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**The Participation of the Hospital of the Holy Cross
in the Second-Hand Market through the Notarial
Documentation (Barcelona, 1422-1458)**

Jaume Marcé Sánchez

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Special Issue

Il Notaio nella società dell'Europa mediterranea (secc. XIV-XIX)

The Notary in the Mediterranean European Society (14th-19th centuries)

A cura di / Edited by

Gemma T. Colesanti - Daniel Piñol - Eleni Sakellariou

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The Participation of the Hospital of the Holy Cross in the Second-Hand Market through the Notarial Documentation (Barcelona, 1422-1458)*

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Abstract

Through never-used-before notarial sources, this article represents the first attempt to set the basis to understand how the Hospital of the Holy Cross of Barcelona fits in the second-hand market. The results show that the hospital of Barcelona was an important supplier of the market and was concerned about the good running of the auctions. Some graphics have been included in order to offer new data about the funding of the institution during the 15th century.

Keywords

Hospital; Charity economy; Second-hand market; Barcelona; Late Middle Ages.

Resumen

Mediante el empleo de documentación notarial inédita, la presente investigación quiere ser una primera aportación para entender el encaje del Hospital de la Santa Cruz de Barcelona en los encantos. Los resultados muestran cómo esta institución fue una importante proveedora de dicho mercado, preocupada por el control de los objetos que subastaba y por el adecuado desarrollo de las subastas. Algunos gráficos complementan el estudio, a fin de ofrecer nuevos datos relacionados con la financiación del hospital durante el siglo XV.

Palabras clave

Hospital; Economía de la asistencia; Mercado de segunda mano; Barcelona; Baja edad media.

* This work was supported by the Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación of the Spanish government within the project “El notariat public en la Mediterrània occidental: escriptura, institucions, societat i economia, segles XIII-XV” (PI, Daniel Piñol Alabart, PID2019-105072GB-I00). Abbreviations used: ll.= *lliures*; s.= *sous*; d.= *diners*; all of them from Barcelona. Huguet-Termes 2014.

Introduction. - 1. Origin of the goods sold in the second-hand market. - 2.1 The goods of the people who died in the hospital: the privilege of King Martin. - 2.2 Other methods of acquisition. - 3. The Hospital of the Holy Cross within the market. - 3.1 The management of the goods.- 3.2 The actors and the places. - 3.3 The revenue from the auctions. - 4. Conclusions. - 5. Cited bibliography. - 6. Appendix. - 7. Curriculum Vitae.

Introduction

Established in 1401, the Hospital of the Holy Cross was an institution that rapidly got involved in every aspect of the late medieval Barcelonian society. The hospital quickly rose to a place of prominence in the urban landscape, that would soon extend to the whole of the Crown of Aragon. We could say that the Hospital not only mirrored the society in which it was found, but it was also a microcosmos within it and in its own right, where every one of its elements interacted with each other. This has been shown these last years by the research on urban hospitals, highlighting the role of these institutions in the Crown of Aragon from a political, social, architectural, and symbolic perspective, among others¹. However, it should be noted that there is still a lot to study regarding their economy², mainly because of the lack of relevant economic documents, but also because of the few strictly medieval extant sources. In this context, the preserved notarial documents are especially important. Thus, this article strives to further contribute to the research of hospital economy, focusing on one of its most forgotten fields: the participation of the Hospital of Holy Cross from Barcelona in the city's second-hand market.

One of the main contributions to date on the relation between cities and hospitals includes an article by Manuel Sánchez, in which the author takes one sole source to study the economic activity of the hospital, the *Llibre de caixa* (the hospital's account book) from 1430-1431 (Sánchez, 2014). His work proves that during that annuity the Holy Cross earned 5,201 s. from the goods of people who died in the hospital³. This amount only represented the 5.34% of the total sum, far from the patrimonial earnings (37.76%), the money from inheritances

¹ To mention some examples, see Barceló Prats, 2017; Bridgewater Mateu, 2018a, 2018b and 2021; Comas Via, 2018; Conejo da Pena, 2014, 2015 and 2018; Gallent Marco, 2014 and 2016; Marino 2014, 2018b and 2019; Roca Cabau, 2017.

² However, there are praiseworthy contributions, such as Colesanti - Marino 2016; Conejo, 2010; Lindgren, 1980; Marino, 2018a; Morelló, 2014; Sánchez, 2014; Tello, 2015.

³ This amount includes the money from *bosses de morts* (1,385 s.) and from the auction of goods (3,816 s.). Sánchez, 2014, p. 182.

and alms (28.57%), and the subsidy from the municipality (26.87%)⁴. But the interest in this aspect of the funding practices of the Hospital of the Holy Cross is not only analysing its economic importance, but also understanding how the institution managed the auctions, how much control it had over them, and why the hospital became an important provider of the second-hand market.

In order to do this, three never-used-before notarial sources have been chosen: the books of auctions from the periods 1422-1431⁵, 1431-1452⁶ and 1453-1458⁷, all of them preserved in the *Arxiu de l'Hospital de la Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya*. This uninterrupted series includes all the hospital auctions from those periods. A total amount of 346 auctions is registered in the books, a number big enough to offer an accurate approach to the hospital's participation in the second-hand market⁸. However, to complete the study it has also been essential to analyse the hospital's privileges, chapters, notarial protocols, and other registers included in the series *Inventari i encants* (Inventories and auctions).

Having seen the sources and with the help of the existing bibliography, the aim of this paper is to study the participation of the Hospital of Holy Cross in the second-hand market. We will analyse the methods used by the hospital to accumulate goods which were later put out to tender. Furthermore, we will study how the participation of the hospital in the market was integrated into its own management. For this reason, the focus will be on the study of the regulations regarding the management of these goods, as well as the ways to control the auctions, its actors, the locus where they took place, and the people that took part in them. Finally, we will comment on the economic profits of the Hospital Holy Cross.

⁴ During that annuity the hospital received a total of 97,257 s. cfr. Sánchez, 2014, p. 182.

⁵ Biblioteca de Catalunya Arxiu Històric (henceforth BC AH) 179.

⁶ BC AH 180.

⁷ BC AH 1011.

⁸ It has not been possible to work with all of the auctions. All the data included in the book from 1453-1458 has been rejected when doing the economic study included in the section 3.3, because this book is an incomplete source, where important information is sometimes missing, like the final sum and the expenses generated from the auctions. Nevertheless, the data about the development of the market, the products appearing there, and the participant actors have been used.

1. Origin of the goods sold in the second-hand market

1.1 The goods of the people who died in the hospital: the privilege of King Martin

The relation between the Holy Cross and the second-hand market was constant and was mainly sustained by the privilege given by King Martin on the 22nd of September 1405⁹. Back then, the hospital's administrators¹⁰ turned to the King to request that the hospital could receive all the goods and rights of those who died inside the centre. They justified this petition by saying that it was a matter of “usu antiquo et consuetudine practicata (...) pro quod memoria hominem incontrarium non existit”. They also pointed out that the rents and alms they received were not enough to cover the needs of the institution. From the royal palace of Valldaura, the King granted their petition, but reminded them of the need to respect the right that legitimate children had in case of intestacy. Here is an example to illustrate how this reminder was put into practice. On the 18th of July 1440, Joan Despuig, *escrivent jurat* (substitute notary) of Joan Torró, went to the *carrer d'en Jutglar* in Barcelona to make the *post mortem* inventory of all the goods of Margarida, the wife of Francesc Bassa. Margarida had died in the hospital and the institution's procurator thought that “ipsa bona ad ipsum hospitale pertinere et spectare debere”. In the inventory all her personal property was registered, as well as a vineyard. However, some weeks later, on the 9th of August, Joanet Bassa, the son of Margarida, went to the hospital's administrators claiming his mother's goods, as they were his through intestate succession. Once this privilege was proven, the hospital administrators agreed with Joanet, who received back all the goods that were rightfully his¹¹.

Coming back to the topic, it should be noted that this privilege had a very recent precedent. In 1400, King Martin had already issued the same concession to the Hospital *d'en Marcús*¹². The petition was also issued by its administrators and was probably used as a model five years later for the new hospital, as the conditions and the terminology were almost identical.

The privilege of King Martin of 1405 was ratified by Alfonso the Magnanimous on the 22nd of March 1418, from Valencia and, from then on, it

⁹ Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (henceforth ACA), *Cancellaria Reial*, reg. 2203, ff. 20v-21r.

¹⁰ The administration of the hospital was held by Guillem Alemany and Pere Guillem Jaufred, as representatives of the cathedral's chapter, and Arnau Destorrent and Antoni Bussot, as representatives of the city council. Lindgren 1980, tb. XXV.

¹¹ To see the inventory: BC AH, Man. Fol. 663.2, ff. 27r-29r. To see the restitution of the goods: BC AH, Man. Fol. 663.3.

¹² ACA, *Cancellaria Reial*, reg. 2129, ff. 162r-v. Even though it is not mentioned, it is presumed he respected the wills of the dead that had a testament.

can be traced among the hospital documents until mid-18th century¹³. This concession offered the Holy Cross some regular earnings that contributed to its funding, but their importance cannot only be measured by the value of the sales registered in the aforementioned books. Thanks to this privilege, the hospital could also receive lands, rents¹⁴ and other rights¹⁵, whose management was not registered in those books of auctions, because they were only used for the sale of movable property. Consequently, the earnings received by the Holy Cross by means of selling the goods of the deceased are not to be considered secondary in the finances of the institution. Therefore, its study also requires analysing the hospital administration of other rights and properties acquired similarly¹⁶.

Neither the Hospital *d'en Marcús* nor the Holy Cross were unique cases. Other hospitals in the Crown of Aragon enjoyed the same privilege or at least some similar concession, as shown in the account books of the Hospital *d'en Clapers*, in Valencia. During some annuities at the end of the 14th century, earnings from the sale of objects and money from the deceased were registered (Rubio Vela, 1984, pp. 92-93). Also, Vicent Olaso, in the case of the Hospital of Saint Marc of Gandia, wrote that the institution received the goods of people who had died there (Olaso Sendra, 1988, p. 23). An explicit reference to this privilege is the case of the Hospital *d'en Terrades*, in Vic, to which Alfonso the Magnanimous, on the 22nd of November of 1450, granted the same privilege:

Item sia de son Real Servey mercè que lo Hospital general de dita Ciutat, vulgarment nomenat d'en Terrades, en lo qual esdevé que moren algunes persones intestades y sens fills succehesca reste y sia hereu universal dels qui en

¹³ Arxiu de l'Hospital de la Santa Creu i Sant Pau (henceforth AHSCSP), *Privilegis reials*, doc. papals, doc. particulars, vol. VIII, inv. 8, folder 1/2.

