received bullion weighing 170 marks from the monastery of Leire in 1141. Martín Duque, Leire, 412-13 no. 314.

[66] The solidus as a unit of weight comprised of 8 argenti likewise seems to have all but disappeared in the twelfth century. See, however, the article by José M. Correia Nora, "A Note on the *Arenço* as a Unit of Weight," in PMC III, 407-10, which shows the argentus used as subdivision of the mark as late as 1282 in Portugal.

FIVE

THE SINEWS OF WAR, 1109-1126

> War begun without good provision of money ... is but as a breathing of strength and blast that will quickly pass away. Coin is the sinews of war.
>
> —Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel

Alfonso VI's decision to betroth his daughter Urraca to Alfonso I of Aragón provoked opposition from the outset, particularly in the western regions of Galicia and Portugal. Raymond of Burgundy, Urraca's first husband and count of Galicia, had once held realistic hopes of succeeding Alfonso VI until the king's son Sancho was born late in the reign. When Raymond died unexpectedly in 1107 and Sancho was killed the following year at the battle of Uclés, the crisis of succession was born which led Alfonso VI to propose the marriage of his daughter to Alfonso I of Aragón. The Galician faction, however, clung to hopes of an independent kingdom under Alfonso Raimúndez, the young son of Raymond and Urraca. At the same time, Henry of Burgundy and his wife the *infanta* Teresa began to foster their own ambition to rule independently in the Portuguese territory.

Even before the old king's death in June of 1109, efforts may have been made to have the prospective marriage

of his daughter condemned by Rome on the grounds of consanguinity. (Urraca and Alfonso I of Aragón shared a common great-grandfather in Sancho the Great of Navarre.) Nevertheless, after her father's passing, Urraca determined to go ahead with the plan and married Alfonso of Aragón by early October. Alfonso I, for his part, also seemed eager to make the marriage work. A nuptial agreement drawn up shortly after the wedding demonstrates his willingness to compromise by allowing favorable terms of inheritance to the Leonese queen.[1]

Private documents from the spring of 1110 regularly cite the two as ruling in unison and several royal charters survive that were executed either jointly or with one sovereign confirming the act of the other.[2] The couple, however, did not issue a new coin proclaiming the union of their realms as some numismatists and historians have proposed.[3] Whether Urraca struck coin in this first year

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[1] Reilly, Urraca, 54-64.

[2] See for example the joint donations to Santa María de Valbanera in José Angel Lema Pueyo, Colección diplomática de Alfonso I de Aragón y Pamplona (1104-1134) (San Sebastián, 1990), 47-52 nos. 38-39, cf. 67 no. 48. See also Reilly, Urraca, 65-66.

[3] There are three coins that have been suggested as joint issues. First is a type which portrays two profiles, evidently of a man and woman, facing each other on the obverse. The reverse bears the legend IMPERATOR or, in some cases, LEONI CIVI. Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes in "Restitución á d. Alfonso, el Batallador, rey de Aragón, de una moneda con el titulo Imperator," Memorial Numismático Español 2 (1868): 155-62, proposed that the profiles represented Urraca and Alfonso I. His argument was intriguing in that the motif is strikingly similar to that used on the gold *excellente* of Isabella and Ferdinand, the

of her reign is uncertain. When she did mint, however, the coins would be in her name alone.

The Opening Conflict, 1110-1111

Urraca and Alfonso's honeymoon, both maritally and politically speaking, was brief. In the spring of 1110, revolt broke out in Galicia led by Count Pedro Froílaz, the guardian of the young Alfonso Raimúndez.[4] Alfonso of Aragón, known to history as the Battler, did not take this challenge lightly. By the summer, he was in the province attempting to put down the rebellion. While Urraca probably accompanied her husband, they seem to have quickly quarreled and by June parted ways. Without the queen, Alfonso had slim chances of solidifying support in Galicia.

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next Leonese queen to marry an Aragonese king. Nevertheless, a hoard find in this century demonstrates that the piece almost certainly belongs to the later reign of Alfonso VII. See chapter 8, n. 41 below.

Secondly, Sánchez Albornoz in "Primitiva organización," 329-30 n. 65, misinterpreted a coin in the name of Alfonso that displays two crosses and two alphas on the reverse field. (For the coin see catalogue 3, no. 11.) Despite the repeated appearence of the letter alpha on Leonese coins of this era, Sánchez Albornoz saw the letters as two *V*s and concluded they stood for Urraca, thus seeing it as a joint issue. The supposition makes its way into Reilly, Urraca, 271 n. 63.

Finally, Luis Domingo Figuerola in "Una moneda de Urraca y Alfonso," Numisma 22 (1982): 293-300, presented a singular example of a coin that reads URRACA REGI on one side and ANFVS RE on the reverse as a joint issue of the princes. The coin, however, is better treated as an inadvertent mule of two dies perhaps from the mint at Segovia, a town which was alternatively occupied by the Leonese and Aragonese during the anarchy of Urraca's reign.

[4] Alfonso Raimúndez was probably born March 1, 1105. In 1110, then, he was only about five years old. Reilly, Urraca, 45 n. 2.

Ironically, some of the Galician nobility had originally declared for the royal couple including, it seems, Bishop Diego Gelmírez of Santiago. But the campaigns of the Aragonese king heightened the unrest and drove the bishop towards the separatist camp.[5]

Having achieved nothing, the Battler was forced to abandon his objective. The Almoravids had finally taken the *taifa* of Zaragoza and Alfonso I rushed back to deal with the affairs of his native Aragón. Meanwhile condemnation of his marriage arrived that summer from Rome and Urraca, meeting with the leading prelates of the realm, agreed to separate from him. The two were briefly reunited at Christmas, but after that any pretense of ruling as joint sovereigns was abandoned. Though there would be more uneasy accords, the two were now open rivals.[6]

In the spring of 1111, Alfonso I occupied the city of Toledo, the prize possession of the Leonese crown. This quickly led to open war with Urraca. Anticipating the conflict, Count Henry of Portugal left for France to raise auxiliary forces. Urraca astutely seized the opportunity

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[5] Diego Gelmírez' loyalty to Urraca and Alfonso had from the outset been tenuous. If there was an appeal to Rome before Alfonso VI's death to have the prospective marriage condemned, Diego was probably involved. (Reilly, Urraca, 54-55). Nonetheless, in the opening year of the reign, he appears to have sided with the *hermandad* that favored the couple. His subsequent alliance with Pedro Froílaz was his first open breach with the crown. See Fletcher, Catapult, 131-32.

[6] For the events of the summer of 1110 see Reilly, Urraca, 61-71; cf. Fletcher, Catapult, 131-32.

to make peace with Bishop Diego Gelmírez and the party supporting her son, undermining any hopes Henry had of counting on the aid of the Raimundist faction. In recognition of the reconciliation between mother and son, the young Alfonso was crowned king by Bishop Diego at Santiago in September of 1111 and in theory now ruled with Urraca.[7]

Urraca had not remained in Santiago for the coronation but moved eastward to confront the Aragonese. By September, she was in Burgos where she issued several charters, one being a donation to the monastery of Oña of the village of Altable along with additional property.[8] In return for the gift, she was given a gold cup valued at 5,000 solidi *jaccensis*,[9] a silver cup weighing 14 marks, a

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[7] Reilly, Urraca, 72-73; for the coronation of Alfonso see HC, book 1, chap. 66.

[8] This document survives in two distinct versions. One is issued in the name of Urraca, "totius Hispanie regina" while the other claims to be issued jointly by Alfonso "totius Hispanie rex" with his wife Urraca "regina." [See Isabel Oceja Gonzalo, Documentación del monasterio de San Salvador de Oña (1032-1284) (Burgos, 1983), 32-34 nos. 39-40; also Lema Pueyo, Alfonso I, 68-71 no. 50; Alamo, Oña, 1:167 no. 137.] Reilly pointed out that reconciliation between the two at this juncture was impossible. The two versions likely represent a clever design "to legitimize the holdings regardless of the eventual victor." (Reilly, Urraca, 73-74 n.99.) That the grant was originally Urraca's is supported by the fact that it was drawn up by a canon from Compostela often seen in her charters after this and who later served in the chancery of Alfonso VII. Another version of the document, in both sovereigns' names and with a slightly different date, survives in a later copy from San Millán. See Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 220-22 no. 332.

[9] The copy from San Millán gives 2,000 solidi *jaccensis* as the value of the cup instead of 5,000. The

silver dish (*mensorium*) weighing 30 marks and seven large spoons (*coclearia*) each weighing a mark as well as other unnamed items.[10]

These assorted artifacts from the monastery were more than token gifts presented to Urraca in appreciation for her grant of land.[11] Despite the act being couched in terms of a royal donation, the Oña charter represents an exchange of property for a substantial amount of bullion which was surely meant to be turned into coin to help cover the costs of the impending war with Aragón.[12] We can be certain, then, that if Urraca had not minted before this point, she was now forced to formulate some form of monetary policy.

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jaccensis was the royal denarius of Aragón. Its citation by name in this charter may indicate that the Aragonese coin was becoming familiar in the eastern parts of the Leonese realm. Cf. the sale of 1101 preserved at San Millán for "CCCC solidos de dineros de Iaka." Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 189-90, no. 283. By the 1120s, the *jaccensis* is cited in documents from central León. See n. 103 below.

[10] After the seven spoons, the document reads "et cetera" implying that there was more bullion.

[11] For an example of token gifts, see the bishop of Palencia giving the queen two silver bridles in 1114 for privileges he received. Abajo Martín, Palencia, 58-60 no. 23. See also the dog and hunting spear presented to Alfonso Raimúndez for a grant he made jointly with his mother in July 1118 in Antonio C. Floriano Cumbreño, Curso general de paleografía y diplomática española (Oviedo, 1946), 2:34.

[12] The gold Urraca received here and in future transactions was presumably used to purchase more silver. There is no indication that she or any of the Christian princes in Spain were minting gold at this time.

The Evidence of the Coins

In total, there are five basic coin types that bear the name Urraca.[13] Since there is no other monarch by that name in Iberian history, all these can be assigned unhesitantly to the daughter of Alfonso VI. All five types are rare and not a single specimen is known in the context of a hoard. This is odd in that Urraca's reign was one of almost constant civil war which would normally encourage the interment of coins. As with the Oña grant above, documents throughout the reign show the queen acquiring bullion. There is little reason to suppose, then, that mint output was exceptionally small. More than likely, the scarcity of her coins today is due to subsequent recoinages carried out by her successors. But this is a topic to which we will return. For now, we must realize that a lack of hoards prevents the establishment of a firm chronology of types. Nonetheless, the coins themselves when examined in light of key political developments in the reign allow us to form a rough chronology.

Of the five types, the one best represented today in the major museum collections is a coin showing the head of

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[13] Two coins are published in Reilly, Urraca, following 204. Only one of these belongs to Urraca. The one to the right reads ANFVS REX and is a coin that later hoard evidence demonstrates circulated widely in the early thirteenth century. It is more than likely the so-called *pepión* of Alfonso VIII. See the discussion in chapter 9. See also catalogue 5, nos. 18-19.

a woman, facing front and wearing a crown (hereafter called type 1). The legend reads VRRACA RE. The reverse has a plain cross surrounded by the legend TOLETVO.[14] It is the only coin in Urraca's name to invoke that city.

Type 2 employs a more elaborate cross on the obverse surrounded by the legend VRRACA REGI while the reverse displays a christogram identical to that used by her father. The reverse legend on all known examples of this type is LEO CIVITAS.[15] A third, rarer type (hereafter type 3) shows a profile of the queen, crowned and facing left. The legend reads VRRACA REXA. The reverse has a cross, with smaller crosses in each quadrant. Unlike type 2, the

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[14] The trays of the ANS contain only 2 samples of type 1. The MAN has 7. See catalogue 3, no. 1. In addition to the MAN collection, Mercedes Rueda Sabater, "Cronología del vellón castellano: Un caso desconcertante," in Arqueología medieval española, II congresso (Madrid, 1987), 664, examined the cabinets of Spanish provincial museums as well several British collections (primarily the Fitzwilliam at Cambridge). She located only 3 more examples of this type. While no systematic search of auction catalogues has been undertaken, a cursory glance through the most-recent ones amply demonstrates that Urraca's coins are also rare in private collections. See, for example, the periodic sale catalogues published by the Asociación Numismática Española of Barcelona.

[15] Catalogue 3, no. 2. The piece was unknown to Heiss, but José Luis Monteverde in "Notas sobre algunas monedas no conocidas por Heiss," part 2, BIFG 8 (1948-9): 251, expressed surprise that Heiss had not come across it, for he had seen "various examples," most likely in private collections. The ANS has 1 specimen and the MAN 2. Rueda, "Cronología," 663-64, found an additional 2 in other museums.

reverse legend here does not specifically invoke the city of León. Rather, it reads LEGIONENSIS.[16]

The fourth type is divided into two distinct varieties. Type 4a has a cross on the obverse and the legend reads VRRACA RΩG. (The symbol is usually read as an omega.) The reverse motif is made up of two alphas and two omegas and is vaguely reminiscent of Alfonso's star-annulet type. The reverse legend reads LEO CIVITAS.[17] Type 4b is identical to type 4a with one important difference. In the reverse legend, LEO CIVITAS is replaced with S B ANTONINI or at times BEATI ANTONN. This is a clear reference to the see of Palencia, which was dedicated to St. Antoninus of Apamea or San Antolín, as he was popularly called in Iberia. We know from a bull of Paschal II that by 1116 there was a mint in Palencia to which the cathedral chapter had partial claim.[18]

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[16] The ANS has 1 specimen, the MAN none. See catalogue 3, no. 3. Cf. Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, no. 14. The authors imply that they saw several examples since they give a range of weights for the type, but Heiss is the only source cited.

[17] Catalogue 3, no. 4a. Neither the ANS nor the MAN have this coin. Heiss, Las monedas,5 no. 2, gave his source as the Real Academia de la Historia. There is also one specimen recorded in Pedrals y Moliné, Catálogo de Vidal Quadras, no. 5289.

[18] The ANS has 1 specimen of this type and the MAN another. (See catalogue 3, no. 4b.) For Paschal's bull see Abajo Martín, Palencia, 62-63 no. 25. Manuel Gil y Flores, "Marcas de taller ó zeca de los monedas hispano-cristianas," RABM 1 (1897): 385, mistakenly assigned this coin to the monastery of San Antolín del Esla, located just south of the city of León. This attribution was reiterated by, among others, Jaime Lluis Navas in "Aspectos de la organización legal de la amonedación en la Edad Media

Finally, there is type 5. It has a cross on the obverse with the legend VRRACA REGI. The reverse reads LEO CIVITAS and carries an unusual central motif. This is comprised of a cross, a star and what appear to be two letter *E*s, though some have interpreted the last as small castle turrets. The coin is known from a single specimen in the Bibliothèque National of Paris.[19]

In establishing a chronology for the five coins, we can take as a point of departure Urraca's claim to Toledo. When her marriage to Alfonso I of Aragón began to unravel, control of Toledo became an immediate point of contention between the two monarchs. Alfonso occupied the city in 1111 but Urraca appears to have re-gained control by 1113 mainly through the loyalty of Count Alvar Fáñez. Alvar Fáñez, however, is reported to have been killed in 1114 in (or near) Segovia. The documentary sources are vague as to

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Castellana," Numisma 9 (1959): 35-36. The monastery to which Gil y Flores referred did claim to house relics of the saint. (See the foundation charters of 1038 in ACL, 4:105-16 nos. 970 and 971.). Nevertheless, there are no grounds for assigning it this coinage. The church of Palencia in Urraca's day was clearly known as San Antolín's and also probably claimed some of the saint's remains. For the popular spread of the cult of San Antolín in León in the early-eleventh century, see Bishko, "Fernando," 10-14 (though he slightly misinterprets one of the foundation charters to San Antolín del Esla--Rodrigo appears to be Sancha's current husband not her vassal). See also, Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 126-27.

[19] Catalogue 3, no. 5.; cf. Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 19. Rueda in Primeras acuñaciones, 33-34, provides an excellent photo of this piece as she does with many of the coins of this era. Neither she nor Alvarez Burgos, however, have transcribed the legend correctly in their texts.

what followed, but both the towns of Segovia and Toledo seemed to have then transferred their allegiance to the Aragonese.[20]

In the meantime, the Raimundist party had not been completely satisfied by the peace made between Urraca and her son in 1111. They continued to demand that Alfonso Raimúndez be granted independent rule in Galicia. By October of 1116, however, Urraca achieved a brilliant solution to the problem. Though we have no royal document recording the terms of the accord, it is clear from later evidence that the queen at this time agreed to let Alfonso have title to his own kingdom. This was not Galicia, as his supporters had hoped, but the kingdom of Toledo.[21] By this maneuver, Urraca sought to both separate the boy from his Galician entourage and at the same time hopefully reassert Leonese authority in Toledo. By November 1116, Alfonso Raimúndez had moved south to the Duero in the company of the archbishop of Toledo where he granted his first known charter, styling himself "Hildefonsus Raymundi,

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[20] For Alfonso I's entry into Toledo in April 1111 and the assassination of Alvar Fáñez in 1114 see Enrique Flórez, ed., "Anales toledanos I," in ES, 23:388. For Urraca and Alvar Fáñez ruling in Toledo in 1113, see the charter in José Antonio García Luján, ed., Privilegios reales de la catedral de Toledo (1086-1462) (Toledo, 1982) 2: 25-27 no 4. Cf. Reilly, Urraca, 89-90, 97.

[21] The peace of 1116 is known primarily through the account in HC, book 1, chap. 113. See also Reilly, Urraca, 114-17; Fletcher, Catapult, 142-43.

Dei gratia rex."[22] He probably did not gain entrance to the city of Toledo itself, however, for another year.[23]

The reality of this joint division of power between mother and son after 1116 is reflected several years later in private donations to Sahagún. A grant of 1120 notes, "regnante Adefonsus in Toleto ... regina Vrraca in Legione." A grant of 1122, drawn up by another scribe, makes it even clearer, "regnum imperii regina domna Urraca in Legione et filio eius Adefonso in Toleto."[24] Alfonso Raimúndez would in time strike his own coin in Toledo, declaring himself king there.[25]

Returning to the five coin types of Urraca, it seems clear that type 1, picturing the queen facing front and

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[22] The charter, dated November 27, was done "in villa Doneçe" which is presumably the town of Villabañez just east of Valladolid. See Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, ed., Documentos del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954-1254) (Burgos, 1988), 38-39 no. 31. Reilly, Urraca, 116-17, writes "it was granted far to the south of Villabañez," but I believe this is an oversight. Alfonso had previously been cited in charters of his mother, but this is the first known to be executed by his own authority. He was approximately eleven years old at the time. See Luis Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales de la edad media referentes a Galicia: Catálogo de los conservados en la sección de clero del Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid, 1953), 92 no. 187; Bernard F. Reilly, "The Chancery of Alfonso VII of León-Castilla: The Period 1116-1135 Reconsidered," Speculum 51 (1976): 245.

[23] According to the *Anales toledanos*, Alfonso Raimúndez entered Toledo on November 16, 1117, though some modern historians have argued for 1118. See Flórez, "Anales toledanos I," 388. Reilly, Urraca, 126 n. 27, agrees with 1117.

[24] Sahagún, 4:63-64 no. 1204, 66-67 no. 1206, see also 64-65 no 1205.

[25] See catalogue 3, no. 9.

reading VRRACA RE TOLETVO must date to the early part of her reign. When her husband occupied Toledo between c.1114 and 1117, it is possible that Urraca continued to strike coins from another mint location that invoked Toledo in the legend for she had by no means given up claim to that city or kingdom. But after allowing her son title to Toledo in 1116, her claims should have stopped. The year 1116 then can serve as a *terminus ante quem* for the production of coin type 1.

Another reason for placing type 1 early in Urraca's reign is that it has features in common with the last coinage of her father. Alfonso in his later reign had struck two issues. The first of these, the star-annulet coin, used the spelling TOLETVM and employed a series of pellets in the reverse field as privy marks. On his second coin, the christogram type, TOLETVM was changed to the idiosyncratic TOLETVO and the privy marks were moved from the field to the legend. Type 1 of Urraca retains this same rendering of TOLETVO and also uses a similar system of pellets in the legend. These characteristics suggest that type 1 closely succeeded her father's last issue. By the same reasoning, type 2 of Urraca, with its christogram motif, also owes an obvious debt to the christogram coin of her father and is best regarded as another of her early issues.

Alfonso VI had achieved a fairly controlled system of minting, seemingly under the central supervision of an

official called a *prepositus*. His last coin, the christogram piece, was struck in three main mints that adhered to the same basic design with the reverse signatures alternating between TOLETVO, LEO CIVITAS and S IACOBI. Neither type 1 or type 2 of Urraca employed this system of alternating legends. Type 1 always read TOLETVO and Type 2 always LEO CIVITAS. It is possible that they were struck simultaneously at the mints of Toledo and León. In the confusion of the opening years of the reign, the crown may have cared little for seeing that these two mints issued coins of the same design.

Only type 4 of Urraca approaches the system of alternate mint signatures seen on her father's last issue. It survives with two basic signatures, LEO CIVITAS and S B ANTONINI for Palencia. While this coin imitates the system of her father, it also demonstrates that by the time it was struck there had been a clear shift in terms of mints. The signatures of two of Alfonso VI's main mints, Toledo and Santiago, have dropped off the coinage and been replaced by Palencia. It therefore makes most sense to place this type later in the reign. While the disappearance of the Toledo signature on type 4 is understandable from what we have reviewed of the reign so far, we are left wondering why there is no type 4 with a Compostela signature? In fact, none of the 5 coin types of Urraca carry any reference to Santiago de Compostela.

It is clear that under Urraca not all mints overtly identified themselves on the coins. For example, we know from a surviving charter that the queen established a mint at Sahagún in 1116, but there is no coin that is readily identifiable as an issue of that mint.[26] Nonetheless, the absence of a Santiago signature is conspicuous since that mint had signed under Alfonso VI. Indeed, during that reign, the mint at Compostela appeared prosperous. Diego Gelmírez fought hard to gain control of it, and the *Historia Compostelana* treats his success in this regard as a major achievement. Within a year of Alfonso VI's death, the bishop was careful to obtain a bull from Paschal II which confirmed his see's possessions and included prominent mention of his mint right.[27] From the start of Urraca's reign, however, there was almost constant friction between the queen and bishop. The lack of a coin that associates her with Compostela is surely the result of this conflict.

Civil War Continued, 1111-1114

At the beginning of the struggle with Aragón in 1111, Urraca quickly made peace with Diego Gelmírez and the

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[26] Sahagún, 4:47-49 no. 1195.

[27] Paschal emphasized that the mint was one of the possessions the church held by virtue of a legitimate grant ("chirographis seu testamentis legitimis oblata sunt"), an interesting reflection on the importance of the written act. The bull, dated April 21, 1110, is known by its inclusion in HC, book 1, chap. 36; cf. Santiago 3:appendix, 77-79 no. 26.

Galician party. As the bishop crowned Alfonso Raimúndez at Santiago that September, she hastened eastward. But if the queen hoped to bring the contest with her husband to a quick close she was mistaken. Count Henry had returned to the peninsula and, finding the queen's position too strong, allied with Alfonso of Aragón. Their combined forces defeated Urraca's army at the battle of Candespina in late October. A relief army led by Bishop Diego, with the newly-crowned Alfonso Raimúndez accompanying him, was subsequently ambushed by the Aragonese at Viadangos near León and the boy king narrowly escaped capture.[28] Urraca had little choice but to retreat northwards to regroup for the next season.

The most conspicuous part of her preparations the following spring was a continued effort to procure more bullion to finance the war. It was to the clergy that Urraca repeatedly turned. As they attracted precious metal in the form of donations, churches and monasteries were a favorite, almost natural, target for monarchs in need of cash. The *parias* of the eleventh century, moreover, had probably helped make the religious houses of Christian Spain particularly rich in gold and silver.[29]

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[28] Reilly, Urraca, 74-78.

[29] Some churches had perhaps become unjustly rich. The bishop of León was accused during Urraca's reign of embezzling gold and silver that Alfonso VI had donated to be used for alms. See ACL, 5:95-101 nos. 1370-71. A charter of Fernando I corroborates the practice of the

On March 27, 1112, we find Urraca at Oviedo with Bishop Pelayo, her father's staunch ally and biographer. Following her practice of the previous spring at Burgos, she granted property to the see and confirmed its privileges in exchange for bullion. The document recording this transaction survives only in copies which show obvious signs of interpolation, so the sums given must be treated cautiously. According to the text, she received 1,040 solidi of silver and an additional 9,280 *mencales* "of pure gold." This gold may have been actual dinars or possibly represented gold plate reckoned by the weight of the mencal.[30] Two days later, the queen made a donation to an

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crown donating sums earmarked for the poor. See Blanco, Fernando I, 107-109 no. 32.

[30]"(A)ccepimus de eiusdem ecclesia thesauro novem milia et ducenta et octuaginta auri purissimi metkalia et decem milia et quadrigentos solidos de purissimo argento magno pondere maurisco (sic)." The bishop also gave the queen an additonal 300 solidi "de plata laborata," for corroboration of the charter. See Santos A. García Larragueta, ed., Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo (Oviedo, 1962), 345-47 no. 131; cf. Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 487, who gives the date as 1114 and the sum of gold as 9,270 mencals. See also Reilly, Urraca, 79 n. 107; cf. 341-43, though here Reilly inadvertently dates the charter to March 12.

The reference to weighing the silver by a Moorish weight (*pondere maurisco)* is almost certainly an error introduced by a copyist. It is far more likely that the original text read that the silver was weighed by weight of the *marca*. The sum, therefore, is similar to that given Muño Pérez by Sahagún in 1100 in that the silver was still conceived of in solidi of weight (15.56 grams) but those solidi were now reckoned by the mark. (For Muño Pérez' mortgage, see chapter 4 above.). If we assume the mark was 216 grams, 1,040 solidi of weight equaled almost exactly 75 marks, a sum comparable to what the queen acquired elsewhere.

individual canon at Oviedo in return for a silver cup weighing 150 solidi which was probably also destined for the melting pot.[31]

At some point after this, she visited Santiago. According to the *Historia Compostelana*, Urraca implored the apostle's help in restoring peace to her kingdom and made several donations to the cathedral. In return, according to the *Historia*, the chapter of Santiago contributed to the queen's cause.[32] The author may have exaggerated, but according to his account, Urraca had already spent almost all her father's treasury on the war against the Aragonese and was in desperate need of additional funds to renew the effort. The chapter gave her 100 ounces of gold and 200 marks of silver from their treasury.[33]

The sum of 9,280 *mencales* of gold, however, is more suspect. In the Latin-Hispanic states, the *mencal* or mancus was usually reckoned at 7 to the Roman ounce. (see appendix B). Hence, the sum listed here would equal almost 1,326 ounces. In comparison with the gold taken from other cathedrals, this sum is very large.

[31] "(U)na copa argentea et deaurata centum quinquaginta solidos ponderata purissimo argento et opere obtimo fabricata." Larragueta, Documentos de Oviedo, 348-49 no. 132.

[32] The *Historia Compostelana*'s account is supported by a charter of Urraca preserved in *Tumbo A* of Santiago dated May 14. This act, which granted land to Santiago between the Tambre and Ulla rivers, was actually a confirmation of an earlier act of Urraca done in 1107 at the time of her husband Raymond's death. The *Historia Compostelana*, however, claims that in her visit of 1112 she also bequeathed additional properties. The charter does not refer to any bullion given the queen. Santiago, 3:appendix, 75-76 no. 25, 79-80 no. 27; HC, book 1, chaps. 69-71.

[33] This part of the *Historia Compostelana* appears to be the work of Geraldo and not Muño Alfonso, who had served

On May 18, 1112, Urraca donated property to the episcopal see of Lugo in exchange for 100 marks of silver.[34] Less than two weeks later, she donated a village to the monks at Samos and confirmed other holdings for them in exchange for 36 more marks of silver and two saddled horses (perhaps also for the war effort).[35] In the charter to Lugo we are told that the silver came from the church's

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as treasurer for the cathedral. Geraldo probably began working on his portion of the history c.1120. (See Reilly, "Historia *Compostelana*," 78-85.) It is hard to judge, therefore, how accurate the sums he reports are.

[34] Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 487 n. 10, reproduces the grant as it is preserved in the *Tumbo viejo* of Lugo, dated December (*kalendas ianuarias*). Another copy, however, gives the month as May (*kalendas iunii*) which is more consistent with Urraca's itinerary. See Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 93 no. 190.

Typical of many charters from this period, the grant to Lugo on May 18 does not say that it was drawn up in Lugo. The queen's precise whereabouts in these months is difficult to track. Reilly assumed she was in Santiago over Easter Sunday (April 21). While this is reasonable, the *Historia Compostelana* gives no indication of the date of her visit. Her charter to Santiago concerning the land between the Tambre and Ulla is dated May 14, but like the grant of May 18 to Lugo, it does not say where it was executed. We know she was at Tuy on April 28. Reilly further credits evidence that she was at Astorga by May 1 and suggests that she returned to Santiago briefly after that. (Reilly, Urraca, 80-81; Fletcher, Catapult, 135, follows his chronology). If the charter of May 14 was actually drawn up in Santiago, the queen's party still had enough time, it would seem, to arrive in Lugo by May 18.

Another charter of Urraca to Pedro Froílaz is dated simply May and to judge by the clerics present was done at Compostela. The bishop of Lugo is among the witnesses. (See Santiago, 3: appendix, 81-83 no 28.) This last document, then, raises the possibility that Urraca held a prolonged court in Compostela in early May where she made the exchange with Lugo. See further Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 92-94 nos. 187-90.

[35] Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 93 no 189; Reilly, Urraca, 264.

treasure (*gazaphilacio*) and was comprised of "sacred ornaments of the altar." Urraca added that she needed this to pay *donativa* to her knights.[36] By *donativa*, the queen surely did not mean she intended to make gifts of the actual church artifacts to her men. The bullion collected here and elsewhere in the north during the spring of 1112 was meant to be turned into coin, just as the metal she received from Oña the previous fall had been.[37]

When Urraca purchased bullion at Burgos the previous September, she may have sent it back to León to be coined.[38] It seems unlikely, however, that the plate she accumulated in Asturias and Galicia would be sent all the way to León to be minted. This was both a cumbersome and dangerous option. Though Alfonso of Aragón's whereabouts are uncertain in these months, he seems to have moved freely through the kingdom outside Galicia and is reported to have expelled the bishop of León, amongst others, from his see.[39] Any movement of treasure therefore ran the risk of confiscation. Moreover, the queen's grant to Lugo

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[36] "Et accipio de gazaphilacio beate Marie marchas argenti C^{m} de sacratis ornamentis altaris eiusdem Virginis ut reddam donativa militibus meis." Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 487 n. 10.

[37] It is worth noting that *donativum* in the classical sense represented a payment that the emperor made to his soldiers on special occasion. See Lewis and Short, Latin Dictionary, s.v. "donativum."

[38] Alternatively, she may possibly have struck the coin in Burgos. The earliest evidence for a mint in this town is from a charter of 1128, two years after her death, See the section on Burgos in chapter 7 below.

[39] Reilly, Urraca, 80-81.

implies that she was pressed to pay her army soon. The most expedient course, if not the only one, was to strike the bullion in Galicia. For this purpose, a mint existed at Compostela and possibly another operated at nearby Lugo. Neither of these sites were attractive choices from the crown's point of view.

According to later testimony, Alfonso VI had given the bishop of Lugo the right to a third of the mint profits at Lugo.[40] Although Urraca had managed to obtain bullion from Bishop Pedro II (c.1098-1113) of Lugo, the two were clearly at odds. The *Historia Compostelana* signals the town of Lugo out as having favored Alfonso of Aragón during his campaigns of 1110. Either for this or some other reason, Urraca had Pedro deposed in 1113, at the council of Palencia, and replaced with her own chaplain.[41] Given this animosity, Urraca may have been reluctant to hand over a large mint seigniorage to him in the spring of 1112.

The option of minting at Compostela, however, where the cathedral chapter was entitled to all profits, was even less in Urraca's interest. How the queen ultimately handled this dilemma we cannot say. She might have commandeered either mint, ignoring the respective episcopal

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[40] For the evidence relating to a possible mint at Lugo, see chapter 7 below.

[41] The bishop of Mondoñedo may also have been deposed around this time for his support of Alfonso of Aragón. Muño Alfonso, the canon of Compostela, was selected to fill the see. See Reilly, Urraca, 229-32. For Pedro II of Lugo, see also Fletcher, Episcopate, 65-66.

claims, or she may have established a temporary, emergency mint.[42] Whichever the case, of the two types that we have assigned to the early years of the reign, type 1, with her portrait and the legend VRRACA RE TOLETVO, is perhaps the best candidate for the coin she struck during these campaigns. This type survives today in more numbers than type 2 and in more distinct varieties, suggesting, albeit very tentatively, that it was a more extensive coinage and one minted in several locations.[43] Certainly Urraca would have had sound political reasons for choosing a coin that emphasized her claim to Toledo at a time when that city was leaning toward the cause of her husband.

In the end, Urraca's campaigns in the summer of 1112 were limited. Henry of Portugal was killed and an uneasy truce was reached with the Aragonese. Her experience in Galicia that spring, however, surely underscored for her the strength and independence that Diego Gelmírez had skillfully built up in the northwest and the potential

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[42] Assuming that she had dies, the actual process of striking the coins was not that elaborate. In the thirteenth century, Alfonso X's so-called *moneda de la guerra* appears to have been struck in many new mints, most of which were surely temporary. The late Antonio Orol Pernas had in his collection a set of dies for the *moneda de la guerra* that were found together with blanks and finished coins, suggestive of a "traveling" mint.

[43] From the combination of pellets in the obverse and reverse legend, I have catalogued 5 varieties of type 1. One out of the 3 samples of type 2 employed pellets. See catalogue 3, nos. 1 and 2. In excavations at Compostela, only 1 coin of Urraca's has been reported; it was type 1. (An Aragones obol probably belonging to Alfonso I was also found.) See de Navascués, "Hallazgos de Compostela," 195.

danger he posed especially as a champion of her son's cause. It did not take long for tension to rise between them again. The bishop participated in her campaigns the following year, but he failed to appear at the general curia and church council held at Palencia in the fall of 1113. By the summer of 1114, Urraca was again in Galicia, where, according to the *Historia Compostelana*, she plotted to take the bishop prisoner but failed when he got wind of the plan.[44]

We are never told what was at the heart of the quarrel between them in 1114 or what the queen hoped to achieve by taking Diego prisoner. The *Historia* does say that before she attempted to seize him, the queen laid charges against the bishop which he successfully answered. When she failed to imprison him, Urraca was compelled to swear that she would refrain in the future from doing harm to his person or his *honor*, i.e., his property and privileges.[45]

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[44] HC, book 1, chap. 102 and 104. To corroborate the trouble in Galicia, both Reilly and Fletcher rely on an older citation in Luiz Gonzaga de Azevado, História de Portugal vol. 3 (Lisbon, 1940), 212, to a charter dated July 26, 1114 from the cathedral of León that refers to *discordia* between the queen and Alfonso Raimúndez. This document, however, is not included in the current collection of the cathedral's documents. (See, ACL, 5: passim.) Urraca's charter of July 23 to the see of Mondoñedo nonetheless seems to support the *Historia's* account of the conspiracy against Diego Gelmírez. See Reilly, Urraca, 98-99; Fletcher, Catapult, 137.

[45] HC, book 1, chap. 102. Reilly concluded that Urraca meant to strip Diego Gelmírez of his entire *honor*, i.e., all his land and rights, but this seems too ambitious. While Urraca had successfully managed the deposition of Bishop Pedro of Lugo the year before, Diego

It is likely that the issue of the mint formed part of Urraca's quarrel with Diego Gelmírez. Alfonso VI's original grant to the bishop and canons at Compostela allowing them all the profits from the mint there had clearly been exceptional and was done reluctantly. We know that after Urraca's death, her son and successor, Alfonso Raimúndez, attempted and eventually succeeded in reclaiming half the mint revenues.[46] Urraca perhaps had been initially frustrated by Diego Gelmírez' control of the mint when preparing for her campaign of 1112. Now, by the summer of 1114 she had suffered the defection of Toledo which translated to the loss of another mint and she may well have argued with Diego at this juncture that she could no longer allow him to retain the entire profit at Compostela. Legally she had no case, but that would explain her ultimate frustration and rash attempt to imprison him.

The lack of coinage from Santiago in the queen's name seems to point to Urraca's inability to resolve the issue. What Compostela struck if not the current coin of the queen, however, remains largely unanswerable. Bishop Diego simply may have continued to strike the old christogram coin of Alfonso VI. By continuing a coin with the legend

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Gelmírez was far more powerful and well-connected in Rome. It seems more likely that there were specific issues at stake. See Reilly, Urraca, 98-99.

[46] See the section on Compostela in chapter 7 below.

ANFVS REX S IACOBI, Diego would have at once avoided the contested claim of Urraca and also conveniently recognized the young Alfonso Raimúndez whom he himself had crowned. Indeed, a parallel can be seen in the roughly contemporary civil war in England. Here some magnates, unsure of their allegiance to Stephen, issued older immobilized types of Henry I.[47]

While it seems unlikely that Diego would have stopped striking entirely, his output may have been much reduced during the remainder of Urraca's reign.[48] The sources from

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[47] Evidently, older types in the name of William were also resurrected, but the Henry coins are more plentiful. It would seem to me that the Henry legend carried the advantage of also recognizing the young Henry of Anjou, though Blackburn contends that these coins were struck at a time when he was not yet "a serious contender for the throne." See Mark Blackburn, "Coinage and Currency," in The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign, ed. Edmund King (Oxford, 1994), 188-90, 199.

[48] In his description of his journey to the papal *curia* in 1119 on behalf of Bishop Diego, Geraldo reported talking with him an assortment of foreign denarii--211 solidi of Poitou, 60 solidi of Milan, 20 solidi of Toulouse. (HC, book. 2, chap. 10.) While it might be argued that this coin was well suited for a foreign journey, at the same time one has to ask what was the chapter at Santiago doing with this stockpile of foreign currency. Is it a reflection that the mint at Compostela was not particularly active?

Two coin types attributable to the mint at Santiago should be noted here. The first is an anonymous coin with a depiction of a saint with the accompanying legend of IACOBI on the obverse. The reverse type, however, resembles a reverse type used on coins of Fernando II and Alfonso IX which would suggest it was contemporary to those reigns. (See catalogue 1, no. 4; cf. catalogue 6, nos. 3,4,7.) Also, there is a type, known only through Heiss, reported to read IMPERATO BEATI _ACOBI. (See catalogue 1, no. 8.) Heiss assigned the coin to Alfonso VII, though there is no way to rule out that it was minted as early as the reign of Urraca.

the period agree that the continued wars brought devastation and lawlessness and the normal flow of trade and pilgrims was surely curtailed.[49] Besides the threat of violence, the pilgrim traffic to Santiago may have been further reduced by the strong attraction of Jerusalem in these years after the First Crusade. Lastly, the prosperity of the mint at Compostela may have been diminished as other mints sprang up in the kingdom.[50]

The Royal Mints at Palencia and León

A mint may have existed in Palencia under Alfonso VI, though none of his coins carry a signature or mark that is overtly associated with that town. A mint was certainly operating in the town, however, by 1116. In that year, Paschal II confirmed the bishop of Palencia's right "to

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In addition, there is an anonymous coin carrying the legend SAINCOVE which may be a garbled allusion to *Sanctus Iacobus*. Stylistically, however, the coin resemble other types from the mint at Segovia and the legend may have been intended as SECOVIA. Examples of this coin were reported in the collections of Heiss and Vidal Quadras y Ramón, but subsequent specimens have not been published. See Heiss, Las monedas, plate 2, no. 26; Pedrals y Moliné, Catálogo de Vidal Quadras y Ramón, no. 5308. See also Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, no. 66.

[49] For the poverty and oppression that the wars of these years brought to Galicia, see HC, book 1, chaps 95 and 96. For the devastation in the kingdom in general, see chapter 6, n. 1 and n. 2 below.

[50] Again the case of England is instructive. Winchester had been a large mint at the opening of Stephen's reign, but then seems to have ceased minting entirely, leading Blackburn in "Coinage," 191, to conclude that "for much of the civil war, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, may have placed a moratorium on minting."

half the mint located there" which he had "acquired from Queen Urraca."[51]

Urraca's decision to grant half the mint profits at Palencia to its bishop likely dates to c.1114, a year which had seen her political strength ebb to a dangerously low level. The defection of Toledo and Segovia that spring was followed that autumn by the loss of Sahagún, Burgos and Carrión to the Aragonese. In addition, she had failed to resolve in her favor the dispute with Compostela so her position in Galicia was less than favorable. In the winter of 1114-15 she appears to have established her headquarters in Palencia and here gathered many of the prelates and magnates still loyal to her.[52] That Bishop Pedro of Palencia was a member of her trusted circle is demonstrated by the queen's grant to him that October of part of her income in Ociella and Monzón in recognition of "the good and faithful service he has done for me and has promised to do for me all the days of my life."[53]

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[51] "(E)t monete parte mediam que ibidem sit, quam ab Vrracha regina tua strenuitas adquisivit." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 62-63 no 25. "Tua strenuitas" must refer to the bishop or the bishop's see. Cf. Niermeyer, Lexicon Minus, s.v. "strenuitas."

[52] Reilly, Urraca, 101-3. Although there is no record that Diego Gelmírez was in Palencia that winter, relations between Santiago and the queen were not completely discordant. At Palencia on January 3, the queen together with her son made a donation of land to Compostela. See Santiago, 3:appendix, 95-96 no 32.

[53] Abajo Martín, Palencia, 58-60 no. 23. Two years later Urraca still considered Pedro a faithful ally. See 60-61 no. 24.

Sometime during 1114-1115, then, production of coin type 4, with its alternative signatures S B ANTONINI and LEO CIVITAS probably got under way. Palencia in conjunction with León provided Urraca with two mints located close together, which perhaps made them more easily managed. The fact that both struck the same type reflects, at least in some measure, a return to the tighter royal supervision of her father. Perhaps it was simply because the bishop of Palencia now held half the mint that his patron saint's name began to appear on the coin rather than the name of the town. Yet, the signature S B ANTONINI also seems a deliberate substitution for the S IACOBI legend on her father's coins. The new legend may have been an attempt to promote the prestige of St. Antoninus in hopes of diverting pilgrim traffic bound for Santiago to also visit Palencia.[54]

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[54] This promotion of the cult of St. Antoninus may have been successful. By 1119, there was a church in London dedicated to St. Antoninus that appears to have been owned by a wealthy merchant. While the church predates 1119, it is not clear how long it had been dedicated to this saint. While Pamela Nightingale pointed out that the dedication of this church likely reflects a link to Spain, her suggestion that the town of Palencia was a commercial center where foreign merchants came seeking Muslim gold is unfounded. (See chapter 6, n. 28 below.) Rather, it seems more likely that St. Antoninus became familiar to foreign merchants at this time because his name now appeared on the coinage. See Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 125-26, 129-30.

Analogously, Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo worked to promote his city as a center of pilgrimage to rival Compostela. (See Reilly, Urraca, 341.) There is, however, no evidence to suggest a mint in Oviedo until later in the century. Also, Sancho Ramírez of Aragón appears to have encouraged

New Mints at Sahagún and Salamanca

By the late summer of 1116, Urraca had regained control of Sahagún, whose townspeople had shown themselves dangerously volatile. Earlier that year, Sahagún's abbot, Domingo, had traveled to Rome to seek condemnation of the burghers for the devastation they had inflicted on the monastery's property with the help of Aragonese troops.[55] In October, Urraca opened a mint in Sahagún under the supervision of the abbot. In the charter establishing the mint, she granted the abbot a third of the profits and at the same time recognized his general immunity from royal and episcopal intervention in governing the town. A second third of the revenues was to go to the nearby nunnery of San Pedro de las Dueñas.[56]

Urraca explained that the mint at Sahagún was necessary on account of the war, testimony that her campaigns required a supply of coin not met by the mints

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colonization of the town of Estella to better take advantage of the pilgrim traffic to Compostela. See Vázquez de Parga et al., Las peregrinaciones, 3:14-15 no. 2.

[55] See Paschal II's letter of March 21, 1116 in which he gives Domingo the power to either forgive or condemn the burghers ("ligandi ac solvendi postestatem super eosdem burgenses ... concedimus"). Paschal, presumably drawing from Domingo's testimony, speaks graphically of the devastation brought by fire and sword to the monastic property. Sahagún 4:43-44 no. 1193. The insurrection in Sahagún is also chronicled in the first of the so-called anonymous chronicles of Sahagún. See Antonio Ubieto Arteta, ed. Crónicas anónimos de Sahagún (Zaragoza, 1987). Cf. Reilly, Urraca, 101-114.

[56] Sahagún, 4:47-49 no. 1195.

then under her control. But the choice of Sahagún, a monastic town whose residents had proven themselves capable of violent rebellion seems odd. The mint privilege was probably in part aimed at quelling this unrest. Urraca instructed the abbot that he could choose the minters from the town or bring them in from other locations if he so desired. Either way, a working mint was liable to boost the local economy, especially since two-thirds of the profits were retained by the monastery and the nunnery of las Dueñas. But, the decision to open a mint at this time and place also appears tied to yet another confrontation between Urraca and Diego Gelmírez; the confrontation that would end in Urraca granting Alfonso Raimúndez his appanage in Toledo, away from the bishop's influence.

In the spring of 1116, according to the *Historia Compostelana*, Urraca made another attempt to seize the bishop.[57] Though an uneasy peace was reached after this, Diego Gelmírez was soon persuaded by the separatist faction to formally proclaim Alfonso Raimúndez king in Galicia. Urraca marched back to Compostela, put down the rebellion and, if the *Historia* is to be believed, somehow encouraged unrest that was then brewing among the townspeople of Santiago before taking her leave. Dissatisfaction intensified in the town during the summer and by the fall Diego was desperate for help. He traveled to Sahagún in

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[57] HC, book 1, chap. 107.

October of 1116 to seek a more lasting alliance with the queen.[58]

Geraldo, the author of this portion of the *Historia*, hails the agreement reached at Sahagún as the first hope for peace in the kingdom since the days of Alfonso VI and credits it to the initiative of Diego.[59] In reality, the bishop was not in a strong position to bargain with the queen and Geraldo was perhaps purposefully vague in discussing the actual terms of the agreement. We are told that the kingdom was divided between mother and son, but he never specifically says who was allotted what. As we have seen, however, later documents make it clear that by this accord Alfonso Raimúndez was awarded Toledo and was entrusted into the care of Archbishop Bernardo of that city. The agreement, then, removed the young Alfonso from the direct influence of Diego Gelmírez and the Galician faction.

The only royal document to survive from the curia at Sahagún is, in fact, Urraca's mint grant to the abbot. The charter is witnessed by most of the clergy and magnates that the *Historia Compostelana* reports were present, including Diego himself.[60] It seems more than coincidence that the mint privilege was a product of this meeting. While she successfully had taken her son from Diego

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[58] Fletcher, Catapult, 139-43; Reilly, Urraca, 109-16.
[59] HC, book 1, chap 113.
[60] Sahagún, 4:47-49 no. 1195.

Gelmírez' charge, Urraca's simultaneous decision to establish a new mint may well reflect her continued inability to reclaim from the bishop a share of the Compostela mint.

Urraca, however, showed no inclination to oversee the new mint at Sahagún directly. Along with alienating a large share of the profit, she gave the abbot full responsibility for running the mint and assaying the coin. She also gave him the freedom to mint or not mint as he saw fit. Thus coin type 4, which was struck in León and Palencia, was not struck in Sahagún. Rather, coin type 3, with a profile of the queen on the obverse and a cross with crosslets on the reverse, was probably the issue of the new mint. Its full legend reads VRRACA REXA LEGIONENSIS, a departure from the more usual LEO CIVITAS. This indeed seems more appropriate for a mint outside the city of León but still within the *terra legionensis*.[61]

The *Historia Compostelana* tells us that the accord reached at Sahagún between Urraca and Diego Gelmírez in 1116 was to last three years.[62] In her mint grant to Sahagún drawn up at that time, Urraca did not impose any

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[61] Type 3 also shows the influence of Aragonese coinage with which the people of Sahagún had doubtless become acquainted. Sancho Ramírez as well as Pedro I and Alfonso I normally used a profiled bust as their obverse type. Also, by Alfonso I's time, despite the name *jaccenis*, the coin's reverse legend normally read either ARAGON, ARAGONIS, or ARAGONENSIS. See Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 179-82.

[62] HC, book 1, chap. 113.

limit on how long the monastery could mint. Nonetheless, almost three years to the day after that charter was issued, a second was drawn up renewing the monastery's right to mint. This was done not by Urraca but by Alfonso Raimúndez, who modified the division of profits and granted the privilege for only one year.[63] The renewal of Sahagún's mint privilege, drawn up at the same time the accord with Santiago was coming to an end, supports the theory that from the crown's point of view the mint at Sahagún and the accord with Compostela were closely linked.

Besides this second mint privilege, the details of what transpired between Urraca, Gelmírez and Alfonso Raimúndez in 1119 are lost to us. One of the results, however, clearly seems to have been that Alfonso was now given lordship over Sahagún, in addition to his title to Toledo. This is confirmed in a private donation to the monastery, dated 1120, which lists "Queen Urraca ruling in all Spain...(and) King Alfonso and Abbot Bernard in Sahagún." Thus, as the new lord, it was Alfonso who renewed the monastery's right to mint.[64]

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[63] Sahagún, 4:58-59 no. 1201. Alfonso divided the profit between himself and the abbot, abolishing the third that his mother had awarded the nuns of San Pedro de las Dueñas. Urraca did not witness the grant.

[64] Sahagún, 4:61-62 no. 1203. Alfonso's lordship in Sahagún is corroborated by a charter drawn up months after his mother's death. In it, he apologizes to the monastery for his illegal exploitation of their wealth which he said was necessary because of the war. (See 103-106 no. 1226; cf. 110-111 no. 1230.)

There are three basic coin types that can be identified as issues of Alfonso Raimúndez struck while his mother was still alive. All bear the legend ANFVS R REX on the obverse for Alfonso Raimúndez. On the reverse they read TOLETO CIVI, SOCOVIA CIV and LEGIONENSIS.[65] The two with the Toledo and Segovia signatures underscore the reality of Alfonso's rule in the southern regions of the kingdom after the agreement with his mother in 1116. The third coin, reading LEGIONENSIS, is a precise imitation of Urraca's type 3 in both its legend and design. Since he succeeded his mother as lord in Sahagún in 1119, it seems clear that this coin was the successor to Urraca's type 3 at the Sahagún mint.[66]

Urraca's father had relied on three main mints, León, Toledo and Compostela. His decision to relinquish claim to the Compostela mint shortly before his death combined with Urraca's inability to control Toledo forced the queen to invent a new minting strategy during the peak years of her war with Aragón, c.1113-1117. If she did not create the mint at Palencia, she certainly increased its importance.

Reilly, Urraca, 140-41, 348, was suspicious of Alfonso's mint grant of 1119, but he does not take into account the other documents attesting to Alfonso's rule in Sahagún. Furthermore, he fails to see that the mint grant coincides precisely with the expiration of the three-year truce.

[65] There is a fourth variety from Segovia which reads ANFVS RA REX. See catalogue 3, nos. 6-9. These coins are discussed more fully below.

[66] The coin reading ANFVS R REX from Segovia also imitates Urraca type 3. (See catalogue 3, no. 7.)

Around 1114 that mint began signing its coin S B ANTONINI, perhaps in an effort to promote that saint's cult and entice pilgrims on the road to Santiago into making a side trip to the church of Palencia. Two years later, Urraca founded the mint at Sahagún. Sahagún is located mid-way between Palencia and León. Like León, it is directly on the pilgrim road to Santiago. The mint at Sahagún, therefore, continued Urraca's policy of relying on locations that were close to the center of her realm and also strategically placed to intersect the flow of foreign silver to Compostela.

A mint at Salamanca does not fit this pattern. Nonetheless, it seems probable that coin was stuck there at some point in the reign, though it is not clear if the operation was begun with Urraca's sanction. We know only that within a month of Urraca's death, Alfonso VII confirmed the bishop of Salamanca's right to a third of mint revenues in the town.[67] The city was a logical choice to serve the south-western frontier of the realm, but its output at this stage was probably limited. It did not sign coins either in Urraca's reign or that of her son.[68]

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[67] See the section on Salamanca in chapter 7 below.

[68] According to Reilly, the *Tumbo negro* of the cathedral of Zamora includes a grant of Urraca dated 1124 which endowed the see with, among other revenues, a tenth of *moneta*. I have been unable to obtain a copy of the text but suspect that it is corrupted. A mint most likely opened in Zamora under Alfonso VII. See the appropriate section in chapter 7.

The Rebel Mints at Toledo and Segovia

The defection of Toledo and Segovia to the Aragonese between roughly 1114 and 1117 is scarcely attested in the documents. Charters of Alfonso of Aragón in these years occasionally describe him as ruling "in Toledo" and some private documents also reflect this conviction.[69] For Segovia, the only sign of trouble in the written sources is the report in the *Anales toledanos* that Alvar Fáñez, a supporter of Queen Urraca, was assassinated in or near the town in 1114 and the *Historia Compostelana*'s testimony that Urraca faced an angry crowd there in 1118.[70] The surviving coins, however, affirm the reality of both rebellions as well as illustrate the Crown of León's reaction to them.

The clearest sign of Segovia's disloyalty to Urraca is a coin which reads ANFVS S REX SVCOVIA CIV, an allusion to

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[69] Royal charters of Alfonso I which lay claim to Toledo are not numerous. He may have invoked the title more in 1116 as his position in the city became more tenuous. See Reilly's review of the evidence in Urraca, 106-7, 112-113, 120-21. For private charters, see the donation to Oña in 1114, which acknowledges, "Regnante Aldefonso in Toleto et in omni Castella." (Alamo, Oña, 1:169-70 no. 140.) See also the private sale made in Toledo in March 1115 citing, "Regnante rex Adefonsus in Toleta." (Hernández, Toledo, 22-23 no. 19.) In that same month, Urraca donated property in Toledo to Archbishop Bernardo, but this does not mean that she controlled the city at that time. (García Luján, Toledo, 2:27-29 no. 5.)

[70] Flórez, "Anales toledanos I," 388; HC, book 1, chap. 117. Segovia was only resettled under Alfonso VI, probably in the 1080s, as a step towards securing the kingdom of Toledo. See Reilly, Alfonso, 123, 202, 307-8. Documentary evidence pertaining to the town is scarce until c.1119-20 when a bishop was appointed. See below, n. 76.

Alfonsus Sancii or Alfonso, son of Sancho. In Aragón, Sancho Ramírez' sons, Pedro I (1094-1104) and Alfonso I had occasionally included a form of this patronymic on their denarii.[71] This coin from Segovia, then, unmistakably acknowledges Alfonso I of Aragón's lordship.

There are a variety of other coin types that carry a Segovian mint signature issued simply in the name of Alfonso, without the patronymic.[72] One school of thought has argued that some of these should be assigned to Alfonso VI, but the case for this is weak. During the reign of Alfonso VI, Segovia was barely colonized and without a bishop. It is doubtful that the town would have been allowed the privilege of striking and signing coins, particularly ones distinct from the other royal mints in design. Furthermore, if one accepts the hypothesis that Segovia did sign coins as early as the reign of Alfonso VI, one then has to explain the absence of such issues in the name of Urraca.[73] Overall, it makes more sense to assume

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[71] See catalogue 3, no. 10. For examples of the use of the patronymic on Aragonese issues see, Alavrez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 180-82.

[72] See catalogue 3, nos. 11-14. There are 2 more types that fit this description which I have not included in the catalogue below. They perhaps belong to either the reign of Alfonso VII or Alfonso VIII. See Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, nos. 30, 31 and 64. In general, the attribution of any of the Alphonsine coins of Segovia, barring those signed ANFVS S and ANFVS R, is uncertain.

[73] Carlos de Lecea y García, Estudio histórico acerca la moneda de Segovia desde los celtiberos hasta nuestras dias (Segovia, 1892), 9, assumed that since Segovia had a mint in ancient times it would have naturally been restored under Alfonso VI. Casto María del Rivero in Segovia

that the town only began to mint after its defection from the queen c.1114.

One of the Alphonsine coins from Segovia is a close imitation of Urraca type 4. According to our chronology, type 4 was the queen's coin current after c.1114 and so may have served as a prototype as Segovia began to strike.[74] Some of the other Segovian coins, however, have no parallel with any Leonese or Aragonese coin.[75] With the exception of the one coin signed ANFVS S REX, the unorthodox design of the other Segovian types may suggest that the town was minting largely on its own initiative in these chaotic years, perhaps under the direction of the town council.[76]

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numismatica: Estudio general de la ceca y mondedas de Segovia (Segovia, 1928), 14, argued that since Alfonso VI's grant to Compostela implied that there were several mints in the kingdom we should assume that one of these was Segovia. None of the Segovia coins, however, resemble either of Alfonso VI's major types.

[74] Catalogue 3, no. 11. Another close imitation of Urraca type 4 can be seen in an early Portuguese issue reading AFONSVS PORTVGAL, presumably belonging to Afonso I Henríques. (J.N. Barrando, "Chemical Compositions," 348, 365 no. *D*, reports only one extant specimen, but J. Ferraro Vaz and Javier Salgado, Livro das Moedas de Portugal (Braga, 1987), 17 do not list the coin as very rare.) Afonso Henríques, supported by a faction of Portuguese nobility and to a certain extent by Urraca, seems to have broken with his mother, Teresa, by 1118. Reilly, Urraca, 146, 241.

[75] In the Segovian series, one of the more numerous types surviving today has a reverse motif almost haphazard in its design. The crowded field is divided by what appears to be a scepter. To its left and right are two stars, an annulet and the letter *S*. See catalogue 3, no. 12; cf. no. 13, for another unusual reverse type.

[76] For the existence of the town council or *concejo* in Segovia at this early stage, see its grant of property to Bishop Pedro of Segovia. The charter survives in an undated copy, but Pedro does not appear to have been

According to the *Anales toledanos*, Alfonso Raimúndez was able to reclaim Toledo in the fall of 1117.[77] By the following year, Leonese rule appears to have been tenuously restored in Segovia as well. In the *Historia Compostelana*, Geraldo gives a first-hand account of Urraca's presence in the city in the summer of 1118 for the consecration of the archbishop of Braga by the archbishop of Toledo. The mood in the town, however, was still volatile for Geraldo reports that after the ceremony revolt broke out against the queen and her troops.[78] Despite the unrest, or perhaps on account of it, Segovia received Pedro of Agen as its first bishop c.1120. A protégé of Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo and Urraca, Pedro was clearly a Leonese candidate, indicating that the crown had maintained its influence in the town.[79]

The written sources fail to reveal any mention of Alfonso Raimúndez' role in reclaiming Segovia. Yet, it was almost certainly in this time frame, c.1117-1120, that the young king issued the coins which read ANFVS R REX SOCOVIA

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appointed bishop until c.1119-20. In 1122, Alfonso I confirmed the donation of the town council to the see. For this and similar acts of the council, see Luis Miguel Villar García, ed. Documentación medieval de la catedral de Segovia (1115-1300) (Salamanca, 1990), 46-48 nos. 2-4, also 50-51 no. 7; cf. Reilly, Urraca, 325-26.

[77] Flórez, "Anales toledanos I," 388.

[78] Geraldo is careful to relate that he witnessed these event personally, though he does not bother to tell us the result of the uprising. HC, book 1, chap. 117. For the dating of the episode see Suárez Lorenzo, Historia Compostelana, 237 n. 4; Reilly, Urraca, 129, 241.

[79] Reilly, Urraca, 141-42, 246.

CIV and ANFVS RA REX SECOVIA CIVIS.[80] The legends' inclusion of Alfonso's patronymic, Raimúndez, was a clear reaction to the ANFVS S coin of his step-father and clarified that he now ruled in the town. Besides Toledo, then, Alfonso's appanage must also have included Segovia. His accord with his mother in 1116 seems to have awarded him a substantial portion of the western frontier below the Duero to defend against Aragonese encroachment.

Determining which coins were minted in Toledo when it was aligned with Aragón between 1114 and 1117 is largely a matter of guesswork. There is no known ANFVS S. coin with the signature of Toledo. At least two Toledan types struck in the name of Alfonso do, however, show signs of borrowing stylistic elements from the *jaccensis* of Aragón and may be products of the rebellious period.[81] In addition, an

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[80] See catalogue 3, nos. 7 and 8. The ANFVS RA REX coin was published in del Rivero, Segovia numismática, 15 and plate 1, no. 10. He read the legend as ANFVS BA REX. Whether *BA* was actually on the coin is impossible to tell from his photo. Nevertheless, it was almost certainly intended to read *RA*, for Raimúndez.

Del Rivero, however, suggested that *BA* referred to Alfonso VII's wife Berenguela, whom he married c.1128. His reasoning was based on another Segovian coin published in Heiss with the garbled legend IANFVS RIC. (See catalogue 3, no. 14.) Del Rivero interpreted *RIC* as referring to Rica of Poland, Alfonso's later wife. Though ingenious, neither reading makes a great deal of sense. The IANFVS RIC type also exists as ANFVS REC. Both variants appear to be botched renderings of *REX*. Bizarre misspellings are characteristic of the Segovian series in general [For Alfonso's marriages to Berenguela and Rica see Manuel Recuero Astray, Alfonso VII, emperador: El imperio hispánico en el siglo XII (León, 1979), 96, 192.]

[81] Catalogue 3, nos. 15 and 16. Since the time of Sancho Ramírez, the royal coins of Aragón often diplayed a

anonymous type reading IPERATOR TOLETI possibly referred to Alfonso of Aragón's rule in the city. The legend on the coin is unusual in that the imperial title is normally associated on Hispanic coins with the city or kingdom of León.[82] While Alfonso I frequently claimed the imperial dignity in his diplomas, he could make no claim to León. It was for this reason that control of Toledo was important to him. The clearest evidence for a rebel mint in Toledo, however, is the coin Alfonso Raimúndez must have struck after he reclaimed the city for the Crown of León c.1117. It reads ANFVS R. REX TOLETO CIVI to distinguish his lordship from that of his rival.[83]

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profile of the king, sometimes facing left and sometimes right. These two Toledan coins carry a similar type of profile. No. 15 (a very rare coin) also has a Latin cross similar to that which appears on one of Alfonso I's issues. (Cf. Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 179-82.) At the same time, both nos. 15 and 16 retain the alpha and omega that was used on the coins of Alfonso VI and Urraca.

Arguments of style such as these, however, must be treated cautiously. There is no firm reason why coin nos. 15, 16 and 17 could not be early issues of Alfonso VI at Toledo. In addition, there is a third coin with a similar "Aragonese" profile on the obverse that is often attributed to Alfonso the Battler. Hoard evidence today overwhelmngly demonstates that this coin circulated in the early thirteenth century. It was almost certainly the so-called *pepión* of Alfonso VIII. See chapter 10 below.

