

A Developing Lordship: the castle of Gurb and its term

In the area of our next case study, the castle term of Gurb, there was no predominant influence like Sant Joan. Here we can tease out the variation in secular status, without its necessarily relating primarily to ecclesiastical interests. What little remains of the medieval castle of Gurb lies on a hill outside the modern town of Gurb de la Plana, north-west across the river Gurri from the city of Vic.¹ The area is, compared to even the relatively nearby Ripollès, lowland and well-watered; the Plana extends all the way to Vic and both Gurb and Vic itself had in our period extensive areas of meadow (*pratum*). Though viticulture is still present in many of our documents, the area was seemingly mostly farmed as arable.² Proximity to the episcopal city probably helped ensure that its settlement was partly based on the interests of those who sought access to power and patronage. In the period of our documentation, from 886 onwards, a series of programmes of acquisition are visible, but only one group were able to secure a long-term dominant position. This was the castellan family of Gurb-Queralt, whose rise to influence is clear not just in their control of the local castle,³ but in the way in which they are seen interacting with other interests in the area. This outcome is the last part of the chapter, however, and

¹ Medieval Gurb has been studied relatively closely. For a general introduction, see the articles in J. Vigué (ed.), *Catalunya Romànica II: Osona I*, ed. J. Vigué (Barcelona 1984), pp. 207-237; more recent and detailed is S. Ponce i Vivet (ed.), *Gurb, un poble arrelat a la terra* (Barcelona 2003); I have not been able to obtain this but the contents and introduction are online at https://www.e-alber.com/libres/gurb_un_poble_arrelat_a_la_terra, last modified 12th December 2005 as of 10th March 2006. Albert Benet i Clarà's considerable work on the area's nobility is unified in his *La Família Gurb-Queralt (956-1276). Senyors de Sallent, Olò, Avinyó, Manlleu, Voltregà, Queralt i Santa Coloma de Queralt* (Sallent 1993).

² Vines occur in something like one fifth of transactions here, compared to their clear predominance in Vallfogona.

³ Benet, *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, pp. 77-81.

before it there is much that can be said about those less powerful in the area.

The Documentation: depth versus breadth

No doubt because of its proximity to the cathedral of Vic, the area is one of those most densely covered by the charters which are preserved there. Including areas which are sometimes said to be in Gurb and sometimes outside it,⁴ there are 111 charters referring to land in the area in the period from 886 to 1000,⁵ of which eighty-eight come from the cathedral.⁶ Four more come from the Barcelona comital archive in the Arxiu de la Corona de Aragó of which one also originated from the Vic archive,⁷ and fifteen more stem at various removes from the erstwhile archive of Santa Maria de Ripoll.⁸ Lastly, four emanate from the monastery of Sant Benet de Bages.⁹ The earliest document in this sample is from 886,¹⁰ but the density is greater by far in the period after about 940.¹¹ The documents cover the village of Gurb itself and 17 other locations within the term, as well as places in between settlements of note; there are particular

⁴ I also include Vic 356 & 360, which are placed here by the informed guesswork of the editors of E. Junyent (ed.), *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic (segles IX i X)*, ed. R. Ordeig i Mata (Vic 1980-1996), 5 fascs.

⁵ This cut-off date has in part been determined by the state of publication of the Vic archive, whose post-1000 components have only lately become available to me and are not yet indexed; I make use of some documents from beyond it.

⁶ Vic 6, 17-19, 23, 33, 46, 65, 95, 114, 186, 196, 208, 209, 217, 223, 230, 235, 239, 243, 248, 250, 263, 265, 266, 269, 282, 287, 290, 293, 297, 317, 319, 321-323, 330, 333, 334, 336, 337, 347, 348, 353, 356, 360, 362, 366, 367, 370, 382, 387, 388, 397, 399, 428, 430, 451, 454, 456, 461, 473, 474, 478, 479, 486, 488, 492, 504, 510, 516, 517, 524, 534, 541, 550, 567, 571, 569, 572, 575, 577, 581, 586, 593, 598, 606 & 613.

⁷ Cat. Car. IV 1687 & Condal 9, 159 & 182, of which 159 was originally a Vic document.

⁸ Cat. Car. IV 53, 419, 420, 535, 685, 722, 1012, 1061, 1122, 1237, 1241, 1298, 1326, 1474 & IX.

⁹ Cat. Car. IV 494, 630 & 1767 & Manresa 57.

¹⁰ Vic 6.

¹¹ This may be a general phenomenon, as Baraut observes something similar with the Urgell documentation: see his "Els documents, dels anys 981-1010, de l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell" in *Urgellia* Vol. 3 (Montserrat 1980), pp. 7-166, at p. 13. Vic seems to start this climb before Urgell, however, by ten years or more. Cf. P. Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du Milieu du X^e à la Fin du XI^e Siècle: croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse 1975, 1976), 2 vols, I pp. 409-414.

concentrations on the hamlets of Ros, Vespella, Sassorba and Palau.¹² This allows us to track the careers of numerous persons recurring in different areas, by their names, their partners in business or in marriage, their relatives or their interests, permitting us to discuss secular power relations as well as dealings with the Church.

Despite this depth of data, however, its breadth is not so considerable. The survival of the documentation has been assured by the same factor that determines its concentration, to wit, the interest of the cathedral of Vic, and to a lesser extent, of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll. We know about these places because and in as much as Vic or Santa Maria had lands, donors or other connections in the area. Vic was first given land in Gurb in 922, and the settlement proper is a common feature in the archive thereafter.¹³ The settlements of Vilagelans and Alboquers on the other hand are known to us from four and one charters respectively,¹⁴ and there were surely others where neither Sant Pere de Vic, Santa Maria de Ripoll nor Sant Benet de Bages had any interest at all and of which therefore we know nothing. Greater survival from the Ripoll archive might have broadened our picture, as its apparent possessions in the term were very diffuse. We cannot be sure of this, though, as several of the Vic documents indicate that not only Santa Maria but

¹² Ros: Cat. Car. IV 1061 & Vic 17-19, 23, 46, 196, 208, 235, 248, 263, 317, 319, 321-333, 334, 336, 348, 353, 366, 382, 474, 488, 510 & 541. Vespella: Vic 33, 282, 317, 321, 399, 461, 474, 488 & 534. Sassorba or its church: Vic 65, 230, 269, 347, 454, 456 & 613 & Condal 159. Palau: Cat. Car. IV 419, 420, 535, 685, 1237, 1326 & 1865 & Vic 282, 337, 397, 479, 486, 577, 581, 586 & 593.

¹³ Gurb proper: Vic 114, 196, 208, 235, 248, 263, 266, 317, 319, 322, 370, 397, 428 & 454.

¹⁴ Vilagelans: Cat. Car. IV 494, Manresa 57 & Vic 250 & 356 (see n. 4 above). Alboquers: Vic 360. On Vilagelans, see G. Orriols i Puig, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà, "Casal de Vilagelans" in Vigué, *Catalunya Romànica II*, pp. 235-237, though here Pladevall and Benet reckon the first appearance of the village to be in a donation to Vic of 964 to which they give no precise reference; it is not in Junyent's edition of the Vic documents. Cat. Car. IV 494 is from 942.

neighbouring Sant Joan de Ripoll had land in this area,¹⁵ and neither Sant Joan's surviving documents of the latter abbey nor a fifteenth-century list of contents of its archive give any clues to this.¹⁶ The area is thus largely shown to us by only one of the numerous major powers that operated here.¹⁷

The landowners with whom Vic dealt had their own interests, but this is as often confusing as helpful. In 985 one Guillem donated himself and all his lands to the cathedral of Vic, in the wake of the raid of al-Mansur which had carried away his wife Emma, against the hope of whose return he reserved an option for her to inherit.¹⁸ His lands included two frontier castles and a considerable amount of land elsewhere. One part of this was a large alod in Gurb that we nonetheless cannot see at any prior point in the record. Guillem appears a few times thereafter, as his castles were redistributed by the cathedral to the Gurb family in an exchange for a church they had earlier acquired from Count-Marquis Borrell II. Once Guillem's old castles were again out of Church hands, however, they more or less disappear from the record in spite of extensive documentation of their new owners.¹⁹ We must not forget that although we are dealing here with secular power, the bounds of our evidence

¹⁵ Santa Maria features in Vic 524; Sant Joan features in Vic 323 & 478.

¹⁶ Surviving documentation edited in Condal, the catalogue in San Juan.

¹⁷ Santa Maria's impression might also be more striking if we were not reliant for so many of its appearances here on *regesta* of now-lost charters; of the sample in n. 8 above, we have texts for only Cat. Car. IV 419, 420, 535, 685, 1122 & IX. Of these the last two are forgeries or interpolations sufficiently grand to have been copied in full by antiquaries, as was the papal Bull which is no. 685; the other three survive only because of Sant Pere de Vic's later acquisition of Santa Maria's Pabordia de Palau, which caused their scribes to make copies. For the rest we are reliant on the notes of the archivist Olzinelles, who did not usually record such details as boundaries, neighbours, prices or, often, witnesses.

¹⁸ Vic 517. It seems likely that he occurs in comital connections before this, and I discuss the man who does so in Chapter 4, at p. 227 below.

¹⁹ Vic 550, 571 & 572; on the castles see A. Benet i Clarà, "Sendred de Gurb" in *Ausa* Vol. 8 (Vic 1977), pp. 238-256 at pp. 241 & 246.

and therefore our conclusions have been set by another, ecclesiastical, agenda.²⁰

We must therefore take care to note people and power potentially escaping under the edge of the cathedral's lens.



Map 3: Sketch-map of Gurb and the nearby settlements

²⁰ This is not to obscure the fact that numerous 'lay dossiers' (to borrow the term of Adam Kostó, in his "Laymen, Clerics and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: the example of Catalonia" in *Speculum* Vol. 80 (Cambridge 2005), pp. 44-74) exist in the preserved corpuses; much of what I refer to here has nothing to do with the Church *per se*. Nonetheless, I think it is arguable that it survives only because of a later possessor's interests at Sant Pere, and demonstrate several instances of this.

The Import of the Evidence

The settlement of Gurb

Models of settlement

In this area the ideological agendas connected with settlement do not appear with such distorting effect as in Vallfogona. No document depicts a landholder as "*primus homo*" on the lands, nor is there any mention of the Saracens or their rule. Moreover, unlike in Vallfogona, there are no personal names of Islamic derivation. This is not to say that there is no record of settlement. Most of the earliest documents from the term refer to land taken in by *aprisio*, and references to waste land persist thereafter.²¹ Though the city of Vic had been part of a programme of refortification in 798,²² the whole area was lost to Frankish rule in the rebellion of Aissó and Guillemon in 826-827,²³ and general depopulation may have resulted from the harrying of first a Muslim and then a Frankish army as the uprising took hold and was then quashed. The record resumes with the settlement and occupation endeavours of Count Guifré the Hairy beginning in 879;²⁴ documentation for the county begins in 880 and

²¹ *Aprisio* in Vic 6, 17, 18, 33 and many others later; waste land ("*terra eremo*") in Vic 17, 196 & 208, among others, with forest in Vic 95 & 319. See J. M. Salrach, "Défrichement et croissance agricole dans la Septimanie et le Nord-Est de la péninsule ibérique" in La Croissance Agricole du Haut Moyen Âge: chronologie, modalités, géographie. Dixième Journées Internationales d'Histoire, 9, 10, 11, Septembre 1988, Flaran 10 (Auch 1990), pp. 133-151, and A. Udina i Abelló, "L'aprisió i el problema de repoblament" in F. Udina i Martorell (ed.), Symposium Internacional sobre els Orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-XI) (Barcelona 1991-1992); also published as Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona Vols. 23 & 24 (Barcelona 1991 & 1992), II pp. 159-170.

²² The anonymous Life of Louis the Pious known as Astronomer, ed. E. Tremp in Thegan, Die Taten Kaiser Ludwigs (Gesta Hludowici Imperatoris). Astronomus, Das Leben Kaiser Ludwigs (Vita Hludowici Imperatoris), Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Scriptores Rerum Germanicum) [hereafter MGH SRG] LXIV (Hannover 1995), pp. 279-555, with editorial commentary pp. 53-153, *cap.* 8.

²³ The Royal Frankish Annals, ed. F. Kurze as Annales regni Francorum inde ab a. 741 usque ad a. 829, qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi, MGH SRG VI (Hannover 1895; 1950), *s. aa.* 826 & 827.

²⁴ For this see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, La Plana de Vic en els Segles VIII i IX (Barcelona 1948), repr. as "La reconquesta d'una regió interior de Catalunya: la plana de Vic (717-886)" in *idem*, Dels Visigots als

there is no hint in our sources that it was considered part of the Carolingian counts' territory between these dates.²⁵ This implies that when we first see the area of Gurb, neighbouring the term of the re-established bishopric's see, in 886, it had been, if not occupied, at least organised, inside the last seven years. Abadal supposed that this occupation would have been achieved by favourable landholding conditions (as were later seen in charters of population for towns and cities on the frontier)²⁶, by the basic draw of relatively good and available land, and by considerable investment on the part of the counts to enable the settlers to survive until their newly-acquired land began to return on their labour of clearance and plantation. Certainly, on the Muslim side of the frontier, the encouragement of such settlement was achieved with money plain and simple.²⁷ Bonnassie added to this the idea of overcrowding in the mountain lands from which settlers might have come, and hints of a rigid and oppressive 'tribal' lordship in these areas, to suggest that the principal motors of settlement would have been free peasants of no great economic standing looking for their chance of independence on the frontier.²⁸ While this mountain overcrowding is one of the parts of Bonnassie's work which more recent study of the

Catalans, ed. J. Sobrequés i Callicó, Estudis i Documents XIII & XIV (Barcelona 1969; 1974), 2 vols, I pp. 309-321; references to Abadal's views in what follows refer to this work or its restatement in *idem*, Els Primers Comtes Catalans, Biografies Catalanes: sèrie històrica 1 (Barcelona 1958; 1980), pp. 73-114.