¹⁴ As an example, on the 21st of January 1428 the inventory of the goods of Margarida, Bernat sa Claposa's wife, was written down. There we find a few personal objects, as well as the deed of the hostel where she lived, and some houses close to the hostel with a vegetable patch attached. However, on the sales done two days later, only some of her objects were sold. About the inventory, BC AH, Man. Fol., 663/1, ff. 24r-25r. About the sale, BC AH, 179, f. 87r.

¹⁵ On a receipt from the 27th of June 1408, Pere Cardona, prior of the hospital, confirmed to Pere Blanc, who was the universal heir of Joan Mas, that he had given him 16 ll. and 10 s. for the rights that the hospital had over the dowry and betrothal of Esclaramunda, Joan Mas's wife, who had died at the hospital. AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [5], ff. 169v-170r.

¹⁶ Because of the length and goals of this article, we have decided not to focus on this topic, although it is part of our PhD project.

ell mouran intestats y sense fills llegítims y naturals. Plau a sa Majestat a exemple del Hospital de Barcelona (Serra i Campdelacreu, 1879, p. 167).

We can also find some other indirect mentions to this concession in the cases of the Hospital of Saint Mary in Lleida, in 1453 to which queen Mary granted the same privileges enjoyed by the Holy Cross (Conejo da Pena, 2010, p. 443), the Hospital of Mallorca (Bordoy Bordoy - Cruz Pérez, 2002, pp. 117-118), and finally the Hospital of *Nuestra Señora de Gracia* in Zaragoza¹⁷.

It appears that this funding method was quite common among charitable institutions, and other examples can surely be found. Nevertheless, one question arises: what *usu antiquo et consuetudine* were the administrators of the Holy Cross mentioning when they addressed the King in 1405? This issue should be contemplated from the perspective of the tradition on the regulation of intestate succession.

The concession of this privilege inevitably reminds of the precept of the *Theodosian Code* regarding pious matters, written under the epigraph *De Episcopis et Clericis et Orphanotrophis et Brephotrophis et Xenodochis*. According to the precept, if a religious person devoted to monastic life died without a will and without a wife or an agnate or consanguineous relative, all properties had to be transferred to the church or the monastery to which she or he was attached:

Si quis presbyter aut diaconus aut diaconissa aut subdiaconus vel cuiuslibet alterius loci clericus aut monachus aut mulier, quae solitarie vitae dedita est, nullo condito testamento decesserit nec ei parentes utriusque sexus vel liberi vel si qui agnationis cognationis vel iure iunguntur vel uxor extiterit, bona, quae ad eum vel ad eam pertinuerint, sacrosanctae ecclesiae vel monasterio, cui fuerat destinatus aut destinata, omnifaria socientur (Conolly *et al.*, 2016, pp. 80-81).

This regulation also appears in other medieval law compilations and seems to have inspired the bases of the privilege. Specifically, the collections of Erwig, IV, 2.12 state that “quan els clergues, els monjos i les monges no deixen hereus fins al setè grau i moren sense haver disposat res sobre llurs béns, l’església a la

¹⁷ The moment when this last hospital received the privilege is unknown, but the sources always refer to the Courts of Aragon of 1626, which reminded “que el Hospital de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de la Ciudad de Zaragoza tenía el derecho de suceder abintestato a los enfermos y dementes, hombres y mujeres que murieran en él sin dejar parientes dentro del cuarto grado, tanto en los bienes muebles como en los sitios que no fueren vinculados”. Muñoz Salillas, 1944, p. 159.

qual prestaren els seus serveis podrà reclamar la seva herència” (Bellés i Sallent, 2008, p. 130)¹⁸. Likewise, the *Usatge* 166 of Barcelona addresses a similar question, stating that

clerici et monachi sive sanctimonialis qui usque ad septimum gradum non reliquerit heredes, et sic moriuntur ut nichil de suis facultatibus ordinent, ecclesia ubi ipsi servierint eorum substantiam vendicabit (Abadal i de Vinyals - Valls i Taberner, 1913, p. 78).

If the aforementioned passages only concern monasteries and churches, other local regulations refer to charitable institutions and poor people. It is the case of the *carta de poblament* of Agramunt of 1163, with which count Ermengol VII of Urgell gave the goods of the intestated to poor people, bridges, and hospitals, as well as indicating that the donation would be in the favour of the soul of the deceased:

Et si mortuus parentes non habuerit, sit licitum probis hominibus ut emere suum de mortuo avere et honore possint dare et dividere pro anima de mortuo, amore Dei pauperibus Ecclesiis, et pontibus, et hospitalibus, vel ubi voluerint pro anima de mortuo (Font i Rius, 1969, I, doc. 122, pp. 176-179).

Another example is the charter of Jaca, ratified by Alfonso the Chaste in 1187, who gave the goods of the dead without a will or relatives to the poor (Tomás y Valiente, 1966, p. 210).

The request expressed in 1405 was based on a previous practice linked to the regulation of intestate succession. As said before, some religious institutions could become beneficiaries of the goods of those who died without a will and, more explicitly, sometimes there were mentions of the poor and the hospitals. From the administrators' point of view, this could apply to the Holy Cross, thus adding a new resource to its funding. It is important to insist on the fact that the goods of the people who died *ab intestato* and without a legitimate heir could end up being distributed *pro anima*, as indicated in the *carta de poblament* of Salses:

Item si quis vel si qui de habitatoribus predicti castri vel ville de Salsis ab

¹⁸ On the other hand, the *Costums de Tortosa* indicate that “Item, monestir guayna seynoria en los béns d’aquel mónioie o canónioie que en aquel monestir se met”, omitting any reason of intestate death without legitimate heirs. Masip i Fonollosa (ed.), 1996, p. 477.

intestato decesserit, omnia bona eius et res revertantur propinquis suis libere et quiete; sed si propinqui eius ibi non fuerint, probi homines eiusdem ville de Salsis dividant et distribuant omnes res ipsius pro anima sua sicut melius cognoverint expedire (Font i Rius, 1969, I, doc. 237, pp. 330-333).

Other examples are the already mentioned charter of Agramunt (Font i Rius 1969, I, doc. 122, pp. 176-179)¹⁹ and the charter of Sant Llorenç de la Salanca, that states that

Si, vero, tales propinqui non superstiterint illi intestato, fiant tres partes de bonis ipsius intestati, prius deducto et levato atque soluto inde ere alieno, quarum unam baiulus noster cum consilio trium proborum hominum predicte ville donet et tribuat pro anima ipsius deffuncti, altera quidem pars detur semper et tradatur nobis vel nostris, tertia quoque pars revertatur proximis deffuncti, si qui ei supestiterint usque ad septimum gradum; quarta nobis vel nostris libere revertatur, si forte huiusmodi superstites non fuerint ei (Font i Rius, 1969, I, doc. 238, pp. 333-336).

Now we should consider the significance that this condition would have had for some people whose names are unknown and not traceable in the documentation, people who only had the clothes they were wearing and who lived on charity. In short, poor people who, in the last days of their lives, commended themselves to the hospital, either to get cured, or to die there, close to God and the fellow poor, while leaving everything they had to the hospital in order to save their souls.

2.2 Other methods of acquisition

The hospital privilege over the goods of the dead is not the only reason why the Holy Cross was present at the second-hand market. Although the majority of the goods registered in the books belonged to people who had died in the hospital, a small portion of them did not. From the 346 aforementioned sales²⁰, 270 belonged to the dead, while 56 are from an unknown origin, 11 were donations and inheritances, 7 belonged to sick people who were still alive at the time of the sale, and the last one was a compensation to pay part of the

¹⁹ Along the same line there is one of the *costums* regarding the *ab intestato* successions included in the *Costums de Girona* by Tomàs Mieres. See Mieres, pp. 110-115.

²⁰ The following list does not include the sale from the 22nd of April 1429, because it auctioned some books that were in the hospital since a long time ago. See footnote n. 55.

expenses of a child who had been left at the hospital.

Let's focus on the sales of the goods of some sick people who were still alive at the time of the sale; it is so indicated by the expressions "iacente esgarrat in dicto hospitali"²¹, "qui nunc est in hospitali infirmis"²², "qui iacet infirma in dicto hospitali"²³ or "qui modo est in hospitali detentus de infirmitate perelentis"²⁴. A similar formula was used by Joan Despuig, a substitute notary of Joan Torr , when he made the inventory of the goods of Antoni Gilabert on the 9th of December 1441, where he wrote that Antoni "fuit positus in dicto hospitali et nunc est, et vivit, etcetera"²⁵. Seven days later, some of the goods from the inventory were sold, but the sale document indicated that Gilabert was still in the hospital "detinetur per infirmitate"²⁶. Indeed, the management of these cases differs, for example, from the sales of the goods of Paula and Elena. Although they were still alive at the time of the sale, in their case there was explicit mention that their goods "fuerunt vendita de voluntate sua"²⁷.

It seems like the Holy Cross put out to tender the goods of people who were still alive. Given the possible need of money of the institution, it is likely that the nurse would have considered that these people could not be cured, and, for this reason, their possessions could have been sold sooner. But things were not always like the nurse supposed. On the 18th of July 1454, the goods of Joana Torrentina, who was sick at hospital, were brought to the market. The lot contained household objects, like a couple of stoves, pitchers, pots, saucepans, bowls, bottles, a table, a wardrobe, a bed with a straw mattress, a bench, blankets, etc. Everything was sold and the hospital earned 1 ll., 3 s. and 7 d. As soon as the auction was finished, the expenses -a total of 1 s. and 6 d.- were paid to the broker and the porters. However, it seems that Joana recovered from the illness, since on the 7th of August of the same year Bernat de Bonet, the hospital's procurator, gave back to Joana 1 ll., 2 s. and 6 d., the amount that had been collected with the sale of her objects. The expenses generated from the sale were not given back to her. So, Joana, who had gone to the hospital because of an illness, despite being cured, left the hospital without her possessions and, in a way, even poorer, as the hospital did not give her back the money paid to the

²¹ BC AH 180, f. 104r.

