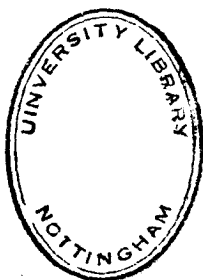


**'THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA
AND ITS URBAN CONTEXT IN EASTERN CATALONIA
FROM THE THIRD TO THE TWELFTH CENTURIES'**

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CHAPTER XII

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SUBURBS, I: ORIGINS,
DEFINITION AND MAJOR STRUCTURES.

By the time of the attack of Almansur in 985 there had already emerged a degree of extra-mural settlement. For one reason or another, the previous pattern inherited from the late Roman period, with dwellings principally found within the defences, cemeteries outside, and the rest of the area outside the walls largely, if not exclusively, uninhabited, though not unused, until one had penetrated a considerable distance into the territorium, had been broken. Two centuries later the area occupied by suburban development had overtaken that inside the by-now partially hidden defences, and fifty years after the end of the period under study, another line of defences was under construction, and this was eventually to enclose an area ten times greater than that within the Roman walls¹.

The Historiography of the Suburbs of Medieval Barcelona,

It has long been realized that an important step in the expansion of the city took place with the establishment of the first dwellings outside the defences of the Roman city. Although there is a certain amount of evidence for suburban villas of

early Imperial date, the thesis propounded by Pau and expanded by Pujades, that much of the suburban area was developed after the Germanic attacks of the 3rd. and 5th. centuries, is of course nowadays unacceptable.² Diago, like Pujades, made the fundamentally obvious point that the growth of the suburbs would necessarily be of a later date than the construction of the defences, but in view of the then prevailing belief in the Punic origin of the city walls, little advance in this respect could be achieved. It was not until Pi y Arimón suggested a possible Roman reconstruction of these defences that the obstacles were removed, and he was able to put forward a 12th. century date for the major growth of the suburbs³.

The study of the documentary sources was at the same time moving towards the establishment of a similar date. Although neither Marca nor Feliu commented on them, Capmany related the expansion of the city to the presence of the Counts of Barcelona⁴, and Prospero de Bofarull, although making little direct comment on the matter, did cite the earliest known reference to the burgus⁵. His nephew, first in his guide-book to Barcelona, but more concretely in his general history of Catalonia, was the first to arrive, following both lines of thought, at a late Roman date for the defences, and a pre-late 10th. century one for the earliest suburbs⁶.

Resting on these foundations, the late 19th. century saw a deeper analysis of certain aspects. Although Sanpere y Miquel's Història de Barcelona was never finished and never reached the medieval section, from other works, and particularly from his geological studies, he clearly saw a medieval origin for the suburban growth, and was the first to stress the importance of the receding shore line, particularly in his detailed study of the Ribera zone⁷. Balari was the first to make a systematic study of the phrases used in the documentation to describe the location of properties. First distinguishing between the walled city and the suburbs, he then made an effort to establish the difference between burgus, suburbium, and villanova, thus providing a point of departure for future studies⁸.

His ideas, however, have not been as widely consulted or developed as they might have been on this subject: the reason for this is, without doubt, the magisterial publications of Carreras Candi in the first third of the 20th. century⁹. It would be difficult to summarize adequately his work on Barcelona, so that only a fraction of his total output can be considered here, that which had the most transcendent effect on future studies. Although he had begun to gather material for his study of Barcelona in the 1890's, his first publication on the city's growth was that connected with the exhibition of

drawings related to the area destroyed by the construction of the Via Layetana through the heart of the medieval suburbs¹⁰. Though not the first to suggest a 10th. and 11th. century date for their origin he did point out that they had grown from more than one nucleus: moreover, he traced the general course of their development up to the 13th. century with considerable accuracy. These ideas were repeated with additions and documentation in his most important work, and in a more popular manner, almost simultaneously, and again in a communication to the Third 'Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón'¹¹.

The conclusions that he reached have been of great significance for the orientation of subsequent studies on the development of the city: they may be summarized as follows:-

1. The original independence of the various suburbs.
2. The importance of a pre-existing nucleus and/or the facility of communication in the emergence of a suburb.
3. Their more or less contemporary origins.
4. The application of the name 'vilanoves' to these suburbs: e.g. Vilanova de la Mar of de Sta. Maria, Vilanova del Pf, Vilanova dels Arcs, Vilanova de les Roquetes.
5. The unplanned, sporadic growth of these suburbs.

The magnitude of his achievement is reflected

by the fact that this state of knowledge has not been surpassed until recent years. In the 1920's, Rovira followed the information presented by Balari¹²: in the mid 1940's del Castillo summarized the views of Carreras Candi¹³, as did the authors of the Catálogo Monumental de España volume on Barcelona, although with somewhat more detail¹⁴. Surprisingly Duran, in his vast output covering the central decades of the century, made but few references to the suburban growth of the city¹⁵. Dr. Udina has made passing reference to the existence of suburbs in the late 10th. century, and Mitjá to the terminology of the sources¹⁶. The general histories of Catalonia up to the present day have added little, and the same, unfortunately, must be said of those of Barcelona published in the last few decades¹⁷. The only significant advance came with the publication of Dr. Bonnassie's thesis¹⁸, for he was the first to consider the available documentation in any depth since Carreras Candi. Although he rightly agrees with many of the latter's conclusions, he does make some distinctions, such as the use of the word 'bourg' rather than 'villeneuve', thus recognizing, as did Balari, the special status of the latter. The theme, however, is not treated in depth, which is not surprising, considering the scope of his study. Other works of the last decade, although important for the reasons behind this growth, do not study it in any great detail¹⁹.

Definition of the Suburban Area

One of the greatest problems in the study of this suburban area in the 11th. and 12th.centuries is that of its precise definition. Over the years the suburbs continued to grow, so that one part of the city being used for the cultivation of vines in the 11th.century may have been largely built over by the end of the 12th.century. Thus in a late document it would almost certainly have been referred to as being in ipso burgo, whereas in an earlier one the fact that it was located in the zone immediately surrounding the city may not be apparent. A large proportion of the sources referring to such locations used the term suburbium, while others contain a phrase like foris muros, and some an undefined place-name which through other sources can be allocated to this arc around the city.

What is clear is that in the later 12th.century there was a definite distinction between the territorium and an inner area around the walled city where properties could either be in the burgo, which was usually applied to the more urbanized zones, or the suburbium, which tended to be more open, more rural in appearance. This division between the territorium and the suburban area seems to have been followed at a later date by the 13th.century defences, particularly towards the north and east: to the west

it remains uncertain whether the area beyond the line of the Rambles was considered to be in the suburbium or in the territorium. Although some documents from that area are in the suburbium, these are comparatively scarce, and it seems likely that some of the vaguer and less precisely located place-names of the 11th. and 12th. century territorium should be placed in this zone, because of the general dearth of recognizable documentation for a clearly intensively cultivated district.²⁰

Prior to 1000 the word suburbium had a wider meaning, and was perhaps similar in sense to pagus which also appears in this early period. Locations such as Sta. Eulalia de Provençals, usually in the territorium, and St. Cugat del Vallès, even further beyond, were on occasions placed within the suburbium²¹. Another anomaly can be detected in the first third of the 12th. century, when the word burgo almost totally disappears from use, and suburbium is almost exclusively used.

In the second half of the 11th. century, and from c. 1135 onwards, the distinction between the three words burgo, suburbium and territorium noted above seems to hold true. For the purposes of the following chapters a suburban location is defined by including all place-names stated as having been within either the burgo or suburbium at any date before

1200, with the exception of those which were usually located in the territorium or elsewhere, and are only irregularly associated with these two terms. The sum total of relevant documents numbers over six hundred, nearly double that from the intra-mural area, which indeed is to be expected considering the far larger area involved: nevertheless, it is worth noting that over 40% of this material belongs to the period after 1150, in contrast to the intra-mural area where the later 12th. century is poorly documented and the bulk of the documentation belongs to the second half of the 11th. century²².

The Suburban Street System (figs. 97-101: cf. fig. 24).

Beyond the late Roman defences, the hands of the Roman road builders left less mark on the townscape. Although there is no trace of planning of Roman date, the main roads entering the medieval city through the gates, and particularly the east and west ones, were the heirs of the main roads of Antiquity. The Roman origin of this route is emphasized by the presence of pre-11th. century churches along its course, proving that the course was a feature that had influenced the topography from an early date²³.

Apart from these two streets, represented by the present day C/de la Boria, C/Carders and C/del

Brtal Nou (to the north: cf.S,223,263-4) and C/de la Boqueria and C/del Hospital (to the south-west), several others appear as important features during the period up to 1200. Firstly that leading from the city gate towards Sta.Maria del Mar, frequently cited in the documentation of the zone and represented by the present-day C/ de l.'Argenteria (S.133,186, 189,201), although this is somewhat wider and straighter than its medieval counterpart. Secondly that following the course of the Merdança stream, both in its north-south trajectory as far as the medieval Plaça de l'Oli, and the continuation from there to the east (S.156,202,261). Thirdly that leading towards the monastery of St.Pere de les Puelles, possibly on the alignment of either the C/Baixa or the C/Alta de St.Pere (S.348,394,458,468). Fourthly the streets following the alignment of the Arcs Antics, the Roman aqueduct arches, particularly that leading towards the coastal mountains, which probably followed the Roman road from the north-west gate of the city to St.Cugat del Vallès (S.51), with a short extension at the other end of the city from the Regomir Gate to the sea (S.565).

Finally linking the gates themselves was a street, the orientation of which was determined by the surviving defences. Starting at the Bishop's Gate, the street lay beyond the 'Hort' of the monastery of Sant Llorenç del Munt (S.228,448) and continued

parallel to the walls, past the Cauda Rubea at the foot of which there were further properties (S.354,477) and which gave it its later name of C/ de la Corribia, continuing alongside the area beneath the Comital Palace(S.241) and finally entering the Market zone. In this final part of its course it is again clear that there were structures between the defences and the street (S.485).

On the south side of the Market, the picture changes for the street hugged the line of the walls, or at least the space between the two was unused for a far longer period (S.97): this was referred to as the via que vadit secus murum civitatis Barchinone in 1123 and was later known as the C/de Basea (S.294), although this has been changed for that of C/del Subteniente Navarro in the 20th.century. Between the angle of the defences at tower 33, where C/de Basea turned to the east, and the Regomir Gate, there may also have originally been a street immediately adjoining the walls, for there are references to ipsa carrera qui est ad radicem de ipsa turre vel de ipso muro (C.43) and property bordering in via vel in ipsos muros (S.77), although this probably disappeared for it is not represented in the modern topography of the area.

On the other side of the gate, and as far as the Castell Nou, there was generally an area of

'horts' at the foot of the defences, with a street presumably located beyond them, partially indicated by the modern C/Avinyó (C.84,195,219,S.111): further north this was continued by the present C/dels Banys Nous and C/de la Palla (C.134), although they are largely undocumented because of the Jewish domination of the zone. However, there is some evidence that this strip was similarly used for 'horts' and also, on the basis of the name of the final length, the storing of straw at the foot of the walls^{and,} in the case of the property of the monastery of Ripoll next to the Bishop's Gate, for general agricultural storage²⁴. This extra-mural road surrounding the walls was thus generally located at some distance from them with the possible exception of the south-eastern sector, where, as will be seen below, the presence of muddy hollows may have made it unsuitable for construction purposes.

These streets were thus the most significant in the inner suburbs, and others located in these zones usually did little more than join two of the ones mentioned above, especially between the C/ de la Corribia and the C/ Merdança and between the C/ de Basea and C/ de l'Argentèria. These linking cross streets were often very narrow, alley-ways rather than streets²⁵. Their irregular plan and the resultant small blocks which formed a distinctive feature of the map of the early medieval city

depended on the necessities of the surrounding property owners rather than any other factor. It is to be lamented, from the point of view of urban history at least, that the greater part of these zones was swept away during the construction of the Via Layetana in the first decade of this century. Streets of similar origin, although probably of slightly later date, still exist to the east of C/de l'Argenteria, but the overall vision of the medieval suburbs that emerged according to needs rather than a plan has vanished. Similarly, the other principal area of early suburban growth, the Arcs Antics suburb, has also been much adapted, and for this there is even less in the way of illustrations of the period prior to change.

Planned suburban growth

If a plan of the reconstructed topography of the later medieval period is considered (fig.101), beyond this inner arc of organic growth stretching from Sta.Maria del Mar to the Bishop's Gate, the number of streets is often smaller, their orientation more disciplined, and it is possible to recognize blocks of unitary plan, either from the street lines or the property boundaries or both. They must clearly be considered as areas of planned growth, some of which can be related to the sources of this period, although the majority fall into the period after

1200²⁶. These blocks can be identified as follows, although other units of planning represented by property boundaries within a single block are not here considered²⁷:-

- a) Properties to the north of C/de la Canuda as far as the church of Sta. Anna, related to an area urbanized from c.1145 onwards, although with substantial modern alterations²⁸.
- b) To the north of C/Durán y Bas another area partially urbanized in the later 12th. century beyond the Arcs Antics suburb and stretching as far as C/Comtal to the north and C/de les Magdalenes to the east²⁹.
- c) The area between C/Alta de Sant Pere and C/Baixa de Sant Pere, consisting of three parallel streets with a substantial number of cross streets and regular property boundaries³⁰. Probably mid-late 13th. century.
- d) An area between C/Mercaders and C/Giralt Pellicer with small rectangular blocks, probably the villa founded by Bernat Marcus (III) in the late 12th. century³¹.
- e) To the east of the former, stretching as far as the monastery of St. Pere, an area of long, somewhat sinuous blocks, with some minor irregularities caused by pre-existing property divisions: although these date from the 11th. century if not before, the urbanization of the zone only dates from the early-mid 13th. century³².
- f) Between C/dels Carders and C/dels Assahonadors an area similar in plan to the previous one, to

which some of the cross streets are obviously linked. An episcopal domain, thus making the unitary plan possible³³.

g) To the south of the former and stretching as far as Sta. Maria del Mar, an area of large blocks, identified as the villanova established in the late 11th. century³⁴.

h) Beneath Sta. Maria del Mar and the ~~passaig~~ del Born, stretching along the early 13th. century shore line from the lost Plaça d'En Llull as far as C/dels Canvis Vells an area of small regular blocks, identified as 'La Rodalia de Corbera' or 'La Ribera', and with a westward extension of perhaps later date as far as C/de la Fusteria³⁵.

i) Beneath the former from C/Detras del Palau as far as the lost church of Sta. Marta an area of narrow elongated blocks, of later 13th. or early 14th. century date³⁶,

j) Beyond the Rech, to the north of the monastery of Sta. Clara, an area of similar plan, although the blocks are longer, and perhaps of similar or slightly earlier date³⁷.

k) To the north of the previous area, a small group of rectangular blocks behind the monastery of St. Agustí Vell, and perhaps the area described as a villanova in 1364³⁸.

l) To the west of the Roman core, blocks of various sizes and orientations principally to the south of C/de la Boqueria, and again probably of later 13th. and 14th. century date³⁹.

The remaining areas where planning is apparent, south of the Regomir Gate (m), in the south-west corner of the 13th.-14th.century walls (n,o) and to the west of the Rambles are largely of 14th. century, or in the last case of post-medieval, date⁴⁰.

Typologically, then, the largest blocks seem to be the earliest in date (a,b,and g), followed by small ones (c,d, and h), then elongated ones, which do not appear until the second half of the 13th.century (e,f,i and j) and perhaps a final phase of more rectangular properties (k,l,m and n). A similar process is probably detectable in the shape of the individual properties, although this is a theme which needs to be researched in more depth, for we have no catastral plan of certain areas, and others have been considerably sub-divided; nevertheless, this cannot be dealt with here, where the main interest lies with the period before 1200, to which only a small proportion of this development belongs⁴¹.

As in the intra-mural area in this period streets were only rarely named, which creates additional problems of identification. Again the interchangeability of words such as carrera, calle, via, itinere and platea should be noted: for example, the street leading to Sta.Maria del Mar from the Market is described by all these words except itinere during

the course of the period here studied⁴². True squares were probably infrequent in the suburbs, and apart from the Market, which came to consist of a series of interlocking squares: the only possible one is that located in front of the church of Sta. Maria del Mar (S.630), although other churches may have possessed similar squares. To a large extent they would seem to be more characteristic of the 14th. century rather than earlier.

Public buildings in the suburbs.

To the point that streets were named, this was usually by reference to some major structure which could be found nearby, or towards which the street ran. In spite of the far greater extension of the suburbs, the number of structures worthy of comment is considerably smaller than the intra-mural area. However, because of their importance in locating the conveyance documentation in the appropriate zones, and the rôle they could play in helping or hindering the growth of an area, it is necessary to establish their position and history before the individual zones can be discussed.

The Lesser Comital Palace (fig. 99, no.27).

This palace, which should not be confused with the Lesser Royal Palace (Palau Reial Menor), establ-

ished in the former Templar residence in the 14th. century, was fairly short-lived, and may have been created in the time of problems between Counts Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II. Although it is not recorded until 1114 (S.269), its existence is implied in 1100 (S.241). It is only mentioned on one other occasion (S.281), although the zone in which it was located was known as Cort Comtal both before and after this short period, and has given its name to the existing C/Comtal. The residence itself was given to the Cistercians of Santes Creus by Alfons I in 1168 (S.459) and, as will be seen, the monastery had acquired neighbouring properties so as to form a sizeable urban estate. Part of its structure is believed to have survived until the early 20th. century in C/de les Magdalenes no.29, that is adjoining C/Comtal: it consisted of a large arched entrance, and contained double arched windows with a central column and capital of 12th. century type, one of which is preserved in the Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat ⁴³. Topographically its position marks one of the limits of the Arcs Antics suburb, and its construction led to further growth of a wealthy nature in this part of the city.

Suburban Churches.

There were, of course, originally no parish churches, because of the absence of inhabitants

in the suburban area: there were, however, a number of extra-mural churches in the later tenth century, the origins of which are often controversial and which have not been clarified by having been subject to a long history of pious fable and rhetoric. In the following notes, emphasis is placed on their location and structural history rather than any religious or institutional aspects.

Sta.Maria del Mar (fig.97, no.11).

For a number of reasons, this church must be ranked foremost among the suburban churches. There was certainly a church here in the 870's when the remains of Sta.Eulalia were found and taken to the cathedral, and, as excavations have proved, it was on the site of a late Roman cemetery, which may have continued in use to the Reconquest period: although a church may have existed here in the Visigothic period, this remains unproven, as does the possibility of continuous cult from that date onwards⁴⁴. Its location is remarkable, for the name it was described by in the later 10th.century - in littore maris - makes it clear that it was right on the shore, so close to the sea, in fact, that one wonders whether there had been some marine transgression since the date of its original foundation, when it would thus have been slightly further inland on firmer ground.

Not until the end of the tenth century do the sources become more explicit. It was given to the Cathedral as a suffragan in 1009, having already been erected into the first of the suburban parish churches, which has usually be taken to indicate some precocious suburban settlement in its vicinity, although this is not entirely supported by the available evidence, and this may merely be an indication of the absence of any more suitable church on which to base a new parish.⁴⁵ The donation to the Cathedral was confirmed by Ramon Borrell in 1013⁴⁶, although the tithes were under dispute in 1018⁴⁷. It attracted popular interest from an early date, numerous donations being recorded and sacramental wills being sworn on its altar, even in the last years of the tenth century, which may well suggest an important place in local devotions, although not necessarily the existence of settlement around it⁴⁸.

The exact position of this church is uncertain: in most cases the churches of Barcelona are presumed to have rarely changed site, although evidence presented by Vergés and Vinyoles suggests that a new site was adopted for the standing Gothic church begun in the 1320s, and a 19th. century account records walls, which were interpreted as the remains of the preceding church, immediately to the south, although no definite traces were found in recent excavations in this zone in the Fossar de les

Moreres. It is unfortunate that the nature of the early medieval structural remains found in the excavation of the high altar of the Gothic church is not more explicit. Topographically, one might expect a location immediately to the south of the surviving church, and also slightly to the east, for in this case, the boundaries of the villanova of the later 11th. century would be more regular, and not only C/de l'Argenteria, but also C/Mirallers and C/dels Banys Vells might be seen as having their orientation partially determined by the position of its principal entrance ⁴⁹.

Consequently little is known of its structure, although there are frequent ad opera donations throughout the 11th. and 12th. centuries, with a concentration in the 1050's, which indicates that a major building programme was taking place then, alongside the rapid growth of the suburb which was emerging around it ⁵⁰. The first burials are also recorded in the same decade, ^{of} men such as Pere Vivas in 1053, or Guitart Ananias in 1057, both of considerable standing in the city, suggesting that it was attracting donations of importance ⁵¹. The extent of its parish is unknown, although the suspicion must exist that it was large, including the greater part of the inner suburbs, for at that date there were no other suburban parish churches. This primacy continued for it is often cited im-

mediately after the Cathedral in lists of pious bequests, and this enabled resources to be accumulated for the 14th.century church⁵².

Sta.Maria del Pf (fig.97, no.9).

Although it is normally stated that the first reference to this church is of 992 (in fact 991: S.19), a citation of Sta.Maria qui est ad occidentale parte in 987 (S.11) pre-dates this. However, these both serve to demonstrate that the church had its origins prior to 985, although there is no indication of what these origins may have been. Although it is located a few steps from the main road leading southwards, there is no record of earlier material ever having been found there. The name is derived from a prominent local pine tree, which may still have been standing in the later 10th.century, for it is on occasion,cited as a separate place-name: in locum ubi dicitur ad ipso Pino prope domum Sancte Marie (S.34): nevertheless, the church could have been of far earlier origin .

Its status in this early period is unknown, and although it has been claimed that it was elevated into a parish church in 1188⁵³, the presence of a cemetery in 1073 may indicate that this had occurred before. It is interesting to note that the property which bordered with the cemetery in 1073 had not

done so three years previously, and this may indicate the emergence of a cemetery in these years (S.160,153). Even before this date the altar of St.Pancras within the church had long been a favourite place for the swearing of sacramental wills⁵⁴. Nevertheless, the church rarely benefitted from these, donations being generally scarce and poor in comparison with the other major churches.

Some alterations clearly took place in the period 1090 to 1110, for four of the six extant ad opera awards belong to that period⁵⁵. The first of these is the most informative for it records the gift of a barrel of wine for the construction of the bell-tower. Unfortunately, no architectural fragments of this phase survive, though it is not difficult to imagine it as a small single or three naved Romanesque church with^d tower. The site was presumably the same as its Gothic successor. In 1154 it passed to the holdings of the sacristan minor of the Cathedral (S.389), but even in the later 12th.century donations remained few and its patrimony was limited to a few plots immediately around the church. Again we can see a reflection of the social circumstances of the zone in which it was located, which was still largely rural in 1200. Just as Sta.Maria del Mar was closely associated with the adjoining rural district of St.Marti, so Sta.Maria del Pi was connected with that of Sants⁵⁶.

St.Cugat del Rech (fig.98, no.22).

In contrast to the previous two churches, there is little doubt about the origins of this one. It was founded in 1023 by Deacon, later Bishop Guislibert, son of Viscount Udalard, at the point where the saint, traditionally associated with Barcelona, was believed to have received martyrdom: in loco qui a decursione temporum cognominatus est Caminus Sancti Cucuphatis eo quid ibidem venerabile martir flammis incendi per-
tulit (S.67). Guislibert took a life-long interest in the church, attempting to establish a new suburb around it (S.131-3) and leaving money in his will to make a crucifix⁵⁷. However, other donations were rare, the only other extant one being of three mod-
iatas off land at Polinyà in 1031⁵⁸, and after the death of Guislibert the church may have gone into decline. The later medieval parish was small, limited to a few of the surrounding streets, and there are no recorded ad opera donations, which suggests the construction of a single nave church in 1023 and few subsequent alterations⁵⁹.

The church was normally called St.Cugat del Camí at first - cuius ecclesia sita est in suburbio Barchinona in loco vocitato Chaminus⁶⁰ - but a document of 1112 comments on its position near the Rech - super ecclesiam Sancti Cucuphati Martir paulo longius de ipsum Regum Comitale (S.264) - and from then on

it was commonly called St.Cugat del Rech. A church survived until 1936, although this was of 17th.century date, and had undergone transformations after the various phases of anti-clericalism of the century prior to the Civil War. Like so many other small Romanesque churches, it seems to have been heavily rebuilt in the 17th. century, and although excavations took place in the early 1960's on its site, nothing was found of the medieval church, all remains being post-medieval in date⁶¹.

Four other churches had origins connected with religious communities:

St.Pere de les Puelles (fig.97, no.12: figs.105-6).

This community of Benedictine nuns was consecrated in 945, although ^{it} probably had its origins some years beforehand⁶². Before 985 it had received several donations of substantial size from noble ladies⁶³ and a list of the monastic property of 991 (S.19) demonstrates that its estates were already extensive. The conventual buildings, like most suburban areas, suffered extensively in the attack of Almansur and in 989 the Abbess sold land near the city in St. Martí de Provencals for thirty solidos propter necessitatem de restauracione ecclesie, qui fuit dissipata a Saracenis in anno quod fuit Barchinona destructa (S.14). In 992 Aurucia Deovota left half

a pensada's worth of bread and wine for the re-roofing of the adjoining church of St.Sadurni (S.21).

The latter church had pre-dated the monastery by some time, for in the consecration of the monastic church it is described as situm foris menia civitatis Barchinone contra atrium Saturnini Domini testis (S.1). Tradition associates the foundation of this chapel with Louis the Pious in the siege of Barcelona in 800-801, and although this remains unproven, on the grounds of dedication alone, a date when the Counts of Barcelona were closely associated with those of Toulouse, and thus in the first half of the 9th.century, seems probable⁶⁴. Like the church of St.Cugat del Rech, it was located near, although not alongside, the old Roman road to the north, although in 1031, when this whole zone was virtually without structures, this road could be considered as leading to St.Pere - Sancti Cucufati preciosi martiris cuius basilica sita extat ante portam Barcinone in ipsa strada qui inde pergit ad Sancti Petri cenobii⁶⁵. Its position on a slight ridge, a few metres above the surrounding area, may also have contributed to the decision to found it there, at a time when much of the suburban area was subject to flooding from seasonal streams⁶⁶.

The chapel of St.Sadurni is usually identified as that in the north-eastern angle of the monastic church of cruciform plan: capitals and imposts of

apparently Carolingian date are to be found there, in contrast to the pre-Romanesque date suggested for the other architectural fragments. In addition, a funerary inscription of 891 and carved stone crosses of pre-Romanesque style, inheriting the Visigothic tradition, have been found⁶⁷.

Reconstruction work continued into the 11th. century as is indicated by an exchange of 1009⁶⁸, and a testamentary donation of one ounce of gold ad opera was made in 1017. The number of nuns at this date was small, possibly only four or five⁶⁹. The association with the Comital family had been strong from its early days, but control was passed to the Cathedral by Berenguer Ramon I⁷⁰. The wife of his successor gave money for a portico in the 1040's and the community prospered in an economic sense for it had extensive properties both in the city and the rest of the County of Barcelona⁷¹.

From the second half of the 11th. century date two donations of daughters to become nuns, together with suitable gifts of property: one must imagine that the community was growing in size⁷². Further expansion is recorded in the same period by ad opera donations in 1077, 1091 and 1095. The last two were specifically for the construction of a cloister, which was demolished in the 19th. century, but of which illustrations and a few pieces survive (fig.105-6)⁷³.

The church was reconsecrated in 1147, and an altar to St.Benedict added in 1169⁷⁴. Another structural modification was the provision of a cloister or gallery above the refectory door recorded in 1186. Although it has been suggested that the church of St.Sadurni was absorbed by the monastic one by this date⁷⁵, a reference to both it and its cemetery indicates continued separate existence, presumably catering for the spiritual needs of the inhabitants of the small settlement nucleus gathered round the monastery (S.626).

St.Pau del Camp (fig.97,no.10: fig.107).

The history and architecture of this monastery have recently been studied at some length, and only a brief summary of the salient points can be offered here⁷⁶. Although there is evidence for 6th. or 7th. century burials here, and architectural fragments of similar date were incorporated in the 12th.century entrance, there is no definite proof of a church, let alone a monastery, until the late 10th.century. However, the church almost certainly existed at the beginning of that century, because of the funerary inscription of Count Guifred Borrell (d.911) which was found there in the late 16th.century. This has led many to suggest that he was the founder of a Benedictine community there, since he was not buried at Ripoll, the Counts of Barcelona's pantheon. Nevertheless, tenth century references to a monastery

of St.Pau can always be related without difficulty to the monks of St.Pol de Mar in the Maresme⁷⁷.

If there was such a community in the period before 985, it certainly did not exist afterwards. However, there are enough references to the existence of a church to suggest that worship was unbroken there⁷⁸. Not only is it mentioned as a locational point, but there are also occasional donations to the church, such as that of Ramon Guifret in 1035 of 5 mancusos ad opera⁷⁹. However, for most of the 11th.century it remained isolated, perhaps even more so when traffic on the road from the city to the port declined in the years after 1000, and it probably well deserved its name of 'in the Fields'.

Mn. Pladevall has clarified the monastic foundation of the later 11th. century, and his conclusions are justifiable for the most part. This was accomplished by a certain Geribert Guitart and his wife Rotlendis; unfortunately little is known of this couple - they appear not to have been residents of the city, but may have been the originators of the Belloc lineage which emerged in the 12th.century and was to play an important rôle in the clan life of that century in Barcelona⁸⁰. A testamental donation of 1082 is of one ounce of gold to the abbot⁸¹: another of 1091 consists of a barrel of 'new' wine to be shared with the church of St.

Fructuosus in Tarragona for construction purposes (S.212), and a Papal Bull of 1098 confirms its possession in the hands of the monastery of St. Cugat del Vallès (S.238). In 1100 the Abbot, Dalmau, leased property near the Castell Nou for an annual rent of three solidos and an initial payment of twenty-two que dispensamus in ipsam ecclesie Sancte Pauli (S.240). In the following year further evidence for construction work is found in the form of an ad opera donation of one mancus. Moreover, the inscription over the portal, recording a donation of seven morabetins by a certain Renart and Raimunda, is likely to be of 12th. century date because of the currency used: it certainly cannot be earlier⁸². All the evidence thus points to the establishment of the community in c.1080, and its slow growth and ^{the} reconstruction of the church over the next three decades⁸³.

In 1117 it was placed under the protection of Rome⁸⁴, but ten years later it had fallen into decay again, and ^{was} returned to St. Cugat by Archbishop Oleguer and the 'prohoms' of Barcelona (S.305). This decline is generally attributed to the Almoravid raids, although there is no intrinsic proof of this, and documentary references of 1116, 1120 and 1125 to the church would tend to suggest that a community survived, although it was no doubt very small in size⁸⁵.

Its recovery was again slow: in 1160 the Prior sold the property near the Castell Nou for 160 morabetins in order to improve the church (S.413). At that date there were ~~4~~ monks and in 1216 only four⁸⁶. Occasional donations were received and some citizens chose to be buried there⁸⁷, but it was still a small and impoverished institution in the 13th. century, to which parts of the standing structure, particularly the cloister, must belong.

Sta. Eulalia del Camp (fig.97, no.13).

Like many of the other churches existing in early medieval Barcelona, this had its origins at an unknown date prior to 985. First recorded in 996, it is rarely mentioned before the middle of the 12th. century and could only have been a comparatively insignificant chapel at the roadside, at the point where the main road leading northwards left the suburbium and entered the territorium. Nothing is known either of its structure or its origins, although numerous hypotheses have been proposed because of the dedication to Sta. Eulalia, the most widespread that it was a monastic church founded by the 7th. century Quiricus, later Bishop of Barcelona: there is, however, absolutely no proof for this and it is noticeable that the early medieval church was clearly dedicated to the Mérida saint. Even its position is only rather insecurely known, although a few astutely placed trenches in the

modern Salon de Victor Pradera would probably locate some indication of its site.⁸⁸

In 1150 Bishop Guillem gave the brotherhood of the church the field in which it was located (S.377), a donation confirmed in 1155 to the community of Augustinian canons by then established (S.393). The foundation soon attracted donations and a rent-list of a decade later is of some length⁸⁹. In the 1160's and 1170's there were a number of ad opera donations, suggesting that conventual buildings were then being erected, and the King gave the community the Palace chapel of Sta.Maria in 1173⁹⁰. In the last decade of the century, a dispute arose between the Cathedral canons and the brethren of the community over burial rights (S.599), an agreement being reached in the following year (S.607) when Bishop Ramon defined an area in which the inhabitants of canonical allods could be received as parishioners of Sta.Eulalia del Camp. The community would thus appear to have flourished from its birth, being characteristic of the more popular forms of religion manifested in Barcelona and elsewhere in the later 12th.century, whereas the more traditional forms of religious life tended to stagnate.

Sta.Anna (fig.99, no.29).

This was the church of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre located in their terrains in the area

called Puteo de Moranta. The church itself is only once clearly recorded in the 12th.century, in an ad opera donation of 1184, although the Order had by then been established in the area for forty years. Some of the architectural features - the thick walls, the cruciform plan and narrow windows - suggest a similar date, although much of the surviving church is of 13th.century date⁹¹.

Finally, several hospitals with their associated chapels, found in the suburbs before 1200, must be considered:

Hospital of Bernat Marcus (fig.100 no.35),

The rôle of the family of Bernat Marcus in Barcelona will be examined in another section, but it is apparent that they were foremost among the citizens of the city in the second half of the 12th. century, and perhaps from as early as 1130. Although the hospital itself has disappeared, the chapel of late 12th.century date has survived, somewhat modified in the course of the centuries, but still exhibiting various late Romanesque features, particularly its fine blind arcading⁹². Although it is usually attributed to Bernat Marcus (II), who died c.1166, I have been unable to locate his will, which is frequently cited in secondary sources⁹³. However, various comments in his son's will of 1195 suggest that he regarded the hospital as

having been established through the wishes of his father, and so a date of construction c.1170 or slightly later seems acceptable⁹⁴. Nevertheless, the earliest unequivocal reference to both chapel and hospital is of 1190 (S.551), and it is apparent that they were constructed in a canonical allod, which fits the known information for this zone. The site itself is significant, sandwiched between the main road to the north and the Merdança at the first point where there would have been space for construction prior to the canalization of the latter.

Little is known of the life of the hospital, and one suspects that with the foundation of other charitable institutions in the city, particularly the Hospital d'En Colom and the House of the Hospitaliers, in the early 13th. century, and the end of the family in the direct male line, it soon went into decline⁹⁵

The Lepers' Hospital (fig.100, no.31).

This is generally attributed to Bishop Guillem of Torroja who died in 1171⁹⁶. The surviving chapel is slightly earlier, or perhaps simply more rustic, than that just discussed, and this date thus seems justifiable. It is recorded as a locational point in 1185, 1188 and 1192 (S.535, 545, 575) and received ad opera donations in 1173 and 1196: the names of domus infirmorum and domus leprosum are both recorded, thus making its function plain. Again the

position on the main road leading south, . far from the inhabited area, is significant, and this was, of course, a common characteristic of such institutions, so that the inmates could beg alms from travellers⁹⁷.

St.Nicolau de Bari (fig.100, no.39).

Carreras Candi considered that this chapel and the associated hospital for pilgrims existed in the 12th.century⁹⁸. Eiximenis tells us that St.Francis stayed there in 1212-4, but there are no earlier references to my knowledge: it was later transformed into the convent of the Franciscans in the city⁹⁹. Certainly it was suitably located for welcoming sea-borne pilgrims, for it was on the shore in the southern part of the city, but since there is no proof of its existence in the 12th.century, it seems best to discard it within this survey.

By the end of the 12th.century there were then a number of religious foundations in the suburban area: few of these, however, were of any great size or importance when compared with rural monasteries or the cathedral. It was only in the 13th.century when popular religious interest was directed towards the new mendicant orders that ecclesiastical foundations occupied substantial tracts of the suburban area. As in so many other parts of Europe the sites of these foundations at the fringes of the city help to determine the extent of settlement by that date (fig.95)¹⁰⁰.

The Comital Rech (figs.98-100, 104 and 119).

After the decay of the Roman aqueducts, the greater part of the domestic water supply must have been obtained from wells, which proliferate in the descriptions of individual properties. Occasional references to wheel driven pumps with animal traction (cenia) of a type still found in the Balearics were probably related to irrigation purposes rather than domestic supply¹⁰¹. There was, however, an artificial channel bringing water to the city - the Rech- principally employed to power the mills located on the east side of the city.

Following the argument of Carreras Candi, it has generally been accepted that this was the work of Count Mir (d.965). This hypothesis was chiefly based on the derivation of the place-name Regomir from Rech d'En Mir, plus the additional evidence of a rego de Mirone Comite in Cervelló in the lower Llobregat valley¹⁰². Several criticisms can be made of this proposal: firstly the Rech did not pass near the Regomir zone of the city - at the closest point they were five hundred metres apart. Secondly, the transformation of the supposed root to the form Regumir by the time of its first appearance in 975 seems inherently unlikely and rapid. If Mir was not the count who gave his name to the Rech, what then were the origins of this channel ?

The re-examination of the available sources concerning the Comital Rech will establish quite distinct conclusions. It is not cited until 1045 (C.71) and thereafter references are fairly frequent¹⁰³. Moreover, the first mention of mills in the city and in the area of El Clot along the Rech is of 1048 (S.109): before that date, all references to mills in the Barcelona area were located on the River Besòs¹⁰⁴. Nevertheless, in 1031 we find ipso regario que dicurrere solebat ad Barchinona civitatem(S.85). The use of the imperfect tense reminds one of the description of the Roman aqueduct arches made some years earlier (S.51) and suggests a silted channel, visible but disused. This could have been an irrigation channel, like that of 993 cited by Sanpere y Miquel as evidence for the existence of the Comital Rech at that date¹⁰⁵, but the fact that it had led to the city must surely indicate a more substantial work of engineering. It has been suggested that the Rech was for much of its course, apart from the last part leading through the city, a re-use of the Roman aqueduct system. Although there is no definite proof of this, the view has much to commend it¹⁰⁶.

Firstly, the general orientation of what appears to have been the more important of the two Roman aqueducts is well-known. This entered the medieval city at a point to the north of St.

Pere, because of references to Arcs Antics there. The most likely source for the water would have been the River Besòs, and the rarity of references to arches between there and the city suggests that it was, for most of its course, a contour aqueduct¹⁰⁷. The course of the Rech, apart from the small lengths still visible, is best known from a series of maps of 1836, during its last years of active use¹⁰⁸. These showing it drawing water from the Besòs at Montcada, soon after the tributary the Ripollet stream had added its waters to the river, and then running close to the river for some distance until reaching the plain, where it turned towards the city (fig.9 and 119). The similarity between the two is sufficiently great to make it possible that the Rech was none other than a re-dug or cleaned out Roman channel.

The evidence cited above indicates that it came into use c.1040: Dr.Bonnassie's suggestion that it was the result of work carried out under the auspices of Count Ramon Berenguer I thus appears convincing¹⁰⁹. Even though it is not described as the Rego Comitale for some time afterwards, the link with the comital house from its origins is apparent, because of the disputes concerning it maintained by the Count, and through the comital interests in the mills located along its course. Apart from those in the city, which will be described below, the main concentration was at El Clot, where the channel went through two successive right-angles and dropped several metres¹¹⁰.

Its course within the medieval suburban area can be traced without any great difficulty through the evidence of later 17th. century plans and modern street names. It must have departed from the course of Antiquity to the east of the city, near the church of Sta. Eulalia del Camp, and entered the urban area beneath the monastery of St. Pere, via the modern C/del Rech Comtal. It then turned sharply towards the sea via C/Acequia, where the modern topography indicates a drop of several metres, thus suggesting the site of a mill. Continuing via the C/dels Basses de St. Pere, it would have reached the modern Plaça de Sant Agustí Vell. Although the medieval topography of the final part of its course between this point and the sea was altered by the construction of the Ciutadella in the early 18th. century, the early plans show that it continued in the direction of the sea via Plaça de la Blanqueria, C/dels Ventres and the Plaça d'En Llull, to enter the sea near the convent of Sta. Clara¹¹¹.

As has been stated, the principal function of this length of the Rech was to power mills. The first of those near the city was the group collectively referred to as the Sea Mills - ipsos mulinos de littore maris (S.110). Apart from those in the territorium at El Clot, these are the only ones attested on the Rech prior to the later 11th. century. Another group called molendinos de Solario appears soon afterwards (S.234), and by the middle of the

12th.century a third group had been built by Count Ramon Berenguer IV somewhat further upstream - molinos novos super ipsas alios de Solario (S.368). A fourth name - ab ipsis molendinis Sanct Petri (S.442) - may refer to the latter, because of the tithes the monastery held from them, or, perhaps more probably to a completely separate group, located to the south of St.Pere itself.

The mills by the sea are only located with some difficulty, because of the constantly changing position of the shore-line. Sanpere y Miquel originally placed them in the Plaça de Sant Agustí Vell, through the evidence of the 1364 'Fogatge'¹¹². This evidence is by no means completely secure, the interpretation of these hearth-tax lists being fogged by innumerable problems of identification and the order of streets to follow. However, since Sanpere himself was to point out that the St.Pere mills were to be found in that square until the 19th.century, it would seem appropriate to associate these with the fourth group named above, and to look for the Sea Mills elsewhere¹¹³. The association with the C/de la Blanquefia in the 'Fogatge' is not fortuitous, and the square at the end of the C/dels Assahonadors was later known by the same name¹¹⁴. Moreover, in the 11th.century these mills were clearly close to the sea, which makes ~~a~~position in the Plaça de Sant Agustí Vell improbable, for it was some distance

from the shore - ipsos nostros moléndinos qui videntur esse juxta littore maris (S.194). In addition they were also adjacent to the Merdança or Torrent Profon (S.221) which from the 13th. century flowed into the Rech near the junction of the modern C/dels Assahonadors and C/del Rech, and previously had run parallel to the Rech slightly further to the west. This would suggest a location for these mills near that point, or slightly further downstream (fig. 98, no.23).

An important document of 1048 probably concerns these mills¹¹⁵: Count Ramon Berenguer I gave Mir Suniel half the mill rights or mulneria de ipsos molinos de Barchinona, while Adelaida of Montcada had rights over those at El Clot and on the Besòs beyond the limits of the territorium at Finestrelles (S.109). Mir had to hand over 35 kaficios of barley and another five of wheat annually. The first clear reference to the Sea Mills is of 1084 (S.194), when they were under Episcopal control, although they are mentioned as early as 1050 (S. 110). A dispute had arisen between the bishop and Donucius Mir, perhaps the son of the Mir of 1048. He restored the mills to the bishop with all the associated channels, in an exchange for an associated piece of land (S.211). Three years later, however, one of Donucius' sons, Guillem, was given the right to work the mills plus a permit to construct a third (S.221)¹¹⁶. A declaration concerning the

period before 1131 also records that the Cathedral had three mills there (S.313) and in 1148, Count Ramon Berenguer IV gave permission for a fourth one to be built (S.368). In 1165 the four were given to Berenguer Donuz with the condition of providing corn to the canons (S.438). It seems probable that he was related to the family that had held rights there since the 11th. century.

Of the other mills on the Rech near the city somewhat less is known. The Solar mills were in existence by c.1079¹¹⁷ and must have numbered at least three or four by the end of the century, for in 1097 Ramon Berenguer III pledged two of them plus two at El Clot to the monastery at St. Cugat for the sum of forty pounds of silver destined for the construction of the castle of Amposta (S.234)¹¹⁸. This was a common method for the counts to raise funds, other examples occurring in the siege of Tortosa in 1148 (S.369). The Solar mills seem to have been between St. Pere and Sta. Eulalia del Camp to judge from the references in documents concerning these zones (S.320, 334, 550: fig. 98 no. 25). They were probably worked directly by comital servants for there are no extant documents concerned with their operation. Between 1131 and 1148 Ramon Berenguer IV built new mills further upstream (S.368, fig. 99, no. 26) which have already been mentioned¹¹⁹, and there were probably at least five in this group, of which two were pledged to the Templars who already possessed

a third in 1164 (S.435). The growing need for mills presumably indicates an increasing number of mouths to feed in the city as the 12th. century progressed. These new mills were not worked directly, for a pledge of 1176 is of the third part of the middle mill in casali novi super molendini de Solario (S.500). The fourth set of mills, those of St.Pere, were probably just to the south of the monastery, along the modern C/de les Basses de St.Pere: since they are not recorded before 1166, they were probably built towards the middle of the 12th. century (S.442, 483, 616: fig. 99, no.24)

We know little of the actual form or dimensions of the Rech: it was crossed by bridges at points (S.492) and the free flow of water was a continual preoccupation of the count-kings, as seen in 1048 (S.109), in a dispute with the Montcada family in 1136 and in the Usatges¹²⁰. Nevertheless, grants were made to various institutions and individuals to draw water from the Rech for irrigation purposes. In 1139 Ramon Berenguer IV gave permission to the monks of Sant Cugat to draw water from either above or below the Solar mills, and to lead it along their own channels to their fields and 'horts' (S.334) and similarly to the canons above the New mills in 1148 (S.368). His son, Alfons I, gave St.Pere de les Puelles the right to take water from the same point, although he limited this to the amount that could

pass through half a millstone hole-et est sciendum
quod illa rigatoria aque erit tanta quanta potuerit
transire per unum dimidium oculum unius mole molendini

and in time of drought this was to be reduced to half this amount (S.531). The presence of these irrigated zones is still noticeable in the early plans of the city for they were abundant below the main road passing through the medieval Portal Nou¹²¹.

The increasing strain put on the Rech, both by the construction of new mills and the use of its waters for irrigation, led to the digging of a new channel, which probably ran parallel to the old one, at least for a small part of its course, because in 1138/9 land between the two is recorded (S.336). It is possible that the new channel took its supply from much lower down the river, perhaps near the modern C/Acequia Nueva, and near the Estadella and Altafulla mills¹²² (fig.119).

Nevertheless, it appears that either this extra channel, or the mills in the area of the city were insufficient. In 1188, Joan the Miller made an agreement with the Royal bailiff to bring water to the city, to judge from the reference to the Coll de Furcatis (near the modern Plaça de Espanya) from the River Llobregat, and^{to} construct twelve mills, and the channel was to be six cubits deep (S.546).

It seems uncertain whether the project was ever completed, but certainly not within the stipulated time of little more than a year. In 1190 the King made an agreement with Bernat the Smith to manufacture all the necessary mill-stones and metal-work for his mills in Barcelona, Cervelló and Rubí, in exchange for the sixth part of the fourth eastern mill on the Llobregat (S.563): however, rather than a reference to the mills on this new channel, this may have been in the group of mills later to give their name to the modern town of Molins del Rei. In 1198 Pere I gave the Hospitallers the unfinished channel from the Llobregat, with the condition that they should finish its course by leading it to the sea between the city and Montjuïc (S.617). Again it seems doubtful whether they were able to carry out their instructions, for there is no record of a channel in that part of the city. This is not to be wondered at for the Coll de Forcatis at the foot of Montjuïc, although not particularly high, stands some ten metres above the surrounding area, and the digging of a channel would have been a considerable feat for contemporary engineers: the Comital Rech was thus even more likely to have been the work of a thousand years beforehand. That a channel may have been dug from the Llobregat as far as Montjuïc is suggested by the course of the early 19th. century Canal de la Infanta Carlota, which flows along the Llobregat valley, and turns to flow round the south-west side of the mountain before entering the sea.

It does not seem improbable that this followed the earlier channel or its silted remains (figs.10 and 119).

The Rech and mills thus not only provided effective limits for the development of the city in the 12th.century, for as will be seen below, few if any houses were to be found on its east bank until the 13th. century, and principally only in the 14th., but also illustrate the growth of the city in the 11th. and 12th.centuries, with the steadily increasing number of mills in order to grind the grain that formed such a staple part of the contemporary diet.

The Baths (fig.100,no.32: fig.108).

Although from a North European point of view the presence of baths in a medieval town sounds rather exotic, they were a normal feature of Moslem towns, and the influence spread to neighbouring Christian zones, particularly through the interests of the Jewish communities. Examples were to be found in several Catalan towns, and parts of their structure survive at Palma de Mallorca and Girona¹²³. Those of Barcelona were unfortunately demolished in 1834, although ^{they} were recorded by early travellers and antiquarians, and several fragments have survived and been reconstructed in the Museo de Historia de la Ciudad¹²⁴.

During the early years of the 19th century three documents concerning the operation of the baths were found and these are now in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón¹²⁵. Although these are not originals, there is no reason to doubt their authenticity. The baths were located at the junction of C/de la Boqueria and C/dels Banys Nous, just outside the Castell Nou gate (fig.100,no.32). In 1160 Ramon Berenguer IV gave a certain Abraham a plot to build the baths on land that had belonged to Pere Ricart and his father Ricart Guillem: he was to have a third of the revenues in return for operating them; the rest passing to the comital coffers, and all future operations were to be of a similar ratio. This arrangement survived until nearly the end of the century, when in June 1199 Pere I gave Guillem Durfort his two parts. Guillem had already bought Abraham's portion from his widow and children for the sum of three thousand solidos.

These baths were described as the 'New Baths' at least from the middle of the 13th.century¹²⁶, and the street name has survived to the present day. Where then were the 'old Baths'; the Banys Vells? Although there is a street of this name in the Villanova 'del Mar', there are no surviving remains. Pujades claimed to have seen them in his lifetime (i.e. the later 16th.century), although whether they were really the same type of structure is uncertain

(fig.100,no.33)¹²⁷. There is no extant documentation, which is surprising, as the volume which contains the three documents cited above includes others on the baths of Barcelona and other cities. Moreover, the close connection with the Jewish community was much better served by the location of the Banyes Nous, which were just outside the walls next to the Jewish Call¹²⁸.

The Market (fig. 97, M).

If the hub of the Roman city had been the forum that of the early medieval city was undoubtedly the Market. It was located at the foot of the Castell Vell, around the gate and the main road leading northwards, and is first mentioned in 989 (S.16), but had presumably been in existence for some time. The reason for such a location lies not only in the well communicated position, but also possibly in the advantages of an extra-mural site, where there was more space, and possibly freedom from certain tolls collected at the gate.

References in the late 10th. and early 11th. centuries are not abundant although it is apparent that its location did not change. Structures within it were probably either seasonal, or could be easily erected and dismantled every day. In 992 a tenda is mentioned (S.21): in 1002^{comes} a reference to slaves

being sold at the city gate (S.37): in 1044 one to a legal decision being made subtus ipso Castro Vetulo ubi ipsi pirarii sedent¹²⁹. All these are indications of activity in the open air, rather than within permanently established structures. The market may have extended into the adjacent intra-mural area where bancos are cited in 1045 and 1093 (C.71,169). Activity there extended beyond the purely commercial, for it acted as a meeting-place, and as a site for other less acceptable activities: in 1057 we hear of Audeguer Gondemar qui fuit occisus ad ipsam portam (Barchino)na ante ipsum Castrum Vetere¹³⁰.

From the later 11th.century onwards it was clearly extra-mural in its entirety and had gained a degree of permanence to the point that the city gate was sometimes called the porta merchatalia¹³¹. It is difficult to envisage either the size or the form of the market: it may have been not so much a square, but more a series of linked features - squares, streets and alleys. The late depictions that survive probably do not give an accurate idea of its primitive form. Moreover, houses were to be found there, the first mentioned in 1076, casa intus in ipso foro (S.168), thus illustrating its increasing stability and permanence. Such houses became increasingly common during the 12th.century although a large number were of a quasi-industrial nature including workshops on the ground floor, with

living quarters above or behind (S.248,612). The vast majority of structures, however, were workshops alone, it being clear that they were erected in rows (S.382, 383,416,533,538,588). A Hebrew document of 1164/5 demonstrates that these usually included a vaulted portico in front, a characteristic feature of Catalan market-places to the present day¹³². Since similar structures were found immediately inside the defences at this point, there can be no doubt of the importance of this part of the city in its commercial life.

There are also several references to bread-ovens in the market area, the one at the foot of the Castell Vell being sold in 1155 to Bernat Marcus by Viscount Berenguer Reverter, together with the stalls (banchos) around it (S.392). Towards the end of the century there was perhaps another innovation with the appearance of tahulae alongside the operatoria (S.517,522). These may have been less permanent features, encroaching on previously open spaces. Moreover, there was also an increasing degree of specialization within the market, and divisions were made according to the products on sale. A macellum (meat-market ?) is found from 1186 (S.538) and alongside it the Draperia (Cloth-hall) (S.588). A financial document of 1186 records the macello Bocherie: it is unclear whether this is the structure just mentioned or the area of the C/de la Boqueria, otherwise not attested until the early 13th.century, but which then had the prin-

cipal concentration of butchers¹³³. These movements herald the changes of subsequent centuries when the market was divided into further specialist sections, such as the Plaça del Blat, and the Plaça de l'Oli¹³⁴.

However, for most of the 11th. and 12th. centuries the market was the sole point of sale for most products, especially agricultural ones - grain, flour, wine, fruit, oil and meat. The official measures were located there: in 1058 new measures of volume were instituted probably to replace the previous system whereby individuals used their own¹³⁵, and the official measures of length were also exhibited, for in 1102 a property was measured a legitime dextro porte urbis Barchinone¹³⁶.

Control over the market was exercised by both the civil and the ecclesiastical powers. The comital interest has been detected in the reign of Ramon Berenguer II¹³⁷, and his son issued new 'usatges' concerning de venditione de blad ad ipsam pilam, et de venditione bestiarum vivarum sive mortuarum, et de aliis usaticis novis quod ipse comes misit in ipso merchato¹³⁸. This control was originally carried out by the Vicars of Barcelona, although the post of Amocतालafia, instituted by 1144, supervised some of the retailing and manufacturing activities¹³⁹. The episcopal interest dates back to the 9th. century when the bishops were awarded a third of the tolls on goods

arriving by both land and sea¹⁴⁰: in 1114, their portion still constituted a third of the market revenues, although the vicars had tried to impede its collection, but were obliged to hand over the third of the wheat, barley and other things (S.270). By the end of the century the bishop had farmed out his interests for he gave the quartera of the market to Bernat of Arcs, it having been held by his uncle Bernat Marcus (III), who had just died, and before him by Bernat of Barcelona and Berenguer Ramon (S.604). This ecclesiastical interest may have been gradually eroded by the civil power, for in the case of the new macellum the King was acting independently.

Other structures connected with commercial life were but few at this date. One could include the Royal 'Alfondec' or merchants' residence for foreigners, where their activities could be closely controlled. This was located on the shore near Sta. Maria del Mar and in existence by 1209 and probably by 1200 (fig.100,38)¹⁴¹. The increasing range of contacts with other points of the Mediterranean world by that date make this probable, yet it was only in the following century that local seafaring activity was really to blossom.¹⁴² Nearby were the ship-building yards, the 'drassanes', which were presumably similar to those built in the 14th. century further to the west and which still stand (Fig. 100, no.34)¹⁴³. There was a long tradition of ship-building in this part of the city outside

the Regomir Gate¹⁴⁴. In addition this part of the shore line must have been used as the port, and had been so employed since the decline of the 'port' zone to the south of Montjuïc in the years around 1000¹⁴⁵. Although there are occasional uses of the word 'port' to describe this zone near the city¹⁴⁶, the vessels were only beached on the shore, there being no record of port installations until a much later date¹⁴⁷.

The origins of the suburbs,

Suburban development in early medieval Spain has been studied by Valdeavellano and in Catalonia by Font Rius¹⁴⁸. These works show that the origins of the burgi are to be found in the tenth century, as in other parts of the western Mediterranean, and particularly in the period after 950¹⁴⁹. Barcelona was no exception to this movement, although there are certain contrasts between the initial development of suburbs and their later growth. The following paragraphs endeavour to analyse where, when and how these suburbs emerged, in the belief that a topographical approach can shed further light on the reasons why this change in settlement patterns occurred.

The earliest reference to the burgo of Barcelona is in a lost document of the year 966, formerly in

the archive of the monastery of Ripoll and presumably lost during the destruction of 1835 (S.3). It recorded the donation of an 'hort' to the monastery by Count Mir . As in the case of the intra-mural area, the number of charters prior to 985 is minimal: indeed only two more are known. One is of 975, an exchange between the bishop and his archdeacon outside the Regomir Gate, although this is stated to be foris porte rather than in the burgo (S.4). The other is of 980 and concerns another 'hort' surrounded by similar properties in ipso burgo (S.5).

It is a consistent feature of these documents and the larger quantities which are found in the years after 985 up to 1000, that references to the suburbs were vague and unqualified. Unlike the later 11th. and 12th.century suburbs when the formula was usually in ipso burgo ad X or Y, it is often just a reference to the burgo or to an unspecified location outside the walls. Indeed many of the features which in the first half of the 11th.century were englobed in the burgo were apparently not considered to form part of it in these decades: thus the Arcos Anticos were in the suburbium in 985 and 987 (S.6 and 11), in the accesu to the city in 993 (S.23) and not until 995 in the burgo (S.29). The extent of the zone to be included in the suburb proper at this date, and it is to be emphasized that there was only one, was quite small, encompassing the market (S.16), the area

beneath the Comital Residence (S.18), part of the course of the Merdança (S.22) and the area leading towards the church of Sta.Maria del Mar (S.28). It is immediately apparent that this was clustered around the main gate of the city and closest to the focal points of the intra-mural area.

Although extra-mural churches like Sta.Maria del Mar, and its sister, del Pi were undoubtedly in existence by this date, they appear not to have been associated directly with the emergence of the suburbs, although in subsequent years both influenced their later development. The origins of these churches, though obscure, lie elsewhere than the spiritual needs of the inhabitants of the late 10th. century suburbs. This is confirmed by the absolute absence prior to the mid-12th.century of any ecclesiastical establishment in one of the most densely developed parts of the suburban area - the Arcs Antics.

If the material relating to this initial period is examined, one of the most striking points is the type of property being described. For the period before 985 there is not a single reference to a house in the suburban area, all the available details concerning 'horts' or fields. This, however, is not to say that there were no houses, for the qualification of burgo would otherwise have hardly been

merited. The picture instead is one of extensive open spaces around occasional dwellings scattered in this zone, and of predominantly rural type: of the 100 words used in the 25 documents of 985 to 1000, the word ortus or ortalis appears 39 times, terra 13, puteo 3, vines and 'freginal' twice apiece, whereas casa and curte occur only a dozen times each, and there are single references to domus and solarium. The remaining fifteen are taken up by the word casalis, which as will be demonstrated below, indicated a plot of land suitable for the construction of a house. As in the Regomir district of the intramural area there can be no doubt that the destruction of 6th July, 985 was responsible for this plethora of building space. In 996 there is a further note of terra ubi fuerunt ipsas casas (S.32): the rebuilding of the few houses which had existed in the suburb was clearly not a process undertaken with great speed. Although in the decades beyond 1000 the number of houses in the suburbs steadily increased, there is really no case for Dr. Bonnassie's statement that when the inhabitants of Barcelona returned from captivity in Córdoba, they built new houses in the suburban area, rather than in the ruins of the city proper¹⁵⁰. Moreover, since the suburban area was equally, and probably more, affected by the events of 985, it would be surprising if any great enthusiasm was displayed for unprotected suburban residences at a time when the fear of further attacks was well-founded.

What, then, had been the reason behind the initial move into the suburbium leading to the appearance of the first burgo in the years around the middle of the tenth century ? As the analysis of the contemporary intra-mural sources has demonstrated, it is impossible that there was so much pressure of space in the walled area that the inhabitants had to look elsewhere for room. In fact, parts of the walled city were even more rural in appearance than the earliest phases of the burgo. Even though the theory of the commercial origins for Barcelona's growth is nowadays out of favour, the general context of the mid-10th. century, a period of peace with neighbours to the south, and a broadening of contacts between Catalonia and points outside, must have played a part in this movement. In addition the lack of restraint of ancient structures would have provided better conditions in which to tend gardens and orchards, especially with the improved techniques which were making their existence known by this date, and the change to suburban settlement may have gradually followed this increased horticultural activity. The position of Barcelona's first burgo was determined by two sets of factors, internal and external. In the case of the latter, the area developed was close to the market and to the major approach road from the north: on the other hand, the vicinity of this burgo to the key points of the intra-mural area - the Castell

Vell, the Comital residence and the Cathedral with its associated institutions -should be underlined: the defences may have been less a barrier in the pattern of urban growth than might be at first imagined.

