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0521792398 - Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200

Adam J. Kosto

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MAKING AGREEMENTS IN MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

This study examines the role of written agreements in eleventh- and twelfth-century Catalonia, and how they determined the social and political order.

By tracing the fate of these agreements – or *convenientiae* – from their first appearance to the late twelfth century, it is possible to demonstrate the remarkable stability of the fluid structures that they engendered in what is generally thought of as “feudal society.” The opportunity presented by these records to examine the process of documentary change reveals the true nature and pace of the “transformation of the year 1000.” Analysis of the *convenientia* as an instrument of power and its interaction with oral practices contributes to a deeper understanding of the role of the written word in medieval societies. Finally, a broad historiographical context establishes the significance of this study of Catalonia for a more general appreciation of the medieval Mediterranean world. The book thus raises in a forceful way many of the questions most intensely debated by historians of medieval Europe.

ADAM J. KOSTO is Assistant Professor of History, Columbia University.

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AJK

New York

1 April 2000

As this book went to press, two works appeared that provide editions of and commentary on many of the previously unpublished eleventh-century documents cited in the present study: José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec, *Ricard Guillem: Un sogno per Barcellona*, Medioevo mediterraneo 1 (Naples, 1999); Gaspar Feliu et al., eds., *Els pergamins de l'Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, 3 vols., Col·lecció diplomataris 18–20 (Barcelona, 1999). The latter includes important essays on the chronology, typology, and diplomatics of eleventh-century Catalan archival records.

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NOTE ON CITATIONS, DATES, AND NAMES

Citation of sources: (1) Whenever possible, I have cited in the notes the original documents that I have consulted rather than printed editions. While this practice may prove inconvenient for scholars using a particular edition, many of these documents are (or will be) edited or registered in more than one place, and an original offers the only unique reference. Originals for which a printed edition or register entry exists are designated with an asterisk (*) and listed in the Table of Published Documents (below, p. 295). (2) In transcriptions from originals, I have generally followed Robert-Henri Bautier, “Normalisation internationale des méthodes de publication des documents latins du Moyen Âge (2^e édition),” *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu’à 1610) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques: Année 1976* (1978), 9–54. In transcriptions from printed sources, however, I have followed strictly the practice of the various editors. This has resulted in some apparent inconsistencies, especially concerning the treatment of the consonantal u (which I transcribe as v), -ti-/ -ci-, and numerals. I have employed “*sic*” only rarely; given the poor quality of some published editions and the peculiarities of the Latin of the original documents themselves, it should be understood for all transcriptions. (3) For frequently cited published sources (those listed in Abbreviations II, below, p. xvi), I refer to document rather than page numbers, unless otherwise noted. (4) Alternate published sources are listed in [brackets] following the main citation.

Dates: For Catalan documents in the period 1001–1180, I follow the dating system proposed by Anscari M. Mundó, by which the regnal year for all French kings changes on 24 June (“La datació de documents pel rei Robert [996–1031] a Catalunya,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 4 [1967], 13–34; “El concili de Tarragona de 1180: Dels anys dels reis francs als de l’Encarnació,” *Analecta sacra Tarraconensia* 67:1 [1994], xxiii–xlili). While in occasional cases this system cannot be correct, I have found

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many more in which it obviously is, and thus I have adopted it as a general rule. This explains the occasional variation of one year of my dates from those given in the printed sources. For dating up to 1000, I have followed *ACondal*, pp. 44–80 (and table), although see now *DBarcelona*, pp. 42–55, 144–55. After 1180 (until 1351), dating from the Annunciation (25 March), “Florentine style,” is the norm.