²² BC AH 180, ff. 116v-117v.

²³ BC AH 180, ff. 165r-v; BC AH 1011, ff. 24r-24v; BC AH 1011, ff. 25r-26v.

²⁴ BC AH 180, f. 215r.

²⁵ BC AH Man. Fol., 663/2, ff. 32r-34r.

²⁶ BC AH 180, ff. 112r-114r.

²⁷ BC AH 1011, f. 41v and BC AH 1011, f. 42r, respectively.

broker and the porters of the auction²⁸. We can draw the conclusion that, even if only rarely, the Holy Cross would sometimes act fraudulently, abusing with *mala praxis* the goods of people fighting between life and death²⁹.

3. The Hospital of the Holy Cross within the market

3.1 The management of the goods

The participation of the Hospital of the Holy Cross in the second-hand market is not to be understood as a unique case. Like other members of society, the hospital integrated into this economic space and adapted to its functioning and its inner dynamics. Indeed, even though the market was very active and seemingly difficult to control, it was regulated by the municipal legislation, which ordered the development of the auctions, when and where they could take place and even the role that everyone had in them (García Marsilla - Navarro Espinach - Vela Aulesa, 2015, p. 297). However, the sales of the Hospital of the Holy Cross differ from others due to their management and control of the objects before they were sold.

Written in 1417, the hospital chapters show an ordered and rational management of the goods that would be taken to the market. This control was effective from the moment when the sick poor arrived at the institution. After getting their feet washed, they were assigned a bed to rest and given a refreshment. Finally, they confessed and then they were interrogated by the rector, the scribe, and the nurse. They had to write down their names, where they lived, and their trade. Moreover, they had to register all the coins, rights, movable property, and real estate they had, including the debts they owed or were owed. After the scrutiny, all the goods that the patients had with them were meticulously kept, so that they could be returned “ab íntegre, planament e simpla” in case the patients recovered. But if they died, all their clothes would belong to the hospital³⁰, which would be kept in the wardrobe “ligades e albaranades”, keeping them from mixing with the clothes of other deceased (Marcé Sánchez 2017, pp. 123-125)³¹. Having analysed the 346 sales, it can be

²⁸ BC AH 1011, ff. 24r-v.

²⁹ The *Digest* clearly stresses the nullity of any sales of inheritances of a person who is still alive. Ors – *et al.* (eds.) 1972, p. 677.

³⁰ Curiously enough, in the hospital chapters there is no mention of the respect towards the testament or the legitimate heirs that the deceased could have.

³¹ The statutes from 1505, included in the *Llibre d'ordinacions*, ordered that the scribe had to have “lo Libre de la garde-roba, çò és de la roba dels malalts portats en dit hospital qui

concluded that there is a correspondence between what was dictated by the hospital chapters and what was done. Only 11.57% of the registered sales did not refer to the former owner of the goods. 42.77% of the sales include the name of the object's owner, as well as their origin and their trade. However, the last 45.66% are lots under a general rubric, and although they only refer to the dead in the hospital, they often specify the period when the hospital had acquired the goods³².

As said before, once the objects arrived at the market, the auctions occurred as ordered by the municipal regulations. Nevertheless, the statutes of the Holy Cross indicated how to control the objects they took there. Once they were sold, the scribe had to compare the sales with the inventories of the deceased³³. The money obtained was to be taken by the nurse, who then gave it to the *reebedor e distribuïdor de les monedes* (the hospital's coin acceptor). Finally, the coin acceptor had to write everything down in his accounts book³⁴.

The diplomatic analysis of the documents also gives important data regarding the management and control of the goods taken to the market. The marks shaped like a cross (+) that sometimes appear at the left margin of the sheet lined up with each row are specially interesting. When evaluating their meaning, we noticed that sometimes, when these marks do not appear, we find questions related to the payment of the products in the left margin of the sheet. For example, in the sale from the 27th of March 1436, Pere Grasset bought a women's woollen coat that cost 1 ll. 5 s. In the left margin of the row, however, it was indicated that he had only paid 18 s.³⁵. Eventually this space in the margin

moren en aquell, per haver-ne rahó del procurador, qui aquella deu fer vendre a l'encant". Marcé Sánchez, 2017, p. 149. However, there has been found no document that can be related to this book in the BC or in the AHSCSP.

³² As an example, the auction from the 19th of October 1428, was done with the goods of those who died in the hospital between the 22nd of June and the 19th of October from that year. BC AH. 179, ff. 98v-100v.

³³ Some of these inventories can be found in BC AH Man. Fol., 663/1-2. About the *postmortem* inventories, see Almenar Fernández, 2017, pp. 533-566.

³⁴ At the end of some of the studied sales, a copy of the dispatch note with which the prior gave confirmation for the receiving of the coins was included. For example, below the rest of the expenses of the sale from the 3rd of October of 1422, there was a note that stated "Jo, Bernat Sacarrera [prior], atorch a vos, senyor en Jacme del Miracle [coin acceptor], que-m havets pagades les dites set lliures, disset sous, nou diners de Barcelona, de que vos fas lo present albarà scrit de la mia ma, a XVI de octubre del any M CCCC XX e dos." BC AH, 179, ff. 15r-v.

³⁵ BC AH 180, ff. 53r-55r. There are other examples, like BC AH 180, ff. 29r-30v; ff. 168v-170r; ff. 175r-176r; ff. 176v-178v.

was also used to note if a product was sold or if it was withdrawn from the auction³⁶.

To further follow the study of these graphic elements, it is as important to examine when the signs appear as when they do not. The absence of the sign of the cross is due to three reasons: the purchase was done by one of the hospital workers, by one of the professionals in charge of the auction notary, coin acceptor or procurator, broker, porter, or testimonies, or by a regular buyer of the institution. In all, these crosses were probably indicators of what had been paid and what had not. This hypothesis also highlights the amount of trust between seller and buyer in the market. It seems to be an important factor and it fits with the suggested pattern, since the places where these graphic symbols do not appear are always sales to people who were fully involved in the economic activities of the hospital.

3.2 The actors and the places

The Hospital of the Holy Cross regularly sold objects in the market. Both the privilege of King Martin and the fact that it constantly received inheritances and donations allowed it to do so. However, the available documents do not allow us to know when it was decided to put out certain lots to tender. Among the studied sales some belonged to people who died in the hospital the month before, others belonged to people who had died up to six months before. The documents do not say if the sales were due to the need of liquidity or simply because they could not keep more goods in the institution's wardrobe. It should be noted, yet, that there is an exception, which is the sales that were made individually of the goods of certain people, which were to quickly solve the debts that they might have incurred in. Most of the time, the person who would take the object to sale was the coin acceptor of the hospital³⁷, often through procurators that had been chosen to execute the sales and, later, had to give the money back to the coin acceptor. From 1428 on, due to economic changes (Sánchez, 2014, pp. 180-181), the post of coin acceptor was substituted by two procurators. From then on, they would be in charge of managing the auctions of the institution. Later, as ordered by the new regulations, the money received would have to be delivered to the prior of the hospital, in order to be kept in the

³⁶ BC AH 180, ff. 15r-18v; 18v-21v; 22r-23v; 25r-27v.

³⁷ The executors of Pere Senyat's will were in charge of ordering the sale from the 18th of January, 1434. BC AH, 180, ff. 29r-30v. The inventory can be seen in BC AH, Man. Fol., 663/2, ff. 17v-18v.

safe³⁸.

Studying the second-hand market implies mentioning a central actor: the broker. As Juan Vicente García Marsilla has studied, from the 14th century this trade was divided into two different professions: one, known as *corredor de coll*, would specialize in second-hand auctions, not only selling movable objects but also leasing taxes and seigneurial rents; the other one, known as *corredor d'orella*, would work in more confidential markets, like the one of pledges (García Marsilla, 2016, pp. 347-348). Since our article is focussed on the auctions of the hospital, we will only concentrate on the former. The broker had to gain the trust of the hospital's coin acceptor from the 1428 of the two procurators, but also of the buyers who came to the market. That is why deciding where the auction would take place was one of the first questions to address. Indeed, the *Plaça de Sant Jaume* in Barcelona was the locus par excellence of the market. Yet, sometimes other places of the city could be chosen depending on the products³⁹ or on whether they were going to be sold; the studied sales show this triple reality⁴⁰. Depending on the volume and quantity of objects, the sales could be more than one day long and could take place in different places in the city⁴¹. For the same reason, more than one broker could be found in the same auction. Once the place was chosen, the *bastaixos* or *tragineros* (porters) took the clothes from the hospital or from the house where the deceased lived to the market. The hired broker or brokers would then make sure that the auction functioned properly and, together with the hospital official who would have ordered the sale, they would supervise the operation. It is especially interesting to note the order given during the auction of the 30th of December 1441, at the *Carrer dels Corretgers*, where the lot being sold had belonged to Margarida, a Circassian slave who had died in the hospital. Once the sale had started, the hospital procurator Bernat de Bonet realised that a large blanket made with leather was full of bedbugs. He immediately ordered the porters to take it out to the street to prevent it from contaminating the rest of the products⁴². Something similar happened on the 1st of July 1451, with the goods of Martí, a paralytic man that

³⁸ AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [14], ff. 8v-10r.

³⁹ On the 22nd of March 1429, there was an auction in the cloisters of the Cathedral of Barcelona, where they brought some books that had been kept in the hospital and were not being used. BC AH 179, ff. 110v-111r. Actually, the surroundings of religious buildings were considered to be favourable to do book auctions, in order to facilitate their purchase by clergymen, one of the biggest culture consumer groups. García Marsilla, 2008, p. 349.

⁴⁰ See TABLE 1.

⁴¹ See TABLE 1, no. 73 and 132.