²⁵ The first document known from Osona is that now preserved only as VL VIII ap. I.

²⁶ Most obviously the franchise of Cardona, Cardona 7.

²⁷ The Caliph ʿAbd al-Rahmān, when establishing his suburban palace of Madīnat al-Zahrāʾ, is said to have offered 400 dirhams to anyone building a house neighbouring it: Ibn Hawqal, Configuración del mundo (fragmentos alusivos al Magreb y España), transl. M. J. Romani Suay (Valencia 1971), p. 64, cited and transl. by A. Christys in her Christians in al-Andalus (711-1000) (Richmond 2002), pp. 14-17.

²⁸ Bonnassie, Catalogne, I pp. 71-105. Contrast to Bonnassie's work at all points cited here the need for and steps towards a more modern synthesis set out by Gaspar Feliu i Montfort in his "Societat i econòmia" in Udina, Symposium Internacional, I pp. 81-115. Eighteen years later his plea remains unanswered. In English, modifying Bonnassie's views slightly, see P. Freedman, The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Catalonia, Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies (Cambridge 1991), pp. 56-65.

documentation does much to undermine,²⁹ parallels from elsewhere and his collection of evidence for peasant smallholdings in border areas has made this case hard to demolish.³⁰

Nonetheless, to definitely demonstrate that such was the normal pattern of settlement seems to require a number of things. It would require evidence of small independent freeholders in number; it would require, ideally, some reference to their place of origin, their new status, and if at all possible some hint at the money they had been provided with in order to survive while their endeavours sprouted beneath the soil. There are a very few hints as to the origin of new settlers,³¹ but very few of these come from charters and those that do refer to the level of landholder who retained their old lands along with the new, that is, the wealthy.³² There is no indication whatsoever of comital payouts to settlers, although there are accounts of organised settlement which may imply such support, albeit with a heavy political loading.³³ Bonnassie claims much evidence of free peasant status, but in fact there are basic methodological problems with the detection of the small peasantry in charter evidence. We can only be sure if someone is wealthy, and that only if he or she reoccurs. A man or

²⁹ One of his key sources for the mountain overpopulation is the act of consecration of the Cathedral of Urgell dated to 839, printed as *Consagracions 2*; however, see the editor's subsequent reconsideration, "La data de l'acta de consagració de la catedral carolíngia de la Seu d'Urgell" in *Urgellia* Vol. 7 (1985), pp. 515-529, which suggests that the act is in fact from the period of expansion.

³⁰ *Catalogne*, I pp. 219-237; cf. P. Bonnassie, "Du Rhône à la Galice: genèse et modalités du régime féodal" in *Structures Féodales et Féodalisme dans l'Occident Méditerranéen (X^e-XIII^e siècle): Colloque Internationale organisée par le Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique et l'École Française de Rome* (Rome 1980), pp. 17-56, transl. J. Birrell as "From the Rhône to Galicia: origins and modalities of the feudal order" in P. Bonnassie, *From Slavery to Feudalism in South-Western Europe*, transl. J. Birrell (Cambridge 1991), pp. 104-131, at p. 116 of the translation.

³¹ Abadal, *Primers Comtes*, pp. 109-110.

³² For example, the Gurb-Queralt themselves, whom Benet believes hailed from Vallès: *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, pp. 77-80.

³³ That of the Vall de Sant Joan being the obvious example, discussed above pp. 96-98 and in J. Jarrett, "Power over Past and Future: Abbess Emma and the Nunnery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses", in *Early Medieval Europe* Vol. 12 (Oxford 2004), pp. 229-258 at pp. 241-248.

woman who does not reoccur may have been a freeholder on a single homestead, but every individual case of small peasantry must be an argument from a potentially misleading silence.

In the case of the Vall de Sant Joan, the identifiable *boni homines* who did reoccur made possible peasant identifications of the others present.³⁴ Here however we must suspect that most of these people have simply been lost to our view. There are other ways to try and test this: in some cases the documentation is thick enough that by matching the names on boundary clauses together document to document and applying Occam's Razor wherever possible, one can construct a very hypothetical diagram of the layout of holdings in a small area. This only permits one to set out a minimum wealth of the people involved however, and this is not enough.³⁵

In the absence of the provable individual small peasant settler, we should examine the other possibilities. One view of settlement on the March has been that it was led by an elusive group known as the *Hispani*, men such as Jean of Fontjoncouse who obtained a charter from Charlemagne which granted him various privileges of independence on his lands which he and his brother had settled and on which they had installed various dependants.³⁶ The *Hispani* have

³⁴ See Chapter 2 above, pp. 102-107.

³⁵ Vic 496 makes a good example of this; ten properties, straddling three terms but centring on Savassona, are passed to Sant Pere de Vic in this document and their boundaries given, from which it can be seen that while some of the people named might have had only one plot in the area, others must needs have had three or four. However, all of them could have had more, and when as seems likely one of them may have been Viscount Sunifred of Girona (also seen in Cardona 7, Cat. Car. IV 1550 & 1774, Comtal 136, Condal 194 & 242, *MH* app. CXLII & perhaps CLXXXIV, Urgell 232, Vic 553 & VL XIII ap. XX, among others beyond our chronological range) we can see that this method encourages us to think too small.

³⁶ There is a long and drawn-out literature on the *Hispani*; the most detailed study, centring on Jean, is E. Cauvet, "Étude historique sur l'établissement des Espagnols dans la Septimanie aux VIII^e et IX^e siècle et sur la fondation de Fontjoncouse par l'Espagnol Jean au VIII^e siècle" in Bulletin de la Commission Archéologique et Littéraire de l'Arrondissement de Narbonne Vol. 1 (Narbonne 1877), repr. *separatim* (Montpellier 1898). Since then see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La Catalogne sous l'empire de Louis le

been said to have been migrants fleeing Islamic rule with what movable wealth they could carry, and in some cases considerable retinues; they have been said to have been Goths from Septimania moving to the lands of opportunity over the Pyrenees; and they have been said to have been natives of the area seeking royal privileges for land they had hitherto held without title. In all of these cases the capital to establish settlements would come from other lands they held or had held, and while some would have settled only themselves and their families, men like Jean would clearly have installed tenants. Alternatively, such settlers might operate in bands of independents, holding their land in common or possibly dividing it between them once they were established.³⁷ All of these, whether granted royal title or not, whether worthy of the title *Hispanus* or not, represent a step up the economic ladder from the small peasant in the funded land-grab; they could afford to risk a settlement venture on the basis of their own wealth. We might hope to find such landholders claiming royal grants, though in fact this is rare in the extreme for anyone but the counts. We might look for occurrences over a wide area if possible mentioning land held by *aprisio*,³⁸ and possibly a rôle in public assemblies. A further category would be people whose wealth remained centred elsewhere but who were willing to add

Pieux: première partie – 814-828” in *Études Roussillonnaises: revue d’histoire et de l’archéologie méditerranéenne* Vol. 4 (Perpignan 1954-1955), pp. 239-272, at pp. 257-261; A. Barbero, “La integración social de los «hispani» del Pirineo oriental al reino carolingio” in P. Gallais & Y.-J. Riou (edd.), *Mélanges Offerts à René Crozet, Professeur à l’Université de Poitiers, Directeur du Centre d’Études Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, à l’Occasion de son Soixante-dixième Anniversaire, par ses Amis, ses Collègues, ses Élèves et les Membres du C. É. S. C. M.* Vol. I (Poitiers 1966), pp. 67-75, repr. in A. Prieto (ed.), *Conflictos y Estructuras Sociales en la Hispania Antigua* (Madrid 1977), pp. 151-165; and J. Lalinde Abadía, “Godos, hispanos y hostolenses en la órbita del rey de los Francos” in Udina, *Symposium Internacional*, II pp. 35-74. In English the only useful treatment is S. Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford 1994), pp. 107-111. Jean’s charter from Charlemagne is Cat. Car. II Particulars I, and he and his descendants are further featured in Cat. Car. II Particulars II, VII, XVII & XIX, Cat. Car. II Apèndix XII, HGL II 90 & HGL V 113.

³⁷ Such a band is seen founding a church in Cat. Car. II Particulars VI.

³⁸ On *aprisio* see Chapter 2 above, pp. 87-88 & n. 60.

to their properties with a new venture on the frontier.³⁹ Here one would hope for links identifying the frontier landholder with another in a longer-settled area.

The other possibility is institutionally-driven settlement, that is either the counts or a religious house of some description providing the resources for settlers to survive whilst taking in new land on their behalf.⁴⁰ This process was later referred to by Count-Marquis Borrell II as "*perprisio*".⁴¹ The land the settlers occupied would be the counts' or the Church's, though it might be occupied by those who had cleared it.⁴² Since the comital family and the Church represented the largest accumulations of disposable wealth on the March, and could like the third class of settler suggested above offset initial outlays and unprofitability with surpluses from longer-established areas, and since both also had interests beyond the purely material in extending recognised Christian rule, this is a situation one would expect to have been common.⁴³ In this case we would hope to see landholders buying land from the counts or the Church, or holding land in benefice from them.

All the difficulties outlined above with identifying particular peasant freeholders suggest that a search for such model symptoms can only be partially successful. Likewise inimical to success is the absence of almost any use of royal charters to guarantee tenure,⁴⁴ the normal absence of tenants from

³⁹ As with Viscount Sunifred in Savassona: see n. 35 above.

⁴⁰ As described so clearly in Cat. Car. IV 119, quoted in Chapter 2 above at p. 97.

⁴¹ Tavèrnoles 21 & 24; also "*proprisio*" in *MH* ap. CCCIV, apparently working from an earlier act of consecration of the church of Santa Maria de Ripoll, this section also printed as Cat. Car. IV 414.

⁴² This is explicitly stated in Condal 174.

⁴³ Feliu, "Societat i econòmia", pp. 89-92, suggests that it may have been the default.

⁴⁴ The only cases of non-comital lay landowners in Catalonia proper claiming possession by a royal charter known to me are either actually in or referred to in the following: Cat. Car. IV 10; Condal 63;

the documentation, the rarity of any indication as to how long land had been held or settled, the difficulty of identifying people by similarity of name alone, the possibility of people escaping original dependencies or being brought into new ones,⁴⁵ and so on, means that our record will by and large only offer hints as to which if any of these processes had been involved in bringing this land into documentation. It remains worth looking.

Pioneers and aprisionists

When Gurb first appears in the charters, it is because of a donation of 889 to the cathedral of Vic, made by a couple by the name of Sunifred and Adalrada of land in Terrades, near Vic.⁴⁶ They gave four plots of land which they had bought from four separate owners or couples; the charter of one of these sales, from 886, is the document which brings Gurb into our notice.⁴⁷ In this document Sunifred and Adalrada had bought land in Terrades and land in Gurb from the same couple, Joamir and Equila. The latter is described as being “*in apendicio castris Gurbi*”, indicating that the castle existed in some form even then. No detail of how Joamir and Equila had their land is given, though they held that in Terrades by *ruptura*, a term which seems to indicate a renewal of settlement after desertion in the manner of *aprisio*.⁴⁸ Only the land at Terrades

Girona 152; HGL II 150; A. Boretius & V. Krause (edd.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica (Capitularia Regum Francorum)* Vol. II (Hannover 1890-1897; 2001), No. 303; Vic 15; VL XIII ap. VI; & J. Villanueva, *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España tomo XV: viage á Gerona y á Roda* (Madrid 1851), p. 103. Actual charters of this sort are seen as Cat. Car. II Particulars III, VI, XI, XII, XIII, XX, XXIX, XXX, XXXII, XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVIII & XXXIX. Of these none cover land in Osona, where Abadal suggested all waste land may have been conceded to the counts as they later claimed (R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals (ed.), *Catalunya Carolíngia II: els diplomes carolingis a Catalunya* Pt. 2, *Memòries de la Secció Històrico-Arqueològica* 3 (Barcelona 1952), p. 377).

⁴⁵ For escape, see Condal 181; for subjection, see Chapter 2 above, pp. 96-107.

⁴⁶ Vic 10.

⁴⁷ Vic 6.

⁴⁸ Salrach, “Défrichement”, pp. 135-137.

was given to Vic; all the same the charter in which it had been purchased seems to have come with it.