[82] Catlogue 3, no. 20. The only other type where the imperial title is not associated with León is the IMPERATOR NAJERA coin, which has been traditionally assigned to Sancho the Great. See chapter 2, n. 47 above.

Another type that could be suspected of belonging to the period of Aragonese rule in Toledo is a crude copy of Alfonso VI's old christogram coin. See Catalogue 3, no. 17.

[83] Catalogue 3, no. 9. This coin displays a crosier flanked by two scepters. It is related to 2 other Alphonsine types from Toledo, though neither has *R* in the

In 1122, Alfonso of Aragón attempted to reassert his rule in the trans-Duero region but this resurgence was brief.[84] Reilly has suggested that by January 1123 the Battler agreed to relinquish claims in the area. In November of 1123, Alfonso Raimúndez and Urraca jointly confirmed the bishop of Segovia's right to certain properties which the Aragonese king had confirmed the year before. They also donated additional property to the see. Less than two weeks later, mother and son made a generous grant to the archbishop of Toledo.[85] While these charters

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legend. One has the same motif while the second shows it reversed, i.e., a scepter flanked by two crosiers. (Catalogue 3, nos. 18 and 19). One of the Segovian types also displays a crosier. (Catalogue 3, no. 14). If all these types belonged to Alfonso Raimúndez, perhaps they were meant to make known that he was supported by the bishop in these two towns.

Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 319-20, suggested that the use of the crosier may have signified the bishop's right to a share of the mint profits. The see of Toledo, however, was not entitled to more than a nominal tenth of mint revenue, which would not allow the archbishop a great deal of control. The bishop of Segovia did eventually receive between a third and fourth of the mint of Segovia but at the same time the crosier seems to vanish from the coins. On ecclesiastical mint shares in general, see chapter 7.

[84] In a charter of 1122, Alfonso I made a donation to the bishop of Segovia and confirmed land given to the see by the *concejo*. In the charter, one of Alfonso's supporters, Jimeno Jiménez, is listed as "lord in Extremadura." In a second document of the same year Jimeno appears specifically as "lord in Segovia and Sepulveda and all Extremadura." Villar García, Segovia, 50-51 no 7; Reilly, Urraca, 170-71, 323 n. 34.

[85] Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez's comfiramtion of Segovia's property survives in two nearly identical charters. One is undated and is in Alfonso Raimúndez's name. The second is dated November 1123 and is an act of Urraca. (See Villar García, Segovia, 52-54 nos 9 and 10.) These are also two separate grants by Alfonso Raimúndez and

do not reveal where they were drawn up, Urraca and Alfonso Raimúndez were probably attempting to solidify their hold over Toledo and Segovia in preparation for the siege of Muslim Sigüenza which appears to have fallen by the following February.[86].

The remaining two years of Urraca's reign were relatively tranquil. While the Aragonese still held portions of Castile, including Burgos, the Battler preoccupied himself with affairs in Aragón proper as well as with opportunities in Andalusia where Almoravid power was beginning to falter.[87] But the crisis set in motion by his marriage to Urraca was not yet resolved and would not be until his death in 1134. Upon succeeding his mother in

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his mother to Toledo in the same month. Alfonso's is dated November 29 and Urraca's is dated November 30, 1123. (See García Luján, Toledo, 2:35-37 no. 8 and 29-32 no. 6.) It would seem that in both instances Alfonso had granted his own charter to Segovia and Toledo as they were part of his appanage and then the acts were in turn confirmed by his mother.

Reilly suspects the authenticity of Alfonso Raimúndez' charter to Segovia, and suggests that someone at Segovia knew of the two Toledo documents and cleverly forged a second charter for Segovia. (See Reilly, Urraca, 171-73, 177-78.) It seems more reasonable, however, to conclude that mother and son acted in tandem on both occasions. Another donation of Alfonso VII to Segovia dated May 1124 is, however, clearly misdated as evidenced by reference to Berenguela who Alfonso married c.1128. (See Villar García, Segovia, 54-56 no. 11; cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," 252-53 n. 60.)

[86] The date is based on Urraca's grant of February 1, 1124 to the bishop of that city. See Reilly, Urraca, 179, n. 79.

[87] See Reilly's chapter "The End of the Reign," in Urraca, 181-204.

1126, Alfonso Raimúndez would again take up the challenge of driving the Aragonese from Castile.

The Strength of the Coinage

There can be little doubt that the long period of war during Urraca's reign increased the volume of coin stuck in León-Castile. Urraca cited the needs of war when she founded a new mint at Sahagún. The mint at Palencia, if it existed under Alfonso VI, assumed a greater importance as a result of her campaigns. It also appears likely that minting began in Salamanca at some point in the reign. The mint at León continued to operate, as did that at Toledo, though the former was for a time controlled by the Aragonese. The mint of Segovia was probably also a product of these years and, like Toledo, was for a period loyal to Aragón. It is possible that Urraca established a mint at Burgos in 1111 when she purchased bullion from the monastery of Oña and that a mint continued there under Aragonese occupation. The first clear evidence for the Burgos mint, however, is in a document of 1128, a year after Alfonso Raimúndez regained the town.[88] While production at Compostela may have faltered in this time, it seems doubtful that the mint there shut down completely. Finally, a mint may have operated in Lugo, though the evidence is inconclusive.

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[88] See the section on Burgos in chapter 7 below.

To supply these mints, the three main contenders, Urraca, Alfonso I of Aragón and Alfonso Raimúndez, engaged in a seemingly constant and at times violent search for bullion.[89] Continual warfare and its demand for money begs the question what, if anything, happened to the strength of the crown's denarii in these years. Was Urraca forced to debase the coinage in a effort to stretch her resources? Evidence pertaining to the fineness and quality of coinage in León-Castile and in the other Christian Iberian states during these years is slim. Royal decrees regarding coinage are non-existent and private sales rarely give specific details about coin fineness or even reveal a preference for one type over another.

In silver-alloyed coins, all but the most drastic changes in fineness are hard to detect with the naked eye and so slight manipulations might pass unnoticed to an

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[89] The *Historia Compostelana* complained that the people of Galicia were impoverished by the continued demand to "satisfy the soldiers with greater payments and more possessions." In response to this, Diego Gelmírez promulgated conciliar legislation meant to protect individual property. (HC, book 1, chap. 95 and 96)

Church property was an obvious target in the search for bullion. If Urraca had sometimes maintained the nicety of exchanging land for the silver and gold she took from her bishops and monasteries, this was not always the case. In 1113, Paschal II dispatched a bull to the bishops and princes of Spain, threatening excommunication of those who dared plunder church property. (The bull is contained in HC, book 1, chap 89; cf. Reilly, Urraca, 91.) A few months after his mother's death, Alfonso Raimúndez drew up a charter which apologized to Sahagún for the gold and silver he wrongfully took from them during the wars. (Sahagún, 4:103-106. See also chapter 6, n. 1 and 2 below.)

unwary public. Nonetheless, Urraca's charter establishing a mint at Sahagún speaks vaguely of the possible scandal or damage that could arise over the money, and allows the abbot to cease striking if this occurred.[90] This is reminiscent of her father's warning to the chapter at Compostela that changing the coinage could prove dangerous if the new coins were greeted with suspicion.[91] Both grants point to the crown's awareness that minting was a risky enterprise which depended in large part on public confidence.

The earliest mention of a specific type of denarius in the documents of León-Castile appears to come in the last years of Alfonso VI. In 1103, Ordoño Sarracíniz retired to the monastery of Sahagún and in a series of three surviving charters handed over his property to the house. One of these acts refers to land that he had purchased for 600 solidi *de medietate*.[92] Neither of his other two charters,

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[90] "Quod si in futurum longe vel prope aliquod scandalum vel damnum monasterio Sancti Facundi per occasionem monete oboriri visum fuerit vel abbati displicuerit, in ipsius potestate maneat vel voluntate utrum ibi fiat vel non fiat." Sahagún, 4:47-48 no. 1195.

[91] Rather than suggesting that they simply cease production if this happened, Alfonso was able to offer the aid of his mint officer (*prepositus*) and guarantee the chapter a minimum profit, a measure of the strength of his monetary program compared to that of his daughter.

[92] The charter is perseved in a copy and may therefore have been interpolated. It reads, "recepit Braol Guterrez de me DC^{os} solidos de medietate et levavit de me una mula comparata de D metkales de auro xerqui et uno vaso de LXXX^{a} soldios de plata." Sahagún, 3:452-53 no. 1099. Besides the reference to solidi *de medietate*, the mention of *xerqui* gold is unusual.

however, use the term.[93] The next reference to this money in the Leonese sources, to my knowledge, is in a signed royal document of Urraca from 1113 in which she sold land to Vermudo Pérez for the price of 3,000 "solidi of denarii *de medietate*" and 12 marks of silver.[94]

We might guess by the name that these denarii *de medietate* were obols, that is small coins worth half a denarius.[95] This is impossible, however, if we look at the sums involved, especially in the later charter of Urraca. It is inconceivable that someone would pay with 3,000 solidi made up exclusively of obols. The only tenable explanation is that the term referred to the fineness of the coin. It must have indicated that the coin was half

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Similar terms appear in later charters. An Aragonese document of 1118 refers to "metkals de auro exerchin.". (See Lacarra, Ebro, 1:66-67, no. 53.) A document dated 1125 from Sigüenza refers to "menacales serquis." [See Toribio Mingüella y Arnedo, Historia de la diócesis de Sigüenza y de sus obispos (Madrid, 1910), 1:351 no. 4.] Finally, a charter of 1145 from Zaragoza mentions mencals "sarchins." [Luis Rubio, ed. Los documentos del Pilar (siglo XII) (Zaragoza, 1971), 42 no. 44.] Such terms may refer to dinars from Zaragoza (Saraqusṭa in Arabic), one of the last taifas to pay tribute to the Christians. While it is possible that mencals *xerqui* would be cited in a document of 1103, it may have been a term more common after Zaragoza fell to the Christians in 1118. Its appearance in this charter, then, might imply that the text is corrupt.

93 Cf. Sahagún, 3:443-47 nos. 1093 and 1094.

94 ACL, 5:32-33 no. 1340. The charter contains several *lacunae* but appears to be half donation and half sale. Cf. Reilly, Urraca, 92; Estepa, Estructura, 260.

95 The usual vernacular for the obol in León came to be *meaja*. It was not common this early, but *mealia* does appear in the price edicts passed at Compostela in 1133. HC, book 3, chap. 33.

silver or 6 denarii fine (12 denarii being the equivalent of pure silver as 24 carats equals pure gold).[96]

The year after Urraca's charter of 1113 citing denarii *de medietate*, a private party sold land located "in Santa Engracia next to the city of León" for the price of 60 solidi "de moneta de III^{a}" plus bread and wine as corroboration for the charter.[97] The property was near the church of San Esteban and bordered on one side by Montefrío. Three years later, in 1117, a group of brothers sold a vineyard "in the territory of León, in Montefrío between San Esteban and Santa Engracia, for 25 solidi of the money of thirds" plus bread and wine.[98] These are the only two references I have found to a money of "thirds."

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[96] Louis VI of France c.1120 promised the people of the mint-town of Compiègne that he would not alter the town's coinage, but keep it *ad medietatem*. The accepted interpretation of this document is that it meant the coin was to remain as 50% silver. This is further corroborated by a reference in the Norman *Consuetudines* (1091) to a coinage described as "mediam argenti." See Bisson's discussion in Conservation, 32-33.

[97] "Pro precio LX^{a} solidorum, de moneta de III^{a}, et pane et vino ad conroborandum cartam quod nobis bene conplacuit." ALC, 5:47-49 no. 1349. The document is a non-cartulary parchment and may be original.

It does not seem viable to read this as a price of 60 solidi divided in thirds, i.e, one third paid in coin and the other two thirds paid in kind. The bread and wine was not part of the main price. Rather it was a common form of gratuitous payment, similar to what other charters refer to as payment *in albaroc*. (For payments divided in thirds see, for example, the penalty in the *fuero* of Lara to pay 75 solidi "in tertias, unnam in pannem et vinum, alia in ganado vivo, alia in denarios." González Díez, Burgos, 61-66 no. 7.)

[98] "Pro XX^{i} V^{e} solidis de moneta de tercia parte, de quibus nihil remansit ad solve(n)dum. Super hoc panem et vinum ad confirmandum kartulam." ACL, 5:69-70 no. 1359.

Both charters involve sales of land in the same neighborhood, but they nonetheless were drawn up by separate scribes and they follow closely upon Urraca's reference to a denarius of half silver in her sale of 1112. This money of thirds must also be a designation of alloy, in this case to a weaker coin of one-third silver or 4 d. fine.[99]

Combined, these citations to money *de medietate* and *de tercia*, as few as they are, point to a debasement. The first reference to the denarius *de medietate* is in the charter dated 1103. If the document is trustworthy, it tends to support the suggestion that the last issues of Alfonso VI were 6 d. fine. Urraca's earliest issues probably maintained the standard of her father's last coins. But according to the *Historia Compostelana*, she had already spent most of her father's treasury by the spring of 1112 and contemporary charters certainly demonstrate that by then she was avidly seeking more bullion. It is easy to imagine, therefore, that the coin she struck to fund her campaigns from c.1112-14 had been debased to 4 d. fine. These were some of her most hard-pressed years. When she regrouped in the winter of 1114 and concentrated

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[99] All four references to coin fineness in these years appear in documents that concern land in and around León implying that the populace of León was more attuned to the value of the coinage than other areas of the kingdom. This comes as no surprise. As the documentation from the eleventh century demonstrates, León had long been the most monetized section of the kingdom and almost certainly was the site of the oldest royal mint.

her minting at Palencia and León, she changed her type design and perhaps also returned to her father's standard. If her debased coin of 4 d. circulated for only a few years, it would explain the fleeting appearance to "money of thirds" in the written sources.

The year 1120 represents another period remarkable for the queen's efforts to procure bullion, perhaps in support of an offensive against Teresa of Portugal.[100] Whether Urraca again resorted to debasement in these years, however, is impossible to tell. The denarius of half silver was cited in an exchange between Urraca and the bishop of León in 1123 but there are no other citations to this coin or to money of thirds.[101] Leonese documents of the 1120s occasionally note payments received in denarii *jaccensis*, but give no hint that this coin was stronger

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[100] See the sale dated April 1120 to the bishop of Astorga in ES, 16:477-79, though the text is probably interpolated. See also the exchange with the monastery of Samos on August 6, 1120 in Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 97 no. 199 and the account in HC book 2, chap. 22 of bullion given the queen in June of that yaer in exchange for concessions; cf. Santiago, 3:appendix, 110-112 no. 37. The fines Urraca demanded Bishop Diego and his family pay in 1122 may similary have been inspired by a need for bullion. Diego turned over a table from the alter weighing 97 marks and a gold chalice of 60 ounces. See ACL, 5:95-101, nos. 1370-71. I cannot agree, however, with Fletcher that other grants made *propter servicium* in the year 1120 were necessarily "unacknowledged" sales for bullion. See Fletcher, Catapult, 145; cf. Reilly, Urraca, 142-48.

[101] "(E)t accepi a vobis in concambio illam vestram villam Capelas, et insuper CCCC^{or} solidos de medietate." ACL, 5:109-111 no. 1376; cf. Reilley, Urraca, 174.

than the royal Leonese coin.[102] Alfonso of Aragón had recently been enriched by the conquest of Zaragoza in 1118 and a mint was operating in that city soon thereafter. The appearance of the *jaccensis* in León, then, might reflect increased production of his coin.[103]

In the end, with respect to strength of the coinage, the sources yield only a vague outline for Urraca's reign. It seems reasonable to conclude that she had inherited a standard of 6 d. from her father. While it appears likely that this was dropped to 4 d. c.1112, it was probably later restored for there is simply no evidence of any wide-scale resentment towards the queen's coin. To some extent, this indifference of the documents could be read not as a sign of a stable coin but as a manifestation of the naiveté of society.[104] Still, Urraca's founding charter for the mint at Sahagún in 1116 spoke about the possible scandal that could arise from minting. Like her father's warning to Compostela, this seems clear testimony that the public reaction was not to be taken lightly. (Did Urraca's

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[102] As part of the settlement with Bishop Diego and his family in 1122, Urraca recieved payment of 6,000 "solidorum iaccensis monete." ACL, 5:96-98, 1370. See also the sales of 1124 in ACL, 5:119-120 no. 1379 and Abajo Martín, Palencia, 69 no. 29. For the year 1125, see the sales in Sahagún, 4:94-95 no. 1221 and María Concepción Casado Lobato, ed, Colección diplomática del monasterio de Carrizo (León), 969-1299 (León, 1983), 1:28-29 no. 24.

[103] For the mint at Zarogoza, see chapter 7 below.

[104] Faced with a similar indifference to coin in twelfth-century Norman texts, Bisson Conservation, 23-25, assumes that it reflected a stable coinage.

warning in 1116 come from lessons learned in the debasement of 1112?) Finally, in defense of her coinage, one should weigh the silence of the *Historia Compostelana*, a work designed to highlight the villainy of the queen. If her coin was notoriously bad, the authors of this work would hardly have forgone the chance to condemn her for it.[105]

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[105] Considering the rarity of Urraca's coins today it is doubtful that we will gain specific data regarding their fineness through chemical analysis of a large sampling of types.

PART THREE

MAINTAINING A STABLE CURRENCY, 1126-1157

SIX

TOWARDS A BI-METALLIC SYSTEM UNDER ALFONSO VII (1126-1157)

On August 4th, 1126, a few months after his mother's death, Alfonso VII addressed a charter to the monastery of Sahagún. In the preamble of the document, the new king lamented the hardships that had befallen the kingdom of León in the seventeen years since the passing of his grandfather, Alfonso VI.[1] He confessed that because of this turmoil he had been forced to suspend Sahagún's immunities and forcibly requisition "gold, silver and other things" from the monks for himself and his knights. By the present charter, he therefore confirmed their privileges.[2]

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[1] Fernández Flórez in Sahagún, 4:103-106 no. 1226, argues convincingly that the charter should be properly dated to 1126. Romualdo Escalona, Historia del real monasterio de Sahagún (Madrid, 1782), 520-22, had interpreted the date as 1129, which was followed both by Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 489-90 and Recuero, Alfonso VII, 100-101.

Private charters echo Alfonso VII's sentiment by referring longingly to the "good old days" of Alfonso VI. See the donation to Sahagún of property purchased "in tempiore boni regis Adefonsi" (Sahagún, 4:118-120 no. 1236) see also the charter in which Velasco Muñoz relinquished to Sahagún a village that he had unlawfully usurped. He was able to do so because "postquam ... mortuus est rex Adefonsus fuit grandis guerra per totam Ispaniam et depopulate sunt multe ville" (4:135-37 no. 1247).

[2] Alfonso apparently had requistioned more than just movable property. The next year, 1127, he restored to Sahagún the monastery of Nogal, explaining that "multis pro captando regno necesitudinibus circumventus

Almost two decades of constant warfare had strained the resources of the crown and peace was still not immediately at hand. In his first years as king, Alfonso would have to suppress several rebellions and drive the Aragonese from Castile.[3] Despite his conciliatory tone toward Sahagún, then, he continued to seek extraordinary means to cover the expense of campaigning. His confirmation of the monastery's privileges, for instance, was not free; it had cost the house 3,000 solidi. The following year, Alfonso was in Compostela demanding money for his troops, prompting the author of the *Historia Compostelana* to comment that he was just like his mother in his persecution of the church. Two years later, he returned to Santiago looking for cash and now attempted to reclaim full lordship over the mint. He was unsuccessful in the latter, but Diego Gelmírez agreed to pay him 100 marks of silver a year while the wars lasted.[4]

The Adoption of a Quaternal Silver Standard

After the silence of the documents in the last decade of Urraca's reign, charters from the town of León again take note of payment in denarii *de medietate* with the

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monasterium...quod dicitur Nogare ... meis illud militibus dedi." Sahagún, 4:110-11 no. 1230.

[3] See Recuero's summary of the campaigns until 1135 in Alfonso VII, 85-118.

[4] HC, book 2, chap. 86, book 3, chaps. 12-13; Fletcher, Catapult, 257-59.

ascension of Alfonso VII. Between 1127 and 1133 there are ten such transactions.[5] To attach much significance to this relatively small spate of references is perhaps dangerous, yet it seems to support the theory that Urraca's debasement early in her reign had only been temporary. In other words, after c.1114 she restored the coinage to its former strength of 6 d. and maintained it at that fineness until her death. When Alfonso took the throne, he must have opted to debase back to a 4 d. standard. Hence, soon after 1126 some buyers began to note that they had paid in the good, older coin, the denarius *de medietate*.

As under Urraca, these citations to denarii *de medietate* come from the town of León where the populace was perhaps more aware of changes in royal policy. There are, however, some clues from outside León which also point to a

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[5] Five of these charters were purchases made by the Bishop of León between March and September of 1129 and drawn up by either the notary Fernando or John. (See ACL, 5:131-33 nos. 1387 and 1388; 137-38 no. 1390, 140-43, nos. 1392 and 1393.) John also appears responsible for drafting charters of two additional purchases in 1130 and 1131 not involving the bishop but citing denarii *de medietate*. (ACL, 5:144-46 no 1395 and 151-52 no. 1399) See also the settlement of 1133 in ACL, 5:166-68 no. 1408; the charter of 1127 in Sahagún, 4:116-17 no. 1234; Vicente Vignau y Ballester, ed, Cartulario del monasterio de Eslonza (Madrid, 1885), no 58.

In these same years, two Mozarabic charters from Toledo (dated 1129 and 1134) refer ambiguously to dinars comprised of the "half pieces." This may possibly refer to dinars paid in denarii *de medietate*, though it seems more likely that the phrase "half pieces" referred to fractional gold denominations. Angel González Palencia, Los mozárabes de Toledo en los siglos XII y XIII (Madrid, 1926-30), 1:12-13 no. 17, 16 no. 22. See also the dicussion in Todesa, "Money of Account," 276.

change in the coinage at this time. According to a document preserved in the *Historia Compostelana*, the canons and municipal council of Santiago imposed ceilings on food prices in 1133, the earliest known attempt at such regulations in the kingdom. The inflation they were meant to combat was possibly the result of recent debasement.[6] Secondly, in 1129, the master architect working on the cathedral of Lugo made provisions in his contract to be paid mainly in kind because he was wary of a possible devaluation of the coinage.[7]

Perhaps the strongest reason for positing a debasement of the Leonese denarius c.1127 is that it seems to coincide with a similar change in neighboring Aragón. Before the late 1120s, Aragonese sources express no concern regarding the strength of the *jaccensis*. A sale of land from Zaragoza dated 1129, however, noted that the price paid was 100 solidi of "moneta jaccensis *de medietate*."[8] This mention of the *jaccensis* of half silver coincides with

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[6] HC, book 3, chap. 33; cf. C.E. Dufourcq and Jean Gautier-Dalché, Historia económica y social de la España cristiana en la edad media (Barcelona, 1983), 105. In theory, Compostela did not have to adhere to the crown's standards, but it made sense to follow its lead.

In the second half of the thirteenth century, the crown would resort to similar freezes repeatedly in an attempt to stem inflation bought on by debasement. See Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "Paths to Ruin: The Economic and Financial Policies of Alfonso the Learned," in The Worlds of Alfonso the Learned and James the Conqueror, ed. Robert I. Burns (Princeton, 1985), 41-67.

[7] Jean Gimbel, The Cathedral Builders, trans. Teresa Waugh (New York, 1983), 120; cf. Fletcher, Catapult, 4.

[8] Lacarra, Ebro, 1:189 no. 180.

other references to a new denarius. A sale from Zaragoza the year before referred to solidi "de dineros moneta nova" and a third transaction from Calahorra in 1129 similarly referred to a new solidus *jaccensis*.[9] Together, these documents imply that the denarius of Jaca was originally on a 6 d. standard like the Leonese denarius and that in the late 1120s a new, weaker coin was introduced. By 1142, Aragonese documents begin to routinely describe the *jaccensis* as the "money of 4 denarii."[10]

While the demands of war certainly provided an incentive for the crowns of León and Aragón to reduce their coinages to a quaternal standard, such a debasement would have been more compelling if it was in keeping with larger economic trends. The coinage of Melgueil in southern France had probably been trickling into Spain since the eleventh century.[11] Between 1125 and 1130, it was reduced

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[9] Ibid., 173-74 no. 163, 189-90 no. 181. Cf. Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, "El sueldo jaques de cuatro dineros de plata," in Obra Completa, 539 and Bisson, Conservation, 75.

[10] While the custom of referring to the *jaccensis* as "money of 4 d." does not become common until the 1140s, two charters preserved in the cartularies of Zaragoza dated 1136 and 1137 refer to "solidos de moneta de IIII^{or} dineros." If these two documents can be trusted, they are exceptional in this regard. The next reference in the Zaragoza documentation is dated 1142. See Lacarra, Ebro, 1:265-66 no. 263, 274 no. 273, 305 no. 311; 2:11-86, passim. In Huesca documents, the first reference to such money is also 1142. See Durán Gudiol, Huesca, 1:179 no. 158, 180-309, passim.

[11] For the influence of the *melgorian* on the early coinage of Gerona and possibly the coinage of Alfonso VI of León see chapter 3, n. 25 above.

While the *melgorian* is not cited in the Leonese sources for the first three decades of the twelfth century,

to 4 d. fine, a change which may well have contributed to the adoption of the quaternal standard in León and Aragón.[12] There is also reason to believe that the denarius of Barcelona fell to 4 d. at approximately this time.[13]

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it is cited frequently from the 1140s to the end of the reign of Alfonso VII in 1157. See the citations beginning in 1142 gathered by Jean Gautier Dalché in "Monnaies d'Outre-Pyrénées dans le nord-ouest de la péninsule ibérique, XIIe-XIIIe siècles," no. 12 in Economie et société, 81-83. The same pattern can be seen in the documents from the cathedral of León which Gautier Dalché was not able to fully incorporate. There the earliest citation to the *melgorian* is c.1145. See ACL, 5:232-33 no. 1145,ff. The cartulary of San Pedro de Montes records a payment in *melgorians* dated 1139. See Quintana Prieto, San Pedro de Montes, 254-55 no. 156; cf. 275-76 no. 174, 284, no. 182. In the Aragonese and Catalan sources, the *melgorian* is not cited with regularity until the later part of the century. See Bisson, Conservation, 74-74. See also Bisson, Fiscal Accounts, 2:114 no. 47, 164-65 no. 78, passim.

[12] The *melgorian* appears to have dropped from 6 d. to 5 d.and then finally to 4 d. in the course of the 1120s. See Castaing-Sicard, Monnaies féodales, 31; Bisson, Conservation, 64-74.

[13] In the mid-eleventh century, Ramón Berenguer I seems to have struck denarii at 6 d. fine, as evidenced by his surviving mint contract of 1056. This is one of the few pieces of direct testimony we have regarding the fineness of the Barcelona coin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. (See appendix B below.) Spufford, in Money, 103, lists the Barcelona denarius as 4 d. fine between 1050 and 1070, but gives no source. Anna M. Balaguer in "Statutes Governing Coinage in the Iberian Kingdoms During the Middle Ages," in PMC I, 125-27, suggested that the denarius was maintained at 5 d. from the reign of Ramón Berenguer I until the reign of Alfonso II (1162-96), who, according to Balaguer, reduced it to 4 d. She, as well, offers no evidence.

Balaguer's conclusion that it was Alfonso II who adopted the quaternal standard is undoubtedly based on an undated charter of that monarch in which he ordered a new *barcelonés* made at 4 d. and further swore to maintain the coinage for life. (See Bisson, Conservation, 201 no. 3.)

In the end, determining precisely when the rulers of León, Aragón and Barcelona adopted a quaternal standard for their denarii remains somewhat conjectural. Yet we know that it certainly occurred at some point during the reign of Alfonso VII. In 1155, two years before that monarch's death, the papal legate Cardinal Hyacinth, at a council held in the Castilian town of Valladolid, promulgated legislation which clearly assumed that 4 d. was the common, if not desirable, standard for denarii in the kingdom. Months later, he issued the canon again at a smaller council held in Lérida, along the Catalan frontier.[14] On balance, it seems most likely that the change to a quaternal denarius in these kingdoms came in the first decade of Alfonso VII's reign.

The first decade of Alfonso VII's reign forms the final chapter of the conflict begun with the death of his grandfather Alfonso VI in 1109. The long struggle between León and Aragón came to an abrupt end in the summer of 1134, when Alfonso the Battler died from wounds received attempting to take the Muslim fortress of Fraga. With no children, Alfonso of Aragón left a bizarre will dividing

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This text, however, does not preclude that 4 d. had long been the accepted standard. The strength of the *barcelonés* can in fact be shown to have remained fairly stable during the years of Alfonso II's rule. (See table 1 below.) A document cited by Botet, Les monedes, 56, seems to suggest that by 1127 the Barcelona denarius was already at 4 d. See n. 58 below.

[14] See appendix C below.

his kingdom between the Templars, the Hospitallers and the canons of the Holy Sepulcher. According to Elena Lourie, this was intended as a clever stall for time, so that his brother Ramiro could be released from his monastic vows and take the throne.[15] If this was indeed the underlying purpose of the will, it was only partially successful.

While Alfonso I's brother eventually did succeed to the throne of Aragón as Ramiro II (1134-37), the Navarrese nobility dissolved their union with the Aragonese and elected their own king, García IV Ramírez (1134-50). Alfonso VII of León moved quickly to profit from this division. According to the *Chrónica Adefonsi Imperatoris*, he first traveled to Navarre where García Ramírez agreed to become his vassal and then continued on to Aragón where he received the city of Zaragoza from Ramiro.[16] A charter of Alfonso VII, preserved in the cathedral of Zaragoza, testifies to the quick success of his maneuvers. Done on December 26, 1134, its dating protocol lists "King Alfonso ruling (*imperante*) in Toledo in Zaragoza in León and

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[15] Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, 'El Batallador,' King of Aragón and Navarre: A Reassessment," Speculum 50 (1975): 635-51.

[16] Though he probably was not an eye-witness to the events he describes, the author of the chronicle appears to be contemporary to the reign of Alfonso VII. Luis Sánchez Belda, ed., Chrónica Adefonsi Imperatoris (Madrid, 1950), 49-53, paragraphs 62-66, cf. ix-x.

Navarre, in the year that Alfonso the king of Aragón died."[17]

This Christmas court in Zaragoza was attended by the leading Catalan magnates as well as nobles from southern France.[18] Some of these men, as Reilly suggests, had perhaps crossed the Pyrenees to await the resolution of the will of Alfonso the Battler.[19] Others had probably been drawn south by the opportunities for crusade along the Spanish frontier rather than in the far-off Holy Land. At least part of this retinue of French nobility was present the following May, when Alfonso VII had himself crowned emperor in the cathedral of León.[20]

With peace more or less restored amongst themselves, Alfonso and the other Christian princes, with the aid of help from abroad, were now free to turn their attention in earnest toward Andalusia, where Almoravid control was

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[17] The charter is a cartulary copy, but is consistent with other charters of Alfonso from this period. It does not say that it was enacted in Zaragoza, though this seems a safe assumption. See Lacarra, Ebro, 1:247-49 no. 245; cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," 258 n. 90.

[18] Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 54, paragraph 68.

[19] Reilly, Contest, 185.

[20] The chronicler's specific mention of "multi filii comitum Franciae" attests that many of these foreigners were young men seeking opportunity. (Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 54-56 paragraphs 68-70.) The papacy was beginning to actively encourage participation in the Spanish wars. Paschal II had granted indulgences to those who participated in the Catalan expedition against Mallorca in 1114 (O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 219) and at the councils of Valladolid and Lérida in 1155, Cardinal Hyacinth extended the same crusading indulgences to those who fought in Spain as were enjoyed by those who fought in the Holy land. (See appendix C, n. 9 below.)

beginning to crumble. As a result, Islamic gold would again begin to enter the Spanish Christian economy in significant quantities as it did when the Córdoban caliphate had collapsed. But this gold was now entering a far more monetized economy. In León, by 1135, mints had been established in approximately seven towns.[21] While transactions by barter were still not rare, the denarius was well in place as a common currency.

The Morabetino

Within the kingdom of León-Castile, the dinar of the Almoravids seems to have circulated first in Toledo; it is cited in a Mozarabic document from that city dated 1113. Two years later, a Latin charter recorded that the master of grammar at the cathedral of Toledo purchased a vineyard for 31 "medcales morabitis."[22] The presence of the morabetino in Toledo this early, however, was exceptional in relation to the rest of the kingdom and was undoubtedly a reflection of the ties that city maintained with the

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[21] There were certainly mints in Toledo, León, Compostela, Salamanca, Palencia, Segovia, and Burgos at this time. Sahagún was probably closed and Zaragoza was only briefly under Leonese control. A mint at Zamora may also have existed this early. The status of the mint at Lugo at this point is unknown. The evidence for all mint locations in León under Alfonso VII is reviewed in chapter 7.

[22] González Palencia, Los mozárabes, 1:7 no. 9; Hernández, Toledo, 22-23 no. 19.

Islamic world through its Arab, Mozarab and Jewish communities.[23]

Some morabetinos no doubt reached the kingdom of León-Castile proper in the first two decades of the twelfth century, but they are not clearly discernible in the documents. At a council held in Burgos in 1117, for example, the legate Cardinal Boso acknowledged that the church of Palencia had been negligent in paying Rome an annual *census* in silver. He accepted 100 "aureos" as arrears for the debt but it is impossible to tell if he was paid in new Almoravid dinars or perhaps old taifa gold, which still circulated sporadically at this point.[24] In

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[23] The Toledan poet Yehuda Halevi, writing to a merchant friend in Egypt, told of plans to ransom a Jew held captive by Urraca for 33 and $^1/_3$ mencales. To raise the money, the community of Toledo planned to contribute 10 mencales, the friend in Egypt 1, and the balance was hopefully to come from contacts in Malaga, Lucena and Granada. This does not suggest that all, or any, of these dinars were morabetinos, but only illustrates the contacts Toledo maintained. Haim Beinhart, "Yehuda Halevi y su tiempo," in Encuentros de las tres culturas: Primero congreso internacional (Toledo, 1983), 19-36. As further evidence of Toledo's monetary contacts with the Islamic world see the Mozarabic document of 1111 which, according to González Palencia, Los mozárabes, 6 no. 7., refers to a "mizcal oriental almamuní." See also the case reportedly brought before the Almoravid emir as to whether Toledan merchants in Cordoba could be held for ransom in exchange for Muslims in Christian hands in Constable, Trade, 65-66.

[24] Likewise, the bishop of Palencia, attending Alfonso VII's imperial coronation in León in 1135, paid 1,000 "aureos" for royal confirmation of a grant. By this later date, however, it seems more probable that the pieces were morabetinos. See Abajo Martín, Palencia, 65-66 no. 27; 76-78 no. 33.

The charter recording the bishop of Oviedo's exchange with Urraca in 1112, claims that besides a sum in silver the queen received 9,270 "mencales of pure gold." While

describing the trip he made to the papal *curia* in 1119, however, Geraldo of Compostela did claim that he carried 100 morabetinos as part of the treasure intended to help Diego Gelmírez' cause.[25]

Even in the documents of the 1120s, the Almoravid dinar surfaces only on occasion. From Coimbra in southern Portugal, a cartulary copy of a sale dated 1122 cites the coin.[26] A charter of the bishop of León shows that he purchased land in 1124 with a combined payment of 9 morabetinos and 5 solidi *jaccensis*.[27] Two sales from Palencia, one dated August 1124 and the other May 1128, also record payment in the new dinar.[28] Otherwise, in this

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this text shows clear signs of interpolation, mencales of "pure gold" may possibly have referred to the new morabetino. (García Larragueta, Colección Oviedo, 345-57 no. 131; cf. chapter 5, n. 30 above.) For the continued but sporadic circulation of the old taifa pieces in the early twelfth century, see Todesca, "Money of Account," 273-79.

[25] HC, book. 2, chap. 10.

[26] See this and other citations in the cartulary known as the *Livro preto*, discussed in Losa, "The Money Among the Mozarabs," 291-93.

[27] ACL, 5:119-20 no. 1379.

[28] Abajo Martín, Palencia, 68-71, no. 29; 73-74 no. 31. These two sales, combined with the two payments in gold made by the church of Palencia mentioned in n. 24 above, could be seen as supporting Nightingale's theory that Palencia was at this date a "place of resort for foreign merchants who wanted to exchange their own silver coin for Muslim Gold." (Nightingale, "Pepperers' Guild," 130.) Her suggestion, however, rests on two mistaken premises.

First, she believed Palencia lay close to what she calls "the monetary boundary between the silver area of the north and the gold of the south." (This was based on an unexplained statement in Mackay, Spain in the Middle Ages, 50.) The real "monetary boundary" lay further south towards Toledo. Secondly, she believed Palencia would have

decade the morabetino was mainly employed in penalty clauses of charters, giving the impression that while the piece was known in León, few as yet were actually circulating.[29] In neighboring Aragón, it appear to have been equally scarce in daily circulation despite Alfonso the Battler's conquest of Zaragoza in 1118.[30]

In 1130, Sancha, the sister of Alfonso VII, donated a church to Sahagún and received for confirmation of the grant 250 "moabitides aureos." That same year, Sahagún paid out 25 additional morabetinos in an exchange of land

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prospered by attracting foreign merchants from Burgos who were frustrated by that town's lack of a mint. Burgos, however, had a mint by 1128. (See chapter 7 below.) While Palencia may have been a favored royal residence under Urraca, there is no evidence to support that it was a mercantile nexus between the Christian and Arab world.

[29] See the two exchanges between Urraca and the bishop of León in January 1123 in ACL, 5:106-109 no. 1375 "version B," and 109-111 no. 1376, cf. 146-48 no. 1396. The term also appears in a penalty clause in an entry in one of the cartularies of San Millán de la Cogolla. See Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 244 no. 359. An undated grant from the *concejo* of Segovia to Bishop Pedro published in Villar García, Segovia, 47 no. 3, probably belongs to the 1120s as well.

[30] While the Almoravids had occupied Zargagoza from 1110 until the Aragonese conquest in 1118, they may not have struck gold in the city. (Hazard, North Africa, 62-63.) Still, a copy of the *fuero* granted to Zaragoza by Alfonso I in 1119 invokes the morabetino in its general penalty clause. Likwise, a copy of his *fuero* to the Mozarabs freed from Granada, dated 1126, imposes a fine of 1,000 morabetinos on disrupters of the peace. But the morabetino is not cited in actual sales in this first decade after the conquest. The earliest reference, to my knowledge, is a sale from Tudela dated 1129 which gives a price of 450 "solidos morabetinos." Lacarra, Ebro, 1:187 no. 177; 71-73 no. 57; 141-42 no. 132.

with a private party.[31] By this decade, the coin clearly became more common in León-Castile as Almoravid central control in al-Andalus began to yield to a new generation of independent taifa lords [32] At the same time, a more serious challenge to Almoravid authority arose in North Africa in the form of a new militant sect, the Almohads. Around 1138, Tāshūfin, the son of the Almoravid emir crossed to Morocco from Spain with an army to confront the threat, leaving al-Andalus an easy target for Christian aggression.

Alfonso VII made several armed expeditions into Andalusia reaching as far as Granada in 1144. He occupied Córdoba in 1146 and received the homage of the Almoravid prince Ibn Ganiya.[33] In 1147, the same year the Portuguese

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[31] Sahagún, 4:123-25 no. 1239, 130-31 no 1243, cf. 146-47 no. 1254.

[32] On the new generation of taifa lords as manifest on the coinage, see Casto María del Rivero, "Los reinos menores de taifas y sus cecas en los siglos XII y XIII," Las Ciencias 16 (1951): 2-10; Hanna E. Kassis, "Les taifas almoravides," in Jarique II, 51-92. See also Hanna E. Kassis, "Notas históricos sobre las monedas de los Almoravides" in Jarique I, 55-66.

[33] For Alfonso's campaigns see Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 137-55 paragraphs 176-95. His victories in these years are corroborated by several charters. See, for example, the royal grant to the bishop of Avila dated 1144 which notes "in reditu fossati quod fecerat eo tempore predictus imperator in terra Corduve et Granate." [Angel Barrios García, ed., Documentación medieval de la catedral de Avila (Salamanca, 1981), 6-7 no. 5.] See also the grant to the church of Toledo in 1146, "anno quo predictus imperator Cordubam acquisivit et principem moabitarum Abingania subi vassalum fecit." (García Luján, Toledo, 2:56-58 no. 17, see also 58-60 no. 18. See further, Recuero, Alfonso VII, 164-83.)

seized Santarém and Lisbon, Alfonso took the port of Almería on the southeastern coast of the peninsula. The Catalans soon followed by taking Tortosa, Lérida, Fraga and Mequinenza on the Ebro river between 1148 and 1149. The combined success of all these campaigns could not help but increase the amount of gold entering the Latin economies.[34]

Of the documents preserved in the archives of the cathedral of León, there are sixteen transactions dated between 1132 and 1152. All but one of these sales expressed the price in morabetinos.[35] Though extant

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[34] The campaign against Almería as well as those against Lisbon and Tortosa all successfully attracted foreign aid, a reflection of the potential profits that stood to be won under the guise of crusade. According to the so-called *Poema de Almería*, the bishops of León and Toledo promised the participants in the Almería campaign not only absolution from their sins but also whatever silver and gold the Moors possessed. See "Poema de Almería," in Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 167-68, lines 25-34. For a review of these campaigns and the motives behind them, see Constable, "The Second Crusade," 221-23, 227-35.

How much the crown of León profited from the conquest of Almería is impossible to gauge. Nevertheless, it is hard to accept Sánchez Albornoz' contention in, "Notas," 496, that the campaign was in fact a major contributor to the debt he believed the crown accrued in the course of the twelfth century. His reasoning was based on the chronicle's statement that Alfonso paid the Genoese 30,000 morabetinos for their assistance. (Sánchez Belda, Chrónica 160-61, paragraph 202.) Sánchez Albornoz held that this amounted to only a fraction of the total cost of the campaign. Even accepting the chronicler's figure, however, it seems hard to believe that with the successful outcome of the siege the crown would have lost money. .

[35] For the transactions citing morabetinos see ACL, 5:153-56 nos. 1401-1402, 198-201 nos. 1429-30, 205 no. 1435, 233-34 no. 1449, 249-53 nos. 1458-61, 255-56 no.1463, 260-61 no. 1468-69, 264-65 no. 1472, 269-71 no. 1476. The one sale that does not mention the morabetino was in denarii of Melgueil, 239-40 no. 1453. In addition, there are five documents concerning sums left in testaments which

charters are less numerous outside the environs of León, they nonetheless support the idea that the morabetino was now starting to enjoy a wider circulation throughout the kingdom.[36] A similar pattern can be seen in the Aragonese documentation. The coin was clearly used in Zaragoza during the 1130s and by the 1140s was present in the more northern regions of the kingdom.[37]

The Christian drive into Muslim territory, however, did not go unchallenged. Having defeated the Almoravid forces in North Africa, the Almohads made forays across the strait of Gibraltar as early as 1146 and soon began to

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mention the morabetino. See 187-88 no. 1421, 210-13 nos. 1438-39, 232-33 no. 1448. See also the sales from the Leonese monastery of Carrizo starting in 1145 in Casado Labato, Carrizo, 1:33-36 nos 28-30.

[36] In Burgos, see the sales dated 1139, 1146 and 1147 in Peña Pérez, San Juan de Burgos, 21-22 no. 12, 28-29 no. 18, 32-33 no. 21; cf. the exchange of 1157 in Garrido, Burgos, 242 no. 146. In Zamora, see the sales of 1150 and 1151 and the bequest of 1,000 morabetinos to the church there in 1159. See José Luis Martín Martín, ed., Documentos zamoranos, vol 1, Documentos del archivo catedralicio de Zamora: Primera parte (1128-1261) (Salmanca, 1982), 11-15 nos. 6-7, 17 no. 12. For Asturias, references to the morabetino begin in 1136, see Departamento, "Circulación," 249-50. See also Gautier-Dalché, "Histoire monétaire," 61-62.

[37] See the charter of c.1134 in Lacarra, Ebro, 1:252-53 no. 249. Beginning c.1138, the Zaragozan documents cite morabetinos *marinos* and *malequis*, designating pieces from Almería and Málaga, as well as morabetinos *merchantes* or *mercatores*, perhaps indicating a particular piece preferred by merchants. See Lacarra, Ebro, 1:281 no. 282, 285 no. 286, 296 no. 302, 300-301 no. 307, 306-307 no. 313. (A sale from León also refers to "morabitinos mercadanes obtimos." ACL, 5:261 no. 1469.) For the morabetino's general circulation in Aragón see further the citations collected in María Isabel Ubieto Artur, "Los morabedís ayadinos, circulación y cambio en el reino de Aragón según la documentación coetánea," Numisma 34 (1984): 215-25.

reunite al-Andalus by force. Alfonso VII seems to have lost control of Córdoba by 1148 though he managed to retain Almería for ten years. His continued control of this port was due in part to an alliance with Ibn Mardanīsh, the most successful of the Almoravid princes to defy the Almohads.

In 1147, Ibn Mardanīsh assumed rule over a kingdom in eastern Andalusia centered around Murcia and so helped shield Almería from the Almohads. After the fall of Almería in 1157 and Alfonso VII's death that same year, Ibn Mardanīsh remained independent of the Almohads by maintaining an alliance with the Christians until his own death in 1172. Consequently, while the Almohads had introduced a new dinar to the peninsula, struck on a radically new weight standard,[38] Ibn Mardanīsh continued to supply the Christian states with his version of the gold morabetino through tribute payments (though these were sporadic) and also by hiring Latin mercenaries and probably by fostering some trade.[39]

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[38] The dinar of the Almohads weighed only about 2.25 grams. They also struck a double dinar piece, called the *dobla* by the Latins, which weighed approximately 4.55 grams. See Hazard, North Africa, 48.

[39] Ibn Mardanīsh gave his Latin mercenaries a section of Murcia and, as Kassis points out, allowed them to "construct churches and to open shops for the sale of wine." See Hanna E. Kassis, "The Coinage of Muhammad Ibn Sa'd (Ibn Mardanīsh) of Mursiya: An Attempt at Iberian Islamic Autonomy," in PMC III, 211, 219. He agreed to pay Ramón Berenguer tribute as early as 1149, but this appears to have become erratic in the count's later years. See the section on gold in chapter 10 below.

There is also evidence that Ramón Berenguer, and perhaps Alfonso VII, had attempted to collect *parias* from

The documents, then, show that the morabetino was introduced gradually into León and Aragón, with the greatest influx coming after 1130. Unlike the mencal in the previous century, this dinar was not reserved for large transactions or payments of state but appears from the outset to have been assimilated into the monetary system alongside the denarius. The bishop of León, for instance, used 9 morabetinos combined with denarii of Jaca to purchase land in 1124.[40] With an increasingly active circulation, the morabetino became a familiar standard of value which was at times rendered in denarii. Its use as standard can be seen at a relatively early date when Alfonso VII was asked by Peter the Venerable in 1142 to resolve the matter of the *census* owed Cluny.[41]

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the other Almoravid taifas before they succumbed to the Almohads. See the agreement between Ramón Berenguer and Gerald Alemany to "defendere et guerreiare ipsaa parias de Ispania." Rosell, Liber, 1:318-19 no.293; cf. Anna M. Balaguer, Del mancús a la dobla: Or i paries d'Hispània (Barcelona, 1993), 127 nos. 89-91.

[40] ACL, 5:119-20 no. 1379. See also the mixed payment made in 1132: "XLª morabetinos de puro auro et ex isto precio apud vos nichil remansit indebito, et tres solidos, pro pane et vino quod nobis et vobis placuit." ACL, 5:155-56 no. 1402.

[41] Peter had come to Spain and met with Alfonso at Salamanca. By this time, Diego Gelmírez, who had controlled the see of Compostela for some forty years, was dead and the king was attempting to insure the selection of Berengar of Salamanca as his successor. Alfonso wanted the abbot's help in convincing Innocent II that Berengar had been canonically elected. Peter apparently agreed to do so but used the occasion to remind the king of the annual gold *census* owed Cluny. See Charles Julian Bishko, "Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain," in Petrus Venerabilis, ed. Giles Constable and J. Kritzeck (Rome, 1956), 169-71.

In his charter addressing the issue, Alfonso VII acknowledged that his great grandfather Fernando I and his grandfather Alfonso VI had promised 2,000 mencales annually to the monastery, though he did not mention whether his mother had renewed this pledge.[42] Undoubtedly, the long period of anarchy combined with the cessation of tribute from *parias* had forced Urraca and her son to ignore the debt.[43] Rather than recommit to the sum of 2,000 dinars per annum, Alfonso gave Cluny the prestigious monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña near Burgos with all its appurtenances as well as other minor property. In addition, he assigned the French house a smaller annual stipend of 200 morabetinos taken from the profits of the public baths at Burgos.

The baths at Burgos certainly did not generate revenue in gold. The *fuero* of Cuenca, redacted around 1179, set the entrance price to the baths there for a free man or woman at only half a denarius.[44] Alfonso, then, in promising a rent of 200 morabetinos, was necessarily

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[42] Bruel, Recueil de Cluny, 5:423-26 no. 4072. Alfonso VII was slightly confused as to the history of the payment. Fernando I had only promised 1,000 gold pieces per annum which was later raised to 2,000 under Alfonso VI. See chapter 2 above.

[43] Cluny, however, had not been completely forgotten. See the smaller stipends in marks of silver in Bruel, Recueil de Cluny, 5: nos. 3995 and 4038 also 327-28; cf. Reilly, Urraca, 189.

[44] Rafael de Ureña y Smenjaud, ed., Fuero de Cuenca (Madrid, 1935), 156-57. For the date of the Cuenca *fuero*, see Powers, "Frontier Competition," 483-86.

employing the value of the morabetino as means of account. In the end, Cluny may have been sent gold, but at some point in the process a number of denarii had to be judged equivalent to a morabetino.[45]

The integration of the denarius and morabetino in León, as well as in the newly united lands of Aragón-Catalonia,[46] gave rise to a bi-metallic currency system made practical by its simplicity. Unlike the gold of the eleventh century, the quality of the morabetino appears to have remained fairly consistent, at least in terms of fineness, even when struck by the Almoravid taifa lords in the period before the Almohad consolidation. The Christian states importing these pieces, therefore, did not trouble

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[45] Another early example of the morabetino rendered in silver is perhaps seen in the *infanta* Sancha's grant to the bishop of Segovia in 1140. According to the charter, she gave the village of Alcazarén to the bishop in exchange for "CC morabetinos quos dedit michi in roboratione...et C aureis quos dedit maiori domus mee Nichole Pelaiz." (Villar García, Segovia, 79-80 no. 32.) The bishop may have used two types of gold coin, 200 morabetinos and 100 of some other provenace, perhaps old taifa dinars, or it may be that the 200 morabetinos were paid in species other than gold.

[46] The death of Alfonso the Battler precipitated another realignment of the Christian states. As we have seen, with the Battler's death, Navarre broke its alliance with Aragón. It remained an independent though small kingdom whose expansion was blocked by its more ambitious neighbors. The Battler's brother, Ramiro, ruled an independent Aragón long enough to father a daughter. He then betrothed the child, Petronilla, to Ramón Berenguer IV (1131-62) of Barcelona and returned to his cloister in 1137. Aragón and Catalonia were hence united though Ramón Berenguer never took the title king of Aragón but rather ruled as prince. He and Petronilla's child became Alfonso II of Aragón (1162-96), who is sometimes referred to as Alfonso I of united Aragón-Catalonia.

to remint them as the Catalans had done with the mancus in the previous century. The morabetino was allowed to circulate as is, though some attention was paid to consistency in weight, particularly in large payments.

This is illustrated by an accord reached between the count of Barcelona and the Genoese in 1153. After participating in the conquest of Almería, the Genoese helped Ramón Berenguer take Tortosa in 1148 and he awarded them the rights to one third of the city. In 1153, they consented to sell their share back to the count. The price agreed upon was 16,040 morabetinos, paid in a mixture of pieces from Morocco, Almería, Málaga, and Murcia. The coins were not counted, but "rendered at the weight of the *lupino*." The *lupino* was the dinar of Ibn Mardanīsh, known to the Christians as *el Rey Lobo*.[47] The purchase was completed, then, by assembling enough gold coins until the theoretical weight of 16,040 dinars of Ibn Mardanīsh was reached. The Murcian ruler must have already been one of

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[47] "(T)erciam partem Tortose . . . pro precio, videlicet, xvi milium et xl morabetinorum Marrochinorum, Marinorum, Aiadinorum, Lupinorum, Melechinorum, qui quotcumque ibi sint mixtim, ad pensum de Lupinis reddantur." Rosell, Liber, 1:485-87 no. 463. The morabetino *ayadino* was the coin of Ibn Mardanīsh's predecessor in eastern al-Andalus, Ibn 'Iyāḍ. See Ubieto Artur, "Los morabedís," 210; cf. Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 210-11. See also Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Morabetinos in auro y mazmudinas iucefias durante Alfonso El Casto, Pedro El Católico y Jaime de Aragón (1162-1276)," in Jarique I, 182-83.

the premier suppliers of gold to the Christians.[48] Smaller transactions using the morabetino were perhaps not as elaborate. While the provenance of the morabetinos used in these transactions is occasionally noted,[49] it is not clear whether the trouble was always taken to weigh out the coins.[50]

At the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, the kingdom of León was divided between his two sons. Fernando II (1157-1188) received León and Sancho III (1157-58) inherited Castile. Sancho's untimely death the following year resulted in his infant son Alfonso VIII (1158-1214) inheriting the throne. Shortly after Alfonso attained his majority in 1169, Ibn Mardanīsh died and gold tribute to the Christian states came to a halt as the Almohads occupied Murcia. Both Alfonso VIII of Castile and Fernando

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[48] Lobo's morabetino was not necessarily the heaviest or the best of the coins assembled in the payment to Genoa. Even in the early years of his reign, his dinars appears to have had an average weight close to 3.90 grams while dinars from contemporary taifa rulers may have been more faithful to the original Almoravid standard of slightly more than 4 grams. (See Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 218-9; Hazard, North Africa, 48, 61.) The Genoese probably chose his coin as a standard because it was the most familiar.

[49] See n. 37 above.

[50] The weight of the dinar is often alluded to in charters such as in the sale of a *herededad* in 1178: "in precio V morabetinos de peso, et II solidos, et VIIII denarios." It is not clear, however, if this implied that the coins were actually weighed. [Pedro Floriano Llorente, Colección diplomática del monasterio de San Vicente de Oviedo (781-1200): Estudio y Transcripción (Oviedo, 1968), 503-505 no. 320.] In at least some cases, phrases such as "morabetinos bonos et de peso" were clearly becoming formulaic in the later century. See Ubieto Artur, "Morabedís," passim.

II of León responded by issuing their own version of the morabetino.[51] Even when minting two species of coin, however, these kings do not appear to have attempted to regulate the rate of exchange between the two metals.[52] They seem to have been content to let this be determined on the open market.

Sources citing an exchange rate between gold and silver in León-Castile for the twelfth century, however, are rare. Since most charters that mention coinage are records of completed sales where a price had already been agreed to and paid, there was little incentive for the parties to note the current rate of exchange between denarii and morabetino. Still, by using sources from Aragón and Catalonia to supplement the Leonese material, we can arrive at a general outline of the relative strength of silver and gold.

Rates of Exchange

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[51] The kings of Portugal would also eventually strike a gold morabetino. The introduction of these Christian pieces is discussed further in chapter 10 below. For the division of León at the death of Alfonso VII see O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 235-36.

[52] The impracticality of attempting to regulate bi-metallic exchange can be seen in Venice's introduction of the gold ducat in 1284. To control production costs, the ducat's value was set at 18 silver *grossi*. The next year the market had driven the price of the ducat to 18.5 *grossi* and it continued to rise in succeeding years. See Frederic C. Lane, "The First Infidelities of the Venetian *Lire*," in The Medieval City, ed., Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy and A. L. Udovitch (New Haven, 1977), 52-56.

An early indication of the exchange rate between the gold morabetino and the billon denarius is found in the *Anales toledanos* which report that in 1117 the morabetino was worth 4 solidi or 48 denarii.[53] Denarii of Urraca's era, like the last coins of her father, tended to weigh close to a gram.[54] If these were 6 d. fine, 48 of them contained approximately 24 grams of fine silver. According to these calculations, then, the morabetino which was 4 grams of almost pure gold was worth 24 grams of fine silver or gold was worth 6 times its weight in silver. This is a relatively low rate of exchange in comparison to northern Europe, where gold at this time could command 9 to 12 times its weight in silver.[55] Nevertheless, two documents from

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[53] "Vendióse el trigo en Mayo en Toledo la fanega por XIV soldos, è era el maravedi IV soldos." Flórez, "Anales toledanos II," 405.

[54] Metcalf in his study of the parcel of Alfonso VI's Christogram coinage found the intended weight to be between 1.07 and 1.09 grams. (See Metcalf, "Parcel of Coins," 298-99.) The coin that I have catalogued as Urraca's earliest issue (type 1) appears to have been struck at a similar standard. By 1117, Urraca's coins, as well as those of her husband and son, may have dropped slightly in weight, though this is difficult to determine given the small number that survive. See catalogue 2 below.

[55] Andrew M. Watson, in "Back to Gold - and Silver," The Economic History Review, 2d ser., 20 (1967), 21-29, attempted to collate gold-silver ratios from the Latin, Greek and Arab worlds. He estimated that in Europe outside Spain the gold-silver ratio was between 9 and 12 before the mid-thirteenth century. In the Arab world from c.1175 to 1250, he found gold-silver ratios ranging from 4.8 to 7.0. In Spain, citing material mainly from Portugal, he found a ratio of approximately 7 in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nonetheless, his caveat regarding such figures is worth remembering: "the scholar who wishes to make use of silver-gold ratios will find his path strewn with thorns ... the calculations of such ratios is tricky: it has

Barcelona dated 1095 and 1097, giving the price of refined silver in terms of gold, point to an exchange of 7 to 1, a rate comparable to that in the *Anales*.[56]

We have suggested that the three main denarii of the peninsula (those of León, Aragón and Barcelona) fell from a half-silver standard (6 d.) to a quaternal one (4 d.) in the late 1120s. Assuming the weight of the coins remained the same, it would take 3 quaternal denarii to equal 2 denarii *de medietate*.[57] Therefore, if the gold morabetino was worth 48 denarii *de medietate*, all other factors being equal, its price should have risen to 72 denarii or 6 solidi after the billon dropped to a quaternal standard. In reality, the price of the dinar does not appear to have jumped quite that high. Botet y Sisó quoted a document from Barcelona dated 1127 which equated it to 5 solidi and 4 denarii.[58] Likewise, in Aragón, a charter recording the sale of a vineyard in Zaragoza in 1142 assessed the

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tripped up distinguished numismatists and given rise to some of the nastiest quarrels in numismatic history."

[56] See appendix B below.

[57] A coin 4 d. fine was one-third silver (the *moneta tercia* in Urraca's reign). Hence it takes 3 coins one-third fine to yield the same silver in 2 coins at one-half fine.

[58] Botet, Les monedes, 56. Presumably the coin in question was the denarius of Barcelona. To the extent that the rate between denarii and morabetino quoted here is very close to the rate between morabetino and the quaternal *jaccensis* quoted in the following note, this document supports that the Barcelonan denarius had in fact fallen to 4 d. in the late 1120s.

morabetino at 5 solidi, 2 denarii *jaccensis*.[59] Perhaps as more gold flowed northward in these decades with the decline of Almoravid power, the morabetino became less highly valued. Ten years later, in 1152, a mortgage agreement from Huesca stated that the morabetino was worth only 5 solidi, again presumably in money of Jaca.[60]

Toward the close of Alfonso VII's reign, the price of the morabetino, at least in the eastern region of the peninsula, began to climb. A document from the monastery of Santa Ana in Barcelona dated 1155 was concerned with the repayment of a debt of 70 solidi "of denarii of Barcelona."

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[59] "Et est precio tailato XXV solidos de moneta Iachese, et est morabetin a V solidos, II denarios." Ubieto, "Documentos," part 4, 186.

There is a charter recording a sale in Barbastro, dated 1139, which prices the morabetino at an even 6 solidi. Martín Duque, "Documentos," part 5, 103 no. 72. judged it an original. Its integrity, however, is suspect on the basis of the dating formula, "Regnante Ranimirus rex, et comes Barquilonensi in Aragon et Superabi et Ripacurzia." Ramiro II of Aragón had abdicated in 1137, allowing Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona to rule. Neither Ramiro nor Ramón, however, used the combined title of king and count. The title "King in Aragón and Count in Barcelona" was not employed until the reign of Alfonso II (See, for example, Lacarra, Ebro, 2:73 no. 395.)

In addition, Martín Duque, "Documentos," part 5, 103 no. 71, published a document of 1137 in which King García Ramírez of Navarre gave to the monastery of Irache 2,400 "solidos de illa me(a m)oneta qui fuerunt ad compunctum de CCC moravedis." These figures give a rate of 8 solidi per morabetino which seems much too high. Gil Farrés in Historia, 265, amended the text to read, "ad compunctum de CCCC moravedis." If he is correct, the document would attest to a rate of 6 solidi of the money of Navarre to the morabetino.

[60] "Et quando fuit isto inpigamento camiabat se morabetino aiar per V solidos." Ubieto, "Documentos," part 1, 123-24; Ubieto Artur, "Morabedís," 215 no. 4.

It stipulated that if the current denarius was changed the debt should be paid back with 12 good gold morabetinos of Almería.[61] This is a rate of 5 solidi and 10 denarii per morabetino. A similar agreement from the monastery's archives dated three years later stipulated that if the denarius was changed, the party would pay back the debt in morabetinos at a rate of 6 solidi and 3 denarii.[62] A third sale of 1160 insisted that if the money changed, the debt be paid in gold at 6 solidi and 6 denarii per morabetino.[63] As table 1 summarizes, the price of the gold piece in Barcelona eventually climbed to 7 solidi before the close of the century.[64]

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[61] "(S)i predicta moneta hodie currentem erat mutata, reddamus vobis XII^{cim} moabatinos marinos obtimos in auro sine engan." Alturo, "Notes," 140.

[62] "(S)i iam dicta moneta cambiabitur de lege et penso, convenimus vobis reddere morabatinos Aiadinos in auro sine engan ad rationem VI solidorum et III denarios per morabatinorum." Ibid., 140-41.

[63] See also the fragmnetary text from 1161 where the rate is cut off at "VI solidorum...." Ibid.

[64] For equivalencies in the years 1171, 1186 and 1190, See Ibid. For 1180, see "M et DCCC solidos barchinon(ium) qui faciunt morabetinos CCLXXIII bonos aiadanos boni auri et recti ponderis" in Bisson, Fiscal Accounts 96-98 no. 36. This equivalency works out to a rate of roughly 6 s. 7 d. per morabetino. For a rate of 7 solidi per morabetino in the years 1190 and 1203, see Mateu Ibars, "Relación cronológica," 207.

