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# Charters, cartulary and family lineage re-created: a genetic study of the cathedral archive of Huesca from the twelfth to the mid-thirteenth century<sup>1</sup>

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It is widely known that the number of surviving Catalan documents reaches 15,000 more or less, most of which are original charters with which lay landowners transferred their properties each other, from the mid-tenth to the eleventh century. These enabled Pierre Bonnassie to make his great contribution to both the field of Catalan study and medieval Mediterranean historiography.<sup>2</sup> They have also permitted Michel Zimmermann and Anscari M. Mundó to bring the surprising high level of Catalan notarial culture into relief.<sup>3</sup> However, no one has sufficiently explained why such a great number of original documents survive in Catalonia, except for the somewhat tautological explanation that such a fertile culture assured the writing and the preserving of an exceptionally large quantity of documents. Both Laurent Morel and Benoit-Michel Tock indicate that the specificity of Catalan documents is not derived from the phase of the writing but the preserving, because all traces suggest that a lot of documents beyond our imagination were also written in other parts of Western Europe though they are almost lost today.<sup>4</sup> Although a large number of original charters transferred between laities survive in Catalonia, most of them are preserved in the archives of religious institutions among which the cathedral archives such as Vic, Urgell and Barcelona

- 1 I am deeply grateful to Juan Carlos Barón, the Secretary Chancellor of the Bishopric, who greatly helped me to consult the cathedral documents in preparation for this study. Abbreviations: ACH: Archivo de la Catedral de Huesca; ADH: Archivo Diocesano de Huesca; AHN: Archivo Histórico Nacional; CDCH: A. Durán Gudiol, *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Huesca*, 2 vols., Huesca, 1965–1969; CSPV: *Cartulario de San Pedro el Viejo*; CT: A. Gargallo Moya, M. T. Iranzo Muñio et M. J. Sánchez Usón, *Cartulario del Temple de Huesca*, Zaragoza, 1985; LC: *Libro de la Cadena*.
- 2 P. Bonnassie, Du Rhône à la Galice: genèse et modalités du régime féodal, *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. *Bilan et perspectives de recherches*, Paris, 1980, pp. 17–84; id., *La Catalogne du milieu du X<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols., Toulouse, 1975–1976.
- 3 M. Zimmermann, *Textus efficax: Ennonciation, révélation et mémorisation dans la genèse du texte historique médiéval. Les enseignements de la documentation catalane (X<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, *Genesis of Historical Text: Text/Context*, Nagoya, 2005, pp. 137–156; id., *Écrire en l'an mil, Hommes et sociétés dans l'Europe de l'an mil*, Toulouse, 2004, pp. 351–378; id., *Écrire et lire en Catalogne (IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 2 vols., Madrid, 2003, t. 1, pp. 246–284; id., *L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: approches d'une signification culturelle*, *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 9, 1973, pp. 232–281; A. M. Mundó, *Le statut du scribe en Catalogne du IX<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Le statut du scribe au Moyen Âge. Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> colloque scientifique du Comité international de paléographie latine*, Paris, 2000, pp. 21–28; id., *El jutge Bonsom de Barcelona, cal·lígraf i copista del 979 al 1024, Scribi e colofoni. Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, Spoleto, 1995, pp. 269–282.
- 4 L. Morel (trans. to Japanese by A. Okazaki), *Qu'est-ce qu'un acte original? Quelques remarques sur l'écrit documentaire des VII<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, *Shigaku*, vol. 76, no. 2–3, 2007, pp. 252–282; B.-M. Tock (trans. to Japanese by A. Okazaki), *L'acte privé du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Shien*, no. 144, 2007, pp. 77–107. If the Medieval West experienced the numerical explosion of documents as a result of the revolution of the writing in the twelfth and the thirteenth century, the Catalan documents were a mere exception and we might have to examine our documents in the context of the twelfth- and the thirteenth-century revolution rather than comparing with them. But if many documents, almost lost today, were surely written in the Early Medieval West as they insist, we cannot overestimate such an explosion because it was a result of the revolution of the preserving rather than the writing. Cfr.: P. Bertrand, *À propos de la révolution de l'écrit (X<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle). Considérations inactuelles*, *Médiévales* 56, printemps 2009, pp. 76–79.

preserve the most lay documents.<sup>5</sup> We must exhaustively attempt to reinvestigate each cathedral archive in other Mediterranean regions as well as in Catalonia, without being content with envying the specificity of Catalan documents. In this study, therefore, I shall genetically examine all lay documents preserved in the Cathedral Archive of Huesca from the Aragonese conquest of 1096 to the first half of the thirteenth century.

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Medieval documents the Cathedral Archive of Huesca possesses today are divided into eleven files called *armarios*, into each of which about 1,000 parchments are grouped. Armarios 1–9 were completed in 1633–4, while some canons designated as secretary of the Archive had already undertaken a task at the end of the previous century; they also edited *Lumen ecclesiae*, the index in which all the documents contained in Armarios 1–9 were listed in alphabetical order, until 1644. After that, other documents escaped from the classification of 1633–4 were grouped into new Armario called *Extravagantes*—most of them are interestingly mortgage charters—and another Armario was added in order to compile the documents of the church of Santa María de Alquézar annexed to the Cathedral in the sixteenth century.

It must not be the first endeavor of the organization of the Archive. Antonio Durán Gudiol, ex-archivist of the Archive and editor of *Colección diplomática de la Catedral de Huesca* in which all the cathedral documents written before 1213 are published, supposes that the project already started from the division of ecclesiastic property into two *mensas*, that is, episcopal *mensa* and capitular one, in 1202, and the distribution of documents administrated under each *mensa* was reflected in the construction of *Libro de la Cadena*, the cartulary completed around 1300.<sup>6</sup> This cartulary is a codex composed of the initial 20 folios, the index on two columns added in the early fourteenth century, and 564 pages on which documents numbered in Roman numerals from 1 to 1,095 are distributed according the content in about 23 sections that begin with or without rubrics, among which we cite only a few examples: *rubrice super privilegia regum Aragonie*, *rubrice super instrumenta de Sessa*, *rubrice super instrumenta ecclesie Barbastrensis*, *rubrice super instrumenta de Iacca*, *rubrice super instrumenta prepositure Oscensis*... Copyists seemed to undertake a series of task under Bishop Domingo Sala (1253–69) and the latest document dates on June 10, 1276 (no. 80). We can paleographically distinguish at least four copists' hands: no. 1–293, 294–457, 476–883 and 884–1,095, though several pages on which no. 458–476 ought to have been contained are lost today.

The Archive possesses both a large number of parchments and highly elaborate cartulary. Nevertheless, the originals of documents copied to the cartulary can be hardly found except for uncommon cases. Although the Archive usually preserved original parchments, the originals of copied documents appeared to be deliberately abandoned or not recognized as what should have been preserved after editing the cartulary. We can hypothesize as follows: 1) Editing the cartulary is the thirteenth-century way of the organization of the Archive and cannot be essentially distinguished from the modern project. 2) Those who administrated it must not have regarded the cartulary as what is legally inferior to original parchments but each of them as a different way of preserving documents. 3) The documents preserved in the cartulary were so prior to the preserved in the originals that they bothered copyists a lot in the second half of the thirteenth century. We tend to attach importance to the legal validity of original documents, but who would have taken trouble

5 T. Adachi, Ecclesial Documents or Family Documents?: A "Genetic" Study of the Cathedral Archive of Urgell from the Ninth to the Eleventh Century, *Medieval European Study*, no. 1, 2009, pp. 87–105 (in Japanese).