The next references come as part of a small clutch of charters from the period 892-909, all referring to the village of Ros, to the south-east of Gurb itself, or Vespella, immediately to the west. On 28th February 892 Sarra sold her portion of four pieces of land inherited from her father, whom she does not name, to one Mirabella.⁴⁹ Two of these pieces of land had boundaries on unoccupied waste; a neighbour of several of them was one Salamó. On the 7th March a group of landholders, Bera, Tulkas, Sal'la, Blanderic and Reinulf, possibly four sons and their mother as Bera is called "*femina*" and leads the transactors in both documents, sold land elsewhere in Ros. Again this was only a portion of a greater unit which had come to them "*per aprisione vel ruptura*", and it was sold to Salamó and his wife Quintiló.⁵⁰ The same day the group also sold their portion in another two pieces of land, of which one appears from the boundaries to have adjoined the one sold to Salamó, to Mirabella, already his neighbour in three places.⁵¹ The first piece of land they sold her bounded on the land of Altobega, who is named in another document as a co-owner, and therefore possibly sister, of Sarra, and both pieces of land bordered on that of one Elies. Salamó, clearly still present, witnessed the second sale along with two men who had witnessed the former; the third witness of the former was one Guimarà, who is seen in another document as the son of Mirabella. Of the other two witnesses, another, Oriol, may well have been another of Mirabella's sons,

⁴⁹ Vic 17.

⁵⁰ Vic 18.

⁵¹ Vic 19.

but the other, Eldefred cannot be connected to the groups with what survives.

Two years later, on the 23rd March 894, Mirabella, now identified as the widow of Donadéu, appeared with her children, Guimarà, Atala and Oriol and with Oriol's wife Bona, selling what seems to have been all Mirabella's lands in Ros, "which Donadéu or Mirabella or their sons handed over or held by *aprisio*" to one Eldesind and his wife Leudegarda; this included 3 little pieces of land bought from Sarra, for which Guimarà claimed he had the charter in a line added in superscript by the scribe, a priest by the name of Guitiza.⁵² Whether Guimarà was holding the 892 charter for his mother, or whether Sarra had sold him more, we cannot tell. This must have been an important ceremony, and may well have been held at the cathedral, as there were seven witnesses of whom two were priests; another, however, was Tulkas, presumably he of Ros. The sellers received 50 *solidi* in payment, this being more than ten times the price paid in any of the other Ros transactions so far. Meanwhile, Leudegarda, or someone of that name, had been a neighbour of the Gurb land sold in 886 by Joamir and Equila.

Next, on 28th May 902, we see Sarra again, selling lands in Vespella to one Sesepald; she described these lands as coming "from my parents or my *aprisio*", and she held some of it with Altobega, also a neighbour and seen above becoming a neighbour of Mirabella.⁵³ Also given was a portion of a *campus* which "was my parents'" which Elies held. The word used here, "*tenet*", suggests that Elies was a tenant who probably remained with the land as it

⁵² Vic 23.

⁵³ Vic 33.

changed ownership. Sarra sold five pieces of land in all, of which three were in Vespella, one at “the white rocks” and one at Sant Julià, presumably the church of Sassorba to the north of Ros, but for all this was paid only four *solidi*. This is presumably because she was only able to sell portions of the lands, and the explicit mention in the penalty clause of siblings, heirs or children suggests that Sarra’s portion of each estate might be quite small.

Lastly in this group, on the 9th March 909, Tulkas, Blanderic and Reinulf again sold land, this time not with Sal’la and Bera as before but with one Leutfred and Blanderic’s wife Froila.⁵⁴ The land was in Ros, a complete estate not a portion, and went to one Adalbert and his wife Cornestrídia for six *denarii*. One of the neighbours was Leudegarda along with a woman called Quintiló; it is difficult to imagine why the two wives of two land-buyers in the area had wound up sharing a plot but unless these women are different people of the same name it seems to have happened.

After this there is no mention of Gurb or its constituent settlements in the Vic archive for some time;⁵⁵ the next document touching any of our transactors is from 933.⁵⁶ But we already have, in this concentration of connected sales, enough to give us a sense of the milieu.

Tenure

It is immediately plain that despite not lying on the very edge of settlement, this was pioneer land. There are several references to land lying

⁵⁴ Vic 46.

⁵⁵ Saving Vic 65, which I discuss below.

⁵⁶ Vic 114. Gurb also features in Vic 95, discussed below.

unoccupied on the boundaries of the plots being transferred, and the land that is transferred is frequently said to be held by *aprisio* or *ruptura*, clear signs that at least nominally the area was open to new settlement. This said, even in 886 there appears to have been some kind of trade in land, and the very existence of these charters illustrates that though one might come by land by clearing it oneself or having parents who had done so, it was also well worth buying. This has further implications, of which the most obvious is that there was a surplus available to the landholders; their ventures were paying off. All prices are given in cash equivalents in the charters, though whether they were actually paid in money we cannot tell; certainly Vic was in 911 a notionally-functioning Carolingian mint so coin need not have been hard to come by.⁵⁷

The community was clearly close-knit; in these six charters are named a total of sixty-nine people, over three neighbouring settlements and Gurb itself. Of these, twenty-one appear only as witnesses,⁵⁸ and I suspect that this, as does the fact that two of them are identifiably priests of the Vic chapter,⁵⁹ tells us that sometimes transactions were carried out at the cathedral, where people from a wider area might witness them.⁶⁰ Another four are the scribes, of whom only

⁵⁷ Moneying rights are granted in Vic 55, but at the time of writing only one actual coin of tenth-century Vic is known: see A. M. Balaguer & M. Crusafont i Sabater, Medieval European Coinage, with a Catalogue of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. 6: the Iberian Peninsula (Cambridge forthcoming), ap. 1 CI. 30, citing A. M. Balaguer, Història de la moneda dels comtats catalans (Barcelona 1999), p. 134, Ausona no. 6. On the mint more generally see Balaguer & Crusafont, Medieval European Coinage, Chapter 4 section (h), or A. M. Balaguer & M. Crusafont i Sabater, “La moneda del comtat d’Osona” in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, pp. 105-117, 120, 122 & 124-126.

⁵⁸ In order of appearance, Mauro, Sindila, Langovard, Ató, Dulcido, Aguardo, Adeleu, Eldefred, Sesmir, Guitiza, Aneredi, the priest Bellus, the priest Oriol, Trasemir, Diolo, Rothari, Riculf, Artovado, Teuderic and Centoll.

⁵⁹ The priest Bellus is also seen in Cat. Car. IV 35 & Condal 10, both consecrations by the Bishop of Osona; his brother-in-orders Oriol is seen in Vic 23, 49, 88 & 96, which show him starting here and being installed as the incumbent at Santa Maria d’Olost, where he died.

⁶⁰ For example, Congemir, from Vallfogona and seen there in Condal 27, 37, 84, 110, 116 & 151, but also in a transaction of land at Ros in Vic 235; the name is sufficiently unusual that there is a good chance that this is the same man, apparently witnessing far from home.

one, a priest called Sesenand, appears here more than once.⁶¹ Of the forty-four people who remain, we may say that all were landholders in this area, and twenty-two of them, exactly half, appear as transactors if generally for tiny amounts of land and money. This indicates a low threshold to the land market, but also speaks of very considerable interconnection and interaction; this market was predominantly local. It dealt in fragmented and subdivided plots of land, the result of partition among numerous siblings. Sarra in particular shows us how subdivided things could get by selling her part of the land her family had seemingly granted out to a single tenant, albeit a man who seems to have held his own land elsewhere;⁶² presumably he could farm that as well as theirs without too much trouble.

Timescale

This subdivision and Sarra's caution in excluding "siblings and children and heirs" from interference implies that already in 909 much of this land had gone through one or more processes of inheritance. Sarra's last charter confirms this when as well as the exclusion it mentions "Sarra's heir" as the neighbour of one of the plots concerned.⁶³ Whatever the reality of the sanctions, she had at that stage an heir who could hold land him- or herself, and must therefore have been at least fourteen years of age; this suggests that Sarra herself was twenty-eight at the very least and that she was born at the latest in 879, the supposed year of Count Guifré's resettlement endeavour. Her parents however are not said to have held the land she inherited from them by *aprisio*, and were both

⁶¹ He wrote Vic 17, 18 & 19.

⁶² Elies, also seen as neighbour in Vic 18 & 19 albeit possibly for the same plot each time.

⁶³ Vic 33.

apparently already dead by 892. Similarly, Mirabella's husband Donadéu was dead by 894, but at that time two of his children at least, Guimarà who had bought land from Sarra and Oriol who was married, were adults, and since they helped their father and mother make the *aprisiones* by which the land there disposed of was taken in, had perhaps been adults for some time. So we are dealing here either with families who moved in, with infant children already born and travelling with them, at the very earliest stages of the resettlement, or else, we are dealing with families who had been here since before 879, but whose documents the re-established bishopric somehow preserved. The number of *aprisiones* and *rupturae* here recorded leaves us in no doubt that land clearance was going on, if only because others do not bother to claim it, so that it cannot have been a 'necessary' ideological statement. Some of the people carrying out these clearances had nevertheless probably been here since before the structures of which such claims were part had been rebuilt out into Osona.

Settlement

We can already see how these people might fit into the categories of settlement described above. Donadéu and Mirabella and Sarra's parents both appear as families established only in this area; if they had moved to the area as part of the resettlement there is no hint that they left anything behind. Though not equipped with royal blessing, they could correspond either to the free peasant of Bonnassie's theories, or to the lower levels of the class of *Hispani*. Sarra's family had at least one tenant, but he himself held land independently. Mirabella disposed of lands worth fifty *solidi* and presumably did not leave her children penniless after doing so, suggesting that she and her husband had

amassed a locally considerable amount of land by both purchase and *aprisio*; perhaps previous generations had helped. Besides them there are the other twenty-two known landholders in the area, those who occur only as neighbours, of whom seventeen only occur once. Some of these seventeen must be the small independents whom Bonnassie sought. It seems likely that some of them were settlers, but as with their economic status, we cannot pick any one and make the labels stick.

Conspicuous by its absence is settlement of the institutional type. The counts have not so far appeared in this documentation, and there is no hint of connection to them from any of our transactors, though one Ros boundary is frustratingly said to be "*in veneficio*" without any hint as to who held this benefice or from whom.⁶⁴ The counts must in fact have been very close by, as the Gurb village of Oms was part of Countess Eimilda's marriage gift from Count-Marquis Sunyer of Barcelona and Osona at some point between 898 and 917,⁶⁵ which may lead us to suspect that that village at least was the creation of such fuelled settlement.⁶⁶ Furthermore, in 936 Sunyer's brother, Bishop Radulf of Urgell, appears with his son selling the alod of Palau, in neighbouring Voltregà lapping the border with Gurb, to Sunyer.⁶⁷ This "palace" was worth 1000 *solidi* to him, and since one of the neighbours of the alod was their sister Abbess Emma, clearly this was an area of major comital family interests.⁶⁸ Note however that Radulf had been obliterated to Santa Maria de Ripoll and all his

⁶⁴ Vic 17.

⁶⁵ Condal 9.

⁶⁶ Its first appearance in the Vic documents is not until 955 (Vic 282).

⁶⁷ Cat. Car. IV 419. Vic 337 states that Palau is both in Gurb and Voltregà.

⁶⁸ A. Benet i Clarà & A. Pladevall i Font, in Pladevall, J. Sarri i Vilageliu, Benet & D. Arumí i Gómez, "Santa Maria de Palau" in Vigué, *Catalunya Romànica II*, pp. 230-235 at pp. 230-231.

property at one point assigned there by Count Guifré the Hairy.⁶⁹ When Radulf left Ripoll to become a priest he seems to have taken his land with him, and the alod was eventually returned to Ripoll following the death of Sunyer's son Ermengol.⁷⁰ The comital interests here had thus been farmed out to the Church under family ecclesiastics by Count Guifré and Sunyer was attempting to redress this situation in his personal favour.⁷¹ Santa Maria's interests here were not confined to Palau, either: though we do not have the text of the document, in 903, the monastery was given land at Granollers, to the north of Ros, which significantly had come from Count Guifré the Hairy.⁷² If Emma's presence on the boundaries can be taken to betoken Sant Joan's involvement, two houses that otherwise powered settlement were present just outside the area we can see in this early documentation. Neither they nor the counts show any signs of affecting Gurb, however, other than that the documents are located with reference to the castle which Count Guifré supposedly re-established. Later we see La Guàrdia de Voltregà described as being, like Palau, both in Voltregà and Gurb,⁷³ which suggests that this eponymous guard-post had been placed midway between the two castles; the defensive organisation of the landscape was being orchestrated by someone.⁷⁴

The institution most markedly absent, however, is the cathedral of Vic. In spite of the likelihood that the cathedral was a venue for transactions, none

⁶⁹ M. Rovira, "Un bisbe d'Urgell del segle X: Radulf" in *Urgellia* Vol. 3 (Montserrat 1980), pp. 167-184.

⁷⁰ Cat. Car. IV 535.

⁷¹ See Chapter 2 above, pp. 77-78.

⁷² Cat. Car. IV 53.

⁷³ The place is featured in Vic 209, 223, 243, 265, 362, 388 & 428; of these 209, 243 & 428 place it in Gurb and 223, 362 & 388 in Voltregà.

⁷⁴ See more widely A. Benet i Clarà, "Castells, guàrdies i torres de defensa" in Udina, *Symposium Internacional*, I pp. 393-407.

of those we have are donations to Sant Pere, and St Peter is not a neighbour of any of the lands concerned. This raises the question of how the documents came to be preserved at all. Perhaps what we have here are archive copies kept either at Sant Pere itself or at Sant Andreu de Gurb. This would have been the nearest church and its own donations are also partly preserved by the cathedral.⁷⁵ Meanwhile though, it seems that neither Church nor counts, if they had any involvement in Gurb at this early stage, left any traces of it in the record. We cannot point to any settlement and say that this was an institutional operation; the only tenant we see is Elies, the others appearing seem to be local and free, and no sign of comital capital is apparent.⁷⁶ These people had, it seems, established themselves on their own.