By c.1212, a new coin of 2 d. fine, the so-called *doblench*, circulated in Barcelona at half the strength of the quaternal coin. Thomas N. Bisson, "Coinages of Barcelona (1209 to 1222): The Documentary Evidence," in Studies in Numismatic Method Presented to Philip Grierson, ed. C.N.L. Brooke et al. (Cambridge, 1983), 193-204. See in particular the two documents published in his appendix, 200-202. The first, a "memorandum" of c.1212 preserved in the cathedral archives values the morabetino at 14 solidi

Table 1
Value of the Morabetino in Barcelona, 1127-c.1212

Year	Denarius, if Specified	Morabetino, if Specified	Price of the Morabetino
1127			5 s., 4 d.
1155	*barcelonés*	*marino*	5 s., 10 d.
1158		*ayadino*	6 s., 3 d.
1160			6 s., 6 d.
1171		*ayadino*	6 s., 10 d.
1180	*barcelonés*	*ayadino*	6 s., 7 d.
1186	*barcelonés*		7 s.
1190	*barcelonés*		7 s.
1203	*barcelonés*	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
c.1212			14 s.

Table 2 demonstrates that the value of morabetino also rose to 7 solidi in Aragón. In 1159, a charter from Zaragoza noted that "the gold morabetino was worth 7 solidi less 2 denarii" or 6 solidi, 10 denarii.[65] Eight years later, in 1167, a charter from Huesca valued it at 6 solidi and 8 denarii.[66] By the early 1170s, however, the gold piece often commanded an even 7 solidi *jaccensis*.[67] These documents also make it clear that the *jaccensis* remained at 4 d. fine until Alfonso II of Aragón (1162-1196) debased it to 3 d., probably in 1174.[68] Therefore, the gradual rise

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though it does not specifically say these were solidi comprised of *doblench* denarii.

[65] Rubio, Pilar, 65-66 no. 80.

[66] Durán Gudiol, Huesca, 1:256 no. 249; Ubieto Artur, "Morabedís," 219 no. 22.

[67] For the price of the morabetino in the years 1171 to 1177 see Ubieto Artur, "Morabedís," 219-22, nos. 26, 28-32, 34-37, 40. These citations are summarized in table 2. Bisson, Conservation, 76, refers to a rate of 7 s.2 d. before 1174, but I have been unable to verify his source.

A thirteenth-century copy of a sale dated 1149, records that in that year the abbot of Montearagón made a mixed payment which included morabetinos as well as "metcales de auro" and solidi of denarii. It notes that the morabetino was worth 7 solidi and the mencal 2 solidi. The reference is noteworthy in that it gives the same rate between morabetino and the old mencal as does the Catalan *usatge*, *Solidus aureus*, i.e., 3.5 mencals to one morabetino. Nonetheless, the rate of 7 solidi to the morabetino at this early date makes the document suspect. See Ubieto, "Documentos," part 2, no. 24; Beltrán, "El sueldo jaqués," 570. For *Solidus aureus*, see appendix B below.

[68] A private document dated 1174, noted that on the occasion of his marriage and knighting, Alfonso changed (*mutavit*) the coinage. Ubieto, "Documentos," part 2, 95 no. 33. Bisson suggested in Conservation, 75, 84-85, that this amounted to only a change in type and that a debasement to 3 d. fine did not occur until the early 1180s. A private document dated 1175, however, speaks of "solidos Iaccensis monete de III^{bus} denariis." (See Martín

Table 2
Value of the Morabetino
in Aragón-Catalonia (excluding Barcelona), 1142-1222

Origin of Document	Year	Denarius, if Specified	Morabetino, if Specified	Price of the Morabetino
Zaragoza	1142	*jaccensis*		5 s., 2 d.
Huesca	1152		*ayadino*	5 s.
Zaragoza	1159			6 s., 10 d.
Huesca	1167	*jaccensis* (of 4 d.)		6 s., 8 d.
Montearagón	1171	*jaccensis* (of 4 d.)	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
Montearagón	1172	*jaccensis* (of 4 d.)	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
Montearagón and Huesca	1173	*jaccensis* (of 4 d.)	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
Montearagón	1174	*jaccensis* (of 4 d.)	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s. 6 s., 3 d. 6 s., 4 d.
Montearagón	1177		*ayadino* and *lupino*	6 s., 10.5 d
Tortosa	1175	new *jaccensis*	*ayadino* and *lupino*	10 s.
unknown	1185	*melgorian*	*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
Lerida	1190	*jaccensis*		7 s.
Zaragoza	1192		*ayadino* and *lupino*	7 s.
Royal	1208			7 s., 9 d.
Daroca (royal)	1222	*jaccensis*		7 s., 8 d.

Note: The table excludes the sale from Barbastro dated 1139, discussed in n. 59, and the sale dated 1149 discussed in n. 67.

in the price of the morabetino evident in both Aragón and Catalonia from mid-century cannot be attributed to a decline in the intrinsic value of the denarius. It must reflect a real rise in the value of gold, probably as a result of the Almohad consolidation of al-Andalus from roughly 1150 onward.

With Alfonso II's debasement of the *jaccensis* to 3 d., the price of the morabetino in Aragón jumped artificially to 10 solidi during the 1180s.[69] Nevertheless, in Barcelona, documents from 1186 until 1203 continue to list the morabetino at 7 solidi, implying that the denarius there remained at 4 d. and that the value of gold was stabilizing.[70] A document of 1185 also shows the

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Duque, "Documentos," 115 no. 93.) The increased rate of exchange between the morabetino and the *jaccensis* by 1175 is further evidence that Alfonso's change in 1174 represented a debasement. See n. 69 below.

[69] For the *jaccensis* at 10 solidi to the morabetino, see the entry of 1175 in Bisson, Fiscal Accounts, 2:83-86 no. 26; cf. no. 27 and the account rendered by the bailiff of Lérida, 137-39 no. 62.

The rise to 10 s. for the price of the morabetino was roughly proportionate to the *jaccensis*' drop to 3 d. fine. If it took 7 solidi or 84 *jaccensis* at 4 d. to purchase a morabetino, one can calculate the following:

$$84 \text{ @ } 4 \text{ d.} = x \text{ @ } 3 \text{ d.}$$
$$84\ (^1/_3) = x\ (^1/_4)$$
$$112 = x$$

All factors remaining equal, it should have taken 112 denarii (9 s., 4 d.) at 3 d. fine to purchase the morabetino.

[70] Alfonso II may have sworn to uphold the *barcelonés* at 4 d. in 1174. See the undated text to this effect reprinted by Bisson, Conservation, 201 no. 3, cf. 76-77. Since the surviving copies are undated, Bisson theorized that this confirmation was never officially promulgated. However, if one places the debasement of the *jaccensis* in 1174, which Bisson does not, then the likelihood that the

morabetino worth 7 solidi of *melgorian* denarii (still a quaternal coin though its weight may have been reduced in 1175).[71] By the early 1190s, Alfonso restored the quaternal *jaccensis* and the price of the morabetino in terms of that coin dropped back to 7 solidi.[72] The price

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coin of Barcelona was confirmed in the same year becomes more compelling. Whether Alfonso publicly swore to uphold the *barcelonés* or not, it seems clear from the rates of exchange that the coin remained at 4 d until Pedro II's debasement in the early thirteenth century. Cf. Bisson, "Coinages of Barcelona," 193.

[71] See the charter of February 19, 1185 in Mateu Ibars, "Relación cronológica," 205-208. Catalan and Aragonese documents in this period frequently note that the mark of silver was worth 44 solidi *barcelonés*. Others sources note that the silver mark (of Narbonne) was worth 48 and 50 solidi *melgorian*. (Mateu Ibars "Relación cronológica," passim; cf. Castaing-Sicard, 31. See also the discussion in Thomas N. Bisson, "Coinages and Royal Monetary Policy in Languedoc During the Reign of St. Louis," Speculum 32 (1957): 448.)

This rate of solidi to the mark was not the proscribed cut of the coin, as is often inferred in the literature, but rather a measure of the coin's extrinsic strength against the mark. Practically speaking, the difference between the mark selling for 44 solidi *barcelonés* or the mark (of Narbonne) selling for 48 to 50 solidi *melgorian* was not great. It is not surprising, therefore, to see the morabetino priced at 7 solidi *barcelonés* or 7 solidi *melgorian*. On the interaction of the *barcelonés* and *melgorian* in circulation, see Bisson, Fiscal Accounts, 2:164-65 no. 78; cf. 114 no. 47. See also the "memorandum" of 1212 where the quaternal *barcelonés* and the *melgorian* are considered equal. Bisson, "Coinages of Barcelona," 200, appendix, no. 2.

[72] Bisson in Conservation, 84-85, believed that the return to 4 d. fine came after 1191 on the basis of Celestine III's letter in that year. But the papal letter may have been recognizing a *fait accompli*. See the rate of 7 s. to the morabetino in the account of the bailiff of Lérida of 1190 in Bisson, Fiscal Accounts, 2:162-64, no. 77.

A mortgage agreement preserved in the *Cartulario pequeño* of Zaragoza with the date "anno" 1192 reads: "et si moneta qui est superius scripta se camiava vel se afflova, quando volunt recuperare istos pignos, donet morabetinos

of gold crept only slightly higher in the early decades of the thirteenth century.[73]

Tracking the rate of exchange between the morabetino and denarius in Aragón and Catalonia allows a point of comparison for examining the strength of the denarius in León-Castile. With the exception of the reference in the *Anales toledanos* cited above, the written sources for León-Castile are largely silent regarding the gold-silver ratio. (See table 3.) Gil Farrés alluded to a document which appears to place the morabetino at 5 solidi in León in 1134, but he gave no reference. If his source can be trusted, it would show the Leonese denarius to have been at approximately the same strength as the *jaccensis* and *barcelonés* in this time frame.[74] A version of the *fuero* of Uclés, most likely done sometime after 1157, indirectly

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aiars et lopinos quia ipso die quando fuit facta anc carta: camiavasse morabetin vii solidos." Ubieto, "Documentos," part 4, 187-88, argued that the date was meant to be "era" 1192, corresponding to A.D. 1154, on the grounds that the monastic prior mentioned in the charter lived earlier. The concern over the money changing, the reference to morabetinos *ayadinos* and *lupinos* and the rate of 7 solidi to the morabetino, however, are all consistent with Aragonese documents from 1170 onwards. While the charter may contain older elements, it seems best to assume that the stipulation of payment dates to 1192 as it states. The reference is entered in table 2 accordingly.

[73] A document from 1208 gives the price of the morabetino as 7 solidi and 9 denarii. See Mateu Ibars, "Relación cronológica," 208. A second reference from 1222 gives a similar rate of 7 solidi and 8 denarii. See Ambrosio Huici Miranda and M.D. Cabanes Pecourt, eds., Documentos de Jaime I de Aragón (Valencia, 1976), 1:91 no. 38.

[74] Gil Farrés, Historia, 317.

Table 3
Value of the Morabetino
in León-Castile, c.1155-c.1220

Origin of Document	Year	Denarius, if Specified	Price of the Morabetino
Fuero of Uclés	post 1157		6 s.
León	1171	*angevin*	7 s.
Sigüenza	1175		6 s.
Oviedo	1176	*angevin* and *tournois*	7 s..
Oviedo	1185	*angevin*	7 s., 2 d.
San Vicente (Oviedo)	1191		7 s.
San Pelayo (Oviedo)	1192	*leonés*	7 s.
Carrizo (León)	1193	*tournois*	7 s.
Papal bull	1197		7 s., 6 d.
Royal	1217-18	*burgalés* *pepión*	7 s., 6 d. 15 s.
San Pelayo (Oviedo)	1217	*leonés*	8 s.

Note: The table excludes the two problematic documents alluded to n. 74 and n. 76.

equates the morabetino to 6 solidi.[75] This again is comparable to the contemporary rate of exchange found in Aragón-Catalonia.[76]

During the separation of León and Castile from 1157 to 1230, the independent crowns naturally struck separate denarii. Evidence for the exchange rate between the morabetino and the coin of either kingdom is scarce. Alfonso VIII of Castile, in a grant to the monastery of Santa María de Huerta in Sigüenza, may have equated the morabetino to only 6 solidi of his money as late as 1175.[77]

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[75] Fidel Fita, "El fuero de Uclés," BRAH 14 (1889). Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, "Dos tesorillos de vellones ocultos en la primera época del reinado de Alfonso X," part 1, Numisma.14 (1964): 62, pointed out the implied exchange rate. An undocumented reference in Esteban Collantes Vidal, "Monedas de Alfonso VIII y sus problemas," AN 3 (1973): 114, to a rate of 6 solidi per morabetino is in all probability drawn from Beltrán and not an additional citation.

Penalty clauses of royal charter from as early as 1156 alternatively assign a payment of either 1,000 morabetinos or 6,000 solidi. This could tentatively be taken as proof that at some point the sums were considered equal. See Todesca, "Monetary history," 140-41; cf. n. 78 below.

[76] In 1155, the papal legate Cardinal Hyacinth addressed the matter of the annual *census* of 100 solidi *pictavensis* which the church of Palencia owed Rome. He commuted the payment to 25 morabetinos, which meant that Rome was to receive 1 morabetino for every 4 solidi *pictavensis* owed. This was almost certainly not representative of the market rate of exchange. The coin of Poitou had been notoriously unsteady in the first half of the century and it is unlikely that it was this strong in 1155. Hyacinth, for whatever reason, appears to have got the better of Palencia in forcing them to accept an unfavorable rate. Papal confirmations after this continued to insist on the payment. See Abajo Martín, Palencia, 115-16 no. 54; cf. 129-32 no. 62, 191-94 no.93. For the *pictavensis*, see also Bisson, Conservation, 12.

[77] Documents from Sigüenza often employ the mencal of silver as a unit of account instead of the traditional

In León, there are no reliable examples illustrating the strength of the royal coin for several decades.[78] There are, however, several helpful citations involving foreign denarii.

In the late twelfth century, two coins from France, the *tournois* (the denarius of Tours) and the *angevin* (the denarius of Anjou) are cited regularly in Leonese documents.[79] A charter from the cathedral of León shows

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solidi argenti. Hence, Alfonso's charter reads, "Si vero ego salinas Medine vel destruxero vel in usus meos asumpsero non amaplius (sic) vendat abbas nisi in sexcentos menchales, vel in centum quinquaginta morabetinos..." José Antonio García Luján, ed, Cartularío del monasterio de Santa María de Huerta (Almazán, 1981), 41-43 no. 26.

According to the charter, there were 4 mencals to the morabetino. The mencal of silver eventually emerges as a unit of 18 denarii (though the fuero of Ucles treats it as 24 denarii). If we accepts 18 denarii to the mencal, this charter then equates the morabetino to 6 solidi. For the menacl of account, see Todesca, "Money of Account," 273-79.

[78] The penalty clause in an Asturian charter of 1174 called for a fine of "mille morabetinos autem decem solidos de moneta forte," which seems to equate the dinar to 10 solidi. (See Departamento, "Circulación," 259 n. 3, cf. 257.) This is an intriguing reference in that 1174 is precisely the time that the price of the morabetino in Aragón jumped to 10 solidi *jaccensis* because of Alfonso II's temporary debasement. Could there have been a corresponding temporary debasement in León? In that penalty clauses frequently do not reflect real market conditions, it seems best not to credit it.

[79] The *tournois* and *angevin* were two of the more than 5 types of denarii that circulated in the continental domains of the English crown in the late twelfth century. Of these, the *tournois*, struck at the abbey of St. Martin of Tours, was probably the most successful. Accordingly, in 1204, after successfully reclaiming Normandy and Anjou, Philip II of France (1180-1223) suppressed the coinage of Anjou, but preserved the *tournois* as a royal coin. (See Spufford, Money, 199-200.)

In León-Castile during the last quarter of the twelfth century, the *tournois* and *angevin* appear frequently in documents from Galicia and Asturias but less so in León

property purchased in 1171 for 49 solidi of "angevinos," with 7 solidi counted equivalent to the morabetino.[80] Likewise, a charter from the cathedral of Oviedo recorded a sale of 1176 paid in a mixture of denarii of Anjou and Tours reckoned at the same rate of 7 solidi per morabetino.[81] A second charter from Oviedo, dated 1185, equates the morabetino to 7 solidi minus 2 denarii of

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proper. Their prevalence in the documents from these regions is yet one more indication of on-going trade between the Cantabrian coast and northern Europe. For the documentary citations, see Gautier Dalché, "Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées," 76-77, 84-97. Basilio Osaba y Ruiz de Erenchun in "Tres tesorillos medioevales: Briviesca, Muño y Ordejon de Abajo (Burgos)." NH 3 (1954): 89, made passing reference to a hoard he had examined found in Orense (Galicia) comprised exclusively of denarii *tournois*.

To my knowledge, the coins are not cited at all in charters from Castile. This does not mean, however, that they were completely unknown. A small hoard of denarii of Anjou and Tours was found in Castile near Burgos. See Luciano Huidobro y Serna, "Nuevo hallazgo de monedas francesas en el camino de Santiago," BIFG 9 (1950-1): 430. Felipe Mateu y Llopis in "Dineros torneses y castellanos hallados en Sarabe (Urdiain)," Cuadernos de etnología y etnografía de Navarra 5 (1973): 29-32, reported two denarii *tournois* found in excavations in Navarre. Both of these were royal *tournois* and so date to after 1200. They were not, however, part of a hoard and cannot be used to date the Castilian pieces found at the site as Mateu implies.

80 "(Q)uadraginta et novem solidis de angobinos preciatos septem morabetinos." Gautier Dalché, "Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées," 90 no. 18.

81 "(P)ro precio quod accepimus de vos LX et III morabetinos ad VII solidos de turonensium monete et de aniouins." Larragueta, Documentos de Oviedo, 460-61 no. 189; Gautier Dalché, "Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées," 92 no. 38. (The equivalency of 1176 cited in Departamento, "Circulación," 257, must be to this same document, though the authors fail to mention that it was to foreign denarii.)

Anjou.[82] Two decades later, in 1193, the rate of 7 solidi *tournois* per morabetino is given in two charters from the monastery of Carrizo de la Ribera near León.[83] Like the *melgorian*, the *tournois* and *angevin* were quaternal coins in this period.[84] Their acceptance in León, therefore, at 7 solidi per morabetino confirms that the basic gold-silver ratio in the kingdom was the same as in Aragón-Catalonia though it sheds no direct light on the strength of the indigenous coinage.

Clear testimony to the relative strength of the denarii of León and independent Castile does emerge in the final decade of the twelfth century. In León, a loan to the nuns of San Pelayo of Oviedo in 1192 consisted of 300 solidi "of royal money" at 7 solidi to the morabetino.[85]

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[82] "(M)orabetinos ad VII solidos minus II denarios de aniouvins unoquoque morabeti." Larragueta, Documentos de Oviedo, 488-89 no. 203. Sánchez Albornoz in "Devaluación," 615, mistakenly cited this reference as 7 solidi plus 2 denarii and saw the slight rise in the price of the moarbetino as evidence of a "small crisis" for silver.

[83] Casado, Carrizo, 53-55 nos. 46-47. The first of these documents omits mention of the morabetino in the key passage but it is clear from later in the text what is meant. Cf. Gautier-Dalché, "Monnaies d'outre-Pyrénées," 85 no. 22.

[84] On the fineness of the *angevin* and *tournois*, see Françoise Dumas-Duborg and Jean-Noël Barrandon, Le titre et le poids de fin des monnaies sous le règne de Philippe Auguste (1180-1223), Cahier Ernest-Babelon 1 (Paris, 1982), 16, 23, 47, passim. On the *melogorian*, see 16.

[85] "(P)ro CCC solidis regie monete, talis scilicet monete quod septem solidi valeant unum morabetinum." Francisco Javier Fernández Conde, et al, El monasterio de San Pelayo de Oviedo: Historia y fuentes, vol. 1, Colección diplomática (966-1325) (Oviedo, 1978), 91-94 no. 42. On the San Pelayo documentation in general, see also Jean

In Castile, a bull of Celestine III to the bishop of Sigüenza in 1197 seems to equate the gold morabetino to 7 solidi, 6 denarii.[86] The gold dinar was still valued at 7 solidi and 6 denarii *burgaleses* in Castile in 1218, though a weaker denarius called the *pepión* had by this time been introduced into circulation.[87] The rate of 7 $^1/_2$ solidi per morabetino is again very close to the price in Aragón at the turn of the century. A document of the young Jaime I of Aragón (1213-76), for example, valued the morabetino at

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Gautier Dalché, "Aperçus sur la monnaie et les usages monétaires dans les Asturies d'après la documentation de San Pelayo d'Oviedo (1043-1270)," En la España Medieval 2 (1982): 379-93.

A gift to the monastery of San Vicente of Oviedo in 1191 was described as "CCC solidos, XLIII aureos probatissimos valentes," which seems to imply that 300 solidi was worth 43 morabetinos, a rate of virtually 7 s. to the morabetino. Since the solidi are not named, we can perhaps assume the native currency was implied. See Luciano Serrano, ed., Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo 781-1200 (Madrid, 1929), 285 no. 312; cf. Todesca, "Monetary History," 146 n. 42.

[86] Celestine's bull also compares mencals (of silver) to morabetinos; "ducentos mencallos valentes quadraginta aureos." (Mingüella, Sigüenza, 1:490 no. 131; Beltrán, "Dos tesorillos," 62-63.) If one assumes that there were 18 denarii to the mencal of account, the equivalency translates to 7 s. 6 d. per morabetino, a rate consistent with the treaties two decades later, cited below, n. 87.

[87] Like the *doblench* coin in Barcelona, the *pepión* eventually circulated at half the strength of the quaternal denarius. Two treaties between the kings of León and Castile in 1217 and 1218 involved a debt of 11,000 morabetinos. The agreement stipulated that the sum could be paid in silver at a rate of 7.5 solidi of denarii *burgalés* to the morabetino or 15 solidi of *pepiones*. See Alfonso IX, 2:458-62, nos. 350 and 352; 479 no. 366; cf. Todesca, "Monetary History," 141-42.

7 solidi and 8 denarii *jaccensis* in 1222.[88] At the same time the morabetino rose to an even 8 solidi of *leoneses*.[89]

Overall, while the evidence regarding rates of exchange is scattered, it is remarkably consistent. The aggregate picture suggests that after the *medietate* standard was abandoned c.1130, the billon coinages of León-Castile and Aragón-Catalonia were maintained in rough parity with one another at 4 d. fine for much of the twelfth century. It was only towards the close of the century that this quaternal silver standard became threatened. Alfonso II of Aragón temporarily debased the *jaccensis* c.1174. His son, Pedro II (1196-1213), would cut the strength of the Barcelonan denarius to 2 d. in the early thirteenth century. At the same time, Alfonso VIII of Castile also issued a denarius of 2 d. fine, the so-called *pepión*.[90] In León, however, there is no evidence, that Fernando or his son, Alfonso IX (1188-1230), significantly debased their coin, although by 1217 it was

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[88] Huici Miranda, Documentos de Jaime I, 1:91 no. 38.

[89] "X morabetinos ad VIII solidos unoquoque morabetino monete regis" in a chartert of 1117 in Fernández Conde, San Pelayo, 105-107, no. 50. Gil Farrés, Historia, 326, cites a reference of 8 solidi per morabetino which he dates as 1184. Again, this seems to be a mistaken reference to a citation of 1221. See Todesca, "Monetary History," 146-47, n. 44.

[90] For the debasements in Barcelona and Castile, see the discussion in chapter 10 below.

recognized as slightly weaker than the *burgalés* of Castile.[91]

Carlo Cipolla warned that it is simplistic to attribute debasement solely to the capriciousness of "spendthrift and warlike princes."[92] Like the switch from a standard of 6 d. to 4 d. in the early part of the century, the debasements at the close of the century, particularly the almost simultaneous introduction of a denarius of 2 d. in Barcelona and Castile, point to larger economic pressures at work than the whims of individual rulers. But before turning to these events in detail, we must first ask what means allowed the rulers of León-Castile and Aragón-Catalonia to maintain a stable coinage from roughly 1130 to 1200. A clue can be gleaned from legislation passed at mid-century by Cardinal Hyacinth, the future Celestine III.

In February of 1155, Hyacinth called a large council to the town of Valladolid in León-Castile. The meeting was attended not only by the leading prelates of Christian Spain, but also by Alfonso VII, his two sons, and an assembly of noblemen. Much of the legislation promulgated at this meeting was based on the decrees of the Second Lateran Council of 1139. Several of the canons passed at

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[91] See Todesca, "Monetary History," 163, n. 98. See also, chapter 10 below.

[92] Carlo M. Cipolla, "Currency Depreciation in Medieval Europe," The Economic History Review, 2d ser., 15 (1963): 413.

Valladolid, however, were not inspired by that general council. One of these addressed the issue of coinage.

> The emperor for the sake of God and his own salvation should establish whatever money (*monetam quidquam*) at a good weight and at four denarii of silver without any price, (and) never in his day change it, but rather confirm it so that it remains thus.[93]

Rome was only beginning to formulate doctrine with regards to coinage. The First Lateran Council of 1123 had addressed the issue of counterfeiting, but Hyacinth's canon may represent the earliest conciliar legislation to charge that a secular ruler had an obligation to maintain the integrity of his money.[94]

Moreover, the decree is not couched in general terms. It is directed at the "emperor" or Alfonso VII, who was in attendance. To this extent, the canon seems a response to grievances brought against the king's monetary policy at the council. It implies that Alfonso had been in the habit of extorting a price from the populace in return for a

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[93] "Monetam quidquam bene pensatem et quatuor denariorum argenti mittet imperator sine omni precio propter Deum at anime sue salutum nunquam in diebus suis mutandum, sed eam ita mansuram firmat." For the text of the canon, see Ferran Valls Taberner, "Ein Konzil zu Lerida im Jahre 1155," in Papsttum und Kaisertum, ed. Albert Brackman (Munich, 1926) 368. For the problems surrounding the attribution of this particular canon and the legislation at Valladolid see appendix C.

[94] Between 1125 and 1129, Honorius II wrote to Count Bernard IV of Melgueil warning him that he shoul not falaisfy the coinage of Melgueil. ["(I)n fabricanda moneta nichil falsitatis admisceans." See Bisson, Conservation, 71-72, 167-68.]

stable coinage. Hyacinth's decree, however, falls short of revealing what that price was or how it was collected.

SEVEN

MINTS

AND THE QUESTION OF *MONETAGIUM*

Late in 1123, during a lull in the struggle with Aragón, Urraca and her son Alfonso undertook the siege of Muslim Sigüenza. Probably in preparation for this campaign, both mother and son appear to have been in Toledo in November. In a grant dated the 29th of that month, Alfonso gave Archbishop Bernardo a tenth of all royal revenue "in the city or in the district" of Toledo. The next day, Urraca drew up a separate charter confirming the endowment. Both documents name *moneta* as one of the revenues from which the bishop should draw a tenth.[1] Since Toledo had an active mint, a tenth of *moneta* would seem to refer to a share in its profits.

Years later, in 1137, Alfonso drew up another charter which granted the see of Toledo a tenth "of all money (*moneta*) that shall be made in Toledo."[2] Hilda Grassotti

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[1] Neither charter survives as an original, though both are preserved in twelfth century copies. (García Luján, Toledo, 2:35-37 no. 8 and 29-32 no. 6.) The list of revenues varies slightly in the charter of Urraca and the queen does not specifically state that she is confirming her son's grant. Reilly, Urraca, 178-79, argued that Urraca and Alfonso were each giving away a separate tenth, but this seems unlikely. See further, Reilly, "Chancery Alfonso VII," 248; Hernández, Toledo, 27-30 nos. 23-24.

[2] García Luján, Toledo, 2:46-48 no. 13.

raised the objection that if the grants of 1123 already included a tenth of the mint then this second grant of 1137 appears superfluous. She argued that the earlier, more ambiguous reference to *moneta* might refer not to mint profits but to revenue from a money tax collected by the crown for the purpose of maintaining the coinage. Her basis for this suggestion was that by the early thirteenth century, a tax called *moneda forera* or simply *moneda* emerges in the Leonese sources.[3]

Besides the case of Toledo, there are a number of other vague references to income from *moneta* in the twelfth-century sources. For example, a charter dated in February 1124 records that Urraca gave Bishop Bernardo of Zamora a tenth of *moneta* in Zamora. Likewise, in April of 1126, within a month of his mother's death, Alfonso VII confirmed that the bishop of Salamanca had claim to a third of the royal revenue from the city including *moneta*.[4] No other source from Urraca's reign corroborates that either Zamora or Salamanca were striking coins at this stage. Can

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[3] Hilda Grassotti, "El pueblo y la mondeda real en León y Castilla durante el siglo XII," part 2 of "Dos problemas de historia Castellano-Leonesa," CHE 49-50 (1969): 169. For *moneda forera* in the thirteenth century see the numerous examples provided by Grassotti in her earlier study, "Un empréstito para la conquista de Sevilla: Problemas históricos que suscita," CHE 45-46 (1967): 198-201. See further Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Beginnings of the Cortes of León-Castile," American Historical Review 74 (1969): 1517-20.

[4] The evidence for Zamora and Salamanca is presented below.

these two references to *moneta* be relied upon as proof that there were in fact mints operating there? Or, does *moneta* in these instances refer to revenue generated from a monetary-conservation tax?

This type of exaction was not unheard of in Western Europe at the time. A tax called *monetagium* was introduced in England after the Conquest. While Henry I abolished it in an effort to ensure the popularity of his succession, a related levy emerged in ducal Normandy where it became a triennial exaction in the course of the twelfth century. The Capetian monarchs also collected a *taillage* on coinage in the twelfth century, promising in some instances to preserve not only the coin's weight and fineness but also its design.[5] Further south, the count of Barcelona had sworn in 1118 to uphold his coinage in Cerdanya for life in exchange for a one-time payment and implied he had already done so in his other lands.[6] Therefore, it is not preposterous to suggest that the Crown of León had instituted a form of *monetagium* by the 1120s. In this regard, one can hardly ignore Hyacinth's canon passed at Valladolid in 1155 urging Alfonso VII to maintain a quaternal coinage without exacting "any price." Is this further testimony that such a levy already existed?

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[5] Bisson, Conservation, 15-21, 29-44.
[6] Ibid., 50-64.

The problem of whether *moneta* in the twelfth century documents referred to mint profits, revenue from *monetagium* or both has been addressed at length not only by Hilda Grassotti but also by Evelyn Procter.[7] For these authors, the issue was important from the perspective of constitutional development. In the thirteenth century, the crown's ability to collect the tax called *moneda forera* was, in theory, contingent on the approval of a general *cortes* attended by representatives of the clergy, nobility and towns. If a precursor or prototype for the *moneda forera* tax could be shown to exist in the twelfth century, it would suggest an earlier tradition of legislative assemblies in León-Castile.[8]

Neither author accounted for all the known documentation and both ignored numismatic evidence. While their surveys were insightful, in the end they left the

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[7] Evelyn Procter, Curia and Cortes in León and Castile, 1072-1295 (Cambridge, 1980).

[8] For those instances where it can be shown that a *cortes* consented to the collection of *moneda* in the thirteenth century, see Joseph F. O'Callaghan, The Cortes of Castile-León (Philadelphia, 1989), 133-35.

The adjective *forera*, used to describe the *moneda* tax in the thirteenth century, seems to reflect that the levy was constrained by law, i.e, the crown could not collect it without consent. (Cf. Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "forera.") By contrast, the coinage itself belonged to the crown. The first law of the so-called *Fuero viejo*, codified in the mid-fourteenth century, reads: "Pertenecen al Rey por razon del Señorío natural, y por lo tanto no las puede enagenar, estas cuatro cosas: Justicia, Moneda, Fonsadera y sus Yantares." See José Muro Martínez, ed, Fuero Viejo de Castilla, Fuero Real, Leyes del Estilo y Ordenamiento de Alcalá (Valladolid, 1874), 3.

question largely unresolved.[9] From a constitutional standpoint, it was not imperative to arrive at a firm solution. In terms of economic development, however, not knowing if *moneta* referred to income from mints or a *monetagium*-style tax remains a major stumbling block in interpreting the sources. This chapter seeks to examine the issue afresh. By collating all the pertinent evidence, it attempts to demonstrate where mints existed in the kingdom up to the death of Alfonso VII and how the profits of each were shared between crown and church. To do this, later evidence relative to these mints is often brought to bear. Nevertheless, mints that arose after the separation of León and Castile in 1157 are here excluded. For simplicity's sake they are treated in a later chapter.

Toledo

Alfonso VII's grant to the Archbishop of Toledo in 1123 outlined the income of the district as follows;

> A tenth part of all my revenue that I have or will acquire in Toledo, in the city or in its district, inside as well as outside, namely bread and wine, dues from mills, ovens, stores, smithies, stores of grain, money (*monetarum*), baths, farm land, as well as fishing from the canals, from salt, from all tolls and even from the clay of Magan and from all fines, penalties for wounds, every tribute, guard payment...and all

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[9] Luis Domingo Figuerola in "Privilegios otorgados por Alfonso VIII relacionados con las cecas del reino de Castilla y las acuñaciones de la campaña de las Navas de Tolosa," AN 7 (1977): 203-221, provides a useful, though incomplete, review of the documentation and reconciles it with some of the numismatic evidence.

> profit that I or my successors shall make in the pre-said city.[10]

While it is perhaps dangerous to argue from the syntax of the charter, the list of revenues as they are presented can be divided in two parts. The first part describes income from tangible operations -- from mills, ovens, stores, baths, etc. *Moneta* is listed with these. After this, the text turns to revenues from fines and taxes. If *moneta* was indeed a tax and not revenue from the mint, we would expect to find it in this second part.

The most logical conclusion is that the tenth of *moneta* in this case referred to mint profits. Toledo, after all, had been an active mint since the time of Alfonso VI's conquest of the city as the numismatic evidence abundantly demonstrates. The fact that Alfonso VII drew up another charter in 1137 confirming the cathedral's right to a tenth of "all the money that shall be made in Toledo" may be redundant, but it was not, as we

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10 "Decimam partem omnium meorum redituum quos in Toletana habeo vel adquisiero civitate vel in eius terminis, tam infra quam exterius, panis scilicet et vini, molendinorum, furnorum, tendarum, tocius fori, alfondegarum, monetarum, balneorum, de alumniis, quoque et piscariis de canalibus, de sale, de omni portatico, de illa etiam greda de Magan et de omnibus calumnis, de livoribus, de omni peicho, de guardiis, de illo aleisore et de omnibus ganatiis quas ego sive mei successores in predicta urbe fecerint." García Luján, Toledo, 2:35-37 no. 8, cf. 29-32 no. 6

shall see, unusual.[11] It only emphasizes the importance the chapter attached to that particular privilege.[12]

Salamanca

Documents pertaining to Salamanca during the reign of Alfonso VI and Urraca are scarce. There is what may be an original charter of Count Raymond and Urraca who restored the episcopal see there in 1102. By this document, the couple allotted the bishop a third of all their revenue (*census*) from the city. A second, much corrupted charter of Alfonso VI dated 1107 confirmed the donations of Raymond and Urraca and again mentioned the bishop's right to a

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[11] "Decimam totius monete que in Toleto fuerit fabricata." Ibid., 46-48 no. 13.

[12] With the division of the realm in 1157, Toledo became part of the kingdom of Castile. In 1182, Alfonso VIII of Castile confirmed the privileges of the see of Toledo. In so doing, Alfonso gave a detailed review of previous royal donations which he seems to have had in front of him at the time. He included the "privilegium donationis de decima tocius monete de Toleto que fecit imperator Toletane ecclesie," a reference to the charter of 1137. He also included the "privilegium donationis quam fecit rex supradictus...de decima omnium redditum suorum de Toleto...et privilegium donationis quam fecit domna Urraca...de decimam omnium regalium redditum de Toleto," references to the two earlier grants of 1123. This should not be taken as evidence that the tenth of *moneta* of 1123 was distinct from 1137, but only reflects the sweeping nature of Alfonso VIII's confirmation. The charter survives in an original with its seal attached.

Ten years later, Alfonso VIII once more addressed the see's rights regarding the mint. Since the early 1170s, Alfonso had been striking gold imitation dinars, probably mainly in the Toledan mint. In 1192, he confirmed that the church of Toledo had a right to the tenth of money struck there with the exception of gold, whose profits he apparently reserved for the crown. See García Luján, Toledo, 2:87-90 no. 33, 94-95 no. 36; cf. Hernández, Toledo, 196-97 no. 209, 225-26 no. 243.

third of the city's revenues.[13] The next surviving royal grant to Salamanca is Alfonso VII's confirmation of the episcopal third, dated April of 1126, a month after Urraca's death. The list of revenues in this last charter is more detailed than in the previous two. It is the first to mention *moneta*:

> A third part of all revenues of the same city, wherever they are found, (including) tolls on travelers as well as goods, the fifth, *moneta*, and fines including those for homicide.[14]

While there is no other contemporary evidence demonstrating that a mint existed in Salamanca at this time, if one follows the subsequent history of the bishop's claim to a third of *moneta*, the nature of the revenue becomes clear. In 1137, Alfonso issued a second charter to Salamanca concerning *moneta*. As with the charter to Toledo issued that same year, this grant addressed only *moneta* and no other revenues:

> "For the service that you have done for me, do for me now and will do in the future, I grant and concede to

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[13] José Luis Martín Martín, et al., eds. Documentos de los archivos catedralicio y diocesano de Salamanca (siglos XII-XIII) (Salamanca, 1977), 83-87 nos. 3 and 4; cf. Reilly Alfonso VI, 343.

[14] "Ex omnibus redditibus eiusdem civitatis, ubicumque possent invenire, tam de montatico quam de portatico, de quinta, de moneta, de calumpniis vel de homicidiis terciam partem." Martín, Salamanca, 88-89 no 6. The document appears to be an original. Cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," 249, n. 38.

> the aforesaid church this charter for a third part of the *moneta* of the city of Salamanca"[15]

Though the text speaks of money "of the city," it is not as clear as the Toledo charter which spoke of money "made" in Toledo.[16] Indisputable evidence for a mint in Salamanca does not emerge until after the death of Alfonso VII, when the city formed part of the independent realm of León.

In 1167, Fernando II of León confirmed the bishop of Salamanca's right to a third of the city's revenues and referred, still somewhat vaguely, to "a third part of the money in the city."[17] A private sale to the canons of the cathedral three years before this, however, was witnessed by "Lope the moneyer."[18] Finally, a later royal charter

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[15] "Propter servitium quod michi fecistis et adhuc facitis et amplius facturus estis, cartam de tercia parte monete urbis Salamantine, quam ego dono et concedo supradicte Ecclesie." Martín, Salamanca, 94-95 no. 11.

[16] The charters to Salamanca and Toledo were both done under the chancellorship of Hugh, though by different scribes, which in part explains their divergence in form. The Salamanca charter also included an unusual penalty clause dictating that anyone who infringed upon the privilege shall pay the crown 1,000 marks and the see of Salamanca twice the expected profits from *moneta*.

[17] "Terciam insuper partem monete in eadem civitate ita ut ad hec omnia secundum libitum vestrum recipienda." Martín, Salamanca, 122-24 no. 33. Fernando also reveals that the bishop was responsible for overseeing the collection of the royal income as well as his own. This may have been because Salamanca was an episcopal *señorío*. (Reilly, Urraca, 320-21.) This custodial responsibility appears to apply to all the revenues ("ad hec omnia") and not just the coinage as Procter, Curia, 55, concluded.

Grassotti, "El pueblo," 165-66, attributed this charter to Alfonso VII and inaccurately quoted it as "terciam partem monete in eadem civitate fita."

[18] Martín, Salamanca, 118-19 no. 30. Martín judged the document to be an original. It is dated 1164 and notes

removes any doubt that the third of *moneta* did mean profits from a mint. By 1186, Fernando had begun to strike gold morabetinos. In that year, he allowed the bishop and chapter of Salamanca "a third part of the gold money of Salamanca in the same way that you hold and possess a third part of the silver of the same town."[19]

It seems clear, therefore, that Alfonso VII's charter of 1126 which gave the bishop a third of *moneta* referred, in fact, to mint profits. Since the grant done by his grandfather, Alfonso VI, in 1107 does not mention *moneta* and Alfonso VII's charter was done immediately after his mother's death, we can perhaps assume that the mint of Salamanca was established at some point during the rule of Urraca. No coin survives today, however, either from her reign or the reign of her son, that can be identified as the product of this mint.

With the division of the realm in 1157, the Salamanca mint obviously rose in prominence within the reduced kingdom of León. This is evident in that Fernando II chose the city as the site to strike his gold morabetino. (It may have been the only Leonese mint allowed this status, although there is evidence suggesting that Alfonso IX extended the privilege to Compostela in 1193.[20]) It is not

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that at that time the episcopacy of Salamanca was vacant, which seems consistent with the death of Bishop Ordoño. (See Fletcher, Episcopate, 40-41.)

[19] Martín, Salamanca, 180-81 no. 92.

[20] See chapter 9, n. 64 below.

surprising, then, that the first denarius to carry a mark associated with Salamanca also appears in the reign of Fernando.[21]

Zamora

At the opening of the twelfth century, the Leonese town of Zamora was barely settled. Bishop Jerónimo of Salamanca was apparently able to also serve as bishop of Zamora (and Avila) until his death in 1120.[22] In 1121, however, Zamora received its own bishop, the Frenchman Bernardo of Périgord, whose new diocese was created by

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[21] There is a denarius struck in the name of Fernando where the reverse shows a crowned bust placed above what appears to be a bridge. Similarly, the gold morabetino of Alfonso IX has a lion standing above a bridge on its reverse. This was almost certainly an allusion to Salamanca's Roman bridge which can also be seen on several municipal seals from thirteenth-century Salamanca. One, from the year 1299, is very reminiscent of Alfonso IX's morabetino, substituting a bull in place of the lion. See Antonio Orol Pernas, "Dineros Salamanqueses de Fernando II de León," SNB, 2: 386-87; Julio González, "Maravedíes leoneses," Archivo Español de Arte 15 (1942): 287; Julio González, "Los sellos concejiles de España en la edad media," Hispania 5 (1945): 356-61, 373 and the corresponding plates. See further, catalogue 6, no. 1 below. For Alfonso IX's morabetino, see Heiss, Las monedas, plate 3.

The bridge of Salamanca should not be confused with a similar but later device used at Segovia when the mint there was reopened under Enrique IV (1454-74). This mark of Segovia was probably intended to be a depiction of the town's aqueduct. Nonetheless, by 1471 Enrique himself referred to the "bridge" on the coins of that city. See Gil y Flores, "Marcas de taller," 381, 393-94.

[22] See the charters of Raymond and Alfonso VI to Salamanca discussed above. For Jeronimo's claim to Avila, see Ledesma Rubio, San Millán, 195-96 no. 292; cf. Fletcher, Episcopate, 38.

carving into the bishopric of Astorga. In 1123, under pressure from Astorga, a legatine council in Valladolid ruled that the see of Zamora should be abolished, a decision subsequently overturned by Calixtus II before his death in December of 1124.[23]

The charter dated in February 1124 in which Urraca is said to grant Bishop Bernardo a tenth of *moneta* along with other royal revenues is preserved in the cathedral's cartulary known as the *Tumbo negro*.[24] Bernardo was a protégé of Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo. Since the queen was normally an ally of Toledo, her endowment of Zamora could have been a timely show of support for the new see and its bishop. The inclusion of *moneta* in the grant, however, is suspicious since there is no other indication that a mint existed in the town this early.

It is not until well after the separation of León and Castile, that the sources again mention the episcopal right to *moneta* in Zamora. In April of 1195, Alfonso IX of León acknowledged that the current bishop and canons of Zamora held

> a tenth part of my *monetae* and tolls and also (a tenth) of the annual yield from my storehouses in Zamora so that you shall hold the entire aforesaid tenth peacefully and freely from now on ... just as it was

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[23] The Council of Valladolid of 1123 ruled that with Bernardo's death or translation to another see, the bishopric of Zamora should be abolished. Fletcher, Episcopate, 195-96; cf. Reilly, Urraca, 245-46.

[24] I have not seen the text and rely here on Reilly, Urraca, 184, 271-72, 322.

> conceded forever to the same church and to the lord bishop Bernard by my grandfather the emperor and after him by my father the lord king Fernando.[25]

By this time, there is evidence suggesting that a mint was operating in the town. A charter dated 1216 preserved in the cathedral archives records the purchase of wine by the chapter's sacristan. Among the artisans appearing as witnesses to the transaction are two men described as moneyers.[26] In terms of numismatic corroboration, Orol Pernas pointed out that one of Alfonso IX's types carried a mark of *Ç* (*C* with a cedilla). By the close of the twelfth century, both the crowns of León and Castile were adopting a system that used the first letter of the mint city as an identifying mark; *Ç* most likely indicated Zamora.[27]

Now, Alfonso IX's confirmation of the episcopal tenth in Zamora says that these were rights given to Bernardo by

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[25] "Decimam partem mearum monetarum et portatici ac fructuum singulis annis mei cellari de Cemora, ut decimam partem omnium predictorum quiete et libere deinceps habeatis ... sicut eidem aeclesie et episcopo domno Bernardo fuit ab avo meo imperatore et postmodum a patre meo rege domno Fernando peremni (sic) robore preconcessa." Alfonso IX, 2:135-37 no. 91.

[26] The charter does not record that it was actually done in Zamora, but it seems a safe assumption. See Martín, Documentos zamoranos, 66 no. 80.

[27] Although Alfonso IX issued a number of types, two of these seem to have been more substantive than the rest. One is marked with symbols, such as scallop shells, stars and crescents, which most likely represented mints. On the second, letters were frequently used as marks in place of symbols. Orol was probably correct in suggesting that plain *C* stood for Coruña, a town whose growth Alfonso had actively encouraged while a *C* with a cedilla was used for Zamora. See Antonio Orol Pernas, Acuñaciones de Alfonso IX (Madrid, 1982), 45-48, types 13 and 14.

Alfonso VII and confirmed by Fernando II. It does not mention Urraca. Bernardo served as bishop until his death in 1149. Therefore, while he assumed his office in the last years of Urraca's reign, the bulk of his episcopacy fell during the reign of Alfonso VII, with whom he seems to have been on the "best of terms."[28] Alfonso IX could have simply been mistaken in his confirmation grant, but it makes most sense to take him at his word and place the opening of a mint in Zamora sometime during the reign of Alfonso VII when the town and surrounding district were becoming more firmly settled under the direction of its first bishop.[29] There is in fact an anonymous coin type carrying the mark *CA* which might represent a piece struck in the city during the time of Alfonso VII or Fernando II.[30]

The grant of Urraca as preserved in the *Tumbo negro* may well be based on an authentic bequest of the queen where she assigned the new see a tenth of existing royal revenues. But, the tenth from *moneta* is probably a later interpolation. Still, regardless of when it was first granted, the evidence from the reign of Alfonso IX makes it

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[28] Fletcher, Episcopate, 42-44.

[29] For growth in the territory of Zamora during these years see the various charters of settlement granted by Bernard, the crown and others collected in Justiniano Rodríguez Fernández, ed., Los fueros locales de la provincia de Zamora. (Salamanca, 1990), 271-86 nos. 5-14.

[30] The coin is discussed in the section on Burgos below.

clear that this episcopal tithe on *moneta* in Zamora represented a share of profits from a local mint. There is no basis to confuse it with a *monetagium* tax.

Burgos

At the death of Urraca in 1126, Alfonso I of Aragón still laid claim to much of Castile, particularly the towns of Carrión and Burgos. In 1127, however, Alfonso VII regained Burgos and arrived at a temporary accord with his stepfather.[31] The following year, on July 8, 1128, the Leonese king allowed the bishop of Burgos the following:

> From all the revenues of Burgos which pertain to me, I give and concede to the above said church...a tenth part...of the labor of the land and of the vine, from baths and mills, from orchards, from the market and from the fields, from *moneta*, from tolls and fines and from that entire district that pertains to the above-said city.[32]

Alfonso VII repeated his gift of the tithe a few day later on July 12 when he donated more property to the cathedral chapter. He added no clarification as to what was meant by revenue from *moneta*.[33] Grassotti believed

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[31] Recuero, Alfonso VII, 87-95; cf. Lema Pueyo, Alfonso I, 257-59 nos. 175-76.

[32] "De omnibus exitibus de Burgis que michi pertinet, dono et concedo supra dicte ecclesie ... decimam partem ... de laboribus terrarum et vinearum, de balneis et molendinis, de ortibus, de mercato et de la plana, de moneta, de portaticis et calumniis et de tota illa alfoze que ad supra dictam civitatem pertinent." Garrido, Burgos, 1:192-94 no. 109.

[33] Ibid., 194-97 no. 110; Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 497. It was also on July 12th that the king confirmed privileges for the "men of Burgos," but this document makes

that there is no numismatic evidence to support the possibility of a mint in Burgos before the late twelfth century, when the town became a favored royal residence of the independent kings of Castile. She therefore stressed that the inclusion of *moneta* in Alfonso VII's endowment of 1126 might well refer to *monetagium*. The numismatic record, however, is not as clear cut as Grassotti indicated.[34]

An anonymous coin survives that depicts a mounted warrior on its obverse with the legend REX. The reverse portrays a cross and the legend LEO CIVITAS. The type is known today in four main varieties. In the first, the abbreviation *LE* is seen on the reverse at the base of the cross. In the other three varieties, this abbreviation changes to *TO*, *BV* and *CA*.[35] It was clearly intended as a mint signature. *LE* was León, *TO* represented Toledo and *BV* could only represent Burgos. The mark *CA* is less certain and its interpretation dictates how we ultimately date the coin.

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no mention of the mint. See González Diéz, Burgos, 60-61 no. 6.

[34] Grassotti, "El pueblo," 170. Nightingale in "Pepperers' Guild," 130, also believed that Burgos had no mint in the early twelfth century.

[35] The abbreviation was also placed on the obverse, behind the horse, though it is not evident on all specimens. (See catalogue 4, no. 1 below.) Orol Pernas reported an example of this type simply marked *L*. Rather than interpreting this as a worn or botched *LE*, he saw it as a fifth mark for Lugo which seems unwarranted. See Orol, Alfonso IX, 17.

The abbreviation could stand for *Caesar Augusta* or Zaragoza. After the death of Alfonso I of Aragón, Alfonso VII controlled Zaragoza briefly between 1134-36 and allowed a mint to operate there.[36] Since he was the only monarch to rule simultaneously in the cities of León, Burgos, Toledo and Zaragoza, if we read *CA* as Zaragoza, the equestrian coin must belong to him. Its four mint marks could be seen as corresponding to the "capital" cities of four of the kingdoms under his rule, i.e., León, Castile, Toledo and Zaragoza.[37] If this interpretation is correct, the equestrian coin must have been current around 1135 and so attests to an active mint at Burgos not long after the grant of *moneta* to the bishop of that city in 1126.

On the other hand, *CA* may stand for Zamora, where a mint was probably opened sometime in the reign of Alfonso VII. A coin with legend REX LEO CIVITAS struck in Zamora, Burgos, León and Toledo could have been issued at any point in the reign of Alfonso VII after his occupation of Burgos in 1127. It is also conceivable that such a coin was struck in the early years of the reign of Fernando II, when he acted as regent for Alfonso VIII in Castile. After Alfonso VIII began to rule Castile in his own right in

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[36] See the section on Zaragoza below.

[37] After his imperial coronation, Alfonso at times described himself as "imperatore imperante in Toleto, in Legione, in Sarragoza, Najara, Castella, Galicia." See, for example, Villar García, Segovia, 62-63 no. 19, 69-70 no. 24.

1169, however, this combination of mints became impossible.[38] Therefore, if we read CA for Zamora, this equestrian coin still stands as evidence that a mint existed in Burgos before 1169.[39]

There is a second coin which supports the existence of a mint at Burgos before this date. It is again anonymous, the obverse legend reading IMPERA (presumably short for *imperator*) and the reverse LEONIS. On some examples, the letter *B* appears at the beginning of the obverse legend.[40] By the reign of Alfonso VIII, *B* was the mark for Burgos.

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[38] During Alfonso VIII's minority, Fernando II frequently laid claim to Toledo in his charters and on some occasions claimed the kingdom of Castile as well, such as "regnante in Toleto, Extremadura, Castella, Legione, Gallecia et Asturiis." He appears to have been physically present in Castile most often in the years 1162 and 1163. Several of his charters show him in Burgos in October of 1162. See Julio González, Regesta de Fernando II (Madrid, 1943), 251-58 nos. 8-13; cf. 53-73. See further the section entitled "The Early Coins of Castile" in chapter 9 below.

After the reunification of León and Castile in 1230, it is conceivable that another monarch minted in Zamora, León, Burgos and Toledo simultaneously. The equestrian coin, however, is clearly not a product of the thirteenth century, if for no other reason than that the title REX LEO CIVITAS was by then archaic.

[39] Besides this equestrian issue, the abbreviation CA does not appear on coins of León-Castile until the time of Enrique II (1369-1406). Its association with Zamora at that point is clear in that Fernando I of Portugal (1367-83) invaded the western portions of León and issued coins with a CA mark which proclaimed him FERNANDVS REX ZAMORE. The mark later may have been used by the Cuenca mint in combination with a cup. It also, however, was used by Zaragoza in the later middle ages. See Orol, Alfonso IX, 46-48; Ferraro Vaz, Moedas de Portugal, 73-74; cf. Gil Flores, "Marcas de Taller," 387-88.

[40] Heiss reported an example from his collection with *B* in both the obverse and reverse legends. See catalogue 4, no. 2 below.

But, Alfonso VIII would not have issued a coin with the legend "emperor of León," a title to which he had no practical claim. This particular coin from the Burgos mint must predate his rule.[41] Most likely, it was issued late in the time of Alfonso VII, though again it is possible it was struck during Fernando II's regency in Castile.[42]

In terms of further proof for minting at Burgos under Alfonso VII, we should consider his grant in 1142 to the cathedral chapter there, giving them the right to silver "wherever they can find it in the district of Arlanzón" to be used for "the service of God and the restoration of the above said church."[43] This presumably refers to silver found in nature, perhaps from the Arlanzón river itself. The crown's willingness to give up all its rights perhaps

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[41] There is one other anonymous-imperial types which hoard evidence indicates belonged to Alfonso VII. It also displays single letters or symbols for mint marks, though there are no known variants with *B*. (See catalogue 4, no. 3. For the hoard containing this coin, see chapter 8, n. 39 below.) In the time of Alfonso VI and Urraca, the main mints signed the full name of their city on the coin. The anonymous equestrian type with its two letter abbreviations of BV, TO, LE and CA may therefore represent an intermediary stage on the way to the use of single letters or symbols. By the close of the century, during the reigns of Alfonso VIII of Castile and his contemporary Alfonso IX of León, this system of single letters or symbols was well in place. For mint marks under these two monarchs, see chapter 9.

[42] Fernando II is not known to have called himself emperor in his diplomas. He did, however, frequently employ the title "Rex Hispanorum." See González, Fernando II, 251ff.

[43] "Dono et concedo ut ubicumque in termino Arlanzonis argentum invenire potuerint sit ad sevicium Dei omnipotentes et ad restaurandum supra dictam ecclesiam." Garrido, Burgos, 218-19 no. 127.

indicates it was not a large source. While this silver could be used for ornamental purposes, it is more probable that Alfonso intended it as means to help cover the see's expenses. It would have been an odd gift if there were not a mint in the town.

Like Salamanca in León, Burgos would serve as a more prominent mint for the independent realm of Castile. In time, one or more of Alfonso VIII's issues would be popularly labeled *burgaleses* even though they were struck in a number of mints.[44] Nevertheless, as with Salamanca, the roots of the Burgos mint clearly date back to before the division of the realm. On balance, there is no reason to doubt that when Alfonso VII granted the bishop of Burgos a tenth of *moneta* in 1128, the revenue referred to was a share in mint profits.

Segovia

Despite the wide array of coins issued in this town during the chaos of Urraca's reign, the first documentary reference to the money of Segovia only appears in 1135. In a charter from March of that year, Alfonso spoke of how the church had been desolate for more than 300 years, implying that much work still remained to firmly colonize the district. To help remedy this, he granted Bishop Pedro a tenth of all that pertained to the crown in the diocese

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[44] See catalogue 5, nos. 7-17 below.

which he defined as encompassing Segovia itself, Coca, Iscar, Sepúlveda, Fresno, Pedraza and other villages. The tenth was to include profits from "the fifth, tolls, cultivated fields, orchards, mills, stores and fines." On top of this, he granted "a third part of the *moneta* which shall be made in Segovia."[45]

A little more than a year later, Alfonso drew up another charter for the bishop. The text of this document closely paralleled the one from the previous year, though it added confirmation of specific land holdings. The tithe on royal revenue in the diocese remained intact. The separate provision regarding the coinage, however, now reads not a third but "a fourth part of the *moneta* which shall be made in Segovia."[46] Continued growth of the see's holdings warranted another royal confirmation in 1139. Here, the provision regarding the mint was the same as in 1136 -- the see was entitled to a fourth of the profit.[47]

It is possible that the charter of 1135, which survives in a contemporary copy, is wrong in its claim that

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[45] "Decimas omnium quecumque in Secobiensi diocesi ad regalem pertinet potestatem in ispsa Secobia, Coqua, Iscar, Coilare, Fontedona, Bembibre, Bernode, Sagramenia, Septempublica, Maderol Freissino, Pedraza, videlicet, de quintis, portaticis, sernis, ortis, molendinis, tendis, calumpniis. Insuper dono ei terciam partem monete que in Secobia facta fuerit." Villar García, Segovia, 60-61 no. 18.

[46] Ibid., 62-63 no. 19.

[47] Ibid., 75-77 no. 29. For the growth of the see's possessions since 1136, cf. 64-74 nos. 20-27.

the bishop was originally entitled to a third.[48] The later grants of 1136 and 1139, however, both contain a provision not present in the earlier charter which suggests that the bishop's share in the mint had in fact been modified. By the later grants, he was to receive a fourth of the mint "and (a fourth part) of all changes, of whatever size, that shall occur."[49] Though vague, this addendum probably refers to profits gained from periodic commutations of the coinage, when old coins were exchanged at a discount for new. Alfonso VII must have reduced the share of everyday mint profit from one third to one fourth but, to help offset the loss, gave the bishop a share in revenue generated from commutations.

After the division of the realm, Segovia belonged to the crown of Castile. In 1161, Alfonso VIII increased the bishop's share of the municipal revenue. Instead of the

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[48] The charter of 1135 is dated March 27. That of 1136, which Villar García judged to be an original, is dated April 9th. Internal evidence indicates that the two texts indeed represent acts done a year apart. In the grant of 1135, Berengar is listed as "archdeacon and royal chancellor." That summer he was elected to the see of Salamanca. In the charter of 1136, he appropriately appears as bishop of Salamanca. Likewise, the grant of 1135 gives Arias as bishop of León who died that year. The grant of 1136 correctly lists Pedro as his successor. See Fletcher, Episcopate, 39-40, 68-70. For Berengar as "chancellor" in these years, cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VII," 257-261, though he does not cite this particular document of 1135.

[49] "Quartem partem monete que in Secobie facta fuerit et totius cambiacionis a quecumque parte venerit." Villar García, Segovia, 62-63 no. 19. It is repeated essentially verbatim in the charter of 1139, see 75-77 no. 29.

tenth the see was already entitled to, Alfonso VIII now granted,

> A quarter part of all revenues of the city of Segovia, inside and out...in exchange for Calatalifa, which I give to the *concejo* of Segovia. I give to you and your successors the fourth part ... from meadows, fields, vineyards, orchards, *moneta*, stores, fines for homicides, tolls, tanneries, butchers, mills, the fifth, fines and all my other revenues.[50]

The bishop, of course, already had a fourth of the mint, but it is not unusual to find it reiterated in this grant. There are no grounds to believe that *moneta* here referred to anything but the revenue from the mint.

Zaragoza

In his Christmas court held in Zaragoza in 1134, Alfonso VII confirmed for the bishop of the city donations made by Alfonso I and Ramiro II of Aragón. He recognized that the Battler had given the church,

> (T)he entire tenth of all income either in tolls or in *moneta* or in the property of deceased Moors or in tribute from all the Jews likewise the tenth of all produce of the earth, the vine or the orchard.

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50 "Quartam partem omnium redditum Secobinesis civitatis intus et extra .. pro concambio de Calatalipha, quam dono Secobiensis concilio. Dono inquam, et tibi et successoribus tuis quartam partem ... in pratis, in sernis, in vineis, in ortis, in moneta, in tendis, in omicidiis, in portatico, in tanariis, in carnaçariis, in molendiniis, in quintis, in calumbnis, et in omnibus redditibus meis." Ibid., 109-111 no. 62.

> Moreover, he gave it the tenth from all mills throughout the entire district of the city of Zaragoza; likewise of all the baths that are there...[51]

While a mint had existed in Zaragoza during the taifa period, it is not clear that the Almoravids had allowed it to continue.[52] It is certain, however, that a mint was operating there soon after the Aragonese conquest in 1118. Several Latin moneyers can be found in the documents of the city during the decades of 1120s and 1130s.[53] It seems reasonable, then, that the revenue called *moneta* in Alfonso VII's confirmation was profits from that mint.

As with his other bishoprics, this was not the last time that Alfonso addressed the issue of mint rights in Zaragoza. His charter of September 27, 1135 drawn up at Pradilla del Ebro gave the bishop of Zaragoza "a fourth part of half the *moneta* that shall be made in the city of Zaragoza."[54] This unusual division amounted to the bishop

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51 "Donavit ei omnes decimas omnium reddituum sive in lezdis, sive in moneta sive in maurorum defunctorum rebus vel in omnibus iudeorum tributis necnon decimas omnium fructuum tam de terris tam de vineis quam de ortis.
Insuper donavit ei decimas omnium molendinorum que sunt in toto termino Cesaraugustane urbis; et similiter et(iam) omnium balneorum cuiscumque sint..." Lacarra, Ebro, 1:247-49 no. 245.

52 There are no gold morabetinos known with a mint signature of Zaragoza. See Kassis, "Notas históricas," 55-66; Hazard, North Africa, 62-63.

53 The moneyer Randulf witnessed a royal grant there in 1121 and the moneyer Gauzbertus witnessed a donation of land apparently in Zaragoza in the year 1122. Gauzbertus owned land outside the city by 1124. Lacarra, Ebro, 1:90-91, no. 75, 102-103 no. 88, 113 no. 99.

54 "Quarta parte medietatis monete que fiet in Casaraugustana civitate." Lacarra, Ebro, 1:261-62 no.258.

receiving one-eighth of the total mint which was only slightly better than the tenth Alfonso had confirmed the year before.