6 CDCH, pp. 7–16.

to find a specified document from among a great number of the originals which remained disorderly without index? Isn't it in order to avoid it that they made an effort to edit the cartulary?

The reason why we have to bear these points in mind is that lay documents are included in both large bundles of the originals and the cartulary, few of which are duplicated between them. While Armario 2 especially contains 1,112 lay documents in total, most of which are original land sale charters, the section without rubric of the cartulary that contains no. 503–662 of documents is almost occupied with lay land sale charters and many lay documents are also included in another section with rubric such as *rubrice super instrumenta dels vilers de fores in diversis locis* (no. 887–964). How those lay documents came to the Cathedral can be illustrated with the following cases: the donation charter of 1175, in which María, Jimeno Garcés de Astaún's daughter, donated her properties in Corbinos and Javierre to the Cathedral, specifies that she would alienate them with each charter drawn up when her father Jimeno bought the former and Ramón Berenguer IV, the count of Barcelona, gave him the latter.<sup>7</sup> The Archive possesses at least the land sale charter dated 1139 between them, indeed.<sup>8</sup> And also, when Jordana, Guillermo Rener's widow, gave her nephew a piece of land the pair had bought in Almeriz, one of the *termini* of Huesca, in 1200, she transferred the land sale charter in question to her.<sup>9</sup> In this case, the Archive also possesses the land sale charter dated 1195<sup>10</sup> as well as the aforesaid advancement charter of 1200, even though somehow we cannot find a document which must have been written when the Cathedral finally acquired the piece of land.

A difficult obstacle to get over is inevitably confronted with us, when we try to treat this issue from the viewpoint of the protection of the Cathedral's acquired rights as above. Whether intentionally or not, the Archive does not necessarily focus on preserving supposed important documents in which the Cathedral finally acquired properties: six land sale charters, in which Sancho Cavaller and his wife Bruna bought some houses in *barrio* of Sircata or the Hospital, northern quarter of Huesca, and some pieces of land in northern part of the territories of the city (Monzú, Forcas and Magantina), are preserved in the originals;<sup>11</sup> however, not having any document in which they donated or sold their properties to the Cathedral, we can merely know the fact that it had really acquired the only houses through the charter of 1212 in which Galindo de Perola, archdeacon and almoner of the Cathedral, leased *illas casas que fuerunt de Sanio Cavallero et sunt in barrio de Sircata* to Juan Cocinero.<sup>12</sup> The puzzle comes deeper if we take the difference of the way of preserving documents into account: Pedro Marta, one of wealthy landowners at the end of the twelfth century, and his wife Marta bought some houses within the city wall of Huesca and many pieces of land and vineyards in its territories from 1184 to 1195.<sup>13</sup> In 1196, he had Pedro de Noales, *notario* of Huesca, draw up his will,<sup>14</sup> and then both of them seemed to die until August 1199 when their five sons divided inherited properties in Huesca, Tierz, Igriés and Tabernas. Among the family's seven documents, none of which inform us of the fact that they alienated all the bought properties to the Cathedral, only three are included in the cartulary: the above-mentioned division charter of 1199,<sup>15</sup> the land sale charter of 1184 in which the pair bought *casas maiores* in

7 ACH, Armario 2, no. 441 (1175, IV, 22) [CDCH, no. 312].

8 ACH, Armario 2, no. 509 (1139, VII) [CDCH, no. 151].

9 ACH, Armario 2, no. 401 (1200, I) [CDCH, no. 573].

10 ACH, Armario 2, no. 514 (1195, XII, 31) [CDCH, no. 509].

11 ACH, Armario 2, no. 627 (1168, XII), 492 (1170, X); Armario 9, no. 139 (1173, XI); Armario 2, no. 391 (1177, IX), 443 (1177, IX), 624 (1179, IX) [CDCH, no. 254, 267, 297, 331, 332, 347].

12 ACH, Armario 5, no. 23/LC, no. 511 (1212, III) [CDCH, no. 750].

13 ACH, Armario 2, no. 610 (1184, IV), 362 (1189, IX), 404 (1195, I); Armario 5, no. 165 (1195, I); LC, no. 554 (1194, IV) [CDCH, no. 389, 444, 482, 489, 490].

14 ACH, Armario 2, no. 390 (1196, V) [CDCH, no. 522].

15 ACH, Armario 7, no. 75/LC, no. 945 (1199, VIII) [CDCH, no. 556].

the Temple quarter of Huesca<sup>16</sup> and the renouncement charter on them his grandson with the same name, archdeacon of the Cathedral, had his own brothers draw up in 1258.<sup>17</sup> No doubt the reason why these charters were copied to the cartulary is that all of them were legally related to that houses, but anyway the Archive is not supposed to possess enough documents to protect its own rights. The following case also puzzles us: Guillermo Mozaraví, a member of a *mozárabe* family inhabiting Huesca before the conquest of 1096, bought some pieces of land in its territories four times between 1139 and 1149, and then donated two shops near the Cathedral, a vineyard in Conillenc and an orchard in la Mesa to the Cathedral in 1165. However, while three land sale charters are included in the cartulary,<sup>18</sup> the donation charter of 1165 is preserved in the original, in which none of those bought properties are mentioned.<sup>19</sup>

Although there is no other way but to suppose that it is because the Cathedral acquired the properties at a point that its Archive possesses lay documents concerned with them, it is technically impossible to trace the destination of each property and the difference of the way of preserving documents complicates it more and more. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily apply if we do not pay attention to properties but families possessing them: all six land sale charters, in which García de Santa Cruz and his son Marques bought some pieces of land in the territories of Huesca between 1155 and 1201, are preserved in the originals.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, buying some properties in Huesca between 1141 and 1212, Salvador de las Corzas and his sons, Pedro Salvador, Esteban Capetit and Bernardo, held the Cathedral's *hereditas* in Tabernas for two generations; all their documents are preserved in the cartulary.<sup>21</sup> Sancho de Arrasal *miles*, whose documents count eleven between 1217 and 1251, is also known only in the cartulary among all sources of the same period.<sup>22</sup> Such a somewhat sharp line seemed to be drawn between what was to be copied to the cartulary and what were preserved in the originals though both of them are supposed to be equivalent in the sense of the protection of the Cathedral's rights. Therefore, we must break through by taking notice of social relation rather than legal one between the Cathedral and some families whose documents are preserved in the Archive.

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I shall cite two families, that is, the Boclóns and the Isaacs, which left eighty-one documents in all in the Archive. The former family has been regarded as a typical example of *francos*, immigrants

16 ACH, LC, no. 554 (1194, IV) [CDCH, no. 482].

17 ACH, LC, no. 555 (1258, II, 28).

18 ACH, LC, no. 645 (1139, VI, 29), 651 (1149, VI), 652 (1151, XI) [CDCH, no. 150, 191, 198].

19 ACH, Armario 2, no. 562 (1165, II) [CDCH, no. 242].

20 ACH, Armario 2, no. 564 (1155, X), 487 (1164, VIII, 9), 478 (1171, II), 384 (1173, XI), 419 (1201, X), 556 (1201, XI) [CDCH, no. 219, 239, 274, 298, 589, 590].

