INTRODUCTION

A pedestrian strolling along Carrer Trafalgar, window shopping in Barcelona's Barri Gótic, may, if alert, catch a glimpse of a street sign indicating the Carrer Lluís el Piadós – Louis the Pious Street. The street sign informs the reader that Louis was king of Aquitaine and conqueror of Barcelona in 804 (the date is now known to be 801). His street is very short, only a couple of blocks, in a city where more important avenues recall Catalonia's heroes of the high and late Middle Ages – when Catalonia was the centre of the Crown of Aragon's wealth and power in the western Mediterranean – or revolutionaries of the nineteenth century. Students of medieval history know Louis as the Frankish emperor whose reign has sometimes in the past been depicted as the beginning of the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, but the short street serves to remind *barcelonins* and visitors of the importance of Frankish rule south of the Pyrenees. How are the histories of Louis the Pious and Barcelona entwined, and why? What happened under Carolingian rule after Louis's conquest that positioned Barcelona to become the centre of a principality that would come to such prominence later in the Middle Ages? The connections between the Carolingians and Catalonia, known to the Franks as *marca hispanica*, or the Spanish March, form the basis of the study that follows.

On Easter Sunday in 801, Louis, as king of Aquitaine, entered Barcelona in triumph. His campaign and capture of the city marked the most important step towards Frankish control of territory south of the Pyrenees, erasing his father's failure to take Zaragoza in 778.[1] The generation that witnessed these campaigns was the first to experience Frankish overlordship in the region now called Catalonia, a region whose

[1] Astronomer, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris*, *MGH SS*, 2 (Hanover, 1829), 604–48. c. 13; Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici, MGH Poetae*, 2 (Berlin: 1884), 1–91, bk. 1.

ruling counts continued to observe loyalty to the kings until the end of the Carolingian dynasty nearly two centuries later. By then, conditions had changed so greatly that the Frankish rule was arguably theoretical and sometimes not observed at all. The final cleavage between counts and kings is often traced to the events of 985–8, including the sack of Barcelona by the Muslim general al-Mansur, the replacement of the last Carolingian king by Hugh Capet, and that king's inability or unwillingness to provide military support and secure the homage of Borrell, count of Barcelona.[2] By the end of the tenth century, the power of the West Frankish kings had virtually vanished from the Spanish March. Kings made no journeys there, nor did they often reinforce their authority via old practices such as directly appointing counts and issuing diplomas. Counts and bishops in the March, for their part, travelled to Francia less frequently. This set of circumstances stands in marked contrast to the generation of Louis the Pious, conqueror and king, and clearly marks the end of what we can call 'Carolingian' Catalonia.[3] Some therefore argue, not without reason, that 'Carolingian' hardly describes any part of the tenth century.[4] Despite such opinions, one of the arguments of this book is that the Carolingian conquest of the region was of fundamental importance for its later history.

The primary concern of this study is the question of how the Spanish March became integrated into the Carolingian empire, judging primarily from the evidence related to royal authority, political events with regional and wider significance, and literary culture. In order to ask this question, 'integration' must be defined. This study traces how kings and emperors involved themselves in the affairs of the March, and gauges the degree to which people in Catalonia participated in politics centred on the royal

[2] The two modern historians who have written the most on these issues are Michel Zimmermann and Paul Freedman. See M. Zimmermann, 'Western Francia: the Southern Principalities', in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 3, c.900–c.1024 ed. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1999), 420–55; M. Zimmermann, 'De pays catalans à la Catalogne: genese d'une représentation', in *Histoire et archéologie des terres catalanes au Moyen Age*, ed. P. Sénac (Perpignan, 1995), 71–85; M. Zimmermann, 'Entre royaume franc et califat, soudain la Catalogne', in *La France de l'an mil*, ed. R. Delort (Paris, 1990), 75–100; M. Zimmermann, 'La prise de Barcelone par Al-Mansûr et la naissance de l'historiographie catalane', *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 (1980), 191–218; P. Freedman, 'Symbolic Implications of the Events of 985–988', in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya* vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1991), 117–29; P. Freedman, 'Cowardice, Heroism and the Legendary Origins of Catalonia', *Past and Present* 121 (1988), 3–28. See also A. Benet i Clarà, *El procés d'independència de Catalunya* (Sallent, 1988).

