THE EARLY ARAGONESE PARDINA : ITS ETYMOLOGY AND FUNCTION

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The majority of the population of Upper Aragon has traditionally tended to group itself in nucleated communities, but numerous isolated habitations dot hte landscape. There are various types of such establishments, serving different functions and called by distinctive names. *Pajares* and *bordas* are relatively modest dwellings serving the temporary needs of the shepherds of the region, while the *casetas* act as field quarters during the height of the agricultural season (1). The most impressive in physical appearance, however, as well as the most significant economically, are the *pardinas* of the region. The typical *pardina*, unlike the other isolated dwellings, is intended for permanent residence and constitutes a complete unit for agricultural and pastoral exploitation (2). There is usually a substantial main house, stock pens, and assorted outbuildings, while the land is devoted both to grazing and cultivation. The *pardina* occupies an unusual legal position. Whereas most of the other isolated dwellings are owned by inhabitants of the villages of the district, the *pardina* is often controlled by an absentee landlord and is, in any case, independent of the village. Although located within the borders of a *municipio* and subject in most respects to local government, the owners and occupants of the *pardinas* are denied any share in the meadows, mountains, and forests which form the communal property of the Aragonese village community.

The majority of the *pardinas* of Upper Aragon were crea-

ted by the *Ley de* desamortizacion of 1836 and later decrees by which the Crown sought to alleviate its financial difficulties through the confiscation and sale of much village communal property(3). The *pardina* is not an exclusively modern phenomenon, however, since there are *pardinas* mentioned in some of the earliest documents which have survived from the region(4). On the other hand, the connection between these early *pardinas* and the modern institution has not been demonstrated satisfactorily. The origin of the Aragonese *pardina*, its nature, and even the meaning of the word have become obscured with the passage of time.

Until relatively recently, the *pardina* has been of interest primarily to philologists, who have used its derivation from *pratum* as an example of some of the factors at work in the formation of the Aragonese dialect. The derivation was proposed by DuCange and accepted by the Royal Academy of Spain in its definitive dictionary of the Spanish language (5). Gerhard Rohlfs defined the *pardina* as an uncultivated plot suitable for pasturage and suggested the derivation from *pratum* through an intermediate term *pratina* (6). Manuel Alvar offered as a definition, " hacienda en el monte ", a characterization quite in line with the modern *pardinas* of Aragon. He suggested as an intermediate term *paratina*, derived from *pratum* and allied with the word *paratos* found in some early charters (7). Other philologists have accepted this basic line of thought(8). These etymologies are reasonable, but are acceptable only insofar as the original derivation of *pardina* from *pratum* is correct. There are many reasons to believe that it is not.

In the first place, there is no documentary evidence for any of the transitional forms through which it has been postulated *pratum* evolvedinto *pardina*. On the other hand, the development of *pratum* into the modern Aragonese forms of *prado* and

prau is well-attested ([9]). The derivation is clear, and the classical definition of " a meadow to be cultivated and moved " has been conserved ([10]). Secondly, although the words *pratum* and *pardina* both occur in early Aragonese Charters, there is a significant difference in their usage. It must be remembered that the Aragonese were primarily a pastoral people and maintained a high degree of precision when referring to pasture lands. There were three basic types of meadow recognized by the early Aragonese : the *pascua, pratum,* and *estiva.* Each had its own characteristics and each enoyed its own peculiar legal status. The *prata* were lands capable of being tilled and mowed for the production of fodder and, as such, were of particular economic importance because of the long wintering necessary in the region. It appears to have made no difference if a given *pratum* was in fact under cultivation ; its legal status was fixed by its potential, rather than actual, utilization. Although the *pratum* was probably worked individually, as is the present practice, it was regorded as part of the communal property of the village of which it formed a part. As such, *prata* were rarely alienated from the fillage communities of which they constituted an essential element, and the charters do not convey *prata* independently ([11]). The *pardinas,* on the other hand, are treated quite differently. They have their own place-names, whereas the *prata* are nameless : they are not described as being part of, or located within, another district ; and, finally, they are regularly transferred as independent properties. Thus the early Aragonese *pardina* appears to have been quite distinct from the contemporary *prata.* A final point might be made. A charter of the year 948 records the division of a *pardina* between the king of Pamplona and the monastery of San Juan de la Pena ([12]). The charter describe the property involved as " ... illa pardina quod est

super Scaberri medietate de omnia, aquis, pascuis ... " It continues to describe the fixing of the boundaries of the *pardina*, a process identical to that employed in establishing the boundaries of the villages of the region ([13]). This particular charter supports the view that the tenth-century Aragonese *pardina* had no necessary connection with a pratum ; it was some type of rural district which could contain a variety of properties, including meadows of a type quite distinct from the classic *pratum*.

