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# IDENTITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

APPROACHES FROM  
SOUTHWESTERN EUROPE

Edited by  
**FLOCEL SABATÉ**

**ARC** HUMANITIES PRESS



## **CARMEN MONOGRAPHS AND STUDIES**

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# FOREWORD

FLOCEL SABATÉ

LET ME BEGIN by using this foreword to explain briefly the aims and ideas that inspire the present book, both through a substantial introduction analyzing what we understand by identity in the Middle Ages, and through specific studies that deepen our knowledge of relevant aspects of a topic of great political importance today.

The “power of identity,” to use the title of the second volume of the study of “The Information Age” by sociologist Manuel Castells,<sup>1</sup> has been strongly emphasized during the last decades. Different studies have been devoted to analyze the search for identity in our plural societies, the intertwining of various types and levels of identity, the risks around identity conflicts and, in any case, the rise of identity, with its different meanings, in the articulation of current society.<sup>2</sup> Too often history has been used to justify real, recreated, or imagined identities. This is not our aim. Noticing the search for identity in individuals and collectivities throughout history, and looking for new perspectives to reach the core of precedent societies, we adopt identity as an object of analysis, that is, as a challenge to open new ways and tools for historians’ work.

Certainly, this book places identity at the centre of a project to better understand medieval society. By exploring the multiplicity of personal identities, the ways these were expressed within particular social structures (such as feudalism), and their evolution into formal expressions of collective identity (municipalities, guilds, nations, and so on) we can shed new light on the Middle Ages. A specific legacy of such developments was that by the end of the Middle Ages, a different sense of collective identities, supported by the late medieval socio-economic structure, backed in law and by theological, philosophical, and political thought, defined society. What is more, social structures coalesced across diverse elements, including language, group solidarities, and a set of assumed values.

We understand that identity occupied that central position in defining medieval society with two allied concepts: memory and ideology. The former served to ground identity, while the latter consolidated a coherent common memory and identity. For this reason, this book has two companions devoted to each of these concepts. We think that

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<sup>1</sup> Manuel Castells, *The Information Age. II The Power of Identity* (Cambridge, MA), 1997.

<sup>2</sup> Among others: Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford, 1996); Gerd Baumann, *The Multicultural Riddle* (New York, London, 1999); Mario Carretero, *Documentos de identidad. La construcción de la memoria histórica en un mundo global* (Buenos Aires, 2007); Gérard Noiriel, *À quoi sert l'identité 'nationale'* (Paris, 2007); Chatterje Partha, *La nación en tiempo heterogéneo y otros estudios subalternos* (Buenos Aires, 2008); Hermenegildo Fernandes, Isabel Castro Henriques, José de Silva Horta, Sergio Campos Matos, ed., *Nação e identidades. Portugal, os Portugueses e os Outros* (Lisbon, 2009); Francesco Remotti, *L'ossessione identitaria* (Bari, 2010); Diego Bermejo, ed., *La identidad en sociedades plurales* (Barcelona, 2011); Zygmunt Bauman, *Oltre le nazioni. L'Europa tra sovranità e solidarietà* (Bari, 2012); Francesco Remotti, *Contro l'identità* (Bari, 2012).

this is a good path for approaching an understanding of the values and interpretative axes that informed the thinking of women and men in the Middle Ages. This holistic vision requires interdisciplinary approaches, as opposed to academic compartmentalization of history, art history, and the study of languages and literatures.

With this in mind, we present a work structured in a particular way, beginning with a long introductory chapter (by **Flocel Sabaté**) on medieval identity. This introduction does not aim to map out identity in its entirety, but rather to provide insights into key aspects of the medieval understandings of identity. It frames ensuing discussions by exploring the various ways in which individuals affirmed their notion of identity, always involving the individual's relation to a group with which they felt solidarity. A sense of one's own identity involves notions of otherness, and therefore involves both external perceptions and an internal sensibility, and relates to ideas concerning "representativity" (the conditions of a representation, from the French word *représentativité*). In the Middle Ages, this generated various discourses and cultural displays in order to support particular identities, which generated specific collectively-held memories and descriptions of teleological destiny, associated with particular societies and territories.

Having established an overview of identity in the Middle Ages, the introduction is followed by twenty-one focused chapters by leading researchers which delve deeper into specific fields. They share a concern for illuminating medieval thought, focusing on concrete cases, and prioritizing examples from southern Europe, a region with a large amount of documentation, but which to date has occupied a relatively minor position in the overall spread of research into the Middle Ages. We acknowledge this emphasis in the title of this book, *Identity in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe*, which is offered as a means of enriching study of the Middle Ages.

The resulting chapters are organized into four domains representing the four parts in the book, offering, in our view, useful ways of exploring identity.

The overall concept is part of a long historiographical journey, linked particularly to the return of cultural history in the search for new perspectives with which to develop historical research. That is why we invited **Jaume Aurell** to launch this volume with an overview of this historiographical development.

Having provided the historiographical framework, we delve deeper into the function of identity in the Middle Ages through four blocks we consider axial: constructing individual identity; social identity; identity and territory; and forms of collective identity.

Constructing individual identity is, in fact, one of the vital contributions of the Middle Ages, by defining the individual elements that allow a person to define himself or herself, and this continues today. For instance, adopting a name seems crucial in the perception and assumption of individuality. **Igor Filippov** provides here a fascinating study of baptismal names and self-identification in the Early Middle Ages. **Moisés Selfa** goes on to show how names reflect a specific identity in a particular social context. **Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues** then shows how the personal identity that one accepts is fundamentally linked to the cultural model of gender. She presents varying degrees of acceptance, by different women, of specific ideals of femininities. At the same time, the awareness of one's individuality, the struggle between individual and group, was evident for instance in twelfth-century literature, where shared memories might include autobiographical

expressions, as **Meritzell Simó** shows. The assumption of an identity means the integration of a memory, and **Maribel Fierro** shows, in Islamic society, how this implies specific religious and legal values. Society supplies models into which individuality can fit, but it can also offer space for exceptions, as in the case of eunuchs in Islamic society, as shown in the chapter by **Cristina de la Puente**.

People were never alone in the Middle Ages. They formed part of a group in which they felt integrated and protected. We therefore need to consider identity in terms of the social group. Given that the rules for social order were based on the majority religion, it was necessary to adopt specific status for minorities when Christians, Jews and Muslims shared a same space, as **John Tolan** analyzes. At the same time, social identity requires us to understand that appropriate models were generated for each social group. **Paul H. Freedman** shows us how a specific image of the peasant was created in line with the values of medieval society, and accepted by the members of that social group. At the same time, at the other social extreme, a clear chivalric identity was formulated, well enough assumed to be widely reflected in contemporary texts, as **Noel Fallows** demonstrates. And **Flocel Sabaté** sketches how the Late Middle Ages supplied the economic, ideological, and cultural framework that gave rise to a specifically bourgeois identity. Social order was achieved by combining these units of collective identity. Conversely, we see these marks of identity in social outcasts in the chapter by **Ricardo Córdoba** that concludes the second part of this volume.

Human activity takes place in a determined space, over which mutual influence is developed. Strong relations between people, territory, and identity arise almost naturally. Hence the third part of this book focuses on identity and territory at different levels: firstly, in the smaller space in which everyday life happens, as **Raquel Torres** shows when analyzing how medieval parishes supported individuals in forming a local community. We see another field for social identity within the lordships, a setting in which **José Ramon Díaz de Durana** and **Arsenio Dacosta** show us the rise and consolidation of factions (*bandos*) from lineage, with their solidarity connections. They were a powerful form of mutual identity, which became very complex and affected all relations, either with other powers or the sovereign, and determined the management of the territory and society. Another very different scenario is derived from the political will to promote identification between territory, population, and certain rulers. This led to interesting discourses in which a common identity tried to fashion a specific memory, as **Luciano Gallinari** shows for Sardinia. Also in Sardinia, **Alessandra Cioppi** presents the changes it underwent after its incorporation into the Crown of Aragon: the shaping of a specific identity through the implantation of a particular institutional model.

Finally, the Late Middle Ages furnished identities based on representativeness, so much so that it is one of the great legacies of medieval society. The rise of the urban patriciate was accompanied by the promotion of a specific identification between the ruling elite, municipal government, and city, as **Yolanda Guerrero** demonstrates. The increasing assertiveness of cities gave them a dominant position over the surrounding territory and the ability to manage their own resources, not least through taxation. **José Antonio Jara** shows us how a city could portray a unifying discourse to reinforce its dominant position, which in turn meant the generation of a shared identity. Urban

power not only assumed a representativeness with which it could address the sovereign on behalf of the municipality, but this in turn affected the profile of sovereignty itself. Thus, urban identity helped model a specific definition of the country, apart from the sovereign, and became a counterpoint in defining a duality between the country and the monarch (a distinction, as **Eloísa Ramírez** presents, in the case of Navarre, that came to be made between the Kingdom proper and the King). In this framework, the construction of an identity for citizenship needed specific rituals, festivals, and symbols. Shared urban self-expression facilitated social cohesion within a common identity, as outlined in **Paola Ventrone's** chapter. The cities then went on to strengthen an identity based on their own social cohesion and projected this over their hinterlands. As a result, urban identity could adopt a social, political, and even the sense of being a "state," as **Giorgio Chittolini** shows from cases in central and northern Italy.

These are the various lines of enquiry on the theme of identity in the Middle Ages that have occupied the work of the Consolidated Medieval Studies Research Group "Space, Power and Culture," based at the University of Lleida, especially through the research project *Identity, Memory and Ideology in the Middle Ages* (HAR2009–08598/HIST) financed by the Spanish government, to link the study of identity, memory, and ideology in the Middle Ages. It was a challenge taken up from an earlier project: *Historical Memory: Images of the Middle Ages. The Real World and Recreated Space* (BHA2003–00523). Both projects aimed to advance new perspectives on the study of the Middle Ages. Close collaboration with the Institute for Research into Identities and Society (IRIS), based at the University of Lleida between 2009 and 2013, worked towards the same objective. The work of its research team and numerous wider scholarly meetings held at Lleida helped to consolidate these objectives. This was also made possible with the support of various complementary projects financed by the Spanish Ministry of Research: *Identities* (HAR2008–02766–E/HIST); *Sacred Voices* (FFI2008–03031–E/FILO); *Identities: A Definition* (HAR2010–10915–E/HIST); *Identities: Definition and Context: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (HAR2010–10803–E/HIST); and *Hybrid Identities: An Interdisciplinary Vision of the Social World* (HAR2011–13084–E).

Thanks to these projects, various co-authored books on the subject of identity in the Middle Ages have appeared, bringing together the work of leading researchers from varied fields of study related to the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> This book builds on prior studies and is, to a large extent, a culmination of the work done previously. In producing, selecting, revising, and bringing to fruition the final texts in this volume, the research projects financed by the Spanish government *Feelings, Emotion, and Expressivity* (HAR-2016-

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**3** Publications involving the present volume editor include: Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Identitats* (Lleida, 2012); Flocel Sabaté and Christian Guilleré, eds., *Morphologie urbaine et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique* (incorrectly published as *Morphologie et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique*) (Chambéry, 2012); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *L'Edat Mitjana: món real i espai imaginat* (Catarroja, 2012); Xavier Terrado and Flocel Sabaté, eds., *Les veus del sagrat* (Lleida, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Identities on the Move* (Bern, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Hybrid Identities* (Bern, 2014); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Perverse Identities: Identities in Conflict* (Bern, 2015); Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Conditioned Identities: Wished-for and Unwished-for Identities* (Bern, 2015); and Flocel Sabaté, ed., *Medieval Urban Identity: Health, Economy and Regulation* (Newcastle, 2015).

75028-P) and *Power Experienced in the Late Middle Ages: Perception, Representativeness and Expressiveness in the Management and Reception of Power* (PID2019-104085GB-I00), the ICREA–Academia award to Flocel Sabaté (2016–2020), and supported by Arc Humanities Press’s peer review and pre-press processes, have all been instrumental, for which we are sincerely grateful. We hope that this volume, together with *Ideology in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe* and *Memory in the Middle Ages: Approaches from Southwestern Europe* will illuminate in new depth the links between identity, ideology, and memory in the Middle Ages and open new pathways to how we interrogate and understand the Middle Ages.<sup>4</sup>

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**4** Translations into English are generally provided as close to the original text as possible, and the original text and edited source is provided in the notes. We follow the press’s practice as a worldwide publisher in retaining native forms as far as possible. Abbreviations to sources from the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (hereafter MGH) follow the guidelines of the *Deutsches Archiv* journal: [www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/DA-Siglenverzeichnis.pdf](http://www.mgh.de/fileadmin/Downloads/pdf/DA-Siglenverzeichnis.pdf).



## Introduction

# IDENTITY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

FLOCEL SABATÉ\*

He had no recollection of anything that he had done. He lies in wait for the beasts in the woods, killing them, and then eating the venison raw. Thus he dwelt in the forest like a madman or a savage, until he came upon a little, low-lying house belonging to a hermit, who was at work clearing his ground. When he saw him coming with nothing on, he could easily perceive that he was not in his right mind; and such was the case, as the hermit very well knew.<sup>1</sup>

According to the twelfth-century tale by Chrétien de Troyes, the knight Yvain lived wild in the forest, naked, killing animals, and eating raw meat because he did not remember any of his previous acts and had gone mad. So, eating uncooked meat and going without clothes demonstrated behaviour inappropriate for a mentally healthy human being, and if someone adopted this behaviour it was because he had forgotten everything he had done throughout his life and had lost awareness of who he was. He would only revert to behaviour considered normal when he regained the knowledge of who he was, in other words, when he returned to his identity. The starting point is thus the individual's own identity.

### Identity of the Individual

The core of the medieval human being was thus identity; being aware of who one was and where one came from and so be able to adopt adequate behaviour and determine a future path in one's life. Does this suppose an awareness of the individual in itself? It is highly significant that historians do not agree on the elements that indicate an assumption of an individual identity. In fact, there is a whole series of elements that, taken

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\* This study focuses on the medieval West, without going into the analysis of societies and cultures like the Muslim or Jewish that, precisely given their importance, require specific treatment.

1 "Porqant mes ne li sovenoit / De rien que onques e'st faite. / Les bestes par le bois agueite, / Si les ocit; et se manjue / La venison trestote crue. / Et tant conversa el boschage, / Com hom forsenez et sauvage, / C'une meison a .i. hermite / Trova, moult basse et moult petite; / Et li hermites essartoit. / Quant vit celui qui nuz estoit, / Bien pot savoir, sanz nul redot, / Qu'il n'ert mie an son san del tot." Cited from Chrétien de Troyes, *Le chevalier au lion*, MS H. vv. 2822–34, accessed July 28, 2013, <http://www.uottawa.ca/academic/arts/lfa/activities/textes/chevalier-au-lion/NouvPres/A/H2681-3334.html>. The English translation is taken from: [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Yvain,\\_the\\_Knight\\_of\\_the\\_Lion/Part\\_4](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Yvain,_the_Knight_of_the_Lion/Part_4).

together, especially between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries,<sup>2</sup> highlight the progressive growth of awareness of an individual's personal identity.

Firstly, there was the spread of Roman law around Europe in the twelfth century,<sup>3</sup> arising from an academic artificiality that guaranteed it would be balanced and fair,<sup>4</sup> and this supplied a homogenizing legal basis adaptable to every reality. This set out the legal elements for each unique individual, with his rights, duties, and responsibilities, under relevant legislative bodies, whilst not forgetting, at a lower level, the customs based on the "consent of the individuals themselves."<sup>5</sup>

This legal approach forms part of the renewal movement that has become known as a twelfth-century "renaissance"<sup>6</sup> and undoubtedly accentuated a perception of the individual, not as a rupture but rather as a development of earlier elements. That is why Nico den Bok insisted that the twelfth century witnessed the seed planted by Boethius in the sixth century come to fruition;<sup>7</sup> we should add, though, with Chad Schrock, that the first step was settled by Augustine linking Christianity to a Neoplatonic ecstatic vision through which to reach personal consolation.<sup>8</sup> At the same time, it is easy to see the link to the notion of person in *Roman* law and religion, from where it would easily pass into Christian theology, as highlighted by José Maria Ribas.<sup>9</sup> In any case, following Aron Gurevich, the path had already been signposted at the end of the eleventh century through both didactic *exempla* about experiences and allusions to one's own knowledge.<sup>10</sup> Colin Morris, too, situated a veritable "discovery of the individual" between 1050 and 1200, on the grounds that it was the moment when different aspects of culture and religion emphasized an interior perspective (*Know Yourself* was the title of a book by Peter Abelard) and the concern for self-awareness ("confession"), intimate feelings (*affectio*), their shared expression (friendship and love in the troubadours), and personal knowledge ("the portrait"). Likewise, at this period, religion focused on the person of Christ ("the Church was at pains to involve the people in the re-enactment of the cen-

**2** Larry Siedentop presents an even longer evolution, from Antiquity to the Renaissance: Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual. The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London, 2015), 7–348.

**3** André Gouron, "Un assaut en deux vagues: la diffusion du droit romain dans l'Europe du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *El dret comú i Catalunya. Actes del 1<sup>er</sup> Simposi Internacional. Barcelona, 25–26 de maig de 1990*, ed. Aquilino Iglesia (Barcelona, 1991), 47–63.

**4** Antonio Pérez Martín, "El 'ius commune': artificio de juristas," in *Història del pensament jurídic*, ed. Tomàs de Montagut (Barcelona, 1999), 79–91.

**5** Walter Ullmann, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1966), 60–85.

**6** Charles H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927); Christopher Brooke, *The Twelfth Century Renaissance* (London, 1969).

**7** Nico den Bok, "Richard de Saint-Victor et la quête de l'individualité essentielle. La sagesse de 'daniélité'," in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 123–43.

**8** Chad D. Schrock, *Consolation in Medieval Narrative. Augustian Authority and Open Forms* (New York, 2015), 1–33.

**9** José María Ribas, *Persona. Desde el derecho romano a la teología cristiana* (Granada, 2011), 193–200.

**10** Aaron Gurevich, *Los orígenes del individualismo europeo* (Barcelona, 1994), 176–78.

tral mysteries of Christ's life, death and resurrection"), while the position of the individual in society still had to be defined (coinciding with a certain stabilization of the feudal order and urban development), following the cultural codes within each social group (aristocratic elites defined by the values accepted as their own), how this individuality fitted with the existing power structures ("the rapid growth of learning, however, soon posed an acute problem of authority"), and a concern for individual destiny ("eschatology, mystical theology").<sup>11</sup>

The opening opportunities become evident in literature, where authors and heroes become properly individualized personalities,<sup>12</sup> expressing an "inner awareness" throughout chivalric romance, courtly texts, and the plots of romances.<sup>13</sup> As has often been stated, the development of the amorous "I" implied an assumption of individuality with the search for how one fitted into one's surroundings.<sup>14</sup> Moving into the twelfth century, as chivalric and other types of romance emerged, the author became a witness to events about which he contributed his value judgments, emphasizing an outlook and a personal perception of the events narrated.<sup>15</sup> Even more strongly, in troubadour-style poetry the individual revealed very personal sentiments and sensations, either amorous or political.<sup>16</sup> From the thirteenth century, poetry further accentuated the subjectivity of the individual,<sup>17</sup> while the novel often took on the task of reflecting specific individuals and presenting them personally to the reader, a clear step towards giving "the reader the sensation of reading something alive."<sup>18</sup> Subjectivity in literary expression reflects a full awareness of the adoption of personal postures.<sup>19</sup>

By limiting so-called universals, philosophical and theological debates of the twelfth century defended the singular, in line with the assertion of the individual.<sup>20</sup> Authors like Abelard emphasized the individual human being, with their own consciousness and responsibility. As César Raña notes, that would explain why, in the twelfth century, demands like those contained in penitentials reflected a concept of individual responsi-

**11** Colin Morris, *The Discovery of the Individual, 1050–1200* (New York, 1972), 96–157.

**12** Peter Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1970).

**13** Robert W. Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven, 1977), 17–233.

**14** Dominique Demartini, "Le discours amoureux dans le *Tristan* en prose. Miroir et mirage du 'je,'" in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 146–65.

**15** Jean Charles Payen and Franciscus Nicolaas Maria Diekstra, *Le roman* (Turnhout, 1975), 24–26.

**16** Isabel Grifoll, "The Culture: Clerics and Troubadours," in *The Crown of Aragon, a Singular Mediterranean Empire*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Leiden, Boston, 2017), 145–49.

**17** Meritxell Simó, "Becchina versus Beatrice: el paradís oníric de Cecco Angioleieri," in *Jardines secretos. Estudios en torno al sueño erótico*, ed. Julián Acebrón and Pere Solà (Lleida, 2009), 74–75.

**18** "Un decidido empeño en dar con ello al lector la sensación de que está leyendo algo vivo." Cited from Martín de Riquer, "En los principios de la novela moderna," *Anthropos. Suplementos* 12 (1989): 31.

**19** Michel Zink, *La subjectivité littéraire autour du siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris, 1985).

**20** Pedro Abelardo, "Historia 'calamitatum,'" in *Historia "Calamitatum" y otros textos filosóficos*, trans. Vidal Peña (Oviedo, 1996), 21–25.

bility much higher than in earlier centuries.<sup>21</sup> This grew stronger over time. Very significantly, the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 imposed the obligation of annual confession on each Christian, a measure that both showed and encouraged the acceptance of a fully individual awareness of one's acts and behaviour.<sup>22</sup> In this sense, the Church's desire for control and tutelage inherent in this measure provoked, in turn, a greater autonomy for individuals, because, to assume the duty imposed, they had to be responsible for their own acts, careful, and self-aware.<sup>23</sup>

This theological development in the thirteenth century had a direct impact on the definition of the person as a unique individual, who had to take decisions in line with their own consciences and be responsible, in all its effects, for their actions. This was the conceptual maturity that became, in the words of Alain de Libera, "the epistemic basis on which the theory of man as the subject-agent of thought gradually formed."<sup>24</sup> Realism, culminating in the philosophy and theology of Thomas Aquinas, defined the person, in their uniqueness and responsibility, a culmination of a line of Christian thought from the patristic era and Boethius,<sup>25</sup> but one that also integrated the work of Aristotle and Averroes.

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**21** César Raña, "'Scito te ipsum.' La responsabilidad individual y los penitenciales del siglo XII," *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 18 (2011): 69–80.

**22** "All chronologies aimed at secondary school students should give great importance to the decision of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) that made annual confession obligatory. The widespread application of this requirement, already in force in some dioceses, modified the religious and psychological life of men and women in the West and weighed heavily on mentalities until the Reformation in the Protestant countries and down to the twentieth century in those that remained Catholic" (Todas las cronologías destinadas a los alumnos de la enseñanza secundaria deberían prestar gran relieve a la decisión del concilio de Letrán IV (1215) que hizo obligatoria la confesión anual. La generalización de ese apremio, ya en vigor antes en varias diócesis, modificó la vida religiosa y psicológica de los hombres y mujeres de Occidente y pesó de forma enorme sobre las mentalidades hasta la Reforma en los países protestantes y hasta el siglo XX en los que permanecieron católicos). Cited from Jean Delumeau, *La confesión y el perdón* (Madrid, 1990), 15.