⁴² BC AH 180, ff. 114v-116r.

was at the hospital. One *bancalot*⁴³ and a lot of *fardatge*⁴⁴ had to be sold together because there was nobody who wanted to buy them, as they were also full of bedbugs⁴⁵.

Going back to the links of trust between the hospital and the brokers, the analysed documents show that the Holy Cross wanted to count on the service of the same brokers whenever possible. Almost chronologically, GRAPHIC 1 shows the times that various brokers worked for the institution between 1422 and 1457⁴⁶. Joan Bargés, Bartomeu Duran and Bartomeu Figuerola were the hired brokers for most of the sales, but there are others that, sporadically, were in charge of the auctions, either because they were more suitable for the products that were taken to the sale, or because the usual brokers were not available at the time. Either way, everything seems to show that the brokers included at the table were specialized in selling the lots that the Holy Cross took to the market. Actually, the last ones, Gabriel Comelles and Gabriel Antolí, appeared in the notarial documentation, each identified as “*curritor ac ordinarium dicte domus*”⁴⁷. These hospital auction professionals thus had a whole network of clients interested in the goods that were announced in the streets of Barcelona. When they shouted the hospital sales, they could both say that they belonged to a person of a specific trade, or that they belonged to the deceased in the Hospital of the Holy Cross. This calling drew a public that was especially interested in those goods. In short, customers that were experts in recycling and were searching in the second-hand market for some products to resell or for raw material to make new objects.

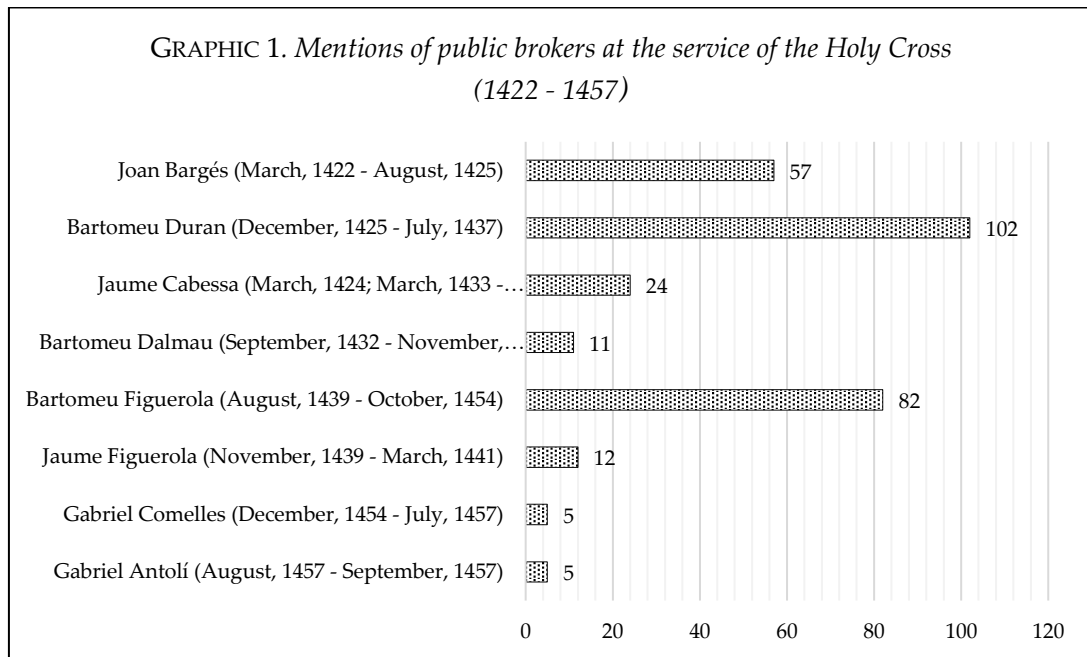
⁴³ Diccionari català-valencià-balear (henceforth DCVB): see *bancal*. Piece of cloth that was used to cover benches and tables.

⁴⁴ DCVB: see *fardatge*. Group of things taken to a trip or an expedition.

⁴⁵ BC AH 180, f. 215r.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that the total amount of brokers registered in GRAPHIC 1 is lower (298) than the number of auctions studied (346) because in some sales the name of the broker does not appear. Also, we have not included the brokers who appears in less than five auctions.

⁴⁷ BC AH 1011, ff. 54v-55v and ff. 55v-57r.



It is important too to pay attention to the buyers who came to the hospital's auctions looking for something that interested them. The Holy Cross sales were really attractive for professionals looking for raw materials to upgrade, especially for those trades related to textiles, like *pellers* (second-hand clothes dealers), who were among the main customers of the market⁴⁸. Indeed, a big number of the objects taken there by the hospital were clothes that used to belong to the people who had died there. These clothes are sometimes described as “sotil”, “esquinçada”, “trencada”, “dolente”, “oldana” or “apedaçada” (thin, torn, poor-quality, tatty, or patched). They were sold very cheaply and would have been used to make new pieces by those second-hand clothes dealers. Furthermore, among the group of professionals searching raw materials there were some *ferrovellers* (scrap metal dealers), interested in metal objects, either whole or in parts. A good example is the sale from the 11th of September 1431, of the goods of Ramonet *lo ferroveller*, who had died in the hospital. Due to the huge number of objects and possibly their weight, the sale lasted six days and all the auctions were celebrated near the *Volta dels candelers de seu*, in Barcelona, where a big number of scrap metal dealers gathered,

⁴⁸ Equally important are the mentions to the convert second-hand clothes dealers in these auctions. An evidence already observed by García Marsilla in Valencia, where the abundance of *pellers* was related to the importance that Jews would have had within the market before 1391. García Marsilla, 2016, 357. A small sample of the massive conversions in Barcelona can be found in Hernando i Delgado, 2012, pp. 293-314.

interested in the objects of the deceased⁴⁹. Yet, these recycling professionals are not the only group with a great weight among the customers of the hospital. The workers of the institution also stand out among the buyers because of two clear reasons: they could know both the moment and the place of the auctions, and the goods that would be sold. The hospital regulations forbid the objects from being given to anyone before arriving at the market, unless it was ordered by the administrators:

(...) que l'enfermer dessusdit no deia ne li sia legut donar a algú, encara que fos servidor o domèstich del dit hospital, alguna de les damunt dites robes ni qualsevulla altra cosa gran o pocha, si donchs no u feia per ordinació e exprés manament dels honorables administradors, del qual manament aparega per scriptura del damunt dit scrivà de ració (Marcé Sánchez, 2017, p. 125).

This measure was aimed at managing and controlling the objects, and implied that any worker interested in them had to go to the market⁵⁰. Finally, other agents interested in the auctioned objects were the notary, who wrote down the sale and the testimonies, the porters and the brokers. The regulations from Barcelona, nevertheless, explicitly forbid the brokers from buying any product that they themselves had announced. Not unlike some evidences given by other studies (García Marsilla - Navarro Espinach - Vela Aulesa, 2015, p. 313), the sales of the Holy Cross reinforce the idea that this ban was not kept.

A reflection about the notary and his office will close this section. Without delving into some of the already addressed questions⁵¹, it is important to tackle the professional relationship between the notary and the hospital through data given by the sales. The documents show that the notary in charge of writing down the sales and attest them was very rarely the same who worked for the hospital signing contracts and deeds, which mainly attended the economic and ordinary patrimonial management of the institution⁵². Probably due to the

⁴⁹ BC AH 179, ff. 157r-161v. The inventory is in BC AH Man. Fol., 663/1, ff. 44v-45v.

⁵⁰ Almost every worker referenced in the *Llibre d'ordinacions* appears at one point or another in the studied auctions.

⁵¹ An introduction to the role of the notary and the hospital can be found in Marcé Sánchez - Piñol Alabart, 2019.

⁵² Among the protocols of this notary, there were other instruments of the hospital's assistance activity, like *afermament d'infants* (foster care) contracts. Following the instructions dictated by the Hospital of the Holy Cross about the issue, these contracts were used to write a memorial where to indicate the name of the children that had been fostered in another home. The study and transcription of this source can be found in Marino 2019.

volume of work attributed to the ordinary notary of the institution, he would appoint different certified notaries to write the auctions. A worth-mentioning example is the case of the substitute notaries appointed by Joan Torró, a public notary that worked for the Hospital of the Holy Cross since its beginnings in 1401 and until ca. 1444 (Marcé Sánchez Piñol Alabart, 2019, pp. 280-292)⁵³. Among these notaries there is Gabriel Bofill, a notary who, after Joan Torró's death, took the reins as the hospital's notary. Therefore, from the 1420s Gabriel was linked to Joan Torró and, indirectly, to the Holy Cross. This is not only proven by the auctions, but also from other documents too, like the *capbreu* of 1421⁵⁴. Gabriel Bofill already knew the basis of the *ars notariae* and at some point, he passed the exam that would get him accredited⁵⁵. The expertise he gained during the years working as a substitute notary for Joan Torró in the hospital business helped him to prepare to become the notary who would then take control of the institution's deeds once Joan Torró had died.

3.3 *The revenue from the auctions*

The last point to be addressed involves the income that the Holy Cross received from the auctions. As it has been said, this revenue should not be understood as the sole income that the hospital took from the sales of objects from the deceased in the hospital or from donations and inheritances. Other forms of management of properties received through the same process were not written down in the auction books. Therefore, the following data concern only the movable property sold by the hospital at the market.

Another premise to be considered is that these books are not the first evidence kept about this type of income for the hospital. In the notarial protocols of Joan Torró there is an *àpoca* (receipt) from the 1st of April 1418, that collects four *definicions de comptes* (accounts closure) where the coin acceptor Jaume Saseu, together with the prior Pere Cardona, confirmed to Antoni Llorenç, the hospital procurator⁵⁶, a few earnings. In the document they sealed

⁵³ About substitute notary, see Pagarolas i Sabaté, 1994, pp. 58-60.

⁵⁴ AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [16].

⁵⁵ The *Privilegi de Gandesa* given by Peter the Ceremonious in 1337 made it compulsory for notaries to sit an exam in order to practice notarial activity in Barcelona. Fernández i Cuadrench - Günzberg i Moll - Hernando i Delgado, 1992, pp. 21-25.