The divergence between the generally accepted etymology of *pardina* and modern usage would be in itself enough to cast some doubts upon the validity of the derivation. Modern usage has not been a clear-cut matter, however. We have chosen the peculiar legal status of the modern *pardina* as its defining characteristic, but other interpretations are possible. One has led to a re-evaluation of the derivation of the term. Jerónimo Borao, in compiling his influential *Diccionario de voces aragonesas*, was apparently influenced primarily by the physical aspect of the *pardinas* of the region. The generally depressed economic conditions of the period had affected the *pardinas* particularly severely, and many of them had been temporarily abandoned. This perhaps influenced Barao in fixing his definition of *pardina* as " ... despoblado, esto es, yermo o sitio que en otro tiempo tuvo población ([14]). Whatever the limitations of this devinition, it possessed the advantage of relating the modern *pardina* to the historical demography of Upper Aragon. Ever since the appearance of adequate records, the region has shown a steady loss of population, a loss which has continued to the present time. Moreover, the abundance of abandoned dwellings and entire villages in the region as early as the sevententh century suggestes that this trend originated much earlier, perhaps at the beginning of the

Aragonese reconquest in the eleventh century (15).

The eminent Aragonese historian Ricardo del Arco y Garay saw Borao's definition as directly related to this trend, and suggested that *pardina* was originally the word by which the Aragonese referred to the abandoned villages which had for so long formed a prominent feature of their landscape (16). This interpretation demanded a new etymology, and Arco suggested a derivation from *parietinae*. The classical validity of the term is attested by Cicero, with the basic meaning of old walls or uninhabited ruin. Arco proposed a derivation following the pattern *parietinae partinae pardina* (17). Arco's suggestion is supported by Isidore of Seville, who uses the plural form *parietinas* and emphasizes the connotation of an uninhabited locale (18). Arco's argument is both attractive and ingenius, and is now accepted by the Royal Academy for the etymology of *pardina* (19).

The weakness of this interpretation is that it is based on Borao's questionable definition. Although the Aragonese *pardinas* are not uniformly successful and are sometimes abandoned or left uncultivated, this is not a general rule. Contrary to Borao, the modern *pardina* is not by definition an uninhabited or depopulated place. Nor does Borao's definition apply to the *pardinas* which appear in the early Aragonese charters. When compiling a glossary of terms employed by these charters, Eduardo Ibarra y Rodriguez was unable to reconcile Borao's definition with his data. He was forced to suggest that the word *pardina* in the charters referred to " casas de campo ", and that the denomination persisted as these were abandoned, finally coming to mean " depopulated (20). The fact of the matter is that Borao's definition of *pardina* is accurate for neither the modern nor the primitive institution. The nature of the *pardinas* of early Aragon must be determined

through the examination of the texts in which they are mentioned, and any proposed etymology must be based upon the definition thus established.

When one turns to a consideration of the early charters, one is struk both by the relatively small member of *pardinas* mentioned and by their chronological and geographic concentration. There survive from Aragon some fifty-seven charters for the period prior to 1035. Within this body of data appear only nine *pardinas*, mentioned some seventeen times. Furthermore, three of these *pardinas* and eleven mentions appear in documents which are probably later forgeries ([21]). Thus only four authentic documents deal with *pardinas*, and there appear to be only six properties involved. The first of these charters dates from 828, one of the earliest surviving documents from the region, and the last from 948, still relatively early ([22]). Moreover, five of these six *pardinas* were mostlprobably located in or near the lower valley of the Veral River, and the sixth only five miles from the junction of that stream with Aragon. One might suspect that the term may have represented the peculiar usage of a single monostery, but the charters in question, although all contained in a single cartulary collection, originated in three separate and originally independent abbeys : San Martin de Cillas, San Julián de Labasal, and San Juan de la Peng. It would be tempting to argue that the term constituted a local usage of the Veral Valley and its immediate vicinity, but the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence makes any argument from silence particularly dangerous. In any event, the relatively widespread appearance of place-names using forms of *pardina* in Upper Aragon suggests that the term may have been in general use ([23]).