It was precisely around this time that Alfonso VII entrusted Zaragoza to García Ramírez, the new king of independent Navarre. A private charter of November 1135 is dated as the year "that King Alfonso, the emperor, gave Zaragoza to don García, the king" and another document of January 1136 reads "in the year that King García held Zaragoza by the order of the emperor."[55] García was, in fact, present with Alfonso at Pradilla del Ebro for he confirms the charter to the bishop. Recuero may be right in suggesting that it was at this very meeting that Alfonso entrusted the city to García.[56] As part of this accord, it would appear that the Leonese king retained half the mint. He, then, gave the bishop a fourth of his half so that the see was assured roughly the same amount of income despite the new political arrangement.

Trouble soon broke out between Alfonso VII and García Ramírez of Navarre as Alfonso sought to betroth his son to the newly-born daughter of Ramiro II of Aragón. At some

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[55] The documents are cartulary copies and the dating formulas may be later additions, particularly the second which appears to realize that García would hold Zaragoza only temporarily. Ibid., 1:263 no. 260, 265 no. 262.

[56] Recuero, Alfonso VII, 141. The *Chronicle of Alfonso VII* seems mistaken in its claim that Alfonso gave Zaragoza to Ramón Berenguer of Barcelona. See Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 53, paragraph 67.

point in 1136, Alfonso "returned" Zaragoza to Ramiro.[57] He presumably also turned over full control of the mint at that time. There is no further evidence of the Crown of León's direct involvement in Zaragozan affairs. Despite Alfonso VII's efforts to influence Ramiro, in the following year, 1137, the Aragonese ruler betrothed his daughter to Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona and delivered the entire kingdom of Aragón to him.

Compostela

The crown's lack of rights to the mint in Santiago continued to be a source of irritation for Alfonso VII. If his mother Urraca had tried to dampen the prosperity of Compostela by establishing alternative mints, she was at best only temporarily successful. By the 1120s, it appears to have been thriving again. Geraldo, who began his work on the *Historia Compostelana* c.1120 reveals that by his day the mint stood near the entrance to the north transept of the cathedral, a location ideally suited to serve the pilgrim traffic.[58] The northern portal, according to the

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[57] A charter of Fortun Aznar, described as a *merino* in the service of Alfonso VII, is dated July, 1136, "in anno quando imperator reddit Zaracoza ad rege Raimiri." A sale the following October speaks of "anno quando imperator A(defonsus) intravit super regem Garciam in Stella et fecit concordiam cum rege Rainimiro." Lacarra, Ebro, 1:267-68 no. 266, 271 no. 269; cf. Sánchez Belda, Chrónica, 58-59 paragraph 73.

[58] HC, book. 2, chap. 25, cf. chaps. 54-55. Geraldo does not reveal when the mint was established on the plaza in front of the northern portal. The famous fountain on

author of the *Pilgrim's Guide*, was where "French" pilgrims were accustomed to enter the church. On the plaza outside there was a hospice and one could buy various wares including scallop shells.[59]

According to the *Historia Compostelana*, Alfonso VII came to the city in 1129 and attempted to forcefully take back lordship of the mint but Diego Gelmírez resisted successfully. He was able to produce Alfonso VI's original charter and shame Alfonso VII into confirming it. Since Geraldo continued to work on the *Historia* until after Diego

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the plaza, which Geraldo tells us was next to the mint, was said to have an inscription dating its construction to 1126. It was probably in these same years that Diego Gelmírez renovated the nearby-by episcopal palace. See Melczer, The Pilgrim's Guide, 122; cf. Fletcher, Catapult, 176-77. For Geraldo's work on the *Historia*, see Reilly, "The *Historia Compostelana*," 82-85.

In Aragón, the mint at Jaca also appears to have been established outside the main church. A testament dated 1106 speaks of "illas casas que sunt in Iaca ante aecclesiam ubi moneta solebat fieri." See Durán Gudiol, Huesca, 1:121-22 no. 97. Notice of buildings specifically designated as mints are rare at this date in Western Europe. Cf. Bisson, Conservation, 6. Still, it is important to keep in mind that the details provided by the *Historia Compostelana* to some extent serve to distort the importance of this mint. In terms of numismatic evidence, there is nothing to clearly show that its production far outstripped the other mints of León-Castile.

[59] The author of the guide seems to distinguish between the commercial activity allowed on the plaza and that outside the city where one could find "money-changers, innkeepers and merchants of all sorts." Melczer, The Pilgrim's Guide, 122-23. It is easy to imagine that there were money-changers set up outside the city hoping to intercept the pilgrim traffic and compete with the official exchange at the mint. It was perhaps this activity that inspired the municipal statutes of 1133 which warned "innkeepers, moneyers, money-changers and citizen" not to use false weights. See HC, book 3, chap. 33.

Gelmírez' death, we can perhaps trust him when he tells us that with this incident the issue over the mint was put to rest between Alfonso and his former tutor, Archbishop Diego.[60]

Having controlled Compostela for over four decades, first as "vicar," then as bishop and finally as archbishop, Diego Gelmírez died in the Easter season of 1140. During the remaining seventeen years of Alfonso VII's rule, the archbishopric of Compostela changed hands approximately six times. The sources for this period, however, are scant (the *Historia*'s account having left off abruptly in 1138) and the chronology of Gelmírez' successors is not entirely certain. At least two of the men elected to Compostela in these years, Berengar, the bishop of Salamanca, and Bernardo of Agen, the bishop of Sigüenza, were allies of the king.[61] At some point, perhaps due to the good will of

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[60] No confirmation of the charter by Alfonso VII is known. See HC, book 3, chaps 12-13; cf. Reilly, "The *Historia Compostelana*," 84-85

[61] Like Bernardo of Périgord who became bishop of Zamora, Berengar and Bernardo of Agen had been members of the cathedral community of Toledo. Both had served in Alfonso VII's chancery before being raised to the office of bishop. Berengar's election to Salamanca in 1135, a suffragan of Compostela, must have been particularly irksome to Diego Gelmírez. At Gelmírez' death, Alfonso tried to secure Berengar as archbishop of Compostela. Despite an appeal to Rome on Berengar's behalf, however, he appears not to have been consecrated at that time. He successfully gained the office in 1150 and died the following year. Bernardo of Agen succeeded him but survived only to 1152. See Fletcher, Episcopate, 57-58. On Berengar's earlier election to Salamanca and his role in the royal chancery, see Fletcher, Catapult, 284-290; cf. n.48 above. For Alfonso's attempts to secure his election

either of these men, Alfonso succeeded in reclaiming a substantial share of the profits from the Compostela mint. This is attested by a later act of his son, Fernando II.

In a charter of 1171, Fernando acknowledged that his (great) grandfather, Alfonso VI, had allowed the church at Compostela full rights to *moneta* made in the city but explained that afterward Compostela had "lent" half the *moneta* to his father Alfonso VII. Though the text is somewhat vague, Fernando seems to imply that in order to obtain this half, his father had promised Compostela that no-one else would be allowed to mint in Galicia.[62] Alfonso VII, then, was not able to simply usurp half the revenues, but had to bargain for it.[63] By his charter of 1171,

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to Compostela c.1141, see also chapter 6, n.41 above. For Bernardo of Agen's background, see chapter 9, n.21.

[62] "Ipsa compostellana ecclesia medietatem monete patroni (*sic*) nostro A(defonsus) bone memorie imperatori prestiterit. Ob hoc videlicet ne per stratam publicam, aut per galleciam alicubi moneta fabricaretur, dignum duxi ipsam monete eidem compostellane ecclesie in integrum prestare. Damus itaque deo et ecclesie commemorati patroni nostri apli. iacobi ... aliam medietatem monete quam pater noster imperator per supradictam pactionem acceperat." Santiago, 4:appendix, 114-16 no. 46.

The second sentence, beginning "ob hoc," is far from clear. Lopez Ferreiro's interpretation that it meant no one else should strike coin in Galicia is probably the most logical. See Santiago, 4:290-91; cf. Procter, Curia, 27 and Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 333-34.

[63] The crown's claim to half the *moneta* of Santiago is also evident in several early acts of Fernando II. In 1164, he gave the monks of Sobrado an annual *census* of 200 morabetinos to be paid from his half of the mint at Compostela. (These morabetinos were presumably intended to be paid in denarii. If Santiago struck gold at all, it was not until 1193. See chapter 9 n. 64 below.) In 1168, Fernando amended Sobrado's stipend, making it a third of

Fernando now restored all the mint profits at Santiago to its archbishop.

Lugo

The existence of a mint at Lugo in Galicia is documented by a cartulary copy of a charter of Fernando II. In it, the king grants the bishop "a third part of the royal money (*regiae monetae*), which in your city of Lugo shall be formed (*condita*) and struck." The act is dated February 19, 1158, within a year of Alfonso VII's death. Fernando makes no reference to the see having enjoyed this right under his father. Rather, he finds precedent for his action by explaining that "indeed my (great) grandfather, King Alfonso, of celebrated memory, gave that share of the money (*monetae*) to the above-said church by means of a genuine charter."[64]

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his half of the mint. (Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 154 no. 323, 164 no. 345.)

Also in 1168, Mateo, a master builder for the cathedral of Santiago, received a stipend from the king to be paid from the royal half of the Santiago mint. This text seems corrupt for Matthew is said receive, "refectionem duarum marcharum singulis hebdomadibus...ita quod haec refectio valaet tibi centum moravetinos." If these were marks of silver, even alloyed silver, the total for a year should have been worth more than 100 morabetinos. (Santiago, 4:appendix 93-94 no. 37.)

[64] "Ego Ferdinandus...facio Cartulam...de tercia parte Regiae monetae, quae in Urbe vestra Lucensi condita fuerit, & fabricata. Dono itaque, ... terciam partem Regiae monetae in eleemosynam, & memoriale meum: Quam quidem partem Monetae, Avus meus celebris memoriae Rex Adefonsus praefaae Ecclesiae per veridicam cartulam dederat."

The charter is preserved in both the *Tumbo viejo* and nuevo of the cathedral. It was originally published by Manuel Risco in ES, 41:319. It can also be found in César

No such charter of Alfonso VI's regarding a mint in Lugo is known today.[65] Nor is there any other clear evidence, diplomatic or numismatic, that can confirm that a mint existed in the town during his reign or the subsequent reigns of Urraca and Alfonso VII.[66] Still, there is no

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Vaamonde Lores, "De Monetaria Gallega," part 4, Boletín de la Academia Gallega 30 (1935): 114-15. Sánchez Albornoz reproduced the text partially in "Primitiva organización," 320 n. 55, but dated it incorrectly to 1157. Cf. Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 141 no. 292; González, Fernando II, 347.

[65] Fletcher, Catapult, 11, envisioned that this lost charter of Alfonso VI's was issued after 1088. His reasoning seems to be based on Alfonso VI's confirmation of Lugo's possessions dated June 18, 1088. The king had just suppressed a rebellion in Galicia apparently with the bishop of Lugo's aid. The confirmation makes no reference to a mint, and Fletcher must have concluded that the lost grant came after it. This *terminus post quem* is repeated in Metcalf, "A Parcel of Coins," 292. For the rebellion in Galicia and Alfonso's grant of June 1088, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 195-201.

[66] In 1105/6 Count Raymond and Urraca, together with the Bishop of Lugo and other magnates granted protection to merchants coming to Lugo's monthly market. According to Sánchez Belda, Documentos reales, 89 no. 178, this charter does not allude to a mint. It seems, nonetheless, to be the basis of Fletcher's assumption in Episcopate, 65, that Lugo had a mint by 1100. Cf. Reilly, Alfonso VI, 322.

In terms of surviving coins, there is an anonymous type which hoard evidence indicates was issued in the reign of Alfonso VII, which uses *L* as one of its marks (See catalogue 4, no. 3b. For the hoard evidence, see chapter 8 n. 39 below.) Heiss also published a coin probably belonging to Fernando II which appeared to have the letter *F* on the reverse field. He concluded that it was intended as *L* for León (See catalogue 6, no. 4.) Vaamonde Lores in "Monetaria Gallega," part 4, 115-18, suggested that the *L* mark on this coin of Fernando was not for León but in fact stood for Lugo.

Vaamonde's hypothesis was accepted by Orol Pernas. He published two hoards of Alfonso IX which between them contained only two types. The first type, of which there were 109 samples, contained no *L* mark. Of the second type, there were 872 samples in the two hoards. Only one of these carried the *L* mark. Orol concluded that *L* was so

glaring reason to doubt the veracity of Fernando II's charter.[67] In the secondary literature, it has generally been taken as testimony that a mint operated in Lugo since the time of Alfonso VI. But the text does not say this. Read more closely, it appears Fernando was reinstating an old privilege, after having considered a deed of his great-grandfather proving the bishop once held that claim. This interpretation fits in well with what we already know about developments in Galicia under Fernando's father, Alfonso VII.

In order to regain half the mint revenues of Compostela, Alfonso VII had promised the chapter there that no-one else in Galicia would be allowed to strike coin. The fact that Compostela would accept this as compensation for giving up a half their profit indicates that competition or the threat of competition from another local mint was real. The bargain, then, suggests that there was indeed a mint at some point in near-by Lugo. The most logical interpretation of events is that Alfonso VII closed it at the time he struck the accord with Santiago.[68]

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rare, that it could not conceivably be the mark of the León mint and must represent the more provincial mint of Lugo. While such results are suggestive, they are far from conclusive. Orol Pernas, Alfonso IX, 52-53, 95-97, 105-106. (For Orol's proposition concerning another type he believed was the product of Lugo, see n 35 above.)

[67] Fernando made a grant to the monastery of Sobrado four days earlier at Faro, attesting that he was in fact in Galicia at the time. González, Fernando II, 24, 347.

[68] Since there is so little evidence for a mint at Lugo, it is conceivable that it had been closed for years

Why did Fernando break his father's promise and allow a mint to reopen in Lugo within the first year of his reign? Most likely his action was provoked by his inability to get along with the current archbishop of Compostela, Martín. Formerly the bishop of Oviedo, Martín was probably a native Galician and had been member of the chapter at Compostela in the 1130s under Diego Gelmírez. He was elected to Compostela in 1156.[69] By 1158, Fernando had restored minting at Lugo but continued to claim half the profits of Santiago.[70] While this violation of his father's agreement was probably not the sole source of trouble, it almost certainly contributed to the mounting tension between Fernando and Martín.

By the spring of 1160, relations between the two had deteriorated to the point that the king expelled the archbishop from his see. With the exception of a short period in the winter of 1164-65, Martín remained exiled from his see until just before his death in 1167.[71] His

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and Alfonso VII only threatened to reopen it in his negotiations with Santiago. As long as the crown was excluded from Compostela, however, it makes little sense that they would have closed Lugo. Therefore, it seems reasonable that there was a mint there under Urraca, though there is absolutely no other evidence to support this conclusion.

[69] Richard A. Fletcher, "Regalian Right in Twelfth-Century Spain: The Case of Archbishop Martín of Santiago de Compostela," Journal of Ecclesiastical History 27 (1977): 339-40.

[70] Fernando's continued claim to half the *moneta* of Santiago can be seen in his three grants discussed above, n. 63.

[71] Fletcher, "Regalian Right," 347-60

successor, Pedro Gudestéiz, was "definitely a king's man," having served as tutor to Fernando II and later as royal chancellor in 1159-60.[72] Significantly, it was under his tenure that Fernando saw fit to give up the claim to half *moneta* of Compostela and thus make the restored mint at Lugo legal.

León and Sahagún

Concerning the administration of the mint in the town of León, probably the oldest in the realm, we know very little. The only pertinent twelfth-century charter is one drawn up soon after Alfonso VII's imperial coronation in the late spring of 1135. On June 2, the king granted the church of León, "a tenth of *moneta* which is made in the city of León, and (a tenth) of transit tolls and market tolls and of all royal fines which are given customarily to the crown in León."[73] It is not clear whether the

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[72] Fletcher, Episcopate, 58-59.

[73] "decimam de moneta que fit in civitate Legionis, et de portatico, et de zavacogato et de omni regali calumpnia que regibus solet dari ex more in Legione." ACL, 5:171-74 no. 1412.

The *Fuero* of León contains two references to payment in "moneta urbis" (laws 41 and 47) and one reference to payment in "moneta regie" (law 30). These phrases are clearly not part of the original law code, which dates to the early eleventh century, but interpolations added to the twelfth-century manuscript. It has been suggested that they may point to the existence of two coinages in the city of León in the twelfth century, a royal coin and a separate "feudal" coin struck either by the bishop or the municipal council. The *fuero*, however, does not draw a distinction between *moneta* of the king and *moneta* of the city in the same law. The references appear in isolated contexts. Since León was one of the mints that frequently signed its

cathedral chapter had enjoyed the tenth of the mint before this time, but it is likely that they did. In 1137, Alfonso reconfirmed both the mint rights of Toledo and Salamanca. This grant to León two years earlier may be a similar reaffirmation of an older privilege.

Sahagún is perhaps the least problematic of all the twelfth-century Leonese mints. Urraca's charter establishing the mint in 1116 is one of the few minting privileges that survive from the Crown of León-Castile. When Alfonso, as lord in Sahagún, renewed the monastery's minting rights three years later, he stipulated that the privilege was to last only a year but could be renewed again if "the abbot, lords and entire *concejo*" of the town agreed. At the same time Alfonso redistributed the profit. Whereas Urraca had reserved only a third of the profit from *moneta* for the crown, allowing a third to the community at Sahagún and another third to nuns of San Pedro de las Dueñas, Alfonso divided it equally between the crown and the monks of Sahagún.[74]

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coins, often with LEO CIVITAS, it seems natural that a copyist might refer to money "of the city" but this does not preclude that it was also money "of the king." The phrase *moneta urbis* is not found in other contemporary sources. See García de Valdeavellano et al., EL Fuero de León, 16, 97, 116, 127; Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 311-22; Rueda, Primeras acuñaciones, 30-31.

[74] Sahagún, 4:47-49 no. 1195, 58-59 no. 1201. After the foundation charter of Sahagún, the next surviving royal charter establishing a mint does not come until the reign of Fernando IV (1295-1312). See Joaquín Espín Rael, Traslado del privilegio para acuñar moneda, dado a Lorca en 1297 (Lorca, 1936).

In 1125, the abbot of Sahagún together with Urraca donated orchards (*huertos*) to the burghers of the town with the obligation to pay an annual rent per orchard of "two solidi of that money which is current in the village."[75] This might indicate that the mint was still operating. After Urraca's death the following year, however, there is no further hint that Sahagún continued to strike. It seems fairly certain that Alfonso at some point revoked the privilege.[76]

Palencia

If the history of the Sahagún mint is the simplest to decipher, the origin of minting at Palencia in the western region of Castile is the most convoluted. It is possible that denarii were struck in Palencia under Alfonso VI. The first clear evidence for a mint in this town, however, is in Paschal II's bull of 1116 which confirmed that Urraca had given the bishop of Palencia the right to "half the mint (*moneta*) located there."[77] Almost fifty years later,

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[75] Sahagún, 4:88-91 no. 1219.

[76] Recuero Alfonso VII, 100-101, concluded that when Alfonso confirmed Sahagún's immunities and privileges at the beginning of his reign, he also reconfirmed their right to mint. But, the charter of 1126 (which Recuero dates to 1129) never addresses the issue. See Sahagún, 4:103-106 no. 1226.

[77] For Paschal's bull see Abajo Martín, Palencia, 62-63 no. 25. The possibility of a mint in Palencia under Alfonso VI is based on a confirmation of the bishop of Palencia's rights granted by Alfonso VII in 1140. See the discussion below.

in 1163, Fernando II, acting as regent in Castile, recognized that the bishop had claim to half the *moneta* "made in the city."[78] In the intervening years, however, a charter of Alfonso VII, dated 1146, allowed the see only a tenth of *moneta*. Does this contradictory grant of a tenth refer to a separate revenue, i.e., to *monetagium*?

The case becomes more complicated in that Alfonso VII's grant of a tenth is clearly related to three other charters. The first purports to record the terms by which Sancho the Great restored the see of Palencia in 1037. Among the privileges conceded, it grants the church a tenth of royal revenues including *moneta*. The other two charters claim to be confirmations of Sancho's act by his successors, Fernando I and Alfonso VI.[79]

A concession of *moneta* is unheard of in any other document of Sancho the Great or Fernando I and makes these three texts immediately suspect. In considering the last of the set, the confirmation attributed to Alfonso VI, Reilly concluded it was "a well executed contemporary forgery."[80] Yet, besides *moneta*, all three documents also

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[78] Abajo Martín, Palencia, 93-95 no. 42; 132-34 no. 63.

[79] Ibid., 5-9 no. 2; 23-28 no.9; 37-43 no. 15

[80] The confirmation attributed to Alfonso VI is dated 1090 and said to be drawn up by Pelayo Eríguez, a well-attested scribe in Alfonso's chancery. But with the exception of this grant, Pelayo's earliest appearance in royal charters is 1096. There are at least three original charters known in his hand. Reilly pointed out that the hand used in the Palencia grant was very close to Pelayo's. In fact, early in his work on Urraca he suggests the grant

include a tithe from *pectum*, a term that otherwise is not known until the very end of Urraca's reign and becomes more commonplace under the rule of her son.[81] Taken as whole, the list of revenues in these three charters is much more consistent with the royal grants that begin c.1123 with Urraca and Alfonso VII's endowment of the see of Toledo.[82]

A closer examination reveals that the three documents were likely forged in the reign of Alfonso VII. In the first, attributed to Sancho the Great, Palencia is given a sweeping array of lands as well as a tenth of:

> Bread and wine, tolls, fines, taxes (*pectae*), *monetae*, stores, mills, fishing and all cattle and other livestock which are known to be a right of the crown in whatever part of the same diocese, now or in the future.[83]

The two subsequent confirmations attributed to Fernando I and Alfonso VI follow the details of this text closely

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was authentic. (See Reilly, Urraca, 18 n. 27 and 13 n. 14.) Later in the same work, however, he holds that it is a contemporary forgery. (Reilly, Urraca, 343; cf. Reilly, "Chancery of Alfonso VI," 16 n. 105.)

[81] Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 496-99, 516-17, argued that a specific tax called *petitum* emerged as a revenue due the crown roughly after 1135. Alfonso VII's grant to Toledo in 1123, however, included "omni peicho." I am not convinced that one can readily distinguish *petitum* from *pecho* and *pectum* in the sources as he contends.

[82] The language of the three Palencian charters, including expressing the revenues in the plural, is closely parallel to Alfonso VII's grant to Toledo in 1123. See n. 10 above.

[83] "Panis et vini, portaticorum, calumpniarum, pectarum, monetarum, tendarum, molinorum, piscationum et omnis ganadi et aliarum rerum que regi iuris in eadem diocesi cognoscuntur esse, quacumque et quocumque loco sint vel fuerint." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 5-9 no. 2; cf. Bishko, "Fernando," 13 n. 84.

though neither is a verbatim copy of it. Both include the same lands as well as the tithe on revenues. In the charter attributed to Fernando, the passage concerning the revenues reads:

> I give and concede just as my father, King Sancho, did and (as) it is contained in his privilege, a tenth part of all things, mobile as well as immobile, be it of tolls, fines, taxes, or *monetae*, which are known to be a right of the crown in the same diocese.[84]

The charter attributed to Alfonso VI cites both the previous grants as precedent when listing the revenues. In some ways it follows the Latin of the Sancho grant more closely:

> I give, moreover, and concede ...and by the present privilege confirm, just as my grandfather, King Sancho, and my father, King Fernando, did and (as) it is contained in their privileges, a tenth part of bread and wine, tolls, fines, taxes, *monetae*, stores, mills, fishing and the offspring (*fructuum*) of all cattle and other livestock which are or shall be in the future a right of the crown in whatever part of the episcopacy.[85]

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[84] "Dono, etiam, et concedo, sicut pater meus, rex Sancius, fecit et in suo continentur privillegio, decimam partem omnium rerum, tam mobilium quam inmobilium, sue usaticorum, calumpniarum, pectarum et monetarum que regii iuris in eadem diocesi cognoscuntur esse." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 23-28 no. 9. See also Blanco, Fernando I, 148-52 no. 54 and Reilly, Alfonso VI, 17 n. 8 and n. 9.

[85] "Dono, etiam, et concedo ... et presenti privilegio confirmo, suicut avus meus, rex Sancius, et pater meus, rex Fredinandus, fecerunt et in suis continetur privilegiis, decimam partem panis et vini, portaticorum, calumpniarum, pectarum, monetarum, tendarum, molionorum, piscationum et fructuum omnis ganadi et aliarum rerum que regaii iuriis in eodem episcopatu in quocumque loco sint vel in posterum fuerint." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 37-43 no. 15.

Alfonso VII's grant of 1146 is markedly unlike these three charters in that it is not a general confirmation of all the see's rights and holdings. It is concerned only with the tithe on royal income in the diocese. Also, unlike the charters attributed to Fernando I and Alfonso VI, Alfonso VII's grant makes no allusion to this tenth having been granted by his predecessors. Still, the passage defining the tithe in his charter is, for all purposes, identical to the passage in the three spurious charters:

> A tenth of bread and wine, tolls, fines, taxes, *monetae*, mills, horses and all cattle and other livestock which is known to be a right of the crown in whatever part of the same diocese.[86]

Alfonso VII was not oblivious to the acts of his forerunners in regards to Palencia. On at least five occasions, he ratified their bequests to the see. Most of these confirmations were general acts such as that done at the time of the imperial coronation in 1135 when he confirmed "all the churches, monasteries, villages, landed wealth (*predia*), possessions and whatever else" which were

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[86] "Decimam panis et vini, portaticorum, calumpniarum, pectarum, monetarum, tendarum, molinorum, equarum et omnis ganadi et aliorum rerum, que regii iuris in eadem diocesi cognoscuntur esse, quacumque et quocumque loco sint." Ibid., 93-95 no. 42.

This charter, said to have been done at Carrión on January 29, 1146 exists only in a thirteenth-century copy. Nonetheless, its authenticity is supported by a second royal act done at Carrión on the same day. This was a donation to one Gutierre Fernández, who also confirmed the grant to Palencia. See Recuero, Alfonso VII, 172-74.

given to the church of Palencia by "my predecessors and relatives, the kings of Spain, Sancho, Fernando and Alfonso and (by) my noble mother."[87] Other acts were more detailed such as his charter of 1140 which confirmed "all the donations and *hereditates*" given the see since the reign of Sancho. While this charter listed properties by name, it makes no mention of the bishop's right to a tenth of all royal income in the diocese.[88] The logical inference in comparing the documents is that the grant of the tithe on royal revenues originated with Alfonso VII and that the charters assigned to Sancho, Fernando and Alfonso VI were compiled sometime later. Once these three charters are recognized as later forgeries, the history of minting at Palencia becomes somewhat simplified.

A mint may have existed in the town before Urraca, perhaps founded in the reign of her father. Nevertheless, there is no basis to assume that he had given away a tenth of its profits to the local bishop. Alfonso VI had allowed the exceptional grant of full mint rights to Compostela (after much pressure from Diego Gelmírez) and supposedly gave a third of the Lugo mint to the bishop there. But, he still must be judged conservative with regards to his other

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[87] The king had granted a similar confirmation in 1130. See Abajo Martín, Palencia, 75-78 nos. 32-33; cf. Reilly, "Chancery Alfonso VII," 252 n. 57, 258 n. 93.

[88] Abajo Martín, Palencia, 80-82 no. 35. Two other general confirmations were done in 1155, cf. 112-14 no. 52, 118-20 no. 56. The confirmation of 1140 is discussed further below.

mints. The archbishop of Toledo was not allowed a tenth of *moneta* until late in Urraca's reign and the earliest reference to the bishop of León's enjoying a tenth of that mint is not until 1135.

The first sure concession of *moneta* to the bishop of Palencia, then, is Urraca's grant of half the mint awarded during her struggle with Aragón early in the reign. This concession was probably respected for the rest of her rule. It is repeated in a bull of Honorius II in November 1125, shortly before her death.[89] The next reference to the see's right to *moneta*, however, is Alfonso VII's charter of 1146 in which the bishop is allowed only a tenth. There are three possible explanations for this apparent contradiction. First, the tenth of *moneta* in Alfonso's later grant refers to separate income from *monetagium*. Second, Alfonso awarded the see an additional tenth of the mint from the crown's remaining half. Third, Alfonso managed to curtail the see's share of the mint from one half to one tenth. This last is the explanation most consistent with the other evidence.

Pedro of Agen had become bishop of Palencia c.1108 shortly before Alfonso VI's death. It was to Pedro that Urraca awarded half the proceeds of the mint for his loyalty to her during her weakest hour. Under his tenure, the name of the patron saint of Palencia appeared on her

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[89] Ibid., 70-73 no. 30.

coin. Pedro's relation with Alfonso VII is obscure. While there is no hint in the surviving documents of tension between king and bishop, there are no coins in Alfonso's name that carry the B. ANTONINI signature. By 1139, Pedro was succeeded by Pedro II, a man we know even less about other than that he apparently died at the siege of Almería in 1148.[90]

In 1140, soon after Pedro II took office, Alfonso VII drew up a confirmation of the property and rights that his predecessors had granted to the see of Palencia. While this charter is fairly detailed in listing landed properties it makes no mention of the bishop's right to *moneta*. The text does, however, address another the matter regarding the mint:

> Also concerning those furs and unbleached cloth which my predecessors had ordered given to the bishop of Palencia when the money was changed (*quando mutatio monete fierit*), I, the emperor Alfonso, concede and order that the present bishop of Palencia, lord Pedro, and his successors are to be given fifty morabetinos when there is a change to new money in Palencia (*quando in Palencia monete nove fiet mutatio*), so by this he shall have the money [the fifty morabetinos] by hereditary right forever.[91]

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[90] For Pedro of Agen's earliest appearance as bishop of Palencia, see Reilly, Alfonso VI, 347. Pedro II appears as bishop as early as February, 1139. See Abajo Martín, Palencia, 78-80, no 34. See further, Emiliano González Diéz, "Formación y desarrollo del dominio señorial de la iglesia palentina (1035-1351)" in Actas del I congreso de historia de Palencia, vol. 2, Fuentes Documentales y Edad Media (Valladolid, 1987), 285, 288.

[91] "Pro quadam, quoque, pellicia et quodam pallio grisis, que mei antecesssores palentinis episcopis, quando mutatio monete fierit, stabilierunt donari, ego, imperator

Alfonso appears to be referring to an in-kind payment traditionally given to the bishop on those occasions when the mint of Palencia changed to a new coin. (If his recollection is accurate, this passage attests that minting at Palencia dated back at least to the time of Alfonso VI.) This seems to have been no more than a token gesture, which Alfonso now transformed into a fixed sum in cash. This new cash stipend was deemed significant enough to be included in Innocent II's confirmation of Palencia's possessions three years later; "fifty morabetinos at each change of the money, which King Alfonso established as payment to you and your church."[92] At the same time, Innocent's bull makes no mention of Palencia's right to half *moneta*, which both Paschal and Honorius II had included in previous bulls. Subsequent bulls by Innocent's successors also included the 50 morabetino stipend while omitting the right to half *moneta*.[93]

While it cannot be directly documented, the stipend of 50 morabetinos may have been intended to partially

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Adefonsus, presenti palentino episcopi, domno Petro, suisque successoribus quinquaginta morabitinos, quando in Palencia monete nove fiet mutatio, ab illo qui monetam tenuerit iure hereditario semper donari concedo et iubeo." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 80-82 no. 35. The phrase "ab illo qui monetam tenuerit" is somewhat puzzling. Alfonso could not have meant that the bishop was now entitled to the whole mint. "Moneta" in this case, then, appears to refer to the stipend of 50 morabetinos.

[92] "In singulis monete mutacionibus quinquaginta morabetionos, quos rex Aldefonsus tibi et ecclesie tue reddi constiuit." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 90-93 no. 41.

[93] Ibid., 129-32 no. 62, 191-94 no. 93.

compensate Pedro II for accepting a reduced share in regular *moneta*. The bishop of Segovia appears to have been given a similar compensation when his share of *moneta* was cutback and Compostela received assurance of a monopoly in Galicia when Alfonso reclaimed half the *moneta* there. If Palencia's share was reduced c.1140, then the royal charter of 1146 which refers to the bishop's tenth of *moneta* must be an acknowledgment of an earlier agreement.[94]

At some point after 1146, the crown may have closed the Palencia mint altogether. The next reference to it is in the charter issued by Fernando II of León in 1163 in conjunction with the young Alfonso VIII of Castile. Palencia lay just within the boundaries of the now independent Castile. But, as the charter itself makes clear, until Alfonso attained fourteen years of age he was supposed to be under the tutelage of Fernando. Addressing the charter to his "beloved uncle," Bishop Ramón of Palencia, Fernando II decreed:

> Henceforth, money shall be made in the city of Palencia and it shall be made there just as it once was made (and) from its profits, the bishop shall hold half of everything and the king the other half.[95]

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[94] This was not unusual. See the cases of Toledo, Salamanca and Segovia above.

[95] "Volo, igitur, et precipio quod deinceps fiat moneta in palentina civitate et ibidem fabricetur, sicuti quondam fieri solebat, de lucro cuius palentinus episcopus habeat mediatatem in omnibus et per omnia et rex alteram medietatem." Abajo Martín, Palencia, 132-34 no. 63; González, Fernando II, 373.

It is difficult to discern the motivation behind reopening the mint and restoring the bishop's right to a half the profits after Alfonso VII seems to have reduced it to a mere tenth.[96] Fernando may have hoped to win the support of his uncle in an effort to deprive Alfonso VIII of the kingdom.[97] In the end, however, Ramón proved a staunch supporter of the young Castilian king. Fernando, if he ever had intended to seize Castile, would never accomplish it.[98]

Sigüenza and Soria

There are two final mints in Castile that may have been established before the division of the realm in 1157. A charter in the name of Alfonso VII dated 1139 grants the bishop of Sigüenza a tenth of royal income in his see. *Moneta* is included among the revenues listed. Another charter dated 1154 and attributed to the *infante* Sancho

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[96] The year before Fernando's charter, Alexander III had confirmed Palencia's privileges, noting that he did so at the request of Bishop Ramón. The bull included the see's right to 50 morabetinos when the coinage was changed. Perhaps Ramón had anticipated the mint would soon be re-opened. Or, perhaps the crown had continued to pay the 50 morabetinos even when Palencia's mint was no longer active. More likely, the stipulation was inadvertently incorporated from Innocent II's bull of 1143. Abajo Martín, Palencia, 129-32 no. 62.

[97] The same day, Fernando endowed Palencia with monastery of San Pedro de Covelais. Ibid., 134-137, nos. 64-65.

[98] See Gautier Dalché, Historia urbana, 259-61; cf. D.W. Lomax, "Don Ramón, Bishop of Palencia (1148-84)," in Homenaje a Jaime Vicens Vives, 279-91, who maintains that Fernando and Ramón were also on good terms.

(the future Sancho III) grants the bishop of Osma a tenth of *moneta* in Soria. Grassotti stressed that there is no evidence that a mint existed in either Sigüenza or Soria and implied that these grants stand as testimony for an early *monetagium* tax.[99]

Despite Grassotti's assurance to the contrary, there is numismatic evidence indicating that Alfonso VIII, as king of an independent Castile, struck coins in Sigüenza and Soria. Therefore, if the two charters dating to the epoch of Alfonso VII are genuine, they establish only that the mints of Sigüenza and Soria were opened before the division of the realm. They in no way point to the existence of an early *monetagium*. Both these documents, however, show signs that they may be wholly or partly based on later charters of Alfonso VIII. It seems more likely that Sigüenza and Soria first struck coins during his reign, as part of an effort to establish a new network of mints to serve the independent kingdom. (Soria even today is still strongly associated with Alfonso VIII. The town is said to have sheltered the young king from his uncle, Fernando II.)[100]

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[99] For the grant to Sigüenza, see Mingüella, Sigüenza, 1:367-68 no. 27. For Soria, see Alfonso VIII, 2:25-28 no 12. Cf. Grassotti, "Pueblo," 170.

[100] After the division of León and Castile in 1157, the independent crowns of each would open additional mints. For the evidence pertaining to these later mints, including Soria and Sigüenza, see chapter 9.

Overall, this survey of mints and mint rights demonstrates that there is no basis to conclude that the crown was levying a *monetagium* tax in the time of Alfonso VII or before. In every instance where Urraca or her son conceded revenue from *moneta* to one of their bishops, evidence demonstrates that a mint existed in that same bishopric. *Moneta* in these cases cannot be mistaken for a *monetagium* tax. At the same time, this review of the evidence reveals one recurring theme: Alfonso VII's policy toward mint administration was decidedly conservative.

If we place the mints of Sigüenza and Soria after his death, he may have allowed only one new mint, that of Zamora, to be established during the reign.[101] More important are the steps he took to reclaim profits from *moneta* that his mother and grandfather had given away. While content to allow the bishop in each mint town to hold a tenth of the profit, he seems to have worked deliberately, and successfully, to take back larger portions of *moneta* that had been alienated from the crown. Obliged to split the profits of Sahagún with the monastery, he eventually closed the mint. He successfully bargained to regain half the profits of the mint at Santiago and probably at the same time closed the mint at Lugo, whose

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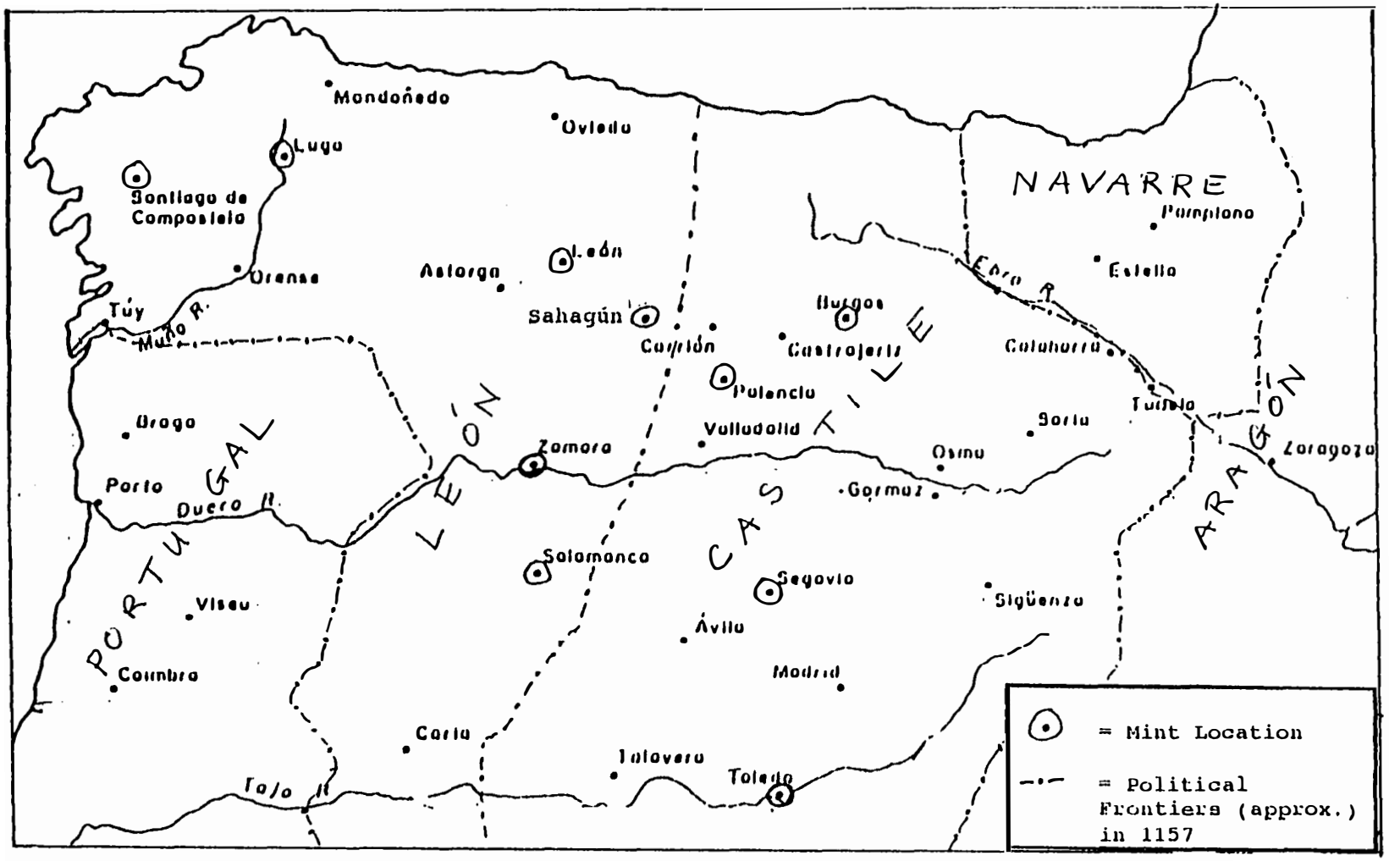
[101] The mint at Burgos was possibly established by Alfonso VII when he retook the city in 1127. There are some grounds for believing, however, that Urraca struck money there in 1111, at the very beginning of her conflict with Aragón. See her grant to the monastery of Oña in exchange for bullion discussed in chapter 5, n. 8 above.

bishop held claim to a third of the profits. He appears to have reduced the claim of the see of Palencia from one half to one tenth and eventually closed that mint as well. Likewise, he cut back slightly on the profits owed the bishop of Segovia. Of bishops holding more than a tenth, only the bishop of Salamanca seems to have kept his original claim to a third intact. Even Alfonso's juggling of mint rights at Zaragoza in Aragón, only increased that bishop's profit slightly.

In terms of a policy towards the coinage itself, however, the charters regarding rights to *moneta* reveal very little. We have suggested that after abandoning the denarius *de medietate* early in his reign, Alfonso managed to maintain a stable coin of 4 d. fine for the rest of his years. Cardinal Hyacinth's legislation at Valladolid in 1155, however, admonished the king that this quaternal coinage should be maintained without exacting any price. What was Hyacinth referring to if not a *monetagium* tax?

It is possible that the cardinal was condemning the concept of *monetagium* in general, but this seems unlikely. Rome had formulated no such doctrine. There was, however, another means to exact a price for a stable coinage - periodic renewal or commutation of the coinage. If the various concessions of *moneta* granted by Alfonso VII reveal nothing specific about the strength of his coinage, these same documents do make several allusions to such a practice.



Map 1. Mints in León-Castile
During the Reign of Alfonso VII (1126-57)

EIGHT

THE PROSPECT OF COINAGE RENEWAL

In confirming the privileges of Palencia for Bishop Pedro II in 1140, Alfonso VII referred to a gift of furs and cloth that his predecessors customarily gave to the see "when the money was changed (*quando mutatio monete fierit*)." Alfonso now transformed this into a cash stipend of 50 morabetinos to be paid on such occasions. His charter implies that the coinage was changed with some regularity. This is reinforced by Innocent II's bull of 1143 which confirmed Palencia's right to "50 morabetinos at each change of the money (*in singulis monete mutacionibus*)."

Over fifty years later, in March of 1202, Alfonso IX of León presided over an assembly in Benavente attended not only by his bishops and lay vassals but also by "many men from each town." The acts of this assembly are preserved today in a single charter which in part reads:

> Also, in this curia it was judged, just as it always was, that if the king should again wish to change his coinage (*mutare*) for another, everyone from his kingdom must accept it equally.[1]

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[1] "In ipsa curia etiam iudicatum fuit sicut etiam semper fuerat quod si rex de novo voluerit suam monetam mutare in aliam, universi de suo regno equaliter recibere debent." Alfonso IX, 2:236-37 no. 167.

Like Alfonso VII's charter, this decree indicates that a *mutatio* of the coinage was not a rare occurrence. Here, the text even seems to convey a hint that the assembly was growing weary of the crown imposing mutations too frequently.

The assembly of Benavente represents only the second documented instance in León where townsmen were unquestionably present at a royal curia or *cortes*.[2] It is perhaps not coincidental that with their attendance coinage was one of the main issues under consideration. While the assembly recognized that it was the king's prerogative to do with the money what he may, the charter goes on to explain that there was an alternative to accepting another *mutatio*. If king and people agreed, the king could "sell" his coinage, meaning each of his subjects would pay him a tax to forgo mutation. The text is unclear whether this sale of the coinage had ever been resorted to in previous years. But, it concludes by revealing that such a sale was agreed to at this assembly and apparently in another meeting in Extremadura:

> These things were done and firmly established at Benavente in a full curia of the lord king, the fifth Ides of March, era M CC XL, when the lord king sold his money to the people in the land between the Duero and the sea for seven years, receiving from each for this sale a single morabetino. Likewise, in the same year

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[2] The first instance where the attendance of town representatives at a royal curia is clearly documented is in 1188, at the beginning of Alfonso IX's rule. See O'Callaghan, Cortes, 16.

around the same time the money was purchased in all of Extremadura.[3]

This is the first indisputable example of the imposition of a monetary-conservation tax in León. In exchange for the tax, the king agreed not to resort to a *mutatio* for seven years.[4] The Benavente charter, however, gives no details as to what the king agreed to refrain from doing. What did a *mutatio* of the coinage involve and what was so detrimental about the prospect of enduring another one that the assembly agreed to the imposition of a tax of one morabetino per head in order to avoid it?

Defining *mutatio*

A coin can be physically altered in three ways, by changing either its weight, its prescribed fineness or its design. A change in any of these three components might, from a modern perspective, be labeled a mutation of the coin.[5] An examination of *mutare* and *mutatio* in twelfth-

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[3] "Hec acta sunt et firmiter statuta apud Benaventum in plena curia domini regis V idus martii, era M CC XL, cum dominus rex vendidit monetam suam gentibus terre a Dorio usque ad mare VII annis, de singulis pro emptione ipsius singulos recipiens morabetinos. Similiter eodem anno, et tempore simili eorum empta fuit moneta in tota Extremadura." Alfonso IX, 2:236-37 no. 167.

[4] Grassotti in "Empréstito," 200-201, interpreted the passage in the previous note to read that the king received payment each year for seven years. The subsequent collection of *moneda* in the thirteenth century shows this not to be true.

[5] This was, in general, the definition used by Bisson. For example, he calls the reduction in weight of the gold mancus in the eleventh century one of the "best documented

century texts, however, shows that it frequently carried a narrower meaning.

A good illustration of the term is found in an act of Alfonso VII's contemporary, Louis VII of France. Shortly after ascending the throne in 1137, Louis promised the men of Etampes that:

> The current money of Etampes, which was held by our deceased father, we shall neither change (*mutabimus*) nor allow to be diminished (*alleviabimus*) in fineness or weight for all the days of our life nor shall we suffer it to be diminished by anyone else as long as the knights and burghers of Etampes give us one hundred pounds of the same money every third year on All Saints' Day for the redemption of that same money.[6]

The agreement is similar to that reached at Benavente; the men of Etampes were buying or redeeming the coinage from their king. Unlike at Benavente, however, the restraints Louis agreed to are here clearly defined. He must not lighten the fineness or weight of the coin nor must he change (*mutare*) its design from the way it was in his father's day. In this context, *mutare* indicated only an alteration of the coin's type.

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instances" of an abrupt mutation. (See Bisson Conservation, 7.)

[6] "Quod praesentem Stamparum monetam, quae ibi à Patris nostri decessu habebatur, nos omnibus diebus vitae nostrae neque mutabimus, neque lege, neque pondere alleviabimus, neque alleviari ab aliquo patiemur, quamdiù milites, & Burgenses Stampenses, unoquoque tertio anno, à festivitate omnium Samnctorum, pro euisdem monetae redemptione, libras centum, de eadem moneta nobis dabunt."

In the same year, Louis promised the town of Orleans; "Monetam Aurelianensem que in morte patris nostri currebat in tota vita nostra non mutandun eis concessimus et eam neque mutari neque alleviari paciemur." Ibid., 29-30.

Texts from Aragón-Catalonia make a similar distinction between changes of type and intrinsic changes in weight or fineness. In 1118, Ramon Berenguer III, in exchange for a one-time payment, confirmed his coinage in the county of Cerdanya declaring that it should not be "changed (*mutet*) nor diminished in fineness or weight"[7] Similarly, Bishop Pedro of Vich promised in 1174 that the coinage of Vich "shall not be changed (*mutetur*) ... nor shall it be diminished in fineness or in weight."[8] At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Pedro II of Aragón-Catalonia promised with regards to the coinage of Barcelona that for the remainder of his life he would neither "change it (*mutem*) or permit it to be worsened" or levy a redemptive tax for it.[9] Finally, Pedro's son Jaime I confirmed the *jaccensis* at the cortes of Huesca in 1221, swearing he would not "change (*mutabimus*) that money nor increase its number or diminish its weight or fineness."[10] In all these cases, *mutare* applies specifically to the design of the

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[7] "(M)onetam non mutet vel minuet lege vel penso," Ibid., 199-200, no. 1.

[8] "(M)oneta non mutetur in omni vita mea, nec in lege nec in pondere minuatur." Botet, Les monedes, 211-12; cf. Bisson, Conservation, 78-79, 81 n. 2.

[9] (M)onetam barchinonensium in tota vita me non mutem, nec deteriorari permittam, nec faciam ipsum vel bovaticum deinde redimi." Bisson, Conservation, 88 n. 2.

[10] "(N)ec istam (monetam) mutabimus vel augebimus numero aut diminuemus penso vel lege." Angel Canalles López, ed. Colección diplomática del concejo de Zaragoza (Zaragoza, 1972), no. 49; Bisson, Conservation, 119.

coin. A promise of *non mutare* was a promise that the coin's type would not be changed.

At the very least, then, a *mutatio* of the coinage in León must have involved a visible alteration of the coin. Alfonso VII in the charter to Palencia spoke of the change to "a new money." Likewise, the charter from Benavente referred to the king changing one coin for another. If one looks at the numismatic record it plainly affirms what the these documents imply. As the twelfth century wore on, the crown of León appears to have imposed changes of type with increasing frequency. Alfonso VI probably only struck 2 types from 1085 until his death in 1109. His daughter Urraca, however, used at least 5 types in a reign that did not last two decades. As for the thirty-one year reign of Alfonso VII, we are faced with a plethora of coin types. Even if we exclude some anonymous coins on the grounds that they may be eleventh or tenth century issues, one is still left with a wide array of possible types for his reign. Under his successors, the variety tapers off. For Alfonso VIII, whose coins are generally unmistakable since he was the only Alfonso to rule in Castile with no claim to León, there are perhaps 7 or 8 distinct types for a reign lasting fifty-six years. His contemporary Alfonso IX of León

struck approximately 6 distinct types in his forty-two years on the throne.[11]

In this light, the decree *Monetam quidquam* promulgated by Cardinal Hyacinth and the Council of Valladolid in 1155 begins to make more sense. Having been subjected to a parade of coin types in the almost three decades of Alfonso VII's rule, the council, using legatine authority to lend it weight, exhorted the emperor to settle on one coin (*monetam quidquam ... mittet*), as long as it was of a good weight and 4 d. fine, and to not change it for the rest of his life (*nunquam in diebus suis mutandum*).

Why would the king have resorted to changing types frequently? The most logical explanation is that a *mutatio* engendered a profit for the crown. Why else would Alfonso VII choose to give the bishop of Palencia 50 morabetinos at each *mutatio*? In an analogous, though more ambiguous grant, he also awarded the bishop of Segovia a fourth part of overall mint profits, i.e., *moneta*, and a fourth part of "all changes."[12]

The crown could, of course, profit from a change in type by combining it with a surreptitious debasement. This could be executed in two ways. The least efficient method

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[11] For an overview of the possible types of these three reigns, see Heiss, Las monedas, plates 1-4; cf. the selected types in the catalogue below. For Alfonso IX's types, see Todesca, "Rebellion," 35 n. 20.

[12] "Quartem partem monete que in Secobie facta fuerit et totius cambiacionis a quecumque parte venerit." Villar García, Segovia, 62-63 no. 19.

would be to simply issue a new coin that had been diminished in either fineness or weight without attempting to demonetize the older issues in circulation. This kind of debasement was more suitable as an emergency measure and was probably what Urraca resorted to in the middle of the anarchy. Faced with a limited supply of bullion and troops that wanted pay, putting less silver in the coin was a natural temptation. While it helped stretch resources, the maneuver generated no tangible profit. A more sophisticated debasement would involve demonetizing the old coinage and calling it back to the mint. By receiving the old money and paying out the new, the mint would make a profit on each exchange.

It is highly unlikely that the Crown of León was resorting to either of these methods each time it imposed a *mutatio*. None of the evidence supports that the coinage was systematically debased in this way over the course of the twelfth century. Nor are there any evident signs of inflation or any of the "considerable disturbances" that Sánchez Albornoz imagined resulted from such a policy.[13] In relation to the gold morabetino, the denarius of León maintained the same purchasing power as the *jaccensis* of Aragón which was indisputably stable throughout the bulk of twelfth century, except for a brief period of debasement under Alfonso II.

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[13] Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 338-39.

The Concept of *Renovatio Monetae*

A stable currency that is subjected to frequent changes in type points to a policy of coinage renewal (*renovatio monetae*), a measure designed to maintain the strength of the coin over time. Faced with a supply of old and worn coins in circulation, the government in a *renovatio* issued a new type of the same weight and fineness, invalidating or demonetizing the previous issue. Since the new coin had the same silver as the old, to cover the expense of the new issue, and to allow a profit, the old coin was not exchanged evenly for the new. It had to be discounted, or diminished in value. The mint would pay out, let us say, only 3 new coins for every 4 of the old taken in.

The Carolingians attempted recoinages of this sort intermittently. The best evidence for the policy is provided by Charles the Bald's Edict of Pîtres of 864. His act clearly ordered that the current coin in circulation was to be invalidated and replaced with a new coin, though it did not specify at what rate of exchange the older money was to be called in. Earlier legislation of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, though less precise, suggest a similar practice.[14] Clearer evidence of regular coinage renewal can be found in eleventh-century England.

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[14] The Edict of Pîtres reads, "(S)ed omnes ab ipsis Kalendis Iulii argentum suum in constitutis monetis concambiari faciant scientes, quia post missam sancti

Domesday contains a number of references to payments required from individual minters for receipt of new dies on those occasion when the type was changed. For example, the inquest noted that "in the town of Lewes when the money was renewed (*renovatur*) each minter gave 20 solidi." Likewise it states that in Worcester, "when the money was changed (*vertebatur*) each minter paid 20 solidi."[15] These citations by themselves fall short of demonstrating that when a new type was introduced the old coinage was in fact invalidated. The numismatic evidence, however, points strongly to that conclusion. The most compelling part of the evidence presented by Dolley and Metcalf in their seminal article on the subject was that many of the English hoards interred between roughly 975 and 1075 were comprised

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Martini nulli alii denarii in regno nostro, nisi istius novae nostrae monetae recipientur et ab ipsis Kalendis Iulii ipsi novi denarii ab omnbibus accipiantur." In 874, Charlemagne ordered, "(Q)uod in omni loco, in omni civiatae et in omni empturio similiter vadant isti novi denarii et accipiantur ab omnibus." This text, however, does not specifically refer to the invalidation of the old currency. Boretivs and Krause, Capitularia, 1:74, 2:316, see also 314-17. For Louis the Pious, see Wilhelm Jesse, Quellenbuch zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte des Mittelalters, (1924; reprint, Lübeck, 1983), 12 no. 41. Cf. Stanislaw Suchodolski, "*Renovatio Monetae* in Poland in the 12th Century," Polish Numismatic News, special issue of Wiadomości Numizmatyczne 5 (1961): 58 n. 7; cf. Bisson, Conservation, 5 n. 2.

[15] "In burgo de Lewes cum moneta renovatur dat xx solidos unusquique monetarius." "In civitate Wirecestre ...quando moneta vertebatur quisque monetarius dabat xx solidos." The references are collected in George C. Brooke "*Quando Moneta Vertebatur*: The Change of Coin-Types in the Eleventh Century; Its Bearing on Mules and Overstrikes," British Numismatic Journal 20 (1929-30): 105-106.

of only one or two coin types, indicating that as new types were introduced into circulation the older ones were removed.[16] Petersson proposed that under this system the mint may have paid 3 new coins for every 4 old ones taken in. As Spufford pointed out, this would have amounted to a 25 percent tax on "capital held in the form of coin." As with most taxes, the crown was inevitably tempted to impose it more often. By the time of the Conquest, the lifetime of one coin type may have been as short as two or three years.[17]

The ability of the English kings to implement a regular system of renewal is often considered an anomaly in comparison to the rest of Western Europe and accredited to exceptionally "strong governmental organization" and a "sufficiently developed money-using economy."[18] Renewal of coinage, however, was not unheard of on the continent in the twelfth century. Around the year 1100, rabbi Rashi of Troyes in a letter to Solomon of Tours, discussed how debts were to be rendered in the event that a coin was

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[16] R.H.M Dolley and D.M. Metcalf, "The Reform of the English Coinage Under Eadgar," in Anglo-Saxon Coins (Studies Presented to F.M. Stenton), ed. R.H.M. Dolley (London, 1961), 156-58, passim. See also the comments by Philip Grierson in "Numismatics and the Historian," ix-xiv.

[17] H. Bertil A. Petersson, Anglo-Saxon Currency: King Edgar's Reform to the Norman Conquest (Lund, 1969); Spufford, Money, 92-94.

[18] Spufford, Money, 94.

invalidated and replaced with another of equal value but altered in design.[19]

The chronicle of Cosmas of Prague, also of the early twelfth century, alludes vaguely to greedy rulers who impose frequent changes and fraudulent debasements of the coinage (*frequens mutatio et fraudulenta peiorati nummi*). He concludes that such a practice is more harmful than if "an enemy ravaged the whole land with fire and pillage." Cosmas might be describing a situation where a ruler simply issued a succession of progressively debased types without recalling old issues. While this would be disruptive to the economy, it does not seem to warrant such condemnation. More likely, Cosmas is referring to fraudulent recoinage, where the people were expected to exchange the old money for one more debased. For this, he calls these unnamed rulers "not leaders but thieves, not caretakers of God's people but tax collectors, the most avaricious men without mercy...who change the money three or four times a year (*qui ter vel qauter in anno monetam mutando erunt*)."[20]

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[19] A new translation of the passage is provided in Bisson, Conservation, 175-76: "As to your question concerning (A) who lent (B) money and the coins were invalidated, what should (B) pay (A). You should know that we rule ... (that B) give (A) the coin then current unless (value) has been added to it. Our coin was invalidated, no (value) has been added to it except in respect to the alteration of the design. Therefore, (B) must pay (A) what he borrowed from (A) before the coin was invalidated." Cf. Irving A. Agus, Urban Civilization in Pre-Crusade Europe, vol. 1 (New York, 1965), 378-79.

[20] The passage in Cosmas's chronicle is presented as a speech of Charlemagne to his son Pippin. It reads, "Certe

The chronicle of Cosmas was composed during the reign of Vladislav I (1109-25) of Bohemia. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the passage on mutation was aimed at this prince and perhaps at other contemporary rulers in central Europe. While Cosmas's reference to coin changes imposed three to four times a year may be exaggerated, Vladislav I appears to have issued 29 distinct types during his relatively short reign. There is also evidence that rulers in Poland and a number of other German principalities attempted *renovationes* in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[21] These exchanges may at times have carried hidden debasement. At the very least, the passage from Cosmas, like the letter of the rabbi Solomon, indicates that the practice of calling in old issues in exchange for new ones was not restricted to England in the post-Carolingian era.[22]

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nulla caldes, nulla pestilentia nec mortalitas nec non, si hostes totam terram rapinis, incendiis devatarent, magis populo Dei nocerent, quam frequens mutacio et fraudulenta peioratio nummi ... Atqui post hec senescente iusticia et invalescente nequicia surgent non duces, sed fures, non rectores populi Dei, sed nequam exactores, avarissimi sine misericordia homines, Deum omnia cernentem non timentes, qui ter vel quater in anno monetam mutando erunt in lacqueum diaboli ad perdicionmem populi Dei." Bertold Brethloz, ed., "Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag," in Sriptores Rerum Germanicarum, n.s., vol. 2, Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Berlin, 1923), book 1, chap. 33; cf. Ruth Mazo Karras "Early Twelfth-Century Bohemian Coinage in Light of a Hoard of Vladislav I," American Numismatic Society Museum Notes 30 (1985), 205-10.

[21] See Suchodolski, "Renovatio Monetae," 57-59.

[22] Kirsten Bendixen suggests, on the basis of hoard finds, that the currency in Denmark was renewed every "few years" There does not, however, appear to be any

How were such recoinages carried out? Dolley and Metcalf argued that an increase in the number of mint sites in England after 973 allowed the population ample opportunity to turn in their old coinage. Grierson pointed to a parallel example on the continent where the Bishop of Châlons-sur-Marne petitioned Charles the Bald only months after the Edict of Pîtres was issued to open a mint within his diocese.[23] New mints, however, were not the only means of executing a recall. The Edict of Pîtres established a time frame, from July to November, in which the old money was to be brought in. It is probable that to accomplish this task in less than four months, the crown resorted to a more direct, but temporary, solution.

The thirteenth-century Aragonese compilation known as the *Fuero* of Jaca states that, according to traditional custom (*antich fuero*), when the king wished to change (*mudar*) the money he set up a table of exchange in each city for forty days so the people could come and exchange their old money.[24] The contemporary *Fuero general de*

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corroborating documentary evidence. See Kirsten Bendixen, "The Currency in Denmark From the Beginning of the Viking Age until c.1100," in Viking-Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History, ed. Mark Blackburn and D.M. Metcalf (Oxford, 1981), 412-14; cf. Spufford, Money, 95.

[23] Dolley and Metcalf, "The Reform," 145-52; Grierson, "Numismatics and the Historian," xi-xii.

[24] "Antich fuero es e provat que quan plazdra al Rey pot mudar so moneda en cada cuitat de so regne pot establir taula de cambi a la qual los pobles deven venir per deute los qui volen cambiar viella moneda segunt la constitution el mandamnet del Rey. E la taula del Rey deu durar XL dias

Navarra contains a parallel passage.[25] Evidence that this was in fact a tradition reaching back to the twelfth century can be gleaned from two royal charters.

A year after becoming king of Aragón, Ramiro II compensated the monasteries of San Juan de la Peña and Santa María de Ibozar for silver bullion they had given him so that he could make his money of Jaca (*per meam monetam facere*). The charter recording the act was done in 1135 "in the month of November, in the city of Jaca ... on the day that the lord king changed (*mutavit*) the money in Jaca." By "changing" the *jaccensis*, Ramiro was probably replacing his dead brother's name with his own while keeping the intrinsic value of the coin stable.[26] The charter's inclusion of the *mutatio* in the dating protocol, however, implies that the change of the coinage was more

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e no plus." Mauricio Molho, ed., El Fuero de Jaca (Zaragoza, 1964), 156 article 301. See also the Molho's introduction, xix-xxi; Bisson, Conservation, 10-11. Earlier Aragonese *fueros* do not refer to such a procedure. Cf. Juan José Morales Gómez and Manuel José Pedraza García, eds. Fueros de Borja y Zargaoza (Zaragoza, 1986), 6-7, 69-73; cf. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, Jaca: Documentos municipales, 971-1269 (Valencia, 1975).