The influx of the wealthy

Buying in and buying out

This leaves us looking for those establishing new settlement using capital from their other lands. This we can in fact see in our evidence. In 915 one Auderan and his wife Canídia sold land in Sassorba to a man named Samuel, who affected the surname Baró.⁷⁷ We have seen none of these people before, but Samuel's surname makes him easy to identify elsewhere; thus we are able to say that this man who was buying land in our area (12 *solidi*'s worth) can be

⁷⁵ Donations to Sant Andreu preserved at Vic: Vic 209, 211, 282, 293, 297 & 451. On the question of Church archives and lay documents, see the recent contribution of Kosto, "Laymen, Clerics and Documentary Practices".

⁷⁶ This type of settlement is not wholly absent from the documents: in Vic 80 for example, from Fontcoberta near Vic, is shown a man who had established settlers on his land buying that land up, and presumably thus throwing them into tenancy.

⁷⁷ Vic 65.

seen in 946 in Mulnells in Riuprimer,⁷⁸ some distance to the south-west on the edge of organised settlement, buying land; in Vilatorta in 951, buying land; and in 962 in a place called Molnells in Gurb (probably Mulnells again, suggesting that it lay on the border between the two terms), buying land.⁷⁹ We also see a man called Baró named the same year as neighbour of some land “on the hill of Sant Julià” in the Gurb area in a sale by Count-Marquis Borrell II,⁸⁰ and this was probably also our Samuel of Sassorba. We have a clear picture here of a man who continued buying land, including in at least one development area (Sassorba was to become a term in its own right not long after his last appearance⁸¹) and one frontier one, over a forty-seven year period. This implies that when we first see him, in 915, he must have been young; even then, however, he had money to spare.

Some of those we have already seen were also people at this sort of level: Adalbert, who bought the land that Tulkas, Blanderic and Reinulf with their new collaborators sold in 909, continued to appear in Ros, as a neighbour to three later purchases of 960, 961 and 962,⁸² by which stage he was sharing the land with heirs, but his distinctively-named wife had presumably died.⁸³ On the other hand he appears once elsewhere with her, also buying land in Riuprimer in 929. It seems that a base in Gurb was a good one to branch out from.

⁷⁸ Vic 234.

⁷⁹ Vic 347.

⁸⁰ Condal 159; on this see pp. 192-193 below.

⁸¹ It appears as such in Vic 456.

⁸² Vic 333, 334 & 348.

⁸³ Regrettably Adalbert’s name is not so distinctive as his wife’s, and there is a risk of confusing his appearances with the man of the same name whom we go on to discuss below, at pp. 184-188; however, the three appearances with “heirs” suggest that the man appearing here is older than that one at this time, and his active appearances are certainly too early for any confusion.

Adalbert and Cornestrídia, as well as being the last actors in the small transaction network seen in turn-of-the-century Ros, are also the only ones who reoccur after that transaction. The period for which Ros and Vespella disappear from our documents was long enough for all our known persons except these two to either die or move away, or else simply cease appearing in recorded transactions.⁸⁴ We can make almost no links between the generations at all, and the question of why that little set of documents survive remains obscure. It is also clear that people are escaping under the edge of the lens. Even when we see people, the twenty-one Ros witnesses not visibly from the village illustrate how obscure they may be. These may have been people of status at some assembly; they may have been people present at the cathedral on the right days; they might be dependants of the transactors we otherwise do not see; or they might be rarely-appearing elders of either Gurb or a different community.

Very occasionally we can breach these limitations. For example, there is a man called Guiscafred who probably appears in eight Gurb documents from 957 to 987X996.⁸⁵ In one of these, he appears with a man called Oliba who also appears in five other documents dealing with land in Gurb, between 957 and 989.⁸⁶ In another he occurs in 985 with a man called Amalric acting as executors of another man called Plàcid;⁸⁷ but only because we have an earlier document than all these do we know that these men were all brothers,⁸⁸ and furthermore that a woman by the name of Estregot was another sibling, so that when we see

⁸⁴ One would like to be able to identify Sarra's anonymous heir of Vic 33.

⁸⁵ His probable appearances are in Vic 297, 347, 353, 461, 492, 516 & 606.

⁸⁶ Vic 297, 347, 356, 360, 382 & 538.

⁸⁷ Vic 516. Amalric probably also occurs in Vic 297, and Plàcid also in Vic 245, 297 & 334.

⁸⁸ Vic 297.

her with her son Amalric Bonuci we know that she had probably named him after his uncle.⁸⁹ They all occur together with their mother Jacinta, who is named as the widow of one Dató,⁹⁰ and there also appear the further siblings Guadamir,⁹¹ who also appears with Oliba once, Cornestrídia,⁹² Ermetruit (who may have given her name to two nieces),⁹³ and Langovard, who also occurs elsewhere.⁹⁴

Of this large family, all the brothers except Amalric may occur as witnesses.⁹⁵ The strategy of such appearances is difficult to fathom: the siblings never witnessed two together, but people of their names very often occurred in transactions where another one was a neighbour but did not himself witness, almost as if someone with a connection to the act but at some remove was sought. Between them, however, they are seen to have held land in four different locations in the Gurb term and possibly another outside it, and this is probably only a partial record.⁹⁶ The plots they held may not in fact have been large ones but if we consider that they must in most cases have either come

⁸⁹ She occurs in Vic 617 with her son.

⁹⁰ Dató may well also be seen in Vic 239 as a neighbour in Vilanera, where Jacinta is seen in Vic 297 giving land.

⁹¹ Probably also seen in Vic 245, 290, 297 & 356.

⁹² This woman is almost certainly not the wife of Adalbert of Ros, but she of this name in Vic 248 could arguably be either.

⁹³ Possible relatives in Vic 538 & 613.

⁹⁴ Vic 287, 293, 430 & 516, and possibly also in Riuprimer in Vic 320, 387, 392, 448, 590, 602, 635 & 641.

⁹⁵ Guadamir in Vic 290, and possibly also in the rather distant Valldages in Vic 245 as there is a landholder there called Plàcid who neighbours the land concerned; Plàcid himself in Ros in Vic 334; Guisafred in Molnells, Ros and Vespella in Vic 347, 353 & 481; Oliba at la Torre (probably in Vilagelans), Alboquers (probably in Sant Bartomeu del Grau), and Ros in Vic 356, 360 & 382; and Langovard in Gurb proper in Vic 287, 293 & 430.

⁹⁶ All of the family had a share in Jacinta's land, probably previously Dató's, in Vilanera (Vic 297); Guisafred also appears buying land in Granollers in Vic 482, and he appears as a neighbour in Gurb proper in Vic 606; Oliba appears as a neighbour in Molnells in Vic 347. Furthermore, as said above Plàcid may have held land in Valldages, in the term of Sant Llorenç, some distance to the east across the river Gurri.

from or been funded by the combined landstock of their parents, Dató and Jacinta, it becomes clear that these two must have been no small people in the area. And yet we do not see them except through others, because they never came under the lens themselves. The sons' status may well have come from the solid position of their father, and perhaps some association with the church of Sant Andreu,⁹⁷ which might in turn explain their occasional appearances as witnesses. It seems likely that all those who conducted business or indeed worship at Sant Andreu would have known them and seemingly regarded them as upright and reliable people.

They were not the only substantial family in the area. Appearing separately from them is a couple by the names of Adalfred and Iquiló.⁹⁸ Here we do not need a jigsaw of holdings cast back to the previous generation to prove their wealth, as all of these appearances are purchases. They do not appear in our documents as witnesses, nor, more surprisingly, as neighbours; only because they were rich and had money to spend do they appear to us at all. Though they were contemporaries of Dató and Jacinta their strategy has more of that of Salamó and Quintiló or Samuel Baró about it. The lands they purchased were mostly in Ros and Vilanera, but they also bought in La Guàrdia to the north and also Malla, beyond Vic to the south on the far frontier.⁹⁹ Of these interests that in Malla seems to be the latest, so this looks like another case of established landholders in the Gurb area making new ground in the areas to

⁹⁷ Jacinta's donation in which the family links are explained (Vic 297) is to Sant Andreu; when Guiscafred and Langovard appear carrying out the will of Plàcid in Vic 516 it is to Sant Andreu that three plots of his land were bequeathed; and Guiscafred appears in Vic 606 as a neighbour of the church.

⁹⁸ The two appear together in Vic 196, 235, 243, 261, 263 & 299; Adalfred also appears in Vic 208 & 239.

⁹⁹ Ros, Vic 196, 208, 235, 263; Vilanera, Vic 239; La Guàrdia, Vic 243; Malla, Vic 261 & 299.

which the frontier had by now slowly advanced.

The dominant pattern is thus one of relatively wealthy local landholders with further-flung venture territories nearer the frontier. It seems clear that there was still room to establish oneself in Gurb. The most interesting case of this is presented in a 963 sale of land at la Torre, in “the term of the castle of the son of Guadamir”, which its editors believe to be in Vilagelans in Gurb.¹⁰⁰ It is an interesting suggestion that there was a need for and room for a defensive tower and castle so close to that of Gurb, and the particular interest for us of course lies in its name (which is paralleled by that of another castle far to the west in Manresa).¹⁰¹ Guadamir’s son is obscure to us, but Dató and Jacinta had a son called Guadamir who as said does not appear after their 957 donation in Vilanera, and his brother Oliba appears to witness this sale. If the association of his name rather than his son’s with the fortification implies that he was the man who had built this outpost, perhaps Dató’s sons were more than just averagely important in the area.

On the other hand, a document from the next year saw an alod in Vilagelans being bequeathed to the cathedral of Sant Pere by the will of a deacon of the chapter, whose name was likewise Guadamir.¹⁰² This Guadamir had land in Gurb, but is far and away mostly seen buying land in frontier Manresa, and is only once previously seen in our area.¹⁰³ The possibility thus

¹⁰⁰ Vic 356. I do not know on what basis their identification was made. Guadamir’s son’s castle may have acquired a more permanent name; a new castle appears in Vespella in 988 (Vic 534) and such structures could often be short-lived; see Benet, “Castells, guàrdies i torres de defensa”.

¹⁰¹ The “castle of the sons of Guadamir”, in Cat. Car. IV 1472.

¹⁰² Cat. Car. IV 951.

¹⁰³ Cat. Car. IV 468, 502, 517, 572, 606, 607, 630, 650, 682, 696, 782, 811, 838, 846, 903, 955 & 963, of which 630 is the previous Gurb appearance, & Manresa 42 & 57. He also bought land at Vinyoles d’Orís in Vic 193 & 200.

arises that this important, but apparently never priestly, churchman was in fact himself the son of Dató and Jacinta, in which case the Gurb appearances would be a frontiersman looking in on matters in the area which had given him his start.¹⁰⁴ At this rate, both the castles of Guadamir's children could be his work, and Dató and Jacinta would have been more important again than we had supposed, although Guadamir's clerical title, if it did in fact belong to the same man, may also imply support from the cathedral of Vic.

The settlement of Vilagelans itself also deserves closer attention. The etymology of the modern name is clear in our documents, which give the place as "*Villa Agelanis*", that is, the *villa* of Agelà.¹⁰⁵ There is little clue beyond the single mention of the castle that the area boasted any development of settlement at all. However, in its first occurrence the *villa* is described as having a term, bespeaking a place in the territorial organisation of the area, so it was presumably not as undeveloped and obscure as the documents make it seem.¹⁰⁶ There are several possible candidates for the eponymous founder. One bought land in Ros in 946 with his wife Arvidió, in collaboration with none other than Adalfred and Iquiló,¹⁰⁷ and may appear again with one Vives in the area in

¹⁰⁴ The fact of his having had children need be no objection, as this was not unknown for churchmen in the area; witness Sendred, *baiulus* of Andorra and Archdeacon at the cathedral of Urgell, seen in Urgell 286. In this case however we must assume that he was not using his title in the occurrences given at n. 91 above; cf. J. Alturo i Perucho, "Le statut du scribe en Catalogne (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)" in Hubert, Pouille & Smith, *Le Statut du Scribe*, pp. 41-55, at p. 42 & n. 5. Guadamir thus compares interestingly to the later secular diaconate employed by the cathedral of Vic to run its properties: see n. 204 below.

¹⁰⁵ Aside from the two occurrences mentioned above it is seen only in Cat. Car. IV 494, Manresa 57 & Vic 250.

¹⁰⁶ Several scholars, most notably Jordi Bolòs, would argue that such boundaries might well date back to the Muslim occupation if not considerably before: see J. Bolòs, "Paisatge, poblament i societat a Catalunya entorn de l'any 1000" in Ollich, *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac*, pp. 254-283, with English abstract pp. 285-286, at p. 256-259. If so however they must still have been remembered by the living.

¹⁰⁷ Vic 235.

963.¹⁰⁸ Other than him, there appear to be two men of note of the name in the documents, a landholder who was one of several brothers in Riuprimer and old enough to be transacting alongside an adult son in 923,¹⁰⁹ and one in Sant Llorenç, to the east of Vic, in the *villa* of Formigons, seen as a neighbour in three documents from there from 925 to 948.¹¹⁰ Of these two, I favour the Riuprimer man, as he occurs earlier and was clearly rich enough to transact, and I think it plausible that he is the man buying in Ros with Adalfred and Iquiló and who went on from this to set up (or re-establish) a village in an otherwise unrecorded area. The fact that Vilagelans so quickly developed a term makes it likely that he did not do this on his own; if the cathedral was not interested in the area, others whom we do not see may have been.¹¹¹ Agelà's wife, for what it is worth, lived on in Ros till 961 at least, at which point she appears with as ever nameless children.¹¹² Perhaps some of the subsequent well-to-do owed their standing from this venture; we cannot say.