21 Salvador de las Corzas and his wife Sabina bought a piece of land in Cuadriello in 1141 and another one in Arguerdia in 1159, respectively. ACH, LC, no. 941 (1141, XI) et 589 (1159, VI) [CDCH, no. 157 et 232]. Bishop Dodón conceded them a *hereditas* in Tabernas in 1144. In 1176, Bishop Esteban newly leased them it for a *cahíz* of wheat in exchange for two pieces of land in Alguerdia and along the way to Montearagón and a vineyard in Conillenc. ACH, Armario 7, no. 50/LC, no. 904 (1144, XI) et LC, no. 590 (1176, III, 5) [CDCH, no. 162 et 319]. His sons Pedro Salvador and Esteban Capetit inherited it, and then Esteban sold it to Ramón Callol with the bishop's consent in 1211. AHN, Clero, Dominicos de Huesca, carpeta 593, no. 2 (1211, I). Esteban also sold a piece of land in Almeriz to the Cathedral in 1212. ACH, LC, no. 192 et 518 (1212, IV) [CDCH, 752]. By the way, he attended King Alphonse II's court of the Peace presided over at Zaragoza in 1164 as one of the representatives of the *concejo* of Huesca. A. I. Sánchez Casabón, *Alfonso II rey de Aragón, conde de Barcelona y marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162–1196)*, Zaragoza, 1995, no. 23 (1164, XI, 11).

22 Buying a vineyard in Guatátén Bajo and houses in the *Barrio Nuevo*, Sancho de Arrasal, Pedro de Arrasal's son, and his wife Taresa divided or leased them between 1217 and 1225. In 1227, they donated them with the property in Alerre to the church of Santa María de Salas, which made the Cathedral entrust them the care of twenty-five *cahizadas* of land for life in 1232. After that, buying a piece of land in Alquibla and houses in the *Barrio Nuevo* also, he finally donated houses in the Santa María Magdalena quarter to the Hospitallers in 1251. ACH, LC, no. 545 (1217, III), 546 (1217, VI), 553 (1222, V), 43 (1223, IV, 25), 568 (1225, V), 578 (1225, X), 40 et 989 (1227, IX, 8), 550 (1232, V), 566 (1239, VII, 24), 547 (1241, X, 2), 623 (1251, X).

from north of the Pyrenees,<sup>23</sup> and the latter is also known for a success story that tells how a shoemaker, a member of ex-Jewish family of Jaca, rose to one of the most eminent landowners in Huesca.<sup>24</sup> However, merely depending upon Durán's *Colección* in which only documents written before 1213, the year of King Peter II's death, are arranged in chronological order, most of studies have never taken documents written after the year nor the difference of the way of preserving them into consideration. Nor have they been treated as the subject of researches in the context of the progress of municipal administration, because none of their members were on the list of *jurati* nor *probi homines* despite their fortune.<sup>25</sup> This may be greatly attributed to the quantitatively unequal distribution of sources: we do not know other families that left as many documents as they in the Archive, except for the noble Maza family;<sup>26</sup> although we can enumerate other archives such as the Templars of Huesca or the monasteries of San Pedro el Viejo and Montearagón, they possess few lay documents to begin with. Not knowing precisely how many properties other families holding important posts in the *concejo* had, we cannot easily judge which of them more eminent landowners were though there were a close relationship between them.

The founder of the Boclóns in the paternal line is a Galacián de Boclón, about whom we know nothing but his native place, Bouglon (Aquitany).<sup>27</sup> On the contrary, sources of Huesca are much more loquacious about his wife Boneta, whose father was Juan de Montpellier, an immigrant of the first generation after the conquest and one of the most influential townsmen, who served Alphonse the Battler, the king of Aragón (1104–34).<sup>28</sup> Getting married to Galacián, she had at least six sons and three daughters, Guillermo, Aquelmes, Ramón, Juan Berenguer, Peregrino, Umberto, Prasma, Gascaña and Ines, among whom Guillermo, and then Aquelmes and his son inherited the family's principal properties after he became canon, but not only the other brothers but Prasma, Gascaña and Ines getting married to Ramón Becaire (Beaucaire), Vidal de Marzán (Mont-de-Marzan) and the aforesaid Pedro Salvador respectively and their heirs also benefited from the hereditary divisions. In consequence, we can reconstruct a genealogy of three or four generations in each line (Figure 1).

The family has thirty-six documents between 1166 and 1243, all of which are included in the cartulary.<sup>29</sup> Only six among them are preserved in the originals as well. Thirty-four documents are distributed in the above-mentioned section without rubric (no. 503–662) and the others in the section related to properties outside Huesca (no. 887–964). They are classified into nine donations,<sup>30</sup>

23 As to *francos* in Huesca: A. Conte Cazcarro, Aspectos sociales de la población altoaragonesa a través de la documentación templaria de Huesca, *Argensola: Revista de ciencias sociales del Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses*, no. 90, 1980, pp. 261–300; P. García Mouton, Los franceses en Aragón (siglos XI–XIII), *Archivo de filología aragonesa*, vol. 26–27, 1980, pp. 7–98.

24 Lynn H. Nelson introduces one of the Isaacs' documents. L. H. Nelson, B. Three documents from Huesca (1158–1207), O. R. Constable ed., *Medieval Iberia. Readings from Chirstian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997, pp. 242–246. Based upon only Durán's *Colección*, he also concretely tells the family's history on his website: [http://www.vlib.us/medieval/lectures/jofre\\_isaac.html](http://www.vlib.us/medieval/lectures/jofre_isaac.html).

25 Cfr.: M. T. Iranzo Muñio et C. Laliena Corbera, El acceso al poder de una oligarquía urbana: el concejo de Huesca (siglos XII y XIII), *Aragón en la Edad Media*, VI, 1984, pp. 47–66; M. T. Iranzo Muñio, *Élites políticas y gobierno urbano en Huesca en la Edad Media*, Huesca, 2005, pp. 58–101.

26 The cartulary includes a section beginning with the rubric such as *rubrice super instrumenta Petri Maçe*, in which the Mazas' documents besides Pedro Maza's ones are also grouped (no. 965–988). As to this family: J. F. Utrilla Utrilla, Los Maza de Huesca: un linaje aristocrático aragonés en el siglo XII, *Aragón en la Edad Media*, XX, 2008, pp. 811–827; Id., Linajes aristocráticos aragoneses: datos prosopográficos del linaje de los Bergua y notas sobre sus dominios territoriales (siglos XII–XV), *Aragón en la Edad Media*, X–XI, 1993, pp. 859–894.

27 Galacián was supposed to die until 1164 because a piece of land in Almeriz which an Alberto donated to the Cathedral in this year was a mortgage Galacián's widow held on it. ACH, Armario 2, no. 339/ADH, CSPV, fol. 101v. (1164) [CDCH, no. 241].

28 ACH, Armario 2, no. 747 (1110) [CDCH, 108].

29 We also find the family's other two documents in the cartulary of the Templars: in 1148, Boneta, with her mother Guiralda, donated a piece of land outside the Alquibla gate to the Templars so that Juan de Montpellier and her brother Pons's souls would rest in peace. CT, no. 3 (1148, X). Her son Juan Berenguer also sold the Templars a vineyard in Algascar in 1179. CT, no. 75 (1179, VIII).

