

Pathways of Power in late-Carolingian Catalonia

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Summary

The archival wealth of Catalonia has been widely exploited, but current syntheses of the area's history focus on the early eleventh century and later. Previous centuries appear mainly as background either to the formation of a supposed nationality, or to the development of feudalism. This period's documentary material, if exploited to study the associations between those who held power in the area and those they dealt with, challenges this picture and shows instead a society undergoing expansion and increasing sophistication of the articulation of power. The thesis first attempts to assess the difficulties of the material, which simple judgements of authenticity have perhaps caused to be underestimated. It then proceeds to develop a pair of case studies which demonstrate a number of strata of power and influence in late-Carolingian Catalan society. The first of these studies, of the impact on one area of the foundation and expansion of the monastery of Sant Joan de Ripoll, shows something of often obscure peasant landholding, and the focus moves slowly up the social scale through independent settlers and lords' local agents, and those who showed wealth over a wider area. The second study, of the development of society around the castle of Gurb continues this climb, finally arriving at those who had the titles of organised power. It is argued that such titles do not indicate a controlled structure of delegated authority, but a more complex array of relationships in which the counts, whose power is studied in the final chapter, did not always hold the advantage even if by *c.* 1000 they had briefly achieved it. By this account power took a large number of different routes to the ground through various persons of differing status whose dealings the study goes some way to revealing.

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Prefatory Remarks

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A Note on Names

A problem facing Hispanists as much as if not more than scholars of elsewhere in medieval Europe is that of names. Catalonia presents a particularly thorny set of questions, being an area with many Basque toponyms, Visigothic personal names, Latin documents and Romance spoken language, and whose modern state is in places bilingual between Catalan and Castilian. This duality leaves us with two possibilities for almost every name if we choose the common option of normalisation to the modern scholarly language of the area.¹ My work's early date has however allowed me to escape most of these issues, and I have therefore normalised to modern Catalan for persons from that area. For Franks and others I have normalised either to the appropriate modern language or to English where a well-known English form exists (in particular with popes). Where doubt exists with Catalan names I have followed Ramon Ordeig in the Catalunya Carolíngia.² If perfect consistency has not been achieved, I hope that comprehensibility has. When citing original untranslated material I have retained the spelling of the source at all times, however.

With place-names, I have used a modern equivalent where it is known, and used the original spelling where it is not, normalising to the Latin form simplest to spell as a guiding principle.

¹ Contrast the approaches of D. Abulafia, A Mediterranean Emporium: the Catalan kingdom of Majorca (Cambridge 1994), pp. xix-xx and T. N. Bisson, The medieval crown of Aragon: a short history (Oxford 1986, repr. 1991), pp. 191-192.

² R. Ordeig i Mata (ed.), Catalunya Carolíngia IV: els comtats d'Osona i Manresa, Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica LIII (Barcelona 1999), 3 vols.

List of Sigla

To avoid tedious repetition of full references, I have used sigla for most of the charter editions to which I refer. At some point it will be desirable for simplicity to refer to all documents from this period by their numbers in the Catalunya Carolíngia, but at the moment with only four volumes complete I have chosen to use it only where other editions are not adequate. I have done so because it seems to me that a system of identification by archive, such as I have used, tells the reader more immediately about a document's preservation and location than a number in a nationwide series; strings of related documents are also made more apparent. I have therefore used localised editions for citation wherever possible, unless the text offered by another is markedly preferable. Thus, for example, I have cited Monsalvatje's Noticias Históricas series only when it is the only source for a document, as though it contains a number of localised collections,³ the frequent misreadings and abbreviations make any other edition preferable in most cases. The sigla I have used are:⁴

- Barca:** A. Fabregà i Grau (ed.), Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona: documents dels anys 844-1260. Volum I (Barcelona 1995)
- Cardona:** A. Galera i Pedrosa (ed.), Diplomatari de la vila de Cardona, anys 966-1276 (Barcelona 1998)
- Carlemany:** J. M. Marqués (ed.), Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona: s. IX-XIV Vol. I (Barcelona 1993)
- Cat. Car. II:** R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals (ed.), Catalunya Carolíngia II: els diplomes carolíngis a Catalunya (Barcelona 1926-1952), 2 vols
- Cat. Car. IV:** R. Ordeig i Mata (ed.), Catalunya Carolíngia IV: els comtats de Osona i Manresa (Barcelona 1999-2001), 3 vols
- CDCB:** F. Monsalvatje y Fossas (ed.), Colección Diplomática del Condado de Besalú (Olot 1901-1909), 5 vols
- Comtal:** G. Feliu i Montfort & J. M. Salrach (edd.), Els pergamins de l'arxiu comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I (Barcelona 1999), 3 vols
- Condal:** F. Udina Martorell (ed.), El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los Siglos IX-X (Madrid 1951)
- Condes:** P. Bofarull y Mascaró, Los Condes de Barcelona Vindicados, y Cronología y Genealogía de los Reyes de España considerados como Soberanos Independientes de su Marca. Tomo I (Barcelona 1836; 1990)
- Consagracions:** C. Baraut (ed.), "Les actes de consagracions d'esglésies del bisbat d'Urgell (segles IX-XII)" in Urgellia Vol. 1 (Montserrat 1978), pp. 11-182 & *idem* (ed.), "Set actes més de consagracions d'esglésies del bisbat d'Urgell (segles IX-XII)" in Urgellia Vol. 2 (Montserrat 1979), pp. 481-488