⁵⁶ On the 28th of August 1413, Antoni Llorenç was appointed hospital procurator to collect the institution's rents in Barcelona and all its territories. In addition, this procurement was renovated in August of the following year and, from then until 1418 there is no other

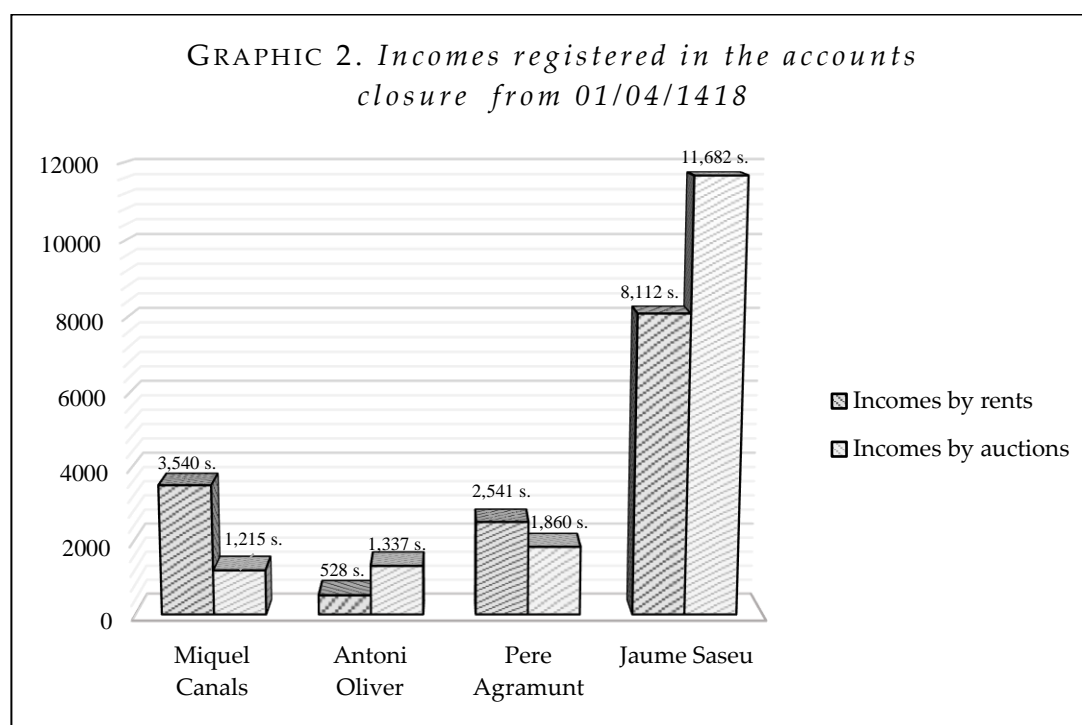
the bills regarding rents, *morabatins*, *censals morts* (annuities), *violaris* (life rents), and sales done by Miquel Canals, Antoni Oliver, Pere Agramunt and Jaume Saseu, all of them hospital coin acceptors. The document includes the sum of the institution's earnings divided in two separate parts, one for the regular rents of the hospital and the other for the auctions⁵⁷. As shown in Graphic 2, in the periods when Miquel Canals and Pere Agramunt were coin acceptors, the earnings from auctions never surpassed those from rents. On the contrary, when Jaume Saseu held the post, the relation between both items reversed, that is, the earnings from auctions far exceeded the rents. The main reason for that is that the hospital received the inheritance of the cardinal of Toulouse Pèire Rabat, who made the hospital his heir⁵⁸. Finally, about the accounts closure of Antoni Oliver, it should be noted that, although the earnings from auctions were the highest income, Oliver only had the post for three months⁵⁹, a fact that could have determined the amount of rents collected during that period.

instrument of procurement among the documents of the Holy Cross. AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [8], ff. 37r-v; ff. 120v-121r.

⁵⁷ AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [9], ff. 166r-167v.

⁵⁸ We know of the document thanks to AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [9], ff. 53v-55v. Pèire Rabat died on the 22nd of March 1417, in the Bishop's palace of Barcelona. After his death, his inheritance which belonged to the hospital was claimed by some apostolic commissioners. The day after the cardinal's death, the Barcelonian ministers asked Alfonso IV to intervene, because they saw the Holy Cross's interests in danger. On the 5th of April of that year the King answered positively, reassuring the ministers that the hospital would not be affected as beneficiary of the cardinal's goods. Vinyoles 1986.

⁵⁹ Antoni Oliver was appointed coin acceptor on the 15th of March 1414, causing Pere Agramunt to revoke. AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [8], ff. 85r-87r. He was destituted on the 28th of June of that year. AHSCSP, *Capbreus*, vol. VI, inv. 4, Llibres [8], ff. 117v-119v.

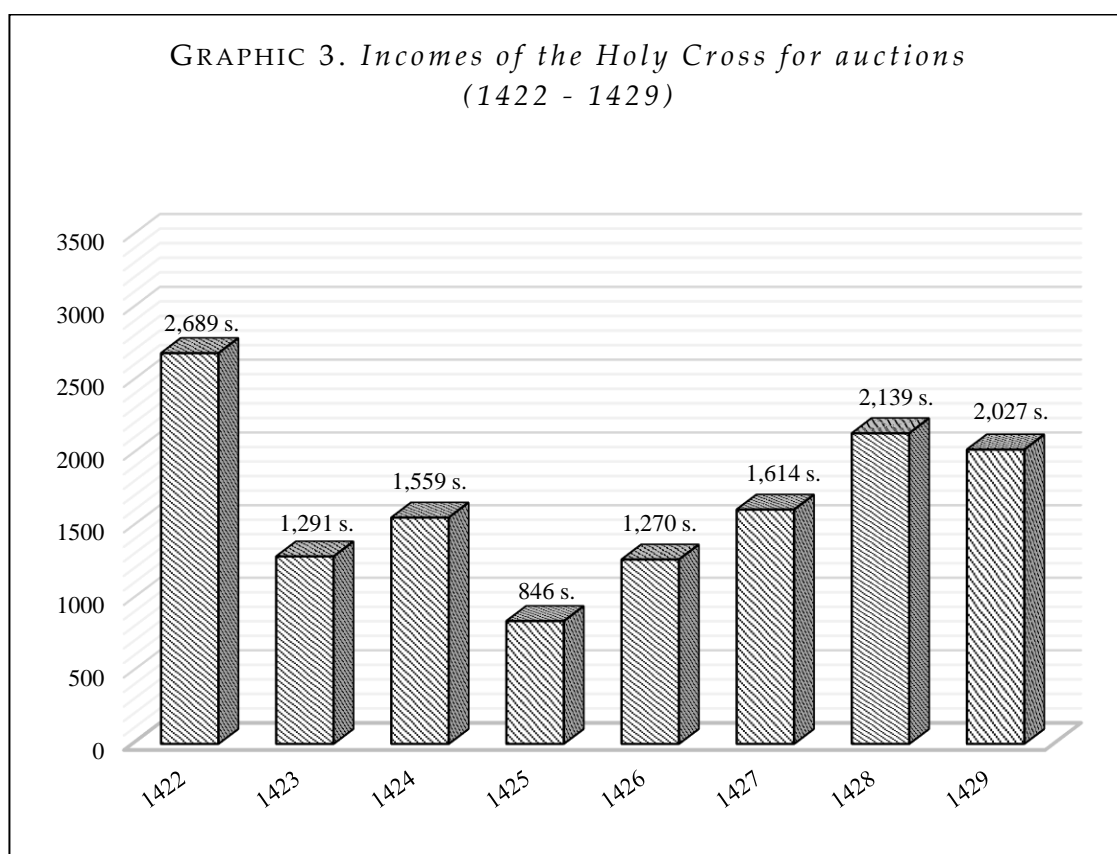


In any case, the accounts closure shows that already in the 1410s the management of the auctions was separate from the patrimonial one. An independent control that was materialised with the first sales book of 1422, maybe because of the programme of bureaucratisation expressed in the hospital's first statutes.

The Graphics 3, 4, 5 and 6 show the revenue that the Hospital of the Holy Cross perceived between 1422 and 1452 from auctions. Each one covers 8-year-long periods except for the last one, which is only seven years long and includes the total income from the respective annuities expressed in *sous*. Diving into the study of this data, the earnings written down by Manuel Sánchez Martínez in his article for the 1430-1431 annuity are the same as the ones shown by the book of auctions of the same period⁶⁰. In this context, if the auction books are fully analysed, they expose that the value of the earnings was quite irregular. Indeed, the hospital earnings for selling objects did not have any measurable pattern, since it exclusively depended on the wealth that certain people offered for the reasons already mentioned left to the hospital. However, a worth-noting element in these earnings is that during the first sixteen years they comprise the 65.62% of