In spite of the set-back of 985, interest in the suburban area was not destroyed, as the evidence of the 25 documents from the period 985-1000, a slightly higher number than that surviving from the walled city for the same period, shows. There was no return to an introspective community clustered around the Cathedral in the shadow of the defences. The plots of land were actively worked, and vast fortunes were made¹⁵¹. Once there was a return to political stability, the reconstruction of the suburbs was commenced, and this time, in the first two decades of the 11th.century, there was no catastrophe to cut short the growth. The area of the original burgo continued to expand, and new centres attracted settlement, giving rise to new burgi. Even around the outlying church of St.Pere de les Puelles the settlement that served the small monastic community was called a burgo in 1010 (S.42)¹⁵². There was another around the Regomir gate by 1016 (S.47) and near the church of Sta.Maria del Pi by 1018 (S.58). These, however, continued to be peripheral and only caught up with the rest of the suburban area in the later 12th.century. The real areas of development

were those along the major approach routes - the street leading towards Sta. Maria del Mar (the approach by sea): the market area (the approach from the north, the Maresme and the western part of the Vallès) and the Arcs Antics burgo (the approach from the territorium and the eastern part of the Vallès) (fig. 97). By the year 1000 the concept of suburban settlement was thus firmly established anew: the later growth of these burgi and the rest of the suburbium must now be considered zone by zone.

CHAPTER XIII

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE SUBURBS II: THEIR DEVELOPMENT,
985 - 1200.The analysis of the material

Unlike the walled area which had a large number of fixed points which could be conveniently used for the division of the area, the extra-mural area is notably lacking in such points. Indeed, it is noticeable that within the documents a large proportion of locational descriptions are derived from linear features, thus making it intrinsically more difficult to relate them to a precise geographical area. The only structural and therefore exact points are primarily those referring to churches, but others mention the mills, substantial houses, and points on the defences. The remaining descriptions cover a wide range of derivations: natural features (hills, streams, and the sea-shore, although the last two could and did vary their position); street names (as in the intra-mural area, rare in this period); and artificial water courses (the Roman aqueducts and the Comital Rech). Moreover, far fewer of these place-names have continued in use until the present day, and this, inevitably, introduces a further degree of inaccuracy into this analysis.

To overcome these difficulties completely would be impossible, but there is no reason to doubt that the majority of the documents can be assigned with a fair degree of accuracy to one of thirteen zones, created on the grounds of place-name evidence, and bordered, as far as possible by major street lines and natural linear features (Fig.103).

1. The first of these areas is that usually known as ad ipsos archos or ad ipsos archos anticos in the sources. There is no doubt that, unless otherwise qualified, this referred to the area outside the north-western gate - the Bishop's Gate - which extended to the north and north-west. The name is clearly derived from the position of the suburb around the arches of the Roman aqueducts: indeed the medieval documentation seem to be the firmest indication that there were two rather than a single aqueduct. A number of these arches could still be seen in the 19th. century and were recorded by antiquarians and informed travellers, while a memory of the aqueduct leading to the north-west, towards the modern Tibidabo, the medieval Collçerola, can be found in the short C/dels Arcs, opposite the city gate¹. Other place-names which ought to be included in this zone are those referring to the Bishop's Gate itself, the house of Bonucius Vivas, and the bread-oven of the monastery of Ripoll, probably in the modern C/de Ripoll.

2. The second zone may be subdivided into two parts, both lying to the north-west of the previous one.

2a) lay in the area between the modern C/de Portaferrissa and the Plaça de Catalunya. In the earlier 11th.century this area does not seem to have had any distinctive place-names, apart from that of the Archos Anticos. In the later 11th. and 12th.centuries a number of names appear. The most important of these was Moranta or Moronta applied to a well and a field, and which was in the area of the church of Sta.Anna. This church, although founded by the middle of the 12th.century, was rarely referred to by name, and the expression 'the house of the Holy Sepulchre' was more usual. To the south lay a tract of Canonical property known as the Trilea Canonica, located to the south of the C/de la Canuda, itself first recorded in the early 13th.century². The zone was bounded by streams along the line of the Rambles to the west, with another to the east along the line of C/de la Porta de l'Angel, C/Cucurulla and C/del Pf.

2b) lay to the east of the above, on the other side of the latter stream bed. Similarly, it is almost indistinguishable from the Arcs Antics zone in the 11th.century, although in the following one references to the Palau Menor and later the Cort Comtal should be connected with the modern C/Comtal. Beyond these areas to the north were points known as the Cogoll and Puig d'Aguarn, both, however, located in the territorium.

3. Continuing to the east, this zone represents the part bounded by the Merdança stream to the west, various points in the territorium to the north, with the monastery of St.Pere towards the eastern limit, and an uncertain division, hypothetically on the line of C/Baixa de Sant Pere, to the south. The aqueduct which had brought water from the River Besòs crossed the zone and gave rise to some locational points, as did the monastery and the associated chapel of St.Sadurní. Another place-name -Clerà or Clerano - should also be placed within this zone.

4. This is the zone on the fringe of the suburbium somewhat to the south-east of St.Pere around the lost church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp. The Rech entered the city nearby, and the place-names Clavagario and Pariliata Episcopalis can also be located here, although they were usually considered as part of the territorium. It should be noted that the sea-shore ran close to the church in the 11th.century.

5. This zone corresponds to a large area bounded by the C/dels Mercaders to the west, the Merdança to the south, and merging with areas 6 and 3 to the east and north. The principal place-names were derived from the church of Sant Cugat, although others included Salvatore, the hospital and chapel of Bernat Marcus, and the Trilea of Ripoll. The name villanova was also applied for a short time in the 11th.century.

6. This covers the properties along the line of the Comital Rech to the east of the previous zone, and running between zones 3 and 4, as far as the modern Plaça de Sant Agustí Vell. Apart from the name of the water course, those of the mills of St.Pere and Solar should be added.

7. This includes the final length of the Rech, including the Molins del Mar and the length where the channel ran parallel to the Merdança or Torrent Profon, as it was occasionally known in this area. The subsequent history of the coast line will also be discussed in association with this zone.

8. To the west of this part of the Rech and the Merdança lay an area urbanized from the late 11th. century onwards and generally known as the villanova until the early 13th. century, although locations referring to Sta.Maria del Mar and the sea shore also occur.

9. This was the zone which formed the heart of the suburbs between zones 1 and 5, along the line of the Merdança and the street which later replaced it. Towards the southern limit were the Market, the east gate of the city and the Castell Vell, all of which gave locational points. Various other points on the walls were also mentioned, particularly the Comital Palace and the Cauda Ruêa, which gave rise to the street name C/de la Corribia.

10. This was to the south-east of the last and included those properties along the first part of the street leading towards St.Cugat del Rech, that going to Sta.Maria del Mar, and that following the defences to the south, all taking the Market as their starting point. The latter street was called C/Basea by 1123, a name which survived until the early 20th.century. The majority of properties around Sta.Maria del Mar are included in this zone, and the additional place-name of ad ipsa Palma is also recorded.

11. To the west of the C/Basea and stretching to the sea was the zone around the south gate of the city - the Regomir Gate. References to the southern part of the suburban area - ad partem meridianam - are considered alongside this.

12. Continuing Clockwise around the line of the defences, this zone occupied the substantial area between the Regomir district, the west side of the walls, approximately the line of C/Portaferriassa, with the Rambles to the west, usually referred to as the Arenio in this period. Apart from these points, the most important structure was Sta.Maria del Pf, although the Castell Nou is also cited. A further place-name was that of Codals, in the southern part of the zone near the shore, recorded by the street name C/Codols.

13. The final zone was that beyond the Rambles, which unlike ^{these} described up to now (with the partial exception of zone 4) was not included in the first circuit of medieval walls, and ^{was} only defended at a somewhat later date³. It always retained a more rural aspect, and as has been noted, the amount of documentation that can be located there is sparse. The relevant sources are defined by proximity to the church of St.Pau del Camp or the salt lagoons on the coast, the largest of which was known as Cagalell. There are a few appearances of the Lepers' Hospital, which stood at the junction of the modern C/Carmen and C/del Hospital. Other names were derived from these and other streets that crossed the zone, or a position at the foot of Montjuïc, but even so there are considerable voids in our knowledge.

Unlocatable documents

Of the six hundred or so references to suburban property, some fifty contain no clear indication of the part of the suburbs to which they refer. A few of these mention place-names stated to be in the suburban area, but which cannot be located, while others simply refer to a suburban location with no further information, apart from what can be deduced from personal names.

In the first category, some refer to property

plus a personal name (S.33,36): they generally belong to the early period when suburban settlement was very restricted. Others, such as loco vocitato septem manicas (S.46) occur but once⁴, or twice, as in the case of ad ipsa cenia (C.181, S.374)⁵. Other names are difficult to locate in either the suburbium or territorium, such as the case of Sagma⁶.

In the second category, three periods can be detected. About 40% of the unspecified locations refer to the period before 1050. This can be explained by the existence of a single burgo until c.1000, and the low intensity of activity in the suburbium which, as in the southern part of the walled area, made further definition unnecessary. Thereafter, until c.1170, there are very few unlocated properties, while over half the documentation belongs to this period: at a time when there were several distinct burgi it was customary to be more specific, and a large proportion of the undefined examples are from wills, which always contained less topographical information. In the last three decades of the 12th. century an increasing degree of vagueness can be detected, with over 30% of the undefined locations belonging to this period, and it is often difficult to decide whether ^{a property} ~~was~~ intra-mural or suburban. The various suburbs were joining up and the barrier of the walls was being forgotten so that the city increasingly had the appearance of a solid urban mass. These three periods thus reflect to a certain degree the course of development of the whole suburban area.

1. The 'Arcs Antics' Burgo⁷.

The most important of the second phase burgi to develop, after that of the original suburban growth outside the east or Castell Vell gate, was that outside the north-west or Bishop's Gate. As it was an area of organic growth rather than a planned development, it is difficult to provide it with exact boundaries, although the present-day street pattern of the district would suggest limits of the defences to the south, the line of the Merdança stream and C/de Ripoll to the east, and to the north and west C/de Copons, C/de Durán y Bas, C/Cucuralla and back to the defences near the gate. Much of the early medieval topography of this part of the city has been destroyed not only by 20th.century development in the form of the Via Layetana and Avinguda de la Catedral, but also by later medieval alterations, particularly in the case of the opening of the Plaça Nova in the mid-14th.century. However, the basic pattern of streets, aiming at, if not leading towards, the gate is evident. The two principal street lines are those preserving the orientation of the Roman aqueducts - the one along C/dels Arcs and Avinguda de la Porta de l'Angel, and the other via C/Capellans and C/de les Magdalenes, at the end of which the aqueduct crossed the Merdança and turned to the north-east and the area above St.Pere de les Puelles⁸. These, together with the streets at the

foot of the defences (C/de la Corribia and C/de la Palla) and the cross streets parallel to the latter and joining the radial streets, give an overall picture of an area developed by spontaneous growth, rather than conscious planning.

Apart from the defences, the arches were the only feature worthy of note in the early medieval period, and the greater part of the locational descriptions are derived from them. They were occasionally referred to as part of the property undergoing transaction, for example a 'freginal' included two arches (S.49-50): in 1035 a property contained arcos antiquitus constructum (S.90) and as late as 1192 a house incorporated arcos anticos (S.569). This is not to be wondered at considering that there are records of surviving arches in the mid-19th. century. However, it seems unlikely that the complete course of either of the aqueducts was intact in the 11th. century: the group of documents concerning the area where the water supply entered the Roman city makes no reference to them (S.228) and elsewhere, where the course of the streets running alongside them is broken, they had probably decayed to the point where they could not influence the topography of the growing city of the 11th. century. Nevertheless, a memory of their function was maintained long after they had fallen out of use (S.51).

The lack of other major structures which could provide fixed points for a more detailed topographical description means that the analysis of this zone is necessarily generalized, being more concerned with trends rather than precise positions. By the end of the 10th. century, the area had ceased to be part of the suburbium and had become a burgus in its own right⁹. After the year 1000 properties located ad ipsos arcus in the suburbium become increasingly rare, and more often than not seem to have been on the fringes of the zone, either towards the sites of the future church of Sta. Anna or the lesser Comital Palace, or occasionally at the foot of the defences, an area which was often so described until the 12th. century, presumably as a result of the consciousness of the distinction between city and suburb and the original isolation of the latter, and perhaps also through a desire to maintain the immediately extra-mural strip free of encumbering structures.

Unlike areas of the city which remained un-urbanized until the later 11th. and 12th. centuries, there are few establishments of property with the provision of house construction¹⁰: in fact the only two relate to the residual suburbium at the foot of the walls just mentioned (S.228,296). Consequently, the analysis of the growth of this suburb must be derived from the changing property descriptions in other forms of charters.

In the earliest reference to this burgus, the area was still recovering from the destruction of 985: in this document of 995 a casalis changed hands, and two of the neighbouring properties were in the same state (S.29). This was but a temporary situation, for in the first decade of the 11th. century, the land was being intensively used. There are no references to deserted land, and only a few to terra of unspecified function. A large proportion of the properties described until c.1080 might be considered as having been self-contained, including a dwelling house and yard, and an attached 'hort' with its well and surrounding walls .

In contrast to this rather rural appearance, at the same date there began to appear indications of truly urban features, especially in the form of more sophisticated houses. As early as 1008, a domus with solar and undercroft, and sewers in addition to the usual drainage features (S.41) appears: this is the first recorded instance of such provisions not only in the suburbs, but also in the whole city, where they did not become frequent until the second half of the century.

Other houses probably followed a more traditional plan having the constituent parts in separate structures: an example of 1017 shows three casae making up the domus (S.50). Another, recorded in 1059, had

sewers and also an internal portico, as well as the normal 'hort' and well (S.130): the owner of the latter example, Guitart Ananias, is known from his will of a few years later to have been an intimate of the Comital family, and to have indulged in various financial and manufacturing activities, to the extent that he is one of a class of early merchants or entrepreneurs from the city¹¹.

By the middle of the century, the numbers of 'horts' cited in the documentation were decreasing substantially, from about 40% of the propriétés mentioned prior to 1040, to about 20% in subsequent decades. Although the references to 'freginals' and other pieces of open land did not exhibit a comparable decline, they remained few in number. The grouping of the evidence of the first three-quarters of the century is such that it is possible to examine the progress of several pieces of property over various decades. This is largely the result of a group of parchments which passed into the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Three characters are pre-eminent: firstly Borrell, son of Mir and secondly the brothers Bonucius and Bonfill, sons of Vivas of Provençals, whose family and activities have been studied by Dr. Bonnassie¹². Unfortunately, as is almost invariably the case, the sources tell only of the rich and successful: of the humbler folk who occur but once or twice in these sources, little can be said.

Without it being possible to study the precise divisions of property in this zone, it is clear that in the earlier part of the century there existed a degree of contrast between properties of considerable size, such as the 'freginal' sold in 1017, and others of much smaller dimensions, like the four on its northern boundary. Bonhom, the vendor in this case, was one of the legal experts of the period and was attested as owning property in the area in previous years (S.41 and 48). The purchaser, Borrell Mir, bought the adjoining residence a few days later (S.50), although he may have held property in the zone as early as 1006 (S.40). After the two purchases of 1017, the property remained in Borrell's hands until his death in 1035, apart from a pledge in the previous year (S.89). After his death it was sold to Geribert Bonucius (S.90), who resold it a fortnight later to Vivas' sons for a profit of 2 mancuses (S.91). The descriptions of 1017 and 1035 are basically similar, although the latter does not mention the division of the house into three parts, suggesting that some changes had occurred in the intervening eighteen years.

Bonfill and Bonucius had already acquired property in this zone (S.79 and 87), which is stated to have been next to the Merdança, which thus gives a location for the greater part of these transactions in the eastern part of the zone away from the gate.

It is interesting to note that these two purchases were probably from two sisters who shared the rights over the house in question, and the price of the second sale was less than the first, thus illustrating the decrease in prices in that period. Their father, Vivas, had also bought property in this part of the city (S.30 and 35) which was alongside the 'freginal' of Borrell in 1017 (S.49).

An 'hort' next to the purchase of 1035 was sold in 1038 to a certain Giscafre (S.96) on whose death it was divided, part being sold to Bonfill and Bonucius (S.101). Interestingly enough, on the same day the executors sold his widow the other part (the house and yard as opposed to the 'hort') (S.100), and this has survived via another archival collection. In the same year the two brothers were involved in a dispute with Giscafre's son and the latter's wife, who was the daughter of Bonhom the Jurist, who had owned property in the area some thirty years beforehand, which illustrates the importance of links with neighbours in the forging of marriage alliances (S.102).

Three decades later Bonucius Vivas was still buying property here (S.158), although it would seem that he already owned a substantial part of the zone towards the Merdança. In 1074 a sale was recorded of houses paulo longius de mansione Bonucius Vivani, which indicates the significance of his

of his holdings in this district (S.162). Towards the end of his life, he sold all this to his niece, Ermengardis, who subsequently returned the property for his lifetime (S.176 and 178). Although he must have been at least seventy at the time of these transactions, he lived even longer for his will was composed in 1087 (S.205), in which he left these houses to the monastery of St.Salvador of Breda. The transformation that seems to have begun by 1035 had been continued, for there was now a stone built solar and no trace of the 'freginal': the Arcs Antics suburb had begun to lose its largely rural appearance.

Another small group of documents relates to the central years of the century and shows the mixture of houses and agricultural land that was still present. A property sold in 1054 for 12 mancusos (S.116) was resold less than five years later for 28 of the new mancusos, an increase in price of some 67% (S.128). The purchaser in 1059 obtained neighbouring property two years later (S.135) and another process of concentration of plots is visible. In general, however, these were not particularly large and there were none of the extensive ecclesiastical holdings found in adjoining parts of the city, even though the monasteries of Montserrat and Ripoll and the church of Sta, Maria del Mar all had possessions in this quarter of the city¹³.

The overall impression of the later 11th. and first half of the 12th.centuries is one of stability and little change, with expansion of the built-up area towards the fringes of the zone. This is particularly clear in the area nearest the defences, which in the mid-11th.century had been occupied by the substantial 'hort' of the monastery of Sant Llorenç del Munt (C.61-65). By 1095 at least one house had been erected in its confines and there was the prospect of more to follow (S.228). Moreover, the increasing density of occupation made improved access desirable. Thus in 1093, the Chapter acquired rights over a strip of land measuring 1 dexter east-west, a and 28 cubits north-south, that is approximately 2.8 by 10 metres, ut fiat ibi vel callis publicis velquod canonicis ipsis Sedis placuerit (S.217). Since this is described as having boundaries with the property of St.Llorenç just mentioned, and that of Ramon Dalmau, who owned the area to the west of the gate, this was undoubtedly designed to improve access to the gate in the area of the present day Plaça Nova.

The property of Ramon Dalmau was bequeathed to the monastery of Ripoll (S.277), which by that date had acquired further rights in this zone. This was a highly valued bread-oven, bought in 1094 and confirmed by Count Ramon Berenguer III in 1108 (S.222, 255). Later 12th.century references to this (C.502) and an entry in the 14th.century hearth-taxes lead

one to suppose that this was in the C/de Ripoll, originally of greater length than today¹⁴, and thus not particularly distant from the monastery's property near Bonucius Vivas' houses. The memory of the latter was still vivid in 1123 when an adjoining property in the possession of the Priory of Sta. Maria de Terrassa was given for re-building (S.296). As stated in his will Bonucius' property had passed to St. Salvador of Breda. The property to the south, still incorporating two of the aqueduct arches, passed to a certain Ramon Mir in 1115 (S.276), and was re-sold two years later (S.284), although nothing more is then heard until 1168 (S.461).

Other properties can also be traced over a long period of time. In 1054 Sendre & Liuol left his son Berenguer houses de ipsos arcos (S.115): he in turn left them to his wife Stephania in 1082 (S.188) who sold them to her daughter four years later (S.203). She later sold them to a certain Guillem Sendre &, who bequeathed them to the Canons, who later leased them out (S.278,372). In as far as the details provided are at all indicative, there seem not to have been any great changes in the houses in the course of nearly a century.

The second half of the 12th. century brought a phase of renewal, and the final change to a completely built up zone. For instance, a group of properties

probably located near the city gate which passed into the hands of the Augustinian canons of Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.381,516,598) and the altar of St.Esteve in the Cathedral (S.457,471,543) in the course of these years, do not contain a single reference to fields, gardens, or orchards. The adjoining property, in the domain of St.Llorenç at the foot of the walls, now contained several houses which were sub-divided in 1166: it is noticeable that one of the parties involved bore the surname de Archubus, and this family was of some standing at this date (S.448).

A similar density of urban housing can be seen in the purchases of Pere of Vic (S.420,461,523) and the concern with rights over walls and gutters in the final document suggests that, as in parts of the intramural area, the very proximity of the houses was creating problems. The same feature can be seen in a document of 1184 referring to properties in the allods of Bernat Marcus (III), which had been sub-divided and sub-let for annual rents (S.525).

Another group of documents referring to the western part of this zone (S.404,429,502,526,542,585) demonstrate that that sector was very similar: there is but one mention of an 'hort', evidence for wealthy landowners in the form of Arnau Adarró, who had loaned cash to Count Ramon Berenguer IV during the siege of Tortosa, and concern about dividing walls in an agree-

ment about the construction of one partly of stone and partly of 'tapia' in 1180 (S.515). Alongside the bourgeois interests, there were also a number of artisans, particularly a number of shoemakers and leather-workers in the eastern part.

The final document pertaining to the Arcs Antics suburb in the 12th. century also records an artisan, on this occasion a cooper, who received property under the vaults of the Episcopal Palace, next to the city gate, which was to be developed (S.614). Several points concerning this transaction are worthy of comment. Firstly, the proximity to the later C/dels Boters should be noted, suggesting that the trade distributions of the later medieval period were already becoming stabilized¹⁵. Secondly this property was the subject of a dispute between the Bishop of Barcelona and the monks of Ripoll, which remained unsettled until about 1210. The testimonials of the monks illustrate that the property was put to largely agricultural use, whereas the bishop was encouraging not only craftsmen who were the life-blood of the medieval city, but also the construction of buildings which would further mask the later Roman defences and thus the differentiation between city and suburb¹⁶. In this one property, we thus have in a nutshell the transformation of the Arcs Antics suburb in the course of these two centuries¹⁷.

2. The Sta. Anna and Cort Comtal zones

The area to the west of the modern Avinguda de la Porta de l'Angel must be examined first: the place-names of this district have remained unrecognized or have been mis-located, and this state of affairs warrants more space being devoted to their study. Firstly, that nearest the city - Trilea Canonica - first attested in 1091 (S.212) and in 1217 stated to be in C/de la Canuda must be placed to the south of that street, between it and C/Portaferri¹⁸. An attempt to relate it to a trilea recorded near Sta. Maria del Mar in 1023 should be discarded¹⁹, for several documents associate this piece of land with the place-name Moronta or Moranta, which is stated to have lain above the trilea in 1145 (S.351). Subsequent associations of this name with the church of the Holy Sepulchre - Sta. Anna - make it certain that this name was applied to the area between C/de la Canuda and C/de Sta. Anna. The suggestion of Carreras Candi, followed by subsequent writers, that it was to be found in the territorium near the Celata is thus to be abandoned²⁰. Dr. Udina and Millás believed that it was in the area of St. Pere de les Puelles, because of an association through the document they were studying with the monastery and a reference in it to the aqueduct arches²¹. However, at that time, it was not realized that there had been two aqueducts, and that an association with

that coming from the modern Tibidabo might be possible.

That arches were in existence here is probable, for even though there are no direct references to them in the property descriptions, on a number of occasions the Moranta place-name is located ad ipsos archos, as it is in the first recorded instance of the name in a document of 988²². Moreover, there are two geographical locations for this name: one places it to the west of the city (S.182) and the other to the north (S.209). Given the problems of determining north in relation to the axes of the city, a position between the two - north-west - fits the other evidence precisely.

A final place-name was occasionally associated with Moranta and those derived from the presence of the Holy Sepulchre, that of Cucullum, 'Cogoll' in modern Catalan, meaning a low hill²³. There appear to have been at least three points to which this name was applied in the Barcelona area, thus provoking a considerable degree of confusion. One was near the Celata, which probably gave rise to Carreras Candi's confusion of the position of the Moranta place-name²⁴. The second was near St.Pere, and may have confused Udina and Millàs, although this was generally called the Cucullum Anticum²⁵. The third was beyond the Moranta area, presumably in the ambit of the present-day Plaça de Catalunya. The

documentation referring to this final example can be separated by the additional presence of the Archos Anticos, and since it was usually located near the burgo, or 'outside the walls', whereas the other two examples were located in the territorium.

The greater part of the material related to this zone belongs to the period after 1080. In the last two decades of the 11th. century, it is occasionally located in the burgo, although the type of property to be found suggests that later descriptions of it as being foris burgo, iuxta burgo, or in the extremo were far more realistic. Although, as will be related below, the area was being built up from the middle of the 12th. century, not until its last quarter can it be truly said to form an intrinsic part of the suburbs.

The two extant documents prior to 1079 both refer to the Cogoll: the earlier is the sale of an 'hort' which was surrounded by similar properties except for the presence of one casa (S.45): the later (S.104) described casalicia and a buadella which changed hands again in 1081, 1093 and 1111 (S.183,219,262), by which time other houses had appeared in the neighbouring plots. The existence of houses at such an early date, and the terminology may well suggest a nucleus on a slight rise at the point where the suburbium and territorium met, and which was probably of considerable antiquity. It

is not found at a later date, and so either merged with subsequent developments or was completely abandoned. (fig.97,no.20)²⁵ bis.

The rest of the area before c.1140 was comparatively open, with occasional houses, particularly in the area towards the Cogoll (S.193,302), areas of small horticultural plots, like those of 1092 for which measurements are provided (S.213), and more extensive fields. The most important of these was that given to the patrimony of the Holy Sepulchre in 1146 (S.359), which had boundaries to the east with a stream, to the south, the road above the Trilea Canonica, to the west another stream and to the north Umbald's possessions.

This donation marks the real commencement of alterations to the zone: not only did the donor, a certain Pere Ramon, give the nascent community a house within the walls (C.242), but also the rents on all the houses in the Moranta field²⁶. Following this donation, there are some twenty documents before the end of the century referring to properties within its limits. Since the majority of these are known from summaries rather than the originals, details are often scanty, but it is clear that a substantial proportion were establishments of plots with the condition that houses and/or 'horts' were to be made²⁷.

Even before the 1146 donation, Pere Bernat of the Holy Sepulchre, with the consent of Pere Ramon, had given a certain Dominic a piece of land in the 'Camp de Moranta' (C.351): in the following year Pere Ramon provided Arnau the Weaver with another piece (S.352) and Joan the Weaver with one and a half parts, in order to build houses (S.356). This last document would suggest some mathematical division of the field into plots. A few days later we hear of the third part of a sala (S.358) and in 1159 of another third (S.405), and finally in 1174 one piece of land ad meliorandum et ad domus faciendum (S.490). Considering the development elsewhere in Catalonia at this time of planned urban districts, it would not be at all surprising to find here such an area of planning and regular division of a tract of land, previously unurbanised. This is supported not only by the evidence of the 19th. century catastral plans, but also of rents, for the 1 1/2 pieces of land paid 6 mancuses, whereas 1 piece paid 4 mancuses in 1181 (S.519).

Rents were payable on two distinct dates, St. Michael's Day and at Christmas. The former seem to have been those from the former 'Camp de Moranta' over the Trileta Canonica, and thus between C/de la Canuda and C/de S^ta. Anna (S.496, 519, 572). The latter were from properties around the Puteo de Moranta, perhaps located on the other side of the second street (S.470, 489, 490). As has already been seen, not all

the property in this area was in the hands of the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, for as late as 1139 there exist a pair of documents referring to other individuals in this zone (S.331,337) and, moreover, several of the other sources for the Puteo de Moranta sector mention the Marcus family as owning extensive land to the north.

Houses must have been erected in the zone soon after the original establishment: certainly such dwellings were changing hands by 1160 (S.414) and in 1171 there is a reference to the Villa Sepulchri in a document relating to the sector immediately to the south, that is the Trile Canonica (S.470)²⁸. In this the Bishop and Canons gave a certain Guillem Ramon de Puteo Moranta, who was probably already a resident of the zone to judge by his name, a piece of land with trees in the trile, which was being or had already been divided into holdings, ad meliorandum et hedificandum in exchange for an annual rent of three pigs or twelve solidos. It thus seems possible that the canons were endeavouring to develop their land in a similar fashion to the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, although the lack of further charters and indications of houses hints that the area remained relatively unurbanized until the following century.

About the same date there was a second phase of construction around the Puteo de Moranta itself. In

the 1140's and 1150's otherwise unused land was normally being built on: from c.1170 there is evidence that the 'horts' were being partially built over²⁹. In 1174 the Commander and brethren provided Guillem Pons and his wife with part of the 'hort' they had received from Arnau Vidal, in order to build house (S.488,490). This must have been a sizeable piece of land for two other pieces were given by Arnau to members of his family (S.489,465,466,481). Contemporaneously, the original holdings in the 'Camp de Morfanta' were being sub-divided, thus pointing to a further wave of construction (S.480,496).

To the south of the Trilea Canonica, that is between the existing C/de Portaferriassa and C/de la Palla was an area of Comital property. Part of this had been sold in 1101 (S.243) and another part exchanged before 1162 (S.427), by which time it had been broken into holdings which contained houses and 'horts', but some still remained in 1191 when it is clear that the original holdings had again been sub-divided and were being sub-let (S.556).

Unfortunately there is virtually no evidence for the type of houses which were built in these areas of planned and controlled growth, for the sources rarely provide more than a terse domus et orto. The evidence of personal names would indicate that the majority of the inhabitants had local roots, although there were a few immigrants, and were of fairly humble birth,

as the presence of several trade-derived surnames, particularly weavers, suggests.

On the other side of the stream running along the line of the Avinguda de la Porta de l'Angel we find that the situation was very similar to that just discovered. The place-names for this zone, and therefore the criteria for the allocation of material to it, are limited. In the 11th.century, it has not been possible to separate this zone from the outer parts of the Arcs Antics burgo. In the 12th.century, with the brief appearance of the lesser Comital Palace, and later, and more permanently the Cort Comtal place-name, we are on surer ground, for it is from these names that the modern C/Comtal street-name is derived. The additional association of this name with the arches and the Merdança makes the position certain (S.400). Like the zone just accounted for, then, a 12th.century development seems probable, and indeed the similarity of the street plans and property divisions of the two parts would also imply that their growth was contemporary.

In the first decades of the century, there were a number of residences of some standing here. In 1114 Maiasendis gave her husband mansiones with half a well which resulted from the splitting of a property between Pere Seniofret and her mother (S.269). These

were probably on the west side of the later C/de la Riera de Sant Joan, near similar houses mentioned in 1116 including a stone-built staircase (S.281). The lesser Comital Palace must have been another sizeable structure in existence nearby in this period. The only 11th.century document clearly related to this zone (as a result of its association with later Santes Creus documents) gives a similar impression (S.147)³⁰.

Nevertheless, in the first half of the 12th.century much of the area around these large dwellings was still comparatively open, particularly to the west (S.310,325,332). The area along the Merdança and the street following its course seems to have been the most heavily developed. The urbanization of the sector to the west was not as concerted as the Villa Sepulchri and probably occurred in a more piecemeal manner: there are only two establishments of property with the condition of house construction, both emanating from private individuals rather than institutions (S.290,452). The remaining sources indicate that for much of the century there was a mixture of houses with 'horts' and 'freginals' and even the occasional vineyard.

Within this pattern, however, it is possible to detect several major property owners. The first of these was the monastery of Santes Creus which bought

houses with a tower from a certain Burget in 1166 (S.445). These had been acquired from Robert Ugo and Sibila three years beforehand (S.432), and by the latter from her mother in 1158 (S.400). Other acquisitions by the monastery followed in 1167,ⁱⁿ 1168, from other members of the Queralt family, and in the same year from the King the houses with a tower vocitatus de Curte Comitale, which were probably none other than the palace mentioned in 1114-6, and finally in 1173 a 'freginal' from the Archbishop of Tarragona (S.446,453,456,459,482).

Another of the factors which would indicate properties of a larger size than those in the Sta. Anna zone is the greater number of references to the dividing walls between properties: walls which enclosed the yards, 'horts' and 'freginals' and on which gutters were frequently to be found. As within the walled area, these walls gave rise to disputes, and settlements were reached, not so that other structures could be built against them, but that they should be of a specific height, presumably for protection and privacy. One such document from the adjoining part of the Arcs Antics zone has already been noted, and another from the Cort Comtal area is dated 1172 (S.478).

The other major property owners in the area were the Queralt family and the church of Tarragona. As

early as 1158, the former received rents from houses in the zone (S.400,402) and to judge from the references to a villa de Queralt in 1191, this must have gained some considerable proportions, and was probably an area of controlled development like the Villa Sepulchri (S.571)³¹. However, the family appear to have entered into financial difficulties, for in the following year they pledged the whole of this property, omnem nostrum censum et senioraticum omni ipsarum domorum et ortorum sic melius habemus et habere debemus in burgo Barchinone ad ipsos Arcos Anticos, and the properties ceded in 1158 were added to this, which seemed to stretch from the aqueduct leading from the Besòs to the stream on the western limit of the area (S.569), and therefore probably corresponded to the three blocks now between the C/de Montesió and C/Comtal. At the end of the century, this had not been redeemed for it was still in the hands of the Espiell family (S.636).

To the south of these estates were perhaps those of the monasteries of St.Pol de Mar and St.Pau del Camp³². To the north lay that of the mitre of Tarragona: although the latter was mentioned in 1173 (S.482), it was not developed until the last decade of the century. In 1191 and 1192 there are three establishments of plots for construction purposes and other sources show that this process continued for some time into the 13th.century (S.568,570,571,577).

To the east of this area, and thus north of the properties of Santes Creus, were a number of holdings in private hands. These included those built by Joan of Ariga c.1120 (S.290) and disputed by him and Bernat Corretger in 1139 (S.332). These were sold in 1161 to Pere de Ulmo (S.455) and are mentioned again on several later occasions (S.478, 539, 544), while Pere of Ariga's widow also re-appears (S.463, 487). Another group of blocks, perhaps to the south of the Santes Creus estate, was held by the Marcus family and referred to as the Villa de Curte Comitale in the will of Bernat Marcus (III), although this had probably come into existence while his father of the same name was alive (S.421, 452)³³. Other bourgeois property owners include Vivas Alfach, Pere Adarró, Bonet of Manresa (S.404, 429, 430, 528, 534, 610). The references to several 'freginals' in earlier decades would also indicate inhabitants of substance, for only they could afford the horses that would graze in them.

The area beyond the estates of the Archbishop, to the north, remained consistently rural throughout the period. There are a number of references to property supra curtem Comitalem all in the territorium or near the Puig d'Aguarn, next to the road towards St.Cugat del Vallès. There are no references to houses in this area; the estates are always agricultural - fields, but above all, vineyards. Some

of these estates were of a considerable size, like one of 16 modiatas sold in 1120, although others were much smaller (S.289,297,306,365,419,426,584,603).

There would seem to have been little connection between the owners of this area and those of the houses down the slope just inside the suburban area.

3. The St.Pere de les Puelles zone.

Today this zone is largely occupied by the three streets of St.Pere, running more or less parallel between the monastic church and the line of the Merdança. They, together with the cross streets, and the rectangular and regular property divisions, clearly indicate that the zone in its current state was largely laid out at one point in time. This was certainly after 1200, and probably in the third quarter of the 13th.century³⁴, as a number of documents refer to new streets and a villanova them. The area to the north, beyond the houses in the C/Alta de Sant Pere, was still comprised of gardens and orchards in the 18th.century³⁵, at least as far as the line of the 13th,century defences, and in all probability most of the area was similarly used in the pre-13th, century period.

The available material is not very extensive, but can be divided into three sub-groups. The first

of these is connected with the place-name Clerano, which is found associated with the Merdança and the Arcs Antics, and may be derived from the personal name Claranus and indicate the position of an extramural villa of late Roman date³⁶. It must have been located on the upper part of the Merdança, but within the medieval walls, for it was described as a burgo. A position near the beginning of C/Alta de St. Pere seems likely, for it was near there that the aqueduct arches crossed the stream bed.

The first occurrence of Clerà is of 993 when it is located in the County of Barcelona, in suos barrios ad ipsos Arcos (S.24). This is a unique use of the word barrios in the context of Barcelona, although it occurs elsewhere in Catalonia, and^{it} probably meant a small nucleus separated from the town by some distance³⁷. Certainly this document records human habitation in the form of casae. Unfortunately there follows a lacuna of over a century before the name is next noted: in 1135 Archbishop Oleguer gave property to be improved there for the low rent of half a mancus per annum (S.324). In 1175 Gandolf Gras left his house there to the confraternity of Sta.Eulalia del Camp, who subsequently leased it to Martí of Arenys ad meliorandum et condirigendum, so the area may have been undergoing a transition similar to that experienced in the neighbouring Cort Comtal sector at the same time (S.495,497). The last

three documents are not at all improbable: that of 993, however, is quite surprising, for there was no particular reason for early suburban development to occur in this zone, and the fact that the name is of a type normally related to villa-sites may suggest that it is a case of a surviving settlement nucleus, rather like that of the Cogoll above the 'Camp de Moranta'. If this can be proved, it is of some significance for it indicates that the suburban area was not totally abandoned for the safety of the intra-mural area in the late Roman period, and that suburban settlement not only continued, particularly towards the fringes of the suburban area, until the Visigothic period, but right through until the urban revival of the tenth century. The scarcity of the place-name might suggest that this reduced nucleus remained isolated from the growth of the 11th. and 12th. centuries, until it was swallowed up by the later development of the zone (fig.97, no.21).

Other 12th. century references to the carrera or platea called de Sancto Petro, which should also be placed in this area rather than nearer the church, might indicate that this development of the zone started towards the middle of the 12th. century. The street is first recorded in 1144, when it is stated to be near the arches and the Merdança (S.348) and other related documents follow during the next three decades (S.394, 458, 468). The majority of pro-

perties recorded were houses, and so the area should be considered in relation to the ribbon development along the line of the Merdança, rather than in connection with any other feature. In this respect it can be compared with the adjoining areas of the Cort Comtal sector where the area between the aqueduct and the Merdança was being developed from the middle of the century. The presence of a number of doctors in this small area is noticeable, as is the allod of St.Pere recorded in 1170³⁸.

The large area between these houses along the Merdança and the monastery of St.Pere can only be studied somewhat hypothetically: the fact that it was urbanized at one point in time suggests a single or at the most very few landowners, for otherwise it is difficult to envisage how an agreement could have been reached. Two documents of 1025 point to the extensive holdings of St.Pere and St.Benet de Bages there, although the proof remains lacking (S.73,75).

Fortunately, we have better information for the area immediately around St.Pere itself: in 945 when the monastic church was consecrated, it was described as being fores menia civitatis Barchinone contra atrium Saturnini Domini testis (S.1). Obviously the extra-mural position was significant: there had been

no suburban development around the chapel of Sant Sadurní, and the new community was located at a comparatively isolated spot, near the division of the suburbium and the territorium. However, the monastery must have attracted settlement, possibly even before 985, although it is not until 1010 that proof of it exists, when a house in the burgo next to the cemetery of St.Pere was sold (S.42). This burgo was not particularly prosperous, for it is rarely mentioned (S.112,122,123,616) and presumably did not grow because of its situation slightly away from the main communication routes. Its only function could be to serve the monastic community which acted as its focus^{38 bis}.

Consequently, the density of structures was low, and the number of 'horts' high. The higher level above the sea made the question of irrigation more important, and for that reason the sale of a well in 1057 (S.122-3) can be explained. At a later date these necessities would have been covered by the Rech which entered the city nearby, and the monastery seems to have drawn its own water supply from it (S.531,626). The monastery also had mills on the course of the Rech (S.616), and a bread oven, mentioned in 1163 (S.430). Only in the last years of the 12th.century does there appear to have been any move towards the improvement of properties (S.626).

The area beyond this small nucleus of houses soon flowed into uninterrupted agricultural land. Documents referring to the territorium nearby (S.9), super domum Sancti Petri Cenobii (S.437) or in locum dictum plano super cenobium Sancti Petri Puellarum (S.440) only contain references to fields and vines. The nearby hill called the Cucullum Anticum was covered by similar properties, as were the points called Puig de Mayer and Marunyà which are occasionally related to the Cogoll Antic³⁹. There is, however, no evidence for naming the rise on which the monastery stood as the Cogoll Antic, as was implied by Carreras Candi⁴⁰. However, it ^{is} just possible that there had originally been a settlement on this hill for there is some slight indication of human occupation in this zone. This must then be placed in the same category as the Cogoll and Clerà settlements surviving from another age into the early Middle Ages⁴¹.

4. The Sta. Eulalia del Camp zone.

The fourth of the districts into which the suburban area has been divided continues the study of the outer fringes towards the north-east. The site of the church of Sta. Eulalia del Camp, attested in 996, formed the focal point, and a reference to it has been the factor on which material for the zone has been grouped.

Although the church no longer exists, it was located outside the 13th. century Portal Nou, below the modern Arc de Triomf. It was almost invariably described as being in the territorium, although the division between this and the suburbium must have passed nearby. A document of 1031 records it as Sancte Eulalie cujus basilica sita est ante portam civitatis Barchinone (S.84). Such a reference to the city gate so far from the then existing ones is odd: would it not seem more probable that this porta was not so much a structure, but some form of dividing line, a bar, on the main road going northwards at the point where it left the suburbium ? The location of the church would thus take on an extra significance, for it would mark the passing of this boundary, which in itself must have been of considerable antiquity⁴².

Neither the church nor the area around it was intensively employed until the second half of the 12th. century. Only with the foundation of a Brotherhood and later a Priory of Augustinian canons in 1150-5 (S.377,393) did development of the area begin. Apart from gaining parochial rights over parts of the coastal area towards the River Besòs and certain burial rights, the new community also received land.

One of the reasons for the late growth of the area was its unhealthy state: in the early medieval

period the shore-line of the Mediterranean was considerably further inland than today. As to the west of the city, the coast was marshy and partially occupied by salt-lakes which impeded both agriculture and construction. In 1083, a piece of land is described as being in suburbio Barchinonensi iuxta littore maris subtus ecclesie Sancte Eulalie (S.190): nearly a century later the same piece was iuxta littore maris (S.521) so it appears improbable that there had been any extensive marine regression in that period. Certainly the scope of the documentation points to the impopularity of the zone: the number of transactions taking place was small, and the majority were donations or bequests, suggesting that property was not easily sold.

The bulk of the area was open ground: the descriptions tell only of land and fields with an occasional vine up to the 1170's (S.115,258-9,304,314,366,377,418,423). The only earlier references to houses occur in two documents which relate to the westernmost part of the zone, between Sta.Eulalia and St.Pere, which received the name of Enferinels or Infirmellos (S.334,346)⁴³. The former of these two documents also mentions the Trilea Judaica, as does another of 1148 (S.367). The first is a permit from the Count to the monastery of St.Cugat to draw water from the R^ech to irrigate the monastery's field and the document of 1143 (S.346) also mentions

the Rech, which thus passed to the north of Sta.Eulalia. It must have been at this point that it deviated from the alignment of the Roman aqueduct channel: whereas the Roman course had continued with the aid of arches, the medieval one here turned to the sea, perhaps near the point known as ipsa clavaguera (S.179,295) to one side of the main road, and made use of the change in level to power the first of the urban mills on its course, the Solar mills and the new ones built above them, located to the west of Sta.Eulalia (S.550).

The name of the church obviously recalls its original position in the midst of fields. In the last few decades of the 12th.century, there are, however, a number of establishments of property for the construction of houses and 'horts'. The earliest of these is of 1166 (S.447) and a rent-list of the same year from the community of Sta.Eulalia del Camp mentions a number of tenants who were under the obligation to construct houses, and who held property around the church. Other donations follow in the 1170's and 1180's (S.469,480,550,554) one of the conditions of the last being that the houses were not to be built facing the priory. Another similar establishment is found in 1178, in the episcopal pariliata which stretched as far as La Celata (S.506).

The origins of this property of the Mitre may

go back to the 9th.century or beyond, for it has been suggested that it was the property near a church of Sta.Eulalia usurped from the bishop in the 870's⁴⁴. Be that as it may, it is not otherwise recorded until the 11th.century when Bishop Umbert gave the Cathedral Hospital land between Sta.Eulália and the sea (S.190). Another cession was made to the Brotherhood of Sta.Eulalia in 1150 (S.377), but the episcopal property remained extensive. Irrigation rights were received from the King in 1170 (S.464) and by 1178 it had been sub-divided for the rents were used as security on a loan from the Templars (S.503), and as we have seen, houses were being built (S.506).

Thus after a long period of stagnation, by the last quarter of the 12th.century efforts were being made to develop the zone and alter the purely agricultural image that had existed up to then: this seems to have been successful, for by the end of the century it was considered to be part of the burgo (S.632). Unfortunately, nothing is known of the plan of the urbanization of this sector: it does not appear on even the earliest plans and views of the city, and it might be suspected that it rapidly went into decline when it was left outside the 13th. century defences.

5. The Sant Cugat del Rech zone.

This area is approximately rectangular in plan with the main road northwards - the modern C/Carders - crossing its south-eastern corner. The street plan can be divided into three sections on the basis of basic orientations:

- a) a triangle in the south-east corner beyond C/Carders.
- b) an area of long rectangular blocks with few east-west streets to the north and east.
- c) along the north side of C/Carders and to the east of C/dels Mercaders a series of smaller rectangular blocks.

There is every reason to believe that these divisions existed by the 14th. century, although the date of their establishment must be left for consideration below.

The material related to the area in this period is usually identified by a location associated with the church of St. Cugat del Camí or del Rech. Although there is a possible earlier document referring to an 'hort' on the camino de Sancti Cucuphat⁴⁵, it is not until the middle of the century that there is any intelligible group of material. In the years 1058-9 there are three references to a Villanova in the area between this church and St. Pere de les Puelles. Although Balari separated these into two distinct 'new towns', the evidence is far more coherent if they

are considered together, with the addition of two other documents which, although making no reference to the villanova, can be related on other grounds⁴⁶. As will be seen below, this is not the first or the last occasions on which the term villanova is used in Barcelona, for at least five other districts are so described at varying points in time. The previous occasion was a villanova in the area of Montjuïc, recorded but once in 938, and somewhat enigmatic: all the other later 11th. and 12th. century references are to the zone immediately to the south, which is discussed as zone 8 below⁴⁷.

To consider these documents in more detail: the first is a donation by the rebellious noble Mir Geribert of Olérdola to the canons of Barcelona of a piece of land above the church of St.Cugat, and to the south of the road which goes to and from the city, i.e. C/Carders. This would indicate a position in the south-east triangle of the zone (S.124). In May 1058 Bernat Guislibert Marcus sold Bernat Ramon property in the villanova near St.Pere (S.125) and, a month later, the canons received land next to that of Bernat Ramon, beneath St.Pere and next to St.Cugat (S.126). The latter individual exchanged a piece of land with the bishop and canons in 1059 (S.131) which measured approximately 17 x 28 x 24 x 25 metres. The final appearance of this villanova

occurs three days later when the abess of St.Pere exchanged with the Canons another piece of land which was measured as a trapezoid approximately 66 x 61 x 68 x 17 metres, a plot which almost exactly fits the block now bounded by Plaça d'En Marcus, C/Carders, C/Neu de St.Cucufate, and C/dels Assahonadors (S.132). Given that the bishop collected rents in this area until at least the 19th.century, and that the four of these operations near St.Cugat concerned the bishop and canons, it seems that the church was making an effort to consolidate the property of this district in its hands⁴⁸.

One of the striking points in this group of documents in comparison with the modern plan of this part of the city is the scarcity of streets: only the main road to the city gate is mentioned. The existing divisions must therefore belong to a later date. Moreover, houses in this sector were very sparsely distributed, most of the area being taken up by open land and 'horts'. Furthermore, the small number of property owners mentioned, with a particular concentration in the hands of the Cathedral, the monasteries of St.Pere, St.Cugat del Vallès and St.Benet de Bages, and wealthy individuals such as the Marcus family and Bernat Ramon, would indicate that estates on the whole were of considerable dimensions, as the figures for the last piece suggested.

Before considering the significance of this 'new town', it is necessary to examine the later history of the zone. Prior to the later 12th. century some twenty documents refer to it: although small in number, the wide range of sources they come from is important, providing a more balanced view than a similar sized group from a single archive. The earliest documents indicate the fate of some of the properties described in 1057-59. In 1072, Bishop Umberto gave Donucius Mir a quarter of a 'freginal' near St. Cugat and between the road to the city and the Merdança (S.156). This was given in the following year to a certain Adalgardis, without specifying more details (S.159), although another donation by Umberto in 1077 in the same area states that there was an obligation to build houses and 'horts' and enclose them (S.170) and a similar establishment was made in 1090 (S.210). Thus it would appear that the original idea of a 'new town' was slowly being realized towards the end of the century, but even then the bulk of the area was still rural in appearance.

The main development was of ribbon type along the road running from the city gate through the zone. In 1094 Abraham Cavaller, a Jew, leased houses to the north of the road leading to the market (S.223), but beyond these was open land, while in 1112, a brassada of land in a similar position was sold, probably to give better access to houses set back from the street

(S.264). The area may have suffered setbacks, for in 1116 we hear of houses belonging to the monastery of St.Cugat del Vallès which had been destroyed by fire (S.283) perhaps, as Carreras Candi suggested, as a result of the Almoravid incursions of that decade, although far more mundane reasons are equally possible⁴⁹. Nevertheless, these and other houses were rebuilt, for a slowly increasing number of residences is found (S.314,382).

Beyond this main road, particularly in the part between St.Pere and St.Cugat, gardens and orchards were still predominant in the middle of the 12th. century (S.375,408,434,443). Although the properties of the south-eastern corner, by now in the possession of the Dean, were perhaps fairly urbanized by that date (S.467)⁵⁰, it is not until 1172 that evidence exists for the urbanization of the area above St. Cugat (S.476). In that year the abbess of St.Pere gave a piece of land for building to two married couples: since this document pays particular attention to a north-south street, it is possible that this was an innovation within the bounds of the substantial monastic holdings, although others dividing these estates may have existed previously - et vadat callis iuxta parietes Guillelmi de Ripollito ab ipsa strata publica recta linea usque ad alium callem qui est inter alodio Canonice et Sancti Benedicti per eandem callis amplitudinem. In 1174,

the abbot of St. Benet was engaged in a similar venture (S.493) and in the last decade of the century, the wealthy citizen, Bernat Marcus (III), whose family had built a chapel and hospital in the zone, also leased property with similar clauses (S.551,555), perhaps referring to the area of small blocks immediately opposite the chapel⁵¹. Even so, the area was not fully urbanized until a later date and retained a garden-city like appearance until after 1200⁵².

Given this state of affairs, why was the term Villanova applied at all ? It is important to establish the political context of the years of 1057-59. Count Ramon Berenguer I was at the end of his struggle with the recalcitrant nobility led by Mir Geribert. This strife may have had some braking effect on the economic development not only of the city, but also of the region as a whole⁵³. In the years that followed pent-up energy was released and there were rapid changes, for example in Barcelona the improvements in structural techniques which are discussed in the following chapter. In the year 1058, not only is the villanova mentioned, but also new grain measures were instituted in the market, probably under Comital direction, and the new Cathedral was consecrated⁵⁴. This may well be little more than coincidence, but may also have been an indication of the growing interest of the civil and ecclesiastical powers in stimulating growth and establishing a new state of affairs.

The ecclesiastical interest in the villanova of 1058 has already been noted, and it might be suspected that the motive force behind this programme of property acquisitions was none other than the Bishop, Guislibert, who had established the church of St.Cugat del Rech back in 1023. Not only was it a programme to rationalize the pattern of land-ownership, but also to stimulate the growth of the zone, partially through Guislibert's personal interest, and possibly also to improve the economic position of the vicecomital family to which he belonged. Although this may have led to the establishment of some of the present-day sub-divisions of the zone, most of these must have been of later date, and the attempt to found a 'new-town' does not appear to have met with much success. The urbanization of the zone did not begin until fifteen years later, on the eve of the foundation of the next villanova, and for several generations occupation was limited to the properties lining the main communication route. Certainly the name villanova had no lasting attachment to the area. Two reasons for this failure may be put forward. Firstly, the diversity of individuals and institutions holding allods was too great: and secondly, the legal framework in which property could be let for an annual payment, plus an initial fee, had not yet been implemented, and thus it was difficult to encourage settlement without prejudicing allodial rights⁵⁵.

Zones 6 and 7: The Rech, the Mills and the coast.

This sector completes the discussion of the eastern limit of the suburbium and may be defined as all the area along and to the east of the Rech from the point where it entered the city, until it emptied into the sea, the area up to the modern Plaça de Sant Agustí Vell being defined as zone 6, and that beyond as 7. The course of the Rech in its later medieval form is clear from plans of the 17th. century and has been discussed above⁵⁶, although in the early medieval period, the eastward turn around the monastery of Sta. Clara did not exist, and it must have entered the sea originally near the end of C/dels Assahonadors, later in the region of the Born.

A number of documents refer to properties grouped around the 'Molins de Mar' in zone 7. The sons of Vivas of Provençals had an allod nearby in 1050 (S.110) and Bonucius acquired a further piece in 1084 (S.194). The mills themselves had an associated orchard with a residence (S.221, 242, 280, 438). Beyond the Rech and along the seashore, fields and 'horts' were predominant throughout the 12th. century.

It has already been noted that the fields below Sta. Eulalia del Camp stretched as far as the sea, or at least to the limit of cultivatable land. Beyond

this there was a somewhat marshy area: the first unequivocal reference to this sector is in 1085 when the Bishop and canons gave a piece of land to be converted into 'horts' and which had the ~~Rech~~ Rech running along its western side (S.198). To the south, on the other hand, was a stagno or salt-lake, and lacunia are also mentioned in 1165 near the Sea Mill (S.438). One may perhaps see in such transactions a need to establish further horticultural land, since the pre-existing areas in the intra-mural area and the inner suburbs were being increasingly used for housing. Other references to 'horts' on the seashore follow in the 12th. century (S.322,467,513,592,618). The last two were divided into chintanas or small allotments. It thus seems that the area beyond the Rech, originally marshy, was being reclaimed in this period, a process which must have been continued and even amplified, for by the end of the 13th. century large ecclesiastical foundations had been made there, together with a further villanova⁵⁷.

Higher up the course of the Rech, on the side nearer the city, there were a number of houses in existence by the middle of the 11th. century. The best recorded of these are those belonging to a certain Tudiscle and his son (S.112,146,151). His grandson, Guillem Baró, was forced to pledge his property in this area on two occasions (S.227,233).

The houses are then described as being in locum vocitatum Tria Castela iuxta de cursus aquarum que pergit contra prefatam civitatem, which may refer to the mills. In the following year he finally sold the houses to his loan-maker (S.235), who in 1112 acquired a strip of land to improve the entrance, and which has already been mentioned in connection with the Sant Cugat zone (S.264). Clearly the houses here can only be considered as part of the same ribbon development that was taking place along the main road nearer the church. Later documents indicate that the situation changed very little, with a number of houses to the west of the Rech (S.442,541,576), whereas to its east, open land continued to predominate (S.303,492) around the other mills and as far as Sta.Eulalia del Camp.

What of the future changes in the position of the shore line ? Although Carreras Candi drew a map indicating the approximate evolution, it would seem that certain revisions could be made on documentary grounds.⁵⁸ Firstly the 'Molins de Mar' which in the 11th.century were close to the shore, were some way inland to judge from the change in phrases used to describe them (S.618). The church of Sta. Maria del Mar, whatever its precise site, was also on the shore in the later 10th. and 11th.centuries, and the coast continued fairly close to the Regomir

castellum, for ships were built below the defences there. Further east of this sector, the coast was not far from Sta.Eulàlia del Camp, so from the mills it must have run towards the north-north-east. To the west the course is less certain, and much of the area must have been marshy, if not under water. However, alluvial deposits from the two streams-Rambles and Merdança - and also the Rech, led to marine regression, particularly from the later 11th. century onwards. It is possible that this natural process was aided by attempts at reclaiming marginal marshy land, particularly in the area to the east of the Rech and south of Sta.Eulalia where the situation changed most drastically in the 12th. and 13th.centuries.

By the end of the 12th.century a considerable length of unbuilt shore had emerged to the south of Sta.Maria del Mar, which led to the planning and construction of the quarter called La Ribera in the second decade of the 13th.century. To the east, the advance may have been less drastic, and a residual bay at the end of the natural course of the Merdança may have existed in the area of the modern Post Office, for it was only at a comparatively late date - in the 15th. century - that the area to the south-west of La Ribera was built up⁵⁹. To the east of the Rech, the process was also slightly

slower, although the gains were more impressive, for by the time of the foundation of Sta.Clara in the later 13th.century the effective limit of the medieval shore line had been reached and the intermediate areas were urbanized, and defences erected.

8. The Villanova 'del Mar'. (Fig.109-110).

The third of Balari's villaenovae is the best documented⁶⁰, for between 1085 and 1200 some nineteen documents refer to a villanova; four of these also state that it was near the church of Sta.Maria del Mar, and another two place it near the sea-shore. For this reason it has here been called the Villanova 'del Mar', though the specific relation of this phrase to the zone here discussed, rather than the vague usage employed up to the present, should be noted. The complete absence of documentation referring to either Sant Cugat or Sant Pere would confirm the distinction made between this one and the villanova of 1058. The northern limit of this villanova would appear to adjoin the previous one along the line of the Merdança stream: a document of 1168 referring to an 'hort' in the villanova describes the northern and eastern boundaries of the property as being this stream and the road leading to the mills and the sea (S.460). The shore line up to Sta.Maria del Mar formed a continuous, though constantly shifting,

southern boundary, while the western one would appear to have been somewhat to the west of the modern C/dels Banys Vells, although to the east of the C/de l'Argenteria, which, as will be seen in zone 10, was already intensively developed by the 1080's and never referred to as part of the villanova.

Within these boundaries, if the plan of the area is recreated to the state it was in prior to the creation of the C/de la Princesa in the mid-19th. century, and prior to the demolitions in the southeastern corner, brought about by the construction of La Ciutadella in the early 18th. century, the presence of four parallel streets with a north-south orientation is immediately apparent⁶¹. Moreover, the distance between them is approximately equal⁶², and apart from these four streets, there may have been a fifth, today represented by C/de la Seca and part of C/del Cremat Xich, and intermediate property boundaries.

The evidence would thus suggest a deliberate division of the area of the villanova. Regular east-west divisions are also apparent, though not so clearly, being partially represented by streets, partially by property boundaries, and partially now obliterated. These number seven, from north to south: -

1. The C/Esgrima, lost during the construction of C/de la Princesa.
2. C/de la Barra de Ferro, C/del Cremat Gran, C/

Corretger, the link between the last two now being largely occupied by the property known as C/Flassaders, 13.

3. C/del Mesón de Sant Antoni, C/del Cremat Xich and a possibly now lost continuation to the east.
4. C/de Sabatenet and continuations represented by property boundaries to the east and west.
5. C/de la Cirera and property boundaries.
6. Arc de Sant Vicenç and property boundaries.
7. C/de St.Antoni dels Sombrerers, which probably joined C/de las Moscas halfway along its length, rather than running parallel to it, the orientation of the latter being determined by that of the shore. It is also possible that the villanova continued into the area of the Gothic church of Sta.Maria, almost certainly so if the Romanesque church lay to its south for the latter was considered to be within the villanova (S.291): this would also imply that the present Passeig del Born was within the area of the villanova and represents a prime site for an archaeological excavation of this quarter.

These east-west divisions may not represent original streets, but rather alleys and access routes between properties, some of which later developed into streets, particularly when the original large properties were extensively subdivided (S.594) thus making easier access a necessity, others being swallowed up by their amalgamation, or rendered

unnecessary, particularly either side of C/Montcada where the large dimensions of the properties created fewer access difficulties. These divisions, like the north-south ones, were more or less regularly spaced, at a distance of approximately 30 metres apart. The most likely conclusion seems to be that these were the original plots into which the area was divided, later subdivisions being responsible for the various re-entrant angles. There are few examples of property lines which cut across the thus created plots, the majority being limited to the northern part of the villanova, where development along the banks of the Merdança may have already determined the topography prior to the laying out of the 'new town'.

We thus have a series of factors - the distinct orientation, the good natural boundaries, and the regular subdivision - which encourage one to think of this as a single unit in the urban plan, and particularly the villanova established in the 1080's. In addition, a series of points established from the available documentary evidence would also support this hypothesis.

As for most other parts of the suburbs of Barcelona located outside the original core of expansion, the documentation before the later 11th. century is scanty. This is presumably a result of lack of interest in the zone, and the larger size of the properties in a quasi-rural zone, compared to an urbanized

one, which consequently produced less source material. It is also possibly influenced by the lack of recognizable place-names for the area, particularly prior to the construction of the Rech and mills in the mid-11th.century: thus some of the material of the earlier 11th.century concerning property near Sta.Maria del Mar could relate to the district later occupied by the villanova (S.54,55,56).