**23** Peter von Moos, "L'Individu ou les limites de l'institution ecclésiastique," in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 284–85.

**24** "Le socle épistémique sur lequel s'est progressivement constituée la théorie de l'homme comme sujet-agent de la pensée." Cited from Alain de Libera, *Archéologie du sujet, 1: Naissance du sujet* (Paris, 2007), 345.

**25** "The great medieval scholastics, following the tradition of Christian philosophy and especially the thought of St. Augustine and Boethius, dealt with the problematic of the person, especially concerning themselves with the Mystery of Christ, God-Made-Man. St. Anselm, Alexander of Hales, St. Albert the Great and St. Bonaventure, among others, distinguished the person from mere nature and emphasized personal properties, like unity, singularity, incommunicability, dignity, substantiality, and rationality. However, the first to concern himself directly with the metaphysical basis of the person in his entity and dignity was Aquinas. He stands out among all the medieval writers for his speculative construction of a doctrine about the person, that synthesizes and continues earlier ones" (Los grandes escolásticos medievales, siguiendo la tradición de la filosofía cristiana y especialmente el pensamiento de San Agustín y de Boecio, trataron la problemática de la persona, especialmente al ocuparse del misterio de Cristo, el Hombre-Dios. San Anselmo, Alejandro de Hales, San Alberto Magno y San Buenaventura, entre otros, al distinguir la persona de la mera naturaleza insistieron en las propiedades personales, como la unidad, la singularidad, la incommunicabilidad, la dignidad, la substancialidad y la racionalidad. Sin embargo, el primero

This led to:

the concept of the person with whom all the theological and philosophical tradition has continued to explain since then: an individual substance of a rational nature, having control of his actions (*dominium sui actus*), who is not simply acting like the others, but by himself, because actions are in the singular.<sup>26</sup>

The predominance from the thirteenth century of an explanation of religion and the world based on Aristotelian realism continued and, so, according to Aristotle's hylomorphism, each individual being (*ousia*) was conceived as a compound of matter and form.<sup>27</sup> The full integration of the body and soul of each individual,<sup>28</sup> uniting gesture and appearance,<sup>29</sup> assumes individual uniqueness, equally expressed in all cultural aspects.<sup>30</sup>

François-Xavier Putallaz describes the awakening of the individual: "Late thirteenth-century philosophies all converged on the sense of an irresistible increase of the notion of individuality."<sup>31</sup> This convergence brings together Aristotelian Scholastic Thomism with its opponent, the spiritualism promoted especially by Franciscan authors who aimed at direct knowledge of the soul for themselves, without philosophical intermediaries considered alien to the Christian spirit.<sup>32</sup> Concern for spiritual paths to knowledge led to the perception of one's own individuality with inherent capacity and responsibility. Late medieval mysticism has been defined as a personal interior search<sup>33</sup> and the religious approaches at the end of the Middle Ages, built around the *Devotio Moderna*, emphasized personal responsibility and practice.<sup>34</sup> Christian religion of this era adopted personal traits for all aspects: the personal life of saints should be imitated and one

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que se ocupó propiamente de la fundamentación metafísica de la persona en su entidad y dignidad fue Santo Tomás. Destaca entre todos los autores medievales por la construcción especulativa de una doctrina sobre la persona, que sintetiza y continua las anteriores). Cited from Eudaldo Forment, "Persona y conciencia en Santo Tomás de Aquino," *Revista Española de Filosofía Medieval* 10 (2003): 276.

**26** "Le concept de la personne avec lequel toute la tradition théologique et philosophique n'a cessé depuis de s'expliquer: une substance individuelle de nature raisonnable, ayant la maîtrise de ses actes (*dominium sui actus*), que n'est pas simplement agie comme les autres, mais par elle-même, car les actions sont dans les singuliers." Cited from De Libera, *Archéologie du sujet*, 345.

**27** Étienne Gilson, *El Tomismo. Introducción a la filosofía de Santo Tomás de Aquino* (Pamplona, 2002), 247–90; Josep Bobik, *Aquinas on Matter and Form and the Elements* (Notre Dame, 1998), 1–33.

**28** Caroline Walker Bynum, *Metamorphosis and Identity* (New York, 2001).

**29** Ana Isabel Buescu, João Silva de Sousa, and Maria Adelaide Miranda, eds., *O corpo e o gesto na Civilização medieval* (Lisbon, 2006).

**30** Donald Maddox, *Fictions of Identity in Medieval France* (Cambridge, MA, 2000).

**31** "Les philosophies de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle convergent toutes dans le sens d'une montée irresistible de l'individuel." Cited from François-Xavier Putallaz, *La connaissance de soi au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. De Matthieu d'Aquasparta à Thierry de Freiburg* (Paris, 1991), 393.

**32** François-Xavier Putallaz, *Insolente liberté. Controverses et condamnations au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Fribourg, 1995), 139–62.

**33** Victoria Cirlot and Blanca Garí, *La Mirada interior. Escritoras místicas y visionarias en la Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1999).

**34** Regnerus R. Post, *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism* (Leiden, 1968).

should be particularly attentive to the *Vita Christi*, with its specific descriptions of the appearance and physical traits of Christ.<sup>35</sup> Individual religious concerns culminated with the characteristic broad obsession with a good death felt by everyone at the end of the Middle Ages,<sup>36</sup> which almost rendered religion into an expiatory strategy.<sup>37</sup> So, each person, impelled by their religion, gained a specific and permanent conscience of himself or herself: in the words of a fourteenth-century devotional Portuguese book: “every day of the world, night or day, man must employ his own reason, just as if he were in front of a judge.”<sup>38</sup>

At the same time, the different aspects of everyday life that reflected the increase in wealth and social complexity also show increasing individuality: decorative and ornamental uniqueness in domestic or funerary settings, the increase of separate rooms inside homes (including the personal study-chamber), the replacement of collective dormitories for individual cells in some Cistercian monasteries, or greater individualization in service at the table.<sup>39</sup> In this context, mental activities, both those that required personal study in one’s cell as well as methods of memorization and logical reasoning, contributed powerfully to increased individual self-awareness.<sup>40</sup>

The recognition of authorship itself presumes and requires individualization. It can be seen in literary creation, for example, by Petrarch in the care he took to take responsibility for his texts.<sup>41</sup> It is not much different in both aspects of artistic expression: the creator and the portrayed. An artist can be satisfied with his work, although in the Early Middle Ages this valuation was considered little more than a mechanical or manual task of limited value. In contrast, we see increasing recognition, from the end of the eleventh century and more so in the Late Middle Ages, that an artist’s work could be useful for the discourse promoted by the holders of power.<sup>42</sup> Daniel Russo explains this by contrast-

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**35** Sergi Gascón, “Retrat de Jesucrist en les obres d’Eiximenis,” in *Miscel·lània ‘in memoriam’ Alfons Serra-Baldó (1909–1993) en el centenari del seu naixement*, ed. Lluna Llecha and Lúdia Anoll (Barcelona, 2011), 217–33.

**36** Anónimo, *Arte de bien morir y breve confesionario*, ed. Francisco Gago (Palma, 1999); Florence Bayard, *L’art de bien mourir au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Etude sur les arts du bien mourir au bas Moyen Âge à la lumière d’un “ars moriendi” allemand du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1999).

**37** Claude Carozzi, *Visiones apocalípticas en la Edad Media. El fin del mundo y la salvación del alma* (Madrid, 2000), 175–76.

**38** “Todo los dias do mundo, assí aa noyte come aa manhaa, devia homem tomar razõ de si meesmo, assi como se estevesse ante huñ juyz.” Cited from Américo Venâncio Lopes Machado Filho, *Um “Flos Sanctorum” trecentista em português* (Brasília, 2009), 216.

**39** Flocel Sabaté, *Vivir y sentir en la Edad Media. El mundo visto con ojos medievales* (Madrid, 2011), 57.

**40** Jacques Verger, “The contribution of medieval universities to the birth of individualism and individual thought,” in *The Individual in Political Theory and Practice*, ed. Janet Coleman (Oxford, 1996), 59–66.

**41** Étienne Anheim, “Une lecture de Pétrarque. Individu, écriture et dévotion,” in *L’Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 180.

**42** Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Le sacre et l’artiste. La création au Moyen Âge, XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 2000); Joaquín Yarza and Francesc Fité, eds., *L’artista-artesà medieval a la Corona d’Aragó* (Lleida, 1999).

ing two visual examples: in the mid-ninth century the painter Fredilo wanted to put his name on the work he had just finished in the crypt of Saint-Germain in Auxerre, and could only do so on a corner of the base, amid the architectural elements; in contrast, between the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the thirteenth, Italian communes competed with each other to attract the leading artists and included their signatures among other elements of ostentation.<sup>43</sup>

At the same time, we can observe a trend towards the realist portrait, overcoming the predominant isostasy of the twelfth century,<sup>44</sup> and in the Late Middle Ages, a realist portrait developed<sup>45</sup> that was aimed at ostentation, especially political, whether for the benefit of sovereigns or municipal magistrates. There was a clear will to capture, hold, and display a unique personal image.<sup>46</sup> In 1443 in Barcelona, the painter Lluís Dalmau was given instructions to paint with full realism,

In correct proportion and measure [...] the image of our Lady, St. Mary sitting in a sumptuous chair with the baby Jesus in her arms [...], the image of the Virgin St. Eulalia patron and unique advocate of the said city taking in her hand the *eculeus* from her martyrdom [and the] honourable councillors, namely Lord Joan Lluís, Lord Francesc Lobet and Lord Joan de Junyent, who have to be represented according to real proportions, and their dress and their respective faces according to those they have.<sup>47</sup>

Earlier, in the fourteenth century, King Peter IV of Aragon and III of Barcelona (Peter the Ceremonious) had the physical traits of his predecessors investigated in order to reproduce them faithfully, while adapting their clothing to what was supposed to have been worn at the time of the person portrayed.<sup>48</sup> These portraits of the dead were designed to endorse the present through historical continuity, emphasizing that individual identity was strengthened when rooted in continuity, in other words, in a present group built on solid precedents.

**43** Daniel Russo, "Le nom de l'artiste, entre appartenance au groupe et écriture personnelle," in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 237–39.

**44** Gurevich demonstrated that there was no capacity, in an image to illustrate the *Hortus deliciarum* at the end of the twelfth century, to individualize and differentiate the depictions of sixty nuns at prayer. Aaron Gurevich, *Los orígenes del individualismo europeo* (Barcelona, 1994), 9.

**45** Miguel Falomir, "Sobre los orígenes del retrato y la aparición del 'pintor de corte' en la España bajomedieval," *Boletín de Arte* 17 (1996): 177–95.

**46** Philippe Braunstein, "Aproximaciones a la intimidad, siglos XIV y XV," in *Historia de la vida privada*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Madrid, 1991), 4:245–57.

**47** "En la deguda proporció e mesura, [...] la imatge de nostra dona Santa Maria seen en una sumptuosa cadira ab l'infant Jesús al braç [...], la imatge de la verge Santa Eulàlia patrona e singular advocada de la dita ciutat tenint en la mà lo Eculeo del seu martiri [and the] honorables Consellers ço és mossèn Johan Lluís, mossèn Ffranchesch Lobet e mossèn Johan de Junyent [who] han d'estar efigiats segons proporcions e habituts de lurs cossors an les façs axí pròpies com ells vivents les han." Cited from Eduard Carbonell and Joan Sureda, *Tresors Medievals del Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1997), 426.

**48** Flocel Sabaté, "L'invisibilità del re e la visibilità della dinastia nella Corona d'Aragona," in *Il principe invisibile. La rappresentazione e la riflessione sul potere tra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, ed. Lucia Bertolini, Arturo Calzona, Glauco Maria Cantarella and Stefano Caroti (Turnhout, 2015), 46–48.

The social and economic dynamic of the Late Middle Ages supplied a setting for businessmen,<sup>49</sup> leading nobles,<sup>50</sup> and political leaders<sup>51</sup> who, in their respective everyday lives,<sup>52</sup> lived out norms set by philosophy, law, theology, and spirituality, while displaying the full individual meaning of being human.<sup>53</sup> The individual and personal details of each life acquired a referential value, to the extent that more intimate aspects were sometimes considered worthy of inclusion in the accounts books of businesses, which turned into diaries and books of memories of individuals or families:

In the author's mind, his family or affective situation would acquire the same importance as his economic activity and he began to become aware of the possibilities that writing offered to project himself, to "write himself," creating a text whose purpose was not to manage a business, nor finalizing some self-justifying memory of an administration, but rather the writing in itself, as a form of expression of sentiments and experiences.<sup>54</sup>

This shows a self-awareness that continued to grow, which is why one can talk about self-fashioning.<sup>55</sup> The starting point was within the family. The *Meio di Betto e Benedetto suo figlio*, a book started in Italian by a father and continued by his son between 1450 and 1489, is an economic collection from the Tuscan countryside, one that sometimes takes on a descriptive tone but continued and preserved the express wish of the son of the original author.<sup>56</sup> More explicit is a Catalan book from the barony of Eramprunyà, written over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by members of a lesser noble urban lineage from Barcelona. It includes highly personal details for the record, like the parts written in the fifteenth century about the births and birthdates of children and their godparents, or the testimony of their participation in the civil war in the 1460s. This

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**49** Yves Renouard, *Les Hommes d'affaires italiens du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1968); Jean Favier, *De l'or et des épices. Naissance de l'homme d'affaires au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1987).

**50** María Concepción Quintanilla, ed., *Títulos, grandes del reino y grandeza en la sociedad política* (Madrid, 2006).

**51** Alain Boureau, *La religion de l'état. La construction de la République étatique dans le discours théologique de l'Occident* (Paris, 2006), 233–87; John Watts, *The Making of Politics. Europe, 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 2009), 381–425.

**52** Jacques Le Goff, ed., *El hombre medieval* (Madrid, 1990).

**53** Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds., *Historia de la vida privada*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1992).

**54** "En la mente del autor, su situación familiar o afectiva adquiría la misma importancia que su actividad económica y él comenzaba a tomar conciencia de las posibilidades que la escritura le ofrecía de proyectarse a sí mismo, de 'escribirse', creando un texto cuya finalidad no es la gestión de un negocio, ni la creación de una memoria justificativa de una administración sino la escritura misma, como forma de expresión de sentimientos y vivencias." Cited from María Luz Mandigorra, "La configuración de la identidad privada: diarios y libros de memorias en la baja edad media," *Historia. Instituciones. Documentos* 29 (2002): 218.

**55** Dora Bobory, "Being a Chosen One: Self-Consciousness and Self-Fashioning in the Works of Gerolamo Cardano," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 9 (2003): 69–92.

**56** Duccio Balestracci, *La zappa e la retorica. Memorie familiari di un contadino toscano del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1984), 155–79.

personal information was mixed with that on properties and the financial and legal developments of the barony.<sup>57</sup>

In other words, self-awareness formed part of a framework established by a family and its lineage. Attitudes might show an awareness of being accepted but also of what one shared with the family or other individuals of note. However, an individual was not dependent upon sovereign power, unlike those citizens who came to the fore in the French Revolution and were dependent on the state infrastructure in the nineteenth century. The medieval individual, by contrast, only made sense inside the group to which he or she belonged.

### Identity and Group Solidarity

In the early decades of the thirteenth century, King James I of the Crown of Aragon took military action against the Count of Urgell,<sup>58</sup> supporting the claims against him by a girl, a minor and orphan, daughter of a previous count. In doing so, he showed no desire to reinforce royal power but rather justified himself claiming that “God wants there to be kings in this world, and established that this office includes an obligation to defend the rights of those in most need and especially widows and orphans.”<sup>59</sup> This Christian duty to protect the poor and weak could invoke justifications from the Church Fathers and the need to help fellow Christians,<sup>60</sup> although it was really a mechanism to consolidate royal power by extending the sovereign’s protection to those who lacked any other support; in other words, those who fell outside any solidarity group under which they could seek protection. In reality, in the Middle Ages, nobody was alone. Everyone perceived themselves and was perceived by others to be part of a solidarity group. Thus, the warning by Caroline Walker Bynum when she notes that all historiographical talk of the rise of individualism from the twelfth century should be understood as a quest to find one’s own peer group.<sup>61</sup> Robert Hanning saw an evolution from the individualizing approaches of the twelfth century to the assumption in the thirteenth of elements that would give cohesion to late medieval society:

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**57** Elena Cantarell, Mireia Comas and Carme Muntaner, eds., *El llibre de la Baronia d'Eramprunyà* (Lleida, 2011).

**58** Flocel Sabaté, “Guerau, Conde de Urgel, vizconde de Cabrera (IV) y de Áger (III),” in *Diccionario Biográfico Español* (Madrid, 2011), 24: 824–26.

**59** “Déus volc que en est segle fossen reis, e donà.ls-hi, per aquest ofici, que tinguessin dretura a aquells que mester l’haurien, e especialment a vídues e a òrfens.” Cited from Jaume I, *Crònica o Llibre dels feits*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2007), 113 (chap. 36).

**60** José Vives, *Los padres de la Iglesia* (Barcelona, 1982), 412.

**61** “My purpose is therefore to place the often discussed ‘discovery of the individual’ in the context of another equally new and important twelfth-century interest to which scholars have paid less attention: a quite self-conscious interest in the process of belonging to groups and filling roles.” Cited from Caroline Walker Bynum, “Did the Twelfth Century Discover the Individual?,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 31, no. 1 (1980): 4–5.

The full story, and its lesson, testify by their existence and popularity that the thirteenth century's chivalric vision, in at least one of its most moving manifestations, has abandoned that faith in the primacy and autonomy of individual experience.

Certainly, late medieval society was based on the individual within the group: "the subordination of personal desire to the good of the king and the *res publica*, on justice and honesty in the dealings of all the members with each other."<sup>62</sup>

Factions into which towns of medieval Europe were divided were made up of "friends and relatives" and their role was to give "help and protection" to their members.<sup>63</sup> This was clearly an anthropological notion that was adapted at different times across the Middle Ages.<sup>64</sup> Rather than a class-based response, that would group together a segment of the population affected by a particular economic or social pressure, support in the Middle Ages was sought primarily from one's own solidarity group.<sup>65</sup> The different medieval forms of protection and help, in all their legal and institutional diversity, should be seen from this anthropological aspect of group solidarity, whether it was feudalism with ties that formalized largely pre-existing links,<sup>66</sup> or conflicts between urban factions, with violent responses by groups that were internally united, despite their unstructured appearance.<sup>67</sup>

One's primary anchor-point was the family, because this was always a mechanism for widening one's powerbase to hold and protect domains, rights, and territorial assets. Moreover, everyone was considered to belong to a family group in both a broad and narrow sense.<sup>68</sup> It was through cousinage that the early medieval aristocracy was strengthened<sup>69</sup> and this continued even when cousinage gave way to agnatic lineage (i.e., through the male bloodline) in the central centuries of the Middle Ages.<sup>70</sup> All the rhetoric about what constitutes a good knight, so popular in twelfth- and thirteenth-century literature,

**62** Robert W. Hanning, *The Individual in Twelfth-Century Romance* (New Haven, 1979), 242.

**63** "Amici et parenti; ajuda e valença." Cited from Flocel Sabaté, "Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), 340–44.

**64** Flocel Sabaté, "Els bàndols com a solidaritat en la societat urbana baixmedieval," *Afers* 30 (1998): 457–72.

**65** Flocel Sabaté, "L'augment de l'exigència fiscal en els municipis Catalans al segle XIV: elements de pressió i de resposta," in *Col·loqui Corona, Municipis i Fiscalitat a la Baixa Edat Mitjana*, ed. Manuel Sánchez and Antoni Furió (Lleida, 1995), 448–61.

**66** Gerard Giordanengo, "'Le vassal est celui qui a un fief.' Entre la diversité des apparences et la complexité des évidences," in *Señores, siervos, vasallos en la Alta Edad Media (Actas de la XXVIII Semana de Estudios Medievales de Estella. 16 al 20 julio de 2001)* (Pamplona, 2002), 75–126.

**67** Andrea Zorzi, "'Iu erat in armis.' Faide e conflitti tra pratiche sociali e pratiche di governo," in *Origini dello Stato. Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, ed. Giorgio Chittolini, Anthony Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera (Bologna, 1994), 609–29.

**68** Martin Aurell, *La noblesse en Occident (V<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1996), 43–47 and 63–65.

**69** Régine Le Jan, *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut Moyen Age* (Paris, 2001), 190–238.

**70** Dominique Barthélemy, "Parentesco," in *Historia de la vida privada*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby (Madrid, 1992), 3:96–125.

made no sense without a basis in a noble family.<sup>71</sup> The *discours lignager* that dominated the Late Middle Ages aimed to give continuity to each patrimony, while also consolidating a vision of the nobility where everyone fitted into their own family group.<sup>72</sup> The consolidation of bourgeois lineages led to similar dynamics from the twelfth century onwards, with the aim of preserving patrimonial continuity and the cohesion of the family group.<sup>73</sup>

From this foundation, the different ways of defining feudal dependence on the one hand,<sup>74</sup> or the articulation of urban factions through “supporters and friends” on the other,<sup>75</sup> complete a world where perceptions, actions, and responses were always collective, as forms of solidarity between members of the group.

The tensions in recognizing emerging local representation facilitated interpretations that are projections of the nineteenth and twentieth-century historians who first studied these phenomena.<sup>76</sup> This has hindered the path to understanding them as forms of representativeness and taxation between local elites and their respective lords.<sup>77</sup> Developing the Roman *ius gentium*,<sup>78</sup> which led from the twelfth century towards the recognition of municipal government, lords came to accept forms of representation of local groups because these were good interlocutors for demands, especially fiscal ones, from

**71** “The theme of the unknown youth prepared to make his name as a knight and to establish a position in society on the basis of his own exploits, without the help of a known and well established family reputation, is therefore here combined with a strong emphasis on heredity.” Cited from Elspeth Kennedy, “The Quest for Identity and the Importance of Lineage in Thirteenth-Century French Prose Romance,” in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood, II: Papers from the Third Strawberry Hill Conference 1986*, ed. Christophe Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Wolfeboro, 1988), 75.

**72** Joseph Morsel, “La construction sociale des identités dans l’aristocratie franconienne aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Individuation ou identification,” in *L’Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 91–92.

**73** Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, “Les élites urbaines: aperçus problématiques (France, Angleterre, Italie),” in *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge. XXVII<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rome, mai 1996)* (Rome, 1997), 9–28; Philippe Braustein, “Pour une histoire des élites urbaines: vocabulaire, réalités et représentations,” in *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge* (Rome, 1997), 29–38; Flocel Sabaté, “Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana en Cataluña,” *Revista d’Història Medieval* 9 (1998): 127–53.