30 ACH, LC, no. 592 (1166, V), 626/Extravagantes (1174), 582 (1190, IV), 567 (1192, I), 530 (1209, VI, 24), 615 (1209, VII) [CDCH, no. 247, 304, 449, 465, 708]; LC, no. 577/ Extravagantes (1224, X), 583 (1229, IX), 539 (1243, XI, 2).

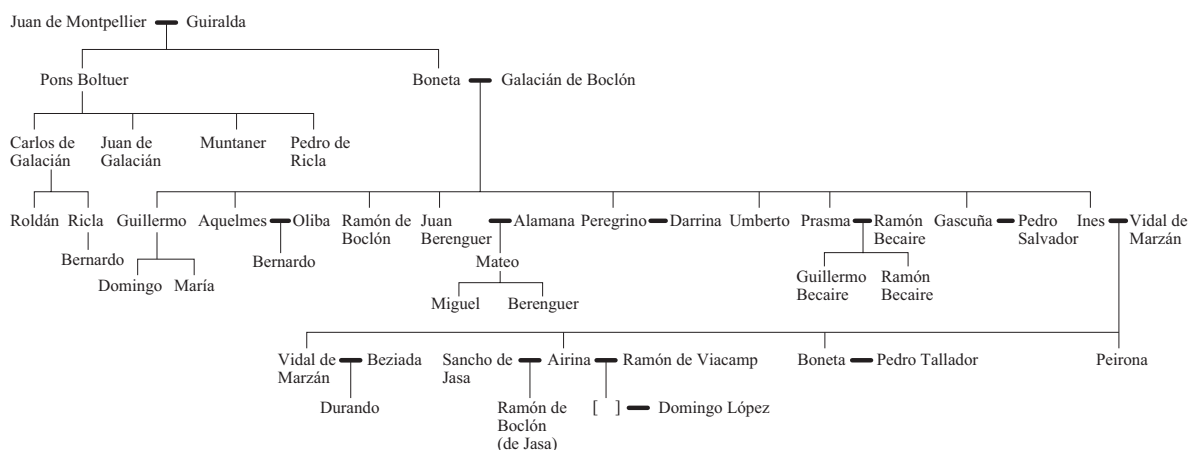


Figure 1

seven land sales,<sup>31</sup> five exchanges,<sup>32</sup> a lease,<sup>33</sup> a mortgage,<sup>34</sup> a will,<sup>35</sup> eight hereditary divisions,<sup>36</sup> two renuncements,<sup>37</sup> a judicial record<sup>38</sup> and a *memoria* of properties:<sup>39</sup> while the Cathedral is a beneficiary of three donations, the other six are made between the members of the family such as four advancements, a dowry and a compensation; four land sales and an exchange are also contracted between its members; not only the will and the hereditary divisions but also the renuncements and the judicial record originate from the succession to property. Most of these documents, therefore, show us how their properties gradually segmented during almost four generations.

In May 1166, Guiralda, Juan de Montpellier's widow, gave her own piece of land in Magantina to her grandson Aquelmes<sup>40</sup> and exchanged another piece of land in Almeriz for her daughter Boneta's one in order to give it to another grandson Ramón de Boclón.<sup>41</sup> Selling properties in Huesca and Montpellier to Aquelmes and his wife Oliba as early as April 1168,<sup>42</sup> Boneta's eldest son Guillermo received a *majuelo*, newly planted vineyard, in Morillón from Boneta and his cousin Carlos in 1174.<sup>43</sup> Did he already begin his career as a canon from this time? Boneta, with Aquelmes, bought twelve pieces of land in the territories of Huesca from Jordana, Sancho Aznárez de Murillo's daughter, in March 1182,<sup>44</sup> several of which were included among six pieces of land and a vineyard she donated to the Cathedral in April 1190;<sup>45</sup> and then in January 1192, she gave Aquelmes a vineyard in Algasca. Guillermo had bought from his cousin Juan in 1188.<sup>46</sup> Aquelmes and his wife bought houses in the Maza quarter of the city in February 1185.<sup>47</sup> Guillermo was already appointed

31 ACH, LC, no. 603 (1168, IV), 611/armario 2, no. 566 (1182, III), 610 (1185, II), 551/ Armario 2, no. 600 (1188, III), 609 (1206, VI), 570 (1206, X) [CDCH, no. 253, 368, 397, 433, 673, 676]; LC, no. 544 (1227, VI).

32 ACH, LC, no. 605/armario 2, no. 663 (1166, V), 607 (1196, XII), 549 (1199, IX), 575 (1199, IX) [CDCH, no. 248, 525, 558, 559]; LC, no. 868 (1221, I).

33 ACH, LC, no. 657 (1192, XI) [CDCH, 470].

34 ACH, LC, no. 613 (1211, XII) [CDCH, no. 743].

35 ACH, LC, no. 552 (1195, VII, 21) [CDCH, no. 500].

36 ACH, LC, no. 580 (1195, VIII), 604 et 608 (1195, VIII), 944 (1195, XI), 616 (1202, V), 609 (1206, VI), 614 (1206, IX), 579/Armario 2, no. 578 (1211, I) [CDCH, no. 501, 502, 508, 599, 673, 674, 731].

37 ACH, LC, no. 612 (1203, VIII), 584 (1232, XII) [CDCH, no. 637].

38 ACH, LC, no. 617 (1207, III) [CDCH, no. 683].

39 ACH, LC, no. 618 (a. 1206) [CDCH, no. 781].

40 ACH, LC, no. 592 (1166, V) [CDCH, no. 247].

41 ACH, Armario 2, no. 663/LC, no. 605 (1166, V) [CDCH, no. 248].

42 ACH, LC, no. 603 (1168, IV) [CDCH, no. 253].

43 ACH, Extravagantes/LC, no. 626 (1174) [CDCH, no. 304].

44 ACH, Armario 2, no. 566/LC, no. 611 (1182, III) [CDCH, no. 368].

45 ACH, LC, no. 582 (1190, IV) [CDCH, no. 449].

46 ACH, Armario 2, no. 600/LC, no. 551 (1188, III) [CDCH, no. 433]; LC, no. 567 (1192, I) [CDCH, no. 465].

47 ACH, LC, no. 610 (1185, II) [CDCH, no. 397].

canon and *magister* when he rented two vineyards for life from the Cathedral in November 1192.<sup>48</sup> His will prepared on July 21, 1195, specified to donate 100 solidi, a piece of land and two vineyards in Jara and Morillón to the Cathedral so as to rest in its cemetery, and to divide all his property with houses in the *Pellicería* at the head of the list to his brothers and sisters as well as his own heirs.<sup>49</sup>