The first unequivocal information comes in 1059 (S.129), when Bishop Guislibert gave the Canons a piece of land which was limited by the Merdança to the north and east, to the west by a road and land already owned by the canons, and to the south the sea. It is clear that the area later occupied by the villanova is present here: although the western limit is poorly defined, it obviously represents a considerable tract of land passing into the hands of the canons. In the same period, there is also evidence for their acquisition of considerably smaller pieces of land in this part of the city. In 1066, they obtained by exchange a close (clausum) next to the church of Sta.Maria, which was bounded on three sides by canonical property and measured approximately ten by thirty metres (S.144).

Not surprisingly, when the documentation referring directly to the villanova is closely examined, the

role of the Canons is found to be fundamental. In addition to the nineteen documents which mention the villanova, another eleven can be added to the area by their location near the church of Sta.Maria: of these thirty documents, spanning the period between 1080 and 1200, twenty-six definitely concern canonical allods, one the property of a canon, and the other three remain vague, in the case of two because the documents are now missing, and in the third, because the document concerns several properties, so that it is probable that full details of each were not given⁶³. Indeed, the only other institution which appears as holding rental rights there is the church of St. Cugat del Rech (S.371).

Given this range of information, there can be no doubt that the Chapter of Barcelona was the motive force behind the settlement and expansion of this part of the city. Even though the greater part of the sources are to be found in the Capitular Archive, material in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón and that of Sta.Maria del Mar supports this hypothesis (S.200,208,230)⁶⁴.

In the discussion of the Villanova of 1058, the institution known as emphyteusis or a perpetual lease, frequently described as per precaria in the primary material, was mentioned as having been significant in the growth of the city. Nowhere is this

truer than the villanova 'del Mar': without doubt the expansion of its application and the establishment of the villanova must be closely connected. Half of the available material consists of leases of property, in return for an initial payment plus an annual rent, always payable on St. Andrew's Day, to the Bishop and canons (S.185,199,208,230,260,291,350,353,360,361,371,444). The sources also mention property held from them per precaria (S.350,371). Although Bishop Umberto was the first to sign such documents, it seems unlikely, in view of his apparently poor level of education, that he was the real innovator: Carreras Candi proposed the name of the jurist Pons Bofill Marc, but this remains unsubstantiated⁶⁵. Whoever was responsible, it remains clear that without such a technique it would have been impossible for the canons to encourage the growth of the area without losing their allodial rights and ensuring adequate financial returns.

The exact date of the foundation of the villanova remains unknown, although ^{it} was probably c.1080, for several documents of that decade are establishments of land for the purpose of house construction. In 1082 Bishop Umberto and the canons leased land to Jean Durand and his wife ad faciendum ortos vel ad faciendum domos next to Sta. Maria del Mar (S.185). This is one of the few pieces of land of which the dimensions are known - it appears to have been an irregular

quadrilateral with sides measuring approximately 20, 30, 26 and 25 metres, and thus perhaps comparable with a plot between two east-west streets and with half the distance between the north-south streets⁶⁶. Three years later they established a further piece of land, this time not only near Sta. Maria but also on the sea-shore, ad faciendum ibi domos et ortos, for an annual rent of 4 mancuses falling on St. Andrew's Day, plus an initial payment of 3 ounces of gold (S.199). Later the same year, they leased another piece of land near the shore, and probably towards the mills, for the tenant belonged to the family which operated them, and it bordered to the east and north with the road along the banks of the Merdança, ad hedificandum et faciendum ibi quod vobis placuerit, for the high rent of 12 mancuses, which would suggest an extensive terrain. (S.202). In 1096 his successor Bertrand and the canons established a garden and half a house, perhaps of some considerable age, ut ibi domos construat is atque hedificatis et bene facitas, once again for rent due on 30th. November (S.230).

After the initial impetus, the pace of development then seems to have slackened slightly during the first decades of the 12th. century, although perpetual leases with the condition of house construction are still found at intervals. For example,

in 1106 Ponç, the Cathedral sacristan, acting in the absence of a bishop between the episcopates of Berenguer and Ramon Guillem, together with the other canons, established a piece of land ad faciendum domos et ortos, adjacent to Sta. Maria and the sea (S.252) and in 1121, Bishop Oleguer made a similar agreement with Bernat Martí the Shieldmaker (S.291). It is noticeably the area around Sta. Maria del Mar and on the shore that received the most stimulus for improvement, perhaps suggesting the continuous pushing back of the shore line.

These leases thus throw some light on the process of urbanization in this area. An analysis of all the available texts, however, provides considerably more information. Although a proportion of the documentation concerns either houses or plots of land to be built on, all the house descriptions include references to attached 'horts', with the exception of one of 1096 (S.231). There are also a large number of references to wells, and the descriptions of neighbouring properties reveal a higher proportion of gardens and orchards than houses. The picture evoked must therefore be one of houses standing in ample grounds and surrounded by their attached horticultural plots.

In the mid and late 12th. century the pattern does not seem to change greatly: again most of the

sources concern dwellings, though nearly all have attached 'horts'. One group of the 1140's indicates by the separate listing of the borders of the house and courtyard on the one hand, and the 'hort' on the other, that the latter was generally located behind the house, and was less likely to have a street frontage, which the dwellings consistently possessed (S.350,353,360,361,371). The lack of documents for the 1170's and the 1180's, and the preoccupation of those of the decades immediately before (S.444,460) and afterwards (S.593-6,611) with disputes and the settlement of wills, suggests that a stable position had been reached in the area, properties generally being peacefully inherited along with the obligations of the lease, and consequently with comparatively few newcomers to the district. The high social status of many of the inhabitants should be stressed, heralding the wave of construction of 13th. and 14th. century urban mansions in the area, particularly in C/Montcada. Little can be said about the houses of the 12th.century, but the 'garden suburb' aspect contrasts starkly with the intensive development of the older suburbs to the west, around the modern C/de l'Argenteria and the market, where the presence of 'horts' in the 12th.century was a rarity.

No property referred to in the documentation can now be exactly related to its original position.

Pi y Arimón, however, referred to a now lost, but apparently genuine document which he related to a property in the modern C/Montcada, probably the modern number 25⁶⁷. He stated that this had been bought by Guillem of Montcada in 1153, and that the area was developed under the auspices of Count Ramon Berenguer IV. This line of approach has been developed by subsequent writers on the topic of C/Montcada, some even reaching the unsubstantiated conclusion that the whole street was a development of the Montcada family, helped by the wealth gained during the conquest of Tortosa⁶⁸.

This hypothesis can no longer be sustained, in view of the evidence for the role of the church of Barcelona in the settlement of the area. The exact relationship of the family to the street remains vague, especially since the name of C/Montcada is not attested until the later 13th. century⁶⁹. This street, however, contains properties which are considerably larger than neighbouring ones, and they appear to preserve the original divisions more closely, whereas elsewhere the properties were later subdivided and truncated. Presumably the large residences of this street, some with 13th. century origins, have to some extent fossilized the plan of the villanova⁷⁰.

Thus, it must be considered that the area was a deliberate creation of c.1080 by the Bishop and canons of Barcelona, aided by the introduction of emphyteutical leases in the urban context, which stimulated reconstruction and expansion. The area appears to have been regularly subdivided, but the density of dwellings was low, and it remained a wealthy 'garden suburb' throughout this period.

9. The Merdança-Market area

The one feature of early medieval Barcelona which linked almost the entirety of the eastern suburban area was a stream commonly known as the Merdança. Apart from a few points there is little difficulty in tracing its course, even though it has largely disappeared from the existing urban topography.

The stream had, and still has, its source in the Vallcarca region at the foot of the litoral chain⁷¹. Balari reckoned that it passed through Provençals, although this would appear to be based on a mis-reading of a document of 1080, and the stream must have flowed directly down the slope of the 'Pla de Barcelona'⁷². It crossed the line of the 13th.century defences in the area of the modern Plaça de Urquinaona: from this point onwards the pre-20th.century

street-plan clearly shows a street, the origins of which can be seen not only in its sinuous course, but also its later name - C/de la Riera de Sant Joan, derived from the House of the Hospitallers located on its course in the early 13th.century. Having run alongside the site of the monastery of Jonqueres, transferred to the city in the 13th.century⁷³, it passed near the areas known as Cort Comtal and Clerà (S.281,324,348,400) and was crossed by the Roman aqueduct at a similar point. It then followed a course that led it to ~~near~~ the north-east angle of the late Roman defences, and then roughly parallel to them to a point below the Palatine Chapel, known as the Plaça de l'Oli in the later medieval period (S.275,390).

After this the course is not immediately visible in the street plan: however, documentary sources indicate that it passed near the market, the street from there to Sta.Maria del Mar, and the church of St.Cugat⁷⁴. This must surely indicate that it turned through a right-angle near the Plaça de l'Oli, changing its orientation from north-south to west-east. Moreover, it formed the northern limit of the villanova 'del Mar', and for a short distance ran parallel to the Rech near the 'Molins del Mar', before emptying into the Mediterranean near the mouth of the Rech.⁷⁵

A series of documents referred to by Carreras Candi help to decipher these problems of orientation and discuss the exact course of the stream in this period. They are concerned with the covering of the stream in the mid-13th.century: the resultant drains still exist, and their size and structure so impressed early historians of the city that they were usually described as the work of the Romans: their precise course was described by Pi y Arimón, though both he and Carreras Candi were of the opinion that this was a 13th.century diversion from the stream's original course⁷⁶. It is now clear, however, that this orientation was being followed in the 1070's (S.156,159) and if a diversion had occurred, it was before that date. In view of the two right-angles that the stream passes through, it is improbable that this part of its course, from near the market to the sea, was natural: one would expect it to have continued in a north-south direction and enter the sea to the west of Sta.Maria del Mar, and as will be seen in the following section there is some evidence for its presence there in the first half of the 11th.century, but not afterwards. The suspicion must be that this original course was diverted during the period of initial growth of the suburbs, perhaps soon after the construction of the Rech. It is noticeable that the documents referring to the villanova near St.Cugat in 1058-59 (S.125,131,132)

make no reference to the Merdança, even though it seems likely that it formed the southern boundary (the modern c/dels Assahonadors) of some of the properties⁷⁷. In the absence of further evidence, one might suggest a date in the period 1050-1070 for the alteration (figs.97-98).

Prior to its vaulting over in the 13th. century it had been developed as a thoroughfare: as early as 990 there was a strata de Merdanciano (S.17) and in the 12th. century, references to the length near the market normally cite the street rather than the stream (S.281,288,329,348,400,429,526). This length, from towards the Cort Comtal to the Plaça de l'Oli may thus have been covered by that date. Elsewhere, such references presumably imply a street on its banks.

The meaning of its name is quite significant. Balari derived it from the late Latin meritas - purity - because of the form Meritanciano which occasionally occurs⁷⁸. The normal form, however, is Merdancianum, which because of its course through the city, and similar examples elsewhere in Spain, should be derived from merda - excrement - thus implying a use as an open sewer⁷⁹. At times it dried up - iuxta decursum Torrentis Profundi sive Torrentis Merdanciani que discurrit tempore pluviarum

aut longe a littore maris (S.280) - and the resultant smell may have been rather unpleasant even for an early medieval city.

As noted above when considering the origins of the suburbs, the qualification of burgus was originally only applied to the area near the east or main gate of the city. Not surprisingly, in the succeeding two hundred years this zone showed the most consistent and intensive development, and coupled with the zone to the south, along the street leading towards Sta.Maria del Mar, it can reasonably be described as representing the heart of the suburbs of the early medieval city. The zone here under discussion is very much a linear one, determined by the defences to the west, a line beyond the Merdança to the east in the region of the C/dels Mercaders and the market to the south, with the Arcs Antics zone to the north.

The word burgus is more consistently applied to this zone than to any other. With few exceptions, the use of the word suburbium is here limited to the area at the foot of the defences (S.97,215) and the period 1080 to 1140, when, as has been noted, there were variations in the usage of these terms. Leaving aside the late 10th.century phase of recovery (S.13, 16,17,18,22,31,32), it is unfortunate that little material from the first half of the 11th.century

survives. The few extant documents suggest that the position remained rather static, for there is an abundance of references to 'horts' and 'freginals' along the Merdança (S.43,74,95), and houses are only found at the foot of the defences and along the main road to the north (S.88,97).

Not until after the middle of the century did houses begin to outnumber horticultural plots. In the last quarter of the century only one of the twelve properties undergoing conveyance was other than a house (S.207), and although some houses had adjoining 'horts', the majority had no attached ground and were surrounded by either streets or other houses. The first houses under the Comital Palace against the defences appear (S.172,215,241), along the course of the Merdança to its east (S.166), to its north (S.218), and to its south (S.120,165,171), and the density around the market and the main road (S.137, 168,206) became even greater. The descriptions of the houses tend to be rather simple, there being few sophisticated features, which may indicate a concentration of humbler residents. In addition, two bread-ovens are found (S.163,299), plus a possible third example (S.256), which also illustrate the density of population and the incipient 'industrialisation' of the quarter.

This pattern becomes even more marked in the first half of the 12th. century, with workshops being found outside the market proper (S.327) and several more references to bread-ovens (S.267,272,298,329,338), as well as further evidence for pressure on space. A document of 1131 describes a house at the foot of the walls in quo loco solebat habere femoralis that is an open space had been built up (S.312). Other documents also refer to femorals or dung-hills similarly located at the foot of the defences (S.327,354), but in general, not only are references to gardens and orchards rare, thus suggesting that as much of the land as possible was built up, but also a number of documents refer to the sub-division of houses, and some of these were apparently not the consequence of a division of patrimony between heirs. In 1115, Sessnanna, widow of Amatus, sold her rights in her home quod est medietatem totius mansionum et casales, curte et parietes cum ingressibus atque exitibus earum ab omnibus partibus simul cum ipsas scalas quod sunt a parte Merdanciano (S.275). The appearance of a staircase is interesting, as it is rather unusual in an otherwise simple house-description, and the location is emphasized. Could this have indicated that her half of the dwelling was at first floor level? An adjoining house sold in 1120 also had a stairway, and although it may have been a larger structure, the function could have been the same (S.288). What clearer demonstration of the

pressure on available housing could there be than the need to divide existing structures on the basis of floors ?

Another indication of this phenomenon is the growing employment of building space against the defences. In 1113, Count Ramon Berenguer III gave Guillem Ramon the Moneyer the right to build onto the tower of the Castell Vell in the form of a vault linking it to the next wall-tower, and construct over and under this, where he had a bread-oven (S.267). Other similar vaults may be mentioned in a document of the following year (S.271) and another oven is found near the gate in 1125 (S.298). The count does not always seem to have been in favour of this movement, which was leaving the only defences of the city obstructed, although it seems from a document of 1131 (S.312) that he was forced to accept the status quo. By the middle of the century, the entire face of this length was covered by structures (S.317,319,355). A similar process can be seen slightly further north at the angle of the defences near the tower known as Cauda Rubea, where, in 1146, a piece of land was provided for the construction of houses, which are found in the second half of the century (S.354,431,477).

The most significant residences were located

along the Merdança and the main streets. Several houses included sollars and undercrofts (S.261,288). The less valued houses had little or no street frontage or one onto a lesser street. In the latter half of the century there may have been some move to cutting new streets in the area. The plan of this part of the city, prior to the opening of the Vía Layetana, was characterized by its high number of small blocks, and whereas in the 11th. and early 12th. centuries rarely did houses have more than one boundary on a street, from the 1140's there are a considerable number with two street borders (S.340, 370,398,491,621). In addition, in 1197, a small piece of land changed hands, presumably to make an alley-way for it was one and a quarter Cannas (about two metres) wide (S.613) and there are several references to andronae or alleys in the sources.

By the same date the urbanization of the area was complete, for there is not a single reference to an 'hort' in the abundant documentation of the second half of the century. The spread of craft activity continued and workshops were to be found farther afield such as under the Royal Palace (S.527). The same foci of construction continued as before, with renewed activity in the Market area in particular (S.340,343,355,380,382,383,386,390,392,398,416,436, 485,533,538,588,612,621). There is little indication of the construction of new houses presumably

because all the space was occupied, and only minor modifications could be made to the existing layout. Further evidence for the sub-division of houses by floors is found in a more explicit fashion in 1171 (S.470 bis). The impression created is that this was the most densely inhabited part of the urban area, even more so that neighbouring intra-mural areas where properties tended to be larger and the owners of more substance.

Not surprisingly there are a considerable number of surnames derived from trades to be found in the course of the 12th. century. The most widespread of these is that of shoemaker (sabater or sutor) recorded on three occasions (S.261, 436, 538). However, others were also found - a shieldmaker (S.245), moneyer (S.248, 271), mason, (S.261, 283), money-changer (S.355), shop-keeper (S.517) - indicating that there was some variety. Indeed the lack of property owned either by ecclesiastical establishments or the nobility should be remarked on. There is no pattern of property acquisition by the rich or the powerful⁸⁰; the greater part remained in the hands of people of humbler stock, whose names only occur rarely in these sources, and who lacked the means necessary to expand their possessions. Occasionally, one prospered and could buy an adjoining property that was for sale, or could improve his own residence. On the other

hand, they were often at the hand of fate, like a widow mentioned in 1111 (S.261), or another forced to sell through hunger in 1092; anc neque vendicione necessitate famis vobis facio, ne ego et filii mei fami intolerabili moriamus (S.215), a harsh reminder of the frequently hard life of the inhabitants of the early medieval city.

10. The Sta.Maria del Mar zone

Moving towards the sea from the zone just discussed, the next zone was bounded by the late Roman defences to the west, the line of C/Carders to the north, approximately C/dels Banys Vells to the east, and the sea to the south. Most of the previous studies of the medieval expansion of Barcelona have seen this area as the heart of suburban development⁸¹. It is here sustained that the development of this zone was secondary to that of the Market-Merdança area, where the earliest occurrences of suburban settlement are found. This opinion was undoubtedly influenced by the importance of the area in the later medieval period, crowned by its majestic Gothic parish church of Sta.Maria.

The church, as has been seen above, pre-dated the emergence of any suburban settlement in the area, and may in fact go back to early Christian times.

Although it, and the street joining it with the city gate, later formed the nucleus of a burgus, this was hardly of significance before the second half of the 11th. century. Until that date the area remained very open, far more so than the adjoining zone to the north, even though there was no great density of structures there either.

The first five extant documents all describe the zone as being in the burgus, but there is only one reference to a house in all these, the majority of properties being 'horts' and 'freginals' or just undefined land (S.28,54-56,62). Subsequent documents before the 1060's, although locating it in the sub-urbium or foris burgo, do not change this picture at all (S.62,71,80,83). Moreover, some of these pieces of land were large, such as the two pieces mentioned in 1044 - petias II de terra modiatia I et amplius, that is covering more than half a hectare (S.106).

From the earliest days the influence of the Cathedral community of Barcelona is apparent: indeed, in stark contrast to the information for the area to the north where mainly private individuals were involved, this zone was of predominantly ecclesiastical interest. In 995 Franco and Bella exchanged with Bishop Aetius a piece of garden next to Sta. Maria, which his predecessor had given them (S.28).

In 1018 Aventi exchanged with Bishop Deodat and the canons an 'hort' at the side of the street leading to the church (S.54). In the same year, two 'freginals' similarly located were also acquired from Marcutius the Greek (S.55) and another 'hort' from Pong, head of the cathedral school (S.56) and a year later more land from Regiat~~e~~ and his wife (S.62). In 1024 Sunyer exchanged a house with^a yard fronting onto the same street (S.71) and in 1044 the two pieces of land mentioned above were obtained from the monastery of St.Cugat (S.106). The fact that the last document mentioned a stream near this street, which must have been on the alignment of the present C/de L'Argenteria, may indicate that the Merdança did originally pass through this zone, before being diverted in c.1060. Not only would this have made this low-lying area unsuitable for habitation, but also, at the beginning of the century at least, the coast-line was fairly unstable, for there are references to salt-lakes near Sta.Maria (S.39) and the church itself was clearly right on the shore, perhaps as a result of marine transgression in the post-Roman period.

Even the church itself was still surrounded by fields in 1056, when Bishop Guislibert gave the canons one containing olive-trees there (S.119). It is obvious that no nucleus of settlement had yet formed around it. Not until a few years later does

this wide extent of property seem to have been put to any other use. In 1060 the same bishop together with the canons gave one of their number a piece of land on the street to Sta.Maria, next to the arch, for his lifetime, with the condition that he should build and inhabit house there (S.133). The function of the arch remains a mystery: although later examples of such structures are usually related to shops or workshops, this seems unlikely in the context of this document, where the surrounding property was rural in outlook. A possible alternative is that it was a bridge over the Merdança stream-bed, which either had been, or was about to be, diverted.

Of the remaining documents of the 11th.century about half deal with houses, while the rest are concerned with orchards and closes, the disappearance of the abundance of open land indicating a move towards more house construction. The majority of the houses fronted onto the principal thoroughfare, the 'horts' less frequently having street frontages (S. 139,143,144,164). Similarly, the first houses at the foot of the defences in the future C/Basea are found, and these appear to have been of some size for they were to be used by the abbot and monks of St.Llorenç del Munt as a residence on their visits to the city (S.173). There are other indications of the presence of substantial houses, which were

generally absent from adjacent zones. In 1093 houses there consisted of duos solarios cum singulas salas constructas ex petra et calce and they stood next to others with solars and pinnacula (S.220). Similar features were to be seen in the houses left by Bernat Ermengol to the canons in 1109 (S.257). These, however, were concentrated in the northern part of the street, nearest the market. The area immediately around the church was still open in the 1060's and also possibly later.

One small group of documents of 1082-86 is of particular interest as it demonstrates the way in which Bernat Ermengol accumulated the property to construct his well-appointed residence. In 1082 Mir Guillem and his wife sold Bernat a piece of land with trees and enclosing wall next to their house on the principal street (S.186). He presumably then started to build for two years later he bought a narrow strip of land, about 35 cms. wide, from his other neighbour, Bonavita the Jew, who had been attested in the area eighteen years beforehand (S.189, 139). The dimensions of this strip suggest that it must have been used for the construction of a broader wall or an improved entrance path. In 1085 the same Jew sold him part of his 'hort', measuring about 11.5 x 19.5 metres (S.201) and a year later two more parts with widths of 14 and 3.4 metres respectively (S.204). A further document of 1098 also refers to

Bernat Ermengol's purchasing activities, in this case of a plot slightly less than five metres wide, which one might assume was also in this area (S.237). This group of documents is particularly useful for indicating how easy it was for a small piece of property to change hands before it had been built up: surely these piecemeal purchases would not have been possible had the neighbouring properties already been taken up by houses. The logical conclusion must be that many of the complex and irregular property boundaries of this area, like adjoining areas where the density of structures was high from an early date, date from a period when the area was not totally urbanized.

Moving into the 12th. century, it appears that the rate of construction was so rapid in the last decades of the 11th. century that a similar situation to that of the Market-Merdamça zone was reached by c.1120. The last 'hort' is recorded in 1116 (S.282) and henceforth only houses are found (S.258,259,265). Some of these covered large plots, like that documented in 1123 between the street to Sta, Maria and that at the foot of the defences, a distance of a minimum of some forty metres (S.294,309). This document is the first recorded use of the street name Balseia, the meaning of which has led to some degree of controversy. Balaguer stated that in his day some derived it from a family name, while others claimed

an origin in ballesta, as a result of the defeat of Count Borrell in 993. He accepted the latter derivation, but discarded the legend, replacing it with the belief that archery contests were held there⁸². Carreras Candi rejected all these possibilities and suggested an origin in modern Catalan 'basses' - muddy hollows⁸³. This appears to have been an inspired piece of thought, for not only does this fit the low-lying topography of the zone, with the original course of the Merdança running nearby, which must have led to an absence of structures immediately against the walls and a total lack of houses until the second half of the 11th. century, but secondly, this document uses the word baseia in a descriptive form rather than as a street-name⁸⁴. There is other evidence to suggest that the nature of this part of the zone led to drainage problems. In January 1141 Gaucefret Bretó bought a house from Bernat Esteve, otherwise known as Bernat of Vic (S.339). Three years later he disputed with a neighbour, Ramon Guillem, the latter's right to have a cloaca running through the former's property (S.349). Although this had been excluded from the sale of 1141, Ramon was prepared to lose his rights in exchange for the sum of 20 solidos⁸⁵.

In the second half of the 12th. century the process of urbanization began to show signs of strain and pressure, not only on space, but also on human nature. No longer are there references to 'horts' and even yards become scarcer and are more usually

described as curtale rather than the larger curte (S.387,484,514,552,627). Rights were given to construct against the walls of adjoining properties, as in the case of the houses given to the monastery of Stes. Creus in 1173 (S.484). A document referring to a nearby property in 1167⁸⁶ gives permission for one party to remove a stone from a house wall and insert a beam (S.454). Such documents may be interpreted as indicating the need to fill in small spaces between existing structures, thus moving towards a completely built-up appearance for the zone.

The beam mentioned above may have been part of a portico or vault projecting into the street for the sale of produce⁸⁶. Whether this is true or not, there is evidence for increasing artisan presence in this area in the form of workshops. The first is mentioned in 1147 (S.364) and others follow in the second half of the century (S.399,409,630). On the first three occasions they were to be found in the street leading to Sta.Maria, not far from the market: moreover, they were built in rows with vaults in front, and some at least with a residence behind - illos nostros duos operatorios in ipsam voltam constructos cum eorum vvolta, simul cum ipso domo et curtali que se tenet cum ipsis operatoriis versus oriente (S.399). By the end of the century, however, they had expanded along the street and the previously open

space in front of the church had been converted into a square with similar structures (S.630).

Although these workshops must predispose us to accepting the idea of the presence of artisans, few of them are attested in the sources. Apart from the canonical properties and those of the monasteries of St.Llorenç (S.173,294,309) and Stes.Creus (S.484), the most outstanding feature would seem to be that many well-off inhabitants fixed their residence in this zone; inhabitants such as Bonet of Manresa, whose will of 1160 indicates that he lived in the street leading to Sta.Maria (S.410), Aimeric of Perugia (S.399,409,454,514) and the Gruny family (S.441,627), who were to play an important part in 13th. and 14th.century Barcelona bourgeois society.

The last of these is still recorded by a street linking C/de l'Argenteria and C/dels Banys Vells⁸⁷. Socially then, there is some reason to claim that this was a higher-class district than that immediately to the north, and in these terms more comparable with the Villanova'del Mar to the east.

11. The Regomir suburb

Adjoining the C/Basea and continuing in a clockwise direction around the defences, was the zone

outside the Regomir gate. Although the majority of writers on the suburban development of Barcelona have ranked this as a separate suburb⁸⁸, the amount of material which actually relates to it is very small indeed - hardly more than a dozen documents - and there is no justification for placing it alongside the Arcs Antics or Market burgi. Moreover, half the extant material dates from before 1030, a very unusual emphasis in comparison with the other suburbs, but similar to the statistics from the area immediately inside the defences at this point, with which it was obviously closely related.

In spite of the paucity of material, the area was considered as part of the burgus from the early 11th.century (S.47,48). However, such a definition goes out of use in the mid-11th.century, only to be revived by the 1170's. What is the meaning of these apparent contradictions ? There is some evidence to suggest that the zone was at a stage of incipient development in the early 11th.century, like other parts of the inner suburbs and the adjoining intra-mural area, and it therefore ranked among the burgi in the period of euphoric economic growth in the early decades. For one reason or another, this development was never really accomplished, and the area may have been less urban at the end of the century than at the beginning, as a result of the transferral of emphasis from the pre-985 foci to

new ones, and so it slipped back to a non-burgus location until the pressure on space brought it back into the suburban ambit.

This theory finds some support in the analysis of properties: before 985 only open land is recorded (S.4), but in the early 11th. century there are several occurrences of both casae and casalicia, which were clearly plots to be built upon (S.66,78). In this respect it can be linked to the intramural nucleus which was very similar, and seems to have been a village-like settlement separated from the rest of the urban area, which merited it the title of termino recorded in both intra- and extramural contexts.

There were also a large number of 'horts' and fields and these continued to be predominant right through both centuries, and it is possible that the original concentration of houses disappeared (S.47, 77,328). In the later 12th. century a large proportion of the area owned by Pere of Barcelona, and bounded by the walls, C/Basea, the sea and C/del Regomir was acquired by the Chapter, which probably influenced its later development, in view of the canons' other extensive holdings on the sea-shore (S.486). The first reflection of this is found in 1191 when a piece of an 'hort' stated to be an allod of the canons was leased ad meliorandum et bene hedificandum (S.558)⁸⁹. Even at this date on both

sides of the street leading from the Regomir Gate to the sea, there were gardens and orchards, whereas in the early 11th.century houses could be found there (S.565: S.47).

What, then, were the reasons for this tardy development or even regression ? Firstly, the slow process of urbanisation in the adjoining intra-mural zone has already been described, and it was unlikely, considering the close connection between the two, that the extra-mural part would develop more quickly than its neighbour. Moreover, many of the 'horts' were part of substantial dwellings on the defences, which made alterations difficult to achieve. Thirdly, the area was fairly small, as the sea was much closer than today, possibly not any further south than the modern C/del Gignás. A reasonable proportion of the known properties bordered with the sea and in the 1070's we hear of fields ubi fuerunt facta naves beneath the defences⁹⁰. The past tense probably indicates that some marine regression had taken place by this date, but that ships were still made in the area is recorded by the presence of the 'Drassanes' or ship-building yards near the present C/de la Fusteria in the early 13th.century. Finally the terrain may have been unsuitable for building because of the proximity of the Mediterranean, and the marshes of the Cagalell to the west and the hollows of the C/Basea to the east.

12. The Sta.Maria del Pí zone.

This, the last of the zones within the 13th. century defences, comprises almost the entirety of the western suburban area. As has long been recognized, this was the part of the city that was the slowest to develop in these centuries, and to some extent in later periods⁹¹. Although the focal point of Sta.Maria del Pí existed before 985, the growth of a suburb around it was a very gradual process. Although it was first described as being in the burgo in 1018 (S.58), it was a long time before this became a consistent locational description. More often than not it was given a vague location such as 'near the walls' (S.19,64) or 'outside the walls' (S.80): on other occasions it was described as in the suburbium (S.34) or even in the territorium (S.69, 70,81). The part nearest the Castell Nou was considered part of the burgus before the church, and it was only in the second half of the 12th.century that both were given burgo locations.

Other place-names which occur within the bounds of the zone are derived from a palma near the church (S.34,117), a unique occurrence of the name de Inbrozats (S.81) of uncertain meaning, and the area near the present C/Codols, called Quotalos, Quodalos, Chodals and variants, first attested at the end of the 11th. century (S.232). The name indicates the presence of

stones or pebbles, perhaps a pebbly ridge in the alluvial deposits or part of the shore line⁹². To the west was the stream on the alignment of the Rambles, called the Arenio (S.34,64,70), although this name was also applied to other such seasonal water-courses in the 'Pla de Barcelona'.

The type of property found in this part of the city is remarkably consistent until the middle of the 12th. century. More than in any other zone hitherto discussed do we find references to open land, whether 'horts', 'freginals' or otherwise undefined. However, there does seem to be a varying distribution in the various words: whereas gardens, orchards and paddocks were more generally to be found either immediately next to the walls, the gate or the church (S.99,111,149,150,153), open land and fields were more often bordering the sea or the 'Areny', in other words at some distance from the proto-nucleus of the suburb (S.121,134,140,148).

Scattered in the midst of these open spaces were occasional dwellings: like the more intensively used pieces of land they were concentrated in the area between the city gate and the church (S.111). On a few occasions there were also small clusters of houses (S.82,149,150). Nevertheless, taking the 11th. century as a whole, only 20% of the properties in the area refer to any sort of structure, compared to 39%

land and fields, 23% 'horts', and 18% 'freginals', and the bulk of the references to fields come in the earlier years of the century, the conclusion being that many of the horticultural plots and paddocks must have been laid out as the century progressed. Some of these pieces of land were of considerable dimensions: a piece in the year 1000 was an irregular quadrilateral with sides approximately 134, 61, 137 and 92 metres, giving an area of somewhat less than one hectare (S.34), while in 1023 a piece of 10½ modiatas is recorded (= approx.5ha.) (S.61), and there are two other references to pieces of about 2 modiatas (S.69,140).

The resultant picture is one of a very rural area with a small nucleus of settlement near the road from the city gate passing by the church, and a few other dwellings nearby, one of which warranted a description as a mansus as late as 1065 (S.141-2), and with closely related intensively cultivated plots of land, and larger ones beyond, towards the fringes of the zone.

As for property owners, few intelligible details are forthcoming until the middle of the century. There were a number of Jewish landowners, probably as a result of the vicinity of the Call (S.64,149,150). Some of the wealthier inhabitants of the city owned estates here, such as Ermengol Auruz, son of Auruz the Judge (S.69,80) and Bernat Gelmir, who had

several houses located on the south-western part of the defences and properties located at their foot and beyond (S.70,80,81,111,117). The other principal group concerns a series of financial operations in the period 1021-24 which throw some light on the question of prices in those years (S.64,68,70)⁹³.

However, the major group of 11th.century documentation concerns the acquisitions of Ricart Guillem over the period 1068 to 1082⁹⁴, although the family's possessions here began with the purchases of his father-in-law, Bernat Ramon (S.134,140,148). Many of Ricart's acquisitions were from pledges which were later turned into outright sales (S.149,150,153, 160). The sum total of all these efforts was that on his death he was able to leave his sons a considerable area - orto iuxta Portam Novam, cum domibus michi pertinentibus que in circuitu eius sunt, cum foregenali, etiam quod est iuxta ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae de ipso Pino, cum ortis et domibus que ibidem sunt (S.279).

Moving into the 12th.century, there are the first indications of any change, primarily the emergence of houses near the Castell Nou gate, as mentioned in Ricart Guillem's will, and presumably ribbon development along the future C/de la Boqueria, the long established main route southwards. In 1100, the Prior of St.Pau del Camp leased a piece of land with trees

ad hedificandum orto et domos, which by the use of the reverse of the normal word order (domos et orto) indicated the continued rural emphasis of the area (S.240). Nevertheless, houses were gradually built, and Ramon Dalmau left houses iuxta Portam Novam in 1115 (S.277) and in 1154, houses and a workshop which had been built in the lifetime of the holder were disposed of (S.391).

In 1096, Bishop Fulc had given Ramon Guifret a piece of land only one dexter wide for a house or an 'hort' at Codals (S.232), but virtually all the other references to this area prior to the 13th. century indicate that it was predominantly occupied by fields (S.273, 292, 311, 330, 344, 345, 362, 494, 499, 520, 532, 560, 578, 579), even though it is often cited as a burgo in the second half of the century. The first definite mention of a house there is in 1176, and even then it is in a subordinate position to an 'hort' (S.499). The first appearance of this area in the late 11th. century, and the interest of the Chapter, indicates that it had been recently recovered from the sea: this is made more probable by the knowledge that the shore-line was being pushed back on the other side of the city, near Sta. Maria del Mar, at the same time. The canons may have obtained their holdings there in the mid-11th. century, for in 1041 and 1057 there were substantial donations to them on the shore (S. 99 and 121), but it may have remained unsuitable for cultivation for some time after that date, and even

the piece given in 1096 was called a bassa, a muddy hollow, and hardly suitable for the construction of a house.

In the second half of the 12th. century the slow change of the zone between the gate and the church continued (S.373,378,403,433,581). The property inherited by Pere Ricart from his father, which later passed to the Count, was divided into smaller holdings and partially developed. One of these with a workshop has already been cited (S.391). In 1152 another part of the allod was leased ad bene laborandum et meliorandum et ortum et domus faciendum (S.385). After the inheritance had been recovered by the Count from Pere of Barcelona, the New Baths were constructed within its confines (S.415) and other properties in the Royal allod are mentioned in 1163 and 1193 (S.433,581) and these estates probably merged with the Royal ones in the area of C/de Portaferriassa mentioned in the consideration of zone 2. The other Royal promotion in this zone may have been of a second meat-market on the main road running to the gate, which is possibly mentioned in the 1180's and certainly in the early 13th. century⁹⁵. The area was singularly suitable for this trade, still having open spaces to corral animals prior to slaughter, but also near the city and the main communication routes.

The final point which must be raised in connection with the Sta. Maria del Pi zone is the reason for its slow growth. Although from an early date factors of power and wealth were operative in the zone, the process of urbanization had hardly begun by the end of the 12th. century, and it was obviously not considered as a suitable place for the construction of the great residences of the rich. Part of the reason may lie in the orientation of outlook in the early 11th. century when the suburbs began to grow: in spite of the increasing connections with Moslem lands, the basic connections of Barcelona were with the north, the Catalan heartlands, and this meant that the route that ran towards the Besòs gap was more frequented. Moreover, the Sta. Maria del Pi zone was also some distance from the centre of the city itself, the Cathedral, the Palace and the Market; and like the Regomir district it suffered because of this isolation. Furthermore, the terrain may have checked growth: the southern part of the zone was still being recovered from the sea, and the whole area would have had a tendency to be damp, insect-infested, liable to inundations from the 'Areny', and thus not particularly suitable for cultivation, and generally rather unhealthy. Even as late as the 18th. century there were considerable open spaces, particularly in the southern part of this zone, and in the later medieval period it was a zone where undesirable and dangerous trades were often banished.

13. The St.Pau del Camp zone.

The last area which must be considered while dealing with the pre-13th.century suburban growth of Barcelona is one which was not included within the 13th.century defences: to the west of the Rambles and the line of those defences was a large area, walled at a later date, but still largely open land at the end of the Middle Ages and even as late as the 18th. century, until when the main concentrations of houses in the area were along the principal roads crossing it.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to isolate material pertaining to it in these centuries. To the south was the sea-shore and the salt-lake called Cagalell into which the Rambles Areny emptied⁹⁶. It may be that some of the material referring to a district called ad ipsos Arens in the territorium is really connected with this area, but in view of the large number of streams in the territorium, caution must be adopted⁹⁷. However, there are two fixed points, the Lepers' Hospital and the monastic church of St. Pau del Camp, the location of which in the burgo from the 1170's onwards warrants the inclusion of this area with the other suburbs.

Nevertheless, for the greater part of the 11th. and 12th.centuries the area was clearly located in the territorium, progressing to the suburbium in the

mid-12th.century, and burgo slightly later. However, the close relationship of the area with the city had long been recognized by such phrases as ultra civitatem Barcinona iuxta domum Sanctem Paulum (S.51): prope moenia civitatis Barchinona (S.63): in loco qui dicitur Sanctus Paulus Apostolis trans civitatem (S.65).

The potential nucleus of St.Pau had existed for many centuries, but the evidence ~~for~~ a settlement around it before the late 12th.century is not particularly outstanding. The monastic community was small and not rich enough to attract inhabitants. Moreover the zone, like most of the coastal area, was unhealthy and away from the major communication routes, especially after the decline of the 'Port' to the south of Montjuïc around the turn of the millenium. However, in spite of these negative factors, it seems possible that a hamlet survived around the early church, inheriting the settlement tradition of the supposed Roman villa. The presence of an early medieval settlement is indicated by a number of features in the documentation. In 986 a yard is found next to the church (S.7) and this would point to houses not far away. These can be found in documents of 1019-20 (S.61,63), although one has to wait until 1198 for the next surviving reference to houses near the church (S.619-620). The presence of agricultural land of a type normally

found near settlements, such as the 'freginals' subtus viam que vadit ad Sancti Pauli⁹⁸ and 'horts' iuxta cenobium Sancti Pauli Campi in 1155 (S.395), would point to the uninterrupted life of this settlement.

Nevertheless, it could only have been very small indeed, and the greater part of the zone is described as being occupied by tracts of land in the early 11th.century (S.65,108,246,247,301,318) and when the amount of documentation for the area begins to increase in the latter half of the 12th.century the predominance of words like terra, pariliata, and tenedonis indicate that the pattern had hardly changed (S.395,417). The name of the monastery, like that of the church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp, is of course significant in this context, and the epithet de Campo is first recorded in 1127 (S.305). Most of the pieces of land would have been large, as is shown by the abundance of natural boundaries - ^{the} sea, lakes, streams and roads - and by the measurements in two documents (S.38,417). The area was recognized as good farmland and was irrigated: in 1048 ipso regario ecclesie Sancti Pauli is recorded (S.108) and the torrentem qui per imbrem ducit aquas of 1019 might have had a similar function (S.61)⁹⁹.

From the 1150's onwards there is a group of leases of pieces of land with the condition that

they were to be improved to the state of 'horts' (S.417,498,504,512,583) and a similar process can be noted near the Cagalell (S.475,557,580). In the 11th.century this area was occupied by fields at the most, and much must have been salt-marsh. Nearby a similar process was taking place in the area known as ad ipsas Tapias, probably in the region of the modern C/de les Tapias¹⁰⁰. This was always located in ipso burgo and indeed on two occasions houses are found there, suggesting some development along the road in the later 12th.century (S.450,505,633). Likewise to the north, comparable alterations were taking place around the Lepers' Hospital, with the growth of 'horts' and the erection of a few houses (S.535,545), and there was probably a renewed phase of construction around St.Pau at the same date.. In addition, it would appear that a bread-oven was constructed near the Hospital in the last decade of the century, reinforcing the idea of a growing quantity of settlement in the area (S.575).

In spite of the Royal concern in constructing a new Rech across this zone in the later 12th.century (S.617), the property of the Count-Kings was probably not very extensive: 'freginals' are recorded c.1079 and in 1020 Berenguer Ramon I pledged land near St. Pau in exchange for six kafici of barley (S.63). The

Canons had widespread interests and acquired property throughout the period (S.7,61,65,108,247,318) and from the mid-12th.century a pariliata canonica is recorded (S.395,417,498,504,512,580). Other religious houses also owned land, especially St.Pau itself (S.583) and St.Pere de les Puelles (S.318,557). The Queralt family had extensive tracts further north (S.535,545,575), but many of the other late 12th. century owners or tenants were immigrants, suggesting that this was one of the few parts where a newcomer could still easily obtain land. Although in the 11th. century there had been a substantial Hebrew presence, explicable because of the vicinity to the Jewish cemetery on Montjuïc, this had disappeared in the second half of the 12th.century (S.7,38,61,63,108,246).

Thus by the end of the century the zone was being increasingly brought into the urban orbit, but although the title of burgus was often then employed, it is still difficult to see the zone as one truly of suburban habitat, as land continued to outweigh residences for many years to come.

Conclusion

The moment has arrived to attempt to synthesize the varying degrees of settlement of the various zones discussed above. The initial steps up to the first decades of the 11th.century have been accounted for. Thereafter urbanization in all areas was slow, probably as a result of the economic and political instability of these years after 1030. The burgi of St.Pere, Sta. Maria del Pi and Regomir either disappeared or remained minute, as did the settlements which may have been the heirs of Roman suburban settlement - the Cogoll, Clerà and St.Pau del Camp. Those along the Merdança, around the market and between the aqueducts continued in existence, but still with a high proportion of horticultural and agricultural land (Fig.97). Only from the 1050's was there any detectable change.

On the one hand, in the succeeding decades a decline in the amount of open space in this inner arc of suburbs can be noted, coupled with an increase in the number of houses, which in turn included improved architectural features and a greater degree of solidity and permanence. However, this growth was accompanied by sporadic ribbon development along the main communication routes. Alongside this can be seen the first attempt to establish a founded suburb - the villanova of 1058 near St.Cugat del Rech, which also represented the first step into the outer ring of the suburbium

This, however, was a failure, the area remaining predominantly rural until nearly a century later. It is here propounded that the word villanova should be used with caution in the context of Barcelona: it was not applied by contemporaries to all suburbs, as Carreras Candi suggested¹⁰¹, but only to those where an attempt was made to establish new ones in areas previously untouched by settlement.

The growth of the inner suburbs continued apace as the century progressed, gradually creeping along the linear features - Arcs Antics, Merdança, C/de L' Argenteria and C/Carders - which gave each of them its characteristic topography. In the areas nearest the north and east gates the central parts of blocks were filled in, and the open space of the residual suburbium at the foot of the defences encroached upon for the first time c.1075 (Fig. 98). Soon afterwards the second villanova was established in an extensive terrain entirely owned by the canons of Barcelona,

located to the north and east of Sta.Maria del Mar. This was divided into plots which can still be partially traced, and leased for rents due on November 30th. Although it retained a 'garden-city' appearance for long after, unlike its predecessor, it was never eradicated from the urban memory.

By the time of the Almoravid attacks, the inner arc of suburbs had reached saturation point in terms

of land usage, and future development had to take place beyond them. The old foci of the outer settlements remained apart from this movement, preference being given to large plots which could be sub-divided without the problems of pre-existing rights that might have interfered with the course of planning. The suburbs may have suffered during the Almoravid attacks and this growth delayed until the 1140's, when the movement finally commenced in the terrains of the Holy Sepulchre beyond the Arcs Antics burgo. This was followed by comparable growth in the adjoining Cort Comtal area, sponsored by the Queralt family, Bernat Marcus (II), and later the Archbishop of Tarragona, and also in the Trilea Canonica: this led to the formation of areas called villae, such as the villa Sepulchri, villa Queralt and villa de Curte Comitale¹⁰². Simultaneously renewed growth occurred in the Villanova 'del Mar' (Fig. 99).

In the second half of the 12th. century, the inner suburbs began to show the signs of stress and strain caused by the increasing density of population, and the growth of artisan activity. Towards the end of the century further planned growth took place in the allods of Bernat Marcus (III) near St. Cugat del Rech, leading to further blocks of **regular** shape. However, the occupation of this outer arc, and particularly the sections to the east of the Merdança, must have been a gradual process, for in the 13th. century

space could be found for the Hospitallers' House and the monastery of Sta.Catalina to be built. Further east the Rech still marked the effective boundary of suburban settlement, and although efforts were made to encourage house construction in the area around the outlying church of Sta.Eulalia del Camp, it is uncertain to what degree they were successful. The zone beyond the Rech was not built up until over a century later, although to the south marine regression meant that further planned suburbs could be built on the shore in the first decades of the 13th.century. To the north the area between St.Pere and the city remained open until the second half of the 13th.century, when further planned growth took place there, although a nucleus of small size still existed around the monastery, linking it with the final straggling houses of the ribbon development along the main road to the north (Fig.100).

To the west, the arc between the Regomir Gate and the Trileia Canonica remained largely open ground even in 1200, with areas of intensive horticultural activity, a small settlement around the church of Sta.Maria del Pi, and growth along the main road leaving the city by the Castell Nou Gate. Beyond the Rambles another nucleus was re-emerging around St.Pau del Camp, and there was perhaps a small degree of ribbon growth along the roads crossing this zone, although the vast majority of it remained unurbanized

even in the later Middle Ages when it was walled.

Suburban development was thus in its origins spontaneous, uncontrolled and unplanned, although often determined by a number of pre-existing minor settlements, important structures or linear features which acted as thoroughfares. From the later 11th. century, planned growth began to play a greater rôle, especially in the form of leases ad construendam in the outer suburbs, although sporadic growth continued within the earlier burgi until all the available space was occupied by housing. From the mid-12th. century, planned development was the general rule, and a number of parts of the city where the mind of one individual or institution is visible belong to this period, although other such planned blocks represent later expansion which took place with the same mentality in the century and a half after 1200. (figs.95, 101-102).

CHAPTER XIV

HOUSES AND LAND USAGE IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BARCELONA

Introduction

The subject of domestic residences, other than those of the bishops and counts, is not one which has attracted any great interest in the past. Even Balari in his encyclopaedic work made but little reference to housing and left many questions unanswered, and neither did Carreras Candi dedicate much space, although the little he did write has served as the basis for subsequent commentaries, such as those of del Castillo or Dra. Tintó¹. Elsewhere in Spain, the only work which can be said to have made a substantial contribution to the field is that of Sánchez-Albornoz, first published over fifty years ago².

This lack of interest is not to be wondered at, considering there is no structure of the period which survives in its entirety, although it seems probable that fragments of dwellings of the later part of the period remain to be located, hidden under the accretions of centuries. The earliest standing houses in the city proper date from the 13th. century, and even some of these attributions may be dubious³, and whereas in the suburbs some later 12th. and early 13th. century structures were certainly standing until

early this century, once again it is doubtful whether any substantial remains survive⁴. Thus although a detailed architectural survey of certain districts might produce further evidence of 13th. century and possibly earlier structures, in the absence of archaeological evidence, this investigation must be almost exclusively based on documentary material and comparative evidence from other cities or periods.

1. The Houses.

a) Domus v. casa

The most frequently employed word to describe a dwelling in the Barcelona sources was domus. This could refer to both the entire complex of buildings (C.186) or might have a more restricted sense of the dwelling house alone (C.196). However, other words were also used to describe residences, particularly the one that has passed into modern Catalan, casa, though like domus it is more frequently found in the plural form. Several suggestions may be made to account for the differences between the two words. Firstly, there seems to have been a shift in their employment in the course of time, for casa is predominant in the earlier years of the 11th. century, but rapidly declined after the middle of the century although it did not totally disappear⁵. This could be explained by changing fashions and speech, were it not for two factors. Of the twenty-five documents

referring to the intra-mural area which contain the word, about half the locatable examples refer to the not very widely documented southern part of the city⁶. Moreover, the word continued to be used in rural contexts⁷. These two factors are not unrelated for it has already been noted that the Regomir quarter had a markedly rural character throughout the 11th. century, and whereas casa fell into disuse in the more urbanized parts of the walled area in the second half of the century, this process took longer there.

In the case of the suburbs the pattern produced is similar, although with slight differences. Both domus and casa are found from an early date, although the latter is as frequent until the 1070's, nearly a generation later than the transition in the walled area⁸. It was only in the last three decades of the century that it was supplanted by domus, which is almost exclusively employed in the following century. As in the case of the intra-mural area, the continued use of casa can be related to the rural nature of the burgo and suburbium until well into the 11th. century, a factor which recurs throughout these pages.

Collectively, but particularly in the suburbs, it may be possible to detect structural differences between what was considered as a casa and a domus. Although both words are used to describe the same structure on a few occasions (S.12), it is more

usual to find the developed features of the sophisticated town-house, which are discussed below, in association with a domus. Alongside the casa one finds a yard, enclosing walls, a well, 'horts', but rarely evidence of several storeys, or workshops, or stonework and sewers. The evidence would thus tend to suggest that in the majority of cases, and making allowance for the personal whims of individuals, and what is more to the point, of the scribes they employed, the casa was a far simpler structure. Similarly, individual casae could be combined to make a domus, particularly in the earlier part of the period when unitary structures were exceptional: e.g. domos meas, id sunt casae tres et est solarium unum cum suo subtalo et casa una pedania cum suas foveas et cloclea, et alia coquina cum cigea cum foveas cum solos et superpositos cum puteo, cum lecto torculario (S.50). However, it seems unlikely that the reverse was ever true.

In all parts of the city the plural forms of both words are more frequent, especially in the case of domus, than the singular. The reason for this is uncertain. In the later 10th. and early 11th. centuries it would be feasible to explain this by the presence of units containing several separate structures, like that described above. However, it is only in this period that any contrast between singular and plural forms exists. In the later 11th. and 12th. centuries the ubiquitousness of the plural form domos is hard to explain, as other evidence would suggest that a

single unit residence with an adjoining yard was the norm. There is a small amount of evidence from the later 12th century which hints at the presence of horizontal as well as vertical property divisions: in other words, Barcelona was taking its first steps towards becoming the great city of residence in flats and apartments that it is today: thus in 1171 we hear of illam domum meam quam habeo in domibus meis sub-tus solarium meum iuxta ipsam portam (S.470 bis). Nevertheless, one finds it difficult to imagine that this was anything but an exception. In other cases the plural form may be explicable by the presence of various families sharing one house, or having rights over the same dwelling, or even by the presence of a block of smaller houses within one property, for these seem to have existed in Tortosa after its Reconquest⁹, but, all the same, it is still difficult to see why the plural form was almost invariably used.

A third word used to describe the urban residence was mansio. Although this can be equated with parata or inn on occasions in early medieval Catalonia¹⁰, there is no hint of this function from the Barcelona sources, and it is understood as being an equivalent to domus or casa. There is a certain amount of evidence to indicate that mansiones were often more grandiose: they are predominantly found in the more developed northern half of the walled area, and frequently on the line of the defences, and with their

towers and solidity must have imparted an otherwise rare degree of grandeur¹¹. In the same way, one might cite the mansiones Paradisi in the street of the same name, occupying a large plot at the angle (C.242), or in the suburbs a mansio in the street leading towards Sta.Maria del Mar in 1093 described as having two solars with separate halls, the whole complex having been stone-built (S.220).

However, this was not always so, and the distinction between the three words must have been very subjective at times, left to the idiosyncracies of individual scribes. As but one example, in the will of Bishop Vivas in the late 10th.century, he left a mansio to his sister, whereas in the sacramental swearing of the conditions of the same document, the same structure is described as a casa (C.14, S.25). Another mansio, the property acquired by Joan Gamáz in 1068-69, hardly differs in its description from many of the normal houses, and moreover the price involved does not suggest a particularly splendid structure (C.117-8). In addition, the same property was described as a domus less than a decade later (C.132). Similarly, in a group of properties described in the years 1039-40, the words domos and mansiones are used interchangeably (C.61-65).

Although some of the owners of these mansiones are well-known figures in the urban context, others

are otherwise unrecorded, and a large proportion of these buildings cannot be located to any particular zone. This is because of their appearance in wills rather than the other classes of documentation: indeed nearly half the examples are derived from wills, which usually lacked detailed topographical information, and it is a number which is disproportionate with the number of extant wills¹². This itself may contain a clue for the interpretation of the word mansio, for it may have been usually applied to one's own residence, implying a meaning in the sense of home or dwelling, rather than denoting any structural distinction¹³.

At an even higher level than the mansiones were the palatia, but this was only used in four contexts: firstly to describe the Comital Palace and the Lesser Comital^P Palace: secondly to refer to the various Episcopal Palaces which existed in this period, and finally in the case of the house of the late Ramon Dalmau, which was later to form the core of the new Episcopal Palace, and may thus be regarded as exceptional¹⁴. However palatial the residences of the later 12th. century bourgeoisie might have been, they were customarily described as domos.

b) The Features of a house: general points.

The available documents often contain fairly detailed descriptions of the structures changing hands, and to a lesser degree of the neighbouring properties. Inevitably there arises the problem of to what degree they might be stereotyped, but considering their brevity, by the choice of certain words they enable us to differentiate between various classes of property, although it is very difficult to provide precise details of the structures or their plan. To take an example, two documents from the same part of the city, of the same year, and composed by the same scribe read as follows:

turrem meam et murum atque domos et puteum atque schalam ex petra et calcefactam, cum solis et suprapositis, guttis et stillicidiis, ianuis et hostiis, cloacis atque foveis, sive liminibus cum porticu (C.107).

"my tower and part of the city-wall, with the houses, well and staircase made of stone and mortar, together with the site and all upon it, the gutters and drains, doors and doorways, sewers and (cess-)pits, and the boundaries of the property with the portico".

casas cum curtes, solis et suprapositis, parietes, guttas et stillicidiis et muro, ostios, ianuas atque limites, foveas et clohachas et ortos cum parietes et arboribus variis generis et puteos (C.108).

"houses with yards, the site and all upon it, the surrounding wall, gutters and drains, and the

part of the city-wall, doorways, doors and boundaries, (cess-)pits and sewers, and the orchard with the various classes of trees and wells therein".

There is clearly a degree of similarity between the two, certain phrases are repeated, and could have had little real meaning, but there are others which make it clear that the two were quite distinct. One may therefore be led to suspect that it would be impossible to convey a vision of a typical urban house of this period, in the intra-mural area at least: each, given the long history of occupation of the area, had different conditioning factors, according to size, location and owner. Moreover, it seems likely that the documents mainly inform us about certain levels of society, notably the more wealthy types of housing: of the houses of the poor our sources are either silent, or the descriptions are so brief that no details are provided. One can only attempt to bring together the features which occur with regularity, analyse their meaning and distribution, and from this information endeavour to reach some conclusion on the various types of structures which were to be found at any one moment.

Similar house-descriptions occur in the suburbs. The same stereotyped phrases - solo et superposito, guttis et stillicidiis, hostiis, ianuis et limitis foveis et cloacis - are found, the inclusion or

omission of which had little meaning, especially in the 12th. century, unless the words involved were defined in greater detail. A similar range of other words is also found, which provides some extra details of the houses and land-usage, although there would appear to be a tendency to greater simplicity and brevity in the suburban documentation, an aspect determined by the simpler type of housing and the lack of variation between one house and its neighbours, particularly in the outer suburbs, ^{which} developed later.

These were quite unlike the intra-mural area and some parts of the inner arc of suburbs, where houses were more influenced by structures surviving from previous periods, or moments when development was more spontaneous.

c) The burgage plot.

First of all, the site on which the house was built was known by one of a series of words. A large proportion of the descriptions include the phrase solo et superposito or a variant, and the very repetition leads one to suspect that this was generally a formula with little real meaning, referring to the plot and the various structures on it. That, however, a degree of care was taken in the composition of this phrase, at least in the earlier part of the period, is suggested by the appearance of the solum alone, without the superposito. Such a case in 1067 refers

to a piece of unbuilt land (C.113). A similar reference occurs in 1082 in a description of a garden (C.148) and a third is related to casalicia (C.163). As will be seen below such structures were usually minor appendages often for storage of produce or equipment, and such a meaning is likely in this case: casalitios constructos atque edificatos in ortale Sancte Crucis Sancteque Eulalie, solis cum parietibus et cum una vite.

In contrast to these references to obviously unbuilt land stand two referring to the same or neighbouring properties in 1114 and 1116 (C.192,198), in which the word is unequivocally related to a house and the implication is far from clear. In the earlier document the juxtaposition with the word solario may suggest that solo was being used in the sense of a structure underneath, i.e. a subtalo, although the second one has no such connection. These, however, must be regarded as anomalous, and the conclusion must be that the solum was a plot of land, usually with a house erected upon it, while the superposito normally referred to any structures built on that plot.

Although the normal meaning of solarium was that of a large room at first floor level, it occasionally had the same meaning as solum, slightly closer to the modern Spanish and Catalan 'solar'.¹⁵ This would appear to be the implication of the usage in a document of 971, where it is found in association with a yard and storage pits rather than any part of

the house, and the boundaries included a solario Judaico (C.6). Similarly the phrase ortulum cum IIII^{or} palmis legitimis de nostro solario in a document of 1154 must have had a comparable meaning (C.263).

d) Casales and casalicia.

Although the word 'casal' in modern Catalan usually has the sense of a substantial country house¹⁶, the usage of the word casalis in the 11th. and 12th. centuries was markedly distinct. No fewer than five possible meanings have been proposed by the compilers of the Glossary of Latin in medieval Catalonia: the first three are only applicable to fural contexts and only the fourth, "terreno junto a una casa sin edificar o con cobertizos u otras edificaciones modestas", and fifth, "terreno apto para ser edificado" are relevant for present purposes¹⁷.

In the majority of the thirty-five documents referring to intramural properties where the word is found employed there is no direct indication as to which of these two meanings is the more likely. Fortunately, however, a few are clear: the donation in 1078 of casales....ad rehedificandum et condirigendum (C.135) or that of 1067 of ipsos casales ibidem sitos ut hedifices ibi domos ad habitandum (C.113) can leave little doubt that the latter meaning is implied. Various other factors indicate that this meaning

holds true for the majority of examples. Firstly, they are only rarely found in direct association with a dwelling: only in the case of *casas et curte et casal et arbores et puteo* (C.66), *domos et casales* (C.167) and *casales disco-opertos* (C.197) are we in possession of references to small, non-residential structures adjoining a house. In the majority of other examples, where more information other than the word in isolation is presented, the *casal* usually takes first place where one would normally expect to find *domus* or *casa*, and with the remaining constituent parts of the house following: e.g. *casales et parietibus et puteo et curte et arbores* (C.80): *casales cum parietibus, guttis et stillicidiis et cloacis dis-currentibus* (C.263). Although in most cases this must have represented land fit to build on, in others it could quite easily satisfy the other meaning, and there is no reason why such a property should not have been detached from one house to another, and this certainly happened in at least one case: *illos nostros casales cum curtali et parietibus et cum medietate ipsius putei cum solis et suprapositis, guttis et stillicidiis..... iuxta domos in quibus habitas* (C.294).