[25] "(Q)ue tienga la moneda nueva por cambiar con la vieja. Esta tabla debe ser con la moneda nueva quarenta dias & no mas. Otro si, en villas cerradas puede pasar esta tabla en estos quarenta dias do el quisiere." P. Ilarregui and S. Lapuerta, Fuero General de Navarra (Pamplona, 1869), book 1, title 1, chap. 2; cf. Luis y Navas, "Aspectos," 14.

[26] Ubieto Arteta, "Documentos," part 1, 116-17 no 4. One could argue that Ramiro's *mutatio* of the *jaccensis* included the coin's debasement from 6 d. to 4 d. On balance, however, the evidence indicates that the drop to 4 d. occured in the final years of Alfonso the Battler's reign. See chapter 6 above.

than just a quiet decision reached by the king and his councilors. It seems to have been a public event likely to be remembered. A private donation of 1174 gives the same impression. It was done "in the year that King Alfonso (II) was made a knight and on the day that he took the queen as his wife and changed (*mutavit*) the money of Jaca."[27]

For León-Castile, there is evidence analogous to the *Fuero* of Jaca which shows the crown could attempt to call in coinage when it saw fit. In 1302 at a cortes held in Burgos, Fernando IV sought to rid the kingdom of bad and clipped coins that had circulated during the chaotic years of his minority. He ordered that they be brought "to tables of exchange" set up in the towns and supervised by a royal official as well as one appointed by the town council.[28] Similarly, Sancho IV, in rebelling against is father Alfonso X, attempted to invalidate and recall his

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[27] "Facta carta mense novembris, era Mª CCª XIIª, in anno quando rex Ildefonsus fuit milite facto et ipso die presit mulier illa regina et mutavit illa moneta Iachesa." Ubieto, "Documentos," part 2, 95 no. 33. (Bisson, in Conservation, 75 n. 2, inadvertently gives the date as "era Mª CCª.").

Despite it coinciding with his wedding celebration, Alfonso's *mutatio* in 1174 seems to have also been a surreptitious debasement from 4 d. to 3 d. Signs that his "new jaccensis" was weaker than the old begin to surface in the documents the following year. See the discussion in chapter 6, n.68 above.

[28] Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla, ed. Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1861), 1:165-69. See further, O'Callaghan, Cortes, 30.

father's money.[29] But did the crown in the twelfth century possess the same capability? A diploma of Alfonso VII's son, Fernando II of León, indicates that it did.

After quarreling with the see of Santiago during the first decade of his reign, Fernando appears to have enjoyed good relations with Archbishops Pedro Gudestéiz (1167-73) and Pedro Suárez (1173-1206).[30] The king made a pilgrimage to Compostela in 1182. In his charter celebrating the occasion, he confirmed that he had restored to the archbishop and chapter the half of the mint which his father had claimed from them so that they again held the mint in full lordship. He went on to assure them:

> That however much I the lord king F(ernando) or my son the lord king A(lfonso) or any of our successors shall wish to remove (*tollere*) the money from the kingdom or permit it to be diminished in value, you and your successors shall be able to let this money of yours continue at full and firm value, valid and steadfast, in your town of Santiago and throughout your entire archdiocese as long as you wish. And this money of yours, granted and conceded to you, will suffer minimum damage on account of any commutation and diminishment in value.[31]

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[29] González Diéz, Burgos, 205-206. See further, Todesca, "Rebellion," 27-43.

[30] Fletcher, Episcopate, 59-60.

[31] "Ita quod quamuis ego Rex donnus F. vel filius meus Rex donnus A. aut aliquis de mea proienie monetam voluerit tollere de regno aut permieserit eius valorem diminuere vos et successores vestri per villam vestram sci. iacobi et per totum archiepiscopatum vestrum hanc monetam vestram in rigoris pleno valore quamdiu volueritis ratam et firmissmam permanere facere possitis. Et propter ullam commutationem et valoris diminutionem hec vestra moneta vobis data et concessa lesionem minime suscipiat." Santiago 4:appendix, 154-55 no. 57. Cf. Grassotti, "Pueblo," 186-87; Sánchez Albornoz, "Devaluación," 615.

Fernando spoke of the possibility that he or his successors might wish to "remove the money from the realm," an action he described later as a commutation (*commutatio*). This would seem to clearly refer to calling in an old type in exchange for another. It is less obvious, however, what the king meant by "diminishing the value" of the coin. He was perhaps stating that the crown also might elect to debase its coin. Indeed, Sánchez Albornoz took the phrase as evidence that the kings of León were by this stage prone to turning to the "vulgar recourse" of debasement.[32] Yet, it seems odd that Fernando would refer openly to the possibility that he may seek to debase, since the success of such a tactic usually hinged on secrecy.

It may be that Fernando was not referring to altering the intrinsic value of the money but rather to diminishing its legal value, in other words, to discounting the older coinage when recalling it to the mint. This reading seems more consistent with the rest of the text. If it is correct, Fernando was only assuring the bishop and chapter of Compostela that in the event the crown decided to call in the royal money at a discount, it would not apply to their money. They could continue to allow their coin to circulate at its "full and firm value" within the boundaries of the archdiocese. Outside that parameter,

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[32] Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 338-39.

Compostela's coins were to be discounted and traded in for the new, current money of the crown.

Either way it is read, the charter stands as strong corroboration that in the twelfth century the Crown of León did attempt to periodically renew its coinage. Fernando did not envision that he was restricted in terms of how often he could impose such a recall. He spoke in terms of "however much I shall wish" to do it. As echoed later in the decrees of Benavente, Fernando saw his right to change the coin as an unassailable prerogative of the crown. But insisting on the prerogative to change the legal currency in the kingdom and successfully executing it were two different matters.

The Hoard Evidence

A renewal of the coinage was intended to replace one issue with another. If successful, the bulk of the older coins were removed and melted down by the mints, leaving a homogeneous supply of new coins in their wake. It follows, then, that coins pulled from circulation and hoarded under such a system would tend to be all of the same type, with perhaps some of the previous issue still included. Two hoards from the early years of Louis the Pious, for example, contain almost no coins of Charlemagne, presumably

a reflection of a recall imposed after Louis's ascension.[33] For England, there are 13 hoards known whose interment can be dated between c.975 and 1042 and that were found in territory under the control of the English. Eight of these hoards contained a single type. The other five contained primarily one type, with a few of a second type. None of the hoard from this period contained more than 2 types.[34]

This pattern of distribution indicates that under an equitable system of *renovatio*, people were not inclined to save coins over long periods of time, i.e., over the course of several renewals. If the coinage had remained stable in fineness and weight and the government was able to enforce demonetization, there was no compelling reason to save old coins. Frequent renewals, imposed without any pretense that the current coin was worn and in need of replacement, were likely to meet with resistance. In England after 1042, the succession of Anglo-Saxon rulers leading up to the Conquest may have attempted to renew the coinage as often as every two or three years. Predictably, some hoards from this period contain more than two types.[35]

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[33] Grierson, "Charlemagne," 503; Spufford, Money, 43-44. For more on the two hoards, Belvézet and Veullin, see Morrison, Carolingian Coinage, 344-45 nos. 14 and 15.

[34] Dolley and Metcalf, "Reform," 156-58.

[35] Of the 20 hoards from the period 1042 to 1066, 7 contained 1 type, 2 contained 2 types and 11 contained more than 2 types. This "pronounced tendency" for hoards buried right before the conquest to admit multiple types seems to correspond to a breakdown of the effectiveness of the system caused by more frequent imposition of renewals.

A more abusive policy would be the crime Cosmas of Prague refers to in his chronicle -- attempting to impose frequent and fraudulent renewals, where the new coin contained less silver than the old. In this scenario, the public, as much as they could afford to, would be inclined to set aside the old coins in savings hoards rather than turn them in to the mints. Significantly, hoards from twelfth-century Bohemia are relatively plentiful and they often contain a variety of types stretching over several reigns. This does not indicate, as Karras suggests, that there was no policy of recoinage in Bohemia. On the contrary, it seems to support Cosmas's charge.[36]

There are very few hoards known from twelfth-century León. Nonetheless, those that have come to light display a common pattern; each contains only one or two types. The one major hoard from the reign of Alfonso VI, for example, is almost equally divided between what seem to be his last two issues, the star-annulet and christogram coins. Similarly, Metcalf reported a parcel of coins that were all of the christogram type, but there is no way of knowing if this actually represents a complete hoard.[37] After this,

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Dolley and Metcalf, "Reform," 157-58; cf. Spufford, Money, 93.

[36] Karras, in "Bohemian Coinage" 205-10, dismisses the significance of the Cosmas passage and does not consider that there could be unsuccessful attempts at renewal. She prefers to attribute Vladislav's many coin types not to an abusive monetary policy but rather to a minting technicality.

[37] See chapter 3, n. 33 and n. 34 above.

there is a long gap in reported finds. No hoard is know that contains coins of Urraca. While one may eventually come to light, this lacuna should give us pause. These were years of civil war, by all accounts violent and anarchical. Alfonso VII confessed to stealing from Sahagún; Paschal II threatened excommunication to anyone one who plundered church property; and the *Historia Compostelana* bemoans the constant presence of armies in the land who impoverished the people.[38] This was a period which would tend to encourage the interment of coins for safekeeping.

The reign of Alfonso VII is scarcely better represented in finds than the previous. There is one hoard that can be reasonably assigned to the later half of his reign. It contained two types.[39] The one most represented (102 denarii and 2 obols) shows a crowned bust on the obverse with the legend LEONIS CI or CIVIS. The reverse has a cross and the legend INPERATOR. There is nothing

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[38] For Alfonso VII's transgressions against Sahagún, see chapter 6, n. 1 and n. 2 above. For Paschal's bull and the complaints of the *Historia Compostelana*, see HC, book 1, chaps. 89, 95 and 96.

[39] The hoard was described briefly by Luis Inglada Ors in "Monedas inéditas de Alfonso VII de Castilla," BSAA (1948): 129-31. (The synopsis of Inglada's report in Rueda and Sáez, "Hallazgos," no. 31, is slightly inaccurate.)

According to Inglada's testimony, the hoard was quickly dispersed among different museums and private collectors. Several years later, Luis Fernández Rodríguez in "Monedas de León y Castilla: Acuñaciones de Alfonso VII," BSAA 17 (1951): 132-36, published a study of 18 samples of one of the types. One might suspect they were part of the hoard.

inherent in this coin that assigns it to Alfonso VII. But, it does display mint markings, such as a the letter *L* or a crescent moon, which are found on coins of Fernando II and Alfonso VIII. This combined with the imperial title would imply it was one of Alfonso VII's later issues.[40]

The hoard also contained 35 specimens of a coin whose obverse has no legend, but shows two profiled busts facing each other, with a cross on a pedestal rising between them. The reverse has a plain cross encircled by the legend IMPERATOR, though some samples read LEONI CIVI. Again, this coin cannot be absolutely assigned to Alfonso VII, although the type resembles the *ducalis* of Roger II of Sicily struck in 1140.[41] Overall, there seems little

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[40] See catalogue 4, no. 3 below.

[41] Roger II's *ducalis* depicts Roger and his son standing on either side of a cross on steps. There is an English coin issued during the anarchy, assigned to the mint at York, which has a similar motif of two figures standing facing each other with a scepter between. Blackburn suggested the English coin was modeled on the *ducalis* and is meant to portray Stephen and his son Eustace, both dressed in armor. He dated it c.1147-49, since Eustace was knighted around that time. Mack argued that the figure on the right was actually Matilda, and that the coin should date to 1141. (See Blackburn, "Coinage and Currency," 186 and R. P. Mack, "Stephen and the Anarchy, 1135-1154," British Numismatic Journal 35 (1966): 80.)

While the Leonese coin does not display full standing figures but only the busts, it has a curious parallel with the English coin in that the profile on the right seems, depending on the specimen, to be that of a woman. Because of this Campaner y Fuentes in "Restitución," 155-62, proposed that the figures were Alfonso of Aragón and Urraca. Gil Farrés, Historia, 265, suggested that the coin depicted Alfonso VII receiving homage from García IV of Navarre, but this has little to recommend it. The coin gives no sense that one figure is paying homage to the other.

reason to doubt that the two types found in the hoard represent successive issues of the emperor.[42]

For the roughly simultaneous reigns of Alfonso VII's grandsons, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso IX of León, the number of hoard finds increases, albeit slightly. There are now three reported finds pertaining to Alfonso VIII. Two of these, the "Isar" and "Granada" hoards are said to have been comprised of a single type, the coin eventually called the *burgalés* in the documents. The third, the "Otaza" hoard, contained 5,028 examples of the

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In my opinion, the figure on the right is a woman. Considering the date of the *ducalis* and the English piece, it might depict Alfonso's marriage to the Polish princess Rica c.1152. Alternatively, if one insists both figures are men, it may celebrate the knighting of Alfonso's eldest son Sancho in 1152. On these events, see Recuero, Alfonso VII, 191-92. For the coin, see catalogue 4, no. 4 below. For another example of the piece in question see Esteban Collantes Vidal, "Intento de ordenación de las acuñaciones de Alfonso VII," AN 2 (1972): 167-214.

[42] There are a number of other hoards reported in the literature as having contained coins of Alfonso VII. For example, Mateu y Llopis gave notice of a find from Serpa in southern Portugal which he described as containing "dineros of Alfonso VII" alongside unidentified Muslim dirhams. (Mateu y Llopis, "Hallazgos monetarios," part 6, 232 no. 398; cf. Rueda and Saez, "Hallazgos," no. 61.)

More than likely, the type in the Serpa hoard which Mateu assigned to Alfonso VII was a problematic issue whose legend reads ANFVS REX TOLLETA. In other entries of his "Hallazgos monetarios," it is clear that when he came across this type he assigned it to that monarch. It can now be shown, however, from its overall appearance in hoards, that this ANFVS REX TOLLETA did not belong to Alfonso VII. It was almost certainly the *pepión*, struck late in the reign of Alfonso VIII and subsequently immobilized under Fernando III. (See catalogue 5, nos. 18-19 below.) The Serpa hoard and other hoards containing the ANFVS REX coin, therefore, should be assigned a terminus post quem c.1200. See, Todesca, "Rebellion," 35-36.

burgalés and 6 samples of Alfonso's *pepión*.[43] There are also three hoards containing issues of Alfonso IX. One is made up of a single type and the two others are comprised of two types.[44]

While the present body of twelfth century hoards for León-Castile is small, the pattern of one or two types it reveals is all the more striking when compared to finds from the thirteenth and fourteenth century. Beginning in the reign of Alfonso X, the crown resorted to repeated debasement and manipulation of the currency. As each new issue was worse than its predecessor, it became difficult to attract the old coinage back to the mints. This only strained the crown's resources further and fueled a cycle of debasement. The old coin either continued to circulate or was set aside in savings hoards. Hoards interred in the

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[43] Of these three finds, the integrity of the "Granada" hoard is the most open to question. It was a parcel of coins sold in Granada sometime prior to 1973. See Collantes Vidal, "Monedas de Alfonso VIII," 122-35 and his "Notas sobre las acuñaciones de Alfonso X," AN 6 (1976): 147. The "Isar" hoard, consisting of 1600 *burgaleses* takes its name from the town were it was found, a little east of Burgos. See "Hallazgos monetarios," part 16, 179 no. 963. The find location of the Otaza hoard is also known. See Elisa García Retes and José Ignacio San Vicente González de Aspuru, "Tesorillo numismático medieval de Otaza (actualmente aeropuerto de Vitoria-Foronda, Alava)," Estudios de Arqueología Alavesa 12 (1985): 379-404. Cf. Rueda Sabater and Saez, "Hallazgos," nos. 1, 11, 28. On the attribution of the *burgalés* and *pepión*, see Todesca, "Rebellion," 35-6, 42.

[44] See the hoards called "M. Macias" and "Coreses" in Orol, Alfonso IX, 95-106 and the "Segovia" hoard in Rueda and Sáez Sáiz, "Hallazgos," no. 40.

fourteenth century often contain a variety of types spanning back to the reign of Alfonso X.

Long-term savings hoards are unknown for the twelfth century in León. No find contains more than two types, a pattern consistent with what one would expect to find in a kingdom operating under an equitable system of renewal. The scarcity of finds in this period in itself points to the conclusion that the government was capable of calling in old coinage. There is still a wide array of what appear to be twelfth-century types which are not known in any hoard context and are rare today, including all 5 types which bear Urraca' name. Alfonso VII in his three decades on the throne may have all but eradicated his mother's currency.

Conclusions

The rulers of León-Castile attempted recoinages at least from time to time in the course of the twelfth century. This much seems clear. Imposed judiciously, renewal of the coinage replaced worn-down currency and at the same time allowed the crown a profit which served to check the temptation to debase. In this way, after abandoning the *medietate* standard in the early part of the century, the crown seems to have kept its denarius at 4 d. for the remainder of the century. Alfonso VIII of Castile does not appear to have issued his debased pepión until the early 1200s.

Neither the present hoard evidence nor the diplomatic references allows us to detect how often or how regularly such recalls were attempted. The array of surviving types does suggest that attempts at renewal may have been frequent, particularly under Alfonso VII. This is supported by the legislation at Valladolid, which beseeched Alfonso VII to settle on one coin and confirm it for life. In the end, however, the decree was little more than a recommendation. While promulgated by a papal legate, it carried no force of law and was naive (or perhaps bold) in its demand.

It asked Alfonso to give up the income from *mutatio* and swear to maintain one coin for life. But it requested that he do this without asking any price. Alfonso and Hyacinth could hardly have been ignorant of the principle of redemption of coinage. They would have had to look no further than the example of Louis VII of France (who had recently taken Alfonso's daughter as his wife) to know that a ruler might demand compensation for his agreement to not change the coinage, which, after all, was his sovereign right.[45] (An analogous principle allowed a sovereign to

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[45] Recuero, Alfonso VII, 192, places Louis VII's marriage to Alfonso VII's daughter in 1153, but other evidence indicates that Louis made a pilgrimage to Compostela in 1154-55. He seems to have been back in Montpellier by February 1155, the time the Council of Valladolid was convoked. See Vázquez de Parga et al., Peregrinaciones, 1:64.

Bisson, Conservation, 31, noted that when Louis VII consented not to change the money of Étampes and Orléans in

collect shield money in lieu of military service.) Alfonso may well have honored the council of Valladolid's request in the two years that remained to him, but his successors were not so bound. The *moneta* or a *monetagium* tax, therefore, would later emerge as a more practical compromise between king and people to curtail superfluous renewal of the coinage.

In this way, events in León-Castile in the twelfth century seem to parallel developments in England in the preceding century. Under the Anglo-Saxon system of renewal, which Dolley and Metcalf suggest began in 973 the year of King Edgar's (959-75) coronation, the coinage appears to have first been changed at intervals of every six or seven years. During the chaotic decades immediately before the conquest, however, renewals may have been imposed as frequently as every two or three years. William I was apparently willing to renounce these frequent changes of the coinage in return for a *monetagium* levy.[46] This in turn, however, was soon abused. By 1100, Henry I promised in his coronation charter to utterly abolish "the common *monetagium* which was collected through the cities and

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exchange for a tax, "the form of the agreements suggests that the king's prerogative was maintained foremost. The decisions were recorded in charters of grace, not conventions."

[46] Dolley and Metcalf, "Reform," 152, 158; Philip Grierson, "The Monetary System Under William I," in Domesday Book: Studies (London, 1987), 77.

through the counties, which did not exist in King Edward's time."[47]

It is worth noting that when Alfonso IX sold his coinage at Benavente, he agreed not to change it for seven years. While Fernando II in his charter had given no hint of time restraints, the assembly of Benavente clearly deemed this as the minimum time the crown must wait before having the option to change the coin again. There is also evidence to suggests that the *jaccensis* of Aragón as well as the coinage of Portugal were at times governed by a seven-year cycle.[48] This may be the same or close to the same interval that the Anglo-Saxon system of renewal originally operated under.[49]

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[47] The translation is Bisson's in Conservation, 15; cf. William Stubbs, Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History (Oxford, 1913), 118.

[48] Alfonso I's change to a quaternal coin seems to have been c.1128 (see the discussion in chapter 6 above) Ramiro II did not change the *jaccensis* until November 1135, more than a year after becoming king, but 7 years from 1128. Alfonso II's change of the *jaccensis* in 1174, however, was not in keeping with this cycle. Nonethless, in the *cortes* of Huesca in 1221, Jaime I agreed not to mint for 7 years. See Canalles López, Zaragoza, no. 49.

Likewise, Afonso III of Portugal (1248-79) promised c.1254 to make no change in his coin for a period of seven years. [Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Leges et Consuetudines (Liechtenstein, 1967), 1:196-97 nos 4-5, cf. 210-12 no. 9; cf. Todesca, "Monetary History," 147-49.] In thirteenth-century León-Castile, seven years becames the standard time the king was expected to wait between *moneda* levies. See, O'Callaghan, Cortes, 133-35.

[49] Bisson suggested another common factor in the tradition of coin renewal. In Charles the Bald's Edict of Pîtres, the old money was to be brought in by Martinmas (November 11). Bisson pointed out that November resurfaces with "curious frequency" as a time for changing the coinage. Ramiro II of Aragón and Alfonso II of Aragón-

In the end, the case for an effective system of *renovatio* in León-Castile rests largely on circumstantial evidence. The case, nonetheless, is a compelling one and carries an import outside León-Castile. It forces us to reevaluate the degree of sophistication the governments of Western Europe were capable of attaining in monetary matters before the dawn of the more complex currencies of the later medieval period. While England may have had an efficient system of renewal, it was not the only European government capable of accomplishing such maneuvers. As Bisson noted, "recoinage of this sort were probably more usual in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than can be demonstrated from surviving evidence."[50]

Catalonia both changed the money in this month. And the *Chronicle of Saint-Maixent* from Poitou reports that in 1120 "the coins were changed in the month of November." See Bisson, Conservation, 5 n. 2, 7-8; cf. Grierson, "Numismatics and the Historian," ix-x.

[50] Bisson, Conservation, 10-11.

PART FOUR

DIVISION AND ADAPTATION, 1157-1230

NINE

THE DIVISION OF THE REALM AND THE EXPANSION OF MINTING

The emergence of independent Castile following the death of Alfonso VII in 1157 divided the resources of the old realm. The kings of León and Castile, each maintaining their own court and administration, were now forced to compete against one another for bullion to help fund separate drives against Islam as well as to keep pace with the demands of a society increasingly reliant on coin.[1] As result of this pressure, both crowns gradually expanded the number of mints established in the earlier half of the century so as to more effectively supply their realms with denarii.

While mint markings had been used somewhat on the coins of Alfonso VII, in the late twelfth century it became characteristic of both the mints of Castile and León to identify themselves by placing either a letter or symbol on their coins, a system which allowed the crown to more readily monitor the output of its individual mints. By first surveying the marks on the coins and then aligning them with the surviving royal charters that concern episcopal mint revenues, this chapter sketches the development of the new network of mints in the late twelfth

[1] Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 504-5.

century and attempts to show how the selection of these sites was dictated in part by the new political circumstances of the period.

The Early Coins of Castile

Sancho III (1157-58) struck one coin type in the year that he lived to rule as king of Castile. The obverse portrays a bust facing right with the legend TOLETA. The reverse carries a simple cross surrounded by the abbreviated legend SANCI' REX or in some cases SANCIVS REX. Besides this variation in the legend, there are reported examples where a star appears on the obverse, below the chin of the profile.[2] Otherwise, the coins in Sancho's name are remarkably uniform in appearance and it is impossible to tell how many mints they were struck in.

Sancho's untimely death left his infant son Alfonso VIII as successor to the throne of Castile. Since the boy was only about two years old at the time, Sancho's brother, King Fernando II of León was recognized as his guardian. Fernando probably hoped to push his nephew aside and reunite the two realms.[3] A hint of his ambition can

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[2] See catalogue 5, no. 1 below. The attribution of this piece is beyond question. Sancho II of Castile, the brother of Alfonso VI, was assassinated in 1072 and had no claim to Toledo. The coin's absence from later hoards makes it extremely unlikely that it belonged to Sancho IV (1284-95) of Castile-León. In addition, the coin is clearly linked stylistically to the coins of Alfonso VIII's minority.

[3] O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 235-36.

perhaps be seen in a coin he had struck which is unusual for a medieval denarius in the political message it conveys. The obverse depicts a crowned figure standing with arms outstretched, a sword in one hand and what may be a palm in the other. Beside him, to the left, stands a small boy. The legend is a corrupt rendering of the name Alfonso (ANFOVNS) with no royal title.[4] The reverse of the coin carries a modified cross, with the legend FRNANDVS REX. The coin, while portraying Fernando II as protector of his nephew, also seems to emphasize that it was Fernando who actually ruled in Castile. The *Anales toledanos* record that Fernando entered Toledo on August 9, 1162 and between that date and November 1163 his diplomas show him in Castile often. The coin showing him as the protector of Alfonso was most likely struck in these years. After 1163, Fernando was drawn back to León and henceforth appears to have been more concerned with the affairs of his own kingdom.[5]

As with the coin of Sancho III, it is not evident how widely the type portraying Fernando and Alfonso was struck, though it does not appear to have been an extremely small issue. The reverse of Sancho III's coin had a cross with

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[4] See catalogue 5, no. 2 below. The final *S* of the legend appears in the right portion of the field. It is tempting to see this *S* as a mint mark, but this seem unlikely in that the abbreviations ANFONS and ALFONS appear on other coins of the period.

[5] Flórez, "Anales toledanos I," 392; González, Fernando II, 370-77.

two annulets placed inside each quadrant. The coin showing Fernando as Alfonso's protector employed a similar design on the reverse, but the annulets around the cross clearly served as some form of privy mark. Their number and position in the quadrants shift from one example to the next, with at least six varieties known. Whether these were control marks used within one mint or were meant to designate the signatures of different mints is impossible to tell.[6]

Although Fernando was more or less withdrawn from Castile after 1163, these were still times of uncertainty in the new kingdom.[7] Perhaps it was doubt about who would eventually rule Castile that inspired another unusual coin from this period. The obverse reads simply TOLETVM and has a floral cross motif common in the era of Alfonso VII. The reverse motif copies Sancho III's coin (a cross with annulets). Yet, where Sancho's coin carried his name and title on the reverse, the legend on this pieces substitutes the date. It reads ERA MCCIIII, corresponding to A.D. 1166.[8] While anonymous issues were not rare in twelfth-century León, no other denarius is known which carries a date. Inclusion of the year was typical of Islamic coins,

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[6] It perhaps makes most sense that Fernando struck the piece in Palencia, since he reopened the mint there in 1163, but he also occupied Toledo, another mint town.

[7] O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 235-36.

[8] Catalogue 5, no. 3; cf. Alvaro Campaner y Fuertes in "Sobre un dinero de Toledo ERA MCCIV (1166)," Revue Numismatique (1864): 141

whose fields were devoid of symbols and profiles, but is uncharacteristic of Latin coins in general. It may have served no other purpose on this piece than to provide a legend where one would normally expect to find the king's name.

Alfonso VIII reached his majority in 1169, at about the age of thirteen and, in November, convoked his first *curia* in Burgos.[9] By the following September he was married to Leonor, daughter of Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine. Around this same time he was almost certainly made a knight.[10] Perhaps one of the first coins Alfonso issued in his own right is a piece which displays a crowned equestrian on the obverse with no legend. While the type recalls one of the coins of Alfonso VII, here the rider appears to be an adolescent. The reverse carries a cross and the legend TOLETAS, although one obol is known that reads ALFONS' REX.[11] As opposed to the hapless boy in

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[9] "Rex Aldefonsus ibi primum curiam celebraivit." Alfonso VIII, 2:214-16 no. 126.

[10] Leonor appears in the royal charters beginning September of 1170. A document dated April, 1169 giving her as queen is misdated. (Ibid., 2:195-96 no. 114; cf. 253-54 no 148.) Both the young Alfonso II of Aragón and Fernando III of Castile-León were knighted at the time of their marriages. For Alfonso II, see chapter 8 above. For Fernando III, see Todesca, "Monetary History," 152.

[11] Catalogue 5, nos. 5; cf. no. 6. The obol that reads ALFONS REX instead of TOLETAS also has a different type on the reverse. (See catalogue 5, no. 5b.) It is very close to the reverse type of Sancho III's coin and the dated piece of 1166. (It is also similar to the coin issued in the name of Fernando and Alfonso) This obol, therefore, supports the hypothesis that the equestrian issue was early in the reign.

need of protection depicted on the coin of his uncle, this coin seems to emphasize the young king's maturation by depicting him as a mounted warrior.

If this equestrian coin was not Alfonso's first issues after coming of age, it certainly appears to have been one of the more extensive coinages of his early reign judging by the number of privy marks used in its production. Below the horse on the obverse, one finds either a star, the letter *S* or three additional symbols: a crescent (this mark has been described as a chalice or cup in past catalogues), an *O* and finally a group of three dots. The piece is also known with no mark under the horse which gives a total of 6 distinct varieties. Within these varieties, there are further, less apparent markings. On the star variety as well as on the three dot variety, the symbol alternately appears below the horse's body or beneath his muzzle. Other difference within these 6 varieties are mainly changes in the stop marks placed in the reverse legend. Overall, in terms of symbols and other privy marks, Alfonso VIII's equestrian coin is more complex than any other that preceded it in León-Castile.[12]

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[12] The piece in general is reminiscent of the anonymous, equestrian coin assigned to the reign of Alfonso VII, which carried four distinct marks, BV, TO, CA and LE. (See catalogue 4, no. 1) This earlier coin, however, shows no other deliberate variations, such as changes in stop marks. Conversely, Alfonso VI's christogram coin and one of Urraca's early pieces made extensive use of variations in legend stop marks without employing any overt symbols. (See catalogue 2, no. 3-10; catalogue 3, no. 1.)

Mints in Castile

If our analysis of mints under Alfonso VII is correct, after the division of the realm in 1157 the kingdom of Castile should have had active mints at Toledo, Segovia and Burgos with a fourth reopened by Fernando II at Palencia in 1163 during his tenure as Alfonso VIII's guardian. The equestrian coin of Alfonso VIII, however, is known in 6 varieties, distinguished by symbols. If the symbols were mint signatures, they indicate the existence of two additional mint sites.[13] On the other hand, the shifting position of some of the symbols on the equestrian type and the appearance of stops in the legend more than likely represent control marks used within individual mints, and should not be taken as evidence for additional sites.

This hypothesis is borne out by comparing the equestrian type with a second issue of Alfonso VIII, a coin which has a crowned bust on the obverse with the legend ANFVS REX. The reverse carries a castle and the legend CASTELA. Since Alfonso VIII was the only monarch of that name to rule an independent Castile, there is no doubt that this was one of his coins. As we shall see in the following chapter, this type was almost certainly the coin commonly called the *burgalés* which was issued at the very

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[13] There is no documentary evidence stating that the letters and symbol on the coins represented mints until the fifteenth century. See Gil y Flores, "Marcas de taller," 379-96.

end of his reign. It is known with nine distinct symbols, but two of these were probably not employed until the *burgalés* was immobilized in the years after Alfonso VIII's death.[14] Under Alfonso VIII, therefore, it seems that the *burgalés* was struck in seven mints, or only one more than the earlier equestrian issue.

Sigüenza

There are three documents pertaining to the episcopacy of Sigüenza in the twelfth century that mention the right to *moneta*, one purported to be of Alfonso VII and two from the chancery of Alfonso VIII. Of the three, the charter Alfonso VIII issued to Bishop Joscelmo in 1170, the year after the king attained his majority, is perhaps the most trustworthy since it survives as an original with a fragment of the royal seal still attached.[15] In this grant, the king first lists the towns comprising the episcopacy and then "gives and concedes" to the bishop:

> In all the districts of the above-said villages, a tenth part, namely from bread and wine and all tolls and hearths, from the fifth, and from mills and all

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[14] See catalogue 5, nos. 9-17; cf. nos. 7-8. The introduction of the *burgalés* at the end of the reign of Alfonso VIII and its subsequent immobilization is discussed in chapter 10.

[15] Alfonso VIII, 2:232-35 no. 136. Twelfth-century forgeries are known that have authentic seals adroitly attached, but there is no reason to doubt this particular document. Regarding this and the prevalence of forged charters in the twelfth century in general, see C.N.L. Brooke, "Approaches to Medieval Forgery," in Medieval Church and Society (London, 1971), 100-20.

> fines from Christians, Jews or Moors, and from all homicide fines, from tributes (*pecti*) and shield money (*fossaderia*) which shall be levied by law; a tenth also of *monetae* and of all the other things that pertain to the king or to his *merino* or his *alcalde*, which although they are many should be counted individually.[16]

A decade later, in 1181, a second royal charter was drawn up for Joscelmo's successor Arderico. This text closely follows the earlier one. There are only minor, non-substantive differences, perhaps attributable to the fact that the two documents were drawn up by different scribes.[17]

Grassotti argued that these charters were clearly treating revenues collected throughout the dioceses. According to her analysis, *moneta* here could not possibly refer to the profits of a mint but must represent a *monetagium* levy collected in the named villages.[18] The pertinent passage, however, is little different from other royal grants we have seen where *moneta*, i.e., mint profit, is indifferently grouped together with divergent types of income. Furthermore, it can be argued that the text does

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[16] "Et in omnibus aldeis supradictarum villarum, decimam, scilicet, partem panis et vini et totius portatici et ortorum, de quintis et molendinis et de omnibis calumpniis Christianorum, Iudeorum, et Maurorum, et de homicidiis omnibus, de pectis et fossaderiis que per directum fuerint iactate; decimam quoque monetarum, et de ceteris omnibus que ad regem pertinent, vel ad eius merinum sive alcaiadem que multa sunt ut per singula numerentur." Alfonso VIII, 2:232-35 no. 136.

[17] This grant may also survive as an original. Ibid., 2:652-54 no. 376.

[18] Grassotti, "El pueblo," 170-71.

indeed make a distinction, for *moneta* comes at the end and does not necessarily apply to "all the districts of the above-said villages."

The third document pertaining to Sigüenza which mentions *moneta* purports to be a grant of Alfonso VII to Bishop Bernardo of that see done in September of 1139. The text is, in essence, verbatim with Alfonso VIII's charter of 1170 except for one important difference. In the passage listing the various revenues, the charter attributed to Alfonso VII omits the phrase concerning *moneta*. The end of the document, however, reads;

> A tenth also of *monetae* which is not written above because of the forgetfulness of the scribe. This addendum I the emperor Alfonso myself ordered to be written so that I give and concede it to the church of Sigüenza and to Bernardo, bishop of the same church and, by law of inheritance, to his successors, just as with the above-said rights.[19]

Such a casual addendum is odd, particularly for a royal charter, and must throw the integrity of the document into doubt. In addition, the addendum implies that the scribe was following some other text. It seems likely that the document attributed to Alfonso VII is not a genuine act of this king, but was copied from Alfonso VIII's grant with

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[19] "Decimam quoque monetarum que superius propter oblivionem scriptoris non scribitur. Hic inferius egomet imperator Adefonsus scribere mandavi quam sicut et alia supradicta segotine ecclesie et Bernardo ispsius ecclesie episcopo ejusque successoribus jure hereditario dono et concedo." Mingüella, Sigüenza, 1:367-68 no. 27; Grassotti, "El pueblo," 168 n. 27.

the forger inadvertently skipping over the phrase "decimam quoque moneta" and then attempting to correct it at the end.[20]

Until Sigüenza was taken by Urraca and Alfonso VII c.1124, it had been a Muslim stronghold in the no-man's land that lay between Castile and Aragón. Bernardo of Agen, who served as the first bishop of the restored diocese, needed the strong support of the crown to successfully secure the area and there is every reason to suspect that he received it.[21] While it is entirely possible, therefore, that Alfonso VII established a mint in Sigüenza during Bernardo's episcopacy, the evidence is not convincing. It seems more likely that the mint of Sigüenza opened during the reign of Alfonso VIII. His equestrian coin and his *burgalés*, in fact, are the first coins of León-Castile to carry an *S* mark, although in theory this

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[20] One other point supports the possibility that the charter of 1139 is not authentic. It describes the bishop of Sigüenza as holding Carcena. According to another document, however, Bishop Bernardo acquired Carcena in 1140. See Recuero, Alfonso VII, 218.

[21] Bernardo of Agen was the brother of Pedro, bishop of Palencia and nephew to Pedro, bishop of Segovia. The family was part of the French circle recruited by Archbishop Bernardo of Toledo and loyally served the crown. During the preparations for the Sigüenza campaign, Bernardo was serving in the young Alfonso VII's chancery. He drafted the grant to Toledo in November 1123 as well as a grant to Segovia. (García Luján, Toledo, 2:35-37 no. 8; Villar García, Segovia, 53-54 no. 10; cf. chapter 5, n. 87) That he remained on close terms with Alfonso VII is attested by the fact that he was raised to the archbishopric of Compostela in 1151, undoubtedly as the king's candidate. See Fletcher, Episcopate, 57-58.

could have stood for Segovia. If Segovia was represented by *S*, Sigüenza must have been assigned one of the non-letter marks.[22]

Calahorra

In 1170, five days after Alfonso VIII confirmed the rights of the bishop of Sigüenza, he issued a charter to the bishop of Calahorra granting him and his successors perpetual claim to "a tenth of all moneys whatsoever that shall be made in your episcopacy by royal decision."[23] While Alfonso VIII's equestrian issue did not employ *C* as a mark, the later *burgalés* did. Either the mint at Calahorra was represented by one of the non-letter marks on the equestrian issue or perhaps it did not participate in that coinage. Alfonso's stipulation that the bishop should have a tenth of profits of those moneys made in Calahorra "by royal decision" may imply that all mints did not necessarily operate together.[24]

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[22] On the equestrian type, the non-letter symbols were a star, a crescent, three dots and no mark. On the *burgalés*, the non-letter symbols were reduced to a star and a crescent. See the appropriate entries in catalogue 5 below.

[23] "(D)ecimam omnium monetarum quamcumque regum arbitrio in episcopio tuo in sempiternum fabricate fuerint." Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, ed., Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja, vols. 2-3 (Logoño, 1976-79), 3:17-18 no. 240; cf. the slightly different reading in Alfonso VIII, 2:235-36 no. 137.

[24] There is no evidence, to my knowledge, that a mint existed in Calahorra prior to 1170. Cf. Recuero, Alfonso VII, 218.

Osma/Soria

As with Sigüenza, there is diplomatic evidence suggesting that a mint in Soria dates back to the reign of the emperor Alfonso VII. A charter dated 1154 shows Alfonso VII's son Sancho (the future Sancho III of Castile) confirming possessions and rights said to have been granted to the bishop of Osma by Alfonso VII. According to the text, the bishop of Osma held rights in nearby Soria which included a tenth of *moneta*.[25] A second version of the confirmation exists in the name of Alfonso VIII, dated 1174.

Though the two texts are almost identical, there are several notable differences. First, the text assigned to Sancho III emphasizes that it was a confirmation of all properties and rights originally granted to Osma by the emperor Alfonso VII. Alfonso VIII's charter does not contain these lines referring to the emperor, which seems an odd omission. Secondly, and more importantly, the passage which details the property and rights held by Osma in Soria makes more sense in Alfonso VIII's grant than it does in the one assigned to Sancho III.

In the charter of Alfonso VIII, the possessions in Soria are defined as:

> (T)he church of San Pedro of Soria with all its *heredidates* and pertinences; and that dam (*presam*) in the Duero which is below the large bridge in Soria,

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[25] Alfonso VIII, 2:25-28 no. 12.

> including both sides of the river, with its water mills and (other) mills and land and all its pertinences; and a tenth of all tolls and from all labor owed the king, and from tribute (*pecta*), the fifth, shield money, and from all royal revenues, and from *moneta* and from the baths; and the church of the Santa María of Bolmaio, with all its *heredidates* and pertinences; and a tenth from cultivated fields and vines; and that village which is called Gomara, with all its districts.[26]

According to González, the same passage in the grant purported to belong to Sancho III reads, "that church in the Duero (*ecclesiam illam in Dorio*) which is below the large bridge in Soria" instead of "and that dam in the Duero (*et presam illam in Dorio*)."[27] Clearly the Alphonsine text is the way the passage should read. If González did not make a mistake in his transcription of the charter attributed to Sancho III, the document is at best a corrupt copy of an act of that ruler.

There is another odd phase in the grant of Sancho III, however, that makes its authenticity suspect. At the end of the passage regarding Soria, after naming the right to

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26 "(E)cclesiam Sancti Petri de Soria cum omnibus suis hereditatibus et pertinenciis; et presam illam in Dorio que est subtus maiorem pontem in Soria integram ex utraque fluminis parte, cum azeniis et molendinis et solaribus et omnibus suis pertinenciis; et decimam de omni portatico et de omni labore regio, et de pectis et quintis, et fossaderiis, et de omni redditu regio, et de moneta, et de balneis; et ecclesiam Sancte Marie de Bolinaio cum omnibus suis hereditatibus et pertinenciis; et decimam de sernis et vineis; et villam que dicitur Gomera cum omnibus suis terminis." Ibid., 2:347-49 no. 211.

27 For an analogous grant of a dam with its mills, see Alfonso VIII's grant to the archdeacon of Plasencia of "unam pressam in Placentia, in rivo qui dicitur Serit, ... cum molendino et aceniis ibi constructis et construendis." Ibid., 2:850-52 no. 494.

the village of Gomara, the text adds, "and the houses which are in front of the church of San Pedro of Soria."[28] This line does not appear in the charter of Alfonso VIII. Possibly, by Alfonso VIII's time these houses had changed hands or had been destroyed and so were not included in his grant. But in the text assigned to Sancho, the phrase regarding the houses seems glaringly out of place in the overall passage. One would expect to find it after the reference to the church of St. Peter itself, before the text moves on to treat the properties of the church of Bolmaio and those in Gomara. Placed where it is, it seems very much as if the author of the grant attributed to Sancho was copying from the text of Alfonso VIII's grant and added the clause about the houses as an afterthought at the end. This combined with the possible confusion of *ecclesiam* for *et presam* must cast the integrity of the charter of Sancho III in doubt. It may well be a forgery based on the grant of Alfonso VIII. It was perhaps intended to add weight to Osma's claims in these areas by demonstrating that the privileges were originally granted by the emperor, Alfonso VII.

These problems aside, the grant to Osma is unusual in one further respect; it gives the bishop of Osma rights to *moneta* in another town, i.e., Soria. There can be no mistaking that *moneta* here applies to mint revenues and not

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[28] Ibid., 2:25-28 no 12.

the collection of *monetagium*. The charter goes on to define Osma's possessions and rights throughout the diocese, including in Osma itself, in Gormaz and in Berlanga. Two revenues are not mentioned again outside Soria, income from *moneta* and income from the public baths. These were operations peculiar only to that town.

Why was the mint located in Soria and not in Osma, the seat of the bishopric, as was the norm? Soria was said to have protected the young Alfonso VIII during the years of his minority and perhaps the king established a mint there as reward for the town's loyalty.[29] In addition, Soria was closer to the border of Navarre and Aragón than Osma and thus may have been better placed to intercept foreign coin entering the kingdom. Regardless of the mint's location, however, the bishop of Osma was allotted a share of the revenue and it was his mark that appeared on the coin. On both the equestrian coin and the *burgalés*, *O* was used as a symbol.[30]

Avila and Plasencia

In 1176, Alfonso granted the bishop of Avila "an entire third of all the royal revenues in Avila," including

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[29] It is tempting to see the dam and water-mills on the Duero in Soria as somehow making it a logical mint site, but hydraulic power was not a prerequisite for striking coin.

[30] Domingo Figuerola, "Privilegios," 216, suggested that the mint was actually transferred from Soria to Osma, but this does not seem warranted by the documentation.

that "from *moneta*."[31] This is the first notice in the sources to *moneta* in Avila.[32] That the grant referred to mint profits is made clear by the appearance of an *A* on the *burgalés*, though the earlier equestrian coin carries no such mark. The possibility of a mint in the town of Plasencia is more complex.

In the late 1180s, Alfonso VIII promoted settlement of the area to the southwest of Avila, on the other side of the Sierra de Gredos. A royal grant of 1186 was recorded as done in "the city of Ambrosia, in the days of the founding of that same city."[33] Ambrosia would become the town of Plasencia. It was a bold settlement on the king of Castile's part for the town was not only close to Muslim-occupied territory (the Almohads had just taken nearby

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[31] "(T)erciam partem integram de omnibus regalibus Avile redditibus...de monetis." Alfonso VIII, 2:400-401 no. 241.

[32] In 1142, Alfonso VII appears to have given the bishop of Avila a third of the profits from the royal mills in the town, which Alfonso VIII makes special note of in his charter. In 1144, Alfonso VII gave the bishop a tenth of all his other "redditum" in the diocese. He listed many of the same revenues as Alfonso VIII, but did not mention *moneta*. Alfonso VIII's grant of a full-third may have been inspired by a dubious, undated charter of Alfonso VII which claims to give the see a full third of all revenues. This also does not mention *moneta*. For Alfonso VII's grants of 1142 and 1144, see Barrios García, Avila, 4-7 nos. 4-5. For Alfosno VII's undated grant of a third, see Angel Barrios García, La catedral de Avila en la edad media: Estructura sociojurídica y económica (Avila, 1973), 101-102.

[33] Alfonso VIII, 2:778-779 no. 454.

Cáceres in 1184), it was also in a corner of the frontier already contested by León and Portugal.[34]

Much like Avila and Zamora had been placed under the direction of the bishop of Salamanca when they were still barely populated in the early part of the century, the new diocese of Plasencia was now put under the care of the bishop of Avila.[35] A charter of Alfonso VIII, dated January 1187, awarded the bishop of Avila the right to a third of all royal revenues in Plasencia. The text is by and large a verbatim copy of the charter of 1176 by which Alfonso had given Avila a third of royal revenue in Avila. Following that older text, the charter of 1187 lists *moneta* as one of the revenues the bishop of Avila could expect from Plasencia.[36] Can this be taken as proof that a new mint was opened in the frontier town or was *moneta* somehow inadvertently copied into the grant?

Trouble over the bishop of Avila's rights in Plasencia, in particular his financial claims, flared up almost immediately. By June of 1188, Clement III addressed a letter to the archdeacon, clergy and people of Plasencia saying that the bishop of Avila had brought it to his attention that Plasencia had failed to give the bishop his episcopal dues. Clement ordered that they make full

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[34] Fletcher, Episcopate, 34.

[35] See, in general, Barrios García, Avila, 26-30 nos. 29-35.

[36] Alfonso VIII, 2:795-97 no. 464

payment to Avila and henceforth obey their bishop.[37] Two years later, in 1190, the dispute was still not settled and Clement directed the bishops of Burgos and Oviedo to intervene. In this later letter, Clement corroborates the fact that Avila was due a third of royal revenue in Plasencia. Though he does not specifically list these revenues, he gives some further insight into the arrangement, explaining that much of the colonization of Plasencia had been undertaken by people from the see of Avila and that as long as the bishop of Avila was alive he would exercise full power there.[38] Perhaps, then, a mint was opened in Plasencia with moneyers from Avila or perhaps it was transferred altogether from Avila to Plasencia. Some years later, Alfonso IX of León would make a very similar decision regarding his mint at Ciudad Rodrigo.[39]

To the extent that the Crown of Castile had an overall minting strategy, a site in Plasencia made sense. The mints at Calahorra, Soria and Sigüenza were placed in what seems like a deliberate line running north to south along Castile's border with Navarre and Aragón. These sites may have been chosen in an attempt to help intercept foreign coin as it crossed the border. Calahorra, in particular,

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[37] Barrios García, Avila, 27 no. 31.

[38] Ibid., 28-29 no.34. The archdeacon of Plasencia, Pedro, was in fact a former member of the Bishop of Avila's community. Alfonso, in a grant of 1188 calls him "Placentino archdiacono et archipresbitero Abulensi." Alfonso VIII, 850-52 no. 494.

[39] See the section on Ciudad Rodrigo below.

was in the heart of territory contested by the king of Navarre and very near the Navarrese town of Tudela, which may have still had an active mint. Private charters from the district of Calahorra occasionally hint that Castilian and Navarrese denarii competed side by side.[40] In the same way, Plasencia in the southwest was close to the borders of León, Portugal and Almohad Andalusia.

Avila's claim to minting profits in Plasencia, therefore, appears to be the second instance where a bishop enjoyed such revenue outside the seat of his bishopric. If Plasencia and Avila minted simultaneously, they may have both used the mark of *A*. There is no evidence that Plasencia retained its mint privileges after receiving its

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[40] For the money of Tudela, see three purchases made by the Templars c.1146-47 in "solidos tutelane monete." (Ubieto, "Documentos," part 1, 119-21 nos. 6-8.) It is not clear whether the Tudela mint continued in the late twelfth century, but there are signs that Navarrese coin circulated within in Calahorra. A private purchase of 1199 was paid in "solidos de bonos dineros sangetes," money of Sancho VI (1154-94) or Sancho VII (1194-1234) of Navarre. An undated cartulary document records a purchase in "solidos alfonsinis," presumably indicating money of Castile. Finally, in 1211, houses were let in the town of Alfaro, midway between Calahorra and Tudela, for a yearly rent in "solidos de dineros de qualque moneda fuere firmada en Alfaro." See Rodríguez de Lama, Rioja, 3:161 no. 381, 167 no. 390, 228 no. 452.

During Alfonso VIII's time, the frontier with Navarre was anything but peaceful, which would have contributed to the mixed circulation. See Celestine III's letter of 1192 to the bishop of Calahorra regarding the wars that plagued his diocese (Rodríguez de Lama, Rioja, 3:103-104, no. 323).

own bishop, which occurred by 1217.[41] Avila, however, continued as a mint town into the fifteenth century.[42]

Cuenca

Cuenca lies almost exactly as far south as Plasencia, but in the eastern region of the peninsula. The town, occupied by Almohad forces, fell to Alfonso VIII in 1177 after a long siege. By 1182, Lucius III recognized the diocese of Cuenca and the election of its first bishop, Juan. It is often assumed that Alfonso VIII had established a mint in the town soon after the conquest.[43] The root of this belief lies in confusion over one of the symbols used on his equestrian coin.

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[41] For the bishop of Plasencia, see Barrios García, Avila, 48, no. 53. Domingo Figuerola, "Privilegios," 217-18, insisted that he found an example of a *burgalés* in the collection of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional that unmistakably had the letter *P*. He preferred to give it to Palencia, believing Plasencia probably signed with an *A*. I have examined all the *burgaleses* in the collection and found no such coin. There are, however, coins where the *B* of the Burgos mint looks like a *P* or a *D*.

[42] The *A* mark appears on coins of Alfonso X and later reigns, though by that time it is hard to distinguish it from the *M* of Murcia. (The *N*, *H* and *II* marks that are often reported on the coins of Alfonso X are mostly likely poorly struck *A*s or *M*s.) See Todesca, "Monetary History," 198-99. See also Anna M. Balaguer, "Carta de concesión de los derechos de la casa de moneda de Avila a la princesa Isabel (1468)," Numisma 28 (1978): 519-29.

[43] See Clementino Sanz y Díaz, Reseña cronologica de algunos documentos conservados en el archivo de la catedral de Cuenca (Cuenca, 1965), 5 no. 1. See also Julio González, "Repoblación de la tierras de Cuenca," in Cuenca y su territorio en la edad media: Actas del I simpósio internacional de historia de Cuenca (Madrid, 1982), 191.

By the late thirteenth century, Cuenca does appear to have had a mint. On some of the coins of Alfonso X, a cup was used as a mint mark, which seems a clear allusion to that town's name. This cup of Cuenca was normally depicted as a bowl with a base attached, making it look like a chalice.[44] In cataloguing the collection of Vidal Quadras, Pedrals y Moliné described one of Alfonso VIII's equestrian coins as having a chalice underneath the horse and assumed that this was evidence for a mint in Cuenca during Alfonso VIII's reign. Inexplicably, he never illustrated the coin though such a mark on this type was otherwise unknown. To this day, the collection of Vidal Quadras remains unavailable for study and, to my knowledge, Pedrals' description of the mark has not been verified.[45]

It seems far more likely that what Pedrals took for a chalice on the equestrian coin was in fact a crescent. A

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[44] The cup symbol is plainly evident on the MONETA CASTELLE coin which was issued late in the reign of Alfonso X, probably by his son Sancho. The MAN collection has a number of clear examples (MAN 106.1.24 and 28). The symbol continued to be used into the late fifteenth century, when Enrique IV (1454-74) ordered that all his mints use the "letter of the city where they are made" with the exception of Segovia which used a bridge (i.e. the aqueduct) and Coruña which used a scallop shell. See the ordinance of 1471 in Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Castilla, 3:814; Gil y Flores, "Marcas de taller," 381.

[45] See Pedrals y Moliné, Catálogo de Vidal Quadras, no. 5365. It should be emphasized that the drawing in Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 26 no. 131 showing a chalice on the equestrian coin is not based on the actual piece from the Vidal Quadras collection. This is evident by the inclusion of a question mark beside the catalogue entry.

crescent appears on earlier coins of Alfonso VII and was used on a second equestrian type which probably dates to Alfonso VIII's reign.[46] Most importantly, for the *burgalés* there is no variety known that is marked by a chalice, but there is a variety with a crescent. This crescent on the *burgalés* can hardly be confused for a cup for it is placed on its end like a retrograde C or a moon.[47] Which of Alfonso's mints used the crescent cannot be determined, but there is no reason to assign it to Cuenca.

With a mint in Plasencia in the southwest corner of the kingdom, if Alfonso VIII also established another at Cuenca in the southeast it would add to the supposition that the king had some sense of an overall strategy in his placement of mints. As attractive as the proposition of mint in Cuenca during his reign may be, however, there is no evidence for it. Perhaps most telling of all is the charter Alfonso granted in 1195 to Bishop Juan of Cuenca. He endowed the see with a tenth of all royal rents in Cuenca and other districts, but the list of revenues did not include *moneta*.[48]

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[46] For this related equestrian coin, see catalogue 5, no. 6 below. For the use of the crescent under Alfonso VII, see catalogue 4, no. 3a.

[47] Catlogue 5, no. 10.

[48] Alfonso VIII, 3:147-49 no. 647; cf. Figuerola, "Privilegios," 215.

María Emma Espoille de Roiz, "Repoblación de la tierra de Cuenca, siglos xii-xvi," in Cuenca y su territorio el la edad media: Actas del I simposio internacional de historia de Cuenca (Madrid, 1982) 205, asserted that Cuenca was so important that Alfonso "establece en el su corte y donde

In terms of the more established Castilian mints, we know that Alfonso VIII confirmed both the bishop of Segovia's mint right as well that of the archbishop of Toledo.[49] The documents of his reign are silent regarding the mint at Burgos, but the fact that one of his issues was called the *burgalés* is testament enough that it continued. In addition, the *burgalés* also used the letter *B* as one of its marks. The fate of the mint at Palencia remains uncertain. Fernando II clearly intended that the mint open in 1163, for he affirmed that his uncle, Bishop Ramón, was entitled to a third of the profits. While it seems unlikely that Alfonso VIII would revoke this privilege from his great-uncle, who served him loyally both during the minority and afterwards, there is nothing to confirm that a mint continued to operate there.[50]

The diplomatic record, therefore, points to a minimum of seven mints in Castile under Alfonso VIII at Sigüenza, Calahorra, Soria, Segovia, Toledo, Burgos and Avila-

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permanecerá diez años hasta consolidar su conquista." If this were true, a royal mint in the town would seem almost inevitable, but Alfonso's itinerary in the charters does not support such a conclusion.

[49] See the sections on Segovia and Toledo in chapter 7 above.

[50] There is a charter of 1179 that points to discord between Ramón and the townsmen of Palencia during the troubles of Alfonso VIII's minority. Perhaps, town unrest had shut the mint down. Or perhaps it vanished with Ramón's death in 1184. Abajo Martín, Palencia, 167-69 no. 85; Alfonso VIII, 2:547-49 no 327; cf. Lomax, "Don Ramón," 281.

Plasencia. If we accept that Avila and Plasencia minted simultaneously under one signature and that the mint at Palencia also continued to operate, the maximum number of sites during the reign rises to nine. These numbers align well with the testimony of the coins. Alfonso VIII's equestrian type is known with six basic marks and the *burgalés* with seven.[51].

Overall, the mint locations that emerge during Alfonso VIII's rule do not seem haphazardly placed. The older mints at Burgos, Segovia and Toledo formed an axis running north to south down the center of the kingdom. To the east, Calahorra, Soria, and Sigüenza formed another line from north to south along Castile's border with Navarre and Aragón. In the southwest, where Castile met León and Andalusia, there was a mint at Plasencia and possibly another further north at Avila. Finally, more towards the northwest along the interior border with León, the mint of Palencia may have still operated. These locations, then, seem well spaced both to allow the native populace access and also to expedite the exchange of foreign coin for coinage of the realm along the kingdom's borders.

The Denarius in León, 1157-1230

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[51] This excludes the *E* and *L* mark on the *burgalés*, which I have assigned to the immobilzed phase of the coin after Alfonso's death.

Denarii that can be assigned to Fernando II of León are extremely rare today. The type struck jointly with his nephew Alfonso VIII is the most plentiful. The combined collection of the Hispanic Society of America and the American Numismatic Society contains only a single example of another type -- a denarius which in design resembles the gold morabetino struck later by his son Alfonso IX.[52] In addition, the trays of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional contain 1 badly worn sample of a third type reading FERNANDVS LEO CIVITAS REX.[53] Finally, there are 2 types in the name of Fernando reported in Heiss which can be assigned to Fernando II in that they foreshadow types used on the billon denarii of his son, Alfonso IX. While the collection of Vidal Quadras was said to contain an example of 1 of these 2 types, no others have been published.[54] The scarcity of Fernando's coins in general supports the hypothesis that during the forty-two year reign of his son older issues were effectively called in.

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[52] Orol Pernas also published an example of this piece. See catalogue 6, no. 1 below.

[53] Catalogue 6, no. 2. To my knowledge, this coin in the MAN has not been published and I know of no other reference to this particular type. While it most likely belongs to Fernando II, there is nothing that prevents it from being assigned one hundred years earlier to Fernando I.

[54] Catalogue 6, nos. 3-4. Besides the fact that the 2 types reported by Heiss are not in the HSA/ANS and MAN collections, their rarity can be gauged from Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 19-20 nos. 86, 87, and 91, who report no examples of these types in private collections.

Alfonso IX may have struck as many as 6 distinct billon types, but 2 stand out as the largest issues. They are the only types of his that carry extensive mint markings. One of these (hereafter Alfonso IX type 1) reads ILDEFONS' REX on the obverse with a cross in the field. The reverse has no legend, only a motif consisting of two lions with a floral cross rising between them. The intricacies of the lions and the branches of the cross make for a complicated design which is often poorly executed. As a result, the marks placed in the upper portion of the field are hard to decipher. Nonetheless, within type 1 there appears to have been 3 to 5 basic varieties struck. They are distinguished by the marks of a star, a crescent, an annulet, and possibly a solid dot and a scallop shell.[55]

The second major type (hereafter Alfonso IX type 2) reads ANFONS REX on the obverse and displays a cross adorned with a scallop shell in each quadrant. The reverse depicts a lion facing right with the legend LEO beneath. Type 2 is known in approximately 14 varieties which can be divided into two subgroups. Those belonging to the first group all carry a symbol to the right of the lion (and at

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[55] For a breakdown of the 6 possible types struck by Alfonso IX, see Todesca, "Rebellion," 35 n. 20. For the coin which I have presently labeled Alfonso IX type 1, see catalogue 6, no. 6 below. As an example of the difficulty in reading the marks on Alfonso IX type 1, see Orol's analysis of the "Coreses" hoard. It contained 199 samples of this type, but Orol catalogued the marks of only 93 of them, leaving 106 as unreadable. Orol, Alfonso IX, 96

times above his back). These symbols are close to those used on type 1. They are a star, a crescent, a dot, a scallop shell, and a cross. The absence of any symbol may also have served as a mark, making a total of 6 varieties. Members of the second group within type 2 use letters as marks instead of symbols. There seem to be as many as eight - - *C*, *Ç*, *E*, *L*, *O*, *R*, *$* (*S* with *I* superimposed), and *A*.[56]

Alfonso IX types 1 and 2 are the only coins of that ruler known in the context of hoards. The "Coreses" hoard consisted of 199 samples of type 1 and 818 of type 2 (with both subgroups of type 2 represented). The hoard called "Segovia" is also thought to have contained only these 2 types. Types 1 and 2, then, were clearly successive issues.[57] There is good reason to believe that they were Alfonso IX's last issues and were subsequently immobilized by Fernando III when he reunited León to Castile in 1230. Later, when Sancho IV (1284-95) sought to restore the old denarii from the days of Fernando III, it was these two types of Alfonso IX that he imitated.[58] Since these 2 types are both known with a variety of marking, they are

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[56] See catalogue 6, no. 7 below.

[57] Two other hoards, the "M. Macias" hoard and a small find from Burgos consisted of examples of type 2 with no other types. For "M. Macias" and "Coreses" see Orol, Alfonso IX, 95-106. For "Segovia," see Rueda and Sáez Sáiz, "Hallazgos," no. 40. For the find at Burgos, see "Hallazgos monetarios" pt 16, 177 no. 946.

[58] See Todesca, "Rebellion," 40-41.

useful in helping to determine the mint network established in León after the loss of Castile in 1157.

New Mints in León

At the division of the realm in 1157, the kingdom of León had mints in León, Salamanca, Santiago, and most likely Zamora. How many of these Fernando II kept active is hard to tell given the dearth of surviving coin in his name. He affirmed the bishop of Salamanca's right to a third of *moneta* in 1167 and by 1186 had begun to strike gold there as well. Documentary evidence from the reign of his son, Alfonso IX, seems to attest to the continuity of minting at Zamora as well.[59] We hear nothing specific in the written sources about the mint at León, but it seems improbable that it would have been closed. One of Alfonso IX's denarii and possibly one of Fernando II's coins carried a mark of *L*.[60]

In addition, Fernando appears to have reopened a mint at Lugo within a year of his father's death, an action which may have been tied to a quarrel with the Archbishop of Santiago. When he later restored full minting rights to Santiago in 1171 it is not certain if Lugo continued to mint. Finally, there is clear evidence that he founded a new mint on the southern frontier of the kingdom at Ciudad

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[59] For the documentary evidence relating to Salamanca and Zamora, see the appropriate section in chapter 7 above.

[60] See catalogue 6, nos. 4 and 7h below.

Rodrigo.[61] It is possible, then, that there were as many as six mints active during his rule, though this cannot be corroborated by the small number of surviving coins which carry few mint marks.

Alfonso IX type 1 was issued with as many as five different marks. All the known marks on type 1 are symbols; single letters do not seem to have been used. Alfonso IX type 2, however, was struck with approximately fourteen different marks. Six of these marks were symbols and eight were letters. Rather than contending that Alfonso IX type 2 was produced in some fourteen different mints, it is more probable that the two subgroups represent successive issues within the same type. A logical sequence, then, is that type 1 was struck first using symbols as mint marks, followed by type 2a which retained, more or less, the same symbols, followed finally by type 2b on which the mints converted to a system of letters. If this is so, then Alfonso was striking at approximately eight mints by the time of his death.