[3] For the reign of Louis, see R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *La Catalogne sous l'Empire de Louis le Pieux*, Études Roussillonnaises: 4 (1954–5): 239–72; 5 (1956): 31–50, 147–77; 6 (1957): 267–95. Reprinted, in Catalan, in Abadal, CC 1, 217–303.

[4] See, for example, F. Udina i Martorell, 'Llegat, sediment i consciència visigòtica a la Catalunya dels segles VIII–XI', in X. Barral i Altet et al., eds, *Catalunya i França meridional a l'entorn de l'any Mil* (Barcelona, 1991), 368–73 at 371–3.

court and in court-sponsored reform initiatives. Charlemagne, Louis the Pious, and their successors granted properties and privileges to churches, monasteries, and lay people in Catalonia. These acts established and strengthened ties between the monarchy and the March, and continued to be sought after well into the tenth century. Integration into Carolingian structures can also be traced in terms of culture, as developments in doctrine, monastic observance, and educational reform bear the imprint of the movement known as the Carolingian renaissance. A great deal of modern scholarship treats the developments of the later part of the period, tracing how the tenth-century March, if not devoid of direct Carolingian political involvement, certainly became increasingly detached from the monarchy and started to become a principality in its own right. By looking to the ninth century, when the royal presence in the March was stronger, this study can make a fair attempt to shed more light on Carolingian political culture, in a sense by looking from the outside in. When the tenth century is understood in the light of the ninth rather than the eleventh century, new conclusions become apparent.[5] Catalonia is a good test case for such an investigation because of its geography and previous history.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Catalonia was a Carolingian creation. Although the region boasts a history from the Roman era to the Visigothic kingdom to a relatively brief Muslim occupation, the crucible of the later medieval principality was the Spanish March that separated Frankish Gaul from Muslim al-Andalus. Had not Carolingian authority been imposed, Barcelona and other places probably would have continued under Muslim rule, as did cities farther south like Tortosa and Tarragona. Although part of the Romano-Visigothic province of Tarraconensis, the territorial extent of Spanish March did not correspond to the province's entirety, but rather clung to the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean coast north of the Ebro. From this nucleus, settlement under Christian rule expanded into loosely controlled areas, beginning in the late ninth century. Even though the dynasty of Wifred 'the Hairy' (r. 870–98), count of Barcelona, Osona, Cerdanya, and Urgell, governed most of the region and guided it down its own path in the wake of fading royal power, the fact remains that that same royal power carved out the very

[5] This tactic is aligned with the similar approach of C. West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between the Marne and Moselle, c.800–c.1100* (Cambridge, 2013).

counties in which Wifred and his heirs made themselves rulers. The existence of the new polity was a function of Carolingian imperialism, so a study of the March also becomes a study of the practices of empire.[6]

Catalonia offers an interesting and significant vantage point from which to examine the meaning of empire in the Carolingian age. Unlike Brittany, Catalonia was completely integrated into Frankish political networks. Like Saxony, the Spanish March required some thirty years to stabilize under Carolingian control, but the military opposition was Muslim rather than pagan. Further, the armies that fell to Frankish forces did not represent the people who came under their rule; Catalonia, as part of the former Visigothic kingdom, was heir to the rich Christian heritage of Isidore of Seville and others. Unlike the Lombard kingdom, which was an established polity absorbed wholesale into Frankish expansion, and saw some degree of migration of northerners, that is, Franks, Alemanni, Bavarians, and Burgundians, the Spanish March was not a cohesive principality until after the period of Carolingian control; neither did it see the widespread settlement of Franks from over the mountains. To understand the Spanish March as a part of the empire is to understand the meaning of the Carolingian conquest of Catalonia not just for the region, but the wider empire. Further, it is important to ask what the lasting effects of the conquest were. How did political and social institutions resulting from the conquest of the Spanish March affect the region's development as Frankish authority waned? What can the conquest and incorporation of the March tell us about Carolingian power structures and political relationships in general? Answers to these questions will help fill out our understanding of regional practices and polities in Carolingian Europe and their relation to the wider empire.