In the majority of cases, the word appears in isolation, or very nearly so, with little or no information to aid its interpretation. The distribution, although far from even, is widespread, and it is found throughout the intra-mural area, and during both

the 11th. and 12th. centuries, although rarely on more than a couple of occasions per decade. However, there is a surprisingly high number of documents prior to the year 1000 which contain this word, and in these it frequently appears on more than one occasion. Unfortunately, several of these cannot be located to any precise zone of the city with any degree of security, although those that can be ~~all~~ seem to be connected with the area around the Regomir gate. Given the date at which they occur, the presence of damage to the defences in this part of the city, and a tradition of a dual attack by land and sea, there can be little hesitation that these were the result of the destruction wrought by the forces of Almansur in 985¹⁸.

In the case of the suburban area similar evidence can be found for the same period. In the decade after 985 the word casal is found eight times in documents concerning the full extent of the burgo at that date¹⁹. The primary position of the word (S.29), its association with yards (S.16,26), the references to solos without the corresponding superpositos (S.17,26) would all indicate that these were plots on which houses had once existed, but which had been damaged or destroyed in 985, and which were now gradually being rebuilt. The proof of this lies in a reference of 993 to a casale ad domum faciendum (S.22) and even more clearly a few years later there was still terra ubi fuerunt ipsas casas (S.32).

The word casalicium is generally accepted to cover a similar range of meanings to casal²⁰. In the walled area it was used only sparsely, and unlike casal, the majority of interpretable examples seem to imply minor structures rather than plots for houses²¹. Only in the case of a document of 997 referring to the Regomir zone and mentioning no fewer than five casalicia, many of whose owners were deceased, is there a probable example of the latter meaning (C.15).

In the suburban area, on the other hand, the majority of the examples of this word point to the meaning of a plot suitable for construction. In 1014 two pieces of land are described as casaliceas (S.46), and between 1015 and 1028 a property in the Regomir suburb called a casalicium was attached to a yard (curte), the site (solo), the surrounding walls (parietes), foundations (fundamenta), posts (fustamina), gutters and drains (guttis et stillicidiis), and measured approximately eleven metres by eight and a half: in other words, it contained all the necessary material for a house, but lacked the actual structure (S.47,57,78). On a further occasion, in 1078, a property in the future C/Basea, consisting of a solar and undercroft with unroofed casalicios with a yard and well, was leased with the condition that it was to be rebuilt (ut ipsos domos edificetis) by the abbot of St.Llorenç del Munt (S.173).

During this same period, the word casal continued to be used in the suburban area, although the contexts that can be interpreted suggest that it was more often associated with horticultural plots than building ones, and was thus probably widely used in the sense of subsidiary structures. For example, in 1018 we hear of an orto, kasale, cum solo et superposito²², parietes, guttas et stillicinios et cum ipsas sepes que ingiro sunt (S.54). Another type of lesser building is indicated in connection with a baker's oven: ipso furno...id est buada et casal cooperto cum fustos et portico et cartello cum parietes in circuitu (S.163), which is perhaps best interpreted as a yard surrounded by a wall, on the inside of which were built various lean-to structures.

Nevertheless, any distinction that can be made between casales and casalicia is probably largely artificial, and the words may have always been interchangeable. Certainly, any difference that may have existed disappeared by the end of the 11th. century and throughout the succeeding one. Casalicios are found in a subsidiary position to houses in 1115 (S.275), whereas casales were leased with an improvement condition (S.290-1) and in connection with a house that had burned down (S.283). Both words disappear as the century progresses, as the environment became less rural on the one hand, and on the other as building plots were expressed by phrases such as terra ad domum construendam²³.

e) Superstructure: solars and undercrofts.

A large number of the houses contained by these plots were either described as solaria or included one as part of the description. In this case the word cannot mean the site itself, but must refer to some upper part of the structure, for it frequently, although not always, occurs in the phrase solario et subtalo, indicating the presence of something underneath. That a solarium was an upper storey or room even without the presence of the subtalo, is demonstrated by several documents: in 1108 a casa I cum solario que est de super (C.187): in 1098 cum ipso solario super porta (C.181) and in 1147 ipso meo solarario quod tenet secum turre superdicte Bertrandi (C.247), which must imply that the solar was adjacent to one of the chambers of a wall tower, and therefore at some height above ground level. The most likely interpretation is thus as either the main room of the house, or the whole of the first-floor level, with storage space and work areas below²⁴. This corresponds closely to the distribution of the later medieval town-house, with its large arched entrance from the street, and a staircase leading up round a central courtyard to the main rooms on the first floor, with further lesser rooms and storage space above beneath the roof (fig.112-4).

The function of the subtalo or undercroft is illustrated by two documents of the last years of the

11th.century: solario cum subtalo sive operatorio (C.169) and solario cum obrados (C.157). These both refer to a part of the city where there was a degree of artisan activity. Elsewhere where there was less evidence of this, the ground floor was presumably used for storing agricultural produce and equipment, and for stables.

It is probable that the earliest solars - and they are found from the end of the tenth century - were constructed of mud-brick, wood or unmortared stone, or a combination of the three, for the sources remark on the more splendid ones of mortared stone, which must imply that the lower part of the house was of the same material: e.g. solario ex petra et calce (C.125): ipso solario ex petra et calce constructum (C.139). Other examples had stairways of the same material leading up to them (C.65,180). Another aspect which is sometimes emphasised is the recent date of their construction, a factor of which the owner was obviously proud, presumably stressing the contrast between the surrounding buildings, the heirs of Antiquity, and this innovation: ipso solario noviter hedificato qui est ad ipsa porta (C.84): ipso nostro solario novo (C.222).

Like domus, the word is often found in the plural, although since this is normally a consequence of the plural description of the house, it is difficult to

determine whether this implies several adjoining rooms, or possibly an extra storey, or not. On a few occasions the number is enumerated: domos meliores.... scilicet solarium unum et turrem, voltam et ipsum murum cum camera (C.194) or turres duas et solarios duas (C.73). The link between wall-towers and solaria was a close one. An example of the solarium probably adjoining the lower chamber of the tower has been cited above, and it seems unlikely that this was a unique case, and other possible examples can be mentioned: solarios cum ipsa turre condirecta et subtalos (C.34) and ipsam turrem et ipsum solarium (C.38) and this may have been typical of the structures against the rear face of the defences (fig.111).

Not surprisingly, within the 11th.century at least, examples are largely limited to the northern half of the walled city, although they are not absent from elsewhere²⁵. In the rest of the walled area, however, they are generally found along the line of the defences²⁶. Even in the 12th.century, the number constructed away from the zone around the cathedral was minimal²⁷. Unfortunately the origins of the type are uncertain, for the tenth century examples do not cite subtalos and thus may not have had the same meaning²⁸. Even so, the type was well established by the mid-11th.century, and like many other features of the urban renewal of that century, became increasingly popular.

Solaria were far more widespread in the walled area than in the suburbs, where fewer than twenty examples can be located in the space of two centuries as opposed to double that number from the walled area²⁹. This would tend to confirm the previously stated hypothesis that suburban houses were generally less sophisticated than their neighbours within the defences. The first suburban examples occur, as in the city proper, at the end of the 10th.century (S.11), although they were exceptional until a century later. They were principally located in the areas of the suburbs which were first developed and which in the 12th.century were the most intensively urbanized. They are not recorded in the outer suburbs, nor in zones developed after the end of the 11th.century.

Like the intra-mural examples they were almost invariably at first floor level with the subtalo underneath. In the case of examples near the market this was generally used as a workshop (S.137,533). In addition, there is a unique reference, which has already been mentioned, which implies the presence of a separate dwelling at street level, under the solarium (S.470 bis). As in the walled area, they were increasingly built of stone from the later 11th.century onwards, or had stone staircases. Again there could be several in one residential complex: mansiones meas proprias, id sunt duos solarios cum singulas salas constructas ex petra et calce (S.220), or they could

form a separate structure within one complex: domos meas, id sunt casa; tres, et est solarium unum cum suo subtalo (S.50). The prices involved in their purchase were often higher than those paid for a house without such a feature at the same date: for example one was sold in 1008 for sixteen mancuses (S.41), while the standard price was about half that amount (S.40,42). In addition, some of the most outstanding residents of the suburbs owned houses possessing them, such as Bonucius Vivas (S.176) and the Bernat Marcus family (S.398,551).

It has already been noted that underneath the solarium there was often storage or working space: but other structures were also often associated with the house, for it seems that only rarely would this one structure constitute the entire residence, and this only appears to have happened in the later 12th. century when the pressure on available space in some parts might have been increasing to the extent that it was necessary to build cheek by jowl, or rather wall to wall, with no space between - indeed the picture that is immediately conjured to mind when medieval cities are mentioned³⁰. Before this date then, it was usual for the residence to be more extensive and include a number of subsidiary structures, presumably a relic of the style of housing of antiquity, influenced by the rural residences of the early Middle Ages.

Both in the city and the suburbs, a large proportion of the solaria had adjoining yards or curtes. (C.19,65, S.41,89 etc.). As part of the dwelling several had porticos, normally fronting onto a street (C.180, S.288). There are references to an occasional cellar, probably set below ground-level, at least in part, and perhaps beneath the subtalo (C.38,181). At the other extreme several had structures known as pinnacula attached, which were probably a type of tower (C.259,263, S.220), and these also became a characteristic of later medieval houses. On occasions there were other structures designed for habitation within the complex, though it is uncertain how they ranked socially: ipsos domos ubi habitabat, id sunt duas turres et duos muros et ipso solarario noviter hedificato qui est ad ipsa porta, et ipsas curtes cum ipsos domos qui in medium earum sunt (C.84). However, in the majority of cases it seems clear that, when it was present, the solarium was the primary dwelling, even though not necessarily the largest: e.g. mansiones meas qui sunt solariis cum subtalibus et operatoriiis, curte et domum maiore (C.199). As for other lesser structures, apart from casales and casalicia associated with horticultural activity, there are several examples of coquinae, some form of detached kitchen (S.50). Others may have had detached privies (S.484) as well as the ubiquitous pits, drains and wells. Indeed, the whole must have often been so complex that the sources refer to 'all

the other buildings': turres duas et solarios duos cum hominis illorum edificias et cortale que ibidem est (C.73),

f) Cellars

The meaning of the word 'celler' in modern Catalan, which is specialized in the sense of a place for storing wine, leads one to conjecture that this was the normal usage in the early medieval period³¹. Fortunately some degree of proof is found in a will of 1161 which refers to una tonna cum vino que erat in suo cellario (C.281). The presence of such structures is logical considering the importance of viticulture in the 'Pla de Barcelona' at this date. It has been proposed that much of the wealth generated in the 11th. century by men such as Ricart Guillem was derived from the sale of wine. In wills there are numerous references to tonnas and cubos for the storage of wine, and these even came to be given names³².

The topographical location of the nine recorded cellaria is most interesting: all but one can be located with some degree of accuracy, and they seem to have been mainly situated in the southern half of the walled city. Unlike so many of the descriptive words there is no apparent limit in time - they date from 1021 to 1191. The key point seems to have been

their function and the social status of the owners of the houses of which they formed part. The house which Ricart Guillem left to his sons in 1115 included one (C.195) as did that which was to be used by the Counts Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II as an alternative city residence to the Comital Palace³³. The other houses which contained them were either similarly large or part of estates of comparable wealth. For instance in 1021, Marcutius the Greek, who had owned at least two wall-towers plus a another mansio and extensive property in the southern part of the city, bequeathed to his son Guilabert alterum solarium et turrem cum curte et cellarario et puteo et quoquina (C.38). In 1059 Bavet Rainard, who owned extensive tracts in Provençals and near the Regomir Gate, left his son Odo ipso cellarario cum medietate de ipsa curte (C.94), which was presumably alongside the mansio and the other half of the yard which had been given to another son in the previous clause. In 1062, the executors of Udalgard passed to the Cathedral Canons another 'cellar' near the cemetery of St. Just, and the same document refers to numerous pieces of vineyards that the deceased had acquired in the territorium (C.97). In 1098 Arbert Bernat, one of the first Vicars of the city, possessed houses which had belonged to his father, consisting of the two wall-towers with the adjoining lengths of curtain wall, a solar and a cellarium, all probably located in a large estate to the south of the Castell

Vell gate (C.181). Finally, in 1161, the will of Arnau Mir had a second house with a cellar near Pere Arbert Pons' house, which was probably located in or near the modern C/de la Llibreteria (C.281).

In the case of the suburbs, only two more instances can be added, both in the 12th. century. Firstly, the well-known cleric, Ramon Dalmau, left various properties in his will of 1115 to the monastery of Sta. Maria de Ripoll. These were located at the foot of the defences, immediately outside the Bishop's Gate, and included ipsum meum cellarium (S.277). Secondly, a pledge by Bernat Marcus (III) in 1191 refers to his cellarium (S.559). Unfortunately, no further topographical information is provided, and Bernat's will of five years later makes no reference to this property, although one might suspect that it was located in the main area of the family's holdings, around the chapel which his father had ordered to be built.

The striking factor about all these individuals is that they were men of great importance in the life of the city, who also had extensive property in the territorium. Most of the documents are wills, which suggests that the 'celler' was a valuable piece of real estate, jealously guarded and passed from father to son in families which had links with wine-production, and may indicate that they were entrepreneurs in an incipient wine-trade, for it is difficult to imagine that all the produce was for local consumption.

g) Porticoes, vaults and arches.

That these were the same as, or similar to, a portico of the classical period, of which there were certainly examples in Barcelona, that is a covered area normally supported by a colonnade along the line of a street, can only be assumed, for the sources give little direct information of either function or design. It is also possible that a portico need not have faced outwards, and could also have looked onto an internal courtyard. One of the characteristics of later Medieval Catalan urban houses is an open gallery at first floor level, at the top of the staircase leading from the internal courtyard. Since other features of these houses were already present in 12th. century houses, it seems possible that this can be traced back to this period. The absence of other suitable words to describe it might suggest that the word portico could represent this feature.

An examination of the contexts in which the word appears confirms this diversity of meanings. Within the defences, thirteen examples are recorded³⁴, principally concentrated in the area between the Comital Palace, the Miracle and the Castell Vell. In fact a division can be made between the examples in this area and those elsewhere, which probably correlates with a division in type and function. As has been shown elsewhere, this was a focus of art-

isan activity and in several of these there is an apparent link between the portico and the workshop³⁵. Moreover, this type of structure seems to have been designed with the idea of establishing an extensive street frontage, for all had two sides of the property at least facing onto thoroughfares, and in one case all four sides (C.186). Furthermore, one example makes it clear that the portico itself faced the street: ubi super ipsos archus faciatis antbannum cum bigis et porticu quod exeat super eandem carreram (C.240). This is of some importance for it is the first unequivocal reference to an arched or colonnaded passageway between the ground floor of the house and the street, and with the first floor extending over the passage. Such features were common in medieval Catalan towns, and one has only to visit any small town with a proportion of architecture of medieval origin to find examples.

This feature is also described as an archus in the sources. Leaving aside the use of the arches of the Roman aqueducts in the medieval period for later discussion, there are a number of examples which are patently not part of the aqueduct. In the majority of examples these were, as above, the vaults of the disused 'Hospital d'En Guitart', which, through the initiative of Count Ramon Berenguer IV, were being adapted for artisan use (C.255,313). Presumably the difference between these and porticos

was one of design, and they were likely to have been or low arched construction rather than colonnades. This combination of structure in one place can be seen today in Seu d'Urgell. The word volta is also applied in the same context, and other examples of similar structures are found in adjacent parts of the city, perhaps suggesting a common function (C.240,245,283). The majority of references are of the mid-12th.century, and that they were an innovation is perhaps suggested by the reference to archubus ibi noviter factus in the Miracle area in 1151 (C.255).

Other occurrences of the words archus and volta, with the exception of the vaults linking the wall-towers³⁶, are limited to the market area. In 1114 there were archos de petra et calce constructos just to its north (S.271): in 1158 two workshops in ipsam vvolta constructos in the street leading to Sta.Maria del Mar (S.399) and another example in 1160 (S.409). Similarly, in 1164/5 a Hebrew document refers to the portico of the Market (S.436).

Nevertheless, this was not the only meaning of the word portico. Five of the intra-mural examples make it clear that there was a close link between the portico and a yard of some sort, for the word always follows that of curte or curtilium³⁷. One example gives a more detailed description: et feci

ibi cortallo cum fundamento de duas tapieras ex petra et calce constructum et feci ibi porticum et portas et hostios (C.197). The three examples of the word from the suburban area are in similar contexts,³⁸ and must be related to the idea of a structure round a yard at ground floor level, rather than facing a street. As confirmation of this suggestion, one might point out that few of these properties, with the exception of one (C.76) had extensive street frontages.

There is also some evidence to support the hypothesis mentioned above that the portico may have been a first-floor internal gallery. In one context, it is found next to the camera, which, as will be seen below, was a private room at first floor level³⁹, and in another the position depends on the sense of the word socanial. If, as seems possible, it means 'eave', it is likely that this also refers to such a gallery for otherwise it is difficult to see how the portico could rise to the same height as the eave of the adjoining house⁴⁰.

It thus seems likely that there were three possible meanings of the word portico:

i) a structure adjoining the street for retail or artisan activities and found principally from the late 11th. century onwards: also described as archus or volta.

ii) a portico round a courtyard, presumably incorporating various lesser structures, and found principally in the 11th. century.

iii) a gallery at first floor level, the forerunner of similar features in later houses.

Houses in the Arcs Antics suburb often included arches as part of their structure. In the 11th. century in particular their solidity must have been welcome support. The most common function, to judge from the fact that their course survives as a street line, would have been as part of the façade and entrance to the structure, extending up to first-floor level⁴¹.

h) Salae.

Returning to the house itself, we also find references to parts other than the solarium which were intended primarily for habitation: one of these was the sala⁴². The possible meanings of this word are diverse⁴³, and although the original one was probably that of a dwelling of one room, like those found in Lucca and Pistoia in the 8th. century⁴⁴, the meaning may have changed somewhat by the 11th. century. From the available sources, it may be suggested that it had come to mean the principal room of the house, especially one where a number of people could gather, that is a 'hall'. There cer-

tainly seems to have been a degree of pride in the possession of such a structure, for in two of the four intra-mural examples they are distinguished by being new. Although in one of these (C.101) this may have been the sole feature of the dwelling, for the only adjunct is a courtyard, the other (C.119) is quite distinct. The owner was none other than Ricart Guillem, who in the preceding five or six years had steadily acquired extensive property rights along the defences to the south of the Castell Nou. It is thus clear that sala could not have represented the entirety of the complex. In addition to being new, this sala was of some height, if not of more than one storey, for the source is the settlement of a dispute with his neighbour, Mir Oliba, who had complained about the rainwater falling from the gutters of the sala into his courtyard.

The two 12th.century examples are less revealing: the earlier (C.263) was presumably part of a house built in a vicecomital allod near the Miracle, while the later (C.266) was a rather special structure, probably located either near the entrance or the apse of the Cathedral. The presence of a portico suggests a building of some quality, and the fact that it had been held by the magister may relate to the poorly known Cathedral school.

In the case of the suburban examples there also

appears to have been two contrasting meanings. On the one hand there are instances in the street leading to Sta.Maria del Mar which are clearly parts of houses with a considerable degree of architectural sophistication, incorporating stone-built salae and solaria, and towers⁴⁵. On the other hand, there are several occurrences of the word in the area around Sta.Anna in the later 12th.century, where structures were generally simple and the word could have referred to a one-roomed dwelling, or possibly just the bur-gage plot⁴⁶.

i) Chambers

There are but three references to chambers, all within the walls. These must have been smaller, more private rooms in houses of some significance, especially of use in winter and bad weather, when they would have been easier to heat. The first example, from Ramon Dalmat's will, implies that the camara was located over the vault which he had constructed with special permission c.1078, and such a position would have restricted its size.⁴⁷ The second is also from a will, and concerns the houses of a cleric called Guerau Ramon, which were left to the Canons except camera, necessaria et porticu, whereas his brother received the houses in which he resided cum camera et porticu for his lifetime (C.211). The implication is of two adjoining structures, with

private facilities which had perhaps been shared by the two brothers. In addition the chamber was probably situated near the portico, in this case presumably an internal first-floor gallery, as well as the privy.

The final example comes from a building agreement between Ponç of Toulouse and Pere of Perpinyà, in which the former gave the latter permission to construct a pinnaculum above his chamber, and on the wall of the former's new solarium they had to jointly build a channel for the collection of rainwater, which would lead to Pere's side of the wall. Probably, in order to avoid damage from rainwater falling onto his chamber and new solarium, Ponç insisted on the channel being built as a condition for permission to build the pinnaculum: it seems likely that the solar and chamber were at the same level, and presumably contiguous⁴⁸,

That other structures contained similar 'halls' and chambers seems probable, but they are not mentioned. In both cases they are related to houses of some significance, but their inclusion in these documents must have been largely a matter of chance, for in virtually all the cases described they are in some way exceptional, mainly wills and agreements, which often employed a range of vocabulary wider than that of the standard property sales.

j) Pinnacula.

What of the pinnaculum cited in the agreement of 1135 ? Such structures appear to have been frequent in the central part of the city from the late 11th.century onwards⁴⁹. The exact meaning of the word is again far from clear, although according to Du Cange it can either mean simply the highest point, or more specifically some form of tower or steeple.⁵⁰ It would seem that the latter is the more probable interpretation in the case of Barcelona.

There is a clear link with the solarium: in five of the examples from the walled city the pinnaculum is described as part of one. This, unfortunately, provides little extra information on their appearance. However, it does seem clear that the pinnacula often rose to some height. In the example of 1098 (C.180) a workshop, almost certainly situated at street level, adjoined a pinnaculum, which, therefore also presumably began at the same level. In 1109 another was next to a wall-tower, and thus at least at first-floor level (C.188), while a further example was found above the level of a first-floor chamber (C.222). A dispute of 1156 (C.268) also illustrates that a pinnaculum could overlook neighbouring properties.

Fewer examples are known from the suburbs, but again they are 12th.century rather than earlier

features. The first example has already been cited in the discussion of salae, and no more can be said⁵¹. The second came from a nearby area in C/Basea and refers to the pinnaculum of a domus⁵². The third is from the Arcs suburb and is related to a solar, and may be connected with a tower⁵³.

The majority of sources thus appear to indicate a structure extending to above the height of the first storey, probably of no great surface area, yet all the same a feature which was not the same as a wall-tower. In addition, it should be noted that the remains of the Roman Temple were also referred to as a pinnaculum in the 12th.century, which is ample proof that they were of some height (S.310+1). Their function remains vague: one possibility is that they were 'miradors' like that constructed in the 14th.century in the Royal Palace⁵⁴. Another that they were the forerunners of the tower-type structures which adjoin large houses of the later medieval period, and project above the level of the roof. A third possibility, perhaps more applicable were joint ownership is attested (C.274), is that they were the area under the roof, usually open to the elements at the sides, where agricultural produce was dried, and once again a feature of later houses⁵⁵.

It is noticeable that in only one case is one

found next to the defences: this could imply that they were a conscious effort by those owning houses away from the defences to imitate the wall-towers which formed an important part of such structures. The areas in which they were found were densely populated in the mid-12th. century, and so both the advantage of gaining space by building upwards, and the prestige of a tower that could not be otherwise obtained, acted as motives to stimulate their construction.

On the other hand, there is a small body of evidence for towers attached to residences away from the defences. An intra-mural example of 1044 may simply be a scribal miscopying of terre by turre (C.68), but later 12th. century examples from the suburbs sound more convincing. The first example is cited on at least three occasions between 1158 and 1166, before finally passing into the hands of the monastery of Stes. Creus (S.400,432,445). However, the property is otherwise undistinguishable from the majority of domos. Another example of domos cum turre occurs near Sta. Maria del Mar (S.422). A further example of 1185 is somewhat doubtful, since the lack of topographical information leaves the possibility that it was located on the defences, although the implication is that it was in the suburbs, and to judge by the association with workshops, not far from the market (S.533). The final instance, of 1193, refers to

houses with a tower in the Arcs Antics suburb (S.585). The same motives as those suggested for the construction of the pinnacula could be applied here, although it should be noted that the phenomenon was never very important, and did not reach the intensity of Italian medieval towns, an aspect that was recorded by Benjamin of Tudela⁵⁶.

k) Building materials.

Having arrived at the highest point of the houses, it is apposite to consider their roofing. Sánchez-Albornoz indicated in his study of León that a large proportion of the houses would have been covered by thatch.⁵⁷ Thatch has never been a common roofing material in Catalonia and indeed there is hardly the necessary source material in many parts. Other forms of organic roofing material may have been employed, though the only indication is a reference to reeds being used in the construction of a house next to the Cathedral⁵⁸. Many of the numerous churches of Romanesque date in Catalonia have roofs of slate, and presuming that they are original, it is possible that higher quality housing was roofed in a similar manner. It appears that the majority of dwellings had low pitched roofs, which are implied by the concern and disputes about water draining from the roof of one house onto another's property. A few may have been flat, especially on the wall-towers and pinnacula

and there is a single reference to a terrace above the vaults of the disused hospital in 1145, although this was rather a special case (C.240).

Apart from references to roofless buildings⁵⁹, and the roofing of churches⁶⁰, only three documents throw any light on this problem⁶¹. A document of 1015 mentions tegulas in the description of some casas (C.30): another of 1088 refers to the tegumentum of a house and the need for adequate drainage (C.158): and finally one of 1116 also cites the use of tegulas in the construction of miscellaneous buildings in previously uncovered casales (C.197). Although there is as yet little evidence for the ceramic products of Barcelona at this date, and pottery may have still been principally a rural craft, for the first potters recorded in the city lived on the very fringes in the late 12th. century, there is slightly more evidence for the activity of tile-makers: one owed an annual rent to Sta. Eulalia del Camp of 7 solidos and 15 tiles (S.449). The slight archaeological evidence from rural sites such as Caulers suggests that tiles were also beginning to replace natural products even in remote rural contexts, and from the territorium of Barcelona there is some evidence for tile-kilns⁶², so one might suppose that tiles were the principal roofing material.

Nor are the sources particularly forthcoming

about the material used for the rest of the structures they describe. There are a handful of references to the use of petra et calce between 1040 and 1145, concerning the walled area, five of which refer to staircases, two to solaria and one each to dividing walls and foundations⁶³. The concentration of the references to stone solaria and staircases in the 11th. rather than the 12th. century would surely suggest that they were becoming sufficiently frequent by then so as not to warrant a more particular reference. This is supported by the use of stonework for such mundane purposes as foundations and dividing walls. Nevertheless, much of the stonework must have been a mixture of stone fragments and lime mortar shaped by shuttering. It is interesting to note that exactly the same progression is visible in the suburbs⁶⁴.

Only the most important buildings would have been of worked stone, and if the stonework of the 11th. century phase of the Comital Palace is taken as an example, it is by no means impressive, consisting of small blocks, only roughly finished, although well-coursed. The standard does not appear to have improved greatly during the succeeding two centuries, if we are to judge by the later phases of the same building, and it is not until the later 13th. century that better finished stonework appears, as in the Episcopal Palace and the late Romanesque phases of the Cathedral.

Most of this stone would have been produced in the quarries of Montjuïc, to which there are a number of references⁶⁵. In other buildings the only pieces of worked stone appeared in the surrounds of doorways and windows and at angles, as continued to be true of many structures until a comparatively recent date.

We can only surmise what the majority of houses would have been built of. The archaeological evidence is very slight. The 13th. or 14th. century parts of the house in C/de Sant Sever.were stone-built⁶⁶, and some of the stone walls located in front of the Cathedral in 1952 (fig.61) must have belonged to houses of this date as the area has been free of structures since c.1422⁶⁷. The solution probably lies in footings or a ground floor of stone, with upper walls of rammed earth 'tapia' with a plastered surface, with floors and roof supports of wood. Such material is visible in the canonical buildings of 13th.century date in Tarragona in the first floor over a ground floor of roughly worked stone⁶⁸. Surrounding walls would no doubt be of the same material, while the frequent references to doors and doorways in the sources may be a result of their being constructed of different material - i.e. stone - to the rest of the walls in which they were set⁶⁹. However, by the end of the 12th.century, the use of stone must have been widespread, particularly in the more wealthy quarters.

1) Yards

Above, reference has been made to the additional buildings that would have been associated with the main residence, at least in the earlier part of the period. These seem to have been located in or around a yard enclosed by walls or parietes, for example curte cum parietes qui in circuitu sunt (C.65). The texts are not particularly explicit about these yards or their functions, although their comprehension is of importance if some deductions on the layout of the residence are to be made.

The word used to describe them is almost invariably curtis at least until the 1060's when the word curtalis begins to appear and is employed with increasing frequency, so that the former had largely gone out of use by the end of the 11th. century⁷⁰. It is difficult to decide whether this is purely a semantic change, or whether there was some real alteration in the nature of these yards, especially in view of the fact that this period was one of great change in the general architecture of the city, and a period of considerable rebuilding.

Although the two words have similar spatial distributions, it is noticeable that the earliest references to the later word appear in association with houses of some importance: thus the earliest occurrence is found with a property consisting of

two wall-towers and two solaria (C.73), the next with a mansie (C.94), another of 1065 with a sala nova (C.101). Although the word 'cortel' in modern Catalan indicates a yard of some size⁷¹, it is difficult to see such a transition fitting into the course of events in the 11th. and 12th. centuries when the yards ought to have contracted as the pressure on space grew. The Glossary of Medieval Latin for Catalonia makes no great distinction between the words, and when the two words appear together (e.g. C.170 and 196), it suggests that the curtalis meant either a piece of land fit for the construction of a curtis or a small group of curtes⁷².

One possible hypothesis is that the curtis was a large yard with the various constituent parts of the house distributed in and around it, while the curtalis was a smaller yard situated either to one side of the house or in the central position, with the body of the residence arranged round it on three or four sides. This would fit the temporal progression, for in the case of the houses standing in the area near the Cathedral in the later 12th. century, which almost invariably included a curtalis⁷³, the only possible interpretation can be one of these two because of the very density of structures. However, the absolute proof for this is lacking, and during the previous hundred years there may have been cases in which the two words were used interchangeably.

The same transition in the usage of the two words occurred in the suburbs, but at a slightly later date, which would suggest that it represented a real change. Whereas in the walled area, curtis was giving way to curtalis well before the end of the 11th. century, here the change apparently did not take place until the 1130's or even later⁷⁴; this would support the hypothesis of decreasing size, space generally being more highly prized within the walls than outside, where the lack of pressure meant that people could continue owning extensive yards. When the curtalis did start to become commonplace, it is noticeable that the borders of properties often refer to the yard of X's houses, thereby supporting the idea that it was located to one (or more) side of the dwelling. Corroborative evidence can be found in a document of 1173 which cites ipse curtale quod est ante ipsum domum (S.485)⁷⁵. Nevertheless, both curtis and curtalis were primarily a feature of the residential complex, rather than any other class of property, and only on rare occasions would the two be separated (C.15,85).

m) Subsidiary structures.

Within these yards could be found a number of features. The possible use of the words casales and casalicia to ^{describe} minor structures has already been mentioned: these structures could be roofed, casal co-

operto cum fustos (S.163), or unroofed (C.197), and could have been used for a variety of functions, including the storage of equipment and produce, and shelter for animals.

More general words were also used to describe such structures, like edificia and apudiciis, both found in the suburbs (S.48,76). Another word that is only recorded in the extra-mural area is casula: although in the early 11th. century it is found in association with horticultural land, the references of the second half of the century always connect it with yards (S.36,49,119,155,187,208). The implication is that it was some type of shed rather than a residential building, and presumably had a single stoney⁷⁶. A similar type of structure was the domicilium of which two were located in a close described in 1017: ipse ferragenale cum duos domicilios, unum superior et alium inferior cum suis celos et superpositos....cum ipsos archos opere antice factos, the suggestion being that the remains of the aqueduct were used to support these minor structures (S.49).

Another structure which must have been independent from the main dwelling was the coquina⁷⁷, a detached kitchen. There is no limit in time for these structures, nor in their distribution within the walls. Nor are they exclusively related to any one particular class of property, for they are found in large and small ones, with purely resi-

dential and semi-industrial ones. The fact that the word does not appear in descriptions after 1115 is not significant, for it continued to be cited in boundary descriptions, and this in itself would indicate that the coquina was often situated at the furthest limit of the property, away from the house, in order to minimize the fire-risk ⁷⁷ bis.

That it was a roofed structure is implied by the references to guttis, and there was also a link with the curtis, and also porticoes, which, in these examples were probably arranged around the yard. The association with workshops in two cases is somewhat surprising and may indicate that the range of functions was wider than that usually suggested.

Only two examples are known in the suburbs, both of early date: the first refers to a coquina in connection with a house and yard (S.12), while the other states that the coquina was one of three casae which made up the domus, thereby giving evident proof of the detached nature of this kind of structure (S.50). The later scarcity is presumably an indication of the gradual amalgamation of the functions with those of the other independent structures in the area of the undercroft of the substantial urban house.

n) Pits and wells

It is likely that the main storage areas were also located in these yards: pits were largely used for this purpose, and they are named by three words in the sources - buada, fovea, and cigia⁷⁸. However the number of references is very small, apart from the form fovea in a context which implies the more specialized meaning of cess-pit. That this sense was not exclusive is indicated by a will which leaves among the bequests ordeum que est in ipsa fovea de Bonutius Vivani⁷⁹. On a few other occasions when it is found away from the combination foveis et cloacis (C.18,30,125), it may have had the same sense. Cigia is only found in a couple of documents, but its connection with modern Catalan 'sitja' leaves little room for doubt on the interpretation (C.65-66). Buada appears but once in the intra-mural area, but in a context which implies a storage function and a location in a yard: ubi est ipsa palea simul cum ipsa buada et cum medietate de ipso curtel⁸⁰. At a later date, these storage pits must have been moved inside the house, for the evidence of these in C/Sant Sever and the Palau Aguilar in C/de Montcada shows that they occupied areas on the ground floor, in both cases towards the street. The presence of these features must have been considerably more widespread than suggested by the documents, one of which goes no further than citing et concavis locis et puteis (C.153).

The last feature - the well - was also normally located in the yard when present in the house complex: domos meas cum curtali et puteo (C.242). However, wells are found in the earliest extant documents and the frequency with which they are cited is an indication of their importance to the inhabitants. The majority seem to have been located on private property, although some may have been for public use, especially those which were given names, like the Puteo Machitio (C.42) or the Puteo Moranta (S.262). The majority of references to wells are from the second half of the 11th.century, although this is more an indication of the lack of concern for extensive descriptions in the 12th.century than any change in the water supply of the city.

There do, however, appear to be some differences between those cited in the earlier sources, and those of the 12th.century. Until c.1065 all but two of the fourteen wells mentioned in the intra-mural area⁸¹ were probably located in the southern half and were closely connected with land being used for horticultural purposes: casa et curte et orteale cum aliquid de ipso puteo (C.19): ferregenalem unum cum ipso puteo (C.36): situa cum orte et arboribus et puteo et palma (C.38). Even in such non-residential contexts the value of a well could be considerable. In December 1056, half a piece of land between the churches of St.Just and St.Jaume was sold for the price

of six mancuses (C.89) whereas some fourteen months later it changed hands again, but this time including a well, for two or three times that amount, implying a substantial price for the expense of having dug the well.

From c.1065 to the turn of the century there was a phase of transition. In that year there appears the first lengthy description of a complex including a well, but with no reference to any form of land, orchard or garden (C.107). Significantly, it concerns a house of considerable size which was bought by the often-mentioned Ricart Guillem. Over the next three and a half decades, the number of similar contexts steadily increased, and nearly all the other seven examples were located in the northern part of the city. Others, particularly in the southern part of the city, continued to include pieces of land for cultivation, although fewer of these referred to the presence of trees⁸².

In the 12th. century, although references to wells become sparser, it seems clear that in the northern part of the walled city they only appeared in conjunction with sizeable residences, and were normally found in the courtyard. Moreover, they were in increasing demand, as rights were sometimes divided (C.294). From the few examples in the southern part it would appear that the traditional association with horticulture continued⁸³.

In the suburbs a similar process can be detected. In the first half of the 11th. century and before there are numerous references to wells throughout the suburban area, and predominantly related with 'horts' which contained trees, but also with other classes of open land and occasionally houses.⁸⁴ After the middle of the century they increasingly occur alongside both house and 'hort', although not to the total exclusion of the type with 'hort' alone⁸⁵. In the 12th. century the number of examples decreases, partly as a result of the declining interest shown in the details of properties, but also because of the increasing urbanization of the suburbs⁸⁶. It should be borne in mind that wells were probably of lesser significance in certain parts of the suburbs, because of the possibility of obtaining water for irrigation purposes either from natural water courses, such as the stream along the line of the Rambles, or from the Rech. There exist a number of Royal grants to draw water from this channel, particularly in the zone between Sta. Eulalia del Camp and St. Pere de les Puelles (S.334,368,531).

As in the case of the walled area wells could be divided between neighbours (S.114): similarly they must usually have been in the courtyard, although on occasions special structures are described for their protection, which were negotiable units along with the well and its contents (S.122-3).

This proliferation of wells was clearly originally because of the need for sufficient water to irrigate the numerous orchards and market-gardens found in the urban area. Rainwater might also be collected and some of the references to canterae (C.259,275) and pilares (S.275) might refer to tanks designed with this purpose in mind. However, since the water table was at no great depth, wells could be constructed with no great difficulty and must have been a common feature until the advent of a canalized water-supply and public fountains in the 14th. century⁸⁷.

o) Drains and sewers.

Another structure which may have been detached from the house was the privy. The number clearly cited by the documents is small, although a wider number are perhaps referred to by the use of the phrase foveas et cloacas. The privy proper is probably indicated by the discreet word necessaria⁸⁸. This is implied by the association of this word with a private chamber in one document: domus in quibus habito excepta camera et necessaria et perticu (C.211). Another indication may exist in a document of 1143 which refers to the collection of rainwater propter necessitatem operandi (C.254), although this interpretation is open to doubt, since the word employed is not identical, and, moreover, other more

generalized meanings of the word necessaria were also possible (C.30,138).

The information from the suburbs is equally enigmatic. There is but one reference to necessaria, in the context of a substantial house near the defences, beneath the Comital Palace, where ^{word} ~~the~~ appears in the formula foveis atque cloacis atque necessaria (S.271). In addition, one might add in this context the appearance of the word retrato in a house in the street leading towards Sta.Maria del Mar in 1173. The position in the formula after the solarium indicates an adjunct to this room, perhaps a private chamber into which the owner retired to sleep, or perhaps, in view of the modern Castilian euphemism 'retrete', a privy (S.484). The unique nature of this word makes it impossible to determine its precise meaning.

Cleaca does not appear in the Glossary of Medieval Latin for Catalonia, although in modern Catalan it has the meaning of 'claveguera', a covered drain, and this is the meaning given to clavagario by the compilers of the Glossary⁸⁹. However, it seems likely that there was a contemporary distinction, for they both appear in a document of 1077 (C.130). Du Cange gave the meaning of 'latrine' for cleaca, and if this seems unproven in the case of the Barcelona examples, an associated meaning is logical,

especially when the almost constant link with fovea, a (cess-)pit, is taken into account⁹⁰.

There are a few pieces of corroborative material for this hypothesis. Firstly, in a document of 1106, the phrase foveis et cleacis is immediately followed by (f)emoralis suis necessariis, 'the necessary dung-hills', thus implying a sanitary function for the former (C.186). A further source implies that the cleacae were running from a higher level to a lower one and were within the house, et cleacis discurrentibus de super et intus in domibus nostris (C.263). Finally, a property on the defences is described as having cleacis et cum bassis et femoralibus que sunt extra ipsum murum (C.338). The implication is that the contents of the cleacis were coming to rest in the bassis (hollows) and femoralibus outside the walls, and thus the sense of sewer or latrine shaft is the most acceptable.

However, this was perhaps not the only meaning of cleaca, and certain contexts where it appears without foveis, but with additional information imply another function. The first of these was the earliest use of the word in the city, in 971: ubi est cleacus unde ipsam aquam discurrit que inurdet praedictam curtem (C.6) suggesting a channel with water flowing through the yard, and another document of the early 11th. century, not certainly

related to the city, refers to a clavagario with water flowing through it⁹¹. Two later examples from the suburbs (S.387,433) describe cloacae on walls separating two properties, and like guttis serving to carry away rainwater rather than effluent. On another two occasions (S.361,542) more substantial drains or sewers *we* implied, for they ran under more than one property, although the final destination of their contents remains unknown. It is possible that some of the suburban sewers emptied into the stream known as the Merdança thereby providing it with its far from attractive name.

Whatever the precise meaning of these words it is clear that they indicate a certain level of sanitary arrangements. This too seems to be another feature of the rise in standards of urban housing from the middle of the 11th. century onwards. With the exception of a suburban example of 1008 (S.41), the first occurrence of foveis et cloacis is in the large stone houses situated on the northern side of the defences in 1039-40 (C.61-5). There are a few more examples in the 1050's (C.76,77,83,84) and the number rose rapidly in the following decade, at least in the walled area, although examples tended to be along the defences and around the cathedral. The numbers continued to rise throughout the rest of the century, although it was only

towards its end that they became more frequent in the suburbs. In the 12th. century, the repetition of the formula must suggest that it had become stereotyped and largely meaningless. However, the disposal of excrement obviously remained an individual task, there being no evidence for any attempt at collective disposal.

Neither was rainwater removed collectively: the apparatus used for its collection was generally called guttis et stillicidiis, 'gutters and drains',⁹², although other words, chanalis, androna and clavagario, are also found in association with these features, without it always being possible to define their exact meaning⁹³. Unlike cloacae et foveae, which were exclusively associated with dwellings, guttis et stillicidiis were also found in other classes of properties such as casales (C.15) and 'freginals' (C.45). Although they could be found on the structure of the building itself (guttas domorum (C.89), guttis coquinae (C.247)), they were often also located on the enclosing wall of the yard, illo nostro pariete in quam habemus guttam discurrentem (C.243). Even more than cloacis et foveis, this became a stereotyped formula, and only the importance of these gutters can explain the constant repetition from the late 10th. century onwards.

This importance becomes particularly clear in a

series of agreements on the catchment and disposal of rainwater. The first recorded dispute of this kind, between Mir Oliba and Ricart Guillem, has already been cited (C.119). Mir accepted, on receipt of an ounce of gold, his neighbour's right to have a gutter on his new sala, above Mir's yard, into which water fell in times of rain, et ibi cadet per tempus pluviarum. Similarly, in 1088, a family in the Miracle area recognized the right of the neighbouring property owner, to have a gutter on a wall just over 3 dexters long (C.158).

In the mid-12th. century such agreements began to proliferate, particularly in this part of the city, which, since it was slightly higher than surrounding districts, may have suffered more in times of heavy rain. In 1135 Ponç of Toulouse and his neighbour, Pere of Perpinyà, agreed to build a channel on the wall between their respective properties et faciamus chanalem per medium parietem unde aqua pluviialis discurrit quas aquam in domibus vestris recolligatis (C.222). A similar wall, in the same part of the city, is recorded in 1153 (C.259). Another document of the same decade records a pre-occupation which became of increasing concern - that one party should not have a gutter above the other without a recognized right, which would usually mean a money payment: excepto quod tu non habeas guttam super me nec ego super te (C.274). However, there was no great concern if the water fell onto

public property: in the same year there is an agreement to build a wall with drain, which would empty into the street: Nullumque habeat guttam super alium, sed de super per ipsum parietem habeatur aquaria et canal in qua unusquisque ex nobis faciat discurrere aquam domus sue usque in callem publicam versus circium (C.275). So unless this water by chance found its way into a still-functioning Roman drain, in all likelihood it stagnated in the street until it evaporated. Not until the mid-13th. century is there any evidence for public concern for the disposal of waste water, and the works then carried out were more canalizations of offensive streams, into which water from private properties probably drained, rather than true works of sanitary engineering⁹⁴.

p) Dividing walls

The importance of the dividing wall between two properties, whether there was just a wall, or ^{whether} it had a drainage channel along it, has been noted several times. The rights over walls were jealously guarded, and documents often stated in the list of the boundaries whether the wall was part of the property in question, or of the neighbour, or if it was divided between the two. There are also agreements for the construction of such walls: facimus unum parietem comuniter inter domos meas et domos tuas

cuius parietis fundamentum sedet medietatis in meo
et alter medietas in tuo and with the obligation
 to rebuild it jointly should it fall or be destroyed
 (C.275).

As time progressed, the density of buildings within the walled city in particular must have increased, to judge from the decreasing number of references to yards and other open spaces. These dividing walls were thus gradually built against and the spaces between one house and another obliterated. A document of 1165 is a permit to build against such a wall whatever the recipient wished, in exchange for 14 solidos (C.296). Similarly, in 1154 a settlement was reached over a wall, one party recognizing the right of the other to build onto it, as long as offending windows, which presumably overlooked the adjoining property, were blocked (C.262). Another case of the same problem is found in 1156, and they must be understood as another aspect of the growing pressure on building space (C.268).

Some of this group of documents also give some clues as to what was being built. In 1146, in exchange for the right of one party's gutter to drain into the other's property, however high the intermediate wall might be, permission to place permodals (modillions to support beams or rafters⁹⁵) and to build anywhere on the same wall was given (C.243). A simi-

lar conclusion is reached in another case, with the condition that these new structures had to be located beneath the gutter of the neighbouring ones, so as to avoid water falling from a new roof into the adjacent property (C.259).

With the additional weight of these new constructions, it must have become increasingly common for these walls to be built of stone rather than rammed earth 'tapia', which would have previously been more normal. In 1143 we find one being rebuilt de petra et calce, after the demolition of the previous one, to the height of the socanial (eave ?) of his neighbour's property, at which level the rain-water was to be collected propter necessitatem operandi and above this the wall was to be of terra (C. 243). Likewise in 1159, the right to build a portico (here probably a first-floor gallery) up to socanial height on the wall was accepted, although the owner stated his intent that the wall itself should not be altered, nor should constructions be placed beneath his gutter, and reserved the right to cavare the wall of his solar (perhaps open a window in it) and to build higher if he so wished (C.273).

A handful of similar disputes and agreements come from the suburbs, the smaller number presumably having been a result of the lesser density of structures, which made it possible for neighbours to live

more peacefully, without encroaching on each other's property. In the first place, there is little indication of the class of drainage dispute which had become comparatively frequent inside the defences, with the exception of occasional clauses that one party should not have a gutter above the other, and of a dispute concerning a cloaca in the C/Basea, a notoriously low-lying and damp sector of the city (S.349).

There are, however, about half-a-dozen recorded disputes of various classes concerning adjoining properties. Some are of a very straightforward nature, like one where the two parties agreed that the wall between their respective properties should be jointly held, and that they should both be responsible should it fall or be damaged (S.576). A similar document of 1179, involving one of the same parties, was the settlement of a dispute with Pereta, widow of Bertrand de Sebissa, which was over a wall both had claimed as their own. The settlement reached with the help of the 'Prohoms' was that Pereta and her family were to rebuild in stone, totum ex petra et calce, and that the two sides should have half each, and that neither should have gutters above the other's property (S.509).

Other documents from the suburbs give more details about the size and materials of these walls. One of

1172 referring to the C/Comtal area speaks of a wall four tapiis in altura (S.478): the meaning of this is uncertain, though it seems possible that it refers to units of shuttering used in the construction of rammed earth walls. In 1180 a similar wall in the Arcs Antics suburb was three tapiis high ex petra et calce, and another three de terra cum mortario, which is an interesting proof of the mixed method of construction which must have been common in the city (S.515).

A document of a somewhat different nature refers to a property in the street leading to Sta. Maria del Mar. In this Aimeric of Perugia gives Berenguer Donuz permission to remove one stone from the wall of his house, and in its place put the end of a beam, caput unius trabis que dicitur monai (S.454). In a donation to the monastery of Santes Creus referring to an adjoining property, there are further details of permitted alterations to structures: the donor, Berenguer of Calaf, gave the right to build onto his solar wall, although the doors there were to be blocked, and on another side a window was to be similarly treated (S.484). However, it is only in the central arc of the suburbs that there is any definite evidence for the immediate proximity of one residence to another, and elsewhere in the suburbs the general impression is one of more open space around and between houses. Furthermore, it is noticeable that

the disputes that arose belong to a period a generation later than the first similar disputes within the defences.

These constant arguments surely indicate that at some points in the urban area the density of both structures and population had reached saturation point. In the last of the intra-mural documents cited (C.273) it was no longer a yard-wall that was under discussion, but a solar wall, suggesting that in the heart of the city and the areas immediately outside the east gate, there were areas which were virtually solid masses of houses. Elsewhere, and certainly at an earlier date, for most of these arguments are of the mid-12th.century and later, there was more open space, not only in the form of yards, but also as various pieces of land which were in one way and another cultivated. It is to this phenomenon that we must now turn.

- B) Agricultural and Horticultural Properties,
- 1) The Intra-mural area,
- a) Terra.

Some fifteen documents from the walled area contain this word. Only one is from after the period of urban renewal beginning in the 1060's, and that is a somewhat special case for it refers to the rebuilding of a destroyed house (C.178). The majority come from the less urbanized southern part of the walled city, although the word is often qualified and equated with other forms of land usage: three of the examples were 'freginals' (C.36,49,92), another two were for construction purposes, that is casales (C.113,178, and possibly C.78): other pieces were really yards (C.89, 91). There are but two references to land alone (C.51,66) and one to terra erema (C.30), noticeably in an area which had suffered extensively in 985. One gains the impression that there was no plot in the city which did not have a recognized owner, and all the land was being used in one way or another, with some very rare exceptions.

- b) 'Freginals'.

The sixteen occurrences of this word fall into two distinct groups. The first, like other features, and particularly those concerning agriculture, is limited to the first two-thirds of the 11th. century

(C.30,36,45,53,84,92,1007. They appear to have been principally in the southern half of the city, particularly attached to large house on the defences, although in some such cases the 'freginal' may have been extra-mural, lying at the foot of the walls. The modern meaning of the word has the sense of a field for growing grain crops, but it is possible that the word then had a slightly different meaning⁹⁶. Unfortunately there is little intrinsic evidence to point to their function: two are otherwise described as pieces of land (C.36,92), a third as a close surrounded by walls with drainage channels (C.49) and a fourth was possibly enclosed by hurdling (C.84). Nevertheless, that they were simply fields seems rather improbable, and a more specialised function, particularly for these intra-mural examples, must be sought.

The most interesting one appears in 1058, when the ferregenal was sold to Count Ramon Berenguer I (C.92). Located on the line of the main-east-west street near the Castell Nou, it must have been of no small size, for the boundaries include street lines, and the price was similar to that of a substantial house. The motives of the Count are not related, but it would not be out of the question to link this acquisition to the troubles of the period and a desire on his behalf to secure the area around the city-gate, as well as, perhaps, to provide a

location for the corralling of animals, particularly horses, coming from the south-west.

This interpretation seems more acceptable when examined in connection with the second group of references (C.186,208,225,227,240,285,323,329). They all refer to the same location between the Castell Vell and the Comital Palace, probably on the site of the original Plaça del Rei, longer than its present-day counterpart. Since these mentions only occur in the 12th.century, this piece of open land in an otherwise densely occupied and semi-industrial area must have been somewhat incongruous. There can be little coincidence about its location, and it would have provided a most convenient place to tie up horses and pack-animals while their owners were on business in the nearby Palace or Market (fig.91).

By comparison, it is thus proposed that the other examples were fields for corralling horses rather than exactly fields where their fodder was grown. Nevertheless, in the absence of more categorical proof, the latter meaning may have been true in certain cases⁹⁷.

c) Clausa.

This word is used only twice in the walled area and an associated one, clausura, only once (C.37,45, 47). All these are in the 1020's and the meaning

was probably close to that of ferregenal, but ^{they were} possibly of a smaller size and with a more horticultural function⁹⁸. Like some of the examples of ferreginales during this period they were located in what had been the very heart of the Roman city, illustrating the largely open nature of this sector at that date.

d) Ortus and Ortalis.

These are by far the most common words used to describe open land in the walled area, and imply horticulture and arboriculture. The difference between the two is never clearly defined, although a few documents contain both, thus indicating some recognizable distinction: ortis atque ortalibus (C.85). It may be that the ortus was somewhat smaller, since ortalis is more usual in the first half of the 11th. century, whereas ortus appears throughout the two centuries. However, this may be belied by the re-appearance of ortales in the later 12th. century, after an absence of a century. Like all the forms of open land recorded in the walled area, the quantity of references drops steadily in the 12th. century. This can only be interpreted as a progressive encroachment on open space for building purposes. By the end of the 12th. century, there are only a handful of examples, all located in the less urbanized southern part of the city⁹⁹.

Such an emphasis is already detectable in the distribution in the first half of the 11th. century, even taking into account ^{the} bias caused by the large number of documents referring to the Regomir zone in the years around 1000. The noteworthy point is that these 'horts' were often largely independent of other buildings: only a proportion are included in the lists of the constituent parts of houses, and normally the only structures found associated with them are walls, a well and the trees they enclosed (C.42). These were usually cited as diversis generis or multis generis, suggesting a mixture of types, although on certain occasions they are specified as being olives (C.181), fig-trees (C.143) or palms (C.38). This pattern leads one to assume that the people tending these plots resided elsewhere in the city.

The same overall distribution is found in the second half of the century, although there is a slight increase in the number in the Cathedral zone, explicable on the grounds of the increased amount of documentation from that area. There are an increasing number of houses with attached 'horts', and after 1080, the independent 'hort' was a rarity. This may have been a result of previously open pieces of land being partially built on, and partially retaining the earlier function. Some of the larger 'horts', such as that of Sant Cugat to the south of the Cathedral Cloister, almost totally disappeared under the weight of houses (C.143,145).

In the first half of the 12th. century references to 'horts' in the northern part of the city become very scarce and disappear after the 1150's. In the southern part, the phenomenon of a garden attached to a house which had begun in the previous century continued to spread, although a few separate 'horts' continued to exist. The revival of the word ortalis in the later 12th. century ~~may~~ have been related to this contrast, or may simply have been as a diminutive.

The ownership of these 'horts' cut across all social levels: although many of the plots in the southern part of the city must have been cultivated by small landholders, many of the larger houses had such properties attached, particularly at the foot of the defences if they were so located (C.46). Not only could they have been used for arboriculture, but also for growing various classes of pulses and vegetables to supplement the bread-based diet¹⁰⁰.

In addition, there are at least three references to the presence of vines within the city-walls: the first in 1024 was near Sant Miquel (C.42): the second four years later, towards the C/del Paradís (C.48 bis) and the final one, considerably later, in 1090, near the Castell Vell (C.163). On one occasion, in the will of Ramon Dalmau, a viridarium, perhaps the same as an 'hort', but also possibly a true garden as in the classical sense, appears (C.194)¹⁰¹.

This, however, was very much an exception, and generally such plots must have been put to some useful purpose.

Finally in this examination of the rural aspects of the walled area, there are a number of miscellaneous points which indicate agricultural activity. First, there are three references to mansi, modern Catalan 'masies' or farmhouses, which would seem to indicate that farming was even more widespread than suggested by the presence of kitchen-gardens and orchards. One of these, dating from 1006, has been cited by Dr. Sobrequés as evidence of this phenomenon¹⁰²: ipsum unum mansum cum turrem et puteo (C.20). Another, of 1098, from Bernat Arbert's will - ipso mee manso... cum ipsa turre et muro (C.181) - is inherently less likely because of the date, and the other scribal errors in the same document may suggest that it was a miscopying of mansio, and that of 1006, from the same documentary source, may have been similar. However, the third example - a maso mentioned in 1025 (C.44 bis) - appears to have been genuine, although there are no details in the document to decide upon its location. However, by this date any such structure must have been very unusual within the walls.

Secondly there are two references to dung-hills within the walls, plus several to others located at the foot of the defences. It is unclear whether

they were maintained in order to aid the fertilization of intra-mural 'horts' or not, although this seems a possibility for their existence. One of 1106 has already been mentioned in the discussion of drains and sewers (C.186), while the other was located nearby, next to the 'Preginal', a possible source of its contents (C.240).

ii) The Suburban area.

As in the walled area, in the suburbs there also existed a wide range of open land, stretching from large fields, through smaller paddocks and closes, to orchards and minute kitchen-garden plots.

a) Terra.

The suburbs present a very different picture of the use of this word. Rather than being equated with other types of agricultural land, here the general sense seems to have been of land which was not in active use. The number of instances is far greater - over a hundred - and the period of currency far longer. However, approximately half the examples are from the period prior to 1060, when the predominantly rural nature of the suburbium is very apparent. Even though many of these pieces were on the fringes of the area - St.Pere de les Puelles (S.73), St.Pau del Camp (S.65) and Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.190) - the very names are evocative of their situation -

others were at the foot of the defences or close to the centres of suburban development (S.77,99,106). After c.1060 examples of the latter sort are rare, and virtually all the positions are at some distance from the defences, with the exception of pieces of land which were being leased with the condition that they were to be developed either as 'horts' or more often with houses. This last group of examples forms the predominant usage of the word in the second half of the 12th. century, other references being in areas which remained open land for many years, even centuries to follow.

b) 'Preginal',

Again this word had wider currency in the suburbs than in the intra-mural area, and occurs on at least forty occasions. Unfortunately neither do these give us much information about their function, and as concluded above, it must be assumed that they were used for growing forage, or simply as paddocks. The distribution resembles that of other pieces of open land: the earliest examples are found close to the city walls, but these disappear from the sources by c.1050 (S.15,46,49,53). Thereafter a concentration in the zone around the church of Sta. Maria del Pi can be noted (S.134,149,153,160,161,167,169), although this may be somewhat artificial because of an abundance of information referring to that zone

during those years. The 12th.century examples are naturally fewer in number and are limited to the northernmost parts of the suburbium - Sta.Anna, Cort Comtal, Arcs Antics, and Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.331, 377,400,432,461bis).

Another word indicating a type of field was pariliata, modern 'parellada' which occurs on a few occasions in the suburban area, but only at the very fringes, particularly near Sta.Eulalia del Camp, where the Bishop owned an extensive tract of land (S.503,635), but also near St.Pau del Camp. The meaning is an imprecise one of area, and since it more properly belongs to the territorium, the term need not be further discussed.

c) Clausula,

This word occurs on a single occasion in the suburbs, next to the church of Sta.Maria del Mar. Again the function is not clear, although the measurements are given as approximately 29 by 10 metres (S.144).

d) Ortus and Ortalis.

In the later 10th. and early 11th.centuries far more space in the burgo was dedicated to horticultural properties than to houses. Nearly half

the sources refer primarily to an 'hort', and it is not unknown to find a house place after the 'hort' in the description of the property, thus implying that it was of secondary importance (S.52,56). Although they are often found in connection with a dwelling, there also existed a large number of independent 'horts'. These disappeared from the inner suburbs during the course of the 11th.century and although a proportion of the houses in these areas retained their ~~their~~ kitchen-gardens until a later date, it seems that by the middle of the 12th.century these too had fallen in the face of the wave of house construction, as in the more densely inhabited parts of the walled city. One particularly clear example is that of the ortulo near St.Cugat del Rech leased with a house construction clause in 1090 (S.210). The tradition of the 'hortet' was, however, maintained in most parts of the outer suburbs, particularly in the Villanova 'del Mar' (S.360,361,611), although as in the walled city the word hortalis became common in the second half of the 12th.century. The donations of land to construct houses at the same date also often required the improvement of land in order to form an ortus (S.228,232,240). At the very edge of the suburban area, especially along the line of the Rech, 'horts' and 'hortets' were still the main form of land usage in the year 1200, and probably for long after (S.592).

Although the word hortalis occurs in the suburbs, it is scarcer and appears later than in the intra-mural area (S.346). This would support the hypothesis of the decrease in size in that area, whereas in the outer suburbs where pressure on space was less intense there was little need to make them smaller. Both types of property were normally enclosed by walls (parietes), often contained a well, and sometimes a shed (casula). A greater proportion of the extra-mural examples seem to have been dedicated to arboriculture, and although the trees are not always named, fig-trees seem to have been the most common (S.18,31,46,54,62,112). Apple (S.5), olive (S.119) and pomegranate trees (S.47,57) are also recorded¹⁰³.

Perhaps similar to the 'horts' were the pieces of land known as trileae, which are not recorded within the defences, but appear in the suburbs on several occasions. Balari suggested that the difference lay in the fact that the trileae was surrounded by fences or hurdling as opposed to walls¹⁰⁴, although the available evidence suggests that these plots were generally large, and therefore ^{that} horticultural activity on a larger scale was their function. Apart from a few examples owned by private individuals, the majority of which were in the Arcs suburb (S.225,276,284,528), although examples are recorded elsewhere (S.81,117), it should be borne in mind that they were often owned by groups of people. The most important of these

was the Trilea Canonica, located between the modern C/de^{la} Canuda and C/Portaferrixa (C.243), although another belonging to the monastery of Sta.Maria del Ripoll existed in the St.Cugat del Rech zone (S.316), and it may have been agricultural produce from this area that was kept in the monastery's property under the Bishop's Palace. A Trilea Judaica is also recorded and was located towards Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.367,375). It would appear that all these open spaces were encroached upon from the later 12th.century onwards, but they resisted the movement better than other nearby open areas.