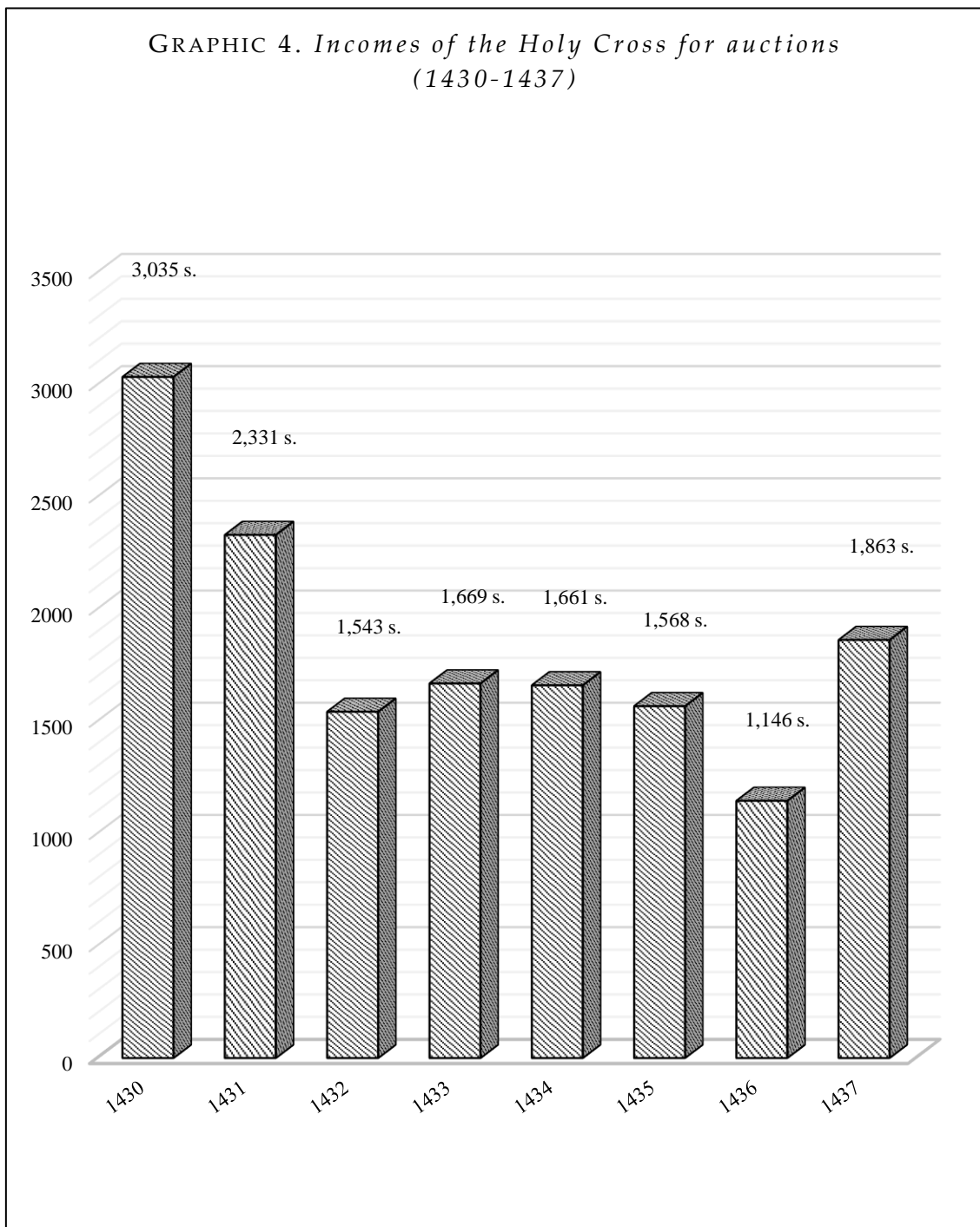
⁶⁰ There is just a difference of 7 s. between the study of Sánchez Martínez (3,816 s.) and ours (3,809 s.). Sánchez Martínez 2014, p.192. We must insist, however, that these values are only about the sales of chattels.

the total income between 1422 and 1452. And within this period, between 1428 and 1431, there are five consecutive annuities that exceed the threshold of 2,000 s. annually. This fact can indeed be linked to the typical irregularities of the hospital auctions, but by coincidence tally up with the moment when the economic management changes at the hospital started⁶¹. All the auctions of these five years accurately detail the necessary data to know the origin of the goods sold, either by indicating the name of the previous owner, or by specifying the exact dates (day, month, and year) when an indefinite number of people had died in the hospital.

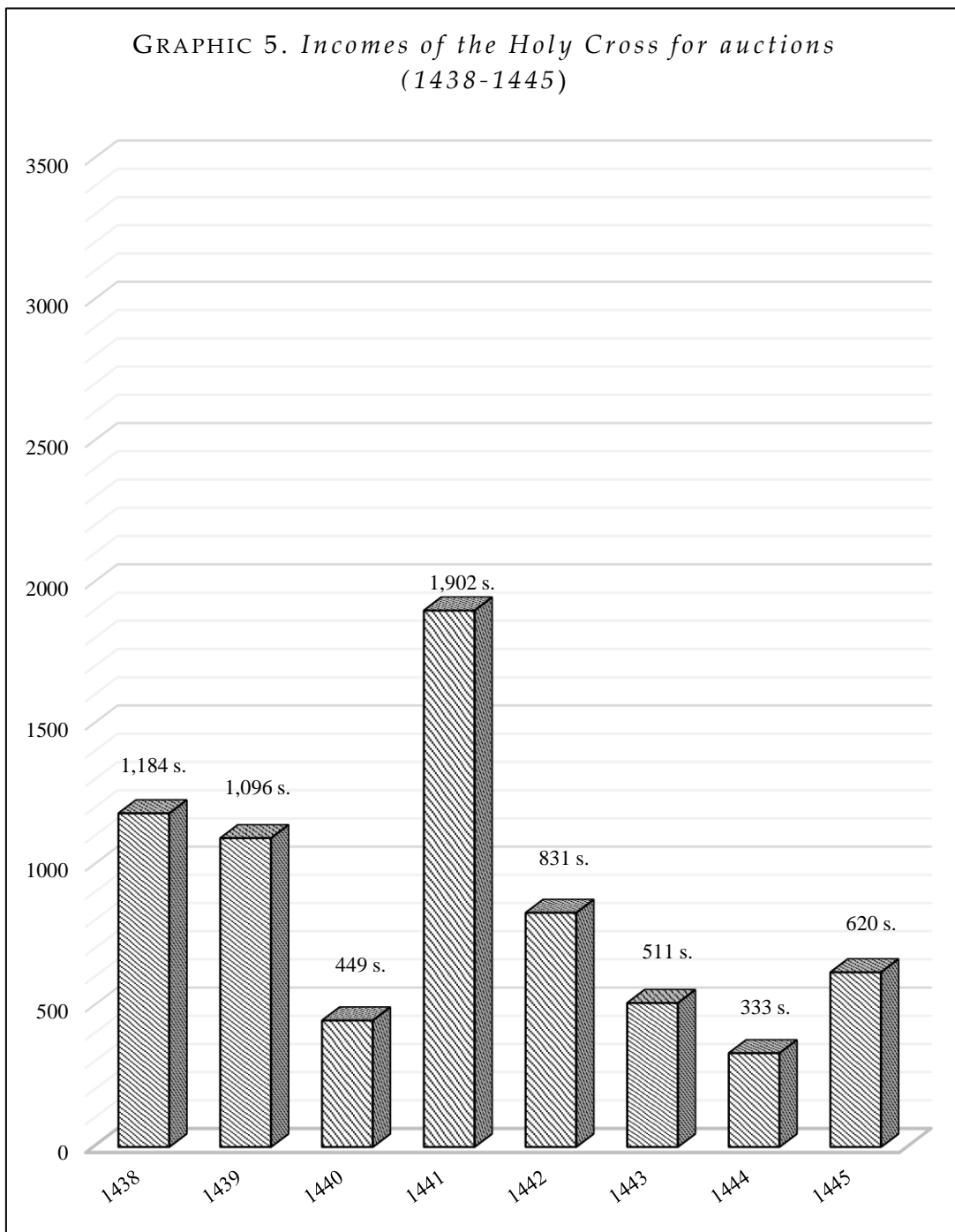


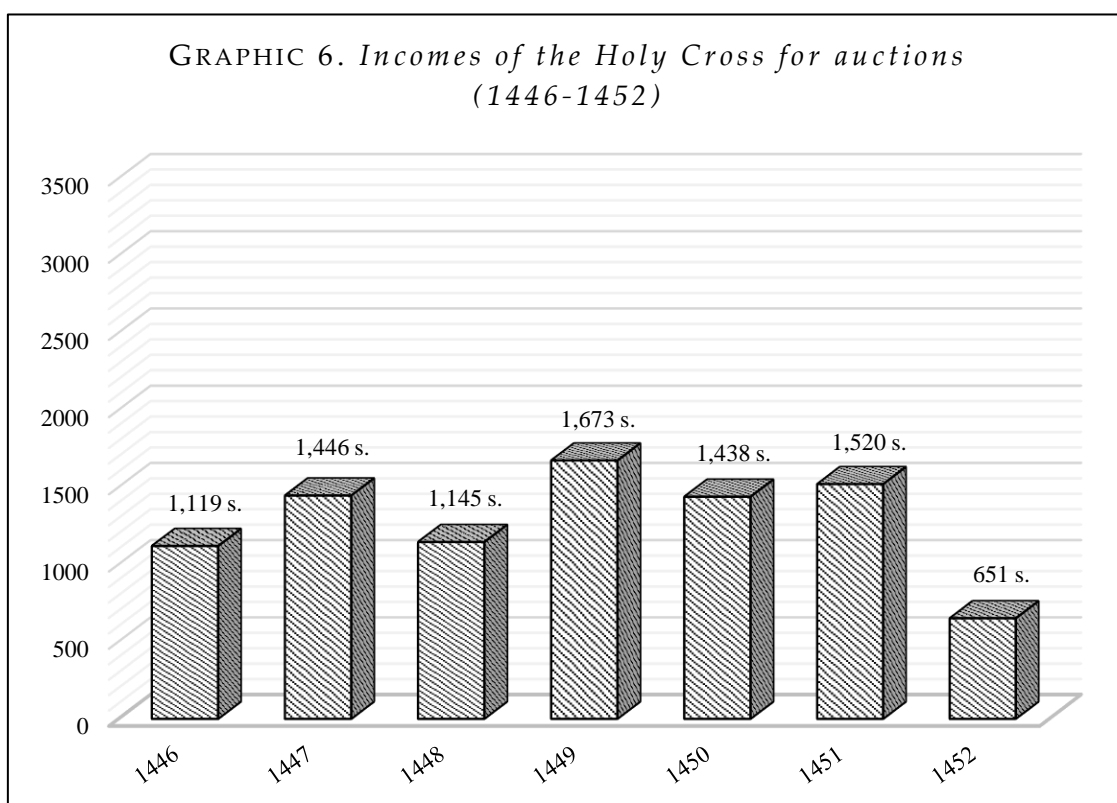
⁶¹ See footnote n. 52.