The first charter to mention *pardinas* dates from the year 828, originated in the monastery of San Martin de Cillas, and

describes the possessions of that establishment (24). Among these properties three *parinnas* are mentioned by name, Laqunala, Sarrensa, and Buscitee. Since the same charter mentions two *montes* by name, it would be reasonable to assume that there existed some distinction, either physical or legal, between the *monte* and *pardina.* It is possible to locate one of these *padinas* relatively closely. The text reads in part, " ... et illa pardina Laqunala, et descendit illo termino ad illa fasca, et per medio Opakello usque in Berali ". One of the boundaries of the *pardina* is formed by the Veral river itself. This would lead one to suspect that the tract contained at least some bottom land, a rare and highly valued agricultural commodity in this particular region (25).

The second charter, from San Julián de Labasal, dates from 893 and is somewhat more complex (26). A dispute had arisen between the village of Biniés, Tolosana, and Orrios in the Veral valley on the one hand, and the monostery of San Julián on the other. San Julián had once held the lands upon which the villages were situated " ... antequam sobales et sardacenses disperserant illo monasterio cum suos meakinos, quando nondum adhuc erant illas villas populates ". Galindo Aznar, count of Aragon, and Fortum Garcés, king of Pamplona, together with their " barones ", arrived to fix the disputed bounaries. A specific clause was added reserving the *pardina* of Castilgon to San Julián.

> Et de parte aqua de Berale, illa pardina de Castilgon cum suo termino de illa pardina, quia fuerunt meskinos de Labasal, et sic fuit suo termino, ex una parte talgat illo termino de illo rivo quod currit in fundes de Bubalo et de Torrente, et cadit in Berale, et ex alia parte alio rivo quod

descendit per illa Sabbatera et per Sancti Stephani et cadit in Berale : sic est termino de Castilgon ([27]).

This particular charter provides a considerable amount of interesting information. In the first place, it is possible to locate this tract even more closely than Laqunala, on the western bank of the Veral near the present Estrecho de Bugalo in the término of Ansô. Like Laqunala, Castilgon almost certainly contained some arable land, and it is difficult to believe that it was entirely abandoned to pasturage. Moreover, it would appear that the *pardina* was inhabited by tenant workers, since ownership was vested in the monastery and *mesquinos* were by definition without property. Finally, the place-name, taken in conjunction with those recorded in the previous chapter offers some material for conjecture. Although it is difficult to determine the origins of the place-names of this region with any degree of exactitude, a reasonably good case could be made for a Latin derivation of all four, Laqunala, Sarrensa, Buscitee, and Castilgon. At any rate, none of the four are clearly of the pre-Roman type with which the region abounds.

The fourth pertinent charter originated in San Martin de Cillas and dates from the period 905-925 ([28]). It also presents some complexities. The opening reads.

> Erat Berali villa pardina cubile de domno Martino ; et fecerunt ibi ecclesia Sancti Iohannis Evangeliste. Et post deinde venit senior Galindo Asnari et vidit illa pardina et placuit ei, et quesivit illa ad abbate Barseane et ad illos monacos qui erant in monasterio ut populasset eam.

The monks rejected count Galindo's request, and the disagreement was appealed to Sancho Garcés, king of Pamplona,

for resolution. The *pardina* was turned over to Galindo to be populated with the provision that the tithes and other eclasiastical offerings of the village were to remain the property of the monastery of San Martin. The Text indicates that the *pardina* was a district adaptable to a number of purposes. This particular *pardina* had served the monastery as a sheep fold, but thad supported a sufficient population to justify the erection of a church. It had the potential to sustain an even more substantial population and was converted into a village ([29]). The amount of arable land available must have been limited, however, since the villagers later found that their lands were exhausted and eroded, and were forced to seek additional holdings ([30]).

The last charter to be considered comes from the monastery of San Juan de la Pena and is dated 1948 ([31]). The text reads in part :

> Hec est cartula corroborationis vel memoria de alode de Sancti Ihoannis monasterio, quod dederunt comites domnus Gusticulus et d o m n u s Galindo comis illa pardina quod est super Scaberri mediëtate de onnia, aquis, pascuis .....