The remaining pieces of information concerning agricultural activity in the suburban area are of minor significance. As has been noted, there were several dung-hills situated at the foot of the defences (S.312,354,477, C.338) to which others in the Arcs sububb (S.176) and near the market (S.327) can be added. There are also two references to a press, although it is not certain whether grapes or olives were being processed (S.50,89).

These diverse classes of information can be brought together to establish some overall view of the non-urbanized property in the suburbium. In the period up to the middle of the 11th.century, agricultural activity was predominant, perhaps even in the areas around the north and east gates. Over

half the transactions in this period concerned open land, and houses were generally set within their own piece of ground. From about 1060, the inner suburbs, in an arc stretching from near Sta. Maria del Mar to the Bishop's Gate, became increasingly built up, independent 'horts' disappeared, and those attached to houses became less common. However, beyond this area the same situation as before is detectable, until a new wave of construction began in the 1140's.

Even when this got underway, these outer suburbs retained a garden-city appearance, and only in the arc around the north side of the defences were houses built one adjoining the other. By the end of the century the last of the open spaces which were later included within the 13th. century defences contained some, if not many, houses, and only at the very fringes of the suburbium were substantial areas of agricultural land visible, as it merged with the surrounding territorium.

3) Industrial properties.

a) Workshops.

Although the picture of extensive agricultural activity was true of the earlier 11th. century, it was undergoing change by the end of that century, and was quite different a hundred years later. Towards the end of the 11th. century appear the first indications of structures designed for semi-industrial purposes, although to judge by personal names, there had long been an artisan element in the population. As has already been stated, such business was carried out on the ground floor of houses, in the subtalo or in structures known as operatoria, modern Catalan 'obraders' or workshops.

Within the walls the distribution map of these properties shows a decided concentration around the area between the Castell Vell and the Comital Palace, and the very names of the streets of this part of the city evoke this past. Only the last of the list of twenty was located outside this closely circumscribed district (C.334,341), suggesting an extension of such activity towards the end of the 12th. century. Apart from this example they can be divided into four groups:

1) these adjoining the Comital Palace on the site of the present-day Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (C.172,

180,193,199,228,229,285).

ii) those located in the vaults of the disused 'Hospital d'En Guiter' (C.208,239,240,245,313).

iii) those in C/Llibreteria and adjoining streets (C.157,169,186).

iv) those next to the defences and the Castell Vell (C.225,227,295,329).

As is suggested by the above evidence they were often in groups, and five are found together in 1161 (C.285). They were small street level structures, with space for manufacturing activities inside, and perhaps for the display of products for sale outside. They were sometimes related to dwellings, in which case one must imagine that the residence lay behind and above, often stretching above the vault which was frequently found outside the principal entrance.

On other occasions they were independent, especially in the case of those in the hospital vaults. However, it is likely that the craftsman lived nearby, and we know that Pong of Toulouse had a workshop in those vaults, situated exactly opposite his residence on the other side of C/Freneria. The trades represented in these workshops were diverse - a cutler, shield-maker, spear-maker, a possible smith, a shoemaker, a leather-worker, and a family engaged in fine carpentry.

Workshops did not appear in the suburbs until slightly later, the first recorded example being of 1104, although the majority belong to the second half of the 12th. century (S.248,327,364,380,382,383,390, 391,399,409,416,436,479,495,527,533,538,588,612,625, 630). Like the intra-mural ones they had a very limited distribution, being found around the market, along the street leading from it to Sta. Maria del Mar, and right at the end of the century in the square in front of that church. The only one that does not fit into this pattern is an example of 1154 from near the Castell Nou, which would seem to be a forerunner of the later commercial development along the line of the present-day C/de la Boqueria (S.391). The workshops around the market generally seem to have been the ground floor of houses, although some were independent. Those in the future c/de l'Argenteria were in purpose-built vaults, which have already been discussed. There is little evidence for what trades were being carried out in the suburban examples, and the ownership of several of them by the Count-Kings (S.416,588,630) and religious houses (S.380, 588) suggests that they were often leased to craftsmen rather than exploited directly¹⁰⁵.

b) Bread Ovens.

In this context it is also convenient to discuss the furni or (bread)-ovens which are cited in many

of the same documents. One adjoining the Comital Palace is often cited alongside the workshops (C.172,180,199,228,229), and was perhaps operated in benefit of the Canons. Towards the middle of the century it may have gone out of use for a document of 1161 states that it might be rebuilt (C.285). This could be related to another oven in the hands of the canons in 1126 (C.208), although operated by a baker, although this later appears among the possessions of the Count (C.239,240,313), and did not return to the Canons' estates until 1200 (S.630). Apart from another in the Jewish Call (S.343) these are the only ones known within the walls at this date, although others were later constructed¹⁰⁶.

Considerably more examples are known from the suburbs and since they were probably constructed in response to the necessities of population increase, they are an eloquent way of demonstrating the areas with the greatest density of inhabitants. Three documents refer to that belonging to the monastery of Ripoll, probably in or near the street of that name in the Arcs suburb (S.222,255,502). Another in the possession of P.Duran was constructed nearby in 1201¹⁰⁷.

The greatest density, however, was in the area around the market. One of these, probably close to the city gate, was originally in the hands of the

Viscounts of Barcelona: this was given or perhaps leased to the monastery of St.Cugat in 1125 (S.298) for it is found in Vicecomital hands again fifteen years later (S.338). The Viscounts may have had difficulty maintaining this property because of their absence in Morocco, and at some time between 1140 and 1142 the possession of this oven had been usurped by the sons of Pere Bernat Marcus, that is Bernat Marcus (II) and his brother.(S.342), and Viscount Reverter wrote to Count Ramon Berenguer IV complaining about this. Nevertheless, his son finally sold it to this family for two hundred morabetins (S.392) and the will of Bernat Marcus (III) refers to illas domos suas cum operateriis de Mercato cum tabulis et cum ipso furno et ipsa operatoria nova iuxta ipsum furnum subtus murum civitatis¹⁰⁸.

There are three other documents referring to ovens in the same area, one of pre-1108 near the Merdança (S.256), a second of 1138 which was a lease by the canons, possibly of the same structure (S.329), and a third of 1113 in which Count Ramon Berenguer III gave Guillem Ramon the Moneyer the right to construct a vault above his oven (S.267), which, like the vicecomital one, must have been located at the foot of the Castell Vell¹⁰⁹.

Further east, towards the church of St.Cugat del Rec, was another owned by the Cathedral of Barcelona

and mentioned in 1119 and 1149 (S.285,370). Another was in the nucleus around the monastery of St.Pere (S.430) and further examples could be found near the Castell Nou¹¹⁰, Sta.Anna (S.472) and the Lepers' Hospital (S.575). Apart from the presence of a baker in association with one of the intra-mural ovens, the main indication that baking bread was the principal function of these ovens comes from Reverter's letter (S.342). Nevertheless, other uses need not be excluded, and another type of oven, used for heating the water of the baths, is mentioned in 1186¹¹¹.

Later sources illustrate that the gaps in this distribution were filled by the end of the 13th. century if not before, and that the position of these bakery ovens was strictly controlled, for a promise was made in the Comital confirmation of the Ripoll oven (S.255) that no other would be permitted in the area between the north and the east gates of the city and the aqueduct arches. The documentation also illustrates the tight control over the baking of bread in the city exercised by the Counts via their officials. The rights, once conceded, were jealously guarded and not loosely relinquished, which explains the tenacity of the Viscounts in the case concerning the misappropriation of their oven.

c) Other industrial properties.

Although by the end of the 12th. century a wide range of trades existed in the urban area¹¹², there are very few indications of the installations which would have been necessary for the ^{artisans} to carry out their crafts. This must suggest that either these were at a low level of organization and each craftsman had small installations, or that such folk rarely engaged in property transactions and hence these features go unrecorded. Alongside the bread-ovens another type of kiln referred to in 1200 might be noted: these were lime-kilns - calcineriis - and three were pledged with a house at an uncertain point in the burgo (C.628-9), but there are no other indications of this type.

The only pointer to larger scale activity comes in the form of the ship-building yards already discussed¹¹³ and a possible mint. Although there were certainly moneyers in the early 11th. century city¹¹⁴, and by the middle of the century there is evidence that the counts leased the minting rights to small groups of men¹¹⁵, not until a century later is there any real indication that this minting was taking place anywhere other than in private properties. In 1143 the second son of Pere Bernat Marcus, Ramon, gave as part of the price of a house quam quartam partem quam iure paterno habebat in casali quo fabricatur

moneta (S.343): this must suggest that this family, although not moneyers themselves, had rights over the place where coins were minted. The location of this mint is unknown, although in the later medieval period the mint that then existed in the modern C/de la Seca (= Mint Street) was considered to have existed there since time immemorial¹¹⁶.

4) Property size and distribution,

At this point, having discussed all the various aspects of private land-usage within the city, residential, horticultural and industrial, it is appropriate to consider the subject of the size and distribution of these properties, both within the individual holding, and on a larger scale, within the blocks.

Unfortunately, the number of documents containing measurements from the intra-mural area is small, a total of no more than half-a-dozen and even if those from the suburbs are included to complete the picture, we are hardly more enlightened, for the majority of such measurements belong to pieces of gardens and orchards, rather than houses or building plots. When this basic lack of material is added to the miscellaneous use of units, the problem must appear almost insuperable, from the point of view of making general-

izations. These calculations, however, are of interest for the concern they show in depicting the exact limits of the property in question, and it would be foolhardy to discard the little information they provide¹¹⁷.

One of the earliest documents referring to the intra-mural area contains the measurements of a plot of almost square plan, with a house and yard, which may be evaluated at slightly under eight metres square (C.2): this was clearly only a small house. Another of 1032 referring to the Regomir zone has been discussed at length, and the dimensions of 7.5 dexters by 7 dexters and two cubits indicate a plot of land about 20.5 by 21 metres (C.51).

The dimensions of a small piece of an 'hort' sold by the monks of Ripoll in 1054 indicate a trapezoidal shaped terrain, some 15m. long by 4.2m. tapering to 2.8m. (C.85). Two documents referring to the Miracle area are virtually useless, since they concern narrow strips for the construction of dividing walls, rather than true properties (C.158, 263), although a third document from the same area is more informative, since it cites a house with street frontage of 1.75 dexters (=4.9m.) and with the same width at the other end of the property (C.325). The most remarkable point about this is that all the available information leads one to identify it as the property now known as C/Freneria, 3.

In the suburbs there is a small body of information which may have some bearing on house sized. In 1028 a casalitium at the foot of the walls to the south of the city measured approximately 11 by 9 metres (S.78). A plot to build a house and an 'hort' near Sta.Maria del Mar in 1082 covered 560 sq.m. if the larger dexter was being referred to, or about a quarter of that if the smaller one was in use (S.185). Finally a plot for improvement and the construction of houses near Sta.Eulalia del Camp was 10 braçes long (= 16.7 m.), but of unknown width (S.469). This scanty evidence would thus suggest that a residence including its yard could cover an area of as little as some 50 sq.m. or as much as ten times that amount or even more.

There are two sets of measurements for yards alone, one about 6.5 metres square (S.35) and the other about 16.5 by 11 metres (S.412). The bulk of the rest of the recorded measurements refer to 'horts': these vary widely in size from a minimum of about 120 sq.m. (S.213) to a maximum of over 800 sq.m. (S.207) with a median of around 200 sq.m.¹¹⁸. Later examples appear to be smaller than those of the late 10th.century or early 11th.century, although the size of the sample must leave this open to questioning. Undefined plots of land could be of similar size, or much larger, over a hectare on occasions (S.34,131, 132). The only example of a 'freginal' was much the

same size as a large 'hort', approximately 500 sq.m. (S.46). The remaining sources are concerned with narrow strips of land for the opening of roads or access routes to properties with no street frontage (S.189,217,489,490).

This necessarily leads into a discussion of to what point the surviving property boundaries reflect those of the 11th. and 12th. centuries. If a modern catastral plan of the intra-mural area is examined, the lack of regularity is at once striking. It has become, however, a commonplace that such divisions are remarkably resilient to change, except in the case of wholesale alterations to a sector. Piecemeal changes are more likely only to result in properties being amalgamated and subdivided, of perhaps new alleys being cut to provide better entrance facilities, rather than altering the underlying pattern, which must therefore date from the time of the last major phase of urbanization.

As has been related in Chapter XI, it is possible to allocate much of the documentation from the area around the cathedral on the basis of existing property divisions, whereas the lower number of documents from other districts makes this more difficult there. In the case of the south-western part the drastic alterations of the later 19th. century radically changed the plan, although the evidence for substantial properties along the defences (Palau Reial Menor, Convent de l'Ensenyança) correlates with what we

know of the district in the early Middle Ages. Similarly, the large properties today existing in the C/Lladó fit well with what is known from the sources. On the other hand, properties in the Regomir zone are nowadays smaller than those in the previous two districts, a state of affairs which could also date back in part to the period under study. The more regular disposition of the properties within the Call could also indicate a greater degree of communal organization there. It thus appears that, apart from known later alterations caused by 19th-century thoroughfares and earlier public buildings, just as the basic street plan was in existence by the 12th-century, so was the fundamental catastral pattern, and subsequent changes, although numerous, have been of minor importance.

The problems in the suburban area are somewhat different as it can be assumed that, apart from basic lines caused by natural features or long-established roads, the greater part of the property divisions are of the medieval period. Although some areas have been changed unrecognizably by the cutting of new streets, and the south-eastern sector was radically altered by the construction of the Ciutadella, two basic patterns can be recognized in the remaining areas. Firstly in the zones nearest the defences, and corresponding to the suburbs built before the end of the 11th-century, property divisions, like

the street lines, are rather irregular: no overall pattern can be distinguished, therefore suggesting piecemeal growth. In the outer suburbs the blocks are often considerably larger, and within each zone a pattern of property division is discernible, presumably related to the original planning and laying out of the area. However, some of these are very small and must be the product of later subdivisions of the original plot. Even so these original large blocks and plots must have been laid out within pre-existing limits which resisted change, and it seems credible that these boundaries go back to those of the plots of agricultural land existing in these areas in the 11th. and 12th. centuries. Such was the case of the trapezoidal plot of land between the modern C/Carders and C/dels Assahonadors¹¹⁹, which although totally unurbanized when recorded, has been preserved by later street lines: there were probably many more examples like this.

Thus in the early medieval city there was a wide range of property sizes and shapes. Some would have been minute, like the domum unam parvulam of Ponç Geribert (C.138), others, like those of Ricart Guillem or Ramon Dalmau, virtual palaces (C.194,195). Subdivisions were fairly frequent affairs, though it appears that often a division of rights took place rather than a physical separation, and re-amalgamations were possible. Thus in 1080 Ramon Dalmau

bought two quarters of the same house from two brothers who had presumably inherited their rights from their father (C.143,145). Similarly we find a sixth part changing hands between two brothers in 1023 (C.44), and in 1092 the brothers and sisters of Bernat Ermengol recognizing his sole right to their father's houses (C.166). However, physical separations were also possible and in 1161 we hear of domum cum solis et superpositis quam separamus ex demibus nostras (C.282), although this may have been a special case of a single structure being separated from a group of houses.

Such physical divisions may have been easier in the earlier part of the period because of the greater amount of open land and the very nature of the houses. Some comment has already been made on the individuality of the various parts of the house and that several houses could be found in a single property: e.g. turris et murum et alias domos (C.130) or domos ipsos meos ubi abito cum ipso solario ex petra et calce constructum et orto et aliabus domibus (C.139). Unlike León, however, there is no evidence to show how many separate dwellings there could be in one complex and how these were divided between the different families ¹²⁰.

What of the distribution of these features and all the others that have been discussed, within the boundaries of each property? Inevitably there were

few general rules, at least in the early period. For example, the lesser structures could be directly attached to the house - ipsis casaliciis que iusta predictas domos sunt (C.41) - or they could be completely independent - casalities constructos atque hedificatos in ortale (C.163). The position of the house in relation to the yard could also vary: it could be in the middle - ipsas curtes cum ipsos domos qui in medium earum sunt (C.84) - or it could be to one side - ipso cortal versus meridiem (C.192). Balari cites an example where the yard was located in front of the house, and there is another similar case from the suburbs¹²¹. When the density of structures increased a position at the rear of the building seems probable.

Although the evidence is not particularly precise, three stages in the process might be recognized:

- i) Until the middle of the 11th. century most lengthy descriptions of houses suggest that the house or houses and other buildings were scattered throughout the yard, often independently. This might be seen as the fruit of two traditions; firstly the survival of some influence of the classical domus and secondly, the result of the ruralisation of the city in the centuries between the 6th. and the 10th., so that dwellings that would seem more at home in the countryside were found in the city, with their constituent parts scattered around what can only be described as a farmyard.

ii) With the introduction of new styles of building and new features around the middle of the 11th. century, there was a tendency to construct the various features in a single unit. This I would consider to have been partially the result of external influences, for similar processes can be detected elsewhere¹²², and also because of the growing use of the defences and wall-towers as part of dwellings during the first half of the 11th. century. The incorporation of the wall-tower chambers at first floor level stimulated the construction of adjoining solaria, the corresponding undercrofts, the necessary staircases, and the use of stone. It is thus no surprise that similar structures incorporating the previously separate parts in a single unit were found: mansiones meas...qui sunt solariis cum subtalibus et operatoriis, curte et domum maiore quod se tenet in unum (C.199). The edificia cetera began to become rare (fig.111).

iii) This process was probably largely complete by the middle of the following century. The subsidiary structures had totally disappeared except in the case of some very substantial properties which probably incorporated more than one residence, and modelled themselves on castles rather than urban houses¹²³. Their function had been assumed by the ground-floor subtalo, which could incorporate storage space, kitchen and workshops. The yards had decreased in size

and were either internal courtyards, or situated to one side of the house. Houses were constructed much closer than previously customary, giving rise to disputes. The picture of the narrow streets of the medieval city, with tightly packed houses reaching upwards, had been achieved in certain quarters. This is reflected in the descriptions of the houses of the later 12th.century: they are much simpler than those of earlier periods, partially because of the virtual monopoly on this class of transaction of one family of scribes¹²⁴, but also surely because there were far fewer differences between individual houses, and a stereotyped description of 'houses with courtyard, gutters and drains, the site and all upon it' would have sufficed for the majority of structures¹²⁵.

This change in the face of Barcelona in the second half of the 11th.century is noticeable in other factors. That new structures were being built is evident from several documents (C.84,119). Contemporary with such moves are the first donations, or rather leases, of property for the construction of new houses, comparatively rare in the walled city (C.113,131,135,167),but much more frequent in the suburbs, where some sixty-five of these documents are known, although several of them refer not so much to the construction of houses, but^{to}_^ the improvement of plots of land to the level of 'horts'¹²⁶. Like

the intra-mural examples they begin in the last quarter of the 11th.century, a period in which the Bishop and Canons of Barcelona were the main promoters of this kind of development. The first half of the 12th.century produces few examples, indicating a decline in the expansion rate of the city, and it was not until the 1140's that they began to become frequent again. This is followed by another interruption from c.1150 to c.1165, a revival until c.1180, a further period of consolidation, and then a final burst of activity in the last decade of the century, which was to be the last before the commencement of the urbanization of the Ribera coastal zone c.1210. Although virtually all these documents refer to the outer suburbs and the villanovae, it is noticeable that, especially after the middle of the 12th.century, there is no evidence to suggest that only one zone was being developed at a time, and in general there were several parallel movements in different parts of the city.

5). Prices.

Parallel with these moves to build new houses to replace those rapidly rebuilt after 985, or of much older date, and to cater for the growing population of the city, there was a sharp rise in prices after the middle of the 11th.century. The

problems in equating the diverse monetary units used in the documents are manifold, and the method here used to reduce them all to the common factor of solidos is explained in an appendix¹²⁷. Inevitably, it is difficult to make generalisations about the prices of houses, as they reach extremes, especially in the case of the intra-mural area of Barcelona, as Dr. Bonnassie has pointed out¹²⁸, and each case must have been different, depending on size, location and contents. In addition, the number of outright sales is not particularly large, for a considerable proportion of the evidence comes from donations, wills and exchanges, while in the suburbs, the large quantities of open land mean that fewer prices concerning houses are available than might be expected¹²⁹.

No attempt is here made to interpret the prices in terms of the wider economic history of either Catalonia or the rest of the Iberian Peninsula, although it is immediately apparent that some of the fluctuations must have been affected by reasons which did not only influence Barcelona. However, by converting all the prices to solidos, the only unit to which all the other units in circulation can be related, comparative prices, decade by decade can be established for properties which primarily consisted of a house:

PERIOD	INTRA- MURAL SAMPLE	SUBURBAN SAMPLE	INTRA- MURAL AVERAGE PRICE	SUBURBAN AVERAGE PRICE	OVERALL AVERAGE PRICE
pre-1000	4	12	25	18	19.75
1000-1020	4	7	105	111.5	109
1021-1030	7	9	164	58	73.6
1031-1040	4	8	142	29	66.6
1041-1050	2	4	60	43.75	49.1
1051-1060	10	7	191.5	270	223.8
1061-1070	8	6	433.75	191.6	330
1071-1080	7	12	527.5	521	523.4
1081-1090	4	10	353.75	265.7	290.8
1091-1100	4	6	496.25	111	265.1
1101-1110	1	2	280	323.5	309
1111-1120	3	14	228.67	94	117.75
1121-1130	1	2	140	49	79.3
1131-1140	3	3	305.67	154	229.8
1141-1150	11	9	295	135.7	223.3
1151-1160	9	15	497.7	643.2	588.6
1161-1170	4	15	609.25	284	352.4
1171-1180	0	9	-	560	560
1181-1190 ¹³⁰	0	12	-	394	394
1191-1200	1	6	220	518.5	475.8

For the 11th. century the pattern is similar to that established by Bonnassie for other classes of property, in spite of the relatively small samples¹³¹. As far as I know, no attempt had been made to analyse economic trends in this region in the 12th. century,

and so these results must be taken as tentative, especially for the first third of the century, in view of the small size of the sample. However, an economic recession after the heady days of the later 11th. century would go far to explain the general paucity of documentation for these decades.

The two centuries can be divided into five sub-sections:-

i) During the first half of the 11th. century, there was a steady rise from the low levels of the late 10th. century, which were in fact probably artificially low in view of the destruction wrought in 985, and the fluidity of the property market in these years.

During the early years of Ramon Berenguer I's period of countship, as a result of general unrest particularly among certain branches of the nobility, and reflected in the city by such incidents as the stone-throwing against the Comital Palace, and the burning down of the Seneschal's house¹³², there was a drop in prices. However, with the settlement of these problems the situation was restored to one of confidence in property.

ii) Certainly from c.1050 onwards, both in the city and the suburbs, there was a dramatic rise in prices. Individual prices for houses located on the defences reached almost astronomical figures (C.130,134). However, the peak had probably passed by 1080, and given the monetary confusion of the last two decades of the

century, prices stabilized and may even have decreased on occasions.

iii) The first third of the 12th. century is very much an obscure period. The few prices that have come down to us indicate a continued fall in prices, perhaps influenced by the Almoravid attacks, for the decrease in the suburbs seems to have been particularly sharp, and as has been noted, there is a possibility that some parts of the suburbs suffered in these attacks¹³³.

iv) From c.1135 prices started to increase again. A property sold in that year had increased its value by 50% by the time it was re-sold seventeen years later (C.222, 258). By the 1160's prices had overtaken the maximums of nearly a hundred years before.

v) For the last third of the 12th. century the information is particularly difficult to evaluate. There were no great changes, although there may have been a number of periods of minor fluctuations, for the prices do not appear to have been totally stable. In view of the size of the sample it is difficult to make any valid generalisations for shorter periods.

The prices therefore reflect the information of other sources fairly faithfully, marking the early 11th. century as a period of gradual revival, particularly in the walled area: the later 11th. century as one of rapid expansion, followed by a recession, and a restoration of growth c.1135, which continued at a more or less constant pace for the rest of the century.

6) Land-holding.

By far the greater part of the land within the city walls seems to have been allodial, that is owing no tributes apart from tithes and first fruits. During the first two thirds of the 11th. century this was almost exclusive, and property was either directly held or worked by the owner, or, in the case of certain ecclesiastical properties, leased, usually to clerics, for the tenant's lifetime (C.52) or occasionally as long as three generations (C.51). On certain occasions a property bequeathed to an institution would be leased back to relatives of the deceased, but again on a short lease, which did little to stimulate improvements.

As has been noted at various points, during the 1070's a new form of holding urban property came into operation, usually known as donations per precaria or emphyteusis¹³⁴, by which property, often either in need of rebuilding, or totally unbuilt, was provided in exchange for an initial payment, and a subsequent annual rent, but with an unlimited lease. The property could usually be sub-let or sold, provided advance warning was given, although later a clause prohibiting such transactions with Jews or knights became common. Although it was initially used by the Canons of Barcelona to increase their income from land not being actively used, or to obviate the necessity of direct control, it was later copied by other ecclesiastical bodies,

particularly the distant monasteries which had urban estates (C.135,173) and later by the Count and his officials (C.239,240). Rents could vary from under one mancus to ten or more (C.230,109).

The same progression can be noted in the suburbs: most property in the inner suburbs, along the main roads and in the outer nuclei, was allodial, and could be freely bought and sold, exchanged or mortgaged. The first per precaria establishments are concentrated in the Villanova 'del Mar' and owed rents to the canons. This method of developing previously exclusively agricultural land later spread to the rest of the outer suburbs, and, as has been seen in the previous chapter, it was usual for only a few individuals or institutions to have control over specific area.

It is indeed unfortunate that very few 'Capbreu' documents (rent-rolls) have survived for the city, for they would undoubtedly tell us more about how these areas were exploited, and the relative weight of rents in the different zones. One from Sta.Eulalia del Camp has been partially published¹³⁵, and others exist in the Libri Antiquitatum of the Cathedral Archives, referring to the various officers of the community¹³⁶. Several of these are undated, and the majority are probably of early 13th.century date, although they tell us little about the important areas of growth¹³⁷.

Nevertheless, the importance of these areas cannot be underestimated, for without these later 11th-century changes, it is difficult to see how the city would have expanded beyond the area of the suburbs near the defences, where allods were the predominant form of land holding. The later topographical development of the city would have been very different.

Conclusion: the Early Medieval Townscape.

These various aspects of the properties in the city, their nature and price, their size and distribution, all tend to confirm the conclusions of previous chapters. In spite of the recovery of the years after 985, the city still had strong rural roots, and fields and vineyards could be found at the heart of the old Roman city. Only from the middle of the 11th-century did this appearance change, at first in the walled area, slightly later in the suburbs. A wide range of alterations in the decades between 1050 and 1080 can be detected, ranging from the construction of new house-types, the advent of industrial properties and the decline of the horticultural factor, through the new land leasing methods, and the rapid rise in prices. It is to this period that the birth of the medieval city must be dated. Thereafter, after a period of stagnation in the early 12th-century, the process of growth was renewed,

but this only enhanced the trends that had been begun in the previous century. By the end of the 12th.century parts of the old walled city and the inner suburbs were reaching saturation point in terms of the density of structures and indeed this same movement had led to the walls which had divided the two areas being concealed, and the city-suburb distinction was blurred.

CHAPTER XV

THE INHABITANTS OF BARCELONA AND ITS SOCIAL
TOPOGRAPHY IN THE 11th. AND 12th. CENTURIES

The preceding chapters have been largely dedicated to the structures of the city rather than the men who inhabited them, worked in them and passed their lives within them. This chapter aims to rectify this deficit by examining the various categories and groups of men and women found in the city, the relationship between these and the detailed topography already established, and finally an attempt at discussing their origins and numbers.

The initial problem is one of identification: whereas some groups are immediate candidates for discussion and can be readily recognized in the available sources, such as the Counts and their officials in the civil sphere, and the Bishops, canons and monastic houses in the ecclesiastical one, others are far more difficult to detect. Among these more hidden sectors of society one might include the lower ranks of the nobility and knights: artisans, who are sometimes, but not invariably identified by the sources, and somewhat more controversially those wealthy members of urban society who stand out in the midst of their free brethren, at least from the second half of the 11th.

century onwards, but who lacked a name for themselves, although later developments would lead us to call them a merchant 'class' or proto-patriciate. And in addition to these, one must not forget the rôle of those so poor that they rarely, if ever, took part in the type of transactions which constitute the greater part of the sources, either as actuants or signatories, nor ^{that} of those non-free members of society who are occasionally mentioned¹.

Leaving aside these questions of identification and nomenclature, a few qualifying words are necessary, for the sources are primarily concerned with the ownership and exploitation of property rather than with the concept of residence at a certain point. Although dwelling and possession or tenancy obviously often went together, there were, of course, occasions when one private individual is found with houses in various parts of the city, without one being singled out as his residence. The reverse may also have been true, for several individuals could have had rights over one property as the result of a partitioned inheritance, whereas only one of them actually lived there. Nevertheless, even bearing these points in mind, it is sometimes possible to detect coherent trends in the residence and ownership patterns of the various social categories mentioned above. However, most of the inhabitants, if not exactly anonymous, belong to social circumstances which only the chance remark, often in a will, can clarify.

1. The Counts of Barcelona

Apart from the Comital Palace, the site of which corresponded to a location of long tradition², the extent of comital property in the city and its suburbs was not particularly extensive by the beginning of the 11th. century. This rather surprising state of affairs can probably be traced to a considerable degree of alienation of their property in the 10th. century, and the last relics of this trend can be seen in the early decades of the following century. Both Ramon Borrell and Berenguer Ramon I are known to have disposed of substantial properties on the line of the late Roman defences, property which must have originally been, as is described in a later Medieval legendary history, entirely at their disposition (C.46,43)³.

The few extant 10th. century documents make it apparent that the counts had previously possessed far greater domains in the city and also in the suburbium. Donations to the monastery of Ripoll (S.3) and the Cathedral (C.4) must have been accompanied by others to the Benedictine monasteries and the other religious institutions which in the 11th. century held large tracts in the suburbs. Indeed, the whole of the area outside the walls may have originally formed part of these estates as an inheritance from the fisc of the late Roman and Visigothic periods⁴. This would also explain the comital

interest in the church of Sta.Maria del Mar (S.59), as well as the monastery of St.Pere (S.1) and the possible community of Sta.Pau del Camp⁵. In addition, two of the three intra-mural churches also had a close connection with the comital authority, that of Sts.Just i Pastor being given to the cathedral in 965 (C.4), that of St.Miquel in 1046, while the third church, St.Jaume, was in the possession of the vice-comital line (S.124). This could be related to their position in relation to the late Roman forum and the public buildings surrounding it, for it would have been natural that these should have passed to the dominant civil authority in the decay of the Roman system of urban government: whether this was the Visigothic fisc or the royal representative in the city, such domains would have later passed to the Carolingian counts⁶.

Another reason for the concern of Count Berenguer Ramon I with the church of Sta.Maria del Mar could also have been its vicinity to the sea-shore, which at the end of the 12th.century was certainly considered a royal pre-requisite, and before the 'Ribera' district could be built in the early 13th.century, the shore-line had to pass from the Crown to the Mitse, and then to 'entrepreneurs', their tenants and even sub-tenants, who were encharged with the tasks of construction⁷. Similarly an area at the foot of the defences near the Regomir Gate, which had

been used for ship-building, was in comital hands in c.1079. One of the other properties in this same document, which records much of the comital property in the Barcelona area at that date, was the area known as Cort Comtal, where the Palau Comtal Menor was soon to be built, and which may have been one of the last major relics of the comital estates of the suburbium⁸.

Certainly, the 11th-century counts had means by which these depleted domains could be replenished. In the year 1000 there is a record of the property of Jews who had died in the assault of 985 and who had left no heirs, and which consequently passed to the Count⁹. Other properties were acquired by confiscation, as from the Jew caught in flagrante (C.43), or the counterfeiter Joan Gaméz (C.132), although it is noteworthy that neither of these remained in comital hands for very long. Presumably while other more direct sources of income existed - especially 'parias' - it was accepted policy that these should be used to reward followers rather than be assimilated into the comital estates.

As these tributes dried up, and with changes in the concept of lordship, other sources of property came to the fore. The major means of obtaining further property was from vassals who died without heirs and intestate: this is first clearly stated in a sale by Ramon Berenguer III in 1101: Advenit

autem michi hec omnia pretexta, tali voce eo quod dicebam quis juris mei debebat esse eo quod Guibertus Bonucii et uxor sua non habuerunt infantes quia ita usus fuit ut ceteris comitibus in transactis temporibus de ipsis hominibus que infantes non relinquerunt, omnia quod habebant debebat esse de comitibus (S.243). The concept was reinforced by his son and included in the Usatges, where it was stated that the count had the right to the exorquia of all nobles, knights and burgenses, not only immediate vassals¹⁰. This was applied in 1135-36 to the case of Pere of Palau in a dispute between Count Ramon Berenguer IV and his seneschal, Guillem Ramon de Montcada¹¹, and may also have been the cause of the dispute between the same count and Pere of Barcelona over the property of Pere Ricart in 1160 (C.280). Although the exact details are unknown, it seems probable that Pere of Barcelona claimed Pere Ricart's inheritance on the grounds of a remote family connection, whereas the count based his argument on the fact that Pere Ricart was a citizen (or noble ?) without heirs, and triumphed¹².

Pere Ricart's estates were substantial, and included much of the St.Maria del Pi zone: their acquisition marks something of a turning point in the attitude of the counts towards their urban properties. Although they had begun to exploit the revenues of the Rech, mills, the market and bread-

ovens in a more direct manner from the middle of the 11th. century onwards in an ever increasing fashion,¹³ the counts had taken little or no part in the process of urban construction. Henceforth a number of ad construendam leases are known, particularly within the estates formerly of Pere Ricart outside the Castell Nou gate, stretching as far as the Canonical Trilea (S.427,556,581). Foremost among these was the construction of the 'Bany's Nous' (S.415).

As was stated at the beginning of this section, the core of their urban property was around the palace, and a similar change of approach can be detected there. Initially properties were ceded as benefactions, with little or no concern for financial returns, as in the case of the Hospital in 1045 (C.71). In the later 11th. century, structures adjoining the palace both inside and outside the defences were let to artisans, but with little coherent pattern (C.162,179: S.172,271). By the end of Ramon Berenguer III's life, however, steps were being taken to control the growing encroachment of the area at the foot of the walls (S.312), and his son seems to have taken a personal interest in the exploitation of the disused hospital vaults (C.239-240). Ramon Berenguer III also endeavoured to control the market further, and his son is found buying workshops there (C.416) and instituting new officials (S.347) and consolidating property near the Castell Nou (C.291). This more

direct form of intervention was enhanced by Alfons I (S.538,574,588) and his son towards the end of the century (S.630), with the remodelling of the market area, and the increasing importance of Royal officials and representatives¹⁴.

2. The Viscounts.

As in the case of the counts, the tenth century was very much of a heyday for vicecomital property in the city, for not only did those of Barcelona possess domains (S.8), but other viscounts are also recorded, such as Enneg, Bardina and Audeguer (C.6,36:S.33) all of whom had died by the time their respective properties were documented. This, together with the appearance of Sendred the Vicar (C.3) and Archdeacon (Sunifred) Llobet (C.7), must suggest that in the 10th. century members of the comital entourage were abundant among the scantily numbered inhabitants of the city, as indeed were ecclesiastics of all ranks.

The strange history of the viscounts of Barcelona and their ultimate departure for Morocco has been told on several occasions, and need not be recounted here, suffice it to say that their gradual disappearance from the field of activities in Barcelona led to the waning of their estates¹⁵. Their principal residence was the Castell Vell over the north-east gate, and from where stones were thrown at the neigh-

bouring Comital Palace in the 11th. century disputes between the count and nobility¹⁶. Several of the properties on either side of the gate, which were later recorded as owing rent to the castle, may have also been under their sway (C.225,329), as was an amount of property at the foot of the defences including the bread-oven usurped by the Marcus family and later sold to them (S.338,342,392).

In the rest of the intra-mural area, the viscounts held a substantial house ~~o~~ the defences near the Bishop's Gate, perhaps a relic of the time when all four gates of the city were under direct or indirect comital control (C.130), other property around the ruins of the Roman Temple (C.68,148,153), and in the area of the Hospital which tradition states was founded by the late 10th. century Viscount Guitart (C.206). However, most of this was either sold or let in the years after 1077: the first part to Ramon Dalmau (C.194): the second to Calvin~~o~~'s family (C.151,157) and the last ^{was} given as a dowry in 1125 by Viscount Guilabert to his daughter Arsendis (C.206). The reason for these sales is unknown, although presumably cash was needed for some project: this may have been the backing of a certain Bernat Udalard, whose name would suggest that he was a younger son of Viscount Udalard, who died about this date, and brother of Guilabert, in the establishment of a career. He appears for the first time in 1078

acquiring property near the Comital Palace, which he later developed to include workshops (C.131,142/etc.)¹⁷.

Although one of the primary functions of the Viscount was originally as the Comital representative in the city, this rôle is never apparent in the 11th century. After Guilabert's death, the connection with the city, already made tenuous by the emergence of the Vicariate and its association with the Castell Vell, became much weaker. Equally, the interests of the family in the Port area and its castle were eroded by the changing political system which had little place for them¹⁸ in a community increasingly dominated by the Counts and his officials. Although vicecomital allods near the 'Miracle' were still recorded in 1154 (C.263), and the last holder of the title did not die until 1207, the post had long ceased to be of significance.

3. Comital Officers,

No study has been made of the Vicars of Barcelona who largely replaced the Viscounts from the early 12th.century onwards¹⁹. It is clear, however, that the post had little connection with those vicars responsible for frontier districts in the 10th. century, and probably evolved from the post of 'castlà major' of the Castell Vell in the second half of the 11th.century. The one important distinction was

that whereas the post of viscount had become hereditary by the end of the 10th.century, the vicariate was not so in the 12th.century, although dynastic factors occasionally played a part in the appointment, which was in the power of the Count²⁰.

The first reference to a vicar in fact mentions two - Arbert Bernat and Berenguer Bernat - in 1096²¹. The origins of both are unknown, but hypotheses may be put forward on the grounds of their urban property. Arbert's will of 1098 demonstrates that he had extensive property along the line of the defences to the south of the Castell Vell (C.181): given this piece of information, and a common link through other properties, it is certain that he was the son of Bermat Gelmir, who died in 1054, leaving property on the walls (C.84).

He also had another son, Ermengol, mentioned as a brother in Arbert's will²². Berenguer Bernat was possibly the man of that name whose widow married Ramon Renart de la Roca some time before 1109 (C.188) or perhaps the 'castlà' of the Castell Nou and Castell del Port who died in 1119 (C.202). Whichever the case, it is clear that these early vicars had strong local roots and a background in the lower ranks of the 'new' nobility of the 11th.century and the upper levels of the 'castlà' category.

The policy of appointing two vicars may have

been continued for some time in the early 12th. century, for a certain Guillem Renart is found in 1113-4²³, and Berenguer Ramon of Castellet in 1113-25: the former was a brother of the Ramon Renart mentioned above²⁴, who may have shared the position for some time: the latter disputed his rights with the count, although ^{he} was finally given further control over the market of Barvelona²⁵.

In 1126, Carreras Candi cites a Pere Arnau as vicar²⁶, although more securely Guillem Ramon of Castellvell held the post from c.1127 to 1134¹²⁷. Although it has been stated that he married a daughter of Count Ramon Berenguer III, it is perhaps more likely that he was the husband of Viscount Guilabert's daughter, Arsendis (C.206), which would have tightened the connection with the Castell Vell. His father and uncle had been 'castlans' in 1111, although they were never cited as vicars²⁸, and the family had long held property in the city, originally near the Cathedral (C.60), but by this date along the defences at the Cauda Rubea (C.218,309). Moreover, this connection with the city was to be continued by Guillem Ramon's son who was Bishop from 1189 to 1199 (C.338).

The family of the first vicar, however, had not lost contact with the situation: his sons had disputed the position of Berenguer Ramon of Castellet in 1113, and Carreras Candi states that his grandson

held the post in 1131²⁹. From about 1135, nevertheless, a Berenguer Ramon was certainly vicar³⁰, and he resided in a house next to the ruins of the Roman Temple (C.221-2). He exercised power until his death in 1144 (C.238), and was briefly succeeded by his son, Berenguer of Barcelona³¹. A Guillem Arbert, again perhaps a descendent of the first vicar, is found in 1151³², and was probably succeeded by Pere Arnau or Pere of Barcelona from c.1155 to c.1160³³. He was a son of Arnau Pere milites, who owned substantial domains in the southern part of the city between the Regomir Gate and the Sant Miquel. Pere may have lost the post as a result of a dispute with Ramon Berenguer IV (C.280), and from 1161 onwards a certain Guillem Catalan is found in the position, and continued to exercise it for at least seven years³⁴.

The vicars of the last three decades of the century are poorly known, only two names being recorded, firstly that of Berenguer Bou³⁵, who like so many of his predecessors owned houses in the neighbourhood (C.310,338bis) and secondly Ermengol of Manresa in 1193³⁶, who may have been the same as, or a descendent of, the person of the same name who lent the count 1200 solidos for the siege of Tortosa in 1148³⁷.

The Vicars of Barcelona thus often appeared

to be from a similar social milieu as the 'prohoms' with whom they were frequently associated in the sources: wealthy residents of the city, perhaps one generation removed from a knightly background, or perhaps combining this with a purely urban one. The noble element was small, being restricted to the years of Ramon Berenguer III, those with more contact and knowledge of the city being valued by his son and successors, presumably since they were more likely to be accepted by the citizens in a period when the military function of the Castell Vell, known in the 13th. century as the Cort del Veguer, had disappeared.

The seneschalcy was another comital appointment established at a somewhat earlier date than the Vicariate of Barcelona, but, in view of the close contact between Counts and Seneschals, it would seem reasonable for them to have had a Barcelona base. This was certainly true of the first person to hold the post - Amat Elderic - whose Barcelona house was destroyed by the supporters of Mir Geribert in 1055, although its exact location is unknown. However, although his brother and successor as guardian of his son, Pere Amat, held the Castell Nou, there is no trace of his having any other urban residence³⁸.

Neither did the succeeding seneschal - Guillem (appointed c.1070) - nor the Montcada family, with which the office later became almost permanently

associated, have a permanent urban centre, apart from the property of the Archidiaconate which was held by members of this family for most of the 11th. century. This is somewhat surprising and can only be explained by the proximity of their castle at Montcada to the city³⁹.

The other Comital officers of these centuries are poorly known, and one suspects that many must have resided within the confines of the Palace complex. Only the mid-12th. century scribe, Ponç, who pursued a policy of property acquisition in the 'Miracle' area, stands out (C.255,256,259,268,273-5,296,304). Even the location of the house of the most famous of the Comital and Royal scribes - Ramon of Caldes - is unknown⁴⁰.

4. The Nobility.

In our treatment of society we have omitted a rank by passing from the Viscounts to their successors: this is clearly that of the remaining members of the nobility. Knowledge of Catalan noble families has recently been improved by general works⁴¹, castle-studies⁴², and the work of genealogists⁴³, and the history of the principal families is now fairly well known on a basis of charter evidence, the concretions of legend and tradition having been largely dissolved. Yet many problems still remain. One of the major

ones is the question of identification, for whereas it is easy to distinguish a family with a long history and clearly named after the castle that was its origin or main centre of operations, people from shorter-lived lines, or who are not so described, and who only occasionally appear in an urban context, may pass completely unrecognized. The problem is made even worse by the very repetition of the same half-a-dozen male names in various combinations - Pere, Guillem, Bernat, Berenguer, Ramon and Arnau - particularly from the later 11th. century onwards ⁴⁴.

A second problem is the perennial thorny one of definition, for the recognition of nobility was not static. In the 10th. and 11th. centuries it presumably included those vicars in charge of frontier districts, and others elsewhere who held castles. In the middle and later 11th. century a change clearly took place, old lines disappearing or fusing, cadet branches taking charge of secondary castles within one family's lordship, and 'castlans' aspiring to noble rank via advantageous marriages and the strength of their position ⁴⁵. Here then, it is only possible to consider a few of the noble families that had urban property: some must be by-passed, whereas many more must lie undetected, awaiting further studies of individual families and their webs of inter-relationships.

The association between the nobility of Catalonia and the city went through several distinct stages, which are reflected in the scope and extent of their holdings there. As has been pointed out above, in the tenth century there was a preponderance of the old noble families among the property owners of the city - viscounts and vicars and others who were probably related in varying degrees to the Comital line. Dr. Bonnassie has demonstrated that in the first two decades of the following century several of the foremost castle holders came down from their eagles' nests and established urban pied-à-terres⁴⁶. Thus Sunifred of Lluçà had land near the Regomir Castle by 1015 (C.30), Guadál Seniofred of St. Vicenç a house near the Cathedral by 1031 (C.50); Guillem of Mediona, possibly the same person as Guillem of St. Martí, had property near the 'Miracle' and St. Jaume in the 1020's and 1030's (C.45, 47, 49, 52)⁴⁷; and others, the Queralt's (C.30), the Castellvell's (C.60) and the Cervelló-Alemaný line (C.36) can be added to this list. Their holdings were often large and frequently incorporated land or 'freginals' for the horses that were an essential feature of both their way of life and social position.

Nevertheless, many of these families are not found again in the city, and considering the better information for the following decades, this must imply that for some reason they abandoned their urban

estates. The most likely explanation is that during the troubles of the mid-11th. century and the confrontations between the Count and the nobility, supporters of Mir Geribert's faction found it convenient to leave the city⁴⁸. The Mediona family were definitely among his followers⁴⁹, and this may have been the reason for the sale of property by Guillem Bernat of Queralt in 1056 (C.89).

Nevertheless, other members of this group retained their urban residences: the Cervelló-Alemaný line, recorded near the church of St. Just in 1020 (C.36), was still present in 1056 (C.89) and sold this property in 1116 (C.196). However, subsequent noble possessions were largely limited to families which acted as 'castlans' of either the Castell Vell or the Castell Nou, although it is impossible to decide whether their urban estates were a reason for their choice or a result of their position. Thus the Castellvells, 'castlans' in 1111, had previously held property near the Cathedral, but in the 12th. century had a property on the defences which included three wall-towers, which later passed to the canons⁵⁰. The Queralts, one of whom acted as seneschal for a period in the 12th. century, had two properties on the city-walls, one given to the Templars (C.218) and the other near the new Episcopal Palace (C.237). Moreover, Berenguer of Queralt mortgaged the Castell Nou in 1218⁵¹. This may be related

to the precarious financial position of the family, for they had been forced to mortgage property in the suburbs at an earlier date (S.569,626). Alone among the great noble families did they take an interest in stimulating urban expansion, leasing property in the Cort Comtal district and near the Lepers' Hospital, with the result that a villa Queralt emerged at the former point (S.400,402,571,535,545, 575).

Although the Cervelló-Alemany line appeared to have severed links with the city in 1116, Guerau Alemany IV may have been 'castlà' of the Castell Nou in 1145⁵², and the legendary 15th.century history attributed a long length of the city-walls to this family⁵³. The same work gave the Castell Nou to the Belloc family, one of the lines of 'new' nobility which first appeared in the early 12th.century. This connection with the castle is not attested until 1232⁵⁴. They had, however, married into urban society by the middle of the 12th.century and had extensive property in the Sant Miquel zone (C. 188,244,261,300,319,339,340), and tradition gives them an important part in the foundation of the community of St.Pau del Camp⁵⁵. Their link with the Castell Nou may have gone back to the 12th.century for they had exchanged the castle vallum for suburban property with Ramon Berenguer IV prior to 1162 (C.291).

Several common factors thus emerge: in an initial stage noble property was fairly extensive and seemingly clustered around the churches in the centre of the city, rather than the palace, presumably because properties there were either of easier purchase in the late 10th. and early 11th. centuries, or they were at the disposal of the count to reward his followers: properties on the defences were perhaps a slightly later acquisition. In the later 11th. century, there was a drastic reduction in this presence, and the families that remained were particularly close advisers of Ramon Berenguer III, whereas the Cervelló-Alemany family had been supporters of his uncle, Berenguer Ramon II, who had killed the former's father⁵⁶. This relationship with the comital party continued under his son and grandson, and although other noble families had urban property (the Barberàs and the Cabanyes (C.210, 247: S.589,273,344,345)), they never had the same significance.

5. Milites.

Given that few nobles were apparently resident in the city in the 12th. century, it is logical that the next rank down from the 'castlà', the miles or knight, was also poorly represented. With the exception of a Jew called Abraham, who was styled cavaller (A.223), there are only three recorded cases.

Two of these appear on only one occasion, a Ramon Pons miles who had a house in the suburbs, perhaps near the Castell Vell Gate (S.304bis) and Guerau Bernat miles (S.348), who had owned property near the junction of the Merdança and the street leading to the monastery of St.Pere de les Puelles.

The third example was Arnau Pere miles : Dr. Ruiz Doménec has proposed that he was a grandson of Bernat Ramon, Ricart Guillem's father-in-law⁵⁷. He would thus have been a son of Pere Bernat and nephew of Ramon Bernat clericus to whom he returned property in one of his first documented appearances in 1130 (C.213). First called miles in 1134 (C.219), his life was probably short, for a will of an Arnau Pere was declared in 1143 (C.232), and his sons Bernat de Machiz and Pere of Barcelona do not appear in their own right until after 1154, which suggests they were still young at the time of his death. In 1155 Bernat became a canon⁵⁸, whereas his brother became Vicar, a post he held to c.1160, although he lived for considerably longer⁵⁹. The reason for Arnau Pere's title must remain conjectural, although in view of his long connection with the city, it is perhaps most likely that he was in some way related to either of the comital-controlled castles⁶⁰.

6. The Representatives of Law and Order,

Catalonia was in many ways remarkable in the tenth and early eleventh centuries for its preservation of bodies which had long-since disappeared elsewhere. Among these must be classified the corps of legal experts and judges, which, although it had known better days, still maintained the spirit and letter of the Lex Visigothorum. Educated in the Cathedral schools, a group of these were present at the principal centre of each count, and Barcelona was no exception⁶¹. Although more names are known, four figures stand out in the period after 985: Ervig Marc, Auruz the Greek,⁶² Bonhom⁶³, and Ponç Bonfill Marc^{63 bis}.

Bonnassie has suggested that they were able to use inside knowledge in the years following the destruction of Almansur, when much property conveyance was taking place, to make advantageous purchases⁶⁴. Certainly in this period they were among the foremost inhabitants of the city, in many ways probably the highest ranking members of urban society in contrast to the nobility who also had extensive urban estates, and are found acquiring property both within the walls and in the suburbs (C.11,12, S.20). In the years after c.1025, however, a spirit of change entered the system, which became less public, more controlled by the comital authority, to the point

that in the 12th. century, the judges were considered as purely comital officers⁶⁵. Nevertheless, like their more independent predecessors, the judges of the 11th. century continued to be men of the city, *men* who resided there, usually inside the defences and in houses of some standing in all known examples (C.97,104,147,192,198,176,183: S.246-7).

In the early 11th. century the judges were often accompanied by a body of boni homines, who presumably represented the inhabitants of the city in some capacity, although it is not clear exactly how they were chosen. At other moments they could act alone, without the presence of the judges, to fix prices and settle disputes between neighbours, and sometimes to attest wills⁶⁶. Little seems to distinguish these men from their contemporaries who were not so recorded, for they included laymen and clergy and were not always among the wealthiest members of the urban community. Honesty and general acceptance may have been sufficient qualifications. After the spate of documents related to disputes arising from the events of 985⁶⁷, the number of occasions on which they appear in the urban context diminishes, and only a handful of names are known for the century after 1025. *As in the case of* the judges, the counts may have played an increasingly important part in their selection: at least one of 1044 was a rich citizen who numbered the count among his debtors⁶⁸, and those cited as having drawn up

the division of Comital domains in 1079 were probably from a similar sector of society⁶⁹.

In the 12th. century the name of probi homines (modern Catalan 'prohoms') was used in preference to boni homines, although the constitution of the body, or at least those members who were named, for the formula et aliorum proborum hominum nearly always appears, continued in the same direction towards the wealthier ranks of urban society. From c.1150 it again became frequent to name these 'worthy men', and it is found that they included members of the group of citizens who were able to loan Ramon Berenguer IV a total of 7700 sels. in 1148, especially Bernat Marcus (II)⁷⁰, and members of the Adarró family⁷¹. Although the judges had all but disappeared by this time, with the decline in the usage of the Visigothic codes, the 'prohoms' are often associated with the Vicar (S.384,458,514) and/or the Comital bailiff (C.240). Clergy, however, were no longer found among their numbers, presumably since the Church did not use this system of redressing grievances, preferring its own courts whenever possible⁷². However, it is noticeable that on one occasion of a dispute involving the Church and a private citizen, the verdict was pronounced by the Bishop of Zaragoza and one of the most, if not the most, important citizen (C.288).

This body of 'prohoms' had no permanent home and assembled whenever and wherever necessary. In addition, of course, this lack of cohesion means that the absence of a distinct pattern of distribution of its members' residences is no surprise, although a concentration in the wealthiest parts of the city, between the Cathedral and Sta. Maria del Mar seems probable. Even if, as has been suggested,

a 'consulate' was established in the final years of the 12th century, after the Italian model, and as in other Catalan cities and towns, it probably did not have a permanent home. Notwithstanding, it was only in the middle of the following century that true municipal government was formalized and some considerable time afterwards that the first purpose-built municipal centre was constructed⁷³.

7. Cives et Burgenses.

This was how Usatges V qualified those men who lived in cities who were regarded as the social equals of milites at the time of the composition of these clauses, probably around the middle of the 12th century⁷⁴. However, apart from a few exceptional occasions, these titles do not appear in our sources, and so it is particularly difficult to pick out these citizens from the rest of the inhabitants of Barcelona. A document of 1123 mentions burgenses in the context of a property at the foot of the walls (S.294),

suggesting that some topographical distinction existed between those who lived within the defences and those inhabitants of the burgo, although socially, legally or politically speaking they might be considered as equals. In addition, as far as can be seen, all the burgensibus Barchinone magnis et parvis who loaned Count Ramon Berenguer IV money for the conquest of Tortosa in 1148 were also residents of the suburbs⁷⁵.

As the Count indicated by his choice of words, some of these burgenses were more equal than others, and it is these, rather than their poorer colleagues, that attract attention by the repetition of their names in the sources. Although such men have often been designated a 'merchant class', it is noticeable that true merchants are only very infrequently named in the Barcelona sources, once as the signature of a Xpistovali negociator in 1055⁷⁶, who may well have been an outsider for the name Cristòfol is very unusual, and secondlyⁱⁿ a reference to the land of a Guifredus negociator in the previous year⁷⁷. The merchant Robert, recorded in the first decade of the 11th. century, was probably of Flemish origin⁷⁸ and the comments of Benjamin of Tudela in the mid-12th. century likewise apply to foreigners⁷⁹. Not until the second half of the 12th. century is there sound evidence for local involvement in long-distance commerce and this may have been stimulated by immigrants,

particularly from Italy and Southern France⁸⁰. Thus, as in other parts of Europe, one may conclude that much of the accumulated wealth was not derived from trade or commerce, and the economic growth of Barcelona was really far more complex⁸¹.

Nevertheless, leaving aside the old aristocracy of the city, the late 10th.century judges, it is in the years around the middle of the 11th.century that one can first notice the additional wealth acquired by some of the residents of the city of clearly non-noble background. Bonnassie has charted the wills of some of the most outstanding, characterized by their credit operations, possession of slaves and large stocks of agricultural produce⁸². He has also described the steady rise of one family of rural roots from Provençals in the territorium to a position where its members were able to mix freely with nobles and high ecclesiastics⁸³. It is thus now evident that the riches of these cives came not from a nebulous slave-trade⁸⁴, nor as a side effect of 'parias'⁸⁵, but from the soil and their own business acumen.

By the last quarter of the 11th.century younger sons of noble families, men like Ricart Guillem⁸⁶ or Bernat Udaldar⁸⁷, were following in their footsteps, engaging in extensive land deals, lending cash and crops, and even manufacturing for the demands of their peers. It is thus difficult to describe such people

as 'merchants' for they had many strings to their bows, and probably would have had difficulty in defining what was their exact rôle, even to contemporaries.

As a result of their wealth and position such men acquired extensive urban properties - on the defences (Ricart Guillem (C.195), Bernat Gelmir (C. 84)⁸⁸, Fulc Guisad (C.61-65), Guitart Bovet (C.174)), or within them (Ermengol Samarelli (C.120), Bernat Udalard (C.131,162)) or occasionally in the suburbs (Bonugius Vivas (S.176,205), Guitart Ananias (S.130)) - in addition to land in the territorium and sometimes beyond. The range of possessions once again stresses the diversity of their origins and social contacts, for some like Ricart Guillem were intimates of the count, whereas others, like Guitart Bovet, had few contacts outside the city.

The early 12th. century was probably a period of economic difficulties, for prices dropped, sales were few, and the political position with the threat of Almoravid attacks, unstable. In the commercial sphere, however, profit was made of the new contacts with North Italian cities during the attack on Mallorca, for in the following decade maritime agreements with Genoa appear, and Catalans are recorded selling slaves in that city, suggesting that the maritime expansion so much a feature of later Catalan history was imminent, if only on a very small scale, for

commercial partnerships and vessels are rarely recorded until the following century⁹⁰. Another stimulus may have come via a degree of immigration from points in the north-west Mediterranean world during the second quarter of the century, for inhabitants of the city with origins in Toulouse, Perpinyà, Montpellier and Perugia are known⁹¹. In addition to the traditional ways of gaining money - trade, manufacture and agriculture - a fourth, that of positions of profit in Comital service, also appears during these decades⁹², and it was on these four pillars that the great families of the city in the second half of the 12th. century accumulated their wealth, which in some cases enabled them to take a leading rôle in 13th. century patrician society and politics.

The prime example of these families was that of Bernat Marcus. Although often mentioned in secondary sources, no study has ever been made of the documentary material for this family, which because of its wide-ranging contacts within the city occurs far more frequently than any other in the period 1125 to 1200, and although no family archive of this period exists, from a wide range of scattered sources it is possible to build up a picture of the scope of its activities. The Chapel and Hospital of Bernat Marcus were established by testamentary

order of the man of that name who died in 1166 or 1167, although his will, which was probably extant in the last century, is now untraceable⁹³. Nevertheless, that of his son of the same name, who died in 1195, has recently been located in a little-known parchment collection⁹⁴. The earlier Bernat Marcus was one of the two sons of Pere Bernat Marcus (died c.1140)⁹⁵, the other being called Ramon (S.343). Because of several unusual characteristics in the naming patterns of this family it is possible to conjecture further on its origins, a step rarely possible with non-noble lines.

Firstly, the name of Marcus (Marcucii in the sources) was quite unusual in the 12th. century, although it had been more common at an earlier date. Only one other family consistently used it during the 11th. century - that of the legal experts Ervig Marc and Pong Bonfill Marc, although the form used was slightly different. Secondly, Marcus was consistently used as a surname, whereas the standard naming procedure was that a son would be given his father's Christian name as a surname, although an unchanging surname was not unknown, particularly in the leading families of the city in the later 12th. century⁹⁶. Thirdly, the use of the triple name was limited to a very few families in the city⁹⁷. Finally, the Christian name of Bernat recurred on a number of occasions over the space of a century and a half.

The family obviously had luck in the same way as did the Counts of Barcelona, that is continuity in the male line for two centuries, for this, both for social and legal reasons, was a sure way to protect the inheritance: in at least two cases of those named above (Bonucius Vivas (S.176,178,205) and Pere Ricart, son of Ricart Guillem (C.280)) accumulated possessions were dispersed when the male line died out. Nevertheless, the story of the Marcus family was not one of continual progress and amassing of wealth.

Marcutius the Gresk was among a group of people so named in the late 10th. and early 11th. centuries in Barcelona, perhaps because of their own contacts with the East or Italy, or more likely because their forebears had come from these areas in the 10th. century. In his will he manifested what was considerable wealth for the period, including several houses on the defences of Barcelona, the first of the wine-cellars to be recorded in the city, a market-stall, and many pieces of land and vineyard in the territorium⁹⁸. One clause of this will which must be emphasized is a bequest to Guilabert of ipsum ortum de Salvatore integriter causa melioratione: this was near the church of St.Cugat del Rech (which was not yet in existence in 1021), as is demonstrated by the only other occurrence of this place-name (S.283). Whatever the improvements his father expected him to

undertake might have been, this property formed the corner-stone of the family estates until the end of the 12th. century, and provides a further thread of continuity to the genealogy.