What we have *c.* 950 is therefore a succession of substantial interests in the area, which had at first been small-scale and fragmented in its land market where we could see it, with the powerful interests outside. This economy nonetheless provided a footing from which successful families or their successful members might branch out, adding to their interests by buying either in the area, as with Adalbert and Cornestrídia, or outside it as early on with

¹⁰⁸ Vic 353.

¹⁰⁹ He sells land with Guiscafred in Vic 98, is a neighbour with his brothers (if this be the same man) in Vic 100 and again sells land with Guiscafred and one Eilo, who are this time said to be his children in Vic 101.

¹¹⁰ Vic 114, 165 & 651.

¹¹¹ The deacon Guadamir however gave land here in his will, Manresa 57, suggesting that the cathedral may in fact have had some interest. Cf. pp. 199-202 below.

¹¹² She appears as neighbour in Vic 319 and 334, in the latter case with her children.

Salamó and Quintiló and Samuel Baró, and later on with Adalfred and Iquiló. It is clear however that the area could sustain a number of people of this sort of standing, and the influence of the family of Dató and Jacinta is hard to initially detect in our sources, suggesting that we may be missing more such people. Even if the son of Guadamir's castle and the ventures of Agelà, whoever he was, show us that there were some genuinely powerful accumulations of resources from time to time, we cannot say from what we have either that there was a single or even several dominant families, or that if there were we would be able to identify them.

The plots thicken

After 950, however, this situation changed. The next stage of the development of the area appears to be the appearance of an upper level of landowning and the first appearances of official power.

Adalbert and family

One mark of this change is the appearance in the Gurb documentation of one of the Vic archive's more prolific participants, another man called Adalbert.¹¹³ We have the luck to be able to link this man to a great number of his contemporaries through the sort of circumstantial information that we had with Dató and Jacinta: one purchase, which Adalbert made in 967 with a group whose names are Sunyer, Amalric, Bradila, Quindibergera & Ava, is from a woman called Ovímia who calls the purchasers her brothers.¹¹⁴ She seems only

¹¹³ See nn. 54 & 82 above; this one appears in Cat. Car. IV 1061 & Vic 379, 382, 391, 399, 400, 411, 414, 422, 460, 468, 484, 498, 510, 511, 529 & 534.

¹¹⁴ Vic 382. Ovímia probably occurs in Cat. Car. IV 1232 & Vic 362, 367, 382, 400, 422 & 484.

to mean Adalbert and Sunyer, however, as Bradila and Amalric appear in numerous other places together and in another lucky survival it is made clear that they were the children, along with Cardosa, Ermelda and Sunifred, of a woman called Castellana.¹¹⁵ This pair of genealogical maps allow us to make connections between transactors, but they make it still easier by reoccurring together in a way that the sons of Dató did not. The same group of transactors bought more from Ovímia a few years later;¹¹⁶ Quindibergera alone, with five children with her, had sold land to Adalbert the year before, and Bradila had witnessed;¹¹⁷ the next year Adalbert, Sunyer, Bradila and Amalric, without the two women, bought more land together,¹¹⁸ and two years later Adalbert bought further land from Ovímia, land of which he was already a neighbour.¹¹⁹ In 980 Ada turns up again, selling land and a mill to Adalbert;¹²⁰ and two years later Ovímia appears for the last time, selling land to Adalbert which she had from their now-dead brother Sunyer; Bradila witnessed,¹²¹ as he would Adalbert's will of 988.¹²² The connections continue after Adalbert's death, with Bradila witnessing transactions by his widow Guisla also, in one case with Amalric, and in one case where Amalric was a neighbour.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Vic 379. Amalric appears in Vic 379, 382, 400, 411, 481, 503, 532, 547, 581, maybe 586 & certainly 595, Bradila in Vic 379, 382, 391, 400, 411, 425, 484, 534, 547 & 595; Castellana meanwhile appears in Vic 237, 275, 279, 329 & 379, in the first of which she is located in Berga, in Taradell, and identified as the daughter of Belasc and Caritosa, and the sister of Bradila, Elies, Sabat, Ermelda and Gelovira. We can therefore see several of these names continue down the generations. Ermelda the younger meanwhile also reoccurs in Vic 595 with her brothers.

¹¹⁶ Vic 400.

¹¹⁷ Vic 391.

¹¹⁸ Vic 411.

¹¹⁹ Vic 422.

¹²⁰ Vic 460.

¹²¹ Vic 484.

¹²² Vic 534.

¹²³ Guisla first appears with Adalbert in 980, in Vic 468, and thereafter occurs in Vic 498, 511, 534, 541, 547, 595, 603 & 622. In Vic 534 she is one of her husband's executors; thereafter she continued to buy

The primary visible interests of this group were in the term of Taradell, mostly in the Malla area where Adalfred and Iquiló were seen purchasing. In fact the first of the group to appear, Ovímia,¹²⁴ does so selling ten pieces of land (in Gurb) to none other than Iquiló.¹²⁵ At this stage Adalbert was already the neighbour of some of this land; Ovímia said the land had come to her from her father, though she does not name him. Her parents, by then deceased, were also the source of the lands she sold to her brothers and Amalric, Bradila, Ada and Quindiberga, moreover, which were both in Ros and in Taradell at an unspecified location.¹²⁶ I therefore suspect that the Gurb-Malla link and the deal with Iquiló imply that the father in the first transaction had in fact been Adalfred, and that Iquiló was buying back some of her daughter's inheritance. Much if not all of Ovímia's land seems eventually to have ended up with Adalbert, who made bequests to Sant Pere de Vic as well as Sant Pere de Rodes and three different local churches in his will.¹²⁷ The chain is thin, but it does have the great advantage of explaining the preservation of the documents: all of the family's accumulated parchments might have been consigned to the archive with his bequest.¹²⁸ We may thus have a two-generation sequence of landed interest in Gurb.

In any case, in these transactions and several others Adalbert and his

land in her own name, and the two transactions with Bradila and Amalric are Vic 547 & 595 respectively.

¹²⁴ Sunyer may possibly occur in Vic 243 or Vic 360 but with so common a name sure identification is impossible.

¹²⁵ Vic 367; the appearance as a neighbour in La Guàrdia in Vic 362 is prior but not certainly her.

¹²⁶ Vic 382 & 400 respectively.

¹²⁷ This suggests that the now-lost Sant Pere de Rodes cartulary might have told us yet more of this area; on the other hand, what survives from Santa Maria de Ripoll does not despite Adalbert making a gift there in 970; see n. 130 below. The local churches were Sant Andreu de Gurb, Sant Cristòfol de Vespella and Sant Genís de Taradell, Vespella being interesting as it is one of the areas in which he does not appear. This may tell us where Ros villagers went to church.

¹²⁸ Cf. Kosto, "Laymen, Clerics and Documentary Practices".

relatives or collaborators appear in Gurb.¹²⁹ If they inherited the lands amassed by Adalfred and Iquiló, they were clearly well-to-do already, but since Ovímia was able to sell ten pieces of land to Iquiló in 967 and still have some to sell to her brothers the same year without leaving herself landless, and that Adalbert over his career in the documents we have dispensed payments worth a total of 168 *solidi* and 15 *denarii*, it is clear that by the standards of the area these people were very major players, especially since their influence and landstock in frontier Taradell appears to have been larger than that in Gurb. Noticeable compared to the rare co-appearances of the family of Dató and Jacinta is the way in which they often occur with each other, witnesses to each other's transactions and co-buyers in varying combinations; they sold to each other, even inside families, and if this led towards an accumulation of lands under one of the brothers, Adalbert, this seems not to have stopped them working together, where the sons of Dató apparently did not. It is arguable that Ovímia had married out of the area, as a woman of her name appears selling land near the castle of Or in Manresa in 980 with two children, one of whom, Faquiló, seems also to participate in a donation of Adalbert's of land in Ros to Santa Maria de Ripoll.¹³⁰ If so, perhaps she was happy to let her brother take over her interest in their parents' old lands. Here, anyway, is a family who worked to amass and keep land together, with regular collaborators who had their own fish to fry and spread their net wider as a result (Amalric and Bradila do not

¹²⁹ The documents in which they appear there are Vic 362 (possible appearance of Ovímia as neighbour), Vic 367, 382, 399, 510, 534 (all Adalbert, the first two being the combined purchases from Ovímia with Sunyer, Amalric and Bradila, 399 & 510 being purchases he made by himself), and Vic 481, 581 & 586 (appearances by Amalric alone or with unconnected collaborators in Palau).

¹³⁰ The Or sale is Cat. Car. IV 1232; the Ripoll donation, which does not from what survives seem to have betokened any further interest in Adalbert's part in Santa Maria, is Cat. Car. IV 1061.

appear in Gurb without Adalbert until after his death); a transaction network of some thickness stretched between Taradell and Gurb from their hands.

Given what must have been considerable local standing, it may seem strange that Adalbert does not appear with any local official title. None of his lands are said to be fortified, and though there are powerful men of this name seen elsewhere in the documentation none of them seem to be identifiable with him.¹³¹ This is seemingly because Adalbert, rich and successful though he seems to have been, did not have access to the sort of patronage that could raise him to that rank, or rather, someone else in his area already did. In the Taradell sale of land Ovímia made to her brothers and their collaborators one of the boundaries lay “*in beneficio de Guifredo*”,¹³² and a brief look at the documentation shows us more clearly by whom Adalbert and his family were locally out-ranked.

The Vicar Guifré

In Taradell such a man appears in the form of one Guifré, from 957 to 982, who at his first appearance is entitled *domnus* by the scribe; that this was the Guifré whose benefice Ovímia’s land neighbored is therefore likely.¹³³ This appearance is as a neighbour to a purchase of Adalfred and Iquiló, and then he next occurs as neighbour in the sale in which his *beneficium* is mentioned.¹³⁴ He then appears as a neighbour of a further sale to the two pairs of brothers in the

¹³¹ Vic 346, 491, 537 & 569 all feature a man of this name who appears frequently with the counts of Barcelona-Osona; he probably also appears in Condal 158, 170 & 194 & Sant Cugat 239, in the first of which he bears the surname Baret. On him see Chapter 4, pp. 219-220 n. 43.

¹³² Vic 400.

¹³³ He appears in Vic 299, 376, 400, 411, 414, 449, possibly Vic 460 & 465, certainly Vic 498, and possibly also Cat. Car. IV 1235 & Condal 158.

¹³⁴ Vic 400.

same area in 971.¹³⁵ He sold land to Adalbert in 972 of which Amalric was a neighbour, was a witness in 978 to a sale by one Riculf who was probably the man of this name who witnessed Adalbert's will,¹³⁶ and in 982 sold a piece of land worth 100 *solidi* to Adalbert and Guisla, which he had from his parents,¹³⁷ suggesting that his wealth was patrimonial and thus possibly also his status.

There was also a Guifré of some status in Gurb, who made a series of acquisitions in Ros beginning in 960. The second, third and fourth transactions he made there all featured Adalbert as neighbour, and he later appears in two more transactions as neighbour, in the latter of which Adalbert was also a neighbour and Ovímia and Iquiló the transactors.¹³⁸ The last point at which he certainly appears is as a neighbour in nearby Quadres, to land whose charter features a priest called Ervigi Ferrocont.¹³⁹ This priest is one of several siblings who are seen selling land in Ros to Guifré in his first appearance there, however, and in that first transaction he is qualified as *vicarius*.¹⁴⁰ It is tempting therefore to identify this holder of an official title with the beneficed *domnus* of nearby Taradell.

There are however three more appearances by a Guifré in the Gurb area, beginning ten years later.¹⁴¹ The timespan involved is not impossible, but there

¹³⁵ Vic 411.

¹³⁶ Riculf is another man about whom it would be useful to know more. A man of this name occurs in Malla in Vic 438, 449, 450, 525, 537 & 603, which makes it likely that he knew Adalbert and his family and thus might be the man witnessing his will at Vic 534; however, this man never appears in connection with Adalbert, even as neighbour, no Sant Llorenç land is there bequeathed and a Riculf also appears in Vic 567 & 575 in Gurb, so that unless these two are the same man the latter is perhaps more likely to be the witness in Vic 534.

¹³⁷ Vic 414, 449 & 498 respectively.

¹³⁸ Vic 333, 334, 336, 348, 353 & 367 respectively.

¹³⁹ Vic 428.

¹⁴⁰ Vic 366.

¹⁴¹ Vic 510, 541 & 567.

are two factors against identification with the Vicar, firstly that this man sold to Adalbert's widow Guisla, whereas the occurrences of the earlier Guifré never have him actually interact with that family. Another obstacle is the title of Vicar: a Guifré with this title in the Vic documents appears only in Gurb, but by 975 the title of Vicar in this term was held by Ansulf, the founder of the Gurb-Queralt, whose descendants' succession to the honour make it clear that his title was centred on Gurb.¹⁴² The possibility is therefore raised that Ansulf succeeded to Guifré in the term, in which case the appearances after 974 must be a different man.¹⁴³ If however Guifré of Gurb may be identified with Guifré of Taradell, then he is perhaps more likely to have been Vicar there, and the two might continue to coincide after Ansulf's elevation.