GRAPHIC 4. *Incomes of the Holy Cross for auctions*
(1430-1437)



GRAPHIC 5. *Incomes of the Holy Cross for auctions (1438-1445)*





Having seen the hospital's earnings, it is time to address the expenses generated by the auctions. All of them entailed the payment of the brokers in charge and the porters that took the objects to the market. Both officials earned their proportional part as soon as the sales had finished⁶². Other expenses were related to the goods received by the Holy Cross, which, obviously, also had to be covered. For example, we find the expenses linked to the payment of rents, loans, donations to confraternities, payments for the celebrations of masses and anniversaries, and personal debts for purchases that the deceased had done before dying. They all had to be solved by the hospital, which sometimes meant that the earnings were very low, or even negative.⁶³

⁶² In 1451 the municipal regulations of Barcelona established that for sales of linen the broker would earn 4 deniers per pound and, for jewellery, clothes, and other objects, 2 deniers per pound. *Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (henceforth AHCB), 03/1B.IV-7, ff. 63v-64v, cfr. García Marsilla – Navarro Espinach – Vela Aulesa, 2015, p. 305.

⁶³ It was the case of, for instance, the auction celebrated on the 14th of March 1424, with the goods of shoemaker Bernat Roig. Even though the total earnings were 4 ll., 1 s., 2 d., these were not enough to cover the debts to be solved. The expenses for the broker (1 s., 6 d.) for

Finally, it is important to insist on something already mentioned, that is, that the auction market was one of the most important coin exchange places in the city, since auctions were paid with cash (García Marsilla - Navarro Espinach – Vela Aulesa, 2015, p. 304). Like other actors, the Holy Cross found there the possibility of acquiring liquidity quickly and, thus, to be able to cover its expenses. Along this line there are two auctions that took place in Joan Torró's office on the 26th of September 1422. Bernat Sacarrera, the coin acceptor at the time, ordered the sale two ivory handle knives and a case with silver clasps and strap. They were objects received by the Holy Cross in 1416 with the inheritance of the cardinal of Toulouse⁶⁴. Six years later, however, they decided to sell them at the market. The knives were bought by the priest Dionís Beguda, and the case by the silversmith Mateu Canyes, with a revenue of 319 *sous* for the institution⁶⁵.

4. Conclusions

The Hospital of the Holy Cross was the result of a joint endeavour of the *Consell de Cent* and the Cathedral Chapter, protected by the Crown, by the bishop and by the Papacy. From the beginning, the institution was favoured with various concessions that aimed at protecting and benefiting it, in order to safely build the new project that the hospital represented. This article begins with one of these privileges, granted by King Martin during September of 1405, which gave to the Hospital of the Holy Cross the goods of all of those who died there with no testament or legitimate heirs. Using it as a starting point, this study intends to establish the privilege's previous tradition and, at the same time, see how it affected the daily functioning of the hospital.

In the first place, it has been proven that King Martin's concession was not a novelty. It was thus expressed by the Holy Cross administrators with their words when addressing the petition to the King. On the contrary, it can be argued that from then on, the privilege was widely spread among the hospitals

the porter (1 s., 6 d.), to rent the house were Bernat used to live (3 s.), to write the inventory and the auction (9 s.) and for some pending debts according to an order of the mayor appointed by the King (3 ll., 15 s., 10 d.) meant that the procurator would have to pay 7 s., 8 d. For this reason, Bernat Sacarrera ordered that with the profits generated by the auction (celebrated seven days later) the money paid in advanced had to be returned to the procurator. BC AH 179, ff. 34v-35v.

⁶⁴ See footnote n. 58.

⁶⁵ BC AH 179, f. 14v.

in the Crown of Aragon, to which the Holy Cross was a common model in terms of management and funding⁶⁶. In short, the privilege over the goods of the deceased gave the hospital a constant accumulation of clothes and objects that could be put out to tender. It was a way of acquiring liquidity quickly and, thus, be able to cover the institution's debts. Those incomes contributed to cover the expenses caused by the deceased and other patients. It should be noted, however, that understanding this as a payment for their stay would be an anachronism, as the introduction of this funding method in the economic model of Catalan hospitals did not appear until the 18th century (Barceló Prats, 2017, p. 120).

Secondly, it has been demonstrated that the participation of the Hospital of the Holy Cross in the second-hand market was doubly regulated. The first control was ordered by the municipal regulations, which regulated everything related to the auctions own functioning. The second control came from the hospital itself, which from 1417 detailed in the *Llibre d'ordinacions* some control mechanisms over the objects that were taken to the market. That being so, in the rationalization of the institution's funding, various second-hand market professionals and management documental instruments intertwined. The auction books have enabled us to track the professional profile of the market's agents, to study the regularity of the hospital auctions, and to quantify its economic income.

This paper is a first approach to understand how the Hospital of the Holy Cross fits in the auction market of Barcelona, for which it became an important and regular provider. As if in an auction, once the call is made, it is now time to take an interest in the products that the Holy Cross brought to the market,

⁶⁶ To complement the notes 21, 22, 23 and 24 here is another example of the hospital from Mallorca. In the *Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca* (henceforth ARM) we can find the acts of the council meeting of the 10th of September 1478, when the hospital scarcities were exposed. The situation was compared to the relation between the *Consell de Cent* and the hospital of Barcelona, underlining the fact that, despite the huge expense generated by the Civil War, the town did not neglect the payment of the municipal subsidy of 2,000 ll. given annually: "A vosaltres molt magnífichs jurats e al Gran e General Consell [...] podem pendra exempli de moltres altres parts e ciutat en les quals semblants hospitals [...] han tot lo que és necessari e abundantment, e les ciutats e terres hon aquels són molt prosperades e preservades de molts perills. La ciutat de Barchinona, en lo temps de la guerra opressa e destruhide de rendes e censals, e lo gran hospital de aquella, preuat e destituhit de totes les sues rendes e emoliments, no obmès la dita ciutat de les sues necessitats socórrer e ajudar, aquells ans li dona II mil liures cascun any." ARM, *Actes del General Consell de Mallorca*, 11, ff. 39r-40r. But the Holy Cross's fortune lasted for few years. In 1482 the *Consell* decided to permanently cut the subsidy. See Marcé Sánchez – Miquel Milian (in press).

taking a closer look at their diversity, at their value, and at the buyers that answered the announcements of the brokers hired by the hospital.

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6. Appendix

Table 1. List of auctions included in BC AH 179, 180 and 1011

No.	Date	Place
1	05/03/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
2	07/03/1422	Portal de la Boqueria.
3	13/03/1422	Plaça del Mar.
4	31/03/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
5	05/05/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
6	04/06/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
7	02/07/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
8	23/07/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
9	23/07/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
10	23/07/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
11	04/08/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
12	06/08/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
13	04/09/1422	-
14	05/09/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
15	12/09/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
16	26/09/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
17	26/09/1422	<i>Scriptorium</i> of Joan Torró, plaça Sant Jaume.
18	26/09/1422	<i>Scriptorium</i> of Joan Torró, plaça Sant Jaume.
19	03/10/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
20	20/10/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
21	07/11/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
22	01/12/1422	Plaça Sant Jaume.
23	07/01/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
24	30/01/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
25	04/02/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
26	06/02/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
27	04/03/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
28	31/03/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
29	03/04/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
30	18/05/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
31	16/06/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
32	09/07/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
33	31/08/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
34	12/11/1423	-
35	15/11/1423	Plaça de la Llotja.
36	04/12/1423	Plaça Sant Jaume.
37	20/12/1423	Plaça de la Llotja.
38	04/01/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
39	01/02/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
40	02/03/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
41	14/03/1424	Plaça de la Boqueria.
42	21/03/1424	Vic de Sant Pere més baix.
43	01/04/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
44	27/04/1424	-
45	06/05/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
46	06/06/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
47	09/06/1424	Plaça del Pont d'en Campderà.
48	07/07/1424	Plaça de la Llotja.
49	18/07/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
50	03/08/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
51	08/08/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
52	26/08/1424	-
53	02/09/1424	-
54	05/10/1424	-
55	05/10/1424	-
56	10/10/1424	-
57	14/10/1424	-
58	02/12/1424	Plaça Sant Jaume.
59	17/02/1425	-
60	10/03/1425	Plaça Sant Jaume.
61	03/04/1425	Plaça Sant Jaume.
62	04/04/1425	Plaça de la Llotja.
63	10/04/1425	Carrer Nou, sobre Santa Maria de Montcarmel.
64	08/05/1425	-
65	13/06/1425	Plaça de la Vilanova.
66	19/06/1425	Plaça Sant Jaume.
67	02/08/1425	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
68	28/12/1425	Plaça Sant Jaume.
69	03/01/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
70	19/02/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
71	02/03/1426 05/03/1426 07/03/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
72	06/04/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume
73	06/04/1426 08/04/1426 10/04/1426	Plaça de la Capella d'en Marcús. Plaça Sant Jaume. Plaça Sant Jaume.
74	13/04/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
75	20/07/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
76	28/09/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
77	17/10/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
78	17/10/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
79	07/12/1426	Plaça Sant Jaume.
80	19/12/1426	Portal de la Boqueria.
81	16/01/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
82	18/01/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
83	24/01/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
84	31/01/1427	Vic d'en Carabassa.
85	01/02/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
86	08/02/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
87	01/03/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
88	13/03/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
89	29/04/1427	At the door of the Hospital of the Holy Cross.
90	17/07/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
91	11/08/1427	<i>Scriptorium</i> of Joan Torró, plaça Sant Jaume.
92	04/09/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
93	25/10/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
94	11/12/1427	Plaça Sant Jaume.
95	23/01/1428	At the door of Margarida's house, Vic dels Pellers.
96	31/01/1428	Plaça Sant Jaume.
97	02/03/1428	Plaça Sant Jaume.
98	02/03/1428 05/03/1428	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
	20/04/1428	
99	03/03/1428	<i>Scriptorium</i> of Joan Torró, Plaça Sant Jaume.
100	12/04/1428	Portal de la Boqueria.
101	08/05/1428	-
102	01/06/1428	Plaça Sant Jaume.
103	22/06/1428	-
104	07/08/1428	Beginning of the Carrer de Sant Pere més baix.
105	11/08/1428	Portal de Trenta Claus.
106	19/10/1428	-
107	02/12/1428	Plaça Sant Jaume.
108	03/12/1428	Quarter of Banyes Nous
109	11/01/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
110	20/01/1429	Vic d'en Ginjoler.
111	01/02/1429	-
112	08/03/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
113	21/04/1429	Vic d'en Rouric.
114	22/04/1429	In the cloisters of the Cathedral of Barcelona.
115	10/05/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
116	18/08/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
117	20/10/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
118	01/12/1429	Plaça Sant Jaume.
119	07/01/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
120	16/01/1430	Vic d'en Porta.
121	18/03/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
122	20/03/1430	<i>Scriptorium</i> of Joan Torró, plaça Sant Jaume.
123	04/04/1430	-
124	17/04/1430	Sagrera de Vilapicina, in the parish of Sant Andreu del Palomar.
125	10/06/1430 13/06/1430	-
126	18/07/1430 19/07/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
127	08/08/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
128	31/08/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
129	05/10/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
130	14/11/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
131	12/12/1430	Plaça Sant Jaume.
132	02/01/1431 10/01/1431 15/01/1431 16/01/1431 18/01/1431	Plaça del Blat. Vic dels Daguers. Vic dels Daguers. Vic d'en Robador. Vic d'en Robador.
133	16/01/1431	Plaça Sant Jaume.
134	08/02/1431	-
135	10/03/1431	Plaça Sant Jaume.
136	12/04/1431	-
137	02/08/1431 04/08/1431	Plaça Sant Jaume.
138	03/10/1431	Vic de Montjuïc.
139	11/09/1431 12/09/1431 13/09/1431 18/09/1431 03/10/1431 10/10/1431	Close to the Volta dels candelers de seu.
140	10/11/1431	Plaça Sant Jaume.
141	17/11/1431	Plaça Sant Jaume.
142	12/01/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
143	29/01/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
144	08/03/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
145	15/03/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
146	22/03/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
147	29/03/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
148	01/04/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
149	14/05/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
150	16/09/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
151	15/12/1432	Plaça Sant Jaume.
152	04/01/1433	-
153	28/03/1433	Plaça Sant Jaume.
154	07/07/1433	Plaça Sant Jaume.
155	28/08/1433	Plaça Sant Jaume.
156	01/09/1433	Plaça Sant Jaume.
157	31/10/1433	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
158	18/01/1434	Vic de Santa Anna.
159	19/01/1434	Vic de Montjuïc.
160	02/03/1434 18/03/1434	Plaça Sant Jaume.
161	12/03/1434 13/03/1434	Llotja de Barcelona. Plaça Sant Jaume.
162	13/02/1434	Plaça Sant Jaume.
163	13/02/1434	Plaça Sant Jaume.
164	11/09/1434	Plaça Sant Jaume.
165	09/10/1434	Plaça Sant Jaume.
166	14/10/1434 24/10/1434	-
167	27/01/1435	Plaça Sant Jaume.
168	02/04/1435	Plaça Sant Jaume.
169	06/08/1435	Plaça Sant Jaume.
170	10/11/1435	Plaça Sant Jaume.
171	27/03/1436	Plaça Sant Jaume.
172	29/03/1436	Plaça Sant Jaume.
173	08/11/1436	Plaça Sant Jaume.
174	03/01/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
175	07/03/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
176	14/03/1437	-
177	31/08/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
178	07/09/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
179	18/09/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
180	24/09/1437 26/09/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
181	03/10/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
182	09/10/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
183	03/12/1437	Plaça Sant Jaume.
184	27/02/1438	Plaça Sant Jaume.
185	08/03/1438	-
186	10/07/1438	Plaça Sant Jaume.
187	04/11/1438	Plaça Sant Jaume.
188	09/12/1438	Plaça Sant Jaume.
189	24/03/1439	Plaça Sant Jaume.
190	20/08/1439	Plaça Sant Jaume.
191	05/09/1439	Vic de Sant Pere Sobirà.

