

***THE WILL AND SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL
CATALONIA AND LANGUEDOC, 800-1200***

A thesis presented

by

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ABSTRACT

Some three thousand men and women of Languedoc and Catalonia (southwestern France and northeastern Spain) from before the year 1200 speak to us through their testaments. This volume of testamentary evidence is unmatched in archives anywhere else in medieval Europe of the ninth through twelfth centuries. A comparative and focused analysis from over 3,000 surviving wills (amassed from diverse archival collections as well as hundreds of different published text editions) spans several parallel avenues of comparative and investigative history to illuminate the society of Catalonia and Languedoc in this period. A study of testaments and testamentary publication from Roman roots through the twelfth century explores the legal culture of the testaments using the methods and approaches of the new anthropology of law. Next, collective analysis of the testaments yields insights into social and family history. In addition to prosopographical information about the testators and economic data about the lands and goods bequeathed, the testaments reveal crucial changes in the custom of inheritance and patrimonial succession--changes which reflect (or underlie) the social transformations of the "feudal revolution" and its aftermath. Another avenue explored is that of the testament as a pious, religious document. Bequests to ecclesiastical institutions, when seen in the context of familial distribution of the estate, allow one to gauge the relative importance of pious alms for individuals and families, and to follow trends in popularity of various religious institutions as beneficiaries and of different types of goods (land, money, or other goods) as alms. Finally, testamentary evidence illustrates several new institutional, social, legal and political developments of the twelfth century--*Reconquista* and resettlement, the growth of the military orders, the development of personal financial accounting, the introduction of a lay notariate, and more. The appendices include an index of over 3,000 testamentary documents and a prosopographical register of 250 judges appearing in testamentary probate ceremonies between 791 and 1200 in Languedoc and Catalonia. Dissertation Adviser: Professor Thomas N. Bisson.

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INTRODUCTION

Historians dream that dead souls might speak, revealing facts and perceptions of themselves and their time. In a will, an individual has secured the opportunity to speak from beyond death to those who have been left behind. A will is a legal act intended to prolong the voice of the mortal individual in order to ordain one last bundle of activities, commands or requests, to heirs, kin, and the community at large. But if Adalaidis and Volveradus spoke to their heirs one thousand years ago, can they not also speak to us? The goal of this study is to prompt these voices and see what may be learned by listening to them.

Of course, wills are a limited form of communiqué. Addressing the various themes bound up in wills has required unraveling the particular diplomatic, social and legal tradition within which they were written. Despite their legal nature, wills embrace a surprising range of material. As an example of almost paradoxically diverse interests and elements of wills, consider that wills show the goal of the pious medieval individual as a twofold immortality: eternal life, secured through salvation with pious almsgiving; and the survival of the family secured through the transmission of the patrimony to blood heirs.

This study has been conceived to pursue parallel avenues of inquiry, following the different threads of material found in wills. It has taken advantage of the uniquely large volume of wills preserved in Catalonia and, to a lesser extent, in the French Midi, from before the year 1200. Languedoc and Catalonia, now-abutting regions of two sovereign nations, shared a common civilization in the early and central Middle Ages. Their experience of Roman civilization, then Visigothic and later Carolingian dominance was reflected in a shared language and social order, which included a common legal and notarial culture which generated written records surviving in an abundance virtually unmatched elsewhere. The first chapter lays an historiographical foundation for both the study of wills and the context of medieval Catalonia and Languedoc; it includes discussion of the composition and provenance of the surviving manuscript collections from which the wills have been culled. Succeeding chapters examine the background of the testamentary

tradition. Chapter 2 scours sources for the early medieval testamentary traditions of the Romans, Visigoths and Merovingians, seeking precursors and evidence of continuity with later Catalan and Occitan practices. Chapter 3 explores the formal varieties of surviving testamentary documents from the ninth through twelfth centuries and their implications for custom and variation in the testamentary process.

Subsequent chapters move past the diplomatic and formal approach to address the content of these remarkable documents. Chapter 4 addresses the social and economic context of the testament. A collective profile of testators provides a prosopographical foundation, while the familial context is examined through patterns of patrimonial transmission. The behavior of the Catalan ruling house of Guifred the Hairy epitomizes the customs of inheritance and succession which changed over time in the tenth through twelfth centuries. Material and landed bequests are also examined collectively in the hope of further clarifying the relationship of economic and social change through inheritance and succession.

Chapter 5 addresses the religious dimension of wills. The eleemosinary function of wills provides the basis for a profile of individual clerical and lay piety and pious custom. The materials given in pious bequests, the beneficiaries, and terms and conditions of such bequests all reveal patterns which not only reflected accepted custom but also allowed for individual expression of religious feeling.

The lens is focused more closely on the twelfth century in chapter 6. In the final decades of the period, new economic, social, legal and religious impulses were bombarding and transforming a traditional society. Wills clearly reflect several new trends, including the growth in popularity and influence of new religious and military orders; the spread of sophisticated new concepts of personal accounting; the revival of Roman legal elements by canonists; urbanization, social mobility and the rise of statutory law; and the growth of the notariate.

The profusion of detail which can be seen through the testamentary lens can by no means be fully assimilated in this study. Concluding remarks recapitulate the common themes, trends, and developments found in testamentary culture and in the society at large, but also attempt to identify the most promising avenues for continued research using wills.

A multitude of voices are heard in the course of this study. Some of what they say is surprising; much of it enriches our understanding of the period and region, and of the major social, economic and political transformations which took place there between the age of Charlemagne and the dawn of the thirteenth century. It is hoped that this study will be of interest not only for the contributions these voices make to the various specialized topics addressed here, but even more so for the composite image they create of medieval Catalan and Languedocian society.

CHAPTER 1. WILLS, HISTORY, CATALONIA AND LANGUEDOC

In the fighting season of 1010, the army of Count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona mounted a daring raid into the heart of the Moorish Kingdom of Cordoba. Adalbert, son of Viscount Guitard of Barcelona, was among the host, when, “fighting bravely, he fulfilled the obligation of death,” falling in the second battle of the raid in Cordoba itself. Adalbert had not gone to his final battle unprepared; some time before the raid, he gathered witnesses and a priest who could write, and dictated a will. He named five executors, including the priest, who were charged, “should death overtake me in Spain or anywhere, before I make a new will,” with the distribution of his castles and other possessions among his mother, his “man” and other comrades, and the monastery of Sant Cugat del Vallès, near Barcelona. In November the witnesses of Adalbert’s will and his executors, along with other “good men,” gathered in the church of Sant Pere Molanta, near Adalbert’s family stronghold of Olèrdola, where a judge and a priest presided over a ceremony formally publicizing Adalbert’s will. The parchment was read aloud, and its authenticity and accuracy were sworn to by the executors and those who had witnessed its creation. At this ceremony the original will and accompanying oaths were transcribed into a new document--a publication charter--commemorating the event. The following January, Adalbert’s executors formally gave the monastery of Sant Cugat its portion of his estate in fulfillment of the terms of this will. The donation itself was memorialized in a third document, which recapitulated those terms of Adalbert’s will which concerned the monastery. All three of these documents were preserved in the archives of the monastery of Sant Cugat, and were subsequently copied into the thirteenth-century cartulary of Sant Cugat, now in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona.¹

¹ *Cartulario de Sant Cugat del Vallès*, ed. Josep Rius Serra, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1945-1947), nos. 431 (28 November 1010)--the publication charter; 432 (4 January 1011)--the executors’ act; and 441 (10 October 1011)--the original will. The dating of the original will in the cartulary is clearly erroneous. The publication charter states that Adalbert died “in the month of June which is past” (1010), “some days” after writing his will. An additional difficulty with the text of the will is that the witnesses

Adalbert's will provides a precious glimpse of a young, unmarried knight at the beginning of this millennium, contemplating his own death and its implications for those around him. His will's publication and execution tell the story of how a certain monastery came to be the master of two strategic castles in the area around Barcelona. However, far from being a unique relic of a remote past, Adalbert's will is only one of a large number of medieval wills which survive from Catalonia and its sister region, Languedoc, in the post-Carolingian period. This study seeks to examine these surviving wills, and through them to study the medieval society in which they were written.

I. HISTORIOGRAPHY

A. Study of Wills

1. WILLS AS POLITICAL DOCUMENTS

Wills are not a new-found source for the viewing of the medieval or any other past. Among medievalists, wills have long been of keen interest, particularly in a traditional narrative context, for their value in tracing the dynastic continuity of noble or royal families. Dynastic succession among ruling families has attracted attention from the outset of historical writing. The settlements and wars among Charlemagne's sons and grandsons are perhaps the most important single episode of the pre-national dynastic demarcation of Western Europe--an episode which demonstrated at once the immensity and the inherent transience of the Carolingian hegemony. This lesson was to be repeated with variations over centuries to come. In the case when such important dynastic milestones are marked by written records--wills--one can very clearly see a moment of singular importance, or at least of singular curiosity. In the lands of Christian Spain, the succession of the crown of Aragon provides such an example in the will of the childless Alfonso I "the Battler", who divided his

named therein aren't the same as the ones who swear the oath at the publication ceremony. It is thus probable that Adalbert's will was in fact dictated and witnessed more than once.

kingdoms among the three major military/religious orders to which he was most closely attached: the Hospitallers, the Templars, and the canons of the Holy Sepulcher. This unusual disposal of sovereignty can be seen as an extreme act of personal lordship and personal piety--for an individual to give an entire (arguably) public entity to religious beneficiaries “*pro remedio animae suae.*” Of course, it can also be seen as a shrewd political maneuver, where potentially upsetting foreign domination is averted through careful (or disingenuous) selection of shared stewardship.²

More commonly, however, the wills of major rulers do not include such history-bending or enigmatic singularities. Rather, they merely serve to punctuate the reigns of rulers, to provide convenient measuring-rods or milestones from parent to child, from incumbent to successor. The first task of the compilation of modern “national” history was, as an extension of royal genealogy, to divide the history of a kingdom or principality into the periods marked by the reigns of its rulers.³ Of course the will, associated as it is with the end of a life, provides obvious documentation for such punctuation. Normally a will would provide clear proofs of familial relationships, particularly the connection of one generation to the next, as it specified the transmission of family property.

Historical works with a dynastic focus date from the height of the Ancien Régime. Pierre de Marca’s *Histoire de Béarn* traced the dynastic continuity of some of the most important Catalonian and Occitanian comital houses and drew links to the contemporary seventeenth-century nobility at the time of his research--those patrons whom he hoped to

² For political discussion of the wills of Alfonso I (October 1131 and 4 September 1134) see Elena Lourie, “The Will of Alfonso I, ‘El Batallador’, King of Aragon and Navarre: a Reassessment,” *Speculum* 1 (1975), 635-651, and the rebuttal by A. J. Forey, “The Will of Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre,” *Durham University Journal* lxxiii (1980), 59-65.

³ See, for example, the type of popular national history represented by Charles-Jean-François Hénault’s *Abregée chronologique de l’histoire de France* (Paris, 1768). Organized by reign, it presents in tabular form the principal events of each reign characterized by the familial milestones of the monarch: wives, children, births and deaths. Special attention is paid to the creation of appanages and titles among the cadet branches of the royal family.

please with the work.⁴ One of the great nineteenth-century archivist/historians of Catalonia, Próspero de Bofarull, transcribed or noted the wills of each of the counts of Barcelona in succession in his dynastic treatise *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados*, published in 1836.⁵ The presentation of his work--extending from Guifred the Hairy down through the union of Castile and Aragon, and with a dedication to Fernando VII written in the last months of his reign--made it clear that continuity and tradition were intended themes.

Use of wills for dynastic study has long been considered of premier importance by narrative historians for places such as Catalonia and Languedoc where documentation is relatively abundant. In the eighteenth century the Benedictines who assembled the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* drew extensively on testaments as *preuves* for their genealogical reconstructions of ducal and comital families, publishing most of the major comital and baronial wills known at the time. The re-edition of the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* in the 1870s, with greatly expanded notes and corrected genealogies, provided a splendid forum for extended discussion of the identities and filiation of the leading dynasties of the region.⁶ At the turn of the century, Joaquím Miret y Sans, a prolific and well-connected Barcelona scholar, used testamentary evidence throughout his many studies.⁷ Recent studies have

⁴ Pierre de Marca, *Histoire de Béarn, contenant l'origine des rois de Navarre, des ducs de Gascogne, marquis de Gothie, princes de Béarn, comtes de Carcassonne, de Foix et de Bigorre...* (Paris, 1640).

⁵ Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1836).

⁶ Claude Devic and Jean Vaissete, *Histoire générale de Languedoc, avec des notes et des pièces justificatives*, 3d ed., rev. A. Molinier et al. (Toulouse, 1875-), vols. ii and v (*Preuves*) [hereinafter *HL*]. It should be noted that the most of the testaments had already appeared in the eighteenth-century first edition of the *HL*, along with extensive genealogical notes, although the genealogies had to be extensively corrected and expanded in the revised edition.

⁷ Joaquím Miret y Sans, *Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó* (Barcelona, 1900); "La casa de Montcada en el vizcondado de Béarn." *BRABLB* i (1901-02), *BRABLB* i (1901-02), 49-55, 130-142, 185-199, 230-245, 280-303; "El testamento de la vizcondesa Ermengarda de Narbona," *BRABLB* i (1901-02), 41-46; and other works.

continued to rely on testamentary evidence for the reconstruction of dynastic lineages, including those below the very highest echelon of the ruling aristocracy.⁸

2. LEGAL HISTORIANS

With the growth of objectivity and technique in historical scholarship in the nineteenth century, methodologically specialized studies appeared which made use of specific types of diplomatic evidence, including wills, for purposes other than reconstructing dynastic narrative. Nineteenth-century legal history focused on the development of modern legal institutions from the Roman legacy through the evolution of medieval society; it paid special attention to medieval examples which paralleled modern standard legal forms. In France, Henri Auffroy traced the will from Rome through the Middle Ages to modern France, duly noting all medieval examples which came to his attention, and inserting them into a teleological progression.⁹ In England, R. J. R. Goffin's *The Testamentary Executor in England and Elsewhere* sought anachronistically to trace one specific aspect of testamentary practice--the executor--from ancient times through modern.¹⁰ He patriotically vouched for the Germanic roots of the testamentary executor and held him up as an improvement over Roman equivalents in testamentary law.

In this century, advances have been made in the study of wills in a historical context. This has been facilitated not only by the more systematic collection and examination of diplomatically similar charters, but also by better editions and knowledge of the legal and formulary texts against which one can examine the surviving examples. Michael Sheehan's *The Will in Medieval England*, coupled with Dorothy Whitelock's edition and study of

⁸ Catalanian studies include Lydia Martínez i Teixidó, *Les famílies nobles del Pallars en els segles XI i XII* (Lleida, 1991); Ignasi Puig i Ferreté, "Testaments comtals del Pallars Sobirà. La casa de Comenge (1256-1327)," *Urgellia* iv (1981), 293-333; Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Jalons pour une enquête sur les stratégies matrimoniales des comtes catalans (IX^e - XI^e siècles)," in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-XI)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), i, pp. 281-364.

⁹ Henri Auffroy, *Evolution du testament en France des origines au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1899).

¹⁰ R. J. R. Goffin, *The Testamentary Executor in England and Elsewhere* (London, 1901).

Anglo-Saxon Wills, provide an overview of the medieval English testamentary tradition in the periods before and after the Conquest. The crucial period of transition between Anglo-Saxon and Norman legal and diplomatic forms is less well served by available documents and studies.¹¹ In France, regional specialists have sought clearly to define medieval usage in the principalities, rather than (as Auffroy attempted) to impose national unity on a disparate set of societies. Important among this group were Georges Chevrier, writing on Burgundy and the Dauphiné in the 1940s through 1960s, and more recently Paul Ourliac on the Toulousain.¹²

Spanish scholarship has also contributed to the study of wills in a legal context. Like the French, the Spanish have also focused on regions and periods to explore detail. The most complete works include Alonso Lambán's exhaustively detailed study of testamentary forms in Aragon, beginning with Romano-Visigothic antecedents and traveling through the introduction of the public notariate in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Manuel Pérez de Benavides' analysis of the Visigothic will draws together references to testamentary practice from the formulary, digest and commentary sources for the Romano-Visigothic period.¹³

¹¹ Dorothy Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930); Michael Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1963).

¹² Of Chevrier's works several pertinent to the period and scheme of this study appear in the bibliography. Paul Ourliac, "Le testament toulousain au XIIe siècle," in *Mémoires de la Société pour l'histoire du droit et des Institutions des anciens pays bourguignons, comtois et romands*, xxx (1970-1) [= *Études en souvenir de Georges Chevrier*, ii], 153-167. Ourliac's work on the Toulousain was preceded by Georges Boyer, notably "La nature juridique de l'exécution testamentaire dans le très ancien droit toulousain (X - XIIIe siècles)," *Recueil de l'Académie de Législation* i (Toulouse, 1951), 2-15. Odile Terrin provides a good bibliography (through 1968) of French regional writings on testamentary law, particularly from the thirteenth century, in the introduction to the *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde* (Nîmes, 1969), pp. xxxiv-xxxix.

¹³ M. Alonso Lambán, "Las formas testamentarias en la Alta Edad Media de Aragón," *Revista de Derecho Notarial* v-vi (1954), 7-196; ix-x (1955), 241-399. Manuel Maria Pérez de Benavides, *El testamento visigótico: una contribución al estudio del derecho romano vulgar* (Granada, 1975).

3. DIPLOMATISTS

Among the methodologically-specialized studies of wills, one must include those of the diplomatists, who have been continually refining the classification and analysis of documents from a structural standpoint. Ulrich Nonn's study of twelve Merovingian wills is a meticulous synthesis of what is known and can be inferred from a small source base of surviving examples and formulae.¹⁴ In the same vein, Patrick Geary's detailed study and re-edition of the enigmatic will of Abbo from 739 (from Novalesse in Provence) shows how much can be inferred from a single will, and how many questions remain unanswered when considering these early documents of which so few examples survive.¹⁵

Since the beginning of this century it has been recognized that the wills of Catalonia form a sizable and formally cohesive body of texts. Several scholars, particularly in the preparation of text editions, have begun to explore the wills from a typological standpoint. Among the first to do so was Josep Rius Serra, who included a preliminary typological study of wills in the introduction to his edition of the *Cartulario de Sant Cugat*, which contains over two hundred testamentary documents.¹⁶ More recently, Antoni Udina i Abelló collected and studied some one hundred Catalonian wills from the tenth century to the year 1025. He combined the edition of several unedited documents with a typological discussion of the documents in this "classic" epoch and a social analysis of the testators' legacies.¹⁷

¹⁴ Ulrich Nonn, "Merowingische Testamente: Studien zum Fortleben einer römischer Urkundenform in Frankreich," *Archiv für Diplomatik* xviii (1972), 1-129.

¹⁵ Patrick Geary, *Aristocracy in Provence: the Rhône Basin at the Dawn of the Carolingian Age* (Philadelphia, 1985).

¹⁶ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, i, pp. xxx-xxxii (Introduction). See also Cebrià Baraut's typological remarks in the introductory segments to each installment of edited documents in *Urgellia* (see below, note 62). Outside Catalonia, the most sophisticated typological treatment of testamentary documents in the context of a text edition is found in the work of the late Emilio Sáez, in the first volume of the *Colección documental del archivo de la Catedral de León (775-1230)* [*Fuentes y estudios de historia leonesa*, xli] (León, 1987).

¹⁷ Antoni M. Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval* (Barcelona, 1984).

4. WILLS AND SOCIAL HISTORY

The use of wills in a social context is something new. Only recently have historians begun to extract more than the lives and politics of medieval rulers. Following the example of Duby's *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, the trend towards a collective use of charters to illuminate representative portions of a broader section of society has become standard.¹⁸ In such a light, charters can and have been selected on the basis of locality, particular institutional affiliation, availability, or type. Pierre Bonnassie's major study of Catalonian society was based on just such a selection of documents which included (and featured) a group of several hundred wills.¹⁹

Lately wills have begun to be studied in other regions of Western Europe. Stephen Epstein's study of Genoese wills from a single notarial register revealed a growth of merchant prosperity as well as patterns of neighborhood development and consciousness in the growth of the city.²⁰ Particularly from the thirteenth century onward, when the development of public notarial institutions tied to urban growth provides dense documentation, scholars have been able to use wills to study social trends within the context of urban growth: urban expansion, demography, class integration, disease and the Black Death. Within Catalonia, one must cite, in addition to Ourliac on Toulouse, the works of Carme Batlle Gallart for Barcelona, Albert Villaró for La Seu d'Urgell, and Immaculada Ollich for Vic.²¹

¹⁸ Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953).

¹⁹ Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975-6). Catalan edition: *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1979).

²⁰ Stephen Epstein, *Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa, 1150-1250* (Cambridge, 1984). Other studies in Italy and Spain have incorporated testamentary evidence. For Florence, see Claudio Bonnanno et al., "I legati pro anima ed il problema della salvezza nei testamenti fiorentini della seconda metà del trecento," *Ricerche Storiche* xv/1 (1985), 183-220.

For the Rioja, see the works of Margarita Cantera Montenegro: "Derecho y sociedad en al Rioja bajomedieval a través de los testamentos (siglos XIII-XV)," *Hispania: Revista española de historia* xlvi/165 (1987), 33-82; "Notas sobre libros en los testamentos riojanos medievales (siglos XIII-XV)," *Mayurca* xxii (1989), 89-94; "Religiosidad en la Rioja bajomedieval a través de los testamentos (siglos XIII-XV)," *Berceo* (Logroño) cx-cxi (1986), III-154.

²¹ Carme Batlle Gallart, "La Seu d'Urgell a la segona meitat del segle XIII, segons els testaments," *Urgellia* iii (1980), 369-417; Albert Villaró, "La Pesta Negra, el 1348, a la Seu d'Urgell," *Urgellia* viii (1986-7), 271-302; Immaculada Ollich, "La historia medieval i les noves tècniques d'anàlisi per ordinador: els testaments de Vic del segle XIII," *Acta Historica et Archaeologica*

In considering this body of scholarship, growing in new directions, it is clear that wills can be a fruitful and informative source base when approached collectively. There is much to be learned in periods and places for which the evidence of wills is abundant, such as post-Carolingian Catalonia and Languedoc.

B. Catalonia and Languedoc

1. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICAL HISTORY

Situated at the Mediterranean hinge between the Iberian peninsula and the Gallo-Burgundian heartland, the region identified by Ramon d'Abadal as the "Catalano-Septimanian counties" stretched from Nîmes in France to Barcelona in Spain, which in the late Carolingian era was on the frontier of Christian Europe.²² The fact that this region straddles a modern national border which was in dispute for centuries under the Ancien Régime, has discouraged it from being studied as a unified whole. The Carolingian regions of "Septimania" and the "Marca Hispanica" have a much-debated history before the Millennium.²³ In the seventeenth century Pierre de Marca combined political and antiquarian interest in the region of Roussillon and southward; his carefully collected papers

Medievalia i (1980), 11-28; Batlle Gallart, Busquets, and Navarro, "Aproximació a l'estudi d'una família barcelonina els segles XIII i XIV: els Grony," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* xix (1989).

See also, for a social study of late medieval Tortosa, Nuria Canyellas i Vilar, *Entre l'aquí i el més enllà: anàlisi d'una societat urbana del segle XV a la Catalunya Nova a través dels testaments: Tortosa 1425-1455* (Unpublished maîtrise, Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, 1992).

An emphasis on women's history is also present in recent studies of wills: for example in Nuria Jornet's unpublished maîtrise, *Ego Femina: les ultimes voluntats. la dona a través dels testaments femenins catalans (938-1131)* (Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, 1991-92).

²² Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, "La institució comtal carolíngia en la pre-Catalunya del segle IX," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* i (1964), 29-75, and particularly the map between pages 32-3.

²³ The identification of regions by these names came very early. "Septimania" appeared in the *Royal Frankish Annals* for 778 (Charles' Spanish expedition). See *Annales regni francorum 741-829 qui dicuntur Annales Laurissenses maiores et Einhardi*, ed. F. Kurze [=MGH SS Rer. Germ.] (Hanover, 1893). Rosamond McKittrick pointed out that the "Marca Hispanica" was so named in the *Ordinatio imperii* of 817 (*The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983), p. 380) and was mentioned in the *Royal Frankish Annals* in the 820's. For the text of the *Ordinatio imperii*, see *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. Alfred Boretius and Victor Krause, 2 vols. [MGH, *Legum sectio ii*] (Hanover, 1883-1897).

and documentation, published posthumously (and punningly) as *Marca Hispanica*, laid a foundation for scholarship of the Catalan region which has endured for centuries.²⁴ The Benedictines who compiled the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* in the eighteenth century partially integrated the Spanish March into the scheme of their history, although *Languedoc*, as a linguistic identification, applied more strictly to the people speaking Occitan, not Catalan.²⁵

The early scholars' primary concern stemmed from the genealogical scholarship of the Ancien Regime, and aimed to determine the dynastic domination of the area back to the time of Charlemagne. The confusion of the families of the early counts of Comminges-Carcassonne, Auvergne and Toulouse, as well as the origins of the various vicecomital families of the littoral, had generated considerable debate by the end of the nineteenth century. The debate encapsulated by the editors of the revised *HL* in the 1870s continued into this century, although it seemed that dynastic concerns had split at the Pyrenees. Catalan scholars, from Próspero de Bofarull to Ramon d'Abadal, occupied themselves with the question of the origins and filiation of the counts of Barcelona, Urgell, Empúries, Besalú & Cerdanya.²⁶ On the other hand, French scholars considered their northern neighbors and cousins almost exclusively.²⁷

²⁴ Pierre de Marca, *Marca Hispanica, sive limes Hispanicus, hoc est, geographica et historica descriptis Cataloniae, Ruscinonis, et circumjacentium populorum* (Paris, 1688).

²⁵ The dynastic notes in vol. ii of the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* cover the early house of Barcelona as well as the major post-Carolingian Languedocien houses. However, the post-tenth-century dynastic notes (*HL*, vol. iv) limit southern notice to the counts of Besalú-Cerdanya, who alone of the sub-Pyrenean counts controlled lands far north of the Pyrenees, in the Fenouilledès. The episcopological notes added by the nineteenth-century editors included Elne but not the sub-Pyrenean sees.

²⁶ For the dynasty of Wifred the Hairy, see principally Bofarull, *Los condes*. Later studies encompassed other ninth- and tenth-century related families, although the confusion about Wifred's own kin remains. In addition to Ramon d'Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans* (Barcelona, 1958), consider the recent heated exchange of Pierre Ponsich, "Èl problema de l'ascendència de Guifré el Pelós," *Revista de Catalunya* xxiii (1988), 35-44; and Armand de Fluvià, "La qüestió de l'ascendència del comte Guifré I el Pelós," *Revista de Catalunya* xxviii (1989), 83-87.

²⁷ See, for example, the several works of Joseph Calmette cited in bibliography, particularly those collected in *Études médiévales* (Toulouse, 1946).

Since then much of the scholarship which has been devoted to the larger region has focused either on Spanish Catalonia or on French Languedoc. This adherence to a modern political boundary in the circumscription of historical perspective has hindered fuller understanding of the extent of cultural unity in the entire region. Only a few scholars bridged the Pyrenees in considering the wider political and social milieu of Catalonia and Languedoc. Charles Boudon de Mony wrote about the political and dynastic links of Foix and Urgell/Castellbó.²⁸ The Catalan Montcada family in the Gascon county of Béarn was treated by Joaquím Miret y Sans.²⁹ Charles Higounet considered the overarching political-dynastic tension of the area in a study of the political rivalry of the counts of Barcelona and Toulouse in the twelfth century.³⁰ Archibald R. Lewis' synthesis, entitled *Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (1965), was an ambitious attempt to view the area as a unified whole. Fredric Cheyette's article of 1988, reinterpreting the Catalan perspective on the failed political partnership between the counts of Barcelona and the viscounts of Béziers demonstrated, in the tradition of Archibald Lewis' study, that it is perhaps easier for outside scholars to maintain a trans-Pyrenean perspective.³¹ In the last decade, the emphasis has begun to shift more in this direction. Catalan and French historians (and others) have joined in exploring common cultural and political topics, in conferences such as the twelfth congress of the history of the Crown of Aragon (1985), which focused on the thirteenth-

²⁸ Charles Boudon de Mony, *Relations politiques des comtes de Foix avec la Catalogne jusqu'au commencement du XIVe siècle*. (Paris, 1896).

²⁹ Miret, "La casa de Montcada en vizcondado de Béarn."

³⁰ Charles Higounet, "Un grand chapitre de l'histoire du XIIe siècle: la rivalité des maisons de Toulouse et de Barcelone pour la prépondérance méridionale," in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen Age, dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen* (Paris, 1951), pp. 312-322.

³¹ Fredric Cheyette, "The 'Sale' of Carcassonne to the Counts of Barcelona (1067-1070) and the Rise of the Trencavels," *Speculum* lxiii (1988), 826-864.

century political links between Barcelona and Montpellier,³² and the 1987 *Col.loqui internacional Hug Capet*.³³

2. THE SOCIAL HISTORY TRADITION

Particularly insofar as the study of wills encompasses a study of family relationships, succession and inheritance, the historiographical descendant of the original dynastic genealogical tradition has been an important prelude to this study. Again, the Pyrenees divide the major monuments of social history of Catalonia and Languedoc. Pierre Bonnassie's massive thesis assessing social conditions in Catalonia in the late tenth and eleventh centuries stands as a monument to thorough and creative archival scholarship in the tradition of Duby's study of the Mâconnais.³⁴ At about the same time Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier published her study of the Narbonnais north of the Pyrenees.³⁵ Her work, although offering less authoritative political and social conclusions than Bonnassie's, remains the most solid social history of the region, particularly because of her careful study of the ecclesiastical sources and institutions in an area where the archives have undergone much more relocation and fragmentation than on the Catalan side.³⁶

³² Proceedings published as *Montpellier, la Couronne d'Aragon et les pays de Languedoc (1204-1349): actes du XIIe congrès d'histoire de la Couronne d'Aragon. Montpellier 26-29 septembre 1985* (Montpellier, 1988).

³³ Proceedings published as *Catalunya i França meridional a l'entorn de l'any mil* (Barcelona, 1991). Particularly relevant is the subsection entitled "El «Midi» o els «Midis»?", where the unity and divergence of the regions are discussed. Pierre Bonnassie, who was involved in both these conferences, has also demonstrated this perspectival shift: one essay, "Du Rhône à la Galice: genèse et modalités d'un régime féodal," in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen: Xe-XIIIe siècles: bilan et perspectives de recherches: colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'Ecole française de Rome, Rome, 10-13 octobre 1978* (Rome, 1980), pp. 17-55, implies common threads shared not only between Languedoc and Catalonia, but among the other principalities of Christian Spain as well.

³⁴ Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*.

³⁵ Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l'Église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle* (Toulouse, 1974).

³⁶ Other regional *thèses* which must be mentioned include Jean-Pierre Poly's *La Provence et la société féodale (879-1166)* (Paris, 1976), another highly-acclaimed standard, although Provence is, strictly speaking, outside the geographical limits of the present study. Renée Mussot-Goulard's *Les princes de Gascogne, 768-1070* (Paris, 1982), and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, *L'Auvergne et ses marges (Velay, Gévaudan) du VIIIe au XIe siècle: la fin du monde antique?* (Le Puy-en-Velay, 1987) are less

One important continuous body of scholarship surrounds the major dynastic lineages, particularly, in Catalonia, the dynasty of Wifred the Hairy. Following the researches of Ramon d'Abadal on the early centuries of comital rule, some effort has been expended in extended reconstructions of the comital families, of their interrelationships, and, particularly, how they exercised their lordship. In addition to the various studies of Ramon d'Abadal,³⁷ one must mention the synthetic work of Josep Salrach.³⁸

Social reconstructions of the major dynasties in the Narbonnais North of the Pyrenees are scarcer.³⁹ Although the comital and vicecomital dynasties of the coastal *pagi* north of the Pyrenees lack recent major studies, the works of Pierre Ponsich for Conflent and Charles Higounet for Foix/Comminges offer searching reconstructions of dynastic and social history in the mountain counties.⁴⁰

Recent scholars have sought to reconstruct individual families of these regions with goals other than that of dynastic justification. It has become more fashionable (and easier) to examine families below comital stature. One example is the work of J. E. Ruíz Domenec.⁴¹ This study sought to reconstruct a lineage group to illuminate feudal tenure,

important to this study both in the proximity of the focus and in their comprehensiveness, although they are useful for their unique geographic perspectives. Lauranson-Rozas' work contains thoughtful sociological exploration of the major families of the Auvergne even in the early Carolingian period.

³⁷ Principally those articles gathered in *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1970). Also important is the posthumous edition of his introductory volume to the series *Catalunya Carolíngia*, "El domini carolíngi a Catalunya" (Barcelona, 1986).

³⁸ *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya (segles VIII-IX)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1978).

³⁹ Magnou-Nortier, *La société laïque et l'Église*, addressed questions of dynastic reconstruction for the major families of Septimania. Some excellent new research is evident in the work of Claudie Amado, "Pouvoirs et noblesse dans la Gothie: formation du réseau aristocratique biterrois au X^e siècle," in *Catalunya i França meridional..*, pp. 160-173. One must note that reconstructive hypotheses still dominate in such discussions for the tenth century.

⁴⁰ See the bibliography for the several works of Pierre Ponsich on Conflent and Roussillon, and of Charles Higounet for Comminges (and Gascony in general), generally published in the 'forties through the 'sixties. In addition, Paul Ourliac, in his introduction to the *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Lézat* (2 vols., Paris, 1984), provides the best assessment of the *potentes* in the upper Ariège valley in the tenth and eleventh centuries--an excellent example of careful family reconstruction in the context of the history of lordship in a given region. See Cheyette, "The Sale of Carcassonne...", p. 827 n. 5.

⁴¹ J. E. Ruíz Domenec, *L'estructura feudal: sistema de parentiu i teoria de l'aliança en la societat catalana (c. 980 - c. 1220)* (Sant Boi de Llobregat, 1985).

intermarriage, and the passage of lordships within an extended family among the several interrelated branches of the descendants of the viscounts of Barcelona in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. John Shideler's revisionist dynastic study of the Montcada family also explores the sociological aspect of the development of the Montcadas' power base.⁴²

Other perspectives within the study of the family have emerged. Among the highest aristocracy, it is possible to speak of expansionist or inter-regional policy, pursued through such means as marriage strategy. The houses of Barcelona and Toulouse have been considered in this light.⁴³ For lesser aristocracy, geographically localized studies have examined family relationships and interrelationships, either in urban centers or within specific regions or counties.⁴⁴ The study of urban birth (or rebirth) and growth is a major historiographical trend, a tack which has been most rewarding for the episcopal centers, such as Vic and Barcelona, whose capitular archives survive intact.⁴⁵ Several such studies been built upon close observation of the fortunes of local families.⁴⁶

⁴² John Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family: The Montcadas, 1000-1230* (Berkeley, 1983).

⁴³ See particularly Szabolcs de Vajay, "Comtesses d'origine occitane dans la Marche d'Espagne aux X^e et XI^e siècles: essai sur le rattachement de Richilde, de Garsende et de Letgardis, comtesses de Barcelone, et de Thietberge, comtesse d'Urgel, au contexte généalogique occitan," *Hidalguia* xxviii (1980), p. 585 ff.; and Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Jalons pour une enquête..." For Toulouse, an unpublished maîtrise considers the same question: H. Debax, *Les comtesses de Toulouse de l'an 800 à 1200* (Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, 1986).

⁴⁴ For example, Lluís To Figueras' doctoral dissertation, *Les estructures familiars en la Catalunya del Nord-est (segles X - XIII)* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1989). Ramon Martí Castelló's dissertation, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal de la producció al bisbat de Girona* (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1988) contains discussions of the early lordship of Girona (and of the families of the counts), as well as a *diplomatar* of the cathedral chapter from the ninth through eleventh centuries. Lydia Martínez i Teixidó's Toulouse maîtrise, published as *Les famílies nobles del Pallars en els segles XI i XII*, combines reconstruction of many lesser-known families with a collective analysis of name choice and naming patterns in Pallars.

⁴⁵ For Vic, see Paul H. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1983). Barcelona has a host of specialized studies, including the recent two-volume *Història de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 198x-), and the impressive volume on the Barcelonès in the series *Catalunya romànica* (vol. xx, *El Barcelonès, el Baix Llobregat i el Maresme*, Barcelona, 1992). John Hine Mundy, *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230* (New York, 1954) is an early and influential example of the genre for Languedoc.

⁴⁶ Paul Freedman's discussion of the families linked to the chapter of Vic is an enlightening example: *The Diocese of Vic*, pp. 48-60.

3. OTHER HISTORIOGRAPHICAL THEMES

Beyond the family, other social institutions can be observed through wills. Already broached is the subject of law, where, as has been noted, the bulk of studies of wills has been done. In Catalonia and the rest of Christian Spain, scholars have long evinced a keen interest in civil law in general, particularly in response to the surviving Visigothic law codes and formularies.⁴⁷ Pierre Bonnassie's thesis on Catalonia raised the question of the survival of Visigothic (pre-Carolingian) institutions of public law and authority.⁴⁸ Michel Zimmerman's study of the specific diplomatic evidence for the continuity or revival of Visigothic law (through citations or quotations) is an important work bridging legal history, usually based on prescriptive sources, with traces of those sources in charters.⁴⁹ In Languedoc a number of studies of probate law or private law in general, localized to specific counties, have attempted to make sense of documents which survive from before the period of the *coutumes* (generally appearing at the beginning of the thirteenth century).⁵⁰

It need hardly be stated that the most all-embracing social institution with relevance to wills is the Church. The vast majority of surviving pre-thirteenth-century wills are, in effect, pious documents, recording the generosity of the faithful as they seek to ensure the salvation of their souls. The study of religious institutions in Catalonia and Languedoc is a long and varied tradition, but the most recent historiographical trends in this field bear mentioning. One technique, which is by no means new, is the reconstruction of ecclesiastical patrimonies through study of charters, often combined with the critical edition

⁴⁷ In addition to Alonso Lambán's voluminous study in the *Revista del derecho notarial*, see Manuel María Pérez de Benavides, *El testamento visigótico: una contribución al estudio del derecho romano vulgar* (both cited above, n. 13) and various works of Álvaro d'Ors Pérez-Peix, cited in his and in this present bibliography.

⁴⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 115-178, particularly 119-126 ("La tradició romano-visigòtica") and 160-175 ("La justícia pública").

⁴⁹ Michel Zimmerman, "L'usage du droit wisigothique en Catalogne du IX^e au XII^e siècles. Approches d'une signification culturelle," in *Melanges de la Casa de Velázquez IX* (1973), pp. 233-281. See also his edition of the important tenth-century Ripoll formulary, "Un formulaire du X^e siècle conservé à Ripoll," *Faventia* iv/2 (1982), 25-86.

⁵⁰ See n. 12 above.

of those charters. Recent contributions to this field have been most creative in examining the social milieu of the church in question. Lluís To Figueras, in a prize-winning study of the small local monastery of Santa Maria de Cervià in the Gironès, traced the growth of the monastery, as well as social and economic conditions in the surrounding peasantry and elites who were involved through chartered transactions with the monastery.⁵¹ A more famous Catalan monastery, Sant Cugat del Vallès, was recently reexamined by Josep M. Salrach.⁵² Salrach was concerned specifically with the monastery's relations with the surrounding community in defense of the extensive tenth- and early eleventh-century patrimony, which was being challenged in subsequent generations by local families whose conceptions of land tenure and feudal relationships had changed.

II. DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

A. Document-Rich Lands

The Church must also be foremost when one considers the primary documentary evidence available for the study of medieval Languedoc and Catalonia. These regions are unusually rich sources for diplomatic evidence from the ninth century onward. Pierre Bonnassie estimated that there are at least fifteen thousand documents surviving from tenth- and eleventh-century Catalonia;⁵³ several thousand more may be counted from Languedoc. So overwhelming is the wealth of documents that Bonnassie chose to base his survey of medieval Catalonian politics and economy on a selection of four representative archival collections, totaling some 4,400 documents, containing predominantly original bills of sale.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Lluís To Figueras, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Cervià i la pagesia: una anàlisi local del canvi feudal* (Barcelona, 1991) (a study which includes editions of documents).

⁵² Josep Maria Salrach i Marés, "Formació, organització i defensa del domini de Sant Cugat en els segles X-XII," *Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia* xiii (1992), 127-173.

⁵³ Bonnassie, "From the Rhône to Galicia..." , p. 107.

⁵⁴ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 363ff (*La Catalogne*, ii, pp. 883ff).

Two explanations for the unusual wealth of early charters in post-Carolingian Languedoc and Catalonia are that, first, more documents were created there; and second, more documents have survived there. Like other Mediterranean cultures (notably Italy), Catalonia and Languedoc retained a relatively literate, sophisticated early medieval public order with roots in Roman and post-Roman (Romano-Visigothic) institutions, which was invigorated but not destroyed with the arrival of Carolingian domination. In Catalonia and Languedoc, something of the habit, if not the letter, of the (relatively) meticulous Romano-Visigothic legal traditions attributed to the fifth- and sixth-century Kingdom of Toulouse lived on in the post-Carolingian period.⁵⁵ The curious paradox has been noted that in such a milieu, one form of literary output, historical writing, was not so advanced in the post-Carolingian Midi as elsewhere in Western Europe.⁵⁶ However, there is also evidence that another form of literate behavior, that of the secular troubadour lyric and its precursors, may have flourished early in Languedoc and Catalonia.⁵⁷ At any rate, the lordship and the clergy of Languedoc and Catalonia, even in their lesser personifications, retained a familiarity with (although perhaps not a reverence for) the written word, generating and leaving extensive written records of everyday life.

The survival of documents varies inversely with the amount of social upheaval, war and other disasters to plague an area. Sub-Pyrenean Catalonia, encompassing a smaller area than Languedoc, retains a greater wealth of charters. This may be explained partially by the preservation of the great episcopal archival collections from four medieval sees now in

⁵⁵ See Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 193-197, for a discussion of the *Breviarium Alaricianum* and the *Codex Euricianus*, with some attention to the motivations and chronology of their promulgation. Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 119-126.

⁵⁶ T. N. Bisson, "Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades," *Speculum* lxx (1990), 281-308.

⁵⁷ Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin, Texas, 1965), p. 392.

modern Catalonia--la Seu d'Urgell, Vic, Barcelona and Girona.⁵⁸ The ecclesiastical and secular archives within modern France had a rather more chequered history in the last three hundred years, suffering particularly from relocation, absorption and destruction at the hands of the Revolutionary government and people.

B. Sources: Wills and Documentary Collections

The geographic extent of the collection of wills for this study has been determined, through trial and error, by the presence of such documents in published sources representative of much of North-eastern Spain and Southern and South-Western France. Within the borders of modern Spain, in addition to Catalonia, parallel sources have been examined from Aragon, Navarre, Castille and León; published documents from as far west as Oviedo have been consulted for comparative purposes. In Languedoc, the geographical parameters defined by the editors of the *Histoire générale de Languedoc* have been adopted, encompassing the archdiocese of Narbonne, dioceses westward to Auch, and northeastward to Le Puy. Within these areas, the principal repositories of published diplomatic sources have been systematically examined for the appearance of wills and related documents. The principal unpublished manuscript collections representing these areas have also been searched, with the exception of Aragonese and Catalan sources in Madrid. This heuristic effort has resulted in a core source base of 2,860 testamentary documents for these regions, from the period 800 through 1200. A small number of earlier documents as well as some from the thirteenth century have also been examined for comparative purposes.

Figures 1:1 and *1:2* show graphically the quantity of testamentary documents collected in the course of this study, detailing them chronologically by decade as well as separating them into their regions of origin--Catalonia, Languedoc, or Aragon (and Navarre). *Figures*

⁵⁸ The elevation of Solsona post-dates the period of this study. The archives of Roda-Lleida and Tarragona began with twelfth-century material, and do not survive in great quantity. Lleida's collections suffered in this century during the civil war.

1:3 and 1:4 show the same documents categorized by archival provenance, distinguishing types of clerical and secular archival collections, also varying chronologically by decade. *Figure 1:5* shows the same documents distinguished both by geographical location and by type of archive, providing more understanding of the regional and functional varieties which have shaped document survival and availability for this study.

1. ECCLESIASTICAL RECORDS

a. *The Dioceses*

The most complex religious institutions covering these regions are the bishoprics themselves. Documents from the episcopal collections of Nîmes, Maguelone, Adge, Béziers, Narbonne, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Elne, Girona, Barcelona, Vic, Urgell, Roda/Lleida, Jaca/Huesca form the core of the documentary base. Among them they account for more than a third of the collection, or some 1200 documents.

The Catalanian dioceses--Urgell, Vic, Barcelona, Girona and Elne, have by far the most surviving documents. Elne's archives are now represented only by its great twelfth-century cartulary, known currently through seventeenth-century copies made for Pierre de Marca and eighteenth-century copies made by François de Fossa. Anne-Marie Magnou is currently reconstructing the cartulary for an edition.⁵⁹ Girona, Vic, Urgell and Barcelona each have vastly larger archives, containing not only major cartularies but thousands of early individual parchments as well. In Barcelona, the most magnificent document is the great four-volume cartulary, the *Libri Antiquitatum*, with over 2300 charters from before 1200;

⁵⁹ The cartulary contained at several hundred documents, of which at least 50 are wills or testamentary documents. Most complete single copy: Perpignan, Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (hereinafter ADPO), 12 J 25 (volume 2 of a 3-volume *cahier* of François de Fossa). See *Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales*, série G, ed. Brutails et al. (Paris, 1904), p. viii. Notice of Mme. Magnou's undertaking was kindly furnished by Prof. Maurice Berthe, director of the Institut d'Études Méridionales in Toulouse.

thousands of contemporary original parchments are preserved as well.⁶⁰ Similar figures obtain for the sees of Girona, Vic and Urgell.⁶¹

To differing degrees some sees have lately improved organization and publication of their holdings. The early documents of the Capitular Archive of La Seu d'Urgell, rearranged in a single chronological series following their relocation after the Spanish Civil War, are being painstakingly published in chronological order in the journal *Urgellia*, created, it would seem, entirely for this admirable purpose, with some 1,800 pre-1190 documents published to date.⁶² The other Catalan episcopal archives retain older schemes of classification, and have been less successful in presenting their early documents in a unified published format. However, the four fascicles of the *Diplomatari* of Vic, comprising documents from before the year 1000, deserve notice as an effort paralleling that for the Urgell collection.⁶³ For Girona, the as-yet-unpublished *diplomataris* compiled by Ramon Martí Castelló for his doctoral dissertation is reasonably complete for the period through 1100.⁶⁴ Other Catalan and Aragonese sees do not retain archives as impressive. Systematic publication of Barcelona's early parish documentation has begun, but the central episcopal collection remains untouched.⁶⁵ In Aragon, Huesca's current collection of several

⁶⁰ *Rubrica dels Libri Antiquitatum de la Seu de Barcelona*, ed. Josep Mas, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1914-1915). See, for a historical discussion of the archive's holdings, *El Baix Llobregat i la Pia Almoïna de la seu de Barcelona: inventari dels pergamins*, ed. Josep Baucells i Reig (Barcelona, 1984), pp. 17-28.

⁶¹ Girona's major cartulary has recently been published: *El Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, del bisbe de Girona*, ed. Josep Maria Marquès i Planaguma, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1993).

⁶² "Els documents [dels segles IX-XII] conservats a l'Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d'Urgell," ed. Cebrià Baraut, *Urgellia: anuari d'estudis històrics dels antics comtats de Cerdanya, Urgell i Pallars, d'Andorra i la Vall d'Aran* ii (1979), 7-145; iii (1980), 7-166; iv (1981), 7-186; v (1982), 7-158; vi (1983), 7-243; vii (1984-5), 7-218; viii (1986-7), 7-149; ix (1988-9), 7-312; x (1990-1), 7-349, 473-625. See especially Baraut's discussion of the fonds, ii, pp. 8-13. Citations to documents from this series will be indicated merely by the journal title ("*Urgellia*"), volume number, and document number.

⁶³ *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic, segles IX-X*, ed. Eduard Junyent i Subirà, 4 fascicles (Vic, 1980-87).

⁶⁴ See note 44.

⁶⁵ The first volume to appear was *El Baix Llobregat i la Pia Almoïna de la seu de Barcelona* (cit. above, n. 60), discussing, in its general introduction, the entire archival collection.

hundred pre-1200 documents has been collected in a single published *colección diplomática*.⁶⁶ In the Rioja, Calahorra also boasts a lengthy published diplomatic collection.⁶⁷

In France, the situation is vastly different. Cartularies (or copies of cartularies) are the basis of surviving documentation for most of the sees in Languedoc.⁶⁸ The result of the relocation of archival holdings in the Revolution was that fewer original loose charters and fewer original cartularies have survived; extensive use must be made of copies.⁶⁹

b. Regular Clergy: Monastic/Military Fonds

Monastic houses (and houses of the military orders) have left rich archival holdings. This study includes 931 testamentary documents from monasteries, houses of canons regular, or priories--nearly another third of the present database. Many of the great Benedictine houses predating the Millennium developed extensive archival holdings, reflecting close ties of patronage and kinship with regionally powerful families. Generally, however, monastic archives have suffered in recent centuries. In France, the Revolution, and in Spain, the Napoleonic wars and dissolution of the early nineteenth century, as well as the Civil War of the early twentieth, caused major collections to disappear or be dispersed. However, several rich collections were central to this study, although all have been consolidated in state facilities or reconstructed after an interruption. Again the most voluminous documentation

⁶⁶ *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, ed. Antonio Duran Gudiol, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1965-9), with some three dozen wills in the collection.

⁶⁷ *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, ed. Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, 4 vols. (Logroño, 1976-1989).

⁶⁸ In addition to Elne: for Agde, see *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde*, ed. Odile Terrin, (currently being re-edited by the CNRS); for Maguelone, see the *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, ed. Rouquette & Villemagne, 9 vols. (Montpellier, 1212-1927); for Béziers, see the *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, Joseph Rouquette, (Paris, 1918); for Nîmes, see the *Cartulaire du chapitre de l'église cathédrale Notre-Dame de Nîmes*, ed. Eugène Germer-Durand, (Nîmes, 1874). For the archdiocese of Narbonne certain smaller cartularies are retained in the Archives Municipales (with copies in the collection Doat), but are not edited.

⁶⁹ Principally, the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century copies in Paris of now-lost fonds. For Languedoc, this consists primarily of material in the Collection Baluze from the papers of Pierre de Marca, individual entries to the chronological charter series in the Collection Moreau, and the Collection Doat and the Collection des Bénédictins, all in the manuscript collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

survives within Catalonia, where over thirty monastic houses with distinct documentary collections either compiled in print or extant in state archives have been consulted, yielding 777 documents. In Languedoc about half the number of houses, with another dozen from Aragon and Navarre, provide the remaining 154 testamentary documents from among the examined sources.

The military orders, which began accumulating endowments in the Midi and in Spain in the second quarter of the twelfth century, present documentary sources paralleling those of monastic patrimonies in kind if not in number. In Spain, these sources were united, following the absorption of the Templar patrimony and archives into the order of Saint John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers), and the passing of the Hospitallers' archives into state collections in Barcelona (Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó) and Madrid (Archivo Histórico Nacional) following the Civil War. In France, individual commanderies' documents remain dispersed in the departmental archives, such as the great cartulary of the Templar Commandery of Mas-Deu in Collioure, now housed in the departmental archive at Perpignan. Some 191 testamentary documents have been collected from the archives of the military orders, with 143 of Catalan provenance, 36 from Languedoc and one dozen from published sources in Aragon and Navarre. The Hospitaller-Templar archives in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó in Barcelona form the most voluminous collection. A separate parchment series of wills was culled from among thousands of records arranged by commandery, and formed into a distinct *Armari de Testaments* as early as the sixteenth century; this series holds 111 wills from before 1200, and another 250 from the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ *Armari* 28 of the archives of the Gran Priorat de Sant Joan at the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó. The original motivation for separating wills from other donations--probably more antiquarian than utilitarian--is not clear. See Federico Udina Martorell, *Guía histórica y descriptiva del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (Madrid, 1986), pp. 346, 352, 361-4. See also the *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-), vol. i, introduction. One must note that this *Armari* has been despoiled, as recently as this century (since the investigations of Joaquim Miret y Sans), of several important early wills which had long resided there.

2. COMITAL AND PATRIMONIAL COLLECTIONS

In contrast to documents retained by the medieval ecclesiastical or quasi-ecclesiastical endowments, the other, rarer documentary provenance is through patrimonial collections of an originally secular nature, including comital and royal archives (the precursors of state archives) as well as those of lesser lordly families, a very few of which have survived as private collections.⁷¹ Such secular patrimonial collections have yielded 316 testamentary documents from the regions studied.

By far the richest secular documentary collection covering the Midi and Catalonia is the *cancelleria* of the count-kings of Catalonia. Wills, particularly wills of members of the comital dynasty, form a significant part of the *cancelleria*, whose original purpose was to document the acquisition, partition and management of the comital patrimony. Two hundred twenty-five testamentary documents have been found in the main series of the *cancelleria*.

Another important private collection of secular provenance is the archive of the duke of Medinaceli in Seville, with important early Catalonian documents, notably from the counts of Empúries and Pallars, the viscounts of Vilamur and the lords of Òdena.⁷²

In Languedoc the most significant patrimonial collections survive in cartularies, such as the *Liber instrumentum memorialium* of the lords of Montpellier and the Trencavel cartulary.⁷³ Other sources include the (now much reduced) archives of Foix (with copies

⁷¹ The prime collection is the Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli in Seville. Others are available on deposit at state archives, such as the series of "Fondos Patrimoniales" housed in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, representing several noble families, most notably that of the marquès of Sentmenat.

⁷² The present ducal family descends from all these houses. Documents from this collection are published in several locations. See particularly María Isabel Simó Rodríguez, "Aportación a la documentación condal catalana," in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicada al profesor Antonio Martín Ocete*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1974); ii, pp. 1012-1036; Pilar Ostos Salcedo, "Documentación del vizcondado de Vilamur en el Archivo Ducal de Medinaceli (1126-1381)," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos* viii (1981), 267-389; and *La Baronía de la Conca d'Òdena*, ed. María del Carmen Álvarez Márquez, (Barcelona, 1990).

⁷³ *Liber instrumentorum memorialium: cartulaire des Guillems de Montpellier*, ed. A. Germain, (Montpellier, 1884-1886). On the unpublished Trencavel cartulary, see Hélène Debax, "Le cartulaire des Trencavel [*Liber instrumentorum vicecomitalium*]," in *Les Cartulaires: actes de la table ronde*

surviving in other fonds), and the French royal archives (series J), with documents consolidated after the union of the county of Toulouse with the crown.⁷⁴

3. OTHER SOURCES

In addition to the major collections whose provenance can be traced to specific lay or secular archives, a final 224 testamentary documents are drawn from “mixed” sources, consisting of published editions or modern manuscript collections, in which individual documents may have come from any of the types of document collections considered above. The largest number of these documents is drawn from the manuscript collection of the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona, whose manuscripts have been amassed from many private and ecclesiastical sources whose provenance is not readily ascertainable. Another collection representing antiquarian intervention, rather than more organic archival continuity, is the six-volume “recueil de testaments” compiled by the copyists of the collection Doat, containing several dozen testaments from the period before 1200, each drawn from some other part of the collection Doat, or from previously published editions.

C. Overview of the Source Collection

1. WILLS AS A PROPORTION OF ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS

This study draws principally on 2,860 wills and testamentary documents from the period 800 to 1200, assembled and categorized from published and manuscript sources of the kinds just described. Because wills form a relatively significant percentage of documents throughout the area and period of inquiry, they may be taken as representative, in some respects, of the collections from which they are drawn.

organisée par l'École Nationale des Chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991) (Paris, 1993); pp. 291-300.

⁷⁴ The early Toulouse and Foix documents from the Archives Nationales are calendared by Teulet & Laborde in the *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, vols. i and v. Other Foix documents are copied in the Collection Doat and published in the *HL*.

The importance of wills in these archival collections may be demonstrated roughly by considering wills as a percentage of complete document collections from the region. Generally, wills constitute around 10 percent of existing documents in integral collections. Curiously, the proportion of wills to all document types is consistently higher--often over 15 percent--in cartularies than for original loose-leaf parchment fonds.⁷⁵ The percentage does not remain static throughout the period covered: in the documents of the Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d'Urgell one can observe a steadily increasing proportion of wills among the overall surviving charters from the beginnings of the collection through the mid-twelfth century, ending in 1150 at about twenty-five percent. *Figure 1:6* represents a census of documents, by decade, from the Arxiu Capítular de la Seu d'Urgell, based on the series published in by Cebrià Baraut in the journal *Urgellia*. The documents are edited from original, loose parchments as well as copies in the two major cartularies, the *Liber dotationum ecclesiae urgellensis* and the *Cartulari de l'obra de Santa Maria*.⁷⁶ *Figure 1:7* shows the wills (and will-related documents) as a percentage of the whole Urgell Archival collection, by decade, suggesting a slow rise in the proportion of wills in the collection.

2. WILLS AND CARTULARIES

Given the importance of cartularies as a major repository of surviving documents, the question of the role of wills in cartularies is worth exploring. Since the proportion of wills is

⁷⁵ Some percentages for major collections are as follows: The [lost] cartulary of Elne, stated by Brutails (*Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales*, Série G) to have contained 212 complete documents, yields 50 wills and testamentary documents, or 23 percent. The cartulary of Sant Cugat (the edition of which admittedly contains a few documents not in the actual cartulary), numbers 205 wills among 1,219 pre-1200 documents, or 17 percent. The cartulary of "Carlemany" yields 39 wills from 321 documents, or 12 percent. The *Libri Antiquitatum*, with 248 wills among 2,320 pre-1200 documents, has 10.5 percent. In contrast, the proportion is usually under 10 percent for collections of original parchments. Calaix 6 of the Arxiu Capítular de Vic has 227 wills among around roughly 2,500 pre-1200 originals (or loose-leaf copies), for 9 percent. La Seu d'Urgell, with 133 wills in 1,498 pre-1200 documents, also yields 9 percent. The *Cancellaria* of the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (hereinafter ACA) yields 225 wills in the dated series of 2,646 documents before 1200, for 8.5 percent.

⁷⁶ Of these two cartularies the second, the *COSM*, has mostly thirteenth-century documents and later, with only a few early documents added later.

higher in cartularies than in document collections based on original individual parchments, one should conclude that wills were more likely to have been copied into cartularies than other documents in general, or than certain other types of documents.

A statistical analysis of the Urgell documents, considering their appearance in the cartulary, the *Liber dotationum ecclesiae urgellensis*, against their retention in original form, shows consistently that wills were generally at least twenty-percent more likely to have been copied into the cartulary than other documents of the same age. *Figure 1:8* represents this discrepancy graphically through a comparison of the percentage of surviving wills which were copied into the *liber dotationum* with the percentage of surviving documents of other types. For example, from the decade 1050-1060 thirty wills survive, along with 58 documents of all other types. Twenty-one of the wills, or 70 percent, are found in the cartulary (an original parchment also survives for one third of those found in the cartulary). Of the other 58 documents, only 26 (45 percent) are found in the cartulary; the compiler of the cartulary may have found the other documents less useful than wills--less worthy of immortalization in the cartulary.

This suggests that to the compilers of cartularies (many of whom were working in the late twelfth or thirteenth century), wills from the preceding generations had not lost their legal or evidentiary value. Rather, they were considered to be a class of document which retained its utility over a long period of time. It may be hypothesized that the higher incidence of wills in cartularies is due less to the positive merits of wills themselves, but rather to copyist's judgement of other, more ephemeral document types, such as third-party sale charters, whose continued relevance in a patrimonial archive would be less obvious. Bonnassie remarked, in his study of documents from Poblet, Vic, Barcelona and Sant Cugat, on the relative greater abundance of lay sale documents in original fonds, than in copied collections where they had been weeded out.⁷⁷ Bills of sale were generally unlikely to be

⁷⁷ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 18-19.

copied into cartularies, particularly, one would assume, if the documents reflected third-party transactions not recognizable as bearing on the patrimony of the archive's institution.

Why were wills favored? They were pious documents, much the same as the charters of pious donation with which they shared the shelf, the chest or the sack. The vast majority of surviving testamentary documents contain bequests to religious institutions, usually (but not always) including the institution in whose archive the will was preserved. In addition, wills often contained conditions attached to bequests, lasting for a term of years, a lifetime, or even indefinitely. Bequests were made to children or clerical colleagues with the condition that after their deaths, or if they should die childless (or without *legitimate* children), the property would revert to the church. Sometimes an indefinite cycle of tenure was initiated, with ultimate reversion to a church mandated only if certain conditions were not met. In these cases, it is understandable that the bequest would be watched carefully by the substitute or eventual beneficiary, the Church.⁷⁸

3. LIMITATIONS

Some gaps have remained in the systematic collection of source material for this study. By and large, these are in Catalonia proper, where the very large number and scope of the documentation examined precluded the necessity of complete exhaustivity. Three gaps in the episcopal documentation are not covered by systematic publication: the *Diversorum* parchments of the cathedral archive of Barcelona, the documents of the capitular and diocesan archives of Girona from 1100 to 1200; and the documents of the capitular archives of La Seu d'Urgell from 1190 to 1200 (now in the course of publication). In addition, some of the monastic collections currently in the Arxiu del Monestir de Montserrat were

⁷⁸ On this see below, chapter 5. See particularly Josep M. Salrach i Marés, "Formació, organització i defensa del domini de Sant Cugat," on the subject of defense of monastic patrimony through husbanding of records, considering the cartulary of Sant Cugat. Salrach remarks on eleventh- and twelfth-century evidence of legal action and disputes between the monastery and the tenants in these situations.

unavailable to this researcher due to conservation and filming schedules. Finally, some of the fonds, grouped by commandery, of the Hospitaller archives in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó were not systematically searched. These, however, were the series from which the *Armari de Testaments* was built in the sixteenth century.

Reliance on surviving examples of a genre can never yield an unbiased view of that genre. It is clear that the surviving wills, even in the most comprehensive document collections and cartularies, are a body which has been edited by chance and by notions of perceived utility on the part of those who have had the power to preserve or to obliterate. Nine tenths of the examined wills survived due to their place in the documentation of an institutional patrimony; the others were preserved by lay lords (such as the counts of Barcelona) whose comital or familial collections came to be viewed as institutional. It is arguable whether (or to what extent) the archival collection of the counts of Barcelona, at the time of the confection of the *Liber feudorum maior*, or the patrimony it documented, was viewed as a public institution any more than, say, the archives of the lords of Sentmenat, whose early parchments would land in a “public” collection eight hundred years later.

It is not clear, however, that the surviving wills must be terribly skewed toward clerical or institutional representation. Virtually all the wills in secular patrimonial collections also contain some mention of clerical beneficiaries; the typical “pious” will which has survived can not be ruled out as the typical document that was created. Nonetheless, we must imagine that for every parchment testament we may now read, many more such documents have been lost. And for every testator whose last statement was placed in writing, tens or hundreds of lords, peasants and clergy left no will, either already having disposed of his possessions through donations *inter vivos*, or consigning disposition of goods to verbal arrangements (as among family members), or perhaps simply remaining silent, allowing whatever custom was then current to dictate the process.

CHAPTER 2. THE WILL: DEFINITION, TYPOLOGY AND EARLY HISTORY

I. TERMS AND DOCUMENTS

The will, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is *either* “a person’s formal declaration of his intention as to the disposal of his property or other matters to be performed after his death, most usually made in writing,” *or* “the document in which such intention is expressed.”⁷⁹ This study is concerned with both elements--the desires of the testator, however expressed, and the nature and structure of the expression of these desires; that is, with the document or documents recording them, which we will in this context call ‘testaments.’ A third focus is on the systems within which the desires are expressed and acted upon, and within which the documents are written. These systems, which could, not anachronistically, be called ‘probate’ systems, can be considered independently as legal and cultural institutions, where testators, their families and beneficiaries interact with the secular and/or ecclesiastical personnel with authority over the process. By considering wills as desires, wills as documents, and wills as legal and cultural processes or events, this study hopes to transcend one of the limitations of previous investigations. The debates of the diplomatists and legal historians have often relied too heavily upon the prescriptive sources--the law codes, epitomes and formularies--which may present a distorted picture of actual notarial practice, and which at any rate can tell us little about actual habits of pious or familial bequest.

The Latin, Romance and German equivalent to the word “will” in modern use is *testamentum* and its descendants.⁸⁰ However, rather than being more accurate and specific a term, *testamentum* bears ambiguities of meaning all its own. Du Cange defines it principally as a term used for any charter of donation, whereas Niermeier notes its usage in the broadest

⁷⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st ed. “Will” *substantive*¹, definition 23.

⁸⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 1st ed. “Testament” *substantive*, definitions 1, 2.

diplomatic sense, as “any written deed.”⁸¹ The historical development in usage is not altogether clear. Alternative meanings in ecclesiastical use, such as the selection of “testamentum” in Latin for the scriptural embodiment of the covenant between man and God, certainly date at least from the late Empire.⁸² While Niermeier found literary and prescriptive references to “testamentum” as any written act from the sixth century on (Gregory of Tours, Frankish laws), Ulrich Nonn noted only a gradual loosening in actual diplomatic usage from a stricter Romanist definition of “will” until, by the early eighth century, it could indicate any donation charter or even documents of other kinds.⁸³ This gradual loosening of the diplomatic sense, as well as the continued use of other meanings, particularly in an ecclesiastical context, ensured in post-Carolingian documents that the word *testamentum* was open to idiosyncratic usage which varied locally. Thus there are hundreds of medieval charters of different types, having nothing to do with the distribution of property after death, which call themselves *testamenta*.⁸⁴ “*Testamentum*” clutters up the index of many a text edition. It is interesting to note where such variation occurs. Generally one finds it in areas which did not retain a well-developed notarial and social institution of testaments in the strict sense. This point will be raised again when geographical limitations of testamentary traditions are examined.

More generally, however, the stricter meaning of “testamentum” will be what is intended with the use both of “testament” and of “will,” and in most circumstances no attempt will be made consistently to distinguish the legal acts from the documentary notice

⁸¹ Du Cange at “I. Testamentum.” Niermeier, “testamentum,” definition 2, with quotations from Gregory of Tours and the Salic law.

⁸² Niermeier, “testamentum,” definition 5.

⁸³ Nonn, “Merovingische Testamente,” particularly pp. 120-128. Cf. also Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 9, 139.

⁸⁴ As an extreme example one may cite the magnificent illuminated cartulary of Oviedo, the early twelfth-century *Liber testamentorum* of bishop Pelayo, which, in fact, contains no testamentary documents in the strict sense, although most documents (ninth to twelfth centuries) are rubricated *testamentum* and also identify themselves as such within the charter. *El libro de los testamentos de la catedral de Oviedo*, ed. Francisco Javier Fernandez Conde, (Rome, 1971).

of such acts. In the next few chapters, the will as a text subject to diplomatic analysis and the will as a dispositive act subject to legal analysis will share the stage with the will as merely a package of desires, bequests and other arrangements made by the testator, however they may have been validated, recorded or implemented. Another focus will be the probate system--the system of execution and publication of wills, both oral declarations and written documents--which could be considered as the cultural dimension of the will.

In the past hundred-odd years the historiographical debate over wills has principally been centered on the question of origins (i.e. Roman or Germanic) and development into the modern testamentary systems of the major western European nations. In this chapter, basic working definitions will be tendered, and the historiography of the legal nature and the evolution of wills will be traced, with the aim of placing the Carolingian and post-Carolingian documents from Languedoc and Catalonia in a chronological and geographic continuum.

A. Definitions and Debates

Scholars have offered various schemes, in English, for dealing consistently with the variety of documents and legal concepts which can be embraced (or touched) by the word “will”. Michael Sheehan adopted the convention of italicizing the word “will” when referring strictly to written testamentary source documents and retaining the standard type face when discussing the “variety of oral legal acts” which expressed an individual’s desires for distribution of property at death.⁸⁵ The variety of written records he called, in the aggregate, “documentary evidence for the distribution of property at death.”⁸⁶ He distinguished, separately for the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest periods, the major types of acts associated with varying strategies for such distribution: the gift *post obitum*, the death-bed gift, and the *cwilde*, or fully-featured oral will declaration. Dorothy Whitelock applied the term “will”

⁸⁵ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 19-20.

⁸⁶ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, p. 21 (chapter sub-heading).

more generally to her collected documents, but preferred “bequest” when only one property was disposed of, or only one beneficiary named, in the document.⁸⁷

Sheehan’s insistence on distinguishing the written record from the legal act is indicative of a major focus of past scholarship on wills, and indeed on most forms of “private” charter: the debate over their dispositive versus commemorative nature; that is, whether the essential act is oral or written. H. D. Hazeltine pondered the commemorative-dispositive distinction with respect to Anglo-Saxon testaments in the preface to Dorothy Whitelock’s edition of Anglo-Saxon wills. He decided firmly, following German legal scholars’ emphasis on the oral nature of transactions of gift in the Germanic tradition, that the Anglo-Saxon written testaments were entirely evidentiary or commemorative, and devoid of any dispositive value. Hazeltine was convinced that the meat of a will, “the act in the law, is oral.” Yet the oral pronouncement of a bequest, even if verbs of giving were employed in the present tense, merely indicated a desire (or a binding promise) of a later transferal.⁸⁸ Sheehan, whose work on English wills spanned a larger (and later) period, was unwilling to deny any dispositive value in later medieval written testaments, but agreed that the dispositive nature of Anglo-Saxon written testaments could not be proved from the texts themselves.⁸⁹

Given the idea that the will expresses a legal act which should be considered as quite distinct from the creation of a written testamentary document, it seems vital to understand the relation between the legal events and the writing of the documents through which we know them. Documents aside, legal acts themselves can be quite complicated. Hazeltine pointed out that there are (in the case of a simple *donatio post obitum*, or bequest) two legal

⁸⁷ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*.

⁸⁸ H. D. Hazeltine, “Comments on the writings known as Anglo-Saxon wills,” [= General Preface] in Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. viii-xi. See Sheehan’s discussion of Hazeltine’s statements, and of the general scholarly reaction, in *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 52-4.

⁸⁹ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 20, 52-4, 186-188.

acts involved: “the gift-contract and the gift-transfer.”⁹⁰ He did not, however, adequately analyze the second of these two acts. An additional legal and temporal complication has entered with the idea that beneficiaries receive their legacies after the testator’s death, whereas his expression of his will obviously occurred before his death, and usually the redaction of a document memorializing that will also occurred before his death (if he signed it). The bequest is much more complicated than the donation *inter vivos*, where a ceremony, speech, signing of a document, or other symbolic event actually memorializes the instantaneous transfer of property from one individual to another. In contrast, when are the rights to property transferred in a bequest? When the testator declares his will? When a testamentary document is written and signed? When the testator expires? The moment of “gift-transfer” only arrives when the beneficiary is finally recognized to be in full, unfettered ownership of his legacy--at that moment the bequest can be said to have been executed.

Henri Auffroy cited a definition of “testament” from the French civil code of 1804, as “l’acte par lequel le testateur dispose, pour le temps où il n’existera plus, de tout ou partie de ses biens, et qu’il peut révoquer.” He suggested his own definition for the testament: “l’acte par lequel la volonté d’un mort crée, transmet ou éteint des droits,” placing emphasis on the power of the bequest statement itself rather than on the power of the person who had made it.⁹¹ While this particular statement does not strictly identify the will as either an oral or a written act, it does point to one peculiar nature of the will, or of any bequest *post obitum*: between the dead testator and the ultimate beneficiary of a bequest, a third legal entity must be interposed to complete the “gift-transfer.” A bequest can not be considered an act *inter vivos* between the testator and the beneficiary, because the bequest is not transferred until after the death of the testator. Rather, through the agency of the will, “the act which transfers rights”, is implied either some legal corporate extension of the dead testator, or the

⁹⁰ In Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, xi-xii.

⁹¹ Auffroy, p. 6 & n.1.

interposition of some other third element between the deceased and the beneficiary. R. J. R. Goffin focused on this third, intermediate party, in the person of the Germanic *salmann* and its descendant, the modern testamentary executor.⁹²

Related to the timing of the legal phases of the declaration, memorialization and execution of a bequest, is the moment at which such a sequence of events becomes irrevocable. Is the initial declaration of a *donatio post obitum* binding? A simple, outright, instantaneous gift is obviously irrevocable. Wills or bequests can be understood as either revocable or irrevocable.⁹³ Donations *post obitum* are, in Sheehan's words, "irrevocable contractual acts" effecting some sort of distribution of property at death to one or multiple beneficiaries, but with the irrevocability of an outright gift.⁹⁴ Hazeltine even stated that all Anglo-Saxon wills were "a bundle of these Germanic contractual *donationes irrevocabiles post obitum*."⁹⁵ In general, the language of individual documents treating bequests or wills reveals varying conceptions of revocability. The most obviously irrevocable bequests are those pious bequests which implicitly involve bilateral obligations, as when both the donor and the recipient agree on certain actions commencing immediately: payment of a *tascha*, recognition of rights, etc. An example of a donation with reservation of income and privileges may be found in a tenth-century donation charter from Elne:

... in tale vero deliberatione ut dum ego Vuifredus vivo, teneam et possideam et exfructare faciam ipsa parrochia et ipsas ecclesias et ipsas primitias et ipsas decimas et ipsas oblationes it ipsum alodem jam superius insertum cunctis diebus vite mee, et tu Riculfus episcopus [Elenensis] et successores tui tenere faciatis ipsam meam portionem de ipso stagno et ipsum mansum ubi Vuidamirus habitat, cum suas terras in Sarina de ipso alode; et ego Vuifredus quando venturus ero in ipsa villa Bajas honorem habeam apud te Riculfo episcopo vel successoribus tuis de ipso stagno in

⁹² Goffin, particularly pp. 13-33.

⁹³ On the possible connection between irrevocability and the double meaning of the word "testamentum", see Pérez de Benavides, p. 150.

⁹⁴ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, pp. 25-26, citing Heusler, *Institutionen des deutschen Privatrechts*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885-6), ii, pp. 117-125, 621-657. Sheehan also summarizes the various subdivisions of this group discerned (or imagined) by continental scholars, p. 26.

⁹⁵ Whitelock, pp. xii, xxii

vita mea, et post obitum meum remanere faciat ista omnia superius inserta ab omnem integritatem domum sancte Eulalie sedis Elenensis ...⁹⁶

The distinction has been made between two types of acts which have essentially the same function of transferal of property after death: a *donatio post obitum*, as defined above, and a *donatio reservato usufructu*--a *donatio inter vivos* wherein the donor reserves the usufruct of the property for his own lifetime--as in the example above.⁹⁷ In both cases enjoyment of the property is only transferred after death, but in the latter case the title or some sort of legal right in the land seems to be transferred during the first legal phase, that is, when the gift is declared; this arrangement would thus seem to be less revocable than the simple promise of a transferal after death.

B. Types of Documents

These debates have distinguished (and hitherto excluded) several types of testamentary or quasi-testamentary document which will be considered together. In this study, *donationes* of the two kinds just mentioned (*donationes post obitum*, *donationes reservato usufructu*) have been considered along with more elaborate testaments as indications of desires for disposition of property after death. Almost always, one property or group of properties is transferred (or marked for later transfer) to one beneficiary in such *donationes*. More elaborate documents which preserve the protocol and vocabulary of *testaments* but which, similarly, only dispose of a single property, or group of properties, to one beneficiary, differ only formally from these *donationes*.⁹⁸ In a functional sense all of these acts will be

⁹⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereinafter BN), Moreau, vol. 9, ff. 71r-72v. Donation of Vuifredus to see of Elne, 28 March 959. Eighteenth-century copy by François Fossa from (lost) Cartulary of Elne, f. 97.

⁹⁷ Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England*, p. 26, citing Rudolf Hubner, *A history of Germanic private law* (Boston, 1918), pp. 691, 744. See also Alfonso García Gallo, "Del testamento romano al medieval: las líneas de su evolución en España," *Anuario de historia del derecho español* xlvii (1977), 425-497, particularly at pp. 459-460. This issue was addressed in greatest depth by Manuel Paulo Merêa, "Sobre a revogabilidade das doações por morte," in his *Estudos de direito hispânico medieval*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1952-53), vol. i., pp. 173-198.

⁹⁸ Ulrich Nonn included the donation charter of Irmina of Oeren, first abbess of Echternach, from 697, in his discussion of Merovingian testaments because of its virtually complete use of testamentary formulae, even though functionally it is no more than a *donatio inter vivos, a die*

considered together as ‘bequests’, using Dorothy Whitelock’s distinction of single versus multiple transfers.

In the first chapter, when the collected documents were presented in the aggregate, many different types of document were lumped together as testamentary documents. These two types of *donatio* were also considered, along with wills in a stricter diplomatic sense, as well as other documents ancillary to the testamentary process. It would now be wise to consider more strictly some of the basic different types of testamentary documents in use in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Catalonia and Languedoc before probing their Romano-Germanic precursors.

Adalbert’s testamentary documents from the year 1010 (Adalbert, the son of viscount Guitard of Barcelona, was cited in the introduction to this study) typify a major pattern in Languedoc and Catalonia in the tenth and eleventh centuries: three distinct types of document seem to have been created in the process of the confection, publication, and execution of a will. Although Adalbert is a rare exception in that documents of all three types survive from his testamentary process, nonetheless his documents are typical of what can be found from the area between Barcelona and Narbonne, in the period between 960 and 1100. As a preface to further exploration of testamentary typology and its origins, we will define and discuss each type of document in turn and observe how they fit together to describe the testamentary process in this classic period.

I. WILLS

The first type of document, identified with the will in the modern practice of most western countries, is the written statement of the desires of an individual (or more than one individual) for the disposition of his or her possessions after death.⁹⁹ This may be classified

presenti. Nonn, p. 32. The document: Camille Wampach, *Geschichte der Grundherrschaft Echternach im Frühmittelalter*, i/2 (Luxemburg, 1930), no. 4.

⁹⁹ See the definitions provided in the beginning of this chapter.

as a *first-person* document because the testator is present, the text is usually couched in the first person (as if the document were being dictated) and the testator may sign or mark the document, along with the witnesses and the scribe.¹⁰⁰

Within the category of will there are several types of subdivisions to be made. One method of categorization dates from the *liber iudiciorum* of the sixth and seventh century, which admitted several types of will, based on different conditions of authentication at the time of the testament's creation (e.g. whether the testator had actually signed or only marked the document, whether the witnesses were servile or free, etc.).¹⁰¹ Oral testaments were also known, but are of course only known to us now if transcribed in some other diplomatic form, after the fact, or if recorded in narrative sources.

Another means of categorizing wills was also recognized in contemporary sources. Wills can be (and were) distinguished according to the declared motives of the testator, stated either as an *arenga* (as with pious motives) or in apposition to the identification of the sick or traveling testator as a *narratio*. A common motivation is ill health: "... Ego, Stephanus, dum iacebam in lectulo meo cum egritudine detentus ..." is a typical testamentary beginning.¹⁰² Ill health or injury is not generally discussed in the testament beyond the few words necessary to identify a testator *in egritudine*. One exception is the specification of childbirth as the potentially fatal condition for female testators. Two Catalan testaments attest to this.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Many testaments are couched in the third person, but should be considered first-person documents if other evidence suggests that the document is made at the request of the testator, in his presence and during his lifetime. Most such "third-person" documents are signed by the testator. For example, see Adalbert's testament, *Cart. Sant Cugat*, no. 441; quoted below, p. 42.

¹⁰¹ *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12-14, 16 (edited in the *Leges visigothorum*, ed. Karl Zeumer [*MGH, Leges nationum germanicarum*, i] (Hanover & Leipzig, 1902), pp. 112-116. See also Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, p. 52. See below, pp. 67ff for a detailed discussion of the testament in the *Liber iudiciorum*.

¹⁰² BN, Doat, vol. 57, ff. 34r-37r. Testament of Stephen, 26 September 993 (copied from archives of the chapter of Saint-Paul of Narbonne).

¹⁰³ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, ii, no. 678 (26 August 1073), the publication of a testament of a Guilia Arberti, who clearly died in childbirth; and *Liber feudorum maior: cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel i Rosell, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945-47), i, no. 19 (4 April 1152), the testamentary donation in which Petronilla, in labor with her first child (Pere, who

In the face of a dangerous undertaking, such as a long-distance pilgrimage, a testament may read like this: “... Igitur in Dei nomine ego Arnallus Remundi, cupiens pergere Roma atque visere domum Sancti Petri apostoli causa orationis ...”¹⁰⁴ War provokes similar testaments: “... Quapropter in Dei nomine ego Geraldus sanus et incolumis volens ire in exercitu Tolose cum rege Aragonensis ...”¹⁰⁵ In some cases these motives may not be explicitly expressed in the *arenga* of the testaments themselves, but may become clear with other evidence. Adalbert’s testament begins with a rather informal third person protocol “Breve memoratorio que facit domno Adalberto de suum avere que chomendavit ad suos elemosinarios ...”¹⁰⁶ Only from the circumstance of his death in battle do we know that he probably made this testament in the knowledge that he would soon go far afield in the host of his lord, count Ramon Borrell.¹⁰⁷

These basic distinctions of pilgrimage-testaments and testaments “in egritude” are represented in a tenth-century formulary manuscript from the monastery of Ripoll, which contains two sample testamentary texts--one for a pilgrimage, the other for illness.¹⁰⁸ Note that the formula for a pilgrimage document is entitled only “prologus testamenti,” and does not include the formula in apposition to the *intitulatio* (as in the example above), but rather embeds the notice of the journey a little later, among the instructions to the *elemosinarii*:

died young), bequeathed the *regnum* of her uncle Alfonso to the unborn child. Nuria Jornet includes this distinction in her discussion of the motivations for female testators, citing the 1073 document: Jornet, *Ego Femina*. See the “Anàlisis diplomàtic” and no. 59 of her *recull*.

¹⁰⁴ ACA, Perg. Santa Maria d’Amer, no. 8. Testament of Arnallus Raimundi, 15 March 1066. Original.

¹⁰⁵ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, 184. Testament of Geraldus, 6 September 1175. *Translatio* of 12 September 1197. On Alfons’ expedition of 1175, correctly dated only by this and the testament of another warrior (Bernat d’Anglesola), see Agustí Altisent, “À propos de l’expédition d’Alphonse le Chaste à Toulouse en 1175,” *Annales du Midi* lxxix (1967), 429-436.

¹⁰⁶ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, no. 441; see note 100 above. Testament of Adalbert, 18 October 1011 (misdated--see above, n. 1).

¹⁰⁷ It actually appears that Adalbert may have made his testament twice in the presence of two groups of witnesses, although only one copy has survived. See above, chapter 1., n. 1.

¹⁰⁸ Now ACA, MS Ripoll 74. Edition: Michel Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...,” at pp. 77-78. For previous editions and discussions of the Ripoll formulary, see Zacarías García Villada, “Formularios en la bibliotecas y archivos de Barcelona (siglos X-XI),” *Anuari de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans* iv (1911-12), 533-543, at 539-40; and *Cart. Sant Cugat*, introduction, vol. i, p. xxxi.

... Precipio namque vobis amicis meis et precor ut si in isto itinere quod ego Domino annuente pergere cupio, id est ad limina beati Petri apostoli Rome vel aliorum sanctorum mors mihi advenerit ...

The second formula does contain the motivation clause in apposition to the *intitulatio*: "... Igitur ego ille iacens in lectulo meo, detentus nimia egritudine ..." ¹⁰⁹

The most common type of declared testamentary motivation encompasses a host of formulaic pious *arengas*. For example:

In nomine domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Jozbertus timeo et paveo penas Inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudia et premia Paradisi, Deo propicio, sano animo, metuens casu repentina mors michi perveniat, hunc testamentum fieri volui ... ¹¹⁰

The real force of religious motivation, the desire to achieve Heaven and avoid Hell, cannot be underestimated, nor can it always be accepted at face value as the declared motive for the economic transaction that some testaments really are. The pious-motivation *arenga* very often appears in wills (or outright donations) where the beneficiaries are religious institutions. Most of the surviving wills from before the year 800 have such clauses, some very elaborate. When the bequests are substantial one is tempted to look beyond the rhetoric to ulterior motives: perhaps a political or economic alliance is being formed or reinforced between the church in question and the testator's family, in ways not fully described in the testament.

¹⁰⁹ In Zimmerman's edition the title is rendered "Testamentum de morte," but one is tempted to expand the manuscript's generic abbreviation to read "Testamentum de moriente"--i.e. of a dying man.

¹¹⁰ BN, Moreau, vol. 17, ff. 226r-227r. Testament of Jozbert, 1 October 1004 (or 1005). Copy, s. 18, by François Fossa from (lost) Cartulary of Elne, f. 68v. Nuria Jornet recognized six major elements of the variable pious *arenga*, which could be compounded or used independently: 1. reference to the redemptive function of God, liberator for the Devil and Death ("spero in misericordia Dei salvatori nostri qui nos eripuit de potestate diaboli a morte perpetua mirabiliter, se ipsum oferendo nos liberavit, sed illum nobis est qui redimit populum suum de peccato et redimit nos a morte secunda"). 2. fear of death or Hell, desire for heaven (as in Jozbertus' testament above); 3. the inevitable death of the flesh (quia nullus in carne positus mortem evadere potest"); 4. a simple admission of sin (in the *titulus*, "miser peccator"); 5. recognition of the value of alms ("omnes quas habeo possessiones pro peccatorum meorum redemptione distribuere cupio"); and 6. fear of dying intestate ("ne se improvisu mors mihi advenerit intestate remaneant"). See Jornet, *Ego Femina*, in the "Anàlisis diplomàtic."

The language of the pious *arenga* in the ninth- through twelfth-century testaments in Catalonia and Languedoc embraced considerable variety. Michel Zimmerman noted that they borrowed elements from both Frankish and Visigothic formulae.¹¹¹ Curiously, the pious *arenga* for the two testaments in the Ripoll formulary (one for a pilgrim, another for a moribund testator) both also incorporate a formula borrowed from the Frankish *Formulae Turonenses* and the *Marculfi formulae*, used in both formularies for a pious donation charter. Zimmerman correctly noted, however, that this particular *arenga*, despite its appearance in the Ripoll formulary, did not gain widespread use in Catalonian testaments: in common practice, scribes preferred many of the other, briefer formulae which were also current (or had appeared earlier) in pious donation charters. The earliest use of the incipit “Dum fragilitas...” in a Catalonian testament appears to be in that of count Borrell II of Barcelona in 993.¹¹² Borrell was neither stated to be moribund nor departing on a journey. This reflects the fact that the more elaborate pious *arengas* are usually found in those testaments with no obvious motivation of ill health or imminent departure, but pious language appeared to some degree in virtually all testaments.¹¹³

No early tenth-century Catalonian or Occitanian testament has been found, with the incipit *Dum fragilitas*, which could have been used as a model for the Ripoll formulary. Zimmerman observed that the *arenga* paralleled a donation-charter formula from the eighth-century Marculf formulary, and that *arengas* of pious donations and of testaments were to

¹¹¹ Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...,” pp. 33, 39-41.

¹¹² Borrell’s testament, *Urgellia* iii, no. 232 (24 September 993); the incipit is here “*Cum fragilitas ...*,” in Cebrià Baraut’s edition, from the thirteenth-century cartulary copy. Zimmerman (“Un formulaire...,” p. 40 and n. 44) does not refer to Borrell’s testament, citing first that of Madexus, *sacriscrinus* of Vic in 1004 (Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 63).

¹¹³ The exception which proves the rule was found by Zimmerman: the first use of the “Dum fragilitas” *arenga* as an opening for a pilgrimage-testament is in a document from Gerri in 1081. “Un formulaire...,” p. 40 and n. 44; Ignasi Puig i Ferreté, *El monestir de Santa Maria de Gerri (segles XI-XV)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), ii, no. 27.

some extent interchangeable.¹¹⁴ Yet “Dum fragilitas” does appear as the arenga in a ninth century testament elsewhere on the southern fringe of the Frankish world: in Verona, in 844, the archdeacon Pacificus and his sister Anna wrote a joint testament beginning with a variant on the same arenga (after the *invocatio* and regnal dating clause).¹¹⁵ It is another tantalizing clue to the breadth of the notarial culture in the southern Carolingian fringe.

The distinctions of motive and shades of pious rhetoric are important for understanding the circumstances in which testaments were most likely to be written; however, they do not affect the content function of the document. There are, as we have seen, certain other documents which may be provisionally classified as variants of wills on *functional* grounds. Control of property is intended to change hands after the author’s death, but the mechanism of transfer may be expressed in some other way than a formal testamentary bequest—that is, as a *donatio post obitum* or a *donatio reservato usufructu*. These documents all attest to the desires of an individual for the disposition of his property after death, with the limitation that the *donationes* generally treat only one beneficiary, rather than parceling out properties to many—hence they fall under Whitelock’s category of “bequests.”

A sub-category of these related *donationes* includes a certain kind of self-oblation, or “corpus” charter, in which an individual accompanies an act of affiliation or entry into a religious order with a disposal of some or all his worldly goods, usually in favor of the institution he is joining. While some formal written testaments reveal that the testator is entering religious orders, a rather larger number of *donationes* exists from Languedoc and Catalonia, wherein the donor first donates soul and body to a religious or military order, accompanied by some kind of final disposition of some or all of the entrant’s possessions. In

¹¹⁴ Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...,” pp. 33, 40. The relevant formulary texts: *Marculfi formulae* II/4 (*Formulae merovingici et karolini aevi*, ed. Karl Zeumer [MGH *Legum*, sectio 5] (Hanover, 1882-1886), pp. 76-7); *Formulae turonenses*, additamenta, no. 1 (*Formulae*, p. 159).