Santiago and La Coruña

There are more royal documents touching on the mint at Santiago de Compostela in the twelfth century than any other, testifying that the see's claim to full *moneta* was a continual source of tension with the crown. Fernando II's

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[61] For Lugo and Santiago, see chapter 7 above. The mint at Ciudad Rodrigo is discussed below.

grant of 1182 had allowed Santiago to ignore royal mutations of coinage but had confined the circulation of Santiago's coin to within the borders of the archdiocese.[62] In 1188, the first year of his reign, Alfonso IX confirmed the privileges of Compostela and included its right to "the entire money of the city of Compostela."[63] In a charter of 1194, he succinctly summed up the history of the mint to date. He confirmed the right of the bishop and chapter to

> the money of your city and the entire land of St. James, which your predecessors had held for a long time by an old concession of my great grandfather and which my glorious father the lord king Fernando afterwards restored to you and your church. And so that you and the church of Compostela as well as your successors shall hold this forever with all liberty and without any difficulty or impediment, I concede to you ... the freedom of your officials whom you select to make the dies of your money.[64]

Alfonso's reference to the "money of the city and of the entire land of St. James" recognized that within the boundaries of the diocese, the see enjoyed complete freedom over its coinage. This may have been his last recognition

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[62] The charter of 1182 is discussed in chapter 8 above.

[63] Alfonso IX, 2:12-15 no. 5.

[64] Ibid., 2:122-24 no. 82. This charter of 1194 is copied in the cartulary of Santiago known as *Tumbo B*. The same cartulary contains a document, dated June 1193, in which Alfonso IX is said to grant the see of Compostela the right to mint gold (104-105 no. 69; cf. Santiago, 5: appendix, 13-14 no 4). The veracity of this privilege of 1193 concerning gold, however, seems doubtful. Alfonso IX does not mention gold coinage in his subsequent confirmation of Santiago's rights in 1194 (despite González's notation to the contrary) and the only morabetinos known of Alfonso IX display the Roman bridge of Salamanca on the reverse.

of such a privilege. An undated mandate of Alfonso addressed to "all of Galicia" indicates that at some point his policy changed:

> I firmly and openly command that all shall receive my current money just as you would at any time receive a better one. And he who shall hence do otherwise, shall forfeit himself and all his possessions to me. And I command that my man who carries this mandate of mine, along with the man of the archbishop, should seize the offender, deprive him (of his belongings) and in this way bring him before me.[65]

Alfonso may have been insisting that his coin be accepted in Galicia alongside the independent coin of Santiago. More likely, he was demanding that his coin be the only coin in Galicia. Significantly, when Alfonso sold his coinage at Benavente in 1202, everyone in the kingdom was expected to pay. This would further imply that the immunity of the mint at Santiago from royal control had been revoked. By the time of the production of Alfonso IX type 2b, which we have suggested was the last issue of the reign, the Santiago mint participated as just another royal mint. The mark of $ on type 2b clearly stood for *Sanctus Iacobus*. In addition, a new mint at the near-by port of La Coruña may have already been infringing upon the prosperity

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[65] "Mando vobis firmiter et incauto quod toti recipiatis istam meam monetam que modo curret sicut unquam eam melius recepistis. Et qui inde aliud fecerit, firfectosus meus erit de corpore et de quanto habuerit. Et nado isti homini meo qui levat istas maes litteras, quod cum homine archiepicopi prendta ei corpus et recabdet ei corpus quomodo appareat ante me." Alfonso IX, 2:733 no. 653.

of the Santiago mint and eventually would supplant it entirely.

In the early thirteenth century, Alfonso IX was working to bring life to the port of La Coruña, located slightly to the north of Compostela. In 1208, he granted the church of Santiago 100 marks annually from the *portazgo* of La Coruña along with churches and other property in compensation for the people Santiago had lost in re-populating the port.[66] When exactly a mint was opened in La Coruña is difficult to determine. We know that by the time of Enrique IV's ordinance of 1471, La Coruña was a mint town using the scallop shell as it mark.[67]

The scallop shell appears as a mark on Alfonso IX type 2a and was possibly used as a mark on Alfonso IX type 1 as well. Since it is the traditional symbol of the pilgrim, the scallop shell on these issues may have denoted the mint at Santiago itself. By the time of Alfonso IX type 2b, however, when the symbols had given way to letters, we find the marks of *$* and *C*. Orol was probably correct in suggesting that *C* here stood for La Coruña.[68] If this is true, it would indicate that both Santiago and La Coruña participated in this issue. Either they operated simultaneously, or possibly during the production of type

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[66] Alfonso IX, 2:318-320 no. 231; cf. 320-23 nos. 232 and 234.

[67] Gil y Flores, "Marcas de taller," 381.

[68] Orol, Alfonso IX, 43.

2b Alfonso shut down the mint at Compostela and allowed La Coruña to strike using the new mark of *C*.

Abolishing the mint at Santiago was long overdue. It had been nothing but trouble to the crown since Alfonso VI allowed Diego Gelmírez to brow beat him into granting the see full lordship. If the mint there was not shut down during Alfonso IX' s lifetime, it almost certainly closed at some point in the course of the thirteenth century and La Coruña was eventually assigned the symbol of the scallop shell.[69]

Ciudad Rodrigo

The territory of Ciudad Rodrigo appears to have been controlled by the church of Salamanca from 1135 until 1161. In 1161, Fernando II sought to establish it as an independent bishopric under the archdiocese of Santiago. According to his charter addressed to Santiago that year, the king desired that the new bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo enjoy the same share of royal revenues in the new diocese as Salamanca enjoyed in its own diocese.[70] Though the percentage of the share is here unnamed, Salamanca had long been entitled to a third of royal income. In a charter of 1168, Fernando referred generally to the bishop of Ciudad

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[69] For the scallop shell on issues of the later-thirteenth century, see Todesca, "Monetary History," 198-203. See also Antonio Orol Pernas, "Ordenación cronológica de las acuñaciones coruñesas de Alfonso XI," Numisma (1972), 359.

[70] Santiago, 4:appendix, 78-80 no. 30.

Rodrigo's right to a third of "*pecta* as well as *pedagio* and all fines and all other revenues and the fifth."[71] Several years later, in 1175, Alexander III recognized the new see of Ciudad Rodrigo and mentioned that the bishop had received, by grant of Fernando, the right to a third of all royal *hereditates* and revenues, including *moneta*.[72] A later act of Alfonso IX reveals that this reference to *moneta* was indeed to mint revenues. It is not clear, however, if the mint at Ciudad Rodrigo remained open or if it was shut down when Alfonso IX opened a mint at near-by Castell Rodrigo.

Castell Rodrigo

In 1209, around the time he was working to build up La Coruña, Alfonso IX also settled an area along the Portuguese frontier which was called Castell Rodrigo. In a charter of that year he defined the extent of the new district. Bordered by the rivers Duero to the north, Coa to the west and Turrones and Agueda in the east, the

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71 "(T)am de petitio quam de pedagio, tam de calumpniis vel de aliis omnibus redditibus et de quintis." González, Fernando II, 402.

72 "Ex donatione predicti regis: tertiam partem portatici, tertiam partem de quintis, terciam partem monetae et tertiam partem omnium hereditatum et redditum." Sahagún, 4:350-352 no. 1382. See also Fletcher, Episcopate, 34-37.

settlement lay to the northwest of Ciudad Rodrigo.[73] In 1212, Alfonso conceded to Bishop Martín of Ciudad Rodrigo:

> A third part of the tolls of that settlement which was newly made in Castell Rodrigo, and a third part of the fifth (*quintis*) and a third part of *moneta* when it shall be made there. All this I give to you and your church so that you shall hold what is written here just as in Ciudad Rodrigo.[74]

Alfonso's charter states unequivocally that money was to be struck in the new settlement.[75] By inference, it also confirms that a mint had existed in Ciudad Rodrigo before this time. As with the case of Avila and Plasencia in Castile, it is impossible to tell if Alfonso IX's intention was to transfer the mint from the episcopal seat at Ciudad Rodrigo to the new settlement of Castell Rodrigo or to allow a mint in each local. If the later was the case, both mints may have operated under the *R* mark that appears on Alfonso's type 2b.

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[73] Alfonso IX, 2:347-48 no 254. See also Alfonso's exchange of land with the military order of San Julián del Pereiro that same month so as to establish Castell Rodrigo. (346-47 no.253) On the Order of San Julián, see further Joseph F. O'Callaghan, "The Foundation of the Order of Alcantara, 1176-1218," The Catholic Historical Review 47 (1962): 471-86.

[74] "(T)ertiam partem portatici de illa populatione quam de novo feci in Castello Roderici, et tertima partem de quintis et tertiam partem de moneta quand illam ibi fecerint. Omnia haec do vobis et eccesiae veste sicut supradictum est, sicut illa habetis in Civitate Roderici." Alfonso IX, 2:352-53 no. 258.

[75] Both Grassotti and Orol misread the charter as Alfonso confirming mint rights in Ciudad Rodrigo itself. See Grassotti, "El pueblo," 166; Orol, Alfonso IX, 125-26 no. 5.

Oviedo

One spurious document from the late eleventh century which refers to mencales of "auro obetensis" has inspired the theory that a mint may have existed in Oviedo since the time of Alfonso VI.[76] Despite the fact that Oviedo had traditionally been a favored royal residence of the Leonese kings, and that Bishop Pelayo of Oviedo was a staunch ally of Alfonso VI and his daughter Urraca, there is no other diplomatic evidence pointing to the existence of a mint there in the early twelfth century. Alfonso IX type 2, however, does carry a mark of *O* and it is certainly possible that this monarch chose to establish a mint in that city.[77]

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[76] The will of Count Pedro Ansúrez survives in the *Tumbo* of the cathedral of León, which was redacted c.1124. This cartulary copy list among the count's donations 300 "metkales de auro obetensis monete." (ACL, 4:557-59 no. 1262.) This sole reference led to speculation that Alfonso VI may have minted gold dinars at Oviedo. See J.A. Serrano Redonnet, "Ovetensis Monete," CHE (1944), 156-89; Anna M. Balaguer, "La moneda de Oviedo: Oro o vellon?" in Primera reunion hispano-portuguesa (Aviles, 1983), 61-66. While it is not preposterous that Alfonso VI struck gold, it seems best to ascribe this oddity to a scribal error. The original was perhaps "metkales de auro *obtimo* monete." Indeed, for confirming Pedro's testament, the same document records that Alfonso VI received a "vas aureum obtimum."

[77] Orol, Alfonso IX, 52-55. Benjamín García Alvarez, "Los dineros de vellón de Alfonso IX con la ceca O. ¿Son de Oviedo?" Numisma 34 (1984): 291-94 and Enrique Cepa del Valle, "Acuñación de moneda en Asturias durante la edad media," Numisma 34 (1984): 295-307, both published additional examples of Alfonso IX type 2 with an *O* mark, but add little to Orol's catalogue.

Orense and Astorga

In his analysis of the "Coreses" hoard, Orol found 5 examples of Alfonso IX type 2 which appear to have the letter *A* for a mark. He proposed that the letter stood for either Astorga or Orense (*Auria*), both episcopal sees. While there is no diplomatic evidence to support the existence of a mint in either town, Orol's explanation of the *A* mark is not unreasonable. Of the two towns, Orense, on the border with Portugal, may have been the more likely cite for a mint. The see was a suffragan of Braga in Portugal and the kings of León therefore strove to insure that men elected as bishop of Orense were allies of their cause. Besides the predilection for placing mints near the border, if the Crown of León allowed a mint in Orense and shared the profit with the local bishop, it may have helped insure his continued loyalty.[78]

Based on the existing royal documents, we have arrived at likely attributions for five of the eight letters that appear on Alfonso IX type 2b --*$* clearly stood for Santiago, *C* probably stood for La Coruña, *R* was either Ciudad Rodrigo or Castell Rodrigo or perhaps both, *O* may have indicated Oviedo and *A* most likely was the mark of Orense (*Auria*). Of these five mints, Santiago may be the only one that dates back to before the division of the

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[78] Orol, Alfonso IX, 43-44, 96. For the development of both bishoprics, see Fletcher, Episcopate, 45-50.

realm in 1157. The remaining three letter marks on Alfonso IX type 2b, *Ç*, *E*, and *L*, probably stood for the other more established mints of the kingdom of León. The Ç mark should logically be assigned to Zamora, which we know operated under Alfonso IX but seems to have been established during the reign of Alfonso VII. Orol's proposal that *E* (for Extremadura) designated the Salamanca mint again seems sound. Salamanca struck gold morabetinos for Alfonso IX and we can safely assume that it also struck billon through his reign. The *L* mark Orol interpreted as Lugo, but reason dictates that it be assigned to the town of León. The Lugo mint probably had not survived the reign of Fernando II.[79]

In the later twelfth century, both the crowns of León and Castile appear to have chosen the location of their new mints with a more deliberate sense of purpose than had been typical of royal policy in the past. Before the separation of the realm in 1157, Alfonso VI, Urraca and Alfonso VII had been content to establish their mints in episcopal towns. This policy made sense in that the seat of the

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[79] See Orol, Alfonso IX, 46-52. Alfonso IX's version of the morabetino shows the bridge of Salamanca on the reverse. For gold at Salamanca under Alfonso IX, see also the series of purchases made by the chapter at Salamanca in "morabetini de domino Alfosno regis" in the 1220s. Martín, Salamanca, 246-59 nos. 160-61, 163-64, 166, 173. For the diplomatic evidence relating to minting at Zamora under Alfonso IX, see chapter 7 above.

local bishop was normally the more prosperous town in a given district. In addition, by granting the bishop a share in the mint profit, the crown gained a local partner who had a financial interest in the mint's smooth operation. Prior to 1157, the crown diverged from this pattern only once, when Urraca founded a mint at the monastery of Sahagún during her wars against Aragón.

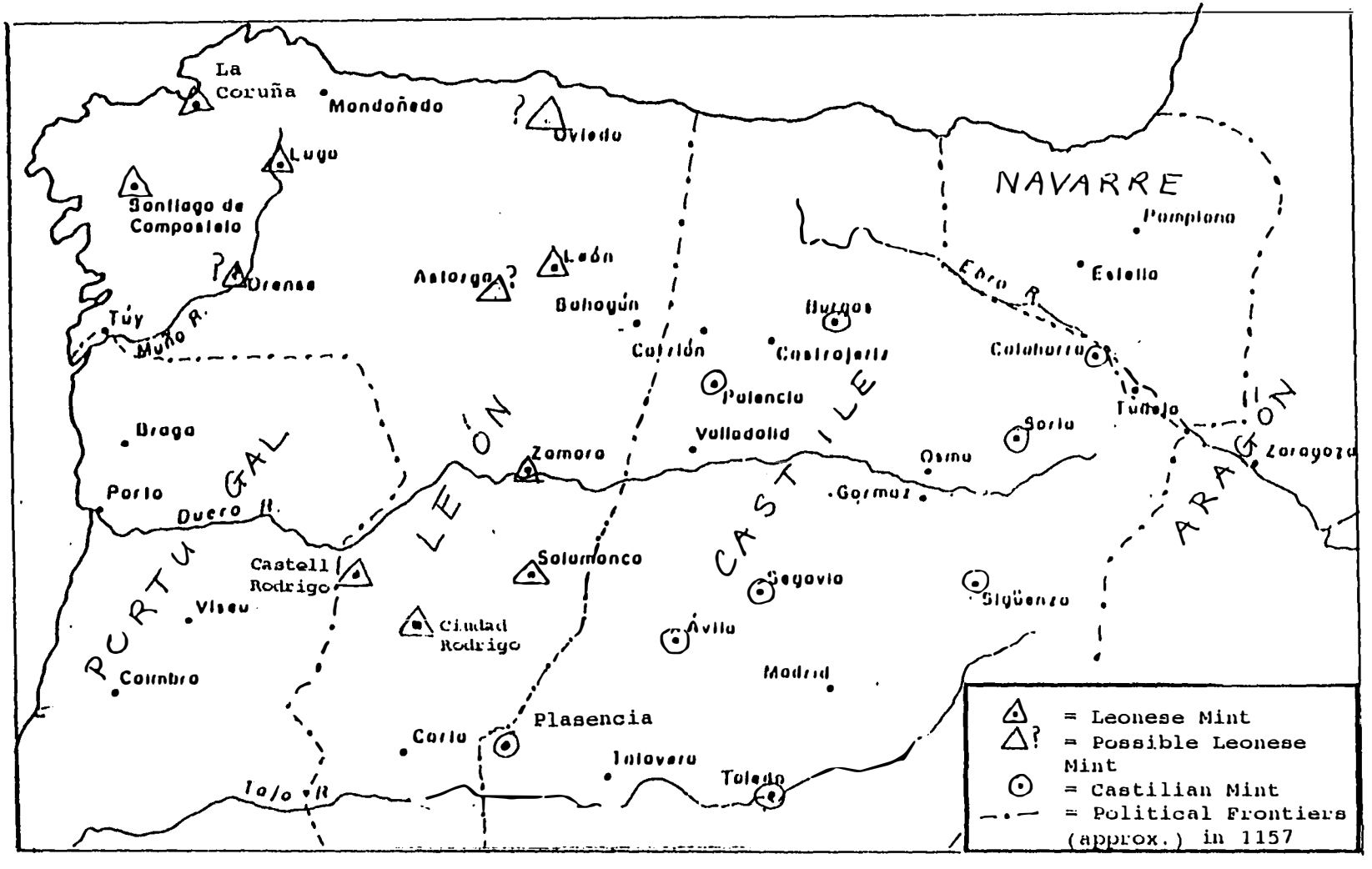
The division of the realm seems to have compelled the heirs of Alfonso VII to compensate for the reduced number of mints in their separate domains by opening additional sites. In so doing, both governments attached at least some importance to placing mints in strategic locations, particularly along their borders with other kingdoms. When convenient, mints were still placed in episcopal sees such as at Calahorra, on the border with Navarre, but neither crown restricted itself as such. In Castile, for example, Soria was chosen as a mint town over the seat of the local bishop at Osma perhaps because it was better situated to intercept commercial traffic from Aragón and Navarre. Nonetheless, the bishop of Osma was still granted a portion of the mint at Soria.

A better illustration of this more refined mint strategy can be seen in what transpired south of Salamanca, where the kingdoms of Portugal, León, Castile and the domain of the Almohads all converged. Until 1157, Salamanca had been the southern most Leonese mint in this area. In 1161, Fernando II of León sought to further

settle the area below Salamanca by establishing an independent diocese centered around the town of Ciudad Rodrigo. By 1175, when Alexander III recognized the new bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, the town had a mint. By 1176, Alfonso VIII of Castile established a mint in Avila, close by both the new Leonese mint of Ciudad Rodrigo and the older one at Salamanca.

If the mint at Avila was deliberately intended to compete with Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo, Alfonso VIII's encroachment did not stop there. In the 1180s, he pushed further southwest and by 1187 colonized Plasencia on the other side of the mountains from Ciudad Rodrigo. He promptly set up a new mint in this frontier outpost. While it is not clear that he allowed the mint at Avila to continue, he did allow the bishop of Avila a share in the Plasencia mint.

Alfonso VIII's efforts in claiming this section of the frontier for Castile hampered expansion southward by his younger cousin, Alfonso IX of León, who succeeded Fernando II in 1188. In the opening years of the thirteenth century, therefore, Alfonso IX turned in a new direction. He colonized Castell Rodrigo, an area slightly to the northwest of Ciudad Rodrigo which infringed on Portuguese territory and opened a mint there. Likewise, Alfonso IX probably opened a mint at his colony of La Coruña on the Galician coast, which eventually supplanted the mint at Compostela.



Map 2. Mints in the Independent Kingdoms of León and Castile, 1157-1230

TEN

QUOD OMNES TANGIT: NEW POLICIES AT THE DAWN OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A Native Gold Currency

Ibn Mardanīsh, known as *el Rey Lobo* in the Christian sources, was the last of the Almoravid-taifa princes to hold out against the Almohad conquest of al-Andalus. Consequently, he was the last Muslim authority to strike the gold morabetino. Very soon after Lobo's death in 1172, Alfonso VIII of Castile began to strike his own version of the gold morabetino, the morabetino *alfonsín*. According to González Palencia, a Mozarabic text of Toledo refers to Alphonsine gold in 1173, but the earliest known examples of the Castilian coin appear to be dated "Era 1212," corresponding to A.D. 1174.[1] While it is undeniable that

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[1] González Palencia, Los mozárabes, 1:74; Vives, Moneda, 15; Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 25-26 nos. 120-21. Balaguer recently published a morabetino from the cabinet of the MAN which she believes is dated "Era 1211" or A.D. 1173. If she has read the coin correctly, it is the only example known with that early of a date. There are other examples known with dates corresponding to the years A.D. 1174, 1175, and 1181, but these are rare. Specimens dated 1184 onward are more common. The Latin abbreviation ALF on the piece's obverse is not known on examples before 1184. See, in general, the catalogue provided in Balaguer, Mancús, 150-55, cf. 76-78. Balaguer's catalogue does not include the 9 morabetinos *alfonsines* in the combined HSA/ANS collection, the earliest of which are dated 1185. See Todesca, "Monetary History," 137 n. 15.

Alfonso VIII's decision to strike his own morabetino was prompted by Lobo's death, the immediacy of his action is somewhat surprising.

As we have seen, Ibn Mardanīsh's morabetino was well known to the Christians as early as the 1150s, particularly in Aragón-Catalonia since the Murcian king had agreed to pay an annual gold tribute to Ramón Berenguer c.1149. While it was not the only dinar used by the count in 1153 when purchasing Genoa's rights in Tortosa, it was by then familiar enough to the Genoese that they accepted it as a standard of weight in reckoning Ramón's payment. Lobo's tribute, however, dwindled and then probably stopped altogether before Ramón's death in 1162.[2] Nonetheless, the morabetino *lupino* (along with the coin of Lobo's predecessor, the morabetino *ayadino*) continued to be cited often in both royal and private charters from Aragón-Catalonia throughout the 1160s. By 1168, Ramón Berenguer's son, Alfonso II, was attempting to collect payment from Murcia once again.[3]

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[2] For the treaty with Genoa, see Rosell, Liber, 1:485-87 no. 463. The terms of Lobo's agreement with Ramón Berenguer and his subsequent failure to pay in full is evident in Lobo's later agreement with Alfonso II. See n. 5 below. See also Antonio Ubieto Arteta, Historia de Aragón, vol. 1, La Formación territorial (Zaragoza 1981), 238.

[3] See Bisson, Fiscal Accounts, 47-82 nos. 8-24; Ubieto Artur, "Morabedís," 215-25. A tangible reflection of this gold flow is the hoard of 498 morabetinos of Ibn Mardanīsh found near Huesca in 1955. See "Hallazgos musulmanes," part 10, 192 no. 89. For Alfonso II attempt to collect payment in 1168, see Balaguer, Mancus, 130 nos. 103-104.

Yet, it was Alfonso VIII of Castile, not the king of Aragón, that moved to fill the monetary void left by the final collapse of Lobo's kingdom in 1172. While morabetinos were circulating regularly in Castile and León from the 1130s onward, the written sources do not allude to an abundance of coins from Murcia, i.e., the *ayadino* or the *lupino*. The failure of the Castilian and Leonese charters to note the provenance of morabetinos, however, may simply reflect a more ambivalent notarial style than in Aragón-Catalonia.[4] The Crown of Castile was clearly involved to some extent with Murcian affairs.

In the summer of 1170, Alfonso VIII of Castile and Alfonso II of Aragón-Catalonia, both still probably in their teens, met at Sahagún with their respective councils.

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[4] The few Castilian documents that mention the provenance of gold, refer to a variety of morabetinos. See morabetinos *melequinos* (of Malaga) and *marinis* (of Almería) in charters of 1159, 1161 and 1168 in Rodríguez de Lama, Rioja, 2: no. 207, 208, 224. Reference to the coins of Ibn Mardanīsh and his predecessor Ibn Iyad are not abundant. See, for example, morabetinos *ayadinos* in Hernández, Toledo, 128 no. 132, 146-47 no. 154. *Lupinos* appear in some charters from the Rioja region. See Rodríguez de Lama, Rioja, 3:86 no. 307; cf. Felipe Mateu y Llopis, "Morabetinos lupinos y alfonsinos desde Ramón Berenguer IV de Barcelona a Jaime I de Aragón (1131-1276)," in Jarique II, 98-101.

In Toledo and Segovia during the 1160s, one finds references to morabetinos *baecinis* presumably of Baza. These may have actually been Lobo's coins by another name. Baza had pledged loyalty to him in 1159, though there does not seem to be evidence that he struck his own coin in the city. See Hernández, Toledo, 132, no. 137, 134-35 nos. 141-42; Villar García, Segovia, 115-16 no. 68. For Lobo's relation with Baza, see Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 212, 217, cf. 223-25.

There the Castilians negotiated the tribute Lobo of Murcia owed the Crown of Aragón. It was agreed that Alfonso II of Aragón,

> should hold as yours Lobo, the king of Murcia, so that (beginning) on the coming first calends of January, up to five years and beyond, as long as you can agree to it, he shall swear to you and give you honestly each year that sum that he was accustomed to give your father, the good and memorable count of Barcelona, namely 40,000 of the best morabetinos in gold, terms that were established between that king and the memorable count.[5]

Alfonso VIII of Castile then appointed four counts to arbitrate if in the future Lobo and the king of Aragón should disagree.

This intervention by Castile was intended to stop Aragonese hostility against Lobo, so that the Murcian king could more readily defend himself against the Almohads. Still, it is hard to accept that the Castilian Crown was willing to unselfishly allow Aragón-Catalonia all the tribute. Lobo's continued survival in the struggle with

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[5] "(Q)uod Lupum regem Murcie vobis talem habeas, quod a kalendis Ianuarii primis venientibus usque ad V annos et ulterius, quamdiu cum ipso potueritis convenire, firmabit et dabit vobis per singulos annos integre ipsum aver quod patri vestro, bone memorie comiti Barchinone, dare solebat, scilicit, XL millia morabetinos maiores in auro, statutis terminis inter ipsum regem et memoratum comitem." Alfonso VIII, 239-42 no. 140.

The text goes on to acknowledge that after Ramón Berenguer had "gone to Provence," the Murcian king began to pay less than the agreed sum. Peace between the two rulers eventually broke down altogether. Around 1158, Ramón Berenguer seems to have campaigned against Murcia and the drive south towards Teruel continued in the minority of Alfonso II. See Jaime Caruana, "Alfonso II y la reconquista de Teruel," Teruel 7 (1952): 97-141.

the Almohads stood to benefit the Aragonese as much as it did the Castilians. The fact that Alfonso VIII acted as Lobo's mediator and would only extend "friendship" to Aragón if Alfonso II accepted the terms with Murcia suggests that Castile had taken on the role of Murcia's protector and as such may well have been receiving gold directly from Lobo.[6]

Regardless of how Murcian gold pieces made their way to Castile, Alfonso VIII's quick decision to continue the coin after Lobo's death is testimony of the extent to which the morabetino had become an integral part of the economy of his kingdom. In the later twelfth century, the Almohads had introduced gold dinars to the peninsula that were deliberately different from the gold of their predecessors, the Almoravids and the Umayyad caliphs. Hazard called the Almohad break with tradition "complete and spectacular." Not only was the design of the Almohad gold coin distinctive, more importantly, it was struck on a new weight standard. Whereas the morabetino traditionally weighed about 4 grams, the Almohad dinar was approximately 2.3 grams.[7] By the 1170s, these new gold pieces began to

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[6] Balaguer, "Parias," 533, comes to a similar conclusion.

[7] The second Almohad caliph, Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf (1163-84), who oversaw the defeat of Lobo and the final consolidation of Al-Andalus, minted dinars and half-dinars. The later weighed around 1.15 grams. The Almohad double dinar of close to 4.5 grams does not seem to have been struck until the reign of Yūsuf's son, Abū Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (1184-99). See Hazard, North Africa, 48, 66, 68, 150.

circulate in the Christian north to some extent.[8] Nonetheless, the morabetino had become the accepted standard of value in most of Christian Spain, and was growing increasingly familiar outside the peninsula as well.[9] The Crown of Castile, then, chose to ignore the new Almohad coinage and preserve the old standard.

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[8] The dinar of Yūsuf appears as early as 1174 in the documents of Aragón-Catalonia. It was called the *mazmudina*. In time, Yūsuf's dinar was specifically called the *mazmudina iucifia*. (See Mateu Ibars, "Relación cronológica," 206-207; Mateu, "Morabetinos y Mazmudinas," 183.) This terminology does not, to my knowledge, appear in the sources of Castile-León.

In 1177, during the Castilian siege of Almohad-occupied Cuenca, Alfonso VIII granted a charter to the monastery of Silos. The penalty clause stipulated that perpetrators pay 6,000 solidi, a conventional assessment at the time, but also added "et unum auri obolum." This might refer to the small Almohad dinar or perhaps to the half dinar of 1.15 grams. See Vivancos Gómez, Silos, 103 no. 72; Alfonso VIII, 2:450-52 no. 273. On the association between the *obolum auri* and the *mazmudina*, see also Philip Grierson, "Oboli de Musc'," English Historical Review (1951): 75-81.

Two charters from Toledo dated 1188 refer to a rent of three *bezants*. These references also might possibly indicate the Almohad dinar, though a later summary on the back of one of the documents equates the rent to three morabetinos. Finally, it probably was the Almohad dinar that is occasionally referred to in the documents of Castile and León as the morabetino *chico*. A testament from Toledo redacted before 1189 mentions morabetinos *alfonsines*, *lupinos* and morabetinos *chicos*. See Hernández, Toledo, 208-9 nos. 223-24; 212-13 no. 228. The Almohad double dinar, probably introduced after 1184, would come to be known simply as the *dobla* in Castile-León.

[9] Papal collectors frequently expressed accounts in morabetinos in the *Liber censum*, though payment was surely often rendered in denarii. For this and other citations of the morabetino outside Spain in the twelfth century, see Duplessey, "Monnaies arabes," 139-40 nos. 24, 26-29. For finds of morabetinos beyond the Pyrenees, see the same author's catalogue of finds, 115, 128-33 nos. 26-29, 32, 34, 36; cf. Kassis, "Observations," 313 n. 8.

The clearest indication that the new Castilian morabetino was intended to fill an economic role, and was not simply a ceremonial issue meant to boost Alfonso VIII's prestige, is that it represented a reform of Lobo's last dinars. In the early part of his reign, Ibn Mardanīsh probably reduced the weight of his morabetino from the original Almoravid standard of slightly more than 4 grams to around 3.90 grams. In the final years of his life, however, abandoned by his father-in-law and lieutenant Ibn Hamushku and facing a renewed Almohad offensive, Lobo's resources rapidly diminished despite heavy taxes levied on his subjects. The weight of his dinar in this final crisis dropped significantly. In 1169, he issued a morabetino distinguished by the inclusion of his son Hilāl's name in the inscription. The average weight of these new coins was only about 2.5 grams.[10] This was his current morabetino, then, when he agreed to resume tribute to Aragón in 1170. The Castilian crown ignored this last development and struck its morabetino at close to 3.90 grams, which was truer to the weight of the original *lupino*, the standard the Genoese insisted be used in their deal with Ramón Berenguer in 1153.[11]

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[10] Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 216-19.

[11] The weight of the 9 morabetinos *alfonsín* in the HSA collection are 3.84 g., 3.80 g., 3.79 g., 3.83 g., 3.80 g., 3.83 g., 3.72 g., 3.83 g., 3.69 g. See also the examples catalogued in Balaguer, Mancús, 150-55. The accepted standard of 3.90 grams for a morabetino can also be seen in

The Castilian morabetino was also a worthy successor to the *lupino* in a political sense. Lobo's long resistance to the Almohads had, as Kassis pointed out, "serious theological implications" for it challenged the Almohad tenet that the legitimacy of their beliefs would be justified by total conquest. To remind the Almohads they had no monopoly over the faithful, Lobo had included reference to the 'Abbāsid caliph on his dinars. Alfonso's morabetino employed a similar strategy. In Arabic, its legend proclaimed that the *imām* of the "Church of the Messiah" was the Roman Pope and that Alfonso was the *amīr* of the Catholics. The coin also would of course serve to enhance Alfonso's prestige in the Latin world and it was perhaps for this reason that he placed the very clear abbreviation ALF in the midst of the coin's Arabic inscription.[12]

In the Islamic tradition, the border inscription on the reverse of the morabetino *alfonsín* revealed the year the coin was struck as well as its place of issue. On the surviving pieces, the mint is invariably given as Toledo indicating that it was the only town allowed to strike the coin. Furthermore, the crown retained exclusive control of the revenues. In 1192, Alfonso confirmed for the

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the Catalan *usatge*, "Solidus aureus." See appendix B, n. 13 below.

[12] Kassis, "Ibn Sa'd," 210, 214-216. For a fuller description of the legends of the morabetino *alfonsín*, see Todesca, "Means of Exchange," 257.

archbishop of Toledo that the see had a right to a tenth of all money made in the city at present and in the future, with the exception of the profit from gold.[13].

Fernando II of León did not choose to send any message to the Islamic world when he too issued a version of the morabetino. While probably having the same intended weight as the morabetino *alfonsín*, the Leonese dinar was in the Latin tradition stylistically. It shows a crowned king with sword and scepter on the obverse and the lion of León on the reverse. Its obverse legend reads FERNANDVS DEI GRACIA REX. The reverse inscription, IN NE PATRIS I FLI I SPS SCI, was perhaps a nod to the usual proclamation of a faith on a dinar.[14]

The Leonese morabetino was not dated, making it difficult to determine when it appeared. The first certain reference to its production is in 1186 when Fernando, in

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[13] Alfonso VIII, 3:77-79 no. 606. Gold would also be reserved exclusively for the crown in Portugal when that kingdom initiated a series of morabetinos. See n. 17 below.

According to González Palencia, Los mozárabes, 2:79 no. 477, a mozarabic charter of 1224 refers to the sale of a house in Toledo for the price of "38 *mizcales* of alfonsín gold of the mint of Segovia." While it is possible that gold was also struck in this city, which housed an active mint, it seems best not to assume so on the basis of this one text.

[14] The obverse marginal inscription on the morabetino *alfonsín* is a proclamation of the trinity in Arabic. For illustrations of the morabetino alfonsín as well as the Leonese and Portuguese versions of the gold piece, see Todesca, "Means of Exchange," 241 nos. 8-10. The piece of Fernando II is rarer today than the morabetino *alfonsín* and individual weights are harder to obtain. Cf. Balaguer, Mancús, 90-91.

conjunction with his son Alfonso IX, granted the bishop of Salamanca "a third part of the gold money of Salamanca."[15] Like Toledo in Castile, Salamanca was probably the only Leonese town allowed to mint the dinar. Despite a charter to the contrary, it is not likely that gold was struck at Santiago.[16] At some point, the kingdom of Portugal also began to strike a gold morabetino. Like the Leonese version, it used Latin legends and motifs and made no effort to mimic the style of an Islamic dinar. This third Christian morabetino possibly did not appear until the reign of Sancho II (1223-48) of Portugal.[17]

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[15] Martín, Salamanca 180-81 no. 92. González in "Maravedíes," 287, referred to a private document of 1177 which spoke of "Iª marobitina de Salamanca," which may place the introduction of the Leonese piece closer to the appearance of its Castilian counterpart.

There is a purchase made by the canons of cathedral of Salamanca in 1164, in which they paid out 100 "morabetinos de auro." Included in the witness list are Lope, described as a moneyer, followed by Pain and William both described as goldsmiths (*aurifaber*), but it seems best to assume that these men were artisans not moneyers and that the morabetinos used in the purchase were Islamic. The presence of goldsmiths in the city at this date, however, may be seen as a reflection of the increasing availability of gold in León in the twelfth century. Martín, Salamanca, 118-119 no. 30.

[16] See chapter 9, n. 64 above.

[17] Portuguese morabetinos exist today in the name of Sancho and Afonso, both in several varieties. Traditionally, Sancho I (1185-1211) is credited with initiating the coin, which would place it close to the introduction of the Castilian and Leonese pieces. But, to my knowledge, there is no documentary evidence supporting that the coin was struck in this reign.

Inexplicably, current works assign no gold to the reign of Afonso III (1248-79). In 1261, Afonso issued a charter regarding a redemption of the kingdom's billon. While he agreed to be limited in the number of times he could strike denarii he stipulated, "retineo tamen mihi et

By initiating a gold currency, the crowns of Castile, León and Portugal, consciously or not, were embarking on a more ambitious monetary policy then had previously been required of their governments. Earlier in the twelfth century, the Christian princes of Spain had established simple bi-metallic currency systems by allowing Almoravid gold to circulate freely alongside the indigenous denarii of their realms. But undertaking the responsibility for minting both a gold and silver-based coinage significantly complicated the process. The western kingdoms were now receiving no tribute from the south and therefore had no ready access to a source of gold save their own stockpiles. North Africa remained the main source of gold for the Mediterranean world. If the Christian kings of Spain were to continue their versions of the morabetino, in time they would have to find another means of extracting gold from the Almohad-controlled south.

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successoribus meis quod possimus facere morabitinos de auro quando voluerimus." (Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Leges et Consuetudines, 1:210-12 no. 9) In this light, one must consider the possibility that the first gold pieces were not struck until the reign of Sancho II and continued under Afonso III. See Pedro Batalha Reis, Morabitinos Portugueses: Estudios de Numismática Medieval (Lisbon, 1940), 26-39. See also Balaguer, Mancus, 92-93, which follows the traditional attributions as does José Ferraro Vaz, "The Morabetino of Braga," in PMC I, 335-340; Mário Gomes Marques, "Numaria Medieval Potuguesa," Numisma (1982): 224-25; Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez, "Early Gold Coinages of the Reconquest: A Critical Review of the Theories About Their Introduction," in PMC III, 548-50.

Military booty or trade were two possibilities for increasing the Christian gold supply, but the Almohads had proved themselves strong adversaries on the battlefield and there was little merchandise the Latin states could trade for gold. The western Muslim world at this time was, however, in dire need of silver which is attested by the well-known trade in *millareses*. The *millareses* were imitation Almohad dirhams struck in various Mediterranean towns in Catalonia, France and Italy in the early-thirteenth century and shipped directly to North Africa.[18] While there is no evidence that the kings of Castile, León or Portugal went so far as to strike *millareses*, it is certainly possible that they used stocks of silver to purchase gold from al-Andalus.

In comparison to the Leonese and Portuguese morabetinos, the morabetino *alfonsín* of Castile was clearly a more successful coin. In the late twelfth century, it circulated in Navarre and Aragón-Catalonia and eventually reached the south of France.[19] By contrast, the Leonese

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[18] The *millarès* trade appears to have been thriving as early as 1202. See Watson, "Back to Gold and Silver," 6-12. Watson, however, implied that the Almohads had not begun to strike silver in earnest until c.1229. Spufford, in Money, 171-72, pointed out that much of the Almohad silver is anonymous and cannot be dated. Issues of dirhams were probably begun before the death of the caliph Yūsuf in 1184.

[19] In the Rioja region, shared by Castile and Navarre the piece was often called the morabetino *de cruz*, because of the distinctive cross in its field among the Arabic inscription. See the sale from Tudela, dated 1192, "per XII moarabetinos VIII de criuz et IIII lopis et solidos

and Portuguese morabetinos are not evident either in coin finds or in surviving documents outside the boundaries of their respective kingdoms. This would seem to indicate that Castile's output of morabetinos was greater and imply that the kingdom was more aggressive in accruing gold.[20] If the crown had to expend silver for gold such a policy would make it more difficult to provide an adequate supply of denarii at home.

Debasement of the Castilian Denarius c.1200

Between 1180 and 1181, Alfonso VIII issued a series of charters to the clergy of the realm in which he promised to protect their property and not violently extort taxes from them. Furthermore, he absolved them from their obligation to pay any of the ordinary taxes or services owed the

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monete de Navrra." Ubieto, "Documentos," pt. 3, 154-55 no. 47. Cf. Rodríguez de Lama, Rioja, 3:51 no. 274, 60 no. 281. For the circulation of the morabetino *alfonsín* in Navarre and in Aragón-Catalonia, see also Mateu y Llopis, "Morabetinos lupinos y alfonsinos," 93-116. For the morabetino *alfonsín* in France see the find at Meslay-le-Vidame which consisted of 11 *lupinos* and 1 *alfonsino*. Duplessey, "Monnaies arabes," 132 no. 32.

[20] An intriguing facet of the success of the morabetino *alfonsín* are the casts of the coin found in Salamanca. These were obviously used to make counterfeit versions of the Castilian coin. See María Paz García y Bellido, "Moldes procedentes de Salamanca para fundir maravedís de Alfonso VIII," Numisma (1983): 227-240.

After Alfonso VIII's death, the morabetino *alfonsín* was immobilized and minted probably until the mid-thirteenth century. The cast counterfeits, then, do not have to date to the time of Alfonso VIII. Nonetheless, in that the molds were found in Salamanca, the site of the León's gold mint, it is tempting to see the counterfeits as products of the late twelfth-century.

crown. Instead, he would only accept what payments they willingly conceded to him.[21] Such a measure surely indicates that Alfonso had been guilty of extorting the wealth of the church, but his conciliatory efforts were, in hindsight, excessive. Such sweeping exemptions diminished his financial resources at a time when he could least afford it. By the early 1190s, Castile was forced to defend itself from the combined aggression of Portugal, León, Navarre and Aragón. Peace was barely restored, before Alfonso VIII suffered his disastrous loss to the Almohads at Alarcos in 1195.[22]

With these expenses, in addition to the strain of maintaining the morabetino *alfonsín*, it is not surprising that Alfonso resorted to debasement of his billon coinage. He had certainly done so by 1207 when he attempted to institute price ceilings in the kingdom. Legislation towards this end survives today in a charter addressed to the municipal council (*concejo*) of Toledo. These decrees were most likely enacted at a meeting of the *cortes* with copies sent to the other towns of the realm as well.

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[21] A general charter addressed to all the clergy of the realm was issued at Nájera in June 1180. The bishops of Calahora, Burgos, Palencia and Avila appear as witnesses. In July, Alfonso addressed separate charters to the bishops of Sigüenza and Osma repeating the promise. Individual charters were issued to Palencia in November, to Segovia in December and to Burgos the following May. Alfonso VIII, 2:582-84 no. 344, 589-91 no. 348, 595-98 no. 351, 599-601 no. 353, 635-38 no. 368. See also, Sánchez Albornoz, "Notas," 511-514.

[22] O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 242-45.

In the preamble of the charter, Alfonso acknowledged that in the kingdom goods were "being sold for more than is right." He spoke of the great damage done not only to the residents of Toledo but to "to all the good men of my towns," and therefore imposed "limits on all things" throughout the kingdom. The decrees set maximum prices for a wide variety of goods from textiles, to arms and horses, to meat and fish. They also placed restrictions on what could be exported and imported.[23]

The prices in the document are expressed either in morabetinos or in denarii called *pepiones*, which is the first time in the Castilian sources that a denarius of the realm is modified by a specific name. Oddly, for the remainder of Alfonso's reign, the documents, both private and royal, are silent about the *pepión*.[24] To learn more of

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[23] Francisco J. Hernández, "Las cortes de Toledo de 1207," in Las cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad Media (Valladolid, 1988), 219-63.

[24] The *pepión* is mentioned in the testament of Sancho I of Portugal who died in 1211. See A.C. Teixeira de Aragão, Descripção geral e historica das moedas cunhadas em nome dos reis, regentes e governadores de Portugal, vol 1 (Lisbon, 1874), 333.

The etymology of *pepión* is hard to discern. Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "pepión," suggested it derived from the Latin noun *pipio* meaning a young bird or piping. I prefer to believe that the term somehow referred to the debased nature of the coin. It perhaps derived from *pipa* or *pepita*, literally a seed or a pip, but which also carries the connotation of something worthless. Edwin Williams, Spanish and English Dictionary s.v. "pepino," lists the idiom "no darselo a uno un pepino de." *Pepino* in modern Spanish is a cucumber, presumably so named because it is full of seeds. Williams aptly equates this idiom to the English expression "to not give a fig for."

this coin we must look ahead briefly to the year 1217, three years after Alfonso VIII's death.

Alfonso died in 1214 and was succeeded by his son Enrique I (1214-17). In his short reign, Enrique did not strike coin in his own name. The gold morabetino, for example, continued to be minted but only the year was adjusted in the inscription. In all other aspects the design of the coin was unchanged. Likewise, if Enrique struck denarii at all, he did so using immobilized types of his father. When the young king died in an accident three years into his rule, the currency was probably the same as it had been when he ascended the throne.[25] He was succeeded by Fernando III (1217-52), the son of Alfonso VIII's daughter Berenguela and Alfonso IX of León.

Alfonso IX moved to claim the kingdom of Castile for himself, but reached an accord with his son in November of 1217. In two supplementary treaties, Fernando of Castile promised to pay his father 11,000 morabetinos, which

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[25] Heiss, Las monedas, plate 4, published an illustration of a coin reading (H)ENRICVS on the obverse and showing a castle on the reverse which he suggested might represent an issue of Enrique I. Recently, Rueda in Primeras acuñaciones, 64, fig. 13, published a photograph of this coin, again attributing it to Enrique I. The coin in question actually belonged to the Lusignan kings of Cyprus, most likely Henry I (1218-53). See Gustave Schlumberger, Numismatique de L'Orient Latin (Paris, 1878), 187 and plate 6, 10; D.M. Metcalf, Coinage of the Crusades and the Latin East (London, 1983), nos. 480-3. For the minting of gold under Enrique, cf. Todesca, "Monetary History," 151-52. See also Alvarez Burgos et al., Catálogo general, 29 no. 161-62.

Alfonso IX claimed were owed by Enrique. It was agreed that the debt could be paid off in gold or in denarii. If rendered in denarii, it was to be paid at a rate of 7 and $^1/_2$ solidi of *burgaleses* per morabetino or 15 solidi of *pepiones* per morabetino.[26]

From this accord, we learn that by this date there were two distinct denarii circulating in Castile, the *burgalés* and the *pepión* and that the *burgalés* was worth twice the *pepión*.[27] The Castilian crown would not have intentionally issued two denarii of unequal value. The *pepión*, which we know was issued by 1207 during the reign of Alfonso VIII, was clearly an attempt at debasement. When it was unsuccessful, its official value must have been later "cried down" to put it in proper parity with the so-called *burgalés*.

A very similar set of circumstances occurred in Barcelona under Pedro II. The coinage of Barcelona had very likely remained at 4 d. fine since the early twelfth

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[26] Alfonso IX, 2:458-62 nos. 350 and 352, 479 no. 366; cf. Todesca, "Monetary History," 141-42. A few years later, in 1221, the convent of Las Huelgas paid off a debt of 4,706 "aureos." It was rendered "partim in burgalensi, partim in pipionibus, partim in aoro (sic)." Again the rate of exchange was 15 solidi of *pepiones* or 7.5 solid of *burgaleses* to the morabetino. Garrido, Burgos, 2: 365 no. 533.

[27] The treaties between Fernando III and his father are, to my knowledge, the earliest references in the documentation to the *burgalés*. Gil Farrés in Historia, 326, referred to a document of 1212 mentioning "sueldos de los burgaleses ... moneda vieja," but gave no reference. I noted this in "Monetary History," 145, but still have been unable to determine Gil Farrés's source.

century. In 1203, the morabetino still sold for 7 solidi *barcelonés*, an appropriate rate of exchange at that time for a quaternal denarius. In 1209, or thereabouts, Pedro introduced a debased denarius of only 2 d. fine that was intended to replace the quaternal *barcelonés*. Three years later, the king was forced to restore the quaternal coin, and acknowledge that the *doblench* was actually worth only half the quaternal piece. By 1212, therefore, the morabetino in Barcelona sold for 14 solidi of the *doblench* (and presumably 7 solid of the quaternal coin)[28] There can be little doubt, then, that the *pepión* of Castile, at 15 solidi to the morabetino, was also a coin of 2 d. fine and represented a failed attempt at debasement.

How long the *pepión* was in circulation before 1207, the date of Alfonso VII's price decrees, we do not know. A bull of Celestine III in 1197 appears to put the morabetino at 7 solidi, 6 denarii, suggesting that the *pepión* was not yet circulating or, if it was, its debased nature was not yet general knowledge.[29] Alfonso, therefore, probably did

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[28] Bisson, "Coinages of Barcelona," 193-204; cf. chapter 6, table 1.

[29] Mingüella, Sigüenza, 1:490 no. 131, see above chapter 6, n. 86. Celestine was Cardinal Hyacinth, who had made at least two legations to Spain, the second in the 1170s. We might then expect him to have been nominally familiar with the money and its current value. It was he that passed the legislation at Valladolid on coinage in 1155. It is true that in 1155 he commuted a *census* of 100 solidi *pictavensis* to 25 morabetinos, a rate that overvalued the Poitou coin. But this rate worked to Rome's advantage. See appendix C below and see chapter 6, n. 76 above.

not resort to debasement until sometime after his defeat at Alarcos in 1195. In 1207, while his poor coin was driving up prices, he was still not ready to abandon it. Instead he opted to try to curb the inflation by imposing price ceilings, a method that is almost always futile.

There is evidence suggesting that after his great victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212, Alfonso convoked a *cortes* in Burgos where he confirmed the *fueros* of the towns and also promised to confirm and amend the rights of the nobility.[30] While there is no contemporary record of this meeting, it was perhaps here, in the spirit of thanksgiving for his victory, that Alfonso also reformed the coinage, bringing back a quaternal denarii and devaluing the *pepión*. The booty gained at Las Navas may have given him the means necessary to carry the reform out.[31]

With two coins of unequal value in circulation, it was natural that another name would now arise to denote the good money.[32] The coin type we labeled the *burgalés* in

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[30] See O'Callaghan, "Beginnings," 1523-24.

[31] The Christians overran the caliph's camp and the booty gained was said to be immense. O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 247-48.

It is possible that the re-tariffing of the *pepión* did not come until the reign of Enrique I. This scenario would fit in well with the fact that the first reference to the *pepión* circulating at half the value of the *burgalés* does not come until 1217. Still, it seems to me unlikely. If Enrique restored a good quaternal coin to the kingdom, one would expect that he would have put his name on it. All indications are that Enrique simply maintained the status quo.

[32] Bisson noted that in Barcelona the word *quaternus* began to appear in documents to describe the good coin

chapter 9 may have existed before the *pepión* and was subsequently reissued after the reform. Rivaled only by Alfonso's earlier equestrian type, the *burgalés* appears to have been one of the largest and best controlled of the reign. It was struck in some seven mints and copper pattern pieces survive demonstrating that care was taken to make sure the dies used by the mints were consistent.[33]

A good indication that this type was indeed the *burgalés* of the early thirteenth century is that it shows signs of being immobilized after Alfonso VIII's death. Beside the seven mint marks discussed above, there are two other marks known on this type, *L* and *E*. These do not correspond to any Castilian towns known to have mints. They do, however, corresponds to two Leonese mint marks used by Alfonso IX, that of León and Salamanca. These two marks, then, imply that after Fernando III united León to

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after the *doblench* was introduced. (Bisson, "Coinage of Barcelona," 197.) Similarly, in León, in the earlier part of the century, denarii were not described as *de medietate* until a coin of a lesser standard, the *moneta de tertia* was introduced.

[33] There are similar copper trial pieces known for Alfonso IX's type 2. These copper pieces are frequently called "ponderales" or weights in the numismatic literature, but this explanation seems unlikely. Their weights are not consistent and bear no obvious relation to the weight of the actual coin. See Felipe Mateu y Llopis, Catálogo de los ponderales monetarios del Museo Arqueológico Nacional (Madrid, 1934) and his "Commentarios a mi 'Catálogo de los ponderales monetarios del Museo Arqueológico Nacional'; Addenda después de medio siglo." GN 94-95 (1989), 103-13. See also Orol, Alfonso IX, 110-13.

Castile, he struck the *burgalés* in at least two Leonese mints.[34]

Despite it starting off as "bad" money, after it was put in parity with the *burgalés*, the *pepión* also remained in circulation. Oddly, between the *burgalés* and the *pepión*, Fernando III may have preferred to strike the *pepión*. It is the coin that is cited most frequently in the documents of his reign. The pepión was almost certainly the coin type that reads ANFVS REX TOLETA which surfaces frequently in thirteenth-century hoards. Rueda Sabater's study of this type indicates that although the coin carried no overt mint markings, it was struck by many dies.[35]

Crisis Averted in León

In the kingdom of León, the crown largely avoided debasement, although its denarius did drop somewhat in value near the end of the twelfth century. In 1193, with

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[34] The Otaza hoard also indicates that this type was the *burgalés*. See the arguments presented in Todesca, "Rebellion," 35-36, 42. Perhaps the most succinct proof that this type represented the good money of Alfonso VIII is that it was consciously imitated by Sancho IV, who tried to cast himself as a reformer of his father's coins.

[35] Todesca, "Rebellion," 35-37; For Mercedes Rueda Sabater's work on this particular coin type, see her "Cronología del vellón castellano: Un caso desconcertante," in Congreso de arqueología medieval española II, (Madrid, 1987) 662-70. See also Mercedes Rueda Sabater and Christina Rueda Sabater, "La moneda medieval castellana: Problemática y propuesta de método de estudio," in Congreso de arqueología medieval española III, (Oviedo, 1989), 43-68; cf. Rueda, Primeras acuñaciones, 54-62.

Alfonso IX on the throne, there were 7 solidi *leoneses* to the gold morabetino, the same rate that the denarii *jaccensis*, *barcelonés*, *angevin* and *tournoi* all enjoyed at this time. In Castile, Alfonso VIII's quaternal denarius was somewhat weaker since it took 7.5 solidi of his coin to equal the morabetino. By 1217, the restored denarius of Castile, now called the *burgalés*, was still valued at 7.5 solidi to the morabetino. In the same year, however, it took 8 solidi *leoneses* to equal the gold piece. Whereas the *leonés* had previously been stronger than its Castilian counterpart, it was now slightly weaker.[36]

Another indication that Alfonso IX had tampered with the coinage can be seen in his undated mandate to the inhabitants of Galicia ordering them to "receive my current money just as (they would) ... receive a better one."[37] Still, the slight drop in the value of the *leonés* was more likely caused by a reduction of weight than a manipulation of the coin's silver content.[38] Alfonso IX's ability to avoid the harsher debasements attempted in Castile and Barcelona was undoubtedly linked to his collection of a *monetagium* tax. In 1202, the *cortes* of Benavente consented

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[36] See chapter 6, tables 1-3.

[37] "Mando vobis firmiter et incauto quod toti recipiatis istam meam monetam que modo curret sicut unquam eam melius recepistis." Alfonso IX, 2:733 no. 653.

[38] A reduction from 4 d. to even 3 d. would have caused the *leonés*'s value to drop well below 8 solidi to the morabetino. The *jaccensis* of Aragón had dropped to a rate of 10 solidi per morabetino when debased in this manner by Alfonso II.

to such a levy in exchange for Alfonso IX giving up his right to change (*mutare*) the coinage for seven years.

A *mutatio* of the coinage was supposed to represent an honest renewal of the kingdom's currency. On such occasions, the crown would call in the old, worn currency at a discount in exchange for new coin of the same intrinsic value. Alfonso IX's grandfather, Alfonso VII, had changed coin types often but maintained the money at 4 d. fine since the early years of his reign. In the end, his frequent renewal of the currency was the source of some resentment among his subjects for he was reprimanded at the general council of Valladolid in 1155 by Cardinal Hyacinth and the practice may have become less frequent under his successors. There are only 4 coin types known for the thirty-one year reign of Fernando II of León (excluding the type he issued jointly with the young Alfonso VIII in Castile). Nevertheless, Fernando insisted in his charter to Santiago in 1182 that he could call in the coinage as often as he liked. Indeed, the decrees from Alfonso IX's *cortes* of Benavente stressed that a *mutatio* was the sovereign's inalienable prerogative, and if he was unwilling to forgo it his subjects were bound to accept his new type.

This system of *renovatio*, though it may have been begrudged by the populace, functioned in León, and probably in independent Castile as well, because both crowns continued to maintain the fineness of the denarius at 4 d.

Such a system hinged on the population's trust that they would receive coins of equal intrinsic value in the exchange. The radical debasement of Alfonso VIII, however, perhaps imposed under the guise of a *renovatio*, surely undermined faith in the royal coinage in Castile and perhaps affected affairs in León as well. The consent to a *moneta* levy at Benavente in León in 1202 coincides very closely with Alfonso VIII's debasement in Castile and also Pedro II's manipulation in Barcelona. It may have been fear in León that the king would resort to a similar debasement that helped convince the *cortes* of Benavente to vote for the tax.[39]

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[39] In November 1194, Alfonso granted the military order of Santiago, "totam decimam mee moneta de terra Legionis, Zamore, Villefrance et mearum Asturiarum." This may have meant that the order was entitled to a tenth of profits from all royal mints with the exclusion of Compostela. A second charter, however, drawn up a month later seems to confirm the same concession. It gave the Order, "decimam partem tallii totius monete regni mei" The reference to a tallage on the coinage could be interpreted as a reference to a *monetagium*. (See Alfonso IX, 2:133-35 nos. 89-90)

In this light, it is tempting to posit that Alfonso IX collected a *moneta* at the *cortes* he held in León soon after gaining the throne in 1188, though the surviving decrees do not mention it. (The meeting, however, is notable in that it is the first documented instance of townsmen attending the *cortes*. See Alfonso IX, 2:23-26 no. 11.) If he levied a *moneta* in 1188 in exchange for forgoing a *mutatio* for seven years, the agreement would have expired in 1195. If renewed in 1195 for another seven years, the term would have ended in 1202, the date of the Benavente *cortes*.

Nonetheless, the phrase "tallii totius monete" in Alfonso IX's grant to the Order of Santiago could also refer to the king's seignoriage or profit from his mints. I am inclined to believe this later interpretation for two reasons. First, there is a parallel to Alfonso IX's grant to the Knights of Santiago in Alfonso II of Aragón's

Together, the introduction of Alfonso VIII's *pepión*, Pedro II's *doblench* and Alfonso IX's collection of *moneta* at the turn of the century point to the conclusion that the resources of the Christian princes were, in general, beginning to suffer. The collapse of Almoravid power in the mid-twelfth century had allowed the Christian states a second opportunity to exploit the wealth of al-Andalus, analogous to the age of the *parias* though much briefer. The so-called "Pilgrim's Guide to Compostela," composed sometime in this period, described Castile as a land "full of treasures, of gold and silver" and remarked that Galicia abounded "in gold and silver ... as well as in Saracen treasures."[40] From 1150 onward, however, the Almohads pressed the Christians hard to win control of al-Andalus. With the death of Ibn Mardanīsh, tribute to the Christians ceased and the second "gold boom" came to an end in the north, though the strain of fighting the Almohads continued.

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endowment of the Templars with a tenth of the profit of the *jaccensis*. (See Bisson, Conservation, 85 n. 2.) Secondly, the numismatic evidence indicates that Alfonso IX changed types a number of times. This combined with the scarcity of his father's coins today would tend to point to Alfonso having renewed his coinage several times in the early years of the reign before *monetagium* was collected.

[40] The pilgrim's guide is book five of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, also called the *Codex Calixtinus*. The compilation of the codex can be dated between 1139 and 1173. From internal evidence, the "Guide" itself clearly dates to after 1120. The author's comments on gold would, in my mind, tend to place it c.1140 or later. See Melczer, Pilgrim's Guide, 88, 96, cf. 28-29.

In addition to the cost of maintaining the struggle against the Almohads, the prosperity of Christian Spain was probably beginning to feel the pinch of Latin Europe's commercial expansion. It could be argued that the limited amount of Islamic gold that reached Western Europe over the course of the twelfth century came mainly through the Hispanic Christian states which had in turn allowed those states to attract silver from Europe.[41] But, as the century came to a close, the advantage that Christian Spain had as a supplier of gold to Latin Europe was gradually eroded. Italian and French maritime communities began to establish more direct links with North African ports as is

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[41] Pamela Nightingale, in "Pepperers' Guild," 129-30, arrives at a similar conclusion, but a number of her suggestions should be clarified. We have already shown that her contention that Palencia was a center for European merchants seeking to exchange European silver for Muslim gold is ill founded. (See chapter 6, n.28. above) Secondly, she points to a find of two morabetinos in London, both dated 1131, as evidence of the importation of gold from Spain. This find, however, cannot support her inference that this trade in gold was prospering as early as 1119. Morabetinos had barely begun to surface in León by 1130. The dates on the coins obviously serve only as a terminus post quem for their arrival in England. (The find, not referenced in Nightingale, is reported in Duplessey, "Monnaies arabes," 133 no. 36.)

Finally, Nightingale writes that, "the adoption of the English sterling mark by the Christian kings of Spain and Portugal in the last quarter of the twelfth century as the weight standard for their gold marabetinos implies that English coin was being exported in some quantity to Spain in exchange for gold." (130) There is no basis for this conclusion. The weight standard for the morabetino *alfonsín* and the other Latin morabetinos of roughly 3.89 grams was derived from the weight of Lobo's morabetino which may have ultimately been influenced by the Hispanic-Christian custom of reckoning the dinar at 7 to the Roman ounce. (See appendix A.)

clearly demonstrated by the production of silver *millareses* in these towns which flourished into the late thirteenth century.[42]

The debasements of Alfonso VIII in Castile and Pedro II in Barcelona had been drastic. Both kings cut the silver content of their quaternal denarii in half. More remarkable, however, than the fact that these two debasements happened simultaneously is that both were unsuccessful. Alfonso and Pedro eventually restored the older quaternal coinages, an action which must have been the result of popular outcry. Pedro should have been able to predict the unpopularity of his measure from the lesson of his father's reign. Alfonso II of Aragón, had attempted a less dramatic reduction of the *jaccensis* from 4 d. to 3 d. around 1174 but here again the king was forced to reverse his action and bring back the stronger coinage.[43]

In León, a similar debasement was probably avoided by the populace's willingness to consent to a *moneta* subsidy. The failure of the debasements in Castile, Barcelona and Aragón, as well as the emergence of the *moneta* tax in León, therefore, serve as an indication that over the course of

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[42] Watson, in "Back to Gold and Silver," 7, concluded that the first crusades served to drain Christian Spanish gold toward the Levant. The suggestion is an intriguing one, but he offers no evidence. For Genoa and Pisa's contact with North Africa and commercial expansion in the thirteenth century in general, see Spufford, Money, 163-86.

[43] Bisson, Conservation, 85.

the twelfth century money had come to play a more integral role in society. In the earlier years of the century, the denarius *de medietate* was abandoned in these states and left barely a ripple in the sources. By 1200, however, the use of money had undoubtedly grown and after the denarii of León, Castile, Aragón and Barcelona had been long maintained at 4 d., a sudden changes in it value was bound to meet with resistance. While coinage belonged to the sovereign, it was now increasingly a matter that "touched all."