The *pardina* was divided between the monastery and the king of Pamplona, who ordered one of his barons to determine the boundaries of the *pardina* and turn over to the monastery its half. This was done, and the determination of boundaries was accomplished through the same process by which village boundaries were legally fixed. This document brings up the basic question of the legal nature of the early *pardina*. The text describes the property of the monastery as an *allod*, a term which usually connotates a complete and unrestricted ownership ([32]). The problem inherent in this particular description is to determine whether the allodial nature of the holding deri-

ved from the nature of the *pardina* itself, or was a status attached to the particular portion which was turned over to the monastery. The dispute between the count of Aragon and the monks of San Martin de Cillas gains an additional significance when regarded in the light of this question. The count had wished to populate an under-developed tract which the monastery possessed and upon which the monks had already constructed a church. The monastery could expect to receive tithes, offerings, rents and renders from the new settlers, and would thus have benefitted substantially from the proposed arrangement. One may question why the monks of San Martin opposed the plan. The monastery obviously must have had something to lose in this particular transaction. If one accepts the proposition that the *pardina*, by its nature, constituted an allodial holding, the problem becomes clear. The count's plan involved the importation of free peasants, and the peasant of early Aragon possessed certain customary rights which would have seriously impaired the abbey's control over these particular lands. The early Aragonese village community was based upon the exploitation of communally held resources. Each household within the community was guaranteed usufruct of the forests for fuel, the *pascuae* for grazing, the *prate* for moving, and whatever small patches of ground might be suitable for vegetables and grapes. Moreover, the grain-bearing lands. or *campi*, upon which the village depended could be alienated only with the consent of the entire community and even then only in exchange for pooperty of substantial value to the community as a whole ([33]). In short, the conversion of a *pardina* into a village brought into force a body of customary law which almost completely erased the unrestricted dominion and right of alienation which lay at the heart of the concept of allodial possession. The *pardina*, as an allodial holding, could not be

tenatted by a community of free peasants. Its juridical status could be maintained only when it was uninhabited, or when it was occupied either by its owners or by *mesquinos*, a group which was, by definition, without property rights. In this light it is interesting to note that Castilgon, the only *pardina* which is described as being inhabited, was occupied by *mesquinos* dependent on the monastery of San Julián de Labasal (34).

The information provided by the early cartulary evidence may be easily summarized, and a good deal may be inferred concerning the nature of the early Aragonese *pardina*. The *pardina* was neither exclusively meadow lands nor necessarily depopulated. It was a rural tract of indeterminate size, but usually containing both arable and grazing lands. It was an allodial holding, without limitations upon the proprietary rights of its owner. It was thus legally differentiated from the village of the region, in which ownership rights were conditioned by a body of customary law based upon the protection and conservation of the community's resources. The *pardina* could be populated, but its allodial nature could be maintained only if the occupants were the owners themselves or *mesquino* tenants. It was thus something in the nature of a farm or estate, rather than a village community (35).

It can hardly escape attention that the essential characteristics of the early Aragonese *pardina* were the dame features as those which define the modern institution (36). The *pardina* has remained basically unchanged, especially in its legal aspects, over the passage of the centuries. It was, and is, an allodial independent holding. a private estate as distinguished from the communal villages of the region.

This realization allows us to return to a consideration of the derivation of the word *pardina*. If the names of the early

Aragonese *pardinas* are any indication of the institution, this type of rural district probably evolved in Roman or immediately post-Roman times, and the original term must have been Latin. Furthermore, since the original institution was an allodial estate, the original term probably signified just that. Within such limits it is not difficult to find a likely origin. Although there are various classical and post-classical terms signifying " estate ", the word *praedium* was common, and its currency among Hispane-Romans of the late classical period is attested by its use by both Paul Orosius and Isidore of Seville ([37]).