**74** Sverre Bagge, Michael H. Gelting, and Thomas Lindkvist, eds., *Feudalism. New Landscapes of Debate* (Turnhout, 2011).

**75** “Valedors e amics.” Cited from Flocel Sabaté, “Oligarchies and Social Fractures in the Cities of Late Medieval Catalonia,” in *Oligarchy and Patronage in Late Medieval Spanish Urban Society*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2009), 4–14.

**76** Jean Schneider, “Libertés, franchises, communes: les origines aspects d’une mutation,” in *Les origines des libertés urbaines. Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rouen, 7–8 juin 1985)* (Rouen, 1990), 7–29.

**77** Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, “À l’origine de l’essor urbain et villageois: le rôle de la fiscalité et de la paix (XI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Les origines des libertés urbaines. Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Rouen, 7–8 juin 1985)* (Rouen, 1990), 143–62.

**78** Walter Ullmann, “The Medieval Theory of Legal and Illegal Organisations,” *Law Quarterly Review* 60 (1944): 288–89.

the lord himself.<sup>79</sup> In fact, in all requests of a military, fiscal, or other nature, the lord addressed the towns collectively and the latter devised the internal mechanisms they saw fit for the corresponding collection or recruitment. Also, grievances against members of the urban entity were responded to collectively. For instance, the *clameur d'haro* was a call whereby in the case of a flagrant crime a victim demanded help from all the neighbours, and this was really a call for collective mobilization and action.<sup>80</sup> Similarly, if the accused fled and took refuge in a jurisdiction different from the one where the crime was committed, the person affected would demand the backing of the group to which he or she belonged, whether an administrative unit or municipal government, from whom they expected to receive the corresponding legal and, if needed, armed support.<sup>81</sup>

Such collective responses mobilized an urban group together against other jurisdictions, to reclaim, protect, or avenge the rights and common assets of a member of the group. However, each town was fragmented internally into factions, which had a great impact, because the people trusted this more than the official jurisdiction, which was considered slow (thanks to the development of the Romanist system of guarantees), expensive (through the need to have legal support), and subject to political pressures and influences (if an accused had enough money, he could get changes to the law, exemptions, and remissions).<sup>82</sup> In this way, group solidarities clashed with the strengthening of sovereign power under Roman legal models, because people came to question and ignore the ordinary administrative officials and the sovereign authority that justified them and even the divine order that backed them. Accordingly, both the sovereign and the Church countered with arguments to justify attempts to limit acts of vengeance between factions and encourage the population to use official channels of justice. They did not hesitate to invoke God's will and the role of lords and the purpose of their taxes, to defend and offer justice to their subjects. This was explained as follows in the Catalan town of Valls in 1357:

This is the reason why the lords are in towns and castles and why taxes are given to them, because they defend their subjects and give justice against wrongdoers. In reality, the world would quickly fall apart if some could take revenge on others without waiting for the lord to do so.<sup>83</sup>

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**79** Max Turull, "Universitas, 'commune,' 'consilium': Sur le rôle de la fiscalité dans la naissance et le développement du Conseil (Catalogne, XII<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)," in *Excerptiomes iuris: Studies in Honor of André Gouron*, ed. Bernard Duran Laurent Mayali (Berkeley, 2000), 637-77.

**80** Valerie Toureille, "Cri de peur et cri de haine; haro sur le voleur. Cri et crime en France à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, ed. Didier Lett and Nicolas Offenstadt (Paris, 2003), 177-78.

**81** Flocel Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya Medieval. Percepció de l'espai i divisió territorial al llarg de l'edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1997), 167-72.

**82** Flocel Sabaté, "El veguer a Catalunya. Anàlisi del funcionament de la jurisdicció reial al segle XIV," *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics* 6 (1995): 153-57.

**83** "Car per ço són posats los senyors per les Ciutats, per les viles e per los castells e-Is són dades les rendes per tal que deffenen los lurs sotmesos e façen justícia dels mals faytors. Car hivaç seria espatgat lo món si los uns se podien pendre venjança dels altres que no sperasen senyor qui u fes." From Valls, Arxiu Comarcal de l'Alt Camp, Pergamins, 84.

Recognizing the background and permanence of the factions, efforts were not aimed at destroying them but rather to pacify and, as far as possible, regulate them. Accordingly, the municipal and legal authorities encouraged arbitration, truces, and agreements between parties.<sup>84</sup> It was easier to agree collective responses with the ordinary courts at another level, so that from the twelfth century, in the case of a denial of justice, legislation envisaged that the victim's jurisdiction would be able to proceed against anyone from the jurisdiction of the person to blame, either taking action to seize the assets of anyone from the other jurisdiction<sup>85</sup> or, in more serious cases, mobilizing the urban militia, which was always formally convened by the holder of the ordinary jurisdiction.<sup>86</sup>

In reality, this was a way to combine circles of solidarity, on a case-by-case basis: everyone owed allegiance to their feudal lord, and thus participated in a higher allegiance to the sovereign; or you could look to your faction against opponents within the town, whilst all the townspeople could come together against a neighbouring town from another jurisdiction.

The scale of group solidarities could be broadened. In the 1280s, the King of France invaded Roussillon, then under the jurisdiction of the king of Mallorca. Some monks living in Argelers but born in France helped the invaders because, as the abbot told the French monarch, "I and those other monks are from your land and are your subjects, so, lord, we would be upset if you returned (to France) having suffered a great dishonour."<sup>87</sup> A decade later, the Catalan–Aragonese monarch invaded the kingdom of Murcia, a territory under the jurisdiction of the king of Castile but repopulated by Castilians and Catalans. The origins of the people there conditioned their attitude to the invasion, as explained in the chronicle of the Castilian King:

The king of Aragon with his host moved and went to the kingdom of Murcia and from advice from those who were from there, who were Catalans, handed over all the towns and castles except Lorca, which was inhabited by Castilians, and also Alcalá and Mula.<sup>88</sup>

**84** Flocel Sabaté, "Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle," 356–65.

**85** Joaquim Miret i Sans, "Les represàlies a Catalunya en l'edat mitjana," *Revista Jurídica de Catalunya*, 30, no. 31 (1925): 289–417.

**86** Flocel Sabaté, *El sometent a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2007).

**87** "Jo e aquests altres monges som naturals de vostra terra e naturals vostres, per què, senyor, a nos dolria molt que vós vos en tornassets ab tan gran deshonor." Cited from Ramon Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2011), 218 (chap. 122).

**88** "Movió el rey e Aragón con su hueste e fue al reino de Murcia e por consejos de los de la tierra, que eran catalanes, diéronsele todas las villa e los castillos salvo ende Lorca, que moraban castellanos, e otrosí Alcalá e Mula." Cited from "Crónica del Rey Don Fernando Cuarto", in *Crónicas de los reyes de Castilla desde don Alfonso el Sabio hasta los católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel*, ed. Cayetano Rosell, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953), 1:103; *Crónica de Fernando IV*, ed. Carmen Benítez Guerrero (El Puerto de Santamaría, 2017), p. 31 (chap. 2).

This shows an even wider circle of solidarity: sharing the same nation, an idea in the ascendant across Europe, with the respective peoples displaying affective links. As Genicot has written, at that time, “the nation was, then, a growing sentiment.”<sup>89</sup>

Francesc Eiximenis, the most influential writer in the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century,<sup>90</sup> given his access to both the royal court<sup>91</sup> and the bourgeois elites,<sup>92</sup> compared the Catalan nation with others to praise its excellence, focusing on such mundane aspects as drinking or table manners.<sup>93</sup> The nation was based on a sum of everyday cultural traits, that King Peter the Ceremonious of Aragon defined as “our manners,”<sup>94</sup> among which a shared language stands out,<sup>95</sup> as also done in other places in Europe.<sup>96</sup>

The perception of the nation existed in the classical sense, which enabled a people to be grouped according to birth. Church Fathers and later authors continued this use: for example, the Venerable Bede in the eighth century identified the *Angli* or *gens Anglorum* with “our nation” (*nostra natio*) and expressed a clear sentiment of belonging, uniqueness, and an ability to describe its features, outlining a historical path from its origin to its destiny, and differentiating it from other neighbouring nations, like the *natione Saxonum* of inhabitants of Sussex.<sup>97</sup> In this way, the nature of each nation could be defined, which is why, in the ninth century, Regino of Prüm explained that each nation had its own language, customs, and laws: “the people of the diverse nations are distinguished from each other by their kind of customs, language and law.”<sup>98</sup> Mutual contact facilitated

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**89** “La nación era, pues, un sentimiento naciente.” Cited from Léopold Génicot, *Europa en el siglo XIII* (Barcelona, 1976), 130.

**90** Antoni Riera, ed., *Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409): el context i l’obra d’un gran pensador català medieval* (Barcelona, 2015).

**91** David J. Viera, “Francesc Eiximenis’s Dissension with the Royal House of Aragon,” *Journal of Medieval History* 22, no. 3 (1989): 249–61; David J. Viera, “Francesc Eiximenis and the Royal House of Aragon: A Mutual Dependence,” *Catalan Review* 3 (1989): 183–89.

**92** Josep Hernando, “Obres de Francesc Eiximenis en biblioteques privades de la Barcelona del segle XV,” *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 26 (Barcelona, 2007): 385–567

**93** Francesc Eiximenis, *Terç del Crestià*, ed. Martí de Barcelona and Norbert d’Ordal (Barcelona, 1929–1932), chap. 372; Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià. (Selecció)*, ed. Albert Hauf (Barcelona, 1983), 147–48.

**94** “Les nostres maneres.” Cited from Ricard Albert and Joan Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts catalanes* (Barcelona, 1928), 37–38; Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Cròniques d’Espanya*, ed. Agustí Alcoberro (Barcelona, 1997), 2:138; Francisco Gimeno Blay, “Escribir, leer, reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336–1387),” *Scrittura e civiltà* 22 (1998): 215.

**95** Flocel Sabaté, *Percepció i identificació dels catalans a l’edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2016), 12–13.

**96** Alexander Gieysztor, “‘Gens Polonica’: aux origines d’une conscience nationale,” in *Études de Civilisation Médiévale (IX–XII siècles). Mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), 352.

**97** Georges Tugene, *L’idée de nation chez Bède le Vénérable* (Paris, 2001), 49–160.

**98** “Diversae nationes populorum inter se discrepant genere moribus, lingua legibus.” Cited from Reginonis abbatiss Prumiensis, “Epistula Reginonis ad Hathonem Archiepiscopum missa,” in *Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, ed. Fridericus Kurze, MGH SS rer. Ger. 50 (Hannover, 1890), xix–xx at xx.

easily reinforced stereotypes—“Scots lie” (*escotus mentit*), “German fury” (*furor teutonicus*)—to the extent that, in the thirteenth century, authors like Albertus Magnus helped to seek more scientific reasons for the distinction between one and the others, by virtue of climate, the balance of humours, or astral effects.<sup>99</sup>

This continuity in the perception of groups easily tied into late medieval strategies for consolidating power. In their desire to build a superior position, thirteenth-century monarchs worked to articulate power as a pyramid in which they occupied the vertex in each of their domains. Nations fitted perfectly into this pyramid, as Bernard Guenée stated in the case of France.<sup>100</sup> In 1369, Peter the Ceremonious of the Crown of Aragon clearly referred to “loving the nation.”<sup>101</sup> In so doing he acknowledged the existence of affective motivations for the people,<sup>102</sup> who experienced happiness as a single body for successful events like the first ever appointment of a Catalan cardinal—“to our honour and that of our nation.”<sup>103</sup> Such a group was prepared even to shed its blood, as a nation, in loyally following the king, as the Catalan bishop Joan Margarit expressed it in the fifteenth century.<sup>104</sup> However, in this medieval approach to power, the sovereign liked to rule over multiple nations: witness Ferdinand II of Aragon and V of Castile at the end of the Middle Ages,<sup>105</sup> or the way the German Empire was very clearly defined in 1356: “The Sublime Sacred Roman Empire has diverse nations, with distinct customs, life and languages, and governments to be controlled.”<sup>106</sup>

**99** Benoît Grévin, “Les stéréotypes ‘nationaux’. Usages rhétoriques et systèmes de pensée dans l’Europe du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge. XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Prague, 23 mai–26 mai 2013)* (Paris, 2014), 138–48.

**100** Bernard Guenée, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV. Los Estados* (Barcelona, 1973), 58.

**101** “Amar la nació.” Cited from Albert and Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts*, 37–38; Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Cròniques d’Espanya*, ed. Agustí Alcoberro (Barcelona, 1997), 2:138; Francisco Gimeno Blay, “Escribir, leer, reinar. La experiencia gráfico-textual de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso (1336–1387),” *Scrittura e civiltà* 22 (1998): 215.

**102** Flocel Sabaté, “Amar la nostra nació,” in *Sardegna e Catalogna “officinae” di identità. Riflessioni storiografiche e prospettive di ricerca*, ed. Alessandra Cioppi (Cagliari, 2013), 15–63.

**103** “Sia honor nostra e de la nostra nació.” Cited from Antoni Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l’història de la Cultura Catalana Mig-eval* (Barcelona, 1908), 1:181.

**104** “This faithful nation, above all other nations, deserves the preservation of its privileges, given that it won them by its most faithful bloodshed and through its immaculate fidelity” (Aquesta dita fael nació, ultra totes altres, crida la conservació de sos privilegis, així com aquella qui els ha guanyat ab sa fidelíssima aspersió de sang e en aquesta sua immaculada fidelitat). Cited from Albert and Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts*, 212.

**105** “Each and every one of the merchants’ consuls, whether Catalan, Castilian, or from any other nation in our kingdoms of Spain and any other of our subjects” (*Universis et singulis consulibus mercatoribus tam cathalanorum et castellanorum quam etiam quarumvis aliarum naciorum horum nostrorum Hispanie regnorum ac aliorum subditorum nostrorum*). Cited from Antonio de la Torre, *Documentos sobre relaciones internacionales de los Reyes Católicos*, 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1949), 1:145.

**106** “Cum sacri Romani celsitudo imperii diversarum nacionum moribus, vita et ydiomate distinctarum leges habeat et gubernacula moderari.” Cited from Gisela Naegle, “Diversité linguistique, identités et mythe de l’empire à la fin du moyen âge,” *Revue Française d’Histoire des Idées Politiques* 36, no. 2 (2012): 253.

Recently, Saúl Martínez Bermejo has expressed surprise because the social awareness of collective identities like these<sup>107</sup> clashes with historiographical views of earlier decades, where authors like Hobsbawm and Gellner<sup>108</sup> almost ignored nations until their formulation as nation-states in the nineteenth century, while other scholars accepted them but referred to Benedict Anderson's nuances, the "content" of a nation being more imprecise and imagined than institutional or formal.<sup>109</sup> European fears about national constructions and claims<sup>110</sup> underscored this. In scholarly discourse, the medieval nation could be ignored while believing that "the medieval mind did not think in terms of the 'nation' and 'nationalism.'"<sup>111</sup> In fact nineteenth-century discourses of national cohesion<sup>112</sup> granted a specific<sup>113</sup> and essentialist sense<sup>114</sup> to a pre-existing reality with a sense that was more descriptive and collective than determinist.<sup>115</sup> In the eighteenth century, Rousseau called for society to be based on this reality because he understood it to be more natural to build social cohesion around belonging to a group with similar traits than on alternatives such as dynasties.<sup>116</sup>

It could not be otherwise if we appreciate the role of collectives in the Ancien régime: whether guilds,<sup>117</sup> participatory municipal governments justified by a sense of *universitas*,<sup>118</sup> social constructions to manage the different estates, such as the parlia-

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**107** "It is surprising to see such an essentialist and reified notion of the cohesion of Catalan national identity in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries." Saúl Martínez Bermejo, "Review: Flocel Sabaté and Luis Adão Fonseca, eds., 'Catalonia and Portugal: The Iberian Peninsula from the Periphery,'" *European History Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2017): 135.

**108** Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality* (Cambridge, 1990); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalisms* (Oxford, 1983).

**109** Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, 1991).

**110** Geoffrey W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), 148; Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002).

**111** Alexander J. Motyl, ed., *Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, 2 vols. (San Diego, 2001), 2:331.

**112** Anne-Marie Thiesse, *La création des identités nationales. Europe XVIII<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1999), 23-158.

**113** Stefan Berger, "The Power of National Pasts: Writing National History in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Europe," in *Writing the Nation. A Global Perspective*, ed. Stefan Berger (Basingstoke, 2007), 30-46.

**114** Michael Jeismann, "Nation, Identity, and Enmity. Towards a Theory of Political Identification," in *What is a Nation? Europe 1789-1914*, ed. Timothy Baycroft and Mark Hewitson (Oxford, 2006), 17-27; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood. Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997), 1-34.

**115** Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2012), 212-20.

**116** Anne M. Cohler, *Rousseau and Nationalism* (New York, 1970), 191-95.

**117** Paolo Prodi and Valerio Marchetti, eds., *Problemi di identità tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna* (Bologna, 2001).

**118** Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas. Expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le Moyen Âge latin* (Paris, 1970), 201-343.

ments that arose in the thirteenth century,<sup>119</sup> or the overarching sovereigns.<sup>120</sup> This was not only a question of the political system being based on negotiation<sup>121</sup> but also that medieval power in all its aspects was by definition and concept pactist, and its exercise or handling by the sovereign<sup>122</sup> depended on *potestas* and not domination.<sup>123</sup> This required the sovereign to work, one way or another, in accordance with the different social forces, which has been described as a “mixed constitution,” or *gouvernement mixte*.<sup>124</sup> Moderate rule by a *monarchie tempérée*, which Aleksander Gieysztor identified as a legacy of medieval power more than an idealized vision, can be seen as a necessary response to the plural and collective reality of medieval society.<sup>125</sup>

This political approach is consistent with a concept of society understood as a sum of groups. The medieval concept of community was at the base of the social structure<sup>126</sup> and the identity of the individual only made sense within their respective group. As Janet Coleman has emphasized, seventeenth and eighteenth-century thinkers looked to their roots in medieval thought when establishing the equation between the “Individual and the Medieval State.”<sup>127</sup> However, in fact, the medieval perception was far from a political community as an agreement by individuals, as was generally repeated after

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**119** Bertie Wilkinson, *The Creation of Medieval Parliaments* (New York, 1972), 59–109.

**120** Antony Black, *El pensamiento político en Europa 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1996), 130–297.

**121** Michel Hébert, *Parlementer. Assemblées représentatives et échange politique en Europe occidentale à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2014), 81–589.

**122** Michel Senellart, *Les arts de gouverner. Du “regimen” médiéval au concept de gouvernement* (Paris, 1995), 22–31.

**123** Philippe Buc, “‘Principes gentium dominantur eorum.’ Princely Power between Legitimacy and Illegitimacy in Twelfth-Century Exegesis,” in *Cultures of Power*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson (Philadelphia, 1995), 310–25.

**124** James Blythe, *Ideal Government and the Mixed Constitution in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1992); Marie Gaillie-Nikodimov, ed., *Le gouvernement mixte. De l’idéal politique au monstre constitutionnel en Europe (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Saint Étienne, 2005).

**125** “The feudal structures, the regional freedoms, of the communes and the corporations; the exercise of the government and justice under the control of the prince’s council; the assemblies representative of different order. All that is what endowed the European states with the characteristics of a moderate regime, respectful of the law and concerned with establishing the difference between the law and the power that served it” (Les structures féodales, les libertés regionales, communautaires et corporatives, l’exercice du gouvernement et de la justice sous l’égide du Conseil du prince, les assemblées représentatives des différents ordres—voilà ce qui confère aux États européens les traits d’un régime modéré, respectueux du droit et soucieux d’établir la différence entre la loi et le pouvoir qui la sert). Cited from Aleksander Gieysztor, “Campagnes et villes, sociétés et États,” in *Les Européens*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiler and Maurice Aymard (Paris, 2000), 197.

**126** Keith Stringer, “Social and Political Communities in European History: Some Reflections on Recent Studies,” in *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Pasts*, ed. Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and Keith J. Stringer (København, 1994), 12–15.

**127** Janet Coleman, “The Individual and the Medieval State,” in *The Individual in Political Theory and Practice*, ed. Janet Coleman (Oxford, 1996), 1–34.

Hobbes in the seventeenth century<sup>128</sup> and then established by the French Revolution and in the liberal models of the nineteenth century.<sup>129</sup> In the Middle Ages, the identity of the individual only made sense within the group. That is why Alain Boureau remarked:

In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, one can see a remarkable development of systems of individuation, which at the same time and in a single action establish the status of the individual and of the community.<sup>130</sup>

Boureau's observation explains how municipal governments could justify themselves in function of the common good.<sup>131</sup> This was backed by legal,<sup>132</sup> political,<sup>133</sup> philosophical,<sup>134</sup> and theological reasoning,<sup>135</sup> all showing the ideal society as a collective with a pretence of harmony. Notably, the late medieval celestial paradise was no longer imagined as a kind of Garden of Eden but rather as an idealized city.<sup>136</sup> In this same line, proposals for ideal—utopian—cities flourished and took shape at the end of the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance<sup>137</sup> either as a theoretical proposal or as an experiment in the New World.<sup>138</sup> They testify to a conception of collective social identity, where the individual only made sense in the group to which he or she belonged.<sup>139</sup>

In the Middle Ages, identity was, to a great extent, collective, but that does not contradict the perception and worth accorded to the individual, because the latter accepted his or her responsibilities within a collectively assumed framework. So, the individual

**128** Pärtel Piirimäe, "The Explanation of Conflict in Hobbes's Leviathan," *Trames* 10, no. 60–65 (2006): 3–21.

**129** Josep Olives, "Del pactisme medieval al contractualisme modern," *Finestrelles* 6 (1994): 238–39.

**130** "À la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du XIV<sup>e</sup>, on peut relever un développement remarquable des systèmes d'individuation, qui établissent en même temps et d'un seul geste le statut de l'individu et celui de la communauté." Cited from Alain Boureau, "L'Individu, sujet de la vérité et support de l'erreur. Connaissance et dissidence dans le monde scolastique (vers 1270-vers 1330)," in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Logna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 296.

**131** Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *De Bono Communi: The Discourse and Practice of the Common good in the European City (13th–16th c.)* (Turnhout, 2010).

**132** Walter Ullmann, "The Medieval Theory of Legal and Illegal Organisations," *Law Quarterly Review* 60 (1944): 288–91.

**133** Ángel López-Amo, "El pensamiento político de Eiximenic, en su tratado de 'Regiment de prínceps,'" *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Español* 17 (1946): 7–139.

**134** Ignacio Verdú, "El pensamiento político en el siglo XIV. De Dante a Marsilio de Padua," in *Actas del II Congreso Nacional de Filosofía Medieval*, ed. Jorge M. Ayala (Zaragoza, 1996), 523–34.