Today, the land area of what was the Carolingian Spanish March lies in Catalonia, one of the autonomous regions of modern Spain, much larger than the March of the early Middle Ages. That area corresponds to what is now called Catalunya Vella, Old Catalonia, the parts nearest the Pyrenees and along the Mediterranean coast from the Carolingian-era counties of Empúries and Peralada south to Barcelona, the city itself lying near the Christian–Muslim frontier for much of the period.[7] Whether the

[6] Some discussion in this volume, especially regarding Charlemagne, agrees with the broad argument in J. R. Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice of Empire* (Cambridge, 2015).

[7] For reference, see the *Atles dels comtats de la Catalunya carolíngia* series: J. Bolòs and V. Hurtado, *Atles del comtat de Besalú (785–988)* (Barcelona, 1998); *Atles dels comtats d'Empúries i Peralada (780–991)* (Barcelona, 1999); *Atles del comtat de Girona (785–993)* (Barcelona, 2000); *Atles del comtat de Manresa* (Barcelona, 2001); *Atles del comtat d'Osona* (Barcelona, 2001); *Atles del comtat d'Urgell* (Barcelona, 2006); J. Bolòs, V. Hurtado, and R. Català, *Atles dels comtats de Rosselló, Conflent, Vallespir i Fenollet* (Barcelona, 2009); J. Bolòs and V. Hurtado, *Atles dels comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça* (Barcelona, 2012). See also V. Hurtado, J. Mestre, and T. Miserachs, *Atles d'història de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1992).

Carolingians based their administration on old Visigothic counties is unclear, but they set up the counties of Roussillon north of the Pyrenees, Empúries and Peralada just south of the mountains, Girona and Barcelona along the coast, and Cerdanya, Urgell, and Pallars and Ribagorça in the uplands to the west. Towards the end of the ninth century and the early years of the tenth, new districts arose: the counties of Osona and Manresa and *pagi* of Vallespir and Berguedà as a result of expanding Christian settlement, Besalú from the partition of rule amongst members of the comital family. Ecclesiastically, most traditional sees maintained their status, from Elna north of the Pyrenees to Girona, Barcelona, and Urgell beyond them, although Empúries and Egara lost episcopal status, and the see of Vic was re-established in the late ninth century to govern the churches of Osona and Manresa. All were subject to the archbishop of Narbonne until the late eleventh century, when the old Visigothic metropolitanate at Tarragona rejoined Christendom.[8]

Catalonia's flair for legalism, often noted by students of its medieval history, could be related to its convoluted topography.[9] Its plains are neither numerous nor very large, so farms and estates had to follow the contours of the lush hills and rugged mountains that dominate the landscape. Property disputes could easily arise in places whose boundaries were surveyed only with difficulty.[10] Most of the population in the Carolingian period was concentrated in and around the valleys, rivers, and streams that cut through the high terrain. The headwaters of the major rivers, the Tet, Ter, and Segre, almost meet at the upper ridge of the Pyrenees in Cerdanya. From there, the Segre flows south-west to la

[8] R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Historia dels catalans*, vol. 2: *Alta Edat Mitjana* (Barcelona, 1963); Benet i Clarà, *El procés*; H. J. Chaytor, *A History of Aragón and Catalonia* (London, 1933).