¹¹⁵ Vittorio Fainelli, *Codice diplomatico veronese della caduta dell'impero romano alla fine del periodo carolingio*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1940-1963), i, no. 176 (9 September 844).

a small number of such charters, women affiliate themselves with communities of male canons or commanderies of military orders:

... Ego Azalaidis femina dono et laudo corpus meum et animam meam domino Deo et ad sanctam miliciam templi Iherosolimitani qui vocatur Templum Salamonis ad ipsos qui ibi sunt milites et in antea venturi sunt ad servicium Dei faciendum subtus obedienciam de ipso magistro qui ibidem est et in antea venturus est sine ulla proprietate. Et ad sanctam miliciam suprascriptam de Iherusalem dono et laudo omnem meum alodem ...¹¹⁶

These female *corpus* charters raise questions concerning the composition of such communities, and the inclusion of widows, and even still-married lay couples in community life.¹¹⁷ Other *corpus* charters, far from being final dispositions of those about to enter religious life, appear rather as contracts to secure places of burial, usually accompanied by *donationes* either *post obitum* or *reservato usufructu*. A classic example is the charter in which count-king Alfons I promised his body to Poblet (ii.1176), which touched off a series of copycat charters as people sought reservation of burial at the new royal necropolis.¹¹⁸

2. PUBLICATION CHARTERS

The other two major categories of testamentary charter are both “third-person” documents in the sense that the testator is not a party to the creation of the document (being usually already dead). The first of these two is the publication charter, a commemorative record of a ceremony or court in which the testamentary desires of a deceased person were made public, sworn to or verified by the testimony of witnesses and/or the reading of a written will (a document of the first type). Publication charters exist in several forms in

¹¹⁶ ADPO, H (prov.) 191, *Cartulaire des Templiers de Mas-Deu*, f. 135v-136r. Donation/corpus of Azalaidis, 29 July 1133 (copy, s. 13). See below, Appendix D, no. 11.

¹¹⁷ See José Orlandis Rovira, “‘Traditio corporis et animae’: la ‘familiaritas’ en las iglesias y monasterios españoles de la alta Edad Media,” *Anuario de Historia del derecho español* (1954), 95-279; and Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, “Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple aux XII^e siècle,” *Annales du Midi* lxxiii (1961), 377-391. For further discussion of the *corpus* charters, see below, chapter 6.

¹¹⁸ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, ed. Agustí Altisent (Poblet, 1993), no. 549 (hereinafter (“*Poblet*”). At least seven such charters survive from the succeeding five years. *Poblet*, nos. 584 and 590; and Jaime Santacana Tort, *El monasterio de Poblet (1151-1181)* (Barcelona, 1974), nos. 205, 215, 226, 232 and 235.

tenth- to twelfth-century Languedoc and Catalonia. The most common, and most elaborate, form which dominated Catalonian usage in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries followed an explicit formula, but significant variations and confections *ad libitum* are to be found in Catalonia as well as in Languedoc.¹¹⁹ Testamentary publication of sorts was mandated by both Roman and Visigothic law, usually to occur within a fixed time after the death of the testator.¹²⁰ The archetypal high-medieval Catalano-Septimanian publication charter records this ceremony, memorializing the oaths sworn and the testimony given by the testamentary witnesses, in the presence of a judge, a priest, the executors, and other legally suitable men (“*boni*” or “*probi homines*”), usually gathered in a sanctuary.¹²¹ The dispositive text of the publication charter usually contains all the information that would have been found (or can still be found) in the original first-person will. Indeed, in many cases it seems that the will was read out loud and paraphrased into the third-person and the past tense, in which form it is copied out. At other times, the text of the will is copied verbatim (i.e. in the first person) with no changes. In still other cases, however, the publication charter is merely appended to the original testament, at the foot of the parchment (on surviving originals) or perhaps on the dorse, indicating that there was no need felt to produce a new copy of the lengthy text of the testament. Another variant of the publication charter preserves the protocols concerning the nature of the publication ceremony, with witnesses and authorities, but includes in the dispositive text only a partial enumeration of bequests from the testament. There are various possible circumstances behind such partial or incomplete publications, which will be discussed later.¹²²

¹¹⁹ The archetype is the “columnellum” formula in the Ripoll formulary, now ACA, MS Ripoll 74. Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...,” pp. 81-2. See Udina i Abelló, pp. 52-3. The variants will be discussed in chapter 3.

¹²⁰ See below, p. 68 and n. 183.

¹²¹ Sometimes, as in the publication of the testament of Adalbert, the witnesses (*testes*) and the executors (*elemosinari*) each swear different oaths. *Cart. Sant Cugat*, no. 431.

¹²² See chapter 3 below for detailed discussion on variations in the publication process.

3. EXECUTORS' ACTS

The final type of document created in the testamentary process is that which effected or memorialized the actual transmission of property to a beneficiary. These documents generally take the form of simple donation charters created in the name of the executors, and specifying in passing that the executors are donating the bequest as they were enjoined to by the testator:

In nomine domini. Ego Leubertus presbiter, Bernardus, et Dodo, nos qui sumus tutores vel elemosinarii de condam Nitardo. Certum quidem et manifestum est enim quia precepit nobis ut karta donacionis fecissemus ad domum S. Marie cenobii Ameriensis vel S. Andree apostoli, sicuti et facimus, de ipso suo manso cum terra in quo ipso manso est. ...¹²³

Although no testament is here specifically mentioned (as is often the case), the idea of agency for a deceased individual is always present in these acts. Other such charters are more explicit about the testamentary nature of the *commendatio*:

... Nos Hemmo misericordia dei Abba, Remesarius, Unifredus vicescomites, et Gelsinda femina, qui sumus advocati vel helemosinarii de condam Mironi comiti, donatores tibi Chixilone femina. Certum quidem et manifestum est enim quia commendavit nobis condam Miro comis suam helemosinariam ad extrema voluntate sicut in ipso testamento insertum est, quod manibus firmavit et testibus corroboraverit, et in ipso vinditio resonat quod vindicibus corroboratum est, et iussit nobis ut donare faciamus ad te Chixilone iamdicta femina ipse alode quod habebat in comitatu Bergitano, in villare de Donato, et in villa Alaternosa et hoc quod habebat infra fines de Puio Reges, sicuti et facimus. ...¹²⁴

The explicit nature of the *donatio* in these acts implies that the executors were considered, in some sense, to be in possession of the bequeathed property before this final transaction. Each executors' act usually refers only to one bequest (or multiple bequests to one beneficiary), thus often presenting only a portion of the information found in the documents of the first two types. A few examples of this type survive documenting the transmission of a bequest from a testator to a son or relative (in the above example, the

¹²³ ACA, Perg. Santa Maria d'Amer, no. 1. Executors' act for Nitardus, 3 March 892. Copy, s. X. For previous discussion of executors' acts in the context of the testamentary process, see García Gallo, "Del testamento romano al medieval," pp. 491-495.

¹²⁴ Harvard University, Houghton Library, Joan Gili Collection, 1 [prov.]. Executors' act for count Miró of Cerdanya, 11 September 927. Original. See below, Appendix D, no. 1.

beneficiary Cixilona is thought to be an illegitimate daughter of the count), through the executors; however, the vast majority of surviving executors' acts document pious bequests made to religious institutions. The fact that many hundreds of executors' donation charters survive from ecclesiastical archives without the corresponding testaments implies that for many institutions this type of charter may have been all that was needed, archivally, to defend title to the goods acquired through testamentary bequests.

The executors' act has a curious life span. Alone among the three main types of testamentary document, it has no pre-Carolingian precedents; indeed there is very little with which to illuminate the execution of testaments before the ninth century. In the context of post-Carolingian documentation the executors' act is present very early, and throughout the tenth century it is our only source for a great deal of testamentary information. The act goes into a steep decline in the eleventh century and is all but extinct in the twelfth. The reasons for this decline are not immediately obvious. The formulae of the other two types of testamentary document (the first-person will and the publication charter) do not change over the same period; therefore they do not provide any structural evidence for the eclipse of executors' donation acts as a necessary element of the testamentary process.

Leaving aside for the moment the enigma of the executors' act, this basic typology of the post-Carolingian Catalano-Septimanian testamentary documents will serve as a good point from which to review the precursors and development of the diplomatic genres and the legal acts they reflect. The following sections will review the Roman and early Germanic diplomatic and prescriptive evidence for testaments and the testamentary process, in order to foster a deeper understanding of the testamentary culture of the later period.

II. PRECURSORS: THE EARLY MEDIEVAL WILL

A. The Romano-Germanic Tradition

The Roman and early medieval will, as appears in the codes and epitomes, in the formularies, and in a very few actual examples, has certain basic characteristics discussed by historians and jurists since the last century, particularly those continental scholars who traced the development of the will from ancient to modern times. Auffroy (among other followers of testamentary law in the Romano-medieval tradition) spoke to several major elements in turn. Aside from the question of whether the written document constitutes a dispositive legal instrument, and the related debate over revocability, the most important factors include: the meaning and use of the *hereditio*, or the institution of universal heirs (and whether this was indeed the original purpose of the Roman testament), the nomination of witnesses and executors (and their role), the various requirements for documentary validity which crop up in prescriptive sources, including the numerical requirement of witnesses, and, finally, the formalities of public deposit, opening and publication of the testament with the appropriate authorities.

An early disagreement over the native origins of the concept of the will, and the use of written testamentary documents, pitted Romanists against Germanists. The problem was summed up (if not founded) on interpretation of Tacitus' statement that Germans used no testament: "Heredes tamen successoresque sui cuique liberi et nullum testamentum."¹²⁵ Auffroy, in the tradition of Romanist legal historians, relied on this basic observation in his assumption that the adoption of testamentary documents by Germanic medieval Europe was an unwilling one--a slow, unconscious process of borrowing and inventing intermediate, quasi-testamentary formulae and ceremonies which only eventually gave the lie to Tacitus.¹²⁶ On the other hand, R. J. R. Goffin, a self-avowed admirer of the German and Germanic

¹²⁵ Quoted by Goffin, p. 13; Auffroy, p. 133; Sheehan, p. 5; and Nonn, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Auffroy, p. 146.

legal history from which his treatise was largely drawn, set out to showcase what he saw as a purely Germanic addition to European testamentary culture: the testamentary executor, which, Goffin saw, evolved directly from the Germanic *salmann*, and whose existence was a tremendous improvement over the Roman testamentary system.¹²⁷ These positions both derived from the assumption that it be necessary to trace the evolutionary chain between ancient (Roman or Germanic) practice and modern usage--a teleological exercise of questionable value.

Ulrich Nonn's approach to the early period is more objective, but no less "Romanist" than Auffroy's. His study of the Merovingian testament is preceded by a review of scholarship on the Roman wills, including reference to the handful of surviving Latin (pre-fifth-century) wills.¹²⁸ Nonn points out that the full-blown "Roman" testament (the "Erbeinsetzungstestament") developed late (probably in the later fourth century), but that other types of bequest or heir-adoption document were known in Rome, some dating from the Republic, and that testaments were formally deposited with public authority as early as the time of Augustus.¹²⁹ His analysis of the Merovingian testament is then founded strictly on the diplomatic formulae descended from those of Rome.

B. Sources: Law Codes and Formularies

The continuity of the testamentary tradition between imperial Rome and its early medieval successor states is difficult to assess. An important indicator of this transition is the persistence of references to testamentary procedures in the Roman legal texts (principally the Theodosian Code, the Novellae, the Institutes of Gaius, and the Sentences of Julius Paulus)

¹²⁷ Goffin, pp. 13-33.

¹²⁸ Nonn, pp. 4-25 ("Das römische Testament"), focusing in turn on the pre-fifth century tradition (pp. 6-18) and then on the late fifth- and early sixth-century tradition within the exarchate of Ravenna, surviving only in a few documents on papyrus (pp. 18-25).

¹²⁹ Nonn, p. 5, largely following Max Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, 2 vols. (Munich, 1955).

which were excerpted in the *Breviarium Alaricianum* in the beginning of the sixth century.¹³⁰ Despite the afterlife of these references in various epitomes, and the extensive modern scholarly tradition of interpretation of the texts, the question remains whether these prescriptive references were actually observed in practical use in the area of the Visigothic kingdom, and later in the same areas while under other dominion (i.e. in Frankish Septimania).¹³¹ Another type of prescriptive evidence is the Frankish and Visigothic formularies, whose presence might reveal a scribe with antiquarian tendencies as often as it reveals an actual notarial practice. Finally, in addition to this reservation about the validity of the prescriptive evidence to describe common practice, one must consider that the tiny fond of actual surviving examples may themselves be anomalous documents, stilted in the same way (i.e., as the pennings of pretentious or backward-looking ecclesiastics) as the prescriptive references.

More important prescriptive evidence of the Visigothic testamentary tradition would seem to be found in the legal texts of new authorship, rather than in those recycled from imperial Rome. The tradition represented by the fragments of the *Codex Euricianus* and by its eventual successor text, the *Liber iudiciorum* (an accretion of sixth- and seventh-century texts) admits the use of testaments and indeed contains prescriptions about their validity and public probation.¹³² The *Liber iudiciorum* (including notably some of these testamentary

¹³⁰ Gustav Hänel's old and beautiful integral edition of the *Breviarium* (*Lex romana visigothorum*, Leipzig, 1849), is still useful for its columnar presentation of the main text of the Theodosian Code and Novellae (with *interpretationes*) and the five major epitomes, and for the other early texts included in the *Breviarium* (most of the *Sententiae* of Paulus; fragments of the *Institutes* of Gaius and the *Corporis Gregoriani* and *Hermogeniani*); more fully restored and annotated texts of the Code and Novellae are available in the *Codex Theodosianus*, ed. Paul Krueger and Theodor Mommsen, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Berlin, 1905).

¹³¹ The question of the jurisdiction of the *Lex romana visigothorum* and the *Codex Euricianus* is unresolved, and is tied to the question of the dating of the *Codex*. See Herwig Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley, 1988), pp. 193-7: he suggests the *Codex Euricianus* should probably be seen as contemporary, and complementary, to the *Breviarium*.

¹³² The surviving fragments of the *Codex Euricianus* refer in passing to the testament in cap. cccxx, in the title "*De successionibus*," (*Leges Visigothorum*, ed. Zeumer, p. 21). There is much more extensive reference to testamentary practice in the *Liber iudiciorum*. On testamentary procedure in the *Liber iudiciorum*, see below, pp. 67ff.

references) is explicitly cited in documents from the Carolingian and post-Carolingian afterlife of the Visigothic laws in Catalonia, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries.¹³³ Compliance with such prescriptions during the Visigothic period itself is, however, rather less visibly attested in the very few surviving documents.¹³⁴

Ulrich Nonn shied away from the Visigothic kingdom, where the prescriptive evidence outnumbers the surviving documents, in favor of the Frankish kingdom, where several actual wills survive, despite the curious absence of reference to testaments in the primitive Frankish laws.¹³⁵ Nonn denied Auffroy's assumption that the testament was virtually absent from Merovingian France: "die Reihe der überlieferten Stücke endet mit dem Jahre 739" (739 is the date of the will of Abbo of Provence, which Nonn accepts as the last hurrah of the Romano-Merovingian testamentary tradition).¹³⁶

Nonn's discussion of the internal structure of the Frankish testament is painstaking, drawing together a diplomatic analysis not only of surviving documents, but of Frankish and Visigothic formulary sources, prefaced with a discussion of the successive norms of testamentary diplomatics in the centuries of imperial Rome, itself drawn from formulary, documentary and legal sources. Central to the study is Nonn's catalogue of diplomatic elements appearing in the Merovingian testaments he has described: in all, he lists 18 formulae.¹³⁷

¹³³ See, for the principal discussion of this phenomenon, and an index of many documents in which these references occur, Michel Zimmerman, "L'usage du droit wisigothique." Still useful is an older work along the same lines: Josep Rius Serra, "El derecho visigodo en Cataluña," *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft: Gesamelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens* viii (1940), 65-80.

¹³⁴ The surviving Visigothic charters, compiled in Angel Cañellas López in *Diplomática hispano-visigoda* (Zaragoza, 1979), are very few and contain no such explicit references.

¹³⁵ As Auffroy noted, p. 134. To correct this Nonn pointed out the prescriptive references embodied in Frankish ecclesiastical councils, p. 2. Nonn also used texts from the Visigothic formulary in his discussion, but failed to use the one excellent surviving Visigothic testament.

¹³⁶ Nonn, p. 3.

¹³⁷ Nonn, pp. 58-9 has a list of basic formulae, discussed on pp. 59-93. A compact, tabular (but less painstaking) presentation of the basic Romano-Merovingian testamentary formulae can be found in Jan Olof Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700* [*Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, lx/19*], 3 vols. (Lund, 1954-1982), i, pp. 194-195.

Despite the exhaustive scope of Nonn's hundred-and-twenty-page study, certain questions remain unanswered.¹³⁸ The focus is conceptually limited to exploring the diplomatic structure only of those documents Nonn saw as adhering most explicitly to his Romano-Merovingian testamentary ideal. Nonn, in providing a background on the Roman testament, went beyond formulary and documentary evidence to consider mention of testaments in prescriptive legal texts as well. But in the later context of the sixth through eighth centuries Nonn's Merovingian focus is perhaps too strict: while including Visigothic formulary evidence, he did not discuss citations of the testament in Romano-Visigothic law texts (the *Breviarium* or the *Liber iudiciorum*); nor, most importantly, did he even cite the most important surviving Visigothic testament, which shares considerable Roman affinity with its Merovingian counterparts.¹³⁹

In addition, adherence to the diplomatic focus prevented Nonn from addressing several individual documents which had been identified by others as testaments, even though they may not each have contained all the diplomatic elements Nonn proposed for the structure of the testament. Nonn admitted himself that no one document had all eighteen formulae of his description. But for him to have excluded some documents on a basis of lesser conformity with his archetype seems to run counter to the thrust of his article, which was that diplomatic elements inherited from late Roman usage were retained, revived, and used piecemeal in the centuries that followed. Needless to say, Nonn ignored a number of documents which fit Sheehan's and Hazeltine's mold of functional bequests, *donationes post obitum* or codicils--documents which may have performed, economically and socially, the same function as more classic testaments, but which are simply more heterogeneous in

¹³⁸ The final ten pages are an excursus on the definition of the word "testamentum." For a parallel discussion, see Auffroy, pp. 223-5.

¹³⁹ Vicentius, bishop of Huesca (dated to 576)--certainly by Nonn's reckoning a classic testament. *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, i, no. 2, an important text from the flyleaf of the *Biblia oscense*.

form.¹⁴⁰ Auffroy, whose diplomatics were certainly less rigid, was perhaps being more inclusive from a functionalist standpoint in placing several of these varied documents in his testamentary continuum.¹⁴¹ Nonn's analysis of the strict structural elements of the normative Romano-Merovingian testament is complemented by Goswin Spreckelmeyer's study of the function of these documents in a slightly broader-ranging context.¹⁴²

C. Surviving Documentary Examples

It must be emphasized that Merovingian and Visigothic sources yield slight documentary evidence with which to draw a comprehensive picture of early medieval wills. Ulrich Nonn counted just twelve actual Merovingian testaments and seven relevant formulary texts from Merovingian France.¹⁴³ One may add, from below the Pyrenees, one other original document (plus another fragment on slate); closer examination also adds a few more relevant texts from the Frankish and Visigothic formularies.¹⁴⁴ From the early Carolingian period before 800, another important testament or two may be added.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁰ Nonn does include one reference to such *donationes post obitum*, but only very incidentally, as examples of what he considered to be the bastardization of the definition of the word 'testamentum' into broader usage in the period 650-750. Nonn, p. 127.

¹⁴¹ Auffroy, 2^e partie, 2^e titre, "Décomposition du testament romain," discusses traits of several Merovingian documents which Nonn disdains to mention, upon which "l'empreinte romaine est moins accentuée, mais toutefois reconnaissable encore" (p. 228).

¹⁴² Goswin Spreckelmeyer, "Zur rechtlichen Funktion frühmittelalterlicher Testamente," in *Recht und Schrift im Mittelalter* [Vorträge und Forschungen: Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für mittelalterliche Geschichte, xxiii], ed. Peter Classen (Sigmaringen, 1977), pp. 91-113.

¹⁴³ Nonn, p. 129 (chart of documentary and formulary examples).

¹⁴⁴ Angel Cañellas López, in *Diplomática hispano-visigoda*, has misleadingly arranged all the actual surviving documents, individual formulary texts, and literary references to acts together in one chronological series. Yet only in his edition can the formulary texts be conveniently compared with the few surviving documents and the interesting epigraphic fragments which contain identifiable formulae. One fragmentary text on slate, no. 118, from Diego Álvaro, in Ávila, may be a testament. Another fragment on the same slate reads "ego Cindasvinthus rex;" the two texts appear to be separate (the latter no doubt a *mandatum*), and are thus unfortunately not a Visigothic royal will. For the formularies, the MGH edition, *Formulae merovingici et karolini aevi* (1882-6, see above, n. 114), remains the best, despite the re-edition of the Visigothic formularies by Juan Gil, in his *Miscellanea wisigothica* (Seville, 1972).

¹⁴⁵ Including most notably the testament of Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis (777), studied by Michael Tangl, "Das Testament Fulrads von Saint-Denis," in *Das Mittelalter in Quellenkunde und Diplomatik*, 2 vols. (Graz, 1966), i, pp. 540-581 (orig. pub. *Neues Archiv* xxxii (1906), 169-217). Spreckelmeyer lists several other late eighth-century testaments and testamentary documents from the

Adding a half-dozen other less-formal testamentary documents to supplement Nonn's list brings a total of some twenty-two wills or testamentary documents from before the year 800, even including central and northern areas of the West-Frankish orbit as well as Languedoc and Visigothic Spain. The array of legal texts which refers to testamentary law far outweighs the surviving examples; this imbalance has allowed the legal historians tremendous freedom to speculate about the intricacies of a legal system (or of two legal systems, in the case of the Roman and Germanic populations of the post-migration kingdoms) whose actual day-to-day manifestation may have been radically different.

From the sixth through the eighth century some interesting observations may be made, if the surviving testaments are considered not so much for their structure as for the dispositions contained therein. Of twenty-two testators, most are high clergy: nine bishops, seven abbots and abbesses, and one deacon with royal connections. The five remaining testators are lay persons.¹⁴⁶ Abbo, possible *patricius* and founder of the monastery of Novalesa in Provence, shows the strongest connection of a layman with the ecclesiastical world.¹⁴⁷ Count Rogerius of Limoges may be said to have done something similar in richly endowing his monastic foundation of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux in 765.¹⁴⁸ The three remaining Merovingian testaments which concern laity are all, interestingly, originals preserved on papyrus in the Archives Nationales.¹⁴⁹

Frankish world: "Zur rechtlichen Funktion..." pp. 109-110. The late eighth-century Lotharingian, Swiss and Italian documents Spreckelmeyer lists are not included in this count.

¹⁴⁶ Geary, in his preface, claimed that of the surviving Merovingian testaments "only that of Abbo presents the testamentary dispositions of a layman" (p. viii.). That he should make this statement is bewildering given, even by Nonn's strict count, the late seventh-century testaments of Wandemirus and his wife Ercamberta, of the son of Idda, and of Ermintrude. These testaments, all preserved on papyrus in the Archives Nationales in Paris, and all three of which admittedly lack their opening sentences, were certainly not written by clergy. To this list we also add the pious testament of count Rogerius of Limoges of 773.

¹⁴⁷ Consider Geary, p. 152, summing up his perspective that Abbo endowed the monastery as a corporate successor for his (secular) responsibilities in the region.

¹⁴⁸ *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Charroux*, ed. P. de Monsabert (Poitou, 1910), pp. 53-62.

¹⁴⁹ See note 145. Series K. The son of Idda, from the Vêxin; Wandemirus; and Erminethrude, all from the end of the seventh century. *Chartae latinae antiquiores; facsimile edition*

Virtually all these documents, from the earliest (Saints Remigius and Caesarius) to the latest (Rogerius of Limoges or Fulrad of Saint-Denis), have as their principal or sole object the transferal of possessions from an individual to the Church. Nonn noted eight testaments which contain an explicit *hereditio*--the institution of an heir--in the Roman manner.¹⁵⁰ In each of these eight instances, the heir is the church. Of these, only the earliest testator, Remigius, altered the pattern and named three heirs in apposition; besides the church of Reims, Remigius named two clerical kinsmen--Lupus, his brother's son, bishop of Soissons, and Agricola, *nepos*, a priest.¹⁵¹ Several other testaments within this group also include kinsmen--even lay kinsmen--as beneficiaries, but the institution of an heir is clearly assumed to accompany the largest material share in a multiple bequest.¹⁵²

The preponderance of ecclesiastical institutions as beneficiaries extends also to those testaments which do not use the strict *hereditio*. Nonn points out that the testament of Burgundofara, although not explicitly instituting an heir, does designate her foundation, the monastery of Faremoutiers, as the beneficiary of all her worldly goods.¹⁵³ Four other early

of the Latin charters prior to the ninth century, ed. Albert Bruckner and Robert Marichal (Olten, 1954-), xiii, nos. 569, 571; xiv, no. 592.

¹⁵⁰ Nonn, pp. 68-9: bishops Remigius, Caesarius, Bertrand and Hadoinus; abbots Aridius and Widerad, deacon Adalgysel, and Abbo of Provence. Note that Nonn distinguishes between the three basic formulae for this clause, yet the functional import remains the same.

¹⁵¹ Testament of Saint Remigius (ante 533): *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot*, ed. Bruno Krusch [MGH, *SS Rer. Merov.*, iii] (Hanover, 1896), p. 336. Krusch attributed the testament to Hincmar (who wrote the *vita* to which it is appended), although Nonn accepts it as genuine. Note that the interpolations Krusch accredited to Flodoard contain references to two more co-heirs, Benedictus and Hilarius, p. 342--not otherwise identified; the word [*coheredibus*] occurs only in this interpolation, not in the earlier text.

¹⁵² The idea that some goods, however small, must be left to living relatives, even if the lion's share goes to the church, is an "obligation" of dubious applicability. Despite its codification in Roman law as the *lex Falcidia*, and despite citations of the Falcidian portion (originally a fourth) in some documents, there is no universal observation of the rule apparent in the surviving Merovingian testaments. See J. Guerout's discussion of the troublesome and disputed passage from Burgundofara's testament, naming the Theodosian Code, possibly to this effect: "Le testament de Sainte Fare. Matériaux pour l'étude et l'édition critique de ce document" *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* lx (1965), 761-821, at pp. 771-779. On the Falcidian law in general, see W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian*, 3d ed. (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 342-3.

¹⁵³ With the exception of one bequest to her living siblings. Nonn, p. 69. See also Guerout, p. 793 (and see previous note).

testamentary documents present the analogous feature of only naming one, ecclesiastical beneficiary, although without naming it as an *heres*.¹⁵⁴ Of the documents where multiple beneficiaries are named, one, the testament of Léodebodus, abbot of Saint-Aignan in Orléans, contains bequests outright only to three churches: Saint-Aignan, the basilica of Saint-Mary in Orléans, and the monastery of Saint-Pierre of Fleury. In a similar document, bishop Ansbert of Autun divides bequests among two churches and an oratory for the political martyr Saint Leodeger; finally, he also names his sister as the beneficiary of his parental inheritance, stipulating (in a gesture of civic piety) that after her death it go for the defense of Christians or to the king, if he should desire to receive it.¹⁵⁵

Clearly the preponderance of ecclesiastical testators and ecclesiastical heirs should tell us something about the nature of the surviving Merovingian testaments: they are an extremely select group, encompassing largely those documents which were preserved as monuments to the piety of a great ecclesiastical founder or benefactor. Four saints--bishops Remigius, Caesarius and Amandus, and abbess Burgundofara--are represented in a group of twenty-two testators.

To explain the reason for this highly skewed representation in surviving wills, the pious motivation of preserving a monument to a saintly founder must be considered as well as the political motivation of preserving the most dramatic and direct evidence of an illustrious origin for an ecclesiastical patrimony. Patrick Geary, in his introduction to his

¹⁵⁴ Irmina, abbess of Echternach, donation in the form of a testament in favor of the monastery of Echternach (697) (see above, n. 98); Berarius, bishop of Le Mans, testament in favor of a nunnery at Chalons-sur-Marne (710); Roger, count of Limoges (and his countess Eufrosia), testament/donation in favor of Saint-Sauveur de Charroux (765); Fulrad, abbot of Saint-Denis, testament in favor of Saint-Denis (777). A fourth, the so-called "codicil" of Saint Amand (675), includes no bequests but pledges that he be buried at the monastery of Elnone--in effect a bequest of the body, perhaps in the knowledge that people were competing for the privilege with the renowned missionary bishop. For discussion of the bequest of the body, the *donatio corporis*, see pp. 45-6 above and chapter 4, below.

¹⁵⁵ Ansbert, bishop of Autun (696): *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, ed. Maurice Prou & Alexandre Vidier, 2 vols. (Paris, 1900-1907), i, pp. 5-10. For other Merovingian bequests to the fisc, see below, p. 63.

monograph on the testament of Abbo, cites Goswin Spreckelmeyer's observation that two significant Merovingian testaments were preserved by being embedded in confirmatory charters in the tenth and eleventh centuries--Saint Caesarius', in a confirmation by Count William of Provence in 992, and Abbo's, in the forged charter of Charlemagne confectioned toward the middle of the eleventh century to bolster Novalesa's refoundation.¹⁵⁶ The testament of Saint Burgundofara was similarly doctored in the mid-to-late eleventh century through the confection of a pseudo-original to which was affixed a pendant seal, possibly even a forged seal naming the saint's brother, Burgundofaro, who had been bishop of Meaux in the seventh century.¹⁵⁷ In this group one should also place the *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, the heart of the "Le Mans forgeries," in which three Merovingian episcopal testaments were copied (among dozens of other charters) to support the see's disputed jurisdictional claims in the later ninth century.¹⁵⁸

Authenticity is clearly an issue. Geary noted the general suspicion with which these early saintly monuments have been viewed. Abbo's testament was long dismissed in Germany, although accepted in France.¹⁵⁹ Geary's triage of interpolations and original text, based on common sense, is undoubtedly not the last word on the subject of the testament's purity. Walter Goffart made a similar judgement about the latest of the three episcopal testaments embedded in the *Actus pontificum* of le Mans (that of Berarius, 710); the testament, lacking too many of the classical formulae, was not discussed by Nonn.¹⁶⁰ The

¹⁵⁶ Spreckelmeyer, "Zur rechtlichen Funktion ...," p. 108, cited by Geary, p. 25. For Caesarius, see G. Morin, "Le testament de Saint Césaire d'Arles et la critique de M. Bruno Krusch," *Revue bénédictine* xvi (1899), 97-100, also cited by Geary. See also *Caesarius of Arles: Life, Testament, Letters*, ed. William E. Klingshirn (Liverpool, 1994).

¹⁵⁷ Guerout, pp. 763-768, 816-817.

¹⁵⁸ *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium*, ed. Busson & Ledru (Le Mans, 1901); discussed by Walter Goffart, *The Le Mans Forgeries: A Chapter from the History of Church Property in the Ninth Century* [*Harvard Historical Studies*, lxxvi] (Cambridge, 1966).

¹⁵⁹ Geary, pp. 25-27, on the tradition of doubt over Abbo's testament, based largely on its association with the obviously forged confirmation charter.

¹⁶⁰ Goffart, pp. 264. The fourth episcopal testament in the suspect Le Mans collection is that of bishop Aldric from 839. On the subject of its authenticity see Margarete Weidemann, "Das Testament des Bischofs Aldricus von Le Mans--eine Fälschung?" in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*:

authenticity of the testaments of Caesarius of Arles, Remigius of Reims and Burgundofara of Faremoutiers has similarly been disputed.¹⁶¹

Without addressing the question of the authenticity or purity of individual documents, it may be observed that the Merovingian testaments which survive do so largely under very special circumstances. Geary stated flatly that “a private testament of the eighth century had no legal value in the eleventh.”¹⁶² Although this statement should probably be qualified, it seems fair to say that without some compelling legal reasons for preservation (such as an active dispute over property among beneficiary institutions), or without some important ecclesiastical name to memorialize (the saints and founders), early testaments, as most other private charters, succumbed to neglect. “Thousands of testaments must have been prepared,” opined Geary, “by churchmen and aristocrats of the Merovingian period living under Roman law and wishing to direct the disposition of their property upon their deaths.”¹⁶³ If we accept this view, we can expect that the surviving testaments of the saintly brotherhood represent only the highest pinnacle of what was a widespread phenomenon.

On the other hand, Auffroy’s old idea of the gradual, unwilling or uncomfortable adoption of Roman testamentary forms by the Germanic population may retain some merit, in light of the spectrum of quasi-testamentary documents which survive, encompassing bequests which are functionally similar to testaments but which lack the formulae Nonn represented as the normal Romano-Merovingian diplomatic. The formal testaments which

Internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16-19 September 1986 [MGH, *Schriften*, xxxiii], 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988), iv, pp. 237-264.

¹⁶¹ Morin, “Le testament de Saint Césaire,” 97 and 112, opposes in strong language the skepticism of Bruno Krusch. Krusch’s criticism of the (interpolated) versions of the testament of Remigius is, however, still accepted: *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi merovingici et antiquiorum aliquot* [= MGH *SS Rer. Merov.*, iii] (Hanover, 1896), pp. 336-347. See Nonn’s review of this scholarship, pp. 25-27. For Burgundofara’s testament, see Guerout, “Le testament de Sainte Fare.” Note that Auffroy considered it a forgery. Tjäder’s overview of Merovingian testaments accepted the judgments of Krusch, which were not reconsidered in mainstream German diplomatic scholarship until the publication of Nonn’s article in 1972. Tjäder, i, pp. 192-3 and n. 3.

¹⁶² Geary, p. 25, citing Spreckelmeyer, “Zur rechtlichen Funktion ...,” p. 108.

¹⁶³ Geary, preface, p. viii. He went on to state, as mentioned previously, that only Abbo’s testament, of the few that survive, was prepared by a layman. See above, note 146.

survive, emanating from the pens of a handful of high clergy, perhaps represent more a pretentious minority than a precious sample of more widespread practice. Yet certainly the presence of a number and variety of testamentary documents in both Visigothic and Frankish formularies shows that people were at least contemplating the creation and legal use of documents with a testamentary function.¹⁶⁴ It should be remembered that Auffroy examined the Germanic law codes and pointed out that some of them admit the use of testaments (principally the Visigothic, Burgundian, Bavarian and Lombard laws), whereas others, notably the Frankish laws, do not discuss them.¹⁶⁵ At any rate, the documents which survive do show some formal variety, or informality. The bequests which are memorialized in those documents also show a range of practice, and do not prove that any of the specific Roman laws governing inheritance were universally in practice.

In this light, the surviving testaments which did not emanate from the highest ecclesiastical circles are perhaps most instructive. Abbo, perhaps called *patricius* in Provence in the early eighth century, may be the only Merovingian layman for whom a *complete* testament survives. In addition to the rich and extensive endowment of his principal heir, the monastery of Novalesa, Abbo includes pious gifts to the church of Saint-Jean de Maurienne and to the cathedral church of Gap, and minor gifts of property (*res*) to two dependents, a *fidelis* Protadius and a *liberta* Tersia, and the ownership of what appears to be jointly inherited property is settled on a kinswoman, Honorata, (in order, Geary thinks, that Abbo's main bequest to Novalesa go unchallenged).¹⁶⁶ These other bequests are trivial in comparison with his endowment of the monastery. In contrast, the damaged papyrus testaments of three Merovingian lay people from the late seventh or early eighth century are more instructive--perhaps more ordinary--in their pious dispositions and their handling of

¹⁶⁴ Fourteen separate testamentary formulae can be counted in the Merovingian and Frankish formularies edited in Zeumer's *Formulae*. See below, pp. 75-78, and n. 195. Additional formulae, discussing testamentary comprobation and publication, are discussed below, pp. 78-85.

¹⁶⁵ Auffroy, p. 134-145.

¹⁶⁶ Geary, chapter 2, paragraphs 46, 50-52, 55-56.

kin. Wandemir, the son of Idda, and Erminethrude all confected testaments around the end of the seventh century.¹⁶⁷ Though all three papyri lack their openings, it seems clear from the context that they involve lay people. The two men, Idda's son and Wandemir, were both married, as they left bequests to their wives (Chramnetrude and Ercamberta, respectively). Wandemirus' testament is clearly a pious document. Although it names his wife (the first-person plural language has led people to call it a joint testament, although it is not concretely identifiable as such) and briefly mentions other *heredes* who were probably kin (possibly nephews), the majority of the bequests are to collegial and monastic churches in the Paris region, invariably recipients of land donations: two or more *villae* with appurtenances. Although the beginning of the testament is missing, it is unlikely that a major lay or clerical testamentary *heres* was instituted and endowed in the lost beginning, given the distribution of roughly equivalent land bequests to seven different churches in the surviving dispositive text. The picture that emerges is of a powerful, childless layman, not exclusively linked through bonds of patronage to one specific religious house, who authors this final and comprehensive act of pious largesse without any motives of grandiose foundation. Of the roughly thirty villas named as bequests (the lacunae in the document make the count only approximate), twenty or more are given to seven churches, six are given to his wife, and a final four are reserved for the *heredes* (the blood-relations).¹⁶⁸ Mention is made of other charters ("epistolas") which apparently affected the situation between the testator and the *heredes*, although we can learn nothing further about his treatment of them.

The other male testator is known only as the son of Idda and the husband of Chramnetrude; his name, unfortunately, does not survive as both the head and parts of the foot of the document are missing. Idda's son seems also to have left the bulk of his landed holdings to a group of ecclesiastical beneficiaries. Unfortunately the details of the bequests

¹⁶⁷ See note 42 above. *Chartae latinae antiquiores*, xiii, nos. 569, 571; xiv, no. 592.

¹⁶⁸ On these *heredes*, possibly beneficiaries of some form of the Falcidian law, see Auffroy, p. 185, and Guerout, p. 776.

are lost. No church is named in the surviving text except Saint-Denis, the beneficiary of a lesser bequest of a villa. However, there are unequivocal references to “*ipsas sanctas basilicas heredes meas*” who are to benefit from the principal bequest, a lengthy list of holdings, measured (as in Wandemir’s testament) in *villae* and *villares*.¹⁶⁹ Aside from the churches, his mother and his wife are each to enjoy one *villa* each, although it seems that the bequest to his mother was only for her lifetime, whereas the bequest to his wife was outright. The royal fisc is augmented with a bequest of a villa--the final bequest, immediately following Chramnetrude’s portion and before the general manumission of his slaves.

The surviving text of Erminethrude’s testament begins at the very end of what may be a similar clause of bequest to the fisc (“... *sacratissimus fiscus percipeat*”). Yet otherwise the profile of bequests seems wholly different: the major heir seems to be a son, not named in the document, who is given several vineyards and *mancipia*, including their herds, part of which legacy appears to come from the portion of his dead brother, Deorovaldus (who is mentioned several times in the testament). Other relatives are also endowed with vineyards and *mancipia*: two nephews (Bertigisilus and Bertericus), and a *nurus*, Bertovara (who, to judge by her name, may be a niece and sister of the other Berts). A granddaughter, Deorovara, also receives a legacy of a silver *scutella*, bedclothes, and a some *mancipia*. Erminethrude’s extended family was the beneficiary of almost all her landed wealth; the explicit exceptions include only the church of Saint-Symphorien, where her son Deorovaldus was buried, and the church of the *vicus* of Bondy, “*pro remedium animae meae*.”¹⁷⁰ Seven other churches receive bequests of explicitly valued luxury or liturgical objects.

Erminethrude’s emphasis on her kin distinguishes her testament from all the other surviving post-Roman documents from before the year 800: only here do we see the desires

¹⁶⁹ Spreckelmeyer, p. 97, claims Idda’s son instituted two churches as his heir; the number does not appear to be determinable from the surviving text.

¹⁷⁰ A third church, whose name does not survive, apparently is to receive half of the vineyard bequeathed to Bertegisil.

of a lay woman providing for the distribution of her property among her family members, with only secondary bequests to ecclesiastical institutions. The typical *surviving* early medieval testament is, by contrast, an ecclesiastically focused document. It delineated rights and possessions of a church or monastery transferred by a prelate or important lay benefactor, and often at the same time served to document the patronage of that institution by that revered benefactor or saintly predecessor. This pattern is of course in all likelihood connected with the phenomenon of the documents' survival.

III. EARLY MEDIEVAL TESTAMENTARY PROCEDURE

The surviving testaments from the period before 800 may be a skewed sample set, representing only a prestigious few testators from what could have been a much larger body, an favoring the institutional beneficiaries which guaranteed their survival down to modern times. Nonetheless, the prescriptive evidence of testamentary practice among the Romano-Frankish and Romano-Visigothic peoples does imply a testamentary system known to both peoples--although one which did not necessarily remain the same among these peoples. What were the major functional characteristics of that system, and did that system survive into the post-Carolingian period?

A. The Law Texts: Publication and Comprobation

Important clues to the legal process involving testaments and testamentary documents in the pre-Carolingian period are to be found in the Ravenna papyri, the Visigothic law codes, and the Visigothic and Frankish formularies. One fundamental aspect of the process is the Roman tradition, apparently retained by the Visigoths in the *Liber iudiciorum*, of testamentary opening (*apertura*), comprobation and/or publication to take place after the death of the testator. While historians of the later period (particularly Catalan historians) have insisted on the Visigothic nature of this practice (which later appears most elaborately developed in Carolingian and post-Carolingian Catalonia), there remains

not a single charter from before the ninth century which commemorates the publication or comprobatation of a testament as the early laws--both the Roman-use *Breviarium Alaricianum* and the Gothic-use *Liber iudiciorum*--mandate.¹⁷¹ But testamentary enregistration, *apertura* and publication is indeed a Roman tradition, with precedents as early as the Augustan age.¹⁷² It seems best to avoid assigning either a Roman or a Germanic impetus to testamentary probate systems until the evidence is reviewed in order.

From very early times testaments had to be published or formally opened in some way after the death of the testator and in the presence or the custody of some public authority. In Rome this practice dates at least to the Augustan age. Augustus' *lex Julia vicesimaria* prescribed the payment of a 5-percent tax on the succession or inheritance, presumably levied and payable through the same public authority, the *censuales* or magistrates to whom the closed (and secret) testament had been entrusted before the death of the testator. Against this financial disincentive for undergoing such a public process, the testator and the heirs might be better assured that the testament would remain safe in the hands of the authorities, and that the succession would be executed unchallenged.¹⁷³

Some provisions for testamentary publication appear more explicitly in the later Roman codes, and were carried forward into the *Breviarium Alaricianum*. A decree in the Theodosian Code (originally from 397), retained in the *Breviarium*, stated that testaments deposited with the *officium censuale* of Constantinople must remain there and cannot be copied.¹⁷⁴ The sixth-century *interpretatio* observes that in other regions, deposit occurs *apud*

¹⁷¹ Of course, the number of surviving Visigothic charters is miniscule. The earliest relevant document which appears to concern the comprobatation or publication of a testamentary bequest is the comprobatation, sworn by witnesses in Narbonne, 31 March 821, of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon of a vineyard to the monastery of Saint-Pierre de Caunes. *HL* ii, no. 57.

¹⁷² Auffroy, p. 52-3, Nonn p. 9 on the Augustan *lex Julia vicesimaria*, implying formal testamentary publication at that time.

¹⁷³ Auffroy suggests this, pp. 52-53. On the law see Max Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, i, pp. 578-579.

¹⁷⁴ *Breviarium Alaricianum: Cod. Theodos. IV:iv:4*. Ed. Hänel, pp. 106-7. *Codex Theodosianus*, i/2, p. 171.

curiae viros. The sentences of Julius Paulus contained a more explicit discussion of the testamentary *apertura* (opening) and *recitatio* (publication):

[*Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sent.* IV:vi:1] Tabulae testamenti aperiuntur hoc modo, ut testes vel maxima pars eorum adhibeatur, qui signaverint testamentum: ita ut, agnitis signis, rupto lino, aperiatur et recitetur: atque ita describendi exempli fiat potestas: ac deinde signo publico obsignatum in archium redigatur: ut, si quando exemplum eius interciderit, sit, unde peti possit.

[IV:vi:2] Testamenta in municipiis, coloniis, oppidis, praefectura, vico, castello, conciliabulo facta, in foro vel basilica, praesentibus testibus vel honestis viris, inter horam secundam et decimam dici recitari debebunt exemploque sublato ab iisdem rursus magistratibus obsignari, quorum praesentia constat aperta.

[IV:vi:3] Testamentum lex statim post mortem testatoris aperiri voluit: et ideo, quamvis sit rescriptis variatum, tamen a praesentibus intra triduum vel quinque dies aperiendae sunt tabulae. Ab absentibus quoque intra eos dies, quum supervenerint: nec enim oportet testamentum heredibus aut legatariis aut libertatibus quam necessario vectigali moram fieri.¹⁷⁵

The opening of the testament (art. 1 & 3), which must occur within a set time frame after the death of the testator, is thus seen as distinct from the reading of the testament (art. 2).¹⁷⁶ The significance of the opening is that the dispositions of the Roman testament might be secret; even the witnesses who signed and/or sealed the closed tablets or rolled papyri might not necessarily know their content.¹⁷⁷ At the opening the authenticity of the document is carefully investigated. The other act, the reading, is merely designed to publicize the testament to any and all interested parties. It is unclear whether the recitation “in foro vel basilica, praesentibus testibus vel honestis viris” refers to the same gathering as at the moment of opening, or to a later convocation.

Fifth- and sixth-century evidence of continuation of Roman practice comes from Ravenna, where a set of papyrus fragments contains transcripts of six such testamentary

¹⁷⁵ *Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sent.* IV:vi:1-3. Ed. Hänel, pp. 402-5.

¹⁷⁶ The time frame, set at “three or five days” is remarked on by Odile Terrin, in her introduction to the *Cartulaire du chapitre d’Agde* (Nîmes, 1969), p. lxxvi.

¹⁷⁷ Auffroy, pp. 51 and n. 3; 52. Against this idea consider the evidence of the fortuitously surviving original fragment, with interior and exterior subscriptions and signatures, of the testament of Manna (Ravenna, 575): the subscriptions aver that Manna made the church of Ravenna his heir. Tjäder, i, pp. 220-222.

openings.¹⁷⁸ Jan Olof Tjäder prefaced his edition of the set of testamentary publications with a reconstructed formula for such an event, based on the most complete surviving text, the publication of the testament of Caelius Aurelianus, bishop of Ravenna, in 521.¹⁷⁹ The formula, after the giving date and place and naming the magistrates and those present, consists of an announcement of the receipt of the testament by the magistrate, a brief interrogation of the original witnesses, who attest their signatures and marks on the outside of the document, and, finally, the opening of the document, “inciso lino,” and its recitation by the magistrate.¹⁸⁰

Sixth- and seventh-century evidence for similar activity elsewhere in the post-Roman western Mediterranean comes from the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* (as the most explicit of the Germanic law codes to discuss testaments, and the only one to mandate testamentary publication) and the formularies. Book II of the *Liber iudiciorum* contains a series of titles concerning the confection and comprobation of testaments.¹⁸¹ It is possible that some of the relevant titles may derive from the early sixth-century *Codex Euricianus* (which only survives in fragmentary form), although the laws seemed to have been undergoing regular revision, given the differences in the seventh-century versions promulgated by Recceswinth (c. 654) and Ervigius (681).¹⁸²

The laws of testamentary procedure as set out in the *Liber iudiciorum* seem to be reminiscent of the Ravenna procedure but include some new elements and important differences. One consistent and new feature of the *Liber* is the period of time, six months from the death of the testator, in which any publication or comprobation must occur.¹⁸³ It

¹⁷⁸ Tjäder, i, pp. 190-217; 410-419.

¹⁷⁹ Tjäder, i, pp. 196-7 (the formula); Aurelianus' testamentary publication, i, pp. 210-212.

¹⁸⁰ Tjäder, i, p. 197.

¹⁸¹ Especially *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12-16 (using Zeumer's marginal numeration) (*Leges visigothorum*, pp. 112-116); see note 101 above.

¹⁸² Particularly, the differences in *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:10, on the types of testament whose validity is allowed, and those which must be proved by oaths.

¹⁸³ Pérez de Benavides, p. 89 and n. 78, decided from his reading of *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12 that the six months should be counted from the confection of the testament, and not from the death

has been remarked that this is markedly different from the Roman tradition of five days quoted by Paulus (although Paulus leaves things open with the caveat that the five days be counted from whenever the witnesses can be gathered together).¹⁸⁴ Another major difference is in the agents of authority invoked in the testamentary probate system. The Roman system named *censuales* or, more generally, *magistrates*.¹⁸⁵ In the seventh-century passages from the *Liber*, however, these positions are filled varyingly by clerics--*sacerdotes*, *episcopi*--and by *iudices*, who may not be summarily identified with the Roman magistrates.¹⁸⁶

The key passages in the *Liber iudiciorum* are Lib. II, tit. v, articles 12, 13, 14 and 16. They appear in the Recceswinth redaction of 654; in the Ervigian redaction (681), article 12 is greatly expanded, almost to the point of redundancy, although new material is added. In the earlier form, article 12 consists of a definition of the types of admissible testament, listing three basic types: where the testator and witnesses signed the document; where either the testator or witnesses could only make a mark (i.e. which would need to be corroborated); or, finally, where the testament was only verbally declared before witnesses, “tantummodo verbis.” In this latter case, the testament would need to be confirmed under oath by all the witnesses before a judge within six months:

of the testator, thus admitting the possibility of a comprobation of an oral testament which takes place before the death of the testator. It seems more likely that article 14 should be considered the original relevant passage, in which it is clear from the rubric that the six months are to be measured from the death of the testator. This is also the only way in which to interpret the Roman time limitation of five days *post mortem testatoris* (*Breviarium Alaricianum*, *Pauli sent.* IV:vi:3, above). On the other hand, there seems at least one case in the twelfth century in which an oral will was “proved” in the lifetime of the testator: see below, chapter 3 (on the first will of Berengar de Puisserguier, published 13 March 1169, *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 225). This will, however, does not follow the Visigothic diplomatic tradition.

¹⁸⁴ *Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sent.* IV:vi:3, quoted above. Odile Terrin stated, p. lxxvi, that “le delai s’allonge et devient de six mois dans la «lex romana wisigothorum»,” citing *Breviarium Alaricianum: Novellae Theodosii IX:1, interpretatio*. This is simply not the case: the six-month period does not appear anywhere in the *Breviarium*.

¹⁸⁵ *Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sent.* IV:vi:1; Ravenna publication formula, Tjäder, i, pp. 196-7.

¹⁸⁶ *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12-14, 16 (*Leges visigothorum*, pp. 112-116); see below.

... quod instante quocumque periculo conscribi nequiverit, infra sex mensium spatium qui hoc audierint suam coram iudice iurationem confirment eiusdemque iuramenti condicionem tam suam quam testium manu conroborent.¹⁸⁷

Not only must oaths be sworn before a judge, but a signed document, a *condicio iuramenti*, is to be prepared as a memorial of the procedure.

Articles 13 and 16 consider other, unusual situations. Article 16 (and articles 15 and 17 surrounding it) discuss the case of a holograph testament--one written by the testator's own hand, and without any other witnesses:¹⁸⁸

Quia interdum necessitas ita sepe concurrit, ... ut non inveniatur testes ... manu propria scribat ea, quae hordinare desiderat ... Et dum hec scriptura infra XXX annos ad eum, in cuius nomine facta est, vel ad successores eius pervenerit, eam episcopo vel iudici infra sex menses non differat presentare. Quam sacerdos idem et iudex, adlatis sibimet tribus aliis scripturis, in quibus testatoris suscriptio repperitur, ex earum contropationem considerent, si certa et evidens scriptura est, quam idem conditor olografa ratione conscripsit.

This document may be valid for up to thirty years, but must be presented to a bishop *or* judge for examination (against three other examples of the testator's *subscriptio*) within six months of the testator's death, in a similar time frame to that of the comprobation of witnessed testaments in article 12.

In article 13 the case is that of a testator who dies while on a voyage (i.e. far from the home community). In this case a holograph will would be accepted in the usual manner (as in article 16, discussed above), but an oral will requires special comprobation if witnessed only by slaves:

Quod si litteras nescierit aut pre langore scribere non potuerit, eandem voluntatem servis insinuet, quorum fidem episcopus adque iudex probare debebunt.

Here, in contrast to the provisions of article 12, an oral will is acceptable if the good faith of the *servi* who witnessed its declaration is proven by a bishop and a judge (without any temporal limitation). There is, interestingly, no prescription of an oath to be sworn in this

¹⁸⁷ "...suam...manu..." corrected to "...sua...manu..." in the Ervigian redaction, ed. Zeumer, p. 113 column 2.

¹⁸⁸ Zeumer quotes Isidore's *Etymologia* V:xxiv:7: "Holographum testamentum est manu auctoris totum conscriptum atque subscriptum."

case: this was not a prerogative of slaves. It is probable that some form of sworn comprobatation is what is implied here as well as in article 12, but, as Pérez de Benavides points out, in other situations *servi* can't swear oaths; perhaps this is the reason for the unusual inclusion of a bishop in the proceedings.¹⁸⁹ The judge appears elsewhere in these articles, but only here does he explicitly share some testamentary function with a bishop. In contrast, the examination of the holograph testament--an act not involving examination of witnesses or the administration of oaths--may be performed *either* by a bishop *or* by a judge. This curious overlap or ambiguity between clerical and secular authority over testamentary comprobatation is difficult to explain, but is possibly reflected in local variations in probate usage in later centuries.

Article 14 is a very basic prescription giving testamentary authority to the clergy. Perhaps the founding statute in this series, it seems to refer to all testaments, at least all *written* ones: “Scripta voluntas defuncti ante sex menses coram quolibet sacerdote vel testibus publicetur ...” Here is a simple procedure, the publication of the contents of a testament, which might be considered as entirely distinct from the prescriptions of comprobatation by oath which were required to validate the oral wills and the defective written ones (articles 12, 16 and possibly 13). The appearance here of the six-month temporal limitation, which also appears in the comprobatation requirements in articles 12 and 16, shows that the publication and comprobatation were conceived as part of the same testamentary process, but the cavalier prescription of the authority of “quolibet sacerdote” suggests that publication was less a solemn legal requirement and more a common-sense matter of publicizing the nature of the *voluntas*. Indeed, the separation of recitation/publication from formal comprobatation seems reminiscent of the Roman prescriptions of Julius Paulus.¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁹ Pérez de Benavides, p. 90 and n. 90; he cites Zeumer, *Historia de la legislación visigoda*, pp. 186, 193-4.

¹⁹⁰ *Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sententiae* IV:vi:1-3. See note 27, above.

The Ervigian redaction of the *Liber iudiciorum* retains articles 13, 14 and 16 unchanged, and thus retains the same apparent distinction between publication and comprobatation as two procedural components. However, things are made more complicated by the inclusion of additional conditions in article 12 for validity and comprobatation of the testament, and indeed by the addition of a new category of valid testament. In the opening of the article, the basic types of valid testament are defined even more explicitly than the Recceswinthian version had done. With regard to the first two types (signed and signed/signed documents), a reminder is inserted about the publication requirement:

... scripture ille, que secundum primi et secundi ordinis confectionem sunt alligate, id est sive que auctoris et testium manu suscripte, seu que utrarumque partium signis extiterint roborate, infra sex menses iuxta legem aliam sacerdoti pateant publicande.

Additionally, if the testator only marked, rather than signed, the document (the second of these first two types of testament), witnesses must be able to swear to the authenticity of the sign:

Et si forsitan contigerit, ut in huiusmodi scripturis auctor, qui suscribere debuit, signum inpressit, hoc ipsud testis, qui in eadem scriptura suscriptor accessit, iurare curabit, quia signum ipsud a conditore factum extiterit.

This is reminiscent of the interrogation of the witnesses in the Ravenna *apertura* procedure, where the magistrate asked the witnesses who were present to vouch for the *signacula* and the subscriptions of those who are not. Obviously, the testator himself would not be present at any testamentary publication or comprobatation ceremony, and his hand or his marks would be the object of verification through cross-examination of those who were familiar with his marks or who saw him make them.

The third and final type of valid testament in the Recceswinthian redaction of article 12 was the verbal testament before witnesses. The Ervigian redaction, however, adds a new third category of written testament in article 12, shunting the verbal testament to fourth place

(the verbal will--the oral will before witnesses--was substantially unchanged in the newer laws). This new third type is unusual:

Ille vero scripture, que sub tertii ordinis alligatione sunt edite, id est, in quibus advocatus a conditore legitimus testis suscripsit, tunc omni habebuntur stabiles firmitate, quando infra sex menses et ille, qui in eadem scriptura ad vicem morientis suscripto accessit, et reliqui testes, qui ab eo rogati sunt, coram iudice condicionibus factis iuraverint, quod in eadem scriptura a se suscripta nulla sit fraus inpressa, sed secundum voluntatem ipsius conditoris habeatur conscripta, et quod ab eo, qui eam condere voluit, rogiti extitissent, ut in eadem scriptura suscriptores accederent et ad vicem conditoris eam legitime roborarent.

In this case, the oath sworn by the witnesses (and by the *advocatus conditoris*) is made very explicit in an attempt to preserve legitimacy. The wording of the required security clauses was surely borrowed from (or taken up in) actual oath texts (which were to be recorded--*condicionibus factis*); these phrases appear in tenth-, eleventh- and twelfth-century documents from Catalonia.¹⁹¹

Despite the additional complexities of the later redaction, the basic guidelines of these articles seem to have remained constant and may be summed up in a basic manner: all written testaments are to have a public reading or publication, presided over by a priest and by the witnesses, within six months of the death of the testator (article 14, reminiscent of *Breviarium Alaricianum: Pauli sent.* IV:vi:2: “testamenta ... in foro vel basilica, praesentibus testibus vel honestis viris ... dici recitari debebunt ...”). In addition, certain kinds of testament--oral testaments, or written testaments in which someone signed for the testator--must be validated by oaths sworn by the witnesses in front of a judge; customarily, witnesses must also sign a memorandum of these oaths. The holograph testament with no witnesses (like a witnessed document in which all the witnesses have since died) must be examined, by a bishop *or* a judge, against other authentic examples of the testator’s subscription. Finally,

¹⁹¹ For example: “... Et nos suprascripti ... sic iuramus quia in istum iudicium *nulla fraus* nec malo ingenio *hic inpressa non est, set secundum suam voluntatem* supradicta *conditrice* est factus vel editus ...” Publication of the testament of Sinner, 20 September 1047; ACA, Diversos, Sentmenat, Inv. 8:II:C. Nathaniel L. Taylor, “Medieval Catalanian Wills: Family Charter Evidence in the Archives,” *Primary Sources and Original Works* ii/3-4 (1992), 102-134, at 131.

the oral testament of someone who died abroad may be proved on the testimony of witnesses, even *servi*, provided their faith is vouchsafed by a bishop *as well as* a judge. These features, falling roughly into the two categories of publication and comprobation (by oath) are reminiscent of the distinct components of comprobation and recitation which seem apparent in the Ravenna *apertura* documents and in the Roman laws (Julius Paulus) excerpted in the *Breviarium Alaricianum*.

One other isolated reference to testamentary publication appears elsewhere in the *Liber iudiciorum*. Book V, title v, *De commendatis et commodatis*, treats of goods, animals and documents changing hands in diverse situations. Article 10 states:

Testamentum ab eo, cui fuerit conmendatum, posteaquam hoc ante testes publicaverit, sicut est in legibus constitutum, illi, qui maiorem partem de eodem testamento est consecuturus, reddatur heredi. Quod si alii redditum fuerit ... qui tradiderit duplam compositionem restituat. ...¹⁹²

The relationship of this testamentary custodian to those public or ecclesiastical authorities mentioned in the comprobation/publication statutes is unclear; indeed, this article seems to imply that the testament was in practice commended to a trusty private party, rather than to a public magistrate, as had been the case in imperial Rome.¹⁹³ The existence of a law penalizing deadbeat custodians indicates there was (at least occasionally) some trouble about the document itself eventually making its way into the hands of the heir. The article goes on to state that this sort of documentary commendation or custodianship was customary, in addition to testaments, with “iudicia, pacta, donationes vel cetera talia;” it certainly underscores the importance of the possession of these types of documentation.

Another component of the testamentary probaton and execution process is brought up briefly in both redactions of the *Liber iudiciorum*. Clauses at the end of II:v:14 concern the role of the witnesses and hint at the procedure for execution of the testament--that is, the

¹⁹² *Liber iudiciorum* V:v:10 (*Leges visigothorum*, pp. 230-1).

¹⁹³ Pérez de Benavides likens it to the Roman “deposit” (with the magistrate or *censuales*), p. 136 and n. 363 (citing Alvaro d’Ors Pérez-Peix, *El Código de Eurico: edición, palíngenesia, índices* (Rome/Madrid, 1960), p. 203).

actual transferal of bequeathed goods. Beyond this there exist no other passages in the laws, nor documentary formulae, which illuminate the actual execution process. The end of article 12 reads as follows (discussing the role of witnesses to the oral testament):

Dumque hec res plenum venerit in effectum, pro instantia sui laboris idem testes ex defuncti bonis tricesime pretium portionis presequantur in solis tantummodo nummis; cartarum instrumentis et librorum voluminibus sequestratis, que pertinebunt ad heredes integritate successionis. Qui testes infra sex menses procurent illi denuntiare, in cuius nomine per talem ordinationem res translata dinoscitur extitisse. Quod si omnem legis huius decretum testes illi, quibus commissum est, infra constitutum tempus distulerint adimplere, noverint se falsariorum damno multari.

After stipulating that a thirtieth part of the moveable estate (or the estate in coin) be set aside as a payment to the witnesses “pro instantia sui laboris”, the law burdens the witnesses with the obligation to notify the beneficiaries about their legacies, within the six-month time frame (i.e. the same time limit for publication and comprobation of the testament).¹⁹⁴ The relation of this role for the witnesses and the similar role of the testamentary custodian (V:v:10) is unclear and possibly overlaps; the witnesses inform the beneficiaries or heirs, possibly before the publication and the comprobation ceremony, but not later than six months after the testator’s death; the custodian must hand over the physical document to the heirs after its publication. But how do the bequests themselves change hands? The *Liber* doesn’t specify at what point in the probate process this occurs, or how.

B. The Formularies

I. TESTAMENTS

The formularies surviving from the Frankish and Visigothic kingdoms in the sixth, seventh and early eighth centuries provide, through their epistolary and diplomatic samples, examples of the types of written documentation one might expect to find had more

¹⁹⁴ Note that this would contradict the idea that the dispositions of the testament were unknown to the witnesses, as Auffroy theorized for the Roman testament, pp. 51-2 (see note 177 above).

documents survived. On the other hand, just because a sample document was included in a formulary does not mean that it was necessarily in current use. Testamentary formulas of several kinds survive in both Merovingian and Visigothic formularies, as do a number of other formulas which might shed light on the testamentary process--that is on the comprobation, publication or execution of testaments.

Nonn and Pérez de Benavides both made use of the sample testaments to be found in the formularies. Pérez was limiting himself to the “Visigothic” testament and Nonn to the “Merovingian”, but it is clear that Roman elements were equally present in both, that both also included innovations and changes which may have varied locally as well as “nationally”, and finally, that these traditions were interrelated. The edition of Karl Zeumer of the major surviving formularies from before the ninth century, published for the *MGH* in two fascicles in 1882-6, allows one to examine the formularies comparatively. Nonn found twelve sample testaments in the formularies--one from the Angevin formulary, four from the Marculf formulary, one from the Tours formulary, one from the *Collectio Flaviniacensis*, and five from the Visigothic Formulary (the oldest).¹⁹⁵

Of this group of testamentary samples, fully half of the twelve named by Nonn are concerned with one specific testamentary situation, the making of a mutual bequest between married persons that the survivor be the beneficiary of most or all of the goods they each hold or they hold in common.¹⁹⁶ This developed out of one form of Roman testament, the

¹⁹⁵ See the chart, Nonn, p. 129; He discusses them on pp. 49-58. To Nonn's list of twelve formulae I would add *Formulae Turonenses* 18 (an approximation of the *ius liberorum* which takes the form of a *donatio inter vivos* between husband and wife) and 37 (a *donatio post obitum* to a church)--both of which pertain functionally to the disposition of goods after death.

¹⁹⁶ *Formulae Andecavenses* 41 (*Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 18-19); *Marculfi Formulae* II/7-8 (pp. 79-80); *Formulae Turonenses* 17 (pp. 144-145); *Formulae Visigothicae* 23-4 (pp. 586-587). *Formulae Turonenses* 18 (p. 145), not mentioned by Nonn because of its lack of Roman testamentary formulae, is nonetheless another sample with the same function. The numeration of Zeumer's edition is used here and in subsequent citations of formulae.

ius liberorum, in which free persons designate their spouses as heirs or beneficiaries.¹⁹⁷ Another of the twelve deals with the explicit *hereditio* of a daughter (in addition to her brothers) to be used to help ensure that daughters receive equal shares with sons in a parental inheritance.¹⁹⁸ The remaining five formulae in Nonn's list represent comprehensive testaments: *Marculfi Formulae* II/17; *Collectio Flaviniacensis* 8; *Formulae Visigothicae* 21, 22 and 26. The last two are only fragmentary, giving alternate opening protocols (pious arengas) for variation on the more complete *Formulae Visigothicae* 21.

Of the three complete testamentary formulas, those from the *Marculfi Formulae* and the *Collectio Flaviniacensis* are linked. The late ninth-century Flavigny collection is based largely upon Marculf's eighth-century formulary; its testamentary formula, in particular, is based upon both the Marculf document and (unsurprisingly, given its provenance) upon the actual testament of Widerad, abbot of Flavigny, from 722.¹⁹⁹ The remaining complete testamentary formula is the oldest by far: the *Formulae Visigothicae* were compiled circa 612-621 in Cordoba.²⁰⁰

Each of these three documents embeds some notice of the testamentary publication procedure. *Formulae Visigothicae* 21 contains the following commendation to the scribe:

... quam etiam tibi, fili ill., scribendam mandavi, ita ut post transitum meum die legitimo hanc voluntatis meae epistolam apud curiae ordinem gestis publicis facias adcorporare.

Clearly this refers to the publication of the will, to its enregistration "apud curiae ordinem gestis publicis." It is interesting that the scribe, who is to be either a son of the testator or a clerical subordinate, is also to be the person to whom the document is commended--the

¹⁹⁷ The *ius liberorum* is conveniently defined in the *Breviarium Alaricianum: Novellae Valentiniani*, IV:1 §3 and *interpretatio Codex Theodosianus*, ii (*Novellae*), pp. 108-112 (*Nov. Valent. XXI*).

¹⁹⁸ *Marculfi Formulae* II/12 (*Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 83). Compare to this another eighth century formula, *Cartae Senonicae* 42 (*Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 204), which, although functionally identical, differs diplomatically.

¹⁹⁹ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 34, 470-471, 476 and n. 1.

²⁰⁰ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 573-4; Nonn, p. 53.

person who, as Recceswinth's law later stated, must ensure the final transmission of the document to the heirs after its publication.²⁰¹ Does this represent two different stages in the changing testamentary procedure (commendation to a private guarantor and enregistration before a public authority)? And what of the *adcorporatio* "apud curiae ordinem gestis publicis?" We shall return to this in a moment.

The Marculf testamentary formula (and its later counterpart in the *Collectio Flaviniacensis*) offer an even more explicit embedded reference to these testamentary publication procedures:

... testamentum condedimus, quem illius notario scribendum comisemus, ut, quomodo dies legitimos post transitum nostrum advenerit, recognitis segillis, inciso lino, ut Romane legis decrevit auctoritas, per inlustris viros illos, quos in hanc pagina testamenti nostri legatarios instituimus, gestis rei publicae municipalibus titulis earum prosecutione ab ipsis muniatur. [*Coll. Flav.* 8 adds: ... et in archivis basilice sancti illius conservandum decrevi ...]²⁰²

This is very reminiscent of the procedure used in sixth-century Ravenna, particularly, with the phrase "inciso lino," recalling the *apertura* of testaments in tablet form--this may be a conscious archaism, for by the end of the seventh century testaments in the Île de France appear to have been written on papyrus. However, an important new element appears here, not in the technical description of the *apertura*, but in the naming of *legatarii* who had some role in the prosecution of the testamentary publication (and presumably, to judge from their name, some role in the transference of the bequests, or *legationes*). The *legatarii*, given various names in different eras and regions, correspond to the individuals R. J. R. Goffin sought to trace in his work *The Testamentary Executor in England and Elsewhere*. While they make an early appearance in this formula, they do not seem to appear in actual testaments of

²⁰¹ *Liber iudiciorum* V:v:10; see above, p. 74 and note 192.

²⁰² The added item in *Coll. Flav.* 8 does not necessarily contradict the idea of the *Liber iudiciorum*, V:v:10, that the heir eventually receives the testament: doubtless what is assumed here is that the testament is a pious one with an ecclesiastical beneficiary. See below, p. 80, for other concepts of archival preservation.

the eighth century and earlier; despite this formulary, their earliest surviving mention is in ninth-century documents.²⁰³

Perhaps the *legatarii* and the *notarius* of the Marculf formula, whose roles in the testamentary publication procedure appear intermingled, have precursors in the *prosecutor* who originally brings the testament before the magistrate in the classic Roman/Ravenna protocol we have already examined (although the testator, while still alive, could have deposited the document himself with the magistrate); this person could be the same who was entrusted with the *commendatio* of the testament in the *Liber iudiciorum*.

2. ADCORPORATIO GESTIS PUBLICIS: DOCUMENTARY PUBLICATION

In the formularies several examples appear of a process very similar to the one hinted at in these testamentary formulas for the publication and enregistration of testaments. The most explicit, and possibly the earliest, again comes from the *Formulae Visigothicae*, and is grouped together with the complete testamentary formula, *ius liberorum* formulae and the partial protocols mentioned above. *Formulae Visigothicae* 25, titled simply *Gesta*, describes the *adpublicatio et adcorporatio gestis municipalibus* of a testament in the city of Cordoba.²⁰⁴ The *prosecutor* speaks before the *principales* (the Visigothic *duumvirs* or magistrates), first requesting that the document be read:²⁰⁵

... ‘Ante hos dies bonae memoriae domnissimus ill. suam condidit voluntatem, ... Et quia mihi de presenti commissit, ut post transitum suum apud gravitatem vestram eam adpublicarem et gestis publicis adcorporarem, proinde quia die isto die tertia, quod ab hac luce fata migravit, spero honorificentiam vestram, ut eam vobis ingrabanter recensere mandetis.’ Suprascripti [principales] dixerunt: ‘voluntas domnissimi ill., quam filius et frater noster ille offert, recensendam suscipiatur et legatur, ut agnita possit in acta migrare.’ Ex officio curiae est accepta et lecta.

²⁰³ The earliest testament explicitly naming such a group appears to be that of Eccard, count of Autun, circa 872: *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, i, no. 25. Goffin, p. 80. The sworn comprobation of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon to Saint-Pierre de Caunes, 31 March 821, explicitly names one man, Justus, as his *elemosinarius*. *HL* ii, no. 57; from Mabillon, *De re diplomatica* (Paris, 1681), p. 513. See below, pp. 106-108.

²⁰⁴ Angel Cañellas López, in his edition of the formula (*Diplomática hispano-visigoda*, no. 55), retitles it, more descriptively, “*Testamentum apud acta conditum*.”

²⁰⁵ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 587 and n. 2-4.

The second phase of the procedure ensues, as the *prosecutor*, when asked what he desires further, says:

‘Rogo gravitatem vestram, ut haec, quae acta vel gesta sunt, publicis haereant monumentis.’ Suprascripti [principales] dixerunt: ‘Quae acta vel gesta sunt, huic corpori contineantur inserta.’

Thus the two phases of reading (*adpublicatio*) and enregistration into the municipal record (*gestis publicis adcorporatio*) seem to satisfy two separate needs: one for publicity, another for some sort of official recognition--the merging of a private *voluntas* with public authority. What remains unclear is whether the public authority then assumes any explicit responsibility for enforcement of the terms of the testament.

Several other samples from formularies in the Frankish world describe a tantalizingly similar procedure. The most directly related is *Marculfi Formulae* III/37-38, which is the only other one explicitly to refer to the enregistration of a testament (actually a *testamentum*, *cessio* or *donatio*) “iuxta consuetudinem Romanorum.” The Marculf formula follows essentially the same pattern as the Visigothic one: the *prosecutor* comes before the *defensor* and the *curia* of the city, desiring to publish an act with which he was entrusted. Here however, the prosecutor’s role is defined very explicitly and slightly differently: he is a *mandatarius* of the testator, and he describes how the donation, *cessio* or testament was commended to him expressly by a charter of commendation, a written *mandatum*:

‘ille per cartam mandati sui mihi iniunxit, ut illa donacione, testamentum aut cessione ... ad presens aut post discessum deligavit in vice sua, ut mos est, gestis municipalibus ipsa donacione debeam alligare.’

The *mandatum*, whose text is also presented in the sample (*Marculfi Formulae* 38, first part), is reminiscent of the commendation clause in the testamentary formulae but is here a stand-alone document. It consists of virtually the same wording that the prosecutor used before the magistrate, but is couched as a request by the testator to the person who will be his *mandatarius* and *prosecutor* of his acts, addressing him as “domino magnifico fratri illi”

(reminiscent of the testator's address to his scribe/commendatarius as *fili* in the Visigothic testamentary formula, *Formulae Visigothicae* 21).

After the reading of the charter of commendation, the document itself is read aloud by the *professor* (defined by Zeumer as some sort of curial notary); the *defensor* (magistrate) declares: "Epistola, quae recitata est, gestis publicis inseratur, et quod ille prosecutor vellit et petit, gesta ei publice datur." Finally, after the defensor declares that he is satisfied with the authenticity of the documents presented, the *mandatarius/prosecutor* is entrusted with a signed copy of the acts (or the original acts he brought before the curia), and memoranda of the enregistered acts are placed in the public archive:

'Et quia epistola ... et mandatum in te conscribunt per ordinem conditas et bonorum hominum manibus roboratas atque signatas manifesta esse cognovimus, dignum est, ut gesta ex hoc conscribta adque subscribta tibi tradatur, et ut in arcipibus publicis memoranda servetur.'

Five other major Frankish formularies contain similar documents which serve more generally for the enregistration of private charters in municipal *gesta*.²⁰⁶ The earliest (after the *Formulae Visigothicae*) are the sixth-century *Formulae Andecavenses*, whose first document describes just such a procedure of *adcorporatio gestis publicis*. *Formulae Andecavenses* 1(a-c) consists of a grouped set of sample texts in much the same fashion as *Marculfi Formulae* II/37-38: no. 1(a) is a sample transcript of a session before the public curia of Angers, where a *prosecutor* presents his mandate and requests enregistration of an act--specifically, a *dos* or marriage-gift from a husband to his wife. No. 1(b) is a sample text of the *mandatum* itself; and no. 1(c) is a sample text of the *dos*. But for the fact that the initial act is here specifically a *dos*, (as opposed to either a *testamentum*, *dos (cessio)* or *donatio*), this group of acts is

²⁰⁶ These are all noted by Zeumer in his annotation to *Formulae Visigothicae* 25 (*Formulae*, p. 587 n. 2). Many of them are also noted by Nonn, who calls them *Gesta-Protokolle*, p. 57 and n. 395, where they are distinguished, alone among all documents in Zeumer's *Formulae*, by their use of the solemn *Anfangsdatierung* (although *Formulae Turonenses* 3 and *Formulae Arvernenses* 2 lack this feature).

functionally identical to the eighth-century *Marculfi Formulae* II/37-8, and represents the earliest example of the same Frankish legal tradition.

Similar sets of texts may be found in four other eighth-century formularies, with certain variations. *Formulae Bituricensis* 15(a-d) form a set of texts with exactly the same function as those in *Formulae Andecavenses* 1(a-c): they consist of a *dos* (no. 15a), followed by a *mandatum* from the husband (author of the *dos*) to the *mandatarius* (no. 15b), followed in turn by the transcript of the *adcorporatio gestis* (no. 15c) and finally by a *rescriptum* (no. 15d) notifying the author of the act's *adcorporatio*.²⁰⁷ Also in the *Formulae Bituricensis* can be found a simpler, one-act *adcorporatio* (no. 6) which specifies itself as pertinent for a *donatio ecclesiae* or a *donatio nepoti*.²⁰⁸ *Formulae Turonenses* 2-3 form a *mandatum-gestis adcorporatio* pair which is not intrinsically limited to any specific type of act, although it may originally have been linked to the *donatio post obitum* to Saint Martin of Tours which comprises text no. 1.²⁰⁹ Interestingly, the *mandatum* (no. 2) opens with the address "... fratri illo ... ille ...," which is reminiscent of the family relationship assumed between the author of an act and his *mandatarius* or *commendatarius* in the testamentary formula *Formulae Visigothicae* 21, or which may rather suggest the clerical status of both the author and his *mandatarius*, or may merely refer to their fellowship as Christians.²¹⁰ *Formulae Arvernenses* 2(a-b) assume another familial link in such a context.²¹¹ The *mandatum* (no. 2a) is from a mother to her sons, who enregister their mandate (no. 2b) without reference to any specific transaction. *Cartae Senonicae* 39-40 contain the *adcorporatio* of a *cessio* or *dos*, with an accompanying *mandatum* for the *prosecutor*.²¹² The final example, from Zeumer's *Appendix* to the *Cartae Senonicae*, recalls (as in the *Marculfi Formulae*) the use of this procedure for a document covering

²⁰⁷ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 174-5.

²⁰⁸ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 170-1.

²⁰⁹ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 135-7.

²¹⁰ See above, p. 77 and the passage quoted.

²¹¹ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 29.

²¹² *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 202-3.

succession: *Cartae Senonicae* Ap. 1(a-d) contain first a unique charter effecting the *hereditio* of illegitimate children (in the absence of legitimate ones, as the *Pactis Legis Salicae* allows) (no. 1a), followed by a *mandatum* (no. 1b), the *adcorporatio gestis* (no. 1c), and finally a *rescriptum* reporting successful publication to the father, indicating that this *hereditio* would be enregistered during the father's lifetime (and not after his death, as would a testamentary publication).²¹³

The Romano-Frankish tradition of documentary publication among secular (municipal) authorities which is implied by the variety and frequency with which these *adcorporationes gestis publicis* appear in the formularies is clearly analogous, although not identical, to the mélange of secular and ecclesiastical ceremony which is alluded to in the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* for the publication of testaments. It remains to be seen whether the earliest actual documents which deal with the testamentary probate process in either Languedoc or Catalonia are reflective of one tradition or the other, or of either. The gap between the sixth-century (and eighth-century, in the Frankish case) formularies and the ninth- and tenth-century surviving documents is perhaps too wide to bridge with easy teleological statements based on superficial similarities.

3. COMPROBATORY OATHS: CONDITIONES SACRAMENTORUM

A third type of document which appears with some frequency in the formularies is only related to the testamentary tradition by the indirect evidence of usage in a later epoch. This is the memorandum of sworn oaths which appears in different guises in the Frankish and Visigothic formularies. Its earliest formula example is the early-sixth-century *Formulae Visigothicae* 39, which presents a generic form of memorandum of a collective oath, *conditiones sacramentorum*, sworn by witnesses to a legal act, “quia nos iusta iurare et nihil falsum dicere, sed nos scimus, inter ill. et ill. hoc et illud in tempore illo actum fuisse.”²¹⁴

²¹³ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 208-9.

²¹⁴ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 592-3.

The authority in whose presence the oath is taken is only specified vaguely in the opening line (“ex ordinacione ill.”), but the subscription line is slightly more specific: “Ill. vicem agens illustrissimi viri comitis ill., has conditiones ex nostra praeceptione latas suscipit.”²¹⁵

This type of document--a generic, subscribed memorandum of a judicial proceeding--appears to have been in general use in the Visigothic kingdom in the sixth and seventh century, if one may accept as evidence of its use various passages of the *Liber iudiciorum* in which it is mentioned. Karl Zeumer, in the annotations to the *Formulae*, noted its appearance several times in *Liber iudiciorum* II:iv, *de testibus et testimoniis*, particularly where the oaths are to be used in the resolution of disputes.²¹⁶ He neglected to mention additionally the brief references, already noted here, in *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12, where *conditiones* are to be written and signed to memorialize the comprobation of a testament.²¹⁷

The surviving examples of *conditiones sacramentorum* documents reveal the variety of cases in which such collective oaths can be brought to bear. The earliest actual document is inscribed on slate, in the find from Diego Álvaro in the province of Ávila, dated by the editors to the period 560-590. Lolus swears before a group of judges, at the request of Basil, “propter caballos quos mutaverant ...”--i.e. in some dispute involving the exchange (or perhaps the bait-and-switch?) of horses.²¹⁸ There are no other surviving pre-Carolingian examples of such a document, although several literary references to the confection of *conditiones sacramentorum* exist, including a Catalan example: a *probatio pennae* in an early

²¹⁵ Two other formulae of *conditiones sacramentorum* are given by Angel Cañellas López, in *Diplomática hispano-visigoda* 221 and 222 (dated only tentatively as seventh-century formulae, from lesser formularies); they lack the closing protocols of Zeumer’s formula, and in internal respects they differ from the surviving eighth- to twelfth-century examples.

²¹⁶ *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 592 n. 1.

²¹⁷ “... eiusdemque iuramenti condicionem tam suam quam testium manu conroborent ...;” “... coram iudice *condicionibus factis* iuraverint ...;” see above, pp. 69, 72.

²¹⁸ *Diplomática hispano-visigoda*, no. 38. See also M. C. Díaz Díaz, “Un document privé de l’Espagne wisigothique sur ardoise,” *Studi medievali* i (Spoleto, 1960), p. 60.

eighth-century manuscript which may be the beginning of a letter to bishop Nambadus of Urgell around the year 731.²¹⁹

Similar notices of oaths appear in the formularies from the Frankish orbit, and it is tempting to think that they might have been used under similar circumstances for testamentary comprobatation oaths, although no examples survive. In the oldest Frankish formulary, the *Formulae Andecavenses*, there are two paired formulae (nos. 10(a-b) and 11(a-b)) in which a *judicius* [sic], a memorandum narrating a judgement, is paired with a *notitia sacramenti* with a transcript of the oath.²²⁰ Another formula (no. 15), called *breve sacramenti*, stands alone and is not coupled with a narrative of the judgement.²²¹ Eighth-century examples of the *breve sacramenti* occur in the *Formulae Turonenses* (nos. 31, 40) and the *Cartae Senonicae* (nos. 21, *recentiores* 2).²²² These acts all involve an oath, although the earlier formulae seem to take more careful notice of the invocation of the oath, which the later formulae neglect in favor of the factual content. Each formula, despite its anonymity, seems to treat a specific type of dispute; none of the oaths in the formularies, however, is connected with comprobatation of a testament, or of any document.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This portion of the study has sought to trace the history of testamentary documents and the testamentary procedure in the period before the year 800. Documentary and prescriptive sources tend to fall into two categories: testaments themselves; and testamentary

²¹⁹ *Diplomática hispano-visigoda*, nos. 143, 145, and 146, (references embedded in a narrative of the troubles between king Wamba and the anti-king Paulus in 672-3); 175 and 176 (from conciliar narratives in the reign of Egica), and 230 (the one referred to in the text). For this last example see particularly Rodney Potter Robinson, *Manuscripts 27 (s. 29) and 107 (s. 129) of the Municipal Library of Autun. A study of Spanish half-uncial and early Visigothic minuscule and cursive scripts* [*Memoirs of the American Academy of Rome*, xvi] (Rome, 1939).

²²⁰ No. 10 is presided over by an abbot and concerns disputed servile status; no 11 involves a citizen of Angers and concerns possibly stolen beasts. *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 8.

²²¹ It concerns the theft of a horse. *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 9-10.

²²² *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, pp. 154 (assault victim), 157 (complaint about niggardly inheritance distribution), 194 (testimony of one who has confiscated the lands *or the wife* of one who has done him ill), 211-2 (dispute over status of a *colonus*).

apertura, comprobatión or publication. A third major element of testamentary procedure is its *execution*; that is, when the goods bequeathed actually are transferred to the beneficiaries. This has been left almost entirely unexplained in the prescriptive sources, and there remains no evidence of diplomatic memoranda of such transfers, until the ninth century, when they appear in Catalano-Septimanian areas and remain in vogue for two centuries.

It should be clear that leading into the ninth century in Mediterranean France and Spain there was already a long tradition (or a group of long traditions) of probate law which had resulted in the creation or adaptation of a number of different types of documents relevant to the testament of an individual: in addition to the written testament itself (for which could be substituted an oral testament, or a number of written documents of quasi-testamentary function, such as *donationes post obitum* or *donationes reservato usufructu*), the *apertura*, comprobatión or publication could be accompanied by various documents, including a transcript of its formal enregistrement among municipal *gesta*, or a memorandum of the comprobatory oaths sworn by its witnesses.

By the ninth century, the legacy of late Roman legal traditions refracted through a Visigothic lens remained in Catalonia and Languedoc, both in a public setting (with a vestigial continuous local judicial system) and an ecclesiastical one (with the widespread reliance on clerical scribes, and their redaction and use of formularies). The brief Carolingian unification and domination of these regions in the early ninth century does not seem to have repaired the inevitable pluralism of local usages which resulted from decentralized interpretation and application of the surviving written laws and formularies. Subsequent centuries saw a competition of these varieties--revitalization of some, extinction of others--as social changes affected the way people thought about their possessions and posterity and the way they came together to participate in testamentary ceremonies and to create testamentary documents.

CHAPTER 3. THE TESTAMENTARY PROCESS, 800-1200

I. TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENTATION IN THE NINTH TO TWELFTH CENTURIES

Sendred, a Catalan priest, died in 1037. On March 10, 1037, a group of clerics, no doubt former associates and friends, got together and wrote a brief letter to the deacon (and probably judge) Ramon.²²³

In the name of Christ. We, the executors of the late priest, Sendred, ... to you, Ramon, *levita*. We most respectfully command and request that you convoke and secure the performance of the *conditiones sacramentorum* of the testament of the last will of the priest Sendred; and whatever you judge therefrom by law, we promise to be solid in all ways with you. This dated 6 before the *ides* of March, 7 Henry (etc.).²²⁴

This little letter, called by its signatories a *mandatum helectionis et exortationis*, was a call to the appropriate authority to initiate the legal proceeding which was customary in Sendred's day to verify, publish, publicize and authenticate an individual's testamentary desires after his death.²²⁵ The executors, all clergy, no doubt could be counted on to avoid duplicity during the proceeding; even so, they promised to be straight with Ramon. In turn, they expected from him the convocation of a formal ceremony which would enable them to legally execute whatever obligations they had as executors of Sendred's will. What was the process to which they alluded with solemnity but familiarity? It was the customary judicial process by which testaments were made and honored; this process was enjoying its heyday in 1037. In this chapter, the process as it evolved, particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, in Catalonia and, more loosely, in Aragon and Languedoc, will be examined in detail.

²²³ Because of the explicit judicial nature of the task requested by this *mandatum*, I would tentatively identify the recipient of this latter, Ramon *levita*, with the *levita et iudex* Ramon known to have operated in the Barcelonès and Vallès from 1040 to 1053. See Appendix A below: *Prosopography of iudices in Catalonia and Languedoc: a Testamentary Citation Index, 791-1200*.

²²⁴ ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 246. See below, Appendix D, no. 4.

²²⁵ Indeed, it is the only document of its type to have been unearthed in systematic examination of fonds containing over ten thousand documents. What chance preserved this little procedural note among records of more obvious legal value?

The ninth and tenth centuries in Languedoc and Catalonia saw the invention or introduction of new forms of documentation surrounding the old concept of the testament and its attendant process. Generations of experimentation led to an adoption of a group of diplomatic forms, of which the number of surviving examples steadily grows through the tenth and eleventh century, leading to an explosion of documentation in the twelfth century. In the first chapter, the documentary sources collected for this study were discussed as a whole in order to illustrate their provenance. In the second chapter, a basic typology of these testamentary documents was advanced for purposes of definition. Here, the typology of testamentary documents will be further examined to shed light on the testamentary process, particularly as it evolved from the ninth through the twelfth centuries, and as regional variations manifested themselves. Keeping in mind the basic tripartite division of the diplomatic evidence for the testamentary procedure which was propounded in chapter 2, this chapter will address the evolution of these forms.

The will itself, the first-person written memorial of testamentary desires or bequests, was inherited from Roman and pre-Carolingian ancestors, apparently remaining in continuous use throughout the late antique and early medieval eras. While considerable prescriptive evidence suggests that it was used in both Visigothic and Merovingian cultures, the testamentary publication charter not represented by any concrete pre-Carolingian examples save the fragmentary Ravenna papyri from the late fifth and early sixth centuries. In contrast, the executors' act does not appear at all in pre-Carolingian Europe, either in surviving diplomata or as an extrapolated form from known testamentary law.

Figure 3:1 shows the total number of testamentary documents studied in Catalonia, Languedoc and Aragon in the period 800-1200, grouping the documents by decade and distinguishing them according to this tripartite typology. The total numbers of documents sampled can not, of course, reflect the actual number of documents created, but the exponential trend in increasing documentation actually reflects the tremendous rise in the

volume of documentation surviving from Catalonia and elsewhere in Medieval Europe from the end of the twelfth century.²²⁶ *Figure 3:2* presents the same distinction as a proportion of the total. The sample set is large enough and well-enough distributed geographically and chronologically to support the accuracy of the proportional trend, which shows clearly that the number of first-person wills increases steadily throughout the period studied, at the expense of executors' acts, which are virtually extinct as a diplomatic form by the second half of the eleventh century. Publication charters, after their introduction around 960, swell to considerable proportion in the eleventh century and then taper off in the twelfth.