**135** José Comblin and Francisco Javier Calvo, *Teología de la ciudad* (Estella, 1972), 287.

**136** Colleen McDannell and Bernhard Lang, *Historia del Cielo* (Madrid, 2001), 178–200.

**137** Patrick Boucheron, "De la ville idéale à l'utopie urbaine: Filarete et l'urbanisme à Milan au temps des Sforza," *Les Cahiers de Fontenay* 69–70 (1993): 53–80.

**138** Flocel Sabaté, *Fin del mundo y Nuevo mundo. El encaje ideológico entre la Europa medieval y la América moderna en Nueva España (siglo XVI)* (Mexico City, 2011).

**139** Flocel Sabaté, "Utopies i alternatives de vida a l'edat mitjana," in *Utopies i alternatives de vida a l'edat mitjana*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2009), 9–31.

moved within the limits of the collective. The profile of the group defined one's limits, always porous but sufficiently clear to mark the bounds of the collective identity. In other words, the assumption of a collective identity also meant recognizing otherness.

## Identity and Otherness

The earlier reference to "our manners" as a synonym of "our nation" by King Peter the Ceremonious of the Crown of Aragon in 1369<sup>140</sup> implied a set of features of the shared identity, defining implicitly or explicitly the "manners" that characterized those who did not belong to the group: in other words, the Other. The perception of otherness forms an intrinsic part of the definition of one's identity.

To identify oneself against other ways of doing things means being different. It is a characteristic that can even encourage curiosity. At the end of the fourteenth century, when Viscount Ramon de Perellós narrated his journey to St. Patrick's Purgatory, entering by Station Island on Lough Derg in County Donegal, he wanted to explain how the Irish lived, precisely because their customs and manners were so different and therefore surprising: "Given that their customs and manners are very strange for us, I will tell you, as briefly as I can, something of their characteristics and manners from what I have seen."<sup>141</sup>

Similarly, journeys to the East supposed the draw of getting to know surprising places, such as the famous journeys by Marco Polo or William of Rubruck. The latter accepted a commission from Louis IX of France in 1253 to travel to the Orient, invoking a biblical charge: "In Ecclesiasticus it is written about the Wise Man: 'He travels among the peoples of foreign lands.'"<sup>142</sup>

Otherness did not mean rejection: quite the contrary, it could suppose an exoticism that made it attractive. This was similar in both Christian and Muslim cultures: Sinbad was encouraged to leave his quiet home because he ardently desired to travel around countries and isles.<sup>143</sup> In the twelfth century, Al Zuhri explained that, of the seven climates the world is divided into, the first was the centre of what is inhabited, while the others advanced towards the extremes.<sup>144</sup> In these distant places fantastic human and non-human beings were found. Through their strangeness, the description of their char-

**140** Flocel Sabaté, "Amar la nostra nació," in *Sardegna e Catalogna "officinae" di identità riflessioni storiografiche e prospettive di ricerca. Studi in memoria di Roberto Coroneo*, ed. Alessandra Cioppi (Cagliari, 2013), 17–18.

**141** "Per tal que llurs costumes e maneres són a nosaltres fort estranyes, per lo pus curt que io poré, vos contaré algunes coses de llurs condicions e maneres, de ço que io ne vi." Cited from Ramon de Perellós, "Viatge del vescomte Ramon de Perellós i de Roda fet al purgatori nomenat de Sant Patrici," in *Novel·les amoroses i morals*, ed. Arseni Pacheco and August Bover (Barcelona, 1982), 31.

**142** "Nell'Ecclesiastico è scritto riguardo al Sapiente: 'Attraverserà la terra di populi stranieri.'" Cited from Guglielmo di Rubruc, *Viaggio nell'impero dei Mongoli* (Genoa, 2002), 3.

**143** Anonymous, *Los viajes de Simbad el marino y otras historia de Las Mil y una noches* (Madrid, 1989), 19.

**144** Dolors Bramon, *El mundo en el siglo XII. El tratado de al-Zuhri* (Sabadell, 1991), 18.

acteristics and customs,<sup>145</sup> certain social and moral certainties of one's own identity would be questioned.<sup>146</sup>

Otherness can be a mirror against which to reflect one's own identity, either to question or reinforce it. Traditional historiography has resorted to France and England in the Hundred Years' War as an example where their respective national identities were reinforced.<sup>147</sup> In reality, in this case, the conflict accentuated traits of cohesion, whereby each side emphasized its own language, and led to English becoming accepted as a language precisely when, in the fifteenth century, its "island mentality," in Gwilym Dood's words, was being constructed.<sup>148</sup> This could lead to criticism of the character of the others, as in Contamine's discussion about coolness between the French and the English:

As for the French, they were depicted in varied colours which were far from flattering. Foreigners traditionally reproached them for their pride, lightness, carelessness, their love of pleasure. Other grievances were added in the fourteenth century: they explained their failures by their cowardice [...]. By contrast, the English were deemed violent beings, gluttonous, greedy, and coarse, swollen with beer, thirsty for gold and blood, living in a sad, distant, and depressing country.<sup>149</sup>

Distinguishing between groups was part of the game of identity. Francesc Eiximenis compared the Catalan nation with groups nearby— the French, German, English and Italian, Castilian, and Portuguese—to conclude that among them all, the Catalans had the best table manners: "the Catalan nation was [an] example for all other peoples."<sup>150</sup> This type of confrontation lent itself to political manoeuvres. Peter the Ceremonious,

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**145** Angelo Arioli, *Islario maravilloso. Periplo árabe medieval* (Madrid, 1989), 27–116.

**146** Flocel Sabaté, "Islas en el espíritu medieval," in *Las islas del fin del mundo. Representación de las Afortunadas en los mapas del Occidente medieval* (Lleida, 2016), 9–15.

**147** "France until then did not live its own singular life but rather the common and general life in the Middle Ages; she was Catholic and feudal more than French. England has repressed her heavily over herself; it has been forced to enter into itself. France has looked for once and again; it has descended to the deepest part of its popular life. And what did it find there? France. She owes it to her enemy for having discovered herself as a nation" (La France jusque-là vivait de la vie commune et générale du Moyen Age autant et plus que de la sienne; elle était catholique et féodale avant d'être française. L'Angleterre l'a refoulée durement sur elle-même, l'a forcée de rentrer en soi. La France a cherché, a fouillé, elle est descendue au plus profond de sa vie populaire; elle a trouvé, quoi? La France. Elle doit à son ennemi de s'être connue comme nation). Cited from Jules Michelet, *Histoire de France*, 18 vols. (Lausanne, 1966), 4:77.

**148** Gwilym Dood, "The Rise of English, the Decline of French: Supplications to the English Crown, c. 1420–1450," *Speculum* 86, no. 1 (2011): 117–46.

**149** "Quant aux Français, on les représentait sous des couleurs variées, qui étaient loin d'être toujours flatteuses. Les étrangers leur reprochaient traditionnellement leur orgueil, leur légèreté, leur insouciance, leur amour au plaisir. D'autres griefs vinrent s'ajouter au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: on expliqua leurs échecs par leur lâcheté [...]. A l'opposé, les Anglais étaient réputés des êtres violents, gloutons, cupides et grossiers, enflés de bière, assoiffés d'or et de sang, habitant un triste pays, écarté et maussade." Cited from Philippe Contamine, *Au temps de la guerre de Cent Ans. France et Angleterre* (Paris, 1994), 23–24.

**150** "La nació catalana era eximpli de totes les altres gents." Cited from Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià. (Selecció)*, 148.

king of the Crown of Aragon, criticized the arbitrariness of the king of Castile while comparing the characteristics of each people, because, as he explained, a behaviour linked to the whim of the king, typical of Castile, would be impossible in Aragon, simply given the social, cultural, and political regime: “our people are free and are not thus subjugated as the people of Castile are.”<sup>151</sup> However, the same Aragonese king behind this criticism of Castile applied similar measures in his own country, showing that his motivation was to criticize his Castilian equivalent at a moment of high tension between the two kingdoms.<sup>152</sup>

Conflict is not inherent in recognizing otherness but rather in the relation intentionally established between identities, reinforced by the collective aspect of each. This is very clear in the conflict caused by the conquest of Sardinia by the Crown of Aragon in the fourteenth century. The opposition to the conquest led by the judge of Arborea did not invoke a conflict between lords but between peoples, between the Sard nation and the Catalan nation. Both sides accepted this concept: in the city of Sassari it was explained that, “the king with the Catalans, in an evil and perverse way, seized the city, taking advantage of the good faith of the Sards, and expelled them with great betrayal, from which damage and destruction have followed”<sup>153</sup> while, on the other side, the aim was to “annihilate and destroy the detestable and smug rebellion of the Sard nation.”<sup>154</sup>

The war-cry repeated by the Sard rebels was “Arborea!, Arborea! Death to the Catalans,”<sup>155</sup> thus linking the Catalans to the dynasty that by taking over Arborea claimed legitimacy over Sardinia. However, while the Crown of Aragon expanded across the Mediterranean and others saw them as Catalans, as documents in different countries show, the soldiers who spearheaded these conquests went into combat shouting the name of their dynasty: *Aragó! Aragó!*<sup>156</sup> This was the same in earlier centuries: feudal troops called out the name of the lineage under which they were grouped.<sup>157</sup> What led groups into conflict was not their difference, but a specific political or social circumstance, and

**151** “El nostre poble és franc e no és així subjugat com és lo poble de Castella.” Cited from Pere el Cerimoniós, *Crònica de Pere III el Cerimoniós*, ed. Ferran Soldevila (Barcelona, 2014), 81.

**152** Flocel Sabaté, “L’abus de pouvoir dans la Couronne d’Aragon (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles): pathologie, corruption, stratégie ou modèle?” in *La pathologie du pouvoir: vices, crimes et délits des gouvernants. Antiquité, Moyen Âge, époque moderne* (Leiden, 2016), 309–11.

**153** “Lo rey ab los Cathalans malvadament e hinguia la levaran sots bona fe als dits sarts e-ls gitaran fora ab gran trayció de que se-n seguí dan e manquement.” Cited from Francesco Cesare Casula, *Carte reali diplomatiche di Giovanni I il Cacciatore, re d’Aragona, riguardanti l’Italia* (Padova, 1977), 62.

**154** “Aniquilar e abatere la detestable i fàtua rebel·lió de la nació sard.” From Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 2220, fol. 75r.

**155** “Arborea!, Arborea! Morgen sos Cathalanos.” Cited from Francesco Cesare Casula, *La Sardenya catalano-aragonesa. Perfil històric* (Barcelona, 1985), 41.

**156** Flocel Sabaté, “Maison et Couronne d’Aragon,” in *Histoires, femmes, pouvoirs: Péninsule Ibérique (IX<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècle). Mélanges offerts au Professeur Georges Martin*, ed. Jean-Pierre Jardin, Patricia Rochwert-Zuili and Hélène Thieulin-Pardo (Paris 2018), 768.

**157** Flocel Sabaté, “Orden y desorden. La violencia en la cotidianidad bajomedieval catalana,” *Aragón en la Edad Media 14–15* (1999): 1400–401.

it was the response mechanism of collective solidarity among groups that led to clashes when tensions were running high. As we have seen, the solution to the conflicts came from arbitrating agreements and not destroying the bonds of solidarity.<sup>158</sup>

Multiple levels of otherness existed, as many as there were levels of identity, and the respective circumstances defined the level of tension. As mentioned above, the disputes between factions did not prevent those who clashed within a city from collaborating on another level, against another city. Those colliding on this level could fight together for reasons of jurisdictional solidarity: even lords in opposition might share allegiance as a nation under their common sovereign. This went right up to the highest level, European Christendom, identified as a *Respublica Christiana*.<sup>159</sup> But at this point, however, an inassimilable otherness became evident: the religious.

In the fourth century, Christianity took command of history, accepting the biblical narrative that was until then Jewish and imposing it on the Roman historical trajectory. From then on, the history of humanity, the history of Christianity, and the history of salvation became one and the same.<sup>160</sup> By the eleventh century, the so-called Gregorian Reform infused the Church with greater ideological security and better tools to penetrate society. From this position, doctrine and the ecclesiastical authorities increased intolerance to those considered enemies of the faith, as it was seen in the thirteenth century, against heretics, Muslims, and Jews.<sup>161</sup> After converting the entire history of humanity into a linear path from the Creation to Christ's Second Coming (Parousia), it was easy to predict humanity's path, or, in other words, predict how close it was to the end.<sup>162</sup> This was no idle intellectual curiosity, because the Gospel mission proclaimed that, at the end of time, all society would come together in a single fold: "there will be one flock and one shepherd (John 10:16)."<sup>163</sup> The perceived difficulties in reaching that aim spread distress among various Messianic movements in the Late Middle Ages, influenced by the writings of Joachim of Fiore at the end of the twelfth century.<sup>164</sup> The thirteenth century became marked by preaching and disputes among those who aimed to convert those, like the Jews, who were deemed to be on the wrong path.<sup>165</sup> Both spiritu-

**158** Flocel Sabaté, "Les factions dans la vie urbaine de la Catalogne du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle", 356–65.

**159** Aleksander Gyesztor, "Conscience et identité occidentales," in *Les Européens*, ed. Hélène Ahrweiller and Maurice Aymard (Paris, 2000), 173.

**160** Raúl González Salinero, "La idea de 'Romanitas' en el pensamiento histórico-político de Prudencio," in *Toga y daga. Teoría de la praxis de la política en Roma*, ed. Gonzalo Bravo and Raúl González (Madrid, 2010), 349–50.

**161** Jean Flori, *Croisade et chevalerie XIe–XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1998), 60–63.

**162** Karl Löwith, *El sentido de la historia* (Madrid, 1968), 207–28.

**163** "Fiet unum ovile et unus pastor." Cited from Io. 10: 16. *Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine* (London, 1963), 263.

**164** Gian Luca Potestà, *El tiempo del Apocalipsis. Vida de Joaquín de Fiore* (Madrid, 2010), 121–390.

**165** "The thirteenth century was also an eschatological century in which, from Joachim of Fiori to the Franciscan spirituals, from Frederick II to St. Louis, Christianity was preparing for the Antichrist and then the Millennium and finally, the end of the time. However, the conversion of the Jews must precede the end of time, it is an urgent and essential mission" (El siglo XIII es también un

alist movements in Christianity, attentive to divine will especially according to the warnings of some Franciscan friars,<sup>166</sup> and the line based on Aristotelian realism,<sup>167</sup> generated fear among the population. Faced with the difficulties that were characteristic of the fourteenth century—bad harvests, pandemics and natural disasters such as earthquakes—people asked what sins of society had angered God,<sup>168</sup> as they were reminded by the numerous wandering preachers.<sup>169</sup> People had no doubt that God was irritated by society's tolerance of those like homosexuals who failed to comply with God's natural order, or those who hated Him, like the Jews,<sup>170</sup> who had killed Him on the cross and, guided by continuing deicidal tendencies,<sup>171</sup> were led to stab consecrated hosts.<sup>172</sup> In his public sermons, the Dominican preacher, Vicenç Ferrer, who was very influential at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,<sup>173</sup> demanded:

That the Jews and Moors be separated, not among the Christians; nor must we support infidel doctors nor purchase groceries from them [infidels], and they should be closed off and walled in, as we have no worse enemies.<sup>174</sup>

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siglo escatológico en el cual, desde Joaquín de Fiori a los espirituales franciscanos, desde Federico II a san Luis, la cristiandad se prepara para el Anticristo y luego para el Milenio y, por último, para el fin de los tiempos. Ahora bien, la conversión de los judíos debe preceder a la consumación de los tiempos, es una misión urgente y esencial). Cited from Jacques Le Goff, *Lo maravilloso y lo cotidiano en el Occidente medieval* (Barcelona, 1985), 127.

**166** José Maria Pou, *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII-XV)* (Madrid, 1991), 9–512.

**167** Gilles Berceville, “Entre lógica y mística. La teología universitaria,” in *Historia de la teología*, ed. Jean-Yves Lacoste (Buenos Aires, 2011), 187–232.

**168** “For consenting such sins, pestilence came upon the town and our lord God denied [us] rain and good weather” (per tals pecats a consentir vinguen pestilències en la vila e nostre senyor Déu priva pluja e bon temps). Pedro Ibarra, “Elig: Noticia de algunas instituciones y costumbres de la Edad Media,” in *III Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (julio de 1923)* (Valencia, 1923), 2:39.

**169** Jean-Arnault Dérens, “La predication et la ville: pratiques de la parole et ‘religion civique’ à Montpellier aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in *La predication en Pays d’Oc (XIIIe-début XVe siècle)* (Toulouse, 1997), 335–62.

**170** It was similar all over Europe, not just England: “The Jewish villain is simply ‘the other’, who functions to further the plot.” Cited from Henry Ansgar Kelly, “‘The Prioress’s Tale’ in Context: Good and Bad Reports of Non-Christians in Fourteenth-Century England,” in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 (2006): 106.

**171** Flocel Sabaté, “Les juifs au Moyen-Âge. Les sources catalanes concernant l’ordre et le désordre,” in *Chrétiens et juifs au Moyen Âge: sources pour la recherche d’une relation permanente*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2006), 91–136.

**172** Elsa Marmursztejn, “Du récit exemplaire au ‘casus’ universitaire: une variation théologique sur le thème de la profanation d’hosties par les juifs (1290),” *Médiévales* 41 (2001): 37–63.

**173** Bernard Montagnes, “Prophetisme et eschatologie dans la prédication méridionale de saint Vincent Ferrer,” in *Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>–début XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse, 1992), 331–49; Pedro Catedra, “Fray Vicente Ferrer y la predicación antijudaica en la campaña castellana (1411–1412),” in “*Qu’un sang impur...: Les Conversos et le pouvoir en Espagne à la fin du moyen âge* (Aix-en-Provence, 1997), 19–46.

**174** “Que-ls juheus o moros estiguin en apartat, no entre los cristians; ne sostengats metges infidels

These were not conflicts between Christian, Muslim, or Jewish countries. Muslims and Jews, the worst of enemies at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, fell foul of ideological criteria: the inability of Christians to accept inassimilable otherness despite living in the same towns and cities.

Fear of the wrath of the anthropomorphized God in a society that had adopted Christianity as its only uniting axis led to acute intolerance of the minorities that were inassimilable for reasons of their religious identity. In the thirteenth century, faced with this situation, Roger Bacon predicted the return to the Roman church of the Orthodox Greeks, the conversion of the Tartars, but the destruction of the Saracens: those who would not convert had to be eliminated.<sup>175</sup>

The view of infidels as a danger justified measures of moral hygiene, moves to mark out—and discriminate against—these minorities. The Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 imposed such measures, beginning with a badge to be worn by the Jews on their clothing. This was not immediately applied as it depended on the civil authorities. But, during the Late Middle Ages, ecclesiastical authorities called on sovereigns and lords to apply this measure,<sup>176</sup> while the preachers spread the word among the general population. Municipal ordinations progressively restricted relations between Christians and Jews<sup>177</sup> and, at the same time, forced them to live segregated within their own neighbourhoods.<sup>178</sup> Fearful of God's wrath, the Christian population shared these attitudes: they commemorated festivities like Easter by stoning the houses of Jews; they insulted the Jews, telling them that their ancestors had crucified Jesus and prevented them from touching products that they did not buy in the market, just one example of a growing everyday contempt for them in the Late Middle Ages. At the same time, when a Catalan bailiff investigated gambling, he found Christians and Jews gambling together in the Jewish quarter during festivities like the Christian Easter Week, and the fact that many municipal governments had to reiterate the ban on exchanging products or reinforce the segregation of Jews evidently shows a disregard for these measures and that some contacts between Christians and Jews were maintained.<sup>179</sup>

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ne comprar d'ells vitualles, e que estiguin tanquats e murats, car no havem major enemichs." Cited from Vicent Ferrer, *Sermons*, ed. Gret Schib Torra, 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1975), 3:14.

**175** Marjorie Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages. A Study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), 399.

**176** Solomon Grayzel, *The Church and the Jews in the XIIIth Century. Volume II: 1254–1314* (New York, 1989).

**177** Flocel Sabaté, "L'ordenament municipal de la relació amb els jueus a la Catalunya baixmedieval," in *Cristianos y judíos en contacto en la Edad Media. Polémica, conversión dinero y convivencia*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Claude Denjean (Lleida, 2009), 733–804.

**178** Flocel Sabaté, "L'espace des minorités ethniques et religieuses: les juifs dans les villes catalanes au bas Moyen Âge," in *Morphologie urbaine et identité sociale dans la ville médiévale hispanique*, ed. Flocel Sabaté and Christian Guilleré (Chambéry, 2012), 231–86.

**179** Flocel Sabaté, "Jewish Neighbourhoods in Christian Towns in Fourteenth and Fifteenth Century Catalonia," in *Intricate Interfaith Networks: Quotidian Jewish-Christian Contacts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ephraim Shoham-Steiner (Turnhout, 2016), 119–47.

Individual behaviour like this did not alter the overall dynamic of a progressive exclusion of minorities. In many European countries, the incapacity to tolerate the difference represented by the Jews led to their expulsion.<sup>180</sup> But the fact that contact persisted means we have to value what we could term frontier relations. In fact, in the Central Middle Ages, the borders of Europe with otherness, both east and west, were not defined by frontiers as boundary-lines but rather by bounds of contact.<sup>181</sup> Frontiers were “a living membrane” (*une membrane vivante*) in the words of Pierre Toubert,<sup>182</sup> allowing various levels of contact with Otherness. Similarly, late medieval social otherness, within society’s external borders, retained a level of porosity conforming more to reality than the discourse of ideological coherence, even if the latter would end up imposing the norms of behaviour.

### External Perceptions and Internal Adoptions

In 732, the Muslims were defeated near Poitiers by Charles Martel at the head of an army made up of men from various origins fighting under the Frankish steward of Austrasia. When the battle was described in the Mozarabic Chronicle a few decades later, it was understood that the combatants were *gens Austrie*, but synonyms were also sought, perhaps to include troops from other origins, referring to them as *gentes septentrionalis* and more explicitly to the *europenses*.<sup>183</sup> This text has been widely commented on from different perspectives because it was the first time this adjective was used.<sup>184</sup> Above all, however, this mention reflects the perception (from the outside) the chronicler had of all the participants feeling they belonged to the same side due to their origins.<sup>185</sup> Almost four centuries later, in 1113, a series of principalities, towns, and trading cities, from Barcelona to Rome, troubled by the Muslim kingdom of Mallorca, banded together to conquer it, and did so under the temporary command of the count of Barcelona. On narrating the feat from Pisa some years later, the men from the northeast of the Iberian Peninsula who accompanied the Barcelonan count were described as “Catalans” (*catalanensi*).<sup>186</sup> This text is also repeatedly mentioned for being the first clear mention

**180** Joseph Pérez, *Historia de una tragedia. La expulsión de los judíos de España* (Barcelona, 1993).

**181** David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers. Concepts and Practices* (Burlington, 2002); Stéphane Boissellier and Isabel Cristina Ferreira Fernandes, *Entre Islam et Chrétienté. La territorialisation des frontières, XI<sup>e</sup>-XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes, 2015).