After that, acquiring a vineyard in Algasca in 1196,<sup>50</sup> two vineyards in Guatátén Bajo in 1199<sup>51</sup> and houses in the Maza quarter in 1206,<sup>52</sup> respectively, all of which were adjacent to their vested properties, Aquelmes and his son Bernardo were confronted with their kin's repeated claims on the properties inherited from Boneta whose will is lost today and Guillermo. As early as August 1195, while Peregrino divided the houses in the *Pellicería* with the late Ines's daughter Airina and her husband Sancho de Jasa since Guillermo's will did not stipulate each portion,<sup>53</sup> the houses inherited from Boneta in the *Campaneros* quarter near the Cathedral were divided between seven brothers except for the deceased.<sup>54</sup> However, Juan Berenguer and Prasma redivided their portion of the houses in the *Campaneros* quarter with Peregrino after only three months,<sup>55</sup> and then Vidal de Marzán and Airina, whose mother Ines could not benefit from the division of them because of her death, forced Aquelmes to cede a mortgage on Peregrino's portion to them in May 1202.<sup>56</sup> Although Aquelmes and his son compensated Prasma's sons, Guillermo and Ramón Beaire, for the renouncement of the inheritance with only 20 solidi in August 1203,<sup>57</sup> Vidal de Marzán, Airina and their sister Boneta claimed a portion against them again in June 1206,<sup>58</sup> and after three months, agreed not to claim anything in the presence of *probi homines* in exchange for getting a mortgage on a *majuelo* of San Gil in Albarrach and two pieces of land in Forcas among Aquelmes's properties inherited from his mother.<sup>59</sup> However, since Boneta and his husband Pedro Tallador who could get nothing from that division did not cease claiming against him, Aquelmes consequently won this case in the city court Pedro de Sarvisé, *justicia* of Huesca, presided over in March 1207.<sup>60</sup>

On June 24, 1209, he donated all his property to the Cathedral so as to let his son Bernardo join the cathedral chapter as stated in the will he mentioned having prepared precedently.<sup>61</sup> Airina and her husband Sancho de Jasa bought a portion of the houses in the *Campaneros* quarter from

48 ACH, LC, no. 657 (1192, XI) [CDCH, no. 470].

49 ACH, LC, no. 552 (1195, VII, 21) [CDCH, no. 500]. A vineyard in Jara donated to the Cathedral were leased to Juan de Seres, archdeacon, for life in 1199. ACH, Extravagantes (1199) [CDCH, no. 552]. The houses in the *Pellicería* occupying one of the highest quarters of the city was supposed to be what he inherited from his grandfather Juan de Montpellier because we can find Juan's houses there in a land sale charter dated 1147. ACH, LC, no. 644 (1147, VI) [CDCH, no. 179].

50 ACH, LC, no. 607 (1196, XII) [CDCH, no. 525].

51 ACH, LC, no. 549 (1199, IX) et 575 (1199, IX) [CDCH, no. 558 et 559].

52 ACH, LC, no. 606 (1206, III) [CDCH, no. 666].

53 ACH, LC, no. 580 (1195, VIII) [CDCH, no. 501].

54 ACH, LC, no. 604 et 608 (1195, VIII) [CDCH, no. 502].

55 ACH, LC, no. 944 (1195, XI) [CDCH, no. 508].

56 ACH, LC, no. 616 (1202, V) [CDCH, no. 599].

57 ACH, LC, no. 612 (1203, VIII) [CDCH, no. 637].

58 ACH, LC, no. 609 (1206, VI) [CDCH, no. 673].

59 ACH, LC, no. 614 (1206, IX) [CDCH, no. 674].

60 ACH, LC, no. 617 (1207, III) [CDCH, no. 683]. It is in this judicial record that *jurati* were mentioned in the sources of Huesca for the first time. After Pedro de Sarvisé handed down a sentence before *probi homines* composed of Juan Pictavín, his brother-in-law Pedro Cuende, Sancho de Huesca, a member of the noble Bergua family, Mateo del Mas, *zalmedina* of Huesca, Domingo Luis, Lorenzo del Collet, Pedro de Avena and Sancho de Labata, his sentence was confirmed before seven *jurati*, Mateo del Mas, Pedro de Avena, Pedro de Valle, Guillermo de Briva, Pedro Gil, Ramón de Blanca and Juan Carbonel, who assembled in king's palace. All the *probi homines* except for Sancho de Labata were interestingly mentioned as *razonadores* of Aquelmes, which was easy to imagine making him win this case.

61 ACH, LC, no. 530 (1209, VI, 24). His will in question is lost today, but this donation charter stipulates that, as it stated, houses in the Maza quarter and a piece of land in Colandrades would be conceded to Pedro de Aguas and his wife Sancha in compensation for their service and a daughter of Benedet, his wife Oliba's supposed son by a former marriage, inherit a piece of land in Algasca and all his movables, respectively. As to the concession to Pedro de Aguas: ACH, LC, no. 615 (1209, VII) [CDCH, no. 708]. He served Aquelmes as his warrantor when Vidal de Marzán, Airina and their sister Boneta claimed a portion against him again in June 1206. ACH, LC, no. 609 (1206, VI) [CDCH, no. 673]. We also have a *memoria* of Aquelmes's twelve pieces of land without a date, which must have been written before 1206 because some pieces conceded to Ines's sons in the same year are still included there. Thus, from the outset it has nothing to do with the protection of the Cathedral's rights. ACH, LC, no. 618 (a. 1206) [CDCH, no. 781].

her uncle Umberto in October 1206 just after they got what they claimed against Aquelmes.<sup>62</sup> With new husband Ramón de Viacamp's consent, dividing her own property with Ramón de Boclón, a son by her previous husband in January 1211, she never parted with the properties acquired through her repeated claims.<sup>63</sup> She was still active even after ten years: she got other houses in the *Campaneros* quarter in exchange from Bishop García de Gudal in January 1221,<sup>64</sup> and then took back her brother's portion in the same quarter from his son Durando, canon of Jaca, in October 1224;<sup>65</sup> assigning a part of her property to his son in order to marry Ferrera de Bolea in September 1229,<sup>66</sup> she is supposed to have been dead until December 1232 when he conceded a vineyard in Jara and the houses in the *Campaneros* quarter which she kept all the way to Bernardo, canon of the Cathedral of Huesca.<sup>67</sup> Buying a vineyard in Jara from Vidal de Marzán in June 1227,<sup>68</sup> Bernardo tried to take back what his cousins dispossessed of his father. In the family's latest document dated November 2, 1243, Miguel and Berenguer, Juan Berenguer's grandsons, renounce the right of succession to a portion of the houses in the *Campaneros* quarter donated to the Cathedral in exchange for 110 solidi.<sup>69</sup> The documents of every line of the family were impartially preserved just in the cartulary since Boneta's descendants more or less donated their properties to the Cathedral as such; though its Archive specially focused on preserving the ones of two main lines of Aquelmes and Ines's sons that repeatedly contended for the succession to the family's property.

We can trace the Isaacs back to an Isaac, ex-Jewish shoemaker, whose father was named Ium Tob,<sup>70</sup> but all documents of this family are related with the line originated with his nephew Jofré Isaac, shoemaker, too. Jofré got married to at least three wives, Calbeta, Oropesa and María: he had at least a daughter he married to a shoemaker Peronín Becaire by the first wife, a son named Mateo and a daughter he married to a shoemaker Guillermo de Olorón by the second, and a son named Ramón Aster by the third, respectively. Although it is often mentioned how high the social standing of shoemaker was in Huesca as well as other Aragonese small cities, it is because he got married to the second wife Oropesa whose father was Guillermo de Jaca possessing a lot of properties in both Jaca and conquered Huesca that he could rise to one of the eminent landowners by buying many pieces of land in the territories of Huesca. However, it is Ramón Aster, a son by the third wife, that took the initiative in the succession to his father's property. Satisfying a claim of his half-brother Mateo and his son Berenguer peacefully at first glance, he finally sold all his property to his cousin Juan Pictavín (Poitevin), one of *probi homines* and royal official called *merino*; he literally stuck to his will though his wife Juana forced him to redraw up his first will prepared without her consent (Figure 2).