This chapter will seek to explain these trends in the testamentary documentation by discussing each type in turn, illustrating how they interacted with one another, and considering other important institutional aspects of testamentary culture, notably the authorities under which testaments were acted upon.

A. Testaments, Executors and Testamentary Execution

I. CLASSIC FORM OF THE TESTAMENT (RIPOLL FORMULARY)

A basic typology of motivation and pious language for the testament has been introduced, differentiating between the testament of a moribund testator, the testament of one who undergoes a dangerous journey (pilgrimage, campaign or crusade) and the generic pious testament of one who desires salvation.²²⁷ Although this differentiation is explicit in the opening protocols of the standard Catalonian testament, the functional difference of these various types of testament is little. There are, however, some aspects of testamentary documentation whose variety may signal functional distinctions rather than cosmetic or rhetorical trends.

²²⁶ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 320-324, presents graphically the number of documents encountered, by decade, for certain fonds within Catalonia in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. On the increase in documentation in general in this period, see, for example, Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978).

²²⁷ See above, chapter 2, pp. 38-49.

The Ripoll formulary presents an archetypal formula for the first-person testamentary document to be found in Catalonia and Languedoc in the tenth through twelfth centuries.²²⁸ In Catalonia, the structure standardized around the mid-tenth century (as exemplified in the formulary) remained relatively stable for over two centuries thereafter, despite considerable variety in choice of individual pious arengas and embellishments. North of the Pyrenees, however, the structures employed for testamentary memoranda continued to be diverse and to vary over time.

The structure of the normative Catalonian testament remained fundamentally the same: first, an *invocatio* and (optional) pious *arenga*; next, the naming of the testator; optional further expression of motive; the election of executors, with an instruction that they carry out the terms of the testament; and then the dispositive clauses (the bequests). The bequests often follow a formulaic arrangement, which will be discussed further in that portion of the study devoted to the content of bequests.²²⁹ Briefly noted, the major dispositive elements are: pious legacies, election of burial, familial legacies or legacies to individuals, provision for payment of debts or collection of credits, substitutions among heirs, the election of guardians for a family or for land held in fief, provisions or requests for the righting of wrongs committed by the testator. Following these substantive elements, the eschatocol may begin with a comminatory clause. The document then almost always closes with the date and the subscriptions of the testator, the witnesses and the scribe.

2. *NOMINATION OF EXECUTORS*

One of the most explicit functional elements of the testament is the naming of a group of executors--that is, persons who were to have some responsibility for the distribution of the testator's legacies. It has been noted that from the tenth through twelfth centuries the

²²⁸ As discussed in chapter 2, p. 42 and note 108. Michel Zimmerman, "Un formulaire..."; the testamentary formulae (there are two) appear on pp. 77-78.

²²⁹ See below, chapter 4.

names employed for such persons have varied considerably. As many as ten different synonyms have appeared in the documents under study: *elemosinarius*, *manumissor*, *tutor*, *distributor*, *advocatus*, and *amicus* in Catalonia; additionally *mandatarius* in Ribagorça and Aragon, and *wadiator* (*gadiator*, *vuadiarius* in Lyons), *spondarius*, and *fideiussor* in Languedoc.²³⁰ Many of these terms occur in apposition in single documents (“tutores vel elemosinarii”, etc.). The curious interchangeability of at least some of the terms on this list of terms is further demonstrated by comparison of the two adjacent testamentary formulae in the Ripoll formulary:

... volo ut sint elemosinarii mei talis et talis. Precipio namque vobis amicis meis et precor ut si in isto itinere quod ego Domino annuente pergere cupio, id est a dlimina beati Petri apostoli Rome vel aliorum sanctorum mors mihi advenerit, scripturam donacionis faciatis propter remedium anime mee ad domum sancti illius cenobii illius..²³¹

... ideo comendo vobis amicis meis illi et illi meam elemosinam per meum testamentum, ut, si de hac egritudine mortuus fuero, taliter dividere vel donare faciatis omnem meam facultatem tam mobilem quam immobilem sicut in hoc testamento inveneritis scriptum.²³²

It is interesting to note that, in the first formula, the word *elemosinarius* is used, and it is clear from the text that the document is explicitly a pious testament with one beneficiary, a monastery. The second testament, in contrast, is left more open-ended and is not necessarily exclusively pious. However, the idea that *elemosinarius* might originally have been intended in this context only for executors of pious legacies does not appear to be borne out in the documents.

In fact, the earliest introduction of the naming of executors into wills occurs in the early ninth century, and may have been imported into the southern Carolingian fringe from elsewhere. R. J. R. Goffin found that it first occurred in the (first) testament of the Nibelung

²³⁰ Jean Bastier, “Le testament en Catalogne du IXe au XIIe siècle: une survivance Wisigothique,” *Revue historique du droit français et étranger*, 4^e sér., li (1973), 373-417, at pp. 408-9. Boyer, “La nature juridique...,” p. 4.

²³¹ Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...”, p. 78 (“Prologus testamenti”).

²³² Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...”, p. 78 (“Testamentum de morte”).

Eccard, count in Burgundy, circa 872.²³³ Although Goffin misdated this act to circa 840, its primacy still holds.²³⁴ By the turn of the tenth century, however, the concept of executors had spread into Catalonia, where the earliest testament to name executors is that of Idelguer, bishop of Vic, in 908.²³⁵ The testament of Miró, count of Cerdanya, despite the lacuna in the only existing transcription, and what seems to be a free rendering of the commendation to the executors, anticipates the Ripoll formulary with its naming of a cadre of testamentary executors:

... ut in manibus dilectissima sorore mea Hemmoni abbatissa, seu Unifredo vicecomite fideli meo, et consanguinea mea Gilesinda, et filio suo Remesario vicecomite fideli meo [...] ortor nimium vobis ut ...²³⁶

At almost the same time, Miró's second cousin Acfred, duke of Aquitaine, inserted an equivalent passage into his testament:

... obsecro vos fideles et amicos meos Rotbertum vicecomitem, Dalmacium, Bertrannum, Eustorgium, Armandum, Arlebaldum prepositum et Cunabertum decanum, ut sitis elemosinarii mei sicut estis fidelissimi amici ita sitis mearum rerum distributores ...²³⁷

²³³ Goffin, p. 80 (and see above, n. 203).

²³⁴ Goffin followed Thévenin (*Textes relatifs aux institutions privées et publiques aux époques mérovingienne et carolingienne*, ed. Marcel Thévenin (Paris, 1887)) in dating it to 840. For a better edition of Eccard's testamentary documents, see *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, i, nos. 25-28. The dating is discussed by Maurice Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne*, 2 vols. (Dijon, 1925-1937), i, pp. 261-263. See also Christian Settipani, *La préhistoire des Capétiens, 481-987* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1993), p. 349-350 and n. 1081. Prou and Vidier date the act (which lacks its ending) "vers janvier 876;" Chaume dates it to circa 872; Settipani thinks it belongs at latest in 869. Executors are, in fact, named earlier in other surviving testamentary documents: the earliest mention of a testamentary *elemosinarius* found in any document is in the publication of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon at Narbonne in 821 (*HL* ii, no. 57). Executors appear as a group in the execution of the bequest of Teubertus to Aniane in 842 (*Cartulaire d'Aniane*, ed. Cassan and Meynial (Montpellier, 1900), no. 289).

²³⁵ *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 41 (15 February 908).

²³⁶ Miró, count of Cerdanya: Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 88-90 (13 June 925).

²³⁷ "Grand cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Julien de Brioude: Essai de restitution," ed. Anne Marcel Baudot and Marcel Baudot, *Mémoires de l'académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Clermont-Ferrand*, xxxv (1935), no. 433 (11 October 927).

The nomination of a group of executors was not yet the norm; other testaments from the same period did not employ this device.²³⁸ But by the end of the tenth century, the practice was nearly universal within Catalonia. North of the Pyrenees, however, it remained rather less common.²³⁹ In Aragon and Navarre it was unknown.²⁴⁰ George Boyer, who noticed this phenomenon with respect to testaments from the Toulousain, qualified this observation by differentiating *codicils* from testaments, giving as an example the pious testaments of Garsenda, countess of Toulouse.²⁴¹ Other testaments from Languedoc use the term “codicil,” but not necessarily, as Boyer believed, in the strict formal sense of auxiliary testamentary document.²⁴²

One possible pattern which may affect the naming of executors is the creation of dual testamentary documents--one containing pious legacies, and the other containing lay bequests to individuals. Boyer approached this idea with his insistence that documents called “codicils” really were subordinate to some other, lost testament--the executors having been named in the other document.²⁴³ It does seem possible that certain testaments were created

²³⁸ For example, the testament of the nun Ausesza. *El Archivo Condal de Barcelona en los siglos IX-X: estudio crítico de sus fondos*, ed. Federico Udina i Martorell, (Barcelona, 1951), no. 112 (18 April 938).

²³⁹ Boyer, “La nature juridique...,” p. 4: “La désignation d’exécuteur est loin d’être une règle générale dans les testaments que nous possédons.” One example of the equivocation with respect to this element is in the three testaments of Adalaidis, viscountess of Narbonne. The earliest (a joint testament with her husband Matfred) names no executors (*HL* v, no. 115 (26 August 961)). The other two do, however (*HL* v, nos. 130 (4 October 978) and 151 (29 March 990)).

²⁴⁰ Testaments from Aragon and Navarre, however, sometimes carefully name the *witnesses* in the same place in the testament as the executors are named in the Catalonian testament. For example, see the testament of Estefania, wife of Garcia, king of Navarre: *Colección diplomática medieval de la Rioja*, ed. Ildefonso Rodríguez de Lama, 4 vols. (Logroño, 1976-1989), i, no. 19 (1060).

²⁴¹ Boyer, “La nature juridique...,” p. 4, citing *HL* iv, p. 43, for a brief discussion of the sense of the word *codicillum* in Garsenda’s testament, which is edited in *HL* v, no. 126 (972). Boyer also cites the testament (called “codicillum”) of Raymond, count and *marchio* of the Rouergue, *HL* v, no. 111 (961).

²⁴² To this I would add the testament of Ebrald, prior of the chapter at Albi, *Gallia christiana*, ed. Denis de Saint-Marthe, 16 vols. (Paris, 1739-1877) i, Instrumenta, p. 3 (March 963). This is close enough to the time and place of Raymond of Rouergue to suggest a regional predilection for the term *codicillum* merely as a synonym for testament.

²⁴³ This is supported by the testament of count Raymond of Rouergue (cited above), which mentions *elemosinarii* in the final line and nowhere else: “Omnes res meas mobiles donend elemosinarii mei Domino Deo et ad sanctos et ad presbyteros et ad pauperes, pro anima mea.”

as double documents. The most striking surviving example of this is the dual testament written by Bernard-Ato, viscount of Béziers, 7 May 1118.²⁴⁴ In two parallel documents, he delineates the divisions of his cluster of lordships which are to fall to each of his two sons, Roger and Ramon Trencavel. Neither document, however, names executors, nor does Bernard-Ato's later testament of 1129.²⁴⁵ One is still left to conclude that executors need not be named in the Languedocian testament.

The number of executors, according to Bastier, varied somewhat, but was generally from two to four; he noted the exceptional case of count Borrell, who named a cadre of twenty-two executors, divided with authority in different counties.²⁴⁶ In early documents one sees single executors acting alone; this was possibly a transitional phase between the eighth-century *mandatarius* of Frankish law and the later posse of executors.²⁴⁷

What conclusions should be drawn from the fact that testators outside Catalonia (after the early ninth century) are apparently much more cavalier about naming the executors explicitly in their written testaments? Executors apparently didn't play as important a role in the regions (notably the Toulousain and Aragon) where testaments neglect them. In contrast, in the areas where they are more consistently named (Rouergue (Brioude), the coastal Narbonnais, and Catalonia), their importance in the testamentary process is borne out by the evidence of other documents, notably the executors' donation charters (see

²⁴⁴ *HL* v, nos. 462/1-2. Note that the provenance of the two documents is distinct: the testament in favor of Ramon Trencavel is from the Trencavel cartulary, while that in favor of Roger IV is apparently from a loose copy (but also from the Trencavel-Foix archive, later at Montpellier). It is possible that both are corrupted and truncated redactions of a lost original which contained the complete division.

²⁴⁵ *HL* v, no. 504. This testament names a third son, Bernat-Ato, not present in 1118: the division of counties is remade into thirds.

²⁴⁶ Bastier, p. 411. The testament of count Borrell, *Urgellia* iii, no. 232 (24 September 993).

²⁴⁷ For example, the act of Proculus, "qui sum manumissor de patre meo nomine Trectimiro qui obiit a seculo..." in a donation to Codinet. "Diplomatari del Monestir de Sant Climent de Codinet (segles IX-XI)," ed. Cebrià Baraut, *Studia Monastica* xxiv (1982), 147-201, no. 9 (5 January 865). See below, p. 98. Single executors persisted later in Alaó; there is a similar act from May 958: Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals, *Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1955), ii, no. 173.

below). This important, apparent geographic distinction in testamentary practice will become more clear as the other types of testamentary documentation are examined in turn.

3. OTHER FUNCTIONAL VARIATIONS IN TESTAMENTS

One other major variant in the wording of testaments which appears to have functional repercussions is the appearance of testaments couched entirely in the third person. This is frequently encountered in Languedoc and in Aragon, rather than in Catalonia proper, but from time to time testaments in the Catalonian heartland were also drafted in this way.²⁴⁸ In many cases, the use of the third person seems merely to show that the scribe, taking dictation, was in fact paraphrasing as he wrote, changing the verbs and pronouns to suit the shift of viewpoint. This scenario is borne out when the testator signs the document, even though the protocols and dispositive clauses had been couched in the third person.²⁴⁹

On the other hand, there are many testaments, or memoranda of testaments, in which the subscriptions are lacking for one reason or another. A good example from the Toulousain is the testament of a woman, Prima:

Hec est carta testamenti et adordinationis quod fecit domina Prima mater Iohanis Raterii, in ultima voluntate et in ultimo suo testamento. Tunc Prima dedit et disposuit ...

²⁴⁸ A good example is the rustic, undated testament of Guillem Mir: ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 98:

Hec est verba testamenti de Guilelm Mir de suum avere mobile quod mandavit pro anime sue. [...] Testes sunt Bernard Fruga et Iuda Guadall et Pere Guilelm. Raimundo sacer qui hoc scripsit.

See below, Appendix D, no. 9. See also below, p. 122, where this type of testament is discussed in relation to the “informal publication charter” form.

²⁴⁹ The best example found, from an original parchment, is the will, *infirmirate detenta*, of Marchesa, wife of Ramon de Guardia, ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 262 (31 January 1179), which she signed although it was written entirely in the third person. In certain other cases, where the document only survives in a cartulary, one is tempted to ask whether the copyist was paraphrasing as he wrote the dispositive clauses, but then added the subscriptions verbatim. Examples: Guillerma, countess of Melgueil (*Cartulaire de Maguelone*, i, no. 3); see also *Urgellia* vii, no. 982, and viii, no. 1177 (both from the cartulary, the *LDEU*).

... Stephanus de Pobolvilla qui hoc testamentum et adordinationem sicut
suprascriptum est vidit et audivit cartam istam scripsit.²⁵⁰

Here the question is one of shade, perhaps, but nonetheless interesting. There are no subscriptions.²⁵¹ Was this document written by Stephanus, the scribe, at the deathbed scene of the testatrix, or some time later, as an aide-mémoire? The use of “tunc” in setting the scene implies that it was written later. Does this still qualify then, under the present typology, as a testament? Was the testatrix already dead? These puzzling memoranda are most common in areas where there was no strong tradition of sworn testamentary publication or enregistration--Aragon, the central Pyrenees, and the Toulousain, as opposed to Catalonia and the coastal Narbonnais.

The question whether such variations in the language of the written testaments bear on their legal function cannot be answered given the tremendous variety of testamentary memoranda which survive. Other diplomatic variations seem to have little bearing on the function of the documents. The number of witnesses varies, although witnesses are perhaps the sole common denominator of the testamentary memoranda studied. While Roman law was said to require five or seven witnesses, the number of witnesses found in the ninth to twelfth centuries varies from only two or three, to many times that number.²⁵² Possibly the presence of seven witnesses is a clue to some memory of Roman diplomatic requirements (as opposed to the practice based on the *Liber iudiciorum*, which didn't stipulate the number), but the variety is too disparate to suggest coherent legal schools. Other purely diplomatic variations can also reflect preference for different diplomatic or legal traditions. In the Narbonensis, for example, the date often appears at the opening of a document, rather than

²⁵⁰ Toulouse, ADH-G, 4 G 227, no. 26 (olim Sac. D, liasse 2, no. 91) (August 1150). Edited: Marie Roche Vallée, *La Société languedocienne d'après les testaments (813-1270)*, 2 vols. (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Université de Toulouse-le Mirail, 1986), ii, pp. 77-79.

²⁵¹ Again, the question arises, since this particular charter is a *translatio* of 1189, of whether the copyist simply omitted some portions of the document. However, it appears to have been practice in the Toulousain, in the twelfth century at least, to include the names of witnesses in charters of this type, but not to require (or not to preserve) their subscriptions. For examples, *Cartulaire de Lézat*, nos. 1261 (November 1196) and *passim*.

²⁵² Bastier, p. 397; for the Roman requirement, see above, chap 2.

at the foot, before the subscriptions.²⁵³ This type of diplomatic feature should not simply be studied with respect to testaments, however, and is beyond the scope of this study.

B. Executors' Acts

I. APPEARANCE OF EXECUTORS' ACTS (NINTH CENTURY)

The earliest identifiable document bearing the execution of a bequest appears in the Cartulary of Aniane, dated 29 September 842.²⁵⁴ A priest and three other men, who identify themselves as the *elemosinarii* of the late Teutbertus, relate how he commanded them, in his *written and signed testament*, to distribute his lands and possessions to the monasteries, to priests and the poor, and to give his *alodium* to Amalbert. Accordingly, they give Amalbert several different lands *ad proprio*.²⁵⁵

The reference to the signed testament leaves no doubt that this document belongs to the execution of a testament, and not a simple *donatio inter vivos* (through the agency of *elemosinarii* or *mandatarii*) which happened to be complicated by one party's death. Although this is the earliest document of this type encountered in the course of this study, it appears in a form which is fully developed compared to examples from 100 or 200 years later from the same locale. This may imply a pre-existing tradition of which no trace survives, but one can only speculate further when the later examples are studied in more detail.

At any rate, the use of these executors' acts seems to have spread over the entire length of Catalonia and Languedoc in the ensuing generations. Acts appear at Saint-Julien

²⁵³ For example, *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 182 (dating to regnal year and year of incarnation following the invocation; month, kalends and feria appear in the scribal subscription).

²⁵⁴ *Cartulaire d'Aniane*, no. 289. The dating of this act is “.iii. kalendas octobris, anno .iii. quod abiit Lodowicus imperator, tradidit regnum in ipsius manus filii in Luterio.” Strictly speaking, this could only refer to Louis the Pious and Lothar, who had imperial titles, but because of the reference to the *elemosinarii* (which was much more common in the ninth and tenth century) one is tempted to consider the tenth-century kings Louis IV and Lothar. Curiously, this charter is the only document of its kind extant--from any period--in the Aniane cartulary.

²⁵⁵ This appears to be synonymous, in the document, with *ad justissimo ordine ereditario*.

de Brioude beginning in 891,²⁵⁶ at Alaó as early as 869,²⁵⁷ in Roussillon in 891,²⁵⁸ and in Catalonia proper, at Sant-Climent de Codinet, possibly as early as 865.²⁵⁹

Jean Bastier noted that the basic function of the executors' act was to effect the transferal of a pious bequest.²⁶⁰ This is borne out by the documents: at least five hundred such charters survive, spanning the ninth through eleventh centuries.²⁶¹ In Catalonia, donations charters by the executors of a deceased are plentiful for episcopal, chapter, and monastic patrimonies. The most numerous sites of such donations are Sant Cugat del Vallès, la Seu d'Urgell, Barcelona, Vic, and Girona, and Elne. Other monasteries from Roussillon to Ribagorça also received such donations. The documents are not found west of Aragon, however. North of the Pyrenees, these charters occur more sporadically. Above the Pyrenees, the acts were used only in the coastal Narbonensis, and north-eastward in the Auvergne and Nîmois: they appeared at Narbonne, Béziers, la Grasse, Montolieu, Conques, Brioude, Nîmes, and as far north as Savigny (Lyons). *Map 3:1* marks all the institutional beneficiaries of the pious executors' acts found in this study.²⁶² The acts apparently did not appear in Carcassonne or in the Toulousain.

²⁵⁶ "Grand cartulaire du chapitre Saint-Julien de Brioude", ed. Baudot, no. 105 (= *Cartulaire de Saint-Julien de Brioude [Liber de honoribus Sto Juliano collatis]*, ed. Henri Doniol (Clermont-Ferrand, 1863), no. 102).

²⁵⁷ Abadal, *Pallars i Ribagorça*, ii, no. 68 (23 April 869).

²⁵⁸ *Urgellia* ii, no. 35 (7 April 891).

²⁵⁹ "Diplomatari del Monestir de Sant Climent de Codinet," no. 9 (5 January 865). Dated to the 25th year of the reign of "Karulo", this could be an early tenth-century document (from Charles the Simple), but one has no reason to doubt Cebrià Baraut's choice of Charles the Bald. The other earliest surviving Catalonian executors' act is at Amer in the Gironès, in 892 (ACA, Perg. Santa Maria de Amer, no. 1).

²⁶⁰ Bastier, p. 410: "Le plus souvent l'exécution du testament, au x^e siècle, consiste en la réalisation d'une donation *pro anima*."

²⁶¹ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, p. 61, notes that he had found more than five hundred such documents before 1025. Four hundred-eighty-nine such documents have been collected for the present study. Udina's list no doubt includes several dozen from the loose parchments of the Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona (hereinafter "ACB"), which were not consulted for this study. The practice seems to have been most developed in the Barcelonès and Vallès, with over 25 percent of all such acts found anywhere.

²⁶² This includes only the strict acts of those identified as *elemosinarii* or *manumissores*, not the variety of other acts which appear to constitute compliance with some post-obitum bequest.

In addition to encompassing the transmission of pious legacies, this kind of act was also used for the transmission of individual bequests. In several instances, the executors of a deceased transfer land to an individual cleric, in much the same manner (and perhaps for much the same reason) as with institutional bequests.²⁶³ At other times, however, the individual recipient is a layperson, not identified in any way with the testator.²⁶⁴ Finally, several charters explicitly record the executors' transmission of lands of the testator to the testator's close relatives. Although these charters are not numerous, they support the idea that the executor, or *elemosinarius*, had general responsibility to effect the transference of all legacies, not merely the pious ones.²⁶⁵ The implication of these acts is that the executors actually intervene between the testator and his own close family in custody of the estate of the deceased--this clearly is a much more active role than merely overseeing the delivery of pious legacies. In yet another group of these acts, the executors effect a sale, rather than a donation, of their testator's lands.²⁶⁶ In some of the charters the executors explain that this is done to raise money, usually for gifts *pro anima*, but once for the remission of debts.²⁶⁷ Other sales were effected without revealing the destination of the proceeds.

²⁶³ Ten examples have been noted. An early example is from Alaó, 918: Abadal, *Pallars i Ribagorça*, no. 131. Others occur in the late tenth and eleventh centuries in Barcelona, Girona, Vic and Urgell.

²⁶⁴ Twelve examples found in Catalonia in the tenth and early eleventh century. It should be noted that the Aniane executors' charter of 842, mentioned above, is the thirteenth and final such charter found. *Cartulaire d'Aniane*, no. 289.

²⁶⁵ Seven examples, all in Catalonia, from 957 to 1058 (including one from Elne in Roussillon). Another charter, from 1145, clearly an anachronistic anomaly, effects the same type of transaction in Girona. *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, ii, no. 302 (13 July 1145).

²⁶⁶ Sometimes to religious institutions, sometimes to individuals. Nineteen examples in Catalonia, from the mid ninth to the later eleventh century.

²⁶⁷ Payment of debts: Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, no. 292 (29 September 1065). For the raising of cash for gifts *pro anima*, see the example of the testament of countess Guisla of Cerdanya, mentioned below, pp. 132-133. Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *El monasterio de San Martín de Canigó* (Olot, 1899), no. 5.

2. *DISAPPEARANCE OF THE EXECUTORS' ACTS*

Jean Bastier argued, on the basis of his analysis of testaments and publication charters in Catalonia, for the increasing strength and dominance of testamentary executors in the testamentary process from the late tenth through the twelfth centuries.²⁶⁸ However, the executors' acts themselves tell a different story. *Figures 3:1* and *3:2*, above, show the executors' acts dwindle and become extinct as a diplomatic form in Languedoc and Catalonia, roughly around the third quarter of the eleventh century.

Literacy and the production of charters in general was on the rise, so the decline in executors' acts cannot be attributed to a lapse of diplomatic habits in general. Rather, for some reason this particular written act was no longer required to effect or record the transmission of the goods of the deceased from the executors to the beneficiaries. While executors continued to have some role in the testamentary probate process (i.e. continuing to be named carefully in testaments, and continuing to appear, along with witnesses, at testamentary publication ceremonies), perhaps their tenure of the deceased's estate was limited to the instantaneous moment of the publication/comprobatation ceremony itself, and title was then assumed automatically to devolve upon the beneficiary. The absence of pre-Carolingian evidence for the development of the role of the executor, and specifically, how the executor effected transfer of the testamentary legacy, has already been remarked upon.²⁶⁹

3. *ADVENT OF THE LAUDATIO/DONATIO*

A new type of document appears at about the same time the executors' donation charters dwindle. Kinsmen and heirs of the deceased, rather than testamentary executors, author these new acts, a kind of ambiguous legal *mélange* of *donatio* and *laudatio*. Bastier had taken into account what he called "la marche à la féodalisation," but he had seen this as an opportunity for increased roles of the executors about the "lignage" of the testator: the

²⁶⁸ Bastier, pp. 413-415.

²⁶⁹ Above, chapter 2.

development of concepts of guardianship and wardship, the jealous and nervous husbanding of lands and honors in fief, particularly during the minority of heirs, etc. In some circumstances, the appointment of executors, which depended on mutual respect for the probate institution, might have been mistrusted, and supplemented (or supplanted) in favor of a more direct, but less legally traditional, method of succession. Family members, particularly sons, simply take control of lands on the event of their fathers' demise. It is for this reason that a new type of pious bequest execution emerges: in order to secure a pious bequest, the beneficiary seeks a *laudatio* from this heir presumptive, almost recognizing his tenure of the land in question by having the heir use the verb *dono* as well as *laudo*.

The earliest such document in Catalonia is a deed of 1087, in which the son of Seniofred confirms and executes a bequest his father had made to Santa Maria de Vilabertran. "Conlaudo et auctorizo ..." he says in the opening protocols, and "dono et confirmo ..." in his subscription.²⁷⁰ Earlier examples of this type of document appear outside Catalonia: two documents from circa 1060, one from Saint-Foi de Conques in the Rouergue, and the other from Saint-Mont in Gascony, each bear similar language and treat similar situations.²⁷¹ Earlier it was noted, from the evidence of testaments, that the executors were never as strong a presence in the Toulousain (or presumably in Gascony as well), as further east. It is logical to find there earlier traditions of this sort of *laudatio* for bequests.

An important group of these documents in Catalonia concerns the viscounts of Bas. In 1121, Udalard, viscount of Besalú/Bas, authored a confirmation of the donations of his grandmother, Ermessind, viscountess of Bas, to Sant Joan de les Abadesses in the Ripollès.²⁷²

Notum sit omnibus hominibus quam Ermessindis vicecomitissa quondam per suum testamentum reliquit Deo et Sancto Iohanni de Abbatissis pro anima sua mansum

²⁷⁰ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya (hereinafter "BC"), Reserve, Perg. 8957 (15 April 1087).

²⁷¹ *Cartulaire du prieuré de Saint-Mont (ordre de Cluny)*, ed. Jaurgain and Maumus (Paris, 1904), no. 40 (1060); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques en Rouergue*, ed. Gustave Desjardins, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879), ii, no. 284 (1060).

²⁷² ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer III, no. 233 (7 March 1121).

de Rexaq quod comparavit de Guillelmo Guadamiri in Riddario et ... Ego autem Udalardus vicecomes nepos ejus post mortem ipsius restiti ejus donationem nec adquevi vel permisi, ut habet sanctus Johannes prefatum alodium. Postmodum vero conventus plurimum a domino Abbate Berengario ejusdem loci et ob hanc causam acceptis abeo .lxx. solidis denariorum monete publice, quicquid ipsa fecerat et quantum ibi habebat val habere debebat quantumque juris vel vocis profitebor me ibi habere totum dimissi atque reliquo et trado Deo et S. Iohanni prefati loci in presentia Guillelmi Raimundi capellanni S. Privati et Raimundi Poncii et Bernardi de Spasen et Petri Raimundi et Barnrdi Adalberti et Dalmatii clericorum et aliorum bonorum hominum, ut ab hodierna die et deinceps nullus omnino hominum quiquam ibi habeat nisi sanctus Johannes prenomatus excepto fevo militum, quod ibi habeant tantummodo, et nichil aliud. Qui vero hoc irruperit in quadruplum sancto Iohanni componat, et in antea hoc mea restitutio seu donatio aviae mee semper inconvulssa permaneat.

A month later, Udalard authored another charter, promising under oath not to violate the person or abuse or confiscate any goods of either the abbot of Sant Joan or of Santa Maria de Ripoll.²⁷³ Obviously, the aggressive behavior feared (and hopefully bought off) by the abbot of Sant Joan was not held in check long. The oath charter does not explicitly mention the same lands as in his aunt's bequest, but it makes clear that Udalard was a jealous guardian of his patrimony in general, and a fierce competitor with the religious institutions. Udalard's cousin and ultimate successor Ponç de Cervera was similarly rapacious, but died seeing the error of his ways. In an extraordinary charter of testamentary execution, his widow Almodis revoked some of her late husband's *malos usaticos*:²⁷⁴

Sit notum cunctis viventibus quod ego Almodis vicecomitissa Bassensis pro remedio anime mariti mei Poncii de Cervaria voluntate omnium filiorum meorum et consilio nobilium hominum meorum, dimitto in perpetuum omnibus hominibus qui sunt in parrochia S. Juliani de Valle-Fecunda illas migeras frumenti quas de singulis mansis per singulos annos in predicta parrochia quidam Bassenses vicecomites olim per malum usaticum et per malam apprisionem acceperant. Hanc vero dimissionem propterea facio quia jam dictus maritus meus Poncius de Cervaris in suo ultimo testamento timore Dei dimisit malos usaticos quos ipse vel antecessores sui in jam dicta parrochia vel in aliis suis misserant ... et insuper pro hac dimissione ab hominibus supradicte parroche accepi .CC. solidos obtime Bisildunensis monete, quos dedi in redempcione illius honoris de Maia {?} quem predictus Poncius de Cervaria maritus meus impignoraverat et bajulus meus pro suo redesimo habuit a supradictis hominibus .XXX. solidos ejusdem monete. Si quis vero contra hanc cartam dimissionis ad inrumpendum venerit facere non valeat sed in duplo componat et postea firma persistat. Actum est hoc .XIII. kl. dec. anno .XVIII. regni regis Leudovici Junioris. Sig†num Almodis vicecomitisse. Sig†num Ugoni filii ejus.

²⁷³ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer III, no. 234 (24 April 1121).

²⁷⁴ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 279 (19 November 1153).

Sig†num Poncii filii ejus. Sig†num Berengarii filii ejus, qui hanc cartam fieri jussimus aliosque firmare mandavimus. ...

The manipulation of bequests in the interests of the patrimony and the *lignage*, and the importance of the *laudatio successorum* in executing a pious bequest in the twelfth century, are nowhere more clear than in this charter.

In other circumstances the *laudatio* could correspond to activity with expressly feudal overtones. Count Ramon Berenguer III inserted a sentence into a pious execution charter of a bequest of count Bernat of Besalú to the monastery at Arles, assenting to the bequest as Bernat's overlord in Barcelona and successor in Besalú.²⁷⁵ In an inverted situation, two interesting acts execute certain terms of the testament of Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, in 1150/1.²⁷⁶ In his testament, Roger had willed the *villa* of Casiliaco, “quam filii Guilelmi comitis tenent per proprietatem et dominicaturam” to la Grasse; as compensation, he requested his brother, Raymond Trencavel, to grant to the brothers, Bernat and Guillem, “filii Guillelmi comitis” another parcel of equal value, “villam de Leuco.” Clearly only feudal tenure could account for the viscount's ability to make free with others' property. In compliance with his wishes, the brothers Bernat and Guillem executed a donation charter to la Grasse: “donamus et dimittimus atque diffinimus omnibusque modis ...” The next day, Raymond Trencavel gave to the brothers the other villa, “sicut Guilhermus comes pater vester a Bernardo-Atone vicecomite domino et patre meo melius et firmitus habuit et tenuit ...”²⁷⁷ In this case, the compliance of feudal subordinates was involved in transmitting a legacy from their overlord to a religious beneficiary. The details of donation and confirmation were executed under the watchful eye, not of any executors, but of the dead viscount's brother and heir.

²⁷⁵ Perpignan, ADPO, 12 J 24, no. 24 (20 August 1111). See below, pp. 129-30, for a quotation and discussion of this and other acts of testamentary confirmation.

²⁷⁶ *HL* v, nos. 586/1-2 (15-16 January 1151).

²⁷⁷ I have not been able to identify these two brothers or their father, count Guillem, feudatories of the Trencavels in the Carcassès (or Rennes) in the first half of the twelfth century.

The late eleventh and twelfth century in Catalonia and Languedoc has been described as a period of the ascendancy of feudal lordship over public order. The changes in the testamentary execution documentation in this period seem to support such a view, particularly in light of the eclipse of the function of the testamentary executor in the execution of bequests.

C. The Publication Charter: Theme and Variations

I. CEREMONIAL PUBLICATIONS: THE CONDICIONES SACRAMENTORUM

Jean Bastier noted that testamentary publication charters appeared (or reappeared) in force in Catalonia abruptly at the beginning of the 960s.²⁷⁸ In the preceding one hundred and sixty years only a single publication charter appears among roughly a hundred and sixty surviving testamentary documents. In finding the first publication charter to come from Alaó in 962, Bastier believed that this type of document represented a rebirth or survival of Visigothic practice, possibly preserved in the isolation of the more remote Pyrenean counties.²⁷⁹ Bastier was no doubt aware of the Visigothic legal texts' prescription of such testamentary publications, and also of the diplomatic form of the "Condiciones sacramentorum" used in the Visigothic context to record sworn testimony before a judge. He naturally assumed, as have other students of the testamentary tradition, a direct correlation between the Visigothic vestiges and the practice as revived in the tenth century in Catalonia.²⁸⁰

However, the first surviving publication charters of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian period seem to have originated outside the high Pyrenees. The earliest

²⁷⁸ Bastier, pp. 381-2.

²⁷⁹ Bastier, p. 382. Publication of a bequest of the priest Altemir to Santa Maria d'Alaó, June 962. Abadal, *Pallars i Ribagorça*, no. 188. Note that the presiding authority was the count himself (Guillem of Pallars), a judge and a *saio*, and in the presence of Abbot Quinto.

²⁸⁰ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, pp. 29-38 and 51-58, does not seek to nail down the transmission of the publication practice, but refers exclusively to the tradition of the *Liber iudiciorum*.

Carolingian example of a document which publishes or corroborates testamentary dispositions is the enigmatic publication of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon to Saint-Pierre de Caunes, dating from 31 March 821 in the church of Saint Julian in Narbonne.²⁸¹ The word *testamentum* is not used, and it is clear from the description of Adalaldus' illness--his *egritude*--that a *donatio post obitum* is what was meant in the original bequest. Nonetheless the comprobation of the witnesses, and the written *condiciones sacramentorum* which memorialize the comprobation, can be taken as fulfillment of the prescription of *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12 for the validation of an oral testament.²⁸²

The opening/identifying words, "Conditiones sacramentorum..." are identical to those which occur in three Visigothic formularies, and one surviving Visigothic fragmentary text, for recording sworn testimony before a judicial tribunal.²⁸³ Following this indication of diplomatic type, the presiding authority is then identified, in this case a *vicedominus* and *iudices*:

Conditiones sacramentorum ad quos ex ordinatione Algiberto vicedomino, Cixsilane, Sunicfredo, Gomesindo, David et Agilane iudicum, vel aliorum bonorum hominum, qui subscriipturi vel signa factores sunt, id est Aderanus, Restitutus, Deudulfus, Leone et Salone...

The person bringing the action (Mancio, advocate of Caunes), the executor, and the witnesses are then introduced:²⁸⁴

... jurare debeant testes prolati quos profert Mancio presbyter, qui est abodagus de Joanne abbate, ac in facie de homine, nomine Justo, qui est elemosenarius de Adalaldo qui fuit Maimon vocatus, una testium qui hoc jurare debeant et jurant, id est Lupus, Garbiso et Franco.

²⁸¹ Publication of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon to Saint-Pierre de Caunes, 31 March 821 ("pridie kal. aprilis, anno octavo imperante domno nostro gloriosissimo Ludovico imperatore"). *HL* ii, no. 57, re-edited from Mabillon, *De re diplomatica*, p. 513. This wording seems to make the attribution to Louis the Pious unambiguous.

²⁸² See above, chapter 2, pp. 68ff.

²⁸³ See chapter 2, pp. 82-84.

²⁸⁴ Note that the person bringing the action--Mancio the presbyter--is *not*, as in later usage, the elemosinarius. Here the beneficiary seems to have elicited the testimony, no doubt acting out of interest to receive the property as bequeathed. See below for the contrast between this and the later incidences of the *condiciones sacramentorum*.

The document then shifts to the first person, the more faithfully to record the oaths taken by the witnesses:

Jurati autem dicimus et juramus imprimis per Deum patrem omnipotentem et Ihesum filium ejus Sanctumque Spiritum, qui est in Trinitatem unus et verus Deus, et ex locum venerationis ecclesiae Sancti Juliani Martyris christi, cujus basilica sita fundata est infra muros civitate Narbona, super cujus sacrosancto altario has conditiones manibus nostris continemus vel jurando contingimus...

The formulaic terms of the oath are important: the witnesses swear by the Trinity and by the altar, and indicate the solemnity of the oath by recording that they are touching the altar and the “condiciones”--probably the very parchment in which the scribe was drafting or had already drafted the evidentiary document. Next, the witnesses recount the scene of the thing witnessed (the declaration of the bequest), and finally give the substance of the bequest, closing with a formulaic protestation of the veracity of the testimony.

... quia nos subnominati testes diximus et bene in veritate nobis cognitum est, et praesentiter fuimus ad ipsa ora, quando homo, nomine Adalaldus, [qui] fuit Maimon vocatus, jacebat in lectulo suo infra muros civitate Narbona ad egritudine reptemptus, unde et mortuus fuit, adhuc sua memoria in se abente; sic nos praesentes commendavit ab ipso Justo subscripta suo elemosinario, ut dediret sua vinea, quod habebat in villa Marinorema, infra insula Lici territorio Narbonense, quod de omine nomine Lubraldo comparavit, ac ipse dedissettem ad monasterio Sancto Petro, qui est constructus infra pago Narbonense, in locum qui dicitur Caunas; et quo diximus de hac causa, recte et fideliter testificamus per supra adnixum juramentum in Domino.

The closing protocols consist of merely a date clause, introduced with “Late condiciones ...” and the subscriptions of those present, set off in categories of witnesses (oath takers), the oath “recipient” (the elemosinarius, Justus), judges and the scribe. Unfortunately, ellipses in the signatures as given in by Mabillon (whether from a defective manuscript or an incomplete transcription it is impossible to tell) prevent their full appreciation.

a. Condiciones sacramentorum in Other Contexts

Interestingly enough, this charter comes just at a period in which several similar testimonial charters are known; this one, however, is the only known such document from

before the tenth century which deals explicitly with testamentary publication. Beginning in 791, some dozen judicial charters with the incipit “*Condiciones sacramentorum...*” are to be found in Languedoc and Catalonia, clustered around three centers: Saint-Pierre de Caunes in the Minervois, Empúries-Besalú and Vic in what would become Catalonia proper. The earliest charter is from Saint-Pierre: a short but explicitly-dated fragmentary charter of 791 under the judicial authority of count Magnarius of Narbonne, apparently involving testimony about the relationship between Caunes and its mother house, Aniane.²⁸⁵ A third similar Caunes charter was executed 23 April 873 in the church of Saint-Nazaire “in mallo publico ante castro Minerba,” before the *missus* Salamó.²⁸⁶

Other “*condiciones sacramentorum*” which are not testamentary are found sporadically in the ninth, tenth and early eleventh centuries: in 817 in Besalú,²⁸⁷ in 834 in Narbonne,²⁸⁸ in 842 at Empúries,²⁸⁹ in 858 at Elne,²⁹⁰ in 868 in the Conflent,²⁹¹ two in May of 898 at Vic,²⁹² in 921 at Esponella (on the Fluvià below Besalú),²⁹³ in 977 at Besora,²⁹⁴ and into the eleventh century with examples from 1018 at Besalú (*villa Bundanti*)²⁹⁵ and in 1019 at Bascara on the Fluvià.²⁹⁶ Among all these examples of the *condiciones sacramentorum*

²⁸⁵ Cros-Mayrevielle, *Histoire du comté et de la vicomté de Carcassonne* (Paris, 1846), no. 3, reprinted from Mabillon’s *De re diplomatica*, pp. 386, 504.

²⁸⁶ *HL* ii, no. 183. Ramon d’Abadal, *Els primers comtes catalans*, 3d ed. (Barcelona, 1980), p. 31, correcting the punctuation of the *HL* edition of this text, calls this Salamó specifically a *missus* of Isembert, viscount of Narbonne. Abadal is here making the tenuous point that the name Salamó, as it crops up in several judicial documents in the ninth century from the Narbonnais and Catalonia, must be a native name. Salamó could easily be a Frank (as his namesake, Count Salamó, who appears to have faded from the scene just after 868, is attributed in the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*). J. M. Salrach, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya*, ii, p. 101.

²⁸⁷ *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, no. 1.

²⁸⁸ *HL* ii, no. 85

²⁸⁹ *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, no. 4.

²⁹⁰ *HL* ii, no. 150.

²⁹¹ Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, “Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans l’any mil: Eixalada-Cuixa,” *Analecta montserratensia* viii (1954-5), 125-337; no. 16.

²⁹² *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, nos. 27 and 28.

²⁹³ *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, no. 31.

²⁹⁴ *Urgellia* iii, no. 252.

²⁹⁵ *HL* v, no. 175.

²⁹⁶ *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, no. 78.

charters, only the one early Narbonne document uses this forum to publish a testamentary disposition.

Interestingly, many of these surviving documents mention the count's presence as the supreme judicial figure to oversee the oath, while others are under the authority of a bishop.²⁹⁷ The second-oldest such document dates from 817 in Besalú, and is executed under the authority of "missos gloriosissimo domno nostro Lodovico imperatore."²⁹⁸ This is interesting because it shows the adoption of a Visigothic diplomatic form in a Carolingian (i.e. Frankish) judicial setting; no doubt the scribe was more familiar with the Visigothic tradition than were the *missi* sitting in judgement.

The *condiciones sacramentorum* form for testimonial memoranda was also revived in western Hispanic principalities in the tenth century, but not, as it appears from the surviving documents, for testamentary publications. Early examples survive from 911 and 919 in or near Valpuesta (Castile) and from 927 at Santoña on the coast of Vizcaya.²⁹⁹ Roger Collins has written about the shared characteristics, as well as the divergence, between legal charters, including the *condiciones*, in León and Catalonia in the ninth and tenth century.³⁰⁰ The *condiciones sacramentorum* seem to have been superseded in Castille-León by other formulae

²⁹⁷ Abadal, "La institució comtal carolíngia," 36-7 and n. 20, discussing the comital authority in such documents. He draws a parallel between the 815 capitulary on comital authority and the surviving *condiciones* which appear more numerous from 817 onward; he does not mention the Narbonne document of 791.

²⁹⁸ *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, no. 1. Also, *HL* ii, no. 45.

²⁹⁹ Valpuesta: "Chartes de l'église de Valpuesta du IX^e au XI^e siècles," ed. Louis Barrau Dihigo, *Revue Hispanique* vii (1900), 273-389; nos. 11 and 12. The re-edition by Maria Desamparados Pérez Soler, *Cartulario de Valpuesta (Textos Medievales, xxviii)* (Valencia, 1970), is merely an *unacknowledged* cut-and-pasted photoreprint of Barrau's text editions, with inferior paraphrased footnotes. The Santoña charter: "Cartulario de la iglesia de Santa Maria del Puerto (Santoña)," ed. Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia* lxxiii (1918), 420-442 et seq.; no. 2.

³⁰⁰ Roger Collins, "'Sicut Lex Gothorum Continet': Law and Charters in 9th- and 10th-Century León and Catalonia." *English Historical Review* c (1985), 489-512; reprinted, with an additional note, in *Law, Culture, and Regionalism in Early Medieval Spain* (London, 1992).

around the mid tenth century.³⁰¹ Coincidentally, it is at just this time that the diplomatic formula enjoyed a major revival in Catalonia in the context of testamentary publication.³⁰²

b. Tenth-Century Revival

These publication charters arrived somewhat abruptly in the middle of the tenth century. In 958, after a hiatus of nearly 140 years in which no such documents are preserved, there appears in the cartulary of Agde a notice of the ceremonial testamentary publication of the will of Inguinilda, a charter following in some respects the “*condiciones sacramentorum*” form, but which differs in important details: it explicitly invokes Roman law, and seems to reflect a usage, called Roman, which runs contrary to the “Visigothic” prescriptions of the *Liber iudiciorum*.³⁰³ In this document, dated October, 957 or 958 in Agde, under the authority of the bishop and two *iudices*, the *elemosinarii* and the witnesses appeared and swore to the contents of Inguinilda’s will. The document opens with a variant on the traditional Visigothic words: “*Notitia sacramentorum ...*”,³⁰⁴ and also differs in that the ceremonial text of the oath (that is, the profession of Catholic faith and the identification of the altar, gospel or relics on which the oath is taken) appears in a different form, after the narration of the facts attested:

³⁰¹ For examples of transitional judgement charters, see *Colección de documentos de la catedral de Oviedo*, ed. Santos Agustín García Larragueta, (Oviedo, 1962), no. 26 (953); and *Documentos para la historia de las instituciones de Leon*, ed. Eduardo de Hinojosa y Naveros, (Madrid, 1919), no. 5 (987). Both are cited by Juan Gil, *Miscellanea wisigothica*, pp. 107-8, footnote. For other implications of the divergence of the surviving judicial documents in León-Castille and Catalonia, see Collins, “*Sicut Lex Gothorum Continet*.”

³⁰² This is not to say that various other formulae were not employed to memorialize judicial events in Catalonia as well. Dozens of charters from Vic, Girona, Barcelona and Urgell exhibit a wide variety of judicial formulae in this period. A proper study of the judicial diplomatic in general (not just of testamentary probation) in these regions and period falls outside the scope of this study.

³⁰³ Publication of the testament (“*chodicellus*”) of Inguinilda, under the authority of judges Richelmus and Rainardus and Salamo, bishop of Agde, at Agde, Monday, nones October, .iv. Lothar (957 or 958, although the nones don’t fall on a Monday in either year). *Cartulaire du chapitre d’Agde*, pp. lxxx-lxxxi (appendix to the introduction). “*Et hoc fuit probatum et juratum infra dies .x. unde post ea sua voluntate nunquam mutavit ubi dicit in lege romana ...*”

³⁰⁴ Cf. *Formulae andecavenses* 10bis and 11bis (“*Notitia sacramenti...*”). *Formulae*, ed. Zeumer, p. 8.

... ipsi testes testificantes et non variantes sed unum testimonium dixerunt: ‘quia nos testes sumus et bene in veritate scimus et nobis cognitum est dum jacebat Iginildes in lectulo suo ab egritudine corporis recepta et bene memorata sic injunxit vel comendavit predictos manumissores suos omnes res suas mobiles et immobiles quantum visa erat habere vel possidere ut post obitum suum donassent pro timore Dei et remedium anime sue in ecclesias in sacerdotibus et pauperibus Dei. Ordinavit [here follow the terms of the bequests] ... Et ordinavit ad istos eleemosinarios supranominatos sicut in iudicium superius resonat unde postea suam voluntatem in quam mutavit istum testimonium dictum sic introierunt in ecclesia Sancti Mauricii et posuerunt manus illorum super ipsum sanctum altare et jurando dixerunt super istos sanctos et per ipsas sanctas virtutes sanctorum de quantum nos testificamus de hac causa eleemosinaria de Inginilde qui fuit quondam sic injunxit vel commendavit ad istos suos eleemosinarios supranominatos.’³⁰⁵

The most significant other distinction is the mention of a “Roman” law governing testamentary probation:

Et hoc fuit probatum et juratum infra dies .x. unde post ea sua voluntate nunquam mutavit ubi dicit in lege romana placuit voluntate defuncti et rationem observari; et non fecit testamentum fecit chodicellus.

The tradition of days rather than months as the appropriate space of time in which to prove a testament recalls Julius Paulus in the *Breviarium alaricianum* rather than the *Liber iudiciorum*. The identification of Inginilda’s will as a codicil--a separate (perhaps less formal) type of testamentary disposition--is also alien to the *Liber iudiciorum* and recalls the Roman tradition, perhaps also through the *Breviarium*.³⁰⁶

A scant few years later, other examples appear, linking the Narbonnais with the area of Vic. This time, however, the documents conform more closely to the typical form of the “*Condiciones sacramentorum*”. There is a publication charter from Vic in 961 (a deacon, Otger),³⁰⁷ and another from Narbonne in 962 (that of Viscountess Richilda, daughter of

³⁰⁵ Certain similarities in the wording of the oath appear in comparison to the Caunes charter (above); however the ordering of these items is different in relation to the testamentary dispositions.

³⁰⁶ Codicils are mentioned in the *Breviarium Alaricianum*, for example, *Pauli sent.* IV:vii:5. Ed. Hänel, pp. 404-5. See above, chapter 2. For later use of the term in the Toulousain, see above, p. 94.

³⁰⁷ Publication of the testament of the deacon Odger, under the authority of the *saio* Gotmar in the church of Sant-Sadurni at Vic, 29 June 961 (*Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 338).

Guifred Borrell, which is preserved in the archives of Vic).³⁰⁸ These documents begin with the words “*Condiciones sacramentorum...*”³⁰⁹ and both include the naming of the altar and the aversion of faith incorporated into the witness’ oaths, making them conform more to the Caunes model than the nearly contemporary Agde charter.

One legal difference which seems significant is the agency of the testimony. Although the wording is very similar, the roles of the *elemosinarius* seem slightly different. In the publication of Riquilda, the act states that the *elemosinarii* have brought the witnesses in to verify the testament:

In eorum presentia testificant testes prolati quas proferunt homines his nominibus: Aimericus archiepiscopus, Arnulphus episcopus, Gersindis comitissa, Matfredo et Adalaiz, elemosinarios...³¹⁰

In this they act like the *mandatarius* or *prosecutor* of the testator, who, in pre-Carolingian formulae, brought the act before the authorities for the *adcorporatio* or publication.³¹¹ The executors’ obligation or role of bringing the witnesses before the tribunal-- “*proferatio*” might be indicative of some real obligation to institute the publication proceedings, or it might simply imply a function within the ceremony itself, of presenting

³⁰⁸ Publication of the testament of Richilda, viscountess of Narbonne, under the authority of the judge Arvendus Aurucius, at the church of Saint-Croix at Narbonne, 13 May 962 (*Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 346).

³⁰⁹ Although in Otger’s testamentary publication, the first word is missing, and could possibly be “*Noticia ...*”

³¹⁰ The executors here include two daughters of Riquilda: Adalaida, viscountess of Narbonne (wife of Matfred), and the countess Garsenda, who is probably the wife of Raymond Pons, count of Toulouse (although Junyent, in editing the charter, identified her with the testatrix’s mother, Garsenda, wife of Guifred II of Barcelona--who was last heard from in 926). The substance of the testament mentions daughters (“*filias*”) and *Pontio nepoto suo*, who might thus be the young grandson, Ponç Raimond, count of Albi, (older?) brother of count William Taillefer. Maria Mercé Costa comes close to this idea in “*Les genealogies comtals catalanes*,” in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII-XI)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), i, pp. 447-462; see also Vajay, “*Comtesses d’origne occitane*.” Vajay attributes Garsenda, wife of the count of Toulouse, as a daughter of the duke of Gascony (although Armand de Fluvià (in the *Gran enciclopèdia catalana*) and others accept her as the Narbonnaise); neither Vajay nor Costa make use of this testament.

³¹¹ See chap 2., pp. 80-81. Note that in the Visigothic formulary texts of the *Condiciones sacramentorum* no agency is ascribed to the oath-takers. This part of the text seems to have developed only in the ninth century.

the witnesses in court. At any rate, the wording of the publication charters on this point--at least of the formal charters--remains constant in succeeding centuries.³¹²

It is difficult to decide, in the case of the publication charter of Riquilda, how much can be made from the fact that the document was confected in Narbonne. Riquilda, although the viscountess of Narbonne, and probably mother of viscountess Adalaidis (who numbers among her executors), was a Catalan woman who may perfectly well have lived in her widowhood, either in Barcelona or in the Pla de Vic and the Ripollès, where her siblings and cousins ruled as counts, abbots, bishops and abbesses. Does the publication of her testament at Narbonne reflect a tradition handed down in that city from the time of the publication of Adalaldus Maimon's bequest to Caunes in 821? Or does it rather reflect the influence of Catalan clergy and jurists from Barcelona or Osona, who were in Narbonne in the retinue of the dowager Viscountess?³¹³ Note that the document was preserved at Vic. Riquilda's testamentary publication is clearly a cosmopolitan document: she is connected with the rulers of several counties and she leaves pious bequests stretching from Barcelona to Carcassonne.

The publication of the testament of Otger at Vic from a year earlier seems less cosmopolitan, but nonetheless a connection with Narbonne appears, with a bequest (of

³¹² Confirmation of this responsibility of the testamentary executors comes from a parchment, fortuitously preserved among the parchments of Sant Benet de Bagès in the ACA in Barcelona. In a letter of 1037 to Ramon, a *levita* (probably the Ramon, levita and judex who presides over testamentary probates in the Barcelonès from 1040 on), the executors of the testament of Sendred, a priest, formally request the convening of a publication ceremony:

In Christi nomine nos helemosinarii quondam Sendredi sacerdotis, ... tibi Remundo levite. Rogantes mandamus ... ut facere et ordinare procuret conditiones sacramentorum testamenti ultime voluntatis Sendredi sacerdotis, et quicquid ex inde legaliter feceris et ordinare procuraveris. Nos tibi in omnibus ratos et stabilis esse pollicemur. ...

ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bagès, no. 246 (10 March 1037). Unfortunately no other documentation of Sendred's testament survives. See below, Appendix D, no. 4.

³¹³ The judge presiding over Riquilda's publication, "Arvendus cognomentus Aurucius," is not readily identifiable in any other testamentary probate documents, although an Aurucius does appear presiding over two testamentary publications at the cathedral of Barcelona in 995 and 1009 (Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, nos. 44 and 75).

moveable goods, a horse and two pounds of silver) to the church of Saint-Just at Narbonne. Otger's long list of pious bequests is otherwise limited to houses in the area between Barcelona, Sant-Michel de Cuixa in the Conflent and Sant-Andreu de Sureda in Roussillon.³¹⁴

The form and language in the documents of 961 and 962 match perfectly those of the sample testamentary publication charter, the *columnellum*, of the famous Ripoll formulary, compiled, it has been suggested by Michel Zimmerman, in the period 960-980.³¹⁵ Michel Zimmerman has shown, principally through examination of the formulae in donation charters, but also through the testamentary formulae, that the exempla in the formulary enjoyed a wide currency for generations contemporary with and following the date of the compilation. In the case of the testamentary publication charter, this date means that the Ripoll formulary was either an impetus, vehicle or reflection of the spread of this new diplomatic and legal form. It is interesting to note that the impetus for the Ripoll formulary, and particularly the creation of some of the more imaginative and literary formulae, has been attributed to Miró Bofill, count of Besalú and bishop of Girona.³¹⁶ Of course, Miró did not invent the *columnellum*, but he may have witnessed and condoned its introduction from the Narbonnais. Riquilda of Narbonne also left a bequest to a *consanguineus* Miró comes; it is tempting to consider it to be to her cousin, Miró Bofill, but the deacon was not normally called count until after his brother Sunifred's death in 965 (the legatee Miró was probably her other cousin, Miró, co-count of Barcelona).

³¹⁴ The deteriorated opening and closing of the parchment makes it impossible to identify the presiding authority. No one signs as a judge, although Gotmar, who signs as the *saio*, undoubtedly became *judex* and presided over a testamentary publication in Castellterçol in 964 (Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 12).

³¹⁵ Michel Zimmerman, "Un formulaire..."; see particularly p. 35.

³¹⁶ By Professor Salrach, as discussed by Zimmerman, pp. 31-2. However, Miró Bonfill's own testament (of 979) does not employ the pious prologue from the Ripoll formulary; rather it matches that of his older brother Sunifred of 965.

From 962 a gradual spread of this testamentary form throughout greater Catalonia can be observed, beginning in the Pla de Vic and the Barcelonès.³¹⁷ In 964 the oral will of Vuadamir was published at Castellterçol, in a ceremony presided over by the judge Gotmar-- probably he who had been *saio* at the 961 publication of Otger.³¹⁸ In 970 the will of Bonusfilius, a deacon, was published at Sant Llorenç prop Bagà.³¹⁹ In 980 and 981 testamentary publication charters were confected in the Barcelonès (at the castle of Eramprunyà), again near Vic (Sant Julià de Vilatorça), and in Manresa.³²⁰ In 983 one appeared in north-eastern Besalú (Darnius).³²¹ By the end of the 980s the style had spread outward and extended the breadth of the counties in the Besalú/Barcelona axis. By the turn of the Millennium they had appeared in Urgell and Elne. *Map 3:2* details the location of the formal publication ceremonies and the related non-testamentary judicial proceedings creating *condiciones sacramentorum*.³²² While the surviving ninth-century examples of the judicial *condiciones sacramentorum* are few and from scattered locales, the spread of its use for testamentary publication in the tenth century is clearly traceable given the much higher general volume of surviving charters.

³¹⁷ The one anomaly is the charter of Alaó of June, 962, which will be discussed later. Abadal, *Pallars i Ribagorça*, ii, no. 188.

³¹⁸ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 12.

³¹⁹ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 16, notice. Udina does not print the text, which is Arxiu de Montserrat, Perg. Sant Llorenç prop Bagà, no. 2.

³²⁰ Eramprunyà (5 September 980): *Cart. Sant Cugat*, i, no. 136; Manresa (1 February 981), *Cart. Sant Cugat*, i, no. 139; Sant Julià (9 November 981): *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 481.

³²¹ 14 May 983: Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, no. 113; see also Jaime Villanueva, *Viage literario a las iglesias de España*, 22 vols. (Madrid, 1804-1852), xiii, p. 77.

³²² For the documents: Urgell (993): *Urgellia* iii, no. 233 (publication of the testament of Borrell II, count of Barcelona and Urgell). This probate, one of the most complex to survive (he named twenty-six executors) may account for the introduction of this form into Urgell. The judge, Guifred, was probably from Vic. In Elne, the earliest testamentary publication, from 1000, is unusual because it recounts a contested testament; it takes the form of a narrative memorial of an adversarial judicial procedure (*HL* v, no. 158). Despite one ninth-century example (see above) the *condiciones sacramentorum* form remained rare in Elne: in 1030, it was used in the suburb of Toulouges, but under the auspices of a judge from the Barcelonès, Guillem Marchi (*HL* v, no. 194). The only *condiciones* from Elne itself are from 1100 and 1128 (Perpignan: ADPO, 12 J 25 (François Fossa's copies from Cartulary of Elne), nos. 159 and 177).

From the Narbonnais the evidence is slight, but one charter attests to the continuity of the publication tradition, even to the north of Narbonne. The *Livre noir* of Béziers records an orthodox example of the same type of charter, dated 13 May 983.³²³ Visigothic law--"lex Gotorum"--is explicitly invoked and the *Liber iudiciorum* is quoted. Only twenty-five years and eighteen kilometers separate this from the publication of the testament at Agde in 958, which invoked Roman law by name. It is provocative to speculate how the two traditions interacted.³²⁴ Despite the differences in documentary form, and the disparity of the legal authorities cited, the coincidence of time favors a suspicion that they are part of the same general trend to revive the publication ceremony and develop evidentiary documentation of the publication.

One must conclude that the ceremony of testamentary publication, and the act of producing a written memorial of this ceremony, although not current in the ninth and early tenth century either in Catalonia or Languedoc, did persist either as a learned juridical tradition, consciously revived and spread in both Languedoc and Catalonia from the 960s, or that it existed all along in notarial use and misfortune has simply erased its traces between the early ninth century and the 960s. Despite Bastier's assertion, its revival in the tenth century seems to have been possibly due more to the cosmopolitan influences in the coastal Narbonnais than to isolated survival in the high Pyrenees.

³²³ *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 44. The only variation in this charter is that the terms of the witnesses' oath (the Catholic affirmation and the indication of the altar) are given after the dispositions of the will, not before. This variation, indeed, occurs in the eleventh century in Catalonia as well.

³²⁴ Again the difficulty is to identify customs as either "Roman" or "Gothic" based on word choice. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier discusses the word *gadium* as a synonym for *testamentum* or *elemosina* (pious legacy), in a couple of tenth-century documents from Béziers, as indicative of the Frankish ancestry of persons in whose testamentary documents it is found. One would expect such word choice to be more a scribal predilection than that of the testator. See Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l'Église*, p. 235. A better example of this speculation is Georges Boyer's discussion of the synonyms for "testamentary executor" which appear in the Toulousain, "La nature juridique...", pp. 3-5.

The internal references in the charters, both from the Narbonnais and from Catalonia, refer to the dominant and most formal legal form as “Visigothic.” Michel Zimmerman, who conscientiously traced the diplomatic references to the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* appearing in Catalonian charters in the period 950 to 1200, found relatively fewer references before the Millennium than later.³²⁵ The epoch in which it was most fashionable to cite the text of the *Liber iudiciorum* in day-to-day legal documents was actually the twelfth century, long after the tradition revived in the tenth century had had a chance to become adopted as normal and contemporary rather than a conscious antiquarianism. That the Visigothic law was readopted in general and in current use in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is also borne out by the apparent circulation of copies or epitomes of the laws, and, in the first half of the twelfth century, their translation into the vernacular.³²⁶

c. Publication of Oral or Written Wills?

Bastier enumerated the basic diplomatic formulae of the typical testamentary publication charter.³²⁷ The basic diplomatic and ceremonial elements of the charter and ceremony have already been laid out in the discussion of the earliest examples: the title of the charter is most commonly “*condiciones sacramentorum*,” but can range to “*notitia sacramentorum*,” “*publicatio*,” etc. The names of the presiding authorities, whether *iudices*,

³²⁵ Michel Zimmerman, “L’usage du droit wisigothique.” References in testamentary publication charters to *Liber iudiciorum* II:v:12 seemed most numerous in the first half of the twelfth century. See Zimmerman’s chart, p. 252. Note that Zimmerman did not canvass documents from the Narbonnais, such as the Béziers charter discussed *supra*, which reveal the same tradition; the numbers of such charters are, however, vastly smaller.

³²⁶ One noted early surviving fragment of the Catalan *Forum iudicum*. Biblioteca del Monestir de Montserrat, MS no. 1109, coming from the region of Amer (Gironès). *Millennium: història i art de l’església catalana* (Exhibition Catalogue, Barcelona, 1989), pp. 174-5, citing Anscari M. Mundó, “Un monument antiquíssim de la llengua catalana,” *Serra d’Or*, 2^a epoca, i (1960), and Martín de Riquer, *Historia de la literatura catalana*, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1964).

³²⁷ Bastier, p. 384, enumerating: the intitlatio “*condiciones sacramentorum*”; the names of the members of the presiding tribunal; the names of the witnesses (he was not as clear as he might have been on the distinction between executors and witnesses, and the executors’ role in eliciting the testimony). A quasi-liturgical description of the witnesses’ oath the precedes the actual terms of the testament; finally the dating and circumstances of the testator’s demise and the dating of the publication, and the signatures of the witnesses and of the authorities.

counts or their other representatives, or clerics, or combinations thereof, are followed by the names of those--usually the executors--who have brought forward the witnesses. The witnesses are next named--that is, those who are going to give testimony to verify or legitimize the bequest. The oath, being the central event commemorated in the document, is treated in detail. The gesture as well as the words are usually captured, the oath takers usually touching an altar or gospel, and sometimes also touching the original written testament (when such a document exists). The form of the oath is closely parallel to (although simpler than) the one example of such a charter from the *Formulae visigothicae*, and involves an affirmation of Catholic belief preceding a declamation of the central testimony, the terms of the will. In this, quasi-dispositive section, the original will is sometimes incorporated verbatim, but is more usually paraphrased closely, with only the voice changed from the first-person present to the third-person past tense. Following the terms of the bequests, there is sometimes a brief narration of the date and circumstances of the death of the testator. This is important not only to indicate that the maximum six months (the limitation in the *Liber iudiciorum*) had not already passed before the publication ceremony, but also to make the explicit point that the testator died without changing his mind about the terms of the bequests--"immutata voluntate". In one or two rare cases, the testator's change of heart or codicillary emendations are inserted at this point, after the original dispositions are laid out. Finally, the act closes with dating and the subscriptions of the oath takers, the executors, the authorities and the scribe.

Another assumption of Bastier was that the testamentary publication ceremonies, or at least the publication charters, dealt much more frequently with oral testaments than with written ones.³²⁸ However, an overall view of the surviving publication charters (at least from Catalonia, the region where they are most numerous) shows that the publication of written

³²⁸ Bastier, p. 391: "Dans la pratique, le testament écrit ne fait pas, semble-t-il, l'objet d'une publication, il est généralement exécuté, après la mort du testateur, sans formalité préalable, et sa validité semble prouvée par l'exhibition de l'acte écrit muni de ses sceaux."

testaments was important from the start. *Figure 3:3* details this distinction among testamentary publication charters reviewed in the course of this study. *Figure 3:4* presents the charters publishing oral and written testaments as a proportion of the whole for each decade.

Of course, the wording of the publication charters does not always reveal whether the original testament was written or oral--that is, whether it was done according to the "fourth mode" of accepted testament (according to the *Liber iudiciorum*) or according to the other three. Unfortunately Zimmerman didn't make this distinction when he was tabulating documents which made reference to this passage of the *Liber*; he assumed, as Bastier had done, that publication was primarily for the oral will.³²⁹ In some documents one sees no distinction: formulae such as "ille iussit per suum testamentum vel suum verbum" don't firmly determine whether the original will was a written (dictated) document or merely a set of oral instructions carefully committed to memory by the witnesses.³³⁰

2. INFORMAL PUBLICATION CHARTERS

This classic form of Catalonian testamentary publication charter, which evolved in the 960s from early medieval and ninth-century diplomatic roots, continued to be dominant through the end of the twelfth century, and indeed, survived into the late Middle Ages after codification in new Aragonese law in the later 13th century. Beginning in the tenth century (with examples already discussed), and increasingly in the eleventh and twelfth century, as documentation from fringe areas and sources starts to improve, one sees divergence from this diplomatic standard. One of the variant tendencies which one can see in several documents is simple enough to comprehend. In the case of the ceremonial publication of a written testament, the original document was almost always incorporated into the publication charter, *mutatis mutandis*--that is, with the verbs and pronouns changed. In the twelfth century on several occasions one sees a notice of the publication ceremony simply added, as a

³²⁹ Zimmerman, "L'usage du droit wisigothique," p. 252.

³³⁰ These ambiguities are reflected in the "unspecified" category in Figures 3 and 4.

prologue or suffix, to a copy of the original testament (or perhaps even to the original testament itself). The testament of the count-king Alfons I (II), published in May 1196, provides a striking example of this practice. If one can believe the evidence of the copies which survive in the *Cancellaria* of the ACA (a near-contemporary copy) and the Diocesan Archive of Barcelona (ADB) (a sixteenth-century copy on paper), his testament (of December 1194), and the codicil, which he added in April 1196, were copied verbatim after his death and circulated together, with brief introductory and closing paragraphs attesting to their publication and comprobation with oaths taken on the alter of Saint Mary Magdalene at Zaragoza in May of 1196.³³¹

Two early examples from the Barcelonès show the same publication phenomenon in more modest circumstances, once in the eleventh century (Truitel, in 1040, *apud Barchinona civitatem*) and once early in the twelfth (Ramon Amat, at Castellar del Vallès, just above Barcelona, in 1128).³³² Appended to the foot of Ramon Amat's signed, first-person testament is a paragraph which memorializes its publication:

Publicatum est etiam hoc testamentum iuxta legalem secundi ordinis modum; in presentia Pontii atque clericorum et populi beati Stephani de Chastelar, a prescriptis testibus ... iuratum est ... quod ipse viderit³³³ quando prephatus testator manu propria hoc ipsum signum impressit, quod sub nomine illius superius impressum est, ad corroborationem ultime sue voluntatis.

³³¹ The manuscript tradition of Alfonso's testament, codicil and publication has been very poorly served by editors, with perhaps the most egregiously poor editing being in the work of *L'Arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200: aproximació històrica lingüística*, ed. Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), iii, nos. 598 and 620. He misrepresents one document (the combined will and codicil, circulated after Alfonso's death) as two separate documents in his *diplomataris*, editing the testament as if it existed in manuscript independent of the publication charter: it does not, at least in Alturo's cited source. Alturo fails adequately to describe the manuscript he has used (a sixteenth-century compilation, on paper, of sundry "documents reials" from house of Santa Anna, of which Alfonso II's testamentary publication charter is the oldest). For a discussion of the manuscript tradition and various editions of Alfonso's testament, see *Appendix B*, below: *The Testaments of Count-King Alfons I (II): Manuscripts and Editions*.

³³² Truitel: ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, no. 38; Ramon Amat: ACA, Perg. Sant Llorenç del Munt, no. 262 (a *translatio* of 1152). See below, Appendix D, no. 10.

³³³ *sic*, for "ipsi viderunt" (?).

Interestingly, here the written act of publication does not take the form of the classic judicial testimonial notice, but rather a simple memorandum of the ceremony. The simple word “publicare” is employed, even though there is an oath on the altar.³³⁴ We see no judge or other authority figure, although there is an oath sworn, and *Liber iudiciorum* is explicitly invoked (“iuxta secundi ordinis modum”--invoking the second rank of acceptable testament in *Liber iudiciorum*, II:v:12).³³⁵

This publication “shortcut”--that is, the addition of brief paragraphs at the head or foot (or head and foot) of an existing testament to memorialize its publication--is found in a several other documents of the twelfth century, notably in New Catalonia and in the Narbonnais. A testament published at Cervera in 1170 begins in the standard, formal style of the *condiciones sacramentorum*.³³⁶ After introducing the witnesses and beginning the oath, the publication charter simply introduces a transcription of the testament: “... commendavit facultatem et iussit distribuere tali modo: ‘Primus dimisit a Ponç filio meo ipso fevo de Cervaria’” The copyist gave up paraphrasing after the first two words (!) of the dispositive clauses. The rest of the document consists of an exact copy of the testament, including the dating and subscriptions; no subscriptions or date remain for the publication of the testament.³³⁷ Perhaps this style of testamentary publication reflected an easy-going frontier practice. From the same area and era comes another charter in which opening and closing

³³⁴ Bastier talks about the gradual deterioration of the publication form, particularly with the introduction of the word *publicatio* as a synonym for “*condiciones sacramentorum*”, in the opening protocols of the testament. “Le testament,” p. 386.

³³⁵ See chapter 2, p. 71. The “second order” is when the testator signs by the use of points or symbols.

³³⁶ Publication of the testament of Pere, 21 April 1170. ACA, Alfons I, 79. A near-contemporary copy.

³³⁷ These were, of course, possibly present in the original but were omitted (for reasons of space or carelessness) in the contemporary copy which survives. This is also the case with ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 700, the publication of the will of Alfons I. See *Appendix B*, discussing the manuscripts and editions of Alfons’s testamentary documents.

“publication” paragraphs and protocols surround the verbatim testamentary text: a document from Gardeny (the Templar commandery near Lleida) in 1173.³³⁸

In the Narbonnais, and most numerous at Agde, Béziers and Montpellier, many testaments survive to which a formal notice of publication has been appended. Most often, these publication notices are issued in the presence and authority of the bishop (examples survive from the bishops of Carcassonne, Béziers, Agde and Maguelonne).³³⁹ In the notices there is allusion to enregistration and authentication of the forgoing text, the sworn testimony of witnesses, and sometimes to the death of the testator.³⁴⁰ It is perhaps most significant that these occur first at Agde (in 1147), where, one should recall, the publication charter of 958 evoked Roman antecedents. In 1150, the testament of Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne, was published under the authority of Ponç, bishop of Carcassonne (who had also been present when the testament was made). It is curious that, although the publication memorandum does not mention Roman law, it is careful to record that the testament was published in the episcopal palace at Carcassonne, “multis hominibus

³³⁸ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, i, no. 457. Note that in this case the presiding authority is the bishop of Lleida, not a judge. See below, pp. 145-146, for a discussion of episcopal probate authority.

³³⁹ Agde: *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde*, nos. 298 (1147), 386 (1155), 89 (1167), 86 (1211) and 81 (1212). Béziers: *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 270 (1179). Carcassonne: *HL* v, no. 580/2 (1150: publication of the testament of Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne). Montpellier: *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, nos. 97 (1178), 96 (1180), 98 (1182) and 99 (1202)--all testaments of the family of the lords of Montpellier, published in the castle at Montpellier. Another similar testamentary publication is appended to the testament in 1156 of Guilhem d'Omélas, also of that family. However, no bishop is named, and the ceremony took place in humbler surroundings in the house of Guilhem's mother Ermessend of Melgueil. *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, no. 552 (1156).

³⁴⁰ With one exception, these episcopal publication/ enregistrations appear to have taken place, following both Roman and Visigothic custom, after the death of the testator. The oral testament (“per nuncupationem quidem factum”) of Berenguer de Puisserguier, published and written down before the bishop of Béziers 13 March 1169 (*Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 225), bears some of the elements common to the formula for these episcopal publications in its closing paragraph, but the testator was apparently still alive: his brother swears an oath to him at the same time, to uphold the terms of the testament. Berenguer went on to write an entirely different testament in 1182, in favor of Aniane (*Cartulaire d'Aniane*, no. 86), which was confirmed by his son in an interesting charter of 1212 (*Cartulaire d'Aniane*, no. 87).

praesentibus, .xvi. kalendas septembris,” exactly five days after the death of lord Roger at Fanjeaux--that is, within the Roman time limit for testamentary publication.³⁴¹

3. *INFORMAL PUBLICATION CEREMONIES*

The testament of Ramon Amat (discussed above), published in Castellar del Vallès, was apparently published without a judge (or other probate authority) having been present; no judge signed the publication clause appended to the foot of the document.³⁴² This represents more than just a diplomatic relaxation in the memoranda of testamentary publication. It seems in many cases that not only the document, but the publication ceremony itself might have been conducted under less rigidly sanctioned authority than was the norm, especially when there was no conflict over its provisions.³⁴³ Diverse documentary forms survive to reflect a variety of ceremonial situations in which testaments were published or publicized. There are many documents, mostly of the twelfth century, in which one sees a publication made, without judge or solemn oath, and in which it seems as if the witnesses wanted simply to place the testamentary dispositions on parchment, or to ensure that they were made known to a group of people. These publication charters can be said to represent “private” publications, in the sense that no public or seigneurial authority presided over or gave legitimacy to the proceeding. A typical document of this type might begin “Hec sunt verba testamenti” [of such-and-such].³⁴⁴ The witnesses, of course, appear and are named, and the bequests are enumerated. Often it is only in the dating clause that one learns the testator is already dead. For example, “Actum est hoc .xvi. kalendas novembris, et ipse

³⁴¹ As in the *Breviarium Alaricianum*. See above, chapter 2, p. 66 and n. 176.

³⁴² Although the words “in presencia Ponçii atque clericorum...” might imply that this Ponç was a lay judge. However, no other judge Ponç appears in the Catalonia in the twelfth century (see Appendix A: Judges in Catalonia and the Narbonnais, 800-1200).

³⁴³ See below, pp. 137ff, for discussion of probate authority.

³⁴⁴ An early example, from a fragmentary Vic parchment: “[Haec sunt] verba testium quod iussit facere Re[imundus] quando venit ad obitum suum....” Arxiu Capítular de Vic (hereinafter ACV), Calaix 6, no. 937 (Ramon, 19 March 1036).

discessit .vi. kalendas octobris...;”³⁴⁵ or “In nomine Domini, hec memorie scriptura est de divisione et ordinatione quam ordinavit ad divisit femina quedam, nomine Trudlendis, dum infirma jaceret in infirmitate, de qua obiit.”³⁴⁶

Often there is no indication as to whether or not the testator is already dead. The testament of Guillem Mir, a rustic example from the *Armari de Testaments* of the military orders’ collection in the ACA, bears neither date nor the signature of the testator.³⁴⁷ It is only from a bequest to the scribe (“Et qui hoc scripsit solido .i.”) that one can guess that the document was dictated and written out in the presence of the testator, or at his command. Strictly speaking, there is nothing to distinguish an informal publication charter, in which witnesses to the testament gather and record the testamentary desires of a deceased testator, from a testament written in the presence of the testator, which happens to be couched in the third person, and which he does not sign. The third possible scenario is that witnesses gather and write down the testament, but before the testator is dead. The second and third scenarios seem less plausible than the first, although there are cases to be made for placing some documents in each category.

Generally speaking, it appears to be in the Pyrenean counties, or on the New Catalanian frontier, that one often finds these relaxations of the solemn publication form which remains more strictly observed in the coastal plains of Barcelona, Vic, Girona and the Narbonnais.³⁴⁸ These relaxations occur with some variety throughout the period studied, but most numerous in the late eleventh and twelfth century.

An interesting case in point is that of Ramon, viscount of Castellbó. In 1113 he declared his testament *in egritudine*, with seven named witnesses and several others present at

³⁴⁵ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 330 (Arnau de Ribelles, 17 October 1192).

³⁴⁶ *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 80 (20 October 1072).

³⁴⁷ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 98 (Guillem Mir, early to mid- twelfth century). The document can only be localized by the bequest to Sant Pere de Ponts, where the Llobregós meets the Segre. See below, Appendix D, no. 9.

³⁴⁸ A significant exception is a Vic parchment of 1036, which may come from Guardiola de Berguedà. ACV, Calaix 6, no. 937.

his deathbed to hear his last will. Fairly soon after his death, the witnesses gathered together to create a charter memorializing the terms of the viscount's will.³⁴⁹ The charter was drafted, relating the terms of the will without any comprobatory oath, and without any judge or officiating clergyman, except for the deacon who drafted the charter. Perhaps the charter was intended as an *aide-mémoire*. It opens, not with a list of those present at the time the charter was drafted, but of those who had been at the viscount's deathbed:

Ad obitum proconsulis Raimundi adfuerunt presentes, videlicet Arnallus Gilelmi et Arnallus Raimundi et Petrus Bernardi et Guilelmus Gitardi et Mironus Petri et coniux eius vicecomitissa et soror eius Adalaiz vel alii plures...

Five months later, the last will of the viscount was again published and committed to writing, this time in the form of a fully solemn publication ceremony and commemorative charter, with three of the same witnesses taking an oath in the church of Aravell, before a judge and a cadre of priests.³⁵⁰ One wonders: was this second convocation considered necessary because of the informality of the first charter executed after the viscount's death? Did the witnesses know, when making the first charter, that they would be called forth later for (or would themselves foment) a more solemn publication?

In another case, a thirteen-year lapse separates the first, informal publication of a will in frontier territory with its formal counterpart back in the home counties. Ramon de Guardia, of the vicecomital family of la Guardia de Montserrat, died in 1179. His oral testament was first published that year, probably in Tortosa, in a ceremony presided over by the Prior of Tortosa and the *commendator* of the Templar house there.³⁵¹ His will was republished at Vic in 1192, this time with all the old formalities being observed.³⁵² The witnesses' excuse for tardiness was that they and, more importantly, the executors, were

³⁴⁹ 13 May, 1113. *Urgellia* ix, no. 1275.

³⁵⁰ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1278.

³⁵¹ *El «Llibre Blanch» de Santas Creus (cartulario del siglo XII)*, ed. Federico Udina i Martorell, (Barcelona, 1947), no. 223 (30 May 1179).

³⁵² ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 634 (22 September 1192).

ignorant of the legal requirement of correct publication! The republication after such an extended period of time was done, they said, at the insistence of the king.³⁵³

4. “POST MORTEM SIGNATURES”

A curious variant of the publication charters recording informal publication ceremonies is those documents in which the *signum* (or the *puncta*) of the testator appears, even though it seems clear from the context that the testator was already quite dead before the creation of the commemorative document. In a related phenomenon, some documents reveal a deceased testator speaking in the first-person. The forged *signum* was apparently, from time to time, added by a conscientious scribe or other individual to infuse more solemnity or authority to the publication of the testament. A handful of curious examples survive, notably from Urgell, Pallars and New Catalonia. The most imaginative example dates from 1062: “Ego, Berengarius, dum jacebam in egritudine unde obivi ...”³⁵⁴ The discursive charter recounts, in Berenguer’s own voice, his decision to leave a land and a mill to the cathedral of Urgell in his recent fatal illness. The deceased Berengar failed to sign the document, however; the witnesses, after dictating, or perhaps ceremonially declaiming, this first-person narrative reconstruction, signed in his place.

Two documents from the Cartulary of Lavaix, dealing with members of the family of Erill in Pallars reveal what might be a local trend in this direction, but in two distinct circumstances. In a charter of 1153, Pere Ramon d’Erill, having taken ill while on campaign in Spain, “infirmirate videlicet mortis”, narrated himself (in the first person) how he had ceded to his lord, count Arnau Mir of Pallars, the power to ordain his testament for him.³⁵⁵

³⁵³ It is curious that the witnesses in the document of 1192 do not mention the charter of 1179, although they had been there. Perhaps some difficulty now lost to us suggested that the prior ceremony be better left unmentioned at Vic. The terms of the will in both documents are identical, and the witness list is virtually the same.

³⁵⁴ *Urgellia* vi, no. 738.

³⁵⁵ *Cartoral de Santa Maria de Lavaix: el monestir durant els segles XI-XIII*, ed. Ignasi Puig i Ferraté (La Seu d’Urgell, 1984), no. 57 (17 August 1153).

In the second paragraph, count Arnau Mir describes (in the first person) the ceremony in which, “consilio multorum bonorum hominum” (--in their presence or with their advice and consent?--), he ordained the testament of the deceased Pere Ramon. The third paragraph returns to the voice of dead Pere Ramon, giving the terms of the testament itself in the first person. Possibly this text was declaimed before a crowd, in the first person, by the count himself, dictating the testament in fulfillment of his role as proxy for his liege man and protector of his estate.³⁵⁶

Twenty years later, Pere Ramon’s widow, Marina, made an oral testament, “in egritudine qua obiit.”³⁵⁷ While the document is written in the third person (no doubt by witnesses paraphrasing the desires of the testatrix) it is validated by the *puncta* of none other than the dead lady herself, preceding those of the witnesses. A parallel example is found in the Poblet parchments: in 1180 Pere de Avellano, having already made a testament (which does not survive), orally declared an additional donation to Poblet on his deathbed, “detentus ab magna egritudine in domo Populeti, de qua obiit...”³⁵⁸ His son Aimeric, Pere the sub-prior, and others made the written notice of the document, but the first *signum* is that of Pere de Avellano himself, “qui hoc donum fecit et ita scribere iussit.” Because by his oral declaration of the gift it is assumed that he “ordered it to be so written,” then the scribe (or some other proxy) must have felt it logical to add the dead man’s *signum*.

The apposite *signum* or *puncta* of one who is already dead is not a premeditated forgery calculated to deceive. In the testamentary context it demonstrates the desire to add solemnity and legitimacy to a written testamentary memorial. It also demonstrates an imperfect knowledge of the rigors of documentary authentication (in the Roman tradition)

³⁵⁶ Many testaments of this period closed with an entreaty to the testator’s lord to uphold the testament and strive to honor it. Perhaps, one would surmise, this was not always done. See below for a discussion of the role of lords in confirmation or execution of testaments.

³⁵⁷ *Cartoral de Santa Maria de Lavaix*, no. 63 (27 April 1173). For a discussion of the family of the lords of Erill, see Martínez i Teixidó, *Les Famílies nobles del Pallars*, pp. 139-144.

³⁵⁸ Santacana, *El monasterio de Poblet*, no. 224 (16 February 1180).

which had been sustained in the prescriptions of the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* and which were still observed, in cosmopolitan centers, in the twelfth century. The scribes who spoke in the voice of the deceased and penned their *signa* were operating more in an oral, anecdotal tradition than in a notarial one.³⁵⁹ Among these “informal” testamentary memorials, as well as among the solemn judicial charters, there remained a strong belief in the evidentiary value of such written memorials, either proved in the traditional way or imaginatively enhanced with forged *signa* and attributed speeches. The creation of these hybrid forms of publication charter attests at once to the degeneration of the classic formula, but also to a continuing interest in such documentation, which encouraged the *ad hoc* confection of new forms. While the documentation was still deemed necessary, the formula was not so exclusively determined.

5. OTHER DOCUMENTS SERVING A FUNCTION OF TESTAMENTARY PUBLICATION

The presence of Pyrenean anomalies in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries applies as well to other diplomatic forms pertinent to testamentary documentation. A variety of charters seems to have served to publicize or memorialize the bequests of a deceased.

Perhaps the most basic type of document is a memorandum of a bequest, with no implicit juridical character or value. In the Cartulary of Tavernoles there is a memorandum, written at the abbey in 1040, which recounts the visit made by the abbot to a village in Cerdanya, to examine and “receive into his power” an allod which had been left to him there.³⁶⁰ The allod, which consisted of twenty separate parcels of land, is enumerated in this memorial with exactitude. Being a simple memorandum, this document doesn’t pretend to have any juridical significance, but from its inclusion in the cartulary it would appear to have

³⁵⁹ See, for an analogous attribution of significance to literary testamentary “forgery”, H. E. J. Cowdrey, “Death-bed testaments,” in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: internationaler Kongreß der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16-19 September 1986 (MGH, Schriften, xxxiii.)*, 6 vols. (Hanover, 1988), iv:703-724.

³⁶⁰ *Cartulario de Tavernoles*, ed. Josefina Soler García (Castellón de la Plana, 1964), no. 26.

been the principal written instrument with which the beneficiary--the abbey--kept note of, and thus protected, its legacy. In this case, one wonders whether there were many such bequests--even substantial ones--which were not represented by any documentation of a more formal character.

From the same decade, from the lost cartulary of Cuixa, there is a copy of an interesting letter from the monks of Cuixa to all the inhabitants of Pallars.³⁶¹ The monks addressed themselves to the public, notifying them that they had “received within the limits of their society” the two sons of the late Miró Bardina of Escallarre (Aneu valley), and that they were praying for the defunct father. At the same time, they were reminding and asking the general public not to forget that Miró had left his best allod (the neighboring settlement of Burg, with its church) to the monastery, reserving the usufruct for his sons during their lifetimes, and with the payment of an annuity of one ounce of gold to Saint-Michel. It is clear that the monks wanted to preserve and publicize the memory of their bequest, to prevent the possibility that the sons, exercising their lordship in a locale quite remote from Cuixa itself, might forget their annual obligation and in time come to regard the allod as their inalienable inheritance. Here the monastery, perhaps through other negotiations unknown to us, had success: also in the cartulary there was a notice of the execution of the bequest, in which the sons of Miró Bardina, in their capacity as his testamentary executors (not as his heirs), gave the parcel to the monastery outright.³⁶² Possibly this deal was struck to avoid the protracted obligation of producing cash for the monastery each year.

These last acts, unilateral memoranda (or letters) made by the beneficiaries with the motive of protecting their legacies, don't belong diplomatically among juridical acts

³⁶¹ Undated letter (before 6 April 1046): BN, Baluze, vol. 117, f. 161^v (a partial transcription). Also noted in Fossa's notebook of Cuixa documents: Perpignan, ADPO, 12 J 24, no. 239. For the full text of the letter see Appendix D, below, no. 5.

³⁶² Baluze, vol. 117, f. 164^r (6 April 1041). See below, Appendix D, no. 6. There is little notice of the Burgo/Escallar allod in the fragmentary Cuixa documentation. A generation later, Escallar figures in a comital grant of lands to Gerri (25 March 1090: *El monestir de Gerri*, ii, no. 47).

attendant on the process of testamentary comprobation, publication and execution. Nonetheless they certainly demonstrate that parallel procedures could be and were resorted to in private hands, even within the church, to ensure that testamentary desires were honored--particularly in the face of a potential conflict between descendants and religious beneficiaries.³⁶³

6. TESTAMENTARY CONFIRMATIONS OR ADJUSTMENTS

Another form of act which one might expect to see in relation to bequests is a confirmation, in which a given authority corroborates and acquiesces to a testamentary bequest by an individual. Testamentary confirmations are a heterogeneous category, defined more by implied function than by diplomatic consistency. On one hand, documents emanating from public authority can confirm the legitimacy of a grant. An early northern example is preserved in the documents of Le Mans, but its authenticity is open to question: in a charter of 7 September 838, Louis the Pious confirmed the bequests of Bishop Aldric:

[Aldric] petens humiliter ut quod a se pia devotione votoque religiosissimo constabat dispositum, nostra imperiali auctoritate fieret inconvulsum. Nam venerabilibus supplicationibus annuentes hanc nostrae auctoritatis conscriptionem ei fieri iussimus, per quam decernimus atque sancimus ut quemadmodum ab eo per memoratum scriptum dispositum atque distributum constat, ita modis omnibus observetur atque firmissime teneatur ...³⁶⁴

Here, an imperial confirmation charter, possibly seeking to forestall the spoliation of Aldric's moveable goods after his death, seems to have been granted not as a matter of right, but upon a special request. This imperial tradition (if indeed it is authentic) of

³⁶³ This conflict was a general problem throughout the period. See discussion below, chapter 5.