Names: With the exception of “Catalonia” itself, place names are given in modern Catalan forms for locations within historical Catalonia, including València and Rosselló (Roussillon); for identifications, I have relied on Joan Coromines, ed., *Onomasticon Cataloniae*, 8 vols. (Barcelona, 1989–97) and *Catalunya romànica*, 27 vols. (Barcelona, 1984–98). Outside the region, I have followed local usage (Marseille, not Marsella) or common English forms (Rome, not Roma). Despite drawbacks, I have also followed modern local usage with respect to personal names: thus Alfons I, count of Barcelona, Alfonso VIII, king of Castile, and Alphonse-Jourdain, count of Toulouse. Where no obvious modern equivalent exists, the name is given in *italics* as it appears in the source; common Latin versions are given in the Index of Names (below, p. 346). Publication by modern authors under both Catalan and Castilian versions of their names, as well as the relatively recent standardization of Catalan orthography, prevents absolute bibliographical consistency; I have adopted a single form for each author.

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ABBREVIATIONS

I. ARCHIVAL SOURCES

(Unless otherwise noted, archival abbreviations refer to the main series of *pergamins*.)

AAM	Montserrat, Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat
ACA	Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó
ACB	Barcelona, Arxiu de la Santa Església Catedral Basílica de Barcelona
ACG	Girona, Arxiu Capitular de Girona
ACU	La Seu d'Urgell, Arxiu Capitular d'Urgell
ACV	Vic (AEV), Arxiu Capitular de Vic (calaix/document)
ADG	Girona, Arxiu Diocesà de Girona
ADPO	Perpignan, Archives départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales
AEV	Vic, Arxiu Episcopal de Vic
ALI	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Alfons I
AME	Vic (AEV), Arxiu de la Mensa Episcopal (llibre/document)
ap.	apèndix (within ACA series)
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya
BRI	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Berenguer Ramon I
BRII	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Berenguer Ramon II
Extra.	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Extraintentari
extra.	extraintentari (within ACA series)
LA	ACB, Libri antiquitatum (volume:document)
MEV	Vic (AEV), Museu Episcopal de Vic
OM	ACA, Ordes militars (Gran Priorat de Sant Joan de Jerusalem)
OR	ACA, Ordes religiosos (Monacals)
PEI	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Pere I
RBI	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Ramon Berenguer I
RBII	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Ramon Berenguer II

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RBIII	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Ramon Berenguer III
RBIV	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Ramon Berenguer IV
RBorrell	ACA, Cancelleria reial, Pergamins Ramon Borrell
sd	sense data (within ACA series)

II. PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS

<i>ACondal</i>	Frederic Udina i Martorell, ed., <i>El archivo condal de Barcelona: Estudio crítico de sus fondos</i> (Barcelona, 1951)
<i>Alfonso II</i>	Ana Isabel Sánchez Casabón, ed., <i>Alfonso II Rey de Aragón, Conde de Barcelona y Marqués de Provenza. Documentos (1162-1196)</i> (Zaragoza, 1995)
<i>CCM</i>	Josep Maria Marquès i Planagumà, ed., <i>Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona (s. IX-XIV)</i> , 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1993)
<i>CDSG</i>	Ramon Martí Castelló, ed., <i>Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona (817-1100)</i> (Barcelona, 1997)
<i>CPF</i>	José Maria Font Rius, ed., <i>Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña</i> , 2 vols. in 3 parts (Barcelona, 1969-83)
<i>CSCV</i>	José Rius Serra, ed., <i>Cartulario de "Sant Cugat" del Vallés</i> , 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945-47)
<i>CTavernoles</i>	Josefina Soler García, ed., "El cartulario de Tavernoles," <i>Boletín de la Sociedad castellonense de cultura</i> 36 (1960), 196-216, 248-79; 37 (1961), 65-80, 149-206; 38 (1962), 110-26, 218-38, 319-46, 428-42
<i>DACU</i>	Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Els documents . . . l'Arxiu Capitular de La Seu d'Urgell," <i>Urgellia</i> 2 (1979), 7-145; 3 (1980), 7-166; 4 (1981), 7-186; 5 (1982), 7-158; 6 (1983), 7-243; 7 (1984-85), 7-218; 8 (1986-87), 7-149; 9 (1988-89), 7-312, 403-570 (index); 10 (1990-91), 7-349, 473-625 (index); 11 (1992-93), 7-160
<i>DBarcelona</i>	Àngel Fàbrega i Grau, ed., <i>Diplomatari de la Catedral de Barcelona: Documents dels anys 844-1260</i> , 1 vol. to date (Barcelona, 1995-)
<i>DI</i>	Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró et al., eds., <i>Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón</i> , 50 vols. to date (Barcelona, 1847-)
<i>DOliba</i>	Eduard Junyent i Subirà, ed., <i>Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba</i> (Barcelona, 1992)
<i>DPoblet</i>	Agustí Altisent, ed., <i>Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet</i> , 1 vol. to date (Barcelona, 1993-)
<i>DTavèrnoles</i>	Cebrià Baraut, ed., "Diplomatari del monestir de Sant