Aftermath - The Thirteenth Century

The thirteenth century began exceptionally well for León-Castile, at least in terms of the reconquest. Alfonso VIII's victory at Las Navas de Tolosa in 1212 marked the beginning of the end of Almohad power in Spain. Under Fernando III, a reunited León-Castile rapidly increased its territory. In 1236, Fernando conquered Córdoba, the former capital of the Umayyad caliphate, and by 1248 he advanced further south to take Seville. At his death in 1252, his realm covered more than half the Iberian peninsula.[44]

As far as we know, Fernando III struck no coin in his own name. Rather, he allowed the immobilized types of Alfonso VIII, the *burgalés* and the *pepión*, to continue in

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[44] In the east, a similar advance was led by Pedro II's son Jaime I, who colonized the Muslim kingdom of Valencia and began the conquest of the Balearic islands. O'Callaghan, Medieval Spain, 337-49.

Castile.[45] He also appears to have continued to strike the morabetino *alfonsín*, though these issues were probably limited. When he gained the throne of León in 1230, he likewise allowed the *leonés* of his father, Alfonso IX, to continue unchanged.[46] Fernando III's laissez-faire policy toward the coinage, however, should not be mistaken for indifference. Fernando's immobilization of the coin types of his predecessors was almost certainly the result of the constraints placed on the crown by a *monetagium* tax.

Even without the threat of debasement, the adoption of a *monetagium* tax as an alternative to *renovatio* had much to recommend it to those who met at the *cortes* of Benavente in 1202. Despite the democratic language of the charter issued there, which declared that neither "a knight nor the knight's servant who collects his bread and wine" was to be exempt from the tax, the flat *monetagium* payment favored the wealthy who in a *renovatio* were taxed on their total capital in coin.[47] An assembly of the kingdom's leading

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[45] The debate over the so-called F. REX coinage appears to have been laid to rest. The hoard finds combined with the dilplamtic evidence demonstrates that this was the coin of Fernando IV. See Todesca, "Monetary History," 182-88.

[46] Since the *leonés* was slightly weaker than the *burgalés*, this resulted in two slightly different units of account in the kingdom. See Todesca, "Rebellion," 31, 35-37.

[47] "Nec debet de emtione ipsius monete aliquis excusari nisi ... miles et cassarius ipsius militis qui panem vel vinum eius collegerit." Alfonso IX, 2:236-37 no. 167.

nobles, prelates and townsmen as were gathered at Benavente would be likely to favor such an option.

While there is no record of a Castilian *cortes* arriving at a similar agreement with Alfonso VIII before his death in 1214, there is fairly clear evidence that *monetagium* was being collected in Castile by the reign of Enrique I and certainly by the early years of Fernando III.[48] The documents from Fernando III's reign do not show that this *moneta* tax was voted on by a meeting of the *cortes* every seven years, but his policy of immobilization, which is evident from the numismatic record, suggest that the tax was collected. By the early years of the reign of Alfonso X, the crown had begun to consider the *moneta* tax a customary right due every seven years.[49]

Fernando III died in 1252, only a few years after his crowning military achievement, the conquest of Seville. To Alfonso X fell the task of consolidating his father's tremendous territorial gains. Though much of the Muslim population initially remained in the countryside of the newly-conquered south, the crown had encouraged Christian occupation of the towns to secure the frontier. This migration taxed the manpower of the northern regions and probably made the kingdom more reliant on a network of trade. The southern regions, Andalusia and Murcia, soon

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[48] See Todesca, "Monetary history," 151-53; cf. O'Callaghan, "Beginnings," 1519

[49] Todesca, "Monetary history," 160-61.

suffered their own shortage of manpower with the virtual expulsion of the Muslim population after the uprising of 1264. At the same time, the recent acquisition of Seville on the Guadalquivir river fully opened Castile-León to Mediterranean commerce and the luxury items it could provide. The overall effect seems to have been an increasing demand for ample coinage to maintain a more complex and delicately balanced economy.

Alfonso X perhaps irrevocably aggravated the problem in his first decade as king. He expended huge sums outside the realm both in helping to ransom the son of the Latin emperor of Constantinople and attempting to purchase for himself the title of Roman emperor. He responded at home by repeatedly promulgating sumptuary laws against the use of luxury items, setting wage and price ceilings and finally by manipulating the coinage.[50] If Alfonso X indeed felt confident that he could collect the *monetagium* with or without first gaining the approval of the assembled *cortes*, there was little incentive for him to adhere to the old coinage standards. By 1264, at war with Granada, he issued the first new type seen in Castile-León since the last coin of Alfonso IX was issued sometime before 1230. Alfonso X's

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[50] O'Callaghan, "Paths to Ruin," 41-67; Miguel Angel Ladero Quesada, "Aspectos de la politica economica de Alfonso X," Revista de la Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad Complutense de Madrid 9:69-82.

new *moneda de la guerra* contained roughly a third less silver than the old *burgalés* and *leonés*.[51]

At this stage, Alfonso's government may have still been capable of calling in the older coinage. The *burgalés*, *leonés* and *pepión* drop quickly from the documents and are found in few hoards. But when, despite his promises at Jerez in 1268, Alfonso imposed two more debasements in the next decade, the crown's ability to effectively call in the currency seems to have been severely undermined. His son Sancho would attempt to recall older issues, as would his son, Fernando IV, but neither appear to have been particularly successful.[52] With each successive debasement, the older, stronger coins tended to be hoarded rather than surrendered back to the mint. Without the effective recall of older issues, the crown's ability to maintain a stable coinage at a profit was severely undermined. Thus, with Alfonso X, a cycle of debasement and manipulation began in León-Castile that would continue down to the reign of the Catholic Kings.

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[51] For the *moneda de la guerra* and Alfonso X's two subsequent coins see, in general, Todesca, "Monetary History," 162-78. The identification of Alfonso's third coin, however, is revised in Todesca, "Rebellion," 27-43.

[52] For Sancho's attempt at recalling older issue, see Todesca, "Rebellion," 27-43. For Fernando IV, see Todesca, "Monetary History," 182-88.

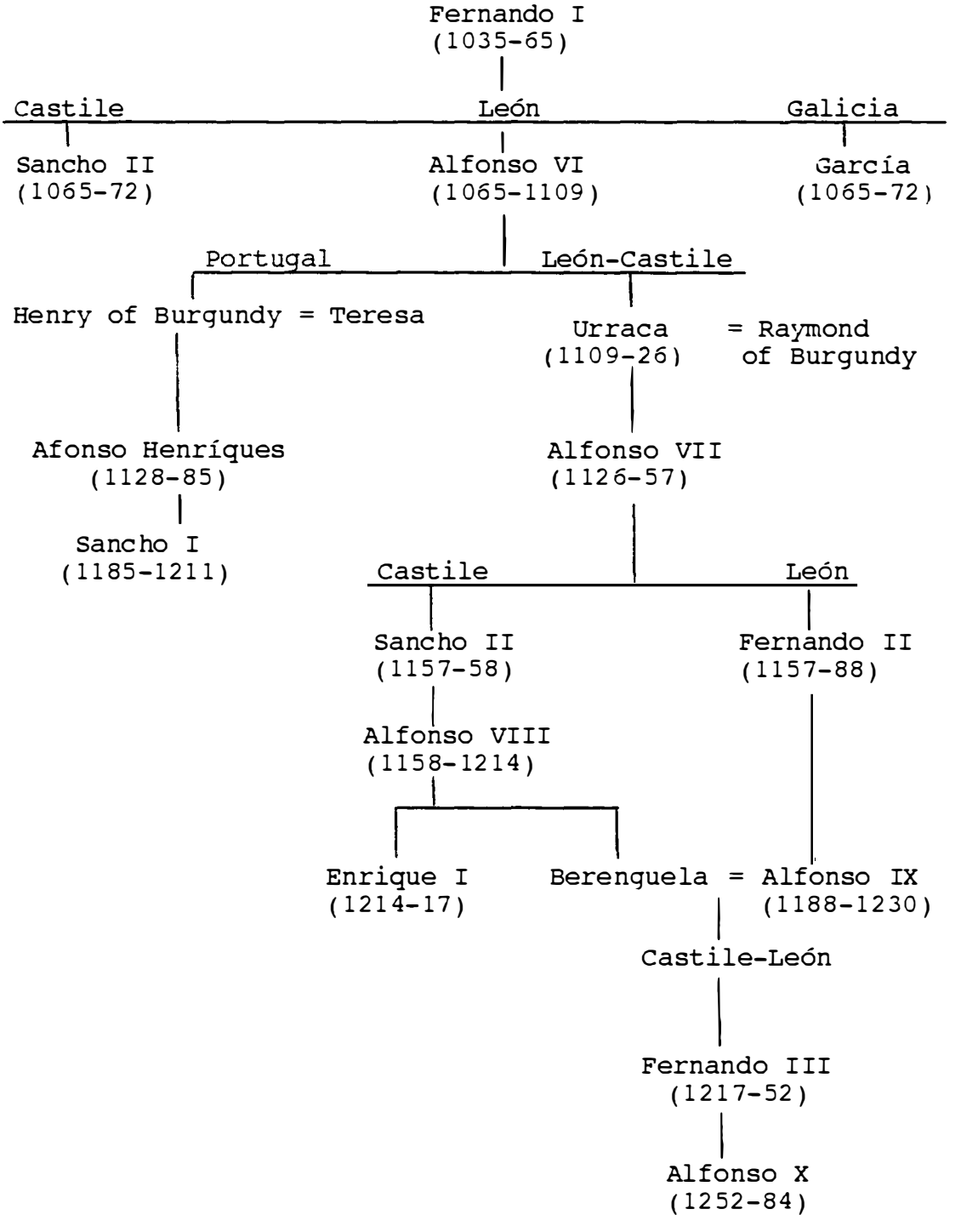

Fig. 1. Rulers of León-Castile, 1035-1284

CONCLUSION

Between the years 800 and 1300, the economy of Western Europe was transformed by the interrelated growth of trade, towns, and the use coin. Historians may still debate how extensively the silver denarius of the Carolingians circulated on a daily basis in the ninth century, but with the opening of the silver mines in the Harz mountains in Germany c.960 minting and the use of money progressed steadily in Latin Christendom.[1] By the late thirteenth century, with the rise of local and international banking, the degree to which the European economy relied on money had far surpassed that of the ancient world. To this extent, the development of an economy in which all levels of society accepted and for the most part trusted coin as a means of payment was one of the achievements of the Western Middle Ages passed on to the modern era.

The kingdom of León-Castile was not excluded from this gradual European revival. At the close of the ninth century, during the reign of Alfonso III, some form of silver currency began to circulate within the kingdom. Beginning in his reign, surviving charters from the tenth century refer to payments made in solidi argenti and, less commonly, to payments in solidi *gallicani*.

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[1] See, in general, Metcalf, "Prosperity of North-Western Europe," 344-48.

Alfonso III extended the borders of his kingdom south to the Duero river and it is certainly likely that settlers along the new frontier were able to procure some silver dirhams from Andalusia. Nonetheless, there is no compelling reason to accept the theory held by Beltrán and others that the solidus argenti in tenth-century Asturias-León was based on Islamic monetary values. Besides extending his kingdom to the south, Alfonso had promoted the cult of St. James by rebuilding the church of Santiago de Compostela. Evidence of pilgrims making the journey from southern France to Compostela can be found as early as 950.[2] Frankish denarii, then, were almost certainly reaching the kingdom in the early tenth century, carried either overland through Catalonia or possibly via early maritime links across the Bay of Biscay. The phrase solidus argenti in the sources was most likely derived from the Carolingian solidus argenti, a unit of account representing the value of 12 denarii.

In the same regard, there is little reason to believe that the phrase solidus *gallicanus*, which is met occasionally in the sources of tenth-century Galicia, indicates that the populace of this part of Asturias-León had resurrected three-hundred-year-old Suevic gold pieces as has been suggested by previous studies. The term could

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[2] Vázquez de Parga et al., Las peregrinaciones, 1:39-46.

be seen as evidence that the crown or some other authority struck denarii in Galicia, perhaps in connection with the building of the new church at Santiago, but there is nothing else to substantiate such a theory. It is more likely that the term solidus *gallicanus* was simply another way of referring to the foreign denarii of *Francia* or Gaul. Whether the kings of tenth-century Asturias struck their own denarii anywhere in the realm is impossible to determine from the evidence that survives today.

It was in the following century that Islamic coinage made a significant impact on the economy of León as well as the other Latin states of Iberia. The effect of the collapse of the Umayyad caliphate in the early decades of the eleventh century is immediately evident in the Catalan documentary sources where citations of the mancus, the Islamic gold dinar, are plentiful. Gold flowed to Barcelona and the other Catalan lands at first as a result of Catalan troops serving in Andalusia and perhaps also through trade and border raids. Probably by the 1030s and certainly by the 1040s, however, the Catalan counts had begun to collect gold tribute from the independent Muslim lords that emerged after the breakup of the caliphate.

In contrast to its presence in Catalonia, the gold dinar is almost wholly absent from Leonese and Castilian charters of the first half of the eleventh century. Charters from the town of León do begin to refer to silver paid out by weight. This practice may possibly reflect an

influx of dirhams which tended to be more erratic in weight than Christian denarii. By his death in 1065, however, Fernando I of León-Castile had begun to collect *parias* or tribute from the south and could afford to endow the French house of Cluny with 1,000 dinars per annum. Still, the sources give little indication that gold was circulating in the domestic economy, though payments in silver seemed to become more common. The bishop of León in 1074, for example, could rely on an annual payment of 500 solidi of "excellent silver" from the Jewish community in the town of León.

The explanation for the continued lack of gold in León-Castile lies in the fact that the nature of the payments from Andalusia had undoubtedly begun to change by mid-century. With their gold resources dwindling, the taifa princes started to render their tribute either in poor quality gold or alternatively in silver dirhams and also in-kind. Faced with this scenario, Fernando I and his son Alfonso VI appear to have guarded their gold for large international payments like the census to Cluny. Similarly, Sancho Ramírez of Aragón-Navarre made payment in gold to Rome. What gold these rulers allowed to trickle down to their native aristocracy and clergy seems to have in turn been used sparingly by them. The end result may have been that incoming silver from Andalusia along with previously hoarded silver was now freed up for domestic circulation while gold was set aside.

But what form did the silver circulating in León-Castile take? Was it merely a "mixed bag" of plate, dirhams and assorted Latin denarii? By the 1060s, references to transactions conducted in solidi argenti weighed on the scale cease. While there is still no clear evidence at this juncture that Fernando I struck his own denarii, to read through the surviving charters from 1060 onward, particularly those from the town of León citing repeated payment of solidi argenti, it seems almost inconceivable that the king was as yet not minting. Possibly the crown procured denarii on a limited contractual basis. We know that at mid-century, Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona hired private moneyers to strike denarii in this manner.

With the reign of Alfonso VI, we finally come to somewhat firm ground. By the year 1100, royal coins were struck in at least three mints, León, Santiago and Toledo. Whether Alfonso VI expanded on a limited minting tradition of his predecessors or was actually the first king of León to mint coin, his monetary policy was by either measure ambitious. His christogram coin, as Metcalf noted, was struck from hundreds of dies and appears to be one of the first large-scale billon issues of Christian Spain.[3]

Gautier Dalché, accepting Heiss's chronology that Alfonso VI was in fact the first king of León-Castile to

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[3] Metcalf, "A Parcel of Coins," 288

strike coin, suggested that it was the prestige of occupying Toledo, the seat of the old Visigothic kingdom, that lent the crown a sense of legitimacy and convinced Alfonso that the time had arrived to mint. In Gautier Dalché's view, the act was "symbolic more than economic."[4] But such a hypothesis does not explain the extensiveness of his coinage and ignores the growth of the use of money in the kingdom in the century and a half before Alfonso VI ascended the throne. If his predecessors truly had not struck any coin, in economic terms a native coinage was long overdue by Alfonso VI's reign

Along with clear evidence regarding minting, it is also during the reign of Alfonso VI that the sources first reveal attempts by the crown to levy a tax on each household, assessed in solidi argenti, both in the territory of León and in the diocese of Santiago. These exactions were emergency measures designed to raise funds for defense against the Almoravids, who besides threatening the kingdom physically, had cut off Alfonso's income in tribute. To attempt to collect such a tax demanded an ample coinage and the *Historia Compostelana* testifies that in Santiago the levy failed because of the state of the currency. A desire to remedy this problem may well have

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[4] Jean Gautier Dalché, "Le rôle de la reconquête de Tolède dans l'histoire monetaire de la Castile (1085-1174)," in Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo (actas del II congreso internacional de estudios mozárabes), vol 2 (Toledo, 1987), 14.

been the immediate motive behind Alfonso VI's carefully struck issues, the star-annulet and christogram types.

Bernard Reilly in his recent survey of Spain from 1031 to 1157 emphasized what he saw as "the very limited resources of the central power in any of the political centers of Iberia during the period." While Reilly recognized that the kings of Christian Spain enjoyed a certain prestige among their subjects, especially in their role as leaders in the reconquest, he concluded that "royal government was short of reach and spastic in application."[5] In particular, Reilly stressed that along with a failure to administer justice and collect royal revenues directly, the kings of Christian Spain farmed out the right to coin money:

> (The right to mint) was sold or leased to private moneyers and in that fashion furnished revenue to the crown. Neither in this nor in any other regard is there evidence of a central machinery which could have controlled or directed the everyday operation of such an enterprise.[6]

Reilly's conclusion may have been based on the evidence of three mint contracts from eleventh-century Barcelona. Though the terms of these contracts are somewhat ambiguous, Ramón Berenguer I clearly received a fixed payment in return for allowing the moneyers to mint.[7]

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[5] Reilly, Contest, xiv, 239.

[6] Ibid., 58.

[7] Botet, Les monedes, 200-202 nos. 4-6. See further appendix B below.

As in a tax farm, the count knew his profit in advance and was at no financial risk. If the kings of León-Castile once resorted to a similar practice, by the beginning of the twelfth century the crown's monetary policy had grown more sophisticated.

In his charter of 1107 granting the bishop and chapter of Compostela full rights to the local mint, Alfonso VI spoke of the possibility that the clergy might not realize an ample profit in administering the mint on their own. In such a case, the king proposed that his own *prepositus* or overseer of mints could come to their aid. The crown, then, was plainly involved to some extent in supervising its mints and it expected the clergy of Santiago to attempt to do the same. Profit from coinage did not come from fixed contracts, but depended directly on how successfully each of the mints could attract bullion in exchange for coin. Alfonso in the same charter was troubled by the harm that counterfeits were causing in the kingdom. If his coinage was farmed, the potential loss in profit from counterfeiting would not have been his concern.

In addition to the royal grant to Santiago, the surviving coins attributed to Alfonso VI bear further testimony to a monetary policy that went beyond ad hoc mint contracts. The coins produced at Santiago, Toledo, León and possibly other unsigned mints in the final years of his reign are so uniform in appearance that it seems very likely that the dies were centrally cut and then

distributed. Also, the weights of the flans appear to have been tightly controlled, another sign of careful supervision.[8]

The long period of anarchy that followed the death of Alfonso VI in 1109, precluded his successors from striking coins that were as carefully produced as his christogram coin, although the early issues of Urraca came close. With tribute from al-Andalus still cut off, and a three-way civil war raging within the kingdom, Urraca's immediate need for coin was probably greater than her father's. Citing the demands of war, the queen opened at least one new mint at Sahagún in 1116. Despite the chaos of these years, her minting policy did not involve farming the coinage in return for a one-time payment. At her new mint in Sahagún, she placed the abbot of the monastery in charge of the operation. He was to hire the workers, assay the coinage and receive a third of whatever profits were made. Another third of the profits were to go to a near-by convent. By alienating such a large share of potential revenue, the queen perhaps hoped to cement local loyalties. It also obviously provided her with a hands-on administrator in the person of the abbot. At Palencia, she awarded the bishop half the proceeds of the local mint.

While the exigencies of war probably caused Urraca to give away more mint profits than she may have been inclined

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[8] Metcalf, "A Parcel of Coins," 298-300.

to do if her reign was peaceful, her successor, Alfonso VII, regained some of what was lost. He closed the mint at Sahagún, appears to have reduced the bishop of Palencia's share of mint profits to a tenth and reduced the bishop of Segovia's mint share from a third to a fourth. He also successfully reclaimed half of the profits of Compostela and may have closed a mint at Lugo established under Alfonso VI.

By the end of Alfonso VII's reign, there were approximately seven mints in the realm, all located in towns that were the seats of bishops. Each of these bishops still retained some share of the local minting proceeds. One hears nothing more of a royal *prepositus* of mints as mentioned in the reign of Alfonso VI and we might surmise that the king's directives with regards to the coinage were in general carried out by the local bishops. Hence, Alfonso VII awarded the bishop of Palencia an additional 50 morabetinos above his share of normal mint proceeds each time the mint was required to change to a new type. The role of these bishops in monetary matters may also be seen in the legislation passed at Valladolid at the end of Alfonso VII's reign. Those guilty of counterfeiting were to lose all their wealth and a tenth of the money confiscated, legitimate coin as well as false, was to go to the bishop.[9]

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[9] See appendix C, n. 6 below.

Alfonso VII struck a wide variety of types in his thirty-one year reign, though a lack of pertinent hoards prevents placing them in any chronological order. Nonetheless, documentary evidence indicates that from roughly 1130 onward the denarius of León was maintained at a fineness of 4 d., in parity with the coins of Aragón and Barcelona. The evidence of intrinsic stability, combined with the variety of surviving types and scattered references in the documents to "changing" the money all point to the conclusion that Alfonso VII periodically renewed the coinage. More than his ability to safeguard his rights in a network of seven mints, the likelihood that Alfonso VII had the authority and means necessary to execute a renewal of the currency speaks to the strength of royal government in the mid-twelfth century and should make us pause to reconsider Reilly's overall assessment.

The twelfth century was, in general, a period of political maturation in Western Europe. While it is true that the kings of León-Castile did not develop the bureaucratic machinery that the Norman-Plantagenet kings of England or the Capetians of France did, the challenges that faced the rulers of León-Castile were in key respects different from those facing their more northern contemporaries. The French and English crowns had to overcome the decentralizing forces of feudalism. To do so, they developed a corps of royal agents that could perform their will at the local level and help circumvent the

independence of powerful vassals. Feudalism, however, was never as prominent in León-Castile. Strong bonds of vassalage as well as landed servitude were hampered from the ninth century onward by the freedom to be found along the frontier. To this extent, the rulers of León-Castile did not have the same immediate need to develop a bureaucracy of loyal agents comparable to the *prévôts* and *baillis* of the French crown or the sheriffs and bailiffs of the English monarchy.[10]

The structure of their kingdom afforded them a different avenue towards local administration. The continual process of colonization along the frontier had given rise to a network of towns in twelfth-century León-Castile that was unparalleled in either England or France. While some of these settlements were under the rule of secular or ecclesiastical lords, most were directly dependent on the king. Because these towns controlled expansive tracts of outlying territory, at times equivalent to the shires of England or counties of France they became "major elements in the administrative structure" of the kingdom.[11]

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[10] As Reilly points out, the royal agents in Christian Spain, called *merinos*, generally enjoyed a great deal of independence. Reilly, Contest, 239. Cf. W.L. Warren, Henry II (Berkeley, 1973), 362; John W. Baldwin, The Government of Philip Augustus (Berkeley, 1986), 125-44.

[11] O'Callaghan, Cortes, 13-14.

It was undoubtedly through this municipal structure that the crown of León-Castile was able to achieve such measures as the recall of its coinage. The thirteenth-century *Fuero* of Jaca informs us that in neighboring Aragón the crown had long been accustomed to setting up tables of exchange for a prescribed period in the towns for the purpose of changing the coinage. In León-Castile, concrete evidence of such a practice can be seen in Fernando IV's ordinance of 1302 in which he sought to rid the kingdom of bad coin by setting up tables in the towns, just as is alluded to in the *Fuero* of Jaca. Fernando IV's ordinance further informs us that each table was to be supervised by a royal agent as well as a representative of the local town council. There is reason to believe, then, that the crown in the twelfth century was also able to use the town government to similar advantage in carrying out renewals of the coinage as well as in the execution of other matters, such as in mustering those who owed military service or collecting shield money from those who could not answer the call.

In the later half of the twelfth century, after the division of the realm in 1157, the demands of an increasingly commercial economy called for both the crowns of León and Castile to further refine their monetary policy. Eighty years before the Italian merchant cities felt the need to strike their own gold coins, the economies of León and Castile had become so acclimated to a bi-

metallic system based on the value of the gold morabetino that when the flow of morabetinos from al-Andalus dried up both crowns initiated their own version of the coin. While the morabetino appears to have been struck in only one mint in each kingdom, at the same time the two crowns opened additional mints to strike denarii.

These new mints were not placed strictly in towns that corresponded to episcopal sees. Rather, they seem to have been placed consciously in frontier or border regions. Growing commercial contact with Europe brought an increasing amount of foreign coin to the realms, such as the denarii of Anjou and Tours. In addition, the division of the old realm put pressure on the independent crowns to define separate spheres of circulation for their coins in an area that had once enjoyed a common currency. In granting a *fuero* to the town of Benavente in 1167, for example, Fernando II commanded that no one dare to use any coin other than his own.[12] The placement of mints along political boundaries, then, may reflect a similar effort on the part of these rulers to exclude foreign coin.

The growing use of coin, accompanied by increased mint sites soon brought about a more fundamental shift in royal monetary policy in both León and Castile. As the volume of coin in circulation increased periodic renewal of the currency became less and less practical for the crown.

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[12] Rodríguez, Fueros locales, 289-90 n. 17.

From the populace's point of view, the more capital an individual acquired in coin, the more he was hurt by periodic demonetization. The adoption of a flat *monetagium* tax, therefore, was a practical compromise. After an attempt at debasement in Castile, both crowns in the early part of the thirteenth century appear to have settled on the option of collecting *moneta* with the consent of representative assemblies analogous to the *cortes* that had assembled at Benavente in 1202.

In Castile, as a result of the adoption of a *monetagium* tax in place of a system of *renovatio*, neither Enrique I nor Fernando III struck coins in their own name. In return for the new *moneta* subsidy, they immobilized the last two issues of Alfonso VIII, the *burgalés* and the *pepión*. When Fernando III later gained the throne of León in 1230 and united the two realms, he also immobilized the last issue of Alfonso IX, which came to be called the *leonés*. This coin was slightly weaker than the *burgalés*, probably due to a deficiency in weight. (It took 96 *leoneses* to equal 90 *burgaleses*). Fernando dared not adjust either coin to put them in parity with one another.

At Fernando's death in 1252, then, 3 coins were in circulation in the united realm, the *leonés*, the *burgalés* and *pepión*. The first two represented a tradition of quaternal coinage that reached back to the early years of Alfonso VII, c. 1130. The *pepión*, represented a failed attempt at debasement by Alfonso VIII and should have stood

as a warning to Alfonso X of the hazards of such maneuvers. It did not. After enduring three successive debasements under Alfonso X, during which time the king continued to exact the *moneta* tax, the assembly of Valladolid in 1282 asked the *infante* Sancho to restore the *leonés*, the *burgalés* and the *pepión*. Together these 3 coins represented a time under Fernando III when the crown had honored the concept of the *moneta* tax and kept the coinage unchanged.[13]

The monarchs of León-Castile in the twelfth and the thirteenth century may not have built a state machinery as elaborate as that of the English and French crowns, but at an early stage they compensated for this disadvantage by calling assemblies composed of representatives from all three estates to aid in the administration of the realm. Popular concern over the kingdom's coinage, which can be seen as early as the assembly of Valladolid in 1155, quickly emerged as a prime consideration of these fuller assemblies of nobles, clergy and townsmen that began to be called in both León and Castile in the early years of the

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[13] The assembly at Valladolid also asked Sancho to restore a second coin from León that they referred to as the *salamanqués*. Documents from the reign of Fernando III rarely use this term. Judging from numismatic evidence from the period of Sancho's rebellion, by *salamanqués* the Valladolid assembly seemed to mean the coin we have labeled Alfonso IX type 1. Fernando III, therefore, may have allowed Alfonso IX's last two issues to circulate, though they must have been of equal value. In Fernando III's day, both types were probably simply called the *leonés*. See Todesca, "Rebellion," 35, 39-40; cf. chapter 9 above.

thirteenth century. In this regard, then, the issue of coinage was a driving force behind the development of the *cortes*. In calling such early assemblies as those that met in León in 1188, Benavente in 1202 and possibly Toledo in 1207, almost a hundred years prior to analogous meetings in England or France, the monarchs of León-Castile had taken a crucial step towards forging a nation.

APPENDIX A

SOLIDUS *KAZIMI*

AND THE DIRHAM OF ANDALUSIA

Possibly the earliest reference to the solidus argenti *kazimi* in the Latin documents of Spain is in a charter from the territory of Portugal which records the sale of a church in 943 for 35 "solidos kazimis."[1] The date of this document may be suspect, however, in that there is no other mention of solidi *kazimi* in the sources for the next thirty years.[2] The term appears in a second charter dated 977 preserved in a cartulary from the monastery of Lorvão, again in Portugal, and in an entry from the cartulary of the Galician monastery of Sobrado dated 984.[3] In Catalonia, the earliest citation may be 981, but this reference too seems corrupt.[4]

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[1] Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, 1:30, no. 60. For a summary of many of the citations to solidi *kazimi*, see Chalmeta, "Précisions," 316-18.

[2] Gil Farrés in Historia, 218, alludes to a charter from Coimbra dated 893 which cites solidi *kazimi*. He gives no reference, however, and was almost certainly mistaken.

[3] Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, 1:76 no. 211; Sánchez Albornoz, "Primitiva organización," 307-308 and his "Moneda de cambio," 181.

[4] "(M)ancusos ...cacminos." Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 385. This is the only time in the Hispanic Latin sources where the adjective is applied to mancus rather than solidi. It may be a corruption of "mancusos *cocidos*," an adjective normally used to emphasis the purity of gold.

Curiously, several documents from the Italian towns of Amalfi and Salerno dated 956-57 mention "auri tari ...

The majority of references to the phrase are in transactions of the eleventh century, though even here the total number of known citations is not many. According to Bonnassie, after the reference of 981, the term does not appear in the Catalan documentation again until 1019. From that date it appears six to seven times in the Catalan documents over the next decade and once again in a document dated 1041.[5] With two possible exceptions, the solidi argenti *kazimi* is not cited in the sources of the western kingdoms during the first half of the century.[6] From 1061 until the early twelfth century, however, it appears

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cassimini" and "auri solidos ... cassimini." The references are most likely to Fatimid gold issued by the caliph Qāsim (934-46). [See Travaini, "I tarì di Salerno," 14; Philip Grierson, "La monetazione amalfitana nei secoli XI e XII," in Later Medieval Numismatics (11th-16th centuries) (London, 1979), 222] While *kazimi* in these Italian documents is applied to a different coin, the use of the term among early Italian traders may be further evidence of their presence in Spain in the tenth century. For Amalfi delegates at Córdoba, see Constable, Trade, 41.

[5] See the table compiled by Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 385. He lists seven citations but I am hesitant about assigning the undated charter between Berenguer Ramón and Ermengol of Urgell in the *Liber Feodorum Maior* to the reign of Berenguer Ramón I (1017-35). See Rosell, Liber 1:162 no. 157;cf. appendix B below.

[6] See the sale of 1016 to the monastery of Lorvão by Zuleiman in Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, 1:143 no. 230. (The sale of 977 cited in n. 3 above is also by Zuleiman.) A charter from the monastery of Vacarica dated 1046 citing solidi "hallices" may be a corruption of *hazimis* or *kazimis*. (Portugaliae Monumenta Historica: Diplomata et Chartae, 1: no. 344; cf. Losa, "Money among the Mozarabs," 288.)

occasionally in the documents of Aragón-Navarre and León-Castile.[7]

There is no doubt that the term referred to Islamic silver. Several of the Catalan documents specify that solidi *kazimi* were from *Spania*, the Latin name for al-Andalus.[8] The phrase, therefore, has often been taken as corroboration that the frequent and unmodified references to solidi argenti in the Latin sources before the twelfth century were in fact to dirhams.[9] This is a hazardous leap of faith.

It is generally ignored that the citations to solidi argenti *kazimi* in the Latin sources coincide with the collapse of the caliphate and the era of the *parias*. They appear in Catalan documents at the same time as the gold mancus and are soon eclipsed by it. If the four early citations from Portugal and Galicia are to be trusted, the

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[7] For citations after 1050, see those compiled by Chalmeta in "Précisions," 318. To these can be added the charter of the abbot of San Victorian c.1056-68 which refers to "unum bonum asinum qui fuit comparatum in quadriginta solidos de cazmi." (Ubieto, "Documentos," part 5, 97-98 no. 62) See also the charter dated 1072 in Sahagún, 2:437-38 no. 713 and charters dated 1083 and 1105 in Sahagún, 3:99-101 no 806, 485-86 no 1125.

[8] "(S)olidos de argento Kacimi de Ispania." Rosell, Liber 1: 162 no. 157. See further Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 385.

[9] See, for example, Pedro Chalmeta's conclusion: "Il est aussi logique de supooser que les *argenteos*, *argentos* ou *solidos de argento* qui apparaissent fréquemment, sans autre mention identifcatrice, dans les documents léonais, aragonais et catalans des XIe et XIIe siècles soient tout simplement des dirham *Qāsimī*." Chalmeta, "Précisions," 321.

dirham also made inroads into the western economy at this time. It is probably not coincidence, however, that the phrase becomes more common in the sources from the western kingdoms after mid-eleventh century, precisely when the princes of these kingdoms were beginning to collect parias.

One cannot argue by inference that the unmodified solidus argenti which emerges in the documents of Asturias-León c.900 was a unit based on the dirham. The very fact that the solidi argenti *kazimi* of the eleventh century were given a special name and were at times noted to be "from *Spania*" points to the conclusion that they were a new phenomenon. It was part of the same political shift that suddenly brought the gold mancus flowing north, i.e., the disintegration of the caliphate.

Nonetheless, Pío Beltrán proposed that the solidus argenti had always been fundamentally a unit comprised of dirhams and that the solidus argenti *kazimi* referred to debased dirhams that had been initiated by the Córdoban mint master Qāsim.[10] In one way, Beltrán was probably correct. The adjective *kazimi* in the Latin documents does likely derive from this mint master, but both Muslim narrative sources and the evidence of the coin themselves indicate that Qāsim had in fact reformed the dirham of al-Andalus.

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[10] Pío Beltrán Villagrasa, "Notas sobre monedas aragonesas," PSANA 11-12 (1958), 44; cf. Lluis y Navas, "Aspectos," 13.

The dirhams of the emirate in the ninth century had not been outstanding. While there is no reliable data on the fineness of the emirate's silver, on the average the coins seemed to weigh only around 2.60 grams whereas the theoretical legal weight for the dirham (the dirham *kayl*) according to Muslim jurists was supposed to be 2.97 grams.[11] By the end of the ninth century, minting at Córdoba had ceased entirely in the political upheaval of those times. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān began to restore order, he waited sixteen years into his reign before reactivating the Córdoban mint. When he began striking both dirhams and dinars c.929 (A.H. 316) which proclaimed him caliph, he probably intended the mint to produce high quality coins but according to Ibn Ḥayyān, an eleventh-century chronicler, he was at first plagued with corrupt mint officials.

Ibn Ḥayyān tells us that the caliph was forced to employ a succession of mint masters in the first years after he resumed minting. In 941 (A.H. 330) he imprisoned the current master on charges of fraud and appointed Qāsim

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[11] Alberto Canto Garciá and Eduardo Marsal Moyano, "On the Metrology of the Silver Coinage of the Spanish Amirate," in PMC II, 167-80. For the dirham *kayl*, see Paul Balog, Umayyad, Abbasid and Tulunid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps (New York, 1976), 25; The common dictum used by the jurists was that the weight of 7 legal dinars was equivalent to the weight of 10 dirhams *kayl*. Taking the dinar to be 4.25 grams this translates to a weight of 2.97 grams for the dirham *kayl*. See further, Grierson "The Monetary Reforms of 'Abd al-Malik," 248, 256, n. 13; Chalmeta "Précisions," 323.

b. Hālid, who issued better coins than those of his predecessors. Qāsim held the post honorably until his death three years later in 944 (A.H. 332).[12]

Ibn Ḥayyān's account is largely corroborated by the surviving coinage. The name Qāsim appears as the last line of the obverse legend on both dinars and dirhams dated between A.H. 330 and 332.[13] Based on dies studies of his surviving coins as well as their high survival rate, Qāsim's three years in office appear to have seen a high production of dirhams.[14] His surviving coins also indicate that he increased the weight of the dirham to a standard approaching that of dirham kayl.[15]

Nonetheless, considering that solidus *kazimi* is mainly cited in eleventh-century documents, it seems unlikely that the Christians were applying it only to dirhams which carried the name Qāsim in the legend. Soon after Qāsim's

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[12] Chalmeta "Précisions," 319-21.

[13] See Miles, Umayyads, nos. 217-220. Miles doubted that there were genuine specimens bearing the date A.H.333. Mateu y LLopis, however, in "Hallazgos musulmanes," part 6, 442-43 no. 57, reported a hoard of dirhams from Valencia containing 21 pieces bearing Qāsim's name, 17 of which were said to be dated A.H. 333.

[14] Alberto Canto Garciá, "La reforma monetaria de Qāsim," Al-Qantara 7 (1986): 403-12.

[15] See Alberto Canto Garciá, Luz Cardito and Carmen Martinez, "La metrología del califato de Córdoba: Las emisiones de plata de las cecas de al-Andalus y Madīnat al-Zahrā en el periodo 321-399 H./933-1008(9) D.C.," GN 94-95 (1989), 41-42. Qāsim may also have issued dirhams of better alloy than those of his immediate predecessors, but this is hard to demonstrate. See Miles, Umayyads, 92. In general the dirhams of the caliphate seem to have been between 70 and 80% silver, see below.

death, the mint was transferred to the nearby royal residence of Madīnat al-Zahrā in 947 (A.H.336). There its yearly output may have even surpassed that obtained under Qāsim, at least in the first decade.[16] By the end of the century, in the reign of Hishām II, Umayyad silver was also struck across the straits in Fez and Sidjilmasa and possibly other locations.[17] The hoard evidence today demonstrates that by the end of the century coins from 'Abd al-Raḥmān's reign, including the coins with the name Qāsim, were well integrated with the subsequent issues of his successors.[18] Almost certainly, then, the Christians of the eleventh century used solidi *kazimi* in a wider, more general sense.

Though his tenure in office had been brief, Qāsim's adoption of a more orthodox weight for the dirham of the caliphate was adhered to by his successors. While at the end of the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and again in the reign of al-Ḥakam II, the average weight of the dirham slipped slightly, it generally held close to the orthodox weight. Perhaps influenced by the religious fervor of al-Manṣūr, the mint under Hishām II may have tended to even

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[16] Alberto Canto Garciá, Francisco Palou, and Belén Tortajada, "Volumes of Production of Dirhams in al-Andalus During the Years A.H. 330 and A.H 340 as Calculated From Die-Link Statistics," in PMC III, 93-95.

[17] Sáenz-Díez, Acuñaciones, 31-70; cf. Miles, Umayyads, 46-50.

[18] See the hoards surveyed in Canto Garciá, "Perforations in Coins," 346-53.

over compensate. Dirhams from this period often weigh slightly more than 3 grams.[19]

It is difficult to prove given the lack of contemporary Muslim diplomatic sources, but the most likely explanation for the use of the term *kazimi* in the Latin sources is that Andalusian society had adopted Qāsim's name as a "sort of nickname" for the slightly heavier dirham of the caliphate. Ibn 'Idhārī, writing in the early fourteenth century referred to dirhams *qāsimī* in discussing 'Abd al-Raḥmān's expenditures but there is not a more contemporary Muslim source that corroborates this custom.[20] Still, it must be realized that, unlike in the Christian kingdoms, for al-Andalus in the tenth and eleventh centuries there is no body of charters or records of transactions that might reveal such a custom. It is perhaps significant, however, that two of the early charter from Portugal which cite solidi *kazimi* seem to be mozarabic in origin.[21]

While the solidi *kazimi* that entered the Christian economies in the eleventh century may have been a mixed lot of coins reaching back to the days of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, they were probably mainly dirhams of Hishām II and later pieces

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[19] Canto et al., "Metrología," 43-54. Determining the intended weight standard of Islamic coins is, in general, difficult since mints often did not trouble to control individual coin weights closely. On the weight of Hishām's issues, see further, appendix B.

[20] Miles, Umayyads, 76; Chalmeta, "Précisions," 316.

[21] Cf. Losa, "Money Among the Mozarabs," 285

struck in Hishām's name by the early taifa princes. During the period of the emirate, silver had been drawn out of Andalusia eastward, a flow that seems to have stopped under the first caliphs. By the early eleventh century, however, there is clear hoard evidence from Northern Europe demonstrating that dirhams were again being taken out a Spain, this time in a different direction. Hoards found in Germany, Scandinavia and as far west as Britain are largely composed of dirhams in the name of the caliph Hishām. Indeed, these coins became so well known in the Baltic economy that bilingual imitations were struck in the name of the German emperor Henry (probably Henry II who ruled 1002-24).[22] This flow of dirhams towards the north in the early eleventh century was probably linked to the slave trade.[23] It was a another facet of the economic decline of the caliphate and underscores that the emergence of solidi *kazimi* in the Hispanic Christian states was tied to this same disintegration.

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[22] See the hoards compiled in Mikolajczyk, "Movements," 256-62, nos. 7, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 34; cf. Noonan, "Dirhams," 84-86 and his appendix of finds, 89-91. The dirhams from these finds, when identified, are usually given to Hishām II. Hishām's name, however, continued to appear on taifa coins after his reign. See Wasserstein's chapter "Caliphs, Counter-Caliphs, and Counterfeit Caliphs: Hishām and 'Abd Allāh on Taifa Coins," in Caliphate, 98-119. For the bilingual imitation, see Miles, Umayyads, 540. These European hoards also contain other imitations. Their Christian origin is betrayed by pseudo-Arabic legends, though they do not bear Latin legends as well. See Noonan "Dirhams," 87.

[23] See chapter 2.

A final point regarding the silver coinage of the Umayyads and its influence on the Christian economies needs clarification. Pío Beltrán several times proposed that the unit of weight called the argentus in the Latin sources (equivalent to approximately 1.94 grams) was synonymous with a Muslim unit of weight for silver called the dirham *andalusī*. This bolstered his conviction that the Christian currency systems in Iberia were founded mainly on Islamic tradition. In characteristic style, Beltrán never adequately explained his reasoning behind the hypothesis.[24] There is to my knowledge no evidence to support it.

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[24] See Beltrán, "El sueldo jacques," 534-35, where he speaks of a "ponderal de la plata fina ...llamado *dirhem de al-Anadalus* ...de 618 (sic) en la libra de la plata fina ... llamado por los cristianos *argento*." (His number of 618 should read 168. We know that in the Christian system of weight there were 8 argenti of weight to the solidi and 21 solidi to the pound, making 168 argenti to the pound. (See appendix B.)

See also Beltrán's earlier article, "Fernando I," 595-97. Here, using a section from Isidore's *Etymologies*, he argued that the Romans divided the pound into 2,304 units called *calculi*. He next assumed that in the late Empire the silver coin called the *miliarense* was so called because 1,000 of them equaled a pound of gold. Though it is not evident in his text, he calculated the following:

1,000 *miliarenses*	=	1 pound of gold
1,000 (4.54 grams)	=	"
4,540 grams ar.	=	2,304 *calculi* av.
1.97 grams ar.	=	1 *calculus* av.

Beltrán's theory, then, was that, "este *calco* de plata se conservó entre los árabes españoles con el nombre de *dirhem del Andalus*, y los hispanocristianos lo llamaron *argento*." Ingenious though it is, his extrapolations from the Roman system are filled with pitfalls. Primarily, the *miliarense* coin changed repeatedly from Constantine's time and could not have maintained a steady exchange with gold. The very etymology of its name remains in doubt. (See

Typically, an Islamic coin carried the name of the city where it was minted. The Córdoban mint often signed al-Andalus, the name of the province, at least until the mint was transferred to Madīnat al-Zahrā in 947. Muslim juridical texts, therefore, do occasionally refer to the dirham *andalusī*. At other times the Umayyad dirham from the era of the Caliphate appears to be called the dirham *arba'īnī* or dirham "of forty." This last name seems likely to derive from a conviction that to equal 100 dirhams *kayl* one needed 140 Andalusian dirhams.[25]

According to the above ratio, if the dirham *kayl* is 2.97 grams, the dirham of Andalusia would only weigh 2.00 grams. There are, however, no dirhams of the Umayyads, either from the caliphate or the emirate, that were struck at this light of a weight standard. If this juridical formula was at all accurate, it must have been founded on a belief that while the dirhams of the Umayyad caliphs were close to orthodox weight, they contained only about 2 grams

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Evans, "Coinage Systems," 482-83; Spufford, Money, 8-9, 51.)

[25] Chalmeta convincingly shows that this was the meaning of dirham *arba'ini*. (See Chalmeta, "Précisions," 322-24 and his "El dirham *arba'ini*," 113-26) Assertions such as Pellicer's that *arba'ini* is "a clear reference" to the coin's weight which corresponded to forty grains is groundless. [See Josep Pellicer i Bru, "On the Silver Coinage of the Caliphate Issued in the Name of Hisam II Almowayad Billah (A.H. 366-403/ A.D. 976-1013),"in PMC II, 183.] Pellicer's line of argument draws from Joaquin Vallvé, "Notas de la metrología hispano-árabe III: pesos y monedas," Al-Qantara 5 (1984), 149, which Chalmeta effectively refuted.

of fine silver. This may have formed the basis of Beltrán's theory.

Though we lack a comprehensive study of the fineness of Umayyad silver, several studies confirm that the coins were not pure silver. Peixoto Cabral analyzed 103 dirhams of the caliphate by x-ray fluorescence. Interested mainly in showing potential debasement in the so-called "revolutionary period" after the year 1008, he selected only 25 dirhams from the tenth century, that is from the reigns of 'Abd al-Raḥmān, al-Ḥakam II and Hishām II's first reign. The surface of the coins were found to be between 70 and 75 percent silver. (Another study, using a different method, showed slightly higher silver contents for the coins of the first three caliphs.)[26] A dirham weighing 2.95 grams and 75 percent fine would carry 2.21 grams of pure silver.

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[26] João M. Peixoto Cabral and Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez "The Silver Contents of Some Dirhams of the Revolutionary Period of the Spanish Umayyad Caliphate," in PMC II, 198-200, passim. These results are remarkably consistent to assays conducted in the nineteenth century. (See Miles, Umayyads, 92.) A second, recent study analyzed 73 dirhams by "neutron and gamma-ray transmission" and obtained higher results. The silver contents of the first three caliphs (35 coins) were between 82 and 86% silver. [Pellicer i Bru, "Silver Coinage of the Caliphate," 184-5.] In a follow up study Peixoto presented additional findings and concluded that the caliphate's standard was "defined at some level between 70 and 80 % silver." José Rodrigues Marinho and João M. Peixoto Cabral, "On the Silver Contents of the Dirhams Issued by Hishām II in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-13)," in PMC II, 100-101.

It is conceivable that, on the average, Umayyad dirhams contained slightly less silver, perhaps approaching 2.0 grams. Even if this were so, there is nothing to suggest that this then formed the basis of a unit of weight called the dirham *andalusī* that became synonymous with the Christian argentus. The term dirham *andalusī* seems to a have been used occasionally in Muslim narrative sources to refer to the coin of that region but not to any abstract unit of weight.

APPENDIX B

SILVER TO GOLD EXCHANGE IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

In a mint contract dated 1056, Ramón Berenguer I of Barcelona ordered the moneyers Marcus and Bonfill Freda to strike an unspecified quantity of coin in the following manner: "from the solidus of pure silver by weight they should make two solidi of coined denarii."[1] This is one of the clearer references in the Christian Hispanic sources to the solidus of weight which seems to have originally served as a division of the pound.[2] A cartulary document from the monastery of Sobrado on the Galician coast preserves a late tenth century donation of a village and a "church with all its property, with bells made from good metal weighing 1,000 pounds" and "a cross, reliquary and chalice of silver weighing together 60 solidi."[3] The solidus of weight was,

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[1] "(U)t faciant de solidos de plata mera de pes solidos II de dinarios monetatos." Botet, Les monedes, 200 no. 4.

[2] In the early twelfth century, the solidus of weight was occasionally used to divide the newly-adopted mark. By the close of that century, however, the solidus of weight is no longer evident in the Latin sources. See the section on the mark in chapter 4 above.

[3] "Et ipsam ecclesiam cum omnibus bonis suis, signa ex metallo bona pensantes libras mille, crucem, capsam, calicem aregentos pensantes sub uno solidos LX." Loscertales, Tumbos de Sobrado, no. 137. For *signum* meaning a bell see the donation of "uno signo cum suo cimbrio" or "a bell with its clapper" in ACL, 4:15-6 no.

in turn, divided into 8 argenti as is evident in a purchase conducted by weight from León in 1055. The price accepted was "20 solidi of good silver, which were good and pleasing to us (and) were weighed by the pound where each solidus (was) 8 argenti."[4]

Although the solidus of weight was broken down into units called argenti, it was also used as a measure for gold. The Catalan *usatge* known as *Solidus aureus* tells us that the "solidus of gold has 8 argenti, the ounce (has) 14" and that the pound of gold consisted of 21 solidi.[5]

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905. Cf. Niermeyer, Lexicon, s.v. "signum" no. 11; Alonso, Diccionario, s.v. "cimbre."

[4] "In precio solidos XX de argenteis bonis, quos magnus et placibiles fuerunt contra nos pensados per pondere per unumquoque solidum argenzos VIII, et apud vos nichil remansit debitum." The document is in the *Tumbo* of León which was redacted in the early twelfth century. Another copy of the same document appears earlier in the cartulary. It omits the reference to weight and reads simply, "in precio solidos XX^{ti} argenteis bonis, quos magnus et placibiles fuerunt apud nos, et de ipso precio apud vos nichil remansit in debito." ACL, 4:295-98 no. 1096.

[5] "Sou d'or ha vuyt argens, unça catorze, lliura d'or vint y un sous." Botet, Les Monedes, 58-59. The passage *Solidus aureus* appears in about a half dozen renditions of the *usatges*. (See the discussion in Joan Bastardas and M. Mayer, "La moneda en els usatges," SNB, 2:216-17.) The Catalan version published by Botet may date to the fourteenth century. It includes a number of obvious mathematical mistakes, but in this opening line it is accurate. The Latin version that Ferran Valls Taberner published in Los usatges de Barcelona: Estudios, comentarios y edición bilingüe del texto (Málaga, 1984), 114, is from the fifteenth-century compilation of the *usatges*. Its opening line reads: "Solidus aureus habet octo argentos. Unicia vero XIII. Libra quoque habet XXI solidos aureos." The reference here to an ounce of 13 argenti instead of 14 is clearly wrong. See n.8 below.

Solidus aureus is mainly concerned with reconciling the value of debased taifa gold with the morabetino and

When Ramón Berenguer minted his light-weight mancus bearing his name on the reveres towards the end of his reign, it was often described in the documents as weighing one argentus.[6] All known examples of this coin fall between 1.90 and 1.95 grams.[7] With this knowledge, it becomes clear that when *Solidus aureus* speaks of 14 argenti to an ounce it is referring to the Roman ounce of roughly 27.24 grams, which when divided by 14 gives a weight of 1.945 grams. The solidus of weight of 8 argenti, therefore, was equivalent to approximately 15.56 grams (8 x 1.945). 21 solidi of weight made the Roman pound of roughly 327 grams.[8]

Besides Ramón Berenguer's mint contract, two later documents from Barcelona refer to solidi of pure silver.

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obviously has its origin sometime in the first half of the twelfth century. Beltrán's explanation of the text in "Interpretación," 1-26, is flawed and has hampered a number of subsequent works. I hope to re-examine the text fully in the future.

[6] See, for example, "mancusos ... auri puri et cocti monete Barchinone a penso legitime pensatos unumquemque ex istis mancussis ... unum argentis," or "monete Barchinonensis pensatos unum ad unum de argencio uno." Botet in Les monedes, 40-44, provides a number of other illustrations.

[7] For catalogued weights see Miguel Crusafont i Sabater, Anna M. Balaguer, and Ignasi M. Puig i Ferreté, "Els comtats catalans: Les seves encunyacions i àrees d'influència," SNB, 1:415-16; Crusafont, Numismatica, 180 no. 52. See also Todesca, "Means of Exchange," 239-40 no. 4.

[8] According to *Solidus aureus*, 21 solidi of 8 argenti made a pound of 168 argenti. The Catalan version of the *usatge* tells us there were 14 argenti to the ounce which would make 12 ounces to the pound, the correct number of ounces in the Roman pound. The Latin version's 13 argenti to the ounce, therefore, is clearly an error.

These documents also include equivalencies in gold allowing a glimpse of the relative value of the two metals. The first is dated 1095 and refers to "100 ounces of good Valencian gold ... or 350 solidi of good fine silver"[9] According to this, 1 ounce of Valencian gold commanded 3.5 solidi of fine silver, though "fine" silver is not defined. A more detailed document of 1097, however, refers to "1000 mancusos of Valencian gold or 500 solidi of silver of which each solidi has only half an argentus that is bad."[10] Here we are given a specific prescription for the silver. Each solidus of 8 argenti was to contain no more than half an argenti of alloy which translates to silver that was 93.75 percent pure.[11]

In the second document, 1 mancus of Valencian gold is held equivalent to a $^1/_2$ solidi of fine silver. *Solidus aureus* tell us that Valencian gold was reckoned at 7 mancusos to the ounce.[12] Therefore, 7 mancusos or one

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[9] "Uncias centum auri Valentiae obtimo recipiente aut solidos CCCL de bona plata fina." Botet, Les monedes, 56; Beltrán, "Interpretación," 7.

[10] "Mille mancusos auri Valencie aut per quingentos solidos de plata qui non teneat unus quinque (sic) solidos nisi medium argentum de mallo." As noted in chapter 4 above, Botet was surely correct that *quinque* in this text should read *quisque*. Botet, Les monedes, 56 and 191-94.

[11] Cf. chapter 4 n. 24 above.

[12] "(S)et mancusos de aquell meteix aux (of Valencia) fan una unça, qui val dos morabatins." Botet, Les Monededs, 58-59. "Valencian" gold was actually comprised of quarter dinar pieces called *rovalles* in the Catalan sources from the Arabic *robal.* (See "mancusos auri Valencie de rovalles," and other citations in Alturo, "Notes," 127-28) These were crudely struck with little regard to consistency in weight. While theoretically, 4

ounce of Valencian gold was equal to 3.5 solidi of fine silver, the same rate that was in the first document. Valencian gold, however, was far from pure. It was only between 25 and 30 percent fine. Its baseness is evident in *Solidus aureus* which established that it took 3.5 mancusos of Valencian gold to equal 1 morabetino.

The Almoravids may have originally struck their dinar at an intended weight of close to 4 grams or more, but *Solidus aureus* reckons the coin at the customary weight for the mancus, i.e., 7 to the ounce or 3.89 grams apiece.[13] Since the morabetino was close to pure gold, we can tentatively calculate the following:

7 mancusos of Valencia gold = 3.5 solidi of fine silver

2 morabetinos = "

2 x 3.89 g. fine gold = 3.5 x 15.56 g. fine silver

7.78 g. fine gold = 54.46 g. fine silver

1 g. fine gold = 7 g. fine silver

We arrive then at a gold to silver ratio of 1 to 7. That this equation works out precisely may suggest that the calculations are indeed correct.

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rovalles equaled a mancus, in reality the pieces were surely weighed. On the nature of the Valencian gold, see further chapter 2.

[13] "(L)o sou val quatre morabatins, la unça set morabatins, la lliura setanta quatre morabatins." Botet, Les Monededs, 58-59. Thus, in the solidus of weight of 15.56 grams there were 4 morabetinos of 3.89 grams apiece. Likewise, 7 morabetinos at 3.89 grams made an ounce of approximately 27.24 grams.

While this was a rate of exchange between gold and fine silver, a different ratio would obviously apply when alloyed coin was involved. In a treaty of 1073 between Sancho García of Navarre and al-Muctadir of Zaragoza, the Zaragozan prince agreed to pay 12,000 "mancusos of good gold" per annum in tribute. Sancho added the proviso that if the quality of the gold did not suit him he could demand payment in silver. For each mancus owed, he wanted 7 solidi argenti "of the money of Zaragoza."[14] In comparison to 1 mancus of Valencian gold appraised at a $^1/_2$ solidus of fine silver, this is a much inflated ratio.[15]

The rate that Sancho insisted upon, however, was not exorbitant. Since the mancus was commonly reckoned at 7 to the ounce, Sancho would have been entitled to 49 solidi of silver per ounce of gold. An undated document preserved in the *Liber Feudorum Maior* records Count Berenguer Ramón's gift of a sword called *Tizon* to Count Ermengol of Urgel. The sword was valued at 5,000 "solidi argenti *kazimi* from *Ispania* or 100 ounces of gold."[16] This translates to rate

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[14] Lacarra, "Dos tratados," 93-94 no. 2.

[15] One hundred years later, at the end of the twelfth century, the gold morabetino was commonly valued at 7 solidi in the Christian Iberian states. (See chapter 6.) The rate in Sancho's treaty, then, might at first seem like a later interpolation. The texts discussed below show that it is not.

[16] Rosell, Liber, 1:162 no. 157.

of 50 solidi argenti to 1 ounce of gold, essentially the same rate.[17]

Both documents clearly treat solidi comprised of dirhams. The document of Berenguer Ramón speaks of solidi *kazimi* from *Ispania* while the treaty between Sancho and al-Muctadir refers to a specific dirham, the "money of Zaragoza." It is unlikely that the solidus argenti of dirhams was a unit of account of twelve coins. The dirhams of the caliphate had weighed close to the orthodox dirham *kayl* of 2.97 grams and were probably around 75 percent silver. As the eleventh century wore on, the dirhams of the various taifa lords become erratic in weight and, most likely, considerably less fine. The silver coins of al-Muctadir of Zaragoza which Sancho expected to be paid in ranged from 4 grams to as much as 4.5 grams.[18] Arbitrarily taking 4 grams as their intended weight, if there were 12 of these dirhams counted to a solidus argenti, it would mean that for 1 gold mancus of 3.89 grams, Sancho expected 336 grams in dirhams (4 g. x 12 x 7). Though no data is available on the silver content of al-Muctadir's coins,

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[17] While the Catalan document is undated, its use of the same rate of exchange as in the treaty of Sancho of Navarre implies that it is roughly contemporary. See further the other Catalan texts discussed below.

[18] Pellicer i Bru in "Metrological Considerations," 196-98 provides an overview of Al-Muctadir's silver coinage. In general, however, his conclusions are unconvincing.

even if they were extremely debase, this is far too high a ratio between gold and silver.

It seems more likely that the equivalency of 49 or 50 solidi argenti of dirhams to 1 ounce of gold was an equivalency between units of weight. The ounce of gold weighed 27.24 grams and 50 solidi of silver by weight equaled 778 grams (50 x 15.56). This means that the ounce of gold commanded around 28 times its weight in solidi argenti of dirhams. If the equivalency was based on the supposition that the dirhams used were 50 percent fine, the exchange between fine gold and fine silver drops to 1 to 14, which still seems to place a high premium on gold. If the dirhams were reckoned as only 25 percent fine, the rate of exchange is 1 to 7, a rate consistent with our other sources.

These two documents, the treaty of Sancho of Navarre and the charter of Berenguer Ramón, were unmistakably concerned with dirhams. There are, however, in the Catalan sources, numerous documents from 1054 on which apply the equivalency of 50 solidi argenti to the ounce but do not clarify the type of silver involved. A sale of 1061, for example, was paid with 3,000 solidi argenti valued at 60 ounces of Barcelonan gold which is 50 solidi argenti per ounce.[19] Was the rate of 50 solidi argenti of weight to 1

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[19] Rosell, Liber, 1:183 no. 173, cf. 124-26 nos. 124-25, 141-42 no. 146, 152-53 no. 152 and 518-20 no. 489. See also, Botet, Les monedes, 43; Beltrán,

ounce of gold used equally for dirhams and denarii alike? It seems unlikely.

Despite the survival of three mint contracts from the time of Ramón Berenguer I, we are unsure of the fineness of the denarii he had struck. The earliest of these contracts, dated 1056, instructed the minters to make 2 solidi of coin (24 denarii) from every 1 solidi of weight of pure silver. Interpreted literally, this would have resulted in coins of pure silver weighing .65 grams each (15.56 ÷ 24). The surviving coinage of eleventh-century Barcelona is scarce and a firm chronology is far from established, but there is no coin that matches this weight or that shows signs of being pure silver.

The contract of 1056, however, clearly omits some details. For example, while it includes a rent in foodstuff to be paid by the moneyers to the count, it does not address how the moneyers were to profit from the arrangement. Most likely, Ramón Berenguer was instructing them that for every solidus of pure silver of weight he turned over, he expected 24 coins in return. The weight

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"Interpretación," 15; cf. Lacarra, "Aspectos," 55, n. 29. In the table compiled by Bonnaissie, La Catalogne 390, the author probably assumed a rate of 50 solidi argenti to the ounce. I know of no documents dated before 1050 that cite the equivalency.

The gift Berenguer Ramón and Ermengol of Urgel is undated, and has in the past been assigned to Berenguer Ramón I (1017-35) and, presumably, Ermengol II (1010-38). The rate of exchange, however, would make it seem more likely that it was an act of Berenguer Ramón II (1076-96) and Ermengol IV (1065-92) or Ermengol V (1092-1102).

and alloy for the coin is not spelled out in the contract, but must have been agreed upon. The count only warned the minters to make the coin "without any deceit regarding the number, and without diminishing or debasing it."[20] What we seem to lack, then, is a formula for mixing the pure silver with alloy and the number of coins cut from that mixture.

Most likely, the coins were intended to be at least 6 d. fine. If each solidus of silver was mixed with a solidus of alloy, the minters would arrive at 2 solidi of weight (31.12 grams) 50 percent fine. If from this they struck 2.5 solidi of account (or 30 coins), they would produce denarii *de medietate* of slightly more than a gram. Handing back two solidi to the count, they could retain 6 denarii to cover costs and profit. If this is correct and the count's coin was 6 d. fine, it is unlikely it was reckoned at 50 solidi of weight to the ounce of gold. If it was, it was almost certainly being undervalued.[21] Overall, it seems best to conclude that the formula that developed in the Catalan charters of equating 50 solidi argenti of weight to the ounce of gold arose as a necessary convention for incorporating Islamic silver into the circulating medium.

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[20] "(S)ine henganno a numero, sine minuament et peiorament." Botet, Les monedes, 200 no. 4.