³⁶⁴ *Gesta domni Aldrici Cenomanicae urbis episcopi a discipulis suis*, ed. R. Charles and L. Froger (Mamers, 1889), pp. 109-110. Aldric's testament is on pp. 98-109. See Goffart, *The Le Mans Forgeries*, nos. 62 and 63, pp. 270-271. While the dispositive clauses of Aldric's testament are a tissue of interpolations, according to Goffart, Louis' confirmation charter is "unobjectionable." Margarete Weidemann, after a detailed study, agreed with Goffart's statements, but insisted on the formal authenticity of Aldric's testament: "Das Testament des Bischofs Aldricus von Le Mans--eine Fälschung?".

confirmations of bequests by public or comital authority is not repeated in Languedoc or Catalonia.

On the other hand, the authority that confirms a bequest might merely be an interested party with the power to intervene or not, motivated by self interest or the politics of lordship. We have already seen this in the *laudatio* charters of the viscounts of Bas.³⁶⁵ One way in which counts intervene seems to be from a position of overlordship, and thus as potential heir of a bequest. In this way Ramon Berenguer III, as heir and father-in-law to the defunct Bernat III of Besalú, witnessed the execution of Bernat's testament, and explicitly confirmed Bernat's pious legacy to Santa Maria d'Arles:³⁶⁶

... Igitur ego Raimundus gracia Dei Barchinonensium nec non Bisulunensium comes secundum testimonium supradictorum testium laudo et corroboreo cum omni stabilitate sine aliquo engane hanc kartam donacionis, ut sit supradictus alodius in potestate et dominio Beate Marie et monachorum ibi Deo serviencium tam presentium quam futurorum in perpetuum sine aloquo contradiccione vel inquietacione. ...

This ominous intervention of overlords reminds one that in some testaments the testator nervously implores his lord to honor and facilitate its execution.³⁶⁷ Indeed, the counts were sometimes overtly hostile to their vassals' testamentary desires: in 1100 Guislabert, count of Roussillon, and his son Gérard were compelled to sign a solemn "confirmation" of the bequest of Arnau Guillem de Salses to the see of Elne.³⁶⁸

In nomine Domini. Ego Gilabertus comes et filius meus Girardus nos simul laudamus et confirmamus acquisitiones Sancte Eulalie de tercia parte ville de Texneres cum pertinentiis suis et de ecclesia Sancti Genesii cum suis alodiis et aliis, que omnia Arnallus Gilielmi testamento reliquid Beate Eulalie; et difinimus sine

³⁶⁵ Discussed above, pp. 100-102.

³⁶⁶ Perpignan, ADPO, 12 J 24, no. 24 (20 August 1111).

³⁶⁷ For example, see the will of Guillem Ramon, *ACA*, Perg. Ramon Berenguer III, no. 129 (6 July 1110):

... modo dimitto fratrem meum Dorcha et filios meos in custodia Domini Dei et hominem meum honorem in defensione Domini Reimundi Berengarii comitis senioris mei, et episcopi Barchinonensis. Et sit Deus inter me et vos. ...

This sentiment is misinterpreted by Bastier, p. 414, where he notes it applied to executors.

³⁶⁸ 26 September, 1100. Paris: BN, Moreau, vol. 37, f. 245-246r (copied from the Cartulary of Elne, f. 73)

fraude et sine omni malo ingenio hec omnia prescripta Sancte Eulalie et Ermengauda in pontificatu electo et successoribus ejus, et de his omnibus supradictis adjutores erimus per fidem Beate Eulalie et Ermengauda in sede Helenensi helecto et successoribus ejus, ad tenendum quamdiu vixerimus contra omnes homines vel feminas. ...

They went on to add:

... Et nullam guerram neque ullum malum deinceps faciemus ville de Texueres neque pertinentiis suis neque his omnibus que in villa de Texueres sunt sive in pertinentiis ejus. Quod si nos guerra vel aliquod malum deicebs fecerimus ville de Texneres vel pertinentatiis, precamus et mandamus Pontio Guilelmi de Vultraria, et Dalmacio Berengarii vicecomiti, et Guilielmo Udalgarii vicecomiti, ut sint adjutores Beate Eulalie et per Ermengauda in pontificatu helecto successoribus que ejus quamdiu vixerint de his omnibus dictis ad tenendum per fidem sine engan. Et pro hac difinitione quam convenimus et promittimus fideliter firmiter que tenere accepimus nos septingentas solidatas ab Ermengauda in episcopatu helecto, de rebus Sancte Eulalie. Quicumque vero contra hanc presentem difinitionem venire temptaverit, in duplo hec omnia prescripta componat...

Either the counts' generally rapacious behavior was being restrained in this particular instance, or they had ravaged (or threatened to ravage) this particular property in displeasure over the bequest. A cash bribe from the episcopal coffer produced this confirmation.

At the same time it seems that authorities could participate as benevolent judges, even altering the terms of a testament and confirming the new arrangement. Two cases have been found in which adjustments were made in favor of widows who were threatened with destitution or hardship. In both cases, an outright pious bequest was changed to an eventual bequest; the widow enjoyed the income of the bequeathed lands during her lifetime.³⁶⁹

II. MULTIPLE DOCUMENTS: ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TESTAMENTARY PROCESS

A. Three-Document Cases

It has been shown, with the case of Adalbert the viscount's son, how a single individual's death can generate testamentary documents of three distinct types: the testament made out during the testator's life, a publication charter confirming his desires

³⁶⁹ Barcelona, ACB, *Libri Antiquitatum*, iii, no. 211 (8 January 1041). Notice: *Rubrica dels Libri Antiquitatum*, no. 521. The other charter, from the Conflent: *HL* v, no. 269 (30 August 1065).

after his demise, and finally the acts which effect the transferal of the legacies named in the will and the publication charter. It is uncommon, however, that documents of more than one type survive for a single testator. However, when such documents are collected and compared, they offer valuable insights: views of the testamentary system over time, rather than isolated snapshots of different elements of the process in different cases.

In the entire collection assembled, thirteen testators are represented by all three types of document. The first complete trio belongs to Adalbert, son of the viscount of Barcelona (d. 1010), who was introduced at the outset of this study. The three charters documenting his testamentary process were preserved together in the archives of Sant Cugat and copied into its cartulary in the early thirteenth century.³⁷⁰ Most of the other triple sets survive, like Adalbert's documents, because they were preserved together in the archives of some religious beneficiary. The *Libri Antiquitatum*, the great four-volume cartulary of the see of Barcelona, contains one set (Goltred, d. 1022);³⁷¹ the Urgell cartulary contains two (Ponç, archdeacon, d. 1030; and Guitard Bernat d'Ursià, see below).³⁷² The comital *cancellaria* contains one group (Truitel, d. 1040);³⁷³ The capitular archive of Girona contains another (Adebrandus, *clericus*, d. 1045).³⁷⁴

The other sets of documents have survived fortuitously, scattered in separate archives. The testament and one executors' act of Berenger Ramon, count of Barcelona (d. 1035), survive at Vic, while the original manuscript of his publication charter has turned up as a recent acquisition of the Biblioteca de Catalunya.³⁷⁵ The testament and publication charter

³⁷⁰ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, nos. 431, 432 and 441. See above, chap 1, n. 1. The original publication charter survives at Arxiu del Monestir de Montserrat: Perg. Sant Cugat, no. 64.

³⁷¹ The will and publication charter: Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, nos. 119-120; the executors' act (to the see of Barcelona): *Rubrica dels Libri Antiquitatum*, no. 405.

³⁷² Ponç: *Urgellia* iv, nos. 405, 434, and 435.

³⁷³ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, nos. 38 and 39 (see above, n. 332).

³⁷⁴ Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, nos. 222-224.

³⁷⁵ Testament and executors' act: *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. Eduard Junyent i Subirà (Barcelona, 1992), nos. 127, 128. The publication charter remains unedited: Biblioteca de Catalunya, Perg. 8699. See below, Appendix D, no. 3.

of Inguilberga, wife of Guifred de Balsareny (d. 1039), are among the parchments of Sant Benet de Bagès preserved at Montserrat, while an executors' act survives in the comital *cancellaria*.³⁷⁶ Two bishops of Urgell are represented by such documentary groups. The testament and publication charter of Saint Ermengol, bishop of Urgell (d. 1035) are at Urgell, while an executor's act (a sale of lands in Vic) survives at Vic.³⁷⁷ Saint Ermengol's successor was Eribau, also viscount of Cardona (d. 1040), whose testament and an executors' act (in favor of Sant Vicenç de Cardona) are now in the Diocesan archive at Girona, while his publication charter survives in a late copy in the ACA.³⁷⁸

An interesting example comes from northern Catalonia: in 1018 the countess of Cerdanya, Guisla, made out a pious will, including one bequest of land to the monastery of Sant Martí del Canigó and numerous smaller bequests to other monasteries, to be made from the proceeds of the sale of her personal belongings.³⁷⁹ The archives of Canigó preserved the will, the publication charter, and a donation charter of her executors, among them her widower, the count of Cerdanya.³⁸⁰ Although all the documents correspond perfectly with one another, the executors' donation charter was important for the monastery to retain because it provided additional important information: in it the count stated that the land his wife had willed to the monastery had been given to her by him, "not by charter but by simple gift," and was inherited by him from his parents. Perhaps it was important for the

³⁷⁶ Testament and publication charter, edited by Josep Danès i Torras, "Documents Comunicats," *Analecta montserratensia* (1922), 441-448. Executors' act, ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, no. 33.

³⁷⁷ Testament and publication: *Urgellia* iv, nos. 463, 478; executors' act: ACV, calaix 9, Episcopologi II, no. 14.

³⁷⁸ Testament: *Urgellia* v, no. 527; publication charter: Ferran Valls Taberner, "La primera dinastia vescomtal de Cardona," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* xvi (1931), 112-136, at pp. 129-132; executors' act: Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, no. 214.

³⁷⁹ See above for this phenomenon, p. 98. Unfortunately, no records of these sales, or of the donation of the proceeds, survive.

³⁸⁰ The charters are preserved in seventeenth-century copies in the collection Baluze; Monsalvatje, *San Martín de Canigó*, nos. 5-7.

monastery inheriting the land to preserve his explicit approval and participation in the settlement of his wife's will, to forestall any dispute about the chain of ownership.³⁸¹

Another interesting triple set belongs to one Guitard Bernat de Ursià (d. 1064), whose will, publication, and one executors' act are all preserved in the Urgell cartulary, the *Liber dotaliorum ecclesiae urgellensis*.³⁸² The executors' act surviving from his estate is an exceptional one in that it predates the publication ceremony. It actually concerns the formal return to the cathedral chapter of a *salictum* (a willow-grove) which had been "unjustly snatched" by the testator during his lifetime, and which was not mentioned in either the will or the publication charter. This executors' act thus shows the power of the executors to act beyond the letter of the written will in the interest of the soul of the deceased testator. This restitution of wrongs, sometimes explicitly requested in the testament, is a tradition of which very little diplomatic evidence survives.³⁸³

The final two sets represent twelfth-century magnates for whom *laudationes* of bequests, authored by their heirs, take the place of the earlier standard executors' donation acts. The bequest of Roger, viscount of Béziers and Carcassonne (d. 1151), to la Grasse has already been discussed; it survived, along with his testament (which had a publication clause appended to its foot) in the Trencavel archive at Foix.³⁸⁴ Finally, the culmination of twelfth century trends can be seen in the testamentary documentation of the count-king Alfons I, also already mentioned, whose testament and codicil survives amended with publication clauses, circulated after his death, in May 1196. The one extant act which preserves an

³⁸¹ Curiously, another document purporting to execute Guisla's testament, also a donation to Canigó by her husband, dated the same day as the executors' act in the collection Baluze is preserved in a copy made by Julien-Bernard Alart at Perpignan: Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 107, vol. 21 (lettered Z), f. 75-78 (old foliation). The charter, which is copied from a notarized copy, of 1717, of a medieval parchment in poor condition, seems to include a considerably extended description of the allod actually left by the countess, and is possibly a forged interpolation.

³⁸² *Urgellia* vi, nos. 745, 754 and 757.

³⁸³ One notable document, already mentioned, being the viscountess of Bas' remission of her husband's *malos usaticos*, above, pp. 101-102.

³⁸⁴ *HL* v, nos. 580 (two documents) and 586 (another two).

execution of his bequests is a donation, authored by the new count-king Pere in June of 1196, re-donating and confirming all the donations and bequests made by Alfons in his testament and earlier, and by Alfons' father, Ramon Berenguer IV, to the Knights Hospitaller.³⁸⁵

B. Two-Document Cases

While it is apparently rare for charters of all three types to survive together from one testator, one can draw a few general conclusions from the existing examples, and from that somewhat larger group of testamentary probates for which at least two of the three main types of document survive. Of course, the creation of a will always preceded its ceremonial publication (the testator being then dead).³⁸⁶ The publication itself almost always preceded any corresponding executor's acts.³⁸⁷ This would lead one to believe that (in the period when all three types of document were in use) the executors were not empowered to dispose of the estate, or indeed did not enter into full possession of the estate, until the ceremony of publication had taken place.³⁸⁸ Many executors' acts are dated the same day as the corresponding publication charters, but many were also penned after a considerable delay.³⁸⁹

In several cases, more than one publication charter has been found corresponding to the same testament. One tragic case involves the wills of two brothers, Elias and Gondemar, who died together in 1010, in the same campaign that claimed Adalbert.³⁹⁰ Their (oral) wills

³⁸⁵ For a complete study of the manuscripts and editions of the testamentary documents of Alfons, see Appendix B to this study. For the execution of the Hospitaller bequest, see the *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers*, i, no. 987.

³⁸⁶ The one possible exception noted, in which a testament apparently was enregistered in the lifetime of the testator, is discussed above, p. 122 and n. 347.

³⁸⁷ Again, there are exceptions, most notably the case of Guitard Bernat d'Ursià, noted on the previous page.

³⁸⁸ Note the letter of the executors to the judge Ramon, requesting that a publication ceremony take place, above, p. 86 and n. 223.

³⁸⁹ In three cases, several years: note the executor's acts for count Berengar Ramon and Saint Ermengol, both three years after the date of the publication ceremony. The longest delay seems to be that of sixteen years (1018 to 1034) between the execution of two separate bequests by count Ramon Borrell to the see of Vic. *Diplomatari del abat i bisbe Oliba*, no. 57, and *Millenium: història i art*, p. 80 (facsimile and description of *Arxiu Capitular de Vic*, calaix 6, no. 2147).

³⁹⁰ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, nos. 83, 84 and 88.

were first published in a joint ceremony, but with separate publication charters drawn up, in which it was declared that each had named the other as his principal heir, with the substitution of a third brother in case the other died. Two months later, their wills were published again, and this time a single memorial charter was created, which simply named the third (and surviving) brother, Ervigius, as the joint beneficiary of the family inheritance. Other bequests which were named in the earlier documents possibly had already been executed by the time of the second publication, as other details of the wills are not present in the later publication charter.

Other examples of multiple publication survive, when two similar ceremonies took place at different locations, with different people in attendance, and perhaps with different portions of the testament discussed or pronounced. The most stunning example, noted by Bastier, is that of count Borrell, who ordained a multi-part testament, to be published separately in each of his several counties.³⁹¹ Unfortunately, only the Urgell publication survives.³⁹² This wasn't imitated by his successors. If Borrell mandated these separate ceremonies as a conscious act of responsible public authority, his successors could not have felt the same compunction. In the eleventh century a castellan's testament could be subjected to more than one publication, perhaps catering to different audiences at different important localities in the lord's ambit. The testament of Guillem de Oló (d. 1034), a powerful castellan and lay deacon in the chapter of Vic, was published first in Vic, and again a month later at his castle of Mediona.³⁹³

Another explanation for a repeated testamentary publication is to remedy some legal deficiency from the first publication ceremony. We have seen how in the case of Ramon, viscount of Castellbó (d. 1113) an oral will was first published in a form inconsistent with the

³⁹¹ Bastier, p. 411.

³⁹² *Urgellia* iii, no. 233.

³⁹³ *Diplomatari del abat i bisbe Oliba*, nos. 113 and 115.

elaborate procedures required by custom; a new ceremony was convened some months later.³⁹⁴

The most common patterns of surviving complementary documents are pairs consisting of a will and its publication charter, or the publication charter and executors' act (or acts).³⁹⁵ For the first, and most numerous, case, a simple explanation is that the original written will itself was actually present at the publication ceremony, and was retained by the same archive as the new commemoration charter.³⁹⁶ Although the publication charter duplicates the information in the will, the actual will may have been a desirable additional evidentiary artifact because of the autograph subscription of the testator (who was of course not present at the publication). Publication charters and executors' acts survive as pairs much less frequently than wills and their publications.³⁹⁷ Those that survive do not suggest any simple explanation for the overlap. Again, however, it seems probable that the beneficiary's archives often obtained both charters simultaneously: many executors' acts were written on the day of the publication ceremony, and include the same witnesses.³⁹⁸

III. COUNT, BISHOP, JUDGE: PROBATE AUTHORITY, 800-1200

The sworn publication of a testament is a legal proceeding--in fact, it is the most frequent legal event of which consistent records survive from the Carolingian and post-

³⁹⁴ See above, p. 123.

³⁹⁵ A third pattern of complementary documents, with approximately thirty examples, is that of wills which have been superseded or emended by newer wills or codicils. This case bears on a different issue--the process of testatorial motivation and decision of what bequests to make, and to whom. The survival of superseded (and thus invalidated) wills raises interesting questions about the contemporary archival retention criteria. The extant revised testaments will be discussed in chapter 4, with respect to the differences in their dispositive content.

³⁹⁶ One hundred nine pairs of such documents survive; not all, however, were preserved in the same archives.

³⁹⁷ Twenty-six pairs or groups.

³⁹⁸ Of the twenty six groups, in nine the executors' acts were written simultaneously with the publication charters, indicating an almost instantaneous discharge of the executors' duties after testamentary publication. In all but three of the others, the delay is less than three months.

Carolingian period in Languedoc and Catalonia. Viewed as such, it can provide an important perspective on the functioning of judicial institutions in this area and period.

We have seen that in several different types of testamentary publication, a significant common element of the sworn testimony is that it takes place in front of (“in presentia,” “ex ordinacione”) a certain authority. We have seen how the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* assigned different types of authority (clerical or secular) to oversee the comprobation or publication of testaments under different circumstances. We have now seen something of the variety of documentation which memorialized the probation and execution of testaments. The question now arises: what was the authority under which this occurred? Who are the judges? How is this jurisdiction arranged? From whom do they derive their power? Their learning?

Of 657 documents in which a testament is sworn or proved, and an additional forty judgments in which a testamentary legacy or dispute is settled, nearly 500 documents concretely identify a presiding authority in a ceremonial setting.³⁹⁹ In the overwhelming majority of these cases, this authority (or at least one of the authorities present) is identified as a *iudex*. And in virtually every one of these documents, at least one priest or clergyman is present alongside the judge. It is tempting to assume that this dual presidium was believed to have been mandated in the *Liber iudiciorum*, where the various precepts for testamentary authentication, comprobation and publication had involved bishops, priests (*sacerdotes*) and judges (*iudices*).⁴⁰⁰ In fact the presence of clergy is an almost universal feature of charters from Catalonia and Languedoc before the fourth quarter of the twelfth century, when the first non-clerical scribes (public and seigneurial notaries) begin to appear. It is the

³⁹⁹ The others do not do so for various reasons: the ceremony appeared to have no official presiding authority, or one does not appear on the document; the document may be defective, lacking subscriptions, or only available in a partial transcription or calendar, etc.

⁴⁰⁰ See above, chap 2. p. 73.

appearance of the *iudex* that distinguished the juridical nature of testamentary publication charters from the mass of private documentation in the tenth through twelfth centuries.

A. The *Iudices*

1. IDENTITY AND DISTRIBUTION

Testamentary publication charters are a valuable tool for prosopographical insight into the professional judges. A large number of these routine judicial proceedings survive, pinpointing judges with precise dates and locations. With the caveat that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish judges with the same name, it is possible to determine the ambit of the judges by tracking where they appear in successive publication charters. Only occasionally does a judge specify his jurisdiction in identifying himself. They seem to have been identified with *pagi*, counties, or, on occasion, smaller regions. In 1072 one Adalbert called himself *iudex in pago Cornellani*.⁴⁰¹ Bermundus, active in Manresa from 1060 through 1085 (and who appeared once presiding jointly with this Adalbert, at Santa Eulalia de Pardines in 1069), habitually identified himself *iudex in Cleronomia*.⁴⁰² A document of 1120 (from an unspecified location) has two judges named Petrus presiding; they are distinguished as judges for Urgell and Pallars, respectively.⁴⁰³ The Urgell *Petrus* is no doubt Pere Isarn, who, in 1113, called himself “a domino Odone episcopo in iudicum officio electi.”⁴⁰⁴

2. FRANKISH AND VISIGOTHIC INFLUENCE

What manner of men were these judges? François-Louis Ganshof, in his broad study of Carolingian judicial institutions, noted that *scabini* were instituted by Charlemagne to improve upon the “occasional judgement finders” previously existing in various parts of the

⁴⁰¹ *Urgellia* vi, no. 843.

⁴⁰² *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, no. 78 (1061); ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bagès, no. 322 (1063); Arxiu de Montserrat, Perg. Sant Benet de Bagès, no. 138 (1066). The Pardines document: ACV, Calaix 6, no. 1463 (1069).

⁴⁰³ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1324.

⁴⁰⁴ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1278.

empire; he tentatively identified the *iudices* of Septimanian documents with this innovation.⁴⁰⁵ The earliest two *iudices* found in the area are Rasoarius and Deovarius, who appear with Magnar, count of Narbonne, in the judgement of 792 concerning the monasteries of Caunes and Aniane.⁴⁰⁶ Unfortunately, this identification of the Septimanian *iudices* as a Carolingian innovation doesn't take into account the tradition of *iudices* in the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum*. The question of continuity of a cadre of judicial officials from the early eighth-century Visigothic kingdom to late eighth-century Septimania is tantalizing but unconfirmable. The use of the term *iudex* for their successors in Charlemagne's reign and afterward--a usage which Ganshof associated exclusively with Septimania and Catalonia--would certainly suggest some continuity from, or at least a communal memory with, the last generation of Visigothic officials.⁴⁰⁷ If this is in fact the case, Ganshof's dismissal of the "occasional judgment finders" certainly does not do them justice.

From the earliest Carolingian testamentary probate documents (the charter at Narbonne in 821), and from the ten other contemporary judgments in Besalú and elsewhere which use the formula "condiciones sacramentorum," a partial list of *iudices* can be drawn. From 792 to the beginning of the tenth century, the documents produce a list of some seventy *iudices*, with virtually no judge appearing more than once. One who does crop up twice is David, *iudex* in Narbonne in 821 and again in 834.⁴⁰⁸ Another identification is that of Ermemir, who appeared in 858 at Elne, with the Ermemir who appears in 868 in an unspecified location, probably in the Conflent.⁴⁰⁹ The tendency for multiple persons with

⁴⁰⁵ François-Louis Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, trans. Bryce Lyon (Providence, 1968), p. 77 and n. 44, taking issue with G. Sicard, "Sur l'organisation judiciaire carolingienne en Languedoc," in *Etudes historiques à la mémoire de Noël Didier* (Paris, 1960), pp. 293-99.

⁴⁰⁶ Cros-Mayrevielle, no. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ This is not to deny Frankish influence. The judgement at Minerve in 873 was held in a Frankish *mallus* ("in mallo publico ante castro") with a Carolingian *missus* presiding as well as the *iudices*.

⁴⁰⁸ *HL* ii, nos. 57 and 85.

⁴⁰⁹ *HL* ii, nos. 150 and 169. R. H. Bautier identified a group of judges who appeared both in Narbonne, in documents from 852 to 873, and in the judgement in the Conflent in 875 (*HL* ii, no.

the title *iudex* to appear in these early documents (although not in all of them) suggests varying levels of importance for people who all take the title *iudex*.⁴¹⁰ Two *iudices* who must have been fairly important in the mid to late ninth century were tentatively identified by Ramon d'Abadal with respect to their families: Bera, grandson and namesake of that Bera who was count of Barcelona and Roussillon early in the ninth century, appears twice as a judge in the Conflent, in 868 and 874; Esteve, son and namesake of the viscount of Narbonne of that name, also appears as a judge in the Conflent in 874.⁴¹¹

The documents from the mid tenth century onward paint a somewhat different, more detailed picture of the judges. The number of judges together at a single court never reaches the level of the ninth-century throngs. However, the number of documents in which judges appear increases enormously. One interesting change in the later tenth century is that judges appear who have clerical status as well as the judicial title; in the ninth century the *iudices* all appeared to be laymen.⁴¹² The first clerical judge to appear is the *sacer* Proficius, who oversees a testamentary publication at the frontier castle Eramprunyà, west of Barcelona, in 980.⁴¹³ At roughly the same time this development is noted in the Narbonnais: Ermenaldus, “sacerdos et iudex”, supervised a testamentary publication near Béziers in 983.⁴¹⁴

189). He also follows the career of Isembert, a Narbonnais judge, in several acts from 834 through 875. R. H. Bautier, “Notes historiques sur la Marche d’Espagne. Le Conflent et ses comtes au IX^e siècle,” in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Felix Grat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1946-9), i, at pp. 222-3. The Narbonnais judges are also noted by Arthur J. Zuckerman, *A Jewish Princedom in Feudal France: 768-900* (New York, 1972), p. 340 and n. 59.

⁴¹⁰ Seven judges together at Besalú in 817; nine at Narbonne in 834; twelve at Empúries in 842; eight at Elne in 858; six in the Conflent in 868; five at Minèrve in 873.

⁴¹¹ Abadal, *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, i, p. 207-208; *HL* ii, no. 169 (868).

⁴¹² Against this, Bonnassie noted the judicial charter from Urgell in 865, in which *iudices canonicos et mundanos* figure (*Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, p. 164 and n. 243). However, the document goes on to differentiate: “... id est Asenarii et Suniuldi archipresbiteri, Agarico et Amore iudices ...” (*Urgellia* viii, appendix, no. 4, pp. 118-9).

⁴¹³ *Sant Cugat* i, no. 136 (5 September 980).

⁴¹⁴ *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no 44.

3. CAREERS

The next clerical judge to appear on the scene can be traced with certitude. In 987 the testament of Motio was published in a ceremony at Vallvidrera, near Barcelona. The scribe, and one of the two presiding *iudices*, was a man named Ervigius Marci, probably in minor orders (although he does not indicate his clerical status in this document).⁴¹⁵ Within a couple of years Ervigius Marci was a priest; he appeared in a testamentary publication as *presbiter et iudex* in 992.⁴¹⁶ In 995 he participated, under the leadership of Bonushomo, *levita et iudex*, in the publication of the testament of Vivas, late bishop of Barcelona.⁴¹⁷ By 1002, Ervigius was given the title of *episcopus*, as a suffragan or assistant.⁴¹⁸ Even as bishop, Ervigius still was certain to use his title of *iudex* when presiding over testamentary publications.⁴¹⁹ Perhaps the most famous of this first generation of judges was Ervigius' sometime colleague, Bonushomo, who first appears in 988 (as a judge with no clerical status), and thereafter is prominent at least through 1024. It is this Bonushomo who in 1012 penned the *Liber iudicum popularis*, a seminal redaction of the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum* for use by contemporary Catalan judges.⁴²⁰

Pierre Bonnassie explored the clerical judges in the generation around the Millennium in his study of Catalan society.⁴²¹ He observed, in the careers of the judges in the major episcopal centers, a kind of *cursus honorum* in which clerics trained in law would

⁴¹⁵ Fidel Fita, "El templo del Pilar y San Braulio de Zaragoza: Documentos anteriores al s. XVI," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* xlv (1904), 425-461. The second judge, Borrell, also became a cleric, at least by 1011. Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 89.

⁴¹⁶ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 39. In this time he also had been serving as a judge in Cerdanya. Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, p. 166 and n. 252.

⁴¹⁷ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 44.

⁴¹⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, p. 164 and n. 245.

⁴¹⁹ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, nos. 75 and 82. Until 1009 he continues to call himself *presbiter et iudex*. For the career of his superior, bishop Aecius, see *Catalunya romànica*, vol. xx, *El Barcelonès, el Baix Llobregat i el Maresme* (Barcelona, 1992), p. 51: "Els bisbes de Barcelona anteriors al 1300."

⁴²⁰ Ferran Valls Taberner, "El liber iudicum popularis de Homobonus de Barcelona," in *Obras selectas*, vol. ii (Barcelona, 1954). Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 125-6, quotes evocatively from its introduction.

⁴²¹ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 163-167.

rise to positions within cathedral hierarchies, often ending up as *caputscoles*. On the other hand, there were other judges who remained in minor orders and judges who remained laymen.⁴²² Vic had a strong tradition of lay judges. The *saio* Gotmar, who presided in 961 over the publication of the testament of the deacon Otger, appeared in 964 promoted to the position of *iudex*.⁴²³ A lay judge named Guifred was operating throughout the county of Ausona from 997. To distinguish him from the *levita* of the same name who was a judge at Vic from 1003, whenever they appeared together he was expressly designated *laicus*.⁴²⁴

a. The Eleventh Century

In this and successive generations the careers of many influential, well-placed judges can be traced in the surviving probate documents throughout Catalonia. North of the Pyrenees, however, the office of *iudex*, which seems to have expired in the later ninth century, never revived outside Roussillon. Even in Roussillon, where scattered Elne documents refer to judges through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these judges can often be shown to have been imports from Barcelona.⁴²⁵

Heedless of the withering of this tradition in Septimania, the Catalonian judicial officials enjoyed a heyday in the eleventh century. From the eleventh century, 338 testamentary publications yield 296 line items identifying a judge presiding at such a

⁴²² The title of *levita* was borne by many judges. Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, pp. 22-24, noted that *levita* could sometimes indicate a professional, rather than clerical status, being applied to castellans; could it not also have been applied to a caste of professional laymen involved in judicial administration?

⁴²³ The 961 testamentary publication is the only instance of a *saio* presiding alone at such an event. The custom was quickly established of having a *iudex* present. *Saiones* continue to be present (without much frequency) throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Thomas N. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia Under the Early Count-Kings (1151-1213)*, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984), i, p. 278, publishes a list of *saiones* active in fiscal affairs in the latter twelfth century.

⁴²⁴ Perhaps this is the *Guifred* who appears to have previously been a *vicarius* before a charter of 999. Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, p. 165 and n. 247. The *levita et iudex* Guifred, indeed, had a family and children: the publication of his own testament in 1039 contains legacies for them, in which Guilla, the mother of his children, is only called *femina*, not *uxor*. *Diplomatari del abat i bisbe Oliba*, no. 137 (23 April 1039).

⁴²⁵ As with Guillem Marci, who appeared at Toulouges in 1030 (*HL* v, no. 194) and Miró, who appeared at Perpignan in 1164 (*Liber feudorum maior*, ii, no. 788): both were based in Barcelona.

ceremony (of course, many refer to the same judges). In contrast, for the twelfth century the number of publication charters is smaller, 283, and the number of line items about *iudices* is even less by proportion: 168 line items. This reveals that not only had the number of written testamentary publications tapered off somewhat (as can be seen in *Figure 3:1*, above), but also that *iudices* were proportionally less active in these publications: the twelfth century's citations amount to no more than thirty *iudices*, who, despite the numerous references surviving for many of them, clearly did not serve the legal needs of the entire principality.

b. The Twelfth Century

The careers of the twelfth century judges serve as an interesting contrast to their remote predecessors around the year 1000. Some adhered to the old ways. At Vic, the most prominent judge held the office of sacristan. Richard, fond of calling himself “*lator legis ac iuris*”, died in 1100. Although his immediate successor, Arbert, was never a judge, his three successors, who among them held the office for over one hundred ten years, presided over most of the probates in the diocese.⁴²⁶ The third incumbent, Pere de Tavertet, executed his office elsewhere: he was the judge who presided at the publication of the testament of the count-king Alfons I at Zaragoza in 1196.⁴²⁷ At Girona, too, holders of the office of caputscole and sacristan continued as *iudices*. At Barcelona, however, the judicial official had become removed from the cathedral setting. The church of Saints Just and Pastor became the exclusive setting for testamentary probate, and it was there that a single judge held sway over the entire county.

Miró, a layman, was *the* judge at Barcelona from 1139 through 1178. He appears to have traveled with the count's entourage.⁴²⁸ He was in Huesca in 1162 to prove the

⁴²⁶ See Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, p. 50, for a table of the chapter officials.

⁴²⁷ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 700.

⁴²⁸ He participated in the comital judgement on the testament of Guillem Umbert de Bassella at Lleida, 1157. Josep Maria Pons i Guri, “La successió de Guillem Umbert de Basella” *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins* xxii (1974-5), 153-175, no. 4.

testament of the late Ramon Berenguer IV; two years later he was at Perpignan to prove the testament of Gausfred, count of Roussillon.⁴²⁹ Later in his career Miró did not attend all the routine testamentary publications that found their way to his court. From 1157, his well-trained scribe, Arnau, a priest, was empowered to preside in his name (as well as to draft the memorial charter). Arnau adopted the title *vicarius Mironis iudicis*.⁴³⁰ In the fall of 1172 Pere de Corró, a layman calling himself *scriptor*, took over from Arnau, and remained in Barcelona through the turn of the century.⁴³¹ Miró faded from the scene after February, 1178, and no *iudex* appears in Barcelona until 1190, when the office was revived for one Ramon. Ramon, with Pere de Corró as his assistant, remained in office through the turn of the century.

B. Other Judicial Authorities

Of those testamentary publications (from Catalonia and beyond) which contain no *iudex*, forty-six identify some other official or lord as having authority over the proceeding. Half of these show bishops authorizing the publication, and another third show other clerics (abbots, *caputscotes*, abbots, archdeacons or others). Finally, a few seem to show lay lords acting in this capacity--counts, viscounts, and, on two occasions, a viscountess (the venerable Ermengarde of Narbonne).

I. BISHOPS

The most coherent group of these documents demonstrates what appears to have been the standardized procedure in the Narbonnais for the publication of testaments: the enregistration of the written testament or the sworn declaration of the oral testament before the bishop. The mid tenth-century publication of the testament of Inguinilda at Agde was presided over by the bishop jointly with two *iudices*. With the extinction of the *iudices* in the

⁴²⁹ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 494; ii, no 788.

⁴³⁰ *Sant Cugat*, iii, no. 1012.

⁴³¹ On Pere de Corró, see Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, pp. 245-6.

Narbonnais, the bishops appear to have taken over the juridical function that was previously shared with the judges.⁴³² In Agde, particularly, this tradition can be traced in a series of testaments from the twelfth century, in which a publication notice was appended to written testaments copied into the capitular cartulary.⁴³³ In 1145 a testament from Montpellier was jointly proved before the bishops of Agde and Béziers together.⁴³⁴ The bishop of Béziers himself published a testament in 1179.⁴³⁵ The only eleventh-century example of this trend, a particularly analogous document which may hint to the continuity of this tradition in the Auvergne, is the publication of the testament of Abbot Raoul before the bishop of Clermont in 1022.⁴³⁶ Other bishops appear in the same role in the Narbonnais throughout the mid- to late-twelfth century: the bishop of Carcassonne in 1150;⁴³⁷ of Maguelonne in 1157 and 1198;⁴³⁸ of Nîmes in 1176;⁴³⁹ and the archbishop of Narbonne twice in 1173 (once jointly presiding with the viscountess Ermengarde).⁴⁴⁰

Even within Catalonia this type of authority appears assumed by the bishop in places where the *iudices* are not so well established. The bishop of Lleida published a testament in 1173.⁴⁴¹ Perhaps a similar lack of professional judges at Tarragona prompted the capitular

⁴³² Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier noticed the extinction of the public *iudex* in the Narbonnais: *La Société laïque et l'Église*, pp. 277-280. Her discussion of the growth of ecclesiastical participation in judgments (pp. 288-291) could be more explicitly integrated into the context of the disappearance of the *iudices*.

⁴³³ *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde*, nos. 298 (1147), 386 (1155), 171 (1157), 89 (1167), 86 (1211) and 81 (1212).

⁴³⁴ *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, no. 394 (1145).

⁴³⁵ *Cartulaire de Béziers (Livre Noir)*, no. 270 (1179).

⁴³⁶ *Les marches méridionales du royaume aux alentours de l'an mil. Inventaire typologique des sources documentaires*, ed. Michel Zimmerman (Nancy, 1987), chap i, no. 3. For a facsimile, see Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, "La romanité du Midi de l'an Mil; le point sur les sociétés méridionales," in *Catalunya i França a l'entorn de l'any mil. Actes del Col.loqui internacional Hug Capet. Barcelona, 2-5 juliol 1987* (Barcelona, 1991), pp. 45-58, at p. 49.

⁴³⁷ *HL* v, no. 580 (the second document).

⁴³⁸ *Liber instrumentorum memorialium*, no. 395 (1157, actually at Montpellier); *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Silvanès*, ed. P.-A. Verlaguet (Rodez, 1910), no. 501 (1198--a partial transcription).

⁴³⁹ *HL* viii, no. 28.

⁴⁴⁰ BN, Doat, vol. 59, f. 72 (October 1173); Coll. Doat, vol. 40, f. 102 (7 December 1173).

⁴⁴¹ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 457. Note that Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 223, notes the presence of *iudex* at Lleida only from about 1181.

officers to act on their own in publishing the oral will of the murdered archbishop Berenger de Vilademuls in 1193.⁴⁴² In Urgell, despite the continued presence of judges into the twelfth century, the bishop intervened several times to publish testaments;⁴⁴³ and it seems that the judgeship was an episcopally controlled position.⁴⁴⁴

2. COUNTS

Given the theoretical link (at least in the Carolingian institutions of justice) between the counts and the professional judges as keepers of public order, one might expect the counts and viscounts of Septimania and Catalonia to appear from time to time at the judicial publication of testaments. However, the participation of counts and viscounts is sporadic at best, possibly owing to the fact that the vast majority of testamentary publication ceremonies were routine affairs which could be entrusted to functionaries. Nevertheless, there are some cases in which counts have intervened. It has been shown that Ramon Berenguer intervened in the execution of the pious bequest of his predecessor in Besalú, count Bernat II, to “confirm and corroborate” the transferal of the bequest--seemingly a feudal intervention, not a public one.⁴⁴⁵ In 1077, viscount Guillem presided over the publication of a testament in the Vallespir--which may attest to the shortage of judges in Roussillon by this time.⁴⁴⁶ In 1120 viscount Guerau published a testament at Ager--a frontier post with no public officials

⁴⁴² Villanueva, *Viaje*, xix, no. 41. The resultant memorandum is amateurish but has great spontaneity.

⁴⁴³ *Urgellia* ix, nos. 1324 (1120) and 1337 (1122); *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 461 (1173); *Urgellia* x, no. 1796 (1186); Ostos Salcedo, “Documentación del vizcondado de Vilamur,” no. 8 (1199). The first two Urgell documents were created by the bishop, Saint Ot (1095-1123), who stated in each that he was writing down the testament with the mandate of the absent testator (there being no indication whether those testators were then dead). This peculiarity, and breach of traditional law, seems to have been Ot’s own invention. The *iudices* who were his appointees (see next note) obeyed, by and large, the traditional formulae.

⁴⁴⁴ The Urgellian judge Pere Isarn, at the beginning of his career, once identified himself “a domno Odone episcopo in iudicum officio electi.” *Urgellia* ix, no. 1278 (8 October 1113).

⁴⁴⁵ See above, p. 129.

⁴⁴⁶ *HL* v, no. 326.

at that time.⁴⁴⁷ Count Arnau Mir of Pallars, jointly with the abbot of Alaó, published the peculiar testament of Pere Ramon d'Erill in 1153, similarly in the absence of the traditional public authorities.⁴⁴⁸ Ermengard, the formidable viscountess of Narbonne, also appears to have published testaments in her court.⁴⁴⁹

3. *DISPUTES AND APPEALS*

Bastier noted in his study a few instances of conflicts over testamentary bequests, specifically in which pious bequests were contested or denied by kinsmen of the deceased. Such conflicts were, of course, zealously prosecuted by the institutions affected. Most of Bastier's examples were drawn from the eleventh century in the Vallès, where the influence of houses like Sant Cugat was strong, and there were enough professional judges in the area to secure judgments and settlements without involving higher authority. In other circumstances, however, the comital courts were directly involved in testamentary cases. Two eleventh-century testamentary cases survive from the Conflent, from the court of count Ramon Guifred. In one, a judgement in favor of Cuixa is upheld against one Bernat, who, after having buried his brother at Cuixa, attempted to renege on what had been his brother's burial-price bequest, an allod in the Conflent.⁴⁵⁰ In the other, the count exercised his mercy in favor of a widow so that she could enjoy her late husband's bequest to Cuixa (land which he had held from the monastery in fief) during her lifetime.⁴⁵¹

By the middle of the twelfth century in Barcelona it seems that disputes over testaments eventually made their way to the comital court. From the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV there survive four judgments on three separate cases that demonstrate the

⁴⁴⁷ *El archivo de Ager y Caresmar*, ed. Eduardo Corredera Gutierrez (Balaguer, 1978), no. 181 (abstract of a lost charter).

⁴⁴⁸ *Cartoral de Santa Maria de Lavaix*, no. 57; see above, pp. 127-128.

⁴⁴⁹ Roche, *La Société languedocienne*, ii, pp. 162-3.

⁴⁵⁰ *HL* v, no. 240 (1054). A iudex, Salamó, was present at this court along with the count and viscounts.

⁴⁵¹ *HL* v, no. 269 (1065). Mentioned above, p. 130.

deterioration of status of the *iudices* and the increasing intervention of the comital court in judicial matters. In 1145 a dispute over a bequest to the Templars was settled before the count and the bishop of Barcelona.⁴⁵² In 1148, in his role as *princeps Aragonensis*, the count heard a case between the bishop of Zaragoza and one of the barons of the Ebro valley, presiding jointly with a judicial official, Ato Sanz, identified as a *justitia*.⁴⁵³ From 1151 to 1157 the bequest by Guillem Umbert de Bassella of lands to the Hospitallers was disputed by his brother. The dispute was heard in the comital court twice. On both occasions, solemn charters, prepared by Ponç the scribe, recorded the judgments. In the 1151 court the count's bishops and magnates are described as *iudices*:

... ex precepto iamdicti comitis iudices, domnus videlicet Bernardus Terraconensis archiepiscopus et sancte Romanae ecclesiae legatus, ac venerabiles Guilielmus Barchinonensis, Petrus Ausonensis episcopi, Bernardus abbas Sancti Felicis Girundae, Arnallus de Lercio, Raimundus Villaemulorum, Berengarius de Turrerubea et Raimundus de Podioalto, hi omnes unanimiter convenientes, iuste et legaliter iudicaverunt ...

In the 1157 court the judgement is similarly reckoned to belong to the count and his entourage:

... Laudavit prelibatus comes cum sapientibus et nobilibus curie sive baronibus, videlicet Berengario archiepiscopo Narbonensi et cum episcopis scilicet Berchinonensi, Ausonensi, Hilerdensi ac Neumausensi, et venerabili Petro de Rouera tunc in Ispanie partibus Milicie Templi magistro, et Raimundo de Podio Alto, ac Berengario de Turre Rubea, necnon et Raimundo Ville mulorum, plurimisque nobilibus viris, quod ...

Buried among the signatories appear two *iudices*, Miró (of Barcelona) and Pere Borrell (*sacrista et iudex*).⁴⁵⁴ It is ironic that these professional *iudices*, with a three-hundred-year tradition of authority over testamentary publication and judgement, are of so little

⁴⁵² ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv. no. 3506.

⁴⁵³ *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro*, ed. José Maria Lacarra, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1982, 1985), ii, no. 354.

⁴⁵⁴ On Miró, see above, p. 144. Pere Borrell, *iudex* and sacristan of Girona, also appears in several Gironese documents. He is not to be confused with his contemporary Pere Berenguer, *iudex* and sacristan of Vic.

account in the comital court, that Ponç didn't even name them among those who were to assist when the count himself sat in judgement.

Although the *iudices* would remain in Catalonia through the early thirteenth century, their jurisdiction and identity had undergone considerable change since the ninth century. Pere de Corró, the lay *scriptor* whom Miró trained to serve as his assistant and deputy, was the first representative of what would become the public notariate, transforming not only testamentary culture, but many other aspects of business and letters in the next generation.

CHAPTER 4. THE TESTATORS AND THEIR SOCIETY

I. THE TESTATORS

A. Power and Status

In previous chapters the focus has been on the testamentary culture of Catalonia and Occitania in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian centuries, without specific exploration of the testators or their bequests. A legal and social testamentary tradition united the coastal areas of the Narbonnais and Catalonia, but was more diffuse farther afield, in the inland counties of Aragon, the Toulousain and the Auvergne. Certain elements were shared even as far afield as Castile and the Massif Central. Yet to dwell only on this aspect of the testamentary evidence is to miss its equally important role as a cache of information on a more direct sociological level. This collection of over three thousand documents bears directly on individual members of Catalano-Occitanian society, on their possessions and on their last desires. A sociological profile of the testators raises interesting and important questions about this society.

Three thousand thirty-four documents in the years 800-1200 treat 2,771 distinct testators, as 214 of these testators are documented in more than one charter.⁴⁵⁵ What can be said of the testators as a whole? The first, most obvious point is what the testamentary documents state directly about the identity of the testators: their names and titles. It has been shown in chapter 2 that the surviving pre-Carolingian testaments reflect a tiny, select group of testators, overwhelmingly skewed towards the episcopal clergy or the saintly founders of religious institutions.⁴⁵⁶ How does one describe the testators in the period 800 to 1200? Is their representation as skewed as in the pre-800 testamentary documentation?

⁴⁵⁵ For the functional implications of this overlapping documentation, see above, chapter 3.

⁴⁵⁶ The question whether this was a bias in the creation of documents or merely of their preservation remains unanswerable, although the pattern of institutional preservation hints at the latter.

Figures 4:1 and 4:2 show the partition of testators into three major categories: the clergy, the titled lay nobility, and others--those who are not labeled by any indication of quality or status. Figure 4:1 shows the frequency of persons identified as clergy and nobility from among all testators examined by decade, 800-1200. Figure 4:2 shows these identifications as percentages of all testators. The three basic categories of *potentes*, cleric, and unqualified individual are actually represented by five distinctions. In addition to three basic distinctions, another category includes those untitled persons whose names are distinguished by a toponymic (either in the form *de* plus ablative or as a genitive), indicating most usually the rank of castellan or some similar distinction; these people, often associated with important local dynasties, would come to be considered aristocrats, nobles, or *potentes*.⁴⁵⁷ Another distinction isolates prelates--bishops, abbots and abbesses--who usually are, in genealogical and in sociological terms, members at once of the and the clergy. In all cases notice has been taken of name and titles in subscriptions as well as identifications within the titulary or body of the text of the charter.⁴⁵⁸

In the absence of sophisticated demographic projections, it is difficult to guess what percentage of the actual population of Catalonia or Occitania were members of the clergy or of the aristocracy--however it was defined--in this period of repopulation and social change. Nevertheless, this sample of the population--the testators--may provide insights into these social groups.

⁴⁵⁷ For Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "une aristocratie nouvelle." *La Société laïque et l'Église*, p. 241.

⁴⁵⁸ It is beyond the scope of this study to make any claims as to the nature of an hereditary nobility or aristocracy. The use of the term "noble" in this study applies generally to *potentes*--powerful laypersons either in the comital, vicecomital or castellar aristocracy, or those who possessed some sort of discernible lordship. A titled, aristocratic "noble" can be simply identified by the presence of one or more of the following titles or adjectives: king/queen, count/countess, viscount/viscountess, *princeps*, *dominus* or *senior*, *miles* (if it clear from the context that the *miles* is not merely a humble soldier) or *nobilis*. Also included as titled nobility are those identified in the titulary as being in high ranks of service, such as vicars, seneschals or other comital agents. Finally, individuals who are not explicitly designated with this rank, but who are known to be members of the immediate family of those so designated, are also included in this rank group.

I. THE CLERGY

The number of clergy for whom testaments survive follows an interesting pattern. Beginning in the early tenth century, clerical testators rise to a peak frequency of approximately two per year in the eleventh century, (with peak numbers in the decades 1030-1070) and then taper off somewhat, ending at just over one per year in at the end of the twelfth century. In proportional terms, clerics account for twenty percent of testators in the tenth and eleventh century; the percentage then falls steadily to about five percent by the end of the twelfth century. The largest cause of decline in the percentage of clerical testators in the twelfth century is that more and more lay people are writing and preserving testaments, as can be seen from the absolute numbers in *Figure 4:1*. What is more puzzling is the reason why more clerical testators did not appear through the twelfth century, given the overall increase of testaments. In Catalonia and Aragon, the clergy expanded into the reconquered and resettled areas. Archbishops of the restored see of Tarragona appear as testators in the later twelfth century. Why wasn't this trend reflected in an overall increase in clerical testaments? Perhaps the penetration of the spirit of Gregorian reform served to limit the unfettered possession of property by clerics. A cleric who has inherited lands from his family only in life tenure, or who received only a share in communal property within a clerical community, would have no freedom to dispose of them on his own death.

Another observation about the nature of clerical testators should be made. With the exception of the ninth century, where the paucity of documents makes proportions unreliable, bishops and abbots constitute only a small percentage of the clerical testators. It is unclear whether this had been the case earlier, and testaments simply don't survive from the lower clergy from before the tenth century, or whether there had been a definite downward saturation of the practice of testament-writing during this period. At any rate, the tradition was developed enough among the clergy by the early tenth century to cover a fairly wide cross section.

2. *ARISTOCRACY*

The aristocracy is another important social presence reflected in the testaments. It must be emphasized immediately, however, that it is not the overwhelming presence, even in the early centuries. It might be expected that a large percentage of surviving testamentary documents, particularly of the earlier ones, belongs to *potentes*, who might reasonably be expected to have greater wealth, more complicated succession desires, readier access to scribal services, and simply a greater inclination to create written memorials of their bequests. Congruently, one might expect that, as more powerful or wealthy people might be expected to make more substantial pious bequests, the motivation and the zeal with which religious institutions would solicit and preserve these written testamentary memorials would be greater.

It is perhaps surprising, then, that the titled lay aristocracy is not as universally over-represented as it could be. Beginning the tenth century with disproportionate representation (25-30 percent) among the small number of surviving documents, the titled aristocracy tapers to about 15-percent representation through the eleventh century, with a frequency of one-and-a-half to two testators per year.⁴⁵⁹ In the twelfth century this frequency remains fairly constant, but the booming number of testators of lesser status squeezes the proportional representation of the high aristocracy to less than 10 percent by the year 1200.

The proportion of aristocratic testators has been affected by biases in document preservation as well as document creation. The *potentes* are proportionally greater among that portion of the collected documentation for which some selection has diminished the original source of charters. In Chapter 1 it was remarked how the French material used in this study has, by and large, been submitted to greater selection than the Catalanian

⁴⁵⁹ Antoni Udina i Abelló (*La successió*, pp. 66-69) found 40 percent of the testators examined (Catalonia through the year 1025) to be qualified with titles either as clerical or lay aristocracy. This higher figure can be accounted for because Udina did not include other testamentary documents, notably the executors' acts, in his sample--only full testaments or publication charters.

collections.⁴⁶⁰ *Figures 4:3* and *4:4* show the distribution of clergy and persons of quality among those testamentary documents from north of the Pyrenees. The aristocracy accounts for a consistently higher percentage, but the smaller number of documents overall has given the proportional data a greater deviation from decade to decade. In the 1110s, for example, 70 percent of the Occitan documents belong to aristocrats (including persons bearing a toponymic *cognomen*, while the overall percentage in that decade is only 20 percent (see *Figure 4:2*). While this discrepancy in the graphs seems to indicate the earlier adoption of the toponymic *cognomen* north of the Pyrenees, it is also affected by the vast difference in numbers (13 documents from Occitania; 135 overall). Clearly the archival and editorial selection of Occitanian documents has favored the preservation of documents from important and (toponymically) identifiable individuals over their untitled contemporaries.

The idea that aristocratic testators are somewhat over-represented in the testamentary documentation is further borne out by consideration of those testators for whom more than one testamentary document survives. In this group (213 testators), *Figures 4:5* and *4:6* indicate that titled aristocratic status is also considerably more frequent than among testators as a whole. This is true of Catalonian documents as well as Occitan: it is not due merely to the selection of modern editors and copyists and would lead one to believe that aristocratic documents were favored from the very start with a greater likelihood of archival preservation.

3. THE TOPONYMIC

The most remarkable aspect of the aristocracy in the tenth through twelfth centuries is the growth of the knightly class. Since Georges Duby described this phenomenon in the Mâconnais, the social change in this period has been of keen interest.⁴⁶¹ While in the

⁴⁶⁰ Notably the material present in the collections Baluze, Doat and Moreau have all suffered by some sort of selection which appears to have favored the nobility.

⁴⁶¹ Georges Duby, *La société aux X^e et XI^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, and his revision of this analysis in "Lineage, nobility and knighthood. The Mâconnais in the twelfth century: a revision," in *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan (Berkeley, 1980), pp. 59-80.

Catalonian and Occitan testamentary documentation the identification of a person principally as *miles* is strikingly rare (twenty cases found between the years 1000 and 1200), one other indicator of status, the use of a toponymic surname, can be clearly seen in the testamentary documentation.⁴⁶² After sporadic appearance in the late tenth century (as shown in *Figure 4:1*), this practice seemed to catch on in the eleventh century, then grow steadily through the twelfth century.

Who uses toponymic *cognomens*? It seems apparent from the documents that, before the practice spreads in the later twelfth century, they are most often people with relatively high status, either castellans in the service of a superior lord (a count, for example), or as regional lords themselves. In the twelfth century many vicecomital families took on this sort of identification.⁴⁶³ A famous counterexample in the application of toponymic cognomens is the dynasty of the Ermengols, counts of Urgell. Each count received, posthumously, a unique geographic nickname, associated not with any patrimonial estate but with the place in which he met his death.⁴⁶⁴ However, this posthumous chroniclers' usage should be distinguished from usage by the individuals themselves.

4. TELLING FROM THE DOCUMENTS

Social status can be implicit in the text of the charter without being expressly indicated in the naming of the testator. It appears that individuals of considerable status, but

⁴⁶² The use of *miles* seemed rather more frequent in Duby's source material. "Lineage, nobility and knighthood," pp. 75-79. Although he discussed the distinction between toponymic *cognomens* and other sorts, Duby does not pursue the implications of the toponymic: that of implied power in a certain district. "Lineage, nobility and knighthood," p. 60. The Catalan reluctance to adopt the term *miles* is noted by Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation, 900-1200*, tr. Caroline Higgitt (New York, 1991), pp. 98-99. Neither does the suggested synonym, *caballarius*, appear qualifying authors of charters in Catalonia (at least not of testaments).

⁴⁶³ For example, the Catalan viscounts of Berguedà, Siarb/Vilamur, Cardona, Barcelona-la Guardia, etc. For a discussion of the adoption of toponymic surnames in Pallars, see Martínez i Teixidó, *Les Famílies nobles del Pallars*, pp. 49-50.

⁴⁶⁴ Several of them died in battle. For the nicknames, see the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium: textos llatí i català*, ed. Lluís Barrau Dihigo and Jaume Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925), particularly cap. viii, pp. 11-12.

who were not vested with any *honor* of public authority (e.g. with comital or vicecomital status), simply used their given name (and possibly patronymic cognomens) in charters.⁴⁶⁵ There were no formulaic differences in testamentary protocols to distinguish these powerful individuals from their humbler namesakes. The scribal tradition seems to have been quite democratic in this regard, until the introduction of the toponymic *cognomen* provided easier means to distinguish the *potentiores*. Despite this handicap, the dispositive elements of testaments provide some indications of status in the description of the possessions of the testator. The possession of castles by many who bear no more than a simple name in the earlier period (tenth-early eleventh century) seems to show that the precursors (if not the actual ancestors) of the knightly or castellan class are represented in the documentation in this category as simple people, not labeled by any distinguishing *cognomen* or title.⁴⁶⁶ Casting an eye on the areas in *Figure 4:1* distinguishing singly-named testators from those who bore a toponymic *cognomen* will show that the toponym-bearers increase at the expense of the singly-named individuals, and are no doubt part of the same social group; that is, some of the people without any identifying titles in the earlier period, are equivalent to (and no doubt ancestors of) those in the later period who did bear toponymic cognomens. For example, one Rodlan Ramon, lord of at least one castle, who had his own *milites* and *castellani* serving under him in his testamentary documents of 1095-1096, was not distinguished by any indication of rank in the protocols of his testament or codicil.⁴⁶⁷ No doubt his grandchildren would bear a toponymic *cognomen*.

⁴⁶⁵ For an analysis of the unqualified use of a simple name in Pallars, see Martínez i Teixidó, *Les Families nobles del Pallars*, pp. 40, 68 (chart 2).

⁴⁶⁶ In contrast, however, some with titles of service (vicars) could be assumed to be the ancestors of minor lords with no such titles. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier notes the case of two Bernards, one the vicar of Alzonne in 918, and the other, Bernard-Odalric, probably a descendant, who exercised equivalent lordship in the same locale around 1036, but who was identified only as a *miles*. *La société laïque et l'Église*, pp. 242-244.

⁴⁶⁷ *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, nos. 142 (testament, 11 March 1095) and 149 (codicil, 1096/7). The codicil is distinguished by Alturo i Perucho as the earliest occurrence of *miles* in the Santa Anna documentation.

A consideration of the material possessions of such unqualified testators shows that many of those with no titles or other indications of rank clearly belong among the aristocracy. Udina i Abelló, examining his 110 Catalan testaments from before the year 1025, decided that 92 percent of the testators should be considered noble (he admits using a broad definition), even though only 40 percent of them actually bore some indication of high status when named in the documents.⁴⁶⁸ Unfortunately, it is not always possible to make a clear decision about the status of testators whose testamentary documentation is fragmentary or less explicit about the nature of possessions in land.

The point must also be made that indications of status such as titles of count or viscount, or even toponymic cognomens (or other cognomens for that matter) were not always consistently attributed to individuals in their charters. Count Miró the Younger of Cerdanya and Besalú is not referred to as *comes* in his testament of 925.⁴⁶⁹ A corollary is the possibility that titles, for whatever reason, might be somewhat inflated in some documents: the same Miró was uncharacteristically called *marchio* in two documents of 921; the title *marchio* being normally used only to distinguish the count of Barcelona (the frontier pagus), or the other successors of the ninth-century dukedoms of Gothia, Septimania, or Toulouse.⁴⁷⁰

⁴⁶⁸ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, pp. 66-69.

⁴⁶⁹ Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 88-90. The document only survives in Bofarull's transcription with ellipses; the subscription could very well have been that of Miró *comitis*.

⁴⁷⁰ *Cartoral dit de Carlemany*, i, nos. 31 and 32 (25 February 921). Note that a similar informal use of *marchio* appears elsewhere in the late tenth and early eleventh century, notably among the Amelii, the "dynastie puissante et énigmatique" of the Lèze reconstructed by Paul Ourliac in the introduction to the *Cartulaire de Lézat*, pp. xlvi-xlvii. Two similar examples are noted by Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier: Raimond-Guilhem, probably one of the sons of Guilhem-Raimond, count in part of Carcassonne, is called *marchio prepotentissimus* in a charter of Mas d'Azil of ca. 1030, and Bernard Pelet, lord of Anduze, is called *marchio* in a charter of 1013. *La Société laïque et l'Église*, pp. 241, 254. Ramon d'Abadal discusses the use of *marchio* and *princeps* by others in Catalonia (even the viscounts of Barcelona) in *Els primers comtes catalans* (3d ed., Barcelona, 1980), pp. 307-311. He also notes that certain Catalan counts called themselves (and were called by the king) *dux*.

5. WILLS AND STATUS

The major problem with the technique of deducing the status of a testator from the goods he or she bequeaths is that, of course, many testaments represent only a fraction of the goods of the testators' possessions. This may be understood in one of several ways.

First, we have seen that many testamentary documents are meant explicitly to convey bequests to one beneficiary: this was Dorothy Whitelock's criterion for calling a document a "bequest" rather than an omnibus testament. Many of these single bequests are also preserved through the executors' acts, which also include the transmission of goods to one specific beneficiary, usually a religious institution. Only sometimes, it seems, is it to be understood that the goods so bequeathed constitute the entire estate of the testator.

Additionally, we have seen that some testaments which contain several bequests are also not complete for various reasons. The practice of penning dual testaments, one with pious bequests and one with familial legacies, has meant that in several cases only one of these two companion documents survives, giving a deficient picture either of an individual's family heirs (as is the case if only the "pious" testament survives) or of his piety (if only the familial one does). Related to this scenario is that in which a testator makes separate alienations of property at or around the same time as he pens his testament. In some cases, these separate acts are mentioned and confirmed in the testament "sicut resonat in ipsa carta..." but it is also clear that often these acts were wholly separate. Some examples survive of pious donations, or even of donations *inter vivos* within the family, concluded around the same time as the testament. Of all the different functional options for the alienation of personal property, it is not surprising that combinations of different types (donations outright and testaments) should be found in surviving documentation. It is probable that similar acts existed for many of the testators for whom we now only possess a single testament. In this case there is no way to predict how much, or what sort of under-reporting of property occurs among the collected documents as a whole.

In yet another scenario, what purports to be an omnibus testament, with both lay (familial) and clerical bequests, might actually have an incomplete listing of lands. In the tenth century, for example, there is evidence that counts transmitted their comital honors to heirs in a forum that was wholly distinct from the testamentary tradition. It is unclear whether the lands which belonged with those honors--the public fisc--were also transmitted by testament, or were acknowledged to be separate and to accompany the succession of the *honor*.⁴⁷¹

B. Gender: the Paucity of Female Testators

We have seen in this section an overview of the social makeup of the testators, apparent largely, but not uniquely, in the clauses with which they identified themselves. An important determinant or element of status is gender. Women--represented in this study by female testators as well as beneficiaries and family members--form a distinct social group.⁴⁷²

Women make up overall twenty percent of the testators in Catalan, Aragonese and Occitanian documents examined in the period 800-1200: 495 out of 2365 non-clerical testators. This includes 107 documents which are joint testaments, but in which one of the parties is a woman. Ninety-seven of these are joint documents of husband-and-wife pairs. Nine are documents of a mother and one or more children, and one involves a brother, sister and brother-in-law (and is not strictly a testament but a donation *reservato usufructu*). Another thirteen joint documents include pairs of men: 5 father-son groups, 4 pairs of brothers, and 4 other documents in which the relation is unspecified.

⁴⁷¹ Examples include Miró of Cerdanya, whose surviving testament only deals with bastard children; those who inherited his comital honors are not explicitly endowed in the same (or in any surviving) document. In contrast, the testament of Gausfred of Empúries-Roussillon endows allodial lands on his sons explicitly to accompany the gift of comital honors, which has not been done yet at the time of the testament. For fuller discussion of both these examples in context, see below, pp. 176-177, 180.

⁴⁷² A very good, unpublished study of female testaments and female testators in Catalonia from the ninth century through 1135 has been written: Nuria Jornet, *Ego Femina* (cit. above, n. 21).

Twenty percent of all women who appear as testators do so in joint testaments with their husbands (and a few others with their sons). This is unsurprising given the tradition of the Roman testamentary form *ius liberorum*, in which spouses jointly create their testament, specifying the surviving spouse as heir in the event that no children survive.⁴⁷³

What can be learned from the under-representation of women as testators? Comparison of the percentage of female testators in different social strata, different periods, and different areas within the documents studied reveals little concrete variation. The percentage of women testators seems to vary following a curve (see *Figures 4:7* and *4:8*), with peaks in the mid tenth century (930s-970s), and again in the early eleventh century (1030s). It falls slightly in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, but it seems on the rise again in the late twelfth century, and enters the thirteenth century at close to 25 percent.

When one separates aristocratic testators from non-noble ones, a striking phenomenon emerges: among the aristocracy, female testators are generally less frequent than among the ranks of the non-noble (often around or under 15 percent).⁴⁷⁴ The percentage of aristocratic female testators seems to bottom out in the early twelfth century (averaging 8 percent in the 1110s through 1160s) and then finally to recover, closing out the century with over 20 percent again. See *Figures 4:9-10* and *Figures 4:11-12* for frequency and percentage of male/female testators distinguished by aristocratic *versus* non-noble status.

There are two possible explanations for the overall lesser frequency of female testators identifiable as of the aristocracy. The first factor has to do with proper identification of the testators in the documents. Lydia Martínez Teixidó, in studying the name components of women in documents from eleventh- and twelfth-century Pallars, has pointed out the common patterns for identifying a woman in a document: often simply by name, or with reference to her quality (as a *domina*, for example), or by reference to her family or her

⁴⁷³ See chapter 2 for the survival of this testamentary form into the Middle Ages.

⁴⁷⁴ In two distinct periods, however, female testators are more frequent in the nobility than not: the mid tenth century (950's through 970's) and the early eleventh (1010's through 1030's)

husband.⁴⁷⁵ One possible result of the number of women, even from very powerful families, who are only identified in the documents by their given name, is that they may be under-reported as aristocrats. It must also be considered, however, that this is a likely fate for many noble men as well, at least in the period before the widespread use of the toponymic *cognomen*.

Another explanation is that aristocratic women were for some reasons less likely to make testaments than women of a somewhat lower stratum. A provocative possible explanation is that the freedom of women to direct the succession of patrimonial property was more restricted with the development of feudal dynasties in the highest classes. The work of Nuria Jornet with female testaments in the eleventh and early twelfth century suggests that many women exercised direct control, if not always over patrimonial allods and fiefs, often at least over moveable goods to be distributed both as pious legacies and as bequests to family members and devoted retainers.⁴⁷⁶ Perhaps this freedom was somewhat restricted in higher ranks of nobility--a restriction which was to trickle down into other social strata in generations after 1200.

Whatever the ultimate cause of this distinction, the general under-representation of women of all ranks as testators remains obvious, and reflects their disadvantaged position with respect to property throughout these centuries of "feudal revolution." Widows and married heiresses (wives with landed property) appear frequently. Less frequent is the appearance of a married woman or widow who has no landed property of her own. Countess Ermessend of Barcelona was fabulously rich, and her two testamentary documents distribute a fortune in gold (plus a few other sundry items); the only piece of property mentioned is a piece of land in which she had some interest as a result of some financial

⁴⁷⁵ Martínez i Teixidó, *Les Famílies nobles del Pallars*, pp. 41, 70 (chart 6).

⁴⁷⁶ Jornet, *Ego Femina*, particularly the section "¿Que?" detailing her typological analysis of women's bequests. In a related idea, Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, p. 89, observes that certain types of moveable goods--clothing and fabrics--seem to be left more often explicitly to daughters than to sons. Together this might suggest an identification of certain material spheres as "female" in ownership.

transaction.⁴⁷⁷ One must assume that most widows in her familial position (not her financial one), with only moveable goods to distribute, would not see the need--or have the opportunity--to create written testaments.

II. THE TESTATOR'S FAMILY

A. The Testator and Others in the Testament

The beneficiaries of a will generally fall into three categories: explicitly identified relatives of the testator, other individuals not identified as related, and religious institutions or their representatives.⁴⁷⁸ The composition of these groups most favored in a given will depends on the circumstance of the testators, *i.e.*, whether they left any living descendants or immediate family members; whether they were members of a religious community, or whether they had many debts to discharge or much wealth to distribute.⁴⁷⁹ Overall the most important of these groups is that of explicitly identified family members.

The family context is of course one of the most important panes of the testamentary window on society. The testament is first and foremost a family document, insofar as it prescribes the desires of a person either for the continuity of his or her possessions within the family, or for the alienation of possessions from the family. In either case (and usually there is some of each) the document may tell a great deal about the structure of the family and the obligations of one person (the testator) toward it. For this reason, as well as for their use as *pièces justificatives* in the reconstruction of genealogical information, scholars have always

⁴⁷⁷ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, nos. 490 (25 September 1057) and 491 (26 February 1058).

⁴⁷⁸ In the case of an individual beneficiary who is a religious, it is often difficult to distinguish the motive of the bequest: is it alms--that is, strictly a pious donation to a selected representative of the church--or is it a bequest arising from some other social relationship (if the religious were a relative or close friend of the testator)? In many cases one might assume both to be true.

⁴⁷⁹ See chapter 5 for discussion of pious bequests. For discharge of credit and debts in testaments, see chapter 6.

kept a sharp eye out for the concrete identification of family members or kinsmen of the author in testaments as well as in other types of private charters.

I. ECCLESIASTICAL PROVENANCE AND THE FAMILY

The earliest surviving Catalanian and Occitanian archives are nearly all ecclesiastical, not familial, in origin. Ecclesiastical archives, particularly with their preponderance of acts of donation, endowments, and bequests, were most often designed to document the church's patrimony--*i.e.*, to defend the alienation of land or other goods from an individual's or a family's possession to that of the church. Those bequests, donations, and sales which survive in religious archives therefore tend to be those which break the chain of family ownership.

The Church was strongly interested in soliciting such donations and in preserving the records of successful acquisitions. This instinct is seen in the Ripoll formulary (among other formularies originating in monastic centers), in which formulae for private charters of donation and testaments are inserted along with explicitly monastic formulae--letters of different kinds. The confection of uniform, defensible donation charters and testaments would surely serve the interests of the monastic patrimony. Careful documentation of such acquisitions was important because, as exceptions to the norm of familial inheritance, they may have been opposed.⁴⁸⁰

Given the almost universal ecclesiastical provenance it is no accident that virtually all the surviving testaments contain at least one bequest to a religious institution. This fact does not, however, preclude the possibility of tracing family members and possessions from generation to generation through their testaments. The material preserved in the ecclesiastical archives documents, incidentally, the continuity of certain families, and can aid

⁴⁸⁰ As indeed they were. Bastier, "le testament", pp. 391-2 and nn. 138-9, cites two cases of wills having been negligently lost or fraudulently withheld from publication and execution by (presumably disgruntled) kinsmen. See also Salrach, "Formació, organització i defensa del domini de Sant Cugat," particularly pp. 150-151 and 165-166, for discussion of Sant Cugat's defense of the monastic patrimony gained through donation and bequest.

both genealogical reconstruction and historical analysis. That a collection of charters yields continuous familial information--for example, a series of wills or donations through which one can trace a family through several generations--is incidental.

Despite the fear that pious bequests, since they served to alienate wealth from the family, could be considered to run counter to familial interests, it should be understood that pious donation and bequest could be beneficial, not only to the individual (whose soul would benefit thereby) but to the family of the testator as well.⁴⁸¹ Even if there were no economic payback (for example in increased or reaffirmed influence over some ecclesiastical institution), the spiritual benefits of a pious bequest might benefit the family equally or more than if the same wealth were simply handed down. "I have done this for you," the rich countess Ermessend said to her grandson, count Ramon Berenguer I, enjoining him to honor her testament with sixty-four pious bequests to monasteries, chapters, bishops, nuns and the poor:

... rogo enim vos, et precor domnum Raimundum comitem, nepotem meum, simul cum domna Almodis, comitissa, coniuge vestra, per Deum et Sancta Maria, matris eius, et per Sanctum Petrum Apostolum et per omnes Sanctos, et moneo ut magnam curam habeatis de mea anima, et ista causa vel elemosina adducatis ad perfectionem et adducere faciatis, quia Deus scit quod plus vos dilexi et amavi quam alium de vestra gente, *et in hoc potestis cognoscere quod per vos feci.*⁴⁸²

Thus even an extravagantly pious testament can be a family document, even if the intention of many of these documents (or of one or more of the bequests they contain) is to alienate some or all of the patrimony of the testator in favor of a religious or other extra-familial beneficiary.

⁴⁸¹ Social historians have deplored the damaging effects of pious generosity (particularly gifts of land) in the weakening of dynastic strength. This charge derives from the complaint leveled against Charles the Bald by Jan Dhondt, in *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France, IX^e - X^e siècles* (Bruges, 1948), pp. 28-29, referring to the weakening of the *fisc* through the beneficence of *fideles*. The model for the loss of power and wealth has been applied as well to excessive piety and lack of foresight in the feudal revolution.

⁴⁸² Testament of countess Ermessind, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 490 (25 September 1057).

2. FAMILY MEMBERS

Within a testament, members of the testator's family can appear in any of three roles: as testamentary executors, as witnesses or subscribers, or as beneficiaries. Udina i Abelló's study found that in over half of his testaments family members participated as executors.⁴⁸³ However, admitting the difficulty in determining the links of those who are not specifically named as relatives (which often appears the case even when a relationship can be inferred from other evidence) there was probably a rather higher percentage of documents in which at least one relative is one of the executors.

The testamentary executors and witnesses each have a certain legal responsibility to ensure compliance with the testament. The role of witnesses in the publication ceremony has already been discussed, as has the role of testamentary executors in the transmission of the legacies to the beneficiaries.⁴⁸⁴ In both these roles, it is logical to expect that a testator, particularly one who contemplated the alienation of some patrimonial property as a pious legacy, would seek to ensure compliance by engaging persons other than those who might logically be expected to seek to subvert the bequest--his children or closest blood relatives. That having been said, it also appears quite common that one of the executors is a close family member--often a man's wife or a woman's husband, a child or a sibling.⁴⁸⁵ Rarely (only in a couple of documents in which only one executor is named) does it appear that only close relatives of the testator are executors. The normal practice (which might be shown to be even more frequent if identities were better known) seems to be that one close relative and other non-related people are appointed together as executors. No doubt for similar reasons the testament was generally drafted with persons other than family members as witnesses.

⁴⁸³ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, pp. 137-8.

⁴⁸⁴ See above, chapter 3. Of course, this point remains problematic.

⁴⁸⁵ For Catalonia in the period before 1025, see Udina i Abelló, p. 137 and n. 15.

With the deterioration of the role of the executor in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, children of testators assumed (or reassumed) a more direct role in the transmission of legacies, particularly in the execution (donation/confirmation) of pious or extra-familial bequests. Extra-familial executors were still named, but their role seems to have been reduced to approximate the passive overseership exercised by the witnesses.

Stephen D. White has shown, with his work on the *laudatio parentum*, both the importance of the kin groups who participate in private legal acts, and the potential error of investing the groups of kin who appear in such charters with too much meaning.⁴⁸⁶ His unwillingness to define strict rules for kin participation in the *laudatio* suggests the common-sense idea that, as each extended family has its own unique shape, and as the succession of land holding is also unique in each case, one must seek not for anthropological patterns, but rather for a general understanding of how property, particularly land, passes within and between families from generation to generation.

While family members might appear as executors and witnesses, often their relation to the testator is not explicitly stated--it must be deduced from other corroborating evidence. For example, executors who are spouses or children are often also named as beneficiaries, and it is normally only as beneficiaries that their relationship to the testator is stated. In fact, virtually all explicit identification of the testator's family members is found only among the bequests of the testament itself--and thus only if the testator has any family members who are beneficiaries. Udina i Abelló's study shows the importance of the nuclear family: when spouses and children are present, the bequests to the spouses and/or children outnumber bequests to other relatives by nearly ten to one, and bequests to individuals not named as relatives by five to one.⁴⁸⁷ On the other hand, it has already been remarked how the

⁴⁸⁶ Stephen D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: the Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (Chapel Hill, 1988).

⁴⁸⁷ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, Apèndix II, Quadre 1, pp. 325-6. Ratios are based on a numerical total of the bequests which are cited by document number in Udina's table.

presence of a testament which bears only pious legacies does not preclude the existence of surviving children, who may have been endowed in a separate document (a testament, a *donatio inter vivos*, or perhaps some sort of investiture or association ceremony, if the inheritance involved a comital honor).

B. Patrimonial Succession and Partition: the House of Guifred

Perhaps the best way to illustrate the importance of testaments in a familial context is to choose as an example one extended family, and examine the transfer of property, power, and inheritance from generation to generation as manifested in surviving testamentary documents from that family. In addition to providing concrete evidence for genealogical reconstruction or rectification, testaments reflect the immediate, contemporary dynamic of a family, at very important moments: the moment of transition of property and *honor* from testator to heir.

Based on the surviving testamentary documentation, and on our ability to identify and relate individuals named as testators and beneficiaries in these documents, one family has far outstripped all others in the volume of testamentary documentation which survives from the period 800 to 1200: the comital family of the counts of Barcelona and its many collateral relatives throughout the region.

Catalonia and Languedoc was the arena for a centuries-long rivalry among a small group of powerful extended families who jockeyed for control of this vast collection of counties. The major families were the counts of Barcelona (believed to descend from the ninth-century counts of Carcassonne), the counts of Toulouse/Rouergue, the counts of Foix/Comminges (also connected with the house of Carcassonne), the counts of Melgueil (who had lost their power to vicecomital and seigneurial families by the eleventh century), and the coastal vicecomital families of Nîmes/Béziers and of Narbonne.⁴⁸⁸ The most

⁴⁸⁸ On these families and their rivalries see, for example, Higounet, "Un grand chapitre," and Cheyette, "The 'Sale' of Carcassonne." Other houses are less well served by dynastic studies. See

extensive of these families was probably that of the counts of Barcelona and their *consanguinei* in the Catalan counties, all of whom traced descent from Guifred the Hairy, his uncles and cousins.⁴⁸⁹ And indeed, considering the dynastic intermarriages which occurred between all these groups at different times, the descendants of Guifred and his cousins came ultimately to embrace portions of nearly all these dynasties. It is this descentance which will be the focus of this portion of the study, an inquiry into the testamentary transfer of power and inheritance from generation to generation.

I. THE FEUDAL REVOLUTION AND THE NOBLE FAMILY

Because the family which most readily lends itself to extended scrutiny through testaments is such a powerful one (and this is, of course, no coincidence), the focus of inquiry, particularly as it relates to those possessions and status handed down in testamentary succession within this family, embraces some of the fundamental aspects of social domination in this period--the period of social changes which has been called the "feudal revolution."⁴⁹⁰

The "feudal revolution" is a term used to cover a complicated bundle of transformations--some undoubtedly considerably more gradual than revolutionary. The role of the aristocratic or comital family in this period of change can be inferred by considering a series of transformations in family structure and family economy attendant on the broader social changes of the feudal revolution. A basic set of social and economic changes may be

Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, *La Société laïque et l'Église*, pp. 232-240, for a brief discussion of these families in the tenth-century context.

⁴⁸⁹ Although the immediate family of Guifred remains in dispute (see below) I am for purposes of this study provisionally accepting the orthodox reconstruction of Guifred's family proposed by Ramon d'Abadal. See below for discussion of alternative theories. Note that Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier tentatively suggested kinship between the counts of Toulouse and the vicecomital houses of Béziers and Narbonne; similar suggestions for the viscounts of Albi-Nîmes have also been made. If true this would bring the extended clan of the counts of Toulouse more on a par with the size of the rival clan of the counts of Carcassonne-Barcelona. At any rate, the accepted extended family of the counts of Barcelona produced far more surviving testaments.

⁴⁹⁰ For a recent assessment of the validity of this term and the debates it has engendered, see T. N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past & Present* cxlii (1994), 6-42.

summarized as a disintegration of publicly conceived (Carolingian or older) power structures and social institutions in favor of proprietary lordship exercised by individuals--either as succession to the old, comital and vicecomital *honores*, or in the form of new lordships organized around and supported by the castle system. This change allowed the new counts and viscounts to think of their offices (*honores*), jurisdictions and fiscal lands as private property; allowed them to separate the fiscal lands (now allodial possessions) from the original *honor* to which they had pertained; and allowed them to alienate these lands, jurisdictions and *honores* as they saw fit, piecemeal or wholesale, through inheritance, donation or subinfeudation.⁴⁹¹

Accompanying these social transformations are changes more directly relevant to those families exercising power during this period. First, the establishment of familial succession to *honores* in the place of royal appointment brought a measure of self-determination to these noble families which had previously relied on their relationship with the royal court. Subsequently, the families experimented with co-lordship (or partition of lordship) in successive generations, seeking to provide for multiple heirs.⁴⁹² Finally, in the wake of competition with neighboring lords, the families had to abandon co-lordship in favor of a vertical, dynastic structure of succession, favoring primogeniture and/or indivisible inheritance (or at least a substantial *melioratio*, or prejudicially high share to one child over others).

A by-product of this familial reorientation is the evolution of a new conception of family among the nobility: a vertical conception of dynasty deriving from some dynastic founder. In the twelfth century, the memory of this vertical family, as expressed in the

⁴⁹¹ For a restatement and review of the “devolution of public order” thesis, see Poly and Bournazel, *The Feudal Transformation*, chapter 1, pp. 9-45.

⁴⁹² In addition to the Catalan cases among Guifred’s descendants discussed below, additional examples are noted in discussion of this phenomenon by Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 208 (Pallars and Ribagorça), 210 (Angoulême-Perigord), and 352 (Carcassonne, Anduze).

contemporary dynastic genealogical literature, stretched back several generations to the edge of the Carolingian period of collegial, royally-appointed countship, just far enough to evoke a “foundation” of a dynasty, with the first count who settled permanently in a given *pagus*.

This is the story, for example, of Baldwin “Iron-Arm,” founder of a long comital dynasty in Flanders, who abducted as his wife the widowed daughter of Emperor Charles the Bald, and whose grandson was self-consciously given the Carolingian family name Arnulf.⁴⁹³ It is also true of Guifred “the Hairy,” of Barcelona, given the role of founder of his dynasty in the twelfth-century *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*. It is instructive to examine the validity of these trends in dynastic consciousness and behavior with reference to Guifred’s posterity, considering the evidence of surviving testaments as supplementary and perhaps corrective to the official twelfth-century family history embodied in the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*.

George Duby’s pioneering studies of the nature of the nobility and dynastic consciousness date from the 1960s.⁴⁹⁴ His interest in contemporary genealogical literature to probe the consciousness of the medieval noble family has been sustained.⁴⁹⁵ Arguably the most elaborate example of the 12th-century genealogical narrative genre has not been discussed in the French tradition of analysis of these documents: the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*, of which the earliest redaction is a twelfth-century history of the counts of Barcelona from Guifred the Hairy through Ramon Berengar IV.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹³ Georges Duby, “French Genealogical Literature,” in *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Cynthia Postan, (Berkeley, 1980; orig. pub. 1967), pp. 149-157, at p. 153. For surviving tenth- and eleventh-century genealogies of the counts of Flanders, see *MGH, Scriptores*, ix (Hanover, 1851) pp. 302-336.

⁴⁹⁴ Duby, “French Genealogical Literature,” mentions his Paris seminar with participants focusing on various aspects of the question.

⁴⁹⁵ For example, in the review essay by Dominique Barthélemy, “Kinship,” in *A History of Private Life*, vol. ii: *Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby (trans. Arthur Goldhammer) (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 85-155. Other recent review essays include Constance Bouchard, “Family structure and family consciousness among the aristocracy in the ninth to eleventh centuries,” *Francia* xiv (1986), 639-658; and T. N. Bisson, “Nobility and Family in Medieval France: a Review Essay,” *French Historical Studies* xvi (1990), 597-613.

⁴⁹⁶ *Gesta comitum barcinonensium* (cit. above, n. 464).

2. DYNASTIC GENEALOGY: THE HOUSE OF GUIFRED

The genealogical table appended as *Figure 4:13* shows the principal descendants of Guifred the Hairy, as well as collateral descendants (descendants of Guifred's presumed brothers and uncles), in eleven generations to the year 1200.⁴⁹⁷

The chart, featuring nearly one hundred names, treats only descendants in the male line, noting matrilineal descents only collectively--the counts of Pallars, the viscounts of Narbonne, the viscounts of Barcelona, Cardona, and Bas, and (through two or more matrilineal connections) the counts of Toulouse, Melgueil and Lodève, the viscounts of Béziers and Millau, and the Trencavels. The multiple interconnections of many of these lines can not be successfully shown on a one-page table; neither can the descendants in more remote localities, the progeny of exogamous marriages of heiresses (or, in the case of the counts of Forcalquier, of heirs).⁴⁹⁸

Consideration of the genealogy as a whole, particularly in the early generations, shows the house of Guifred to be a classic example of the collegial domination of a cluster of Carolingian *pagi*. The extent of the areas under control of Guifred's immediate successors may be listed: in addition to Barcelona (the remotest frontier *pagus* in the original Carolingian political division of the Spanish march), there are the bishoprics of Girona,

⁴⁹⁷ The principal tabular sources for the chart include Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Jalons pour une enquête"; the fullest tables of the viscounts of Narbonne and the progeny of Roger the Old of Carcassonne (including the Trencavels) are those of Armand de Fluvià to be found in the *Gran enciclopèdia catalana* (Barcelona, 1970-86) at articles *Carcasona* and *Narbona*; tables of the dynasties of Toulouse, Melgueil, Montpellier, Urgell/Forcalquier, Peralada/Rocabertí, and many other collaterally related dynasties are available in *Europäische Stammtafeln: Stammtafeln zur Geschichte der europäischen Staaten*, new series, ed. Detlev Schwennicke, 15 vols. in 18 parts (Marburg, 1978-). Note that these purely tabular sources can only be used as a basis for presentation of data and do not, generally, reflect the most up-to-date critical analyses of the dynasties in question, particularly regarding debated alliances and descents.

⁴⁹⁸ For an extremely exogamic example, Ademar of Chabannes attests to the marriage of a daughter of count Ramon Borrell of Barcelona (and Ermessend of Carcassonne) to Roger, a Norman adventurer (*dux*) (Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Jalons pour une enquête...", pp. 292-293). Anglo-Norman scholars have traditionally identified him as Roger de Tosny, whose widow subsequently married Richard, count of Evreux (as reflected, for example, in *Europäische Stammtafeln*, ii, table 79 and iii, table 705). If true this would make her (ironically) a great-great-great grandmother of Simon de Montfort, leader of the Albigensian crusade and devastator of Languedoc.

Osona, and Urgell, with their cities and *pagi*, as well as the mountain lands of Cerdanya and Besalú, and the valleys of Berguedà. Above the Pyrenees, the Conflent and Vallespir were linked by the mountain passes to their southern neighbors Cerdanya and Besalú. The coastal *pagi* of Empúries, Peralada and Roussillon, with the bishopric of Elne, were long controlled by families descended from cousins of Guifred, and thus were somewhat less narrowly linked to the main clan (although periodic intermarriages kept these ties close).⁴⁹⁹ The more northerly *pagi* of Carcassonne and Rasès were also more distantly linked from the earliest generations by descendants of uncles and cousins of Guifred. Increasingly, the other *pagi* of the Narbonnais came under the control of Guifred's descendants, as intermarriages spread outward in widening concentric circles to embrace Narbonne, then Toulouse, and eventually all the major dynasties from Toulouse to Nîmes and even into Provence.

The data contained in *Figure 4:13* are compiled from the most current tabular and investigative sources detailing the genealogy of these dynasties. What is new is the compilation of the information from testamentary documents, many of which remain unpublished. It can be seen from the chart that a high proportion of people named on chart left wills. The sixty-six *italicized* individuals left testaments or ancillary testamentary documents; as many as fifty other descendants of Guifred the Hairy before the year 1200 left such documents which survive. Although in some cases the surviving documents (executions of pious legacies, for example) reveal little about the desires for familial succession, the majority of these people left testaments with at least some indication of familial order.

⁴⁹⁹ It must be noted that late ninth- and early tenth-century rivalry between Empúries and Girona has remained enigmatic. One recent study, Ramon Martí Castelló's doctoral thesis, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, contains a provocative alternative reconstruction of the immediate family of Guifred the Hairy, based on documents from the Gironès, which would link Guifred more closely with the counts of Empúries (as a son of count Dela). At the very least the question of Guifred's parentage and cousinage must not be considered closed.

3. DYNASTIC MYTH AND REALITY: THE *GESTA COMITUM BARCINONENSIVM*

It is instructive to compare the dynastic genealogy as currently reconstructed with traditional accounts of the family. Retrospectively speaking, the dynasty of the counts of Barcelona has been famous for eight centuries. The earliest extant narrative record of the family is the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*, begun, probably by a monk at Ripoll, in the 1160s, and relating the history of the family (in the male line) from the rise to power of Guifred the Hairy through the death of Ramon Berenguer IV in 1162 and the succession of Alfons I as king of Aragon and count of Barcelona.⁵⁰⁰ It begins with a fabulous legend about Guifred, involving treachery and exile, fosterage in a far-away land, and an eventual ascent to power, when after long separation Guifred was recognized by his mother “by virtue of the fact that he was hairy in certain places not normally so covered in men.”

Guifred’s legend in the *Gesta* also contains a justification of sovereignty of the counts of Barcelona: in return for expelling the Saracens with his own resources, Guifred received the *honor barcinonensis ... in perpetuum*.⁵⁰¹ The *Gesta* clearly states “Ecce quomodo de potestate regali in manus nostrorum comitum Barchinonensium honor ipse Barchinonensis devenit.” Following this political foundation legend in the *Gesta* is a discussion of Guifred’s progeny, relating how the several *pagi* of the march that Guifred controlled were divided and ruled among his sons and grandsons in the tenth century.