³ E. g. CDCB, and El Obispado d'Elna, Noticias Históricas Vols XXI-XXIV (Olot 1911-1915), 4 vols.

⁴ Full details of these works are given in the bibliography.

- Cuixà:** R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "Com neix i creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà" in Analecta Montserratensia Vol. 8 (Montserrat 1955), pp. 125-337, Apèndix
- Diplòmes:** H. Omont (ed.), "Diplômes carolingiens, bulle sur papyrus de Pape Benoît VIII et autres documents concernant les abbayes d'Amer et de Camprodon en Catalogne (843-1017)" in Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes Vol. 65 (Paris 1904), pp. 364-388, No. VI
- Dotalies:** R. Ordeig i Mata (ed.), Les dotalies de les esglésies de Catalunya: (segles IX-XII) (Vic 1993-1994), 3 vols in 5
- Girona:** R. Martí (ed.), Col·lecció diplomàtica de la Seu de Girona (817-1100): estudi i edició (Barcelona 1998)
- Guissona:** D. Sangés (ed.), "Recull de documents del segle XI referents a Guissona i a la seva plana" in Urgellia Vol. 3 (Montserrat 1980), pp. 195-226, Apèndix
- Gurb:** A. Benet i Clarà, La Família Gurb-Queralt (956-1276) (Sallent 1993), Apèndixs
- HGL II:** C. Devic, J. Vaissete, Histoire Générale de Languedoc avec les Notes et les Pièces Justificatives Vol. II (Toulouse 1875; Osnabrück 1973), Preuves: chartes et diplômes
- HGL V:** C. Devic, J. Vaissete, Histoire Générale de Languedoc avec les Notes et les Pièces Justificatives Vol. V (Toulouse 1875; Osnabrück 1973), Preuves: chartes et diplômes
- La Grasse:** E. Magnou-Nortier, A. M. Magnou (edd.), Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de la Grasse tome I (Paris 1996)
- Manresa:** A. Benet i Clarà (ed.), Diplomatari de la Ciutat de Manresa (segles IX-XI) (Barcelona 1994)
- MH:** P. de Marca, Marca Hispanica sive Limes Hispanicus (Paris 1688; Barcelona 1972; 1989)
- Montalegre:** X. Pérez i Gómez (ed.), Diplomatari del Cartoixa de Montalegre (segles X-XII) (Barcelona 1998)
- Montserrat:** F. X. Altés i Aguiló (ed.), "El diplomatari del monestir de Santa Cecília de Montserrat, I: Anys 900-999" in Studia Monastica Vol. 36 (Montserrat 1994), pp. 225-303 & *idem*, "El diplomatari del monestir de Santa Cecília de Montserrat, II: anys 1000-1077" in Studia Monastica Vol. 37 (Montserrat 1995), pp. 301-394
- Oliba:** E. Junyent i Subirà (ed.), Diplomatari i Escrits Literaris de l'Abat i Bisbe Oliba (Barcelona 1992), Diplomatari
- San Juan:** F. Udina Martorell (ed.), El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los Siglos IX-X (Madrid 1951), ap. II, pp. 448-499
- Sant Cugat:** J. Rius (ed.), Cartulario de «Sant Cugat» del Vallés Vol. I (Barcelona 1945) & J. Rius Serra (ed.), Cartulario de «Sant Cugat» del Vallés Vol. II (Barcelona 1946)

- Sant Joan:** M. S. Gros i Pujol, "L'Arxiu del Monestir de Sant Joan de les Abadesses: notícies històriques i regesta dels documents dels anys 995-1115" in E. Fort i Cogul (ed.), II Col·loqui d'Història del Monaquisme Català Vol. II (Poblet 1974), pp. 98-128
- Sant Llorenç:** P. Puig i Ustrell (ed.), El Monestir de Sant Llorenç del Munt sobre Terrassa. Diplomataris dels Segles X i XI (Barcelona 1995), 3 vols
- Tavèrnoles:** C. Baraut (ed.), "Diplomataris del Monestir de Tavèrnoles (segles IX-XIII)" in Urgellia Vol. 12 (Montserrat 1995), pp. 7-414
- Urgell:** C. Baraut (ed.), "Els documents, dels Segles IX i X, conservats a l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell" in Urgellia Vol. 2 (Montserrat 1979), pp. 78-143; *idem*, "Els documents, dels Anys 981-1010, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell" in Urgellia Vol. 3 (1980), pp. 7-166 & *idem*, "Els documents, dels anys 1010-1035, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell" in Urgellia Vol. 4 (1981), pp. 7-186
- Urgell ap.:** C. Baraut (ed.), "Els documents, dels anys 1093-1100, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell" in Urgellia Vol. 7 (Montserrat 1985), pp. 7-218, Apèndix
- Vic:** E. Junyent i Subira (ed.), El Diplomataris de la Catedral de Vic, segles IX i X (Vic 1980-1996), 5 fascs
- VL VIII:** J. Villanueva, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España tomo VIII (Valencia 1821)
- VL XIII:** J. Villanueva, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España tomo XIII (Madrid 1850)