[21] Such an exchange would assume a gold to silver ratio of 1 to 14. While this is not impossible, the other evidence does not support that bi-metallic exchange was that high.

In the Islamic monetary traditions, weights of individual coins were not closely controlled at the mint. A clear illustration of this is provided by Sáenz-Díez' study of dirhams of Hishām II. In a group of 61 dirhams all from the same year (A.H. 388) and mint, individual weights ranged from 1.95 grams to 3.85 grams, though their median weight was 2.95 grams, almost exactly the weight of the dirham *kayl*.[22] This wide range of individual weights in Islamic coins was either the cause or result of a tradition of weighing coins in the Muslim world. This is evident in that silver and gold Islamic coins were frequently cut into fragments, to even out sums or perhaps at times to facilitate small transactions. A hoard of silver interred near Trujillo sometime after 1016-17 contained over 6,000 fragments of dirhams alongside only a few whole coins.[23]

How often alloyed-silver coin was weighed out in transactions in Latin Europe remains obscure.[24] Bisson in his discussion of eleventh-century Normandy concluded that the circulating medium was a "mixed bag" of deniers from various regions and that weighing the coins became the rule

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[22] Juan Ignacio Sáenz-Díez, "Los dirhems del 388 de la ceca de 'al-Andalus,'" Numisma 30 (1980), 211-21. See also the fluctuation in the weight of the dinar during the caliphate as noted by Miles, Umayyads, 86.

[23] Jorge de Navascués y de Palacio, "Tesoro hispano-arabe hallado en Trujillo (Caceres)," NH 6 (1957): 5-28.

[24] High-value gold pieces were, of course, more likely to be weighed in both the Islamic and Christian worlds.

by mid century. He suggest that it was only with William I's possible improvement of the coinage that confidence grew and the ducal money began to be accepted by tale. His argument is plausible, but the evidence falls short of clearly demonstrating that coins were actually weighed out.[25]

In eleventh-century Christian Spain, however, evidence for transactions by weight of silver is undeniable. In the early part of the eleventh century, purchases from the town of León were frequently said to be paid in solidi argenti weighed on the scale (*pondere pensato*).[26] Slightly before this, in Catalonia in the last two decades of the tenth century, there are a number of references to purchases made in the *pessa* of silver In 992, for example, Count Ramón Borell sold the castle of Cerevelló for the price of "100 *pessas* of fine, pleasing silver."[27] It is impossible to tell from these citations if the *pessa* corresponded to the solidus argenti of weight or was a distinct unit. Still, its emergence coincides almost precisely with the earliest references in the Catalan documents to the mancus of gold.

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[25] Bisson takes references to *libra* in the charters as an indication that the coins were weighed. For example, he cites "xxx^{ta} libras nummorum." This, however, could easily be a reference to the pound of account of 240 coins. The use of *nummorum*, in fact, would tend to point in that direction. See Bisson, Conservation, 23-24.

[26] See chapter 2 above.

[27] "In precium pessas C de argento mero placibile." Udina Martorell, El Archivo, 232, see also 192-225. See further, Alturo, "Notes," 122. Cf. Gil Farrés, "Circulación," 389; Bonnassie, La Catalogne, 384.

References to the *pessa* of silver generally die out, only to give way in the 1020s to transactions made in solidi argenti *kazimi*.[28]

It seems clear that with the decline of the caliphate at the end of the millennium the subsequent infusion of Muslim coin into the Latin economies of the north encouraged the Christians to adopt the practice of reckoning the silver dirham (as well as the gold mancus) by weight.[29] As the century wore on and the taifa princes began to render their tribute increasingly in silver, weighing the coins would have become more necessary. As we have seen with the coins of al-Muctadir of Zaragoza, many of the taifa dirhams were struck at weights well exceeding the Umayyad standard of roughly 3 grams and, to confuse matters further, fractional denominations of roughly a gram were also introduced.[30] Variations in fineness, may have caused all dirhams in Catalonia to be summarily reckoned by the formula of 50 solidi to the ounce. We might assume, however, that the native denarii of Ramón Berenguer and other Catalan lords were not governed by this equation at

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[28] See appendix A.

[29] Other alternatives were perhaps employed. One is reminded of the Umayyad dirham found in a tomb near Blois, France that was clipped to the size of a denarius. See Adrien de Longpérier, "Monnaie andalouse trouvée à Contres," Revue Numismatique, n.s., 8 (1863), 214-16.

[30] Noonan, "Silver Crisis," 133-34. For the smaller pieces, see the hoard from Jaen published by Antonio Prieto y Vives, "Hallazgo de monedas hispano-musulmanas," RABM 31 (1914): 362-77.

least within their respective markets. Not only were they likely more fine than the taifa dirhams but they also should have enjoyed am additional added value as the official coin of those areas.[31]

Finally, some purchases conducted by weight of silver may have involved plate or bullion. In donations and testaments, silver objects were often designated by weight such as the bequest of 976 from Oviedo which included "a cross, reliquary chalice (and) crown all made from 500 very pure solid argenti".[32] A gift to Sahagún in 1025 included a "cross of silver of 300 solidi"[33] Another donation to Sahagún in February 1083, consisted of two quilts or

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[31] It is possible that within a domestic market foreign denarii were also weighed in bulk, though it seems doubtful. Many of the popular denarii from southern France at this time were 6 d. fine if not better and would have been unjustly served by the 50 solid argenti per ounce of gold formula. (See Castaing, Monnaies féodales, passim.) I am inclined to believe that denarii generally circulated by tale and dirhams by weight. Nonetheless, Botet, Les monedes, 168 cited a document of 966 which refers to "pesas X de dinarios Ausonae."

One reference that may show a distinction between the solidus argenti of account (of denarii) and the solidus argenti of weight is a charter from Sahagún, dated 1072: "ad investiendo carta ista dedisti nobis una spata valente viii° solidos de argento et quinque solidos de cazmi." Sahagún, 2:437-38 no. 713.

[32] "(O)ferimus...sirgia et linea, crucem, capsam, calicam, coronam, totos ex quingentiis solidis purissmi argenti laboratos." García Larragueta, Colección de Oviedo, 115-8 no. 30; Departamento, "Circulación," 243.

[33] The gift included, "(L)ectos pallios v, xii muats inter litteras et litones de mensa, vasos iiii de argento, iª cornia, ii° aretomas, ii calices de argento, casullas ... i crux argentea de ccc solidos, alia crux de alatone, alia de heramine ..." Sahagún, 2:63-65, no. 415.

tapestries and a vessel "of 50 solidi."[34] A few months later, a larger bequest to the monastery included various pieces of tableware and other items "weighing 1,000 solidi argenti *kazimi*."[35] The use of *kazimi* here may be a designation that the silver in this case was judged less than pure. The dirham *kazimi* of the caliphate was probably between 70 and 75 percent fine.[36]

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[34] (C)artulam donacionis de i° alfiafe zingave; et de i° medio vaso, de lª solidos; et de una almuzalla anamat." Sahagún, 3:98-99 no. 805. At 50 solidi of weight, the vessel would equal about 27 modern ounces (15.56 g. x 50 ÷ 28.34).

[35] "Adicio adhuc vobis uno lecto palleo, cum duobus plumaciis et una cozedra, uno fatele et uno alifafe, duos mankales, tres almuzallas, uno messorio cum suo servicio de mensa cum suas culiares et uno salare, uno pigmentario et uno tarego, iiªs tagaras, iiªs casullas greciscas, una corona obtima, una stola pensante mille solidos de argento cazmi et iiiiᵒʳ arotomas." Sahagún, 3:99-101 no. 806.

1000 solidi argenti was the equivalent of about 34 modern pounds. This could not have been the weight of the stole alone. The weight may have described the entire list, though its difficult to tell if "lecto palleo" refers to a covered bed or a bed covering. The document is a cartulary copy and the weight clause is perhaps out of place It seems to make most sense to see the weight as applying to the list of tableware, beginning with "uno messorio" down to the two "tagaras" or vessels. (Cf. the two passages cited above, n. 33 and n. 32)

[36] See appendix A above.

APPENDIX C

THE COUNCIL OF VALLADOLID, 1155

Between 1154 and 1155, Cardinal Hyacinth undertook his first legation to the Spain. (He would return at least once again as legate in the early 1170s before ascending the papal throne as Celestine III in 1191.) One of his primary responsibilities as a legate from the papal curia was to convoke church councils in the lands he visited. These gatherings gave him the opportunity to disseminate the current tenets of the Rome and provided a convenient forum in which to resolve local disputes and grievances.[1]

Hyacinth called at least three councils during his legation of 1154-55.[2] Probably the first and most well

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[1] For the Gregorian church's use of legates, see Robert Somerville, "Cardinal Stephan of St. Grisogono: Some Remarks on Legates and Legatine Councils in the Eleventh Century," in Law, Church and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephen Kuttner, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Robert Somerville (Philadelphia, 1977), 157-66.

[2] Hyacinth was in León-Castile by the summer of 1154. (See Abajo Martín, Palencia, 106-108 no. 49; Peña Perez, San Juan de Burgos, 35-37, no. 23.) In addition to the councils of Valladolid and Lérida discussed below, he may have held a council in Calahorra and certainly convoked a meeting in Narbonne directly after the Lérida assembly. No legislation from Calahorra or Narbonne, however, survives today.

Some of the relevant evidence for Hyacinth's legation is reviewed in the two studies by Fidel Fita, "Primera legación de Cardenal Jacinto en España: Bulas inéditos de Anastasio IV. Nuevas luces sobre el concilio nacional de Valladolid (1155 y otros datos inéditos)," BRAH 14 (1889): 530-55 and "Concilios nacionales de Salamanca en 1154 y de Valladolid en 1155," BRAH 24 (1894): 449-75. As is evident

attended of these meetings was that held at Valladolid in February of 1155. A charter of Alfonso VII dated February 1, 1155 records that it was drawn up "in Valladolid ... when lord Hyacinth, cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and legate of all Spain celebrated a council with the lord Alfonso, Emperor, and his sons, Kings Sancho and Fernando, and with all the archbishops and bishops, abbots, counts and princes of Spain."[3] Despite the magnitude of the meeting, the legislation promulgated there survives today in a single, serendipitous version -- copied on the back of a parchment preserved in the cathedral of Tuy.[4] This text also appears to be incomplete when it is compared to subsequent legislation.

Later that spring, Hyacinth called another council in the recently-conquered town of Lérida along the Catalan frontier. By coincidence, the canons issued at Lérida are

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below, however, Hyacinth's legations to Spain are in need of further study. I hope to address the issues more fully in the future.

[3] "(I)n Valledolid...quando domnus Iacintus, Sancte Romane Ecclesie cardinalis et tocius Yspanie legatus, celebravit concilium cum domno Adefonso imperatore, et cum filiis suis Santio et Fernando regibus, et cum omnibus arciepiscopis et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus et principus Yspanie." Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 60-61 no. 36.

[4] The manuscript containing the Valladolid canons was published by Carl Erdman, Das Papsttum und Portugal im Ersten Jahrhundert der portugiesischen Geschichte (Berlin, 1928), 55-58. The text corroborates the attendance of churchmen from Portugal, León, Castile and Aragón. See further, Fletcher, Episcopate, 208.

also known today from a single manuscript.[5] For the most part, the canons contained in this Lérida text follow very closely those attributed to the Valladolid assembly. This is not surprising. The Lérida council was almost certainly more provincial in scope. It was perhaps called in part for the benefit of those of the Catalan clergy who did not attend the Valladolid meeting. Hyacinth would have been unlikely to promulgate radically different legislation than that passed at the previous council.

Still, the very last canon found in the Lérida text does not appear in the Valladolid manuscript. This canon, *Monetam quidquam*, first admonishes the emperor to maintain the coinage at a good weight and at 4 d. fine without exacting any price. It then goes on to address the problem of counterfeiting, warning that any individual who produces

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[5] Ferran Valls Taberner found the manuscript preserving the canons of Lérida 1155 in the Biblioteca Central of Barcelona. In his "Ein Konzil zu Lérida im Jahre 1155" in Papsttum und Kaisertum, ed. Albert Brackman (Munich, 1926), 364-68, he generally did not provide full transcriptions of the canons but only gave detailed notes on how they varied from very similar legislation promulgated at Lérida in 1174 during Hyacinth's second legation. Bisson subsequently reported (in Conservation, 81 n. 2) that he searched unsuccessfully for Valls Taberner's manuscript. The authenticity of the council of Lérida 1155, however, is corroborated by two of Hyacinth's letters. See Paul Kehr, Papsturkunden in Spanien vol. 2, Navarra und Aragon (Berlin, 1928) 389-94 nos. 76 and 78.

The canons of Lérida, 1174, are also known in a single manuscript. They can be found in Juan Tejada y Ramiro, Colección de canones y de todos los concilios de la iglesia española (Madrid, 1851) 3: 279-86. The rubric on this manuscript assigns the council to 1173, but a detailed examination of Hyacinth's itinerary shows that it must have been convoked in 1174.

false money shall suffer both anathema and bodily punishment as well as forfeiture of his wealth.[6]

Why would Hyacinth choose to pass this decree for the first time at a provincial council on the Catalan frontier? Bisson has suggested that he was inspired by the spirit of a "clerical program" already established in Catalonia. There is no real evidence, however, to support that the Catalan church was particularly interested in a "program" to maintain the coinage.[7] On the contrary, Hyacinth's canon as it appears in the Lérida text is decidedly non-Catalan. The admonishment to maintain the coinage is directed to "the emperor" who can only be Alfonso VII of León. Why would Hyacinth promulgate a warning to Alfonso VII at a council in Lérida?

The obvious conclusion is that the canon did not originate at the Catalan council. It must be part of the legislation passed earlier at the greater, "international"

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[6] "Monetam quidquam bene pensatem et quatuor denariorum argenti mittet imperator sine omni precio propter Deum at anime sue salutum nunquam in diebus suis mutandum, sed eam ita mansuram firmat. Quam falsificaverit, anatema sit et perdat quicquid habuerit et corporalem vindicatam incurrat. Monete vero et peccunie quam falsificator perdiderit partem decimam episcopis donat et concedit in diocesibus suis." See Valls Taberner, "Ein Konzil," 368; cf. Bisson, Conservation, 81-82.

[7] It is true that Ramón Berenguer III of Barcelona (1086-1131) had, in 1118, sworn to maintain the coinage of Cerdanya in exchange for a one-time levy from the people of that county. While this is the earliest documented example in Spain of the collection of some form of money conservation tax, it is not tantamount to a clerical agenda. See Bisson, Conservation, 168, cf. 50-64.

meeting in Valladolid which was presided over by Alfonso VII in his role as emperor.[8] Since the canon on coinage is the last passage in the Lérida manuscript, it would appear to be missing from the text of the Valladolid canons, which survives in only one hurried version, scribbled on the back of another parchment.[9]

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[8] Since the Valladolid meeting was attended by Spanish prelates and apparently nobles from outside León-Castile. Alfonso would have been certain to emphasize his role as emperor. The royal charter cited in n. 3 above, which noted the wide attendance at the council, also proclaimed Alfonso "imperante tempo imperatore Toleti, Legione, Galleçie, Castella, Naiara, Saragocia, Baeçia et Almaria; comes Barchilonia, vassullus imperartoris; Santius, rex Navarre, vassulus imperatoris." Pérez Celada, San Zoilo, 60-61 no. 36.

[9] In this regard, it is instructive to add that the text containing the canons of Hyacinth's second council of Lérida, held in 1174, also appears incomplete. The manuscripts of Valladolid 1155 and Lérida 1155 both open with an important canon which extended the same crusading privileges to those who fought in Spain as were enjoyed by those who fought in the Holy Land. The text of Lérida, 1174 has no introduction, only an added rubric, and is missing this opening canon from Hyacinth's councils of 1155. Just as we are missing the end of the legislation of Valladolid 1155, we would also appear to be missing the beginning of the legislation of Lérida 1174. For Lérida 1174, see above n. 5.

CATALOGUE I

ANONYMOUS TYPES

1. Obv. LEO, church.
Rev. LEGIONENSI, cross.
Source. VQR 5374a, plate 11, no.11.

-var. Obv. IIO, church, retrograde L below
Rev. LEGIONENS, cross.
Source. HSA 1.266, wt. .94.

-var. Obv. ___, church, legend either badly worn or omitted.
Rev. LEGIONIN, cross.
Source. Pedrals and Campaner, "Nuevos descubrimentos," 109-10, plate 4, no.2., wt. .73.

-var. Obv..LEO, church,)(below.
Source. Collantes, "Intento de ordenación," 171 no. 4.
Notes. The)(mark may be two omegas.

2. Obv. +*IHESUS*, cross.
Rev. LEO CIVI IIS, three crosslets and triangular mark.
Source. Pedrals and Campaner, "Nuevos descubrimentos," 108-9, wt. 1.04.
Additional Refs. VQR 5311.

-var. Rev. Three crosslets and letter A.
Source. Poey d'Avant, 2605, plate 55.

-var. Rev. Three crosslets and dot.
Source. MAN 94-22, wt. 1.08.

-var. Rev. Three crossslets and two dots.
Source. Alvarez 73, wt. .90-1.0.

-var. Rev. Three crosslets, no other mark.
Source. Alvarez, 69, wt. 1.0.

-var. Obv. Dot in 1st and 2nd quadrant of cross.
Rev. LIO CIVI IIS, three crosslets, no other mark.
Source. VQR 5309.

3. Obv. LEO CIVITAS, cross, s-shape super imposed
Rev. Two lions, back to back, crescent above, star below.
Source. Heiss, 3 5.

4. Obv. IACOBI, bust with halo, front.
Rev. REX, lion passant, l, cross above.
Source. Collantes, "Notas sobre un dinerillo," 15-18.

5. Obv. SUPER REX, cross.
Rev. LEONIS°, latin cross, fitchy at foot.
Source. Heiss, 2.13.

-var. Rev. °LEONIS
Source. HSA 1.8829 wt. .89.
-var. Rev. *LEONIS*
Source. VQR 5298
-var. Rev. I LENOIS L
Source. HSA 1.265 wt. 1.02.

6. Obv. IMPERATOR, cross
Rev. LEONIS*, latin cross, fitchy at foot
Source. Heiss, lam. 2.12; VQR 5299 var.

7. Obv. IMPE RATO, bust front, imperial crown
Rev. CIVITAS LEONI, lion passant, l
Source. VQR 5321a.

-obol Source. HSA 1.256, wt. .41.

8. Obv. IMPER + RATO, bust l.
Rev. BEATI _ACOBI, lion passant l.
Source. Heiss 2.28.

9. Obv. IMPERA, bust l., imperial crown
Rev. IMPERATOR, cross
Source. Heiss, 2.14; VQR 5321

10. Obv. IMPERATO, cross, annulet in 4th quadrant
Rev. °TOLETA, lion passant, l.
Source. MAN 94-33, wt. .95.

CATALOGUE II

THE REIGN OF ALFONSO VI

(1065-1109)

All references from MAN are to cabinet 4, tray 68.

Star-annulet coin

The type is divided into two main groups, distinguished by the presence or absence of a cross beginning the obverse legend.

1a. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets.
Source. MAN 40, wt. .78; MAN 41, wt. .88; MAN 43, wt. 1.03; MAN 55, wt. .94; ANS 1969.222.1240, wt. 1.13; ANS 1932.50.34, wt. 1.11; ANS 1941.48.38, wt. 1.18; HSA 1.8814, wt. .90; ANS 1969.222.1241, wt. .99; ANS 1939.116.36, wt. .96 (*s* retrograde in obverse legend).
Additional Refs. Heiss, 1.4; VQR, 5281.

-var. Obv. Cross has pellet on left arm.
Source. MAN 52, wt. 1.00.

-obol Same as 1a.
Source. HSA 1.243, wt. .47; MAN 67, wt. .44
Additional Refs. Heiss, 1.5; VQR 5282.

1b. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet in center.
Source. MAN 44, wt. .87; MAN 51, wt. 1.19; MAN 54, wt. 1.27; MAN 56, wt. 1.19; MAN 59, wt 1.03; HSA 1.245, wt.77.

-var. Obv. Annulet in 3rd quadrant of cross.
Source. MAN 50, wt .95.

-obol Same as 1b.
Source. Alvarez 12.

-obol Obv. Annulet in 4th quadrant of cross.
Source. MAN 66, wt .52; MAN 71, wt. .50.

1c. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside one annulet.
Source. MAN 45, wt. .64.

1d.
-obol Obv. ANFVS REX, cross
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside one annulet, pellet in center.
Source. MAN 69, wt. .41.

1e. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside both annulets.
Source. MAN 46, wt. 86.
Additional Refs. Alvarez 9.

1f. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside both annulets and pellet in center.
Source. MAN 62, wt. .84.

obol Same as 1f.
Source. MAN 68, wt. .36.

2a. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets.
Source. MAN 58, wt. 1.00. (obverse legend retrograde)
Additional Refs. VQR 5280.

2b. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside one annulet.
Source. MAN 48, wt. 1.03.

2c.
-obol Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside one annulet, pellet in center.
Source. MAN 70, wt. .41.

2d. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside both annulets.

Source. MAN 57, wt. 1.08; MAN 60, wt. .85; MAN 61, wt. .74; HSA 1.244, wt. .89.

-obol Source. MAN 65, wt. 31; ANS 1969.222.1239, wt. .32.

2e. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVM, two stars, two annulets, pellet inside both annulets, pellet in center.
Source. MAN 47, wt. 88.

-var. Obv. Cross has hash mark in 4th quadrant.
Source. MAN 49, wt. 1.10.
-var. Rev. +TOLETVM, pellet in *O* of legend.
Source. MAN 63, wt. .78.

Christogram - Toledo series

3. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross
Rev. +TOLETVM, christogram, with alpha and omega and horizontal *s* below
Source. MAN 26, wt. 1.01
Additional Refs. Caballero, "Dineros," 13.

-obol
-var. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. TOLETVN, same christogram.
Source. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," part 2, 251 and plate 1, no. 1.

4. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVO, same christogram.
Source. MAN 25, wt. 1.06; MAN 30, wt. 1.07: MAN 36, wt. 1.18; HSA 1.8812, wt. 1.12.
Additional Refs. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, reported 23 coins.

-var. Obv. Cross, pellet in 1st quadrant.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, reported 25 coins, 4 with reversed *S* in obverse legend.
-var. Obv. Cross, hash mark in 2nd quadrant.
Source. MAN 35, wt. 1.06.
-var. Obv. Cross, hash mark in 4th quadrant.
Source. ANE (December, 1985), 38 no. 378.
-var. Rev. Same christogram, pellet to l.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, reported 6 coins.
-var. Rev. Same christogram, pellet to r.
Source. Alvarez 6.
-var. Rev. Same christogram, pellet at bottom, attached to *S*.

Source. MAN 34, wt. .97.
Additional Refs. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 11 coins.

5. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +.TOLETVO, same christogram.
Source. HSA 1.1.8813, wt. 1.06.

-var. Rev. +TOLE.TVO, same christogram.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 1 coin

-var. Rev. +TOLETVO., same christogram
Source. MAN 28, wt. 1.00; MAN 29, wt. .98.
Note. May be a poor example of no. 6 below.

6. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVO:, same christogram.
Source. MAN 27, wt. .82; MAN 33, wt. 1.00; MAN 37, wt. .62 (broken); ANS 1969.222.1242, wt. .97; HSA 1.281, wt. 1.00.
Additional refs. Heiss 1.3; VQR 5279.

-var. Rev. +TOLETVO:, same christogram, pellet below attached to *S* of christogram.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 3 coins

-obol Same as 7.
ANS 1969.222.1238, wt. .41.

7. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross,
Rev. +TOL.ETVO:, same christogram.
Source. MAN 31, wt. 1.09; MAN 32, wt. 1.01.
Additional Refs. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 62 coins.

-obol Same
Source. Caballero, "Dineros"

8. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETVO:. (triple stop), same christogram.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 20 coins.

9. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +:.(triple stop)TOLETVO, same christogram.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 295, 16 coins.

10. Obv. ANFVS REX., cross.
Rev. +TOLETVO, same christogram.
Source. Metcalf, "Parcel," 294-95, 1 coin.

Christogram - Leon

11. Obv. +ANFVS REX:.(triple stop), cross.
Rev. +LEO CIVITAS, christogram.
Source. MAN 2, wt. .79; MAN 3, wt. 1.00; MAN 4, wt. .95; MAN 5, wt.94; MAN 6, wt. 1.00; MAN 7, wt. 1.04; MAN 8, wt. 87; ANS 1953.26.25, wt. 1.16.
Additional Refs. Heiss 1.1; VQR 5277.

-obol Same including triple stop.
Source. MAN 17, wt. .51; MAN 18, wt. .54; MAN 19, wt. .50; MAN 20, wt. .48; MAN 21, wt. 41; MAN 22. wt. 44.
Additional Refs. Heiss 1.2; VQR 5278.

Christogram - Santiago

12. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross, pellet in 2nd quadrant.
Rev. +S IACOBI, christogram.
Source. Cabellero, "Dineros," 11.
Adiitional Refs. Orol Pernas, "Notes For Future Studies," 67.

CATALOGUE III

THE REIGN OF URRACA

(1109-1126)

Coins in the name of Urraca

All references from MAN are to cabinet 4, tray 68.

1. Obv. +VRACA RE, bust front w. diadem.
Rev. +TOLETVO, cross.
Source. MAN 83, wt. 1.15; MAN 85, wt. 1.08.
Additional Refs. Heiss, 1.1; VQR, 5288; Alvarez, 13.

Varieties are based on privy marks in legend.
-var. Obv. +VRACA.RE
Source. MAN 84, wt. 1.15; MAN 86, wt. .95.
-var. Obv. +VRACA.RE
Rev. +TOLETVO.
Source. MAN 87, wt. 1.27.
-var. Obv. +TOL.ETVO
Source. ANS. 1969.222.1243, wt. .97; HSA 1.8816, wt. 1.07.
-var. Obv. +VRACA:RE
Source. MAN 82, wt 1.14.
-var. Obv. +VRACA:RE
Rev. +TOL.ETVO, cross, pellet in 3rd quadrant.
Source. MAN 88, wt. 1.01.

2. Obv. VRRACA REGI, cross *pomme moline*.
Rev. LEO CIVITAS, christogram, with alpha, omega and horizontal *S* adorning.
Source. MAN 105, wt. .96; MAN 106, wt. .92.
Additional Refs. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," pt. 2, 251; Alvarez, 15 ex. ANE 1969.

-var. Rev. LEO CIVITAS:.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1244, wt. .92.
Notes. Stop on obverse is three pellets.

3. Obv. VRRACA REXA, crowned bust l.
Rev. +LIGIONENSIS, cross w. crosslets or scepters in each quadrant.
Source. HSA 1.8818 wt. .78.

Notes. Badly worn, barely legible.

-var. Rev. +LEGIONENSIS
Source. Heiss 1.5.

4a. Obv. VRRACA RΩG, cross.
Rev. LEO CIVITAS, two alphas, two omegas.
Source. Heiss 1.2, ex Real Academia de la Historia; VQR 5289.

4b. Obv. VRRACA RΩG, cross.
Rev. S B ANTONINIO,two alphas, two omegas.
Source. HSA 1.8816, wt. .97.

-var. Rev. S B ANTONINI, two alphas, two omegas.
Source. Heiss 1.3, ex Real Academia de la Historia.

-var. Obv. +VRRACA REGI, cross.
Rev. BEATI ANTONN, two alphas, two omegas.
Source. MAN 97, wt. .83.
Additional Refs. Heiss 1.4; VQR 5290.

5. Obv. VRRACA REGI, cross.
Rev. LEO CIVITAS, cross on pedestal, two *E*s and star.
Source. Rueda, Primeras Acuñaciones, 34, ex Bibliotheque Nacional de Paris.
Additional Refs. Gil Farrés, Historia, 311, no. 184.
Notes. See the comparable type reading ANFVS REX ARAGONIS in Alvarez, 1,290.

In the name of Alfonso Raimúndez

6. Obv. :.ANFVSVS R REX, crowned bust, l., star to l.
Rev. ++___IONENSIS, cross w. crosslets or scepters in each quadrant.
Source. HSA 1.262, wt. .78.

7. Obv. ANFVS R REX, crowned bust, l, star to l.
Rev. +SOCOVIA CIV, cross w. crosslets or scepters in each quadrant.
Source. HSA 1.8820, wt. 80.
Additional Refs. Del Rivero, Segovia, pl. 1, 8; Gil Farrés, Historia, 318-20, no. 195; Alvarez, 37.

8. Obv. ANFVS BA REX, cross.
Rev. SECOVIA CIVIS, abstract cross, annulet in each quadrant.
Source. Del Rivero, Segovia, pl. 1, 10; cf. Alvarez 52.
Notes. Probably intended to read ANFVS RA REX.

9. Obv. ANFVS.R.REX, cross.
Rev. TOLETO CIVI, crosier, flanked by two scepters.
Source. HSA 1.280, wt. .94.
Additional Refs. Collantes, "Intento" 174-75.

In the name of Alfonso Sánchez I of Aragón

10. Obv. ANFVS+S REX, cross.
Rev. SVCOVIA CIA:., crowned bust, l.
Source. HSA 1.253, wt. .70.
Additional Refs. Del Rivero, Segovia, pl. 1, 9; Gil Farrés, Historia, 315-16, no 190; Alvarez, 33.

In the name of Alfonso, Segovia Series, c.1114-c.1126

11. Obv. ANVOS REX, cross.
Rev. SECOVIA CII, two alphas and two crosslets.
Source. Del Rivero, Segovia, 15 and pl. 1, 9.

12. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. SOCOVIA CI, scepter divides field, to l an annulet, *S*, and star, to r. a star and cross.
Source. MAN 94-4-25, wt. .78; MAN 94-4-26, wt. .88.
Additional Refs. Heiss, pl. 2, 25 ex Cerda; Del Rivero, Segovia, pl. 1, 3.

-var. Obv. Pellets in second and fourth quadrant of cross.
Source. Alvarez 27.
-var. Rev. SAIVICVIVC (some letters retrograde).
Source. VQR, 5313.

13. Obv. ANFOS REX, cross.
Rev. SOCOVIA CII, design.
Source. Alvarez, 51.

14. Obv. +ANFVS REC, cross, annulet in each quadrant.
Rev. +SOCOVIA CIE, crosier, adorned w. alphas.
Source. VQR, 5305.

-var. Obv. +IANFVS RIC.
Rev. +SOCOVIA CII.
Source. VQR, 5304, Heiss, pl. 2, 23.

<u>In the name of Alfonso, Toledo series, c.1114-c.1126</u>

15. Obv. ANFVS REX, bust r, crowned or helmeted.
Rev. TOLETA, Latin cross, two stars above, alpha and omega below.
Source. Heiss, pl. 1, 1; VQR, 5291.

16. Obv.)(TOLETULA, bust l, crowned or helmeted.
Rev. ANFVS REX, cross, alpha and omega hanging below.
Source. ANS-HSA 1.279, wt. 1.12.
Additional Refs. Heiss, pl. 1, 1 (Heiss's drawing reverses alpha and omega.); VQR, 5300.

-var. Obv.)(TOLETULA with one *T* w. flourish.
Source. VQR 5302.
-var. Rev. Cross, two dots above, alpha and omega below.
Source. Heiss, pl. 1, 2; VQR, 5301.
-obol Rev. Cross, one dot above, alpha and omega below.
Source. HSA 1.252, wt. .41.

17. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross, pellet, *s*, pellet and *II* in quadrants.
Rev. REX TOLETVS, incomplete christogram
Source. Heiss pl. 1, 4; Alvarez, 40.

-var. Rev. REX TOLETVOS:
Source. VQR, 5306.

18. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross.
Rev. +TOLETO CIVI, crosier, flanked by two scepters.
Source. Heiss, pl. 3, 29; VQR, 5314.
Notes. Cf. no. 9 above.

19. Obv. ANFVS REX, cross
Rev. *TOLETO CIVI, calvary cross, flanked by upside down crosiers and annulets.
Source. HSA 1.8841, wt. .75.

Imperial Toledo

20. Obv. IPERATOR, cross.
Rev. TOL + ETI, castle tower?
Source. VQR, 5324, 5324a and 5324b; Heiss, pl. 2, 15.
Notes. Heiss's drawing of the reverse is poor. If one turns it upside down and compares it with the rubbings in VQR, it is evident they are the same type, but whether it is a castle depicted on the reverse remains uncertain.

CATALOGUE IV

THE REIGN OF ALFONSO VII

(1126-1157)

1. Obv. REX, equestrian, r, with sword, *LE* possibly behind horse.
Rev. LEO CIVITAS, cross *moline*, *LE* at base.
Source. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," part 2, 251-52.
Additional Refs. Alvarez Burgos 48.

-var. Obv. *T_* behind horse.
Rev. *TO*, retrograde, at base.
Source. VQR. 5319.

-var. Obv. *CA* behind horse.
Rev. *CA* at base.
Source. Heiss 2.9; VQR 5318.

-var. Obv. *BV* behind horse.
Rev. *BV* at base.
Source. MAN 4-94-13, wt. .97.
Additional Refs. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," part 2, 251-52. (Monteverde also reported that the collection of Collantes contained an example of this variety.)

2a. Obv. +INPERA, Latin cross, in field IN PE.
Rev. +LEONIS, lion's head, facing front.
Source. MAN 4-94-18, wt. 1.03.
Notes. The abbreviation in obverse field was undoubtedly intended to stand for *inpera*. The variations catalogued below are best seen as blunders rather than intentional deviations.

-var. Obv. +.IMPERA., Latin cross, in field II II.
Rev. +.L___EONIS., lion's head, facing front.
Source. VQR 5328.

-var. Obv. +:.INPERA, Latin cross, in field IN EI.
Rev. +LEOINIS, lion's head, facing front.
Source. MAN 4-94-17, wt. 1.17.

-var. Obv. +INPERA, Latin cross, in field II N.
Rev. +LEONI, lion's head, facing front.
Source. HSA 1.255, wt. 1.04.

-var.
-obol Obv. +INPERA, Latin cross, in field IN II.
Rev. +LEONIS, lion's head, facing front.
Source. HSA 1.287, wt. .45.

2b. Obv. + B IMPERA, Latin cross, in field IN PE.
Rev. +LEONIS, lion's head, facing front.
Source. HSA 1.8826, wt. 1.18.
Additional Refs. Cf. Heiss 2.21; cf. VQR 5327.

-var. Obv. + B IMPERA, same field.
Rev. B LEONIS, same field.
Source. Heiss 2.22.

3a. Obv. LEONIS CI, crowned bust front.
Rev. INPERATOR, cross.
Source. Heiss 2.16; VQR 5322; Fernández, "Monedas," 1.14.

-var. Obv. LEONIS CII, crowned bust front, crescent to r.
Rev. INPERATO, cross.
Source. MAN 4.94.5, wt. 1.00.

-var. Obv. LEONIS CI, crowned bust front, dot to l. and r.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.10-11

-var. Obv. LEONIS CI, crowned bust front, star to r.
Source. ANS 1940.56.46, wt. .84; Fernández, "Monedas," 1.12.

-var. Rev. INPERATO, cross, in 1st quadrant a crescent.
Source. MAN 4.94.4, wt. .89.
Additional Refs. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.15-16.

-obol. Source. ANS 1969.222.1254, wt. .42.

-var. Rev .INPERATO, cross, in 1st quadrant a crescent.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.18.

-var. Rev. INPEATOR, cross, in 1st quadrant a crescent.
Source. MAN 4.94.6, wt. .82.

-var. Rev. IMPERATO REX, cross.
Source. Heiss 2.18.

3b. Obv. LEONIS CIVI, crowned bust front.
Rev. INPERATOR, cross.
Source. MAN 4.94.3.
Additional Refs. Heiss 2.17; VQR 5323; Fernández, "Monedas," 1.4.

-obol Source. The hoard reported by Inglada, "Monedas ineditas," 129-30, was said to contain 2 obols of this variety. From the plate, it is hard to be certain that they were not examples of 3a.

-var. Rev. Same, *L* in 3rd quadrant.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.6.

-var. Obv. Same, *L* to l. of bust.
Rev. Same, *L* in 3rd quadrant.
Source. MAN 4.94.2, wt. .77.
Additional Refs. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.8.

-var. Obv. Same, *L* retrograde to r. of bust.
Rev. Same, *L* in 3rd quadrant.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.5.

-var. Obv. Same, dot to l. and r. of bust.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.9.

-var. Obv. Same, three dots to l. and r. of bust.
Rev. Same, *T* (or small cross) in 3rd quadrant.
Source. Fernández, "Monedas," 1.13.
Additional Refs. MAN 4.94.7, wt. .88, seems to be this variety, but marks are not clear.

4a. Obv. Two profiled busts facing each other, w. cross between them. Annulet to each side of cross. Cross rises from a pedestal comprised of triangles, below it three crescents.
Rev. IMPERATOR, cross.
Source. HSA 1.276, wt. 1.07; ANS 1916.226.4, wt. .74; MAN 94.4.9, wt. 1.14; MAN 94.4.10, wt. .94; MAN 94.4.11, wt. .87.
Additional refs. VQR 5290a; Campaner, "Restitución," plate 7, no. 9; Heiss 2.11.

4b. Obv. Same
Rev. LEONI CIVI.:, cross.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1253, wt. .94.
Additional Refs. The hoard reported by Inlgada, "Monedas Ineditas," 130, contained 2 coins of this variety along side 33 examples of 4a. Collantes in his later "Intento de ordenación"

reproduced 2 examples of type 4b. (One from the collection of Monteverde.)

CATALOGUE V

CASTILE (1157-1230)

Sancho III (1157-58)

1. Obv. TOLETA, bust facing r.
Rev. +SANCI' REX, cross, two annulets in each quadrant.
Source. HSA 1001.1.8900, wt. .89; MAN 4.95.50, wt. .90; MAN 4.95.51, wt .62; MAN 4.95.52, wt .92.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.2, VQR 5341.

-obol. Source. HSA 1001.1.6860, wt. 52; HSA 1001.1.251, wt. .36.

-var. Obv. TOLETA, bust facing r., star under chin.
Source. Heiss 4.3; VQR 5342 and 5343.

-var. Obv. TOLETA, bust facing r.
Rev. SANCIVS REX
Source. Heiss 4.1; VQR 5340.
Notes. Distinguished by the full name on the reverse and the absence of a cross beginning the legend.

Alfonso VIII (1158-1214)

All references to MAN are from cabinet 4, tray 96.

2. Obv. ALFOVNS, crowned king, standing w. sword in one hand and palm in the other, to left a boy.
Rev. FRNANDVS REX, a cross, whose foot ends in crescent, annulet in each quadrant.
Source. MAN 2, wt. .60 (worn and cracked); HSA 1.8842, wt. .82.

-var. Rev. Two annulets in 3rd quadrant and two in 4th
Source. MAN 3, wt .88.

-var. Rev. Two annulets in 3rd, one in 4th and one underneath cross's foot.
Source. MAN 5, wt. .91.

-var. Rev. Two annulets in 3rd, two in 4th and one underneath cross's foot.

Source. ANS 1969.222.1255, wt. 1.02.

-var. Rev. Two annulets in 2nd, three in 3rd and three in 4th.
Source. MAN 4, wt. 1.06 (with glue adhered)

-var. Rev. Annulet in 3rd quadrant.
Source. Heiss 4.2; VQR 5348.
Note. According to Heiss and VQR, there are more variants than these. (See Heiss 4.3 and VQR 5345-47.) Markings also appear on the obverse of some specimens, e.g. MAN 4 has an annulet and crescent ending the legend. MAN 5 has a total of four annulets on the obverse. 1

3.
-obol Obv. TOLETVM, floral cross.
Rev. +ERA MCIIII, cross ending in crescent, annulet in each quadrant.
Source. Heiss 4.7; VQR 5359.
Additional Refs. See further Campaner y Fuentes, "Sobre un dinero de Toledo ERA MCCIV (1166)."

4. Obv. TOLETAS, figure standing, w. sword in one hand and palm in the other.
Rev. +REX ALFONSVS, cross.
Source. VQR 5350; cf. Heiss 4.4.

The Equestrian Type

5a. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. ANS 1932.56.9, wt. .87.
Additional Refs. VQR 5354.

-var. Rev. TOLETAS:
Source. HSA 1.284, wt. .77.

5b. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., three dots below horse.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. Heiss 4.8.

-var.
-obol Obv. Same, three dots below horse's muzzle.
Rev. +ALFONS' REX, cross, annulet in each quadrant
Source. HSA 1.258, wt. .44.

Note. The reverse legend and type closely parallel the coin of Sancho III.

5c. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., *S* below horse.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. HSA 1.259, wt. 1.12; MAN 15, wt. 1.40 (Glue adhered to coin.)

-obol Source. HSA 1.8843, wt. .53.

-var. Rev. TOLE.:TAS.:
Source. MAN 9, wt. 1.04 (Glue adhered to coin.)

-var.
-obol Rev. T A PV A, cross, which quarters the legend, arms end in crescent.
Source. HSA 1.246, wt. .19.

5d. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., *O* below horse.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. VQR 5357.

5e. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., star below horse.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, simple cross.
Source. Heiss 4.9
Notes. In his drawing, Heiss depicted the obverse as distinct from his 4.8.

-var. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., star below horse's muzzle.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. VQR 5358.

5f. Obv. Crowned equestrian, facing r., crescent below horse.
Rev. TOLETAS.:, cross, arms end in crescent.
Source. VQR 5356.
Notes. VQR lists the mark as a "chalice" but does not illustrate the coin. More likely, the mark is a crescent. (Cf. no. 6 below.)

6. Obv. TOLE, uncrowned equestrian, facing r,. holding palm.
Rev. ANFVS REX, cross, w. crescent in 3rd quadrant.
Source. MAN 10, wt. .81; MAN 11, wt. .94; MAN 12, wt. .79; MAN 13, wt. 1.01; MAN 14, wt. .97.

Additional Refs. Heiss 4.10; VQR 5351, 5352.

-obol Source. HSA 1. 8844, wt. .39.
Additional Refs. VQR 5353.

-var.
-obol Rev. Cross, w. crescent in 4th quadrant.
Source. HSA 1.257, wt. .39.
Additional Refs. Pedrals y Moliné, "Nuevos descubrimientos," plate 7, no. 3, ex D.J. Prat y Sancho.
Notes. In Pedral's publication the mark looks more like a pellet than a crescent.

Proto-*burgalés* series

Since Alfonso VIII ruled the independent kingdom of Castile, the image of a castle began to be employed on his coins. The term *burgalés*, used later to describe his quaternal coin, probably derived from association with Burgos, just as *jaccensis* did from Jaca, though both coins were minted in other locations. It is possible that the name *burgalés* was also reinforced by the depiction of castle or fortress on the back of the coins.

7a. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross, annulet in each quadrant, connected to center by radial.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. three towers, a star to l. and r. of central tower.
Source. Heiss 4.11, VQR 5363.

-obol Source. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," 253 no. 8.
Notes. Mint mark on reverse uncertain.

-var. Obv. +ANFVS REX., same cross.
Source. MAN 18, wt. .88.

-var. Obv. +.ANFVS:REX, same cross.
Source. MAN 19, wt. .90
Notes. Stops are annulets.

-var. Obv. +.ANFVS:REX., same cross.
Source. HSA 1.8840, wt. 1.12.
Notes. Stops are annulets.

-var. Obv. +.ANFVS:.REX., same cross.
Source. MAN 17, wt. .89.
Notes. Stops are annulets.

7b. Obv. +.ANFVS:.REX, same cross
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. three towers, a star to l. and *S* to r. of central tower.
Source. VQR 5362.

7c. Obv. +ANFVS.REX, cross quasi-pommée.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. three towers, *A* to l. and star to r. of central tower.
Source. MAN 20, wt. 1.32.

7d. Obv. +ANFVS.REX, cross quasi-pommée.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. three towers, *B* to l. of central tower.
Source. Heiss 4.12.
Notes. Alvarez, 137, lists this mark as *R*, but cites only Heiss who read it as *B*. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," 253, referred to a coin in his collection of this general type with the mark of *P* which was most likely a *B*.

8a. Obv. +ANFVS REX, cross
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. crowned bust facing l. imposed above, a star to l. and r. of bust.
Source. MAN 25, wt, .87.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.13, VQR 5364.

-obol. Source. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," 253 no. 9.
Notes. Mint mark is uncertain.

-var. Obv. +ANFVS.REX, cross.
Source. MAN 26, wt. 1.18.

-var. Obv. +.ANFVS.REX., cross.
Source. MAN 28, wt. .80; ANS 1969.222.1256 wt. .89.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.14; VQR.5366
Notes. Stops are annulets.

8b. Obv. +ANFVS.REX, cross.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. crowned bust facing l. imposed above, a star to l. and *C* to r. of bust.
Source. MAN 27, wt. .91.
Additional Refs. VQR 5365.

8c. Obv. +.ANFVS.REX, cross.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle, w. crowned bust facing l. imposed above, a star to l. and *A* to r. of bust.
Source. HSA 1.8850.

Burgalés

The type cataloged below was not necessarily the only issue of Alfonso VIII called a *burgalés*. Nonetheless, this particular coin was clearly a major issue and shows signs of being immobilized under Fernando III. It therefore was likely the coin most associated with the name in the early thirteenth century. In at least four of the varieties presented below, the reverse legend occasionally appears retrograde. This may have been an intentional variation, but for the purposes of this catalogue it is ignored.[1]

9a. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to each side.
Source. The trays of the MAN contain over 50 examples of this type. The collection of the HSA has several more. The weights of these coins are presented in figure 2 below.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.19; Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.1.
Notes. The Otaza hoard contained 5,028 burgaleses. Of these, 3,241 were of this star-star variety. (See García Retes, "Tesorillo," 392, 397.)

-obol Source. VQR 5372.

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[1] Alain Pierson, "Algunas observaciones sobre unos vellones de Alfonso VIII (1158-1214)," GN 18 (1970): 23-27.

-Copper trial piece or pattern.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1261 wt. 1.62
Additional Refs. Mateu y Llopis, Catalogo de Ponderales, 24 and plate 1.

9b. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star and annulet to each side.
Source. HSA 1.278, wt. 1.05; HSA 1.8838, wt. 1.02.

-Copper trial piece or pattern.
Source. HSA 1.290, wt. 5.77; HSA 1.289, wt. 3.21; HSA 1.1699, wt. 3.49; HSA 16907, wt. 3.53.
Additional Refs. Heiss, 4.15; VQR 5367.

10. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, crescent to l, star to r.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1263, wt. .90; ANS 1969.222.1262, wt. 95; HSA 1.254, wt. .61; MAN 50, wt. 82; 61, wt. .92; MAN 63, wt. .82; MAN 69, wt. .69; MAN 70, wt. 80; MAN 78, wt. .67; MAN 133, wt. 1.10; MAN 140, wt. .72; MAN 149 wt. .81; MAN 150, wt. .74.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.18; VQR 5370; Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.9.
Notes. The second most represented type in the Otaza hoard, 772 examples reported. (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 397).

-var. Rev. Castle, w. cross, crescent to l., star with annulet as center to r.
Source. MAN 49, wt. 1.06; MAN 58, wt. .90; MAN 75, wt. .77; MAN 94, wt. .73; MAN 104, wt. .86; MAN 123, wt. .88; MAN 145, wt. .76; MAN 146, wt. .82; MAN 147. wt. .74; MAN 148, wt. .80.

-var. Rev. Castle, w. cross, *D* to l., star to r.
Source. 2 examples reported in the Otaza hoard (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 397). *D* was surely not a valid mark. Since it appears to the left of the castle, the mark is perhaps a badly struck crescent. (Cf. no. 11 below.)

11. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *B* to r.
Source. MAN 67, wt .98; MAN 73, wt. .72; MAN 77, wt. .71; MAN 152, wt. .85.
Additional Refs. Heiss 4.16; Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.8.

Notes. Third most represented type in the Otaza hoard, 337 samples reported (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 392).

-var. Rev. Castle w. cross, star with annulet as center to l. and *B* to r.
Source. MAN 43, wt. .77.

-var. Rev. Castle w. cross, star with annulet as center to l. and *D* to r.
Source. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.7.
Notes. The Otaza hoard was said to contain 16 such coins (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 397). It seems best to take the mark here as a poorly executed *B*.

12. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *A* to r.
Source. MAN 45, wt .88; MAN 46, wt. 84.; MAN 55, wt. .93; MAN 129, wt. 79.
Notes. The letter *A* is often poorly executed and, as a result, has been frequently catalogued as *N*, such as in the Otaza report, which listed 54 specimens (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 395).

13. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *O* to r.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1260, wt. .89; MAN 139, wt. .90; MAN 142, wt. .80.
Additional Refs. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.4.
Notes. The Otaza hoard contained 72 examples (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 395).

14. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. Castle w. cross, star to l. and *S* to r.
Source. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 1.2.
Notes. The Otaza hoard was said to contain 11 such coins (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 397-8).

15. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *C* to r.
Source. MAN 52, wt. .80; MAN 134, wt. 1.20;MAN 151, wt. .79; HSA 1.8834, wt. 1.06;HSA 1.8837, wt. .87; ANS 1969.222.1257, wt. .77; ANS 1941.48.39, wt 1.18.

Additional Refs. Heiss 4.17; VQR 5373; Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 1.3.

16. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *E* to r.
Source. ANS 1969.222.1259, wt. .83.
Additional Refs. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.3; Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," 253.
Notes. Otaza hoard reported to contain 114 examples (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 395).

-obol Source. Monteverde, "Algunas monedas," 253.no 10.

-var. Rev. Castle w. cross, star to l. and *F* to r.
Source. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.6.
Notes. The Otaza hoard said to contain 11 examples (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 396). The mark could be poorly done *E*.

-var. Rev. Castle w. cross, *F*, retrograde, to l. and star to r.
Source. García Retes, "Tesorillo," 396, reported 4 such specimens in the Otaza hoard.

17. Obv. ANFVS REX, crowned bust, l.
Rev. CA STE LA, castle w. cross, star to l. and *L* to r.
Source. MAN 54, wt. .88.
Additional Refs. Pierson, "Algunas observaciones," 2.5.
Notes. Otaza hoard said to contain 106 examples (García Retes, "Tesorillo," 395-96).

The *pepión*

Only the two basic variations of this type are presented here. Stop marks and other variations are ignored. The coinage has been extensively studied by

Mercedes Rueda Sabater, who attempted to arrive at a chronology based mainly on stylistic analysis.[2].

18. Obv. ANFVS REX, bust facing l.
Rev. +TOLLETA, cross, star in 1st and 4th quadrant.
Source. Heiss, 1.3; VQR 5293

-obol. Source. VQR 5296

-copper trial piece or pattern
Source. VQR 5292.

19. Obv. ANFVS REX, bust facing l.
Rev. +TOLLETA, cross, star in 2nd and 3rd quadrant.
Source. Heiss 1.4; VQR 5294.

-obol. Source. Heiss 1.2; VQR 5295.

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[2] See Rueda, "Cronología del vellón," 662-70; cf. chapter 10, n. 35 above.

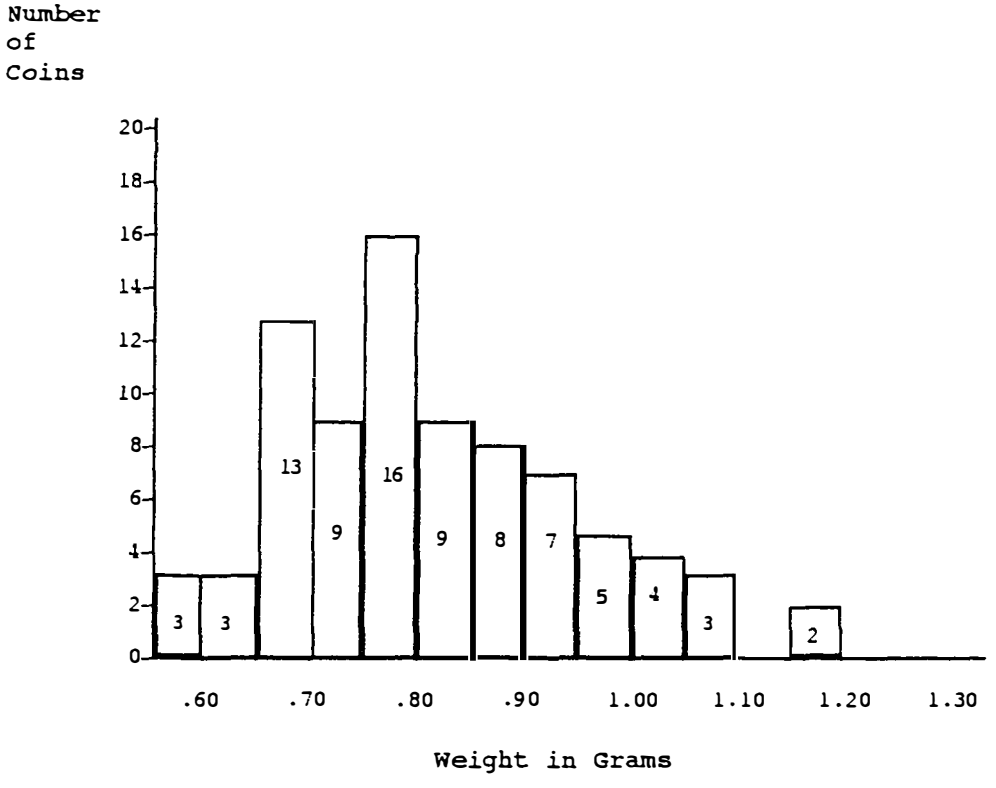

Fig. 2. Weight distribution of *burgaleses* of the star-star mint in the HSA, ANS and MAN collections (including those denarii with the star/annulet-star/annulet mark).

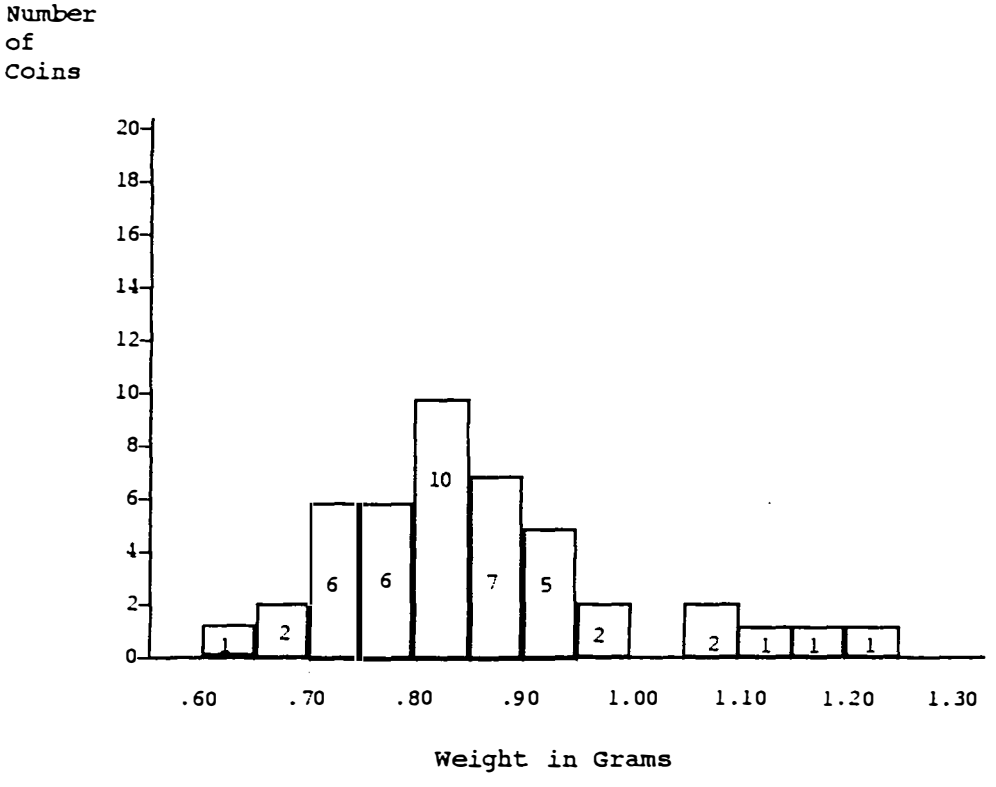

Fig. 3. Weight distribution of all other *burgaleses* in the HSA, ANS and MAN collections.

CATALOGUE VI

LEON 1157-1230

Fernando II (1157-1188)

1. Obv. FERNANDVS REX, cross
Rev. _PAI__, crowned bust facing l. above a bridge, scepter and orb to l., sword to r.
Source. HSA 1.1702, wt. .87.
Additional Refs. Orol Pernas, "Dineros salamanqueses," 386-87.
Notes. Stylistically, the coin is related to the proto-*burgalés* of Alfonso VIII while the bridge on the reverse also anticipates the motif used on Alfonso IX's morabetino. The piece without question belongs to Fernando II. Orol's example is the only other I know. He reported the reverse legend as illegible except for the first letter which was *S*. Combined with the HSA coin, this makes it clear that the reverse legend is SPANIA, the *I* on the HSA coin being the first punch of an *N*. In light of this, it should be considered that the Los Arcos coin assigned to Fernando I may be an issue of Fernando II.

2. Obv. FERNANDVS, crowned bust facing l.
Rev. :.LEO:CIVITAS:.REX, cross (ends adorned).
Source. MAN IV-95-3, wt. .49
Notes. Badly worn and chipped.

3. Obv. FERNAND, bust facing r.
Rev. +REX D. LEON, lion facing r., annulet above, below, three points.
Source. Heiss 3.2, ex Real Academia de Historia.

4. Obv. +FERNANDVS REX, cross
Rev. Lion facing right, with *F* or *L* above.
Source. Heiss 3.3; VQR 5344.

-var.
-obol. Obv. same
Rev. same, with no letter reported above.
Source. Heiss 3.4.

Alfonso IX (1188-1230)

Type 1

6. Obv. +ILDEFONS':REX, cross with fleur de lys in each quadrant.
Rev. Floral cross, lion to l. and r. Mint markings indeterminate.
Source. ANS 1987.41.721, wt. .40.

6a. Rev. Same, annulet to l and r of cross.
Source. HSA 1.18013, wt. .71.
Additional Refs. Orol, 10, wt. .74.
Notes. Cf. Orol, 11.

-var. Rev. Same, dot to l. and r. of cross.
Source. Orol 8, wt. .88.

6b. Rev. Same, star to l and r. of cross.
Source. Orol 3, wt. .73.

-var. Rev. Same, star to l., dot to r. of cross.
Source. Orol 2, wt. .98.
Additional Refs. HSA 1.8904, wt. .55 (hard to read)

-var. Rev. Same, indeterminate to l., scallop to r. of cross.
Source. Orol 1, wt. .91 (the scallop could easily be a star.)

6c. Rev. Same, crescent to l. and r. of cross.
Source. Orol 5, wt. .69; Orol 6, wt.68; Orol 7, wt. .77; Orol 11, wt. .89.

-var. Rev. Same, dot to l., crescent to r. of cross.
Source. Orol 4, wt. .76.

Type 2 (subgroup A)

7a Obv. ANFONS REX, cross moline pomme, scallop in each quadrant.
Rev. LEO, lion facing r., cross and star above.
Source. HSA 1.8848, wt. .96; ANS 0000.999.16400, wt. .73; Orol 21, wt. .82; Orol 21 C. wt. .74.

-var. Rev. Same, cross and star above, dot in front of head
Source. Orol 21a, wt. .83; Orol 21b, wt. .83.

7b. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above.
Source. Orol 27, wt. .84.

-var. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, dot in front of lion's head.
Source. Orol 26, wt. .97.

7c. Rev. LEO, lion facing r., cross above and cross in front of head.
Source. Orol. 23, wt.67; Orol 23a, wt. .91. (cf. Orol 28 and 30)

-var. Rev. Same, cross and crescent above, cross (possibly with staff attached) in front of head.
Source. Orol 22, wt. 105. (cf. Orol 29).

7d. Rev. Same, cross above, crescent in front of head.
Source. Orol 32. wt.71; Orol 32a wt.70 (cf. Orol 31-31b).

Type 2 (subgroup B)

7e. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *C* in front of head.
Source. Orol 13.

7f Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *Ç* in front of head.
Source. Orol 14.

7g. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *E* in front of head.
Source. HSA 1.250, wt. .56; Orol 16.

7h. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *L* in front of head.
Source. Orol 17, wt. 79.

7i. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *O* in front of head.
Source. Orol 18, wt. .81.

7j. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *R*, retrograde, in front of head.
Source. Orol 19, wt. .75 (cf. Orol 15).

7k. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *$* in front of head.
Source. HSA 1.8847, wt. .88; ANS 1969.222. 1264, wt. .81; ANS 1969.222.1265, wt. .64; Orol 20b, wt. .92 (cf. Orol 20d).

-var. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *$* in front of head, cross between paws.
Source. Orol 20, wt. .73; Orol 20c wt. 1.05 (cf. HSA 1.8849, wt. .70 and ANS 150, wt. .70).

-var. Rev. Same, cross and scallop above, *$* in front of head, dot between paws.
Source. Orol 20a, wt. .83.

7l. Rev. Same, cross above, *A* in front of head.
Source. Orol 12, wt. .74.

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What Touches All: Coinage and Monetary Policy in León-Castile to 1230.

Dissertation directed by Joseph F. O'Callaghan, Ph.D.

This work traces the growth of the use of money in kingdom of León-Castile from 711 to 1230 and assesses the monarchy's role in providing the realm with an ample and acceptable currency. Previous studies treating the early monetary history of the kingdom have tended to be predominantly numismatic in their approach and are often narrowly focused on the coins of a particular reign. The present study, however, synthesizes the numismatic and diplomatic sources within a broad chronological context. In addition, it draws on an array of evidence from the other Hispanic Christian states as well as from the Muslim south, so as to place the monetary policy shaped by the kings of León-Castile in the larger context of the developing Iberian economy.

The work is organized into four chronological parts. Part one, surveys the ninth through eleventh centuries, a period where it is not certain that the crown was actively minting. Nonetheless, the sources from the period reveal that the economy was quickly growing reliant on coin,

obtained both from Latin Europe and Muslin Andalusia. The steady monetization that occurred in these centuries, laid the foundation for the royal coinage that began after 1085.

Parts two to four examine a "long twelfth century" from roughly 1085 to 1230. Responding to the poor or non-existent royal coinages before his reign, Alfonso VI (1065-1109) initiated a large scale coinage struck in a minimum of three mints. This mint network was built upon by his successors so that by 1157 there were at least seven royal mints. Under the division of the realm, from 1157-1230, minting of the billon denarius was further expanded and a gold denomination modeled on the Islamic dinar was introduced in both León and independent Castile. By the time the kingdoms were reunited in 1230, the crown had achieved a stable, bi-metallic currency well before most other parts of Latin Europe. By a detailed examination of these events, this study furthers our knowledge not just of a medieval currency system built on Latin and Islamic traditions but deepens our understanding of the strength of royal government in León-Castile.

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