Whether these two be one or not, each man clearly had connections to the comital court, to be able to obtain a benefice or a vicariate.¹⁴⁴ This makes it possible that we see him or one of them witnessing a cession by the Viscount of Girona, Guinguís Mascaró, to his wife Gerosòlima Gudrielda, in 962, especially as another of the witnesses bears the name Ansulf.¹⁴⁵ It also raises the possibility of connections elsewhere, as a man of this name was with Count-Marquis Borrell II and his wife Countess Ledgarda when they gave a large alod in Vilatorra in Sant Llorenç to a priest Sunifred in 980.¹⁴⁶ A Guifré with Sant

¹⁴² Ansulf first appears as Vicar in Vic 430. On him see pp. 191-192 below and references there.

¹⁴³ Suggested by A. Benet i Clarà in J.-A. Adell i Gisbert, Benet & J. Vigué i Viñas, "Castell de Gurb" in Vigué, *Catalunya Romànica II*, pp. 207-211 at p. 208.

¹⁴⁴ It is of course possible that *domnus* Guifré's benefice had come from the Church, but his title seems to me to bespeak some fiscal origin for his land. The question then arises of how tightly the counts could control titlature (or appropriation of fiscal land) among their dependents. Such questions are discussed in Chapter 4 below, pp. 217-221.

¹⁴⁵ Condal 158; on Guinguís and his wife see J. Coll i Castanyer, "Els vescomtes de Girona" in *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* Vol. 30 (Girona 1989), pp. 39-98 at pp. 42-43.

¹⁴⁶ Vic 465.

Llorenç interests also appears in three other documents there from 973 to 979,¹⁴⁷ and the possibility is thus raised that this man might be either or both of our instances of a comitally-connected Guifré, or neither. There is no way to be sure. It illustrates, however, that the powerful who seemed absent from Gurb and its environs in the view of our early sources were now present, and makes for the possibility, which should loom with the castle over our evidence, that this had also been the case for much longer than our documents show.

Ansulf of Gurb

The rôle that connections to the counts could play becomes clearer with the Vicar Ansulf.¹⁴⁸ He appears in Gurb first in 962,¹⁴⁹ and was thus a contemporary of Guifré, and of Adalbert. However, he appears earlier on in Sant Llorenç, and despite two large properties in Gurb obtained from Count-Marquis Borrell II (for one of which, the church of Sant Esteve de Granollers, he is said to have paid goods worth 70 ounces of gold)¹⁵⁰ it is in Sant Llorenç that he first appears with the title of Vicar.¹⁵¹ Nonetheless, in 974 he is seen buying land in Quadres of which the Vicar Guifré was a neighbour,¹⁵² and here Ansulf is called "*domnus*" just as Guifré was in Taradell. Then the next year he appears as a neighbour in Gurb itself, explicitly named as Vicar.¹⁵³ If Guifré had been Vicar in Gurb, it seems clear that Ansulf had now succeeded him, but also that

¹⁴⁷ Vic 420, 426 & 452.

¹⁴⁸ A. Benet i Clarà, "Ansulf de Gurb Cap de la Família Gurb-Queralt" in *Ausa* Vol. 8 (Vic 1977), pp. 133-146, and *idem*, *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, pp. 33-39.

¹⁴⁹ Condal 159.

¹⁵⁰ Cat. Car. IV 1122 & Condal 159, the former being the purchase and the latter a grant.

¹⁵¹ Vic 251, 289 & 372: in the latter two he is named as *vicarius*.

¹⁵² Vic 428.

¹⁵³ Vic 430.

he had beforehand been Vicar in Sant Llorenç. Furthermore, he owed his situation in Gurb in overwhelming part to the patronage of Borrell II establishing him with sufficient property to become a greater landholder than any other whom we know from our sources. The situation here appears then as a less extreme version of Duby's summation of the situation in the tenth-century Mâconnais; people might buy land in considerable amounts but the accumulation was nothing as to what comital patronage might bring.¹⁵⁴ We see Adalbert spend in the region of 170 *solidi* in acquiring land over the course of his entire life; Ansulf spent something like twice this on one occasion when he bought Sant Esteve de Granollers. The difference in level is clearly apparent.

Development and patronage

It is difficult to have much of an idea from the documents what presence the counts had in Gurb. The village of Oms may have been founded by comital initiative, but none of the Vic documents from the area show this.¹⁵⁵ The comital estates at Palau lie on the very fringe of our focus and as far as we can tell belonged to the twin houses of Sant Joan and Santa Maria de Ripoll after 936. The first appearance of comital interests within the area apart from in Oms is Borrell II's donation of land at Sassorba to Ansulf. In this charter Borrell is made to claim that the land came to him "through the voice of my father and my ancestors, and to my ancestors it came through the voice of the precept of the Kings of the Franks which the most glorious Charles made of all the fisci and all

¹⁵⁴ G. Duby, *La Société aux XI^e et XII^e Siècles dans la Région Mâconnaise*, Bibliothèque Générale de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, VI^e Section, 2nd edn. (Paris 1971), pp. 56-63. Cf. A. J. Kostov, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: power, order and the written word, 1000-1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought 4th Series 51 (Cambridge 2001), p. 60, which instead sees inheritance as the key to castellans' power.

¹⁵⁵ They are Vic 282, 321, 330 & 473. The comital connection is however testified in Condal 9.

their waste lands".¹⁵⁶ This is the most sweeping of several claims that were made about such a precept; other references to it are capable of a less general interpretation, but in any case it seems unlikely that such a document as Borrell is here made to imply ever existed.¹⁵⁷ The onus however seems to be that the land in question was ex-royal either by virtue of having explicitly been fiscal property or by having been waste which Borrell was now claiming was his by royal concession.¹⁵⁸ The area concerned is large, but we have seen that there was room for considerable empty space between our known settlements. Whether this particular territory had escaped the local documentation which survives because of being ancient comital family land or recently-claimed wasteland however, we cannot tell. The sale to Ansulf of the church of Granollers might lend weight to the former suggestion: it claims that the land was Borrell's parents', and that it was to be held as part of the "*fevum*" of the castle of Gurb. This latter reference is at once illuminating and troublesome. One of several difficult features of this document, it reminds us that the castle must have had some means of upkeep and that this may well have entailed a supporting allotment of fiscal land. Its use of the term nonetheless presents problems: this sort of explicitly feudal language is rare in the extreme as early as 972.¹⁵⁹ There is therefore good indication that this document was at the very

¹⁵⁶ Condal 159.

¹⁵⁷ See Abadal, *Catalunya Carolíngia II* Pt. 2, pp. 375-377; R. Collins, "Charles the Bald and Wifred the Hairy" in M. T. Gibson, J. L. Nelson (edd.), *Charles the Bald: court and kingdom* (Aldershot 1990), pp. 170-189. Further such claims are discussed in Chapter 4 below, pp. 211-214.

¹⁵⁸ This was explicitly stated in other charters, albeit for later rulers. Sant Cugat 464 puts it: "... *esse hec terra iuris principalis, sicut et cetera spacia heremarum terrarum...*", while Comtal 172 has: "*Advenerunt nobis hec omnia... per regiam vocem quam habemus in supradictis locis sicuti et antecessores nostri...*".

¹⁵⁹ Cat. Car. IV 1122. This document is also printed as *MH* ap. CXIII, and it is only from this and the 1660 copy made for Bishop De Marca that it is known; that copy was made from one of the now-lost Ripoll cartularies. It is not only garbled (Ansulf is named as Assolf and Ataulf, for example) but features this mention of an early fief, a dating by "the time of Duke Borrell" unparalleled except in the

least interpolated, and it seems plausible that this might have been done in the time of the lengthy disputes that were to surround the ownership of this and other churches between the Gurb-Queralt and the cathedral of Vic in the next century, although if so the document's erstwhile preservation at Santa Maria de Ripoll adds another layer of complexity.¹⁶⁰ It seems unlikely that we may take this as hard evidence of long-time comital possessions elsewhere in Gurb's term, but we should be aware that, because of the castle, there probably were some of these somewhere.¹⁶¹

The counts were not the only people whose presence might tell us about fiscal land in the area: Viscount Ermemir I of Osona is once seen holding property at Golomers near Granollers de la Plana.¹⁶² This makes interesting the charter of 963 from which we know of the Castell del Fill de Guadamir,¹⁶³ as the land which was being bought in its term was sold by Ermemir's son, Viscount

grandiloquent Manresa 92, and a scribe who calls himself "*exarator*", otherwise mostly a twelfth-century usage in this area. These, the high price and that fact that it was partly paid with a mule which seems to have been worth most of that price all suggest a much later era (cf. P. Bonnassie, "Sur la formation du féodalisme catalan et sa première expansion (jusqu'à 1050 environ)" in J. Portella i Comas (ed.), La Formació i Expansió del Feudalisme Català: actes del col·loqui organitzat pel Col·legi Universitari de Girona (8-11 de gener de 1985). Homenatge a Santiago Sobrequés i Vidal, Estudi General: revista del Col·legi Universitari de Girona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona Nos. 5-6 (Girona 1986), pp. 7-26 with English summary p. 555, transl. J. Birrell as "The Formation of Catalan Feudalism and its Early Expansion" in Bonnassie, Slavery to Feudalism, pp. 149-169, at pp. 10-12 of the original). On the other hand, it is difficult to see why such a transaction should have been contentious given the Gurb-Queralt's clear later hold on the area, so I suspect that this document is an attempt to claim later rights with respect to it, improving on a known transaction; that Ansulf acquired the land from Borrell we thus have no reason to doubt.

¹⁶⁰ On the church of Sant Esteve see M. Anglada i Bayés, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà, J. Vigué i Viñas, D. Arumí i Gómez & E. Carbonell i Esteller, "Sant Esteve de Granollers de la Plana" in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, pp. 216-220. On the later disputes, see pp. 204-205 & n. 210 below. It seems clear from the forged Cat. Car. IV IX (on which see Ordeig, Catalunya Carolíngia IV, Pt. 1, p. 49) that Santa Maria had later interests in this area which were difficult to establish.

¹⁶¹ The difficulties of working out the comital connection to castles in this period is described well by Kosto, Making Agreements, pp. 59-64.

¹⁶² Cat. Car. IV 294. The details of the location I owe to M. Rovira i Sola, "Noves dades sobre els vescomtes d'Osona-Cardona" in AUSA Vol. 9 (Vic 1981), pp. 249-260 at p. 253. Ermemir I was also a witness to Condal 9, in which the village of Oms was transferred, but this connection is rather less direct.

¹⁶³ Vic 356.

Guadall. He claimed to have the land "*per meum beneficium*", but seemed to have no reservations about disposing of it in full propriety, and also called the land "*terra mea propria*". This suggests that we should also be reckoning the Viscounts of Osona as titled landholders in Gurb since some time before.¹⁶⁴ One boundary of the land concerned lay on waste land, and it may well be that the castle and its term were recent attempts to turn hitherto underused land to settlement. This might also explain where Guadamir or his son had obtained the backing to build their tower. Once more, this hint at such an endeavour should alert us to the possibility that there were others of which we have not even this one trace.

Nor were Ansulf and his sons the only people in the area to benefit from such comital patronage: we have already mentioned the Vic donor Guillem by whom the castles of Esplugues and Esparreguera came to that family, and those castles had come to him by the gift of Borrell II and Ledgarda.¹⁶⁵ His land in Gurb might not have been ex-fiscal,¹⁶⁶ but he undoubtedly wielded the same sort of connection to the counts that the Vicars had. Also, Guifré, Ansulf and Ansulf's son Sendred, who emerges into the documentation after 975,¹⁶⁷ were

¹⁶⁴ On the viscounts' family property, see F. Rodríguez Bernal, "Els vescomtes d'Osona: dades familiars i gènesi patrimonial d'un llinatge nobiliari pels volts de l'any 1000" in Ollich, Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac, pp. 163-173.

¹⁶⁵ Vic 517.

¹⁶⁶ Such questions of fiscality are extremely vexed anyway. Note for example that among Bonnassie's list of alienations of 'fiscal' properties by the counts (Catalogne, I pp. 145-148) is Vic 552, a sale to the priest Sunifred (who appears widely elsewhere, often with the counts: he is seen in Vic 436, 442, 463-465, 471, 480, 481, 499, 501, 521, 524, 530, 539, 545, 551, 552, 560, 565, 568, 574, 589, 618, 632, 640 & 643) of land which the priest had however acquired privately in Vic 539 (where the land is called the 'alod of Cesari', though no such person appears, suggesting that it had been a pioneer effort) and then given to Count Ramon Borrell in Vic 551, precisely so as to buy it back tax-free in the document that Bonnassie registers. If this were 'fisc' then so might anything the counts acquired by any means be.