This family has forty-five documents in all: the first document is a land sale charter dated June 1140 in which Jofré Isaac bought an orchard in Almeriz<sup>71</sup> and the latest also a land sale charter dated December 1222 in which Ramón Aster sold all his property to Juan Pictavín as mentioned above.<sup>72</sup> The way of preserving them is much more complicated than the case of the Boclóns' documents

62 ACH, LC, 570 (1206, X) [CDCH, no. 676].

63 ACH, Armario 2, no. 578/LC, no. 579 (1211, I) [CDCH, no. 731]. Among the properties conceded to Ramón de Boclón, a house and an orchard near the livestock market belong the street running from the Fortis gate to the Alquibla gate were his father Sancho de Jasa's ancestral property. Sancho's mother Orbellito agreed to the Templars' irrigating its orchard through her own one in June 1180. CT, no. 82 (1180, VI). In 1185, Sancho donated a half part of the orchard to the monastery of San Pedro el Viejo. ADH, CSPV, fol. 138v. (1185).

64 ACH, LC, no. 868 (1221, I).

65 ACH, Extravagantes/LC, no. 577 (1224, X).

66 ACH, LC, no. 583 (1229, IX).

67 ACH, LC, no. 584 (1232, XII).

68 ACH, LC, no. 544 (1227, VI).

69 ACH, LC, no. 539 (1243, XI, 2).

70 ACH, LC, no. 382 (1113, VI) [CDCH, no. 112].

71 ACH, Armario 2, no. 378 (1140, VI) [CDCH, no. 155].

72 ACH, Armario 3, no. 418 (1222, XII).

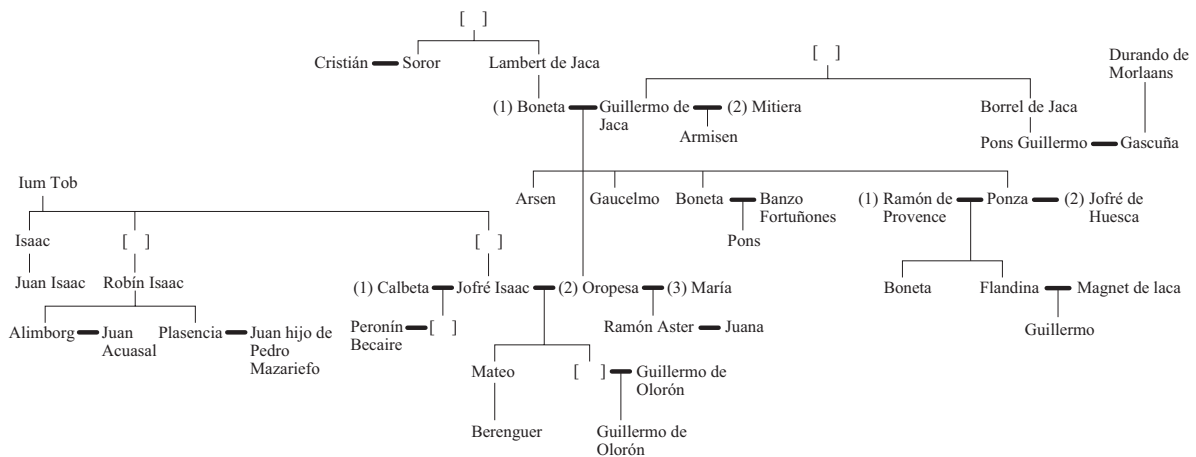


Figure 2

preserved only in the cartulary: while eleven are preserved in parchments with a contemporaneous copy and a document copied to a *pancarta* included among Jofré Isaac's thirty-one documents which are equivalent to two thirds of all, the preserved in the cartulary count twenty, among which we also find the originals of only three documents; as to parchments including these three documents, eleven are filed in Armario 2, one each in Armario 4, 9 and Extravagantes;<sup>73</sup> seventeen documents succeed the Boclóns' ones in the above-mentioned section of the cartulary, and the other three, concerned with properties in Huesca, are placed in the section related with properties in Jaca (no. 846–848).<sup>74</sup> They are classified into twenty-six land sales, two advancements, a mortgage, a will and a *memoria* of credits. Since documents other than the land sale charters are not preserved in the cartulary, it appears as if he merely bought properties as far as the cartulary is concerned. Nevertheless, the ratio of parchments to copied documents sharply rises in his sons' generation: documents concerned with Ramón Aster, Mateo and his son Berenguer, their half-sister's son Guillermo de Olorón count only thirteen, eleven of which are parchments filed in Armario 2, 3 and Extravagantes<sup>75</sup> and only three including a duplicated document are copied to the cartulary.<sup>76</sup> They are classified into three hereditary divisions, two renouncements, four mortgages, a lease, two land sales and two wills. Such classification bears no relation to the way of preserving documents, but classifying them according to the persons concerned greatly interest us: although Ramón Aster is the principal heir to Jofré Isaac leaving the most documents after the Boclóns in the cartulary, none of his own documents are included there; on the contrary, all three documents of Mateo and his son Berenguer having no other way but being convinced to inherit a small part of the property are included there, two of which are arranged in the aforesaid section without rubric and the other just behind a series of Jofré's documents in the section of Jaca.

We must concretely reexamine all the family's documents so as to understand why such a

73 ACH, Armario 2, no. 378 (1140, VI), 354 (1146, VIII), 577 (1148), 630/LC, no. 653 (1154, V, 26); Armario 9, no. 119 (1157, I); Armario 2, no. 519 (1158, VIII), 587 (1163, V), 482/LC, no. 636 (1169, III); Armario 4, no. 1002 (1169, XII); Armario 2, no. 497/LC, no. 625 (1171, V), 429 (1172, V); Extravagantes (1181, II); Armario 2, no. 345 (1183, X), 63 (c. 1183) [CDCH, no. 155, 176, 186, 210, 223, 227, 238, 255, 261, 275, 284, 355, 384, 387].

74 ACH, LC, no. 847 (1146, XII), 644 (1147, VI), 648 (1147, VI), 848 (1151, II), 574 (1151, VIII), 647 (1153), 630 (1154, II), 650 (1154, IV), 653/Armario 2, no. 630 (1154, V, 26), 654 (1154, VI, 8), 638 (1163, I), 649 (1165), 635 (1167, IX), 622 (1168, II), 636/Armario 2, no. 482 (1169, III), 631 (1171, II), 625/Armario 2, no. 497 (1171, V), 643 (1172, XII), 846 (1175, XII) [CDCH, no. 176, 177, 179, 180, 196, 206, 207, 209, 210, 211, 237, 245, 251, 252, 255, 273, 275, 288, 316].

75 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63/LC, no. 849 (1171, I, 23); Extravagantes (1180, III); Extravagantes (1181, II); Armario 2, no. 63 (1186, II); Extravagantes (1186, II); Armario 2, no. 374 (1187, X), 63 (1202, III, 3), 152 (1202, VIII, 1), 632 (1207, VIII) [CDCH, no. 270, 351, 356, 403, 404, 421, 598, 608, 691]; Armario 2, no. 366 (1220, II, 12), 470 (1220, V, 14); Armario 3, no. 418 (1222, XII).