The morphological evolution of *pardina* from *praedium* is somewhat more complex than those which have been proposed from the bases of *pratum* and *parietinus,* but is reasonable in its various steps and allows a somewhat greater period of development than the other etymologies. The first two steps would involve the contraction of the *-ae-* diphthong to *-e-*, and the plural *-ia-* ending coming to assume a singular force. Both of these developments are quite common in late Latin, and numerous similar cases could be adduced. These two changes would have produced an intermediate form, *predia,* the existance of which is verified by its appearance in a charter of the Aragonese region dating from about the year 576 ([38]). The next authentic charters from the region date from about the middle of the ninth century, and the term *pardina* appears fully developed in these texts. There is no intervening documentation, and the evolution from *predia* cannot be verified by written evidence. The steps are simple enough, however. Metathesis would have transformed *predia* into *perdia* in a fashion similar to that of *praelum perlum* ([39]). Elcock has effectively demonstrated the typical Aragonese vowel-shift é > ià > a before -r ([40]). The effect of this shift would yield a form *pardia.* The transfomation of the *-ia* ending into the common

diminutive *-ina* would then produce the final form *pardina*.

It is less simple to explain the curious geographic and chronological concentration of the term in the early documentary evidence, but it is possible to offer some suggestions. *Praedium* was not the only classical or post-classical term available to denote a privately-held estate. *Mansus*, for instance, appears to have been more favored to the east and eventually evolved into the modern Catilan forms *mas* and *masia*. It would seem that to the west the Navarrese favored the more purely classical form *palatium*, *Pardina*, which had departed far from its classical origin by the ninth century, appears only in the earliest of the Aragonese charters. As the influence of the kingdom of Pamplona grew in the region and as the level of sophistication of the Aragonese scribes increased, the neologism *pardina* was discarded in favor of *palatium* ,a relatively common term in the Aragonese charters of the subsequent period (41). *Pardina* had become firmly entrenched in the spoken tongue, however, as the place-names of the region attest, and eventually won its way back into scribal favor (42).

The geographic concentration of the early *pardinas* is somewhat more difficult to explain, especially in view of the extremely limited nature of the evidence available. The question is well worth consideration, however, since this peculiarity of the evidence may cast some light upon the role played by the *pardina* within the dynamic Aragonese society of the period. The Aragonese had already begun the expansion which would eventually become a major element of the Spanish *Reconquista*. This sovement began from the upper reaches of the Pyrenean valleys into which the Moslems had not extended their control (43). The general lines of the resettlement ran down into the lower reaches of the valleys, along the Canal de Berdûn, and along the Gallego river until, under the tutelage

of Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, the Aragonese began to move into the fertile plains of the Moslem kingdom of Huesca (44). At any given time during this movement, Aragon constituted a dual society, composed of the settled interior and the underdeveloped and exposed frontier region into which the Aragonese were expanding (45). From the ninth to the middle of the tenth centuries, the period from which our documents are drawn, the frontier consisted of the lower valleys of the rivers tributary to the Aragon and, particularly toward the close of the period, the southern portion of the valley of the Aragon itself. The documnets which we have considered were drawn from both the interior and frontier regions, but mentions of *pardinas* occur only in charters from the newlysettled lands of the frontier (46). What is more, their appearance seems to follow a certain logical order. The earliest of the *pardinas* mentioned was probably that of Castilgon, claimed by San Julián de Labasal, and located in the middle reaches of the Veral valley (47). San Martin de Cillas next mentions three *pardinas* located in the middle valley of the Veral, and finally, in 948, San Juan de la Pena received half a *pardina* located on the southern slopes of the Aragon valley (48). The *pardinas* appear in an order closely approximating the path of Aragonese expansion, and their earliest mentions date from the period in which the regions are still in the process of development.

If the *pardina* can be considered a phenomenon particularly characteristic of the Aragonese frontier regions, it would also appear that it was a relatively unstable and impermanent type of establishment. Of the five or six *pardinas* mentioned in the early Aragonese charters, two were undergoing rather drastic changes. One was being converted into a village, and the other was being morcellized. Although the base of data is far too small to support firm conclusions, it does conform to what one

would expect, given the peculiar nature of the *pardina* and the conditions of the time. The *pardina*, as a private estate, could persist as a stable and profitable unit only as long as it was occupied and worked by its owners or a group of *mesquinos*. If the tract lay in the hands of the owners, there existed a constant possibility of division, either among heirs or through donation to ecclesiastical foundations. Even greater problems were involved in occupation by *mesquinos*. Extensive underdeveloped frontier lands nearby must have kept agricultural workers at a premium, and the charters indicate that land-owners were not above attempting to lure *mesquinos* from one another ([49]). The difficulty of maintaining a permanent labor supply must have caused the abandoment of many marginal *pardinas* as the *mesquinos* were induced to open up still more attractive lands on the frontier. The abandoned *pardines* may then have been donated to the monasteries of the region or appropriated as *montes* by neighboring villages. Even apart from the demographic and economic factors involved, there is every indication that Aragon was subject to widespread internal strife ([50]), and the smaller private holdings would have been far more vulnerable to devastation than the larger communal villages.