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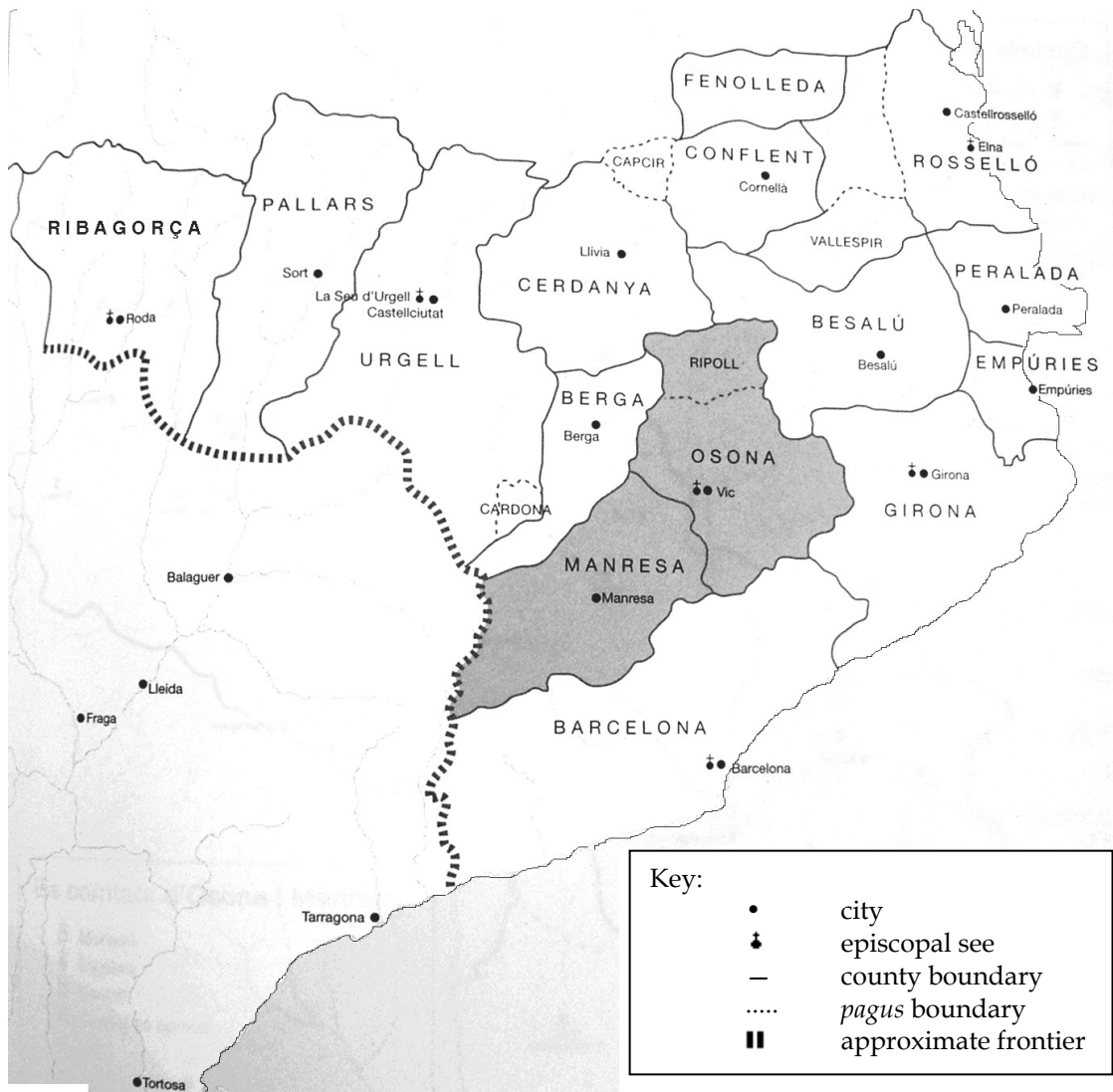
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Catalonia



Map 1. The Counties of Late-Carolingian Catalonia