76 ACH, LC, no. 849/Armario 2, no. 63 (1171, I, 23), 588 (1198, II) [CDCH, no. 270, 539]; LC, no. 201 et 515 (1214, I).

way was taken. Jofré Isaac, with his wife Calbeta, bought an orchard in Almeriz in June 1140.<sup>77</sup> However, he, with his new wife Oropesa, bought houses in the *Collello* or *Collet* (means “hill”) within the *Pellicería* where influential townsmen with Juan de Montpellier at the head of the list equally had houses, many pieces of land and vineyards in the territories of Huesca from Oropesa’s kin four times from August 1146 to June 1147.<sup>78</sup> In 1148, they received houses near the Cathedral from Flandina, Oropesa’s niece, which must be inexplicable without the new wife.<sup>79</sup> Such a connection was never cut off after March 1151 when he appeared with the third wife María: they bought four pieces of land in the territories from Flandina at the same month,<sup>80</sup> a piece of land in Alquibla from Mitiera, Oropesa’s father’s new wife, in April 1154,<sup>81</sup> and houses and shops in the *Collello* from Flandina again in June of the same year,<sup>82</sup> respectively. He also bought a piece of land near the *Fuente del Molino de Alcaide* from his niece Alimborg in September 1167,<sup>83</sup> and a shop in the *Zapatería* from his another niece Placencia in December 1169.<sup>84</sup> Thus, he could buy further properties adjacent to the acquired from Oropesa’s and his own kin from other landowners sixteen times between the 1150s and the 1170s.<sup>85</sup> A mortgage loan also seemed to be another way of accumulating his fortune: his *memoria* of credits written around 1183 impartially lists Christian, *mudéjar* and *mozárabe* debtors, among whom even Galacián’s wife, that is, the aforesaid Boneta de Boclón is included.<sup>86</sup>

In February 1181, Jofré conceded only two shops in the *Zapatería* and a piece of land in Almeriz to his grandson Guillermo de Olorón so that he would not claim anything against Ramón Aster succeeding houses and shops in the *Collello* as the symbol of the family’s fortune.<sup>87</sup> His will dated October 1183, moreover, specifies to concede his another grandson Berenguer houses acquired from his cousin Juan Isaac, five pieces of land bought from Oropesa’s cousin Pons Guillermo, houses near the Cathedral’s cemetery and shops and houses in Jaca.<sup>88</sup> Ramón Aster immediately executed the concession to Guillermo,<sup>89</sup> while he added further properties to the conceded to Berenguer in exchange for Mateo’s houses and shops in the *Collello* in February 1198.<sup>90</sup> Ramón Aster and Berenguer also had Selvang de Jaca’s son Pascual adopted as Guillermo’s heir renounce the succession to his father-in-law’s property by paying 250 solidi in compensation.<sup>91</sup> While Ramón Aster, overcoming his nephews’ claims as such, leased houses and orchards in Jaca for three or four years in 1202,<sup>92</sup> he also leased ten pieces of land in the territories of Huesca to Martín de Ontiñena with the term of three years in 1207.<sup>93</sup> Berenguer, taking his uncle’s another name “Aster”, sold an orchard near the Muslim cemetery outside the Montearagón gate of the city

77 ACH, Armario 2, no. 378 (1140, VI) [CDCH, no. 155].

78 ACH, Armario 2, no. 354 (1146, VIII); LC, no. 847 (1146, XII), 644 (1147, VI), 648 (1147, VI) [CDCH, no. 176, 177, 179, 180].

79 ACH, Armario 2, no. 577 (1148) [CDCH, no. 186].

80 ACH, LC, no. 848 (1151, III) [CDCH, no. 196].

81 ACH, LC, no. 650 (1154, IV) [CDCH, no. 209].

82 ACH, LC, no. 654 (1154, VI, 8) [CDCH, no. 211].

83 ACH, LC, no. 635 (1167, IX) [CDCH, no. 251].

84 ACH, Armario 4, no. 1002 (1169, XII) [CDCH, 261].

85 ACH, LC, no. 574 (1151, VIII), 647 (1153), 630 (1154, II); Armario 2, no. 630/LC, no. 653 (1154, V, 26); Armario 9, no. 119 (1157, I); LC, no. 638 (1163, I); Armario 2, no. 587 (1163, V); LC, no. 649 (1165), 629 (1167, VIII), 622 (1168, II); Armario 2, no. 482/LC, no. 636 (1169, III); LC, no. 631 (1171, II); Armario 2, no. 497/LC, no. 625 (1171, V); Armario 2, no. 429 (1172, V); LC, no. 634 (1172, XII), 846 (1175, XII) [CDCH, no. 197, 206, 207, 210, 223, 237, 238, 245, 250, 252, 255, 273, 275, 284, 288, 316].

86 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63 (1183?) [CDCH, no. 387].

87 ACH, Extravagantes (1181, II) [CDCH, 355].

88 ACH, Armario 2, no. 345 (1183, X) [CDCH, no. 384].

89 ACH, Extravagantes (1181, II) [CDCH, no. 356].

90 ACH, LC, no. 588 (1198, II) [CDCH, no. 539].

91 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63 (1186, II) [CDCH, no. 403] et Extravagantes (1186, II) [CDCH, 404].

92 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63 (1202, III, 3) [CDCH, no. 598], 152 (1202, VIII, 1) [CDCH, no. 608].

93 ACH, Armario 2, no. 632 (1207, VIII).

conceded in 1198 to Bishop García de Gudal in January 1214.<sup>94</sup>

There are only Ramón's two wills and land sale charter left. The peculiarity of his first will dated February 2, 1220 is attributed to its form in which the formula of land sale charter is united with the ordinary will: it specifies to donate 200 morabetini as burial cost to the Cathedral, and to distribute 5–50 solidi to each of churches, confraternities, hospitals, the city hall called *la Caridad* and San Lazaro leprosarium; while he distributes a few pieces of land and vineyards to ex-jury Juan Carbonel, his brother Guillermo Carbonel, Domingo Chico, Brunera mentioned as one of Ramón's kin and Pedro Cuende's wife María (Juan Pictavín's sister), respectively, he merely concedes her own dowry to his wife Juana; following the list of warranties and executors, it turns into a land sale charter addressed to his cousin Juan Pictavín entrusted with the care of this will; it specifies to sell him houses, shops and orchards in the Remián quarter, nine shops in the *Collello*, five in the *Zapatería*, one in the Alquibla quarter, six vineyards in the territories—one each in Haratalcomez, Jara, Pueyo de Sancho and Algasca, and two in Conillenc—, three pieces of land in Forcas, a hayfield outside the Montearagón gate, three pieces of land in Almeriz and an eighth part of the mill constructed near the Isuela river.<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, Juana insisted that it was drawn up without her own consent and forced her husband to prepare another will before the townsmen holding important posts of the city council on May 14 of the same year: all the properties promised to sell to Juan Pictavín are newly distributed to not only the aforesaid beneficiaries but Hugo Martín, a son of Juan's wife Sancha de Torres by a former marriage, and so on, of whom Juan's sister María get the most properties, but Juan is entirely excluded from beneficiaries.<sup>96</sup> In December 1222, however, Ramón forced himself to sell Juan not only the properties he would sell him in the first will but the other properties distributed to all the beneficiaries in both wills for 1,000 morabetini.<sup>97</sup>