The early Aragonese *padina*, a relatively small tract com-

pletely under private control, afforded its owner a maximum profit from a minimum investment of capital and personnel. As such, it constituted a unit of land-exploitation particularly well-suited to opening up the underdeveloped lands of the Aragonese frontier. In this sense it functioned as a complement to the traditional Aragonese village community. Taken together, the *pardina* and the village provided the Aragonese with a flexible system of settlement and development. The *pardina* may have been really effective only along the cutting edge of that expansion, but, if so, it served its purpose in the growth of a dynamic Aragonese society.

FOOTNOTES

1. A fuller description of the various types of habitations characteristic of the Pyrenean region may be found in Ramôn Volant Simorra, **El Pirineo espanol. Vida, usos costumbres y tradiciones de una cultura milenaria que desaparece** (Madrid : Editorial Plus-Ultra, n.d.), especially pp. 150-193.

2. Detailed economic and legal analyses of the modern Aragonese **pardinas** are provided by Pierre Barrère, « Types d'organisation des terroirs en Haut-Aragon », **Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional de Estudios Pirenaicos. San Sebastian, 1950** (7 vols. ; Zaragoza : CSIC, 1952), V. 249-268 and Max Dumas, « 'Pardinas' et 'Masias' dans la Haut-Aragon oriental », **Prineos, XXIII** (1967), 105-118.

3. See Barrère, « Types d'organisation ... , » p. 261. This view is maintained by Joaquin Costa Mattinez, **Colectivismo agrario en Espana** (Madrid : Biblioteca Costa 1915).

4. The extant Aragonese documents dating from the period prior to 1035 is limited to less than sixty charters of undisputed authenticity. They may be found in the following editions : **Colecciôn diplomàtica de la Catedral de Huesca,** ed. Antonio Duràn Gudiol (2 vols. ; Zaragoza : CSIC, 1965-1969) ; **Cartulario de Siresa,** ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta (Valencia : Anubar, 1960) ; **Coleciòn diplomàtica de San Andrés de Fanlo,** ed. Angel Canellas Lòpez (Zaragoza : CSIC, 1964) ; **Cartulario de San Juan de la Pena,** ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta (2 vols. ; Valencia : Anubar, 1962-1963) [Hereafter SJP].

5. **Clossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis,** ed. DuCange, 7 vols ; Paris : Firmin Didot Fratres, 1840-1850), s.v. « Pardina » ; **Diccionario de la lengua espanola,** ed. Academia espanola (3 vols., 17th ed. ; Marrid Espasa-Calpe, -947), s.v. « Pardina ».

6. Gerhard Rohlfs, Le Gascon. Etudes de philologie pyrénéen (Halle : Saale, 1935), p. 51.

7. Manuel Alvar Lòpez, **El habla del Campo de Jaca** (Teses u estudios salamantionos, VII ; Salamanca : 1948), p. 89 ; also Alvar's **El dialecto aragonés** (Madrid : Editorial Gredos, 1953), p. 274.

8. **E.g.,** Manuel Garcia Blanco, « Contribuciòn à la toponimia aragonesa medieval. Los documentos reales pinatenses de Sancho Ramirez », **Actas de la primera reuniòn de toponimia pirenaica. Jaca, ogosto de 1948** (Zaragoza : CSIC, 1949), 119-143, particularly p. 133.

9. Antonio Badia Margarit, **Contribuciòn ale vocabulario aragonés moderno** (Zaraegoza : CSIC, 1948), p. 162 ; **El habla del valle de Bielsa** (Barcelona ê CSIC, 1950), p. 206.

10. The meaning of pratum is given by Isidore of Seville, **Etymologiae**, XV, xiii, 17. The economic and legal status of the modern Aragonese **prado** is discussed in José Casas Torres and José Fontboté Musolas, « El Valle de Tena. Rasgos fisiogràficos y economia regional », **Pirineos,** I (1945), 37-107, particularly p. 86.