¹⁶⁷ He can be seen in: Cat. Car. IV 1589^{bis}; Condal 186 & 232; Gurb 2, 3 & 4; F. Miquel Rosell (ed.), Liber feudorum maior: cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón Vol. I, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Sección de Barcelona, Textos y Estudios de la Corona de Barcelona 1 (Barcelona 1945), no. 284; MH ap. CLXXII; Sant Cugat

quite possibly not the only Vicars with interests in the area. In the cession by the Viscount Guinguís of Girona to his wife of 962 in which we see men by the names of both Guifré and Ansulf witnessing, the third witness is named Lleopard.¹⁶⁸ A man of this name also appears as witness to two transactions involving Sendred in the Gurb area, both deals with the cathedral, and also an earlier one without connection to the Gurb-Queralt.¹⁶⁹ The possibility of the two men being the same suggests that here was perhaps a man of the same level as, and a friend of, the two Vicars, whose influence was viable in Gurb as well as wherever it was that his main interests were.¹⁷⁰ More impressive however is the presence in the area, in the last of those appearances of Lleopard and also a further transaction between Count-Marquis Ramon Borrell and Sendred,¹⁷¹ of a man by the name of Tassio. His appearances make it clear that he had by this time been a companion of four counts of two different generations over most of western Catalonia.¹⁷² None of his widely-spread lands can be seen to be in Gurb, but he was seemingly a suitable man to witness one of the tricky negotiations between the Gurb-Queralt and the cathedral that were beginning to thicken the record.

213, 246, 253, 437 & 452; E. Morera Llauro, *Tarragona Cristiana: historia del arzobispado de Tarragona y de la territoria de su provincia (Cataluña Nueva)* (Tarragona 1954-1955), 3 vols, ap. 4; Urgell 278; Vic 366 (perhaps), 430, 513, possibly 537, 550, possibly 566, 569, 571 & 572 & maybe 635; & J. Villanueva, *Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España. Tomo VI: viage a Vique. Año 1806* (Valencia 1821), ap. XX. See Benet, "Sendred de Gurb", and *idem*, *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, pp. 41-56.

¹⁶⁸ Condal 158.

¹⁶⁹ Vic 474, 550 & 572 altogether.

¹⁷⁰ He seems from his other appearances to have been more usually connected with Sant Benet de Bages but also to have closely followed Borrell II. He is also seen in Cat. Car. IV 995B, 996, 1206, 1524, 1705 & 1864; Diplômes VIII; Manresa 69; Sant Cugat 241, 295 & 302; and possibly in Consagracions 39, in which if so he was a Vicar. See also Chapter 4 below, p. 249.

¹⁷¹ Vic 569, the exchange recorded in Vic 571 & 572.

¹⁷² He appears in Cat. Car. IV 1526, Condal 180, Diplômes VIII, HGL V 76, Sant Cugat 240, Urgell 143 and Vic 271, 277, 311, 550 & 569. Given the long lifespan involved here it possible that these are not all the same man, but the career it suggests could consistently include all these documents.

Despite these outside notables, it is clear that the local situation of the Gurb-Queralt meant that some locals were beholden to them in a way we do not see with these other people. This situation is clear with a man called Sesmon, who appears in three Gurb transactions between 979 and 987X996. Two of these are operations of Sendred's and the last names him as a neighbour of the Vicar in Quadres.¹⁷³ We also have the will of Sendred's brother, the deacon Bonfill,¹⁷⁴ which bequeathes land to a *fidelis* also called Bonfill in Osona.¹⁷⁵ This *fidelis* probably also appears in several other Gurb charters with the family,¹⁷⁶ and is clear evidence that the Gurb-Queralt were now in the sort of position locally in which they could command their own following. This status may not have been unique: there is a man called Galí who turns up predominantly as a witness for Adalbert, but he also had other concerns and of course we might miss other appearances given an Adalbert-focused sample.¹⁷⁷ The language of subordination used of Bonfill is missing with Galí. Let us note that degrees of separation in this tightly-knit community were still few, for when we see Bonfill *fidelis* acting in his own right,¹⁷⁸ he does so with Quindibergera, the woman with whom the brothers Adalbert and Sunyer are first seen acting in Gurb.¹⁷⁹ At the transactor level this society was local still but also,

¹⁷³ Vic 454, 572 & 606.

¹⁷⁴ See A Benet i Clarà, "Bonfill de Gurb, Canonge de Vic" in *idem*, "Sendred de Gurb", pp. 253-254; *idem*, La Família Gurb-Queralt, pp. 73-75.

¹⁷⁵ Gurb 4.

¹⁷⁶ At the very least Vic 550, 567, 571 & 572 (in these two last as a witness with his lord to Sendred's deal for the castles); in 572 he is named as the son of Argemir. He may also appear with Sendred at an unconnected comital assembly in Vic 537.

¹⁷⁷ He appears in Vic 450, 460, 468, 520, 521, 534 & 622; in 450 he is identified as son of one Pere, in an area where Count Borrell II and his follower Riculf (on whom see Chapter 4, p. 241 below) held land, so his importance may not have been solely based on association with Adalbert. In 520 he bought land himself, which was next to the land of one Bonfill. It would be nice to know which one...

¹⁷⁸ In Vic 567.

¹⁷⁹ In Vic 382.

and increasingly, supra-local.

Using the Gaps in the Evidence

Despite this increase in depth in the evidence, the breadth remains similarly confined: it is only via the few transacting groups that we see any others. One Floridí is only known to us because he witnessed charters for Ovímia, and sold to Adalbert,¹⁸⁰ but in his last appearance he sells land with six other people none of whom are certainly known to us in other documents. Others will not have had the benefit of even so tangential a connection to the thread of preservation. Floridí, like so many of the landholders we see in the latter part of the archive, appears both in Taradell and in Gurb. In some cases this must have been because the connections these people had to the powerful men who also owned land in these two places, among others, made it easier for them to acquire land there; but it is also indubitably partly due to the fact that two of the thickest concentrations of charters in the Vic archive are concerned with these terms.¹⁸¹ The Vic archive only covers a fraction of the Vicar Sendred's interests, for example, but in his case we are lucky enough to have considerable evidence from elsewhere to tell us this;¹⁸² for less illustrious men this will not be so. It seems likely, if pessimistic, that the focus we have is a factor both of the interests of the participants in the documentation and the subsequent preservation of the documentation, and making clear which was the

¹⁸⁰ Vic 382, 414 & 568.

¹⁸¹ Those for Gurb were given at the beginning of the chapter; Taradell is seen in Vic 22, 27, 28, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 66, 71, 73, 84, 103, 107, 108, 121, 158, 168, 172, 185, 187, 189, 207, 225, 227, 228, 237, 252, 268, 271, 275, 315, 331, 376, 379, 391, 400, 411, 414, 421, 422, 424, 425, 438, 449, 460, 468, 469, 475, 477, 484, 498, 503, 509, 511, 525, 545-547, 556, 566, 568, 576, 595, 601, 603, 622 & 638, and also Condal 149.

¹⁸² See Benet, "Sendred de Gurb" and *idem*, La Família Gurb-Queralt, pp. 41-56.

more important in any case is probably beyond the sources.

This does not of course mean that we should abandon any attempt to use this evidence for general conclusions, as the examples above hopefully show: the record gives us numerous qualitative examples of how influence and power might be wielded. Furthermore, we can play to the record's strengths to learn more of particular cases.¹⁸³ It seems obvious that the best-documented factor in an institution's archive will be the institution itself, so we should before concluding make sure that we have considered the rôle of the see of Vic itself in the Gurb area.

The rôle of the cathedral

Pastoral care

The sources have distressingly little to tell us of what one might consider to be the cathedral's first rôle, that of pastoral care. We know from the charters that there were several churches in the term of Gurb, most obviously Sant Andreu de Gurb, whose documents as we have said the cathedral seems in part to preserve,¹⁸⁴ but also Sant Julià de Sassorba,¹⁸⁵ Sant Cristòfol and Sant Vicenç de Vespella,¹⁸⁶ Sant Esteve de Granollers,¹⁸⁷ and possibly Santa Maria de

¹⁸³ For example, *ibid.*, or P. Freedman, The Diocese of Vic: tradition and regeneration in medieval Catalonia (New Brunswick 1983), online at <http://libro.uca.edu/vic/vic.htm>, last modified 16th August 2000 as of 16th July 2005.

¹⁸⁴ Featured in Vic 209, 211, 243, 282, 293, 297, 367, 428, 451, 516, 534, 541, 567, 606 & 645: see J.-A. Adell i Gisbert, D. Arumí i Gómez, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà, M. Lluïsa Cases & A. Roig i Deulofeu, "Sant Andreu de Gurb" in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, pp. 211-216.

¹⁸⁵ Vic 65, 230, 269, 454, 456, 613, with a parish in the last appearance: see J. Sarri i Vilageliu, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà & D. Arumí i Gómez, "Sant Julià de Sassorba" in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, pp. 220-222.

¹⁸⁶ Sant Cristòfol in Vic 534: see A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà & J. Vigué i Viñas, "Sant Cristòfol de Vespella", in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, pp. 229-230; Sant Vicenç in Condal 159, see M. Anglada i Bayés, A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà & D. Arumí i Gómez, "Sant Vicenç de Vespella" in Vigué, Catalunya Romànica II, p. 230.

¹⁸⁷ Seen with a parish in Vic 323: see n. 160 above and Anglada *et al.*, "Sant Esteve de Granollers".

Palau.¹⁸⁸ Of these the only one we see in any detail is Sant Andreu, even though two of the others are stated to have had parishes by 960 at least,¹⁸⁹ while Sant Andreu's parish is not known to have existed until 990X993.¹⁹⁰ When Sant Andreu appears, the clerics who appear with it are often canons of Vic cathedral.¹⁹¹ Indeed, the canons appear in the area before the church is recorded.¹⁹² On the other hand one cleric also appears in the Gurb area who seems not to have had cathedral connections, but only local interests. This man, Todalec, may also appear without his clerical title on two occasions, with a wife and family; his name is rare enough that the occurrences could be the same man.¹⁹³ One document from 1007, the will of the deacon Bonfill, also leaves a

¹⁸⁸ Before 1016, the chapel here is only mentioned in *regesta* of lost Santa Maria de Ripoll documents, these being Cat. Car. IV 1326 & 1865: see Pladevall *et al.*, "Santa Maria de Palau". Even 980, the date of the former of those appearances, seems late for the church of a large estate given to the monastery in 943 (Cat. Car. IV 535) after being owned by an ecclesiastic member of the comital family, and it is likely that some kind of church had been there before this.

¹⁸⁹ Sant Julià and Sant Esteve: see nn. 185 & 187 above.

¹⁹⁰ Benet, "Bonfill", p. 254, or *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, p. 73. Benet elsewhere suggests, with Antoni Pladevall i Font, that Sant Andreu's parish predated the destruction of Ausona by the Muslims as this first appearance places it in a *suburbium* of the town of Vic (in A. Pladevall i Font, A. Benet i Clarà & M. Pagès i Paretas, "El marc històric" in Vigué, *Catalunya Romànica II*, pp. 24-45, 49-63, 68-71, 76-77 & 85-104 at p. 71). Their logic is not stated. If they assume that such a usage must be ancient because the town had yet to develop such outlying areas once more, one would first have to ask how it achieved this expansive state during its earlier existence (discussed by Pagès & Pladevall *ibid.*, pp. 96-98, which suggests that the idea is Benet's), and secondly point to Cat. Car. IV 1649, of 993, which also refers to a "*suburbium Ausonense*" at about the time Sant Andreu's parish is first seen. I think that Benet's suggestion here must be discarded. Sant Andreu need not, given its proximity to Vic, have had a parish until late in any case.

¹⁹¹ The priest Elies in Vic 211, also seen in Cat. Car. IV 535 & Vic 103, 108, 128, 191, 215, 252, 258, 278, 302, 338, 384 & 385; the priest Landoarí in Vic 282, also seen in Vic 69, 93, 114, 213, 227, 246, 285 & 302; the priest Ervigi Ferrocint in Vic 293 & 428, also seen in Condal 159 & Vic 266, 334 & 366; and the priest Oriol in Vic 567, also possibly seen in Condal 170 and with more certainty in Vic 534, 551, 552, 566, 571, 572 & 613. It also seems likely that the priest Guiscafred, whose donation to Sant Andreu it is that first brings the church to our notice (in Vic 207 & 209), was a canon, as he donates to Sant Pere in Vic 211, but the association could be otherwise explained.

¹⁹² Landoarí is named as a neighbour in Gurb in 925, in Vic 114, and the priest Riculf wrote two Gurb charters (Vic 46 & 58) but also appeared in Orís (Vic 98) and was thus probably a cathedral priest rather than a Gurb one.

¹⁹³ The priest Todalec only appears, as scribe, in Vic 297 & 347; the same name without clerical title appears in Vic 333 & 347. Scribal inconsistency in such matters is noted with examples by J. Alturo i Perucho, "Le statut du scripteur en Catalogne (XII^e-XIII^e siècles)" in M.-C. Hubert, E. Pouille & M. H. Smith (edd.), *Le Statut du Scripteur au Moyen Âge. Actes du XII^e Colloque Scientifique du Comité Internationale de Paléographie Latine (Cluny, 17-20 Juillet 1998)*, Matériaux pour l'Histoire publiées par l'École des Chartes 2 (Paris 2000), pp. 41-55, at p. 42 & n. 5.

small legacy to “Teudiscle priest of Gurb”, though the exact meaning of the qualification is of course debatable.¹⁹⁴ Furthermore, cathedral clerics appear with none of the other churches in the area.

This seems to leave two options, the simpler being that the churches were operated by local incumbents whom the documentation all but ignores, and that the appearances of canons with Sant Andreu are symptomatic of some closer connection at the property level, or the preservation of the Sant Andreu archive at Vic. The other is that Sant Andreu was staffed by a changing team of canons who might then work in other areas from it, in the manner of an English minster church,¹⁹⁵ which would explain for example Ervigi Ferrocint’s notable concentration on Ros in his appearances. However, this begs the question of why Sant Andreu was so differently organised from the other, almost equally close and equally suffragan, parish churches in the Gurb area. The former alternative seems more likely, therefore, especially when we remember that the documents in which we see these canons are not records of pastoral care but of landholding; the appearance of a priest in these sources does not tell us anything about his ministry, only his property, reputation as witness or his ability to write.