Leaving aside his other two sons, one of whom (Guifre~~t~~) may have become a monk of St. Benet de Bages soon after his father's death (C.40) and Company, who had died, probably childless, by 1058 (S.125), and his daughter who was probably married to the Bovet Rainard (C.94) who held estates in the Regomir district like his father-in-law, Gailabert Marcucà appears occasionally in the sources as a property owner (S.81,112), a bonus homo (1042)⁹⁹ and a witness of wills¹⁰⁰, suggesting that he was considered a solid member of urban society, fit to accompany the bishop and viscount on such occasions. He was dead by the year 1056¹⁰¹, and his son is far more shadowy, appearing but once, selling property near St. Pere de les Puelles (S.125), probably that owned by his father in 1051 and next to the property of his late uncle Company.

The succeeding gap to 1092-3 when Bernat Marcus (I) is recorded with property in the same area as Salvador to the north of the Merdança, and also in the Villanova 'del Mar', is the most difficult to bridge, although the continuity of name and location is suggestive. Nevertheless, his estates were not

extensive, and nor is he recorded in a public context. One suspects that Bernat Marcus (I) and his son followed a policy of property acquisition, perhaps taking advantage of low prices, for apart from property in the territorium, Pere Bernat Marcus had extensive tracts above the Cort Comtal and the Puteo de Moranta at the junction of the suburbium and territorium (S.289,337). Another aspect of his wealth may have been control over the mint, for his son Ramon in 1143 gave as part of the price of a house near the market suam quartam partem quam iure paterno habebat in casali quo fabricatur moneta (S.343). This may have been significant, for, as will be seen below, the first three decades of the 12th. century seem to have been a period of prosperity for the moneyers of the city in contrast to the general depression. By 1130, the family would seem to have come to the fore in local political matters, for a dispute concerning property at Tiana was settled in that year ante presenciam Barchinonensium consulum et honestissorum virorum in domo Petri Bernardi Marcutii ex (et ?) predicto Bernardo filio suo¹⁰².

Soon after their father's death, Bernat Marcus (II) and his brother are found buying property in the area of the principal urban estates of the family (S.340,543) and building a new house subject to a drainage agreement (S.341). These acquisitions con-

tinued in the following decade, but always in the same area (S.386,390,398). In addition they owned a dung-hill at the foot of the Cauda Rubea towers, and this was still considered an important asset by Bernat's son in 1195 (S.354,477).

Like his father, Bernat Marcus(II) played an important part in public life: in 1148, he was first on the list of burgenses lending money to Ramon Berenguer IV, and he provided the largest sum, 1500 sols. In 1151 he appears for the first time as a 'prohom', although it is probable that he had long formed part of this body (S.384). What is certain, however, is that he re-appeared in all known instances up to his death when the 'prohoms' are named. He also signed numerous comital and royal documents, was called upon to act as a witness to wills and on at least one occasion^{to} act in judgement alongside the Bishop of Zaragoza (C.288). That his methods were not always so legal is implied by the accusation of the absent Viscountⁱⁿ c.1142, that he and his brother had usurped control of the oven beneath the Castell Vell, a property which they later bought (S.342,392). By the end of his life Bernat Marcus(II) was clearly exploiting his urban estates to the full, making establishments of plots for construction purposes at Cort Comtal in 1161 and 1167 (S.421,452). The latter is the last document known in which he was involved, for it was signed by both him and his son,

and he was certainly dead by 1168 (S.460). Although it has frequently been stated that he died in 1166, this may have been the date of his will, his death not coming until late in the following year.

Nevertheless, from his son's will it is clear that he had erected and endowed a hospital for the poor and left instructions for a chapel to be built next to it, which is the structure that stands today in the C/Carders. Although his son, Bernat Marcus (III) is never recorded as a 'prohom', he appeared in the Royal entourage on occasions¹⁰³, and clearly maintained the family's urban properties at Pou de Moranta (S.466,489), Cauda Rubea (S.477), Montjuïc¹⁰⁴, Arcs Antics (S.525) and Regomir (S.565), as well as inside the walls in the 'Freginal' area (C.323) and beyond the Rambles stream near the Lepers' Hospital (S.627). Like his father he obviously encouraged house construction in the city, for there is an extant establishment of land for this purpose (S.551, 555,559) and in his will he referred to his four villae in the city - opposite the Chapel, at Cort Comtal, Pou de Moranta and the ~~adjacent~~ villa de Butarello, and these were by no means the only houses that he held in the city.

In addition, he undertook new commercial projects: in 1178 Alfons I gave him and his descendants the right to transport in his vessel captives from

Spain (i.e. that part of the Peninsula held by the Moslems) to Barcelona, and from there to take Christians to the lands of the Saracens and bring them back again¹⁰⁵. This was amplified in 1185, when the King gave him and Bernat Adarró the Almaztalafia or right to take redeemed captives back to Saracen lands¹⁰⁶. In addition, he acquired the quartera of Barcelona market from the Bishop, thus collecting the Bishop's share of the revenues¹⁰⁷.

This accumulated history of real estate, commercial and official activities clearly sweeps away the necessity to explain the family's wealth through the discovery of pots of gold¹⁰⁸. Bernat Marcus (III) unfortunately had no sons, but four daughters, and many of his more important rights passed to his nephew Bernat de Arcs, including his market and minting rights: to such an extent was he considered his heir that Bernat de Arcs was instructed in the will of his uncle that he was henceforth to be known as Bernat Marcus - et mandavit et voluerit ut vocaretur nomine suo Bernardus Marcucii. Nevertheless, this seems not to have come to pass, and the importance of the family declined rapidly. Consequently, it was other families, which had been emerging in the second half of the 12th. century, such as the Durforts and the Grunys, that came to the fore in the early years of the 13th. century¹⁰⁹.

Although other families might appear to be of minor significance in comparison with the Marcus line, one can point to other lines with similar tendencies: the Aimeric who in 1148 put up 1000 sols. was probably Aimeric of Perugia, who had several properties including workshops in the street leading to Sta. Maria del Mar, near the market and at the 'Freginal' (S.355,399,409,454,460,514, C.338bis). In 1155 he was in position to give one of the last private churches in the territorium, St.Fruitós on Montjuïc, to the Cathedral¹¹⁰. The Arnau Pere de Arcs who loaned 500 sols. had received the amocatalafia or control of the market, with particular interest in the weights and measures, from the Count in 1144¹¹¹, and was probably the first of the line which was to include Bernat Marcus (III)'s nephew (S.347,398,402,422,426,448,582,601,627). The Adarró family appears at a similar date, owning various properties around the Arcs Antics, St.Pere and the Mills (S.404,429,430,438,583,592,610).

The common factors of these families were that their principal residences were in the suburbs rather than in the old walled area, which, as has been at the beginning of this section, was preferred by the leading families of the 11th. century. This area was now largely occupied by a combination of clergy plus families which had knightly or noble connections via the various castles or through having held the vicariate, or which were themselves noble. To these

can, of course, be added those families which came under the protection of one of these groups. The most common areas for these important later 12th. century proto-patrician lines were in the zones of original suburban development - around the market, towards Sta.Maria del Mar and the Arcs Antics: they tended to shun the outer fringes, which were more frequently settled by newcomers or humbler folk. Their houses were substantial, presumably prototypes of the great 13th.century houses of the C/de Montcada, and they often numbered several, rather than just one, workshops among their possessions, indicating that groups of artisans were working under their command. They often acted as probi homines and signed a wide variety of acts in their private capacity. It is unfortunate that so few wills are known from the later 12th.century, for they would undoubtedly give us greater insight into the environment and the connections between these intriguing members of society who were to a large extent responsible for the continued expansion of the city.

8. Artisans.

The wealthier cives et burgenses who were the social equals of knights can have formed only a comparatively small percentage of the total population:

of the rest we can say little unless by their name or by their wills they shed more light on their activities. Thus, artisans, mentioned by name in increasing numbers as the 12th. century progressed, are distinguishable from the general mass of the population: however, although no town could exist without its element of craftsmen, comparatively few can be recognized before the 12th. century. In the early years, the evidence can only serve to indicate the range of activities present, which not surprisingly are the most basic ones - smith, weaver, shoemaker, fuller, fisherman, moneyer, miller, baker, skinner, tanner and carter¹¹².

In the period after 1125, it is possible to detect a wider variety of trades, plus some distributional factors, the forerunners of the concentration of the members of one trade in one street or more. This is even recognizable for some trades prior to the initial period of the 'gremis' or guilds, which can be said to begin in 1200, with the first definitive reference to collective organization (S.634). Two trades stand out from the early years onwards, and need special consideration - the moneyers and the smiths: the rest can be conveniently grouped under a series of five headings¹¹³.

a) Moneyers.

It seems probable that the act of minting new

coinage had been more or less uninterrupted in the city since the Carolingian period, and although 10th. century issues are scarce, the continued reference to coinage in charters suggests that a small amount was in circulation¹¹⁴. Moneyers are named from the early 11th. century onwards, the two most important of the first half of the 11th. century being Bonhom (minting 1024-5) and Aeneas (1037-50), who also engaged in money-lending and other forms of gold-work¹¹⁵. In the following decades, three contracts for minting are known, issued by Ramon Berenguer I, although these provide no topographical information, and little is known about the moneyers named - Marcus, Bonfill Fredal, Berenguer Adroer, and David the Jew¹¹⁶.

It is really only in the first quarter of the 12th. century that moneyers were prominent members of the community. At least four are recorded who owned urban property - Guillem Bernat (S.248,272,C.206), Guillem Ramon (S.267,273), Mozcion (S.271) and Pere Bernat (S.273), the first two being among the most noted members of society, owning several houses, ovens, and workshops. Perhaps as a result of a financial depression those actually coining money were in a stronger position than normal. As in other parts of Europe, it is difficult to distinguish between those who actually coined money, and those who may have held the contract, but employed others: these men may have belonged to the last generation directly

employed by the count, for subsequent moneyers were far less significant figures, and it is also recorded that by c.1140 there was a centralized mint, controlled by wealthy citizens who were not themselves moneyers¹¹⁷. Unfortunately, its location is unknown, although it may have been in the Carrer de la Seca (i.e. Mint Street) where it was certainly established by the 14th.century¹¹⁸.

By the middle of the 12th.century, the new series of contacts with other points of the western Mediterranean had stimulated the appearance of specialised money-changers: these, like the moneyers, were to be found in all parts of the city, both inside and outside the defences, and were as yet not restricted to the Carrer dels Canvis (S.355,397,445: C.271).

b) Smiths.

One of the first trades to be recorded in any community was that of smith, and several of the villages around Barcelona had their own forge. A smith had a house within the defences in 998 (C.16) thus being one of the earliest trades recorded there and his contemporary, Paulo the Smith of Provençals, not only engaged in property deals and accompanied Vivas, the father of Bonucius Vivas, in many of his transactions, but could also sign his own name. As elsewhere, it is clear that rather than rude mechanics, these smiths were prominent and respected members of

a society where the tools and implements they produced were of great importance in the agricultural revolution taking place¹¹⁹. They were, however, remarkably single-minded men, and it would not have been in their own interests to live and work in close vicinity, and so it is not to be wondered at that the many 12th-century inhabitants surnamed Ferrer were widely distributed throughout the city and the suburbs (C.186,209,239, S.269,301,378,381,384,422, 424).

c) Service trades.

These were also to be found all over the city with certain concentrations according to their place of work. Thus a baker is found alongside his oven inside the walls in 1126 (C.208) and millers presumably resided near their mills along the Rech (S.550), although some were sufficiently astute, or crooked, to enter a wider world of property transactions¹²⁰. Fishermen are found principally in districts bordering the sea (S.36,47,223) and are one of the few trades for which a number might be estimated, for in 1171 thirty-two people signed an agreement with the Bishop concerning the tithes payable by fishermen¹²¹. Retailers could be found around the market zone (S.617), as could butchers (S.294), for the main meat-market was there, though they often had other properties elsewhere, perhaps corrals for stock brought in on the hoof or trotter from the surrounding countryside (S.300,434,443). Inn-keepers were also well-scattered

throughout the urban area (C.252,319: S.427). Doctors, on the other hand, tended to congregate in the district where the Arcs Antics, the Merdança and the street to St.Pere de les Puelles met, in a comparatively open zone of the city (S.348,394,458).

d) Leather trades.

Although skinners and tanners are occasionally mentioned, most of their properties recorded were gardens and orchards at the fringes of the city (S. 382,502,541), although one, surprisingly, had a workshop inside the walls near the Cathedral at the end of the 12th.century (C.334,341). In all likelihood, most of their activities were confined to the edges of the built-up area, because of the space needed and the annoyance that their trade could cause. Strap or harness makers are also found, but again there is little information about where they were making or selling their products (S.332,400,558:C.335)¹²².

Fortunately, the body of information available for the shoe-makers is far more extensive, and enables us to make some conjectures about the organization and distribution of their trade in the 12th. century¹²³.

Some twenty-two individuals described as shoe-makers have been located as being present and almost certainly resident in 12th.century Barcelona¹²⁴.

Several appear but once, usually as a signature on

a document relating to the city or the surrounding territorium. Others appear many times, to a maximum of twenty occasions, This would suggest a widening range of contacts with the world of finance and property exchanges; the significance of someone who was often asked to witness such an exchange was presumably greater than that of a person who only signed when the documents were closely related to his own life and property.

It should be noted that a proportion of the known documentation referring to shoemakers deals with property located not in the city or the suburbs but in the territorium¹²⁵. It is difficult to know whether this represents a diversification of interests beyond their trade on the part of prosperous shoemakers, or more simply indicates an always present variety of interests on behalf of the medieval townsman, or, at an even lower level, is simply a pointer to the rural origins of many of the craftsmen of the medieval city. In view of the absence of evidence for the concentration of such properties in the hands of individuals, since the majority of references are to small pieces of vineyard, rarely exceeding one per person, one may conclude more satisfactorily by choosing the second or third of the above-mentioned options.

Needless to say, the urban properties were

undoubtedly more significant. The wide distribution of such properties makes it necessary to discard automatically any idea that there existed a single distinctive zone of shoemakers in this period, and that no one street would have merited the name of C/dels Sabaters.

Working on the assumption that a shoemaker's place or work was the same as, or at least near, his abode, and vice versa, we see workshops near the Comital Palace owned by Arnau, a man of obvious standing, for he frequently signed documents which were not directly related to his interests, and who may have possessed more than one centre or had several people working for him (C.225,227,295,329). Other intra-mural properties were those of Guillem Pere (C.247,251,292,339) and Ramon (C.249), both located in the vicinity of the church of St.Miquel. The presence of artisans in the intra-mural area in the 12th.century is not otherwise unknown, but like the shoemakers they were concentrated in the area near the Castell Vell gate on the one hand, and between the churches of St.Jaume and St.Just on the other.

Many more, however, were established in the suburbs. The main zone where they were to be found was the area along the Merdança stream, a choice which can also be noted in the 11th.century¹²⁶ (S.251, 275,404,429,430,468,526). Others had an outlet in

the market nearby (S.436,538). There were also shoemakers owning property in the villanova to the east of Sta.Maria del Mar (S.360).

This distribution is not particularly noteworthy until it is considered in relation with the later centres of such activity in Barcelona. Although in the 12th. and 13th. century we hear only of 'sabaters' in the later medieval city there were to evolve four distinct groupings within the trade, each jealous and protective of its own rights and privileges. The principal of these was the guild of Master Shoemakers (Mestres Sabaters), which was centred on the upper part of C/de la Tapineria and C/de la Corribia. This is already noticeable in the earliest documents concerning the Brotherhood of St.Mark of the first decades of the 13th.century¹²⁷. Similarly the 'tapiners' (who made a type of sandal for women) were based in the C/de la Tapineria, in the southern part, and their patron saint was also St.Mark¹²⁸.

The third group was of 'sabaters fadrins' (i.e. those who had not taken the examination to become a master), who were based around the church of Sta.Maria del Mar. The last group were the 'sabaters de vell' or cobblers, who worked principally in the area around St.Jaume and St.Miquel. Both of these groups, together with the Masters' apprentices, had Saints Anianus, Crispin and Crispian as their patrons¹²⁹.

The distribution of these four groups in the 15th.century compared with that of the shoemakers of the 12th.century is remarkably similar, even though some areas, particularly that adjoining the Castell Vell, do not reappear. It would not be too adventurous to advance the hypothesis that there may have been considerable continuity in these nuclei over a period of several centuries. Even if the various properties did not consistently remain in the hands of shoemakers, and there were changes in the precise type of shoemaking activity that was taking place as part of a process of evolution and specialization, all the four zones of the 15th.century can be traced back to the later 12th.

This would attribute a hitherto unsuspected degree of like-mindedness to the shoemakers (and perhaps other trades) of 12th.century Barcelona. Although Cabestany has suggested that the guilds mentioned in 1200 were already firmly established¹³⁰, up to now there have been no indications of this organization. Although by no means proof of the existence of such guilds, the above details tend to lend support to such an idea¹³¹. The initial date of such movements, however, remains obscure, although a recently located document illustrates another aspect of trade organization, and indirectly throws some light on the question.

The document is a normal deed of sale of the early 12th.century, referring to the sale of the third part of a house and yard, both located in the suburb of Barcelona near the market and the C/Mer-dança, by a certain Ramona, daughter of the late Ramon Joan Aran, and widow of Ramon Vivas, and her son Vivas, to Joan Lambard de Orto and his wife Ermeniardis (S.261). The only unusual aspect is that the motive for the sale is stated as propter necessitatem famme, et per ipsum magisterium de sabbateria quod facio docuire et herudire a iamdictum filium meum, Vivanum. On other occasions the charters occasionally tell of people selling because of hunger¹³², but no other is known which refers to a sale being made to pay for what must be interpreted as an apprenticeship.

This document thus indicates some degree of trade organization by the early 12th.century. Experienced craftsmen were prepared to teach the sons of others, for a fee, the secrets of the trade, whether these were purely a question of handicraft, or included elements of commerce as well. Whether this proves the existence of a controlling body over these activities is another matter, for the charter makes no mention of this, and it could have been a purely private contract at a time when the definitive organization of the trade had not yet occurred. However, it is none the less significant, for the ear-

liest document referring to a master-apprentice relationship in Barcelona hitherto noted is one of a century later, which makes an even more oblique reference to the question¹³³. In view of the nature of the sources, it is unlikely that it will ever be possible to write a full history of trade organization in the 12th. century, yet pieces of information like this serve to broaden the scope of our knowledge.

Two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, prior to the definitive establishment of trade-guilds in Barcelona, and prior even to the religious brotherhoods which were their forerunners, there probably existed an element of discipline, however loose, which meant that members of one craft tended to prefer to live and work alongside one another, and that the distribution thus established survived until the later Middle Ages. Secondly, that experience within the craft was esteemed and a master-apprentice system was evolving. Although this information applies strictly speaking only to the shoemakers, who were one of the most important guilds in the 13th. century, it seems probable that a similar state of affairs prevailed among the other principal crafts that were established in the city.¹³⁴

e) Military Equipment,

This group included shield makers¹³⁵, lance-makers¹³⁶, cutlers¹³⁷, ballista-makers¹³⁸, bit-

makers¹³⁹ and armour-makers¹⁴⁰, all of whom are found during the course of the 12th. century. Although several had extra-mural property (S.240,245,291,433, 499,507), the great concentration of these was in the area of workshops near the Comital Palace, especially in the C/de la Freneria, which, although its derivation from frener has been challenged¹⁴¹, housed a lance-maker (C.206,239), a shield-maker (C.240,313,324), a knife-(dagger-?) maker (C.239) as well as a smith (C.239). It is obvious that they were watering for a clientele, either resident in the area, or who had occasion to be in that part of the city rather than any other. Adjoining the 'Freginal' where nobles and knights would have dismounted, it was a singularly well-placed spot to undertake their business.

f) Cloth Trades.

Although fine cloths were imported and carefully listed in the wills of nobles, there was an incessant demand for simpler local products. The concern of those forced to sell through poverty was, after hunger, nuditas¹⁴². A weaver is attested near St. Pere de les Puelles in 1010 (S.42) and his 12th. century counterparts also tended to choose residences on the fringes of the city, particularly near Sta. Anna (S. 352,356,505,506,519). Other stages in production could be found elsewhere, a dyer being known near the chapel of Bernat Marcus (S.551) and a fuller in

in the villanova (S.605): other fullers were probably resident near the possible fulling mills on the River Besòs¹⁴³. Retailing, however, needed a more central location and a cloth-hall is found in 1194 next to the market (S.588) and had its own set of measures distinct to those of the market proper¹⁴⁴.

g) Other manufacturing trades

Although potters and tile-makers are sometimes found, they were probably not particularly welcome inhabitants, in spite of the necessity of their products. This was obviously because of the fire-risk that their professions involved. Kilns were found in the territorium, but are not recorded in the city, and for that reason the number of such craftsmen is low. Similarly the excavated examples of early medieval pottery kilns in Catalonia are all from rural sites¹⁴⁵, suggesting that it only slowly became an urban industry, and when it did, the 'escudellers' were to be found in a very under-developed part of the city, near the coast to the south-west¹⁴⁶. Thus the only recorded potter from the city had property near St.Pau del Camp (S.395) and a tile-maker was to be found near Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.449).

Another important craft was that of cooper, for various classes of barrels are mentioned in wills from the early 11th.century onwards, and ^{they} were an absolute necessity for the storage and sale of the

large quantities of wine that the territorium produced¹⁴⁷. One lived in the Regomir district in 1166 (S.449), although the case of Guillem the Cooper, who received property to establish a work-place under the Bishop's Palace, against the defences, is more interesting (S.614), for it is also known that the monks of Ripoll had previously made barrels there, and a nearby street, Carrer dels Boters, suggests a continuity of production in the same area¹⁴⁸.

There was, thus, a wide range of trades in the 12th. century city, which were equally widely distributed. Some were perhaps already tending to gather in the zones which were to be their homes for centuries, and which have left their mark on many street names of the modern city. Other more obnoxious trades were finding it easier to establish themselves on the fringes of the suburbs, although it should be noted that our information is largely concerned with residences and horticultural plots rather than the place of work, which need not always have been the same. The fact that many also cultivated plots in the city or fields and vineyards in the territorium stresses the agricultural background of the medieval city, and the limited range of their property indicates their humble origins, and it is certain that many of their colleagues never appeared in this class of transactions.

9) The Urban Poor,

It is difficult to believe that Truballe, brother of the Flemish merchant, Robert, who had died in Barcelona on one of his journeys, was speaking the truth when he referred to the hundred poor fed by the charitable institutions of the Cathedral in 1009 - elemosinas quas centum pauperibus accipiunt cotidie extra peregrinos, cecos - for the number seems exaggerated compared to the resources of the city at that date, but the words are an indication that the city already had, and presumably had always had, its share of the impoverished¹⁴⁹.

The position for some in the years after 985 may have been crucial: those who managed to escape being taken into captivity, or succeeded in returning, would often have found themselves starting from scratch, and whereas for the young and healthy this may have been a positive blessing, for the old and weak, the effort would have been unbearable, especially if constant disputes over the ownership of property had to be sustained. One way out was to renounce this world and give oneself to the church: as did Sindila and his wife, Maria, in 990¹⁵⁰, and the decline of the small, independent peasantry that was a feature of the first half of the 11th. century may have been partially stimulated by similar abrupt changes in fortune¹⁵¹. Nearly two centuries later, in 1185,

Pere Pons became a cleric for similar reasons: as he frankly admitted: magna paupertate, famis ac nuditatis oppresus, dono et offero me ipsum Deo et ecclesie Barchinonensis sedis, ut sim inde clericus (S.533,536).

Years of bad harvest, such as 1053-4, would provoke sales of property by even the greatest, for in those years the monasteries of Ripoll and St. Pol de Mar had to sell property in Barcelona because of their lack of provisions (C.85,79), yet for many life was not so much a precarious existence from harvest to harvest, but from day to day. Depending on the circumstances of the family, and the age of their children, widows were particularly liable to misfortunes, and several cases occur where they were forced to dispose of their dwellings (S.215,261). These details normally only appear on the rare occasions that reasons for the transaction are given, and one suspects that many more sales took place without the motive being stated, but in fact for the same or similar causes.

In these cases, the individuals had fallen on hard times, but for many that was the standard level of life no doubt, and it was these that the hospitals primarily cared for. Amalric left houses in 1038 ut fiant ad ospicium pauperes et peregrinos (C.59), and Bernat Marcus (III) specifically mentions the

poor who inhabited the hospital established by his father. For others, the family must have provided adequate protection, and it is noteworthy that there are cases of blind and dumb inhabitants who seem to have led normal lives¹⁵².

10) Slaves.

Although Christian slaves had largely disappeared by the early 11th.century, there are still occasional references to their existence¹⁵³. The filiato meo nomine Petro, bought in Barcelóna before 1002, may have been a child sold into slavery by his parents (S.37). Although the importance of a slave-trade for the expansion of Barcelona has been over-emphasized, it undoubtedly took place, for in the second half of the 11th.century Moorish slaves were often mentioned in the wills of rich citizens. These were usually specialist craftsmen, whose skills could be exploited particularly in the decoration of the new, wealthy houses, although a number may have been makers of fine cloth, or simply servants¹⁵⁴.

This dark trade continued into the 12th.century, Catalan slave-dealers being mentioned in Genoa, and Bernat Marcus (III) was also involved in their transport from Southern Spain and perhaps also North Africa (S.530). Nevertheless, they could have formed only a very small percentage of the total population.

11. The Church,

Up to now this chapter has ignored one very important sector of early medieval society - the clergy and their institutions, which, as in all parts of Christian Europe, had extensive possessions both in the city and the surrounding countryside. In the 10th. and early 11th. centuries, it seems that the proportion of clerics in the city was somewhat higher than at a later date, a larger number of ecclesiastics engaging in exactly the same type of acquisitions as their flocks. Langobard, perhaps the priest of Provençals, conveniently listed the documents in his possession in 1010, which were nearly all purchases made in the previous quarter-century¹⁵⁵ and they were comparable to those of Vivas from the same village. Much of this private property gradually found its way into the hands of the Cathedral Chapters and great monastic communities, and although Gregorian reform came slowly to Barcelona, its effect was being felt in the 12th. century. No longer were numerous presbiteros or levitae attested as owning property and leaving it to their wives, concubines or children. The greater part of ecclesiastical property owners were now canons of the cathedral, or holders of another of the posts within its organization.

Although the canons' estates were concentrated in the area around the cathedral itself, there was

probably no part of the city or suburbs which did not have at least one house or orchard to which the canons could lay claim. These had normally been acquired as pious bequests or apportations by a new canon, and although agreements were often made which allowed the same family to maintain some link with the property¹⁵⁶, they nevertheless brought in a steady stream of rents and tributes in kind. There were, however, two main areas in the suburbs exploited by the canons, on the one hand the trilea canonica and on the other the villanova. Such was the accumulation of property by the second half of the 12th. century, that it was necessary to implement a reform, a new division being made among the officials, the altars and the canons, to ensure adequate supplies for their maintenance and the constant provision of the canonical refectory¹⁵⁷.

Although the Cathedral of Barcelona was clearly the principal property owner in the city, other ecclesiastical bodies also possessed estates and made use of them in varying ways. These can be divided into several groups:

a) Parish churches of Barcelona

The property of these was remarkably restricted: occasionally we hear of the priest's place of residence, as in the case of St. Just (C.331), but in general

they belonged to a fairly humble level of society. Testamental donations to these churches were rarely of property, more often in cash or in kind, and the little offered was more often in the territorium, urban properties being reserved for more prestigious institutions or the family. Thus although Sta.Maria del Mar had property in the Arcs Antics suburb (S.6, 116,128,455), this was rather unusual and indicates its pre-eminence among the parish churches at this date, as well as in the later medieval period. The other churches had few or no urban properties, and these were generally close to the church itself, as in the case of Sta.Maria del Pi (S.153,306).

b) Monastic Houses of Barcelona

In all cases the greater part of their domains was in the immediate vicinity of the foundation. These were generally derived from an initial foundational donation (S.1,359,393). All of them, however, had properties elsewhere in the city, the extent of these reflecting the age and the importance of the house. St.Pere de les Puelles had at least half-a-dozen plots scattered throughout the suburbs¹⁵⁸, which, like the three or four of St.Pau del Camp, were usually let to tenants for cash rents¹⁵⁹. Although the community of the Holy Sepulchre had extensive property around their church of Sta.Anna, its other property in the urban area was limited to the short-lived possession of a house inside the

walls (C.242), sold in 1151 in order to improve the houses around the community's church (C.256). The 'capbreu' of 1166 from Sta.Eulalia del Camp (S.449) again shows that the greater part of its tenants were near the church, the other houses having been received as pious gifts in the years after its foundation: these were similarly all located at various points in the suburbs (S.491,495,497,516,598).

c) Benedictine Houses outside Barcelona (fig.115).

Foremost among these was the closest, St.Cugat del Vallès, which by the year 1000 had several properties inside the defences, particularly a large 'hort' to the south of the Cathedral cloister (C.8, 17,25,48,90,143,145,147,166,170,263,321) and also houses next to Sant Just (C.129) and estates scattered throughout the suburbs (S.97,106,132,145,182,212,283, 298,334,375,380). However, the monastery did not endeavour to consolidate these urban estates, nor to establish a permanent base for the abbot in the city, presumably partly because it was within half-a-day's travelling distance, and its domains in the Vallès, Penedès and Baix Llobregat brought in sufficient revenues¹⁶⁰.

Sta.Maria de Ripoll was among the first communities to obtain suburban property (S.3), which was later expanded to include a trilea near St.Pere (S. 408,434) and properties in the Arcs Antics zone with

a baker's oven (S.130,222,225,255,296,471,502,516,543, 598), and storage space for agricultural produce at the foot of the defences next to the Bishop's Gate, which had been bequeathed by Ramon Dalmau (S.277). This property was contested for a long time with the Bishop of Barcelona, and the monks' oaths make it clear that the monastery's camerarius had kept oxen and straw there, as well as made barrels. This official was presumably resident in the city in the property that the monastery had near the church of St.Miquel (C.85,261) and which was still recorded as late as the 19th.century¹⁶¹. Unlike the majority of the remaining houses, then, Ripoll was still exploiting its domains directly in the 12th.century, rather than leasing them for rents, which had become the standard method.

St.Benet de Bages acquired two adjoining intramural properties near St.Just in 1023-4 (C.40,41), which may have been originally directly exploited, but in 1078 were let with the condition that they were to be rebuilt (C.135), reserving the right of hospitality for the abbot and his monks. Other houses near the Miracle were leased for cash rents which were still being paid in the second half of the 12th.century (C.150,153,158,263)¹⁶². Apart from the various plots in the territorium, known from an undated list on the reverse of an earlier parchment¹⁶³, the monastery had an important triles in the suburbs,

described as being between St.Pere and St.Cugat,
 which was being developed by the end of the
 12th.century (S.73,132,408,493).

The properties of St.Llorenç del Munt were
 not so extensive, though the pattern of exploitation
 was broadly similar. Although it had originally
 possessed intra-mural property bequeathed by the
 noble Guifre of Mediona, this was exchanged during
 the construction of the Romanesque Cathedral for more
 property in the Arcs suburb (C.78) where the monastery
 already had an extensive 'hort' at the foot of the
 walls (C.57,61-5). Towards the end of the 11th.
 century the first houses were built in this (S.228),
 and the density of structures increased with the pass-
 ing of time (S.448). In addition, it had another
 house in the C/Basea where the hospitality rights of
 the Abbot and monks were retained (S.174,294,309).

The monasteries of Montserrat - Sta.Cecília and
 Sta.Maria - both had property in the Arcs suburb (S.
 17,49,50,89-91,176,275) which may have originated in
 a foundational donation (S.2). Unfortunately very
 little is known about these properties, and the
 same can be said of those of the monastery of St,
 Pol de Mar in the same suburb¹⁶⁴, and within the
 walls (C.79).

d) Cathedral Chapters

Although the canons of Barcelona had the most extensive estates, their brethren at other cathedrals were among the other property owners of the city. The most important of these was that of Vic, and like the monastery of St.Cugat, by the beginning of the 11th.century it had acquired both intra-mural and suburban properties (C.9,22,24,56: S.38). The future history of its houses near the Cathedral is unknown, but it seems probable that they were exchanged with its Barcelona counterpart. Nevertheless, the canons retained their intra-mural base, receiving in 1065 a share of the rights over a house on the west side of the defences to the south of the Castell Nou (C.104), and in 1074 Bishop Guillem left his successor houses in the angle of the walls adjoining tower 33 (C.124). This was probably the house conceded in 1117 for a rent of four morabetins (C.200), with the condition of rebuilding it and the right of hospitality. In 1202 the house needed further reconstruction, which was to be controlled by a mason chosen by the canons and one of the 'prohoms' and 1000 sols. were to be provided for these expenses over a space of four years¹⁶⁵.

The college of canons of Sta.Maria de Solsona received a house by testamental bequest of the Bishop of Barcelona in 1142 (C.230), although this was later re-absorbed into the new Episcopal Palace

and was apparently never directly used (C.262,298). The Cathedral of Tarragona had a terrain that was being urbanized at the end of the 12th. century in the northern part of the Cort Comtal zone, although again no residence at that date (S.482,568,570,571, 577). It is interesting to note that the Church of Girona had no property in the city.

e) Cistercians.

The two great Catalan Cistercian houses both had urban property: that of Poblet, including workshops in the C/Freneria, was acquired when a cowersus entered the community (C.239,240,313)¹⁶⁶. It was of less importance, however, than the residence of Stes.Creus in C/de les Magdalenes which was steadily acquired from various owners in the 1160's (S.445,446, 453,456,459,482). Like the residences of St.Benet and St.Llorenç, or of the canons of Vic, this was presumably regarded as a 'procuradoria' or urban centre for occasions when the ^{Abbot's} presence in the city was necessary. In addition, the latter house also possessed another house in the C/Basea (S.484).

f) Other institutions.

The Templars had two important houses both on the defences and acquired in 1134 (C.218,219). The one towards the south was later expanded to include a chapel and various other structures, and was a veritable Palace. Although the Hospitallers had

property in the city by 1161 (S.284), they had no base in the city until the early 13th. century¹⁶⁷. The monastery of Cluny had one property, which contained several houses, received in 1074 (C.123) and for which rents were paid for most of the 12th. century (C.258), although it later passed to the Catalan house of St. Pere de Casserres near Vic (C.342)¹⁶⁸. Several minor Catalan communities - Sta Maria de Terrassa (S.296), St. Salvador of Breda (S.205, 276, 284, 420, 461, 523), Sta. Maria de l'Estany (S.220), St. Adrià de Besòs (S.229), St. Ruf de Lleida (S.461) and St. Pere de Riudebitlles (S.430) also had houses, mainly in the Arcs Antics zone.

Although there is little evidence for a consistent policy of acquisition of these properties, except in the case of Stes. Creus, they were obviously recognized to be of considerable value to the community to which they belonged, and thus worthy of litigation if necessary. Only in the case of the Ripoll properties is there evidence of direct exploitation, and it was more customary, especially from the later 11th. century onwards, to farm out the tenancy to assure upkeep and maintenance of the structure in case of a possible visit by representatives to the city. The range of communities represented in the list thus reflects the sphere of influence of Barcelona (fig. 115), for there was hardly a community of any size in the surrounding 'comarques' that did not have a property

in the city. However, it is noticeable that those of the County of Girona turned their attention to that city, and are hardly represented in Barcelona at all¹⁶⁹. This was an area of influence not so much in the religious field, but in a political and commercial one, for it illustrates the extent of the County of Barcelona and the network of communications rather than diocesan boundaries.

12. The Jewish Community.

As has been demonstrated above, Jews were permitted to hold property in all parts of the city until c.1075¹⁷⁰. After that date their property within the defences was restricted to the area known as the 'Call', although this may not have had the strict limits of the 13th. century, for exchanges between Christians and Jews on its fringes are recorded.

In the suburbs, however, they continued to own properties apparently without restrictions, and they could be found in virtually all the suburban zones¹⁷¹. However, there seem to have been fewer of these in the 12th. century, and they had a preference for the area between the Castell Nou and the Bishop's Gate, that is the part of the suburbs nearest the Call¹⁷². Within this zone were the Banys Nous erected c.1160, originally operated by a Jewish family, and an area of 'herts'. In addition, a similar zone was located

on the other side of the city - the trilea Judaica, towards Sta.Eulalia del Camp.

Although Jews held houses in the suburbs, it is not always apparent whether they were/~~resident~~ in them: certainly some were leased to Christians, like those of Abraham Cavaller recorded in 1094 (S.223), and the sales of property by Jews in the street leading to Sta.Maria del Mar in the 1080's could also suggest that there was an internal migration towards the Call (S.189,201).

Like their Christian co-inhabitants, the Jews were largely engaged in agriculture, their fields and vines being particularly frequent between the city and the outlying villages of the territorium, which must suggested that they were being farmed directly from the city, where the Hebrew population was exclusively resident¹⁷³. Others were moneyers or gold- and silver-smiths, although money lenders are found in both communities. There was also a strong cultural element, literary and astronomical works of the 12th. century by residents of the Call being known, and Hebrew traditions/~~were~~ maintained in the composition of documents. At least one family was trading in the Market and had a permanent stall there. All in all an impression of peaceful co-existence is created with tolerance on both sides, in spite of occasional converts to Christianity¹⁷⁴.

The number of Jewish families seems to have been fifty-four, if the list presented in a document of 1079 is complete¹⁷⁵. Given that this corresponds to the period soon after the definition of the 'Call', it is an invaluable piece of information. The Call covered an area of approximately 1.8 hectares and if it is accepted that the majority of these families lived within its limits, and allowing for five or six members for each family, a total of 270 to 325 is reached, that is between 150 and 180 per hectare. This might seem rather high in relation to Russell's calculation of 100 to 120 per ha. for medieval cities¹⁷⁶, although if it is qualified by the knowledge that the northern part of the walled city was among the most densely occupied at this date, the figure does not seem too outrageous. Moreover, it fits within the likely progression in size of the Jewish community, for that of Gerona had twenty-four families in the later 10th. century, and was qualified as 'small' by Benjamin of Tudela, while that of Narbonne had three hundred Jews according to the same traveller¹⁷⁷. The latter figure presumably refers to adult males, thus implying a population of over a thousand Jews. However, this refers to a period ninety years after the Barcelona list, and Narbonne was clearly much more important, so a population of about three hundred for the Call seems acceptable.

Population numbers,

The single most significant source for calculations of the population of the rest of the city, inhabited principally by Christians, is the unfinished division of Comital property drawn up by Ramon Berenguer II when he was considering dividing all the city between himself and his brother Berenguer Ramon II¹⁷⁸. This includes a list of 143 names of inhabitants whom he considered or wanted to be in his share: logically the total, if the value of the list is accepted, would be 286, because of the two halves. The list falls into two parts - 102 names without heading, and 41 entitled homines qui habitant infra civitatem, and where the names can be checked by other sources this division of residence between the walled area and the suburbs seems to be valid.

This would thus provide figures of 204 families in the suburbs, and 82, plus the 5⁺ Jewish ones, - 136 - for the walled area. Allowing a high coefficient of 5 or 6 per household, so as to include slaves and servants, this suggests a population of between 1700 and 2000 in c.1079.

As Bonnassie has pointed out, such a figure is artificially low, for the majority of names refer to property owners, and could by the words 'houses of X' mask several families¹⁷⁹. Moreover, no record is made

of the tenants of the Count, Viscount, Bishop, Canons and most of the monastic houses. Very few clergy appear in the list, whereas there were many resident around the Cathedral in particular. The figure of 2000 can only be an absolute minimum.

Although Bonnassie expressed the opinion that any further calculations would be gratuitous guesswork, there is another approach that might be considered in an attempt to break this apparent deadlock. This is by estimating the inhabited area and applying a co-efficient per ha. Russell's figure of 100 to 120 or more per ha. for an expanding city is useful as a starting point, although it has already been noted that the density in the northern part of the walled area was likely to have been higher. However, as has been shown in the discussion of the various zones of the city, the density of structures could vary greatly, and, moreover, it is not always easy to define the extent of settlement at a given moment.

However, an approximation can be made, allowing for these variations. Densely populated parts were likely to have had at least 150 heads per ha.: moderately populated ones perhaps 100, and semi-rural ones say 50. For c.1080 (fig. 98) then, a date when the city was noting the first fruits of expansion, the following figures can be calculated:-

**PAGE
MISSING
IN
ORIGINAL**

I. Walled city (10.4 ha)	
half dense, half moderate	x 125 = 1300
II. Inner Arc of suburbs, moderate	
density (approx.12 ha.)	x 100 = 1200
III. Outer <u>suburbium</u> , low	
density (approx.10 ha.)	x 50 = 500
	<hr/>
TOTAL	3000

Several factors can be used to commend this calculation. Firstly, a check on the heads per hectare figure can be established in two blocks of the intramural area, the 'Miracle' and the 'Paradís' ones, where later 11th.century evidence suggests a total of 15 or 16 residences in about 0.5 hectare. Allowing 5 or 6 per household, this would again produce a density of 150 to 180 for densely inhabited zones, tending towards the lower figure to allow for open spaces and non-residential structures¹⁸⁰. Secondly, the proportion of intramural:extramural inhabitants presented by Ramon Berenguer II's list is not drastically altered. Areas which have been omitted from the calculations will be compensated for by open spaces within the zones included.

Domesday Book figures have been used to suggest similar or slightly larger populations for English towns of comparable size - Lincoln, York or Norwich - at much the same date, which may indicate that these calculations are still somewhat too low¹⁸¹. However,

even if the population reached the four thousand figure, it is still a useful starting point. One must imagine that at the beginning of the 11th. century, with little suburban settlement, and parts of the intra-mural area occupied by fields, the numbers were far more reduced, perhaps as few as one thousand immediately after 985, although rising rapidly in the following decades of recovery. The real growth, however, must have come in the generation prior to 1079, when, as has been seen, the urban area expanded at a faster pace than beforehand.

What of the end of the period under study ?

In this case, other later medieval material can be employed to provide some guide-lines. The hearth-tax lists of the second half of the 14th. century have been the subject of much controversy, and the range of population estimates is wide, stretching from 26,000 to 48,000¹⁸². The city covered an area of 130 ha. omitting the ribbon development to the west of the Rambles. This provides an absolute range of 200 to 400 heads per ha., a vast increase on the figures suggested for the 11th. century. The urbanized area of the late 12th. century was probably double that of c.1080, but half that of the mid-14th. century, thus approximately 60 ha (fig.100), which accords with the known distribution of houses. Allowing for a partial increase in density in many areas, a population of between about 9,000 and 12,000

in 1200 seems acceptable (i.e. 150-200 per ha.). This compares fairly well with figures proposed by Russell for Tuscany and Northern Italy in the first decades of the 13th. century, and leaves a century and a half for the population to increase by a factor of three or four again¹⁸³.

Immigration.

Although part of the three or four fold increase in population between 1080 and 1200 could have come purely from natural growth, immigration into the city undoubtedly played a rôle. In the 11th. century surnames derived from the place of origin were rare, and in the list of c.1079 there are only seven (5%), three of which refer to parts of the city rather than points beyond. They only become more numerous after c.1140, as new areas were urbanized. They rose swiftly in number in the middle of the century, then remain static until the last decade, when another sudden increase may denote a new wave of increased immigration. Nevertheless, the number of such names was still proportionately small and cannot be used to calculate the proportion of immigrants in the population. It should also be noted that they also became fixed surnames, passing from father to son, which in turn would also distort any such calculation¹⁸⁴.

However, it is possible to say where many of these newcomers were from, and where they chose to live in the city. A hundred and fifty-five people with such names can be identified as owning or holding property of one type or another. Those who only appear as witnesses have been excluded as there is no proof that they were permanently associated with the city. Fifty of these are either so vague or generalized that they are of little significance, or simply cannot be identified with any degree of certainty. This leaves 105 individuals who can be identified, and who are listed below¹⁸⁵:

Adarró³ (S.404,429,513).

Aragón² (S.540,589).

Arcs⁴ (S.347,398,424).

Arenys² (S.449,497).

Ariga³ (S.290,455,458).

Badalona² (S.269,442).

Banyeres (C.284).

Banyols (S.427).

Barberà² (S.373,571).

Besalú (C.199).

Breda³ (C.224,252,318).

Cabanyes (S.344).

Calaf (S.454).

Caldes² (S.375,619).

Canovelles (S.449).

Cardedeu (C.284).

Castellbisbal (S.457).
 Castellnou (S.557).
 Castellvell (C.218).
 Cervelló (S.622).
 Cervera² (S.449,581).
 Corró² (C.255,S.498).
 Cort Comtal (S.539).
 Copons (C.303).
 Espiells² (S.385,575).
 Girona² (C.207, S.383).
 Granollers (S.610).
 Horta² (S.442,506).
 La Roca (S.401).
 Llerona (C.223).
 Lladó (S.506).
 Lliça (C.264).
 Llobregat³ (C.269, S.246,501).
 Malgrat (C.289).
 Manresa³ (S.369,404).
 Mata (C.212).
 Martorell² (S.636).
 Montjuïc (S.433),
 Montpellier (S.387).
 Montcada (S.465).
 Morocco (S.545).
 Moguda (C.308).
 Odena (C.264),
 Oló (S.538).
 Osona (S.449).

Palou (C.269).
 Parets² (S.549,576).
 Perpinyà (C.221).
 Perugia² (S.355,367).
 Piera (S.287).
 Polinyà (C.337).
 Provençana (S.269).
 Pou de Moranta (S.473).
 Regomir (S.409).
 Ripoll (S.584).
 Ripollet² (C.328, S.476).
 Rongana (S.406).
 Roselló (S.458).
 Rubí (S.560).
 Sanahuja (S.413).
 Sarrià (S.378).
 St.Cugat (S.499).
 St.Pons (S.612).
 Sta.Coloma (S.449)
 Segarra (S.461bis).
 Subirats (S.397).
 Terrassa (S.554).
 Tiana (S.457).
 Tossa (S.250).
 Toulouse (C.221).
 Vacarisses (S.519).
 Valldoreix (S.621).
 Vallès (S.626).
 Vic³ (S.326,349,420).

Vilamajor² (S.366,498).

Vilassar (S.449).

If these are examined by 'comarcas', the following figures are achieved:-

City of Barcelona	9
Territorium of Barcelona	9
Baix Llobregat	8
Vallès	29
Penedès	5
Maresme	9
Osona	4
Bages	7
Gironès	6
Rest of Catalonia	11
Rest of Spain/Abroad	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	105

Thus about seventy per cent of the total came from districts within forty kilometres of the city (fig.116) a long day's journey on foot¹⁸⁶. They were particularly from the agricultural areas of Old Catalonia, to the north and west of the city: virtually none were from the frontier districts to the south, where conditions were freer and thus there was less incentive to leave for the city. Most of the old-established towns were represented - Vic, Girona, Manresa, and Cervera - but few of the new

foundations, places that had received a 'carta de poblaci8n'. The general rule seems to have been that the further away the home-town was, the bigger it was likely to be, perhaps indicating that the people who could make such a journey had good reason to do so, perhaps connected with long-established commercial contacts. The same seems to be true of the few foreigners, who were generally owners of substantial houses in the city.

Those from nearer the city were more humble folk, probably out to make their fortune from the streets paved with gold. However, once in the city, they mainly settled in the outer suburbs: the few inside the defences were mainly clergy, professionals or, in some cases, unrecognized nobles. The inner suburbs were largely occupied by the wealthier citizens, and established artisans. They were left with the zones up to now fields and orchards that had to be improved, where houses had to be erected. Hard work no doubt, but for many probably an improvement on their previous lot. Their lack of craft training would also have attracted to them to the Sta. Anna, Sta. Maria del Pí and St. Pau del Camp districts especially, for there they could work the soil as they had done in their villages, and many of the establishments of property in these zones, and occasionally elsewhere, were made to immigrants¹⁸⁷.

CONCLUSIONS

Although it is difficult to see any strictly defined social divisions corresponding to the zones of the city, by the year 1200 there were distinct tendencies in many parts. The northern part of the old walled city, apart from the Jewish Call, was largely dominated by the cathedral clergy, except for the area between the Royal Palace and the Castell Vell which had a strong artisan element, particularly related to the necessities of knights and nobles. The latter, together with various religious houses, tended to hold substantial properties in the southern part of the walled area, although a number of artisans could be found around St. Jaume and St. Miquel, with other humble folk who had probably in one way or another attached themselves to the clan of one of the great families.

The area immediately outside the Castell Vell Gate was pre-eminently commercial with a rich variety of trades and occupations being carried out in the streets around the market. A little further beyond, in the area towards the churches of Sta. Maria del Mar and St. Cugat del Rech, were the homes of the wealthiest citizens, entrepreneurs, who often controlled these artisan activities, and a number of similar burgenses could be found in the Arcs suburbs and along the Merdança. However, alongside them there

must have been an admixture of all levels and ranks of society who fail to stand out in the sources.

The inhabitants of the villanova may have been resting on their laurels: already comparatively wealthy by the mid-12th.century, little is known about it thereafter, until the new wave of construction in the 13th.century. The fringes of the city, along the main road to France, around St.Pere and Sta. Eulalia, in the villae beyond the Arcs suburb, were the homes of newcomers who owned little but were the tenants of citizens, nobles and religious foundations. A number of artisans were to be found with them, particularly those who did not directly retail their products, or whose trade was in some way obnoxious or dangerous. The area to the west of the city was still largely agricultural and even in 1389 a large number of the inhabitants of the Pí quarter were primarily workers of the soil¹⁸⁸.

Indeed, it is noticeable that the classic picture of Barcelona society had already been largely drawn by this date, if not yet inked in. The second half of the 12th.century was very much the formative period, for changes had clearly occurred since the later 11th.century, and even more since the years after 985, when the small community clustered around the Palace and the Cathedral consisted largely of those who prayed, those who fought and ruled, and

those who tilled the land, with only the first few
adventurous souls in the world of commerce.

CHAPTER XVI

SETTLEMENT AND TOPOGRAPHY IN THE TERRITORIUM OF
BARCELONA FROM THE RECONQUEST TO THE 12th.CENTURY

The city and suburbs could never have existed in a vacuum, in spite of the special legal circumstances awarded to them: throughout this period there was a very close link between the urban area and the district around it which held similar privileges, and which was consistently described from c.1000 as the territorium of Barcelona. Thus, although it is beyond the scope of this chapter to take into account the detailed topography, land-usage, and economy of this surrounding zone, some attempt must be made to relate it to the general scheme of development¹.

The Definition of the Territorium (Fig. 118-119).

Although in the years before c.1000 there was a considerable degree of inconsistency in the nomenclature for this area, after approximately that date the majority of charters use the word territorium to describe the location of properties within a district limited by the sea to the south, running along the foot of Montjuïc, as far as the mouth of the River Llobregat, but not along its course, heading instead for the mountain pass called Codines, occasionally referred to as Finestrelles, located

at the foot of the Monte Orsa, the present-day St. Pere Màrtir. The boundary then continued along the peaks of the coastal mountains, the modern Tibidabo, the medieval Collçerola or Monte Aguilar being the highest point, and from there through the Serra d' Agudells to a point where the chain was broken by the starting point of these boundaries - the River Besòs - at a second pass known as Finestrelles².

These limits have long been known, having been discussed by Sanpere y Miquel,³ Carreras Candi⁴, Mitjà⁵ and Bassegoda⁶, and they can be largely traced today as the boundaries of the 'terme' of Barcelona and Hospitalet de Llobregat (the medieval Sta. Eulàlia de Provençana), with minor variations caused by the reclamation of land from the sea and changing river courses, especially in the case of the Besòs, the modern channel of which is to the east of the medieval one, thus resulting in the existence of part of the modern district of St. Adrià de Besòs to the west of the river⁷. As Carreras Candi pointed out, parts of districts adjoining the territorium, especially in the 'comarca' of Baix Llobregat (Sta. Maria d'Esplugues⁸, St. Just Desvern, St. Joan Despí, Sta. Creu d'Olorde and Cornellà) are sometimes cited as being part of the territorium in the 11th. century, although usually as in the County of Barcelona⁹. A similar state of affairs occurs with points in the districts of Badalona and Tiana, beyond the

Besòs boundary¹⁰. Given this inconsistency, they are best left entirely outside the territorium, even though small parts of these districts, which by and large correspond to the original parishes, may have originally lain within it, for these ^{parts} can no longer be distinguished. In the latter Middle Ages, the liberties of Barcelona were extended to include much of these areas, and it is obvious that there was no clear divide in an economic sense, for Barcelona continued to offer a power of attraction for these settlements in view of the absence of other towns of any size within a substantial radius¹¹.

What, then, were the origins of this territorium ? One is immediately attracted by the possibility of a direct survival of the similar zone around the Roman colonia of Baršino until the 10th. century, and indeed there are certain factors which might suggest such a connection. Caution should, however, be exercised as the available 10th. century documentation, the earliest that exists, is confusing, and may indicate that the divisions existing in the following century did not then exist. Mitjá tried to interpret these variations in an article published in 1955¹², the suggestions of which have not yet been further investigated. The main point to make is that in addition to the territorium and county, which are normally used for locational descriptions in the 11th. century, the word pagus also appears. Places clearly

located in the territorium in the 11th. century are referred to as being in the county or pagus or both in the previous century¹³, and although the term territorium is used, it is equally poorly defined, places well beyond the 11th. century limits, such as St. Cugat del Vallès and Caldes de Montbui, being thus positioned¹⁴. Mitjá came to the reasonable conclusion that the three terms were interchangeable¹⁵, although it should also be noted that in the same century territorium was also used in the sense of the modern 'comarca' - in territorio Penitense - and the 'comarca' names of Vallense (Vallès) and Maritima (Maresme) also appear contemporaneously, so some relic of an earlier arrangement may here be visible¹⁶. Similarly, although the pagus of Barcelona could include places beyond the limits of the later territorium, a substantial proportion were within them, and this, more than the earlier territorium, may be a survival from Antiquity.¹⁷ In the same way, as has been seen above¹⁸, in this period there was no great consistency in the application of terms used to describe property immediately around the city, and in particular, the word suburbium was employed with a far wider sense than in the following century.

Thus, although the pagus and, to a lesser extent, the territorium may have had their origins in the late Roman or Visigothic periods, there is no clear and

unequivocal evidence for the survival of a late Roman division until the early medieval period. Nevertheless, certain intrinsic features would indicate that for the most part the limits proposed were of some antiquity. In the first place they are the natural geographical limits of the 'Pla de Barcelona' - the sea, the mountains and the rivers, which even today are the obvious choice for establishing a boundary line. Only in the case of the south-western limit could any difference be proposed, and the line joining the Monte Orsa with a point near the mouth of the River Llobregat may have been a post-Roman division, and the present-day 'comarca' of Baix Llobregat, as far as the bridge at Martorell, which could have provided a boundary marker, may have originally fallen within the Roman territorium¹⁹. This, however, is entering the realm of conjecture, and it seems likely that only the approximate limits of these districts can be established.

On the other hand, the existence of the Roman towns of Baetulo and Egara, and the lesser settlement of Afrahoma and other similar points on the Via Augusta would indicate the presence of corresponding spheres of influence around them, which would mutually exclude the original further extension of Barcelona's territorium. Indeed, the failure of these towns to survive as such into the early medieval period may provide a partial key to the confusion, for the only

true town of the region - Barcelona - would have assimilated some of the power of attraction they had once held, thus providing some justification for an extended territorium, pagus or even suburbium in the period after the Reconquest, which was only reduced and standardized as the economic revival of the 11th. century led to the establishment of other market centres once again²⁰.

The third point which should be taken into consideration is the presence of two 'Finestrelles' place-names on the 11th. century boundaries of the territorium, one of which, at least, was in use from the early 10th. century. That to the north, near the Besòs, is recorded first (in 919) and more frequently²¹, and has survived in a modern street name in the zone known as la Trinitat. Although this is some distance from the modern 'terme' boundary, it is nevertheless in a position on top of a rise, which provides a natural boundary point. The other, to the southwest, is less often mentioned, although it has survived as a modern place-name at the foot of St. Pere Màrtir, exactly on the modern 'terme' line.²² As Balari pointed out²³, this word and related ones are normally found in connection with mountains to convey the idea of furthestmost point or limit, and should be seen in connection with the other Fines place-names known elsewhere in Europe²⁴. Given

that the northern example is recorded at a period when the boundaries of the territorium are vague, it must be accepted that it dates from an earlier period, when it was considered a boundary point. By extension, the other example, although less certainly, may have had its origins in an earlier period, which would indeed suggest that the 11th-century boundaries of the territorium were the same as some previous similar demarcation, presumably of Roman date. This, I consider, is the strongest evidence for directly relating the territoria of the two periods, but allowing for minor variations caused by the political and economic circumstances of the post Reconquest period²⁵.

Mitjá also identified an area called the circuitu of the city in the 10th-century, which corresponded to the 11th-century territorium²⁶. This remains somewhat doubtful, given its rarity in the sources and the vagueness of the expression. Her identification of prope, trans or iuxta civitate expressions is perhaps more likely, and these usually correspond to an area within her inner limit which ran more or less along the line of the later medieval defences, that is the area normally called the suburbium at a later date. Given that these defences did not always correspond to inhabited areas at the time of their construction, there were clearly other factors involved in their orientation, one of which must have

been this old suburbium-territorium division. Whether this in turn was derived from a division of Antiquity, perhaps the pomoerium, is not entirely demonstrable, but, as Srta. Mitjá pointed out, the frequent occurrence there of Comital estates before the expansion of the suburbs²⁷, suggests public property inherited from the late Roman period via the Visigothic and Carolingian monarchs, which is a positive step towards such an identification. Elsewhere in Catalonia fiscal lands seem to have survived similarly to form part of the early Comital estates, and place-names with the element 'palau' often indicate them²⁸.

The transition from Antiquity

In all probability, then, some of the features of the late Roman administrative scheme had survived until the tenth century. In addition, one may point to the place-name Provinciales referring to a substantial zone, later a parish, and the same as the modern zone of Sant Martí to the east of the city. This has often been claimed by local historians to be a survival derived from the 'provincial fields' of the Roman city²⁹, and although such theories are nowadays unpopular, it is difficult to find an adequate alternative explanation.

The standard method of division of the landscapes

of coloniae in Spain was centuriation, abundant traces of which have been found around other Roman foundations in the peninsula, although not in Catalonia³⁰. Thus one might suppose that the 'Pla de Barcelona' was so divided and if the system had been orientated on the same alignment as the street plan, the present-day Passeig de Gràcia would have continued the axis through the territorium, and this route and boundaries parallel and at right angles to it are visible on early plans, although not until the middle of the last century can one be certain that these were anything more than conventionalized representations.³¹ Moreover, the same sources also illustrate that other basic axes, dependent on the main roads, were in use for the division of the fields of the territorium, so the survival of the Roman pattern was partial at the most. Needless to say, the expansion of the city in the past century has destroyed virtually all traces of these divisions, making it extremely difficult to check any theory. Moreover, the available data for the limits and sizes of agricultural plots in the 11th. century show a tendency towards a preference for natural boundaries whenever possible, and secondly to either elongated strips of land, both in the upper slopes and in the plain, or small parcels, which were not always rectangular in plan³².

One may also consider the centres from which

these lands were farmed. A certain number of late Roman establishments in the territorium are implied by their cemeteries, which have been discussed above³³. Although some of the cemeteries were in use to the 6th. century or later, there is no evidence for the subsequent period up to the 10th. century. Parallels elsewhere in coastal Catalonia would suggest that a number of villas survived into the 6th. century, such as those at Torre Llauder, Tossa de Mar and Els Munts, Altafulla³⁴, and were probably then abandoned. Others had acquired a church by that date, probably originally as a private chapel for the estate owner, and although the villa itself may have been abandoned, the church continued to be a centre of cult for people in the neighbourhood, thus providing an element of continuity³⁵. In such cases one must imagine dispersed or only loosely nucleated settlement in the area of the former estate. On other occasions, both church and settlement may have survived, although the number of proven examples is small, given the difficulty of excavating in such contexts, the problems of interpreting old reports which were not concerned with such questions, and the poor state of knowledge of Visigothic period and early medieval artifacts. The principal example is the villa site at Sentromà, Tiana, near Badalona, now occupied by a 'masia' or farmhouse³⁶.