The author of the *Gesta* treats only briefly the cadet branches of Guifred’s descendance, consciously awarding pride of place to the counts of Barcelona themselves:

Sinamus autem loqui adhuc de generatione comitum Bisillunensium vel Urgellensium, quorum alter initium fuit Oliba Cabreta, alter vero Ermengaudus Cordubensis, et exponamus primitus de generatione comitum Barchinonensium, quorum dignior et longior posteritas adhuc perseverat.⁵⁰²

⁵⁰⁰ *Gesta comitum barcinonensium* (cited above, n. 464).

⁵⁰¹ Although this incident may retain some reflection of the frontier troubles of the late ninth century (Guifred was killed in such a Muslim incursion), it seems more probable that it reflects events of 985 (the sack of Barcelona by the Muslims), in which case the attribution to Guifred’s reign is entirely fanciful.

⁵⁰² *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*, chapter iii (p. 6).

Clearly the objective is to exalt and support the Barcelona branch of the family, which had re-absorbed some of these other counties in the early 12th century, when Ramon Berenguer III had industriously (or opportunistically) ensured his succession to those counties whose comital dynasties had come to an end through crusading deaths and simple childlessness. Roussillon was to come to a similar fate in 1172 with the death of the last count, Gerard II (a descendant of Guifred the Hairy only through his mother).⁵⁰³ As the counts of Roussillon did not descend from Guifred directly (although they probably shared agnatic descent from Belló of Carcassonne, or even more closely, according to Ramon Martí Castelló, from Sunyer I of Empúries), awareness of the kinship appears to have been too remote in the twelfth century to merit inclusion in the *Gesta*.

The *Gesta's* account of Guifred's children and grandchildren, and their subdivision and tenure of the Catalanian *pagi* is marred by inaccuracies, caused, it would seem, by multiple occurrences of the name Miró and confusion of persons named Sunifred and Sunyer.⁵⁰⁴

The difficulty in assigning individual members of this comital family to specific *honores* in the tenth century (and into the eleventh as well) reflects an apparent ambiguity in the diplomatic sources. Among Guifred's ten or eleven legitimate grandsons in the male line,

⁵⁰³ Gerard's mother, Ermengarda, was a daughter of Bernat Ato (Trencavel), viscount of Béziers, etc., and Cecilia of Provence, whose grandmother, the wife of count Fulk Bertrand of Provence (whose given name is unknown), was a daughter of Guilhem Taillefer of Toulouse, who was the son of Raimond Pons of Toulouse and Garsenda, who was a daughter of Riquilda, viscountess of Narbonne, herself the daughter of Guifred Borrell and granddaughter of Guifred the Hairy. It should be noted that the counts of Roussillon are the least well documented of the Catalanian counts, with the origin of their wives unknown for five generations in the eleventh centuries. Most probably one of these wives provided a closer Catalanian descent from Guifred the Hairy, possibly through Besalú or Cerdanya, parallel to the marriage of Ponç, count of Empúries and Adalais, daughter of Bernat Taillefer of Besalú. For the best account of the marriages of the Catalanian counts, see Martí Aurell i Cardona, "Jalons pour une enquête..."

⁵⁰⁴ It is curious to note that the *Gesta* misattribution of comital reigns in the tenth century was not corrected until the publication of Próspero de Bofarull i Mascaró's *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados* in 1836. The incorrect *Gesta* chronology survives to this day in the numeration system of dated parchments in the *Cancellaria* of the ACA, which system dates from the second decade of the nineteenth century.

apparently all but one assumed the title of count, but virtually none ever identified himself as “count of such-and-such.”⁵⁰⁵ The second testament of Ramon Berenguer III in 1131 is the first testament in which any Catalan count so names himself.⁵⁰⁶

What seems to have occurred among Guifred’s near descendants was a kind of sharing of power: essentially all the sons of a count would also be counts. *Lebensraum*, the possession of multiple *pagi* to subdivide, and thus to share rule, is what made it possible for so many cousins to coexist and wield power for generations. Accompanying this distribution of comital titles was a distribution of allodial lands, formerly, perhaps, the fiscal endowment of each Carolingian *pagus*.

In *The Making of the Middle Ages* Sir Richard Southern noted of the descendants of Guifred: “they preserved an easy-going aristocratic life, in which conservatism was tempered with a certain colonial largeness and freedom.” He drew attention to the gradual partitioning of Guifred’s march: “each generation brought a sub-division of the family estate among the male descendants of Wifred.”⁵⁰⁷ Southern was speaking of secular domination of high ecclesiastical office, but the same was true for the explicitly secular *honores* controlled by the family: the counties of the Catalanian march.

What was the nature of this subdivision or sharing of comital *honores* among Guifred’s descendants? The multiplication of those with the title of count from generation to generation implies *either* a subdivision of territorial rule (a separation of clusters of *pagi* originally ruled by one count) *or* a sharing of power within these original counties by associate or co-counts. Which system was current? Was it indicated explicitly in testamentary documentation? With these questions in mind a look at some of the wills of the counts who participated in this system is instructive.

⁵⁰⁵ See above, p. 157, on the use of *comes* and related titles in diplomatic titulary.

⁵⁰⁶ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 493 (19 August 1131). Ramon Berenguer III’s first testament lacks the opening protocols, but probably also employed this new form of titulary, which was becoming current in the comital chancellery. Bofarull, *Los condes*, ii, pp. 171-3 (7 March 1121/2).

⁵⁰⁷ R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (New Haven, 1953), p. 119.

4. EVIDENCE OF THE TESTAMENTS

No testamentary document survives from Guifred the Hairy himself. Pious bequests (testamentary execution charters) survive for two of his brothers: Miró, count of Roussillon and Sunifred, abbot of Arles-sur-Tec.⁵⁰⁸ The testament of Guifred's son Miró is the earliest comital testament to survive from this family, and one of the very earliest from the entire region. It was transcribed by Próspero de Bofarull and published in 1836, and the original, unique parchment was burned in 1835 in the fire at Ripoll.⁵⁰⁹ Curiously, Miró does not even refer to himself as *count* at all, let alone assign to himself a particular ambit of lordship. The testament has much more the character of a private, penitential document: after a pious prologue on salvation, the testator introduces himself, “ego Miro peccator et infelix et ut verius dicam super omnes peccatores trementer et periculose percogitans [...]” (the rest of the phrase apposite to the titular is lost). Nonetheless Miró is revealed as a great lord. His principal executor is his sister, Abbess Emmo of Sant Joan de les Abadesses, a house founded by their parents Guifred the Hairy and Guinidilda.⁵¹⁰ Miró gave alodial lands to a sister in a life interest, but then lands outright to a son, Guiscafred, to a woman (not Miró's wife) who appears to be that son's mother (“quod de me abuit”), and to four daughters (it is unclear whether legitimate or illegitimate).⁵¹¹ Other bequests were made in life tenure, to revert “to my legitimate sons” but the beneficiaries' names are lost. What this will seem to show is a generous endowment of a bastard son, daughters and a mistress. The allodial lands bequeathed extended throughout several *pagi*, notably Cerdanya and Berga. Despite the

⁵⁰⁸ Sunifred: *Urgellia* ii, no. 35 (7 April 891), a bequest to Raoul, probably his nephew, Guifred's son, who became abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Urgell. Executors are count Miró and bishop Riculf; subscribers also include one Belinardus (otherwise unknown), who describes Sunifred as his *avunculus*. Miró: Paris: BN: Moreau, vol. 3, f. 91r-92r (12 March 895).

⁵⁰⁹ Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 88-90 (13 June 925). R. W. Southern noted the fire at Ripoll, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 121 n. 1.

⁵¹⁰ His other executors were viscount Unifred (of Conflent), Miró's *consanguinea* Gilesinda (otherwise unidentified), and her son viscount Remesarius (of Cerdanya?). The two viscounts are described as viscounts and *fideles*. For attribution of the viscounts' *pagi* see Armand de Fluvià, *Els primitius comtats i vescomtats de Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 177, 179.

⁵¹¹ The illegitimate Guiscafred is not, apparently, the same as the son Guifred who succeeded his father as count and who died in 957.

lacunas in the text (as transcribed by Bofarull) it seems that Miró's legitimate sons were not explicitly given inheritances in this particular testament (although they are named as the ultimate heirs of Miró's sister Ermessend, and of Miró's daughters or his illegitimate son Guiscfred if they should die without heirs). Miró's pious bequest of a tithe (an eleventh part) of "[omnes ...] quod Deus dederit de alodes meos qui remanent in potestate filios meos legitimos vel uxori mee" implies that his legitimate sons were to have the rest of his allodial lands, and, no doubt, his comital *honores*. No mention of the lots to fall to Miró's legitimate sons appears in this document: they appear only together, en masse. Perhaps the inference is that this document represents an ancillary disposition: presumably his legitimate sons, who would bear the title *comes* and control several *pagi* between them, were invested with this *honor* on a separate occasion during the lifetime of their father. Although the interaction of the four legitimate sons is not entirely clear, the elder three were all titled *comes* as early as 941, the fourth son, Miró, having taken holy orders.⁵¹²

Miró's oldest son Sunifred made out a will in 965 which survives in several copies in Catalonia.⁵¹³ Unlike his father, Sunifred did call himself *count* in his testament—"ac si immeritus comes." Numerous pious donations are made, of allodial lands which stretch throughout the march, and are not limited to Sunifred's comital *pagi* of Cerdanya-Conflent-Berguedà. Having no children, Sunifred named as beneficiaries his surviving brothers, Miró and Oliba Cabreta, giving them lands he possessed in Besalú and Cerdanya.⁵¹⁴ No mention is made, along with the transferal of the lands, of the transferal of any honor or dignity of

⁵¹² In a charter of donation to Cuixa. Abadal, *Dels visigots als catalans* i, p. 421; "Com neix i com creix ... Eixalada-Cuixa," no. 66 (19 June 941).

⁵¹³ Abadal, "Com neix i com creix ... Eixalada-Cuixa," no. 92 (1 October 965). Of Sunifred's brother count Guifred's testament, only a pious bequest execution to the see of Girona survives. The executors were his mother, two comital brothers (Sunifred and Oliba) and a deacon, Servusdei. Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *Besalú, su historia, sus condes, su obispado y sus monumentos*, 2 vols. (Olot, 1889-1890), no. 2 (13 January 958).

⁵¹⁴ Guifred, the other son, having died in 957, leaving only an executors' donation charter of a bequest to Girona to document his testament. Montsalvatje, *Besalú, su historia, sus condes*, i, no. 2 (13 January 958).

count: this had already shared at least with Oliba since 941. Hereafter, however, the *levita* Miró would also be count.

These two tenth-century comital testaments suggest two facts: first, the counts themselves did not name (or circumscribe) themselves to specific *pagi*; neither do they seem to have named specific sons to specific *pagi* when there was more than one to pass on. This is borne out not only by these testaments but by the majority of the contemporary comital charters, in which the title *comes* is unqualified by any place name.⁵¹⁵ The allodial possessions of the counts span several *pagi*, and not merely the ones they are traditionally believed to have been ruling. Thus, while it is traditionally assumed that of Miró's sons, Sunifred became count of Cerdanya and Guifred became count of Besalú, there is nothing to suggest that the brothers (and their third brother Oliba) did not share domination of their father's cluster of *pagi* more informally.⁵¹⁶ Second, in this period, and for persons of this stature and wealth, no necessity was felt to husband allodial lands carefully as part of a single patrimony. Allods were distributed freely to multiple children--even to illegitimate children--to sisters and as pious bequests.

Sunifred's brother Miró (Miró "Bofill") had been ordained a deacon as early as 941 and was intended for an ecclesiastical career; nonetheless he participated in the partition of his brother's lands.⁵¹⁷ He became bishop of Girona (in his cousin Borrell's *pagus*) in

⁵¹⁵ Catalonian comital charters have not yet been calendared by reign. See below, n. 518.

⁵¹⁶ The same suggestion holds true for the sons of Sunyer, count of Barcelona, Osona and Girona, who died in 947, and for whom no testamentary documents survive. Borrell and his brother Miró were both named *comes* and seem to have cohabited in Barcelona; a third son, Ermengol, may also have been associated as *comes* before he predeceased his father. Armand de Fluvià, *Els primitius comtats*, p. 81.

⁵¹⁷ Some, but not all, of the allods willed by Sunifred to Miró are noted to be acquisitions of Sunifred, and not part of the familial inheritance. Note that one of them, stated to come from "Sunifred, son of Sunifred and Ranlo," could be the property of a second cousin (if this Ranló were the daughter of Dela and Cixilona, Sunifred's great-aunt), and could be part of a very old divided family patrimony. Ranló, abbess of Sant Joan, named her late husband "Miro" in a donation to Ripoll in 954 but she did have a son Sunifred. Also, she appears to have been close to count Sunifred, as she calls him "nepos" and includes him with her own immediate family as beneficiary of the prayers. *Nepos* might be used to describe Sunifred as the son of her first cousin, or perhaps because Ranló's sister, Virgilia, had been the concubine of Sunifred's father, count Miró (her first

970/971, but at the same time he held the title of count after the death of Sunifred and is traditionally associated with the countship of Besalú. Southern noted that many members of the family entered the church and were given high office; however, this was not seen as mutually exclusive of secular honors and privately held lands. Perhaps there was a distinction between regular and secular clergy in this respect: Miró's famous nephew Oliba apparently deeded away his alods and renounced his comital *honor* in Cerdanya-Berguedà upon assuming the Benedictine habit (on his way to becoming abbot of Ripoll and bishop of Vic).⁵¹⁸ Miró saw no difficulty in remaining count and bishop at the same time. His testament of 979, a florid piece of pious prose, bestowed allodial lands with liberality on practically every major church in the march; and finally endowed his surviving brother Oliba Cabreta with all his allodial lands in Besalú.⁵¹⁹

5. TENTH- AND ELEVENTH-CENTURY TRENDS: COLLATERAL DYNASTIES

Toward the end of the tenth century the surviving testaments are more numerous; one can see more explicitly the behavior of partition of inheritance, as well as a change in conception of the nature of the honor of countship itself. From here on the evidence of explicit transmission of comital *honores* as well as allodial possessions is much more clear. However, beginning before the year 1000, we begin to see evidence of unequal distribution of bequests to sons. This trend only increases in the subsequent generations.

cousin), and the mother of his illegitimate son (but not of count Sunifred). *Nepos* is also used to identify children of a first cousin in the testament of count Borrell of Barcelona in 993 (see below, p. 181). This ménage needs further exploration. See Jaime Marqués Casanovas, "Domna Ranlón, illustre dama gerundense de mil años atrás," *Anales del instituto de Estudios Gerundenses* xv (1961-2), 317-329.

⁵¹⁸ Abadal, *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, ii, pp. 165-171, discusses the historical debate over Oliba's comital *honor*. Junyent's *Diplomatari del abat i bisbe Oliba* clearly shows Oliba's use and abandonment of the title *comes*. This *diplomatari* is the only calendar of charters of a Catalan count yet made. See particularly no. 33 (7 August 1003).

⁵¹⁹ Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 98-105 (22 February 979).

In the 989 testament of Gausfred I of Empúries/Roussillon we have the first example of explicit partition of comital honors spelled out in writing.⁵²⁰ After endowing four daughters with allodial lands (and with bequests to the two Guillems who are his executors and his *fideles*), he generously endowed his wife with all his other allodial lands in life tenure, “si in sua viduitate permanserit.” Only after her death would come the important moment of division of these allods between his two surviving sons:

Et post obitum suum ipsi alodes qui sunt in comitatu Resolionense et in comitatu Petralatense, id est: [three major allods are described] remaneant ad ipsum filium meum cui ego dimisero chastro Vultraria cum ipso comitatu Resolionense, et alios meos alodes que sunt in comitatu Petralatense et in comitatu Empuritano remaneat ad ipsum filium meum cui ego dimisero Empurias civitate cum ipso comitatu Empu Empuritano et cum ipso comitatu Petralatense ...

This passage indicates that not only was Gausfred specifically to designate the apportionment of each of his *pagi* to specific sons, but that also the comital *honor* bore with it title to the comital *castrum* or *civitas*, neither of which was considered allodial land by Gausfred.⁵²¹ The endowment of counties had not yet occurred when Gausfred penned this testament; perhaps it was to happen in an investiture or association ceremony. A similar division of two counties between two sons would have occurred just a couple of years before, in Besalú and Cerdanya. Unfortunately there remains no explicit record of the retirement, in 988, of Gausfred’s brother-in-law, Oliba Cabreta, to the monastery of Monte Cassino, and the succession of his sons Bernat, Guifred, and Oliba to the comital dignity in Besalú and Cerdanya. After the widowed countess Ermengardis died in 995/6, and the young Oliba moved on to a clerical career in 1003, it became clear that a division of the *pagi* had been

⁵²⁰ María Isabel Simó Rodríguez, “Aportación a la documentación condal catalana,” in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicada al profesor Antonio Marín Ocete*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1974), ii, pp. 1012-1036, no. 11 (20 February 989). The executors’ transferal of the pious bequest to Elne is printed in *HL* v, no. 152 (28 February 991). The executors are his wife, Guisla, and two Guillems, his *fideles*.

⁵²¹ A parallel relation of castle to county occurs in the testament of Roger the Old, who in the first decade of the eleventh century left “Redas castellum cum suo comitatu” to his son Ramon Roger. Roche, *La Société languedocienne*, i, p. 22, cites this as an example of the growing primacy of the castle over conceptions of public order.

made.⁵²² Guifred ruled in Cerdanya (with Conflent and Berguedà as satellite *pagi*) and Bernat (Taillefer) in Besalú (with Vallespir and Fenouillet as satellites). This division was to persist for four generations.⁵²³

Their more illustrious cousin, the *marquis* Borrell II of Barcelona, drew up a grandiose testament in 993.⁵²⁴ He was clearly feeling the burden of dominating such a large cluster of lordships in Barcelona-Girona and Urgell. His will named *twenty-six* executors, a uniquely huge number (otherwise there were never more than five or six), dividing their jurisdictions among the three principal *pagi* of Barcelona, Girona, and Urgell (Borrell also controlled the *pagi* of Osona and Manresa, but separate executors were not used there).⁵²⁵ His son Ramon was among the executors for Barcelona and Girona. In Urgell among the executors were his son Ermengol and three *nepotes*, the counts of Pallars Ramon, Borrell and Sunyer (the sons of Borrell's first cousin Goldregota). This distribution of his sons among the large clutch of regional executors implies the division of the county rule, which again was not explicitly stated in the testament. Ermengol founded an impressively lineal dynasty in Urgell, lasting through the year 1209, while Ramon Borrell perpetuated the family in the home counties of Barcelona, Girona and Osona.⁵²⁶

Sometime in the same decade Borrell's namesake and *nepos* Borrell, count of Pallars, wrote a testament.⁵²⁷ Curiously, it is in this border county where a glimmer of the

⁵²² Ermengardis' own testament survives only in the form of two pious bequests--one to Camprodon and the other to a nun, Spana. Montsalvatje y Fossas, *Colección diplomática del condado de Besalú*, 5 vols. (Olot, 1901-10), nos. 204 and 2161 (1 January [sic] 996). Her executors included no obvious family members.

⁵²³ Santiago Sobrequés, *Els barons de Catalunya*, 4th ed. (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 2-3. See also Abadal, *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, ii, pp. 166-7.

⁵²⁴ *Urgellia* iii, no. 232 (24 September 993).

⁵²⁵ See above, chapter 3, for a discussion of the number and selection of executors.

⁵²⁶ Santiago Sobrequés, *Els barons*, p. 17, hints that Ermengol was already associated in rule in Urgell before his father died, and that the separation of Urgell from the home counties was sanctioned because it had already been held separately in previous generations (by Borrell's uncle Sunifred).

⁵²⁷ Abadal, *Pallars i Ribagorça*, ii, no. 320 (undated). The copy is very defective and renders interpretation difficult.

melioratio, the favoring of one son over others, is first seen in a comital testament. Borrell controlled but one *pagus*, Pallars, yet had four sons to endow. Pragmatism seems to have driven him to a simpler testament. Rather than opening with the customary long string of pious donations, his testament is more explicitly a family document, opening with partition of some lands among sons Isarn, Miró, Guillem, daughter Ermengarda and wife Ermengarda. Finally, after a few pious gifts: “et post obitum suum remaneat a filio meo Ermengarde totus, extra superius dicimus.” The document suggests that apart from the named legacies to others, Ermengol will get the largest share, although the extent of Borrell’s estate can not be ascertained. It should be noted that there is no mention of the transmission of any comital title, although in fact Ermengol did act as count of Pallars jointly with his surviving uncle Sunyer for some years after Borrell’s death. On Ermengol’s death Sunyer seems to have assumed control of the county--Borrell’s other sons had faded from the scene.⁵²⁸

Roger the Old, count of Carcassonne, wrote a testament shortly after the millennium, which, even more than his distant cousin of Pallars’ testament, totally eschewed the pious testamentary protocol popular in the shoreward Catalan counties.⁵²⁹ This testament lacks closing (and possibly opening) protocols, but gets right down to business: “Ego Rogerius comes facio brevem divisionalem inter filios meos Raimundo et Bernardo.” Raymond was to inherit the city and county of Carcassonne outright; and Bernard, after the death of his mother, was to get the county of Couserans and the castle and lands of Foix (not yet a called a county). Out of both sons’ inheritances, however, provision was made for Roger’s third son, Peter, who as an ecclesiastic (he later became bishop of Comminges and/or

⁵²⁸ Sobrequés, *Els barons*, pp. 22-3.

⁵²⁹ *HL* v, no. 162 (undated). Curiously, Pierre de Marca printed a copy of this charter with a false set of closing protocols, dating the charter “calendas aprilis anno Christi incarnati M.LXII. Henrico rege francorum...” *Histoire de Béarn, contenant l’origine des rois de Navarre, des ducs de Gascogne, marquis de Gothie, princes de Béarn, comtes de Carcassonne, de Foix et de Bigorre...* (Paris, 1640), pp. 709-710. This copy is attributed “e chart. Palensi” (?).

Girona) was endowed with several unspecified ecclesiastical benefices (“ipsa mea parte de ipsas abadias”).⁵³⁰ Again, as was becoming usual, each brother’s lands were supposed to revert to the other if one should die without legitimate children.

The brothers Bernat Taillefer of Besalú and Guifred of Cerdanya had received their counties from their father Oliba Cabreta upon his retirement in 988.⁵³¹ Bernat Taillefer died in 1020 and Guifred in 1035.⁵³² Their own testaments provide a good look of the limits of comital subdivision in the next generation. Faced with further subdivision of their *pagi*, the counts seemed to have turned aggressively toward episcopal placement as a means of endowing supernumerary sons. Bernat had two sons who were bishops; Guifred had three. One of these, Guifred Guifred, became Archbishop of Narbonne at age 10, and thus the metropolitan for the whole Spanish March, when his father secured the archdiocese for him with a cash payment of 100,000 solidi.⁵³³ Guifred’s other sons occupied the sees of Elne (then Girona) and Urgell. None of these sees lies within the counties of Cerdanya or Besalú.

Bernat Taillefer’s strategy in endowing two of his sons as bishops was creative: he had his comital city, Besalú, elevated to a bishopric so he could benefice one of his sons there. In his testament, he decreed flatly that his youngest son, Henry, should become bishop of Besalú after the current bishop, his older son Guifred.⁵³⁴ Henry’s entrance fee was

⁵³⁰ There is considerable uncertainty about this Petrus, who may be he who became bishop of Girona and died in 1050. Another Petrus (not the same one?) was bishop of Saint-Bertrand de Comminges before 1025. Paul Ourliac suggests that he was the son of Roger the Old’s wife, Adalais, by her first marriage, but this would make him quite an old man if he was still bishop in 1050, and he is explicitly called “filio meo” by count Roger. Paul Ourliac, *Cartulaire de l’Abbaye de Lézat*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984), p. xliii. Armand de Fluvià’s tables in the *Gran enciclopèdia catalana* at “Carcassona” and “Comenge” reflect this uncertainty, for Petrus appears both as son and as stepson to Roger the Old.

⁵³¹ Or, as speculated, they had hammered out a division after the death of their mother in 996 and the retirement of their brother Oliba in 1003.

⁵³² Guifred’s purported tomb, a diminutive man-shaped hole scooped out of solid rock, is today exhibited to tourists at the monastery of Saint-Martí del Canigó in Conflent, which he had founded, and where he ended his days, like his father before him, in the Benedictine habit.

⁵³³ Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, p. 121; *HL* v, c. 496.

⁵³⁴ Surviving as a publication charter (with two executors’ acts): *Liber feudorum maior*, ii, no. 497 (13 October 1020). For a discussion, see Lluís To Figueras, “El comte Bernat I de Besalú i el seu testament sacramental,” in *Amics de Besalú i el seu comtat: IV Assemblea d’Estudis sobre el Comtat de Besalú: Camprodon, 1980*. (Olot, 1983), pp. 117-128.

to be covered by his brother Guillem. It is expressly stated that Guillem, clearly the oldest son, was to inherit the counties of Besalú and Fenouillet (and Vallespir after his mother) along with the obligations of looking after his brothers. Two younger other brothers were endowed with allodial lands--one primarily in the Fenouilledès, and the other in the vicinities of Olot (on the border of Cerdanya and Osona) and Borrassà/Palol (on the border of Empúries). They would be nothing more than castellans, lieutenants or marcher vassals of their comital brother, although they were to inherit the counties if Guillem should die without heirs.

Guifred of Cerdanya, perhaps richer, given the evidence of his simonious habits, felt more comfortable dividing his three *pagi*. In his testament he willed Cerdanya and the Conflent outright to his son Ramon.⁵³⁵ Berguedà, a small but central pagus, was to go to Bernat, perhaps his eldest son by his second wife, Elisabeth. Bernat's brother Berenguer was to succeed to Berguedà if Bernat died without children (Berenguer survived his brother but became bishop of Elne, then Girona). Significantly, both Bernat and Berenguer and the county of Berguedà were to be placed "in tuicione vel donacione filii mei Reimundi usque de ista Pascha transacta qui fuit .iii. kal. aprelis, ad .xii. annos." Another restriction was placed on a third son's inheritance. Guillem (who would later be bishop of Urgell) was endowed with ecclesiastical lands in the Ribes valley, in the heart of Cerdanya. Guifred saw fit to state ominously, "hec omnia veniat in sua potestate sine ullo fevatario et ut nemo ibi construat castrum sine consensu comitis Cerritanie." Perhaps this was to insure the tranquillity of ecclesiastical, non-military estates and thus insure Guillem's income. But it may also be read another way: was Guifred predicting fraternal strife? Perhaps he was looking ahead to the time when Guillem or his heirs, future bishops of Urgell, would want to stake out a defense of this far-flung tributary. Guifred's other clerical sons Guifred (already archbishop of Narbonne) and Berenguer were both given parcels of alodial land. A sixth son, Ardoinus,

⁵³⁵ *Liber feudorum maior*, ii, no. 693 (9 November 1035).

was also mentioned but rather less generously endowed: Ardoinus was only given a group of fiefs--*fevum* and *fevum ac dominicum*--as an inheritance.⁵³⁶ Until this point, all children of counts, boys and girls, appear to have been given allods in testaments. With this *fevum* in the 1035 testament came the first taint of explicitly feudal hierarchization among the descendants of Guifred the Hairy.

This new gradation of the inheritance scale is made more explicit in later eleventh-century testaments. In the 1078 testament of count Ponç of Empúries three (lay) sons are treated interestingly (a fourth son, Pere, was abbot of Sant Pere de Rodes and not mentioned in the will).⁵³⁷ One son, Ermengol, was left an allodial parcel, but with a life tenure only: upon his death it was to pass to the church as a pious bequest. The other two sons, Hugh and Berenguer, were given half of “everything” each:

Omnem honorem meum et comptinum [?] medietatem Rossilionensis Petralatensis Impuritanensis dominicaturam de Uliastred et de Recosen et de Castello et de Rodes medietatem civitatis Impuritanensis medietatem abbacie Sancti Petri abbatiam Sancte Marie et Sancti Quirici castellum de Salsa et castellum de Voltrera castellum Sancti Xristofori castellum de Rochaberti castellum de Chermanco castellum de Fonolieres castellum de Rocha maura castellum de Cannia cum omnibus suis pertinenciis dimitto filiis meis Ugoni et Berengerio ...

“Everything” includes the counties, cities, abbeys, lordships and lands of Empúries and Peralada, and the southern half of Roussillon, including the castle of Oltretera.⁵³⁸ Hugh’s primacy among these two brothers is only indicated in one passage: Ponç dictated that

honorem quem Guilabertus [the count of Roussillon] et pater suus tenent per me dimitto *Ugoni soli* ut Guilibertus aut qui comes Rossilionensis fuerit teneant per eum et sint sui homines ...

⁵³⁶ On the use of the word *fevum* in testamentary documents and in general, see below, pp. 200-205.

⁵³⁷ *Catalunya romànica*, viii, pp. 76-77 (19 May 1078).

⁵³⁸ Oltretera was considered, in the late tenth century, the seat of the county of Roussillon. The fact that it, and half Roussillon, is in Ponç’s hands, along with the pretension to overlordship of Roussillon, is the legacy of the deprivations of his father, count Hugh of Empúries, who had sought to dominate Roussillon after the death of his brother, count Guislabert. See Sobrequés, *Els barons*, p. 8.

Apparently the only indivisible aspect of the inheritance was deemed to be this overlordship over the counts of Roussillon (a condition which was not specified in the 990 testament of their common grandfather count Gausfred).⁵³⁹

It transpired that Hugh became sole count of Empúries and Berenguer became viscount in Peralada (becoming known as the viscount of Rocabertí). The viscounty of Peralada/Rocabertí, which continued in the male line of Berenguer's descendants until 1671, is the only known example in this period among Guifred's posterity of the establishment of a cadet dynasty in the male line with title less than that of count.⁵⁴⁰ Other younger sons seem to have faded away and cannot be traced.

6. THE COUNTS OF BARCELONA

Let us return now to the line of the *marchiones*--the counts of Barcelona itself. Here a sequence of comital wills shows very acutely the transformation of inheritance practice (or ideal) through the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Count Borrell in 993 had transferred Urgell into a very circumspect cadet branch, the Ermengols, who maintained, either by chance or by design, a narrow dynasty with few younger sons to placate.⁵⁴¹ In succeeding generations the counts of Barcelona proper maintained an indivisible trinity of *pagi* of Barcelona, Girona and Osona, although in some generations this seems to have been more by chance than by design.

⁵³⁹ See above, p. 180.

⁵⁴⁰ Fluvià, *Els primitius comtats*, pp. 193-198. One other descendant lineage which Fluvià counts is the descent of the lords of Castellvell (de Rosanes) and Castellet (Sant Esteve) from Sendred, vicar of Castellvell de la Marca, reputedly a son of Sunifred, abbot of Arles (brother of Guifred the Hairy). See *Catalunya romànica*, xx, pp. 74-75 (table).

⁵⁴¹ The counts of Urgell, several of whom died young in battle, did not raise large families. Ermengol III apparently left three younger sons who grew to adulthood. Nothing is known of them, except that they were to be heirs in Ermengol IV's testaments if his own sons should die without heirs. Ermengol IV's second son inherited his grandfather's county of Forcalquier (and lands in the vicinity of Nice) in Provence and left the Pyrenees. Sobrequés, *Els barons*, p. 19. For Ermengol IV's testament of 1190, only a précis survives, in Francisco Diago's *Historia de los victoriosísimos antiguos condes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1603), ff. 137r-138r.

Berenguer Ramon I left three sons of comital dignity.⁵⁴² Because the traditional *pagus* system ended at the old Carolingian frontier of the river Llobregat, he could be creative with the newly-reconquered and settled lands to its west when specifying his sons' inheritances in his testament of 1032.⁵⁴³ Ramon Berenguer I was given the "city and county of Girona with its bishopric" and "the city and county of Barcelona, with its bishopric," up to the river Llobregat. Sanç was given the county of Barcelona west of the Llobregat and the City of Olèrdola. In a significant step, Berenguer declared that Sanç should hold this honor "sub obsequio et baiulia filii mei Remundi." A youngest son, by Berenguer's new second wife Guisla de Lluça, was given the county of Osona (after Guisla's life tenure expired), again with the idea that he should hold it "sub obsequio et baiulia filii mei Remundi." These appear to be legacies to younger sons with feudal subordination to other sons--reminiscent of the bequest of the *fevum* by Guifred of Cerdanya to his son Ardoinus in his testament of 1035.⁵⁴⁴ These grants *sub obsequio* were probably intended to have been in perpetuity, and not life tenures (there is nothing in the testament to limit them in this way). What would have been the outcome if Sanç and Guillem had founded families in their client counties?⁵⁴⁵ Fortunately for their brother (or perhaps because of his direct pressure), Sanç and Guillem each deeded their inheritances to Ramon Berenguer and retired to private life, leaving no known children.⁵⁴⁶ Guillem Berenguer's testament, not heretofore recognized, survives

⁵⁴² Ramon Berenguer, Sanç and Guillem. Bernat, a fourth son, probably born after his father wrote his testament in 1032 (and possibly posthumously) was never considered count. See Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 246-7. Similarly the presumed daughter, wife of Henry, duke of Burgundy, would also have been born after 1032. The brothers, but not the sisters, received legacies in their grandmother Ermessend's codicil of 1058, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 491.

⁵⁴³ *Diplomatari del abat i bisbe Oliba*, no. 127 (30 October 1032). The publication charter, unpublished, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Pergamins, no. 8699 (formerly of the collection of Moyà) (23 July 1035). See below, Appendix D, no. 3.

⁵⁴⁴ See above, pp. 184-5.

⁵⁴⁵ On Berenguer Ramon's testament, with a review of historians' judgments of this division, see Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1961), pp. 30-31.

⁵⁴⁶ Sanç Berenguer's renunciation act, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 36 (8 June 1049); Guillem Berenguer's renunciation act, ACA, perg. Ramon Berenguer I, no. 155 (11 December 1054). At least Guillem seems to have been an able warrior in his brother's service before his retirement, if the sepulchral stone at Sant Michel del Fail can be attributed to him. See Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp.

among the parchments of Sant Benet de Bages at the ACA in Barcelona.⁵⁴⁷ In it Guillem, living comfortably but humbly, settling the estate which “fratrum meum senior domino Raimundo comes dedi michi propter precium hereditatis patris mei....” Allodial bequests are outnumbered by modestly comfortable level of moveable wealth--some ounces of gold and, strikingly, agricultural beasts and produce. Guillem had come down in the world, either through his own desire to live privately or through his brother’s overweening pressure.

With the abdication of his brothers Ramon Berenguer I regained direct control of Osona and the territories west of the Llobregat. What is more, he is famous for his stalwart campaign, in the face of widespread opposition, to subordinate recalcitrant castellans and secure oaths of loyalty and acts of homage from all and sundry.⁵⁴⁸ He is also known for two major events of importance in the chronology of the decline of co-lordship. Apparently Ramon Berenguer believed in the system of co-lordship, or at any rate he supported it conceptually in two major programs which bear exploration.

The first of these events was Ramon Berenguer’s campaign in the later 1060s to extend influence northward into the county of Carcassonne; this inter-regional political intrigue was recently illuminated brilliantly by Fredric Cheyette.⁵⁴⁹ Professor Cheyette’s interpretation of Ramon Berenguer’s behavior, long misunderstood, was that he sought to employ the old style of co-lordship in Carcassonne and the Rasès, sharing revenues, powers and responsibilities with the viscount of Béziers, all at the expense of the count of Foix,

245-6. Both Guillem and Sanç were still alive in 1058 when their grandmother, countess Ermessend, dictated her last testament, leaving them cash bequests and leaving Sanç a sword which he had *in pignore*. Sanç must still have been in the secular world. Countess Ermessend’s last (oral) testament survives in its publication charter, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 491 (26 February 1058). On Ermessend see Antoni Pladevall, *Ermessenda de Carcassona: comtessa de Barcelona, Girona i d’Osona* (Barcelona, 1975).

⁵⁴⁷ ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 331 (14 October 1064), an original with Guillem’s autograph signature. Guillem’s brother Sanç was named and was probably the *Sancio* who marked the document as a witness. See below, Appendix D, no. 7.

⁵⁴⁸ See particularly Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 85-102; 118-132; 141-161, for thorough discussions of Ramon Berenguer’s efforts to institutionalize and extend his domination.

⁵⁴⁹ Cheyette, “The ‘Sale’ of Carcassonne.”

whose lands lay between Carcassonne and the Barcelona ambit. Ultimately, as the Béziers family gained more complete control of Carcassonne, the whole affair was anachronistically remembered in the twelfth century and later, not so much as a failed venture in co-lordship as an outright breach of vassalage on the part of Béziers family.⁵⁵⁰

In Ramon Berenguer I's testament of 1076 we see evidence of the other major attempt to perpetuate co-lordship.⁵⁵¹ His daughter Sancia, for the first time, received a legacy in cash, not in land: 10,000 *mancusos*.⁵⁵² Everything else was to go to his two surviving sons, Ramon and Berenguer, equally:

Primum, quoque, dimissit duobus filiis suis, scilicet Raimundo Berengarii et Berengario Raimundi, omnem suum honorem quem habebat in omnibus locis, id est ...

A long list of counties, cities, castles, conquests and rights of conquest is then specified. Finally, a single differentiating condition was applied:

Et totum ipsum honorem et omnes res pertinentes ad iam dictos honores et terras habeat Berengarius, filius eius, simili modo sicut Raimundus, frater eius, excepto hoc: quod non faciat de ipsas terras atque honores ullum seniore.

It is difficult to see exactly what was intended by this restriction, except perhaps to suggest that Berenguer was not to infeudate any partisans on his lands who might oppose Ramon, or that Berenguer himself was not to submit to any other (outside) influence on any

⁵⁵⁰ A little-known sidelight to this intrigue appears in the fate of Bernat Bernat, bishop of Carcassonne, who died in 1075/6 in his hometown of Palol de Revardit near Girona, apparently after a voyage to England (if we are to believe his testament). His testament distributes no landed wealth outside the immediate vicinity of his hometown--hardly a cosmopolitan episcopal center--and his moveable wealth was not very great. Perhaps he had been a part of his count's failed lordship venture in Carcassonne, and was subsequently driven from it by a less-than-friendly Béziers faction? For the testament and publication charter see *Cartoral, dit de Carlemany*, i, nos. 141 (15 September 1074) and 143 (31 January 1076).

⁵⁵¹ Surviving in the publication charter, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, 492 (12 November 1076).

⁵⁵² Daughters were often omitted in testaments, having already been married and endowed, or were included only in an exhortation to a brother that he take responsibility for honorably marrying them off. Here, however, the cash legacy is intended to serve as her dowry; she was not yet married to count Guillem Ramon of Cerdanya. Ramon Berenguer's other daughter, Agnes, being already married, was included in the succession if Ramon's sons should die, but received no separate legacy.

of these lands against the interests of his brother. More significant than this restriction, however, was the omission of any direction or suggestion as to how this power was to be divided. The moveable goods and the *parias* in Spain were to be divided *per medium*; but how was this co-lordship to function?⁵⁵³ At any rate, the condominium lasted but six difficult years.⁵⁵⁴

Ramon Berenguer I's family is called a "brood of vipers" in the *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*.⁵⁵⁵ Pere, the matricide, was dead or gone before Ramon wrote his will. Berenguer, malcontent in the tense and unsuccessful lordly ménage, finally had his brother killed after six years of co-rule. This deed earned him widespread opprobrium, but he retained his title until his death, while a regent for his infant nephew took over the moral and practical lordship of the march.

The collapse of Ramon Berenguer I's shared lordship venture in Carcassonne, and, most spectacularly, the viperous murders within his family, did no more than demonstrate the problems with this aging philosophy of condominium. Without a growth industry in domination of lands, the old ideal of shared lordship, and even the intermediate solution of partition of inheritance, were both losing ground to a more focused consolidation of power in a single lineage. Evidence of this trend can be seen throughout the genealogy of Guifred the Hairy's successors. The county of Urgell had come to reside firmly in a cadet branch of the dynasty which took the habitual name Ermengol, eight times in a row. Younger sons,

⁵⁵³ Bernard F. Reilly, *The Kingdom of León-Castilla under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126* (Princeton, 1982), p. 9, mentions another bequest of *parias*: the testamentary division made by King Fernando I of León-Castille before his death in 1065: rights in Zaragoza were to go to Sancho, the eldest, with Castille, while rights in Toledo were to go with León to Alfonso, the second son (Alfonso VI); a third son was given rights in Badajoz with the kingdom of Galicia (García). Note the outcome of this division was fraternal war: Alfonso killed Sancho and imprisoned García for life.

⁵⁵⁴ Count Ponç I of Empúries made almost the same arrangement among his two elder sons in his testament of 1078, possibly in imitation of the testamentary settlement of Ramon Berenguer I. Did it still seem a satisfactory arrangement in 1078? See above, pp. 185-6. Ponç's sons, in dividing the *pagi* of Empúries and Perelada and founding separate dynasties, may have avoided strife, but in doing so they committed themselves and their posterities to lesser lordships.

⁵⁵⁵ *Gesta comitum barcinonensium*, p. 7.

even those who attained adulthood (and this occurred only in two generations), remained obscure. Elsewhere one can see a gradual partitioning out of clustered *pagi* until each branch bore title to but one *pagus*: then, of necessity, the lines thinned out (with fewer sons or the younger sons dropping into obscurity), and the families became vertical dynasties. Four times in the twelfth century the extinction of a such a dynastic branch in control of a *pagus* or two brought that *pagus* back into the grasp of the counts of Barcelona.⁵⁵⁶

7. THE TWELFTH CENTURY: DYNASTIC CONSOLIDATION AND DOMINATION

Ramon Berenguer III's testaments of 1122 and 1131 reflect the confidence of the ruler of many counties.⁵⁵⁷ The anonymity of the protocols of his ancestors' testaments is replaced with a proud self-identification, common to the comital charters of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, although still tempered with pious humility:

... Ego Raimundus Berengarii gratia Dei barchinonensis comes et marchio, multum mecum retractans tantique sententiam iudicis propter enormitatem meorum peccaminum valde pavescens dum vivo et valeo et loqui possum credidi ordinandas omnes res meas prout inspirare dignatus est. ...

To his son, Ramon Berenguer, goes his own, undivided inheritance:

Omnem alium⁵⁵⁸ meum honorem dimitto Raimundo Berengarii filio meo et Barchinonam et comitatum barchinonensem cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus et cum omni honorem marchiarum et Hispaniarum et episcopatum predicte civitatis et comitatum tarraconensem et archiepiscopatum ejus cum omnibus sibi pertinentibus

⁵⁵⁶ Besalú: 1111, accomplished smoothly. Cerdanya: count Bernat Guillem died in 1118, apparently without children of his own. Under the terms of his brother Guillem Jordà's testament, Ramon Berenguer III was the heir (Bernat of Besalú being dead). This succession was contested, and Ramon Berenguer IV had to buy off the pretensions of a claimant, one Guillem de Salsa. *Liber feudorum maior*, ii, no. 692 (22 November 1134). Guillem's genealogical claim to Cerdanya is unknown; see Sobrequés, *Els barons*, pp. 6-7; and *Els grans comtes*, p. 162. Roussillon was absorbed without incident by testamentary succession in 1172 with the death of count Gerard II. Pallars Jussà passed to the crown by donation about 1192. A fifth county, Urgell, would narrowly avoid a similar process in 1209 with the death of the last Ermengol in the male line. T. N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 48-8.

⁵⁵⁷ The fragmentary testament of 1122 is printed by Bofarull, *Los condes*, ii, pp. 171-173 (7 March 1122). The testament of 1131, *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón* (hereinafter "CDIACA"), ed. Próspero de Bofarull et al., 41 vols. (1847-1910), iv, no. 1 (19 July 1131); its publication charter, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 493 (19 August 1131).

⁵⁵⁸ Pious legacies excepted.

... [here follows a long list of strategic properties and counties from Carcassonne down to the Saracen border].

And because Ramon Berenguer III was blessed with a dynastic marriage which provided other equally impressive domains, he was able to endow a second son with his wife's inheritance of Provence, Gévaudan, Carlat and Rodez:

Berengario Raimundi filio meo dimitto omnem meum honorem Provincie et comitatum et archiepiscopatus et episcopatus et abbatias et omnia que ibi habere debeo et illum quem habeo in Rotensi patria et in Gavallano et in Karlateso ...

That Rodez is described as nothing less than a country, *patria*, shows how important this inheritance was seen to be.⁵⁵⁹ The only interaction of the two brothers is that they were each appointed the heir of the other. “Si autem evenerit alterum horum obire sine filiis de legitimo conjugio revertantur predicta omnia ad illum qui superstes extiterit.” Ramon Berenguer III's own father had been murdered by a jealous younger brother, but this didn't deter him from elevating his own second son to the status of count. The difference lay in the total separation of the two legacies of Provence and Catalonia; this particular division was in no way threatening to the unity of the Catalonian province. As it turns out, Provence was a recalcitrant and unwilling subject for the Catalan lords: three successive attempts were made to install a Catalan dynasty there.⁵⁶⁰

Ramon Berenguer IV's oral will of 1162 reveals a similar scenario.⁵⁶¹ Ramon Berenguer, like his father, had married an heiress--the princess of Aragon; but apparently the idea of endowing one son with his own inheritance (Catalonia) and another with his wife's

⁵⁵⁹ Ironically, Rodez itself was one aspect of this collective inheritance which would not remain in the Catalan dynasty: Dulce of Provence's first cousin, Hugh, had assumed the title of count of Rodez in 1112 as a client of the counts of Toulouse/Rouergue. See *Europäische Stammtafeln*, iii, tables 805-6, citing *Abrégé historique des comtes et des vicomtes de Rouergue et de Rodez* (Rodez, 1682); Abbé Pierre Bosc, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Rouergue* (Rodez, 1879); and Hippolyte de Barrau, *Documents historiques et généalogiques sur les familles et les hommes remarquables de Rouergue* (Rodez, 1853; reprint Paris, 1972).

⁵⁶⁰ After the death of Berenguer Ramon's granddaughter, Dolça, in 1172, King Alfons' brother Pere was made count of Provence as Ramon Berenguer IV. After his murder in 1181, and after the abortive installation of his other brother, Sanç, Alfons installed his second son Alfons in Provence in 1185.

⁵⁶¹ Surviving in the publication charter, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 494 (11 October 1162).

(Aragon) was not considered. Of two endowed sons, the eldest, Alfonso, was to have the kingdom of his mother and the lordship of Barcelona, with most, but not all, of the other Catalan counties together.⁵⁶² A second son, Pere, received title to Carcassonne (which was disputed and still more firmly in the possession of the viscounts of Béziers) with the additional Catalan county of Cerdanya, probably to aid him in the domination of Carcassonne. While this testament was followed, additional arrangements were made with the absorption of new counties, and the survival of Ramon Berenguer's third son, Sanç, who had been a mere infant at the time of his father's death, and was not left any independent inheritance.⁵⁶³ The relationship of younger brother to older brother was prescribed in the following way:

... tali pacto ut hec omnia suprascripta que ei dimisit, prefatus Petrus teneat et habeat per Raimundum, fratrem suum maiorem, et exinde faciat ei hominium et fidelitatem et serviat ei. Et precepit ut totum illud, quod dimisit filio suo Petro, teneat Raimundus, filius suus predictus, donec Petrus, frater eius, sit miles.

... si filius suus Raimundus obierit absque infante de legitimo coniugio, omne quod ei dimisit, revertatur ad Petrum, filium suum, et omnia, que dimisit Petro, statim revertantur ad Sancium, filium suum minorem, et faciat illas conveniencias et fidelitates et hominium Sancius Petro, quas Petrus debebat facere Raimundo, fratri suo ... [etc.]

This explicit statement of feudal subordination of cadet to primogenitus was the product of generations of trial and error; in Alfons' day it would at last function smoothly.

The next generation brought royal dignity into the hands of Guifred the Hairy's dynasty. By the close of the twelfth century the interests and self-conception of the family had changed radically from the days of the post-Carolingian *comites*, Guifred's sons and

⁵⁶² In addition to Cerdanya, ceded to the second son, Ramon Berenguer left Besalú and the Ribes valley to his widow, queen Petronilla (as a life tenure).

⁵⁶³ A fourth son, Ramon Berenguer, was a bastard and became bishop of Lleida and archbishop of Narbonne, dying in 1212.

grandsons. Alfons, playing an expansionist game on an expansive board, could apportion lands to his younger brothers and his sons as his definite subordinates.⁵⁶⁴

Alfonso's testament, a grandiose document drafted and amended three times and published in elaborate ceremonies in Zaragoza and, no doubt, in Barcelona as well, belongs to a new age.⁵⁶⁵ Dozens of pious donations and complicated arrangements reflect the regalian character of this document. After hundreds of lines:

Ad ultimum vero in hoc presenti testamento illustrem filium meum regem Petrum instituto heredem in toto regno meo Aragonis cum omnibus suis terminis et pertinentiis, et in toto comitatu Barchinonae cum omnibus terminis et pertinentiis suis et cum omni suo jure et directis, et in comitatu Rossilionis cum omnibus terminis suis et pertinentiis, et in comitatu Ceritanie et Confluenti cum omnibus terminis et pertinentiis suis et cum omni iure suo et directis, et comitatu Palariensi cum omnibus terminis et pertinentiis suis et cum omni iure suo et directis, et in tota Cathalonia et in omnibus quae habeo et habere debeo in predicto regno et per regnum et in omnibus predictis comitatibus et per comitatus et etiam in omnibus illis directis et iure que habeo et habere debeo per me et per antecessores meos et per prememoratos comitatus in omnibus terris, a civitate Biterrensi usque ad Portus Aspe.

Alfons, the second son, was granted Provence and the other Auvergne territories (in which he had been nominally installed since 1185). Ferran, the third son, was obliterated as a monk at Poblet, although Alfons states that he was to be the heir if his two brothers should die without heirs. Alfons' explicit inclusion of Roussillon and Cerdanya in the gifts to his son have the important effect of reaffirming that the king's brother, Sanç, merely holds these counties as a fief of the crown: despite the continuation of Sanç's posterity until 1241, there is no possibility that the appanage could be interpreted as a *condominium* or *divisio*. Those methods of bequest and inheritance were things of the past.

⁵⁶⁴ Thus T. N. Bisson could speak of Alfons appointing and dismissing his brothers in certain counties as agents serving the interests of the crown. See Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon*, p. 37, for the example of Sanç, given Provence and then Roussillon-Cerdanya after the death of his brother.

⁵⁶⁵ The first redaction of his will, if it survives, is not widely known. The second redaction, of December, 1194, and the codicil from April 1196 are widely known from publication charters circulated after Alfons' death. See Appendix B, on King Alfons's surviving testamentary documents, for an account of the manuscripts and editions.

By now it is clear how dynastic habits grew into conformity with the argument of the *Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona*, which was written at the outset of Alfons' reign as the justification of a lineal dynasty. The future redactions of the *Deeds of the Counts*, continuing into the thirteenth century, would extol the virtues and greatness of the reigning countings, by virtue of hindsight the "worthiest" of Guifred's progeny.⁵⁶⁶ But the testaments of the counts themselves, all along, have told a somewhat different story: they have confirmed and illustrated the important and complicated transition from roots in the collegial, Carolingian conception and practice of countship, through difficult experiments in shared lordship, partition and subinfeudation, to the emergence of a late-medieval dynastic principality. The lessons of the "feudal revolution" seem to have been learned only gradually, over several generations.

III. BEQUESTS AND POSSESSIONS

After exploring the identity of testators and the all-important context of familial succession (albeit in the case of only one family, and that an exceptional one), a further appreciation of some of the customs of succession to certain types of legacies can be obtained by focusing even more explicitly on the legacies themselves. Ultimately, collective study of the lands and moveable possessions mentioned in these documents could yield statistical approximations of standards of living, with evidence of family-level agricultural economics and household accouterments, although this type of tabulation is beyond the scope of this study. Yet after even a cursory overview, the goods mentioned in testamentary documents--land (fields or vineyards), crops and livestock, household items, luxury items, religious and trade items--can yield remarkable insights.⁵⁶⁷

⁵⁶⁶ Later versions of the official genealogical chronicle, such as the fourteenth-century Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña, would go further by eliminating the extraneous material on the counts of Urgell and Cerdanya/Besalú, to make the text even more lineal. *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, tr. Lynn Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991).

⁵⁶⁷ Pierre Bonnassie, in his study of Catalonian testaments of the tenth and eleventh centuries, tracked certain specific types of testamentary bequests, notably sums of cash (of various

A. Moveable Goods

I. CLASSIFICATION AND ENUMERATION

Pierre Bonnassie's system of classification of moveable goods, based on his study of Catalonian testaments, is certainly applicable to the region as a whole.⁵⁶⁸ Because of the impossibility of economic comparison of different parcels of land, he chose to base his comparison of the economic indices in Catalonian testaments on the specific moveable legacies (cash and/or priceable objects) which occurred with frequency in the documents. While these may be successfully used as economic indicators, there remains some difficulty with the collective analysis of moveable bequests. In many testaments, moveable goods are not explicitly inventoried, and they cannot be used to indicate the patrimonial endowment of children or family members. Each testament is, in effect, a summary of possessions. Because land was considered to be more important, it stands to reason that moveable goods, which are possessed in quantity (livestock, cash) or in variety (household goods) were usually described only in the aggregate.⁵⁶⁹ And while individual lands must be differentiated by locality, by condition of tenure, and other criteria, to specify a desired distribution, moveable goods are most commonly bequeathed by distributing fractions of their total valuation.

denominations) and charitable bequests earmarked for specific purposes such as the building of bridges or the ransoming of Christian captives from Muslim hands. He was able to show patterns in circulation of cash and trends of preference for distinct types of pious legacy. *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 363-417.

⁵⁶⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 369 (table xxv). The basic divisions are: slaves, livestock, horses and arms, beasts, agricultural/viticultural implements, produce, clothing, skins or fabrics, bedclothes, ornaments/jewelry, books, vessels, and cash.

⁵⁶⁹ Two examples from among thousands: "omnem meum avere mobile" (Rodlan Ot, ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 326, 30 May 1100); "totas meas causas sedentes et moventes" (Bernat de Coscho, ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 1, 16 February 1126).

2. FRACTIONAL DIVISION OF PROPERTY: WIDOWS AND PIOUS ENDOWMENTS

Customary fractional divisions of moveable goods remain fairly constant throughout the period, although there are always exceptions, and *ad hoc* divisions are made to suit a variety of situations. The most frequent fractional division of moveable goods is into thirds:

In primis dimitto ad Domino Deo et sanctis Dei et per missas meam tertiam partem de meum mobile in totisque locis sive de vetus quam de novo, et aliam tertiam partem similiter dimitto ad uxori mee Ermengardis, et ad infantes meos aliam tertiam partem sive filiis cum filias equaliter dividant.⁵⁷⁰

Moveable goods are most often used in this way: as a cushion of comfort for the surviving spouse, and as a source of distributions of alms (or masses, or other pious acts) which are not otherwise specified. In the second quarter of the eleventh century, it was most common to begin testamentary bequests with a division of one's produce: of all bread and wine on hand (or coming at the next harvest or pressing), one third or two thirds would usually be set aside for distribution to the clergy, either directly or (one can assume) via the proceeds of its sale.

In some cases, the division into fractions can be further complicated by subdivision, as in this undated testament from the Hospitallers' collection in the ACA:

Manda[vit eis] ut abeant potestatem in isto ano aut in alio de omnes res facultas sua et divideant sui elemosinari et faciant .iii. partes: .i. tertia pars a Guilelm Reimund, et de alias duas faciant .iii. partes: et donent .i. tertia pars a congiu {sic} sua; et alia .iii. pars a filiabus suis; et alia pro anime sue. ...⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ Guillem Miró: ACA, Perg. Berenguer Ramon II, no. 50 (9 April 1088). "Sive de vetus quam de novo" refers to produce--both from previous harvests and that yet to be reaped. Elsewhere in the testament he names two of the children who are to share the final third portion: a son and a daughter, who, unusually, are also to share an allodial land bequest between them.

⁵⁷¹ Guillem Miró (not the same as the one above): ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 98 (no date). The nonsensical phrase "mandavit eis in isto ano aut in alio ..." appears as a truncation or vestige of a standard formula for the charge to the executors, which is here missing. See below, Appendix D, no. 9. An early example of the formula, which persisted through the twelfth century (even though the role of executors came to be diminished): Leopardus, ACA perg. Montserrat, no. 43 (19 February 1038):

ut si mors mihi advenit in isto ano aut in alio aut antequam alium testamentum faciam isti manumissores mei ... ut vos simul in unum licentiam abeatis cum plena potestate apreendere omnes rerum mearum, et dare faciatis pro anima mea, sicut ego vobis iniungo in ista paginola per mea loquella plena. ...

The first part (i.e. one third) goes to one Guillem Ramon; subdivision of the remaining two-thirds creates shares of two-ninths each: one to his wife, another to his daughters, and the last *pro anima*.⁵⁷² This cultural penchant, apparently well ingrained, for division in thirds creates a more complex scheme in shares than if fourths had been used (although perhaps Guillem was under some primary obligation to render the first third of his estate to Guillem Ramon).

The most common elements of moveable wealth which receive separate mention are arms, beasts, crops, bedclothes, and farm vessels (such as the *cubo* and *tonna* of the vintner).⁵⁷³ While arms and bedclothes are bequeathed singly, other goods are often themselves subdivided in thirds or halves. A testament of 1035 in Vic has typical subdivisions:

de ipsa vascula majore vel minore ipsa tercia parte pro anima sua; et de ipso pano et vino quod Deus dederat in isto anno veniente ipsa tercia parte pro anima sua...⁵⁷⁴

3. SUB-CATEGORIES OF MOVEABLE GOODS

Beasts were bequeathed in number and singly. Count Miró of Cerdanya bequeathed half of his horses, cows and sheep to Ripoll in his testament of 925.⁵⁷⁵ Single beasts often appear: horses and asses are relatively common as pious bequests; single cows or sheep, however, are generally the bequests of modest peasantry to kin and friends.

Bequests of weapons and knightly harness grow more frequent from the eleventh century into the twelfth. Swords and other armor appear first among the luxury trappings of comital or vicecomital testators. The emergence of the military orders as pious beneficiaries in the second third of the twelfth century prompted a whole new custom of pious donation:

⁵⁷² The testament goes on to designate minor cash legacies for the church of Sant Pere des Ponts, and for the scribe, and then to bequeath all Guillem's allods to his wife and then to their daughters.

⁵⁷³ See Bonnassie's table of frequency of moveable bequests in Catalonian testaments though 1100, *Catalunya il anys enrera*, ii, p. 369. The proportions it reflects are sound, although the twelfth century sees more mention of arms and harness (typically in bequests to the military orders) and, of course, in coin.

⁵⁷⁴ Ramon: ACV, Calaix 6, no. 937 (19 March 1036).

⁵⁷⁵ Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 88-90.

typically, in the absence of a male heir, and often even when one was in evidence, knights bequeathed horse and arms to the Templar or Hospitaller commandery.

It is difficult to generalize about the variety of the luxury goods which appear, in small but steady numbers, in testaments throughout the period. The bequests of books have been remarked on for the evidence they provide about the literary, liturgical or legal culture they helped sustain. It is, of course, in a clerical context that one sees most of these books. Jewelry, too, seems more the prerogative of high clergy than any other group, although it has been noticed the count-kings kept no traditional regalia, to judge from the bequest of Alfons I of his crown to Poblet, and his sale of his other jewels to benefit the poor and lepers.⁵⁷⁶ Liturgical jewelry and effects, called collectively the *cappella*, was often left by bishops to their sees; nobles (the counts and their richest imitators often commissioned the construction of new liturgical pieces with the bequest of weights of silver or gold. Personal jewelry, notably rings, seems to have circulated between the nobility and the high clergy. Rings were often left to bishops--both by other bishops and by well-heeled counts and countesses.

B. Land: Terminology and Tenure

The most important possession in the agrarian society of medieval Catalonia and Occitania was land. Virtually all testators give some indication of possession of land in some type of tenure; landless peasants and slaves simply did not write testaments.

The terms used to discuss land can be placed in three groups: terms descriptive of the agricultural nature of the land--*vinea, olivaria, campus*, etc.; terms indicating relative magnitude of the parcel or the nature of habitation on it--*mansus, villa, torre, castrum*; or finally terms indicating the condition of tenure under which the property is held, such as *allodium* or *fevum*.

⁵⁷⁶ *CDIACA* iv, no. 168.

Descriptions of land in testamentary documents can range from detailed accounts, listing boundaries or *affrontaciones*, to cursory notices, in which lands are merely mentioned in the aggregate and not defined at all. Land can be localized quite elaborately, with hierarchical reference to the *pagus*, valley or region, and vicinity, or may not be localized at all. Unfortunately, units of land measure were rarely employed in testamentary documents in Catalonia or Occitania in this period. The most common measures one sees are only relative, in which a parcel is subdivided in fractions for distribution to different heirs. Some agricultural lands may appear by reference to the amount of grain required to sow a field or the amount of wine yielded by a vineyard.⁵⁷⁷ These land units, dependent on agricultural weights and measures as well as on productivity, are also nearly impossible to render in absolute terms. More puzzling is the use of this type of measure, derived from agricultural capacity, for land which is not under cultivation. An example is found in the bequest of “*pecia .i. de terra herema*” of Ramon Guifred to Sant Pere de Rodes in 1067.⁵⁷⁸ Thus, when bequest and inheritance of land is examined, one may only make approximate or relative judgments of the value of that land to the testator or the beneficiary.

I. FIEF AND ALLOD

Much has been written on the nature of land ownership and tenure in this period, both among the highest echelons (among counts, for example) and among the peasantry. A thorough understanding of contemporary ideas on land ownership, exploitation and rights would contribute greatly to knowledge of the social structure and economy in these transitional centuries. A significant aspect of this problem is the terminology used in contemporary documents to describe land tenure, particularly the words *allodium* and *fevum*

⁵⁷⁷ Vineyards and other planted land could be measured both by *modiata* and by *quarterada*, among, perhaps, other such measures. On the diverse system of weights and measures in the twelfth century in Catalonia, see Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, pp. 301-304.

⁵⁷⁸ ACB, *Libri antiquitatum*, iii, no. 311 (notice: *Rubrica dels Libri Antiquitatum*, no. 854), 14 December 1067. *Pecia* in this context is a more generic term than *modiata* or *quarterada*, and may not imply measure, simply “a parcel.”

(later *feudum*) which appear to have been used with varying shades of meaning from the tenth through the twelfth centuries.⁵⁷⁹

The confusion seems to stem from earlier ambiguities, when the Carolingian/Frankish system of land management (in which all conquered lands were in some way related to the royal fisc) overlapped with the southern tradition, perhaps Visigothic, of outright land ownership represented in the ninth century and later by the word *allod* and its variants.⁵⁸⁰ *Allodium*, common in the earliest (late ninth-century) charters in Catalonia and the coastal Narbonnais, and serving perhaps as a generic term for “land,”⁵⁸¹ was early mistaken by historians as specifically opposed to the term *fevum-feudum* and its connotations of contractual benefice. This is the thing that consistently struck the Ancien-régime antiquarian François de Fossa: “ceci prouve l’allodialité des terres dans le Roussillon au dixième siècle,” he wrote time and again in his notes to the Catalonian charters he copied to be sent to the Collection Moreau in the eighteenth century.⁵⁸²

In describing the *fief* (*fevum*) at the time of the introduction of the term into Catalonia around the Millennium, Pierre Bonnassie essentially identified it as any land originally deriving from the fiscal benefice of a count or viscount.⁵⁸³ In this way, he could

⁵⁷⁹ For previous discussions of this problem, see Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, “Sur le sens du mot “fevum” en Septimanie et dans la Marche d’Espagne à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle,” *Annales du Midi* lxxxvi (1974), 141-152; and Pierre Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, particularly pp. 183-187.

⁵⁸⁰ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, pp. 181-2, based on discussions by Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society*, pp. 70-81. Lewis and Bonnassie discuss the disputed status of the *aprisiones* granted by the Carolingians to Goths in Septimania.

⁵⁸¹ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 193-4.

⁵⁸² These notes may be seen in many of his fair copies (on pale blue bifolios) bound in the Collection Moreau at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, or in his notebooks (12 J 23-25) in the Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (ADPO) at Perpignan. This is particularly true of the twenty-odd executors’ donations of lands bequeathed to Elne, Arles or Cuixa in the tenth and eleventh centuries which survive in Fossa’s annotated copies.

⁵⁸³ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, p. 183: “una terra fiscal detinguda per un agent del poder públic.” He gives, as an example, a citation of “terra de fevo” belonging to the count of Cerdanya in a charter from Tavernoles of 1040. This usage, at least in Cerdanya, is consistent with the 1035 testament of count Guifred, in which he bequeaths a group of *fevos* to his least son, Ardoinus (see above, pp. 184-5).

explain the apparent conundrum “alode de fevo” because such lands came to be alienated by their comital or vicecomital lords to others as outright grants.⁵⁸⁴ This exclusive identification of “feudal” land with that deriving from the atomization of the fisc changed in the eleventh century, with the introduction of new varieties of conditional tenure in private hands.⁵⁸⁵

Examination of early testamentary evidence raises a couple of questions about these views. *Fevum* and its variants do not appear in Catalonian comital testaments of the tenth or early eleventh century, although in most comital testaments one sees the alienation of a great deal of land, called allods, to children, religious beneficiaries, and others. When, in the 1035 testament of count Guifred of Cerdanya, the term *fevum* is employed for the first time to indicate a parcel of land granted to one of the counts’ sons, it seems clearly to denote a different type of tenure than the allods granted to the other sons. It is impossible to tell, however, whether this *fevum* and the allods shared a common origin in the comital fisc.

One very early, perhaps anomalous, use of the word *fevum* in Occitania falls outside the pattern established for the late tenth century by Bonnassie and Magnou-Nortier. The testament of Guillerma, countess of Melgueil, from 900, includes a bequest of land (*alodem*) to the bishop and chapter of Maguelonne, with the condition “et non habeat licentiam episcopus, nec nullus homo ipsum alodem supra nominatum donare per fevum ad nullum hominem.”⁵⁸⁶ This type of condition, also reflected in eleventh-century testaments, has no other parallel in testamentary documents of the late ninth or tenth century.⁵⁸⁷ If the text is

⁵⁸⁴ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, i, p. 186 and n. 38; ii, p. 194 and nn. 49-50.

⁵⁸⁵ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 24-27, 193-208.

⁵⁸⁶ *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, i, no. 3. Rouquette’s dating of this document to 899 (“anno .iii. regnante Carolo rege”) is disputed: in the *HL* (v, no. 48) it is dated to 922. Magnou-Nortier makes no comment (*La société laïque et l’Église*, p. 239). A date of 900 or even a year later would be more in step with Septimanian-Catalonian dating conventions.

⁵⁸⁷ A curiously close parallel is found in Roussillon in 1075, in the testament of Bernat Isemberti (BN, Moreau, vol. 31, ff. 69-70: 31 May 1075, from the Cartulary of Elne):

... Dimitto enim corpus meum ad Sancta Eulalia sedis Elenense, cum ipsum meum alodem quod habeo et abere debeo in villa Canned {?}, que relinquo ad ejus canonica, in tali vero ratione: ut episcopus ne ullus homo non possit eum vendere

to be accepted as genuine, however, it would suggest that *fevum* had the connotation of conditional grant in private usage long before the devolution of public lands in Catalonia that Bonnassie discusses.

There is other evidence to support the diffusion of the term *fevum* in this context in Occitania before the wider usage is adopted in Catalonia in the eleventh century. Marie Roche noted the use of *fevum* in testaments in Languedoc, and found the earliest occurrence in that of Raymond, count of Rouergue in 960 (she ignored the occurrence in countess Guillerma's will).⁵⁸⁸ Raymond makes several bequests of alods which various third parties hold "a feo"; presumably the bequests would not dislodge these tenants. It is interesting that some of these lands are bequeathed to another party as a life tenure which would ultimately pass to a religious institution. This situation creates an interesting chain of rights, with the present tenant holding the allod "a feo", the testamentary beneficiary (who takes a lifetime share of the census of the tenant?) and the ultimate beneficiary all possessing some interest in the land. Other groups of allods are mentioned as having been acquired by count Raymond from third persons: that these have tenants installed "a feo" might contradict Bonnassie's conclusion for Catalonia that comital infeudation began only on fiscal lands.⁵⁸⁹

In the eleventh century the frequency of *fevos* mentioned in testamentary documents increases dramatically.⁵⁹⁰ Interestingly, fiefs could be the subject of legacies both by their lords and by their tenants. An early example is found in the testament of one Arnau Ramon in 1066, written before a journey to Rome, in which he left his various lands to his mother in life tenure. Among them is a fief: "et ipsum fevum quem teneo de Sancto Petro Gallicanti

neque excambiare, sive inpignorare vel alienare, sive ad fevum donare: si autem quod prescriptum est facere presumerit, prescriptum alode revertatur ad propinquis meis. ...

⁵⁸⁸ Roche, *La société languedocienne*, i, p. 21.

⁵⁸⁹ One of these originators is, however, another count (Guilhem, his *consanguineus*). The other, Pons, might also be a count, but he is not identified as such; thus it is impossible to prove that these lands are all parcels of fiscal lands alienated by counts.

⁵⁹⁰ As Bonnassie indicated, citing several documents from Vic, Urgell and Barcelona, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 206-207.

remaneat ei [to Sant Pere] solide et libere sine ullo encumbre post mortem prefati matris mee.”⁵⁹¹ It is curious that the tenant would see the need to bequeath his fief back to his lord, but in this instance the provision may be simply to clarify that the testator’s mother will have no power to dispose of the tenancy of the fief in her turn.⁵⁹² The lord, for his part, could bequeath a fief on which a tenant resides with no difficulty. The testament of Guillem Bonfill, from 1111, reveals not only the fiefs but their tenants included as the bequest:

Et dimitto ad Bernardum filium meum castellum de Mureden, sicut ego habeo vel teneo, et Raimundum Tedballum cum fevos quos habet per me, et dimitto eidem Bernardo Guillelmum Isarni cum fevos quos habet per me. Et dimitto ei fevum quem teneo in Empruniano per Iordanem seniorem meum.⁵⁹³

By the turn of the twelfth century fiefs were frequently mentioned in testaments; and throughout the twelfth century they are an important element of many testators’ landed possessions. *Figures 4:14* and *4:15* show the introduction and developing currency of fiefs as they appear in testaments (either as bequests, or in more general diplomatic usage, such as referring to land *tam francum quam fevum*).⁵⁹⁴ Either party--lord or tenant--seemed free to bequeath his (or her) share of the contract. Pierre Bonnassie pointed out the apparent difficulty a vassal had in bequeathing his fief to a minor, particularly if the fief involved military service, and the importance of securing an intermediate guardian to hold the fief in *bajulia*.⁵⁹⁵ Perhaps it is this concern which gave rise to the use of the term *bajulia* as a type

⁵⁹¹ ACA, Perg. Santa Maria d’Amer, no. 8 (16 March 1066).

⁵⁹² A charter of 1065 reveals a similar arrangement at Cuixa; however, in this case, the fief having been bequeathed back to Cuixa by her late husband, a widow appealed the bequest to count Ramon Guillem of Cerdanya and was granted the use of the fief herself in life tenure. *HL* v, no. 269 (30 August 1065).

⁵⁹³ ACA, Varios: Collection Sentmenat, Provisional Inventory 17, Section A, no. 2 (15 March 1111).

⁵⁹⁴ The statistics are drawn from 510 documents (roughly one sixth of the total database) for which the complete diplomatic text is word-searchable by computer. Improvements in scanning and optical character recognition technology and text storage capacity will facilitate the conversion of printed text editions to word-searchable computer format for future studies of this nature.

⁵⁹⁵ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 206 and n. 107.

of conditional tenure often appearing alongside the term *fevum*; apparently it, too, could be transferred by testament.⁵⁹⁶

One example of the appearance and power of the *fief* is found in the career and testament of Guillem Ramon I, the *seneschal*. John Shideler, examining Guillem's power base, noted that it included not only castles and lands held in *fief* from the count or the bishop of Vic, but also from other lords as well.⁵⁹⁷ It is tempting to imagine that this relatively new type of land tenure (and his own willingness to be identified as a vassal to Ramon Berenguer I and other intermediate lords) is what facilitated the rise of Guillem Ramon the *seneschal* from relative obscurity to the first rank of power.

2. FINAL OBSERVATIONS

These increasingly complex patterns of *infeudation* are clearly visible in the testaments of the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The accompanying trend towards patrimonial consolidation through testamentary preference for one child (usually the eldest son) over other potential heirs and beneficiaries has been noted in the review of comital testaments. Daughters and younger sons were affected in particular by the testators' growing reluctance to alienate tracts of land for the dowries of daughters or the appanages of supernumerary sons. One solution is the use of cash or other liquid wealth as a legacy in place of such a bequest.⁵⁹⁸ The most striking example is the testamentary endowment by Ramon Berenguer I of his daughter, Sancia, with 10,000 *mancusos* in his testament of

⁵⁹⁶ An example from the Cerdanya appeal, noted above (note 133): "dederunt ei omnem *fevum* et *bajoliam* quod *condam* vir suus *Guadallus* tenuit ex *predicto cenobio*." *HL* v, no. 269 (30 August 1065). In the testament of Guillem Ramon the *seneschal*, in a bequest to his second son, Ot, he gives "quantum habeo inter ipsos quatuor terminos [previously defined], *alodia* sive *fevos*, sive *baiulias*, et que homines tenent per me, totum solide et libere sibi concedo." *ACA*, Perg. Santa Maria d'Amer, no. 14 (17 November 1120).

⁵⁹⁷ Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, particularly pp. 62-64. Many of these holdings in *fief*, as well as others' *fiefs* held of him, are mentioned in his testament of 1120, noted above.

⁵⁹⁸ On the use of cash bequests in general, as they became more common in the twelfth century, see below, chapter 6.

1076.⁵⁹⁹ Cash was never as commonly used in patrimonial settlements, however, as it came to be associated with pious bequests and with the settlements of outstanding credit or debt situations.⁶⁰⁰ More generally, in the later eleventh and twelfth century, daughters as yet unmarried were committed to their brother or even to some other guardian upon whom would fall the obligation of “marrying them honorably”--that is, with a sufficient, not a niggardly dowry.⁶⁰¹ Where this provision is lacking it seems clear that the daughters’ provision is to be left to the discretion of the inheriting son or sons.⁶⁰² Pierre Bonnassie suggested that unmarried daughters who received lands in a testament were more likely to receive allods than fiefs, partly because of the uncertainty that they, as women, could fulfill whatever obligations were attendant on that fief.⁶⁰³ In contrast already-married daughters with a proven spouse might be given fiefs to hold of their brothers to strengthen collective family strength in holding a group of castles. The testament, from 1116, of one Guillem Bernat, an important landholder of Urgell and Pallars, names six sons and four daughters.⁶⁰⁴ The daughters are relegated to the final clauses as substitutes in case all six sons should die without heirs; the married daughter, however, is also granted (with her husband) two castles to hold in fief from the eldest son.

⁵⁹⁹ See above, p. 189.

⁶⁰⁰ One exception, from the Toulousain, is the testament of Pierre-Bernard de Pezenas, from 1157, in which he settled lands on his son Pierre and one daughter (already married), leaving the other daughter 3000 *solidi Melg*. The son-in-law was made the custodian of the patrimony until young Pierre came of age. Toulouse, Arch. Dép. Haute-Garonne, H Malte Pezenas iv:4 (8 November 1157) (Roche, *La société languedocienne*, ii, pp. 91-93). On pious cash bequests and credit/debt settlements see below, chapters 5 and 6, respectively.

⁶⁰¹ For example: “Dimitto filiam meam Arsende in potestate Dei et filii mei Petri ut maritet eam honorifice; sin autem habeat iamdicta filia mea Arsendis et eius proienies atque posteritas ipsum meum alodium et fevum de Garriga.” Testament of Geraldus; ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 184 (6 September 1175). This type of insurance clause is not present in many other such commendations.

⁶⁰² Many daughters are not mentioned at all in testaments save as last-resort substitutions, if all sons should die without heirs. For example, the 1100 testament of Arnau Guillem de Salses from the Roussillon/Narbonnais border. BN, Moreau, vol. 37, ff. 237-240 (1 October 1100).

⁶⁰³ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 207. An example: Hug Sendred of Cànoves in the Vallès, having only daughters, left them his *hereditates*, allods and manses; all his fiefs, however, went to his two nephews. *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, no. 130 (28 August 1092).

⁶⁰⁴ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1297 (11 October 1116).

The twelfth century would see the maturation of these new social patterns, rightly called “feudal” in this context. From counts to near-peasants, testators of varying social strata in this economic and social network throughout Catalonia and Languedoc would reflect this system in their testaments, describing their patrimonies--allod and fief, beasts, crops and weapons--and determining how they would be distributed among kin or for the benefit of their souls.

CHAPTER 5. THE TESTAMENT AS *ELEMOSINA*: PIOUS LEGACIES

In the last chapter emphasis was placed on the testament as a familial, patrimonial document. It has already been stressed, however, that the primary situation in which early medieval testaments have been preserved is in the archives of an ecclesiastical institution whose patrimony was in some way the beneficiary of some or all of the goods settled in the document. Provenance from religious archives accounts for over eighty percent of the surviving documents in this study, and of the remaining documents from familial (dynastic) archival collections, virtually all of them contain religious bequests of one sort or another.⁶⁰⁵

I. A RELIGIOUS DOCUMENT

The testament was, first and foremost, in the eyes of the Church, and no doubt in the eyes of a great number of testators, a religious document. For the Church it was legal evidence of acquisition from an individual, and witness to an individual's donation expressed in the economic and symbolic gestures of pious bequest.⁶⁰⁶

A. The Pilgrimage Testament

Perhaps the most obvious devotional context of the testament is the pilgrimage. Pierre Bonnassie has noted the enormous volume of testaments in Catalonia penned by those undertaking a pilgrimage, noting the importance of this phenomenon for assessing the expanding geographic and commercial horizons of Catalans and other Southerners in the eleventh century.⁶⁰⁷ It has already been shown how, in the tenth-century Ripoll formulary, the pilgrimage testament was deemed a separate genre from that of a dying man, and the

⁶⁰⁵ The percentage of documents of ecclesiastical provenance does not include documents now in miscellaneous collections which are clearly of ecclesiastical provenance, such as the remnants of several monastic archives scattered among the parchments of the Biblioteca de Catalunya. See above, chapter I.

⁶⁰⁶ For an important interpretation of the social value of pious donation (of which the bequest is a form), combining anthropological models with diplomatic evidence, see Barbara Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).

⁶⁰⁷ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 277, 370-374, etc.

declaration of a pilgrimage to Rome was imbedded specifically into the formula.⁶⁰⁸ A clearly perceived outlet for devotional energy (and time and money) was to undertake a pilgrimage--to Rome, Jerusalem, Santiago de Compostella, or any one of the number of shrines in Languedoc or elsewhere that attracted travelers in the tenth through the twelfth centuries. On one level, the creation of a testament at the point of commencing such a journey is common sense, but on another level, it is an extension of the piety which prompted the decision to undertake a pilgrimage in the first place.⁶⁰⁹ *Figure 5:1* provides a graphical tabulation of testaments of those undertaking pilgrimages, showing distribution by decade of documents referring to the most popular pilgrimage destinations.⁶¹⁰

B. The Pious Arenga

As countless pious testamentary *arengas* indicate, both the Church and the testators believed in--or at least restated constantly--the efficacy of testamentary arrangements for the benefit of their souls. The objective of salvation through pious generosity was strongly stated in testaments throughout the ninth to twelfth centuries. This tradition anticipated the post-Fourth-Lateran context of penitential testamentary piety, in which the distribution of alms at burial was acknowledged to be efficacious in securing advancement in Purgatory; this has been explored in a very thoughtful article by Clive Burgess for late medieval Bristol.⁶¹¹

Michel Zimmerman has observed that many identical pious arengas are to be found interchangeably in testaments and ecclesiastical donation charters.⁶¹² The most common of

⁶⁰⁸ Michel Zimmerman, "Un formulaire...", pp. 77-78. See above, chapter 3.

⁶⁰⁹ We leave aside here consideration of those whose travel to Rome or other pilgrimage sites might have motivations other than piety: commerce, diplomacy, tourism, or travel with specific other purposes at which one can only guess.

⁶¹⁰ The figure also includes, for comparative purposes, testaments written by those undertaking military travel, primarily those campaigning in the Spanish peninsula (or even in the frontier regions close to home). Note that, despite a steady number of such documents, they are far outweighed by the testaments of individual pilgrims.

⁶¹¹ Clive Burgess, "By Quick and by Dead?: Wills and pious provision in late medieval Bristol," *English Historical Review* cii (1987), 837-859.

⁶¹² Zimmerman, "Un formulaire...", p. 40. For Zimmerman, the testament is the "aumône par excellence. Il ... n'hésite pas a capturer ou annexer de simples formules de donation aux églises."

these usually imply the importance of alms-- “*elemosina a morte liberat animam*”--and insist on the importance of preparation for death.⁶¹³

Numerous brief formulae express recognition of the inevitability of death and the fear lest it arrive too suddenly (“*spero in Dei misericordia, et timeo ne mors me repentina perveniat ...*”). The linking of these sentiments, and the expressed causal relationship between the desire to achieve heaven and the decision to make a testament (“... et *ideo* iubeo hunc testamentum meum fieri”), all imply clearly that the pious testament was beneficial to the soul.⁶¹⁴ Pious bequests “liberate the soul” as a final act of devotion and charity before the testator’s judgement.

C. *Elemosinarius*: the Executor

Another obvious indication of the primacy of the institution of penitential or pious bequest is the use of the term *elemosinarius* to identify the testamentary executor. Most common in Catalonia, but also present as in Languedoc and the Rouergue, this term enjoyed a widespread use from the first appearance of executors in the mid-ninth century through the close of the eleventh century.⁶¹⁵ The earliest testament apparently to name testamentary executors, that of count Eccard the Nibelung in favor of Fleury, circa 873, gives an interesting twist to the terminology: the testament itself is referred to as an *elemosina*--an alms, and the executors fulfill its provisions *per gadium et andelagum*:

⁶¹³ Guillem Berenguer, ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, nos. 331, 3322 (14 October 1064): “... scio quia sum mortalis et valde timeo eventum inane mortis, et ne inordinatis meis rebus ab anc luce quandoque subducatur facio hunc libellum testacionis.” See below, Appendix D, no. 7.

⁶¹⁴ Sendred Compan, ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 357 (15 December 1078). The focus on redemptive nature of good works was explicitly stated in the testamentary arenga in the Ripoll formulary: “oportet ut inveniat unumquemque hominem paratum ne sine aliquo boni operis respectu migret de hoc seculo ...” Although this formula was seldom used in Catalonia, as it turned out, the sentiment expressed clearly remained. Zimmerman, “Un formulaire...,” pp. 77-78.

⁶¹⁵ See above, chapter 3, for other synonyms used to denote testamentary executors. *Elemosinarius* seems to have been the term in most widespread usage (employed from Ribagorça to Brioude), despite various more localized competitors. *Manumissor*, which had also been present, with *elemosinarius*, since the ninth century, began to eclipse the other synonyms in the later eleventh.

... ut in manibus viris istis mea elemosina commendassem, quod ita et feci, ii sunt [here is a list of thirteen priests and two laymen], ut, sicut per instrumenta kartarum vobis tradidi et per guadium et andelagum seu per istos breves commemoratum habeo ... ut ita disponatis sicut in ipsis insertum est, pro salute animas nostras ita agite sicut ante tribunal Christi reddituri sitis rationem ... [there follows a sort of preliminary anathema clause to prompt these named executors to compliance]⁶¹⁶

The implication of this charge is that the executors' duties were seen to have significant religious consequences. The adoption of the term *elemosinarii* to identify them seems to have been a natural extension of this feature.⁶¹⁷ A short Catalan testament of the eleventh century, derivative of this tradition, would read:

et ideo iubeo atque discerno ut elemosinari mei--id est Martucio et Arnal de Seniofredus Ramio--ut ... potestate abeatu aprendere omnem meum avere et dare pro anima mea ...⁶¹⁸

In some cases it seems that a distinction was felt between the religious and the secular duties of the executors--that is, between their obligations to execute pious bequests and secular ones. The use of dual terms to identify executors may have been an effort to distinguish these functions. One testament reads:

Ego Arnallus Remundi ... per istius testamenti ordinacionem dispono atque discerno ut sint mei elemosinarii vel manumissores Garsendis mater mea et Bernardus Johannis et Adaleizis uxor mea et Compan Eldemari et Guillelmus Amalrici, quibus iniungo atque precipio quod si mors mihi advenerit antequam alium testamentum faciam habeat potestatem distribuere omnes res meas, mobiles et immobiles, in sanctis Dei ecclesiis, in clericis, in pauperibus, et in his hominibus sicut per istius testamenti seriem ordinatum invenerint.⁶¹⁹

Were they to be considered *manumissores* insofar as they transferred legacies to various laymen ("his hominibus") and *elemosinarii* in their pious capacity? *Figures 5:2* and *5:3* show the trend in nomenclature of testamentary executors, with reference to these two most

⁶¹⁶ *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, i, no. 25. See above, chap 3 and n. 9, for fuller reference to this and Eccard's other testamentary documents.

⁶¹⁷ First adopted, apparently, in the early ninth century: cf. the publication of the bequest of Adalaldus Maimon from 821, in which Justus was his *elemosinarius* (*HL* ii, no. 57). The first naming of *elemosinarii* in the plural is from Aniane in 842 (*Cartulaire d'Aniane*, no. 289).

⁶¹⁸ Testament of Guidinel [Guinidilda], a woman of humble means, Arxiu de Montserrat, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 125 (1 May 1049).

⁶¹⁹ Arnau Ramon: ACA, Perg. Santa Maria d'Amer, no. 8 (16 March 1066).

common synonyms.⁶²⁰ The eclipse, occurring over the course of the century from 1050 to 1150, of *elemosinarius* in favor of *manumissor* did not accompany an abandonment of the pious functions of the executor, or an abandonment of pious bequests at all. Nonetheless, it is curious to consider that this change in terminology for the executor closely parallels the eclipse and disuse of the executors' donation charter as an independent testamentary document.⁶²¹ Perhaps some functional change is indicated. At any rate, the religious overtones of the legal terms were certainly clear to those who employed them.

D. Pious Legacies

After the pious arenga and the charge to the executors come the bequests themselves; these, too, show the saturation of the conception of the testament as a religious document. The primacy of religious bequests among testamentary dispositions is evident from their placement at the beginning of the dispositive section of most testaments. Bequests were almost always enumerated in a logical, hierarchical order. The most common pattern for this ordering of bequests was that the pious bequests be succeeded by the mundane familial or friendly legacies. In some contexts this had practical foundations: it is logical to specify one or more finite bequests to, say, a church or other religious beneficiaries, and then to follow up with the provision that all the remainder of the estate pass to a spouse or child. Yet the convention of placing religious bequests before mundane ones seems more than just a piece of notarial economy.

A typical testament may contain anywhere from one to dozens of pious bequests. What is their importance in the testament? What needs did they serve?

⁶²⁰ The other most frequent synonyms--*amici* and *tutores*, and less commonly *mandatarii* (in Pallars), etc.--are not widespread enough to be statistically traceable.

⁶²¹ For this trend, see above, chapter 3.

Lluís To i Figueras has observed elements of funerary custom which are seen in testaments in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶²² Testaments, being primarily dispositions of property, did not often contain specific prescriptions for elements of funereal ritual or custom. Nonetheless, many passing references to these things can be found in the documents. Lluís To was able to collect a series of references to such customs as funereal feasts or wakes, washing the body (in one instance, referred to as a duty of the executors), laying out and dressing the body, transportation to place of burial, and location of burial. Most of these elements are mentioned in testaments in the context of a bequest: a sum of money or other goods were bequeathed specifically to facilitate or fund these activities. These activities may have been an important, perhaps even an obligatory, aspect of social custom, combining possibly pre-Christian tradition with expected elements of Christian charity. The wake, for example, was a significant pious gesture because testamentary provisions for it often explicitly included the feeding of clergy and a number of the poor.

The most common reference to funereal practice in testaments is the selection of the place of burial. This almost invariably was accompanied by a bequest to the religious institution affiliated with the burial site. Indeed, evidence suggests that a bequest was a necessary condition of burial, particularly at a monastic house or other prestigious ecclesiastical location. This is suggested by an interesting dispute over a bequest to Cuixa in 1054: one Pere having died and willed an allod to Cuixa with his body for burial, his brother Bernat delivered the corpse but then refused to relinquish the parcel.⁶²³ In court (in a complaint to count Ramon Guifred of Cerdanya) the monks emphasized Bernat's delivery of the body to Cuixa, implying that he should naturally expect to have to relinquish the bequest as well.⁶²⁴

⁶²² Lluís To i Figueras, "L'evolució dels ritus funeraris a Catalunya a través dels testaments (segles X-XII)," *Lambard* (iii (1983-5), pp. 75-96.

⁶²³ *HL* v, no. 240 (31 March 1054).

⁶²⁴ Interestingly, the brother and his wife retained use of the parcel for their lifetimes.

While specification of burial in this manner was a rare provision in earlier testaments (particularly those of the tenth century), it began to appear in the eleventh century in Catalonia and elsewhere, and was indeed almost obligatory by the later twelfth century. *Figures 5:4* and *5:5* represent the frequency of explicit election of burial place in Catalonian and Narbonnais testamentary documents from the late tenth century through the year 1200, revealing a very steady rise in the percentage of testaments bearing this mandate. The choice of burial became one of the most prominent customary clauses within the dispositive portion of a testament. In 1123 one Guillem de Vilar began his will, “in primis dimitto corpus meum et anima meam ad domino Deo et Sancta Maria Stagni...”⁶²⁵ After that point the promotion of this type of affiliation/burial commitment to the head of the testament became quite common.