**182** Pierre Toubert, “Frontière et frontières: un objet historique,” *Castrum* 4 (1992): 16.

**183** José Eduardo López Pereira, ed., *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana. Crónica mozárabe de 754* (León, 2009), 258.

**184** José Antonio Maravall, *Estudios de historia del pensamiento español* (Madrid, 1973), 470.

**185** Flocel Sabaté, “732. La victoire de Charles Martel à la bataille de Poitiers,” in *L’Histoire de France vue d’ailleurs*, ed. Jean-Noël Jeanneney and Jeanne Guérout (Paris, 2016), 46–53.

**186** Carlo Calisse, ed., *Liber Maiorichinus de Gestis Pisanorum illustribus* (Rome, 1904), 27–123; Enrico Pisano, *Liber Maiorichinus de Gestis Pisanorum illustribus*, ed. Giuseppe Scalia and Alberto Bartola (Florence, 2017), 184–454.

of this name.<sup>187</sup> With it, the Pisan poet aimed to include a population perceived to have shared cultural and socio-economic traits despite not belonging to one institutional or political unit.<sup>188</sup> In both cases, despite the chronological and contextual distance, the external perception meant a common name was applied because the people referred to were perceived to have common traits, although at a lower level many elements would have subdivided the main group into other smaller ones, so people could be linked to different layers of groups.

Perception from the outside is an external indication of common traits clear enough to be seen as shared, whilst other lesser circles of identity might also exist. Higher and lower affiliations could be held at the same time and were mutable, as we have seen within towns and then by the town as a whole in a collective action against an opposing group. This was visible in 1315 in Catalonia with the toponymic references “Empúries” or “Cardona” used by those who were defined as subjects of the count of Empúries and the viscount of Cardona, despite not living in these places.<sup>189</sup>

In any case, the perception carried more weight than the institutional reality. In the second half of the fourteenth century, Catalonia was invaded fifteen times by armies from the other side of the Pyrenees,<sup>190</sup> mainly by troops like *routiers* idle during the Hundred Years’ War.<sup>191</sup> As a result, the counts of Armagnac became influential in the Crown of Aragon, even agreeing to the marriage of a daughter to the king’s eldest son,<sup>192</sup> which meant that Matha of Armagnac became the wife of the heir to the Crown between 1373 and her death in 1378;<sup>193</sup> they were present in various episodes and political intrigues, including the invasion of 1389.<sup>194</sup> However, the name Armagnac became sometimes popularly identified more with some uncontrolled invader from the north than with knowledge about the real origin of people from this county. That is why over the last third of

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**187** Jaume Vidal i Alcover, “Liber Maiorichinus’ (Text, traducció, notes i introducció)” (PhD diss., Universitat de Barcelona, 1976).

**188** Flocel Sabaté, “El nacimiento de Cataluña. Mito y realidad,” in *Fundamentos medievales de los particularismos hispánicos. IX Congreso de Estudios Medievales (2003)* (Ávila, 2005), 239–41; Flocel Sabaté, “The Medieval Roots of Catalan Identity,” in *Historical Analysis of the Catalan Identity* (Bern, 2015), 68–71.

**189** Flocel Sabaté, *El sometent a la Catalunya medieval* (Barcelona, 2007), 56.

**190** Flocel Sabaté, “*Companyies estranyes d’armes qui eren entrades en lo Principat.*” *Catalogne, seconde moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, forthcoming.

**191** Among others: Christian Desplat, “Figures de routiers pyrénéens de la première moitié de la guerre de Cent Ans,” *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences, Lettes et Arts de Pau* 4, no. 2 (1967), 27–49; Émile Labroue, *Le livre de vie. Les seigneurs et les Capitaines du Périgord Blanc au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1891; repr. Bayac, 1991); Laurent Renaudet, *Mercenaires et compagnies d’aventure: les ‘routiers’ au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (master’s thesis, Université de Poitiers, 1993); Jacques Faugeras, *Perrinet Gressart, redoutable ‘routier’ au service des Anglais et des Bourguignons* (Sury-en-Vaux, 1997); Paul-Auguste Allut, *Les routiers au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les tard-venus et la bataille de Brignais* (1859; repr. Paris, 2001).

**192** Dominique Barrois, *Jean I<sup>er</sup>, comte d’Armagnac (1305–1375), son action et son monde* (PhD diss., Université Lille III, 2004), 318–10.

**193** Àurea Javierre Mur, *Mata d’Armanyac, duquessa de Girona* (Barcelona, 1967), 5–61.

**194** Rafael Tasis, *Joan I, el rei caçador i músic* (Barcelona, 1959), 278–82.

the fourteenth century many references were made in Catalonia to people perceived and defined as Armagnac, for their *routier* character, but this said little of their true origins north of the Pyrenees.<sup>195</sup>

The most widespread marker in the perception of population groups is language, and this is often stronger than the person's jurisdiction. Peoples, nations, and language were used as synonyms by a group of Catalan deputies who, at the end of the fifteenth century, referred to "all peoples and nations: Castilians, Portuguese, French, Gascons, Germans, Provençals, Italians, and of all other languages and peoples."<sup>196</sup> French, Gascons, and Provençals were distinguished, although they all came under the sovereignty of the same king, while Italians were identified as one, despite the fragmentation of the sovereignties to which they belonged.

The perception of a group could lead to different denominations depending on context. A good example is how the inhabitants of the central and eastern Mediterranean defined the members of the Crown of Aragon during their expansion. The troops invoked Aragon in battle, not as the homonymous Iberian region but rather as the name of the reigning dynasty;<sup>197</sup> however, their opponents described them as Catalans,<sup>198</sup> whether they were from Catalonia or other regions of the Crown, like Mallorca or Valencia. The broad use of the name might suggest the greater demographic and political weight of Catalonia in the expansion,<sup>199</sup> but primarily to the dominant position that Catalan enjoyed,<sup>200</sup> to the extent that Catalan was sometimes applied to people from the same Crown who spoke other languages, like Castilian or Italian.<sup>201</sup> This shared perception was dominant,<sup>202</sup> which is why current historians complain about not being able, for example, to discern the origins of goods: for the recipients, all the merchandise came from Catalans.<sup>203</sup> However, at the same time, this shared perception of men and women

**195** Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, I.1.2.1, lligall 7, llibre 1, fol. 19r.; Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 2014, fols. 24r–25r.

**196** "Totes gents e nacions castellans, portuguesos, francesos, gascons, tudeschs, prohensals, ytalians e a totes altres lengües e pobles." Cited from Robert B. Tate, *Joan Margarit Pau, cardinal-bishop of Gerona. A Biographical Study* (Manchester, 1954), 128; Francesc Carreras y Candi, *Pere Joan Ferrer militar y senyor del Maresme* (Barcelona, 1892), 104.

**197** Sabaté, "Maison et Couronne d'Aragon," 763–77.

**198** Flocel Sabaté, *Percepció i identificació dels catalans a l'edat mitjana* (Barcelona, 2016), 80–97.

**199** Vincenzo d'Alessandro, "Spazio geografico e morfologie sociali nella Sicilia del basso medioevo," in *Commercio, finanza, funzione pubblica. Stranieri in Sicilia e in Sardegna nei secoli XIII–XV* (Naples, 1989), 7.

**200** Lola Badia, "Literatura catalana i patronatge reial al segle XV: episodis d'un distanciament," *Pedralbes. Revista d'Història moderna* 13, no. 2 (1993): 525–34; Miguel Batllori, *La familia de los Borja* (Madrid, 1999), 164.

**201** Nenad Fejič, "Ragusei e spagnoli nel 'Medio Evo'. Luci ed ombre di un rapporto commerciale," in *Ragusa e il Mediterraneo. Ruolo e funzioni marinara tra Medioevo ed età Moderna*, ed. Antonio di Vittorio (Bari, 1990), 81.

**202** Nenad Fejič, *Шпанци у дубровнику средњем веку* [Spaniards in Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages] (Belgrade, 1988), 114–276.

**203** Paulino Iradiel, "Valencia y la expansión mediterránea de la Corona de Aragón," in *En las costas*

from the Crown of Aragon being Catalans could be fine-tuned, and so people may distinguish the Aragonese,<sup>204</sup> who spoke their own language (finally displaced by Castilian<sup>205</sup>), and elsewhere, Catalans and Valencians were also differentiated despite both speaking Catalan.<sup>206</sup> Thus, the same population could be defined under several names, the contradiction being merely apparent, because everything depended on context.

Meanwhile, a group being referred to could maintain different circles of identity, and apply them appropriately. In the same case of the Crown of Aragon, in 1487 the Mallorcan notary, Pere Llitrà, wrote: “nowhere in the world will you find any other nation as famous for being as passionate as that of the Mallorcans.”<sup>207</sup> However, this designation of the Mallorcans as a nation did not prevent the people of the island from considering themselves members of the Catalan nation, because they spoke Catalan and, at the same time, accepted that they were descendents of that nation.<sup>208</sup> Similarly, the strong socio-economic growth of Valencia was accompanied by institutional development, which meant a fuller sense of self-identity.<sup>209</sup> This was invoked to counter the supposed weight exerted by Catalonia in the Crown of Aragon,<sup>210</sup> though, in other scenarios, Valencia claimed that it was part of the Catalan nation. This was the case in Oriola, a town in the south of the Kingdom of Valencia that belonged ecclesiastically to the bishopric of Cartagena (within the Kingdom of Murcia) and which came under the sovereignty of Castile. The municipal authorities complained in 1433 because both the current bishop and his predecessors, all Castilians, tended to “favour those of [the] Castilian nation, disfavouring those of the Catalan nation.”<sup>211</sup>

Identity, both for those who perceived it from outside and those who adopted it, was not only a question of concentric circles but also of permeable and porous areas that could be conjugated in a complementary way as circumstances required. There are many such examples. In 1363, Cardinal Gil Albornoz founded the Spanish College of St.

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*del Mediterráneo Occidental. Las ciudades de la Península Ibérica y del reino de Mallorca y el comercio Mediterráneo en la Edad Media*, ed. David Abulafia and Blanca Garí (Barcelona, 1997), 166.

**204** Casula, *La Sardenya catalano-aragonesa*, 64.

**205** Guillermo Tomás Faci, *El aragonés medieval. Lengua y Estado en el reino de Aragón* (Zaragoza, 2020), 217-290.

**206** Antonio Era, *Il Parlamento sardo nel 1481-1485* (Milan, 1995), 178.

**207** “No cregau nació al món sia tant notada de esser apassionada com Mallorquins.” Cited from Maria Barceló, *Els Llitrà. Una nissaga de notaris a la Mallorca baixmedieval* (Palma, 2001), 281.

**208** Antoni Mas, *Esclaus i Catalans. Esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma, 2005), 91-156.

**209** Antoni Ferrando, *Consciència idiomàtica i nacional dels valencians* (Valencia, 1980), 19-186.

**210** Agustí Rubio Vela, *El patriciat i la nació. Sobre el particularisme dels valencians en els segles XIV i XV* (Castelló de la Plana, Barcelona, 2012), 2:9-37

**211** “Favorir als de nació castellana defavorint als de la nació catalana.” Cited from Juan Antoni Barrio Barrio, “‘Per servey de la Corona d’Aragó.’ Identidad urbana y discurso político en la frontera meridional del reino de Valencia: Orihuela en la Corona de Aragón, ss. XIII-XV,” *Hispania. Revista Española de Historia* 61, no. 238 (2011): 460.

Clement at Bologna for students from the different territories of Spain,<sup>212</sup> but this did not stop a Spanish nation and another specified as *natio Cathelanorum* being organized separately within it.<sup>213</sup> The permeability could be broad: in the fifteenth century in the city of Mallorca (currently Palma), Portuguese merchants did not have their own consulate, but were served by the consulate of the Castilians, with whom they share neither jurisdiction nor language, but whose kingdoms were neighbours in the Iberian Peninsula, so that the consulate of Castile was willing to serve “all Castilian, Portuguese merchants, or other progeny of Spain.”<sup>214</sup>

This was not very different from what happened with the different nations in the *studia generalia* or universities all over Europe from their initial groupings by territorial identities.<sup>215</sup> The students fitted into the nation they considered closest to them. This is very clear in the emblematic case of the nations at the University of Paris,<sup>216</sup> whose groupings took different circumstances and interests into consideration. This breadth sometimes led to tensions, as happened between the English and Picard nations. Between 1356 and 1358, it was ruled that the distinction between these should be defined by language, either *lingua theotonica* or *lingua gallica*, and the boundary was the upper Meuse. Geographical demarcation by language would distinguish between the two nations and not their jurisdictional ascriptions, and this would henceforth determine the placing of the students.<sup>217</sup> The definition of the university nation by language was based on a high identity-level, because it coincided with the bounds of the Picard language, which at the end of the thirteenth century and during a good part of the fourteenth, was a prestige language used among nobles and bourgeoisie in a highly learned region.<sup>218</sup> However, these nations were denoted by the university centres and could reflect outmoded structures no longer in line with the contemporary national perceptions. This was the case of the two nations at Oxford: *Borealis* and *Australis*, with the division set by the River Trent,<sup>219</sup>

**212** Baltasar Cuart, “El Colegio de San Clemente de los Españoles de Bolonia en la Edad Moderna. Historiografía,” in *Universidades clásicas de la Europa Mediterránea: Bolonia, Coimbra y Alcalá. Miscelánea Alfonso IX*, ed. Luis E. Rodríguez-San Pedro and Juan Luis Polo (Salamanca, 2006), 69–70.

**213** Pascual Tamburri, “España en la universidad de Bolonia. vida académica y comunidad nacional (siglos XIII–XIV),” *Espacio, tiempo y forma. Serie III: Historia Medieval* 10 (1997): 296–97.

**214** “Tot mercader castellà, portagalès o altre generació d’Espanya.” Cited from István Szászdi León-Borja, “Sobre el consulado castellano de Mallorca en la baja edad media,” *Anales de la Universidad de Alicante. Historia medieval* 10 (1994–95): 218.

**215** Pierre Riché and Jacques Verger, *Des nains sur des épaules des géants. Maîtres et élève au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2006), 280.

**216** Jean-Philippe Genet, *La mutation de l’éducation et de la culture médiévales*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1999), 1:216–17.

**217** Léo Moulin, *La vie des étudiants au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1991), 119–29.

**218** Serge Lusignan, “Espace géographique et langue. les frontières du français picard (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Construction de l’espace au Moyen Âge: pratiques et représentations. XXXVII Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’Enseignement Supérieur Public (Mulhouse, 2–4 Juin 2006)* (Paris, 2007), 263–74.

**219** Rudolf Stichweh, “Universitätsmitglieder als Fremde in spätmittelalterlichen und frühmodernen europäischen Gesellschaften,” in *Fremde der Gesellschaft. Historische und sozialwissen-*

without taking into consideration the then wider acceptance of an English nation.<sup>220</sup> The malleability around the nations is clear in the difficulties, more political than anything else, that arose when the Council of Basel (1414–1418) tried to organize all the participants into five nations: *gallicana, italica, anglicana, germanica, hispanica*.<sup>221</sup>

The definitions adopted for the university nations did not prevent students changing from one nation to another, undoubtedly for personal reasons not related to the nation. Apparent contradictions in the definitions of identity were in fact expressions of permeability and porosity. These examples reject rigidity of some legal or administrative definition but rather express the subjectivity inherent in perception (external) and adoption (internal), two aspects of human reasoning that are based on trying to capture coherent traits, while offering flexibility for specific circumstances.

### Representation and Social Gradation

The perception and adoption of coherent features and terms that enable us to talk about identity do not endorse an essentialist interpretation but, as we have seen, adaptability to different levels and segments of identity. However, where this adaptation allows speaking in the name of one's own identity, it adds a representative aspect that contributes powerfully to defining this identity.

Representation was a core element in the working of medieval power, across many fields, because it meant an elite having to adopt, with no choice, the role of representative of a collective.<sup>222</sup> This representativeness fit a participative political system, and so has been signalled as the great contribution of the Middle Ages; Randall says: "The idea of representation in the political sense was not prominent, though it existed in the ancient world, but as a fundamental political principle it is a gift of the Middle Ages to ourselves."<sup>223</sup> Viewed this way, it served as the gateway to participative political systems in municipalities, parliaments, and elsewhere.

Any call for representation invokes a presumed underlying identity, but we should consider that representation then encouraged or even brought about cohesion of iden-

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*schaftliche Untersuchungen zur Differenzierung von Normalität und Fremdheit*, ed. Marie Theres Fögen (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), 178.

**220** Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), 100–82.

**221** Caspar Hirschi, *The Origins of Nationalism. An Alternative History from Ancient Rome to Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 2012), 81–85.

**222** Susan Reynolds wrote: "The richest and most established burgesses or citizens of a town, like the bishops and nobles of a kingdom, were those who were qualified to speak and judge on behalf of the community of which they were perceived as the most solid, respectable, and responsible members. Representation was not a matter of representing individuals (hence the frequent vagueness about who attended or had the right to attend meetings), but of representing communities." Susan Reynolds, "Medieval Urban History and the History of Political Thought," *Urban History Yearbook* (Leicester, 1982), 14–23 at 15.

**223** Henry John Randall, *The Creative Centuries. A Study in Historical Development* (London, 1947), 248.

tity in its quest for self-justification. To start with, representation not only emerged from the group but also the opposite: its members tended to come from a high social sector that claimed to be the representatives of a larger group and speak on its behalf. The elite that took on the representation of the larger collective permanently confused their own interests with those of the group. This is very clear in the privileges the municipal representatives insisted on from their respective sovereigns or the measures parliamentarians demanded: to a great extent they held the interests of their high social group, thus questioning how representative they truly were.<sup>224</sup> The mechanisms for co-opting representatives used in the renewal of posts, either implicitly or sometimes in a regulated way, restricted the institutional, political, and social circle to a highly exclusive social group. However, these elites everywhere used the language of representation and its supposed purpose, especially the common good.<sup>225</sup> The identity of the group was constantly reinforced and fed by this representativeness. From 1363 onwards in the Crown of Aragon, the parliaments (Corts or Cortes) managed to secure permanent representation – a General Diputation – in each territory (Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia). This involved an elite of the three estates, but closed, which only adopted elective, or cooptation, systems in the fifteenth century.<sup>226</sup> However, they always invoked representativeness over their respective territories. In Valencia in 1409, it was explicitly proclaimed that, “the office of the General Diputation represents all the kingdom.”<sup>227</sup> This assertion became the main catalyst for the cohesive identity invoked.

This representativeness, throughout late medieval Europe, adopted various images to help visualize the shared identity, in search of a precise fit between the sovereign and the community of subjects.<sup>228</sup> In Catalonia there were those against the king who talked on behalf of the *terra* (“land”) or the *General de Catalunya* (“General of Catalonia”), a position that justified the interlocutors but also reinforced the identity and cohesion

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**224** “Those who think that [medieval] cities are democratic institutions in which all have the same opportunities, continue to believe, rightly, that the royal arm represents everyone in reality and not just theoretically; those who, instead, believe, according to the most recent research, that the city is controlled by a minority, will have no difficulty in finding that acts of parliament favour; very frequently, these minorities who primarily represent themselves” (Quienes piensan que las ciudades [medievales] son centros democráticos en los que todos tienen las mismas posibilidades, seguirán creyendo, con razón, que el brazo real representa de verdad y no solo teóricamente a todos; los que, en cambio, crean, de acuerdo con las últimas investigaciones, que la ciudad está controlada por una minoría, no tendrán la menor dificultad en admitir que los acuerdos de cortes favorecen, con excesiva frecuencia, a estas minorías que se representan ante todo a sí mismas). Cited from José Luis Martín, “Las Cortes Medievales,” *Historia* 16 164 (1989): 92.

**225** E. Igor Mineo, “Cose in commune e bene commune. L’ideologia della comunità in Italia nel tardo medioevo,” in *The Languages of Political Society. Western Europe, 14th–17th centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, and Andrea Zorzi (Rome, 2011), 39–63.

**226** Flocel Sabaté, “Corona de Aragón,” in *Historia de España. VIII. La época medieval: administración y gobierno*, ed. Pedro Andrés Porras, Eloísa Ramírez, and Flocel Sabaté (Tres Cantos, 2003), 386–87.

**227** “Lo ofici de la Diputació representàs tot lo regne.” Cited from Rosa Muñoz Pomer, *Orígenes de la Generalidad Valenciana* (Valencia, 1987), 401.

**228** Bernard Guenée, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV. Los Estados* (Barcelona, 1973), 92–96.

of all the territory invoked.<sup>229</sup> The image of the Mystical Body, once secularized,<sup>230</sup> had great impact on the political symbology of society in late medieval Europe:<sup>231</sup> the head was identified with the sovereign,<sup>232</sup> and the hands could be interpreted as the so-called popular representatives. So, in 1466, in the midst of the civil war in Catalonia, those who claimed a representative role from their municipal position against the monarch adopted an image of the mystic body coherent with the claimed unity of Catalan territory under the presidency of Barcelona: “Tortosa is the right eye, Perpignan the left, and Barcelona the heart of the mystic heart of Catalonia.”<sup>233</sup>

Similarly, on Sardinia in the mid-fifteenth century, the judge of Arborea himself justified the previously mentioned rising against the king of Aragon by invoking Sardinian nationalism: the call to gather all Sards together against the Catalan invaders under the king of Aragon, leading to a long struggle always based on the discourse of identity.<sup>234</sup> In this way, the judge of Arborea justified his position while also giving meaning to and reinforcing the identity that he claimed to represent.<sup>235</sup>

In all cases, the invocation of identity by those who stood as representatives supposed a social gradation. Given their own status, the *prohoms*, or local councillors who represented the municipality, tended to self-identify with higher identity-groups.<sup>236</sup> When the consent of the collective had to be obtained for decisions, they tended to ask for the opinion of the “greater part,”<sup>237</sup> although often the “best and healthiest part” was more explicitly taken into account, as was established in the Cort of Barcelona in 1383:

We establish, desire, and ordain that if we or our successors wish to make some General Constitution or Statute in Catalonia, it must be done with the approval and agreement

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**229** Flocel Sabaté, “Expressões da representatividade social na Catalunha tardomedieval,” in *Identidades e Fronteiras no Medievo Ibérico*, ed. Fátima Regina Fernandes (Curitiba, 2013), 68–79.

**230** Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), 195–270.

**231** Aquilino Iglesia, “Cos Místic,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25 (1995): 683–96.

**232** José Manuel Nieto Soria, *Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII–XVI)*, (Madrid, 1988), 228.

**233** “Tortosa és ull dret, Perpenyà lo squerra e Barchinona lo cor del cors místich de Catalunya.” Cited from Jesús Ernest Martínez Ferrando, *Pere de Portugal. Rei dels Catalans vist a través dels registres de la seva cancelleria* (Barcelona, 1936), 245–46.