To what extent can any of these three models be applied to the territorium of Barcelona? Of the

churches recorded in the 10th. and early 11th. centuries around the city, several are closely related with villa remains, especially Sta.Eulàlia de Provençana³⁷, St.Pau del Camp³⁸, and less securely Sta.Eulàlia de Vilapiscina³⁹, whereas St.Martí de Provençals is close to remains found in railway construction in the last century⁴⁰. Another case may exist in Pedralbes, with a connection between the known villa site⁴¹ and the chapel of Sta.Cecília, the precise location of which is uncertain, but which could have been within the area of the monastery erected in the 14th. century⁴². Given this model, it would not be surprising to find similar remains of small villas in comparable contexts, such as St.Andreu de Palomar, Sta.Maria de Sants and St.Vicenç de Sarrià. Other late and post Roman cemeteries had no such link with the early Middle Ages, particularly those at Les Corts and in the area of the Hospital de Sant Pau, to name only the two most substantial examples⁴³, unless they were originally located far from the nucleus which they served, which would have been atypical.

Nevertheless, the continuity in all these cases is between early medieval churches and late Roman settlement sites or burial areas: in no case can continuity of settlement be incontrovertibly proven. It has also been claimed that several of the later medieval 'masies' of the 'Pla de Barcelona' are on Roman foundations⁴⁴, and this seems to be demonstrated

in the case of Can Ros in C/Concepción Arenal⁴⁵, but equally, there is no proof of occupation from the later Roman period to the 13th. or 14th. centuries, and in fact evidence for this is notably absent. Likewise, excavations near the River Besòs at the point known as Estadella produced Roman structures, perhaps a villa, but also possibly a mill, in a zone where there were mills by the 11th. century⁴⁶: nevertheless, once again there is no definite proof of continuity of occupation or function.

This evidence thus indicates a substantial decline in the density of occupation from the 5th or 6th. century onwards, a phenomenon of course not restricted to this area⁴⁷. This may also be suggested by certain place-names in the territorium, which contain the villa- element in the 10th. and early 11th. centuries, but not always in association with settlement. These may similarly indicate the location of villas or other settlements which were deserted, although it should be borne in mind that the 11th. century usage of the word villa implied various types of settlement, but which often approximated to a village. Nevertheless, the early date of most of these, and their subsequent disappearance, suggests a link with the past, rather than the developing pattern of settlement of this period. Apart from the two Vikapiscina names (superior and subterior)⁴⁸, there are Villa Romaned (974)⁴⁹,

Villa Canellas (1005)⁵⁰, Villaruncho (1029)⁵¹, Vila Aturade (962)⁵², Vila Truiols (1079)⁵³.

Although some of these were still inhabited and maintained a tenuous life during the following centuries, other place-names also record the remains of agricultural establishments and other features of a past age, but still very much part of the landscape, even though they were unused. Prime among those referring to structures was that called Parietes Delgades or Parietes Antigas, situated between Provençals and the city⁵⁴, although other similar names (Parietes de Lunece⁵⁵, Parietes de Vinece⁵⁶, Parietes de Guisaliarda⁵⁷ and Parietes de Flavia⁵⁸) also appear, suggesting this was far from being the only such example. The name Parietes Delgades is of particular interest because it is found applied to a proven villa site near Tarragona⁵⁹. Nearby was another point, called Auro Invento, perhaps indicating the find-spot of a coin hoard⁶⁰.

The word antigua was also applied to several other contexts, usually without any implication of settlement or buildings, but again suggesting features not always in use but which were nevertheless noticeable points in the countryside. In addition to the archos antiguos of the Roman aqueduct, we find a via antigua⁶¹, rudines antiguos⁶², boadella antigua⁶³, tonna antigua⁶⁴, Cucullum antiquum⁶⁵, and an Aguera

antigua⁶⁶, once again principally in the 10th. and early 11th. centuries, suggesting that these features were gradually obliterated from the landscape with the increasingly intensive cultivation of the 11th. century.

Other indications of villas may be found in -acus and -anus place-names, derived from the owner's name, although they are not particularly common in the territorium.⁶⁷ Of the half-a-dozen possible examples, two are related to points of settlement in the late 10th. century - Sarrià (Sitrianum) and Provençana (Provinianum), the latter also containing traces of a villa site⁶⁸; two were probably not settlements in the early medieval period, although traces of the remains of the past are noted in the charters - Clerà (Cleranum) and Cirsà (Ciresanum)⁶⁹, while the third pair may have evolved into medieval 'masies',⁷⁰. One might also note the name Pedralbes (Petras Albas) and the neighbouring Terrarios Albos, which may have indicated not so much a geological formation as normally supposed, but the remains of floors, the stones being tesserae, as in the English place-name Chessels⁷¹.

Two final names probably of ancient origins were those related to distances along the main road from the city. That of Quintià, mentioned above, may not have been an -anum name, but rather

derived from a position of five miles from the city, which certainly fits its position on the boundary of the territorium with Esplugues de Llobregat⁷².

Since miles are occasionally mentioned, for example the port was considered to be two miles from the city⁷³, there is no difficulty in accepting such an origin for the place-name Quart, four miles from the city, like its counterpart south of Girona⁷⁴.

Another similar name - Duodecimo - was found outside the territorium in the Llobregat valley, quite near Sta.Creu d'Olorde⁷⁵, and might be equated with the point where a battle took place in 510 between the forces of Gesaleic and Ibba, Theoderic's commander⁷⁶.

In conclusion then, features of the past were all around to be seen in the territorium of the early Middle Ages. Many of them were no longer in use, presumably an indication of changes that had taken place over the previous four or five centuries. The sites of others had been taken over by churches, most of which must have had a degree of settlement in their vicinity, although there were other traces of dispersed settlement perhaps derived from villas of Antiquity. Nevertheless, it is impossible to point to any case where there was direct continuity of settlement from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. This was not so much because continuity did not exist, more the fact that the type of settlement had evolved in the course of the centuries.

Transitions in settlement patterns

At the time of the earliest recorded charter evidence, that is around the middle of the tenth century, and more especially after 985, the normal form of settlement in the territorium of Barcelona was the villa, a word with many meanings at this date, but which in such cases normally had the sense of a more or less nucleated settlement, frequently around a church, although not always so, and sometimes a distant heir of a villa of Antiquity⁷⁷. Several points arise from the study of these villa-place-names and others where settlement is recorded in the later 10th. and early 11th. centuries. Even though there has been a disparate survival rate of early evidence as a result of the events of 985 and the predominant rôle of two family archives for the period afterwards - one mainly concerned with Provençals, and the other with Horta⁷⁸ - a greater proportion of settlement would seem to have been located in the sheltered valleys between the coastal mountain chain and the hills of the 'Pla de Barcelona', that is the area now known as Vall d'Hebron, in these years than in following decades⁷⁹. As has been noted above, this movement may have begun as early as the 6th. century⁸⁰, and can be paralleled elsewhere in Catalonia, where it is only in the second half of the 10th. century that the population began to shift to the plains again⁸¹.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the 'pla' was never abandoned, and although deserted land is sometimes recorded, it was not particularly extensive. Within the plain itself, there were some differences in settlement patterns between the period before and after c.1040. On the one hand, several names virtually disappear from the sources - Auro Invento, Parietes Delgades, Trull Comtal, Calvaria and villa Romaned, to name only the previously more often recorded examples which were also points of settlement⁸². In the case of the first two, they were replaced by new, all-embracing zones of vineyards⁸³. On the other hand, new names continuously appeared, some of very minor significance, others naming nuclei which were to grow in importance. The most significant example of these is Horta, rarely mentioned until the later 11th.century, and it first appears as a villa in 1056 or as the villula cui nomen Orta in 1062⁸⁴, the description itself perhaps hinting that the settlement was a comparatively recent growth. Hitherto the zone had formed part of St.Andreu de Palomar, but the church of St.Joan d'Horta is recorded as a separate parish in 1095⁸⁵.

Other new churches were probably erected about the same date in the territorium, for the period from the end of the 11th.century onwards was one when a large number of small Romanesque churches must have been erected. Only that of Sta.Eulalia

de Provençana now survives⁸⁶, but a similar structure existed in Sants⁸⁷, and the church of Sant Andreu de Palomar was consecrated in 1105⁸⁸. There may also have been a degree of renewal in that of St. Martí de Provençals, which became a suffragan of Sta, Maria del Mar in 1052⁸⁹.

The general impression is thus that the rural church came to play a much more important part in determining settlement patterns in the second half of the 11th. century, to the point that the settlement names normally came to include the dedication of the church as part of their own names. This apparent increasing nucleation in settlement may have been partially a result of the general insecurity of the period, which may also be noticed in the towers so often associated with points of settlement⁹⁰. Another reflection of this was the appearance of 'sagreres' around many of the churches in the territorium as well as a number outside its limits. This phenomenon has been studied by Sister Kennelly, in connection with the Peace and Truce movements flourishing at that date, and urban origins in general⁹¹. The general intention was to create a zone thirty paces around the church for storage of agricultural equipment and produce, which would thus be under the safeguard of the Church. These first appeared in the 1030's and proliferated until about thirty years later, even coming to be occupied

by dwellings, thus giving rise to an intense level of occupation at times within the cemetery⁹². Such features clearly played their part in the emergence of the medieval villages of the 'pla de Barcelona'.

Alongside the emergence of these new nucleated centres, one must also note an increase in dispersed forms of settlement. Although these seem to have been rare, although certainly present, in the first half of the 11th. century⁹³, in 1057 we find the first two references to the 'mas' or farm estate centred on the 'masia', still so very much a part of Catalan rural life⁹⁴. Towards the end of the century, and more especially in the succeeding one, the references begin to multiply, about thirty different establishments being recorded by c.1150. These were initially concentrated in two areas: firstly the upper part of the territorium in Horta and Sant Genís d'Agudells, where it has already been noted that there was a disproportionate amount of settlement at the beginning of the 11th. century, probably mainly of small estates and hamlets rather than villages. Indeed, this area was similar to the pre-Pyrenean areas which produced the first examples of this form of land exploitation⁹⁵. Secondly, there were a number in the area of Provençana between Montjuïc and the mouth of the Llobregat, which, as will be seen below, also corresponded to an area of distinct properties

in the earlier part of the century. Not until a slightly later date do they appear in other parts of the territorium, which, because of the concentration of viticulture, may not have been ideal for the initial growth of the mas, which involves a more varied form of land utilisation, with woods, terraces, and plains and meadows all playing a part. The other salient point is that the names of some of the earlier minor settlements re-appear as the names of 'masos', for example Romaned⁹⁶, Vilapiscina⁹⁷ and Chinhano (=Quintia ?)⁹⁸, suggesting a further degree of continuity in the landscape, whereby settlements perhaps with their origins in villas of Antiquity, as in these three cases, became small early medieval villae, probably hamlets with only a few resident families, and evolved into a one family'mas' in the 11th.century.

Unfortunately, archaeology throws no direct light on all these problems, and the traces of such settlements have probably long been obliterated by the expansion of modern Barcelona. These conclusions, however, compare favourably with the excavated remains from other parts of Catalonia⁹⁹. The houses were no doubt very simple structures, often using the support of a rock-face, remains of the past, a church or defensive tower, although an increasing degree of sophistication appeared in the case of the 'masos', in particular in the 12th.century¹⁰⁰. In

certain areas, a degree of cave-dwelling may even have still taken place¹⁰¹. In addition to the dwellings, the sources reveal a wide range of other structures, particularly for agricultural processes, but rarely would the complex have reached the degree of sophistication of the urban house.

So far then, two types of settlement have been noted for the period after the middle of the 11th. century: on the one hand the village community clustered around its church, and on the other the isolated farms within the parish of these churches. To these should be added the rôle of the city itself. A large number of its inhabitants clearly owned land, not only in the suburbium, but also in the territorium which was often farmed directly from the city. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the area around the suburbium for a distance of at least two kilometres was apparently devoid of settlement both in the Roman period and the early medieval one, with the possible exception of a few minor settlements (St. Pau del Camp, Cogoll, Clerà and the Cogoll Antic) at the point where the suburbium and territorium met. So much of the inner part of this territorium was given over to the cultivation of vines that the name Vinyals came to replace several others found there before the middle of the 11th. century.

Dr. Ruiz Doménec has recently summarized the agricultural changes of that century, which need not be repeated here in detail¹⁰². They generally correspond to similar changes occurring elsewhere in Europe, connected with improved tools, the use of irrigation, the possible introduction of the rotation of crops, and the development of new forms of land-holding such as the ad complantandum contracts for vines, and other leases of a perpetual nature, involving the payment of rent in cash, although sometimes in kind, related to the similar changes occurring with urban housing leases at the same date. Apart from the ubiquitous vine, the main crops, to judge from testamental evidence, must have been barley and wheat, in that order, with fruit, olive and nut trees also being recorded. Cattle, sheep and pigs were all kept, as well as chicken and doves. The diet could be supplemented by a variety of other pulses and vegetables, as well as by fish, fisherman being identified in the city and some of the coastal settlements. The soils of the territorium were fairly fertile, if rather heavy, well-watered by the numerous streams, and on the mountain slopes by springs. With the increasing market needs of the city in the 11th. and 12th. centuries, it is not surprising that the surrounding district experienced a period of comparable prosperity, prices for land there rising far higher than in other parts of Old Catalonia¹⁰³.

Montjuïc in the Early Middle Ages (figs.10 and 119),

As has been seen on several occasions, the relationship between the city and the area of this mountain was in many ways rather distinct to that with the rest of the territorium, and it warrants special attention, as is demonstrated by the monographs of Carreras Candi¹⁰⁴ and Voltes Bou¹⁰⁵. Two factors are of some significance in the early Middle Ages, firstly, the presence of a port, and secondly, the associated Castell de Port, the only true castle in the territorium. Although some authors have doubted the existence of a maritime port there, preferring to interpret the word in some other sense, usually that of 'boundary point'¹⁰⁶, I believe that there can be no doubt that a port was in use there until the end of the 10th.century, although by c.1020 it had largely silted up and had fallen out of use¹⁰⁷. This is because of the peculiar phrasing of several late 10th.century charters which included the sale of water rights¹⁰⁸, and wharves or quays¹⁰⁹, in the port pool (stagnio)¹¹⁰. In addition there are other references to equipment or installations, possibly related to fishing (paratura)¹¹¹. Since this pool was clearly visible in the 18th.century¹¹², there is no doubt that it was even more navigable at the end of the 10th.century, and a lighthouse existed on the summit of the mountain, referred to as early as 963, and again in 1073 and 1090¹¹³. Subsequent

references to maritime activity were, however, concentrated on the sea-shore adjoining the urban area, where the later port and arsenals were built¹¹⁴.

A chapel dedicated to Nostra Senyora del Port had been founded by 1030,¹¹⁵ and slight traces of this have survived until the present day. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of the castle which overlooked the area, the last traces having disappeared at the beginning of this century, although a few photographs of it are known¹¹⁶. It was probably established in the early 11th. century by the vicecomital family, and although it is referred to in the property division by Ramon Berenguer II and Berenguer Ramon II, its true significance would seem to have declined rapidly with the submission of Mir Geribert to their father. The available illustrations show that the structure was simple, comparable to that of the other towers in the territorium, which were not called castles, and with no later embellishments. Not only would its defensive rôle have been small, but it would also have been difficult to dominate the territorium from it, especially when it is realized that feudal lordship as current elsewhere in Catalonia could not be applied within the bounds of the territorium.

Nevertheless, along the coast, between Montjuïc and the mouth of the Llobregat, a number of towers are recorded from 984 onwards¹¹⁷. These were

usually associated with substantial residences and were frequently described as stone-built. Like later towers along the coast, for instance in Castelldefels, their main function would have been for security and as look-out points in an area clearly open to attacks from pirates, perhaps those based in the Balearics. The peak of their importance¹¹⁸ was in the 1030's when an area of the coast-line called Espodella came to be known as Turres¹¹⁸. Although they were still being built in the 12th. century¹¹⁹, their protective value was probably in decline by then, but some were used as the foundations for later masies, which were abundant in the area.

Settlement around the port area was thus dispersed rather than nucleated, being dotted along the coast and the roads linking the port and the castle with the city, the churches on the mountain and the settlements of Sants and Provençana to the north. One intriguing reference is the unique one in the earliest parchment preserved which relates to this zone, and which cites the first of the long series of villaenovae connected with Barcelona (938)¹²⁰. The location and function of this foundation must remain conjectural, but in view of the later use of the word in the Barcelona context, the most likely solution would seem to be that it was an attempt to create some form of settlement around the port area, at a date when contacts with the outside were just beginning¹²¹.

This obliges us to consider the origins of the port itself. Those authors who have accepted that it was a maritime port have generally envisaged it as the heir to the original Iberian and Roman port which led to the foundation of the supposed Roman settlement on the lower slopes of Montjuïc¹²². As was seen in Chapter III, the existence of this pre-Augustan foundation must be placed in doubt, and even more so since it appears that the entire shore line from Montjuïc to the mouth of the Llobregat, and beyond in both directions, was used as a beaching area in the Roman period, which must imply that there was no single port zone¹²³. In this case, a post-Roman and pre-mid 10th. century date must be envisaged for the foundation of this port. Although the evidence is exiguous, one might tentatively place it alongside other examples of the use of the term 'Portus' in the early middle ages, implying the sense of a trading settlement, although clearly here, because of its location, that of sea-port was intended also¹²⁴.

No traces of this settlement have survived, although the presence of substantial residences and towers at a later date may indicate that some new settlers were attracted. Not only were many of these property owners prominent figures of the urban élite of the later 10th. century, the involvement of the Viscounts, and possibly also the Church of Barcelona,

may suggest that these were the motive forces behind the newtown, and the castle erected to watch over and protect it¹²⁵. Nevertheless, after the turn of the millenium, the area went into decline, the port fell out of use, except for the presence of a few fishermen, and the viscounts struggled to regain their position of authority^{125 bis}.

Not only could this brief commercial period have stimulated the emergence of substantial rural residences, but also the agricultural wealth of the zone. Fields reaching three hectares or more, rarely paralleled in the rest of the territorium, are recorded¹²⁶. Much of this coastal area was irrigated from an early date, several of the channels receiving names¹²⁷; this was an easier proposition here than in other parts of the territorium because of the vicinity of the Llobregat from which water could be drawn throughout the year, and the mountain itself had a number of springs, one of which supplied an irrigation channel on the eastern side of the mountain towards the city and St.Pau del Camp¹²⁸. However, not all the land was under cultivation, and a decline may have set in when parts of the territorium nearer the city began to flourish, for uncultivated plots were frequent in the later 11th. and 12th. centuries¹²⁹. These were probably to be found on the slopes of Montjuïc rather than in the fertile plain at its foot. Although the springs on the eastern side attracted

agriculture from an early date¹³⁰, the rest of the area of the mountain was neither densely settled nor intensively cultivated during this early phase, as a result of the poorer mountain soils which needed extensive terracing for their retention.

This process began in the middle of the 11th. century, the number of references to vines steadily increasing and this was linked to the appearance of two new place-names, that of Serra¹³¹, referring to the slopes towards the port, and that of Fexes¹³², or the strips of terraced land around the mountain-side. Coupled with this growth, one may also see the appearance of the first 'masos', both of these names being given to such estates¹³³. Others located in the plain to the west were probably derived from estates connected with the previous defence towers¹³⁴.

Two churches were located on the mountain itself, the exact position of neither of which is secure, although it is probable that both were towards the summit, within the confines of the post-medieval fortifications. The more important was that of St. Julià, the parish church for Montjuïc¹³⁵. Given that the plain to the west was within the parish of Sta. Eulalia de Provençana, this parish could not have been very extensive, and it is somewhat surprising to find it as a separate parish. This, however,

might reflect an earlier state of affairs, when settlement on the mountain was denser in a period of insecurity, corresponding to the general shift towards upland areas in Catalonia in the post-Roman period. Apart from the apparently substantial late Roman cemetery on the south side, there is as yet no evidence for this theory¹³⁶. Nevertheless, in the 11th. century the church stood in isolation, and not until 1134 is there any trace of settlement around it¹³⁷. The other church was a chapel dedicated to St. Fruitós, the martyred third century bishop of Tarragona, which was first mentioned in 1051¹³⁸, but in view of the rarity and special local interest of the dedication possibly of far earlier origin. It was originally in private hands, the various rights over it being subdivided¹³⁹, but in 1155 it was given to the community of St. Pau del Camp by Aimeric of Perugia, a wealthy burgensis of Barcelona¹⁴⁰. Among the property of the church recorded in 1097 was a nearby turre antiqua¹⁴¹, and it should be noted that both tile tombs and possibly Visigothic period stonework are known from this part of the mountain¹⁴², so a link may exist between them.

The only cemetery on Montjuïc which was in use in the early medieval period was that of the Jewish community of Barcelonç. The connection between the name of the mountain and this cemetery cannot be coincidental, given a number of parallels such as

Girona and several places in France where a hill or mountain of similar name was the final resting place of members of the medieval Hebrew community¹⁴³. The cemetery lay to the south-east of the citadel on the summit of the mountain, in the area of the shooting range, and was partially excavated in 1945-46¹⁴⁴, although other inscriptions had been previously found, and its presence was known from documentary sources¹⁴⁵. Although it has long been stated that the first reference is of 1091, which describes 'old Jewish tombs'¹⁴⁶, there is in fact an earlier one of 1072 and several others of the same period¹⁴⁷. Fita suggested an abandonment after the middle of the 11th. century¹⁴⁸, which seems unlikely in view of these sources, although it is, of course, possible that some tombs were recognizably of greater antiquity. Although those excavated produced no definite evidence of pre-12th. century date, and the only positive dating material suggested mainly 13th. and 14th. century dates, the terminus ante quem perhaps being the pogrom of 1391, an inscription of earlier style, for which dates of between the 6th. and the 10th. centuries have been proposed, is known¹⁴⁹. Given the common and natural usage of the Mons Judaicus name in the tenth century, the cemetery presumably pre-dates this period, and may provide another element of continuity between late Antiquity and the Middle Ages¹⁵⁰.

Although the area of the mountain was primarily agricultural, one industry which must have taken place was quarrying. Montjuïc stone was almost universally used in the Roman city, and, although the scale of production was lower, probably continued in the early Middle Ages, as is clear from the few surviving fragments of 10th. and 11th. century decorative stonework¹⁵¹. Since quarries by their very nature destroy the evidence of their existence, it is difficult to state where they were located, although the rare place-name ipso Petrario¹⁵² may be an indication, as is the inhabitant surnamed Pica petras in 1169¹⁵³.

The lack of tenth century growth in the city of Barcelona may thus be partially explicable by the fact that much of the impetus was directed towards the port area at the foot of Montjuïc. For some reason, perhaps political, perhaps economic or simply perhaps because the zone was too far from the walled city, this attempted growth does not seem to have been very lasting, although for the space of half a century or so it may have played a rôle in the broadening of the city's connections. Thereafter the port function was carried out by the shore close to the city, the economy of the Port zone went into decline, and an increasingly defensive stance taken, perhaps in the face of pirate attacks. The towers erected for this purpose formed the basis for the subsequent settlement pattern of the zone based on agriculture, with extensive vineyards on Montjuïc itself.

The Parishes of the Territorium.

At a later date there were thus fewer factors to distinguish the Montjuïc zone from the rest of the territorium. Within this, both the division into parishes and their relative size were probably similar to the situation recorded by the 14th. century 'fogatges',¹⁵⁴. Although it is difficult to define the parishes exactly, the limits drawn by Carreras Candi seem to be acceptable, even taking into account more recently located material¹⁵⁵.

The westernmost of these parishes, bordering with those outside the territorium on the east bank of the Llobregat, was Sta. Eulalia de Provençana, now the district of Hospitalet. The main nucleus of settlement was around the surviving Romanesque church, consecrated in 1101, itself on the site of a Roman villa.¹⁵⁶ In addition, there was a certain amount of dispersed settlement as at Quart and Quintià. In the western part of the district there was a tower, known as the Torre Blanca, which, however, should not be confused with that of the same name in Provençals¹⁵⁷.

To the east lay the parish of Sta. Maria de Sants, a considerably smaller area, which spread around the northern slopes of Montjuïc towards the city. The main centre by the end of the 11th. century was again

concentrated around the church, the early 12th. century version of which survived until the last century, although a villa que dicunt Sانس is recorded in 1002¹⁵⁸. The northern part of the district was mainly farmed by Jews, and also contained a small degree of settlement, at the point known as Magoria or Mogoria, another name that has survived the passing of the centuries¹⁵⁹.

To the north of Sانس was the parish of St.Vicenç of Sarrià, again centred around the church and tower of the same name¹⁶⁰, but with other chapels in the parish, particularly Sta.Cecília in Pedralbes and St.Gervasi de Cassoles, near which there was another tower, the turre Destal¹⁶¹. Other place-names which have survived include Monterols and Les Corts, both being applied to principally agricultural zones, although the latter is found equated with Trullols, where there would appear to have been some form of settlement¹⁶².

These last two parishes extended as far as the road leading from the city towards the north-west, and over the Collçerola chain to St.Cugat del Vallès. This road also gave access to the smallest and the most isolated of the parishes of the 'Pla', St.Genís d'Agudells, a later church of which exists in the Vall d'Hebron¹⁶³. The documentation is correspondingly scarce, being limited to that zone and adjacent

valleys, and reflecting a rather conservative, heavily wooded area¹⁶⁴.

The mountains to the east of this point have largely preserved their early medieval names, although this has never been pointed out: e.g. Coll de Ventosa¹⁶⁵, Coll de Canyelles¹⁶⁶, Tapioles¹⁶⁷, down to the limit at Finestrelles near the Besòs. These were all originally included in the parish of St. Andreu de Palomar, although the emergence of the settlement of Horta, possibly stimulated by the activities of one family¹⁶⁸, led to a separation of part of the area. A large number of small upland settlements or farms is indicated by the wide variety of place-names in this area¹⁶⁹. Associated with them was a hitherto unknown chapel of Sant Bartolomeu, recorded but twice in the sources¹⁷⁰, but which must have been like the other remote chapels on the northern flanks of the same range, as at Sant Iscle de les Feixes¹⁷¹. One should also notice the priory of St. Maria de Font Rubia located on a hilltop among the peaks breaking the descent of the 'Pla', and again very rarely recorded¹⁷². In addition to an amount of dispersed settlement, there were others around the church of Sant Andreu and that of Sta. Eulalia de Vilàpiscina, although the latter declined to the status of a 'mas'¹⁷³.

The final district, that of St. Martí de Provençals, took a long time to acquire parochial sta-

tus and was dependent on Sta. Maria del Mar¹⁷⁴. However, there seems to have been some form of nucleated settlement by the early 11th. century, when a vicus in villa Provincialis was recorded¹⁷⁵. In spite of this, and the gains made at the expense of the sea, there appears to have been a decline in the number of settlements in favour of a concentration around the church and the frequently cited Torre Blanca situated at some distance¹⁷⁶. Additional importance would have been created by the presence of mills on the Besòs at Altafulla and Estadella, and on the Comital Rech at El Clot¹⁷⁷, although much of the coastal area was occupied by salt-marsh and the salt-lagoons, Llacuna de Llavinerà¹⁷⁸ and Llacuna Llantana¹⁷⁹.

The overall pattern indicates that churches were generally approximately two kilometres apart, with the greater part of settlement around them, certainly from c.1050 if not before, although they were occasionally interspersed with lesser settlements without churches, and the land was worked from the overall unity of these centres. In addition, the parish churches were towards the centre of their districts, except in the case of St. Martí de Provençals, which was somewhat atypical because of its late emergence as a parish church. The impression is one of an orderly, balanced settlement pattern, owing something to the Roman past, but in many aspects a creation of the 11th. century, which was to last until the 19th. century.

These nuclei were connected by a road-network which consisted of both radial and transverse routes. Some of these were of Roman origin, such as the via antiga - the Travesera - mentioned in Les Corts and Monterols, the coastal Via Marina via St.Martí to Badalona, and the via Francisca crossing the city itself¹⁸⁰. The road-fork Enforcats, which has been placed on the limit of the territorium, was probably on the same site as the later Creu Coberta to the east of Sants, and near the modern Plaça de Espanya, itself an important road junction¹⁸¹. Between these major routes was a whole series of tracks and paths, determined by the needs of the period and the hand of nature.

Conclusion

The territorium like the city itself was intensively used from the mid-11th.century onwards, a series of changes having taken place in the previous decades which determined the subsequent pattern of settlement, causing the final abandonment or decline of some places, and the appearance and greater growth rate of others. The remains of Antiquity were all around: many no longer had an influence on topography, although elsewhere a degree of continuity, not always involving settlement, can be proposed. As in the Classical period viticulture was the economic mainstay of the territorium providing a

substantial proportion of the prosperity on which the city established the initial phases of its medieval expansion. In this respect, it can be compared with many other major cities, such as Toulouse and Bordeaux, where the town-countryside relationship was still of the utmost importance for the continued well-being of both¹⁸².

CHAPTER XVII

THE URBAN CENTRES OF EARLY MEDIEVAL CATALONIA

Abadal stated that only Girona, after Barcelona, could really be considered of any significance in an urban context in the pre-Catalonia of the Carolingian period, and there is much truth in his view¹. It was not until the end of the tenth century that the other settlements which were somehow more than villages, yet lesser places than Barcelona or Girona, gained the life that would make them urban. The characteristics which made them stand out against the very rural background of the 9th. and 10th. centuries were diverse, and in some parts of Europe may have been sufficient to justify calling them towns, but, as will be demonstrated below, they lacked the necessary vigour and the degree of permanency and security essential in unstable times: what, of course, singled out Barcelona and Girona more than anything else was the very solidity and strength of their defences, which would have inspired confidence, one feels, in the most timorous in the darkest hours following the Reconquest.

This unusual state of affairs was reflected in the confusion of the sources: the scribes of the period, inheriting traditions of a past age, were

uncertain how to describe these locations with some urban features, but which did not correspond to a truly urban image. A civitas had a clear link with the past, either through its walls, or its bishop, or preferably both. Castra might also have a link with the past, but almost always some administrative function, while castella were generally smaller, purely defensive points and not at all places where a bishop might be expected to reside. For some reason the word urbs was rarely employed, although when it does appear in Catalonia it appears to have been synonymous with civitas. Vicus was occasionally used to distinguish points which had a link with the past, but for some reason were not civitates. Often, for both these, and all other settlements, the scribes were left with the word villa, which, because of the wide range of potential meanings, was most suitable for them, but confusing to the modern-day researcher, to whom there is an immediate difference between a place with a Cathedral, a mint and a market, such as Vic, and a hamlet with a handful of houses, and perhaps not even that, but which were both described as villae by the contemporary sources².

How, then, are we to identify the settlements of the 9th. and 10th. centuries, which, in an age before the economic growth of succeeding centuries, can only be described as pre-urban nuclei? It is

obviously necessary to establish a list of criteria which might have distinguished them from lesser villae and other purely rural centres, and then select or reject them according to the evidence available: such criteria might include the following points:-

- a) a Roman urban background of colonia or municipia status
- b) the presence of defences (other than those of a castle)
- c) an episcopal see
- d) a market
- e) a mint
- f) a Jewish community
- g) a Comital or Vicecomital residential centre
- h) a role in communications, either by sea, river or land.

In the early 9th. century only Barcelona combined all, or nearly all, these eight factors³. The other centres possessed various combinations, although normally one of them is clearly the principal point for distinguishing the settlement from others, and they can be divided into groups for consideration on these bases. Particular attention will be devoted to the later 10th. and early 11th. centuries as being particularly formative in Old Catalonia: less space will be dedicated to the second half of the 12th. century, which heralds a new era in urban foundations,

and to those small towns beyond Barcelona's sphere of influence established in the previous period (fig.120).

I. The Heirs of Antiquity.

1. Girona (fig.71),

Reconquered in 785, Girona became the centre of a county which was not irreversibly linked with that of Barcelona until the 11th.century, although in practice the two were normally ruled by the same count from the time of Wifred the Hairy onwards⁴. Its multiphased defences ensured the continuity of the site⁵, and for much of the 9th. and 10th.centuries there could have been little difference between it and Barcelona: indeed, before the 11th.century, it would have been difficult to attribute to Barcelona much degree of primacy over its northern neighbour.

Although some of the alterations to the defences probably belong to this period, particularly on the north side, it is difficult to identify them, but the separate tower at the eastern high point was linked to the city by lengths of curtain wall, thus forming a castle, frequently named in 11th.century feudal oaths as the castrum Gerundella⁶: this may have been an addition of the first half of the century, for a charter of 994 refers to simply Gerundella⁷. Within the defences was to be found the Cathedral

of Sta. Maria, already on the present site by the Carolingian period, and probably in early Christian times⁸, but rebuilt in the 11th. century, and of this Romanesque phase the bell-tower still survives⁹. Adjoining this was the Episcopal Palace, built up to the east of the Cathedral by the gradual acquisition of various properties, including one bought from Count Borrell immediately outside the walls (988) and another from Archdeacon Guitart in 994¹⁰. The sources imply a tightly-knit complex of various structures, including a kitchen, celler, and also a hospital (xenodochia) for the poor and pilgrims, prior to the rebuilding of the mid-12th. century¹¹.

Next to the Comital residence mentioned in 988 there was the synagogue. The 'Call' of Girona has origins of some interest, for it is recorded that Count Dela transferred the Jews from a rural settlement at Judaicas some time in the late 9th. century¹². In 982, there were twenty-four heads of family¹³, but apparently no fixed zone of settlement, as in Barcelona at that date, for Hebrew and Christian properties are found side by side in various parts of the city.¹⁴ The street plan must have been very much as today, except, perhaps, in the immediate vicinity of the Cathedral, where later medieval reforms took place. There was, thus, little in the way of regular lay-out¹⁵.

Although dwellings were found throughout the urban area, with a preference, as in Barcelona, for the rear face of the defences and the zone around the Cathedral, suburban growth also came to play an important part¹⁶. This was particularly true to the north outside the Sobreportes Gate, where several burgi emerged. One grew up around the church of St.Fèlix, already attested in the Visigothic period, and on the site of a late Roman cemetery and possible martyrium: the church is recorded 'in front of the gate' in 894¹⁷, and the suburb around it was in existence by 1084,¹⁸ and perhaps as much as a century beforehand¹⁹. Within it were the Baths, comparable to those of Barcelona, and in existence by 1194²⁰: unlike those of Barcelona, they have survived to the present day, having been incorporated into a convent in the 15th.century²¹.

A second suburb lay across the stream called Galligans, centred around the monastery of St. Pere de Galligans. Although the monastery as it stands today is of the 12th.century²², it was in existence by the end of the 10th. century²³, and suburban development in this zone may have been the same as a burgo of Sta.Maria (i.e. under the sponsorship of the Cathedral) recorded in 1063 and 1108²⁴. This settlement extended a short distance up the slopes of Montjuïc, where the Hebrew cemetery was located²⁵, and in 1148 a further burgo was recorded by the church of Sta.Lucia situated there²⁶.

To the south of the city there was another spread of settlement around the church of St.Martí Sacosta, another church which could trace its origins to the Visigothic period²⁷. However, the earliest information available suggests that the area immediately outside the Porta Rufina was open land in 1010, houses being built by 1121, and a bread-oven, a sure sign of a stable community, cited in 1157²⁸. One might also suspect a degree of ribbon development along the main road leading to the south, and along the banks of the river, although this is as yet undocumented.

Finally, across the river Onyar was the market area, referred to as the Mercadal: recorded by 1007, it frequently occurs in the 11th.century²⁹, although the market was probably not a permanent one, but held weekly, and the area chosen because of the substantial open space available free of obstructing structures. Nearby was the church of Sta.Susanna, mentioned in a will of 1135³⁰, but possibly of far older origins, for a later Roman cemetery, sealed by the market floor, was found in 1890³¹. In addition, mills were to be found there in the 12th.century, probably powered by the Rego comitale mentioned a century before and still visible in the urban topography³². By 1160 the market had become a permanent institution, for in that year Ramon Berenguer IV

conceded the right to build workshops, shops and stalls, in ipso meo mercato quod est extra muros Gerunde in ipso arenio, ad occidentalem partem iuxta fluvium Undaris³³. However, it would seem unlikely that there was any great amount of permanent settlement in the area before that date.

Thus, in the early 11th. century Girona was very similar to Barcelona, although perhaps slightly smaller in terms of population^{33 bis}. The greater part of settlement was intra-mural, clustered around the Cathedral, and such suburban development as had occurred was restricted to an area outside one of the gates. However, its growth at a later date was far less extensive, and also in a direction which proved unsuitable. The slopes of Montjuïc limited settlement to the north, and the Galligans stream was probably uncomfortably close to the houses in times of heavy rain. Thus after a brief period of splendour in the 12th. century, later suburban growth had to take place in the opposite direction, towards the south. It is there that the only area of planning of medieval date can be detected in the topography, in the zone between the main road and the river, and when the medieval defences were erected in the 14th. century, the area they enclosed in this direction was more extensive than that outside the old Sobreportes gate³⁴. One might also suspect from the surviving medieval

structures that these southern suburbs were of greater wealth than those around St.Félix and St.Pere, a factor possibly related to their vicinity to the market on the opposite side of the river. The total area inhabited in the later 12th.century was probably about double that of the walled area, or perhaps slightly more, that is about 13 hectares, suggesting a population of between 2,000 and 2,500 inhabitants.

Apart from purely local and intrinsic reasons concerning the economy and topography of the city, the causes for Barcelona's achievement of supremacy over Girona can be summarized as follows: whereas in the Carolingian period and for most of the 10th. century, the area looked across the Pyrenees for its inspiration and assistance, from the early 11th. century it was more on the offensive than the defensive. Thus, while Barcelona was originally too dangerously placed, both in its overall context as a frontier town and in its own topographical location, Girona was much securer³⁵. However, Girona was not a suitable base for the later stages of the Catalan Reconquest: not only was it too far from the frontier, but it had no sea-link, a factor that was to be decisive for the Reconquest of Tortosa, the Balearics and Valencia. Moreover, its communications with the rest of Catalonia were restricted: even today the journey westwards to Vic is not an easy one,

whereas the connections between Barcelona and inland Catalonia are far better, Finally, political unity on the house of Barcelona gave that line and its centre an advantage: apart from Urgell, it alone had a frontier with no-man's-land in the 11th. and 12th. centuries, and the northern Catalan counties were squeezed out by geography from the Reconquest of New Catalonia.

2. Vic (fig.121).

Vicus Ausetanorum had survived the passage of time less well than parva Gerunda: by the time the fertile plain around the city had been reconquered in 798, the population could only have been small, and the rest, one suspects, had taken to the hills³⁶. It was additionally weakened by the revolt of Aissó (826-7) which was based on this 'comarca', to the point that at the council of Barcelona in 906 the Bishop of Ausona could comment that ne aliquis Christianorum in praedicto pago Ausonae remaneret³⁷. Although this was probably a slight exaggeration, it certainly remained very much a no-man's-land until the renewed process of colonisation was begun under Wifred the Hairy towards the end of the century. This resettlement, however, was very much a rural matter, upon which town life hardly impinged: moreover, it was largely the result of necessities of political geography, in order not to leave the two

branches of the house (Barcelona and Cerdanya) divided by deserted lands³⁸.

Even though the work of re-population did not include the foundation of towns, it did comprise the re-establishment of the See, although the site chosen was perhaps slightly different to that of the Roman centre, which had been located around the temple³⁹. It has been claimed that the early Christian Cathedral must have been in this upper part of the city⁴⁰, although finds of late Roman burials near the later Cathedral always leave open the possibility that the site was the same⁴¹. However, there is no doubt that the pre-Romanesque Cathedral was down the slope from the Temple, and, together with its successors, it became the focus for urban life in the subsequent centuries. The church which must have been rebuilt after the episcopal restoration was replaced in the 11th. century by a fine Romanesque structure, of which the crypt⁴², bell-tower⁴³ and slightly later parts of the Episcopal Palace⁴⁴ survive.

Although a market is recorded by 911⁴⁵, probably at some distance from this episcopal nucleus if on the same site as the modern market-place, properties were usually described as being in apenditio of the Cathedral, or in one or other of the nuclei or vilares which emerged a short time afterwards⁴⁶.

It appears that these were fairly close to the Cathedral, but that agricultural land was found separating the various settlements. Unity seems to have come towards the middle of the 11th. century as references to the villa que dicitur Vico become more frequent⁴⁷, the name being derived from the first part of the classical name, the second part, the tribal name, being applied to the County and Diocese.

Other features of this 11th. century growth included a hospital erected alongside the Episcopal Palace by 1060⁴⁸, new churches, especially those of Sant Sadurni and Sta. Eulalia⁴⁹, the promotion of house construction⁵⁰, and the construction of mills along the Riu Merder⁵¹. Coinage had probably been minted from the beginning of the century, and less regularly in the previous one, under the auspices of the bishop⁵². By the end of the century, the area of the old Roman core was being rebuilt, and a castle erected around the remains of the Temple, which passed to the hands of the Montcadas, whose presence, and control of the second market nearby, was later to be a cause of disputes concerning lordship⁵³.

Thus although Vic was manifesting de facto urban qualities by the second half of the 11th. century, it was rarely described as more than a villa. Some seven kilometres to the north, however, one

should note the presence, near the modern Roda de Ter, of a Roda civitas, which is cited between the early 10th. and mid-11th. centuries⁵⁴. The exact relationship between this site and Vic has yet to be established: excavations have revealed a church with burials of between the 9th. and 14th. centuries, plus the scant remains of several dwellings, as well as Iberian material, although no Roman occupation⁵⁵. One might conjecture that it was a native site, abandoned with the establishment of the Roman nucleus in the plain, and re-occupied in the 8th. or 9th. centuries, for the Frankish accounts of Aissó's revolt clearly refer to its destruction⁵⁶. Within this short period of life, then, one might also place the unique coin of the Rodda mint of Louis the Pious⁵⁷. Half-a-century later, however, it was ignored by Wifred the Hairy and his collaborators, who returned to the new centre in the plain, although it survived as an agricultural village until replaced by the present town.

By the late 11th. century then, Vic had all the attributes of a town: the 12th. century was to see further expansion, which was perhaps delimited by the construction of defences, the course of which was reused by those of c.1368⁵⁸. Junyent refers to the existence of suburbs⁵⁹, which certainly implies the presence of a walled circuit, and the Jewish commun-

ity also appeared by the 13th century⁶⁰. More important, however, was the growth of the market where the cloth-merchants of the town were seeking to protect their wares from outside competition in 1138⁶¹. The later 12th. century saw the emergence of families like those in Barcelona, who engaged in a wide range of operations, such as the Espanyols⁶². Situated on a route leading northwards to the Pyrenean heartlands of Catalonia and Languedoc, centre of a rich agricultural plain, Vic was a natural centre for their commercial ventures. By 1200 the town is supposed to have covered some 16 hectares: topographically one might distinguish between the small blocks of the upper (Montcada) part of the city and the large ones of the lower (episcopal) zone: if all this area was inhabited at that date, one must suppose a population of towards 2,000 on the eve of its period of greatest prosperity⁶³.

3. Ampurias and its successors (figs, 68, 70 and 122).

The date of the final abandonment of Ampurias has been the subject of some controversy. The area of the Hellenistic 'Neapolis' and the Roman colonia was probably not extensively inhabited after the third century: coin and pottery finds, or rather the lack of them, particularly in the case of the colonia, are eloquent on this point⁶⁴. Nevertheless,

human settlement in the area clearly continued. Although there was no mint in the Visigothic period, there was a bishopric, and abundant funerary remains lasting into the 7th. century, and probably beyond, have been found around the church located in the agora (fig.69)⁶⁵.

However, not even the episcopal see is recorded in the period of the Reconquest, although Ampurias gave its name to a County, and a mint was established under the Carolingians, the products of which circulated in more than a purely local ambit.⁶⁶ Several churches of the early medieval period are known in the vicinity of the old city, suggesting that abandonment was far from total in the period after the Reconquest: St. Vicenç has stonework of neat squared blocks with ironstone coursing, directly comparable to 9th. century structures in Egara-Terrassa⁶⁷; Sta. Margarida I has traces of a possible baptistery, and a rectangular pre-Romanesque apse⁶⁸; Sta. Margarida II an apse of horseshoe plan, while a group of eight late 11th. or early 12th. century coins are known from a later floor-level⁶⁹; another chapel, Sta. Reparada, also appears to be of pre-Romanesque origins⁷⁰. Moreover, the remains of these churches are usually associated with burials of Visigothic date, suggesting a strong degree of local continuity, probably at a very low level of intensity, throughout the period⁷¹ (Fig.68).

Although some dispersed settlement may have survived among the ruins of Antiquity, yet to be discovered or recognized by the excavators⁷², the main concentration must have been located in the Palaiopolis, the original core of the Greek foundation, once an island, but by now a peninsula: a document of 842 assures us that this is what was regarded as the city at that date, by describing the church of St.Martí as a basilica sita infra muro Empuries civitate⁷³. It seems unlikely from its location that this had been the Early Christian see: it is perhaps even less probable in the case of the other known churches, and so it must be presumed that it is still to be found or recognized (fig.70).

Most of the information for the occupation of the Palaiopolis in the early medieval period is derived from Dr.Almagro's excavation of the early 1960's⁷⁴. The area excavated adjoined the church of St.Martí, which was rebuilt by the Count of Ampurias in c.926 according to an inscription⁷⁵. The first stratified layer consisted of burials of 10th. to 12th.century date, comparable to those dated by coin evidence in St.Vicenç: this covered a destruction layer, which, however, was cut by a round stone-built tower, and under which were a series of occupation layers and structural remains going back to the end of the Roman period. The dating of the vitally important medieval layers is hampered by the

poor state of knowledge of the ceramics, although Almagro associated the destruction layer with the Viking attack of 858-9, which is the usually stated cause for the necessity to reconstruct the church in 926⁷⁶.

If, however, this site was the principal base of the Counts of Ampurias in the later 9th. century, it seems unlikely that the church would have been left ruinous over such a long period. In addition to the evidence of the coinage and churches, there are several indications of precocious maritime activity on behalf of these counts: in 813 they had led an attack on Mallorca⁷⁷ and in 891, they were able to assemble fifteen ships to raid Almeria⁷⁸. Surely, in such circumstances they would not have left their residence in a state of ruination. An alternative is possible: several churches in the modern province of Girona were reconsecrated after destruction by the Magyars, probably in 924, when other sources demonstrate that they reached Septimania and beyond⁷⁹. Thus, if this church was rebuilt after a destruction, and not for some other reason, and if the layer under the burials and tower was the result of such a destruction, it is perhaps best to associate this with a historical date of c.924, rather than sixty-five years beforehand.

Before continuing with the later transformations of Ampurias, it is worthwhile to consider its relationship with another site of similar origins in the area. The apparent flourishing of Roses at the expense of Ampurias in the Visigothic period has been noted above⁸⁰, but, in contrast, the pendulum seems to swing back in favour of Ampurias after the Reconquest, with the presence of the mint and Counts. Roses continued to be occupied, but mainly as an ecclesiastical site. In the 10th century there was a monastery dependent on that of St.Pere de Rodes, and from which an inscription of c.950 is known. This monastery was rebuilt in the early 11th. century and separated from its mother house, the new church, parts of which still stand, being consecrated in 1022⁸¹.

By this time, however, changes had begun to occur in the ambit of Ampurias. Although the counts continued to maintain an interest in the small settlement around St.Marti, certainly residing there for some of the time, presumably building the stone-tower noted above, and making further donations to the church (980)⁸², they were also Counts of Rosselló for most of the 10th century, and much of the 11th⁸³, and two other points in the region of Ampurias also drew their attention as potential centres: namely, Castelló de Ampurias and Perelada. Both in origin were villae of no great importance when first recor-

ded in the later 9th.century⁸⁴, but grew under the sponsorship of the counts. Various opinions have been expressed as to when the Counts moved from Ampurias to Castelló, although the question is probably invalid in view of the nature of early medieval government, for they had no single centre, and were peripatetic for most of the time. What is clear is that Castelló increasingly gained the patronage of the Counts, a substantial church being consecrated in 1064, in many ways a challenge to the authority of the Bishops of Girona, who had taken over the diocese with the disappearance of the Bishops of Ampurias at the end of the Visigothic period⁸⁵.

When the county was divided in 1078⁸⁶, Castelló was certainly preferred to Ampurias, and rivalry with neighbouring Perelada grew, especially over market rights⁸⁷. However, at that date there could have been little difference in the size of these three centres: that around St.Martí de Ampurias, for example, covered little more than one hectare (fig. 70). It was only as the 12th.century progressed that Castelló, away from the malarial marshes of the Bay of Roses, expanded, was able to construct defences, and to attract a small Hebrew community which presumably supplied it with more than purely local commercial life⁸⁸. One might suppose a similar pattern for Perelada (fig.122). Not before then could any of these settlements be

truly said to be urban, and even this 12th.century growth was partially stunted by the establishment of a further centre, Figueres, on the main route leading from Girona to the Pyrenees in the 13th. century, although since this was outside the limits of the County, but within the geographical limits of the 'comarca', Castelló remained the comital centre⁸⁹.

II The Ruins of Antiquity.

The three centres just discussed thus had a link with their position in late Antiquity, although in three very different ways and with varying results. The majority of the towns in the Conventus Tarracensis, however, were even less successful in preserving any remnants of their past splendour.

1. Iluro-Mataró.

The decline of this town after the third century has been described above. By the 6th.century burials were being made within the walled area, possibly around a church erected on the site of a Roman Temple. Given the small size of the town, its population by the end of the Visigothic period can only have been very small, even though rural life continued in several of the surrounding villas⁹⁰.

Subsequently, however, it would appear that even these were abandoned in favour of sites on higher land or towards the coastal mountain chain: this movement, which may have begun in the Visigothic period, can be detected in the location of the various pre-Romanesque churches in the area, and alongside these are a number of cemeteries, perhaps of similar 9th. or 10th.century date⁹¹. Similarly, the available pre-11th.century documentation seems mainly to refer to upland areas⁹². Whether this shift of settlement was in response to the Arab invasion, or the Reconquest, or acts of piracy, or was a result of wider economic conditions which favoured a return to pre-Roman patterns, must remain a topic for future discussion.

Not until the early 11th.century would settlement appear to have returned to the plain in any degree of strength: the church of Sta.Maria at the centre of the Roman city is first recorded in 1008⁹³. The classical name survived in the form Alaro, although the eloquent phrase Civitas fracta was far more often used, and there is no reason not to take it at face value as 'destroyed city', even though various authors have attempted to interpret it as 'divided city', that is between two lords⁹⁴. Another suggestion, that the abandonment of the city did not take place until after the attack of Almansur for the civitas fracta is not recorded until 1008,

also seems highly improbable in the light of the other evidence, although this raid may have discouraged what settlement had returned to the plain. Only in the 12th. century did the name of the modern town appear⁹⁵, probably derived from the root Mata, a village (and later castle) in the coastal mountains, double settlements of the same or related name being a characteristic of this part of the coast, with one in the upland area, while the other stood nearer the coast⁹⁶. Even then, the economic life of Mataró was weak, for not even a market is recorded, and it was only in the later medieval period that urban life was restored.

2. Baetulo-Badalona (fig.54).

Although, in contrast to that of Mataró, the Roman name of this town survived the course of time, its urban life in the early medieval period was no more convincing than that of its neighbour in the Maresme. Originally somewhat larger, only a few points in the Roman urban area have produced late Roman material, on the one hand a mill and burials in the eastern corner⁹⁷ and, as in Mataró, some burials around the church⁹⁸.

The latter was to be the focus of medieval settlement, and the community clustered around it was usually described as a vicus in the late 10th. century⁹⁹, and

it is even referred to as having a territorium rather than a terminio¹⁰⁰, although this was probably no more than style on the behalf of the scribes who recognized the long history of the settlement. Within its ambit there were other vilares, as at Vic, particularly one called Morgads¹⁰¹. Unlike Vic, however, there was no market, and no sign of these dispersed settlements uniting.

The foundation date of the church is unknown: in existence by the late 10th. century, it was located in the centre of what would have been the forum and reused several inscriptions in its structure¹⁰²: this position may suggest a date in late Antiquity when the remnants of the forum were still recognizable: later this location would have been meaningless if not impossible. The position of the medieval village is clear from the street plan of today, for it lay directly to the south of the church. Little excavation has taken place in this part of the town, but there is presumably a possibility of some continuity on the site because of the church's position, although, of course, this could not have been continuity of the urban tradition. Throughout the medieval period it was a comparatively minor settlement, growth only recommencing towards the end of the last century¹⁰³.

3. Blanda-Blanes.

The northern limit of the Maresme coast seems to have suffered similarly: the site of Blanda is poorly known, although a certain amount of Roman material is recorded¹⁰⁴. In the 9th. and 10th. centuries, however, the whole of the coast-line from the mouth of the Tordera to the mouth of the Ter was scarcely populated, resettlement taking place under the direction of the monastery of Ripoll at several points, including Tossa, immediately to the north, towards the end of the period¹⁰⁵. Nevertheless, it was not until the Cabrera family, Viscounts of Girona, established themselves in the castle of Blanes in the later 11th. century that any stimulus for growth would have been provided, and the regular plan of the planted town around the castle and parish church must belong to an even later period¹⁰⁶.

4. Caldes de Montbui (fig.123).

Aguae Calidae was clearly a thriving small spa-town in the earlier Imperial period¹⁰⁷; subsequent developments are very uncertain, and its life between the third and the tenth centuries is completely unknown. However the area is recorded as being settled from an early date after the 9th. and early 10th. century Moslem raids which largely erased the previous settlement patterns of the

plain of the Vallès¹⁰⁸, and at a somewhat later date it is clear that Caldes was the centre of an area which included substantial comital estates¹⁰⁹. A market was in existence by 1141, and this was probably its main function in the medieval period, as a market centre for the intensively cultivated north-western parts of the 'comarca'¹¹⁰.

5. Caldes de Malavella.

The information for Aquis Voconis is almost a repetition of that just related, for once again our knowledge of the late Roman and Visigothic periods is limited to a scatter of finds that can do no more than point to human habitation on the site¹¹¹. In the medieval period, it emerges from obscurity in 914, and was also subject to extensive comital rights, suggesting a common link between these spa-towns in the inheritance of the late Roman fisc¹¹². Its subsequent growth was slow, and as a rural centre it probably never achieved the rank of Caldes de Montbui, owing much of its importance, as in the Roman period, to its position on the main north-south communication route.

6. Sigarra.

Moving to the west, the municipium of Sigarra is virtually a lost site, and were it not for the group of inscriptions from Prats del Rei, there

would be grave doubts about its location¹¹³. In the medieval period, the Reconquest of this zone began in the middle of the 10th. century, and a tower known as la Menresana was erected nearby: a document of 945 cites a villa antiqua and the memory of the town was also preserved as the district name of campo Segarrensis, which has become the name of the modern 'comarca'¹¹⁴. Clearly the town itself had long been abandoned and found no direct heir. Although there may have been a church associated with the tower, another also stood on a lower site, which became the centre of the modern Prats del Rei¹¹⁵. However, the growth of this settlement did not begin before the later 11th. century, when this part of the frontier was secure. Even then it did not become the principal centre of the 'comarca', which shifted southwards to the Barcelona-Lleida axis at Igualada.

7. Tesso-Guissona (fig.124).

The story of occupation at this site is very similar to the previous example: presumably abandoned in no-man's-land in the 8th. century, the Roman site fell into decay¹¹⁶. It was not re-occupied until c.1025, and resettlement only slowly gathered momentum, the collegiate church being consecrated in 1099.¹¹⁷ Even though it might be referred to as a civitas¹¹⁸, this was once again the

classicising of scribes, and the small medieval town would never have reached a population of five hundred. As in the case of Sigarra, its rôle was assumed by a point further south, in this case Cervera.

8. Aeso-Isona.

This planted Roman town was probably of little significance even in the late Roman period,¹¹⁹ and although a document of 973 which mentions the civitate Isauna quae est destructa a Sarracenis is probably spurious, there can be little doubt that any glimmer of urban life would have been extinguished by that date, although the memory of its existence was not lost. In the medieval period its life was meagre, not rising above village level, and such urban life as later emerged in the region was at places along the Noguera Pallaresa, at Tremp, Sort and Pobla de Segur, a medieval planted town: this, however, was a growth which took place outside our period¹²⁰.

9. Iulia Lybica-Llívia (fig.58).

Iulia Lybica was probably the only one of the municipia of inland Catalonia that had some degree of survival as an administrative centre, even if not

of an urban nature. The natural centre of the Cerretani¹²¹, it was inherited by the Counts of Cerdanya as the military strongpoint it had been in the Visigothic period¹²². In the 9th. and 10th. centuries there was likely to have been a small settlement around the comital castle, comparable to the situation at Ampurias¹²³. But in the first half of the 11th. century the counts transferred their predilections to a more accessible site nearby, that of Hix, some five kilometres away¹²⁴. This was on an important trading route, near a toll-point, and a market was established to stimulate this current coming from Vic and the south towards Languedoc¹²⁵. Llívia lost its pre-eminence, and in future was a comparatively minor settlement, although the memory of its past may have contributed to its being excepted from the transferral of the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1660), and its current status as an enclave in French territory¹²⁶.

There is little information on the level of success of the trading point at Hix, for in the second half of the 12th. century, the region by now incorporated into the Crown of Aragón, the settlement was transferred by Alfons I to a new planned site at Puigcerdà (fig.125), two kilometres to the west, on the other bank of the Segre, where it certainly flourished, swiftly becoming the most important town of the region¹²⁷.

10. Egara-Terrassa (fig. 55),

Returning towards Barcelona, the last of the municipia within the region under discussion was Egara. Although the episcopal see created c.450 had presumably meant some survival of the Roman town, the diocese disappeared with the Arab conquest, and must have returned to that of Barcelona¹²⁸. The memory of its status lived on, and references are frequent throughout the 10th. to 12th. centuries to its past existence¹²⁹. Moreover the combination of three churches was decidedly episcopal in nature¹³⁰, and there was even possibly a move to restore the see in the later 9th. century on behalf of 'Gothic' priests reacting against a Frankish bishop of Barcelona¹³¹.

Be that as it may, the site of Antiquity around the churches had lost all traces of settlement, for from the earliest years of the Reconquest, a fortification is recorded at Terrassa, across the ravine from the classical site¹³². The reasons behind such a change in location are obscure, for Egara with its promontory position was a far stronger location than the tower built in the 9th. century, around which a degree of settlement nucleated. The church of St. Pere in Egara remained the parish church, in spite of a comital residence within the small walled area: although it formed a centre for a densely populated rural area, there is little

evidence to describe Terrassa as urban before the later 12th.century¹³³.

11. Tarragona (figs.48 and 126).

Leaving aside the two Roman cities of Catalonia which were under Arab domination until the mid-12th. century - Lleida and Tortosa - there remains only one town which had a proven Roman background. This was the capital of the province, Tarraco. Although a shadow of its former self, it still must have been an imposing city at the time of the Arab conquest¹³⁴. Like all the cities of Catalonia, we know little of its life in the 8th. and 9th.centuries, but it is noticeable that it was always with the Arab governor of Barcelona that the Carolingian forces dealt; never do we find one of Tarragona¹³⁵. Even though the destruction of the city by the Arab invader is a debatable point, it would seem that the political initiative had definitely slipped from the hands of Tarragona.

Nevertheless, it was a constant goal of the Reconquerors: an attempt may have been made to resettle the area under Louis the Pious¹³⁶; it is possible that under Count Sunyer of Barcelona there was a brief period of reconquest (936-950)¹³⁷: henceforth the civil power appeared to lose concern, and it was the church that stimulated any movement towards the south. Abbot Cesari of Sta.Cecília de Montserrat

tried to revive the metropolitan see of Tarragona in the second half of the 10th. century¹³⁸: in the first half of the following century the Reconquest advanced as far south as the River Gaià, only ten kilometres to the north, and then stood still for a century¹³⁹: under Berenguer Seniofred, Bishop of Vic, there was another attempt at restoring the see towards the end of the century¹⁴⁰, but it was not until c.1128-9 that the political reconquest was achieved, under the auspices of Bishop Oleguer of Barcelona and Robert Bordet, a Norman knight¹⁴¹.

Even so resettlement did not follow immediately as the result of disputes, which were to continue for several decades, between the secular and ecclesiastical powers¹⁴². What the new residents found was the shell of the upper part of the Roman colonia: this was described by Arab writers of the 11th. century¹⁴³, and also by Orderic Vitalis in his praise of Robert Bordet¹⁴⁴. Virtually no material of the centuries between the 8th. and the 12th. is known from the city: a few sherds of Arabic pottery from the early Christian cemetery on the banks of the Francolí¹⁴⁵, and a decorated window of Caliphal style and dated by an inscription to 960¹⁴⁶, are

all. The latter, built into the Cathedral cloister walls, has little meaning in isolation, and it is quite possible that it was brought back as booty from a later campaign against Al-Andalus. The overall impression must be that the city was all but deserted for a period of three or four centuries.