[9] See, for example, J. M. Salrach, *Justícia i poder a Catalunya abans de l'any mil* (Vic, 2013); J. A. Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks: Property, Proof, and Dispute in Catalonia around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 2004); M. A. Kelleher, 'Boundaries of Law: Code and Custom in Early Medieval Catalonia', *Comitatus* 30 (1999), 1–10; J. M. Salrach, 'Prácticas judiciales, transformación social y acción política en Cataluña (siglos IX–XIII)', *Hispania* 47 (1997), 1009–48; P. H. Freedman, *Church, Law, and Society in Catalonia, 900–1500*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, 1995); R. Collins, *Law, Culture, and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (Aldershot, 1992); A. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001); P. H. Freedman, *The Origins of Peasant Servitude in Medieval Catalonia* (Cambridge, 1991).

[10] For exemplary studies handling evidence for disputes and their resolutions in the early Middle Ages, see W. Davies and P. Fouracre, eds, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986) and W. Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2001); L. F. Bruyning, 'Lawcourt Proceedings in the Lombard Kingdom before and after the Frankish Conquest', *Journal of Medieval History* 11 (1985): 193–214. On Catalonia in particular, see Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*; Kosto, *Making Agreements*; J. M. Salrach, 'Conquesta de l'epsai agrari i conflictes per la terra a la Catalunya carolíngia i comtal', in X. Barral i Altet et al., eds, *Catalunya i França meridional a l'entorn de l'any Mil* (Barcelona, 1991), 203–11.

Seu d'Urgell and turns southward. Along its course it picks up the waters of the Noguera Pallaresa and the Noguera Ribagorçana before emptying into the Ebro well beyond the *limes* of the Carolingian empire. The Tet and the Ter both flow eastward towards the Mediterranean, and provided fertile areas for many monasteries, including Santa Maria and Sant Joan de Ripoll (the latter now also known as Sant Joan de les Abadesses) (Ter), Eixalada-Cuixà (Tet), and cities such as Vic and Girona (Ter). The plain of Vic, watered by the Ter, was the primary target for migrations down from the mountains in the 870s and 880s. Knowledge about settlement in the valleys of Barcelona's rivers, the Llobregat and Besós, is scanty; the Llobregat did mark the area where the Carolingian empire began to meet al-Andalus, but did little to protect the city from Muslim attacks. The line of the frontier doubtless appears more solid in modern atlases than in the everyday life of the ninth and tenth centuries.[11] As for the Mediterranean coast, Barcelona was no major trade centre, as it would be later in the Middle Ages, and little naval activity is reported, save the occasional Muslim seaborne raid on Carolingian territory. During the ninth century, the Franks seldom mounted offensives via the sea; this mirrors the trend of their operations in the North Sea and English Channel.[12]

Society in the March, as in high-elevation areas elsewhere in early medieval Europe, throve in the river valleys that cut through the mountains, and took advantage of such plains as there were that stretched out just south of the slopes. The Roman Via Augusta connected the March to southern Gaul, and from there travellers could journey up the Rhône to Burgundy and continue overland to Paris, much as the ninth-century monks Usuard and Odilard did on their return to St-Germain-des-Prés from Spain.[13] Local inhabitants blazed their own trails, building and maintaining new roads after the Frankish conquest, especially as ties to Francia weakened and local economic activity took off, in no small part fuelled by trade with Muslim Spain.[14] Carolingian Catalonia embodied tradition and innovation in its administration, infrastructure, and more.

[11] See J. M. H. Smith, '*Fines imperii*: the Marches', in R. McKitterick, ed., *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1995), 169–89 at 179.

[12] B. S. Bachrach, 'Pirenne and Charlemagne', in A. C. Murray, ed., *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History. Essays Presented to Walter Goffart* (Toronto, 1998), 224–5. John Haywood, *Dark Age Naval Power: a Reassessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity* (London and New York, 1991), 95–109, 113–15.

[13] P. M. Duval, 'Les plus anciennes routes de France: les voies gallo-romaines', in G. Michaud, ed., *Les routes de France. Depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1959), 9–24; J. Hubert, 'Les routes du Moyen Age', ibid., 25–56; L. Harmand, *L'Occident romain: Gaule, Espagne, Bretagne, Afrique du Nord (31 av. J. C. à 235 ap. J. C.)* Bibliothéque Historique (Paris, 1960).