**234** “Because the Catalan lords wanted to deprive him of his kingdom, which is the reason why the judge impugned these Catalans all the more, the better to defend himself from them” (Quia cathalani domini volebant eum privare regno suo quod tenet propter quod idem iudex impugnat taliter cathalanos ut melius se possit defendere ab eisdem). From Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, Procesos en volumen 3–3, fol. 76r.

**235** Luciano Gallinari, “Una società senza cavalleria? Il giudicato di Arborea e la Corona di Aragona tra XIV e XV secolo,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 33, no. 2 (2003): 852–53.

**236** Flocel Sabaté, “Ejes vertebradores de la oligarquía urbana en Cataluña,” *Revista d’Història Medieval* 9 (1998): 130–40.

**237** Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, Cancelleria, 221, fol. 84v, among other examples.

between the ecclesiastic hierarchy, nobles, barons, and citizens of Catalonia or those representing the major and healthier part of them.<sup>238</sup>

The best and healthiest part of the collective leads us to the medieval understanding of human worth, in which people were not thought to have the same value. First, society was divided into estates, which supposed a gradation in all respects, from the ways to apply capital punishment<sup>239</sup> to the understanding of everyday life; even physically, the body of a peasant would not absorb food like a noble.<sup>240</sup> The gradation continued within each estate. The low respect for statements before a court by prostitutes, vagabonds, and others considered beyond any social class is very clear, and the moral category of a person was always stated before they gave their statement. We see this in some trials at the start of the fifteenth century in Lleida: “that he be neither a vile man, nor of bad repute, nor that he be a poor man, nor that his assets are not worth a hundred pounds, nor that he drinks in taverns, nor is a gambler.”<sup>241</sup> In practice, belonging to a collective identity not only made all its members equal but the benefits of this identity were more intense for those who were its representatives than for individuals in a lower category.

The sovereign who, when invoking his power, mentioned a particular nation and the popular power that was taking shape in the thirteenth century,<sup>242</sup> based both quite explicitly on the recognition of the *populus* as a political subject, deepening the inheritance from Roman law together with the contributions of late twelfth-century thinkers.<sup>243</sup> However, that did not prevent Lucas de Penna from warning that “simple people’s voices are not to be listened to.”<sup>244</sup> Almost all late medieval and Renaissance political thinkers repeated Aristotle’s warning<sup>245</sup> of the power of the people degenerating into democracy<sup>246</sup>

**238** “Item statuimus, volumus et etiam ordinamus quod si nos vel successores nostri constitutiones aliquam generalem seu statutum facere voluerimus in Catalonia, illam vel illud faciamus de approbacione et consensu prelatorum baronum militum et civium Catalonie vel ipsi vocatis maioris et sanioris partis eorundem.” Cited from *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de Aragón y Valencia y Principado de Cataluña. Cortes de Cataluña*, 25 vols. (Madrid, 1896), 1/1:145.

**239** Flocel Sabaté, “La pena de muerte en la Cataluña bajomedieval,” *Clío & Crimen* 4 (2007): 201–02.

**240** Paul Freedman, “Els pagesos medieval. Imatge d’ells mateixos en relació amb el règim senyorial,” in *L’Edat mitjana. Món real i espai imaginari*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja, 2012), 95–96.

**241** “Que sie home vil ni de mala fama, ni que sie hom pobre, ni quels seus béns no vayllen C sous, ni que begue en tavernes, ni que sie jugador.” From Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, Llibre de Crims, 764, fol. 28v.

**242** Walter Ullmann, *Historia del pensamiento político en la Edad Media* (Barcelona, 1983), 190–216.

**243** Buc, “Principes gentium dominantur,” 324–26.

**244** “Vanae voces populi non sunt audienda.” Cited from Johann Volkmann Bechmann, *De purgatione canonica* (Bremen, 1686), 24.

**245** Aristot. *Pol.* 4.1292a.

**246** Among others, in chronological order: Marsilius of Padua, *Le Défenseur de la Paix*, ed. Jeannine Quillet (Paris, 1968), 89–92; Francesc Eiximenis, *Dotzè del Crestià*, ed. Curt Wittlin et al., 2 vols. (Girona, 1986), 2/1:315; Thomas Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, ed. Leonard Alston (Cambridge, 1906), 9.

and, in fact, revolts like the one in Seville in 1463 were attributed by contemporary thinkers like Alfonso de Palencia to acts of the mob.<sup>247</sup> Being a representative of an identity implied talking on behalf of the collective, but not as a spokesperson of its opinion; quite the contrary, exercising power was understood to be restricted to specific people, as influential thinkers like Eiximenis emphasized at the time,<sup>248</sup> and informed by specific civic ideals.<sup>249</sup>

Representation meant stimulating the identity to adopt a specific position, but also formulating specific traits of each identity. Obviously, this led to certain discourses and expressions of identity.

### Discourses and Displays of Identity

“Tell me, maiden, quickly: who are you and from what people; I want to know your nation and your condition.”<sup>250</sup> St. Agatha was so addressed by one of her tormentors, Quintian, in an anonymous Catalan theatre play from the sixteenth century. The dimensions that frame a person were clear: everyone belonged to a nation, enjoyed a specific status in an estate and family, and came from a particular lineage. Such dimensions focused then on feudal ties in some cases or an urban faction in others. In any case, everyone participated in a general framework, within which identity had a vital function, as it enabled the individual to be identified and assigned a solidarity group. Accordingly, identity was necessary for the individual and for his or her interlocutor: the former would find the specific framework for their own identity and solidarity and the latter would obtain a definition and frame necessary for fitting the person into society’s structured groups.

Those who become representatives of the group therefore become concerned with moulding content, in line with their own interests. This is what happened in the municipal field: the elite who took on local government constantly demanded concessions from their respective lord, all of which they considered adequate and necessary. Their handling of the concessions and the accruing powers led to models of civic identity, as De Hemptinne highlights:

The question of the identity of the cities and specifically how urban elites conceived and cherished their identity. To address this issue, it can be very useful to investigate how

**247** Alfonso de Palencia, *Epístolas Latinas*, ed. Robert B. Tate and Rafael Alemany (Bellaterra, 1982), 76.

**248** Flocel Sabaté, “El temps de Francesc Eiximenis. Les estructures econòmiques, socials i polítiques de la Corona d’Aragó a la segona meitat del segle XIV,” in *Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330–1409): el context i l’obra d’un gran pensador català medieval*, ed. Antoni Riera (Barcelona, 2015), 131–48.

**249** Daniela Romagnoli, “La courtoisie dans la ville: un modèle complexe,” in *La Ville et la Cour. Des bonnes et de mauvaises manières*, ed. Daniela Romagnoli (Paris, 1991), 25–87.

**250** “Digau, donzella, prestament / qui sou vós i de quina gent, / jo vull saber la nació / i la vostra condició.” Cited from Anonymous, “Consueta del misteri de la gloriosa Santa Àgata,” in *Teatre medieval i del Renaixement*, ed. Josep Massot (Barcelona, 1983), 91.

medieval municipalities managed and used their archives for political, legal, commemorative, and other purposes.<sup>251</sup>

In the great majority of towns and cities, the authorities selected the documents they considered most important, preserving them in the so-called books of privileges. The selection, under criteria made by those who held local representation, became a selection of the identity to be assimilated and preserved.<sup>252</sup> The book of privileges, containing legal guarantees and benefits of all types earned by the town or city, remained an object of display, which is why it was usually elaborately decorated, and comparable to other displays promoted by the same municipal government.

Furthermore, not only should a city be protected by walls but these should be sumptuous to honour the city, as stated in Vic in 1391,<sup>253</sup> and internal improvements, like the slaughterhouse in Terrassa in 1426, had to be made “for beautifying this city.”<sup>254</sup> In 1290, work on the walls near the Porta Camollia in Siena was adapted to avoid harming the beauty of the city: “Great damage was done on the occasion of working on this gate, so that the beauty of the city could not be seen.”<sup>255</sup> This was far from unique since, in neighbouring Florence, the aesthetic value of the city was incorporated into the cri-

**251** “La question de l’identité des villes et plus particulièrement à la façon dont les élites urbaines concevaient et chérissaient leur identité. Pour se pencher sur cette question, il pourrait être très utile de faire des enquêtes sur la façon dont les municipalités du Moyen Âge géraient et utilisaient leurs archives à des fins politiques, juridiques, commémoratives et autres.” Cited from Thérèse de Hemptinne, “Des sources pour une histoire des villes compare? Essai de typologie thématique,” in *La ville médiévale en débat*, ed. Amélia Aguiar Andrade and Adelaide Millán da Costa (Lisbon, 2013), 27.

**252** “The books of privileges are by definition a choice made by those who claim to act on behalf of local representation. The municipal authorities, under their own criteria, choose and emphasize certain documents from the archive that the council builds. Therefore, the books of privileges, in themselves, are an exercise in building a certain memory, a choice very aware of what is considered must not be forgotten in order to properly support local strength. Not coincidentally, the same people simultaneously responsible for this selection of documents also consolidated and promoted the image and power of the population through a range of strategies and resources” (Els llibres de privilegis són per pròpia definició, una selecció efectuada pels qui diuen actuar en nom de la representativitat local. Les autoritats municipals, sota els propis criteris, trien i destaquen uns determinats documents d’entre el conjunt que basteix l’arxiu del consell. Per tant, els llibres de privilegis, en si mateixos, són un exercici de construcció d’una determinada memòria una tria molt conscient d’allò que es considera que cal no oblidar per tal de sostenir adientment el vigor local. No pas casualment, els mateixos responsables d’aquesta selecció documental alhora també estan consolidant i promovent la imatge i el vigor de la població mitjançant una diversitat d’estratègies i recursos). Cited from Flocel Sabaté, “La construcció de la memòria escrita de la ciutat de Balaguer,” in Robert Cuellas Campodarbe, *El “Llibre Gros dels Privilegis” de la ciutat de Balaguer* (Lleida, 2015), 10–11.

**253** Rafel Ginebra, “Les muralles medievals de Vic. Notícies referents a les portes i als ponts sobre el fossat,” *Revista de Vic* (1990): 41–47.

**254** “Per embelliment de la dita vila.” Cited from Salvador Cardús, *Ordinacions de bon govern de la batllia de Terrassa (1299–1625)* (Barcelona, 2000), 127.

**255** “Occasione dicte porticciuole fiat ibi magnus lutus et etiam non potest videre pulcritudo Civitatis.” Cited from Michael Kucher, “The Use of Water and its Regulation in Medieval Siena,” *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 4 (2005): 529.

teria for urban planning.<sup>256</sup> This concerned not only monumental public works but the decoration of public spaces and places of municipal representation, all of which must display the power of the city, its position in history, and its commitment to peace, justice, and prosperity, as evident in many French cities, especially those that suffered in the Hundred Years' War.<sup>257</sup> The display of the city through an attractive presentation of its public places formed part of the game of power, as stated in Valencia in 1419: "it must be a political aim to embellish the city's public places and decorate them, especially in such an emblematic and notable city."<sup>258</sup>

By the latter part of the Middle Ages, luxury and ostentation were among the signs of power, and rulers employed them to gain the admiration of their subjects.<sup>259</sup> A display of identities, like that of the city or one's lineage, was part of this aim and any overlap of identities led to competitions and, with that, the accentuation of the elements of ostentation and signification. So, unique distinctive symbols were required. This explains the spread of heraldry from its appearance in the twelfth century;<sup>260</sup> it soon took on a clear function in urban individuality, as explained by Brigitte Bedos-Rezak:

While the stamp of a noble or churchman indicates a certain social and official position, the stamp of a town indicates an individuality. However, one cannot forget that the stamp of a town, however individual, always refers to a plural person.<sup>261</sup>

After the appearance of heraldry on military equipment at the end of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, it spread to fulfill the need to define competing solidarity groups, either in battle or tournaments, just like team games for the lesser and middling nobility.<sup>262</sup> Heraldic emblems came to symbolize a lineage, plus all those in its solidarity group, thanks to the links of lordship and jurisdiction, which were not merely

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**256** "The contemporaries of Dante, retaining a distinct aversion, if not disgust, for the urban agglomeration of the past, saw the ultimate solution for any problem regarding urban renewal as dependent on *la bellezza*, which produced an aesthetic maturity and equilibrium." Cited from John Muendel, "Medieval Urban Renewal. The Communal Mills of the City of Florence, 1351–1382," *Journal of Urban History* 17, no. 4 (1991): 364.

**257** Christian de Mérindol, "Répresentations du pouvoir urbain: sceaux, décors monumentaux, bibliothèques d'échevinage," in *La ville au Moyen Âge*, ed. Noël Coulet and Olivier Guyotjeannin (Paris, 1998), 563–83.

**258** "Sia cosa política enbellir la ciutat de lochs públics e decorar aquella, majorment en aquesta ciutat axí insigne e notable." Cited from María Milagros Cárcel Ortí, "Vida y urbanismo en la Valencia del siglo XV. Regesta documental," *Miscel·lània de Textos Medievals* 6 (1992): 255.

**259** Maria Teresa Ferrer, "Un aragonés consejero de Juan I y de Martín el Humano: Francisco de Aranda," *Aragón en la Edad Media* 14–15, no. 1 (1999): 541.

**260** Michel Pastureau, *Figures de l'héraldique* (Paris, 1996), 14–15.

**261** "Là où le sceau de personne noble ou ecclésiastique marque statut social et officiel, le sceau de ville démarque une individualité. Mais il ne faut pas oublier que le sceau de ville, pour individualité qu'il soit, renvoie à une personne plurielle." Cited from Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, "Du modèle à l'image: les signes de l'identité urbaine au Moyen Âge," in *Le verbe, l'image et les représentations de la société urbaine au Moyen Âge*, ed. Marc Boone, Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, and Jean-Pierre Sosson (Antwerpen, 2002), 205.

**262** Michel Pastureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris, 1997), 26–41.

theoretical, such as when men had to gather for military service or when, at the end of the Middle Ages, the head of the lineage was “at the centre of an important network of clients.”<sup>263</sup>

So, displays implied attitudes but presented, proudly and ostentatiously, a symbol of identity, a widely understood permanent visual sign.<sup>264</sup> When the towns and cities of the Crown of Aragon decided to organize civic events, especially receptions for the monarch, commemoration of his successes or funerals at his death, this always involved heavy expenditure. This was seen as an investment in the political game and so symbols of the city were everywhere: the candles carried in processions, the decoration of banners and cloth at the funeral or on monuments, and other elements all bore the emblem of the city, if need be, beside that of the monarch.<sup>265</sup> It profiled the city, so the city coat of arms became omnipresent as a symbol displayed in festivities and leisure activities, for both the town’s own citizens and abroad. This explains why the prominence of the heraldic signs in the festivities at Corpus Christi, processions to plead for divine mercy in the face of adversities, or at entertainments like “the crossbow the city gave to be taken around the city to mark the fair” in Barcelona.<sup>266</sup> Indeed, common expenses for the municipal treasury were for weaving or dyeing heraldic signs on torches, cloth for liturgical acts or civic banners, and on musical instruments, saddles, or other objects used in the various celebrations and civic and political ceremonies.<sup>267</sup>

This was the art of representation: the books of the city also bore its coat of arms. Even more ostentatiously, when municipal representatives went to the Parliament, they carried a prominent sign as a coat of arms. For the General Corts of all the Crown of Aragon held in Monzón in 1383,<sup>268</sup> Tortosa municipality decided to pay a local painter for “a sign that was made for the representatives who went to the parliament held in Monzón.”<sup>269</sup> This could involve permanent physical signs: the bounds of the municipality of Barcelona were marked by the usual gallows, as a sign of a change of jurisdiction,<sup>270</sup>

**263** “Au centre d’un réseau de clientele important.” Cited from Martin Aurell, *La noblesse en Occident (V<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup>)* (Paris, 1996), 168.

**264** “The symbol is a way of thinking and sensibility so usual to the authors of the Middle Ages that they did not feel the need to warn readers of their semantic or didactic intentions, nor always to define the expressions they would use” (Le symbole est un mode de pensée et de sensibilité tellement habituel aux auteurs du Moyen Âge qu’ils n’éprouvent guère le besoin de prévenir les lecteurs d leurs intentions sémantiques ou didactiques, ni de toujours définir les termes qu’ils vont employer). Cited from Michel Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris, 2004), 11.

**265** Flocel Sabaté, *Lo senyor rei és mort!* (Lleida, 1994), 95–106.

**266** “La balesta que la ciutat dóna a córrer per la rahó de la fira.” Cited from Flocel Sabaté, “Ciudad e identidad en la Cataluña bajomedieval,” in *Ante su identidad. La ciudad hispánica en la baja Edad Media*, ed. José Antonio Jara Fuente (Murcia, 2013), 195–98.

**267** Jacobo Vidal Franquet, *El pintor de la ciutat (Tortosa, segles XIV-XVI)* (Valls, 2011), 57–263.

**268** Josep Maria Sans i Travé, *Cort General de Montsó 1382–1384* (Barcelona, 1992).

**269** “I senyal que féu als síndihcs qui anaren a les corts de Montsó.” Cited from Vidal, *El pintor de la ciutat*, 71, 78.

**270** Flocel Sabaté, “Les fourches patibulaires en Catalogne au bas Moyen Âge,” in *Les Fourches*

but when these were repaired in the fifteenth century, they were rebuilt in stone both to ensure longevity and to display the power of the city beside the sovereign, visualized by two coats of arms, the royal one and that of Barcelona, sculpted onto each pillar of each gallows<sup>271</sup> —“on each pillar coats of arms were sculpted, that were those of our lord the king and of the city.”<sup>272</sup>

Naturally, such display required knowledge of symbology and a sense of continuity with both the past and the times to come. In this way, the value of identity lay in its continuity and its durability.

## Memory and Identity

In the medieval understanding, time started with divine creation. It was impossible to improve on the initial point, which was then spoiled by man's sin, leading to his expulsion from Paradise, as recalled in the biblical story of Genesis.<sup>273</sup> This approach was in line with respect for the past in the Roman tradition, one that preferred to let outdated norms fall into disuse rather than repeal them.<sup>274</sup> In fact, Tacitus warned that any change tended to worsen matters: “in all matters the arrangements of the past were better and fairer and [...] all changes were for the worse.”<sup>275</sup> The medieval understanding of time supported this idea that any change was for the worse, as indicated by a Catalan text that refers to the supposed authority of the classical authors:

Maximus states that the old man praises the things from the past and complains about those of the present, because our lives continually worsen; our parents' times were worse than those of our grandparents, and we are worse than our parents, and our children will be more full of vices than we are.<sup>276</sup>

This being the case, it is no surprise that the discourse of identity required deep and solid roots in origins. The majority of European cities sought their roots in biblical figures, especially descendents of Noah, given that they repopulated the Earth after the bib-

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*patibulaires du Moyen Âge à l'Époque Moderne. Approche interdisciplinaire*, accessed August 23, 2013, <http://criminocorpus.revues.org/3062>.

**271** Flocel Sabaté, “Barcelona, a Medieval Capital,” *European Review* 25, no. 1 (2017): 57.

**272** “En quiscun pilar foren esculpits senyals, ço és del senyor Rey e de la Ciutat.” From Barcelona, *Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona, Lletres Closes, 1451–1452*, fol. 131r.

**273** Giordano Berti, *Les modes de l’Au-delà* (Paris, 2000), 16.

**274** Juan de Churruca, “La relatividad del argumento histórico,” in *Derecho y argumentación histórica*, ed. Teresa Peralta (Lleida, 1999), 22.

**275** “Super omnibus negotiis melius atque rectius olim provisum et quae converterentur in deterius mutari.” Cited from Tac. *Ann.* 14.43, accessed August 8, 2013, [www.thelatinlibrary.com/tacitus/tac.ann14.shtml](http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/tacitus/tac.ann14.shtml); with translation from *Complete Works of Tacitus*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, (New York, 1942), available online at [perseus.tufts.edu](http://perseus.tufts.edu).

**276** “Diu Maximia que-l hom vell loa les coses passades e blasma les presents per ço com nostra vida pijora contínuament, que les edats dels pares són pijors que dels avis e nós som pijors que nostres pares e encarre seran nostres fills pus plens de vicis.” Cited from Próspero de Bofarull, *Documentos literarios en antigua lengua catalana (siglos XIV y XV)* (Barcelona, 1857; repr. 1973), 186.

lical flood.<sup>277</sup> Even more frequent are classical figures that show continuity with Greece and Rome. Special efforts were made to seek connections to Troy through the dispersion and mobility of its different heroes.<sup>278</sup> Any such link always helped a sense of cohesion and the profiling of cities. The self-projection of Venice over the Greek region was based on its roots,<sup>279</sup> which were imagined to be founded by the Trojan Antenor;<sup>280</sup> then at the start of the thirteenth century, it could demonstrate its great importance based on its birth linked to the heroes of Troy.<sup>281</sup> The vitality of the city rested on this argument. But it could be adapted during the Middle Ages, as in the case of Paris, where the story of its foundation included origins in Rome or Gaul.<sup>282</sup> These narratives were widely accepted, and promoted to stress cities' historic status: books that supplied detail were sought out and depictions and elements of ephemeral decoration that incorporated this informa-

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**277** Ann Moyer, "Distinguishing Florentines, Defining Italians: The Language Question and Cultural Identities in Sixteenth-Century Florence," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3, no. 3 (2006): 136.

**278** Colette Beaune, "L'utilisation politique du mythe des origines troyennes en France à la fin du Moyen Âge," in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome (Rome, 25-28 octobre 1982)* (Rome, 1985), 331-55.

**279** Ernesto Sestan, *Italia comunale e signorile* (Florence, 1989), 149-57.

**280** Eric Cochrane, *Historians and Historiography in the Italian Renaissance* (Chicago, 1985), 80-81.

**281** "Paris has been great since its origins because it is based on a strain of heroes and almost divine kings. This is the legend that arose in the Middle Ages and presents (in many versions, complex, fluffed up, chronologically separated by centuries) the Trojans, or rather the descendants of Trojans, settled for a long time in Germania, like Duke Ibor and Duke or King Marcomir, son of King Priam of Austria. This lineage derived from Troy was linked to the fable of a more direct issue, with Francion, Romanized into Francus, son of Hector I, so, grandson of Priam, who would have escaped from Troy at the same time as Aeneas and who came to found the city on the banks of the Seine after a long erratic journey. He named it Paris, in honour of the beautiful Paris Alexander or of a king Paris, a fugitive from Troy with Aeneas and Francion. This initial glory is the explanation and guarantee of the future glory form Paris. These fabulous origins or etymologies of Paris began to be fabricated in the Middle Ages by clergymen: the monk Rigord, from the monastery of Saint-Denis, historian of the reign of Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century, and also Raoul de Presles who, in 1371, wrote the *Description de Paris sous Charles V'* (Paris est grand dès l'origen parce qu'il est rattaché à la souche de héros et de rois presque divins. C'est la légende qui naît au Moyen-Âge et met en scène (il en existe plusieurs versions complexes, touffues, chronologiquement séparées par des siècles) des Troyens, plutôt des descendants de Troyens installés depuis longtemps en Germanie, le duc Ibor, le duc ou le roi Marcomir fils du roi Priam d'Autriche. À cette descendance dérivée de Troie s'ajoute la fable d'une descente plus directe, avec Francion romanisé parfois en Francus, fils d'Hector et donc petit-fils de Priam, chassé de Troie en même temps qu'Énée et qui vint fonder la ville sur les rives de la Seine après une longue errance et la baptiser Paris, du nom du beau Pâris Alexandre ou un roi Pâris, fuyant Troie avec Énée et Francion. Cette gloire initiale est l'explication, la garantie de la gloire à venir de Paris. Ces origines ou étymologies fabuleuses de Paris ont comencé à être fabriquées au Moyen-Âge par des clercs: le moine de Saint-Denis Rigord, historien du règne de Philippe-Auguste au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle ou encore Raoul de Presles en 1371 dans la 'Description de Paris sous Charles V'). Cited from Jean-Pierre A. Bernard, *Les deux Paris. Les représentations de Paris dans la seconde moitié du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Seysell, 2001), 18-19.