No.	Date	Place
192	28/11/1439	Plaça Sant Jaume.
193	03/12/1439	Plaça Nova.
194	07/12/1439	Vic del Pont de Santa Marta.
195	14/01/1440	Vic d'en Alcover.
196	10/03/1440	Plaça Sant Jaume.
197	06/06/1440	Portal de Jonqueres.
198	23/06/1440	Plaça Sant Jaume.
199	12/11/1440 16/11/1440	Quarter of Fonollar.
200	13/12/1440	-
201	05/01/1441	Plaça Sant Jaume.
202	06/03/1441	Plaça Santa Anna.
203	21/03/1441	Plaça Sant Jaume.
204	05/04/1441	Plaça de la Llotja.
205	30/05/1441	Plaça Sant Jaume.
206	11/07/1441 12/07/1441	Plaça Sant Jaume.
207	22/10/1441 25/10/1441	Plaça Sant Jaume. Plaça de la Llotja.
208	16/12/1441	At Antoni's house, at the Vic d'en Bot, from the carrer de na Canuda, to the carrer de la Porta Ferrissa.
209	30/12/1441	Vic dels Corretgers.
210	05/01/1442	Vic d'en mossèn Borra.
211	26/01/1442	Carrer Ample.
212	10/03/1442	Plaça Sant Jaume.
213	16/06/1442	-
214	27/09/1442	Plaça Sant Jaume.
215	03/09/1442	Pont de Santa Marta.
216	15/11/1442	Plaça Sant Jaume.
217	09/03/1443	Vic de n' Amargós.
218	10/03/1443	Plaça Sant Jaume.
219	14/03/1443	Plaça Sant Jaume.
220	18/02/1443	Joana's shop, behind Santa Caterina.
221	10/07/1443	Vic dels Tallers.
222	12/07/1443	-
223	12/07/1443	Vic dels Banys Nous.
224	10/10/1443	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
225	12/03/1444	Marimon's shop, near the Monastery of Jonqueres.
226	04/04/1444	Plaça Sant Jaume.
227	02/07/1444	Plaça Sant Jaume.
228	03/07/1444	Plaça Nova.
229	18/07/1444	Plaça Sant Jaume.
230	17/12/1444	Plaça de la Bòria.
231	15/05/1445	Plaça Sant Jaume.
232	20/07/1445	Plaça Sant Jaume.
233	14/08/1445	Plaça Sant Jaume.
234	[.../.../1445]	-
235	19/12/1445	Vila de Sant Vicenç.
236	13/01/1446	Plaça Sant Jaume.
237	12/05/1446	-
238	13/09/1446	-
239	22/12/1446	-
240	09/02/1447	-
241	07/02/1447	-
242	16/02/1447	-
243	13/03/1447	-
244	[...]/07/1447	-
245	03/09/1447	Plaça Sant Jaume.
246	19/12/1447	-
247	28/02/1448	-
248	27/05/1448	-
249	02/07/1448	-
250	10/10/1448	-
251	17/12/1448 31/12/1448	Plaça Sant Jaume.
252	02/01/1449	In the house where the deceased was used to live.
253	15/03/1449	-
254	29/03/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.
255	05/04/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.
256	03/07/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.
257	25/10/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.
258	25/10/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.
259	11/12/1449	Plaça Sant Jaume.

No.	Date	Place
260	11/04/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
261	16/05/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
262	26/05/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
263	17/07/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
264	18/07/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
265	29/07/1450	-
266	13/08/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
267	12/09/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
268	10/11/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
269	05/12/1450	Plaça Sant Jaume.
270	16/01/1451	Vic dels Còdols.
271	18/01/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
272	04/02/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
273	04/02/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
274	18/02/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
275	27/02/1451	Vic d'en Petritxol.
276	04/03/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
277	30/03/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
278	30/03/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
279	15/04/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
280	10/06/1451	Vic de les Repenedides.
281	01/07/1451	Near Santa Anna's church.
282	06/07/1451	-
283	17/08/1451	Plaça Sant Jaume.
284	26/10/1451	-
285	15/12/1451	-
286	16/12/1451	Llotja de Barcelona.
287	[1451-1452]	-
288	29/02/1452	Plaça Sant Jaume.
289	09/03/1452	Plaça Sant Jaume.
290	15/07/1452	Plaça Sant Jaume.
291	18/07/1452	Plaça Sant Jaume.
292	[...]/08/1445	-
293	23/08/1452	-
294	17/09/1452	-
295	26/09/1452	Plaça Sant Jaume.
296	[...]/.../1452]	-

No.	Date	Place
297	[...]/01/1453	-
298	17/02/1453	-
299	[...]/04/1453	-
300	24/07/1453	-
301	20/08/1453	-
302	11/12/1453	-
303	28/03/1454	-
304	16/05/1454	-
305	08/06/1454	-
306	27/06/1454	-
307	04/07/1454	-
308	18/07/1454	Vic de Montjuïc.
309	19/07/1454	-
310	04/09/1454	-
311	17/10/1454	-
312	19/12/1454	Near the Plaça de la Llotja.
313	21/12/1454	Near the plaça de la Llotja.
314	22/12/1454	-
315	01/07/1455 03/07/1455	-
316	27/09/1455	-
317	11/12/1455	-
318	31/12/1455	-
319	16/03/1456	-
320	16/03/1456	-
321	04/04/1456	-
322	27/04/1456	-
323	13/05/1456 25/05/1456	-
324	22/06/1456	-
325	17/07/[1456]	-
326	19/08/1456	-
327	04/08/1456	-
328	04/08/1456	-
329	23/11/1456	-
330	16/12/1456	-
331	16/07/1457	Plaça Sant Jaume.
332	04/08/1457	-

No.	Date	Place
333	[.../08/1457]	-
334	27/08/1457	-
335	05/09/1457	Plaça Sant Jaume.
336	10/09/1457	Plaça Sant Jaume.
337	13/09/1457	Plaça Sant Jaume.
338	15/09/1457	-
339	03/12/1457	-
340	[.../.../1457]	-
341	15/12/1457	-
342	18/12/1457	-
343	16/03/1458 17/03/1458	Near the plaça de la Llotja.
344	11/04/1458	-
345	30/05/1458	-
346	11/12/1458	-

7. Curriculum Vitae

Jaume Marcé Sánchez is a PhD student at the University of Barcelona. The aim of his thesis is to study the patrimony of the Hospital of the Holy Cross of Barcelona during the Fifteenth Century. His research and interests also focus on social history, especially writing and notarial history.

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