[14] A. M. Mundó, *De quan hispans, gots, jueus, àrabs i francs circulaven per Catalunya*. Seminari de Paleografia, Diplomàtica i Codocologia Monografies (Bellaterra, 2001).

A BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHY

Such is the geography, physical and political, of the March, the subject of this examination. The region has a rich historiography, but often remains in non-Catalan historians' blind spots, even for specialists of the period.[15] In the early stages of this study, it became apparent that there exist, in general, two branches of Anglophone scholarship on the early Middle Ages. Work on the Carolingian period in general often neglects the Spanish March, and historians who study early medieval Spain tend to ignore the Carolingian March in order to focus on the Visigothic kingdom, the kingdom of Asturias, or al-Andalus. Even recently, Carolingian history has often been the history of kings, aristocrats or the court scholars.[16] While those characters are by no means absent from this study, and indeed are often key players, the focus is on events and conditions in the Spanish March, not the larger constellation of concerns occupying minds at the imperial centre. Put differently, many know the story of Bernard of Septimania, but they know little about the place he governed as count of Barcelona and *marchio*.

What follows is a corrective. This project is about neither kingship nor what it meant to be an aristocrat. Rather, it is about how the empire held together, from the perspective of a conquered province. Rosamond McKitterick observed that the Spanish March was not integrated under Charlemagne, and in her more recent study, Jennifer Davis follows that interpretation.[17] In what follows, we shall see that perhaps the process of integration was gradual, but it did begin under Charlemagne. Kings implemented strategies of rulership; aristocrats worked with or against kings according to strategies of their own. Everyone had loyalties to ruler, lord, family, followers, dependents, and religion. What was the role of learned culture or of perceived community or ethnic identity in shaping these sometimes conflicting loyalties? It is my aim to determine how the

[15] C. J. Chandler, 'Carolingian Catalonia: the Spanish March and the Franks, c.750–c.1050', *History Compass* 11 (2013): 739–50.

[16] For example, on kings: R. McKitterick, *Charlemagne: the Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008); R. Collins, *Charlemagne* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1998), 234; E. Boshof, *Ludwig der Fromme* (Darmstadt, 1996); J. L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London, 1992); E. J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca, 2006); S. MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge, 2003); aristocrats: the essays collected in S. Airlie, *Power and its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Farnham, 2012); R. Le Jan, *Famille et pouvoir dans le monde franc (VIIe–Xe siècle): essai d'anthropologie sociale* (Paris, 1995); the essays in Le Jan, ed. *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998); and scholars: C. Chazelle, *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001); D. A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden, 2004).

[17] McKitterick, *Charlemagne*, 133–4, 136; Davis, *Charlemagne's Practice*, 242–3 and 415.

various strategies employed played themselves out in the fashioning of a multi-ethnic empire.

Other, relatively simple, issues that have arisen in the historiography of 'Carolingian Catalonia' have conspired to keep it buried deeper underground than it deserves. First, there is a divide between Catalan-language scholarship (and to a lesser degree, that in other European languages), and an English-speaking audience all too under-informed on the Carolingian and 'comital' periods in the region. Historians in Catalonia and France have been the primary champions of the study of the region's early medieval history. But for early medievalists, especially Carolingianists in North America, the United Kingdom and beyond who are interested in continental developments, and for their colleagues interested in the later medieval Crown of Aragon, this study helps to illuminate a pivotal period in a region that was key both to the Carolingian empire and to the high and late-medieval Mediterranean world. The rapidly growing body of English-language scholarship on Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon points to the region's significance, yet the earlier period has for too long escaped the attention of numerous historians.[18] Within the last decade or so, however, a small handful of scholars have turned their attention to Carolingian connections south of the Pyrenees and to the politics and society of the Spanish March in particular, yet there remains no full-scale treatment of the early period of true and meaningful connections to the larger Carolingian enterprise.[19]