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- Sadurní de Tavèrnoles (segles IX–XIII),” *Urgellia* 12 (1994–95), 7–414
- DVic* Eduard Junyent i Subirà, ed., *Diplomatari de la Catedral de Vic, segles IX–X* (Vic, 1980–96)
- Eixalada-Cuixà Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, “Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans de l’any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà,” *Analecta Montserratensia* 8 (1954–55), 125–337
- EA* Thomas N. Bisson, ed., *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984)
- Gerri* Ignasi M. Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri (segles XI–XV)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991)
- HGL* Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc . . .*, new ed. (Privat), 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904)
- LBSC* Frederic Udina i Martorell, ed., *El “Llibre Blanch” de Santas Creus (Cartulario del siglo XII)* (Barcelona, 1947)
- LFM* Francisco Miquel Rosell, ed., *Liber feudorum maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945[–47])
- MH* Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica, sive limes Hispanicus . . .* (Paris, 1688; repr. Barcelona, 1998)
- NH* Francisco Monsalvatge y Fossas, *Noticias históricas*, 26 vols. (Olot, 1889–1919)
- Òdena* María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, ed., *La baronia de la Conca d’Òdena* (Barcelona, 1990)
- Pallars i Ribagorça* Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, ed., *Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça*, 2 parts (Barcelona, 1955)
- Remences* Miquel Golobardes Vila, *Els remences dins el quadre de la pagesia catalana fins el segle XV*, 2 vols. (Peralada, 1970–73)
- Santa Anna* Jesús Alturo i Perucho, ed., *L’arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200 (Aproximació històrico-lingüística)*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1985)
- STCA* Antoni M. Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval* (Barcelona, 1984)
- VL* Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1803–52)

III. OTHER PUBLISHED SOURCES

- Abadal, *L’abat Oliba* Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, *L’abat Oliba, bisbe de Vic, i la seva època*, 3rd ed. (Barcelona, 1962)
- AM* *Annales du Midi*

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- Aurell, *Les noces du comte* Martin Aurell, *Les noces du comte: Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)* (Paris, 1995)
- Benet, *Gurb-Queralt* Albert Benet i Clarà, *La família Gurb-Queralt (956–1276)* (Sallent, 1993)
- Benito-Kosto-Taylor, “Approaches” Pere Benito i Monclús, Adam J. Kosto, and Nathaniel L. Taylor, “Three Typological Approaches to Catalanian Archival Evidence, 10–12 Centuries,” *Anuario de estudios medievales* 26 (1996), 43–88
- Bensch, *Barcelona* Stephen P. Bensch, *Barcelona and its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 1995)
- Bisson, *Medieval Crown* Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986)
- Bofarull, *Los condes* Próspero de Bofarull y Mascará, *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados . . .*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1836; repr. 1988)
- Bonnassie, *La Catalogne* Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle: Croissance et mutations d’une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–76)
- Bowman, “Law” Jeffrey A. Bowman, “Law, Conflict, and Community around the Year 1000: The Settlement of Disputes in the Province of Narbonne, 985–1060” (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1997)
- Catalunya i França* Xavier Barral i Altet et al., eds., *Catalunya i França meridional a l’entorn de l’any mil / La Catalogne et la France méridionale autour de l’an mil* (Barcelona, 1991)
- Cheyette, “Sale” Fredric L. Cheyette, “The ‘Sale’ of Carcassonne to the Counts of Barcelona (1067–1070) and the Rise of the Trencavels,” *Speculum* 63 (1988), 826–64
- CSMLT Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought
- La formació i expansió* Jaume Portella i Comas, ed., *La formació i expansió del feudalisme català* (Girona, [1986])
- Freedman, *Origins* Paul H. Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 1991)
- Freedman, *Vic* Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1983)
- GMLC M. Bassols de Climent et al., eds., *Glossarium mediae latinitatis Cataloniae*, 1 vol. to date (Barcelona, 1960–)
- J-L Philipp Jaffé, ed., *Regesta pontificum Romanorum . . .*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885–88; repr. Graz, 1956)
- Kosto, “Agreements” Adam J. Kosto, “Making and Keeping Agreements in Medieval Catalonia, 1000–1200” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1996)
- Liber iudiciorum Karl Zeumer, ed., “Liber iudiciorum sive Lex Visigothorum,” in Zeumer, ed., *Leges Visigothorum*, MGH Legum sectio I (Hanover, 1902; repr. 1973), 33–456