Lluís To differentiated several types of basic pious bequests in addition to those with specific provisions for funereal obsequies (which were by no means common), and those bequests accompanying selection of burial site. Basic bequests for distribution of alms at the time of death were often made, either in an unspecified way (“pro anima”), or with a charge to executors to distribute money or foodstuffs as they saw fit.

Most commonly, pious bequests were made directly to institutions or priests. In some cases specific goals or applications of funds were stated--works of construction or ornamentation, for example, or liturgical maintenance such as illumination or vestments. Many bequests to churches or priests were made to endow the celebration of masses for the deceased or for his family. The number and frequency of specified masses varied greatly, from individual post-funereal masses to a specified number over a certain time, or indefinite anniversary or commemorative celebrations.

Most commonly, however, pious bequests to churches (and even those to clergy) were unaccompanied by any specific instructions for funereal rite or custom, religious

⁶²⁵ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer III, no. 249 (28 January 1123).

observation, or any other set application of resources. The strength of these gifts was that the mere act of giving would contribute to remission of sin.⁶²⁶ In the absence of a mundane payback for such gifts, and in the uncertainty of their redemptive efficacy, we must focus on the pious bequests themselves--their nature and quantity--, and on the beneficiaries of these bequests, for a composite picture of testamentary almsgiving in the ninth through twelfth centuries.

II. GOODS BEQUEATHED

The similarity of testamentary pious bequests to outright pious donations *inter vivos* (or from an individual to the corporate body of the Church) has been noted both in diplomatic and in functional grounds.⁶²⁷ The ultimate collective study of pious testamentary bequests could be undertaken only in the context of all surviving donation charters, in order to fully ascertain the modalities of living and *post obitum* charity. The richness of testaments, however, lies in their comparative nature: the distribution of more than one gift, to more than one beneficiary--something not found in charters of donation *inter vivos*--instantly provides a comparative context for the largesse.

What is the typical pious bequest? The profile of the typical pious bequest is dependent on several things: the period, as there were distinct changes in fashion and economy with direct effects on this type of exchange; the beneficiary (as different types of institutions and different classes of individuals were treated differently); and the type of documentary evidence of the bequest. While many testaments preserved the most niggling

⁶²⁶ Belief in and emphasis of the remissive function of almsgiving dates at least to Augustine. Adalbert Hamman, "Alms - Almsgiving," in the *Encyclopedia of the Early Church*, ed. Angelo di Berardino, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1992), i, pp. 25-26.

⁶²⁷ For the diplomatic similarity, see Zimmerman, "Un formulaire...", p. 40 (see above, n. 608). Lluís To stressed their functional equivalency, "L'evolució dels ritus funeraris," p. 77: "Les donacions pietoses que omplen els arxius ... podien tenir una relació més o menys directa amb la mort del donador." Equally, the testament may do no more than furnish another occasion to make the same sort of donation common in life.

of bequests in a larger collective context, individual records of bequest execution were more likely produced only for major transactions, or transactions involving land.

A. Land

1. AGRARIAN LAND: THE ALLOD

In the agrarian economy of the tenth and early eleventh centuries in Catalonia and Languedoc, and before the successes of the eleventh-century *Reconquista* spurred an expansion of cash economy, land was the most important element of pious endowment--indeed of most recorded transactions which survive.

Was there a “normal” pious bequest when bequests were of land? The problem of determining consistent quantity or value from the categorical terms used to describe parcels of land in bequests has already been noted.⁶²⁸ What is perhaps more consistent is the type of lands left to ecclesiastical beneficiaries, and possibly the importance of those lands among the total estate of the testator.

Generally, the amount of land bequeathed to pious beneficiaries was not great in relative terms, but was more carefully enumerated, in contrast with larger clusters of lands and lordships passed within the family or to other close individuals. These latter could be expected to know (or to think they knew) what the lands and lordships were, whereas the Church’s portion would be carefully circumscribed in an attempt to avoid future conflict. In the event a testator had no family members, it is not uncommon to see the whole of a landed estate pass to the Church--to one or more beneficiaries. Many clerical testaments, understandably, contain such wholesale bequests of estates to the Church--estates either brought to the Church by that individual, or, perhaps, Church lands he had come to regard as his own, and was passing back into the system.

⁶²⁸ See above, chapter 4, pp. 199-200.

The most ubiquitous type of land appearing in pious bequests is the agricultural unit--the vineyard, the field, or simply the *allod*--the most common unit of distribution which could have a variety of meanings.⁶²⁹ A couple of examples may serve to illustrate modalities of testamentary endowments of primarily agricultural (or otherwise undistinguished) land. One of the very earliest testaments from the area to combine pious and familial bequests is that of countess Guillerma of Melgueil, dated probably to around 900.⁶³⁰ Her testamentary dispositions were meager, but before the bequest of one *mansus* to her son, Bernard, she left alods which she had in the confines of two *villas* respectively to the bishop and canons of the see of Maguelonne, “where she commended her body to rest.” Pious bequests of virtually the same type were made in another early comital testament, the testament of count Miró of Cerdanya and Besalú of 925, which has been discussed already in the context of the extended comital family.⁶³¹ The “miser peccator” Miró leads off the dispositive clauses of his testament with four pious donations: two in cash (to institutions--la Seu d’Urgell and la Grasse--outside his ambit of lordship) and two in land, to local houses (Ripoll and Sant Joan de les Abadesses). Ripoll is given an allod with the interesting name of “Ecclesias clavatas;” Sant Joan is given lands, “quantum abeo” in two “villares” in the non-adjacent *pagi* of Berguedà and Vallespir. For each of these allodial bequests Miró asks his executors, “facite scripturam de quantum abeo...,” directly instructing the executors to create written deeds of these landed transactions. This pattern of bequest was most advanced, of course in the testaments of the childless wealthy. Miró’s son count Sunifred of Besalú-Cerdanya, who died without issue in 965, left a testament with eleven bequests of allods to an impressive array of monasteries.⁶³²

⁶²⁹ See above, chapter 4, pp. 200-205, for discussion of the allod.

⁶³⁰ *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, i, no. 3.

⁶³¹ Bofarull, *Los Condes*, i, pp. 88-89.

⁶³² Abadal, “Com neix i com creix ... Eixalada-Cuixa,” no. 92 (1 October 965). The houses are Ripoll, Arles, Sant Pere de Rodes, Sant Pere de Camprodon, Sant Joan de les Abadesses, Sant Llorenç “in valle Bocoranensi” [Sant Llorenç del Munt in Besalú?], Saint-Paul de Fenouillet, Saint-Martin “Lenis” [Saint-Martin-Lys in the Rasès?], Sant Miquel de Cuixa, Sant Esteve de Banyoles,

What sorts of land did lesser personages leave to the Church in this earlier period? Inginilda's testament was published in 958 in Agde before the bishop.⁶³³ The testament of this married lady of middling means has already been discussed in a diplomatic context. Her legacies follow a similar pattern of pious land donation to that seen in contemporary comital wills, albeit on a lesser scale. Allods were willed to the church at Agde and two parish churches where, we learn, she held land. One of the two parish churches is given, specifically, a *vinea*. All her remaining land, after the specified pious legacies, was to be left to her husband Bernard.

From roughly the same position social scale came Igiga, a freeholder on the frontier near Olèrdola, who had arms and a horse, but whose other named possessions were beasts and vintner's casks.⁶³⁴ In a testament of 990 he willed some parcels--*pariliatas* and *modiatas* of land, and one vineyard, all to Sant Cugat. For his wife and son he retained what may have been the principal agrarian establishment--the *chasas* with their agricultural appurtenances spelled out, principally wine barrels and casks of differing sizes. All this land was to go to Sant Cugat after the death of the son. Throughout the lifetimes of his widow and son an annual rent of ten *solidi* was to be paid, no doubt to secure continuing recognition of the terms of the bequest.⁶³⁵

Sant Andreu de Soreda, and Saint Sebastian "juxta alveum Esna." He additionally left a gift of one or two horses to each of the episcopal sees from Barcelona to Carcassonne, and cows to various of the episcopal chapters; and, perhaps as an afterthought, other beasts to three monasteries: Santa Maria d'Amer, Santa Maria "Urbione" [la Grasse] and Sant Genís (les Fonts?).

⁶³³ *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde*, Introduction, pp. lxxx-lxxxi. In addition to the landed legacies, moveable and other immovable goods were to be distributed as alms "in ecclesiis in sacerdotibus et pauperibus Dei" as the executors saw fit. For this common provision see below, p. 242.

⁶³⁴ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, i, nos. 258, 259.

⁶³⁵ The second charter, with the same date as the testament (no. 259) curiously consists of an outright *donatio* of the same lands, with a detailed description of them, reinforcing Sant Cugat's claim to eventual inheritance.

2. FROM LAND TO LORDSHIP: NEW TYPES OF LANDED PIOUS BEQUEST

In the eleventh century this type of pious bequest of parcels of land in outright ownership became less common. Instead of parcels of land, it was increasingly common to see other pious legacies--sums of cash and other moveable goods. However, the replacement was by no means universal. Many lands were still bequeathed, and were sometimes still identified as (or implied to be) agricultural allods given in outright possession. Yet increasingly, few had the ability, as the great counts did, to endow a long list of religious houses with allodial land in addition to providing for worldly progeny. At the same time that division of estates among blood heirs became more complicated in the middle third of the eleventh century, so did the provision of landed pious legacies. Just as individuals came to recognize different forms of land tenure and domination, testators came to employ these new forms in their pious as well as their lay bequests.

a. Castles

One might expect, in the era before Gregorian reforms made their presence felt in Catalonia and the Midi, that the Church's presence as secular and military lords might be reflected in bequest of fortifications as pious legacies. Paul Freedman has shown how a religious establishment, particularly a diocesan church on an expanding frontier, could reasonably be invested with castles and other trappings of military lordship.⁶³⁶ In fact, however, castles, which began to appear in testaments at the end of the tenth century, did not commonly appear as legacies to ecclesiastical institutions. Generally, perhaps, the acquisition by the Church of military property would occur in the context of a *convenientia* or a donation *inter vivos*, in which one might assume some sort of economic exchange, either

⁶³⁶ Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, particularly chapters 1 ("The Heroic Era of the Church of Vic") and 4 ("Episcopal Castles").

stated or not stated, is effected.⁶³⁷ It is understandable that military property would not often be subject to pious bequest. To bequeath a castle to an institution, rather than to a known individual, was a strategically and economically uncertain move.

There are exceptions, however. Perhaps the earliest surviving castle bequest in Catalonia is that of Druda, widow of Ansulf, of her property the castle of Marro on Montserrat to the new monastery of Santa Cecilia in 942.⁶³⁸ Interestingly, a second important castral legacy by the widow of a castellan, Adalaidis of Ogern, dates from 1044.⁶³⁹ Adalaidis left at least two castles to religious beneficiaries--one (Torreroja--possibly Tarroia de Segarra) to Urgell, and another castle in Ausona jointly to Vic and to Ripoll, *pro anima sua*.⁶⁴⁰ Two other early eleventh-century cases are found in Barcelona itself: one Guitard in 1005 left the castle of Barberà del Vallès to the see of Barcelona;⁶⁴¹ the viscount's son Adalbert (who died childless) left the castle of Albinyana and a "tower" at Moià to Sant Cugat. In 1131 Guerau Ponç, the viscount of Ager, left, among many pious legacies, a castle called Gabar to the see of Urgell, and another castle, Vaga, to the see of Roda.⁶⁴² He also willed them to his son Ponç (along with a string of other, more important castles), casually

⁶³⁷ Freedman mentions that Vic's many episcopal castles were mostly endowed by the Count, who was delegating public authority (and private frontier security) to an ally and deputy in this client county. *The Diocese of Vic*, p. 90.

⁶³⁸ *Marca Hispanica*, no. 78 (June 942). The surviving document is a donation *inter vivos* of other property to her nephew, a cleric, possibly of Montserrat, which records this other bequest incidentally.

⁶³⁹ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, nos. 71 (the executors' act jointly to Ripoll and Vic, dated 10 August 1044) and 72 (the publication charter, dated 11 August 1044). This unusual precedence of the publication charter by the executors' act may be explained by a scribal slip; I would assume that they date from the same day, but an extra *minim* was used or omitted on one of the two charters.

⁶⁴⁰ In 1160/1161, a castle "Turre" was left to Urgell by Berenguer de Torroja, "sicut Petrus Ecardi avunculus suus Urgellensis ecclesie archidiaconus dimiserat iamdictae ecclesie." This may not apply to the same fortification. ACA, perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 337 (publication charter of 1 January 1161). On redonations--successive donations of the same piece of property by different family members to a church--see Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, pp. 122-125.

⁶⁴¹ Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 64 (11 March 1005); he is misidentified here as the viscount of Barcelona, when it is obvious from the text that he is of a different family.

⁶⁴² Biblioteca de Catalunya, perg. 4086 (2 July 1131). *El archivo de Ager y Caresmar*, p. 96 (misdated notice). The location of *Gabar* is unknown; it is not mentioned subsequently in the published twelfth-century documents of Urgell (*Urgellia*, ix-x).

infeudating them, “ut teneat [Gabar] per episcopum Urgelli atque canonicis ejus loci;” and “ut habeat [Vaga] per episcopum de Roda.”⁶⁴³

b. Lordships

Aside from the outright pious bequest of castles (which was always rare) “feudal” arrangements began to appear more frequently in the place of outright allodial grants in pious testamentary bequests. The bequests of the viscount of Ager, mentioned above, might have been the result of negotiated overlordship as much as a unilateral pious gesture.⁶⁴⁴ An increasingly common pious bequest was, rather than an allod in a certain locale, a “directum,” “dominicatura,” or whatever revenue-generating rights a testator may have had in a certain locale and network. While this sort of bequest had been known in the tenth century, it began to be more common in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁶⁴⁵ For example, Sendred Compan, castellan of Castellar, in his testament of 1078:⁶⁴⁶

In primis, dono domino Deo et Sancto Benedicto Baiensis cenobii ipsam meam dominicaturam omnem quod abeo in terminio de Castellar, in locum quem vocant Sancta Maria de de Melancosa, et terras et vineas casas casalibus, ortis ortalibus, omnia et in omnibus quantum ibi abeo vel abere debeo in dominicatura ...

This bequest of *dominicaturae* de-emphasizes outright ownership of land and embraces instead the lordship (and its revenues) which Sendred, and subsequently the monastery, had in the area. Sendred’s lordship in Melancosa--in the area dominated by the castle of Castellar--was a direct consequence of his control of the castle at that site; while the

⁶⁴³ The bequest of Vaga is only in “medietatem.” If Ponç holds the castle of the bishop, however, it seems that overlordship is to pass to the Church

⁶⁴⁴ Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, devotes a chapter to the struggles of the bishops of Vic to retain overlordship of episcopal castles, many of which were increasingly regarded as the property of their emerging castellan families (pp. 90-114). To retain or reinstate some element of lordship the bishops often had to renegotiate with castle holders; in some cases this might appear as a new concession of rights by one or the other party. Perhaps these arrangements between the viscount of Ager and the bishops of Urgell and Roda represent this sort of activity, couched as a bequest.

⁶⁴⁵ In 968, for example, one Frugio, a married woman, bequeathed a tithe she held in Prats de Lluçanès, which she had inherited from her mother, back to its parish church. How had her mother come to possess the tithe? *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 387.

⁶⁴⁶ ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, 357 (15 December 1078).

castle was to be retained in his family (bequeathed to his son), some of the revenues generated were to be given over to the monastery. Obviously, the bequest would remain dependent on the willingness of Sendred's son to allow the monks a share of the revenue as long as the castle remained under his control. It is not hard to imagine the difficulties that could arise from this situation.

By the twelfth century the conception of land had become more complex, particularly in the context of the alienation of a landed bequest to pious institutional beneficiaries. An example from near the end of the period demonstrates the further feudalization of a landed bequest (in a pious bequest to the Knights Templar) in 1196:

In Dei nomine et eius gratia. Ego Bernardus de Viver, de bono animo ac bona voluntate facio scribere meum testamentum. ... In primis dimitto domino Deo et milicie templi ... unum mansum de meam dominicaturam de Manresana, per nomine 'ipsum de Bernad de Viver' apud quantum servicium debet mihi facere per omnem tempus. ...⁶⁴⁷

The *mansus* here bequeathed is not so much a parcel of land as a unit of lordship--*dominicatura*.⁶⁴⁸ Increasingly, land was identified in terms of the income to be derived from it through layers of lordship rather than as a simple agricultural capital. In the same trend, other lordships and rights which were part of the urban or rural *dominicatura* came to be lumped with land as all were described collectively in terms of their economic benefits. Consider the lead bequest in the testament of Berenguer Reverter, the viscount of Barcelona, in 1167:

... Primum dimitto pro anima mea Deo et Hospitali Iherusalem meam dominicaturam et omnes meos directos sicut melius habere debeo in termine de ipsa Grua, ut habeat in perpetuum per suum proprium alodium.⁶⁴⁹

In this language a morsel of lordship (*dominicatura* and *directos*) is divorced entirely from concrete descriptive terms: what the viscount bequeathed was merely a share in a

⁶⁴⁷ Bernat de Viver. ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28, no. 60 (19 December 1196).

⁶⁴⁸ In the settlement of La Manresana, 50 km northwest of Barcelona.

⁶⁴⁹ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 46 (29 October 1167).

revenue-generating system. Clusters of lordships, and fractions thereof, became increasingly used in pious bequests as in negotiations between living persons.⁶⁵⁰

B. Cash and Kind

One solution to the growing difficulty with alienating simple land as pious bequests was to bequeath lands and income in increasingly feudal modes of tenure. Another obvious option, which was increasingly employed in the later eleventh century and throughout the twelfth century, was to substitute other goods for land. This was, of course, not a new phenomenon. From the earliest times people had been accustomed to giving various things to the church. From the ancient customs of the tithes and other customary proportional contribution in kind of crops, livestock and other goods produced by the faithful, it was not a difficult leap to make bequests of extra quantities of the same goods on special occasions.

The very earliest preserved testaments tend to be, as has been observed, those with substantial donations to the Church in landed property: important endowments of permanent resources--i.e. land--merited defense and commemoration through the preservation of the record of their acquisition. One must expect, however, that smaller landed bequests, and bequests of moveable goods, must have constantly been solicited and received along with these larger donations, although records were not preserved as assiduously of those assets and acquisitions which were not permanent.

I. CASH

Pierre Bonnassie was the first to gather a large number of testaments and observe the type and quantity of chattels and other valuable goods noted or distributed as legacies.⁶⁵¹ Bonnassie's interest in pious legacies was focused on certain specific types of pious legacy.

⁶⁵⁰ The count of Barcelona's several distributions of fractions of lordship in Tortosa are an example of this twelfth-century trend. See Laureà Pagarolas, *La comanda del temple de Tortosa: primer període (1148-1213)* (Tortosa, 1984).

⁶⁵¹ This activity occupies one substantial group of appendices to *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 369-417.

For example, he tabulated bequests to religious beneficiaries outside Catalonia in order to trace the involvement and communication of Catalans with a larger community in Southern Europe, from Rome to Le Puy to Santiago de Compostella. Not surprisingly, the great majority of these long-distance pious bequests were in cash: *mancusos, solidi* or ounces of bullion.⁶⁵² What good would a tract of land in the Pyrenees be to the Holy See, or to the canons of Le Puy-en-Velay?

For the reason of portability cash came to be recognized as an excellent medium for pious bequest. At some point, apparently in the eleventh century, pious cash bequests became more frequent than landed ones, even for local religious beneficiaries. The reduction in the frequency of direct bequests of allodial land to religious beneficiaries was commensurate with, and possibly contributed to, the decline in the frequency of surviving executors' donation charters and the attendant decline of importance of the executors themselves.⁶⁵³ The frequency of cash sums for pious endowment reflects, no doubt, the increasing use of cash in other types of transaction: purchase and sale among local inhabitants as well as in the expanding mercantile network.

Pierre Bonnassie observed the eleventh-century increase in the cash economy in Catalonia, which was due in part to the improved balance of trade, tribute and booty with military successes on the Muslim frontier. Jesús Alturo i Perucho has conducted a more systematic examination of the use of coinage of different currencies in one documentary fond in the Diocesan Archive of Barcelona.⁶⁵⁴ The general patterns of increase in the use of cash to which they both testify are reflected in testamentary bequests.

As Bonnassie's analysis of bequests to foreign churches has suggested, pious cash bequests were present (but not universally so) in early tenth-century testaments. Count Miró

⁶⁵² Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 375-384. Rare exceptions included luxury goods for liturgical use (vessels and textiles).

⁶⁵³ See above, chapter 3, for a discussion of the decline in the role of executors from a diplomatic standpoint.

⁶⁵⁴ *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, i, pp. 181-214.

of Cerdanya and Besalú, in addition to allodial bequests to two local family monasteries (Ripoll and Sant Joan), left two pious bequests of cash--100 *solidi* each--to the monastery of La Grasse and the see of Urgell (where his brother was bishop)--both outside the ambit of his own *pagi*.⁶⁵⁵ An important functional difference between cash bequests and land was that a cash bequest could be executed in a *traditio* which did not require written memorials of donation. Miró's charge to his executors was not "*facite scripturam ...*"--as was the custom for a land transaction--but simply "donare faciatis ... propter remedium anime mee." In consequence, those charters of donation by executors which preserve the record of landed bequests from the tenth century (in the absence of the testaments themselves) are not matched by any document showing the pious bequest of cash or chattels.

But from the evidence of surviving complete testaments, in the tenth century pious cash bequests were still less common than bequests of land. Many testaments don't mention cash at all. Miró's son Suniefred, wealthy, pious and childless, distributed no cash among his numerous pious bequests (or to his brothers).⁶⁵⁶ In some situations, such as the testament of count Miró, landed and cash bequests were both present. The difference in geographic proximity may explain the difference of Miró's landed and cash bequests to institutions. Another common scenario which favored cash bequests was that of bequests made to individual priests. Simplicius, a priest in Narbonne, left certain pious landed legacies to canons and priests in Narbonne and to other monastic houses.⁶⁵⁷ In addition he left 5 *solidi* each to twelve priests for commemorative *trentenaria*.⁶⁵⁸ At least two of the priests were apparently also his blood-brothers--these received both landed bequests (no doubt from the familial patrimony) and cash tokens for the liturgical remembrance.

⁶⁵⁵ Bofarull, *Los condes*, i, pp. 88-90.

⁶⁵⁶ Abadal, "Com neix i com creix ... Eixalada-Cuixa," no. 92 (1 November 1965). His only named moveable goods were beasts.

⁶⁵⁷ BN, Doat, vol. 57, ff. 29r-30v.

⁶⁵⁸ A *trentenarium* was a commemorative cycle of thirty masses. Arnulf, bishop of Vic, secured an impressive array of *trentenaria*--thirty each from thirty priests, or a total of 2,700 masses--with bequests of bread and wine.

In later generations, cash was not merely a resort for the very wealthy, or as a means to provide a long-distance pious endowment. Increasingly one sees it used in the testaments of the lay people who were prospering with the military successes of the eleventh century. Sança, a castellan's widow at Santa Columba in the Vallès, made a testament in 1074 which leads off with a number of legacies in gold and coin (*mancusos*) to the chapter of Barcelona, the monasteries of Sant Cugat, Sant Benet de Bages, and Sant Llorenç del Munt, and a number of parish churches.⁶⁵⁹

By the twelfth century it was even more common to see pious legacies in cash only, even for those of middling means, while land was reserved more strictly for blood heirs or (if any were in evidence). Arbert Ponç, a resident of Barcelona, wrote his testament in 1160, willing token sums of cash to his parish churches of Santa Maria del Mar and Sant Just, with other small sums to Sant Pere Puellarum and to the diocesan canons for the redemption of Barcelonan captives.⁶⁶⁰

With the multiplication of token cash bequests to pious beneficiaries in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, what sums, if any, came to be seen as customary? Token sums seem to have reflected prices and currencies in vogue at various times. Single ounces of gold, in the days of the trade surplus in gold in the later eleventh century, seem to have given way to *solidi*. In the early twelfth century it was common to see bequests in fractions of *solidi*--either twelve or six *denarii*, for churches, individual priests, or for civic charities. Yet above token sums diversity, rather than uniformity, seems the rule. Persons made what distribution of pious bequests they thought best, and the amount of cash dedicated to pious beneficiaries in total and to individual recipients varied depending on testators' means and must, at least to some extent, have truthfully reflected individual devotional inclinations.

⁶⁵⁹ *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, ii, no. 103. Additional bequests of single ounces of gold, for masses, were made to several individual priests.

⁶⁶⁰ ACA: Varios: Collection Monistrol, no. 6 (19 June 1160). All his scattered houses and parcels of land in and around Barcelona were to pass to his sons.

2. PRODUCE, BEASTS AND LUXURY GOODS

In addition to cash, any number of moveable goods appeared as pious bequests. Pious bequests of moveable goods fall into two categories. The most frequent which appear are those of agricultural produce which were customary when a church was entitled to a tithe or other portion of local harvests--particularly beasts, grains, wine, olive oil, or wax. The bequest of certain foods and produce to fund funereal feasts has already been remarked upon by Lluís To.⁶⁶¹ Produce was an acceptable bequest to individual priests or ecclesiastical institutions, either in exchange for specific commemoration or in general. In addition, agricultural implements, particularly vintners' barrels and vats, are often specifically mentioned accompanying the bequest of vineyards. Clearly the vats (*tonnae* and *cubi*) were valuable, semi-permanent items vital to the production of wine and oil: important and valuable enough to be specifically named in such a transaction. In addition to livestock, the bequest of riding beasts was considered especially appropriate to important clerics: horses and mules were often bequeathed to bishops or abbots.⁶⁶²

Moveable goods of a non-agricultural character found in pious bequests are usually luxury or liturgical goods. While some cash bequests were directed to the purchase or construction of liturgical furnishings (including gifts of gold or silver by the mark or ounce), often items which could be so used were given outright. Clerics of high station who possessed their own *cappella*, or liturgical suite, often bequeathed these personal liturgical goods to their churches: luxury items accumulated personally by prelates were thus passed into the communal store.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹ Lluís To i Figueras, "L'evolució dels ritus funeraris," see above, pp. 213-214.

⁶⁶² In 1060 one Udalguer in the county of Barcelona left a mule "ad domino apostolico"--to the Pope. How was this bequest executed? ACA, Perg. Sant Llorenç del Munt, 184 (7 January 1060).

⁶⁶³ This is true, for example, of the testament or codicil of Riculf, bishop of Elne, with its elaborate list of treasures. The bequests were confirmed the following year by his successor Elmerad in an act of reconsecration of the cathedral of Elne. Francisco Monsalvatje y Fossas, *El obispado de Elna*, 4 vols. (Girona, 1911-1912), i, nos. 15 (915) and 16 (916). For a rich eleventh-century example, see the testament of bishop Guislabert of Barcelona: Sebastián Puig i Puig, *Episcopologio de la sede Barcinonense* (Barcelona, 1929), no. 49 (1062). Guislabert both bequeaths liturgical vessels and donates money for the construction of new liturgical ornaments. For a twelfth-century example, see

Similar items (particularly rings) were at times bequeathed by lay persons to the clergy as pious bequests; more commonly, however, cash (or bullion) was bequeathed for the construction of luxury liturgical goods.⁶⁶⁴

III. BENEFICIARIES

A. Religious Beneficiaries

A profile of pious testamentary largesse is perhaps best pursued by focusing on the types of beneficiaries as well as on the goods bequeathed. While to some extent the purpose of testamentary alms, stated or not stated, is salvation, the earthly recipients derived important economic benefits from such actions.⁶⁶⁵ An indication of the different types of people and institutions selected as recipients of testamentary alms reveals something of the conventions of devotion and faith in the period and area under study.

1. INDIVIDUAL CLERGY

The root recipient of pious endowment is the individual cleric. Whether in an individual (parochial) context or in an institutional one, the support of clerics by lay people is analogous to the military support of the soldiers for the *militia Christi*--for the dedicated

the testament of Pere, bishop of Elne, BN: Collection Baluze, vol. 108, f. 100r-v. Pere refers to his goods collectively as “*mea capella*” and then lists them singly--cross, chalice, censer, candelabra and other vessels. Evidence for the possession of this “personal” liturgical property by bishops and abbots does not reveal whether this was material accumulated in the lifetime of the individual or whether it might consist of ecclesiastical property of predecessors left *en masse* and bequeathed as private property by the bishops. In other words, was there an episcopal or capitular *capella* consisting of such furniture existing independent of the bishop’s hoard, or did each incumbent regard the material as his personal property, alienating some pieces and accumulating others for the see in the course of a lifetime?

⁶⁶⁴ As, for example, in the bequest by Berenguer Domnucii of a pound of silver for the construction of a chalice for the parish church of Sant Llorenç Savall in the Vallès in 1093. ACB Perg. Div. A, no. 1806: cited by Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 407 note 32. King Alfons I’s testament of 1194 has the largest array of such bequests, for construction of chalices, thuribles and ciboria. See below, chapter 6.

⁶⁶⁵ As did the donors (or their families), for whom the status of donor to an institution might have concrete benefits other than spiritual advancement. See Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, pp. 202-203.

individuals whose mission was to defend the souls of the society around them. Clerics--priests, deacons or members of the regular clergy--all appear as testamentary beneficiaries from the earliest Occitanian and Catalonian testaments through the twelfth century. Why or how were they chosen to receive alms? In many cases, certainly, these individuals were close to the deceased--either as blood relations, or as friends or associates in worldly life--close enough to receive bequests as a token of association or as part of the normal inheritance of a son, brother or nephew.

Often clerical testators named other clergy as beneficiaries who are clearly colleagues within a community, either a cathedral chapter or a monastery. Were they selected as a pro-forma gesture to remember the colleagues within an institution, or were they selected because they happened to be personally close to the testator? While a "brother in Christ" may not have been entitled to the same mandatory consideration of inheritance as a real brother in civil law, Christian custom seems to have favored such testamentary relationships. Some instances have been found to suggest that clerical brothers were often close relatives. Simplicius, the canon of Narbonne whose testament of 992 named thirteen priests as beneficiaries, distinguishes two of them as his brothers.⁶⁶⁶ The other named priests quite probably include his colleagues in the chapter. Simplicius' clerical *fratres* Belló and Arnau were indeed blood brothers, receiving both patrimonial bequests and pious bequests.⁶⁶⁷

Yet a great many of the individual clerical recipients of testamentary alms are those who do so clearly solely as representatives of the Church. Mentioned singly or in groups, these clerics received bequests in several common situations. In the first place, bishops were popular beneficiaries *ex officio*, both as powerful lords with whom powerful testators must have had dealings, and as powerful clerics. The bishops were believed to embody the Church

⁶⁶⁶ BN, Doat, vol. 57, ff. 29-30.

⁶⁶⁷ See above, p. 225.

just as lords embodied the society of which they were the head.⁶⁶⁸ Many testaments of wealthy noble Catalans provide legacies for each bishop in the province, from Narbonne to Tarragona.⁶⁶⁹

Abbots appear as individual beneficiaries rather less frequently than do bishops-- customarily only in the company of the saint and the monastic flock of which they were in a temporary position of leadership. This reflects the traditional dichotomy between the Benedictine regular clergy and the secular clergy, and suggests that perhaps an abbacy was perceived by outsiders, as well as the monastic theorists, as adhering more to the concept of office than the episcopal lordship.

Priests also appear on the parish level: sometimes, a named priest in a modest testament who is not identified either as a relative of the testator, or as a member of a specific larger community (monastic or episcopal) is most probably a local parish priest. Many testaments contain anonymous collective indication of rural or urban clergy: bequests to a parish church “et sacerdotibus eius,” or to a chapter and its canons, have a fairly steady frequency throughout the period. Presumably, those anonymous priests who are beneficiaries of general distributions of alms “in ecclesiis, sacerdotibus et pauperibus Dei” are parochial clergy of humble means.

A final category for clerical beneficiaries is those who have written the testament itself as scribes: in the twelfth century, particularly, the priest (or deacon) who served as the scribe would often be rewarded with a token bequest, generally of a *solidus* or a few *denarii*.⁶⁷⁰ This tradition seems to have gained currency through the twelfth century. Were these legacies the

⁶⁶⁸ The lay lord of a testator was sometimes named as a beneficiary. This act, seemingly a feudal extension of civic piety, was seen occasionally in the later eleventh and twelfth century.

⁶⁶⁹ There are several examples of multiple episcopal endowments. Countess Ermessend's testament of 1057 left bequests of 70 mancuses to each bishop. Guillem de Balsareny, bishop of Vic, also received 50 additional mancuses as her testamentary executor (as did each of the other executors).

⁶⁷⁰ A good, possibly early, example is found in Guillem Miró's crude undated testament (probably early twelfth century): “Et qui hoc scripsit solido .i.” ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 98. See below, Appendix D, no. 9.

only remuneration received by the legions of clerical scribes who penned testaments in Catalonia and Languedoc in the twelfth century and before? The practice was not universal enough in testaments to suggest that this was the only means of rewarding scribes. No doubt some sort of fee structure existed even before the advent of the urban professional notariate.

2. ECCLESIASTICAL INSTITUTIONS

Many different types of churches were named as beneficiaries. The difficulty in knowing the proportion of typical institutional beneficiaries of pious legacies is that the larger monastic houses, with better resources for the preservation of archival records, seem clearly to outweigh those lesser-developed institutions in the surviving testamentary documentation. Yet the parish church is still a cornerstone of pious endowment in many testaments which have been preserved in the archives of larger monastic or episcopal co-beneficiaries. Typically, the parish churches receive local land or produce, or at least a cash remembrance, often for construction or maintenance, or often combined, as mentioned above, with a token sum for the priest or each of the priests there. Many local churches, identified only by the Saint, are unidentifiable in rural testaments which provide no other clues to localize this parochial piety.⁶⁷¹

a. Benedictine Monasteries

Arguably among the most popular pious testamentary beneficiaries was the Benedictine monastery.⁶⁷² Languedoc and Catalonia experienced a tremendous flowering of monastic activity in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian centuries. While the Visigothic antecedents of some of the Pyrenean monastic houses are questionable or unverifiable, great waves of foundation and refoundation began in the early ninth century and persisted into the

⁶⁷¹ For example the bequest by one Guillem to a church of Sant Genís (somewhere in Urgell), which even Cebrià Baraut could not identify (*Urgellia* vii, no. 1028, 29 June 1086).

⁶⁷² With the reservation that testamentary evidence is skewed by greater survival of monastic archives than archives of other types of institutions.

eleventh. While the archives for many of these great houses are lost, notably Psalmody in the Camarguais, La Grasse in the Narbonnais or Ripoll in central Old Catalonia, voluminous collections surviving from a few of the old Catalonian monasteries attest to great numbers of testamentary remembrances. In addition, surviving testaments, particularly of the wealth and titled nobility, often cite a string of monasteries extending throughout the region from Barcelona to Narbonne: in some sense these were seen, even by the laity, as links in a large ecclesiastical chain, islands in a pious archipelago.

These islands of regular clergy must certainly have been looked on as among the most effective of Christian institutions in the efficacy of their efforts for salvation. Who but monks could provide such effective prayer? While it is difficult to judge based on surviving evidence, it seems that monastic testamentary endowment was more common than of secular clerical institutions (although cathedral chapters were similarly showered with testamentary largesse).

To be sure, monastic endowment was an economic and political venture, particularly on the part of those representatives of great families who were supporting a familial foundation through obligatory piety--support not only for the salvation of local (and ancestral) souls, but also support for the brothers and cousins who would become abbot, or assurance that the abbot would exercise his temporal power in step with the count who was his benefactor and kinsman.⁶⁷³

b. Bishops and Chapters

The bishoprics lagged not far behind. In contrast to the monasteries, episcopal beneficiaries were divided: bequests to individual bishops were differentiated from bequests to their cathedral chapters and canons as early as the turn of the tenth century: in her dual bequests to the bishop and chapter of Maguelonne, countess Guillerma of Melgueil was very

⁶⁷³ R. W. Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, discusses this phenomenon, pp. 156-160.

explicit that her bequest to the chapter not be tampered with by the bishop, on threat of the reversion of the gift to her son the count.⁶⁷⁴ Despite this early hint of anxiety about conflict between bishop and chapter, bequests to bishops individually and to canons collectively were made throughout the period.

Direct bequests to the chapter seem to have functioned as, and to have been as popular as, bequests to monasteries. Indeed, in the first wave of general reform at the end of the eleventh century, efforts were made to have chapters behave in a more regular fashion, perhaps making them more attractive as intercessory beneficiaries, although it is impossible to say so definitively based on testamentary evidence.⁶⁷⁵ As for undifferentiated bequests “to the see,” it is unclear to whom they went. Was there ever a policy of sharing or splitting undifferentiated bequests, or neutral gifts to the “domus” or the “sedes,” between the bishop and the canons? This belongs more properly to the scope of a close institutional study of the episcopal and chapter administration in each of the several sees in Catalonia and the Narbonnais; here specific examples can only be drawn from testamentary evidence.

3. OTHERS

With new forms of institutional Christianity imported from outside Catalonia and Languedoc, as well as new forms of civic responsibility, the options for possible beneficiaries of pious bequests increased. Pierre Bonnassie was interested in this phenomenon as he charted the growth of bequests for such causes as public bridge-building and urban hospitals in eleventh-century Catalan testaments.⁶⁷⁶ While the bridge-building shows growing consciousness of the economic and social importance of trade and communication, the founding and endowment of the urban charities (which Bonnassie noted principally in Barcelona, Urgell and Vic) show a growing institutionalization of the eleemosynary

⁶⁷⁴ *Cartulaire de Maguelone*, i, no. 3.

⁶⁷⁵ See Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, pp. 41-42, 46-47, for efforts to reform the chapter of Vic.

⁶⁷⁶ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, pp. 385-389.

obligation felt toward the poor. In Perpignan, the urban hospitals achieved enough solidity by the third quarter of the twelfth century to have established their own archives documenting their endowments.⁶⁷⁷

Other striking new magnets for testamentary piety were the new religious orders. The Cistercians made some headway but were not widespread in the monastically-saturated eastern Pyrenees, in the Narbonnais and old Catalonia. In areas where they gained a foothold, however, results were dramatic. New foundations of Poblet and Santes Creus in New Catalonia, Fontfroide in the Narbonnais, and Silvanès and others in the upper Hérault attracted devotion rapidly. Their competition in novelty was provided by the military orders: commanderies of the Templars and Hospitallers both springing up throughout these regions. Modalities of bequest and endowment varied from house to house, depending on local economic conditions as well as the success with which attention of potentes was attracted. The military commanderies and the new monasteries on the Muslim frontier benefited most spectacularly from many testamentary arrangements.

The Cistercian abbey of Poblet, for example, was able to profit from a fast-and-loose market in land parcels on the frontier and accumulate a sizable domain in its first thirty years.⁶⁷⁸ It benefited also from its position in an area of mixed Catalan and Aragonese influence: Alfons I, the first count-king of a united Aragon and Catalonia, favored it highly over the exclusively Catalan Benedictine foundations of his father's lineage. Courtiers and followers were quick to follow his example. The quasi-testamentary act in which he promised his body to Poblet for burial in 1176, for example, spawned a rash of copy-cat charters, with considerable benefit to Poblet's prestige and purse.⁶⁷⁹

⁶⁷⁷ Some of these have survived in fragmentary form and are in series undergoing reclassification at the Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales (ADPO).

⁶⁷⁸ This is the focus of the study of Jaime Santacana Tort, *El monasterio de Poblet (1151-1181)*. Santacana's impressive work of documentary publication is being superseded by the even more impressive work of Agustí Altisent; see above, n. 118.

⁶⁷⁹ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 549 (1 February 1176). Copy-cat charters: nos. 584 (Ponç, viscount of Cabrera), 590 (Ramon Joan), etc.

B. Patterns of Distribution

How did individuals choose to distribute that portion of their wealth designated for pious legacies? What factors may have influenced their choices? We have already seen the variety of recipients one could choose for bequests which would have, hopefully, the same desired effect of salvation. Testators were faced not only with a variety of possible pious beneficiaries, but with the option of distributing portions (or all) of their estate to any combination of these recipients. The decision was to some extent a personal one. But what typical patterns of pious distribution are discernible?

In some cases, it is true, the testator made it clear that the pattern in which goods were distributed to pious beneficiaries was not of tremendous importance: many charges to executors command them to distribute a portion of the testator's movable estate "in ecclesiis, in sacerdotibus et in pauperibus" as they see fit, and go on to specify specific landed legacies which do not overlap this general provision. Probably what this provision covered was a feast or eleemosynary distribution of food or clothing to local poor, and distribution of token sums, amounts of food or produce, to local priests and small scale establishments, in addition to whatever other recipients (monasteries, episcopal chapters, etc.) might have been appropriate for that particular testator. Unfortunately, despite the widespread use of this formula, there is no documentary evidence to enlighten us on this kind of discretionary distribution, so the focus must remain on specified legacies.

1. SINGLE BENEFICIARIES

A considerable number of testators chose a single pious beneficiary for that portion of their estate which was alienated from the family for spiritual benefit. Perhaps misleading evidence of this is found in the body of surviving testamentary documents which follow the form of executors' donation charters to a single beneficiary. Particularly widespread in Catalonia and the coastal Narbonnais, but also appearing in the Rouergue and in lands north and east of the Massif Central, over five hundred such documents have been found: the

majority of them provide the only information which survives about the testament which mandated the transfer. In many cases, however, these charters represent the settlement of only a fraction of an estate, which may have been distributed to other beneficiaries as well in separate, lost acts.⁶⁸⁰

Nonetheless, in many testaments and testamentary publication charters, where the testator apparently accounts for his entire estate and only one pious beneficiary is named, it is safe to conclude that the testator did in fact intend only one pious beneficiary. What might be the motivations for placing all one's spiritual eggs in the same basket? No doubt the strongest motivation is institutional loyalty, or the desire to be firmly connected with one institution.⁶⁸¹ A large number of these single-beneficiary testaments are those authored by ecclesiastics--canons, priests or monks--in favor of their parent institutions. This was true, for example, of the will of Guillem de Balsareny, bishop of Vic in 1074, who left extensive patrimonial estates to the chapter of Vic.⁶⁸²

a. Oblative Testaments

Testaments favoring one pious beneficiary were also penned by those on the point of entry into religious life at that community, such as the testament of Adalbert--"volo me fieri extraneus ab omni seculo et volo fieri monachum ..."--at Sant Cugat in 1081.⁶⁸³ These testaments were never, apparently, very common.⁶⁸⁴ A pattern similar to that used by those entering monastic life was later employed by those leaving worldly life in other contexts, as in

⁶⁸⁰ Over a dozen examples survive in which two or more of these acts distribute separate legacies to different beneficiaries from the same testator.

⁶⁸¹ Again, see Barbara Rosenwein's conclusions to this effect in *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*.

⁶⁸² ACV, Calaix 9, Episcopologi II, no. 66 (6 February 1074).

⁶⁸³ Arxiu de Montserrat, Perg. Sant Cugat no. 124 (25 January 1081). In other cases, a rule or vow might be mentioned in addition to or in place of the statement that one was becoming a monk or canon: ("dono corpus meum ecclesiam S. Marie Stagno sub ordine et regula Sancti Augustini"--ACA, Perg. Sant Llorenç del Munt, no. 264 (2 July 1129)).

⁶⁸⁴ Only thirty-two are found in the collection of three thousand testamentary documents, and all from the late eleventh to the end of the twelfth century.

the 1174 testament of Ermengol de Assoa as he entered the Knights Hospitallers at their commandery of Amposta on the Muslim frontier.⁶⁸⁵ In such cases one must assume that all possessions were disposed upon joining the community due to the vow of poverty which accompanied several kinds of regular life. Possessions were usually left entirely to that order (although provision for some immediate family members might also be made). Perhaps the new religious retained usufruct of some of his legacies until his death--this depended on the interpretation or enforcement of poverty in the monastery or commandery. The testaments themselves give no indication whether the point of transferal of goods was to take place when the entrant became dead to the world, or upon his physical death.

Who else would confine pious bequests to only one beneficiary? Obvious arguments for single-beneficiary alms suggest themselves--the desire to aggrandize favored local churches or altars; perhaps even to create a special familial relationship as benefactors to a particular institution. To carry this to its logical extreme one finds monastic foundation and endowment. In these contexts, however, perhaps it is not surprising that more testaments are not found which concentrate heavily or exclusively on one such bequest. The testament is the perfect vehicle with which to distribute multiple gifts. For those with a more focused eleemosynary agenda, an outright *donatio* might do in the place of a testament, with perhaps a condition where the giver reserves the use of some or all of the given property in his lifetime. Charters of this type abound, and it is possible that many of these correspond to the "testamentary" desires of an individual who sought one exclusive outlet for his pious generosity.⁶⁸⁶ Perhaps some clerical scribes, when summoned to perform notarial duties in

⁶⁸⁵ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 316. Other than the year, the dating clause is illegible.

⁶⁸⁶ One Igiga, for example, wrote a death-bed testament on 19 November 992 bequeathing (among familial legacies) four *parliatas* of land, with appurtenances, to Sant Cugat. A second charter, dated the same day and written by the same scribe, effects a donation outright by Igiga to Sant Cugat of the same four parcels. *Cart. Sant Cugat*, i, nos. 258-259. Perhaps, once the testament had been drafted, the scribe Sendred prevailed upon Igiga to make the pious donation outright rather than as a bequest. It is curious that these two charters have survived together; they were both copied

connection with a testament, argued persuasively for an act in such terms. In this area and period, and given the customary use of testaments and other charters among lesser-educated laity, one can only imagine the sort of legal advice and coaching which accompanied the scribal services of the clergy.

The quasi-testament containing legacies to primarily one beneficiary, or primarily one pious beneficiary is actually more commonly found in areas outside Catalonia proper in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Apparently this reflects certain relaxations and liberties taken with testamentary form and content which are not found inside Catalonia itself. From northern Languedoc, or even from Provence, and from Aragon and further west one finds several documents in which an entire estate is left to a single religious beneficiary. One Albert left his estate to the cathedral at Huesca in 1164, in a “carta et memoria de destinamentum,” later called a “testamentum.”⁶⁸⁷ These documents are frequently undated, cruder in form and detail: but since only one beneficiary was named, the adherence of the document to a strict, legally acceptable form might not have been so important for the execution of the bequest. In interesting Occitanian example is the undated testament of one Pons Umbert, in which he left all his possessions (fiefs which he held of the viscountess Ermengard of Narbonne in Magalas) to the Templar commandery at Pézenas, if the viscountess would agree. To Pons’ bequest was added Ermengard’s clause of assent, although neither is dated.⁶⁸⁸

2. TRADITIO CORPORIS ET ANIME: *DONATION OF THE BODY*

In a similar vein to that category of testaments which name only one beneficiary, or only one pious beneficiary, there exists a substantial number of charters from Aragon,

into the great thirteenth-century cartulary, the donation followed by the testament, although logically the other order of composition must be preferred.

⁶⁸⁷ *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, i, no. 241 (dated only to era 1201).

⁶⁸⁸ AD Haute-Garonne, H Malte: Pézenas 9:10 (ed. Roche, *La société languedocienne*, ii, p. 196).

Catalonia and Languedoc in which a quasi-testamentary eleemosynary situation is delimited: the testator (or rather, the donor) gives, or promises to give, his body and soul to a religious institution, either specifically for burial once he is dead, or even “in vita et in morte,” that is, for the present as a member of the community, and after death in burial. This *donatio corporis* is always accompanied by a bequest of land, money or goods, and sometimes is accompanied by further conditions. In some such charters, a second individual acting for the beneficiary institution declares a formal agreement to the *donatio* and to the burial plan, and receives the donor into the community with which he has affiliated himself.⁶⁸⁹

These acts are functionally very similar to those testaments in which the testator is on the point of entering a religious community as a monk, but indicate a looser religious affiliation and hint at a less complete renunciation of worldly goods. The goods given or bequeathed along with one’s body in a *donatio corporis* may not necessarily reflect the entire estate of the donor. There is no explicit indication that such an act constitutes a final settlement on the part of the individual. Indeed, in its simplest form, this charter constitutes merely an agreement or contract for future burial, the right to which is apparently secured by a pious donation to the proposed burial site. The quasi-testamentary nature of these “corpus” charters has been overshadowed by the most profound problem of these charters: exactly what form of affiliation with a monastic house (or similar regular institution, such as a commandery of a military order) do they represent? In a lengthy study José Orlandis Rovira suggested that these documents are relics of a level of affiliation, below that of a fully-bound member of the order, with a monastic house or military commandery, which was common in Spanish monastic communities since the early Middle Ages.⁶⁹⁰ He reviewed

⁶⁸⁹ Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier has written of these charters which survive from the Templar commanderies of Languedoc, drawing a typological and functional distinction between those acts which are unilateral and those acts in which the donor is remunerated by some financial arrangement with the recipient house (such as usufruct of lands, agreements of hospitality or nourishment, etc.). “Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage,” pp. 386-391.

⁶⁹⁰ José Orlandis Rovira, “Traditio corporis et animae” (see above, n. 117).

considerable evidence to support the notion of an outer circle of persons attached to a monastic community but without having taken vows. These charters, persisting through the twelfth century, are to be found in religious and military houses from Asturias to Catalonia, and also in France, from Gascony to the Rhône valley (Orlandis remained focused on Spain). The style and the content of surviving *donationes corporum* suggest that they belong to this type of individual: a layperson, possibly still married, who makes a commitment about the final disposition of his body, along with a pious bequest which is considered a token of the affiliation. In this way, married couples or widowed women were affiliated with Benedictine houses or orders of canons regular, and women could even be so affiliated with commanderies of Templars.⁶⁹¹

These *corpus* charters, then, represent an important level of affiliation with a single pious beneficiary, either a monastery or a military order commandery (such charters exist from Benedictine, Cistercian and Augustinian houses, and from both the Templars and the Hospitallers, as well as from a couple of apparently independent urban confraternities or hospitals in the later twelfth century). The basic common feature is election of burial; the conditions of the “*traditio corporis*” during the donor’s lifetime appear to vary. In some charters the election of burial is made to be a binding promise: the donor promises that he won’t subsequently change his mind and promise his body elsewhere. This was a particularly important concession if the donor were an important person whose burial might enrich the house around the necropolis. This is no doubt why Poblet secured an repeated promise from Alfons I when he elected burial there in 1176: the result of the negotiation was that, if he should conquer Valencia and found a monastery at Cepolla, he might be allowed to be buried there:

Et ratum et firmum habeatur, ita ut de cetero nullam aliam possim eligere
sepulturam preter illam de Populeto sive preter illam de Cepolla ubi monasterium

⁶⁹¹ At least two examples of female adherents to the Temple have been found. Magnou-Nortier did not address this issue of cross-gender affiliation with the order.

construendum deliberavi, et ipsum tamen sit in subiectione et ordinatione monasterio Populeti. Et hoc mando ita esse ubicumque vita decessero.⁶⁹²

This loose affiliation or obligation to a religious community was exploited in the twelfth century by the military orders as well as by the older Benedictine houses and their Cistercian rivals. An interesting extreme example of the *donatio corporis* is found among the uninventoried parchments of the comital *Cancellaria* at the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona: a scrap of parchment records the vows of *nine* individual knights in favor of the Templars.⁶⁹³ The knights promised their bodies to the Templars “in vita et in morte” along with their horses and arms.⁶⁹⁴ This act was not the group induction of a bunch of anonymous *juvenes*: one of the knights is Guillem de Berguedà, either the aging viscount of Berguedà or more likely his son the famous *joglar*.⁶⁹⁵

3. MULTIPLE BENEFICIARIES--”SPIRITUAL DIVERSIFICATION”

Exceeding in number those testaments with single religious beneficiaries are those which benefit a number of pious beneficiaries. The capacity of the testament to affect bequests to several beneficiaries at the same time is what distinguishes it functionally and spiritually from a charter of donation (donation with the reservation of usufruct, donation *post obitum*) which might otherwise have exactly the same effect. For with this vehicle the testator can at one stroke establish ties of gift-giving and commemoration with not one but several different institutional arms of the Church.⁶⁹⁶ Therefore it is possible to find in these

⁶⁹² *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 549. This tendency of Alfons’ to think of entire orders, rather than just one monastery, is repeated in his testament, with legacies to the Cistercian, Carthusian and Grandmontian orders.

⁶⁹³ ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv. no. 3423. See below, Appendix D, no. 14. On this and other collective acts of *donatio corporum* to the military orders, see below, chapter 6.

⁶⁹⁴ With the exception of the reserved Ramon Gauceran, who only promised his horse and arms *in die obitus mei*, and the enthusiastic Pere Ferrer d’Edors, who pledged all his possessions outright.

⁶⁹⁵ The testaments and related charters of the two Guillems have not been sorted out satisfactorily. See Martín de Riquer, *Guillem de Berguedà*, 2 vols. (Poblet, 1971).

⁶⁹⁶ Barbara Rosenwein’s work on the relationship between donor and recipient in the institutional religious context has already been cited. Her anthropological models of gift-giving and commemoration in the monastic context of Cluny do not embrace the scenario of an individual’s or

testaments--records of multiple pious bequest--patterns of multiple or comparative commitment, interest or devotion to different types of religious institutions which were, in a sense, competing for eleemosynary bequests.

What was the motivation to spread testamentary bequests among a number of beneficiaries? In the first place, one individual might have a number of ties of obligation or loyalty to various institutions. It is understandable that institutions of different types might be named together. The parish church, founded in an agricultural outpost, or as the chapel attached to a fortification, understandably appears in the same testament that might also enrich the large Benedictine monastery in the next valley, or the cathedral chapter where one's family had traditionally held a seat.⁶⁹⁷ In addition, certain families had traditional ties to more than one monastic house. The "his-and-hers" foundations of Santa Maria de Ripoll and Sant Joan de les Abadesses were almost always mentioned in the same breath in testaments of the descendants of Guifred the Hairy who had founded them both. In some testaments the list of ecclesiastical beneficiaries is quite large, and reflects, perhaps, a regional perspective in which a testator of means might choose to acknowledge a sizable group of the leading monastic and capitular institutions as a matter of course. The community might be a moderate-sized one covering a diocese or county (or cluster of *pagi*), or it might be a regional one covering, for example, all of Catalonia from Elne (or Narbonne) to Barcelona to the Seu d'Urgell. Within Languedoc, this regional outlook is less frequently encountered; diocesan insularity seemed more the norm.

a. A Typical Perspective

The typical modest testament contains anywhere from one or two to a dozen pious bequests. The religious institution to which the testator had the strongest ties is clear from

a family's links with more than one recipient institution. See *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, particularly the chapter "Givers and Takers: Land Donations as Social Events," pp. 49-77.

⁶⁹⁷ Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, discusses several families of importance in Ausona which were traditionally represented in the cathedral chapter, particularly pp. 51-57.

the principal or leading pious bequest, most usually (in later testaments almost invariably) accompanied by the election of that house as the place of burial for the testator. While the burial site can range in magnitude from a cathedral to a humble priory or parish church,⁶⁹⁸ it must have been determined by family custom, special personal devotion, or geographic proximity. In addition to this house, bequests often enrich one or two parish churches serving the holdings of the testator (if the testator is a rural landholder), anywhere from one to a number of monasteries in the vicinity (in the diocese or throughout the region), and the diocesan establishment itself. Additionally in the twelfth century, bequests to the military orders--either in general or to a specific commandery--accompanied (and only sometimes supplanted) the ecclesiastical roster of beneficiaries; bequests to urban hospitals also appear from the end of the eleventh century, but more commonly in the twelfth century, added to the bequests to the more traditional houses and clearly also thought of as alms.

The humblest such testaments recognize local affinities--nearly parochial, monastic and ecclesiastical centers. For example, in 1086 one Guillem, a married layman in Alt Urgell, left some cash to his local church of Sant Genís (and to its priests, one of whom wrote the testament) and a parcel of land to the cathedral chapter.⁶⁹⁹ In lands where monastic communities lay thicker more choices were available: at about the same time one Barduin Durand, a small landholder in Empúries, left an ass and a parcel of land to the monastery of Sant Miquel de Fluvià with his body for burial, and another allod to the nearby monastery of Santa Maria de Cervià, in addition to two small bequests to chaplains of local sanctuaries.⁷⁰⁰ This pattern of modest pious largesse to two or three institutions was common in testaments throughout the Midi in the eleventh century. In a testament from the Rouergue one

⁶⁹⁸ Specific designations of parish churches for burial were uncommon in testaments of the eleventh or twelfth centuries. It may have been assumed that the local parish church would be the burial site for anyone deceased in the area, unless other arrangements were made known. Note that in the testaments of those about to undertake a hazardous journey or pilgrimage, the specification of place of burial is less frequent.

⁶⁹⁹ *Urgellia* vii, no. 1028 (29 June 1086).

⁷⁰⁰ ACA Ords. Rels., Perg. sin procedencia, no. 397 (12 December, *regnante* Philip I).

Benjamin left two *mansus* to Conques, another to a local church (identified only as Saint-Pierre) and a fourth to his lord the bishop of Rodez.⁷⁰¹

Wherever the testaments of affluent and middling people reflect the spread of coinage (and many do not, even into the middle of the twelfth century--for example in the inland areas of Languedoc), the testators were freer and more likely to increase the number of pious beneficiaries with the new opportunities for distribution afforded by cash. By the later twelfth century it was common, in urban locales with several houses, to see a testament with small donations to a half-dozen, or more, religious establishments all within a few-mile radius.⁷⁰²

b. Extreme Cases

The community at its largest appears in the testaments of those counts and nobles to whom the regional outlook came naturally. It is understandable that exogamic dynastic marriages would produce people with a broad outlook. Countess Ermessend of Barcelona, long-lived daughter of the count of Carcassonne, provides a splendid example of this in her testament with 64 pious bequests.⁷⁰³ She favors bishops and monastic establishments as far away as Saint-Gilles and Nîmes and Toulouse (with one bequest even farther afield, to Monte Gargano in Lombardy), but centers her attention on Girona, where she had spent the last years of her widowhood and where she had founded a convent herself (Sant Daniel) some years before.

The most elaborate testament of all in this vein comes from the end of the twelfth century, from Countess Ermessend's great-great-great-great grandson King Alfons I. His testament of 1194 includes pious bequests to 84 distinct pious beneficiaries.⁷⁰⁴ Some of these

⁷⁰¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Conques*, i, no. 184 (1076-1090).

⁷⁰² Particularly at Barcelona, most twelfth-century testaments from the Santa Anna collection and the Capitular archives spread bequests to several of the urban religious establishments.

⁷⁰³ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 490 (1057).

⁷⁰⁴ See chapter 6 for a fuller discussion of this important document; see Appendix B for a discussion of the editions and manuscripts of Alfons's testamentary documents.

bequests are to groups *en masse*, such as all abbots of Catalonian monasteries, to all bishops, priors or hermits. In reality the number of possible separate beneficiaries could approach two hundred.

c. Foreign Beneficiaries: Pilgrimage Sites and Mother Houses

The custom of pious bequests to distant, but famous, beneficiaries has already been mentioned in the context of the growth of cash bequests: it was present in the early tenth century, but increased after the Millennium as travel, particularly pilgrimage, became more common. Pierre Bonnassie's study of the phenomenon in the tenth and eleventh century revealed fashions in foreign bequests. A mainstay of Catalan foreign bequest was Rome, where ties remained strong continuously throughout our period. Bonnassie was surprised at the continuity of interaction with Rome, even in what he termed "one of the darkest periods in the history of the papacy"--the late tenth and early eleventh century.⁷⁰⁵ These bequests to foreign houses are part of phenomenon whereby a single testator could meaningfully make bequests to a number of religious institutions for a variety of reasons.

In a way this sort of token pious activity makes a great deal of sense--with a bequest one can feel that one has touched one of the great centers of Christendom. This pious act parallels the increasing penitential rewards of pilgrimage in person to one of the famous places. On the other hand, it also represents an extreme form of the idea of diversification of spiritual bequests for the greatest possible benefit of prayer.

In addition to the pilgrimage centers which were gaining public reputations through the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the increasing phenomenon of affiliation or subordination of monasteries to mother houses outside throughout Southern Europe affected pious charity in Languedoc and Catalonia. Testaments which favor local monasteries which had fallen under such ties of affiliation often carried additional bequests to the mother house.

⁷⁰⁵ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 365.

For example, Santa-Maria della Chiusa, the mother house of Santa Maria de Cervià, is mentioned in several testaments from the archives of Cervià. Occasional bequests to Cluny and Saint-Victor have also been found, but not in significant numbers. Bequests to (and interest in) the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem may represent devotional remembrance of a pilgrimage site as well as acknowledgment of the mother church of the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, who were represented in Barcelona from 1141 with the monastery of Santa Anna.⁷⁰⁶ Also in the twelfth century, as has been mentioned, those with devotion to the new orders sometimes made their donations to the mother houses: Cîteaux, Chartreuse, Grandmont.

IV. TERMS OF BEQUEST

The terms of pious bequests could and did vary even more than those for familial bequests. When testamentary bequest was the means for transmitting patrimonial holdings from generation to generation within the family, it is obvious that potentially burdensome conditions would not be in the interests of the dynasty. Pious bequests, however, seem on some level to be the result of compromise: the desire of the Church for enrichment through donation and the concomitant desire of a testator facing death for salvation, tempered by the pressing concerns of providing for the extended family or the future progeny. Nonetheless, most pious bequests were stated simply and unequivocally: the named goods were to pass to the Church (or to whatever representative organ is named).

A. Outright Gift: Bequest vs. *Donatio*

These outright bequests raise an interesting question: why would a testator choose bequest rather than donation? The testator, desiring that a certain good or parcel of land pass to the Church on or after his death, had more than one option. He could give it outright to the Church right away, making an agreement with the recipient that he would

⁷⁰⁶ *Catalunya romànica*, xx, p. 40.

retain the use of that good until his death, or he could place it in a testamentary context--a written or formally declaimed statement (but not an irrevocable one) that the object be given to the Church on his death. The traditional distinction of one method from the other is the notion of the revocability of the testament. Traditionally, testaments are revocable, while “things given, once delivered over, can in no way be reclaimed by the giver.”⁷⁰⁷

Did the Church have a preference for *donatio* over testamentary bequest? Certainly a great number of outright donation charters exists from monasteries in this area and throughout Western Europe in the post-Carolingian centuries. Again, Barbara Rosenwein has suggested that many such “donations” of land did not necessarily result in the immediate exercise of power over the land on the part of the recipient church.⁷⁰⁸ It is possible that many outright donations may have been tacitly delayed until the death of the donor despite the wording of the charter. In testaments, the revocable nature of the disposition might be a potential threat to a house which has campaigned to secure a remembrance. One might suspect that, given the influence which ecclesiastical or monastic scribes must have had over the form of the act, there might have been some pressure on behalf of the religious institutions to secure the promise of a bequest by couching it in terms of an irrevocable *donatio*, either where the donor reserves usufruct, or where some unwritten compromise accompanies the donation. It is possible that this accounts for some of the many *donationes reservato usufructu*, *donationes post obitum* or other outright donations which have been waded through in the quest for testaments. On the other hand, the high volume of testamentary documentation proves that testamentary bequest was a routine method of pious donation with no more complications than other types of seemingly outright donation.

⁷⁰⁷ *Liber iudiciorum*, V:2:vi: “Res donate, si in presenti tradite sunt, nullo modo repentantur a donatore” (*Leges Visigothorum*, ed. Zeumer, p. 213). This maxim from the Recceswinthian redaction was frequently quoted in donation charters in the eleventh century. Zimmerman, “L’usage du droit wisigothique,” pp. 233-281, particularly 252, 257.

⁷⁰⁸ Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter*, pp. 122-125.

B. Conditional Endowment

The product of the negotiation (either between two parties or within the testator's conscience) which led to a pious bequest was often a bequest to which some conditions were attached. The testator wished to secure something in return for his pious generosity (in addition to salvation), or there were competing goals which could be both achieved through compromise.

I. ELECTION OF BURIAL OR OTHER FUNERARY OBSERVANCE

The first category of conditions embraces the cultural conditions for pious bequest which have already been mentioned above.⁷⁰⁹ The promise of burial at recipient's cemetery or necropolis is the most commonly occurring condition, or at least it is the most striking, occupying most frequently the first place among testamentary bequests.⁷¹⁰ There seems to have been no fixed minimum bequest to secure burial, but most frequently a parcel of land was bequeathed, along with the body itself, or, for burial in the religious order commanderies, one's horse and arms.

In addition to the specification of burial came bequests which were conditional upon some other part of funerary observance, usually the feast or some act of one-time charity (feeding/clothing the poor, for example). The difference between this type of bequest is that the goods bequeathed were consumable (cash, produce, vestments) and were designed to be outlaid for the specific activity so mandated: there would be no residual profit to the institution or the clergy involved in these observances. With these provisions might also be counted those bequests specifically to elicit a finite number of commemorative masses or other observances from certain clergy. The bequests accompanying such requests, usually

⁷⁰⁹ See above, pp. 213-214.

⁷¹⁰ Several hundred testaments which specify burial place have been catalogued from the beginning of the tenth century through the year 1200; again, these are found much more commonly after the Millennium than before.

food products or cash, could be considered fees and hence a form of consumable, or non-permanent, conditional bequest.

2. ENDOWMENT FOR PERPETUAL COMMEMORATION

In contrast to that type of short-term or disposable endowment, another possibility was that a bequest could be made with the goal of perpetual commemoration. In this case, rather than a one-time cash or produce legacy, a more permanent means of income was secured through a donation of land (of cultivated for some consistent gain) or of the revenues or a portion of revenues from some land.

An early example of such a perpetual commemorative endowment occurs not in a testament but in a donation charter of 953 at Vic.⁷¹¹ One Salla gave an allodial package to a priest of Vic, Spera-in-Deo (alias Bellarón),

ea videlicet ratione: ut dum ista presbiter ... vixerit, teneat eum in sua potestate sine blandimentum de ullumque hominem; et post obitum suum remanere faciat in alium presbiterum de Sancto Petro de sede Vicho timentem Deum, cui ille elegerit; et ille alius presbiter similitar fatiat in presbiterum Deum timentem usque in secula seculorum, amen; et Dominum rogent pro me et pro ingenitores meos et pro filio meo condam Senderedi. ...

Motivated by the desire to commemorate his dead son as well as himself and his ancestors, Salla set up this endowment while he was still alive to begin the chain of commemoration lasting “usque in secula seculorum, amen.” The burden on the priest and his successors is only vaguely stated, “Dominum rogent pro me ...,” but their obligation to perpetuate the legacy and the prayers through the selection of a successor is clear.

In the eleventh century this type of individual endowment appeared more elaborately stated.⁷¹² An interesting case history can be traced in documents concerning the legacy of Ponç, *levita* and caputscole of the see of Girona (and himself a probate *iudex*), and his

⁷¹¹ *Diplomatari de la catedral de Vic*, no. 277 (12 March 953).

⁷¹² An example from 1025 specifies thirty masses each year to be said by the priest-beneficiary, in perpetuity. Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, no. 135 (20 March 1025). The testator, Domenec, was himself a priest.

successor as caputscole Joan (who was not a judge).⁷¹³ Ponç's elaborate testament of 1064 provides for the perpetual endowment of a priest with a group of allodial lands on the condition that that priest serve the church which Ponç built, which was to evolve into the Augustinian priory of Sant Martí Sacosta near Girona. Ponç selected his *nutritus* and successor Joan to be the first incumbent, and successive documents can trace the history of this endowment. Joan selected one Berenguer Amat as his successor in his testament of 1078 (possibly a son of the Amat Vivas who was a *nepos* of Ponç?); forty years later Berenguer Amat elected Berenguer, bishop of Girona, as administrator of the endowment in 1118.⁷¹⁴ This final turnover may not be what was originally intended by Ponç or Joan: Joan's testament had implied that he hoped the endowment would remain free of episcopal interference, "... et si non commoverint eum episcopus aut clerici, et tenerint eum" The transfer of the endowment to the bishop was strengthened by a renunciation, one year later, by count Ramon Berenguer III of his interest in the endowment, a quasi-seigniorial relationship possibly derived from the fact that his grandmother Almodis had been Ponç's executor and his father Ramon Berenguer II had been Joan's.⁷¹⁵

Ponç's endowment for Sant Martí Sacosta in the Gironès represents perhaps an unusually successful and well-documented conditional tenure of a bequest designed for a special purpose in perpetuity. Far more common are smaller-scale impositions in which a tract of land was passed to a cleric in exchange for prayer. The documented transition of such lands from one cleric to another to perpetuate such a commemoration is practically nonexistent. Eventually, the memory of the original testator would fade and the lands would

⁷¹³ Ponç's testament: "Cartes antiques de Sant Martí Sacosta," ed. Josep Rius Serra, *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* iv (1928), no. 7 (14 February 1064); see, for corrections from the original MS, Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, no. 276. Ponç's other testamentary documents: Joseph Maria Marquès i Planaguma, "La senyoria eclesiàstica de Sant Sadurní de l'Heurà, fins al 1319," *Estudis sobre temes del Baix Empordà*, iii (1984), nos. 4 (a codicil in favor of the see of Girona, 2 April 1064) and 5 (his publication charter, 7 May 1064).

⁷¹⁴ "Cartes antiques de Sant Martí Sacosta," nos. 15 (Joan's testament, 6 October 1078), and 21 (Berenguer Amat's *traditio*, 18 December 1118).

⁷¹⁵ "Cartes antiques de Sant Martí Sacosta," no. 22 (19 November 1120).

come to be seen as unrestricted ecclesiastical patrimony. At best the original donor would find his way into an institutional necrology for commemoration; at worst his name would be forgotten.

A variant pattern of bequest which hopefully prevented this decline occurred on occasion when the land itself was passed within the family (i.e. to the testator's children or other relatives) but upon which a new *census* would be imposed with an express purpose of commemoration. A quantity of oil (or less frequently wax) might be elicited from heretofore allodial land, which would be given to the parish church or local monastic house in return for prayers. The land could be given outright, to be held in a perpetual usufruct by third parties with the burden of maintaining some commemorative obligation. To give one example from dozens, Pere de Sentmenat bequeathed in 1171 an annual *quarterada* of oil from his *honor* of Sentmenat, "ad illuminandum lampadam unam annuatim in tempore quadragesime" at a nearby church.⁷¹⁶ This pious provision was creating a new rent, and thus a new dimension of lordship and subordination, on already-feudalized land. One Arnau, a resident of the eastern Vallès, wrote a testament in 1064, bequeathing some land to be held of Sant Pere de Vilamajor:

Ad domum Sancti Petri Villamaiori dimitto ipsa vinea cum terra ... in tale videlicet ratione: ut Bonifili Sunifredi teneat ipso alodio cum ipsa vinea et interdum vivit in quadragesimum faciat lampada .i. ardere ante predictum Sanctum Petrum, et ad hobitum suum sic eligat unum hominem qui ipsum servicium faciat, et sic fiat unus post alium usque in finem seculi.⁷¹⁷

The world has not ended. Who now lights a lamp at Sant Pere de Vilamajor each Lent for Arnau?

C. Eventual Bequests or Reversion to the Church

I. USUFRUCT DESIGNATED TO LAY SUCCESSORS

⁷¹⁶ ACA, Diversos, Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:04 (3 March 1171).

⁷¹⁷ ACA, Generalitat, Perg. no. 9 (22 October 1064).

Related to these conditional bequests, or bequests with commemorative obligations, are all those bequests in which ownership of land is a thing directed separately from the fruits of its use. This was employed by testators as a means of providing both a pious legacy for spiritual benefit and a worldly legacy to provide for the economic needs of loved ones. Within the lay sphere such a device was commonly used to provide for a widowed spouse: typically, the widow (or widower) of a testator would enjoy the usufruct of lands whose ownership would eventually (or immediately) pass to blood heirs. Often, particularly for widows, the provision is only to last “si in viduitate permanserit”--unless the widow remarried. The same pattern was also employed to smooth or delay the alienation of pious bequests of land. A widow would enjoy the fruits of her husband’s estate, which would then pass to a certain church. Presumably, the Church would enjoy its legal ownership of the land and in return the spiritual benefits to the testator would begin to accrue at once.

In some cases, the usufruct of a pious bequest was extended not only to widows (or dowager mothers) but to members of a younger generation whose tenure of the given land might be expected to be considerable. Adalaidis, in a testament of 1047, willed lands to Sant Llorenç del Munt to be held in usufruct by her son Gerbert.⁷¹⁸ In 1058 one Guitard Anania left land to Vic, with the usufruct to four nephews, sons of two defunct sisters.⁷¹⁹ A daisy-chain effect occurs in some testaments. In 1081 Ramon Sunyer left a number of landed legacies to relatives and other named individuals. In each case, however, the ultimate beneficiary of the land is a church. Consider one bequest:

... totum relincho ad iamdictos Sanctos suprascriptos [Santa Cecilia and Santa Maria de Monsterrat], in tali namque conventu: ut post obitum meum teneat Guadal Sunier et Fulchoni Gaudalli in vita illorum, et donent ipsam tascham ...; et post

⁷¹⁸ ACA, Perg. Sant Llorenç del Munt, 152. A similar document, with donation to son and eventual reversion to the Church, is found in the *Cartulaire de Gellone*, ed. Alaus et al. (Montpellier, 1898), no. 421 (26 May 1010) although couched as a charter of donation to the son. A bequest to all children (a son and two daughters) with reversion to Sant Cugat is found in the *Cart. Sant Cugat*, ii, no. 660 (31 July 1067).

⁷¹⁹ ACV, Calaix 9, Episcopologi II, no. 59 (15 June 1058).

obitum Gaudallus Sunier et de Fulchoni Gaudallus, similiter teneat Raimon Gaudallus in vita sua; et post obitum suum remaneat ad iamdictos Sanctos.⁷²⁰

Ramon Guadal, possibly a son of Guadal Sunyer, is thus a second-tier usufructuary: how distant might his death be? Here, at least, the provision of a *tascha* serves to encourage recognition of the eventual reversion.

Thus in some such cases, but not in all, provision for the annual or periodic payment of a *census*, a *tascha* or a *census et recognitio* was written into the testament. Clearly this imposition of a payment had several purposes. In some situations, as above, it was intended to provide illumination or some other specific commemorative observance for the souls of the testator or his family. In all cases, however, such a token payment was to serve as a reminder of the eventual reversion of the land to the full ownership of the final ecclesiastical beneficiary.

2. *CONDITIONAL REVERSION TO THE CHURCH*

Akin to the delayed passage of land to the Church is a type of reversion which is conditional but might not necessarily come about. In some cases, particularly in the twelfth century, succession among a number of blood heirs is mandated by a testator, with the final provision that if all the heirs should die without progeny, that the estate passing among them should revert to an ecclesiastical beneficiary. Here, clearly the intent is not to make a pious legacy, but rather to provide some spiritual bulwark for the family in case it should have no earthly representatives to provide such commemoration in the future. The pious legacy created by such hedging is even more marginal than one which was generally acknowledged as on its way, even if it would take two lifetimes to arrive in the hands of the Church. One example from among many: in 1181 one Almoravid (a baptized Almoravid, or a descendant of one?) bequeathed a *mansione* to his son (among other holdings); the holding was to go to Poblet if (and only if) the son died without legitimate heirs.⁷²¹

⁷²⁰ ACA, Perg. Santa Cecilia de Montserrat, no. 68 (25 March 1081).

⁷²¹ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 323 (26 November 1181).

3. CONFLICTS: SECURING RECOGNITION OF REVERSION

As might be expected, conditional pious legacies had the danger of being ephemeral and unrecognized. Recognition of pious legacies, and particularly of those in which the children or relatives of the testator or donor continue to exercise direct possession of the land, was a sticky issue. In another context we have already seen an interesting letter addressed by the monks of Cuixa to “all the inhabitants of Pallars” publicizing the bequest left by a local magnate in the upper Aneu valley to Cuixa, even though his sons retained the use of the property in their lifetime.⁷²² Perhaps as a result of the campaign which included this letter, the monastery secured from the sons of the deceased a charter of outright donation which resolved and clarified the issue in favor of the monks (although they were then faced with direct possession and exploitation of the parcel rather than the *tascha* of one ounce of gold annually which the sons were to have paid during their lifetime).

Another dispute shows more clearly the difficulty encountered over a long term when the usufructuary and the ecclesiastical beneficiary drifted apart. In 1114 a settlement was reached between Sant Cugat and Berenguer Ramon de Montcada.⁷²³ Berenguer Ramon de Montcada had been levying a *census* on a property, including a mill, which a priest, Bonusfilius, had willed to his concubine and children back in 1042, with the provision that after all their deaths the lands should revert to Sant Cugat.⁷²⁴ While it is not clear what transpired on the land between 1042 and 1114, or even who held it in 1114, Berenguer Ramon de Montcada was made to recognize that his *census* was inappropriate because the land (and presumably the customary *census*) was Sant Cugat’s. The unanswered question remains: was any of Bonusfilius’ children still alive? How had the lordship of the land fallen into dispute

⁷²² See above, chapter 3, pp. 127-128. The letter, BN, Baluze, vol. 117, f. 161v (undated, before 6 April 1046); and see Appendix D, below, no. 5.

⁷²³ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, iii, no. 822 (10 March 1114). See also Shideler, *A Medieval Catalan Noble Family*, p. 40.

⁷²⁴ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, ii, no. 558 (20 April 1042 the publication charter for Bonusfilius’ testament).

after a clear, published testamentary bequest had predestined its eventual reversion to Sant Cugat two generations before?

While Sant Cugat was vindicated here in a court held by a professional *iudex* and the bishop of Barcelona, doubtless there were many similar situations in which control of land promised after a generation (or two) was lost with the passage of time. The monastery of Sant Cugat, indeed, seems to have been a relatively vigilant and persistent litigant over such matters in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Josep Maria Salrach i Mares, in a study of the accumulation and preservation of the domains of Sant Cugat, noted what he called a “clima de conflictivitat” in which the monastery stood up for its rights in various situations, both against small landholders (the relatives or descendants of testators and donors of bygone days) or the more powerful lords like Berenguer Ramon de Montcada.⁷²⁵ In these anxieties attendant upon the definition, commemoration and retention of legacies passing into the hands of the Church, the line between testamentary piety and economics is blurred yet again.

⁷²⁵ Josep Maria Salrach i Marés, “Formació, organització i defensa del domini de Sant Cugat,” particularly pp. 150-151 and 165-166.

CHAPTER 6. THE TESTAMENT IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

I. NEW CATALONIA AND THE EBRO: TESTAMENTS ON THE FRONTIER

The later twelfth century in Catalonia and Languedoc brought significant change in many quarters. What the testaments of the age show most strongly is growth: physical expansion of the Christian principalities into new lands; the growth of new monastic and military orders;⁷²⁶ social and economic growth on an individual level which encouraged increased participation in testamentary culture and prompted growth of personal accounting technique. In the preceding chapters testaments have been shown to reflect broad legal and social change from the eleventh to twelfth century. This final chapter will underscore some of these changes more firmly through an examination of the characteristics of twelfth-century testaments.

A. Counts, Castellans and Settlers: New Land

The frontier to the south and west of the farthest Carolingian *pagi* in Catalonia had been expanding since the ninth century, as soldiers and planters continued to take new lands under domination.⁷²⁷ The importance of the continuous settlement of these new lands was that as each new strip of frontier came under cultivation and was settled by Christians it reflected the imposition of a social order according to the ideals and the realities of the generation that settled it. Thus, the reclaimed land in “old Catalonia,” resettled in the ninth and early tenth century, was subject to the old order (which may not have disappeared entirely under Muslim rule and depopulation), whereas the areas of “new Catalonia” which

⁷²⁶ Archives of these new institutions are crucial for this century; one of the richest testamentary fonds in Catalonia for the twelfth century is the series of testaments culled from the early parchments of the Knights Templar and the Hospitallers. See above, chapter 1, and below, *passim*.

⁷²⁷ For sources and studies concerned with institutional and social change in the areas of expansion, see works such as *Cartas de población y franquicia de Cataluña*, ed. José Maria Font-Rius, 2 vols. in 3 parts (Barcelona, 1969, 1983), particularly the 1983 *Estudio* volume; and *Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro*, ed. José Maria Lacarra, 2 vols. (Zaragoza, 1982, 1985).

were settled in the later eleventh and twelfth century were more subject to newer forms of order and domination, such as the increasingly feudal regime encouraged by the Ramon Berenguer I and his successors to control the new lands. Bonnassie and others have shown that this new order consisted of a greater reliance on encastellation, shares in castle-level exploitation of land, and other aspects of the knightly regime of castellans and *caballarii*.⁷²⁸ Thomas Bisson has hinted, in his reconstruction of fiscal accounts of the comital domain, of the practical differences in the administrative structure between the “new” lands and the old.⁷²⁹ Were these differences also reflected in the society at large with differences in the behavior of the individual? How do testaments reflect such differences?

I. NEW HOUSES AND PIOUS BEQUESTS IN BORDER LANDS

The newly-repopulated landscape of the border lands had no monastic institutions surviving from the Visigothic period or the period of Muslim domination. With Christian resettlement came the desire to create and patronize new monastic houses in these lands, both to bolster the presence of Christianity in areas which still had some Muslim peasant population, and to encourage the growth of an economic and social fabric in more intangible ways. The Cistercian foundations of Poblet and Santes Creus formed a bulwark of monastic expansion into the new lands and also formed an important focus of pious endowment and commemoration in the lands toward the lower Ebro. Poblet, with the spectacular good fortune brought by royal favor under Alfons I, is perhaps the best example of the success of a monastic house tied in with frontier expansion, military activity and resettlement. Founded in 1151-3, it rapidly developed an extensive patrimony through donation and bequest of newly-dominated lands in its vicinity and on the border.⁷³⁰

⁷²⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, especially part 4: “la Catalunya feudal i els inicis d’una nova època.”

⁷²⁹ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, for example, articles on Lleida (pp. 221-222) and Tortosa (pp. 230-231) contrast with the traditional administration of Old Catalonia (chapter II (A), pp. 28-49).

⁷³⁰ A thorough study of the growth of Poblet’s patrimony is found in Santacana’s *El monasterio de Poblet (1151-1181)* (in addition to the documentary editions, now being superseded by

A survey of the documents relative to the growth of Poblet's patrimony shows the importance of testamentary bequests in this process. While in the first years, arrangements of other kinds outshone testamentary bequests in the accumulation of Poblet's patrimony, by the reign of the abbot Hugh (1166-1181) testamentary endowment increased dramatically, as did other forms of post-obitum gift, including *donationes corporum*.⁷³¹ As Poblet gained in stability, wealth and status after its first decade it formed an important spiritual and economic focus for the barons of New Catalonia. Many were able to give Poblet portions of the lands they held as feudatories or castellans of the count-kings. The count-kings themselves, particularly once Alfons manifested a special affection for Poblet, were certainly not averse to this form of patronage.

II. TESTAMENTS AND THE MILITARY ORDERS

Despite the popularity of the Cistercian wave in Catalonia and Languedoc in the latter twelfth century, the most important new sphere for the solicitation of testamentary endowment in the twelfth century was the military orders. With the growth of secular knightly concepts, overtly connecting military prowess (when appropriately applied) and religious worth, and an increased ability on the part of those below the highest echelon of the aristocracy to participate in commemorative endowment, the creation and maintenance of such commemorative links with the houses of the military orders became ever more popular over three generations in the twelfth century.

Altisent's *Diplomatari*). For a focused study of the connection of the house with repopulation in the frontier area, see Altisent, "Un poble de la Catalunya Nova els segles XI i XII: L'Espluga de Francolí de 1079 a 1200," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* iii (1966), 131-213.

⁷³¹ Santacana, *El monasterio de Poblet*, chapter 6, "Aspectos jurídicos de la formación del patrimonio," particularly pp. 248-253 and 258-281, categorizing testamentary donations.

A. Templar and Hospitaller Houses

I. FOUNDATION AND EARLY ENDOWMENT

Alfonso I of Aragon and Ramon Berenguer III of Barcelona had taken a significant steps in their early patronage of the military orders, reflected in their testaments and other related donations.⁷³² Both these men acknowledged with bequests the presence and worth of the Templars and Hospitallers, as well as the canons of the Holy Sepulcher. This last group, although less famous than their military counterparts (the Hospitallers would grow to embrace this image that the Templars had from the start), were linked with the Templars and Hospitallers because of the common link they evoked with Jerusalem.

Alfonso the Battler had established regular knights (knights living under a religious rule or discipline) very early in key positions on the frontier.⁷³³ Groups of home-grown regular knights paled in popularity beside those orders which bore the prestige of a connection to the Holy Land. The Templars and Hospitallers grew rapidly in Catalonia and Aragon. While formal commanderies were not established immediately, gifts of castles and *mansus* early on formed the basis for commanderies formally established later.⁷³⁴ As soon as an organized presence was established in Aragon and Catalonia, the military orders were able

⁷³² For the testament of Ramon Berenguer III, see *CDIACA* iv, no. 1; for the publication, *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no 493. On his other involvement with the Templars, including the disputed charter of donation/affiliation near the time of his death, see Joaquím Miret y Sans, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1910), pp. 23-4; and A. J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (London, 1973), pp. 8-9. For the testament of Alfonso I, a good recent edition, with an account of other editions, is *El gran priorado de Navarra de la Orden de San Juan de Jerusalén*, ed. Santos Agustín García Larragueta, 2 vols. (Pamplona, 1957), i, no. 10. For discussion of the meaning of the enigmatic bequest of the kingdom in Alfonso's testament, see Elena Lourie, "The Will of Alfonso I, "El Batallador", King of Aragon and Navarre: a Reassessment," and A. J. Forey, "The Will of Alfonso I of Aragon and Navarre" (cited above, n. 2).

⁷³³ Bisson, *The Medieval Crown*, p. 16 (Montréal del Campo, Belchite).

⁷³⁴ The castles of Granyena and Barberà de la Conca, given to the Templars in 1131-2 by Ramon Berenguer III and Ermengol VI, respectively, did not become commanderies until much later. The commandery at Palau-Solità near Barcelona developed very late despite (or because of) its location near Barcelona; the Templars also had been given land there quite early. See Antoni Pladevall, *Els monestirs catalans*, 3d ed. (Barcelona, 1974), p. 97, for a map of Templar and Hospitaller commanderies in Catalonia, with approximate dates of foundation (based partly on the now-outdated work of Miret y Sans).

to provide concrete support in the schemes of conquest and resettlement, most importantly in the reign of Ramon Berenguer IV over Catalonia and Aragon, who awarded the Templars and the Hospitallers significant settlements in lieu of their shares in the kingdom of Aragon bequeathed in Alfonso I's testament.

2. TESTAMENTARY PIETY IN THE MILITARY CASTE

Even before the high-profile testamentary piety of Alfonso I and Ramon Berenguer III reflected and spurred the appearance of the military orders in Catalonia and Aragon, the presence of the military orders was signaled by other clauses of donation or bequest. Significantly, the earliest surviving references to the military orders in Catalonia itself are found in testaments. Despite the chronology of Joaquím Miret y Sans (who placed the first donation to the Hospitallers in 1109), the Hospitallers seem to have been mentioned in Catalonia as early as 1101, in the testament of one Ramiro (he left them his smallest mule), published at Cabanabona in lower Urgell.⁷³⁵ An established Hospitaller house is mentioned at Abella de la Conca, in lower Pallars, in the testament of Guillem Guitard de Caboet in 1109.⁷³⁶

There has been some confusion over dating of documents (several of them testaments) with early mention of the Templars in Catalonia. A. J. Forey concluded, after re-dating several documents used by Miret y Sans, that the Templars were first mentioned in Catalonia around 1130-1131.⁷³⁷ It is possible, however, that their presence had begun a few

⁷³⁵ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1192. Miret, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, only noted the earliest Hospitaller presence in Western Catalonia some years later, pp. 40-42. Pladevall, *Els monestirs catalans*, p. 72.

⁷³⁶ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1250.

⁷³⁷ Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 6-8. Another document mentioning the Templars in Catalonia (not discussed by Forey) has since been assigned to the 1120s by Cebrià Baraut: one Ramon left a house "ad ipsa cavalaria de Iherusalem del Temple" for the benefit of his soul (*Urgellia* ix, no. 1331, dated 1121). This document probably pertains to the reign of Louis VII, not Louis VI, although there is no independent reason to assign it to Louis VII other than the impossibility of the early presence of the Templars. The scribal custom was to distinguish Louis VII as "junior," and where king Louis appears alone in a dating clause Louis VI is assumed. Another ambiguously dated document is the testament of Ferrer de Figuerola, custodian of castles of Guardia de Prats and Figuerola in the Conca

years earlier. In Elne, a testament of 1128 contains parallel bequests to the Templars and the Hospitallers.⁷³⁸ Count Ermengol VI of Urgell joined Ramon Berenguer of Barcelona and Alfonso of Aragon when in 1133 he made a testament including bequests to the Templars and the Hospitallers. The Hospitallers were given a share throughout the network of comital lordship: they received “in omnibus castellis meis in singulis unum hominem de melioribus.” To the Templars he bequeathed his horse and arms “no matter where I die,” his *dominicum* at Calcinas and a tithe at Guardia.