[18] The starting point is T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragón: a Short History* (Oxford, 1986). For somewhat more recent work, C. Stalls, *Possessing the Land: Aragon's Expansion into Islam's Ebro Frontier under Alfonso the Battler 1104–1134,* The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400–1453 (Leiden, 1995); S. P. Bensch, *Barcelona and Its Rulers, 1096–1291* (Cambridge, 1995); Kosto, *Making Agreements*; M. VanLandingham, *Transforming the State: King, Court, and Political Culture in the Realms of Aragon (1213–1387),* The Medieval Mediterranean: Peoples, Economies, and Cultures, 400–1453 (Leiden, 2002); Bowman, *Shifting Landmarks*; B. A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050–1300* (Cambridge, 2004).

[19] For connections to Spain, see F. Riess, 'From Aachen to Al-Andalus: the Journey of Deacon Bodo (823–76)', *EME* 13 (2005): 131–57; C. J. Chandler, 'Between Court and Counts: Carolingian Catalonia and the *aprisio* grant, 778–897', *EME* 11 (2002): 19–44; 'Heresy and Empire: the Role of the Adoptionist Controversy in Charlemagne's Conquest of the Spanish March', *International History Review* 24 (2002): 505–27; 'Land and Social Networks in the Carolingian Spanish March', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, third series, 6 (2009): 1–33; 'Barcelona, BC 569, Dhuoda's *Liber manualis*, and Lay Culture in the Carolingian Spanish March', *EME* 18 (2010): 265–91; and 'A New View of a Catalonian *Gesta contra Iudaeos*: Ripoll 106 and the Jews of the Spanish March', in C. J. Chandler and S. A. Stofferahn, eds, *Discovery and Distinction in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of John J. Contreni* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2013). See especially the work of J. Jarrett: 'Power over Past and Future: Abbess Emma and the Nunnery of Sant Joan de les Abadesses', *EME* 12 (2003): 229–58; 'Settling the Kings' Lands: *Aprisio* in Catalonia in Perspective', *EME* 18 (2010): 320–42; 'Caliph, King, or Grandfather: Strategies of Legitimization on the Spanish March in the Reign of Lothar III', *The Mediaeval Journal* 1 (2011): 1–22; 'Archbishop Ató of Osona: False Metropolitans on the *Marca Hispanica*', *Archiv für*

The most prominent of the twentieth-century non-Catalan works that treat Catalonia at all are very broad in chronological and geographical scope, and consider developments in the history of the region, often along with that of Aquitaine, over centuries. Such studies highlighted Catalonia's connection to Aquitaine and the Frankish kingdom, casting the region as one of many where political machinations and developing societal trends had played themselves out. Lordship in Catalonia has long been a central topic; older scholarship charts the changes from royal to papal protection of monasteries and the development of lordship from early medieval office-holding. These early works provide useful guides, but now show their age.[20]

The medieval history of Spain posed problems for historians in the twentieth century, many for political reasons. The regime of Francisco Franco (1939–75) was characterized by fierce centralization in Spain, and much historical scholarship produced in his time and since has tended to privilege the history of Castile as 'Spanish' history, largely marginalizing the distinct histories of other regions.[21] Reflecting their need for regional identity, Catalan historians, especially Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals in the Franco era and many others since the dictator's death, have produced a vibrant literature on the history of Catalonia, relishing the uniqueness of their land. The Carolingian period figures prominently in this effort to write a history as the era of Catalonia's 'national formation'.[22] Since the 1970s, other European scholars have taken a keen interest in the region's Carolingian history. In the late 1980s and 1990s, conferences and volumes published to coincide with millenary anniversaries enlisted Catalan and French scholars to commemorate Hugh Capet, Gerbert of Aurillac, the kingdom of France at the millennium and the

Diplomatik 56 (2010): 1–42; and 'Centurions, Alcalas, and *Christiani Perversi*: Organisation of Society in the Pre-Catalan "Terra de Ningú"', in A. Deyermond and M. J. Ryan, eds, *Early Medieval Spain: a Symposium* (London, 2010), 97–128. J. Jarrett, *Rulers and Ruled in Frontier Catalonia, 880–1010: Pathways of Power* (London, 2010) is an admirable study of the local social and political structures on the frontier, but it is not a study of the region's Carolingian history.