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- Medieval France* Thomas N. Bisson, *Medieval France and Her Pyrenean Neighbours* (London, 1989)
- MGH Monumenta Germaniae historica
- Ourliac, “La *convenientia*” Paul Ourliac, “La *convenientia*,” in Ourliac, *Études d’histoire du droit médiéval* (Paris, 1979), 243–52
- Ruiz-Domènec, *L’estructura feudal* José Enrique Ruiz-Domènec, *L’estructura feudal: Sistema de parentiu i teoria de l’aliança en la societat catalana (c. 980–c. 1220)* (Barcelona, 1985)
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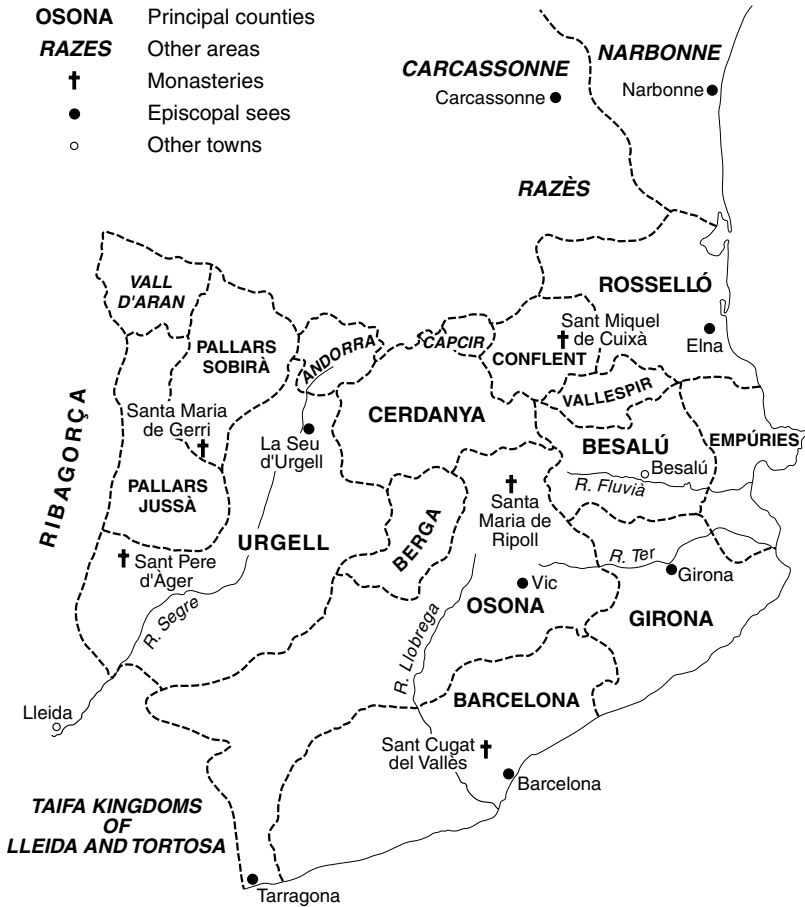
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