Ramon Berenguer’s own bequests to the Templars and Hospitallers in his testament were less impressive: only his arms and horse, “Danç,” to the Templars, and a horse, “Niger,” and a house to the Hospitallers. “Vilamajor,” the location of this house, might be in lower Urgell, adjacent to Cabanabona, the site of the 1101 testament which first mentioned the Hospitallers. In the home counties of Old Catalonia, however, the military orders were established later. The Hospitallers first appear in the documentation of Sant Cugat, for example, in a testament of 1121; the Templars for the first time (together with the Hospitallers) in a testament of 1139.⁷³⁹ From this period of their infancy, the testament seems to have played a significant role in the endowment of the military orders, both with

de Barberà (ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer III, no. 257, 28 December, “xvi Louis” -- 1123 if Louis VI, 1152 if Louis VII). In a testament liberally peppered with vernacular Catalan, Ferrer left his body for burial with a bequest of horse and arms to the “meso del temple.” Judging from other references to this family, principally from Altisent’s *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, it is more than likely that the document belongs to the reign of Louis VII. In 1133 the castle of Guardia dels Prats was left by Guillem Dalmau (de Cervera) to his grandson Ramon [de Timor] (*Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 82); a Bernat de Timor was Ferrer’s overlord for the *honor* of Uluga, and possibly for the castles as well. Gerall de Figuerola (Ferrer’s principal heir) is mentioned in 1171 in a cession of an allod in Guardia dels Prats by Guillem de Cervera (*Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 400). The testator himself may be the “Ferrer d’Uluga” who was named as a creditor of testator Pere de Puigverd (senior) in 1164; this would make more sense if he had only been dead ten years rather than thirty.

⁷³⁸ Will of Arnau Miró, Paris, BN: Moreau, vol. 53, ff. 87-89r (9 August 1128), from the cartulary of Elne. Only an eighteenth-century copy of a twelfth-century cartulary copy, this document is dated to the Incarnation, not by regnal year. The possibility of a scribal error in the year remains, however.

⁷³⁹ *Cart. Sant Cugat*, iii, no. 856 (17 June 1121): Arnau Geribert left two houses to “Ospicio de Iherusalem.” *Cart. Sant Cugat*, iii, no. 939 (4 July 1139): Berenguer Guillem de Gallifa left a one morabetin to be split by the two orders. Cf. indices under “Jerusalem.”

land (either to exploit economically or to use as cells) and with cash, arms and horses to support the orders' activities.

For various reasons military orders seemed to have become extremely popular beneficiaries for testators, principally men and women of armigerous status, from the second quarter of the twelfth century. While these orders were not always (indeed were rarely) the principal pious beneficiary when named, the number of testaments which bore at least token bequests to the Templars, the Hospitallers, or both, continued to grow. In part the international prestige of the new orders and the link they furnished to the holy city of Jerusalem must have made them popular foci of testamentary piety.

Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier advanced another interesting explanation for the popularity of the Templars, particularly among those who would voluntarily affiliate themselves with the order to the extent of placing themselves in bonded servitude: the order provided a significant promise of security in the face of unpredictable social transformations. In Languedoc, particularly, Magnou theorized that growing anxieties from above and outside the region about heterodoxy in Languedoc prompted many local freeholders voluntarily to affiliate themselves with an irreproachable community with international clout.⁷⁴⁰ Possibly, however, she was reaching too hard for an explanation of a phenomenon which was widespread below the Pyrenees as well as above.

In Catalonia, indeed, many powerful individuals and members of leading aristocratic families voluntarily sought out association with the Templars (and, to a lesser degree, with the Hospitallers), seeking a kind of lay confraternity with the knights with the privilege of burial as a knight or at least in the Templar sanctuary. While the Templars and Hospitallers both partook of the prestige of an association with the Holy Land, the Templars encompassed Marian devotion as well, either facilitating or reflecting the growing popularity of the Virgin in this period. The singular piety of King Alfonso I of Aragon in leaving his

⁷⁴⁰ Magnou-Nortier, "Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage" (see above, n. 117)

kingdom to the religious/military orders has been interpreted both as an extreme act of devotion and also as a shrewd and disingenuous stroke to neutralize the Castilian claim to his kingdom after his death.⁷⁴¹ But the importance of personal enthusiasm for the spirit of the new military orders must not be ruled out entirely. There is evidence to suggest that count Ramon Berenguer III himself made personal moves of affiliation with the Templars in his final illness, suggesting an even stronger personal devotion than the already-significant bequest of horse and arms in his testament.⁷⁴²

Of later nobles who most certainly did the same thing, one must cite the troubadour Guillem de Berguedà, Ramon de Subirats and his widow Adelaide, and, in New Catalonia, Berenguer Arnau d'Anglesola, Gombau de Ribelles (seneschal of the count of Urgell) and his son Arnau de Ribelles.⁷⁴³ Berenguer de Rovira and his son Ramon de Rovira, in testaments of 1140 and 1143, respectively, left allodial lands to the Templars in the vicinity of Santa Perpetua de Moguda, just north of Barcelona; these lands most certainly were incorporated into the demesne of the Templar house at Palau-Solità which was formally founded by 1151. These two were probably related to Pere de Rovira, first Templar Provincial Master (attested as such 1143-1158) in Provence and “parts of Spain.”⁷⁴⁴ Their testaments were copied together in a parchment with a twelfth-century endorsement, “hoc est testamentum

⁷⁴¹ See the two articles on Alfonso's will referred to above, nn. 2 and 732; Bisson, *The Medieval Crown*, pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴² This tradition, represented in later redactions of the *Gesta Comitum Barcinonensium*, such as that represented in the *Chronicle of San Juan de la Peña*, trans. Lynn Nelson (Philadelphia, 1991), p. 50, is supported to an extent by Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragon*, pp. 8-9. See also Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes*, pp. 174-176. Note that the count's affiliation was not as formal as that sealed with a *donatio corporis*, or he made a special arrangement concerning the disposition of his body. As requested in his testament, he was buried at the dynastic necropolis of Ripoll.

⁷⁴³ For Guillem de Berguedà, see below. For Ramon de Subirats, *El «Llibre Blanch» de Santas Creus*, no. 133, (also *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 318, although the Santas Creus original is not mentioned). For Adalaidis de Subirats (jointly with her son, Ramon de Subirats), see Perg. Alfons I, nos. 383, 384, 518, 532 & 534. Berenguer Arnau d'Anglesola: Santacana, *El monasterio de Poblet*, no. 232 (1180); Gombau de Ribelles: Miret, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, pp. 324-325 (1179), ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 11 (Gardeny), nos. 589 and 1743; Arnau de Ribeles: ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 330 (1192).

⁷⁴⁴ Forey, *The Templars*, pp. 89, 342n177, 420.

Berengarii de Rovaria et filii eius.”⁷⁴⁵ In the Narbonnais, prominent figures who trumpeted special devotion to the Templars by electing burial at Templar houses included Roger, viscount of Carcassonne, Rasès and Albi, in 1150, and Ermengarde, the venerable viscountess of Narbonne, in 1196.⁷⁴⁶ Clearly, within a couple of decades of their spread to Catalonia and the Midi, the Templars had become an accepted--but not an obligatory--locus of testamentary piety, and an attractive option for spiritual affiliation and burial. No doubt the practicality of the order’s organization and the accessibility of its mission made it extremely attractive to nobles with various balances of warlike and Christian ideals.

3. *THE DONATIO CORPORIS: INDIVIDUALLY AND IN GROUPS*

Many of the acts of affiliation by which men and women sought burial with the Templars or Hospitallers were couched as acts of *donatio corporis*. The use of such charters in Catalonia, Aragon and the Narbonnais, to commemorate lay affiliation with religious houses has already been discussed.⁷⁴⁷ In the twelfth century, the rapid growth in popularity of the military orders seems to have been reflected in relatively large numbers of surviving charters of affiliation by men of knightly and baronial status. Miret y Sans said “Podríem citar-ne per centenars d’aquestes obligacions.”⁷⁴⁸

A half-dozen charters survive in which such donations and affiliations seem to have been initiated or solemnized collectively by groups of men. In March 1158, Ramon Berenguer III, count of Provence, and over twenty other Catalan barons entered into just such an affiliation with the Hospitallers in Provence.⁷⁴⁹ Ten years later, Guillem IV, count

⁷⁴⁵ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 86 (a copy of 1145). Other individual copies of the two documents are still in the Cancelleria: Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, nos. 120 and 158.

⁷⁴⁶ For viscount Roger, *HL* v, no. 580 (first document); for Ermengarde, see Miret, “El testamento de la vizcondesa Ermengarda,” pp. 41-46.

⁷⁴⁷ See above, chapter 5.

⁷⁴⁸ Miret, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, p. 161.

⁷⁴⁹ Miret, *Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, p. 223. For Miret, “no sabèem quin motiu o estímulo existía” for this group act. He quoted the document but did not cite its location.

of Forcalquier, and his brother Bertrand authored a mutual *donatio corporis* to the Hospitallers in Provence.⁷⁵⁰

Two similar acts exist from 1176-1177 with affiliations of Catalan barons to the Knights Templar--not to become full-fledged Templars, but rather lay brothers with burial privileges.⁷⁵¹ The first of these affiliated eleven knights, including Pons de Sero, whose own will of twenty years later would reaffirm his connection with the order and his wish that he be buried there.⁷⁵² The charter of 1177 affiliated six knights, including Ramon de Torroja, at once a first cousin of the count-king and a kinsman of Arnau de Torroja, grand master of the Templars.⁷⁵³ Miret y Sans did not notice a third of these group affiliations to the Templars, an undated parchment in the Cancellaria *Extra Inventari* series, which may even have been part of a larger roll of such affiliation statements.⁷⁵⁴ The leading figure in the group of seven named is Guillem de Berguedà, no doubt the troubadour. Because Guillem had promised his body to Poblet for burial in a *donatio corporis* of 1175, and again in his first testament of 1183, but in his second testament of 1187 had so favored the Templars, the date 1184-1187 might be correct for this charter of affiliation.⁷⁵⁵

The terse format of these group affiliation lists leaves a couple of questions unanswered. Was there a ceremonial aspect to entering into such a lay affiliation? If so, do the collective notices indicate a group event, in which several men pledged themselves at

⁷⁵⁰ *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers*, no. 386 (1168).

⁷⁵¹ Both cited by Miret, *Les Cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, p. 161.

⁷⁵² ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28, no. 64 (30 October 1196).

⁷⁵³ Miret, *Les Cases de Templers y Hospitalers*, p. 161, citing ACA, Ords., Mils., Armari 11 (Gardeny), no. 643. On Ramon de Torroja see Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 56. Ramon's own testament of 1199 would also reaffirm this affiliation. ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28, no. 55 (7 March 1199).

⁷⁵⁴ ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv., no. 3423: Appendix D, no. 14. Prickings along the top suggest this vertical parchment may have been (or may have been intended to be) sewn into a larger roll.

⁷⁵⁵ Guillem's first *donatio corporis*, *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, no. 520; his first will, ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28, no. 31 (29 September 1184); his second will, Martín de Riquer, "El testamento del trovador Guilhem de Berguedán," *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes à la mémoire d'Istvan Frank* (Saarbrücken, 1957), pp. 573-583 (24 April 1187). On the relation of the testaments see Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 76 and n. 174.

once? Or are they possibly a serialized recording of several successive acts? The high numbers of such donations suggest that some may have been collective decisions and events. Among the baronial ranks, a form of peer pressure and camaraderie might have spurred such group activity. Perhaps this is all the “motivation” that can be found for acts such as the Hospitaller *donatio corporum* of 1158 that puzzled Miret y Sans.

B. Templars and Hospitallers as Beneficiaries

1. TYPES OF BEQUEST

Evidence from testaments throughout the economic hierarchy shows a shared devotion to the military orders, particularly to the Templars, with testamentary bequests of small sums of cash or horses and arms. To a great extent testamentary bequests to the Templars and Hospitallers followed the same patterns as those to other religious institutions. Lands; moveable goods (arms, clothing, furnishings, beasts, foodstuffs) and cash formed the three major categories of donations. Arms were the one category of goods left in bequests to the military orders which were not commonly left to other types of religious institution (where they might not be appreciated in the same way).⁷⁵⁶

2. CONDITIONS AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR BURIAL

Because of the enormous popularity of the election of burial with the military orders (along with the pledge of affiliation before death), standardized bequests accompanying such conditions were rapidly established, and are reflected with little variation in the large numbers of testaments and *donationes corporum* which favor the orders. The fixed bequest has the flavor of a burial-price, but it does reflect a gift of practical value to such

⁷⁵⁶ Swords and other weapons were occasionally left to other religious beneficiaries, perhaps to be sold; but were overwhelmingly given to the military orders if alienated from the family.

organizations: usually, one's war-horse and arms was granted--in addition to a parcel of land or alone--to secure burial in a Templar church.⁷⁵⁷

Why was burial with the Templars so popular? The Templar churches were, after all, young sanctuaries, connected to frontier fortifications or commanderies. The sanctuaries may have been of recent foundation as part of Templar building and resettlement or may have been private before their donation to the Temple. Again the prestige of the order must be explained by its claim of affinity to the military-minded laity. The connection between military "virtue" (prowess) and salvation is made explicit in the pride one might take in association with, and ultimately burial with, the Templars.

3. *FINANCIAL AND CUSTODIAL ACTIVITIES*

A small but significant number of bequests to the Templars involved some sort of temporal restriction: the Templars were to enjoy the fruits of a landed property or parcel of lordship until a certain sum was reached, or until a certain sum was paid to a third party to whom it was owed or bequeathed. This kind of custodial lordship first appears in testaments of the later twelfth century, and indicates an important new perspective on personal finance, both for the testator and for an institution such as the Temple which could be trusted to act on behalf of the testator. Let us examine more the scenarios of personal financial management which began to appear in testamentary documents in this period.

⁷⁵⁷ In the ACA alone, there are over 30 twelfth-century testaments (11 in the *Armari de Testaments* of the Military Orders section, and another 19 in the Cancelleria) alone in which the testator elects burial with the Templars in return for land and (usually arms). Guillem, a priest, bequeathed only land and no arms (for obvious reasons) to the Templars when he elected burial with them in his testament of 1151 (ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 239).

III. THE TESTAMENT AND FINANCE IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

A. Credit and Debt

An important aspect of the testamentary window on personal financial activity is the presence of debts and credits in wills--items which are found in testamentary clauses throughout the period under consideration.

Pierre Bonnassie tracked the appearance of both credits and debts in Catalanian testaments through the eleventh century, in part to illustrate his general thesis on economic trends in this crucial period.⁷⁵⁸ His general profile of the incidence of credit and debt in testaments reveals burgeoning numbers of such references in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century, tapering off slightly toward the close of the century.⁷⁵⁹

Many testators indicated that debts were owed them, or that they had debts to pay, or both. Increasingly through the eleventh century and most commonly in the twelfth century, the testator's debts were often mentioned globally, without specific detail. In contrast, sums owed the testator seem to have been itemized more conscientiously.⁷⁶⁰ It is understandable that a testator would care more that his heirs and successors have full knowledge of whatever outstanding receivables might remain; he could trust that his own creditors would not let the heirs forget outstanding debts! Personal credits and debts were indeed two sides of the same coin. But while credits represented simply another form of asset to be assigned in a testament, debts, however, represented a burden which the testator

⁷⁵⁸ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, tables 38-42, pp. 412-417. Because many testaments which referred collectively to the testators' debts did not list them in detail, Bonnassie's average and aggregate figures for amounts owed are incomplete. See also Udina i Abelló, *La successió*, quadres 4-5, pp. 329-330, for a listing of credit and debt references in the testaments he studied through the year 1025.

⁷⁵⁹ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p.412.

⁷⁶⁰ Even in the early period (before 1025) it was not uncommon to find debts mentioned only in the aggregate. Udina i Abelló's tables 4 and 5 (*La successió*, pp. 329-330) show this: of 15 testaments with credits owed the testator, only 1 fails to name the debtor; another names six debtors but doesn't specify their sums owed. In contrast, of 27 testaments in which the testator owed debts, 15 testaments fail to specify creditors and sums owed.

might make careful provision to discharge. This could be done by naming the party responsible for ensuring payment and by specifying the assets to be liquidated or transferred in payment of those debts.

By way of example, a testament of one Sendred, from 1030, begins with a provision for the solution of the testator's debts with the sale of a vineyard:

In primis vindere faciatis [he addresses the executors] ipsas meas vineas quod habeo ad ipsos Fornellos et de ipso praetio solvere faciatis ipsos meos debitos, et alium quod remanet pro anima mea, et sunt debitos meos ad Domenico saccos .V. de blado, et ad Arnallo de Valle Moncuosa mancuso .i. cum suo hiero {?}, et ad Guilielmus uncias .iii. et ad Goltredus uncias .iii. et media; et ad Rosa femina puneres .iii. et ad Eroigio saccos .ii.; et ad Mirone uncia .i. Et concedo ad uxori mee ...⁷⁶¹

This demonstrates a classic pattern, most common during the period (through the third quarter of the eleventh century) when the testamentary executors assumed fairly complete responsibility over the goods of a testator for the execution of all bequests. As here, the executors were charged with the solution of debts, either through the sale of certain parcels of land or goods, or through direct transferal of cash or kind. A parallel activity was to honor the monetary bequests *pro anima* through similar sales of moveable goods or, less commonly, land.⁷⁶²

This testament lists those debts owed by the testator, specifying the creditor and the amount in each case. Increasingly, as mentioned above, this information was not included in the dispositive text of the testament. Perhaps the number of different debts owed by many testators prevented their easy appearance in the testament.⁷⁶³ Gradually, indebtedness came

⁷⁶¹ ACA, Perg, Berenguer Ramon I, no. 93 (16 September 1030); publication charter, no. 94 (30 September 1030). This testament is one of the earliest found to place the provision for payment of debts first in the order of bequests.

⁷⁶² Several executors' acts survive from the mid-eleventh century in which the executors effect the sale of property for distribution of the proceeds *pro anima*. In one act of sale, the proceeds are earmarked "pro debitis vel pro anima sua." Arxiu Capítular de Girona, *Llibre gran de la sagristia major*, ff. 16r-v; ed. Ramon Martí Castelló, *Els inicis de l'organització feudal*, ii, no. 292 (29 September 1065).

⁷⁶³ The average number of distinct debts mentioned by a testator who was indebted at all, in Bonnassie's tabulation (*Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 414) was between two and three through the eleventh century.

to be mentioned only collectively in testaments at the end of the eleventh century and steadily throughout the twelfth century. The tersest formula was to insert the ablative absolute “solutis debitis meis” in a general instruction for distribution of legacies.⁷⁶⁴ A later formula suggested that indebtedness was so common that it was sometimes claimed by fraudulent creditors: executors or heirs were charged to solve those debts “quae vera sint.”⁷⁶⁵

Figures 6:1 and 6:2 show a trend in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of gradual increase in the frequency with which personal debts were mentioned in testaments, reaching a substantial percentage throughout the twelfth century.⁷⁶⁶

How did these debts appear in the language and order of the bequests? As has been demonstrated before, the ordering of bequests followed patterns, and the first place was reserved, at times for pious bequests, at times for important customary clauses like the election of burial (couched as a *donatio corporis*). Beginning in the later eleventh century and more frequently in the twelfth, the solution of debts was seen as a point of honor, to be stated first--perhaps to reflect that it was a duty that must be discharged before others could benefit from the testator's estate. One of the earliest examples is the testament of one Fulc

⁷⁶⁴ For example, the testament of Guerau Ponç, viscount of Ager, BC, Perg. 4086 (1 of 2), 4 July 1131: “... et de mobili meo rogo manumissores mei ut accipiant et donent pro anima mea in missis et in pontibus vel captivis aut ecclesiis et ubi melius viderint, solutis meis debitis” The same formula was allegedly voiced by the wounded archbishop of Tarragona Berenguer de Vilamuls as he lay dying. The publication charter, Villanueva, *Viaje*, xix, no. 41 (26 February 1193/4).

⁷⁶⁵ For example, in the testament of Arnau de Pinos, ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 290 (March 1181): “Willelmus vero frater meus paccet et persolvat omnia mea debita que sunt vera.” This was common in the later twelfth century, but also appeared at least once in the eleventh: Adalaidis, after listing debts in a testament of 1045, stated “et alios debitos quod veri sint fiant persolutos.” Arxiu de Montserrat, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 117 (10 August 1045).

⁷⁶⁶ Largely Catalan documents; but some from the Narbonnais are also represented. For the eleventh century, the pattern follows Bonnassie's observations (noted above). The dip in the proportion of testaments mentioning debt toward the end of the eleventh century is difficult to explain in this context, but note that the sample from which these data are drawn is sparser in the earlier period.

Ermengol from 1077.⁷⁶⁷ Debt solution clauses tended to be placed first when the debts were listed and the sources for their payment were separate for each debt.⁷⁶⁸

B. Debt Reckoning and the Personal Financial Statement

I. A NEW ANCILLARY DOCUMENT

When a small number of debts was borne by the testator (two, three or four) it is understandable that they might be noted discretely in the text of the testament, along with the general provision of funds to be used for their discharge. Yet the increasing frequency of personal indebtedness among the testating class, particularly in the twelfth century, brought a new concern: the debts a testator held outstanding at the time of his death could not necessarily be predicted (nor, for that matter, could his assets). How was the changeable matter of debt reckoning to be treated in the context of a testament? A few examples survive of a notarial practice which may have become widespread in the late twelfth century. It amounts to the application of new fiscal accounting techniques to the field of individual finance.

Toward the end of the twelfth century, a list of personal credits and/or debts of a testator began to be conceived as a functionally separate document from the list of voluntary bequests, and began to appear outside the text of the testament. The earliest such document noted is the testament, from 1164, of one Bertrand.⁷⁶⁹ Below the subscriptions and scribal signature was placed a brief list of, apparently, both credits and debts of the testator. The 1184 testament of Pere de Sant Ponç, a wealthy lord or merchant from Lleida, survives in a copy, to the foot of which has been added extra notices of debtors whose repayments are

⁷⁶⁷ “In primis jussit solvere suos debitos de sua tertia parte [of moveable goods] que pro anima sua dimisit.” ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer II, no. 26 (15 December 1077).

⁷⁶⁸ Examples include notably the testament of the castellan Berenguer Sendred from 1123, ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 303; also one Guillem in 1138 (ACA, Perg. Santa Maria de Montalegre, no. 96); Pere Adalbert in 1141 (ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 289); etc.

⁷⁶⁹ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 273 (30 September 1164).

directed to fill certain legacies.⁷⁷⁰ Another testament of 1188 also bears a notice of credits at the foot;⁷⁷¹ one from 1195 bears a long list of personal debts and additional pious bequests at the foot.⁷⁷² Another striking example is the testament of Guillelma de Fontallada from 1194.⁷⁷³ While the *recto* contains her complete testament, with only a global mention of Guillelma's debts, the *verso* contains an itemized listing of Guillelma's debts.⁷⁷⁴ This separation of credit/debt notice from the dispositive testamentary text served several related purposes: it allowed the list to be drawn up at a later time than the testament itself, and it allowed for easier editing in case of changes in the outstanding debts of the testator after the creation of the testament.

From this form of compartmentalization it was to be expected that on some occasions a separate list of an individual's outstanding debts might have occasion to be drawn up--either at the moment of the making of a testament, or upon the death of the testator. A happy chance has preserved one, and possibly more, documents of this type in Catalonian archives. In the *extra-inventari* parchments of the *cancellaria* of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon is an undated parchment, commencing:

Hec est rememoracione de ipsos debitos de Pere de Monte Paone. Debet in ipso fevo de Cervera a Pere Arnall meum seniore .cc. L. solidos et .xvi. morabetins; et quando potuero reddere ipsos morabtis. siant soluta ipsa pignora .ii. partes ...⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷⁰ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 40 (11 July 1184).

⁷⁷¹ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 33 (10 December 1188). The testator, Ramon, was owed 16 *solidi* by four separate creditors.

⁷⁷² The castellan Arnau de Terrassa: ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 335 (13 June 1195).

⁷⁷³ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 308 (22 October 1194), original.

⁷⁷⁴ The document is partially in Catalan: "e mando que fien pagades les mias lexas et debitos meos del expletos qui son exidos de Sancta Digna." The list on the verso is in the same hand, but in lighter ink, the thus possibly somewhat after the drafting of the testament. The list is partially effaced and faded and is now mostly illegible, even under ultraviolet light.

⁷⁷⁵ ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv. 3404, undated. A Berenguer de Montpaó held rights in the castellany of Conesa (Conca de Barberà) in 1187 (Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 214); it is probable that this Pere belonged to the same family. The first-person language suggests that Pere was dictating the list of debts himself.

Apparently the document records the individual debts of Pere de Montpaó, and would most logically have been produced in the context of a reckoning such as what accompanies the creation of a testament.⁷⁷⁶ One of the only other examples of this document found is a grandiose parchment from one of the great barons of Catalunya, in the first years of the thirteenth century: Arbert de Castellvell, on the eve of a departure for the Holy Land, had a list of his personal debts made up in the presence of none other than Guillem Durfort and Pere de Medina:⁷⁷⁷

Hec sunt debita quod Arberti de castro Vetulo debebat in Barchinona in illa ora quando ipse tetendit apud Iherusalem; que debita sunt scripta ante presenciam Guillelmi Durfortis et Petri Midine, necnon et maxima multitudo aliorum proborum hominum Barchinone intus curiam Barchinone. Sciendum namque est quod prefatus Arbertus Guillelmo Belloci mille .ccc. sol; ...

The scope of the document is staggering; debts total some thirty-six thousand *solidi*. It is unclear, in fact, whether these debts reflect entirely private financial transactions, or may in some way incorporate “public” or seigneurial borrowing or expenses under Arbert, who had been prominent in the household of Alfons and Pere for a decade (he witnessed and proved Alfons’ testaments with Bernat de Portellà). The language of the opening is entirely personal, and the reckoning at the time of (or in the aftermath of) Arbert’s dangerous journey suggest the same personal motivations that governed the confection of testaments: however public they may have been, these monies were connected to Arbert’s estate and net worth.⁷⁷⁸ Unfortunately, no testament for Arbert of Castellvell survives to correspond to this debt reckoning.⁷⁷⁹

⁷⁷⁶ Inserted near the end is the statement of a debt of one Carbonel; the principal creditor, Guillem Huc, is also a creditor of Pere de Montpaó. Otherwise the connection is unclear.

⁷⁷⁷ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 246, assigns this document to c. 1203-1205 (date for Arbert’s voyage and death). On Arbert’s career see Blanca Garí, *El linaje de los Castellvell* (Bellaterra, 1985).

⁷⁷⁸ The presence of Guillem Durfort and Pere de Medina and other “probi homines,” the situation “intus curiam,” and the language of the protocol (“ante presenciam,”) suggest a good deal of formality and imply a collective interest in the finances represented as Arbert’s. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 246, hesitated to include this as a public accounting session, however.

⁷⁷⁹ A possibly similar document survives in Aragon for a slightly earlier period. Jofre Isaac wrote a will in October of 1183. An undated parchment from the same fond seems to record a series of credits outstanding to Jofre Isaac, and may be an example of a separate reckoning of credits drawn

Also from the 1190s comes another undated, fragmentary text bearing on the same process of debt reckoning and, perhaps, testamentary preparation. Berenguer de Puigverd apparently succeeded his father, Pere de Puigverd, in estates including the castle of Vinaixa between 1194 and 1198, when he ceded the castle to Poblet in an act of *donatio corporis* and pious affiliation.⁷⁸⁰ An undated fragmentary document in the ACA also records an eleemosynary affiliation with the Templar house at Barberà:

Dimitto domui Barberane equum meum et arma mea tam lignam qua ferrea. ... Hoc pre in testamento fratris Br. de Podio Verde. ... Debeo domui de Barberana .x. migeras frumenti. ... Item volo et mando que legationes quas fecit P. de Podio Viridi pater meus domui de Barberano et aliis locis religiosas sive ecclesiis et aliis personis que non sunt hactenus solute solvuntur quemadmodum in ipsius testamento continetur. Item volo que omnes iniurie mee et P. de Podio Viridi patris mei restituantur. ... Hec sunt scripta in suo memoriali.⁷⁸¹

This document represents either drafted notes for the preparation of a testament, or excerpts from a testament. Berenguer assumed responsibility for the pious legacies his father had made to the Templars as well as for his father's debts to the house.⁷⁸²

2. PERSONAL ACCOUNTS AND CORPORATE ACCOUNTS

These new types of debt reckoning, apparently connected with the testamentary process, show that individuals quantified and categorized their estates with increasing sophistication in the twelfth century. This sophistication was reflected in the language of individual testaments and in the creation of ancillary documents of personal account. A new awareness of financial obligation is seen in another testamentary rarity, the summation. While for centuries testators had taken for granted the idea that a testament would distribute all their worldly goods, virtually none had ever figured a systematic total of cash

up at the time of the creation of his testament or after his death. Despite the name "Isaac" the pious bequests in his testament indicate Christian orthodoxy. *Colección diplomática de la catedral de Huesca*, i, nos. 384 (testament) and 387 (fragment).

⁷⁸⁰ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 221; *Cartulari de Poblet* (ed. Pons), no. 23.

⁷⁸¹ ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv. 3122. It may be roughly contemporaneous with Berenguer's pious act of 1198 to Poblet (noted above).

⁷⁸² The heirs' responsibility for the discharge of bequests as well as debts represents an eclipse of the powers of the testamentary executors. See above, chapter 3.

equivalency.⁷⁸³ Only one testament among those collected for this study explicitly makes a summation of property. In 1168, Bernat de Noadac wrote in his testament:

Ego Bernardus de Noadac ... facio meum testamentum, et eligo meos manumissores ... Et ego comtavi cum eis inter meis debitis et alium meum avere mobilem .cccc. morabatinos; et si plus meum invenerint divideant eum mei manumissores a salutem anime mee; et si non potuerint invenire nec recuperare de meis debitis usque ad .cccc. morabetinos, retineant de illum avere quem dimitto ad Hospitium Iherusalem et ad pontem per racione que posserint adimplere meum testamentum.⁷⁸⁴

Bernat's cash bequests totaled exactly 391 morabetins plus an additional 1 morabetin to each of the churches of Lleida, so if there were 9 churches there in 1168 Bernard's balance was perfect. Bernat's real property--*casas* and *directos*--were not part of this valuation, but his household valuables ("ornamenta de domo"), which were valued at 10 morabetins, may have also been examined and valued by the executors who helped Bernat in his "count." The houses, revenues and household ornaments were to pass to Bernat's unborn child, in tutelage until age 15 and *cum consilio* until age 20.⁷⁸⁵

This increasing sophistication in personal accounting reflects changes in seigneurial, or semi-public, accounting in the same period. Thomas Bisson has reconstructed a remarkably complex web of financial interaction in the household of the count-kings of Catalonia-Aragon from the second quarter of the twelfth century through the beginning of the thirteenth.⁷⁸⁶ Individual administrative initiative and individual financial activity were very important in the development of this financial system which would grow to support a state. The personal borrowings and payment arrangements effected by the count-king to float the household budget can, and perhaps should, be seen in relation to the behavior of

⁷⁸³ It has been remarked how the predominance of landed property--both allodial and feudal--prevents any accurate valuation of net worth, both for the researcher, and also, no doubt for the contemporary testators themselves.

⁷⁸⁴ ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 12 (18 March 1168).

⁷⁸⁵ If the 10 morabetins of "ornamenta" were counted as part of Bernat's 400-morabetin net worth in "avere mobile" then he would have a shortfall honoring his 400 morabetins of bequests as well as keeping the *ornamenta* in the family.

⁷⁸⁶ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, particularly vol. i, chapters 2-4, for a narrative of advancement in accounting technique in the reigns of Ramon Berenguer IV, Alfons I and Pere I.

many of his subjects, whose increasingly sophisticated credit and debt accounting can be glimpsed from time to time in their testaments, or in these few fortuitously surviving ancillary documents. The debt balances created by individuals were not always tidily resolved within their lifetimes.

C. The Comital/Royal Testament and Fiscal Accounting

1. PERSONAL FINANCE: THE COUNT-KING AND THE FISC

The count-kings themselves were individuals as well as rulers. Their testaments, when viewed in this light, tell a good deal about both the changing attitude of the individual towards his possessions and the relationship between the royal household and the seigneurial financial structure of the principality.

2. EARLIER SOVEREIGN TESTAMENTS

The testaments of the Catalan counts had focused more on family structure and distribution of inheritance than on fiscal matters. Distribution of money and lands--particularly pious distributions--were purely personal acts, consisting of alienation of sums in coin or parcels of land which it seemed the count must possess outright and be able to hand over in an instant. In the middle generation of the eleventh century the military successes of the Catalans ensured a generous supply of liquid wealth with which to provide dowries or rich pious bequests.

The testaments of the dowager countess Ermessend and of her grandson Ramon Berenguer I are the first of the comital testaments to reveal truly large sums of cash. Ermessend's testament of 1057 discharges some 3,750 mancuses and 100 ounces of gold. Ermessend did not state the source and composition of her wealth, except to note that seventy ounces of gold (of the hundred she bequeathed) were owed to her by Amat Eldric the seneschal and by viscount Ponç of Cabrera. In a culmination of their long quarrel, Ermessend had relinquished her lordships in an agreement with her grandson Ramon

Berenguer I in June of that year, so it may be assumed that the rich old woman was living on her hoard--on capital, not income--in the final months of her life.⁷⁸⁷ Testaments of succeeding members of the dynasty, although at times distributing enormous sums of money, generally also gave little clue to the source of the monies to be outlaid. An exception was Ramon Berenguer I's endowment of his still-unmarried daughter in his 1076 testament with 10,000 mancuses "in uno pense"--to be paid by Guerau Alemany de Cervelló as her dowry.⁷⁸⁸ Did Guerau owe this money to the count? It is possible that this financial arrangement could be related to the fidelity guarantees that Guerau had contracted with Ramon Berenguer I in 1065, giving the count sureties valued at 8,000 to 10,000 *solidi*.⁷⁸⁹

Ramon Berenguer III followed the tradition of his ancestors--his bequests are static distributions from a cluster of lands or a hoard of treasure (the only cash outlays total some 200 *morabetins* for foreign religious centers). Ramon Berenguer IV's testament is also uncomplicated by fiscal designations for bequests or debt payment. Despite the independent evidence for more sophisticated understanding of revenue generation in the final years of his reign, his unexpected death in the Piedmontese Alps prevented him from incorporating any fiscal planning into his testament. The only provision of a fiscal nature was that all his debts should be paid "de redditibus et exitibus sui honoris." In another clause added after the first witness list, a debt to Hug de Cervelló, then sacristan of Barcelona and later Archbishop of Tarragona, was to be paid with "mille aureos in suo pignore de Vilamaiore, quod iam ei subposuerat pro suo debito." Personal accounts of the count-king Alfons from years later would show that the payment of Ramon Berenguer IV's debts did not take place with a

⁷⁸⁷ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, nos. 214 (4 June 1057, the agreement) and 490 (25 September 1057, the testament). The additional oral bequests published posthumously distributed another 150 mancuses, her stable of mules and a few more ounces of gold (*Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 491, 26 February 1058).

⁷⁸⁸ *Liber feudorum maior*, i, no. 492 (12 November 1076).

⁷⁸⁹ Bonnassie, *Catalunya mil anys enrera*, ii, p. 219, citing ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, no. 337; Bonnassie, however, suggests that this was not an exceptional arrangement between Ramon Berenguer I and one of his greater vassals.

smooth diversion of collective revenues as his father might have wished or expected.⁷⁹⁰ It would take at least ten years for provisions to be made to contract the fulfillment this simple clause.⁷⁹¹

3. *THE TESTAMENT OF ALFONS I*

By the time Alfons I came to make his own testament, in June and again in December of 1194, the royal finances were viewed with considerably more sophistication. Alfons' household had developed an accounting competency which enabled them to audit revenues and expenditures and, perhaps, to gauge future balances as well. The administrative budget for Catalonia and the other realms under his mantle remained at the whim of the king, however, and in his testament Alfons the Chaste distributed the wealth of his household and administration in pious legacies on a more sweeping scale than had any of his predecessors. At least 165,000 *solidi* are bequeathed to varying types of religious beneficiaries.⁷⁹²

Alfons' bequests were grouped according to the funds earmarked for their fulfillment. The largest sum (over 90,000 s.) was to come from a group of revenues in Alfons' "home" domains, with a list of domains which are to be devoted either wholly or in part to the provision of cash for the legacies.⁷⁹³ There is no explicit indication of how long may be required to raise and channel the needed funds from those resources, but, significantly, two

⁷⁹⁰ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, pp. 83-5, for discussion of the "royal accounting for credit" which was to evolve into the system of regular audits.

⁷⁹¹ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, ii, no. 24 (8 June 1172) concerns an outstanding debt of the dead count. Alfons states in the charter that finally "all the debts of his father have been counted" and assigns specific receipts for payment of the outstanding debt to the bishop and canons of Vic.

⁷⁹² A significant number of bequests are made collectively; e.g., each hermit in Catalonia is to receive 20 *morabetins*; these have not been totaled. Just how many hermits the king had in mind (or just how many hermits received this bounty) is impossible to guess. Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 120, estimates the burden at above 176,000 s. (Barc.).

⁷⁹³ The revenues included, in addition to whole or half receipts from named domains and mills, one-half of the *questia judaeorum* from Aragon and Catalonia. In addition to the "master list" of dedicated domains, a few others were given directly to individual beneficiaries, notably to the Templars, the Hospitallers, the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, the churches of Zaragoza, Tarazona and Tortosa, Solsona, Poblet, Ripoll and Sigena.

of the listed domains are not to become available for revenues until the deaths of those who currently enjoy them. Guilhem VIII of Montpellier and his wife Agnes were in life tenure of Prats de Molló (Vallespir) and Dalmau de Crexell of Osor (Gironès).⁷⁹⁴ The inclusion of these domains farmed out for the lifetime of two healthy people (Guilhem would die in 1218, Dalmau in 1219) suggests that a long-term diversion of revenues was planned.⁷⁹⁵

The other two major divisions of bequests had revenues assigned to them for finite periods: in Provence, 60,000 *solidi Melg.* were to be paid in bequests from six years of local revenues through four Provençal executors (three bishops and the Templar master), and in Languedoc, 12,000 *solidi Melg.* was to be covered in four years of revenue from Millau and Gévaudan, under the auspices of the Templar *magister* there.⁷⁹⁶ In both cases provision was made that if further funds were required for the king's *debts* and provisions, an additional 10,000 *solidi* per year could be raised in Provence, indefinitely, from the *pedaticum* of each of five Provençal sees; and a further 2,000 *solidi* from Millau and Gévaudan.

Alfons' testament shows a multi-dimensional approach to testamentary finance: not only are his bequests connected to sources of revenue from which they should be paid (sources aggregated on a regional basis), but there is an explicit projection of the amount of time it should take for the necessary funds to become available. It is a significant departure from earlier testamentary custom that Alfons should assume that his bequests could not be made instantaneously--four years in Languedoc, six in Provence, and in Barcelona, an

⁷⁹⁴ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, pp. 177 (Osor) and 184 (Prats). Of Prats, Bisson found "no evidence that Pere I recovered or exploited the domain" after the death of Guilhem VIII.

⁷⁹⁵ The domain specifically pledged to Sigena, that is, Alcoerre (presumably in Aragon), was in the hands of one Lupus de Foz; they were to receive it after his death. Presumably he held the domain in life tenure in a manner equivalent to the arrangements with Dalmau de Crexell and Guilhem VII for Catalan domains. In his codicil Alfons also awarded Sigena the oblation of his daughter with a "dowry" of 6,000 *solidi*.

⁷⁹⁶ A small fourth category, contains bequests of 7,000 *solidi* to the poor and to lepers, to be covered by the one-time sale of the king's jewelry, moveable goods and beasts.

indefinite period to outlast the lifetimes of at least two royal pensioners. It is right that T. N. Bisson should have called Alfons' pious bequests a "burden."⁷⁹⁷

D. Solution of Debts: the Individual

I. INCOME OR GOODS DESIGNATED FOR DEBT SOLUTION

Of course no one else in the Crown of Aragon in the twelfth century had such phenomenal resources of domains or liquid wealth to draw upon for the discharge of debts or the fulfillment of pious bequests as had Alfons I. Yet testamentary evidence shows, in the later twelfth century, individuals beginning to provide for bequests or debt payment through planned diversion of seigneurial or agricultural revenues. This departure shows that individuals, not just the royal fiscal administration, began to change their attitudes toward income. Debt financing in the royal administration and among individuals had a long history, as testaments showed personal indebtedness as early as the tenth century. In the later twelfth century, however, the ability to project (or to attempt to project) the revenues with which one could cover such obligations seems to indicate a new sophistication in the general conception of landed income. Individuals appear to have begun to add a new dimension to their thinking about land, worth and income. How is this shown in individual testaments?

In the eleventh century individuals who indicated the presence of debt in their testaments had usually not specified how those debts were to be paid. The occasional specific clause would imply that the executors, along with their other obligations, had the duty of paying the testator's debts. In some instances, sums of cash or credits owed were explicitly set aside for this purpose; or movable goods mentioned singly or in the aggregate were to go toward the payments of debts before the remainder was to be divided among legatees. Ramon Guillem de Castellvell, for example, in his testament of 1058, left one of

⁷⁹⁷ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, p. 120.

several mules to be sold for the solution of his debts.⁷⁹⁸ Clearly this baron was not greatly burdened by debt.

2. *WHO IS RESPONSIBLE?*

Standard testamentary procedure gave the executors some responsibility to pay the testators' debts as well as the bequests. "Et sit Deus inter me et vos," the testator would exhort his executors to discharge their duties faithfully. We have already seen how the eleventh century witnessed the decline in the scope of the executors' powers; their intermediate possession of the testator's goods was less obvious in the language of testaments, and executors' acts of donation of the bequests to the beneficiaries had disappeared by the turn of the twelfth century. Logically, the executors' role as debt agent for the defunct testator dwindled as well as their power over the testators' estates. Increasingly in twelfth-century testaments, one sees specific notice of debts accompanied by a testator's request that some beneficiary (usually a child) take over, along with a significant legacy, the obligation to pay the testator's outstanding debts.⁷⁹⁹

Increasingly, testaments specified that the payment of debts was to be accomplished by a specific beneficiary. While this was initially appropriate for the payment of a mortgage based on land, it also came into custom that the payment of general debts be assigned to one who was a principal recipient of the testator's landed estate. This assumption of goods and debts amounted to the approximation of an heir in the old Roman tradition, who would take over the legal person of a testator--land, debts and all. Arnau de Pinos, in his first testament of 1180, left the bulk of his estates to his brother Guillem, with the responsibility that Guillem should pay Arnau's outstanding debts.⁸⁰⁰

⁷⁹⁸ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer I, no. 224 (26 March 1058).

⁷⁹⁹ A number of early twelfth-century testaments, incorporating the formula "mando ut omnia debita mea sint persoluta," provide only ambiguous identification of the party on whom this mandate falls; presumably it is still the executors.

⁸⁰⁰ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 290.

What was to ensure that a beneficiary would honor the debts thus passed along by a testator with a piece of land or other bequest? Many testators of the twelfth century grappled with this question, and in several testaments various conditions appear with a view toward safeguarding the payment of debts. In his testament of 1183, the childless Berenguer de Guardia, whose father, Berenguer Reverter, was the last viscount of Barcelona, left the castles of la Guardia and Pierola to Arbert de Castellvell, with the condition that Arbert pay off Berenguer's debts within five years.⁸⁰¹ If Arbert did not do this, the bequest was forfeit, to revert to Berenguer's other kinsman Guillem de Guardia. In turn Guillem was also obliged:

Si autem ipse Guilielmus iamdictus mea debita paccare noluerit, rogando precipio manumissoribus meis Raimundo de Odena iamdicto et A. de Apierola et aliis ut ipsi teneant omnem meum honorem per cuncta loca, et habeant potestate vendendi et inpignorandi cuicumque voluerint, donec omnia mea debita plenarie persolvantur.

Only if his heirs were unwilling, then, would Berenguer's executors be placed into service as temporary lords, directing the diversion of receipts from two castellanies toward debt repayment, probably within a period of five years. In the normal course of events, however, Arbert de Castellvell would have retained control of the castles without outside interference.

Increasingly an arrangement of temporary custody of some of a testator's lands while his debts were being paid became customary. Ramon de Guardia, in his testament of 1179, provided that receipts from the castle of Muredin be earmarked for debt solution.⁸⁰² He instructed his son (the heir of Muredin) to allow his creditors, one after another, to have temporary custody of the castle while his debts were being paid.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰¹ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 338 (13 April 1183).

⁸⁰² *El «Llibre Blanch» de Santas Creus*, no. 82 (30 May 1179); ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 634 (22 September 1192).

⁸⁰³ A similar but less explicit provision was made by Ramon's widow, Marchesa, in her testament, their son having died in the interim. ACA, Perg. Alfonso I, nos. 262-263 (31 January, 4 February 1179).

3. THE TEMPLARS AS CUSTODIANS AND DEBT MANAGERS

Another way to help ensure the conscientious payment of debts was to enlist the aid of a third party in the process. Besides the traditional vehicle of the testamentary executors, another institution was emerging with the ability to enter into short or long-term seigneurial relationships with an end to resolving financial difficulty. The Knights Templar were beginning to develop a financial reputation not only with the count-kings, but among individuals.

Ramon de Ruvira has already been mentioned as an early land donor to the Templars in the Barcelonès and the Vallès. His testament of 1143 gave the Templars certain allodial lands (confirming those gifts which had father had made in his testament, which itself confirmed gifts which his grandfather had made to them).⁸⁰⁴ The Templars, in turn were to pay his debts: “et ut milites de ipsa kavalleria solverent sua debita.”

In other arrangements the Templars would be called to pay individuals' debts, but as temporary custodians, not as permanent heirs to landed property. Guillem de Alcarràs specified an enormous amount of debt in his testament of 1176; he gave the castle of Arraona and other lordships to his uncle, Arnau de Torroja (Templar *magister*), and the Templars, to hold until all debts were paid; then they were to keep it until they raised another 2,000 *solidi* for themselves; finally, it would pass to his daughter with the rest of his patrimony.⁸⁰⁵ The Arnau de Pinos who commanded his brother to pay his debts in his testament of March, 1180, decided to seek greater certainty that his debts would be paid, and wrote a second

⁸⁰⁴ ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 158 (21 September 1143, publication of his oral will); also ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 86 (copy of 1145, with his father's testament as well). His father's will (Berenguer de Ruvira): ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 120 (26 November 1140). No will for his grandfather, Pere, seems to have survived.

⁸⁰⁵ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, i, no. 571. Another similar arrangement is found in the testament of Berenguer de Torroja of 1161. Berenguer left all his honor to his brother, Arnau, while debts were paid off; then it would go to his nephew Ramon de Torroja. While the Templars are not mentioned, Arnau de Torroja was none other than the Templar *magister* and future grand master of the order. On this family, see Forey, *Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, p. 56. The nephew, Ramon de Torroja, would contract a similar arrangement with the Templars in his own testament of 1199. ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 55 (7 March 1199).

testament in July.⁸⁰⁶ After repeating the earlier clause requesting that his brother Guillem pay his debts, he added the following surety clause:

Set per maiorem securitatem ut mea securius debita sint paccata, volo et precor fratres milicie Templi ut teneant omnes meos predictos honores et possideant et expleta recipiant usque omnia mea debita sint paccata sine enganno; et, meis debitis persolutis, predicte omnia remaneant Guillelmo de Pinos fratri meo per secula cuncta ut dictum est superius.

The Templars appear to have been the only institution to assume this role in the later twelfth century.⁸⁰⁷ Alfons' employment of the Templars as managers of the receipts for his Occitanian lands and guarantors of his bequests there had precedents, therefore, in private financial arrangements made by his individual subjects. With their prominent seigneurial position in New Catalonia and elsewhere, and the tradition of trust dating back to Alfons the Battler's bequest of a third of his kingdoms, the Templars were in an ideal position to establish themselves as semi-professional financial managers--an important link between the fiscal policies of the royal administration and the financial behavior of individuals.⁸⁰⁸ This would be carried further on the administrative level with the appointment of the Templars as official royal revenue administrators for a swath of Catalonian domains early in the reign of Pere I.⁸⁰⁹

⁸⁰⁶ ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 295 (1 of 2).

⁸⁰⁷ Such temporary custody also appears in mortgages or debt documents not directly connected with testaments. In a series of acts on 8 October 1180 Guillem de Torre and his wife Estefania deeded lands into the custody of the Templars of Palau-Solità while their debt to the Templars was paid off (a *donatio corporis* was made out to the Templars the same day). Thomas Bisson has written about the surviving *capbreu* which records the revenues generated by the Templars from these lands in payment of the debt: "Credit, Prices and Agrarian Production in Catalonia: A Templar Account (1180-1188)," in *Medieval France and her Pyrenean neighbours: studies in early institutional history* (London, 1989), pp. 287-302.

⁸⁰⁸ A couple of undated statements of account in the ACA *extra inventari* series apparently indicate receivables due to the Templars from individuals (paleographically from the later twelfth century). One, ACA, Perg. Ex. Inv. no. 3487, includes at least one sum owed as a testamentary bequest. These documents suggest an aggressive program of collection undertaken by the Templars, either as funds pledged and owed to them as an institution, or perhaps from the transferal of individual debts for collection.

⁸⁰⁹ Bisson, *Fiscal Accounts*, i, pp. 143, 152.

IV. THE NEW SOCIAL AND LEGAL CLIMATE

A. Urban Growth, Expansion and Social Change

I. NEW TESTATORS AS WELL AS NEW BENEFICIARIES

We have seen how the new beneficiaries--the Cistercian houses, the military orders--influenced testamentary changes in the twelfth century. It should be emphasized, however, that militaristic expansion and the vigor of the knightly class were not the only features of this period of change. An inward social expansion was also taking place: in the cities, urban institutions were burgeoning. In Barcelona, a new chapter of canons regular at Santa Anna was accumulating patronage of a great many urban testators.⁸¹⁰ In Perpignan, the Poor Hospital of Saint John was a focus of urban growth and urban pious commemoration from mid-century.⁸¹¹

The expansion of urban economies and societies is reflected in new testators--artisans and tradespeople, or their sons and daughters. Arnau *Carnifex*, a butcher in Lleida, made a testament while ill in 1195.⁸¹² He placed his wife and family under the protection of the Templars of Gardeny, to whom he left a garden plot. Other movable property and the *operatorium* (the slaughterhouse?) he left to his family. One brother, Domingo, was also a butcher (*carnifex*); another brother, Martin, was not. In Roussillon, one Malol Pillicer made a testament in 1167.⁸¹³ While his name would suggest some connection with a trade in skins--either shearing, curing, or trading--his own estate is rather that of a modest holder of fiefs and some allodial property. The name of his son, Homodei, would suggest clerical

⁸¹⁰ *Arxiu antic de Santa Anna*, vols. ii and iii, with some 40 testaments in the second half of the twelfth century from their archive alone.

⁸¹¹ Although the archive which survives is fragmentary (currently undergoing reclassification at the ADP), some dozen mid to late twelfth-century testaments were copied by Alart (BM Perpignan, MS 107).

⁸¹² ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 58 (3 August 1195).

⁸¹³ Perpignan, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 107, vol. 26 (enlettered "V"), pp. 567-570 (old pagination), nineteenth-century copy by Julien-Bernard Alart.

aspirations for the next generation of his family. By the turn of the century other testators would crop up whose names suggested either practice of a trade or membership in a lineage of tradespeople: a baker (Furnarius) in Toulouse in 1202, a smith (Faber) in Narbonne sometime in the period 1181-1216.⁸¹⁴

2. TESTAMENTS AND LINGUISTIC CHANGE

From an internal diplomatic standpoint another major change was occurring in the language, specifically with the infiltration of more and more vernacular vocabulary and syntax into the notarial milieu and the documents that survive from it. Joaquim Miret y Sans compiled a group of documents of linguistic importance for early Catalan in his study *Antics documents de llengua catalana*, published in 1915.⁸¹⁵ A significant number of the twelfth-century documents he calendared in this work were testaments--documents which bore witness to an expanding vernacular vocabulary for objects appearing as bequests, as well as a gradual decision of the scribes to allow to the testators to speak in their own words--that is, to couch some of the protocols as well as the bequests in the vernacular.

It is difficult to assess the scribes' role in the gradual tolerance of more vernacular words and idioms in the documents. Were the scribes themselves at a loss for the correct classical equivalents in the twelfth century, when their counterparts of three generations before had had a better command of Latin? Or were the scribes growing accustomed to allowing the testators to dictate plainly, less conscious of a need for protocols adhering to the old forms? Was there a general recognition that the increased, more accurate vocabulary of common usage would allow greater precision in the observance of testaments, which so often relied on descriptions of material goods? Sustained philological study of twelfth-century

⁸¹⁴ Ed. Roche, *La société languedocienne*, ii, pp. 224-225 (Raimond Furnarius) and 277-280 (Petrus Faber).

⁸¹⁵ Joaquim Miret y Sans, *Antics documents de llengua catalana i reimpressió de les homilies d'Organyà* (Barcelona, 1915).

Catalonian and Occitanian testaments might confirm their importance as early repositories of vernacular vocabulary.

3. *THE CLERGY AND THE NOTARIATE*

The scribes' willingness to include a vernacular vocabulary and idiom was partly a result of social changes affecting the legal and notarial culture itself, as well as the testators around them. We have seen, in Chapter 3, how the cadre of judges trained in the old laws and customs shrank steadily in the twelfth century; in addition, new authorities were springing up, not only in the old episcopal centers (as at Urgell, where bishop Sant Ot diverged from the old customs in his own treatment of testamentary affairs) but in the new frontier towns (as at Lleida and Tortosa, where important clergy did the same). The ranks of the literate scribes were no longer open only to episcopally-educated clerics in holy orders (the deacons and priests of the eleventh century).

Increasingly, the scribe would make a name for himself as *scriptor*, not *levita*, in both the baronial feudal and the urban bourgeois contexts.⁸¹⁶ In the area of Tarragona, one Vida, a layman, served for many years as scribe to the baron Guerau de Iorba and his son Guillem de Alcarràs.⁸¹⁷ In Barcelona, the notarial dynasty of Pere de Corró, semi-public scribe and semi-official court notary, began in 1172 and lasted through the turn of the century. In Perpignan, professional urban notaries kept notebooks which survive in a series from 1204.⁸¹⁸

4. *FUEROS AND THE RIGHT TO MAKE TESTAMENTS*

As the scribal ranks widened so did those of the testators. In addition to the scattered names of tradesmen in the later twelfth century, other sources give some indication that the

⁸¹⁶ Among the indices of the series of documents edited by Cebrià Baraut in *Urgellia*, a separate index of scribes shows greatly increased frequencies of lay scribes in documents after 1150. *Urgellia* x, pp. 552-557. A significant number of these late twelfth-century documents come from lower Urgell, the areas of New Catalonia under the jurisdiction of the old county.

⁸¹⁷ *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, nos. 312 (1167) and 571 (1176).

⁸¹⁸ *Inventaire sommaire des Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales*, série B, ed. Julien-Bernard Alart (Perpignan, 1902).

right to make testaments was accruing to more individuals, and further down the social scale in this period. A few scattered references in local prescriptive documents--grants of privileges, customs or *fueros*--touched upon the right of groups of individuals (citizens of towns or subjects of some temporal or ecclesiastical lordship) to make testaments. A small series of documents from the bishops of Urgell in the twelfth century reflects a general spread of the right to dispose of property by testament in various sectors of the population.

On 7 April 1125 bishop Pere Berenguer revoked the “bad custom” whereby the canons had been restrained from freely disposing of their individual property; henceforth only a quarter of their movable goods was to be taken by the bishop as a mandatory pious bequest.⁸¹⁹ On 25 June 1165 the bishop, Bernat Roger, at the request of his brother-in-law the count, and with the counsel of the canons of the see, conceded to all people of la Seu d’Urgell--except clerics and *milites*--complete freedom to ordain testamentary succession to their honors:⁸²⁰

... dono hominibus sedis et foeminis atque concedo qui modo sunt et in antea erunt, quatenus liberam habeant potestatem per omnia tempora de omni honore suo quem habent vel tenent, aut habuerint seu tenuerint, facere voluntatem suam cum infante et sine infante, in vita et in morte et post mortem, excepto clerico et milite, salvo mei meorumque successorum censu. ...

That the *milites* were distinguished from general *laici* perhaps indicates that the intended exception was of members of military orders, who presumably, like clerics, had restrictions on the ownership and free distribution of property. The bishop went on to declare his right to claim the movables of any intestate defunct, “solutis suis debitis, sepulturaeque traditis necessariis.” Landed possessions were to go to the children, then the *proximi*, and finally to the bishop if there were no family to claim.

⁸¹⁹ *Urgellia* ix, no. 1369.

⁸²⁰ *Viaje* xi, p. 57 and no. 17; *Urgellia* x, no. 1598. Bishop Bernat Roger, although not concretely identified, is quite possibly a son of Roger III of Foix (and Jimena, daughter of Ramon Berenguer III?), and brother of Dulce, wife of count Ermengol VII. See Baraut, *Urgellia* x, pp. 19-20.

This statute implies two developments. First, the right to make a testament was actively sought by individuals, residents or tenants of the see, who in previous generations either would not have felt the need to secure this right in a specific privilege, or would not have sought to make a testament in the first place. Second, the relationship of subordination symbolized by the *census* seems also to have given the bishop power to claim power over the goods of these tenants. The bishop conceded that the sons or *proximi* of intestate *laici* succeed to the lands they owned or held, “*censum facientes domino suo.*” This implies that the lands were those held in fief of the see, possibly as the result of a lifetime reservation for one or more generations accompanying an earlier bequest to the Church. This implicit recognition of the right of tenants to continue such arrangements indefinitely signaled long-term stability for the community subject to the see. Had the bishop previously been interfering too aggressively in the succession of his tenants? The *census* was originally a render to symbolize and commemorate the subjection of the land to the religious beneficiary of some previous grant or bequest. Yet the bishop’s behavior, both in his concessions and the implied positions he rescinded, seem to indicate transition to a more personal domination. The movable goods of those who died intestate have nothing to do with their lands. Through the identification of tenant with land they had become *homines sedis* in more ways than one.

At the same time, the fact that these people of tenant status were seeking confirmation of their right to dispose of goods through testaments indicates that the custom of making testaments was spreading downward through social ranks. Where before no one would have denied free peasants of modest status the right to make testaments, perhaps they exercised this right less than their descendants, tainted with bondage by the *census*, sought to in 1165. And the bishop agreed that it was a good thing: “*et si quis intestatus in hac villa, quod absit, obierit*”

A generation later the canons at la Seu d’Urgell, not content with their freedoms of 1125 (see above), were actively seeking the right freely to dispose of their entire estates. In 1201 Bishop Bernat de Vilamur renounced the “crooked and most terrible custom” whereby his predecessors had seized one quarter of the estate of all defunct canons, denying them the right to dispose of it as they saw fit.⁸²¹ This long-standing struggle in Urgell over the canons’ property was fought incrementally. The implication was of an increasing need for statutory protection of the legal freedom to make testaments in some communities in the twelfth century. This dispute had also been fought in the canonical communities in Vic and elsewhere.⁸²²

The Aragonese *fueros* of the mid-twelfth century give similar prescriptive evidence of new attitudes towards testamentary succession: local statutes and privileges began to substitute for, and in some cases contradict, the fading memory of the freedoms granted under the Visigothic *liber iudiciorum* and the public legal system which had been its legacy. The earliest *fueros*, those of Jaca confirmed in the late eleventh century, do not specifically address the right to make a testament, but did (clause 7) imply an assumption of unencumbered possession and transmission of inheritances.⁸²³ In contrast, in the twelfth-century *fueros* of Daroca (1142), inhabitants (settlers) were denied freedom to ordain succession to their own property. All goods were to be divided equally among children; in default of children, property of a deceased would benefit the community, for example by endowing construction of the city walls.⁸²⁴ Why was this freedom denied in a *fuero* designed

⁸²¹ *Viaje xi*, no. 21 (a partial edition of the text from the *LDEU*). The wicked custom, the seizure of a quarter of the estate--*rerum*--is ambiguous here, and might mean that the bishops had lapsed back into seizure of a quarter of all possessions, not merely the *mobiles* specified in the concession of 1125.

⁸²² Freedman, *The Diocese of Vic*, pp. 43-44.

⁸²³ *Jaca: documentos municipales, 971-1269*, ed. Antonio Ubieto Arteta, (Valencia, 1975), no. 8. See also Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín, “El derecho aragonés en el siglo XII,” in *Actas del Segundo Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón*, 2 vols. (Huesca, 1922), i, pp. 173-294, particularly at pp. 212-213.

⁸²⁴ Bonilla, “El derecho aragonés,” p. 212.

to cater to civil liberty and encourage the growth of a frontier settlement? Perhaps the austere socialistic measure was designed to ensure the safety of the community--an early example of the competing attractions of civil liberties and collective responsibility.

B. Old and New Laws and Customs

In the later twelfth century other evidence pointed to the infiltration of new, or newly-revived concepts of Roman law which conflicted with the old legacy. In the Narbonnais new habits spread outward from early footholds in Agde and Montpellier, doubtless linked to the arrival of Bolognese-trained jurists in the episcopal retinues. A formal, declamatory *institutio heredis* in the Roman style was revived in mid-century at Agde and spread rapidly in the Narbonnais.⁸²⁵ It appeared frequently in the testaments of the lords of Montpellier (or their younger sons), the viscounts of Carcassonne, and, by the end of the century, had spread south into Catalonia (or was introduced there), as king Alfons used the formal *institutio heredis* in his testament of 1194 at Perpignan. As this and other trademarks of professional law and professional notarial practice spread West and South, the testament in the crown of Aragon, which now spanned a considerable area, was becoming more cosmopolitan in character.

What would the new century bring? On the frontier, the tradition of statutory civil law begun in Aragon with the *fueros* would be carried out on a larger scale with constitutional law for the entire principality. With the statute *Recognoverunt proceres* in 1283 King Pere II (III) confirmed the right of Barcelonans to confirm oral testaments by oath, a vestige of the Romano-Visigothic testamentary publication tradition which was still in practice at the church of Saints Just and Pastor in the city. As one of the earliest statutory

⁸²⁵ Odile Terrin provides examples from 1149 onward: *Cartulaire du chapitre d'Agde*, introduction, pp. lxi-lxii.

components of modern civil law in Catalonia, this act would spread to cover the entire principality, surviving to be included in the first printed Catalan constitutions in 1495.⁸²⁶

By the thirteenth century, then, Roman influence on the local testamentary practices in the Midi and Catalonia had come full circle. The cosmopolitan Roman legal and social patterns which governed testamentary practice in the fifth and sixth century had left a residue of local customs which survived in the Pyrenean counties while first the Muslims, then the Carolingians, imposed order from South and North. In the twelfth century, some of the same Roman features were rediscovered and reintroduced into the Midi in the formation of a new Mediterranean cosmopolitan legal culture.

At the same time that these old and new laws were forging a new balance in testamentary culture, other social changes were making themselves felt in the testaments. We have seen the development of personal accounting technique, the rise of the military orders, and expansion on the frontiers of Christendom all having an impact on the testaments of Catalonia, Aragon and Languedoc. These various changes which manifested themselves in testaments by the year 1200 by no means disrupted continuity with previous centuries, but the critical mass of factors was enough that testamentary culture and testamentary documents would never look the same.

⁸²⁶ Facsimile: *Constitucions de Catalunya: incunabile de 1495*, ed. Josep M. Font i Rius. (Barcelona, 1988), pp. cv-cvi; 632-650. The most recent edition of the act is in *Privilegis reials concedits a la ciutat de Barcelona*, ed. A. Aragó and M. Costa (*CDIACA*, n. ser., vol. 43, Barcelona, 1971), no. 22. See also Jesús Lalinde Abadía, "Recognoverunt proceres," in *Documents jurídics de la història de Catalunya*, ed. Agustí M. Bassols i Pares and Iago de Balanzo i Sola, 2d. ed. (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 163-171.

CONCLUSIONS

What can be said of the testaments from Catalonia and Languedoc in the ninth through twelfth centuries? This study, approaching the documents and their creators from such widely different angles, has turned up a wealth of provocative findings in many different areas of inquiry. Many are preliminary observations, suggestive for further study in their respective topics. None provides the final word. Some call for further comparative material to be brought in from a wider geographic area; others for more sustained investigation using a smaller sample set.

In keeping with the technique employed so far of presenting in successive chapters observations and analysis carried out in different disciplines, or from different perspectives, it seems best here to recapitulate the salient points arranged in four significant categories of analysis. First, the testamentary context was explored from a legal and diplomatic point of view. Observations touched on the development of the testamentary tradition from various antecedents into the Carolingian age in Catalonia and Languedoc, considering the interaction and growth of various testamentary traditions through the twelfth century. Next, the social context of testaments was addressed, through successive consideration of the individual testator, the context of family and inheritance, and the social and economic importance of goods and lands bequeathed. The remaining sphere of social relevance of the testament is the religious context, which was considered both since religious institutions constitute the most ubiquitous testamentary beneficiaries, and since individuals express or realize religious interests through the medium of the testament. Finally, in the twelfth century, social, legal and religious factors converged to bring about a definitive change in testamentary culture to mark the close of the period under study.

I. THE TESTAMENTARY PROCESS: DIPLOMATICS, LAW AND CIVIL ORDER

A. Early Medieval Antecedents

Those who have sought continuity and decay in the internal diplomatic structure of early medieval testaments have found it. Merovingian testaments have previously been studied as an index of stages of the decline of strict Roman diplomatic and legal forms. Looking beyond the strict diplomatic descendants of Roman testaments, a rather larger group of documentary evidence survives with which to consider testamentary desires and testamentary documentation from a more functional standpoint. Enough Frankish documents exist from the seventh and eighth century to suggest that *donationes post obitum* of different types may have been used a great deal in the place of testaments. It has been suggested, since the nineteenth century, that this represents a Germanic tradition parallel and opposed to the Roman testamentary system. In the tenth century, however, the coexistence of testaments (some of whose legal elements were subject to a distinct revival) and *donationes post obitum*, at least in the Midi and Catalonia, suggest that both types of act fit into the same legal continuum.

The testamentary process which embraced this continuum included the publication, comprobation or enregistration of the testament with an appropriate legal authority. It exemplifies the evolution and continuity of the day-to-day legal system in the early Middle Ages. The attestations of a testamentary process in Visigothic laws and in the Visigothic and Frankish formularies suggests, to some degree, the continuity of the legal culture between Rome and the Barbarian kingdoms--an affinity to the Roman procedure of testamentary comprobation and enregistration shown in the Ravennate papyri as well as by prescriptive reference in the *Codex theodosianus* and the *Corpus iuris civilis*. The nature of the evidence makes it difficult to attach much weight to the similarity or the difference of these processes as they are attested in the Visigothic and Merovingian legal systems. No doubt survival of an older testamentary process in one form or another in both the Visigothic and Frankish

traditions contributed to the revival of such a process in the ninth century under Carolingian domination of the formerly Visigothic provinces of Gothia and Septimania. The legal system attested in Narbonne and Empúries (with the presence of *iudices*) in the early ninth century, and more directly connected with testaments after the revival of the testamentary *condiciones sacramentorum* in the 950s and 960s, may be in a sense a descendant of both Merovingian and Visigothic parents, and ultimately Germanic and Roman grandparents.

B. The Judiciary

Whatever the correct balance of antecedents may have been, there survives evidence from 791 through the twelfth century to indicate a continuous, strong public legal culture in the post-Visigothic Narbonnais and coastal Catalonia. A cadre of professionally-trained *iudices*--such as those referred to in the Visigothic *Liber iudiciorum*--suggests that the Carolingians adopted a system already in place under Visigothic rule and surviving in the Narbonnais in the eighth century. The *iudices* flourished in the ninth century in the Narbonnais, although by the tenth century they were in decline, and in the eleventh century were all but extinct north of the Pyrenees.

The early *iudices* in Septimania and Gothia had been laymen, or were never identified as clergy. South of the Pyrenees, the judiciary began to be clericalized in the later tenth century. The profession underwent a revival in the generation around the Millennium, probably, as Bonnassie suggests, under the wing of the cathedral schools. As a result of this change in venue, judges began to appear who held clerical rank. After the first decades of the eleventh century the judicature was always largely--but never wholly--clerical. If judicial training were accomplished at cathedral schools, it would seem logical that few trainees would remain without an ordained clerical status in addition to their professional rank of *iudex*.

C. Tradition and Improvisation in Publication of Testaments

After the middle of the tenth century, the sub-Pyrenean counties supplanted Narbonne as the centers of the formal judicial tradition inherited from the Visigoths and the Carolingians. By the eleventh century, the traditional judicial profession, as it survived in Girona, Vic, Barcelona, and Urgell (where it had somewhat changed by the early twelfth century) coexisted with a fragmented judicial structure in outlying areas. In the coastal Narbonnais and westward into the Toulousain and Aragon, professional judges vanished; other officials stepped in to assume the functions previously allocated to them. Clerics who were not specifically trained in law would take over their traditional functions of overseeing routine legal acts such as testamentary publication.

While the judges still held courts in the old style in the Catalonian lowlands, courts elsewhere adhered little to the customary and diplomatic traditions still retained in old Catalonia. The variety of forms of surviving testamentary documentation, which varied more the farther one traveled from coastal Catalonia, reflected this coexistence.

Perhaps the most striking example of the diplomatic diversity that resulted from this transformation is that group of documents which incorporate an attributed *narratio* in the voice of the dead testator, or documents which include the *signum* of an already-dead testator. These documents furnish evidence of ambiguous scribal attitudes toward the authentication of acts or their attendant documents. Such devices, which might in stricter Roman-influenced circles have smacked of forgery, perhaps showed elements of an oral tradition of testamentary proxy in which others could actually speak in the place of the dead, and make their mark. As a diplomatic and cultural phenomenon, this certainly bears further investigation, but probably it is most clearly to be found in the context of testaments.

D. The Executors: Rise and Decline

Testamentary executors--called *elemosinarii* and later *manumissores*--were an important feature of the testamentary process in Catalonia and the Narbonnais. Appearing

in the ninth century, they had no antecedents in the Roman testamentary process, but may have been related with the *mandatarii* connected to the testator (or author of other acts) in the Gallo-Roman and/or Frankish legal system of municipal enregistration of private acts attested in the Frankish formularies, the *gesta municipalia*. Charged with executing both pious and familial bequests, the executors enjoyed real possession of the testators' property and the acts with which they executed the bequests amounted to full-fledged *donationes inter vivos*.

The executors suffered a decline in the scope of their powers in the eleventh century in Catalonia, and earlier elsewhere. While they continued to be named in testaments which followed older formulae, and while they continued to appear at publication ceremonies, they no longer authored transaction documents to execute testamentary bequests after the middle decades of the eleventh century. Gradually, it seems, their powers were assumed by the heir apparent. Acts in which the executors make over bequeathed property were supplanted by acts in which the blood heir, or in some cases, the feudal lord, of the testator approved and made over the bequest using the verbs *donare* and *laudare* together. Because of the temporal coincidence of this trend with other evidence of more careful husbanding of the patrimony, trends towards infeudation, and other evidence of the "feudal revolution", it seems probable that these social changes contributed to the decline of the executor.

E. Further Exploration of the Legal Context

I. THE COMPARATIVE TESTAMENTARY CONTEXT

Not only in Catalonia and Languedoc has there survived evidence of the testamentary process in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian age. A belt of principalities extending from León to Lombardy all have important testamentary documentation in surviving archives. Parallels and contrasts with Catalonian traditions have already been sought and found among published documentary sources from Italy and Spain during the

course of this study. It is apparent, however, that a more thorough comparison of Mediterranean documentation may reveal more about the Carolingian role in the testamentary culture already found in Languedoc and Catalonia. In León the testament was eschewed in favor of many varieties of *donationes post obitum* in the tenth century and later. León shares Visigothic heritage with Catalonia and the Narbonnais, but remained beyond the perimeter of Carolingian domination in the ninth century. Does this account for the fundamental differences? Lombardy, like Catalonia, was a Carolingian fringe state where Frankish methods and customs intermingled with the earlier traditions of a different tribe. Roman law, on the other hand, was remembered and condensed differently by the Lombards and the Visigoths. Do common elements in later Lombard testaments and Catalonian testaments therefore point exclusively to the influence of the Carolingian Franks? Creative comparison of the testamentary tradition in different principalities may produce a better differentiated picture of Lombard, Visigothic, and Frankish institutions in this crucial period of cultural interchange.

2. LEGAL CULTURE AND THE JUDICATURE

Legal and social history intersect with the study of the professional judges operating in Catalonia and the Narbonnais in the ninth through twelfth centuries. This study has incorporated a preliminary prosopographical exploration of the judges attested in testamentary documentation. Further work in both the prosopographical and institutional contexts will be considerably more revealing about the legal institution embodied by the judges and how it changed in the post-Carolingian period. Surviving testamentary documents provide the most reliable source for attestation of judicial activity. Other judicial documents, however, particularly civil complaints and extraordinary comital and episcopal judgments, must be examined carefully. Ideally, these may clearly delineate the limitations and decline of the old professional judicature in the face of the rising, “feudal” power of comital and other locally-sovereign lords. A detailed study of the shifting boundaries

between the old professional courts and the seigneurial courts of the counts and lords in these areas has yet to be written.

II. TESTAMENTARY EVIDENCE FOR SOCIAL HISTORY

A. Demographics: Population, Social Patterns

The volume of testaments involved in this study has made possible the creation of a list of nearly three thousand testators about whom some basic information has been compiled. Unfortunately, the variety of testamentary documentation has prevented exploration of this group beyond some basic preliminary observations. The most obvious distinctions among testators are gender and clerical status. The group is eighty-percent male, twenty-percent female. Clerics account for a higher proportion of testators (twenty percent) in early documents; a lesser proportion (dwindling to about five percent) in later documents. In both cases, the figures raise the question of how the evidence of surviving documents has skewed constitution of the group. The right, the means, and the desire to make a testament must have belonged to a small, select sector of society as a whole. Certain basic trends suggest that this sector grew steadily downward and outward from the clergy and the high aristocracy from the ninth through the twelfth centuries. How and why did this growth occur? It is only in the twelfth century that prescriptive evidence survives directly addressing the right to make testaments. These *fueros* and privileges granted to specific communities offer little more than a glimpse at the right to make testaments, but they do attest that a growing portion of the population as a whole was interested in securing that right.

The task of identifying gradations of rank or status within the select group of testators is problematic. Labels applied by the researcher, as well as labels applied by the scribes, are arbitrary and potentially misleading. At the very least, however, it is obvious that aristocratic or powerful individuals and families account for a disproportionate number of testaments, particularly from the earlier generations under study. Even so, in areas well

served by scribes (such as the vicinities of the great monasteries like Sant Cugat del Vallès) one often found relatively humble agrarian families creating testaments. Unfortunately, testaments often provide incomplete information about a person's estate: the variety of other means of transmission of property available to an individual meant that no one was bound to describe his entire estate in a given testament. Any calculation of an individual's wealth based on a surviving will is bound to remain conjectural.

Ultimately, sociological data about testators must be supported by thorough examination of external evidence to supplement what can be known about them through their testaments. To build upon the preliminary observations in this study the most fruitful course would be to select a sample population--testators of a certain *pagus*, perhaps, over a smaller period--and to investigate them in the context of the surrounding population, as gleaned from other surviving non-testamentary documentation.

B. The Family and Inheritance

The difficulty in separating and distinguishing characteristics of testators and testaments of different social classes led to an acceptance that the highest, most privileged echelon of the social order was probably that most faithfully represented in the surviving testaments. The dynasty of the counts of Barcelona and related branches of that family account for a uniquely high volume of testaments from the mid-tenth through the end of the twelfth centuries. Comparison of inheritance distribution patterns within this extended family (which could be said to represent the entire top echelon of the aristocracy in Catalonia and most of it in the Narbonnais) shows a gradual limitation over time of equal distribution of legacies to sons, in favor of concentration of the patrimony on two sons, or ultimately on one son.

External evidence shows that repeated attempts to reverse this trend and continue the earlier practice of subdivision often met with difficulty. Depending on the size and grandeur of the original patrimony in question, by the middle or end of the eleventh century the

succession of one son seems to have been the normal pattern in all the branches of the comital dynasty. Other sons were no longer named as counts; many are impossible to trace genealogically because of the precipitousness of their descent into anonymity. As for the treatment of daughters, the same pattern holds true: fathers in the eleventh century exhibited an increasing reluctance to alienate patrimonial lands to daughters; increasingly they named cash bequests (when able) or assigned responsibility for their dowry to their eldest brothers.

This profile of social change conforms to the picture of change toward an increasingly “vertical” dynastic structure first suggested by Georges Duby with his study of noble families in the Mâconnais in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Duby based this conclusion on observation of the reconstructed “shape” of the lineage as traced in the documentary sources. Testamentary evidence brings added weight to this model because intended patterns of distribution reflect the contemporary attitude of each generation about the shape which the family should assume in the next. Both Berenguer Ramon I and Ramon Berenguer I, in their respective testaments of 1032 and 1076, sought to partition their counties among more than one son. In both cases, familial and external pressures brought about the recompression of the lineage in the next generation despite their wishes. The testamentary picture which emerges is of individuals not fully realizing the social realities which necessitated this change. Rather than consciously pruning their dynasties to adjust to social and economic change, individual counts learned their lessons slowly and at great expense.

This example, the experience of the most important family in the region, is not necessarily representative of the rest of the contemporary society. Testamentary evidence might also be fruitfully examined to follow the parallel course of a number of families, preferably selected at different levels of the social scale. The farther down one looks, however, the sparser the testamentary documentation (or any documentation) becomes. It is to be expected that the model of reaction to economic strictures would apply equally well to

other families. The transition to a more lineal dynasty, and the limitation of equal succession, probably occurred at all levels at those times when physical expansion on new lands or economic expansion through improved incomes was no longer sufficient to support the replacement of one hearth with two, the succession of one lordship by several.

C. Material Culture: Possessions, Status and Economics

The means of this transmission of power and status was, of course, the patrimony itself--that cluster of lands and material goods which was the object of all testamentary acts. In a testamentary study, this wealth can be better examined in the context of its transmission than as static possessions. Conclusions about patterns of inheritance and succession are based on the intended transmission of possessions. But in addition to the patterns of succession suggested by the specific example of the dynasty of Guifred the Hairy, one can also see evidence of related social and economic change in the terminology of tenure of landed possessions as they are transmitted from one generation to the next in a broader sample of testaments. Examination of the language of testamentary bequests involving land yielded a traceable rise in the use of the term "*fevum*" in the eleventh century, to the point where it appeared in over a third of the testaments found (before tapering off somewhat in the twelfth century)--bearing quantitative testimony to the rise of "feudalism" as a linguistic, social and economic reality in the eleventh century.

It has been more difficult in this study to plumb the testamentary evidence for important aspects of the possession, rather than the transmission, of material goods or lands. Future studies could certainly build on testamentary evidence of material culture--for example on the nomenclature of material objects, focusing on the interaction of vernacular and Arabic vocabulary for household and luxury goods as evidence of linguistic and personal mingling in frontier communities. A more quantitative economic approach to quality of life through measuring the possession of goods and agricultural income from landed possessions is rendered extremely difficult by the knowledge that most testaments give only

unquantifiable information about land and income, and many testaments may actually contain incomplete information on the possessions of a testator. It is therefore in the context of bequests--distributions of property to familial or ecclesiastical beneficiaries--that information on the testator's possessions remains most useful.

III. RELIGION AND TESTAMENTARY PIETY

As important as distribution of the patrimony within the family is distribution of possessions to religious beneficiaries--whether "pious" in motive or for some other reason. As the majority of testaments which have been preserved have come to us in the archives of ecclesiastical institutions, it is clear that the religious bequests might be of exaggerated importance in surviving testaments. Yet in some sense the testament was universally perceived as a pious document. Virtually no testaments survive which did not contain some pious provisions. Many testaments, indeed, were created as the consequence of a pious act or intended pious act, as is the case of those testaments created because the testator was departing on a hazardous, though spiritually rewarding, pilgrimage. The choice of term "elemosinarius" for those designated to execute bequests (pious and otherwise) was prevalent in the ninth through eleventh centuries, and no doubt indicates the clear religious association of testamentary acts in the minds of those involved.

A. Testaments as a Gauge of Comparative Piety

An important element of testamentary piety distinguished testaments from other pious donations and transfers of property. In a testament, bequests could be made simultaneously to more than one religious beneficiary. While a significant number of surviving testaments named only one religious beneficiary, most named more than one, including combinations of different types of beneficiaries: individual clerics, churches, monasteries, and other groups.

When religious institutions are grouped in testaments one can gauge their relative importance to the testator. The choice of burial at a specific religious house always coincided with a bequest of some sort, and must have indicated a personal preference for (or familial tie to) the most favored religious house, or the one closest to the testator's home. Lesser bequests honored those institutions with which the testator felt some secondary ties. Many testaments named a modest grouping of two or three religious beneficiaries. Humble rural testaments might name a local, independent or parochial sanctuary, and perhaps a local priest, as well as a more important but more distant house, such as the diocesan seat or the nearest important monastery. Testaments honoring a local priory or cell might also provide a token bequest to the mother house, even if it were as far away as Provence or Lombardy. Testaments of more important persons were more apt to name several religious beneficiaries: nearby major monasteries listed as a group, or two or more adjacent sees in which the testator might have held property or other interests. Distant pilgrimage centers were often also named with a token bequest, perhaps in memory of a personal visit or in lieu of one. The most impressive comital testaments often sought to incorporate bequests to all the major houses touching on the family or the ambit of lordship. The Catalan counts routinely named all the bishoprics from Narbonne to the frontier in their testaments, and most of the major monasteries.

B. Implications of Multiple Religious Beneficiaries

These patterns of intertwined pious bequests create an underlying impression of unity in the religious community, particularly in Catalonia but also in Languedoc. The way in which an individual felt linked to multiple religious institutions has been underemphasized in studies which focus on the records of one religious establishment. At least among the wealthy and powerful, testamentary evidence shows pious beneficiaries not as isolated islands, but as an archipelago of faith strewn across the lands in the layman's ken.

In the twelfth century new islands, and strings of islands, were appearing in this archipelago incessantly. In addition to the growth of the parochial system, encouraged by resettlement, population growth, and ecclesiastical reform, the appearance of new orders changed the testamentary landscape tremendously. The growth of the military and religious orders is perhaps most readily seen by their inclusion in pious testamentary bequests. The earliest mention of the Knights Hospitaller in Catalonia is found in their inclusion among many beneficiaries to a testament; thereafter the military orders recruited a great deal of lay support through the testamentary remembrances of military aristocrats. Of the new monastic orders the Cistercians also appealed to knightly lay supporters, and houses such as Silvanès in Languedoc, and Poblet and Santes Creus in new Catalonia, blossomed handsomely through testamentary endowment.

The increasingly great variety of potential spiritual beneficiaries throughout the period has rendered a quantitative analysis of patterns of multiple testamentary pious bequest impractical in the current study. It is possible that some further quantification and comparison of testamentary data may reveal more clear-cut demarcation between the behavior of those who only name one religious beneficiary (because of loyalty, prior exclusive affiliation, or merely personal choice) and those who named many. This may probably be done best in the Catalan and Languedocian sources already mined in this study, but comparative study of other rich testamentary fonds (for example, in Lombardy) may reveal similarly complex patterns of lay piety.

C. Familial Obligation and Pious Bequest

The conflict between familial and pious obligation was manifested in the ways in which many testators tried to discharge both obligations at once without spreading their patrimonial resources too thin. Many testaments from the eleventh century endowed children or relatives with life interests in property which was to revert ultimately to some religious beneficiary. That this caused disputes in subsequent generations is demonstrated by

judicial proceedings and settlements between the ecclesiastical beneficiaries and the kin of the deceased. Economic change in the eleventh and twelfth centuries also influenced the balance of religious and familial bequests. As the circulation of coinage pervaded more levels of the population, bequests of cash became more common. With liquid assets it was easier to subdivide one's wealth among more beneficiaries--ecclesiastical or otherwise. In addition, pious cash bequests allowed the testator to discharge pious obligations or predilections without partitioning or alienating landed property--property which was increasingly felt to be important to keep intact and pass to a single blood heir.

An important element of many pious bequests throughout the period was the practice of conditional endowments, in which the testator mandated some specific obligations of commemoration either from his blood heirs (for example with the provision of a pound of wax annually in Lent) or from the clerical beneficiaries of some property (for example with regular masses in perpetuity). Further study of these conditions, and the (slight) evidence which survives to indicate whether they were carried out, might better illuminate this aspect of the interaction between religious communities and the laity.

IV. SOCIAL AND FINANCIAL PROGRESS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The economic advances of the twelfth century enabled, and no doubt encouraged, more and more people to create testaments to dispose of their estates in increasingly elaborate ways. With cash and other liquid assets it was possible to distribute remembrances to a slew of religious beneficiaries, including the distribution of cash alms to a group of the poor or the funding of a memorial feast. The testaments of individuals identifiable as "knights" formed an increasingly important proportion in the twelfth century. The evidence of names shows a steady increase in the proportion and numbers of land-holding, militarily trained men using a toponymic surname to identify themselves.

A. Knightly Piety and the New Orders

In some ways the testaments of these men clearly reflect a knightly *Weltanschauung*. The military orders were increasingly popular pious beneficiaries, and many men of modest knightly stature must have been encouraged by their peers to enter into ties of commemoration and testamentary endowment with the Templars and the Hospitallers. In return for the pledge of his horse and arms, a knight could secure the right of burial at a commandery of either order, and probably an attendant level of lay affiliation, in many cases with the explicit option of becoming a full brother and dying as a member of the order. An important window into knightly piety is provided by those charters of collective affiliation in which groups of men entered into this relationship simultaneously, each promising his body for burial along with a bequest of horse, arms, and sometimes a parcel of land. It is worth noting that such groups often included men of the highest rank (viscounts and even counts); but the other members of the group were often of lesser status. Perhaps the act was the decision of the great lord, who then carried it out in company with his riding companions.

Is the emergence of a knightly ethos visible in the testaments of these “knights”? It is possible that certain distinguishing patterns of both familial legacies and pious bequests might be uncovered, with more sustained study, to help define and distinguish knightly activity. At any rate, increasingly diverse hordes of testators from many social levels mean that further investigation into any of these groups might profitably be made with the examination of characteristic testaments.

B. Financial Sophistication and Debt Management

New sophistication in the management of income, which has been studied in the context of the royal household in Catalonia in the later twelfth century, is also evident on the individual level in the testamentary context. In the last decades of the twelfth century a temporal dimension seems to have been added to individuals' consideration of their patrimonies. Rather than simply ordaining static transfers of property, testators began to

take sophisticated measures of the amount of time needed to generate a certain sum with income from a given property. Debt financing became an ever more common part of testaments. Property was given over in temporary custody for the payment of debts or for the raising of a fixed monetary bequest. Eventual heirs, or, increasingly, disinterested custodians such as the Templars (who had earned a reputation for financial management) were charged with this task, which seems to have placed a new burden on succeeding generations as testators began to employ deficit spending. Count-King Alfons I did this most spectacularly with lavish pious bequests which remained unpaid years later.

The new personal financial sophistication evident in many late twelfth-century testaments has yet to be fully understood in the context of advances in institutional financial technique. Further research should coordinate individual accounting documents, such as testaments and related personal debt memoranda, with methods of institutional accounting, such as is found in *capbreus* surviving from various religious houses, military orders and hospitals from the period, as well as in the surviving fiscal accounts of the royal household in Catalonia. It is possible that the picture that will emerge is of a broad-based change in administrative practices and financial thinking. The chronology of such changes might be surprising, particularly in light of the prevailing model which has attributed administrative progress only to a small cadre of farsighted, progressive clerks in the employ of princes.

C. Symptoms of Modernity

In the later twelfth century the look and feel of the testament was changing rapidly. A convergence of social and legal factors was in play throughout Languedoc and Catalonia. Not least among them was the spread of new Roman law, learnt more thoroughly by Bolognese-trained churchmen and put into practice in a wider area as their influence reached outward. Among other lost elements of the earliest ancestor of the Catalonian testamentary tradition the canonists revived the Roman *institutio heredis*, which seems to have spread outward from early use (mid-twelfth century) at Agde. Other diplomatic, linguistic and legal

changes were brought by the increasingly numerous lay notariate, whose knowledge of custom was based more on practicality than on adherence to the old, largely clerical ceremonial of the testamentary process. In Barcelona, a notary, Pere de Corró, acted as “vice judge” and ran a prolific and efficient probate court for the last third of the twelfth century. He churned out publication charters and fair copies of earlier testaments in a distinctive, proto-notarial hand; dozens--perhaps hundreds--of his manuscripts survive.

The turn of the thirteenth century was truly a cusp, a period of transition in which traditional elements of testamentary culture were changing rapidly in the face of new developments--both external influences and precipitous changes within the society. In many respects the modernity of thirteenth-century testaments is striking compared to their predecessors: sophisticated projections of income; sophisticated use of new canon and civil law; evidence of urban development, middle class expansion, and greater cash fluidity all around. While the testamentary culture of the preceding centuries had been by no means static, the changes had generally been part of a self-contained tradition. And while that tradition was not wholly swept away at the turn of the thirteenth century, the new influences are striking additions to the old base. It would be instructive indeed, but has been beyond the scope of this study, to fully examine the balance of the old and the new in the thirteenth century, considering influences from all quarters on the testamentary culture of a greatly-expanded Crown of Aragon, or in a Languedoc subjected to French occupation.

V. ENVOI

Can a unified chronology of wills and testamentary culture in these wide lands over these many centuries squeeze into a nutshell? Succeeding chapters of this study have taken a tradition and examined it from many angles. Each approach has its own merits and has pointed out fruitful paths for further inquiry. It is also hoped that this preliminary overview of a complex topic has shed light, through the testamentary window, on the development of Occitanian and Catalan society.