11. This point is developed more extensively in Lynn Nelson, « Land Use in Early Aragon : The Organization of a Medieval Society », **Societas,** III (1973), 115-127, especially pp. 117-118.

12. **SJP** No. 18.

13. The customary method consisted of a formal procession [of all concerned parties] along the boundaries in question. Similar ceremonies are recorded in numerous charters, including **SJP** Nos. 7, 12, and 14.

14. Jerònimo Borao, **Diccionario de voces aragonesas, precedido de una introducciôn filolôgica histôrica** (Zaragoza : Imprenta del Hospicio provincial, 1884), s.v. « Pardina ». It should be noted that Borao did refer to a previous usage, but the significance of the word «pardina» in the passage used is ambiguous. Borao ignored this anbiguity in favor of his interpretation of the term.

15. See Ignacio Jordàn de Asso, **Historia de la economia politica de Aragòn** (Zaragoza : 1798 ; reprinted Zaragoza : CSIC, 1947), pp. 180 ff.

16. Ricardo del Arco y Garay. « Los despoblados de la zona pirenaica aragonesa », **Pirineos,** II (1946), 5-26.

17. Arco, p. 9.

18. Isidore of Seville, **Etymologiae,** XV, viii, 3.

19. **Diccionario de la lengua espanola,** ed. Academia espanola (19th ed. ; Madrid : Espasa-Calpe, 1970). s.v. « Pardina ».

20. Eduardo Ibarra Rodriguez, **Documentos correspondientes al reinado de Sancho Ramirez. Tomo II** (Colècciôn de documentos para el estudio de la historia de Aragôn, vol. IX ; Zaragoza : Pedro Larra, 1913), p. 269.

21. The judgement of Antonio Ubieto Arteta, the most prolific modern editor of early Aragonese documents, has been accepted regarding the authenticity of the cartulary evidence for the purposes of this paper. It should be noted, however, that his decisions are not universally accepted. See F. Iniguez, « La catedral de Jaca y los orìgenes del romànico espanole », **Pirineos, XXIII** (1967), 179-201.

22. Of the fifty-seven genuine documents surviving from Aragon dated prior to 1035, a minority of twenty-two are earlier than 950. The number of extant charters begins to increase substantially noly after the year 1025.

23. See Agustìn Ubieto Arteta, **Toponimia aragonesa medieval** (Valencia : Anubar, 1972), p. 154. Although Ubieto lists only two place names derived directly from **pardina,** one is located near Espuéndolas in the region of Jaca and the other near Beranuy in the area of Benabarre. Still a third, Pacopardina, listed on p. 152, lay in the Archdeaconate of Los Valles.

24. **SJP** No. 2. It should be noted that there is some dispute over the authenticity and dating of the documents of San Martìn de Cillas. See Claudio Sànchez-Albornoz, « Otra vez los Jimenos de Navarra », **Miscelanca de estudios historicos** (Leôn : CSIC, 1970), p. 372. and n. 15.

25. Only some ten percent of the land of the region is capable of sustaining agriculture, and much of this pootion is unusable due to lack of adequate sunlight, available water for irrigaiton, or because of simple difficulty of access. See. J. Calvo palacios, « Aisa, un valle pirenaico », **Pirineos,** XXVI (1970), 36-37. The rarity of arable land has led, over the years, to the cultivation of all available land which can sustain such exploitation. See Alfonso Villuendas Dìaz, « El Valle de la Garcipollera », **Pirineos,** XXIV (1968), 125-126. It would seem that **pardinas** which included rich bottom lands, so rare and highly-prized in the region, must have been the site of at least some agricultural activity.

26. **SJP** No. 7.

27. It is important to note that this document is in the form of a memorial, and that the use of the past tense, including the reference to the **mesquinos** of Castilgon, can refer to a state of affairs in effect in the year 893. The justification for San Julian's claims, however, was based upon an occupation of the territory in question far earlier than that date.

28. **SJP** No. 13. It should be noted that the **pardina** mentioned here may be identical to one of those mentioned in **SJP** No. 2.

29. A more detailed example of the social and economic processes by which an isolated holding was transformed into a village may be found in « Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblaciôn del Valle del Ebro (tercera serie) », ed. José Maria Lacarra, in **Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragôn,** V. (1952), 527-528, document No. 300.