Whereas the sources for the political and juridical circumstances of the years after the Reconquest of Tarragona are plentiful, the simple property transactions relating to the city, so numerous for Barcelona, are comparatively scarce¹⁴⁷. As in the immediately surrounding countryside, the work of repopulation began soon after 1150. The work of construction was slow, properties at the back of the walls still being open land eight years later¹⁴⁸. The ruins of the past were all around: a document of 1174 refers to both illam voltam que dicitur antiquitus ecclesia Beati Petri and balnea antiqua¹⁴⁹, although it is unlikely that 12th-century colonists were excellent field-archaeologists, the former reference, if true, might imply that the city had never lost all its inhabitants, and that an oral tradition was maintained. Virtually all the houses of the first phase of rebuilding were built against the defences, assuming that this is the sense of muro in the sources¹⁵⁰. Nevertheless, there were plenty of other walls of considerable solidity still standing which were re-used, and are still in use today as part of the structure of houses in the historic core of Tarragona¹⁵¹.

Settlement was limited to the upper part of the old Roman city, to the north of the circus, which was later incorporated as part of the medieval defences: it thus enclosed some 15 hectares originally,

five more being added when the 'Corral' suburb built within the circus vaults was incorporated at a later date¹⁵². What is striking about the topography is the clarity of some of these relict features of Antiquity. Whereas the sector at the back of the defences was urbanized indiscriminately by the first settlers, later development in the centre, below the Cathedral, was laid out with the forum enclosures as guide-lines, and the Carrer Major cutting across the middle as the principal axis, leading up to the Cathedral entrance¹⁵³. The Jewish community, recorded in the early 13th. century, was in the south-west corner of the city, adjoining the Royal castle in the 'Torre de Pilatos'¹⁵⁴.

Thus although Tarragona had long lost its urban function, it was rapidly recovered. Opportunities were great, and inhabitants were engaging in commercial maritime ventures by the 1180's¹⁵⁵. Even so, economic and political primacy had long passed to Barcelona, in a process that had lasted nearly a thousand years, and was never to be recuperated.

Conclusion

Although Spain is generally classified, along with the rest of southern Europe, as a country where there was general continuity between the towns of Antiquity and those of the Middle Ages, this view

must be modified on a local basis. Only in two cases can direct continuity, with unbroken life - Barcelona and Girona - be proposed, and even in these the population was so small and the urban function so restricted in the 8th. and 9th. centuries, that even their urban status is debatable. On the other side of the frontier with Islam, the urban tradition was maintained with greater strength, but even there, as in the case of Lleida, urban life might be interrupted.

Of the remaining coloniae and municipia, a large number had entered a phase of decline in the late Roman period, from which it was difficult for them to emerge. Invasions, whether of the 3rd. century or the 5th., played only a small part in this transition, which was really the result of a wide range of social and economic conditions affecting not only this area, but particularly noticeable there because of the small size of the urban communities. Similarly the rôle of the Arab invasions, particularly the first wave of the early 8th. century, has probably been overstated, except perhaps in the case of Tarragona. But the long period of struggle that ensued meant the total abandonment of other centres with only a small population, particularly those in no-man's-land, and a shift away from the frontier and the coast towards upland areas, to establish the distinctive settlement pattern of all Christian Spain

in the period between c.700 and 950.

The society of that period was not at all urban and had little use for towns, but a few cities of Roman background continued to function with certain specific functions, which enables us to classify them as pre-urban nuclei, even though in some cases they were never to regain urban status, for the function was transferred to another, more suitable centre. The two principal functions might be classified as administrative centres, the homes of Counts and Viscounts, such as Ampurias, Llívia or Terrassa, or religious centres, such as Vic, and to a lesser extent Roses. Alongside these one might also find the market or mint function which would more definitely light the way to regaining urban life.

The majority of towns of Roman background, however, had to wait for the greater market revival of the 11th. and 12th. centuries before the villages built in their ruins would expand again: among these we might place Caldes de Montbui and Caldes de Malavella. Others, such as Blanes and Mataró, had to wait even longer, and some local centres were transferred to new sites, more favoured by the routes of the period (Guissona, Sigarra and Isona).

Yet, as in the rest of Christian Spain of the early Middle Ages, pre-urban nuclei need not emerge at points which had been leading Roman towns: the

examples of Oviedo and Santiago de Co_mpostela are graphic illustrations of this point¹⁵⁶. Although towns played little part in the resettlement of the 9th. and 10th. centuries in Catalonia at least, a considerable number of pre-urban nuclei emerged during this period which had no obvious connection with the classical past. It is these that must now be considered.

III Early Comital and Administrative Centres

At the time of the Carolingian Reconquest the Spanish March was a landscape with a long past of human history upon which new political units were imposed. The Carolingian counties were influenced by a variety of factors, particularly the geography of Old Catalonia (fig.127) and the inherited divisions of the Roman and Visigothic periods. In much of the area, however, the degree of Romanization had been low, and consequently any existing divisions might have corresponded equally to the pre-Roman background, to the point that the extent of the counties was often broadly similar to that of the pre-Roman tribal units, as transmitted, at least partially, via the dioceses of the Visigothic period¹⁵⁷. However, sub-divisions of the major groups were probably in existence in Antiquity, and re-appeared in the 9th. and 10th. centuries as pagi, which on occasions could emerge as separate counties, with their corresponding centres.

It is these centres, plus those of the counties proper, without a Roman background, and those of the most important vicecomital lines, which must now be considered as potential pre-urban nuclei¹⁵⁸.

1. Besalú (fig.128),

The longest-lasting of the pagi was that of the County of Besalú, the early history of which has recently been studied by Dr.Salrach¹⁵⁹. Although Roman origins have been claimed for its centre, and indeed a Roman site is known in its vicinity¹⁶⁰, the name is not found in classical sources. In the late 9th. and 10th.centuries, Besalú is invariably described as a castrum¹⁶¹, and it is probably the settlement which sprang up around this hill-top nucleus that is called a burgus towards the end of the 10th.century¹⁶². Additional stimuli to its growth were the several churches that appeared in the same period, under the inspiration of Miró II, Count of Besalú and Bishop of Girona. Moreover it was located on an important east-west route passing along the Fluvià valley from the coast to the cultural centre of pre-Catalonia at Ripoll¹⁶³.

In spite of these various factors encouraging the growth of the settlement, it is difficult to decide whether it warranted being described as a town in the early 11th.century: certainly contemporary

scribes continued to describe it as a castrum for decades to come. By the middle of the century the counts were minting coins¹⁶⁴, and their palace had been rebuilt¹⁶⁵. It is probably from this date onwards, rather than before, that the community can be considered as urban. It was increasingly described as a villa¹⁶⁶, and by the end of the 12th. century it had grown sufficiently to attract a community of Jews¹⁶⁷, and it is to this period that one should attribute the surviving monumental features, such as the bridge¹⁶⁸. By the end of the period it probably covered some five or six hectares, with a population perhaps of seven or eight hundred.

2. Berga (Fig. 129)

Although originally part of the County of Cerdanya, it appears as a separate county at various dates in the 10th. century¹⁶⁹. It had a solid reason for its existence in the tribal division of the Bergistani¹⁷⁰, yet its early development remains very obscure. References in the later 10th. century to solidos bergistanos imply the existence of a mint alongside the comital residence, although no examples of these issues are known¹⁷¹. The market, however, is not recorded until a century later (1098)¹⁷², and some form of development beyond an original reduced core is implied in 1133: apendicio de Berga in locum que vocant ad ipso barrii¹⁷³. The topography of

the town indicates two distinct units, that to the south probably being the earlier, although the process of growth cannot be defined without far more research: one can only state that urban life began to appear towards the end of the 11th. century.

3. Manresa (Fig. 130).

Roman origins for this town have been repeatedly claimed, but remain unproven¹⁷⁴: however, it appears as Menrese civitate in 890 soon after the restoration of the County of Ausona, of which it usually formed part¹⁷⁵. Although a separate County of Manresa is occasionally mentioned, it was never separated in any plausible fashion from the fate of Ausona, and consequently of the County of Barcelona.

The repopulation of this frontier district did not commence until the 940's and 950's, stimulated in particular by the presence of the monastery of St. Benet de Bages to the east¹⁷⁶. By the end of the century barrios had appeared around the original nucleus of church and castle¹⁷⁷: as in the case of Barcelona, a set-back came in 1002 with an Arab 'razzia' which left the area briefly deserted¹⁷⁸: however, the church was reconsecrated in 1020¹⁷⁹, a market in existence by 1038¹⁸⁰, and defences built by the end of the century¹⁸¹. These linked the two hills on which the town was built, and are apparent in the

present-day topography as the eastern part of the town, with its irregular plan: they enclosed a total of some six hectares¹⁸². Subsequent growth was probably along the main roads, and in the form of planned suburbs, visible to the west, although no date can as yet be proposed for them.

The barrio Saragoçano recorded in 1021 gives a hint to the significance of the site, for it was something of a junction of communication routes, running along the valleys of the Cardener and Llobregat to Cardona and Berga respectively, towards the north-west, the route to Vic, and along the roads heading westwards to Cervera, Lleida and Zaragoza. Yet the town would also have had by the 12th. century the beginnings of its own artisan life: tanning mills are mentioned nearby, and one might presume that the foundations of its later industry had already been laid¹⁸³.

4. Cardona

Mentioned ~~from~~ the earliest days of the Reconquest as a frontier fortification, it was resettled from c.880: although it later became a centre of the the Viscounts of Ausona, who became known as the Viscounts of Cardona from c.1000, its principal importance lay not in its administrative or defensive rôle, but in the nearby salt-mines, which as in the

case of the salt-pans of Gerri led to the appearance of one of the earliest markets in Catalonia there¹⁸⁴. Its early growth, like that of Manresa, was also stimulated by the extraordinary breadth of its franchises, and these were renewed in 986¹⁸⁵. It is therefore no surprise that it was by that date a key-point on trading routes heading in all directions, and in the early 11th.century a merchant of the town is recorded dealing with Balaguer in Arab hands to the west, as well as southern France (fig.131)¹⁸⁶. This wealth found its reflection in the Romanesque collegiate church of St.Vicenç, erected on the hill-top site of the town, and consecrated in 1040. Topographically, one must suppose that the greater part of settlement was on this hill or its slopes, for the development at its base seems to be entirely of later date. In spite of this comparatively small area available for settlement, urban life came early to this centre, and there can be no hesitation in describing it as a town from the later 10th.century onwards¹⁸⁷.

5. The County of Urgell

To the west of the main block of the Counties of Barcelona-Girona-Ausona-Cerdanya lay that of Urgell (fig.127): originally usually associated with that of Cerdanya, its history, and particularly the course of the Reconquest in its March, was often

quite separate after the death of Wifred the Hair~~y~~. Geographically it followed the basin of the Segre, and whereas the eyes of the Barcelona front looked towards Tarragona and Tortosa, those of Urgell sought Lleida¹⁸⁸. The background of the lower part of the Segre valley in the Visigothic period was quite distinct to that of the poorly Romanized parts of central Catalonia, for it was the home of a flourishing late Classical culture. Yet the early medieval county was far from this world, with its heartl~~y~~ and in a mountainous area in which urban life had little part to play.

The religious centre of Urgell was probably originally located at the significantly named hill-top site of Castellciutat¹⁸⁹. By 839, however, the bishop had moved down to the plain, to a site next to the Segre which was to be the core of the modern Seu d'Urgell, thus constituting a particularly early example of such a shift of settlement¹⁹⁰. For at least two centuries, however, it remained no more than an episcopal centre, a pre-urban nucleus clustered around the cathedral and the additional churches, in spite of the presence of a market from an early date¹⁹¹. It was probably towards the end of the 11th. century that the still recognizable elongated plan of the medieval town was laid out (fig. 132)¹⁹², and the area that was walled c. 1200 enclosed some seven and a half hectares and perhaps a population of approaching a thousand souls¹⁹³.

Within the county lay another important ecclesiastical centre at Solsona¹⁹⁴. It seems probable that it possessed Roman precedents, although its name is uncertain¹⁹⁵, and the existing defences have been claimed to be of Roman origin¹⁹⁶. Nevertheless, although recorded in Christian sources from c.928¹⁹⁷, any early settlement was largely determined by the castle on the hill overlooking the town, and it was probably only with the foundation of a community of canons in the church of Sta.Maria, the present cathedral, that any stimulus to urban growth was provided, and from the 11th. century the urbe Coelsone is recorded with increasing frequency¹⁹⁸. The de facto community that was attracted was recognized de iure by a 'carta de poblaci6n' in 1195, but the number of inhabitants probably did not exceed 500 even at this date (fig.133)¹⁹⁹.

As the Reconquest of Urgell advanced, a number of other places with urban precedents were absorbed: one of these, Guissona, has already been considered. Alongside this must be placed Ager, Agramunt and Balaguer, which had been settled by the Arab powers based on Lleida from the late 9th.century onwards, in a movement comparable to the resettlement work of the Christian counts²⁰⁰.

Ager has clear Roman precedents in the form of its late Roman defences²⁰¹, and at the time of the Reconquest c.1048, it already had a number of inhabi-

tants in the villa de iamdicto kastro, under the protection of the Viscounts of Urgell, who used the castle as their centre. This population probably increased in the following half century²⁰². Nevertheless, it was very much a castle town, and subsequent growth was not extensive, not extending beyond the reduced area of the defences.

Agramunt had no clear Roman forerunner, although a substantial late villa is known nearby²⁰³. The fortification recorded in the 12th. century and the object of the forces of the Reconquest was presumably of Arab origin, and the Counts of Urgell particularly preferred it as their centre prior to their installation in Balaguer²⁰⁴. Reconquered c.1070, its economic growth was rapid, aided by the minting of the comital coinage there and the market recorded by 1128: this wealth found its reflection in the ornate portal of the Romanesque church, and the expansion of the original settlement, for a villanova outside the original three hectare nucleus is found by the mid-12th. century (fig.134)²⁰⁵.

More important than these two was Balaguer. Although there may have been Roman occupation on the site, most of its growth must be attributed to the Arab period, and in particular the construction of defences in the late 9th. century. It is probably to this date that the enclosure in the upper part

of the city belongs, and considerable finds of 10th. century Caliphal wares have been made. Whether the whole area was inhabited, or whether it was designed as a base from which to launch attacks on the Christian countries to the north and east remains unclear²⁰⁶. Certainly the definitive Christian conquest in 1105-6, and the installation of the Counts of Urgel in their palace at one end of the enclosure probably did not encourage a return to past splendour: its resettlement was slow and not truly accomplished until after the fall of Lleida²⁰⁷. The medieval Christian town, as in other cases, moved away from the Arab fortress, concentrating on the area beneath the palace towards the River Segre, as is evident from the modern topography (fig. 135) and early topographical drawings²⁰⁸. Its urban life was, however, maintained, particularly because of its strategic position as a crossing-point of the river, and one might place it among the group of towns with a population approaching a thousand towards the end of the 12th. century.

6. The Counties of Pallars and Ribagorça.

Urban life in these two Pyrenean counties was understandably weak: in Pallars one can point to attempts at establishing a villanova around the palace in the mid-12th. century²⁰⁹, and the gradual emergence of towns such as Tremp and Sort during the second half of the same century²¹⁰. In the case

of the market found from an early date alongside the monastery at Gerxi because of the salt-pans there, this never became more than a pre-urban nucleus:²¹¹ the same must be said of the episcopal centre of Roda in Ribagorça to the west, which lost much of its significance with the transferral of the bishopric to Lleida on its Reconquest²¹².

IV. The Frontier Towns of the March of Barcelona.

Alongside these centres which emerged for various reasons, whether because of their Roman or Arab background, their choice by counts and viscounts, or the presence of a market, a bishop or a college of canons, one must place many other towns which gradually emerged in the 11th. and 12th. centuries as the frontier moved forward. The pattern in the March of Barcelona was slightly different from that of Urgell: the Arabs of Tortosa had been less assiduous in planting settlers in these frontier districts, and consequently new bases were necessary with every step southwards. In contrast to the Urgell frontier, that of Barcelona moved forward in leaps and bounds following norms of convenience, and not as a war of attrition. Nevertheless, towns were a secondary feature of this Reconquest: the real brunt of the work was carried by the castles. Only after a 'comarca' had been secured could the work of resettlement begin in earnest, together with the foundation of towns.

In the earlier 10th. century, the frontier left the Segre valley in the region of Oliana, with, as has been noted, Solsona, Cardona and Manresa as towns or pre-urban nuclei not far behind the frontier. During the same period, some advance was made beyond the Llobregat valley into the Penedès, where a settlement was revived at Olérdola c.929²¹³. Here, however, the background was not Roman, but Iberian, for the site, with its massive wall cutting off the promontory, had been abandoned in the Roman period, but the unsettled conditions of the 10th. century meant that its site was ideal. Even though it suffered in the attack of 985 and it was necessary to reconsecrate the church in 991²¹⁴, it continued to be occupied, being used by the rebellious noble Mir Geribert as his centre. The name of civitas applied to the site in the later 10th. and 11th. centuries did not only correspond to Mir's self-styling as princeps, for it would appear from property transactions that the occupation inside was dense, arranged by streets, and had decidedly urban characteristics (fig.137)²¹⁵.

Nevertheless, after the Almoravid attack of 1108 its inhabitants were reluctant to return to this isolated hill-top position, in spite of comital encouragement²¹⁶. Instead they moved to the plain, and settled around one of the many defensive towers known in the region, called the turre Dela, near the main road through the Penedès. From the middle

of the century the count stepped in to organize and control this growth, just as he was doing in the areas around Tarragona, Tortosa and Lleida, and the elements of planning still visible in the town, which now became known as Vilafranca del Penedès, perhaps date from this period. The same is probably true of the substantial residence of the Count-Kings still standing in its entirety (fig.138)²¹⁷.

The case of Olérdola-Vilafranca was clearly somewhat exceptional, but the basic tendency was for urban life to be a feature of the 11th. and 12th. centuries, rather than before. Thus although the western part of the frontier moved to the Calaf-Ponts line by the end of the 10th. century, and twenty-five kilometres further by the middle of the 11th. century, it was not until the end of that century that the small towns of the frontier regions can be seen emerging. Although this area included the old Roman sites of Guissona and Sigarra, these were probably not the most important points in the economy of these 'com-arques', their functions being taken over by Cervera and Igualada respectively, both on the main Barcelona to Lleida road. This transition, however, was gradual for Igualada was still a rural villa in the early 12th. century²¹⁸, and only with the gradual acquisition of rights by the monastery of Sant Cugat did the settlement prosper, a mercatus anticus being cited towards the end of the century²¹⁹: neverthe-

less, it was not until the following century or later that the existing plan and defences were formed (fig.139). Cervera is first mentioned in 1026, although there may have been an Arab castle on the site, when the area was given to a group of pioneers to cultivate: most of the information concerning the 11th.century deals with the castle, and it was only in the early 12th.century that the villa appeared alongside. However, its growth was considerably more rapid than that of most other small towns, and by the end of the century it had a market, hospital and villa nova, and the first members of the Jewish community arrived soon afterwards. What is more, it was one of the first Catalan towns to organize its municipal life, 'consuls' being attested in 1182²²⁰. By 1200, the town, stretching along the promontory site from the castle at its tip(fig.140), probably contained a population of around 1,000.

The story of many other small towns which today proliferate in these 'comarcas' must have been very similar to those of Iguañada or Cervera: places such as Calaf, Sta.Coloma de Queralt and Tàrraga all have their origins in the same period. The same can be said of points further south, established at a slightly later date - such as Esplugu de Francolí²²¹, to name only the best known case. It is indeed difficult to decide which of these settlements were prosperous or sizeable by the end of the 12th.century:

later figures would suggest populations ranging from under two hundred to a maximum of around a thousand for such places, but undoubtedly our opinion of their relative significance is coloured by their later development or lack of it, whereas such differences were not always visible, nor the same.

V. Markets and monasteries.

Parallel to this series of small towns appearing in frontier areas in the course of the later 11th. and 12th. centuries, one can point to a similar phenomenon occurring in the zones of Old Catalonia behind the frontier. Similarly, the reasons for their growth were numerous, stretching from new foundations by lords (e.g. Villefranche-de-Conflent)²²², monastic towns (Ripoll, Sant Joan de les Abadeses)²²³, port towns (Sant Feliu de Guíxols)²²⁴, castle towns, (Hostalric; Tossa), to rural market centres (Sant Celoni, Sant Pau de Segúries) and important points on communication routes (Moià). More often than not, a community which appears to have displayed some degree of growth and vitality in the 12th. century usually combined at least two of these factors. In general they were small, but this was compensated for by their abundance. We can only consider here a few examples, in particular those in the neighbourhood of Barcelona.

1. Sabadell (Fig.141).

The history of the Roman small town or posting station of Arrahona, situated on the main road passing through the Vallès, in the period between the 5th. and 10th.centuries, is unknown. The place-name survived as that of a castle²²⁵, near which ruins were noted in 974: infra termine de Arraone in locum que vocant ruinus²²⁶. A Romanesque church was erected near the site of the Roman settlement, around which burials took place until the 14th.century²²⁷.

In the course of the 11th.century, however, the small settlement that must have been in this area shifted towards the church of St.Salvador on the other side of the valley, and by 1111 the Forum Sabatelli at the core of the modern town was in existence, and continued to grow gradually²²⁸.

2. Granollers (Fig.142),

This town, in the northern part of the Vallès, also probably had a Roman forerunner of similar status, for finds of Roman material have been frequent:²²⁹ in this case, however, the Roman name - presumably Semproniana - did not survive. Yet it was presumably the Roman road or its successor that was mentioned in 993 as leading to Granularios²³⁰, and this route and the crossroads with that coming

from Vic and the Pyrenees led to the establishment of a market by 1041²³¹, and this ensured its future development. The topography of the town, with its central market-place and almost square defended area (fig. 142), is unlikely to have been of this period, although no date can be proposed in the current state of knowledge: its small size, however, serves to remind one that even in the later medieval period such a settlement may have had a comparatively small population in comparison with urban market centres in other parts of Europe.

3. Martorell (fig. 143).

Continuing along the same route towards the southwest, another small town grew up around the bridge crossing the Llobregat at Martorell: its topography is marked by development along and parallel to the road leading to the crossing point. Again with probable Roman origins in the Ad Fines of antiquity, its medieval function was enhanced by the market which had appeared by 1032²³², and its position at the junction of routes towards Manresa and Lleida on the one hand, and towards Vilafranca and Tarragona on the other. Once again its small size in the medieval period is immediately apparent.

In the rest of the Barcelona area, the area from which it drew the greater part of its immigrants, a

semi-circle of a radius of some forty kilometres, there was little else in the way of urban life, apart from these three small centres, that of Terrassa and perhaps some exiguous urban life at Mataró. Not even the monastery of Sant Cugat, probably the wealthiest of the Catalan Benedictine houses, was able to sponsor much of a settlement in its shadow. The other settlements of the Barcelonès, the Baix Llobregat, the Vallès and the Maresme were no more than villages. The situation seems to be the reverse of that of Antiquity, for in the Roman period, when Barcelona had been a comparatively minor settlement, a number of municipia had been able to flourish within this radius. In the Middle Ages, however, the nearest sizeable towns were those at Manresa, Vilafranca, Vic, and to the north, probably not until Girona. The balance had obviously changed by having a substantial urban centre which could absorb the spheres of influence of its neighbours.

VI The Later 12th.Century and the towns of New Catalonia.

In the mid-12th.century, the other two major cities of Catalonia with a Roman background were brought back into direct contact with the rest of the region on their Reconquest. Tortosa²³³ and Lleida²³⁴ were in many ways the representatives of a different world, having had urban life as strong as that of

Barcelona or Girona, and it had been through them that the inhabitants of pre-Catalonia had had their contacts with the town-based culture of al-Andalus.

The details of their urban topography ~~are~~ beyond the scope of this work, although their plans illustrate that there had been an amalgam of the Roman background with the confused plan of Arab cities²³⁵. Both were centred around a citadel or 'Suda', although Lleida (fig. 59) was probably slightly larger than Tortosa (fig. 49). On their Reconquest, they thus assumed the second and third places in terms of town sizes in medieval Catalonia, which they maintained until the end of the Middle Ages, if we exclude the rapidly growing Perpinyà²³⁶. At the same time came a need for repopulation of both these cities and their rich agricultural surroundings. Hitherto most of the work of resettlement in Catalonia had been met by the resources of the native population, for many parts of the upland regions had reached saturation point in terms of the number of inhabitants the soil could support. Henceforth, foreigners came to play a more prominent rôle²³⁷. Methods were necessary to attract new inhabitants, and these mainly consisted of the 'cartas de poblaci6n y franquicias' which were issued in far greater numbers in subsequent years (fig. 144)²³⁸.

Most of the settlements thus established grew up around some pre-existing nucleus, in some cases an older settlement, or perhaps just a watch-tower, or a road junction. Others were genuine new-towns, founded in a void by a lord - a count, noble, bishop, monastery or commander of one of the military orders - and a few of these stand out because of their regular plan. To my knowledge, no full study has been made of this phenomenon in the Iberian Peninsula, which seems to make its appearance under French influence in the second half of the 11th. century²³⁹. In Catalonia the first clear examples are the villanova 'del Mar' of Barcelona (c.1080) and Villefranche-de-Conflent (c.1090)²⁴⁰. Renewed enthusiasm comes for this type of plan towards the middle of the 12th. century, after the foundation at Montauban (1144)²⁴¹. This was transmitted across the Pyrenees to appear in this wave of foundations of the second half of the 12th. century: Vilafranca del Penedès (fig.138), Riudoms (fig.145) (both of 1151), Valls (fig.146; in the 1150's ?), Montblanc (fig.147; from 1163) and Puigcerdà (1178, fig.125). These may be considered the forerunners of further such establishments in the 13th. century, both in newly conquered territory, such as the towns of Castelló de la Plana²⁴² and in long-held territory (St.Joan de les Abadeses, Blanes and Sant Feliu de Guíxols)²⁴³.

Nevertheless, most of the points of resettlement of the second half of the 12th. century were only small, with a population not exceeding a few hundred, and often no more than a few dozen. Indeed, as has been emphasized throughout this chapter, one of the characteristics of towns in Catalonia in the Middle Ages was their small size. The situation can be directly compared to that of the Roman period²⁴⁴: if in the Roman period one town in the region had been outstanding (Tarragona), the same was true of the Middle Ages (Barcelona). Similarly, there were a number of middle-rank towns in the Roman period, with between 10 and 20 hectares (Ampurias, Barcelona, Tortosa, Lleida, Badalona) and comparably five ^{medieval} towns which would have had a population of around 2,000 in 1200 (Lleida, Tortosa, Girona, Tarragona and Vic). Finally, in Antiquity there had been a number of towns of municipal status, but covering under ten hectares, while in the medieval period a group with perhaps 800 to 1,000 inhabitants (Manresa, Cervera, Puigcerdà, Seu d'Urgell, Balaguer, and perhaps places like Espluga, Berga and Castelló de Ampurias) was followed by a larger number with between 400 and 600²⁴⁵.

Below this, confusion reigns, for it is difficult to find an adequate definition of a town for this period: the word villa fails to distinguish, in my opinion, between towns and villages, and the rôle of

many places with a 'carta de poblaci3n' was no more than that of a purely agricultural village. The best guideline is probably the presence or absence of a market, for it is noticeable that, leaving aside administrative functions and the influence of an inherited past, the real function of most of the more populated places mentioned was as a market centre for their area, and if a map of the modern 'comarcas' of Old Catalonia is considered, it is generally found that they had one of the more important centres towards the middle of their districts, or several of the lesser places towards the fringes²⁴⁶.

VII Tarragona and Barcelona: the migration of a capital,

How had this pattern evolved ? Only in two cases in Old Catalonia can unbroken urban life be proposed, one of a second rank town, which rose to the first place, and the other of a third division small town. Towards the beginning of this chapter, the relationship of these two towns, Barcelona and Girona, was discussed: similarly it is necessary to approach that of Barcelona and Tarragona. The question of why the Roman capital of Tarraconensis failed to survive as such, and why its position was taken over by Barcelona, is a theme that has long attracted historians. For Jorba and Pujades in the 16th. century it was simply because after the third or fifth century Germanic invasions and destruction of Tarragona, most of its surviving population moved

to Barcelona and initiated its suburban development²⁴⁷. Undoubtedly, this was the period when the transition began, but it lasted for nine hundred years thereafter and no simple answer can be given.

Although much importance has been attached to the third century decline of Tarraco, this was probably no more serious than in other parts of the province, and the city demonstrated urban life into the 5th. century and beyond. Whether Barcelona acquired any additional significance at this date is uncertain, for although it was walled, other towns, including Tarraco, had still-standing defences of an earlier date: if it did gain in importance, it was not so much at the expense of Tarragóna, but of the other Roman towns in its immediate hinterland, which had entered a phase of decay. The first hint of anything on a larger scale comes with the possible establishment of a mint in c.406, and this was followed by the choice of Barcelona rather than Tarragóna as his residence by Athaulf. It is uncertain whether this corresponds to a transfer of part of the governmental rôle of Tarragóna in the late 3rd. century re-organization of the provinces, or was purely a question of convenience: it may have been that the more obvious Imperial associations of the capital made it more realistic for the Visigothic monarch to reside in Barcelona.

Although his sojourn was short, he established a precedent, for Barcelona became the main royal centre in Spain after the battle of Vouillé, and in the period 531 to 551 can be considered as capital. Its choice was dictated not only by its central position in relation to the kingdom in Spain and Gaul, but also because of its location in connection with the Ostrogothic Kingdom, so closely linked during those decades. A council was held in 540, and it seems likely that even after the move to the south (Seville and then Toledo), some aspects of government would have remained in the city. Why, however, it was chosen in preference to Tarragona is unknown: the latter city continued to be the main mint for the area, as well as the religious centre. This last point may hold some of the answer, for to avoid religious antagonism, the Visigoths may have preferred lesser centres to the Metropolitan see²⁴⁸. One proof of the presence of the Visigothic administration in Barcelona comes in the form of the De Fisco Barcinonensi, which demonstrates that the area making contributions to the financial officials based there included the dioceses of Ampurias, Girona, Tarragona as well as those of Egara and Barcelona itself. All the same, it should be remembered that the Barcelona mint was of comparatively minor significance in terms of production.

The effect of the Arab invasion on the two cities is little known, although Tarragona may have suffered

more, there being a tradition of destruction and emigration to Italy²⁴⁹. At a later date we find Arab governors based in Tortosa, Lleida and Barcelona, but not in Tarragona, suggesting that something drastic had happened to its status and urban life. Thus, come the Reconquest, the first aim was control of Barcelona, followed by Tortosa and the Ebro, via Tarragona. When in the 10th. and 11th. centuries it was proposed to take Tarragona, the source of motivation was usually ecclesiastical, rarely political. During the early years of the 8th. century, then, the situation had changed drastically.

It was at this point that the defences of Barcelona really gained in significance, rather than at the date of their construction. Although not impregnable, the city was located dangerously near the frontier in the 9th. century, and as Ermold the Black stressed, they were the city's protector and guardian. Only as castles were established beyond the Llobregat in the 10th. century could its inhabitants feel safer. With the concentration of the various counties in the hands of the Counts of Barcelona, and the economic lift-off of the 11th. century, which especially benefitted the city and its territorium, there was no doubt which was the foremost of the cities of the region, whereas at the same time Tarragona lay in ruins, virtually uninhabited. When it was finally

taken and settled, there was little possibility of the civil power moving its 'capital' there, even though the ecclesiastical one, far more respectful of tradition, and anxious to escape interference from Narbonne across the Pyrenees, did so.

Over this period, other more subtle changes can also be noted, which were not so directly related to the history of the two cities. Among these was the relative rôle of each one within its immediate region. Whereas Barcelona had been a comparatively minor colonia, and there were four municipia within a forty kilomètre radius, Tarragona, with a much larger walled area, was at least sixty kilometres from its nearest neighbour. In the 12th. century, the positions were reversed, for Barcelona had absorbed much of the spheres of influence of Egara, Aquae Calidae, Baetulo and Iluro, and the medieval towns in this region were rather insignificant, whereas in the case of Tarragona, other towns were planted within such a distance, several of which probably had populations of over five hundred by the year 1200 - Reus, Valls, Esplugu, Montblanc and Salou, plus a large number of smaller settlements²⁵⁰.

If the concept of 'capital' is to be accepted, one must also consider the area of which the city was capital. Tarraco had been primarily the centre for the province of Tarraconensis: its rôle as capi-

tal of the conventus of the same name was secondary. Its location, partially determined by the political and military situation of the late 3rd. century B.C., looked towards Rome on the one hand, and the vast extent of Hispania Citerior on the other, with which it was duly connected by the necessary road system. Medieval Barcelona was originally the centre of its county, then the Catalan grouping of counties, and only finally the Crown of Aragón. Rather than being on an east-west axis, it was on a north-south one, looking across the Pyrenees, on the one hand, and to the area designated for Reconquest to the south, on the other. It was better placed than any other point for contact with the rest of Old Catalonia - via the coast, the Besòs gap, and the Llobregat basin. With the Conquest of New Catalonia, it was still equi-distant from most of the important towns. As has been pointed out, if the Crown of Aragón had been less of a federal system, it would have lost part of its rôle to Lleida (for contact with Aragón) and Tortosa (for access to the Valencia region)²⁵¹. Nevertheless, Barcelona was able to maintain its position as the centre of a macro-region more or less equivalent to modern Catalonia; of a micro-region from which it attracted most of its immigration; and, of course, of its own territorium.

CONCLUSION

If the pre-Catalonia of A.D.800 was a basically rural society with only one or two true towns in the Christian dominated part, and one or two under Arab control, and by the year 1200, if it was still predominantly rural, but with a proliferation of small towns, how had this change come about? Although it is difficult to divide the process into neat phases, sufficient common ground exists to make some suggestions as to the stages of development that took place:-

1) After the initial stages of the Carolingian Reconquest there was an attempt to revive the centres of the Visigothic period, either as true towns or as administrative centres, whether secular or ecclesiastical. Barcelona and Girona had never lost their populations and were successes: the other less urban points - Vic, Ampurias, Llívia, Egara and Castellciutat - Seu d'Urgell shifted their nuclei by varying amounts and with varying degrees of success. Other towns of Roman origin were probably very much reduced in size by the 7th.century, and, although a memory of their former existence frequently continued, any continuity was at a very low level, and could in no way be called urban. Tarragona was very much a special case, for it was stranded in no-man's-land for longer than any other major point. All this would tend to make one increasingly wary of the

blanket application of the theory of basic continuity of town-life in southern Europe: each region must have had major differences.

2. From the late 9th. century onwards, there was a phase of resettlement directed from the Arab centre of Lleida, which included many points in the Segre valley, some of which can be considered to have achieved a certain level of urban life. Roman precedents could play a part in their location (Ager, Lleida) while others were on new sites (Agramunt, Balaguer). The long period of Arab rule in the case of Lleida and Tortosa left its mark on their topography.

3. During the course of the 9th. and 10th. centuries a number of new centres appeared in Old Catalonia, which cannot be classified as urban, yet were more than rural villages. Various factors could influence their growth - the presence of counts or viscounts (Besalú, Berga), a religious function (Seu, Roda, Solsona), or even a commercial one (Cardona, Manresa)- and they gradually achieved de facto urban status in most cases. Alongside these were communities which appeared alongside castles, which usually took even longer to acquire an urban appearance.

4. A second wave of frontier foundations took place in the 11th. century: once again these were principally associated with castles, and the movement towards town life was slow, and only really got under

way in the following century or even later (Cervera, Espluga and Igualada). The Arab centres that were reconquered on the Urgell front perhaps had a fairly swift return to urban life.

5. During the course of the 11th. and early 12th. centuries communities emerged around markets, monasteries and castles away from the frontier. They were rarely of substantial size even by 1200, although they performed a valuable function, especially as market centres for their 'comarcas'. In the more important centres already in existence, this was paralleled by the growth of suburbs (burgi) or other expansions known as barrios, found particularly around comital castra.

6. From the late 11th. century new-towns appear, sometimes with planned features, a concept that was re-introduced in the mid-12th. century for certain foundations made after the Reconquest of Tortosa and Lleida. More numerous were places resettled with a 'carta de población', although the majority of these settlements were small. By 1200, only five cities had a population above or approaching the figure of two thousand, with the exception of Barcelona which was substantially larger.

CONCLUSION

Several themes might be traced throughout this work. Firstly, the extent and relative significance of towns and urban life in general in the area of coastal and pre-litoral Catalonia in a period when the transformations wrought in towns throughout Europe were many and varied. Secondly, the rise of one of these communities from a position of relative insignificance to one of primacy. Finally, the appearance and plan, the townscape, of Barcelona in this period of nearly a thousand years, stretching from the peak of the Empire to the time when the city was on the point of becoming one of the major urban communities of the Mediterranean world.

Urban life may be accepted as having appeared in what is now known as Catalonia in the later pre-historic period, particularly under the influence of the Greek settlements of Rhode and Emporion. It is therefore no surprise to find the greatest concentration of these hill-top, quasi-urban settlements in the coastal and pre-litoral regions, where the penetration of foreign products and ideas were at their most intense. Yet comparatively few of the Roman cities of these zones could trace their origins directly from such settlements. Whereas in the inland plains of the modern province of Lleida, as on

most of the central Meseta, the native background was virtually untouched, and towns such as Ilerda and Ieso were the heirs of native settlements on the same site, elsewhere, both along the coast, and in the upland areas of central Catalonia, new foundations seem to have been the general rule in all cases that can be demonstrated by archaeology: the previously held assumption that towns such as Egara, Gerunda or Vicus Ausetanorum had a direct native forerunner should perhaps be discarded until further evidence is produced.

It was thus under Roman rule that the framework of urban life was stabilized, as in so many other parts of modern western Europe where the Roman conquest brought with it the concept of towns. However, no unitary plan existed, and two centuries separated the first from the last foundations. The prime example was that of Tarraco, the early topography of which, apart from the defences, is still very much of an incognitum: the military element clearly had an important rôle to play in early foundations: at Ampurias, as well as Tarraco, and perhaps also at Gerunda. However, with the gradual influence of Romanization the native settlements declined and their inhabitants shifted towards the plains, and although at the time of the foundation of such oppida as Baetulo (and also Iluro and Blanda ?) the

necessity of colonization was still in evidence, the native background was being increasingly felt.

It was not, however, until a century later, with the termination of the conquest of the Peninsula, that the full effect of Romanisation and urban life was apparent in the coastal areas, and they took even longer to penetrate further inland in the mountain fastnesses of central Catalonia. Along the Mediterranean seaboard this is demonstrated by the final abandonment of most hill-top settlements: new buildings were erected in towns all along the coast, Tarraco, Ampurias, Baetulo and Iluro, and the final new settlements were established. Although the origins of some of the lesser known inland towns might be placed in the last years B.C. or the first few decades of the Christian Era (Aeso ? Vicus Ause-tanorum ? Iulia Libia ?) by far the clearest example is the colonia of Barcino.

The origins of this city have been debated from the Renaissance onwards with no clear answer yet discernible in the fog of somewhat contradictory evidence. Although in this century the general opinion has tended to support the idea of a pre-Roman settlement on the mountain of Montjuïc, and a Republican period heir at its foot, the proof of either is still absent, and both may be the fruit of his-

toriographical myth, and in the end the foundation of the settlement with no immediate forerunner on a slight rise in the middle of the 'Pla de Barcelona' under Augustus proven. Nevertheless, although such an opinion may be held, the conflicting evidence of the honorific titles still casts the shadow of doubt.

Although its colonial status gave it a certain pre-eminence, Barcino did not outshine its neighbours in the first centuries of its existence. The urban necessities of its immediate hinterland - the surrounding 40 or 50 kilometres - were already partially covered by other cities - Baetulo, Iluro, Egara, Aquae Calidae - and a web of poorly-known smaller settlements with no particular status, which can only be qualified as small towns. Much of the economy of this region, clearly equatable with the district of the pre-Roman Laietani tribe and consequently known as Laietania, was based on flourishing viticulture which enabled the products to be exported around the western Mediterranean and even to Britain and the Rhineland frontier. None of these towns, however, reached any great size, and for the most part they remained mediocre places, balanced by a fairly dense concentration of rural settlement, apparently largely based in these first two Imperial centuries on comparatively small estates.

The prosperity of Barcelona probably increased from the later 1st. century A.D. onwards: although the original plan was maintained, a number of alterations, particularly the erection of the baths, and perhaps also the defences, can be attributed to that period, and alongside them there appeared the abundant products of local stonecutters, sculptors and mosaicists. Another element contributing to its rise may also have been the installation of the headquarters of the Praefectus Orae Maritimae, closely linked with the district of Laetania, in the castellum projecting from the south side of the defences. Whether this new-found wealth was at the expense of its neighbours is uncertain, given the disparate state of knowledge, although this may have been partially so, yet it may also have been a feature of the prosperity affecting many other contemporary cities.

Barcelona, however, was not the only city flourishing: it was overshadowed by the provincial capital of Tarragona, which covered at least six and perhaps ten times Barcelona's ten and a half hectares, and the size of which effectively excluded the emergence of other towns in its vicinity. Only there could the trappings of the great cities be found, and in the case of the remaining towns the atmosphere of mediocrity prevailed. They were generally

under 15 hectares in area, and often barely passed 5 or 6 hectares. The few works of art or monuments known were presumably those patronised by the local bourgeoisie, and apart from acting as a social centre for these families, the main functions were as the market and religious centre for the surrounding rural districts, themselves largely derived from the pre-Roman tribal background, and as staging posts on important communications routes.

Nevertheless, by the early 3rd. century decline had set in: one of the first points to feel the hand of restraint was undoubtedly Emporiae, whose significance as the initial focus of urbanisation had long been overshadowed by the rôle of Tarraco. However, it was not alone: evidence from Bastulo and Blanda points to the abandonment of previously inhabited areas around this date, and more extensive excavation elsewhere would perhaps produce similar evidence. This downhill path was hastened by the conditions of the central decades of the third century, and hardly a site could have passed unaffected: certainly, after the later third century some towns all but disappear. Yet the claims made in the 1950's for the destructive tendencies of the Germanic invaders, which have generally been repeated up to now, have surely been exaggerated, or at least the evidence as it stands cannot be unequivocally used to support

them. Although the literary sources, combined with the evidence of coin hoards, leave little doubt that Tarraco and its neighbourhood passed temporarily through the hands of the barbarian hordes, elsewhere they can hardly have been the only reason for the subsequent decline of urban life. In some towns this may have begun earlier than frequently supposed: elsewhere the shreds of evidence suggest that an attempt was made to maintain conditions and continue as before, with the existence of the municipal ordo (Sigarra and Ieso) acting as a guiding force, until the closing years of the century, if not beyond. Not least of these surviving cities was Tarragona, where the lower part of the walled city, and certain areas of the suburbs, far from being abandoned with the advent of the Germanic hordes, were still inhabited in the later 4th. and early 5th. centuries.

Similarly, the evidence for the supposed destruction of Barcino is singularly weak, and only the suburban areas, if any, are likely to have suffered. The erection of the new walls of Barcelona, probably datable to the decades either side of 290, should be seen not as ^{immediate} ~~an~~ response to attack, but as a reflection of Empire-wide changes. If any part of the city suffered direct damage, the suburban area is the most likely candidate, for the earlier cemeteries were extensively quarried for building material for

the new walls: within these a certain spirit of austerity may be detected, but some structures apparently continued to be occupied throughout this period. The fourth century may have seen a revival of its fortunes in an economic sense, perhaps partially based on fishing and derivative industries. However, much of its later significance was owed to the decline of its neighbours. Similarly, both Rhode and Gerunda would appear to have benefitted from the eclipse of Emporiae, the former perhaps more immediately, the latter over the transitions of the centuries. Like Barcelona, part of Gerunda's importance lay in its rebuilt walls (c.284-c.300) and its position on the main north-south road route, and the establishment of road routes via the Congost valley towards Vic and the Pyrenees at a similar date, and the renewal of that through the Penedès in the middle of the following century, may indicate that an increasing part was played by land communications at the expense of coastal shipping.

The first steps in the shift in emphasis between Tarraco and Barcino are presumably partially a result of these developments, as well as the political circumstances of the early 5th. century, when Barcelona was used as a major administrative centre for the first time. By that date the inhabited area of Tarragona had certainly declined, and parts of the monumental upper city were being used for domestic

occupation: nevertheless, the same process may have been underway in Barcelona, for evidence from the southern half of the city becomes scarcer. By the end of the century, this decrease had undoubtedly been enhanced, but there can have been few cities in the west where a similar phenomenon had not occurred, and to a certain extent urban life in these two cities, along with Girona, Tortosa and perhaps Lleida, must have been maintained. Although the power of administrative continuity, and the contingencies of defence, trade and communications all played a part in this phenomenon, a similar, if not greater, role was taken by the Christian church, for all these points were the sees of bishops. Elsewhere, some urban functions might have been maintained, but these were clearly more partial than in these five examples, and it is easier to talk of life in towns rather than town life.

Allowing for a degree of reservation concerning the precise chronology as a result of the scarcity of datable coin and pottery finds after the mid-5th century, it would appear that the central decades of the 6th. century saw notable topographical changes in Barcelona, with an increasing shift in emphasis from the focus of the Roman city to that of the Medieval one. The southern half of the city was increasingly given over to horticultural properties, and the forum

came to be quarried. At their expense an area in the northern corner of the city, around the Basilica and what might be interpreted as a Visigothic Royal centre flourished, with substantial structures being erected, which, although largely in the Classical mould, by their layout tended to disrupt the topographical patterns of over five hundred years.

Elsewhere our knowledge of urban layout in this period is scanty, except for the case of the largely abandoned city of Ampurias, where the main concentration of population would appear to have been on the site of the first Greek settlement. One might suppose a concentration in the northern part of Girona or in the upper area of Tarragona. In other towns human numbers, as everywhere in Europe, were increasingly depleted, and in the case of those which were neither episcopal nor administrative centres, it must have been difficult to distinguish them from the surrounding rural communities which were gradually taking the first steps on the road of transformation from classical villas to medieval villages. Yet these same rural settlements may sometimes have had a part to play in urban survival: in the case of Barcelona the archaeological evidence suggests that the number of small settlements in the surrounding plain in the 5th. and 6th. centuries, and perhaps beyond, was not insignificant, and their need for a market centre may have aided the survival of a commercial element

in the city, whereas in areas where small estates had disappeared in favour of larger ones in the later Roman Empire, such self-sufficient communities had less need of towns.

The final years of the Visigothic Kingdom may have seen an economic disruption in the region, although it remains uncertain whether this should be attributed to the anti-Jewish policies of successive monarchs. The growing militarization of the kingdom and the increasingly frequent internal troubles affecting the north-east may have meant that the surviving towns assumed a more defensive nature. The periods of the Arab invasion and the Reconquest can thus be seen as merely continuing the immediately preceding one in terms of urban function. Our knowledge of urban life in the period of Arab rule is restricted, except in the case of the two towns which remained under the Moslem yoke until the mid-12th. century (Tortosa and Lleida) and which consequently still bear the imprint of this period in some aspects of their plans and topography. Whether the invasion proper forcibly swept away the Bishoprics of Tarragona, Ampurias or Egara, or whether their disappearance was the result of urban decline at these points, is debatable: certainly a hiatus in the urban life of those three points ensued, and only at the first was the see later restored. Elsewhere, one suspects

that the passage of time had already wreaked as much damage as was to be caused, and changes in the pattern of settlement, particularly the shift towards upland areas, were already underway.

Certainly the warring of the next four centuries, however irregular or intermittent, did little to aid the towns, particularly those of the frontier areas of inland Catalonia. Only the two urban fortresses on either side of the frontier (Barcelona and Girona: Tortosa and Lleida) might be considered as urban in the 9th. and early 10th. centuries: it was in this period that the late Roman defences of the first two (and perhaps the last) came to the fore. The disappearance of Tarragona secured the rise of Barcelona, at least in the civil sphere, for by the time the Reconquest reached the former capital, Barcelona's position as such was undisputable: it may also help to explain the increased importance of Tortosa, a city where much research remains to be done, both in the field and in the archives.

Only from the middle of the tenth century, and in most areas over a century later, did urban life revive, as it did in most parts of Europe around the same date. Although similar economic circumstances may justify these simultaneous movements, many of the towns of the region were influenced by a variety of

other factors, particularly in the formation of a pre-urban nucleus. The Roman past had a comparatively minor role in this process, and it is by no means true that the towns of Antiquity survived into the Middle Ages, for in over half the examples in this area no urban successor, except in a very indirect way, appeared. Instead comital centres, cathedral complexes, castles and monasteries, and especially markets played a more significant part, as did official encouragement via the granting of local liberties, particularly in the resettlement of New Catalonia from the mid 12th. century onwards. Consequently a pattern of numerous small towns was formed, with little apparent relationship to the Roman distribution, although a more direct comparison may be made between the larger settlements and their classical counterparts, in terms of general distribution and weighting. Inland areas appeared to be of more importance than the coast, which, with the exception of a few key points, was lacking major communities until well into the 12th. century: again this was a phenomenon not only restricted to coastal Catalonia, but detectable in much of the Christian part of the Peninsula and at other points in the Mediterranean world, in the transition from Antiquity to the Middle Ages.

Geographically speaking, Barcelona was the natural centre, aided by the course of history, for the

region which by the end of the period under study could clearly identify itself as Catalonia. Its growth in the early medieval period was far more noticeable than any other of the cities of the region, to the extent that by 1200 it might still be small by modern standards, and even by those of the Moslem world, but was on the route to comparability with Marseilles, Genoa and Pisa, and other major cities of the medieval Mediterranean world. Although the reasons behind this expansion, and the stages of its development, are complex, they can be traced in considerable detail through the analysis of the local notarial documentation for the period, consisting of nearly a thousand surviving sale, donation, exchange and loan deeds, most of which remain unpublished.

Battered by the hazards of the early middle ages the picture of the early 10th. century city that emerges is by no means impressive, and the general tone suggests that changes in the previous two or three centuries had been few, and not always for the better. The framework of the city was essentially that of late Antiquity, with the modifications caused by the power of attraction diffused by the episcopal centre on the one hand, and the administrative one on the other - by this time the urban Palace of the Counts of Barcelona, quite possibly inherited from their Visigothic predecessors, and ultimately from the crown of the years 531-551, when Barcelona was the

'capital' of the Visigothic realms. Elsewhere among the remains of Antiquity - for the baths, Temple and some houses at least were still standing - stood an occasional structure, but considerable parts of even the intra-mural area would have been rural in appearance, particularly in the southern half, where the street pattern of the Augustan colonia was partially obliterated by the kitchen-gardens, orchards, vineyards and fields still recorded in the heart of the city even in the first half of the 11th. century. On the other hand, the immediate surroundings, the suburbium, were probably not intensively used, there being little need to cultivate them, while climatic and geographical conditions may have precluded their more intensive use for horticultural purposes. Although there may have been a few small settlements at the junction of the suburbium and the territorium, these, like the surviving suburban churches, in certain cases the centres of long-lost cemeteries, were on slight rises in a generally marshy and inhospitable area.

Yet the city remained an important staging point on the long journey between north and south, with a Jewish community of respectable size that had apparently remained firm throughout the centuries, unlike those of neighbouring cities, which in some cases had been dispersed in rural areas. The market function,

together with the town's cultural and educational influence, also remained a factor which continued to distinguish it from the neighbouring countryside. The urban renaissance of the mid-10th. century onwards thus did not leave Barcelona untouched, and the political situation of the 930's and 940's may have aided a limited element of growth at a somewhat earlier date than found in much of the western Mediterranean. One important aspect of this was probably the (re-?) establishment of the Port area to the south of the mountain of Montjuïc, and an unsuccessful attempt to establish a 'new town' nearby. Other aspects of this tenth century expansion, apart from a broadening of contacts and a possible influx of eastern immigrants, included rebuilding in the city itself - perhaps a new Cathedral, and more certainly a community of canons, most probably using the refurbished Roman baths for worship - and the emergence of at least one monastic community and a limited amount of settlement outside the city walls, particularly around the north-eastern gate, at the foot of which the market was probably already located. However, the main nucleus of settlement clearly continued to be situated around the Cathedral and the Comital Palace, and the few surviving documents suggest that there may have been no small density of residences, and even though overseas contacts were established, much of the impetus for this expansion came from an agricultural basis.

This progress was cut short by the raid of Almansur in 985: although the extent of destruction may be questioned, and many structures were soon rehabilitated, certain areas of the city did suffer, particularly the suburbs and the Regomir district of the walled city, where an isolated group of houses, separated from the main body of the city, appears to have existed. Revival, however, was rapid, and certainly within a generation the lost ground had been made good, and the population of perhaps somewhat over a thousand in pre-985 restored to this figure. The general fluidity of the period seems to have given rise to a number of changes: property prices rose rapidly, new features began to appear in urban housing, apparently for the first time, even though the majority must still have been relatively simple structures, often made up of a variety of separate but interdependent structures, set within a yard. Moreover, the intervallum road, immediately inside the defences, seems to have finally been swept away and the late Roman walls and towers completely taken over by domestic housing: although this process may have begun in the post-Roman period, it is in the later 10th. and earlier 11th. century that it was completed, thus eradicating yet another of the indications of the classical topography, and giving rise to the present-day street pattern. Nevertheless, the density of structures was still not great in many parts of the walled city, and far less so in

the emergent suburbs by the time political instability and economic recession halted the growth in the mid-1020's.

This crisis gave rise to a number of anecdotal incidents concerning the nobility and the city, but mainly affected the surrounding territorium, where the prevailing insecurity led to the appearance of 'sagreres' in churchyards, which encouraged the clustering of settlement in their vicinity, thereby promoting the emergence of villages which were to survive as separate entities until swallowed up by the modern growth of the city. On the other hand, a number of minor settlements which could probably trace their roots back to Antiquity went out of existence about the same date. It was left to another generation to complete the transformation of the city itself: this may be dated from the 1050's onwards, although the year 1058 may be accepted as a rather artificial marker, with the consecration of the new Cathedral, the appearance of new measures in the market and the establishment of the first of the suburbs described as a 'new town' occurring then. Other churches were also rebuilt in the Romanesque style in the following three or four decades, as the ad opera donations in the inhabitants' wills tell us. This rebuilding was accompanied by a wave of new house construction, and the appearance of more

sophisticated features within residences, as well as an increasing tendency for all the features of a house to be constructed in one unit. Similarly, suburban growth continued apace, and although some of the burgi which had briefly flowered in the first two decades of the century were left to stagnate, the inner arc of suburbs became as populated as the walled city. This phase of suburban growth reached its apogee with the establishment of the villanova 'del Mar' towards 1080 under the auspices of the Cathedral Canons. This was the first successful such establishment in the city. Moreover, it was the first planned development, and its approximate limits and divisions can still be traced today. Its success may be attributed to the emergence of the emphyteutical or perpetual lease in an urban context, and this method of tenancy was increasingly adopted over the following decades. Indeed, it was in the second half of the 11th. century that many of the features of Barcelona's topography became fixed, and in certain parts there have been comparatively few changes in either the street pattern or that of the property divisions in the succeeding nine centuries. Such expansion may be paralleled by a blossoming of towns right across northern Spain - Jaca, Pamplona and all the way along the route to Santiago de Compostela.

The drop in real-estate prices in the last decades of the century does not appear to have affected the course of urban growth to any great extent. Fortunes could still be made: although viticulture seems to have been the mainstay of the territorium, and therefore largely the basis of urban prosperity, evidence of 'industrial' activity becomes increasingly evident. The mills along the River Besòs and the Rech or channel linking it to the city multiplied. Workshops appear for the first time in both the walled city and suburbs, and bread-ovens are given increased significance. The market itself ceased to consist of temporary structures and permanent houses and shops were erected within its confines. By the 1120's open space was virtually non-existent in the northern half of the walled area and in the inner arc of the suburbs stretching from the north-east to the north-west gates and along the roads leading from them. The very proximity of the inhabitants gave rise to an increasing number of disputes between neighbours over such matters as drainage of rainwater and common rights over intermediate walls. Likewise, the social differences of the various districts were becomingly increasingly marked, and the foundations of the later medieval pattern laid. It may be justifiably claimed that by the early decades of the 12th. century the picture of a medieval city was on the road to completion.

A degree of setback may have occurred with the Almoravid attacks of 1114-5, although the real evidence of destruction is limited to the example of one house in the suburbs in 1116 and the need to reconsecrate one of the churches of the territorium. Thereafter, even the old Roman defences gradually disappeared under the weight of vaults joining towers and houses above and below. Prices began to rise once again from the 1130's onwards, and this trend was accompanied by other manifestations of further growth. Foremost among these was an increasing number of immigrants resident in the city, mainly from the territorium or a forty kilometre radius of the city. These inevitably led to a need for further new developments, usually of a planned nature. Unlike the areas developed in the 13th. and 14th. centuries, which are readily detectable in the urban make-up because of their distinct plan, normally covering a whole series of blocks, 12th. century growth was small-scale and rather gradual. The initial lease was usually for the construction of both a residence and the adjoining 'hort' and the properties thus correspondingly large, only later being sub-divided, as the 'horts' were increasingly banished to the city's fringes.

Even though in these new suburbs houses were probably fairly simple, in other parts the process of sophistication continued. On the other hand,

descriptions become increasingly stereotyped, suggesting decreasing diversity. Although no clear example survives, the general impression is that the homes of the wealthier burgenses must have been the prototypes for the existing 13th. and 14th. century mansions, and the basic pattern of artisan housing of that period was also probably in use by the end of the period. The continued increase in population is demonstrated not only by the spread of workshops and the concern over the numbers of mills and ovens to prepare the staple bread of the urban population, but also in popular religious feeling, in the form of altars and brotherhoods, closely linked with the emergence of guild-organisation, and in the provision of hospitals. Although the older ecclesiastical institutions were able to maintain their position, and some even came to play a significant part in urban development, most of the parish churches, with the exception of Sta. Maria del Mar, remained rather small and impoverished.

The port to the south of Montjuïc had long been abandoned, and most maritime activities were concentrated on the shore-line in the vicinity of that church. By the middle of the century contacts were widespread, stretching tenuously right round the Mediterranean, but more especially between Genoa and Valencia. The conquest of Tortosa and Lleida clearly broadened the potential scope of contact,

and in return new influences appeared. Among these was the urban bath-house, first recorded in Barcelona in 1160: the building which survived until the early 19th. century was in many ways a representation of the 12th. century amalgam of cultures in the Iberian Peninsula: a Moslem idea, built in a Christian city, under the influence of Romanesque architecture, by a Jew who operated the installations for the next four decades.

By the end of the 12th. century Barcelona was clearly the largest city in the region with a population of over 10,000, ten or twelve fold that of two hundred years beforehand, and which was to be tripled or quadrupled in the following century and a half. The urbanized area was approximately half that enclosed in the 130 hectares within the defences begun in the mid-13th. century. The neighbouring cities had been left far behind, and few had a population of over 2000, although there was an extensive network of small towns with between 400 and 1000 inhabitants. Barcelona held a privileged position within Catalonia, geography linking it easily with its own 'pla', its hinterland - the old Laietania - and with almost every corner of Catalonia. Both these factors and historical circumstances had largely checked the comparable rise of the other cities, and by the time equal opportunities were open to all, the supremacy of Barcelona had been secured.

In conclusion several points of of wider significance might be made. Firstly, the transition from Roman towns to their medieval counterparts in the western Mediterranean is a theme which can be easily over simplified. There was little direct continuity, and the case of Barcelona is probably quite exceptional. Each region was distinct, and few generalisations can be made from one site to another, and even less so from one region to another. If survival occurred, it was more often rather partial, involving only a few towns, and when the full medieval pattern emerged it was often quite different in detail: what might well survive was an overall pattern of balance and general distribution within a single region. Only by approaching these problematical centuries from both ends of the period, and by using as wide a range of sources as possible will more light be thrown on the towns of this period.

Secondly, documentary sources still have much to say on individual towns or areas if available in sufficient quantities: this claim is probably truer of Spain than any other part of the north-west Mediterranean, for large numbers of parchments and cartularies covering the early medieval centuries remain unpublished. In the case of Catalonia, Vic, Seu d'Urgell, Girona, Tortosa and Lleida are all towns with little known archival collections which would repay further study, even though the last three are of somewhat

difficult access. Similarly, for many of the smaller towns collections beginning in the 12th. century could be prepared from a wide range of sources. The dangers of the isolated document, however, are as apparent as those of the small excavation trench.

Finally, the inter-relation of documentary and archaeological evidence is possible, but a direct link will remain difficult unless excavations are sufficiently wide-scale or relevant structures are still standing. As is apparent from this thesis, the study of both medieval archaeology and vernacular architecture are, unfortunately, both still in their infancy in Spain: one may only hope that greater provisions will be made for urban archaeology and survey work, both in Barcelona and other cities, before it is too late.