**282** Bernard, *Les deux Paris*, 19-20.

tion were made, as in Reims in 1484 with Romulus and Remus, or in Troyes in 1486 with Hector.<sup>283</sup>

Assuming a specific memory from the past was a challenge when confronted by certain contemporary conflicts. This was the case in Mantova in the mid-thirteenth century, when its power was accompanied by an assertive adoption and promotion of Virgil, who even appeared on coins minted in the city in 1256.<sup>284</sup> Similar in his policy of renewal, although unable to put it into practice, Nicholas Brembre, one of the leaders of the revolts in London in the 1380s, wanted “to restore the city’s ancient name, given to it by Brutus the Trojan, of New Troy or Trinovantum.”<sup>285</sup> Cities often played with etymologies, particularly German and French ones, trying to link their names with those of classical heroes, including Trojans and Romans.<sup>286</sup>

Brutus, in fact, has been taken as the founder of England (or Britain),<sup>287</sup> similarly as an Old Testament character—Tubal, Noah’s grandson—was alleged to lie at the origin of Spain,<sup>288</sup> if necessary reinforced with a character like Geryon from the classical world.<sup>289</sup> So, nations too required good origins to support and justify their later splendour. You did not even need to find distant references, as we see in Switzerland with a hero like William Tell,<sup>290</sup> Sweden with its brave ancestors,<sup>291</sup> or Denmark with good rulers.<sup>292</sup> In fact,

**283** Christian de Mérimod, “Théâtre politique à la fin du Moyen Âge: les entrées royales et autres ceremonies, mises au point et nouveaux aperçus,” in *Théâtre et spectacle hier et aujourd’hui. Moyen Âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115e Congrès National des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990). Section d’histoire médiévale et philologie* (Paris, 1991), 192.

**284** Arnold Esch, “L’uso dell’antico nell’ideologia papale, imperiale e comunale,” in *Roma antica nel Medioevo. Mito, rappresentazioni, sopravvivenze nella ‘Respublica Christiana’ del secoli IX–XIII*, (Milan, 2001), 17.

**285** Gervase Rosser, “Myth, image and social process in the English medieval town,” *Urban History* 23, no. 1 (1996): 16.

**286** Gisela Naegle, “Divergences et convergences: identités urbaines en France et en Allemagne à la fin du Moyen Âge,” *Mundos Medievales. Espacios, sociedades y poder. Homenaje al Profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre* (Santander, 2012), 2:1671–1672.

**287** Peter Burke, *The Renaissance Sense of the Past* (New York, 1969), 72.

**288** María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, “Túbal, primer poblador de España,” *Ábaco* 3 (1970): 11–48.

**289** The influential history written by Father Mariana, at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries avoided various myths but, in contrast, showed no doubts regarding Tubal and Geryon: “one thing is well known and true, in line with what I have said above, that Tubal came to Spain; the first we can count among the kings of Spain, for being highly renowned in the books of Greeks and Latins, is Geryon, who came from elsewhere to Spain” (averiguada cosa y cierta es, conforme a lo que de suso queda dicho, que Tubal vino a España; el primero que podemos contar entre los reyes de España, por ser muy celebrado en los libros de griegos y latinos, es Gerión, el cual vino de otra parte a España). Cited from Juan Mariana, *Historia General de España* (Madrid, 1852), 1:11, 12.

**290** Jean-François Bergier, *Wilhelm Tell. Realität und Mythos* (Zürich, 1990), 207–31.

**291** Peter Hallbert, “Forntidssagor om kungar och hjältar av,” in *Den Svenska historien. 1. Från stenålder till vikingatid*, ed. Claës Wannherth (Stockholm, 1998), 182–83.

**292** “Now Dan and Angul, with whom the stock of the Danes begins, were begotten of Humble, their father, and were the governors and not only the founders of our people” (Dan igitur et Angul, a

the aim was to show an important origin, one that backed, justified, and predicted the later development. Many of these explanatory narratives arose when cities and realms in the Middle Ages were growing, but were later adapted and enriched as new or rising European monarchies sought underpinning in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries,<sup>293</sup> clearly seen in the case of the French.<sup>294</sup>

Given that, in the Middle Ages, history was understood as linear, from the Creation to the Second Coming of Christ, life was imagined as a journey: “we are all pilgrims who pass along the way,”<sup>295</sup> and all events were destined to occur along this path. So, history became a central axis in the understanding of reality. Everything is history, starting with religion, as the widow Queen Violant of the Crown of Aragon explained nonchalantly in 1417: “Christianity is undoubtedly based on the Gospels and the lives of the saints.”<sup>296</sup> Examples from the past supplied discourses that served to justify social behaviour. What was important, then, was the historical trajectory, as we see imposed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in the Leonese chronicles establishing continuity from their ancestors, the Visigoths, and promoting the Leonese monarchy and subsequently the Castilian.<sup>297</sup> Histories had to show the path from the origins to the present. Studying the work of authors like Geoffrey of Monmouth with his *Historia regum Britanniae*, Saxo Grammaticus with his *Gesta Danorum*, or the monks of Saint-Denis with the *Historia regum Francorum* in the twelfth century, Bernard Guenée did not hesitate to write that “it was historians who created the nations. There is no nation without a national history.”<sup>298</sup>

Different rulers used this path to their own ends, as did monarchs aiming to reinforce their power by invoking the earlier successes of their dynasties.<sup>299</sup> However, apart from this, in the medieval understanding, there was no collective identity without a commonly accepted memory. Identity incorporated this shared path among its distinctive traits and tried to act in line with its memory of its origins and destiny.

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quibus Danorum coepit origo, patre Humblo procreati, non solum conditores gentes nostrae verum etiam rectore fuere). Cited from Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, ed. Petrus Erasmus Müller and Joannes Matthias Velschow, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1839), 1:21.

**293** Victoriano Roncero, “Las fuentes humanísticas en la historiografía quevediana: los reyes primitivos en la ‘España defendida,’” *La Perinola* 3 (1999): 271–74.

**294** Ron E. Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance France. Francus, Samothés and the Druids* (Edinburgh, 1993).

**295** “Todos somos romeros que camino pasamos.” Cited from Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, ed. Fernando Baños (Barcelona, 2002), 13.

**296** “Christianisme per force se trobe en Evangelis ne Vida de Sants.” From Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó, reg. 2052, fol. 29v; edited in Jaume Riera, *Els poders públics i les sinagogues. Segles XIII–XV* (Girona, 2006), 545.

**297** Patrick Henriot, “L’espace et le temps hispaniques vus et construits par les clercs (IX<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle),” in *À la recherche de légitimités chrétiennes. Représentations de l’espace et du temps dans l’Espagne médiévale (IX<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup>)*, ed. Patrick Henriot (Madrid, 2003), 98–100.

**298** “Fueron los historiadores quienes crearon las naciones. No hay nación sin historia nacional.” Cited from Guenée, *Occidente durante los siglos XIV y XV*, 65.

**299** Sabaté, “L’invisibilitat del re,” 35–62.

## The Teleological Destiny of Identity

Humans and the different groups they form thus follow the path of history, from the Creation to the Second Coming, following divine destiny. So, a human first must concern himself with not losing track of the path, as Dante reflected: “In the middle of the path of our lives, I found myself in a dark jungle, and I understood that I had lost the right way.”<sup>300</sup> The Church supplied the guidelines and administered them. After having taken exclusive control over the afterlife, it reminded the population that only the Church enjoyed the power to interpret and, consequently, the power to direct, pardon, and offer eternal grace. The following appears in the *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*:

The Cardinal responded: Mother Church tells you expressly, ‘Beware!, don’t feel afraid. Only she has the power to dispense good, the power to defend [her children], the power to pardon [sin]. Serve her humbly and you shall be rewarded.’<sup>301</sup>

The social model promoted by the Church could be adapted to different socio-economic stimuli, in periods as diverse as the Early and Late Middle Ages.<sup>302</sup> In fact, although a stable and unmoveable social model was invoked, room was left for *novitas* that improved spirituality and knowledge, as Anselm of Havelberg recognized in the twelfth century.<sup>303</sup> But the tension between social reality and humanity’s duty to follow the path to reach the end of times and remain within the Church led to spiritual anguish,<sup>304</sup> exacerbated by various millenarian ideas.<sup>305</sup> However, mystics like Julian of Norwich showed there was room for hope: “it is true that sin is the cause of all this suffering, but all shall be well and all shall be well, and all manner of thing shall be well.”<sup>306</sup>

On the other hand, the conflict between the spirit and the material world was overcome, as we saw earlier, by a philosophical realism that spread in the thirteenth cen-

**300** “Nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita / mi ritrovai per una selva oscura, / che la diritta via era smarrita.” Cited from Dante, “Divina Commedia,” in *Tutte le opera* (Rome, 1993), 31.

**301** “‘Coms’, ditz lo Cardenals, ‘santa Gleiza us somon / Que non aiatz temensa ni mala sospoison, / Qu’ela a poder que-us tola e ha poder que-us don / e poder que-us defenda e poder que-us perdon; / e si bé la sirvetz auretz ne gazerdon.’” Cited from *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise* (Paris, 1989), 458.

**302** Flocel Sabaté, “Natura i societat en la cosmovisió medieval europea,” in *L’Edat Mitjana. Món real i espai imaginat*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Catarroja – Barcelona, 2012), 46–47.

**303** Walter Edyvean, *Anselm of Havelberg and the Theology of History* (Rome, 1972); Karl F. Morrison, “Anselm of Havelberg: Play and the Dilemma of Historical Progress,” in *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages. Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan*, ed. Thomas F. X. Noble and John J. Contreni (Kalamazoo, 1987), 219–56.

**304** Distressing pessimism can be glimpsed in fifteenth-century authors like Ramon Sibiuda: “We have declared the fall, corruption, perdition, and evil of human nature, and we have considered the state he now lives in. And thus we have knowledge of both the duty and reality of man” (Hem declarat la caiguda, la corrupció, la perdició i el mal de la naturalesa humana, i hem considerat l’estat en què ara viu. I d’aquesta manera tenim coneixement tant del deure com de la realitat de l’home). Cited from Ramon Sibiuda, *Llibre de l’home caigut i redimit* (Barcelona, 1995), 147.

**305** José Guadalupe, *Las profecías del Anticristo en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1996), 123–87.

**306** Julian of Norwich. *Selections from Revelations of Divine Love*, ed. Mary C. Earle (Woodstock, 2013), 87.

tury and which, by incorporating Aristotelian hylomorphism, integrated each element of creation, but duly understood, that is, when seen according to the will with which God created it. This led, coherently, to a determinism in all respects, whether these were sexual relations (i.e., valid if they were destined for reproduction), or matters of the social order. Adapting each estate and every social group to its purpose and mission entailed solid definitions to which the behavioural patterns and group representation were adjusted.<sup>307</sup> In reality, the structure of the estates did not derive solely from the social dynamic but was also a natural response by both spirit and body. This is clear, for example, in the character of a person born to be a peasant, and which, however much he tried, he could not change: lumbering, misshapen, and dull, peasants were, as a rule, supposed to be incapable of the passionate spiritual energy that drove chivalric male desire.<sup>308</sup>

Consequently, everything had an end in itself and things had to be done accordingly; all beings had their places in the divine scheme and in the path of the history of salvation, which coincided with that of humanity. So, it was logical to want to know not only the past evolution of groups and individuals, but also their destiny. Resorting to astrology, especially on an individual level in reading birthdays to determine one's destiny, can be justified as a way of knowing God's defined roles for each person and group.<sup>309</sup> Prophecies had a more direct impact. These were well rooted and common in the early centuries of the Middle Ages, particularly in Iberia from the eighth century on.<sup>310</sup> Without there having been the rupture some authors imagined,<sup>311</sup> it is clear that, in the Late Middle Ages, prophets adopted a new tone, now bearing the weight spiritualism had by then achieved<sup>312</sup> in kingdoms such as Sicily and the other two royal households of the Crown of Aragon, namely Barcelona and Mallorca.<sup>313</sup> Prophetic revelations continued to grow and were part of the tensions behind the Western Schism,<sup>314</sup> contributing to consolidating monarchies like the Hispanic in the fifteenth century.<sup>315</sup> They entered the

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**307** Between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, nobles and burghers were distinguished, at least in the literature of poets like those who praised noble values and condemned bourgeois ones: "The supremacy of the knights as Warriors is the theme of all these poets. The folly of trusting low born men is another motif. The contrast drawn between the avarice and riches of the merchants and the carefree 'largesse' of the nobles is too frequent to need comment." Cited from Peter S. Noble, "Knights and Burgesses in the Feudal Epic," in *The Ideal and Practice of Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the First and Second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Dover, 1986), 110.

**308** Paul Freedman, *Images of the Medieval Peasant* (Stanford, 1999), 159.

**309** Flocel Sabaté, "The King's Power and Astrology in the Crown of Aragon" (forthcoming).

**310** Adeline Rucquoi, "Mesianismo y milenarismo en la España medieval," *Medievalismo* 8 (1996): 9–31.

**311** Jean Delumeau, *Mille ans de Bonheur. Une histoire du Paradis* (Paris, 1995), 34–35.

**312** Francesco Santi, *Arnau de Vilanova. L'obra espiritual* (Valencia, 1987), 161–241.

**313** Martin Aurell, *Escathologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282–1412). Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France meridionale (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>–debut XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Toulouse, 1992), 191–235.

**314** Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 3324, fols. 2r–28r.

**315** Alan Deyermond, "La ideología del Estado moderno en la literatura española del siglo XV," in

sixteenth century with renewed strength, when they would serve monarchies like the French.<sup>316</sup> Prophets, in reality, supplied visions intentionally biased in favour of some and against others to serve specific political causes and royal projects,<sup>317</sup> being present in practically all the political conflicts of the Late Middle Ages.<sup>318</sup> England in the fourteenth century fused different histories, a melding of its current strength, the recovery of its Arthurian memory by Geoffrey of Monmouth in the twelfth century and, with that, a link to the prophecies of Merlin.<sup>319</sup> There was a widespread assumption of the influence of the afterlife on fate: arts of divination furnished between two and five percent of the books in the libraries of French and Italian princes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a figure that rose spectacularly in some cases, up to twenty percent with Charles V of France.<sup>320</sup> In fact, until the 1530s, medieval prophecy intervened in all the social and political conflicts in Europe, exemplified by the fragmented and tense Italian scenario.<sup>321</sup>

While participating in political events, a prophet could also highlight the fate marked out for collectives like nations. Some prophecies could be focused just on monarchs—such as the supposed destiny of the kings of the Crown of Aragon against the infidels that Alfonso the Magnanimous adopted for his actions and pretensions in the Balkans.<sup>322</sup> But, in most cases, the success of the monarch announced by a prophecy also conditioned the destiny of the nation. This was so with the kingdom of Castile: as an extension of the Visigoths, Castile's destiny affected all of Spain.<sup>323</sup> Even more clearly, the prophecies that situated the birth of the Portuguese royal dynasty in the divine will to create a realm destined to fight against the infidels foretold the fate of not only the monarchy but

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*Realidades e imágenes del poder. España a fines de la Edad Media*, ed. Adeline Rucquoi (Valladolid, 1988), 191–235.

**316** Luc Racaut, "A Protestant or Catholic Superstition? Astrology and Eschatology during the French Wars of Religion," in *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe*, ed. Helen Parish and William G. Naphy (Manchester, 2002), 157–66.

**317** Paola Guerrini, *Propaganda politica e profezie figurate nel tardo medioevo* (Naples, 1997), 85–86.

**318** Catherine Daniel, *Les prophéties de Merlin et la culture politique (XII<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Turnhout, 2006), 218–486.

**319** Colette Beaune, "Perceforêt et Merlin. Prophétie, littérature et rumeurs au debut de la guerre de Cent Ans," in *Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>–début XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse, 1992), 237–41.

**320** Patrice Boudet, "La papauté d'Avignon et l'astrologie," in *Fin du monde et signes des temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII<sup>e</sup>–début XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse, 1992), 265.

**321** Marjorie Reeves, "Pauta y propósito en la historia: los períodos de la baja edad media y el Renacimiento," in *La teoría del apocalipsis y los fines del mundo*, ed. Malcolm Bull (Mexico City, 1998), 109–32.

**322** Momčilo Spremić, "Alfonso il Magnanimo e la sua politica nei Balcani," in *XVI Congresso Internazionale di Storia della Corona d'Aragona. Celebrazioni Alfonsine*, ed. Guido d'Agostino and Giulia Buffardi, 2 vols. (Naples, 2000), 1:741–50.

**323** Luis Fernández Gallardo, "Lengua e identidad nacional en el pensamiento político de Alfonso de Cartagena," *E-Spania* 13, no. 2 (2012), accessed July 15, 2019, <http://e-spania.revues.org/21012>.

also the kingdom and the nation.<sup>324</sup> In this sense the Portuguese fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chronicles show “the miraculous chosen providence of the Portuguese nation.”<sup>325</sup>

We have seen how identity meant a requirement to discern its contents in line with Christianity, as interpreted by the Church, and a loyalty to its historic path, and if necessary helping it along the different interpretative paths. The link between Church, consolidation of sovereign power, and the doctrine of popular dissemination arose very easily, together contributing to shaping a specific sense for each social group and for society as a whole.

### Social Identity and Territory

Identity-groups were initially social, affecting people and their groupings, not based on territories. This is an inheritance from the classical period: for example, in the first century, Tacitus wrote about the “nation of the German people” (*Germanorum natione*)<sup>326</sup> and in the third century, Tertullianus referred to the “nation of the Jewish people” (*natione iudaeorum*).<sup>327</sup> Throughout the Middle Ages, nation continued to be talked about as a particular people. In the twelfth century, Bernard of Clairvaux defined St. Malachy as beginning to the “Ireland nation” (*natione quidem Hibernus*),<sup>328</sup> in the fourteenth century, on crossing to the south of the Pyrenees, the idle *rouitier* troops were received as “people from a strange nation,”<sup>329</sup> while in the fifteenth, Albertus Magnus was described as a member of the “Suevian nation.”<sup>330</sup> This is consistent with the phrase we cited earlier from King Peter the Ceremonious of the Crown Aragon who identified, in 1369, “our nation with our manners,”<sup>331</sup> in other words, an amalgam of cultural and practical characteristics rather than a territorial place. So, one could refer to “their

**324** “Prince Alfonso was ordained by God so that Portugal will forever remain a kingdom [...]. Everything lets us believe that Our Lord would want and would make so virtuous a Prince over that founded kingdom and kings so virtuous to serve both Him and the Holy Catholic Faith” (Foi o Príncipe D. Afonso certificado por Deus, de sempre Portugal haver de ser conservado em reino [...] Tudo é par crer que nosso Senhor quereria e faria a Príncipe tão virtuoso, sobre que fundava reino e reis tão virtuosos par tanto seu service e da Santa Fé Católica). Cited from Duarte Galvão, *Crónica de D. Afonso Henriques* (Lisbon, n.d.), 79–80.

**325** “O providencialismo milagroso electivo da nação portuguesa.” Cited from José Eduardo Reis, *Do espírito da utopia: lugares utópicos e eutópicos, tempos proféticos nas culturas literárias portuguesa e inglesa* (Lisbon, 2007), 315–497.

**326** *The Germania of Tacitus*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodibb (Cambridge, 1869), 62.

**327** Tertullianus, “De praescriptionibus adversus haereticos,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1878), 2:67 (col.).

**328** Bernardus Claraevallensis, “Vita S. Malachiae,” in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1879) 182:1079 (col.).

**329** “Gent de stranya nació.” From Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona, I.1.2.1, fasc. 7, book 1, fol. 18r.

**330** “De nació de suesos.” Cited from Pere Miquel Carbonell, *Cròniques d’Espanya*, ed. Agustí Alcoberro, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1997), 2:67.

**331** Albert, Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts catalanes*, 37–38; Carbonell, *Cròniques d’Espanya*, 2:138; Gimeno Blay, “Escribir, leer, reinar,” 215.

nation<sup>332</sup> or to “this nation,”<sup>333</sup> to talk about the Jews, or to imagine a generic Indian nation to describe the people recently encountered in the Americas.<sup>334</sup> Even as late as the eighteenth century, when José Díaz de la Vega collated the *Memorias piadosas de la Nación Yndiana* from various authors, he took care to specify that he was talking about nations with names but no territory: “among all the nations with names, none referred to the things of antiquity more effectively, truthfully, and pointedly than the Indian nation.”<sup>335</sup>

However, social projection over a territory began to occur. First, the medieval urban nuclei—boroughs, towns, and cities—were not dots on some overwhelmingly rural territory: as they grew in scale and complexity,<sup>336</sup> they became linked with a hinterland, in a pyramidal line of regional capitals,<sup>337</sup> and this completely altered the characteristics of the territory.<sup>338</sup> From an early point, a market in the urban centre had “rural customers,”<sup>339</sup> who also found services they required in the town or city, and this circle of influence was proportional to the settlement’s power. The progressive enrichment of the mercantile sector of the city generated an elite, who in turn invested in buying urban and rural properties as a store of value.<sup>340</sup> This generated a growing link, with interwoven financial ties, to the hinterland, affecting production, and establishing new labour relations, like the work of craftsmen in cities where production was often undertaken in the rural hinterland.<sup>341</sup>

**332** “Ipsorum natio.” Expression used in Provence in 1348. Cited from Claude Denjean, Juliette Sibon, and Claire Soussen, “La nation juive à la fin du Moyen Âge. Mythe ou réalité? Fantasme ou utopie?,” in *Nation et nations au Moyen Âge. XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’enseignement public (Prague, 23 mai–26 mai 2013)* (Paris, 2014), 296.