30. **SJP** No. 32. Note that, although documents Nos. 2, 13, and 32, all referring to the possessions of the monastery of San Martin de Cillas, form a continuous whole, the text refers to various points in time and has been properly treated by the editor as a series of three separate transactions.

31. **SJP** No. 18

32. See the excellent citations for « alodis », etc., provided by the **Glossarium mediae latinitatis cataloniae. Voces latinas y romances documentadas en fuentes catalanas de ano 800 al 1100** (Barcelona : **CSIC,** 1960).

33. See Nelson, « Land Use in Early Aragon ... , » p. 122 and n. 31.

34. See p. 8 above.

35. A similar view is held by José Maria Lacarra, **Aragôn en el passado** (Madrid : Espasa-Calpe, 1972), p. 27. Lacarra regards the **pardina** as an isolated rural establishment, but feels that it was devoted to pastoral purposes, in contrast to the agricultural **casa.** He does not develop the question of the legal status of these properties, but does emphasize the distinction between them and the village communities of the period.

36. See p. 1 above.

37. Paulus Orosius, **Historiarum adversus paganos libri septem,** VII, xl ; Isidore of Seville, **Etymologiae,** XV, xiii, 5.

38. **Coleciôn diplomàtica de la Catedral de Huesca,** No. 2, « ... ad sua predia frequenter veniens ... »

39. This shift is not uncommon in the Aragonese region. See Pascual Gonzàlez Guzman, **El habla viva del valle de Aragüés** (Zaragoza : CSIC, 1953), p. 56.

40. W. D. Elcock, « Topinimia menor en el Alto Aragôn », **Actas del primer reuniôn de toponimia pirenaica. Jaca, Agosto de 1948** (Zaragoza : CSIC, 1949), p. 81.

41. **E. G., SJP** Nos. 19 (948-962), 25 (989), **etc.**

42. It may be that, with the passage of time, the term **palatium** came to

refer more closely to the buildings, rather than the lands, of the isolated farmsteads. See, for example, **SJP** ùo. 62 (1034), « ... et in Seresi, palatiuu et terras ».

43. José Maria Millàs Vallicrosa, « La conquista musulmana de la region pirenaica », **Pirineos,** II (1946), 53-67.

44. For the general lines of the Aragonese expansion, see Antonio de la Torre, « La reconquista del Pirineo », and José Marìa Lacarra, « La reconquista y repoblaciôn de vallee del Ebro ». Both articles appear in **La reconquista espanola y la repoblaciôn del paìs** (Zaragoza : CSIC, 1951), pp. 11-38 and 39-83, respectively.

45. Of the historians of the region, José Maria Lacarra has led the way in the appreciation of the Dynamic role played by the frontier regions in shaping the Aragonese state and society. See Aragôn en el pasado, particularly pp. 27-30 and 51-55. Also see José Marìa Ramos Loscertales, **El reino de Aragôn bajo In dinastia pamplonesa,** ed. José Marìa Lacarra (Salamanca : Universidad de Salamanca, 1961), especially pp. 66 ff.

46. The documents of the **Cartulario de Siresa** provide eight charters from the relatively established region of the upper valley of the Aragôn Subordàn. Since these total over one-third of the total available for the period prior to 950, the lack of any mention of **pardinas** among their number may me taken as significant

47. **SJP** No. 7 (893). Although the document in question dates from a period considerably later than that of San Martin de Cillas [**SJP** No. 2 (828)], it refers to claims established by a much earlier occupation of the area by the monastery of San Julièn de Labasal. There is no reason to believe that its claim to possession of the **pardina** of Castilgon did not derive from this original settlement of the region. Although it is presently impossible to fix the period of this occupation with any degree of exactituide there are reasons to believe that it probably occurred earlier than the establishment of San Martìn de Cillas.

48. The identification of « Scaberri » with the modern Javierremartes is suggested by the presence in the charter of witnesses from Martes and Bailo.

49. See **SJP** No. 9. In this document the monastery of San Martin de Cercito prescribes panalties for **mesquinos** who attach themselves to lords other than the monastery itself or its tenants.

50. Both **SJP** Nos. 7 and 9 mention disturbances of some magnitude. In addition, of course, there existed the permanent threat of Moslem attack. See, for example, **SJP** No. 31.