Appearances of the clergy

The clerics appearing in the area cover all the ranks of the cathedral clergy: Bishop Fruia’s dealings with the Gurb-Queralt have already been

¹⁹⁴ Gurb 4.

¹⁹⁵ See J. Blair, “Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England” in Early Medieval Europe Vol. 4 (Oxford 1995), pp. 193-212; cf. E. Cambridge and D. Rollason, “Debate. The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: a Review of the ‘Minster Hypothesis’”, *ibid.*, pp. 87-104.

mentioned,¹⁹⁶ but there also appear, for example, an Archdeacon by the name of Ansemon,¹⁹⁷ numerous priests such as a scribe, Sadribert, associated somehow with Ansemon, or the more widely-appearing Guifré Brunicard,¹⁹⁸ and deacons called Recosind and Sunifred.¹⁹⁹ There is also of course a deacon by the name of Bonfill, the brother of Sendred the Vicar of Gurb.²⁰⁰ His appearances are most indicative perhaps of the way we should be prepared to interpret the Vic cathedral's clergy's presence as he is seen holding the castles of Espases and Esparreguera in benefice from the see, **before** their exchange to his brother,²⁰¹ and he gave that of Meda to the see in his will.²⁰² He was also to hold the alod of Sant Boi de Lluçanès for which the castles were being exchanged: that is, Bonfill was part-custodian before the deal with his brother was struck, and so he remained afterwards.²⁰³ He was in fact an ecclesiastical castellan on behalf of the cathedral.²⁰⁴ It is a strong possibility that it was not just here that the cathedral was running its lands by establishing its canons on them as beneficed

¹⁹⁶ Vic 550, 571 & 572.

¹⁹⁷ Appearing in Vic 278, 284, 302, 315, 338, 607 & 625, the last two being posthumous mentions.

¹⁹⁸ It is possible that Sadribert was not a cathedral priest, as though in the three transactions in which he appears he is twice associated with Ansemon (Vic 287 & 315), he is also twice associated with a donor couple called Guiscafred and Eilo (Vic 284 & 287) and which of his attachments we should be seeing as the more significant, given that he does not reappear, is impossible to say. Guifré Brunicard: in Gurb in Vic 370, and also seen in Condal 146, 147 & 148 and Vic 413 & 479.

¹⁹⁹ Recosind: Vic 321 & 456. Sunifred: Vic 569 & 571, a set of appearances however which make it possible that he was in fact associated either with the church of Sant Boi de Lluçanès or perhaps the Gurb-Queralt in the manner of the lay clients we saw them with above.

²⁰⁰ Seen in Vic 514, 550, 566, 569 & 572; see Benet, "Bonfill".

²⁰¹ Vic 572.

²⁰² Gurb 4.

²⁰³ See also the very similar question of Vic's ownership of the castle of Miralles, displayed in Vic 528 & 570 and discussed by Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 63-64.

²⁰⁴ The chapter was to make much more of a practice of this in later years, appointing their otherwise lay castellans to the diaconate in order to give them membership of the cathedral chapter: Freedman, *Diocese of Vic*, pp. 21-25. Cf. Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 182-187. Freedman writes that all the cathedral's castles were run by canons, but his two examples are from the early eleventh century; Vic 531 shows that in our period this was not always so, as it has Bishop Fruià swearing in the Vicar Ennegó Bonfill as castellan of Miralles for the see. There is an obvious reason for this, to wit that he already held the other half from Count Borrell (testified to by the later Vic 570), but all the same this was a major lay castellan, on whom see Chapter 4 below, pp. 225-226.

managers.²⁰⁵

One document which sheds more light on this possibility is the will of the priest Guifré Brunicard mentioned above.²⁰⁶ Here, of the thirty-nine legatees he named, twenty were not ecclesiastics, but of these only one, his nephew Guiu, received any land, and almost all of that to be held not only with his brother Amalric, a deacon, but “*in servicio Sancti Petri*”, that is, paying *tascha* to the cathedral. Of the laymen who remained, moreover, one was one of the almsmen, Ermemir the Vicar of Besora, and another was a third nephew Bernat. I suspect that many of the others, given a few beasts each, were retainers or servants of Guifré’s. The vast bulk of the land involved went to Amalric and Guiu, some of it in elaborate succession pacts so that whichever of them should have legitimate offspring would accumulate the lot in the event of the other not doing so, but some of it with eventual reversion to Sant Pere, who would also profit should neither of Guifré’s nephews prove married fathers. There were also two legacies made to the canons, of whom it seems highly plausible Amalric was one. This is the sort of arrangement from which Vic’s later system might develop, perhaps, a closely-tied system of inheritance which kept land moving down through the canons’ families but partly under the control of, and never in any case at many removes from, the cathedral.²⁰⁷

This strategy would not have been without social effect in the areas

²⁰⁵ Pladevall & Benet make a very similar suggestion about Vic’s property management, saying that it was common practice for canons to be stationed on the cathedral’s holdings as “*capellans*” (in Pladevall, Benet & Pagès, “*Marc Històric*”, p. 87), each running a parish or two, but here also it is not clear to what period they refer and there is no explicit suggestion of this practice in our material.

²⁰⁶ Vic 479.

²⁰⁷ On the ways in which such arrangements were elsewhere used to run ecclesiastical patrimonies, see L. Feller, “*Précaires et livelli: les transferts patrimoniaux ad tempus en Italie*” in *Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome: moyen âge* Vol. 111 (Rome 1999), pp. 725-746.

where Vic held land. Rosenwein has ably discussed the advantages for donors elsewhere in becoming “neighbors of Saint Peter”,²⁰⁸ but by this strategy Saint Peter’s representatives were distributed about through his holdings, in clerical robes. The regular appearance of Sant Pere clerics in Sant Andreu’s documents should be read as showing not their operations out of Sant Andreu, then, but rather as a measure of the importance Sant Pere’s men had in the area that they would be called as witnesses and named as neighbours so often. The cathedral was a local venue for assemblies and ceremonies, and its agents were nearby and accessible. Even without the possibility of one’s family being part of this network of distributed church managers, it seems likely that a more subtle patronage of influence and connection would have worked through this system to make Sant Pere an everyday part of the Gurb population’s life, at least in those areas in which it had established such a presence.

Patronage of the winners

We are fortunate in being able, with Bonfill, to say something about how such partly-dynastic use of Church property affected the family fortunes. Bonfill managed three castles, two in part only, for Vic, as we have said, and this must have been a mitigating factor for both parties in negotiations between them. On the other hand, the castles do not seem to have stayed with the Gurb-Queralt: Espases and Esparreguera had disappeared from their holdings by the time of Sendred’s son Bernat and Meda, the third, went to Vic at Bonfill’s death.²⁰⁹ Less easily transferred were tithes from the churches of Gurb which

²⁰⁸ Rosenwein, *Neighbor of Saint Peter*, *passim* but esp. pp. 109-143.

²⁰⁹ See nn. 19 & 201 above respectively.

Bonfill had held. At his death they were reassigned to Sendred's son Berenguer, who joined the chapter and held them as a member thereof. Problems only recurred when Berenguer left the chapter by virtue of becoming Bishop of Elna, and the family tried to retain the tithes. But in our period this dispute, a local *cause célèbre* for the next century or so, was in the future.²¹⁰

The property which Bonfill held for Sendred was differentiated by this from other property the Vicar owned, despite the common interest one might suppose. This ambiguity is also present in Bonfill's will: Sendred is ordered by it to pay out 11 ounces of gold which he owed his brother in various legacies, twice, as if it needed emphasis. The brothers' relations with Vic appear equally fractious at times, if not on the scale of the feud of the following century. When we first see Bonfill in his family context, it is as party to a pledge being made to Bishop Fruia by Sendred and his wife Madresinda, of a large alod in Gurb, which they made "to meet the fine which has been well settled between us and you and comes from the forfeit which my brother Bonfill made to you"; the actual fine is never specified, but the Vicar and his wife had until the next mass of St John to pay it, apparently in timber.²¹¹ Since the alod is not named it is hard to say whether or not they achieved their pledge but that Bonfill could be so badly in breach with his diocesan as to have to pay a considerable fine is startling, as is the readiness of his brother and sister-in-law to maintain good favour with the bishop by settling it. It was only three years later that the Sant

²¹⁰ The disputes depicted from one side by Benet, *La Família Gurb-Queralt*, pp. 111-116, and from the other by Freedman, *Diocese of Vic*, pp. 129-131.

²¹¹ Vic 550: "*In ea videlicet ratione ut nos redimere faciamus ista omnia suprascripta usque ad missa sancti Ioannis ista proxima veniente si nos finitum abemus ipsum marrimentum quod abemus apud seniores nostros*". J. F. Niermeyer (ed.), *Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus*, ed. C. van de Kieft (Leiden 1976), translates "*marrimentum*" as 'timber' but gives only a twelfth-century English provenance for a derived form.

Boi de Lluçanès deal was arranged, with all the same parties, leaving Bonfill and his brother sharing the castles of Espases and Esparreguera, the former on behalf of the cathedral.

Clearly Bishop Fruià had chosen, for whatever reason, to work with this family, though as the wills of the deacon Guadamir and the priest Guifré Brunicard make clear they were not the only substantial persons in his chapter. What made the Gurb-Queralt crucial was the dominant position which they had achieved through comital patronage; the castle of Meda and the alod of Sant Boi had both come from the counts, though they ended up with the cathedral.²¹² Not only was the cathedral thus able to benefit from the Gurb-Queralt success with comital patronage, but the family's status in the area may have made co-operation with them as much a necessity as a good. This appears to have worked both ways, however; Sendred really did think it necessary to make amends for whatever his brother's misdeed was. This suggests that the patronage of the Bishop was almost equally important to Sendred's status. One might see the authority they derived from the counts as exterior and top down, as against the local and bottom up endorsement of the cathedral. Alternatively, we may be wrong to see the two types of lordship as different; both counts and Church clearly owned large parts of the term, and by co-operation with and patronage from both, the Gurb-Queralt were able eventually to make their position almost impregnable.

With this at least the distortion of the cathedral's lens is cut to a minimum. These people appear in the cathedral record so often not just because

²¹² Vic 566 & Vic 567 respectively.

they were donors to the cathedral or because the cathedral was interested in them and their lands, but because of the interaction and mutual reinforcement of these two factors. The cathedral needed to deal with the lords of Gurb; but without the cathedral those lords could not have become such.

Conclusions

We have been able then to discern numerous levels of power in this area. Without a source as huge as the Vall de Sant Joan hearing the peasant level is only occasionally glimpsed, but we are able to detect settlers of varying degrees of wealth, from the independently-resourced pioneers suggested by the careers of Donadéu and Mirabella, through the speculative venturers on multiple fronts like Salamó and Quintiló, to the rich and widespread like Samuel Baró. Then we seem to see a move in by further wealthy settlers and several programs of acquisition going on, often in several areas, though there are also figures who stand outside this activity. With Adalbert, Sunyer and Ovímia we seem to be seeing the very top stratum of the acquisitive groups, with an influence and property base over a wide area in local terms but not yet branching out of the county;²¹³ in local terms the Vicar Guifré appears as one of these, but blessed with the connections to the counts to raise himself to the next level. Lastly, more wealthy in more places and quickly overtaking Guifré's local importance, appear Ansulf and, still more so, Sendred de Gurb.

The powers above the Vicars of Gurb do not appear in the same ways. The local Viscounts are but briefly seen, though their land here may have been long-held. The Counts clearly had large resources in this area, though possibly

²¹³ Excepting possibly Ovímia, by marriage: see p. 187 above.

largely outside it until the potential of claims to waste land in the term were appreciated. We only see these resources when they enter the transaction market, and estimating what remained at any point is very difficult. By contrast the cathedral appears in the persons of its chapter members, its possessions diffused and confused in our record by the use of benefiting and possession with reversion: even the host of appearances of Sant Pere on boundaries do not, we may suspect, give a full impression of quite how pervasive the collegiate parts of the cathedral's landowning were. Because the bishop does not appear in the same ways as do the counts it is difficult both to compare them and to remember that their levels of power and importance probably were comparable.

In between these upper levels and the local wealthy, dotted perhaps with lesser islands of ecclesiastical influence in the forms of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Benet de Bages, the Gurb-Queralt were able to erect another, that of the local super-powerful, the locals with authority. They were able by tapping both comital and episcopal patronage and connections to make themselves the first point of reference for power in the area. While it was to be Sendred's son Bernat whose rule in the area took him into the political state of affairs in which this could become a local independence,²¹⁴ it was Sendred's play of this game which gave Bernat the position from which he could do so. But beneath the super-level thus created all the other levels of power and influence remained, and we see the operation of power in the area by connections through them and

²¹⁴ On Bernat Sendred see Benet, La Família Gurb-Queralt, pp. 83-100; on the circumstances, Bonnassie, Catalogne, II pp. 539-574.

down to the ground rather than, as we are told was later to be the case,²¹⁵ by homage or by force.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, *passim*. The simplest statement of Bonnassie's view of Catalan history in the coming years is to be found in his "From the Rhône to Galicia", pp. 107-110.