[20] L. Auzias, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne* (Toulouse, 1937); O. Engels, *Schutzgedanke und Landherrschaft im östlichen Pyrenäenraum (9.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Münster in Westfalen, 1970); A. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718–1050* (Austin, 1965); and even J. M. Salrach, *El procés de feudalització (segles III–XII)*, ed. P. Vilar, 2nd ed., Història de Catalunya 2 (Barcelona, 1987). See also M. Rouche, *L'Aquitaine des Wisigoths aux Arabes, 418–781*. Editions de l'Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales (Editions Touzot: Paris, 1979).

[21] P. Linehan, *History and the Historians of Spain* (Oxford, 1993).

[22] Term taken from the title of Salrach, *El procés*; see also R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Historia dels catalans* 2; Zimmermann, 'De pays catalans à la Catalogne', and the collection of his earlier work in *En els orígens de Catalunya: emancipació política i afirmació cultural*, trans. from French into Catalan by A. Bentué (Barcelona, 1989); and of course the essays in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII–XI)*, 2 vols (Barcelona, 1991).

'origins of Catalonia'.[23] Most recently, the massive and magisterial *thèse* of Michel Zimmermann has synthesized and advanced his own previous work on literacy and culture in the region from the Carolingian period to the dynastic union with Aragon in the twelfth century.[24] Despite the significance of this body of scholarship, Carolingian Catalonia has largely escaped English-language historiography. Until the last decade or so, when Anglophone scholars have addressed conditions or developments in the region in major works, it has often been within other studies as a frontier, the viewpoint from the centre out, or as major figures happened to be involved with the March, rather than treating Catalonia in its own right; some comparative studies on social and economic history have featured the region.[25]

European initiatives have indeed examined the Spanish March on its own terms, emphasizing local developments. The major, comprehensive works of the Franco era were primarily political history and drew on the wider imperial context to explain the region's budding independence, its detachment from the Carolingian empire. Cultural developments garnered some attention, giving the local context primacy of place. This common commitment to Catalonia's history was coloured by nationalism even as it cautioned against reading a Catalan national identity back into the ninth and tenth centuries.[26] Early studies of the Spanish March as part of the Carolingian empire emphasized the gradual independence of the counts as royal power weakened.[27] Later efforts built on these foundations and concentrated on the society and culture of the March, deliberately eschewing overtly nationalist approaches. These studies shed light on marriage patterns, agricultural exploitation, lordship and learned culture, but the relationship of the March to the empire is all but omitted in

[23] X. 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*, Colloque international DNRS, Hugues Capet 987–1987, La France a l'an mil (Barcelona, 1991); I. Ollich i Castanyer, ed., *Actes del Congrés Internacional Gerbert d'Orlhac i el seu temps: Catalunya i Europa a la fi del Ir mil.leni* (Vic, 1999); R. Delort, ed., *La France a l'an mil* (Paris, 1990); and the *Symposium internacional*.

[24] M. Zimmermann, *Écrire et lire en Catalogne* (IX–XII siècle) (Madrid, 2003).

[25] See the works cited in note 13 above, as well as C. Wickham, 'European Forests in the Early Middle Ages: Landscape and Land Clearance', in *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 900–1200* (London, 1994), 155–99 and 'Problems of Comparing Rural Societies in Western Europe', in ibid., 201–27, and his more recent *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800* (Oxford, 2007).

[26] See R. d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Dels visigots als catalans*, ed. J. Sobrequés i Callicó. 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Barcelona, 1974), 158–9.

[27] The fundamental works are Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, Biografies Catalanes (Barcelona, 1958); his collected essays in *Dels visigots als catalans*; Abadal, CC 1; Abadal, *Els temps i el regiment del comte Guifré el Pilós*, ed. J. Sobrequés i Callicó (Sabadell, 1989); and Salrach, *El procés*.