**333** “Aquesta naçión.” Cited from Óscar Perea, “Lirica Anticonversa de los siglos XV y XVI: el ‘Credo Glosado contra los Judíos’, de Juan de Carvajal,” in *Violence et identité religieuse dans l’Espagne du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. Rica Amrán (Paris, 2011), 317.

**334** Jerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica Indiana* (Barcelona, 2016), 357.

**335** “Entre todas las naciones gentilicias, ninguna más eficaz, verídica y puntual que la Nación Yndiana en referir las cosas de la antigüedad.” Cited from Georges Baudot, “Les antiquités mexicanes du P. Díaz de la Vega, O.F.M.,” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez* 2, no. 1 (1966): 302.

**336** For the consolidation beyond the “abortive or very short-lived” foundations, see Maurice Beresford and H. P. R. Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs. A Hand-List* (Newton Abbot, 1973), 57.

**337** First half of Robert E. Dickinson, *City and Region. A Geographical Interpretation* (London, 1998).

**338** English penetration into Ireland through the establishment of cities can serve as a paradigm: they formed another pressure on the Irish to become civilized, that is, urbanized. James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier. Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations* (Gainesville, 2003), 75.

**339** Christopher Dyer, “The Consumer and the Market in the Later Middle Ages,” *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, 42 (1989): 325–26.

**340** Flocel Sabaté, “The Defection of the Medieval Catalan Bourgeoisie: A Mutation of Values or a Bibliographic Myth?,” in *Urban Elites and Aristocratic Behaviour in the Spanish Kingdoms at the End of the Middle Ages*, ed. María Asenjo-González (Turnhout, 2013), 118–26.

**341** Rodney Hilton, “A Crisis of Feudalism,” in *The Brenner Debate*, ed. Trevor H. Aston, Charles Harding, and E. Philpin (Cambridge, 1975), 136.

This, in turn, tightened relations between the municipality and the region, touching off the growth of a Europe of city-centred regions.<sup>342</sup>

As Edward Coleman showed in relation to the Italian communes, this connection did not mean an antagonistic conquest of the hinterland by the city.<sup>343</sup> Nor was it by mutual agreement, although the population of the rural area accepted the urban centre as a capital for the services they needed. The analysis of specific cases, like the area around the Catalan city of Girona, shows that, through the urban-rural relationship, the rural area shed its traditional systems of ownership and protection, which were replaced by the rule of urban elites over both production and distribution.<sup>344</sup> Thus, the appropriate term here is projection: the interests of the urban elite were projected over the region and extended in accordance with the radius of urban influence. The rural region became linked to its capital, either directly or through various intermediate centres. In fact, some regions took on the name of its city, like the Camp de Tarragona, or a coronym from its urban centre: Yorkshire, Limousin, Berguedà. Some names, like the Besalunès for the area around the Catalan town of Besalú, failed to take root despite being documented at a popular level.<sup>345</sup> The root for this was popular perception, which envisaged common links between the city and the hinterland. A socio-economic region, arising from the relations between the urban centre and its surroundings, extended in function of these factors, and did not necessarily overlap with the administrative framework. The overlap of socio-economic and administrative structures led to tense situations in areas like Catalonia: when problems occurred, deals and contracts established in line with the social and economic dynamic did not find adequate legal or judicial support because the parties were from different jurisdictions.<sup>346</sup>

These situations highlight the importance of self-perception of the territory by the people that inhabited it if we want to understand the social ties. In Catalonia, popular late medieval names for areas show that people placed greater importance on geographical homogeneity and even the urban capitals than to borders between administrative jurisdictions or dioceses. At a grassroots level, environment and landscape were more important than administrative and political divisions. Catalonia offers examples of this, with people talking regularly about the Urgell to refer to a homogenous area although it had never been part of either the county or diocese of that name.<sup>347</sup> This makes sense psycho-

**342** Flocel Sabaté, "Renovación económica y social: el mundo urbano," in *Historia Universal de la Edad Media*, ed. Vicente Ángel Álvarez Palenzuela (Barcelona, 2002), 525–26.

**343** Edward Coleman, "The Italian Communes. Recent Work and Current Trends," *Journal of Medieval History* 25, no. 4 (1999): 389–90.

**344** Josep Fernández i Trabal, *Una família catalana medieval. Els Bell-lloc de Girona 1267–1533* (Barcelona, 1995), 155–342.

**345** Sabaté, *El territori de la Catalunya medieval*, 55.

**346** Flocel Sabaté, "Els eixos articuladors del territori medieval català," in *V Congrés Internacional d'Història Local de Catalunya. L'estructura territorial de Catalunya. Els eixos cohesionadors de l'espai*, ed. Flocel Sabaté, (Barcelona, 2000), 55–68.

**347** Flocel Sabaté, "Apropament a una comarca natural: l'Urgell al segle XIV," *Urtx* 2 (1990): 50–53.

logically and geographically,<sup>348</sup> and had crucial implications when linking people to an area: in other words, identity and territory. Once a group shared a perception of space, identities became regional, accepted by the people that lived there, also understood and described so by those outside. The homogeneity of the space or the draw of a capital became implicit in the commonly shared perception. One can belong to an administrative unit as well as to a unit perceived on the ground, physically. We see this in descriptions of the location of assets and properties.<sup>349</sup> If one wishes to seek attitudes of territorial adhesion, to use Antoine Bailly's terminology,<sup>350</sup> rather than referring to some ancestral territory linked to human ritual,<sup>351</sup> we should focus instead on a homogeneous space, perceptible as such from the outside and, if it fits comfortably, accepted from the inside.<sup>352</sup>

The institutional framework could facilitate the cohesion of a region. In England, the leading role of lords in urban growth could then contribute to interweaving the regional projection of the city and the seigneurial domain.<sup>353</sup> In any case, regions built around urban capitals reflected the social and economic reality. Administrative structures that really worked were those that did not clash with reality, but adapted to it. Royal power in Catalonia offers a good example: at the start of the fourteenth century, the monarch proclaimed an administrative division of the country, where, for the first time, each place belonged to a royal district known as a "vicariate" (vegueria). This map of royal districts took into account the conditioning factors of physical geography and administrative gaps, but it adapted royal power to the socio-economic reality, so that the royal districts corresponded to the existing urban capitals. This adaptation of administration to the socio-economic reality guaranteed its durability. Indeed, the Catalan system endured until the eighteenth century.<sup>354</sup>

In the later centuries of the Middle Ages, when the duke of Burgundy presented his fiscal demands to his subjects in Flanders, the latter invoked various arguments of collective identity from which to begin the negotiation, among which was the defence of "the common law of the land" (tghemeene landrecht).<sup>355</sup> Similarly, in Catalonia, municipal governments called on the sovereign to act according to the "law of the land" (dret

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**348** "Environmental planning is based not so much on the environment as it is but, rather, on the environment as it is perceived." Cited from Thomas F. Saarinen, *Environmental Planning Perception and Behavior* (Boston, 1976), 239.

**349** Vic, Arxiu del Veguer de Vic, lligall de Registres 28, plec 4, unnumbered.

**350** Antoine S. Bailly, *La percepción del espacio urbano* (Madrid, 1979), 107.

**351** John R. Gold, "Territoriality and Human Spatial Behaviour," *Progress in Human Geography* 6, no. 1 (1982): 44–67.

**352** In the end, "'Space' and 'place' are familiar words denoting common experiences." Cited from Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience* (London, 1977), 3.

**353** Jean-Philippe Genet, *Les îles Britanniques au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2005), 151.

**354** Flocel Sabaté, "La divisió territorial de Catalunya: les vegueries," in *Història, política, societat i cultura dels Països Catalans*, ed. Borja de Riquer, 12 vols. (Barcelona, 1996–99), 3:304–5.

**355** Jan Dumolyn, "Privileges and Novelties. The Political Discourse of the Flemish Cities and Rural Districts in their Negotiations with the Dukes of Burgundy (1384–1506)," *Urban History* 335, no. 1 (2008): 17.

de la terra).<sup>356</sup> In the same way that the king issued a call to arms “to defend the land” (a defensar la terra) in 1280,<sup>357</sup> local representatives also expressed their concern for the land, in an image easily accepted by those who claimed to represent the country.<sup>358</sup> Thus, one can speak about a people identified with “the land of Catalonia,”<sup>359</sup> as a kind of image that contains the duality of power, uniting the country and the sovereign: “the land before the monarch.”<sup>360</sup>

Reference to the land formed part of jurisprudence from the thirteenth century, and shows an increasing identification between land and nation. This territorialization of the nation grew in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and enabled the links of collective social cohesion to be transferred to the land; this culminated in a triple identity between land, nation, and state. As Dieter Mertens says: “An attempt is made to saturate ethically and emotionally the idea of nation, that is, to connect moral or legal bonds of fidelity with the nation.”<sup>361</sup> This meant stabilizing the people that shared the territory, one that they accepted as theirs,<sup>362</sup> even though it may not have originally been theirs.<sup>363</sup> Thus strengthened internally, each nation came to identify itself with a particular land: “English identity in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was inextricably tied up with inhabiting ‘England.’”<sup>364</sup> In this way, physical space joined the identifiers of common lineage and culture. In 1409, Master Jerome of Prague identified the members of the Bohemian or Czech nation by their maternal and paternal lineage (sanguis), a common language (lingua), and native soil (patria).<sup>365</sup>

**356** Girona, Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Girona XV.4, lligall 1, llibre 1, fol. 4v.

**357** Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancelleria, reg. 48, fol. 59r.

**358** Flocel Sabaté, “L'idéal politique et la nation catalane: la terre, le roi et le mythe des origins,” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, 2 vols. (Rome, 2015), 2:113–40 at 120–29.

**359** “La terra de Cathalunya.” From Lleida, Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, llibre d'actes 400, fol. 52.

**360** “La terra davant del monarca.” Cited from Oriol Oleart, “La terra davant del monarca. Una contribució per a una tipologia de l'assemblea estamental catalana,” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 25, no. 2 (1995): 593.

**361** “Viene intrapreso il tentativo di saturare eticamente ed emozionalmente l'idea di nazione, cioè di collegare con la nazione vincoli di fedeltà morali o giuridici.” Cited from Dieter Mertens, *Il pensiero politico medievale* (Bologna, 1999), 129.

**362** Many examples exist concerning, mobility, migration, and stabilization of a population. We may mention Siberia, although this process began in the sixteenth century and became a generator of the discourse of identity in the nineteenth century, precisely because a population from outside—in this case of Russian origin—was displacing the native people. Despite this origin, over the long term, it generated its own discourse of identity that linked the cultural traits of the people with the territory that they all took as their own. Alvar Jürgenson, “Siberlaste identiteedi kujunemine ja selle üks poliitilisi avaldumisvorme-oblastniike liikumine,” *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 11 (2007): 47.

**363** The Hungarians, for example, identified with, and gave the name to, the part of the Carpathian Basin where they settled, leaving behind their area of origin around the Volga, distantly remembered as Ungaria Maior, with part of the population remaining there and distinguished as White Hungarians. Sandor László Tóth, “The White and Black Hungarians,” *Chronica* 9–10 (2009–2010): 14.

**364** Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture*, 99.

**365** Martin Nejedlý, “Le concept de nation en Bohême au XIV<sup>e</sup> et au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Nation*

This definition from Bohemia was designed specifically to mark the difference between Czechs and Germans. In reality, international relations, at diplomatic, military, economic, or any other level, became competitions between nations, with aspects of identity and territory and the corresponding tensions and desires for revenge,<sup>366</sup> because the success of one was always to the detriment of the other: “where a nation weakens, the winnings and profits are always taken by other nations.”<sup>367</sup> In 1346, the English parliament explicitly accused the king of France of wanting “to destroy and ruin the whole English nation and language.”<sup>368</sup>

The context made it clear that, in such moments, the lines between kingdoms separated nations and states, because they established a line on each side of which there would be a different military, fiscal, and even cultural identity. Christian Guilleré addresses this regarding the establishment of the new frontier between Roussillon and Le Fenouillèdes in 1258, leaving the former in the Crown of Aragon and the latter within France:

In this zone of contact between the two kingdoms, or at least between the kingdom of France and the Aragonese confederation, the places of contact take a linear turn, marked out, at the beginning of the modern era, by real landmarks.<sup>369</sup>

In reality, the people on one side or the other of the border maintained contact and collaboration.<sup>370</sup> However, these were ever more affected by decisions, even of borders being blocked or closed, taken at the centre of each kingdom, for reasons far from the reality of life on the frontier.<sup>371</sup> So, the border defined the line of otherness, which, on entering the modern era, was completed with stereotypical views of the neighbours.<sup>372</sup>

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*et nations au Moyen Âge. XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'enseignement public (Prague, 23 mai–26 mai 2013)* (Paris, 2014), 240–41.

**366** Flocel Sabaté, “Identitat i representativitat social a la Catalunya baixmedieval,” in *El compromís de Casp: negociació o imposició?*, ed. Àngel Casals (Cabrera de Mar, 2013), 79–84.

**367** “Allà on una nació defalleixi, sempre los guanys e profits s-en porten altres nacions.” Cited from Damien Coulon, *Barcelone et le grand commerce d'Orient au Moyen Âge. Un siècle de relations avec l'Égypte et la Syrie–Palestine (ca. 1330–ca. 1430)* (Madrid, 2004), 61.

**368** “A destruire et anientier tote la nacion et la lange Engleys.” Cited from Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture*, 1.

**369** “Dans cette zone de contact entre les deux royaumes, ou tout au moins entre le royaume de France et la confédération aragonaise, les lieux de contact prennent une tournure linéaire, balisée, au debut de l'époque moderne, par de veritables bornes.” Cited from Christian Guilleré, “Le traité de Corbeil (11 mai 1258),” *Paris et Ile-de-France. Mémoires* 60 (2009): 334.

**370** Flocel Sabaté, “Changement de frontières et perception de l'alterité en Catalogne (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles),” in *Annexer? Les déplacements de frontières à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Stéphane Péquignot and Pierre Savy (Rennes, 2016), 53–59.

**371** Miguel Ángel Ladero, “Sobre la evolución de las fronteras medievales hispánicas (siglos XI al XIV),” in *Identidad y representación de la frontera en la España medieval (siglos XI–XIV)*, ed. Carlos de Ayala, Pascal Buresi and Philippe Josserand (Madrid, 2001), 48–49.

**372** Bertrand Haan, “L'affirmation d'un sentiment national espagnol face à la France du debut des guerres de Religion,” in *Le sentiment national dans l'Europe méridionale aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles*,

Thus immersed in permanent competition, the territorial nation required a convincing discourse of support. As the tales by Saint-Denis explain, the French nation is “strong, proud, cruel to its enemies” and also favoured “among all the lands and nations” because it was the first to convert to Christianity, as well as being ruled by kings descended from the noble line of the Trojans.<sup>373</sup> The foundations lay in its origins, where a founder had to be identified who justified national unity from the outset and also granted the nation its common name. This is true of France, the founding of which by Francus ensured the link to Troy.<sup>374</sup> In other cases there was no need to seek such remote origins: Otger Cataló as the founder of Catalonia together with his companions, the inspiration for leading Catalan families from the end of the Middle Ages, freed the country from the Moors before the arrival of Charlemagne.<sup>375</sup> The story of Otger Cataló, dating from the early fifteenth century,<sup>376</sup> received many objections, but would not finally be expelled from the history books until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>377</sup>

In this way, historians talk about the founding myth, but in its time, it was accepted as a historical truth. Sometimes the consequence was immediate: “[T]hat the English had a link to Brutus was not questioned,” which facilitated the acceptance of English domain over all the British Isles, including the Kingdom of Scotland.<sup>378</sup> In other cases, the founding discourse conditioned the internal architecture of the country: in the supposed founding of Catalonia by Otger Cataló, his arrival, accompanied by nine barons, and his immediate pacts with the inhabitants of the cities, prefigured a power based on the estates, nobles, and bourgeoisie, leaving the king in a subsidiary position, as was sought at the time.<sup>379</sup> In any case, given the veracity with which these narratives were accepted, there was a desire to add detail, not only for national cohesion, but also for the honourable memory used to justify the subsequent path of history. It is no surprise that, in 1458, Pope Pius II attempted to correct (unsuccessfully) the origins of the

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ed. Alain Tallon (Madrid, 2007), 75–85; Alexandra Testino-Zafiroopoulos, “Representaciones imaginarias de España en Francia en el siglo XVII. Del saber enciclopédico a los relatos de viajes,” in *L’imaginaire du territoire en Espagne et au Portugal (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)*, ed. François Delpech (Madrid, 2008), 19–29.

**373** “Forte, fière, cruelle envers ses ennemis”; “parmi toutes les terres et les nations.” Cited from Lydwina Scordia, “L’amour du roi est-il une composante politique de la ‘nation France’ au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle?,” in *Nation et nations au moyen âge. XLIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l’enseignement public (Prague, 23 mai–26 mai 2013)* (Paris, 2014), 217–20.

**374** Asher, *National Myths in Renaissance*, 1–127.

**375** Pere Tomic, *Històries e conquestes dels reis d’Aragó e comtes de Barcelona* (Bagà, 1990), 56–61.

**376** Flocel Sabaté, “The Medieval Roots of Catalan Identity,” in *Historical Analysis of the Catalan Identity*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Bern, 2015), 42–49.

**377** Eulàlia Duran, *Sobre la mitificació dels orígens històrics nacionals Catalans* (Barcelona, 1991), 14–15.

**378** Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture*, 171–72.

**379** Flocel Sabaté, “La construcción ideológica del nacimiento de Cataluña,” in *Castilla y el mundo feudal. Homenaje al profesor Julio Valdeón*, ed. María Isabel del Val and Pascual Martínez, 3 vols. (Valladolid, 2009), 1:104–05.

Hungarians,<sup>380</sup> making them no longer descendants from the Huns: the Hungarians who settled on the banks of the Danube were now to be a Scythian nation, not descended from the Huns, as some had mistakenly believed due to the affinity between their names.<sup>381</sup> Affinity of names was the basis for all medieval etymological and onomastic deductions and, based on these conclusions, the myths and falsifications justifying supposed coherences and continuities in the identification of identities.<sup>382</sup>

In this game of collective identities, territorial identifications, and the rise of sovereign power, one can expect the nation as a whole to feel and react emotionally as one. As we have seen, in 1369 in the Crown of Aragon, the king encouraged the people to “love the nation”<sup>383</sup> and, in 1454, before parliament, Bishop Margarit linked the expansion of the Crown to the loyal spilling of blood by the Catalan nation.<sup>384</sup> When petitions were made to the monarch, it was recognized that the nation should make blood sacrifices for the king. As Horacio Capel wrote, “the starting point for forming territorial awareness is evidently in educating individuals and the influence of certain cultural patterns.”<sup>385</sup>

By the end of the Middle Ages, several stages still had to be gone through in developing values accepted by society to make it cohesive. The people spilling blood for the nation identified with a territory was not yet required; rather, spilling blood for their sovereign ruling people cohesive as a nation.

## Conclusions

The term “identity” is not typical terminology in the Middle Ages.<sup>386</sup> However, the perspective we obtain from observing medieval society historically provides a starting point in the search for the roots of human existence, both as individuals and as elements of the collective.

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**380** The relation between Hungarians and Huns has been repeated from the tenth to the twenty-first centuries, used in the discourse of Hungarian identity. Bozóky, “Huns et Hongrois, une seule nation,” 37–50.

**381** Lorenzo Hervás, *Catálogo de las lenguas de las naciones conocidas*, 6 vols. (Madrid, 1800–1805), 3:189–90.

**382** Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text. The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450–1800* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 103.

**383** “Amar la nació.” Cited from Albert, Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts catalanes*, 37–38; Carbonell, *Cròniques d’Espanya*, 2:138; Gimeno Blay, “Escribir, leer, reinar,” 215.

**384** Albert and Gassiot, *Parlaments a les corts catalanes*, 212.

**385** “El punto de partida para la formación de la conciencia territorial se encuentra, evidentemente en la educación de los individuos y en la influencia de determinados patrones culturales.” Cited from Horacio Capel, “Percepción del medio y comportamiento geográfico,” *Revista de Geografía* 7, nos. 1–2 (1973): 123.

**386** “Since at least the eighteenth century, the individual expressed his individuality in the term of identity, as a manner of ‘self-continuation’ (Littre) through biographic continuity. In *Émile*, Rousseau could state that ‘memory extends the sense of identity over all moments of its existence’” (Depuis le XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle au moins, l’individu exprime sa singularité en terme d’‘identité’, comme une manière de ‘persistance de soi’ (Littre) dans la continuité biographique. Dans l’*‘Émile’*, Rousseau a ainsi pu dire

The evolution of thought and the changing social and economic context in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries hatched clear definitions about the person as an individual with a uniqueness and responsibilities, and this shaped the late medieval social, economic, political, and cultural world.

However, in the Middle Ages, a sense of the collective was not built by renouncing individual traits in favour of some common elements; instead, the individual tended to acquire meaning within their solidarity group. Such groups were linked and combined according to circumstance and social structure. The affinities commonly perceived from the outside and accepted internally formalized the existence and content of each group. As a result, joint actions may be taken, whether at the level of lineage, urban faction, feudal link, urban solidarity, or national unity.

Belonging to a group placed one within a social hierarchy, because the degree of identification and acceptance varied according to the estate and social position. Different groups were categorized differently within medieval society; many were represented by an elite, which would also manage the discourse of what it meant to be part of the group.

The cohesion inherent in the shared identity was encouraged by the discourses invoked by those who claimed to represent the group's interests. Cohesion around identity was based on a justification always presented with a historic sense of human life as a journey, with a predestined path used to justify the present. The future track was to be sought in accordance with Christian guidance and a specific mission assigned by God.

So, identities worked like concentric circles that could be overlain or combined, depending on the context, the reason one individual could have multiple identifying labels. However, the fact that European identity held belonging to the *Christianitas* as the highest layer of cohesion imposed clear difficulties of coexistence with the minorities that could never be assimilated due to their religious identity, like Muslims and, more directly in everyday life, Jews.

Identity forms part of a chain with two other links, namely memory and ideology. Of these, the former supplied clues to one's place in the world; the latter, the values to shape and guide one's life. Without accurate knowledge of the values with which medieval society intergrated these links in the chain, we are in danger of slipping into anachronism.

Identity is a basic pillar for understanding the human being in the Middle Ages, and so, as we shape a new historiography, one that responds to today's demands, we must prioritize the study of medieval identity.<sup>387</sup> We must not project today onto the past, but identify the tools that framed and shaped the medieval world as a means of gaining a better knowledge of it.

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que 'la mémoire étend le sentiment de l'identité sur tous les moments de son existence'). Cited from Dominique Iogna-Prat, "La question de l'individu à l'épreuve du moyen âge," in *L'Individu au Moyen Âge*, ed. Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 2005), 26.

**387** Flocel Sabaté, "Identitats," in *Identitats*, ed. Flocel Sabaté (Lleida, 2012), 16–21.