We cannot precisely know what happened for those two years. If Juan Pictavín and his sister María, whose parents are Guillermo Pictavín who held a royal official called *zalmedina* of Huesca in 1176 and became canon in 1195 and his first wife Tolosona, are Ramón's cousins as he said, there is no other way but regarding Tolosona as Ramón's mother's sister; which is a mere guess, and anyway it is inexplicable why he chose to sell all his property to one of his cousins though he had no child. Juan Pictavín was one of the most influential townsmen as mentioned above, but he did not seem to be regarded as Guillermo's principal heir because of just a son by the first wife. In February 1195, when he married Sancha de Torres, Hugo Martín's widow and King Peter II's nurse, he bought houses within the city wall, a piece of land and a vineyard in Pueyo de Sancho, a third part of field in Guatátén Bajo and an orchard in Bavalgedit from Guillermo and his new wife Ponsa in order to cede her a dowry.<sup>98</sup> Juan also divided houses within the city wall and many pieces of land and vineyards in its territories with María and his husband Pedro Cuende, all of which were Tolosana's property.<sup>99</sup> It must be by the marriage to Sancha de Torres that he could politically and economically step up. He bought a vineyard called *el Balneador* in Pueyo de Sancho adjacent to the one he had bought from his father in April 1203, which he never parted with until he donated to the Cathedral later.<sup>100</sup> In March 1206, he was confronted with Sancha's five sons' claims on Hugo Martín's property and forced to concede them the castle of Pompeín King Pedro II granted to their father,<sup>101</sup> while the king designated him as *merino* and also granted him a *misquitam viridem*

94 ACH, LC, no. 201 et 515 (1214, I).

95 ACH, Armario 2, no. 366 (1220, II, 12).

96 ACH, Armario 2, no. 470 (1220, V, 14).

97 ACH, Armario 3, no. 418 (1222, XII?).

98 ACH, Armario 2, no. 608 (1195, XII) [CDCH, no. 510].

99 ACH, Armario 2, no. 367 (1199, I) [CDCH, no. 548].

100 ACH, Armario 2, no. 693 (1203, IV) [CDCH, no. 630].

101 ACH, Armario 9, no. 242 (1206, III) [CDCH, no. 665].

outside the city wall on May 13, 1212, which he would change to the San Martín church later.<sup>102</sup> After that, he began to dispose of a part of his property: he sold all pieces of land in Florén and Puyazuelo to Bishop García de Gudal in January 1220<sup>103</sup> and one in Balcencos to the Templars of Huesca in November of the same year;<sup>104</sup> buying Ramón Aster's property as mentioned above, he also sold the usufructs of a few parts of his property with the term of five or twenty years in April 1239 and February 1242.<sup>105</sup>

He surely donated his property to the Cathedral until 1243 when he was supposed to die though somehow neither his will nor donation charter is left in its Archive:<sup>106</sup> both Juana's supposed new husband Sancho de Pomar *miles* and Juan Pictavín's daughter Sancha Pérez agreed to renounce their claim on Juan's property donated to the Cathedral on May 15, 1248 and September 22, 1250; these renouncement charters specify that the donated properties were all the shops in the *Collello* acquired from Ramón Aster, all the shops in the *Zapatería*, a vineyard called *el Balneador*, houses and shops in the Remián quarter where he lived.<sup>107</sup> It is remarkable that none of the Pictavín's documents are included in the cartulary<sup>108</sup> except for the land sale charter in which Juan sold Bishop García de Gudal all pieces of land in Florén and Puyazuelo, which is merely included in the section of no. 200s where a series of the bishop's land sale charters are arranged.<sup>109</sup> Therefore, we can hypothesize that it is because Ramón Aster's documents were not regarded as what belonged with the Isaacs' but the Pictavín's that they were not included in the cartulary, if they were transferred to Juan Pictavín with the bought properties and then he finally transferred them to the Cathedral.

Mateo and his son Berenguer's documents included in the cartulary, however, leave room for further examination, among which a division charter dated January 23, 1171 in which an Ines divided up a half part of the strip of water for Guillermo de Jaca's mill with Mateo is very suggestive:<sup>110</sup> it is also included in a *pancarta* written at the beginning of the thirteenth century, which includes Jofré's *memoria* of credits, Guillermo's adopted son Pascual's renouncement charter and Ramón's mortgage charter, too;<sup>111</sup> none of which are included in the cartulary except for Mateo's charter. Not supposing that such a selection was made intentionally, we cannot answer the following questions: why are Jofré's documents included in the cartulary only land sale charters? Why is his advancement charter given to Guillermo so as to protect Ramón's rights excluded?<sup>112</sup> Why isn't his will stipulating the properties given to Berenguer but the division charter dated February 1198 in which Berenguer inherited more properties than the specified in it selected?<sup>113</sup> Making an examination of all the family's documents without taking the difference of the way of preserving them into account as usual, we can undoubtedly look upon Ramón Aster as the successor to Jofré Isaac; in the cartulary, however, it is likely to be intentionally replaced with Mateo and his son Berenguer. Jofré's family was re-created this way, which must have been recognized as to be possible in the thirteenth-century way of the organization of the Archive whose fruit was the cartulary.

102 ACH, Armario 9, no. 215 (1212, V, 13) [CDCH, no. 753].

103 ACH, LC, no. 191 (1220, I).

104 CT, no. 172 (1220, IX).

105 ACH, Armario 2, no. 628 (1239, IV, 18), 618 (1242, II).

106 ACH, Armario 4, no. 658 (1243, I, 5).

107 ACH, Armario 2, no. 457 (1248, V, 15), 450 (1250, X, 1).

108 ACH, Armario 2, no. 520 (1184, XII), 608 (1195, XII), 367 (1199, I), 693 (1203, IV); Armario 9, no. 242 (1206, III); Extravagantes (1211, III); Armario 9, no. 215 (1212, V, 13) [CDCH, no. 395, 510, 548, 630, 655, 733, 753]; Armario 2, no. 628 (1239, IV, 18), 618 (1242, II).

109 ACH, LC, no. 191 (1220, I).

110 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63/LC, no. 849 (1171, I, 23) [CDCH, no. 270].

111 ACH, Armario 2, no. 63 [CDCH, no. 387 (1183?), 403 (1186, II), 598 (1202, III, 3)].

112 ACH, Extravagantes (1181, II) [CDCH, no. 355].

113 ACH, Armario 2, no. 345 (1183, X) [CDCH, no. 348]; LC, no. 588 (1198, II) [CDCH, no. 539].

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I shall conclude this study by pointing out as follows: 1) Whether the original or not, there is no lay document bearing no legal or social relation to the Cathedral. 2) The copied documents in the cartulary were not inferior to the originals, far from which, the formers were recognized as to be so prior to the latters that they bothered copyists a lot in the first organization of its Archive in the second half of the thirteenth century. 3) The cartulary as its fruit was a completed archive in itself, in which the copyists could even manipulate a family lineage through the selection of documents. Comparing it with the originals as we did, it is easily exposed. However, didn't they edit it in order not to have to do so? For all that, only the cartulary is not an arbitrary source because the whole of lay documents is not without relation to the Cathedral.