The early-medieval vestiges of Roman law had been accompanied by native developments: the development of the testamentary executor may be found, perhaps, in the eighth-century Frankish world, in the customs of representation by *mandamentum* which are preserved in the glimpses of the *gesta municipalia* provided by the Frankish formularies. The semi-sacral nature of testamentary publication is clearly a Visigothic innovation, and it is possible that some of the ceremonial aspects of the testamentary process which are now lost to us survived directly from Visigothic times through the twelfth century. The interaction of privately-chosen executors with public officials--*iudices*--formed an interesting facet of the public order which, we increasingly realize, thrived on the Western Mediterranean coast in the ninth through early eleventh centuries. The encroachment of feudal social patterns helped to unravel this order, eclipsing the role of the executors as testators placed more reliance on their eldest sons and supplanting the public judges as lords forsook public arbitration for private agreements or seigniorial arbitration. It is ironic (and perhaps not coincidental) that the reintroduction of the *institutio heredis* in the late twelfth century, the revival of a long-obsolete Roman testamentary custom by learned glossators, fit very well the new needs of feudal testators who wished to leave the bulk of their estate, and the control of pious legacies, marriage portions, and allowances for younger sons, in the hands of the eldest son and heir, eschewing the old tradition of testamentary executors and public testamentary execution.

Wills also changed as the institutional landscape of religious houses grew denser and began to compete for the economic benefits of commemoration and burial. With the growth of a cash economy, it became easier for individuals to subdivide their goods and distribute legacies to favored houses, even distant ones. With the advent of more sophisticated ideas of revenue management, testators could stipulate increasingly complex means for raising bequeathed funds, or paying long-contracted debts. By the late twelfth

century, sophisticated new modes of personal financial management appeared in many testaments.

These trends would be continued in subsequent centuries. New strands would appear in the social fabric--merchants, artisans, middle-class urban citizens or suburban yeomen--each with different testamentary needs. Personal property and finance would continue to grow in complexity as succeeding generations would add encrustations of infeudation, rents and taxes, and other intricate bonds of mutual obligation. Later medieval piety would bombard the individual with new possible beneficiaries. Hospitals, friars, redeemers, and a host of other worthy causes would compete for remembrances from knight, burgher and tradesman, from widows and couples--from anyone with a few *denarii* and the right to make a will.

While Catalonia and Languedoc would be sundered by the developments of their respective nation-states following king Pere's defeat at Muret and the incorporation of the Midi into the French kingdom, they would share the precocity and the pride of their common heritage of *droit écrit*, perhaps nowhere better shown than in the long history of their testaments.

Figure 1:1. Collected Documents, by Region, by Decade

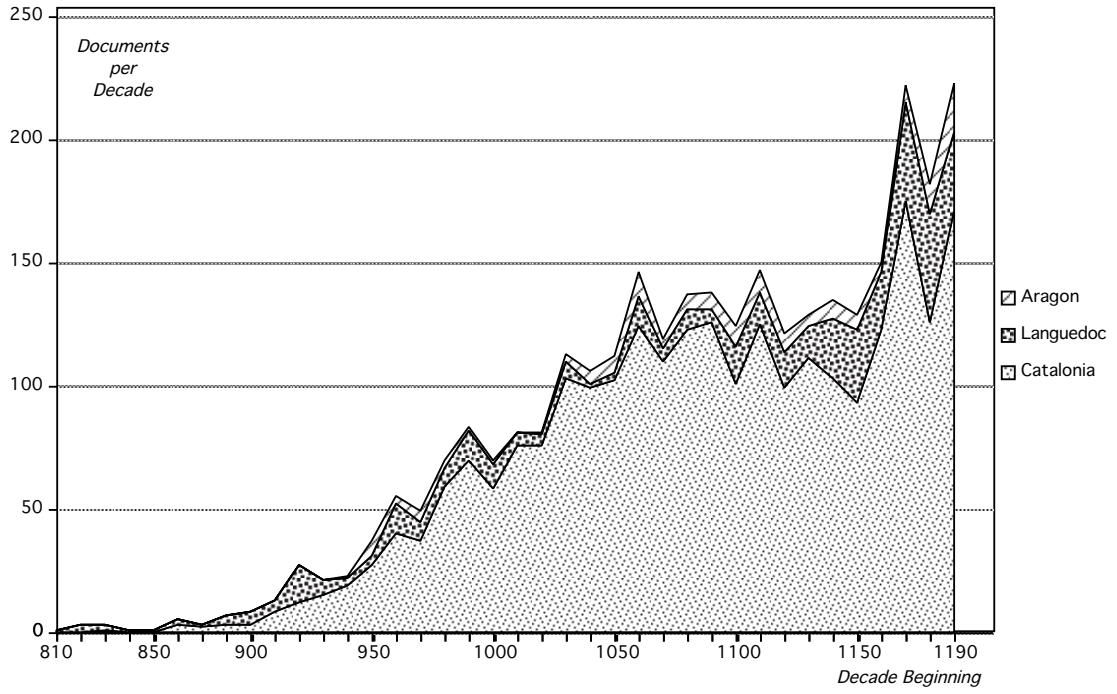


Figure 1:2. Geographical Provenance: Percentages

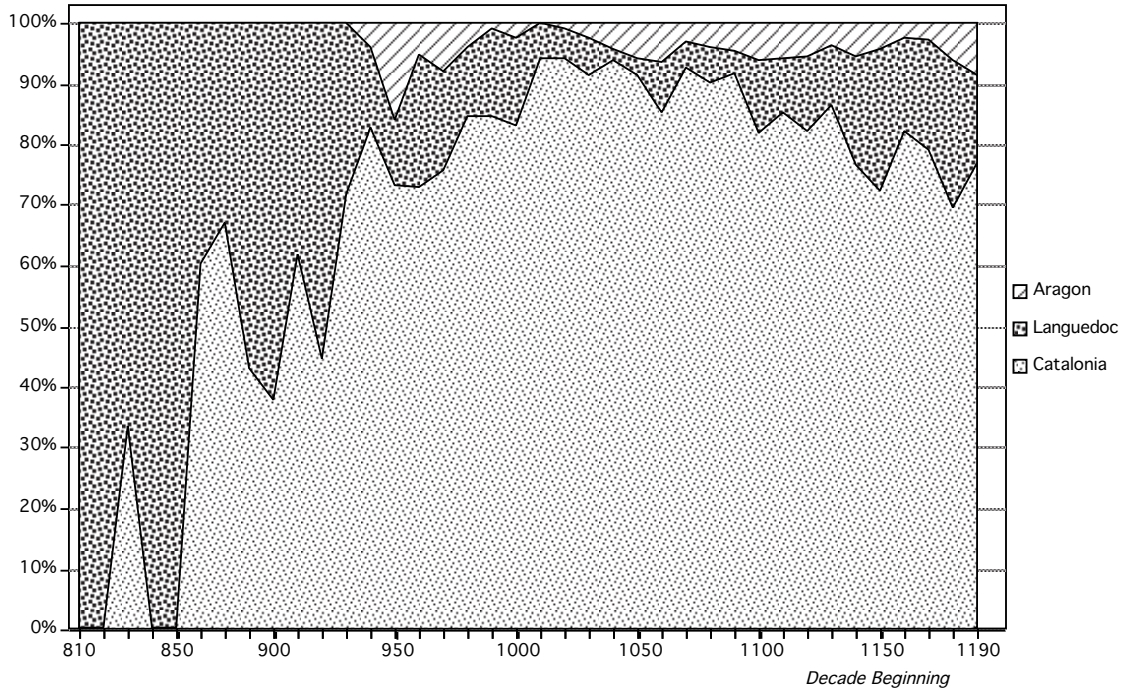


Figure 1:3. Collected Documents, by Archival Type, by Decade

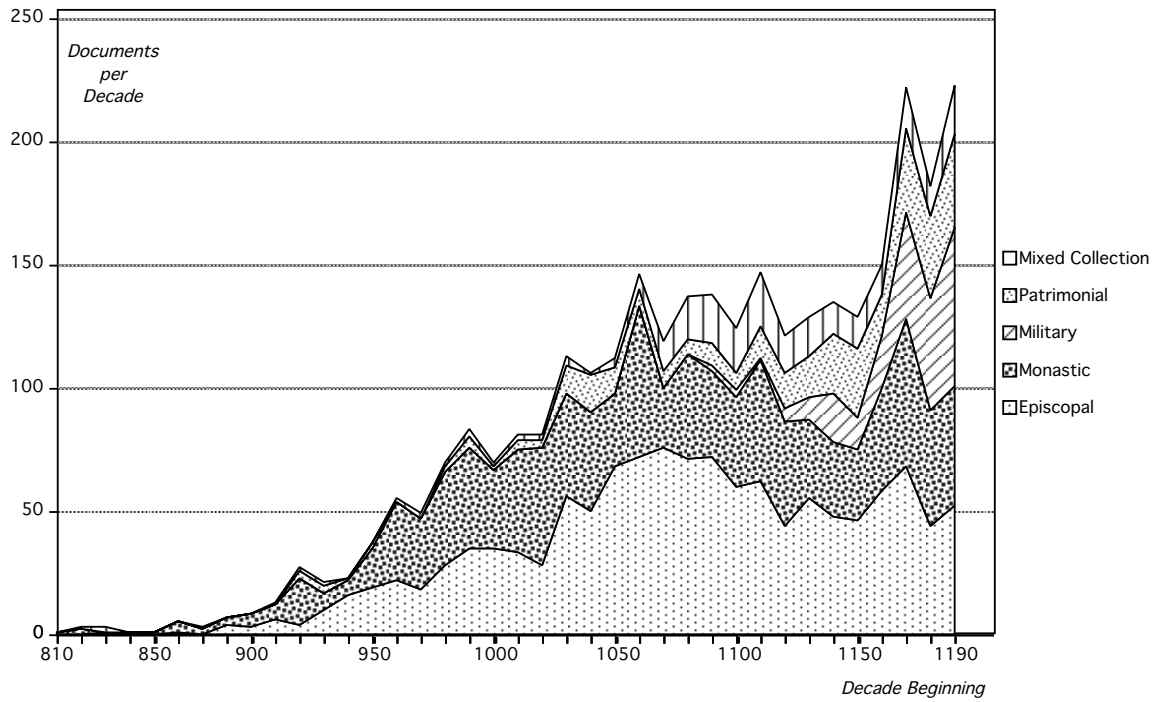


Figure 1:4. Archival Provenance: Percentages

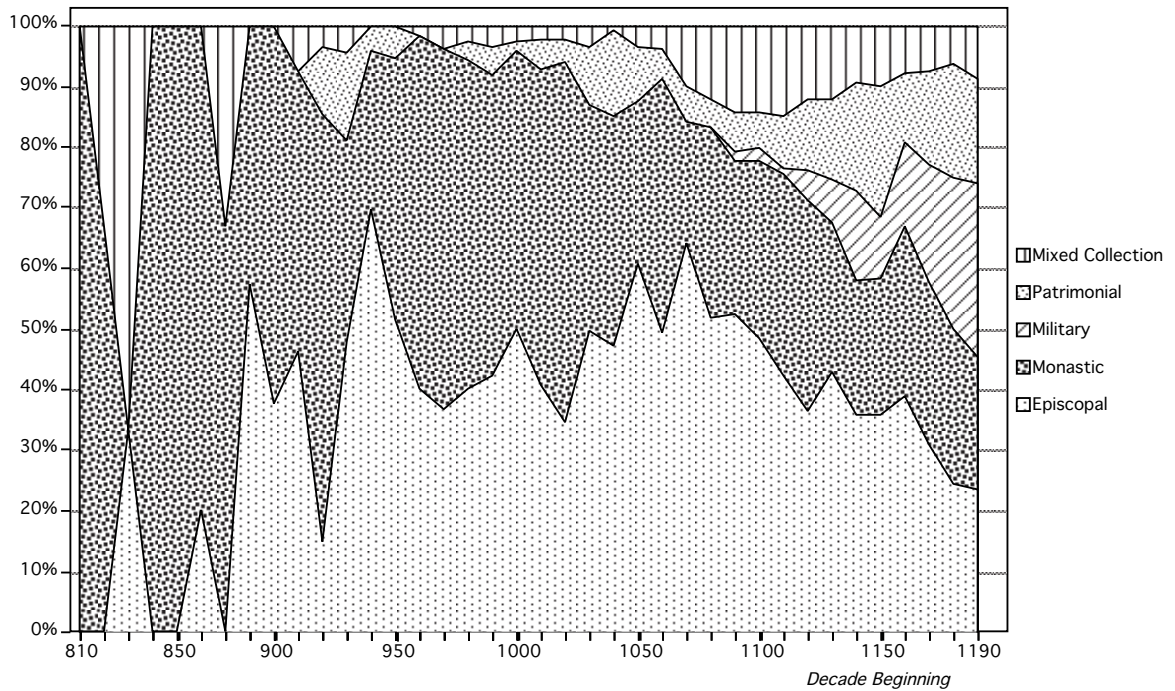


Figure 15. Collected Documents, by Archival Type and Geographic Provenance

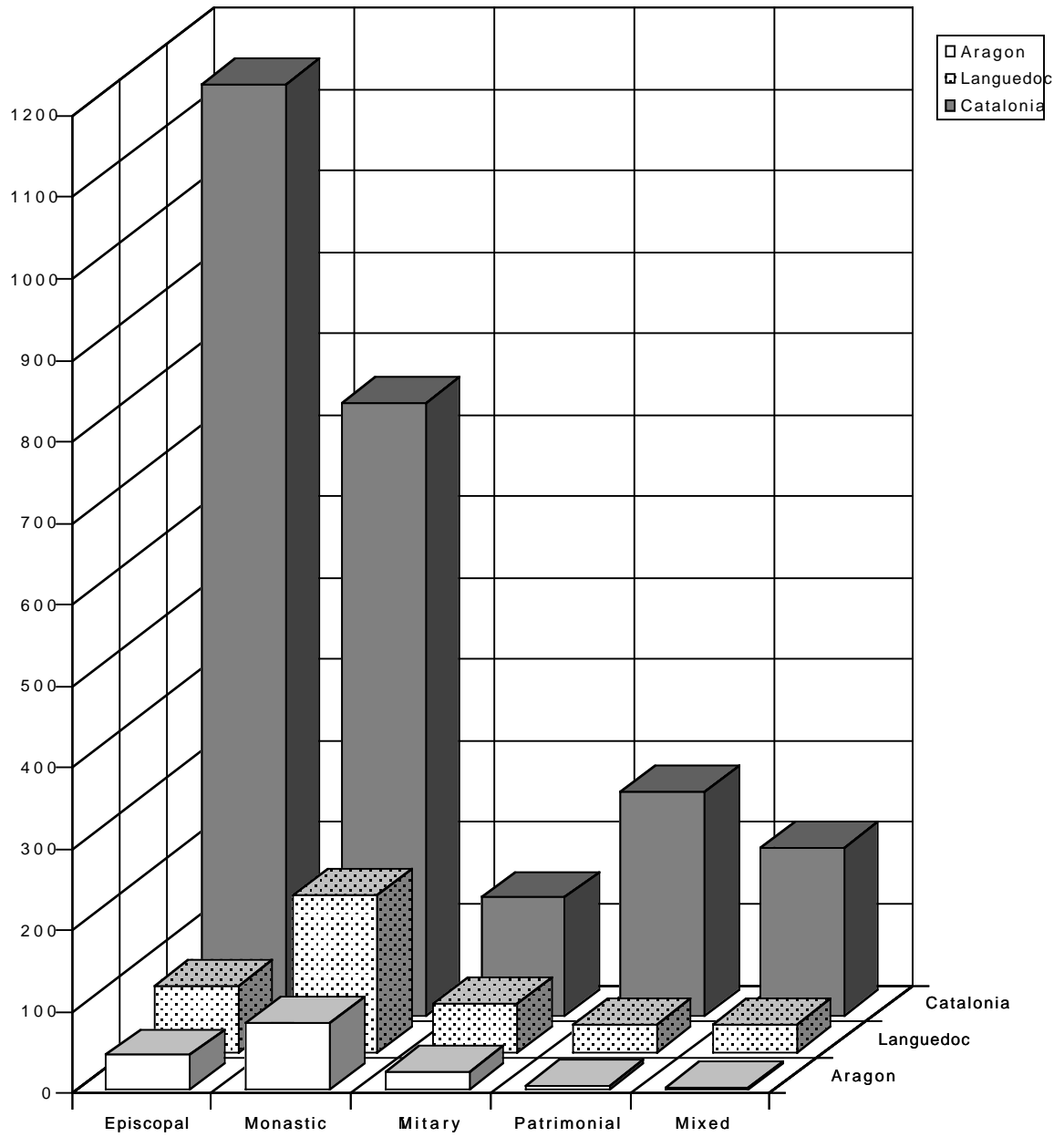


Figure 1:6. Urgell. Surviving Documents per Decade

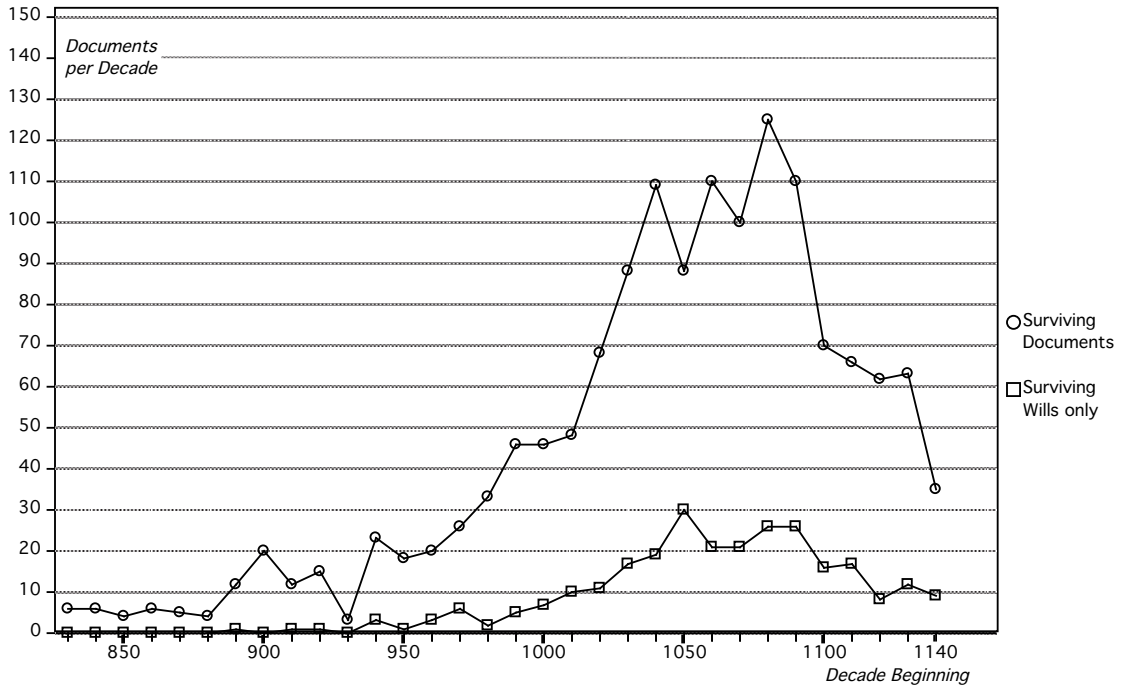


Figure 1:7. Urgell. Percentage of wills to total surviving documents

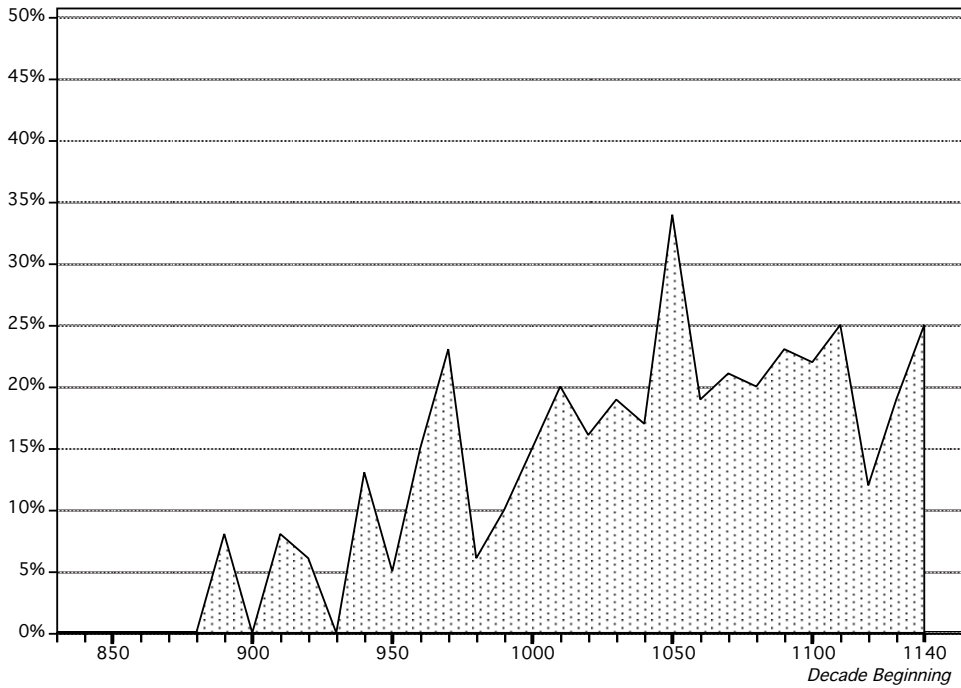
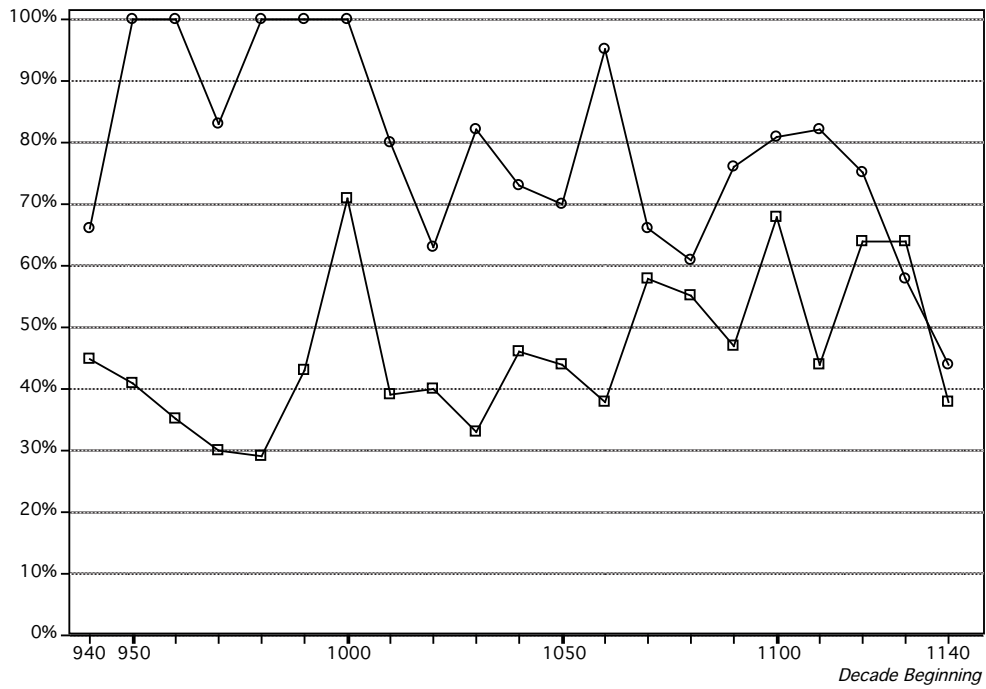


Figure 1:8. Urgell. Wills and non-Wills copied into the Cartulary



○ Wills: percentage of surviving wills in the archive which were copied into the *Liber dotationum*

□ Non-Wills: percentage of surviving documents of all other types which were copied into the *Liber dotationum*

Figure 3:1. Wills, per Decade, by Document Type: Totals

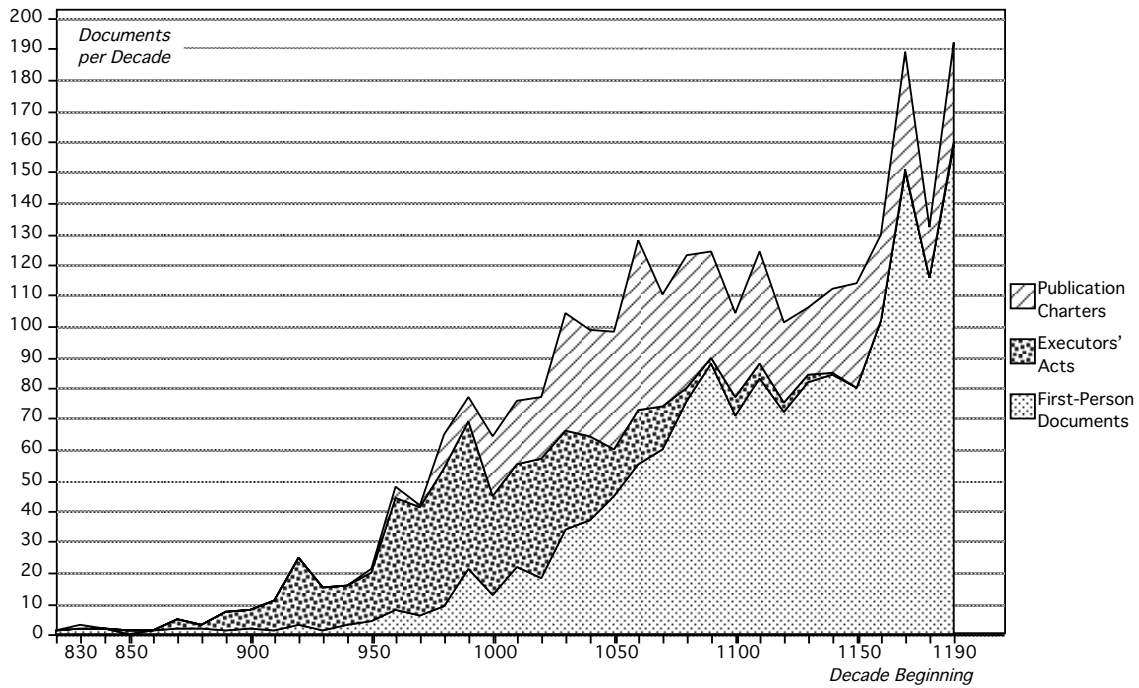


Figure 3:2. Wills, per Decade, by Document Type: Percentages

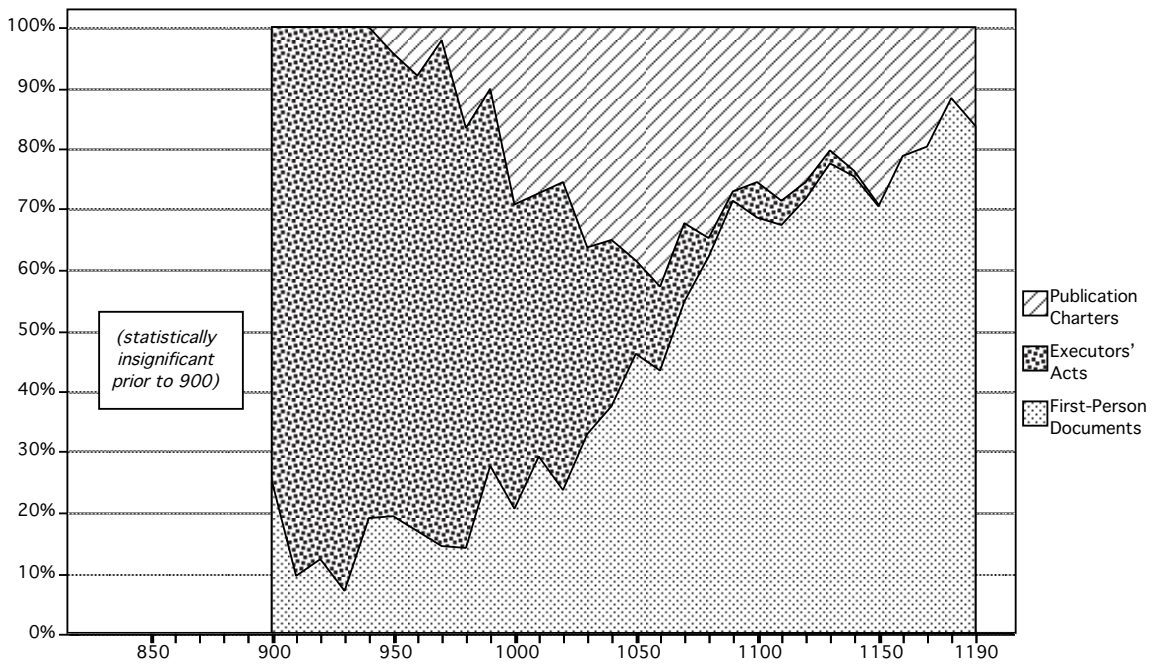


Figure 3.3. Formal publication charters: evidence of oral or written wills

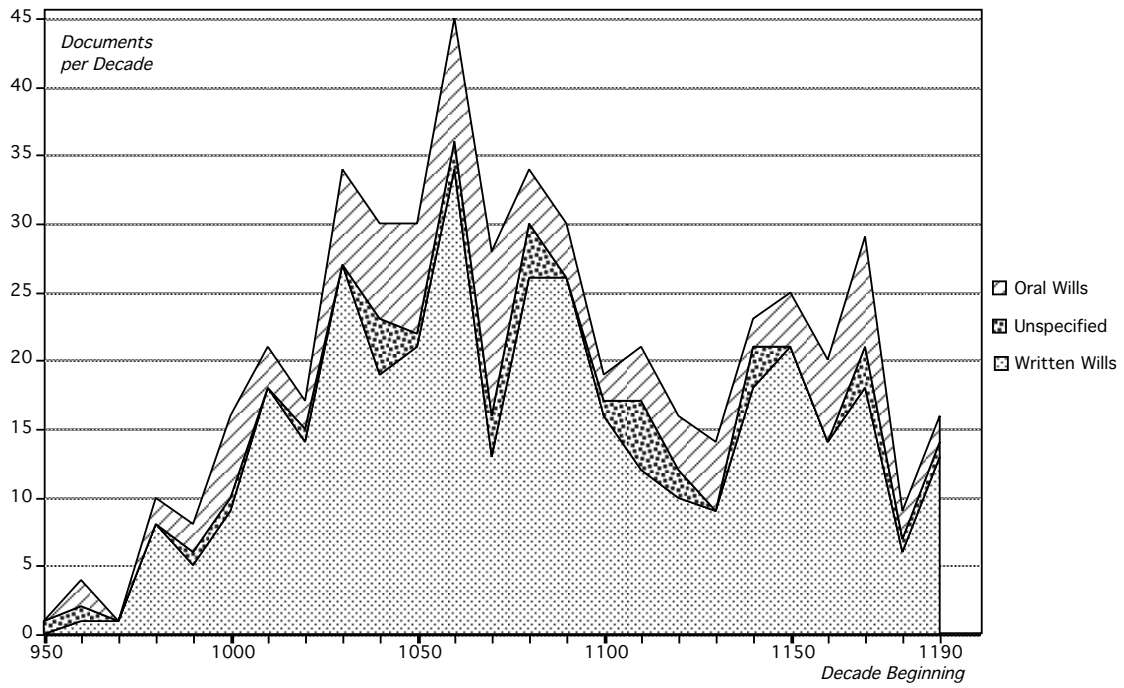


Figure 3.4. Formal publication charters: evidence of oral or written wills: percentages

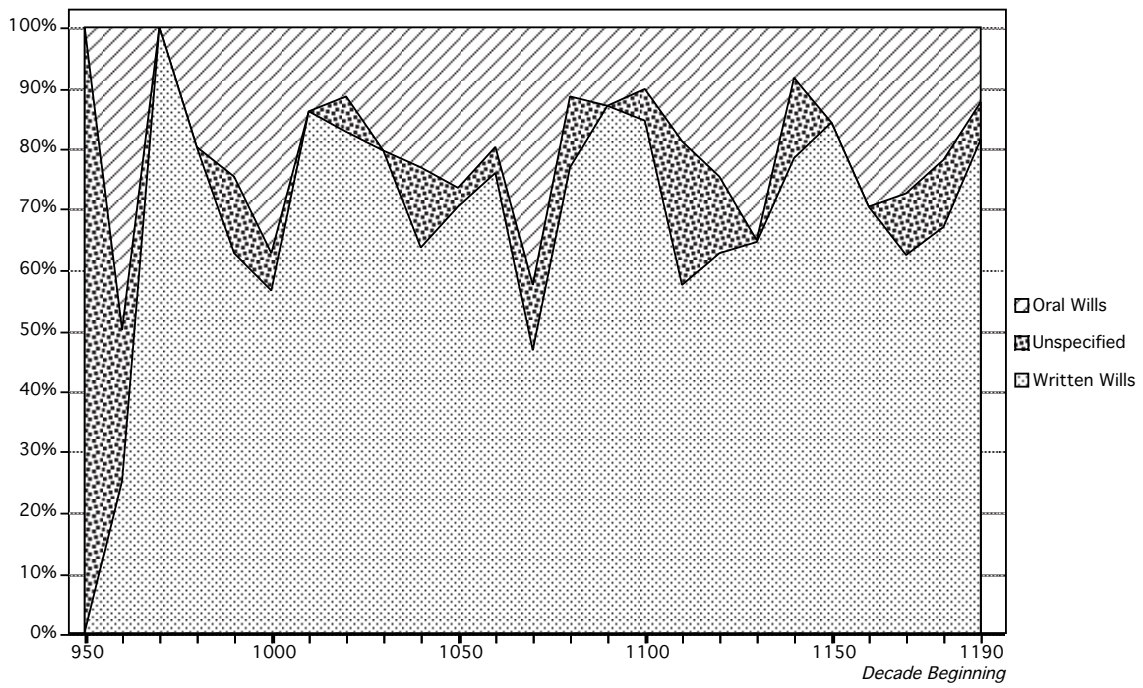


Figure 4:1. Quality of Testators (as indicated in protocols): Frequency

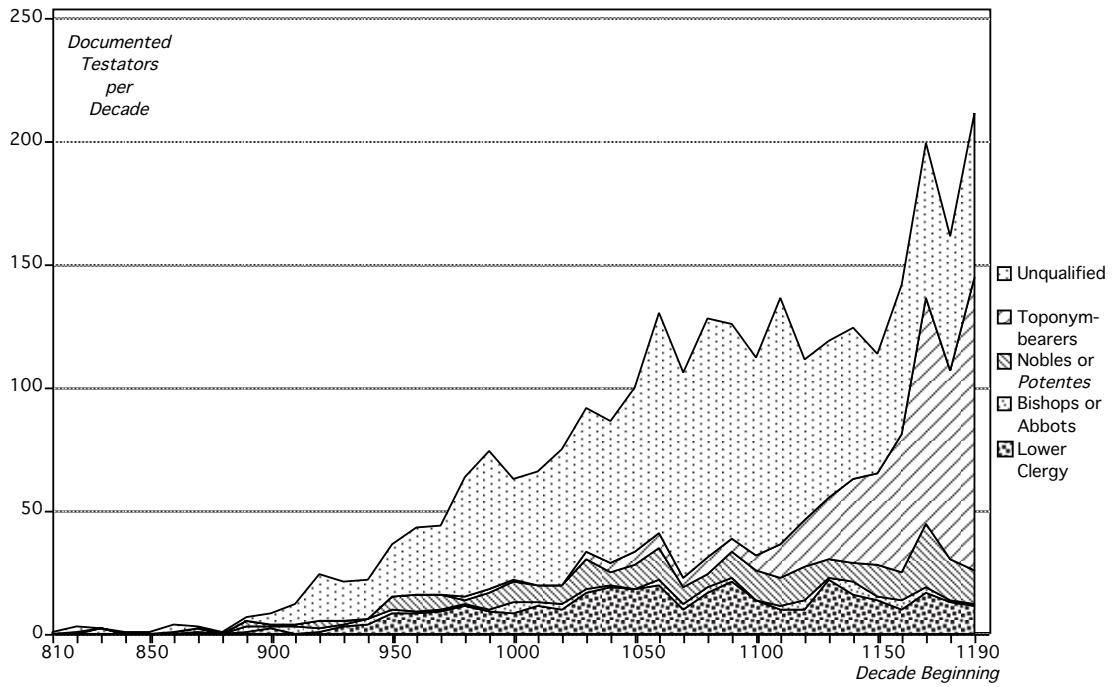


Figure 4:2. Quality of Testators: Percentages

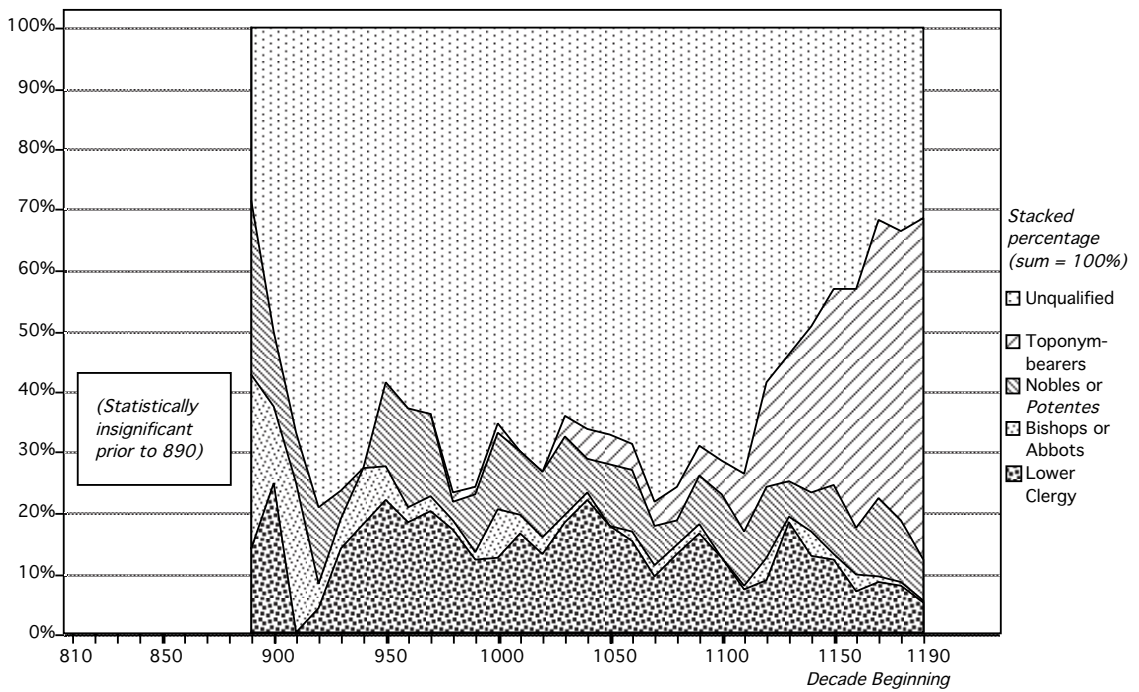


Figure 4:3. Quality of Testators in French Documents: Frequency

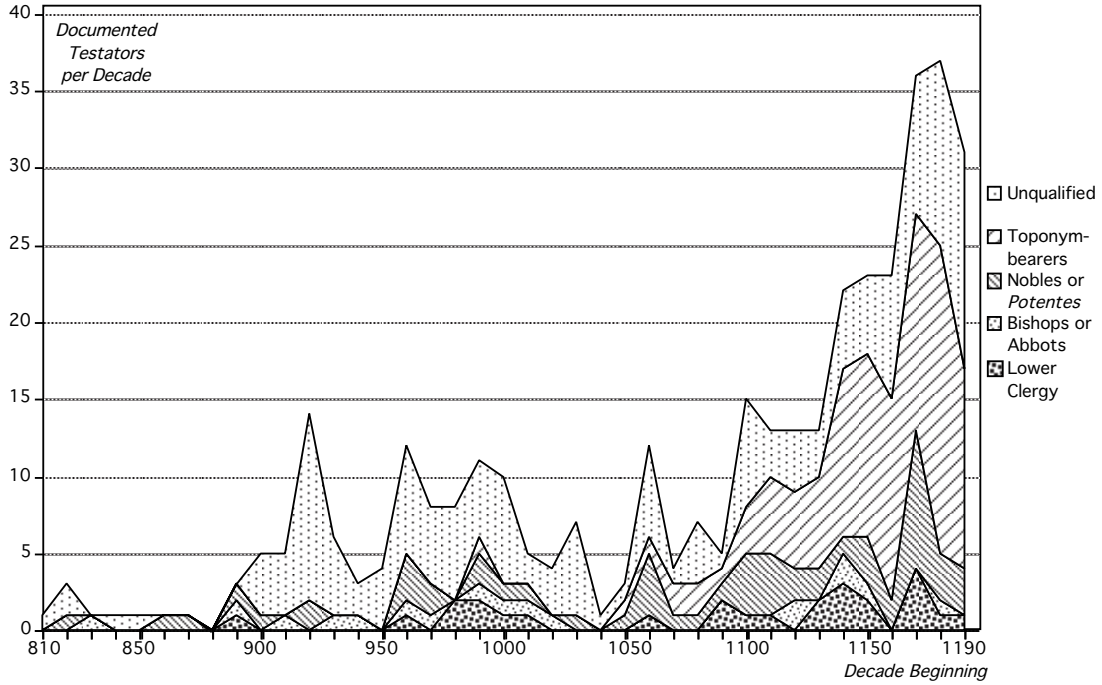


Figure 4:4. Quality of Testators in French Documents: Percentage

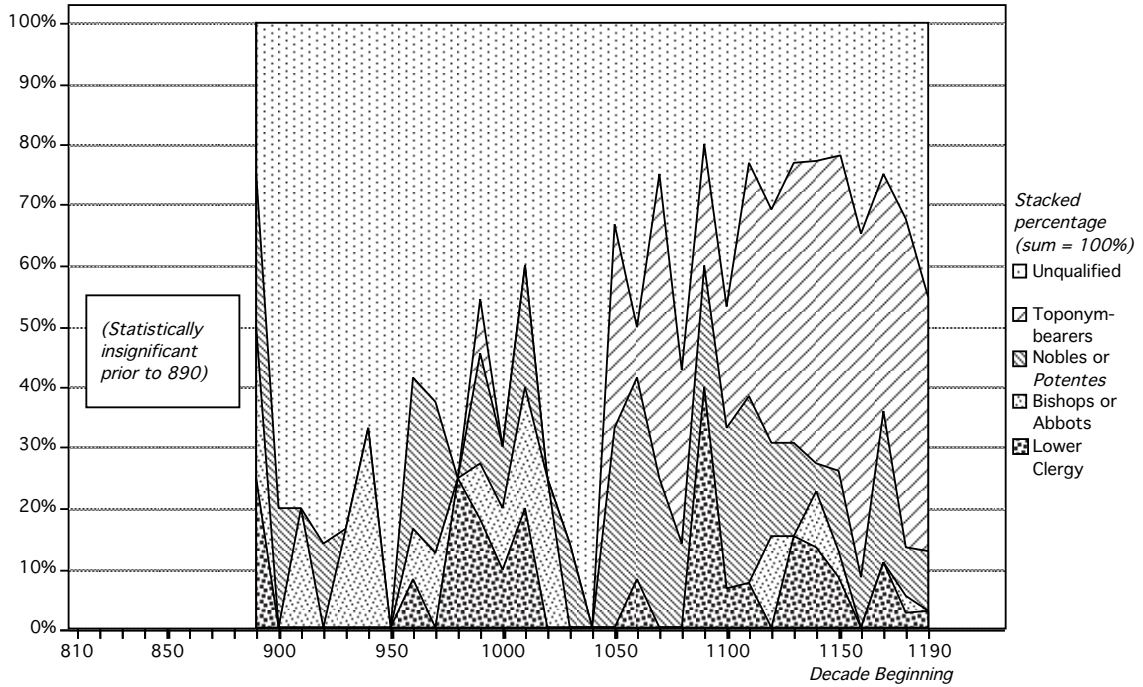


Figure 4:5. Quality of Testators in multiple documents: Frequency

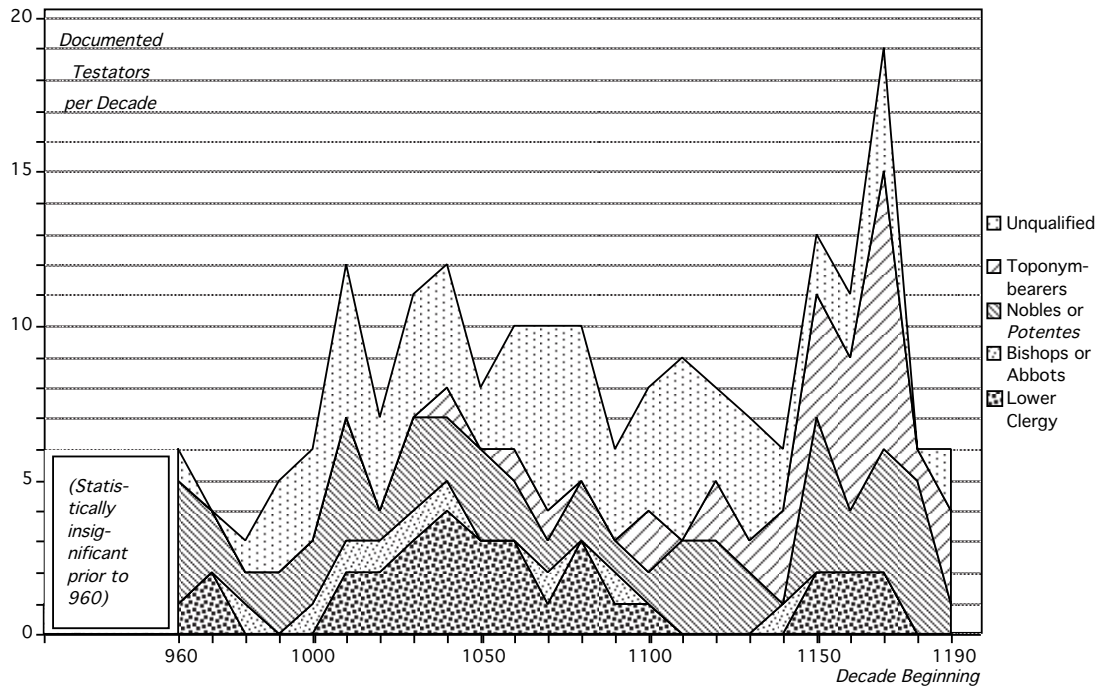


Figure 4:6. Quality of Testators in multiple documents: Percentages

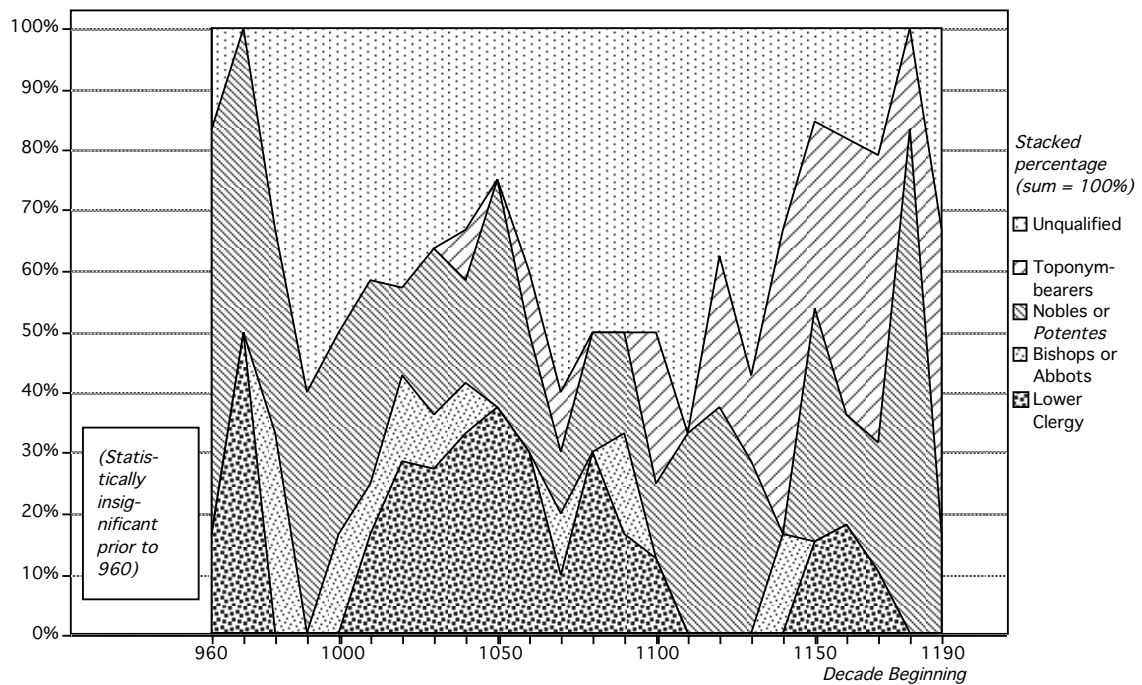


Figure 4:7. Gender of non-Clerical Testators: Frequency

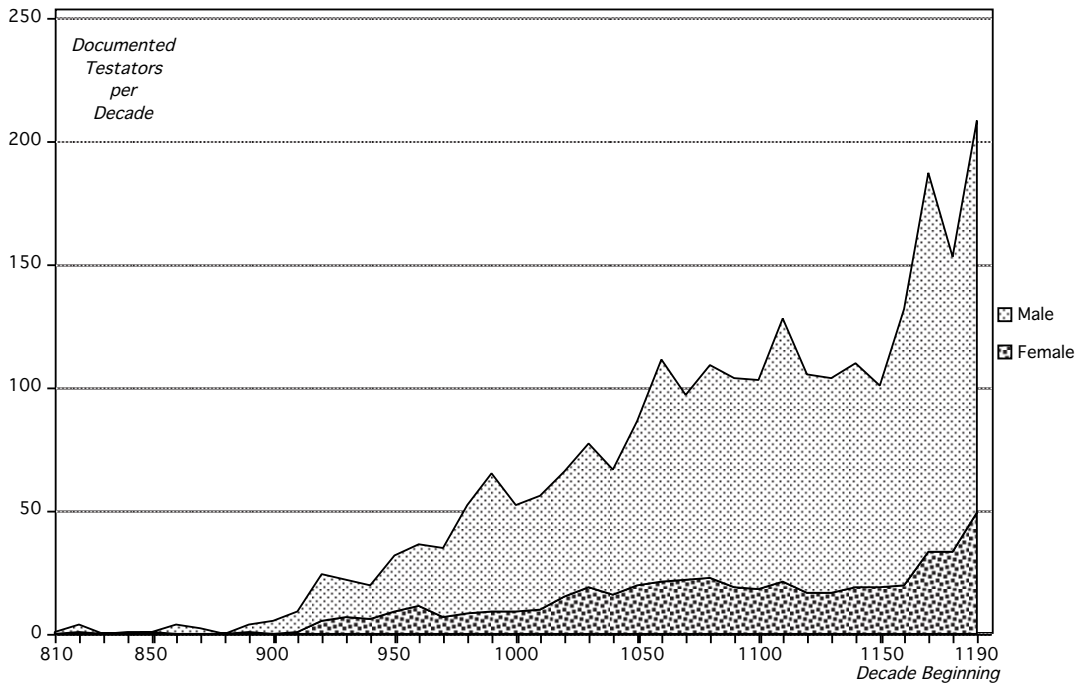


Figure 4:8. Female testators: Percentages (Clerics Excluded)

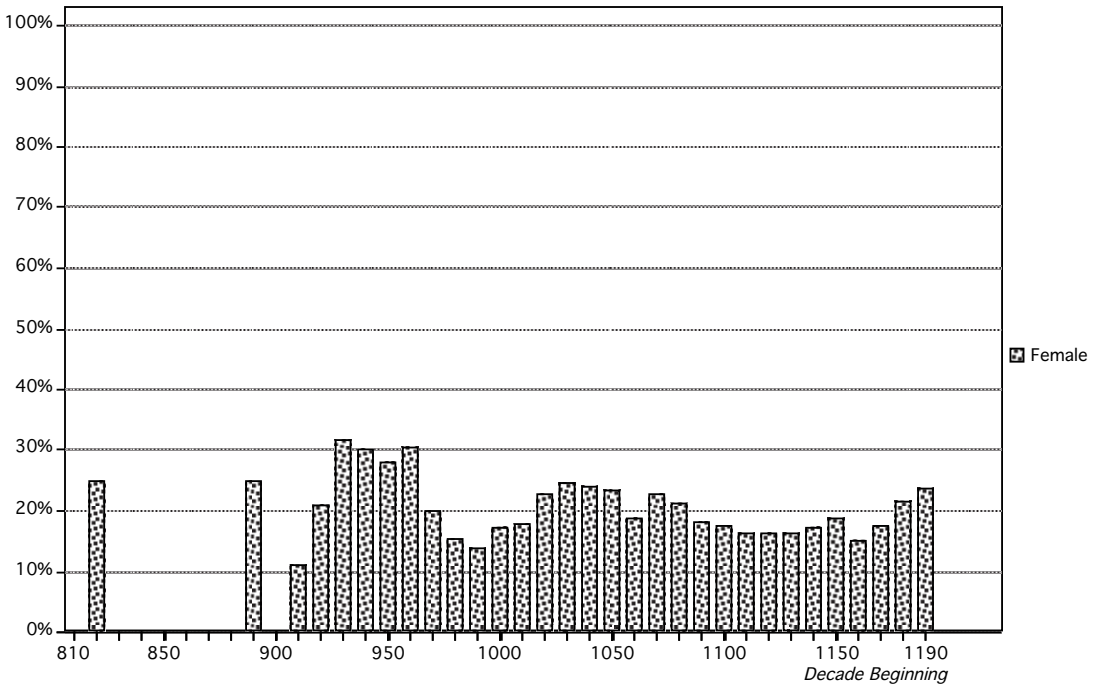


Figure 4:9. Gender of Noble (non-Clerical) Testators: Frequency

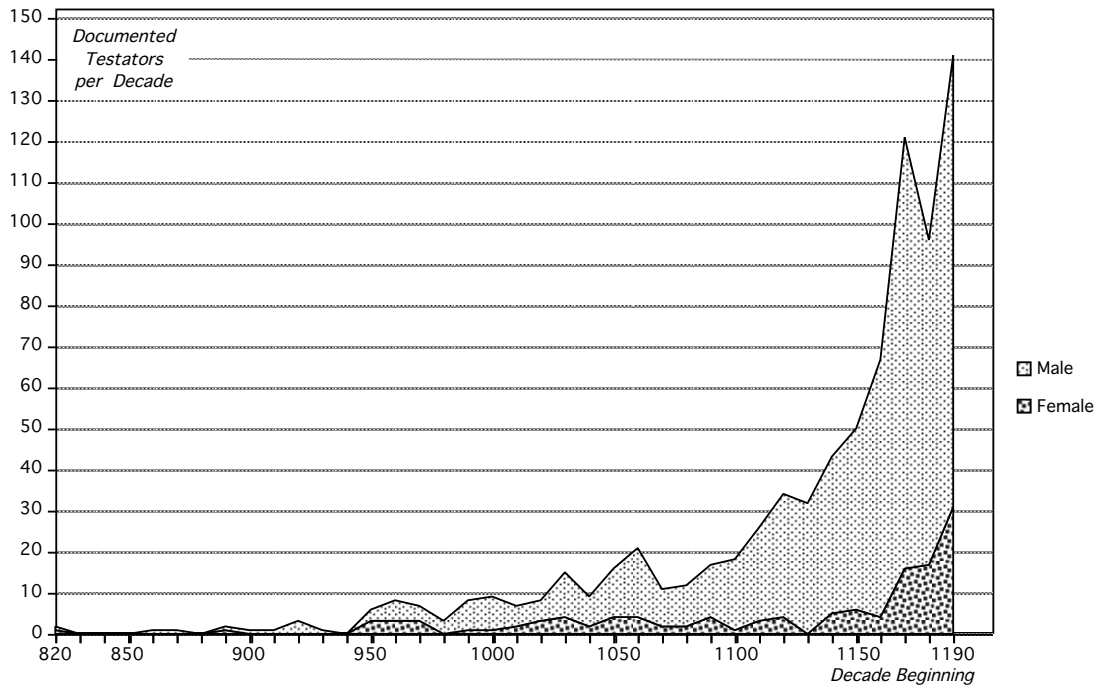


Figure 4:10. Noble Female Testators: Percentages (Clerics Excluded)

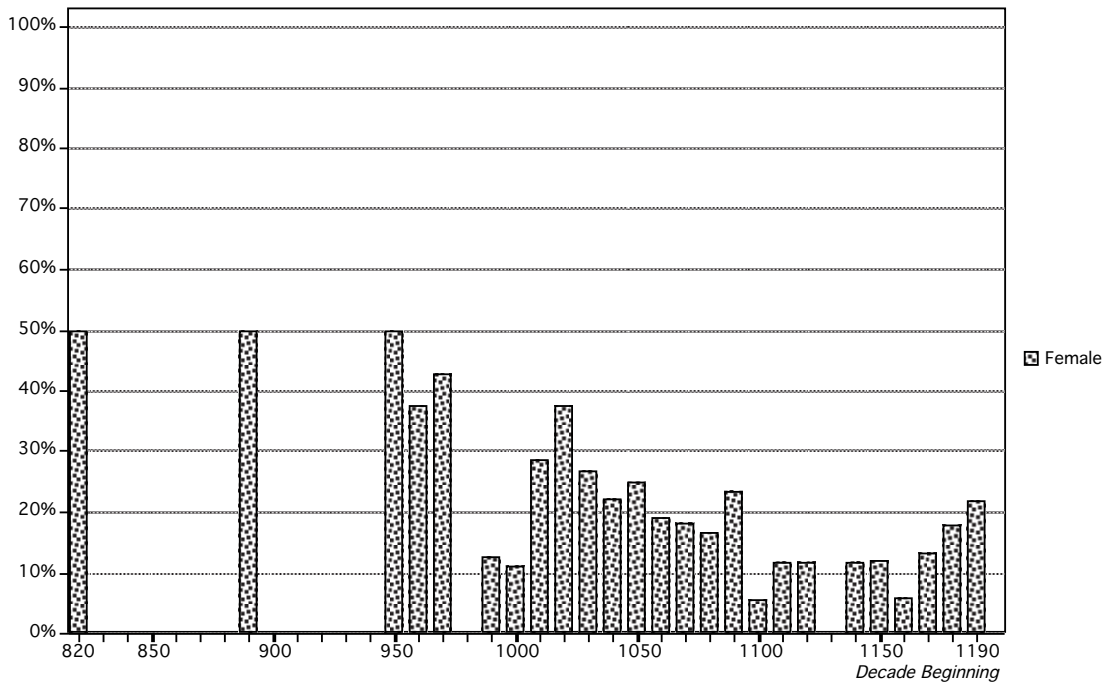


Figure 4:11. Gender of non-Noble (non-Clerical) Testators: Frequency

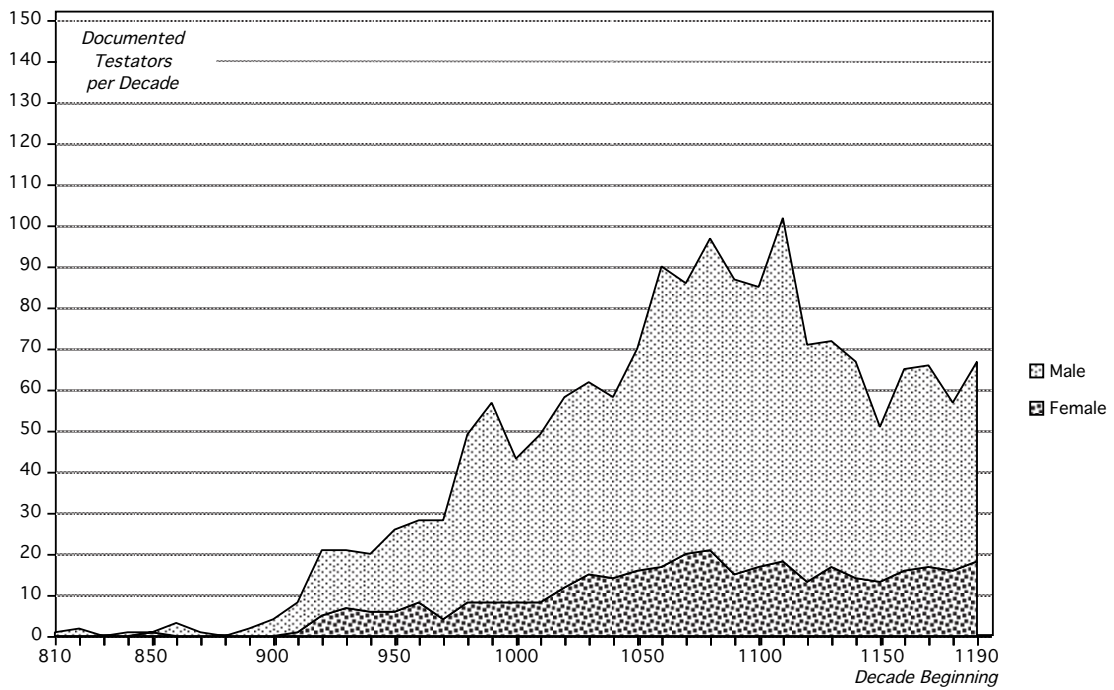


Figure 4:12. Non-Noble Female Testators: Percentages (Clerics Excluded)

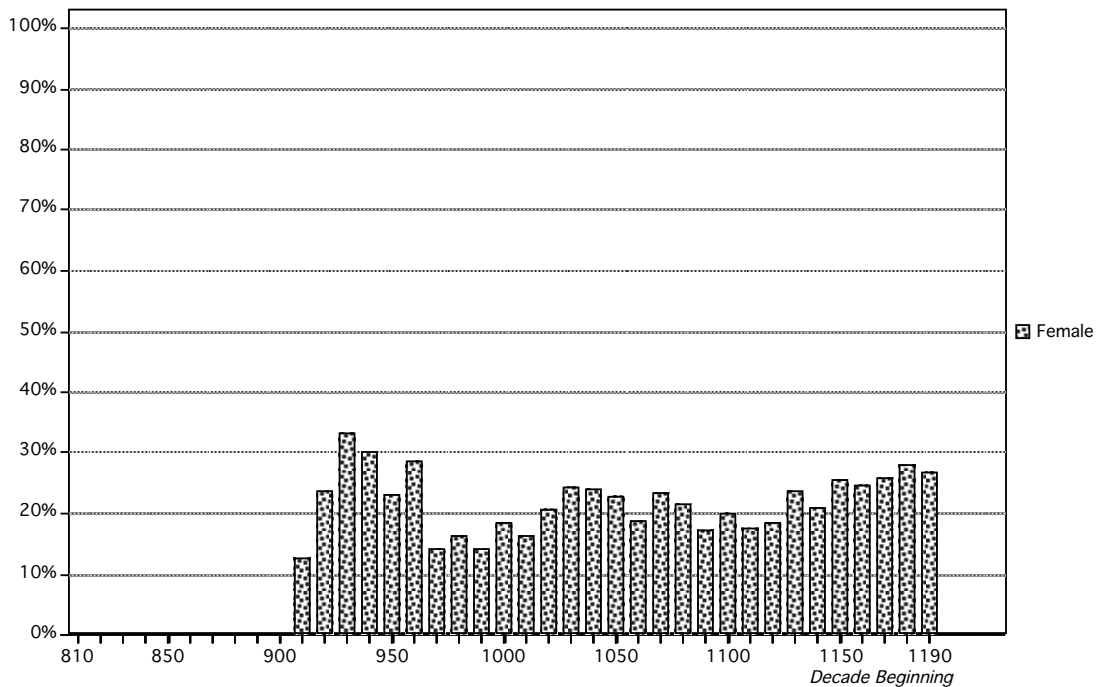
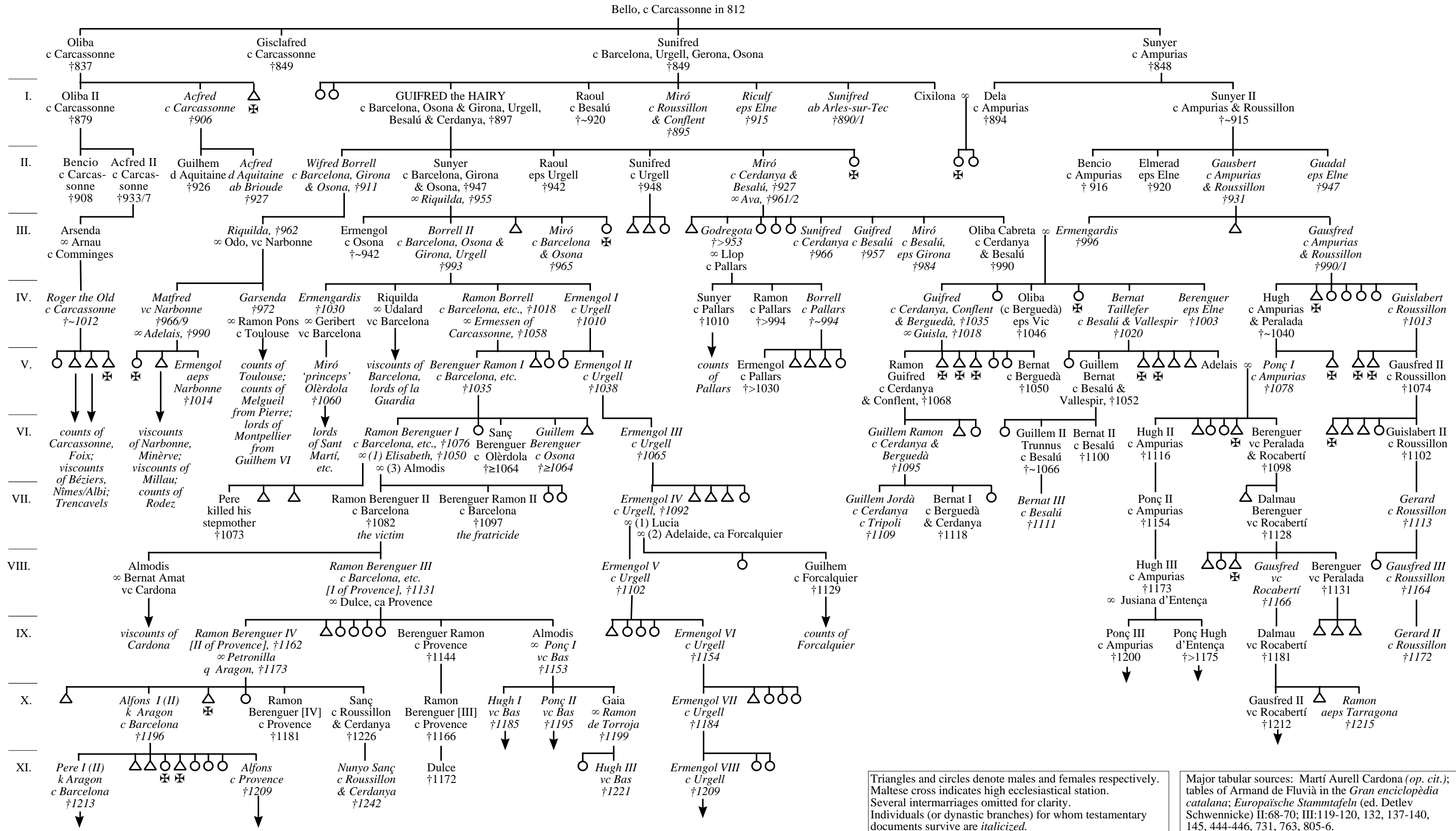


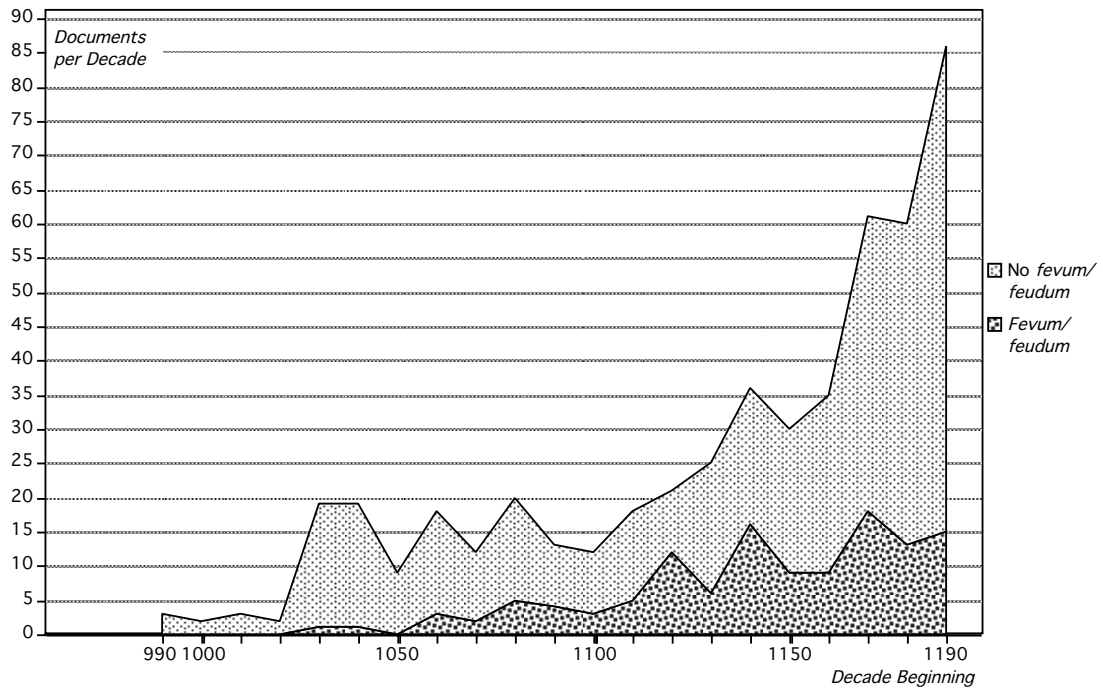
Figure 4:13. The Descendants of Guifred the Hairy (Major Lineages, with some Collateral Descents) to 1200



Triangles and circles denote males and females respectively. Maltese cross indicates high ecclesiastical station. Several intermarriages omitted for clarity. Individuals (or dynastic branches) for whom testamentary documents survive are *italicized*.

Major tabular sources: Martí Aurell Cardona (*op. cit.*); tables of Armand de Fluvià in the *Gran enciclopèdia catalana*; *Europäische Stammtafeln* (ed. Detlev Schwennicke) II:68-70; III:119-120, 132, 137-140, 145, 444-446, 731, 763, 805-6.

Figure 4:14. *Fevum* and its variants appearing in testaments, 1000-1200



Sample set: 510 unpublished testamentary documents (excluding executors' donation charters) for which author has complete, text-searchable transcriptions on computer.

Figure 4:15. *Fevum* and its variants appearing in testaments: percentages

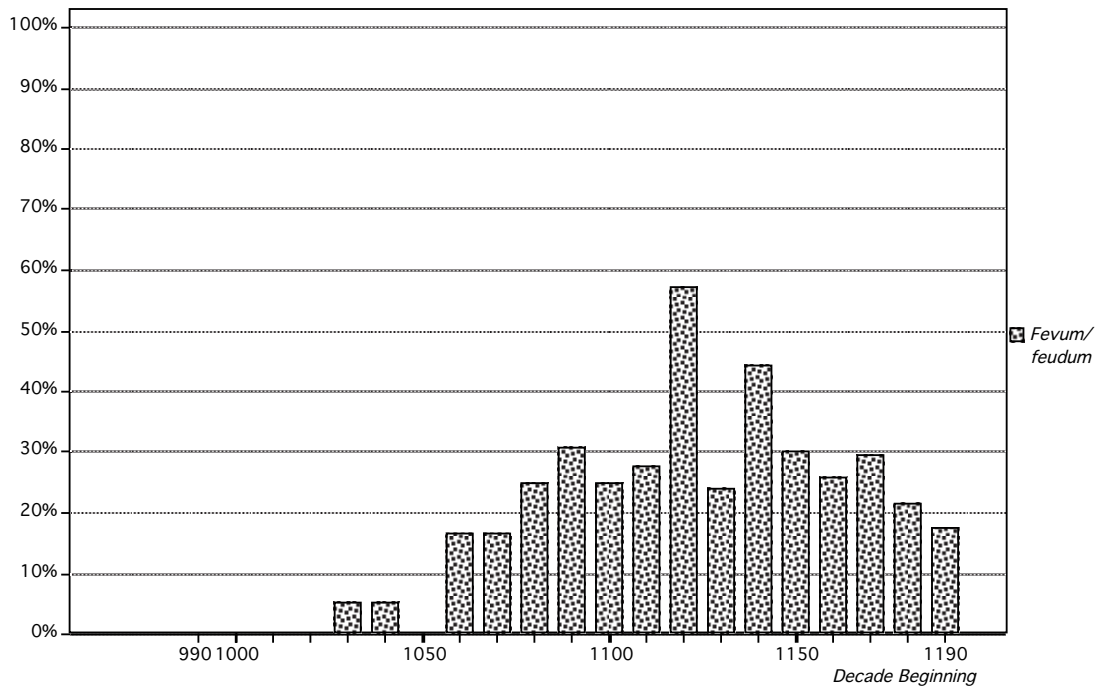
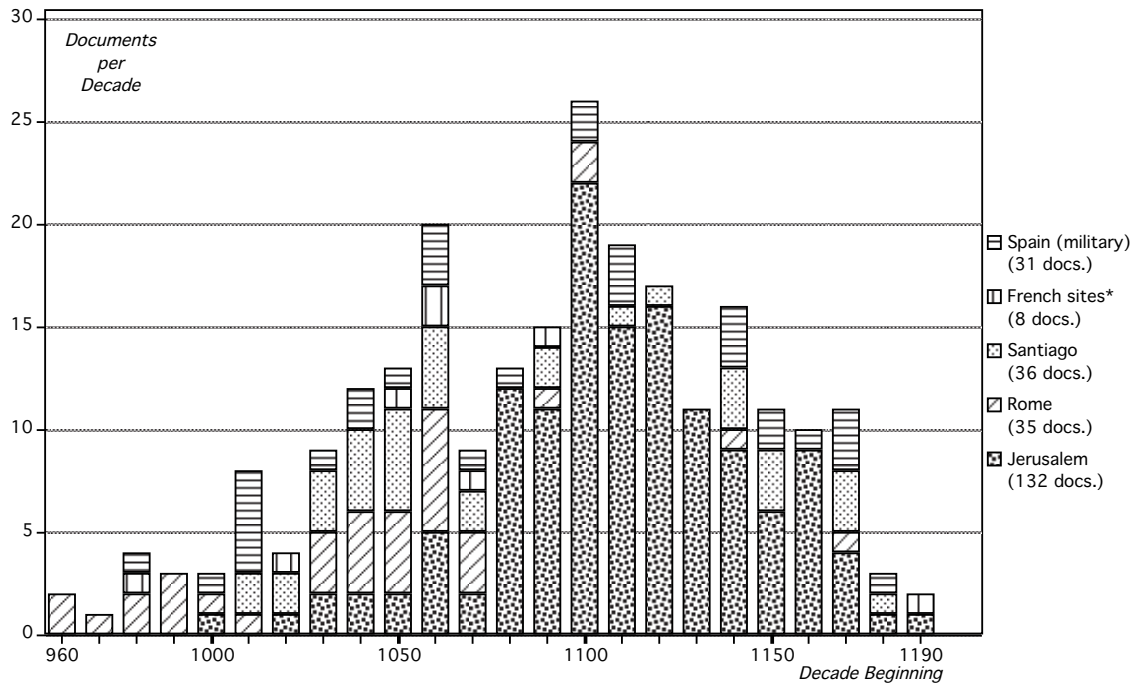


Figure 5:1. Pilgrimages and Peregrinations: Destinations



Notes:

256 testaments were found listing a pilgrimage or military destination—roughly 15% of the testaments studied. These documents are overwhelmingly Catalanian, although a very few pilgrimage testaments were also found from the coastal Narbonnais, and a couple of military testaments were found in Aragonese or Navarrese collections.

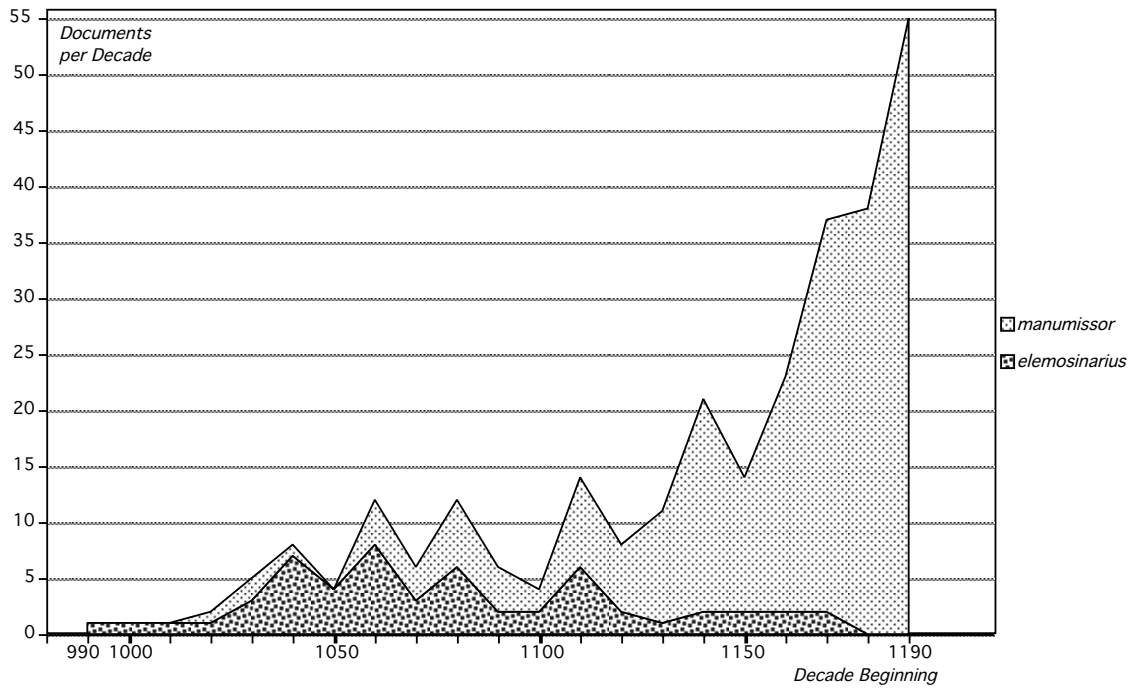
* French destinations: Notre-Dame du Puy (5 docs); Sainte-Foy de Conques (1); Notre-Dame du Rocamadour (Dordogne) (1); Saint-Martin de Tours & le Mont-Saint-Michel (1).

Not shown are other miscellaneous destinations: Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, Toulouse (in Alfons I's host against Toulouse in 1175).

Six documents in which a pilgrimage or travel destination is not shown or obscured are also not listed.

Note that many testaments indicating a pilgrimage destination of Jerusalem also mention Rome, but are only counted here as "Jerusalem" documents. Presumably most going to the Holy Land by land or by sea would also visit Rome.

Figure 5:2. *Elemosinarius* and *manumissor* in Catalonia



Sample set: 366 unpublished Catalan testaments with charges to executors, for which author has complete, text-searchable transcriptions on computer. The less common incidence of other synonyms for "executor" (amicus, etc.) is ignored here.

Figure 5:3. *Elemosinarius* and *manumissor*: relative frequency

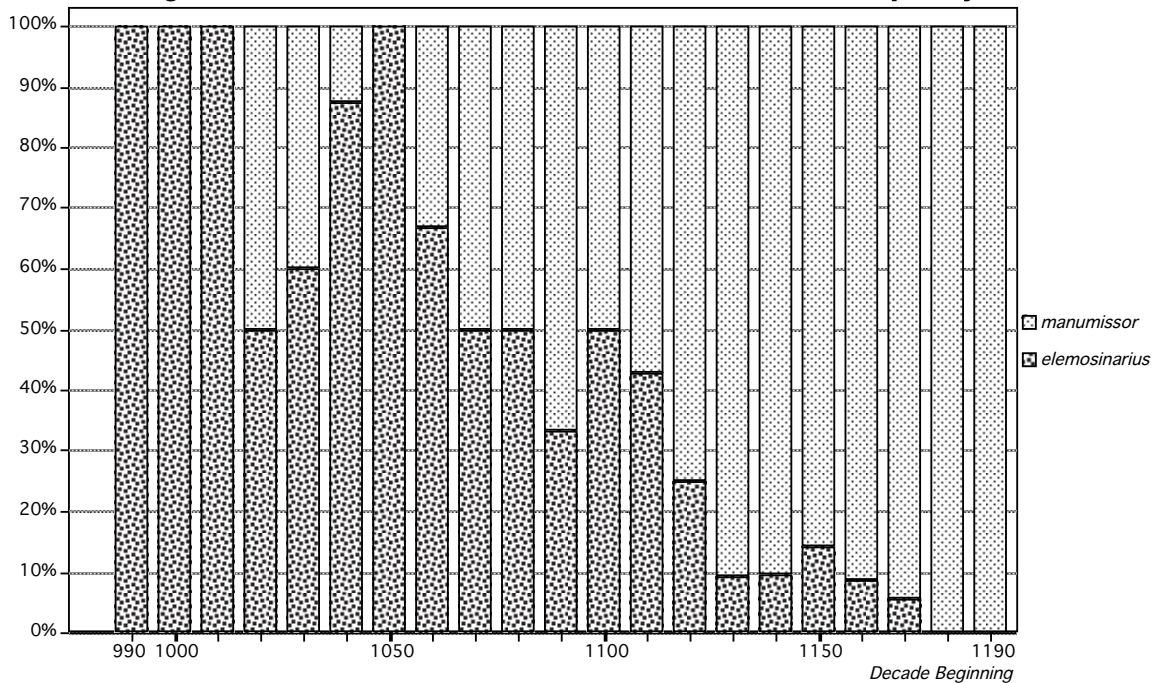
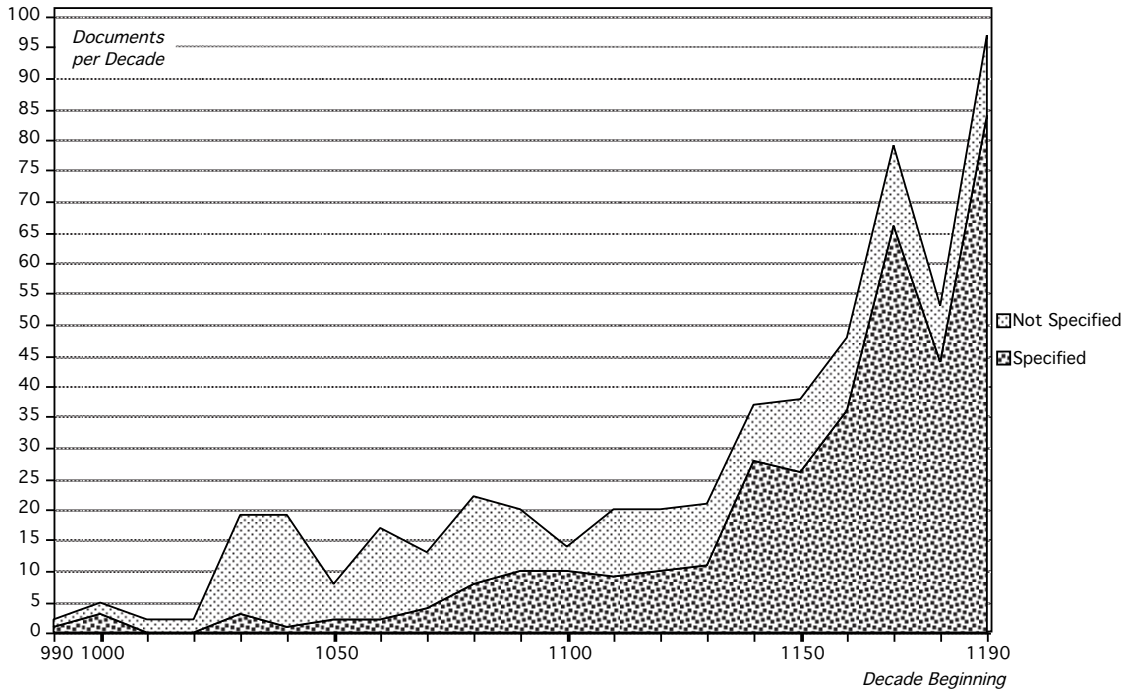


Figure 5:4. Specification of Place of Burial in Catalonian Testaments



Sample set: 556 testaments or testamentary publications, largely from Catalonia proper. Donaciones corporum are not included in this sample.

Figure 5:5. Specification of Place of Burial: relative frequency

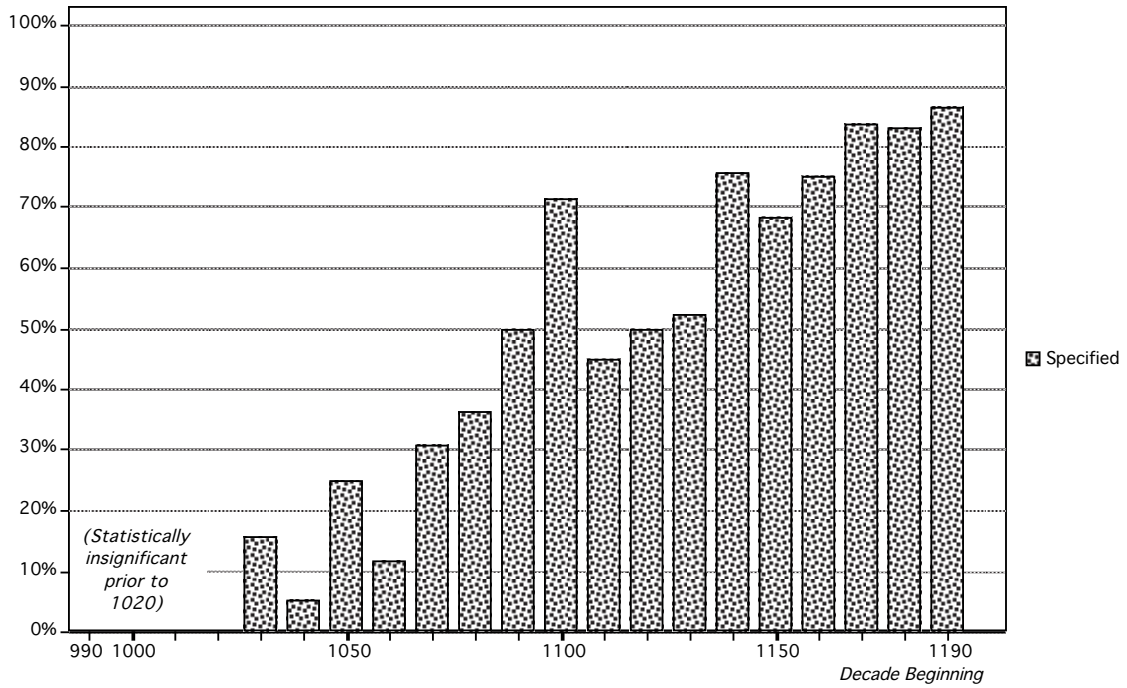
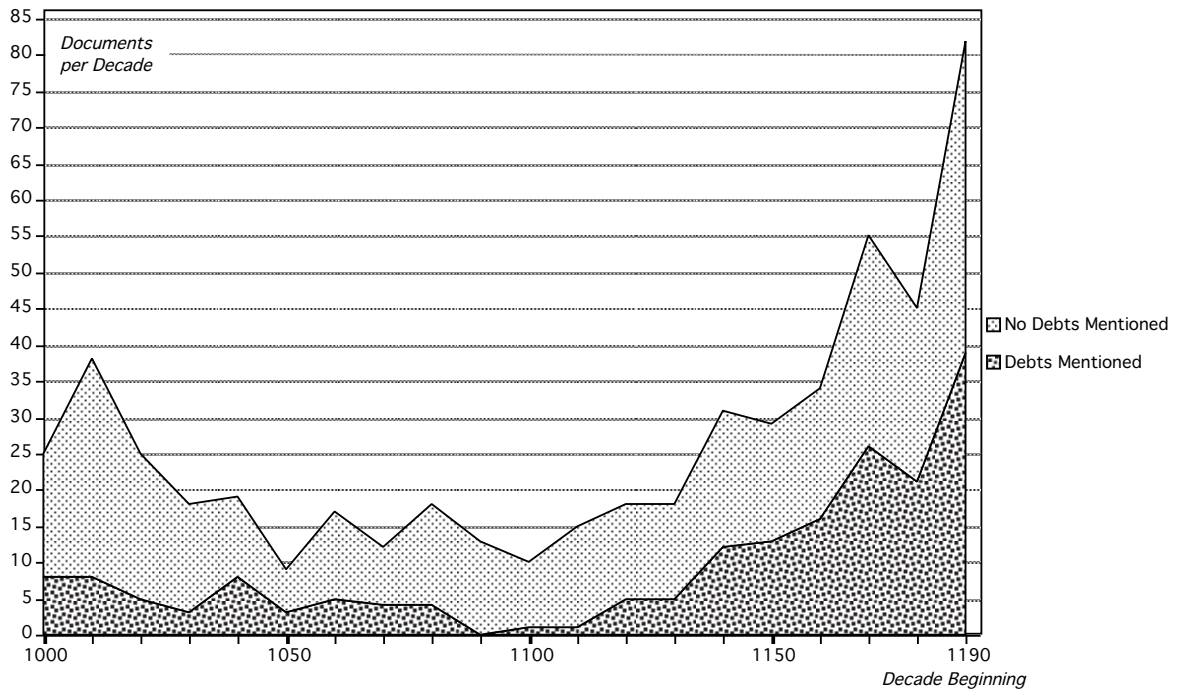
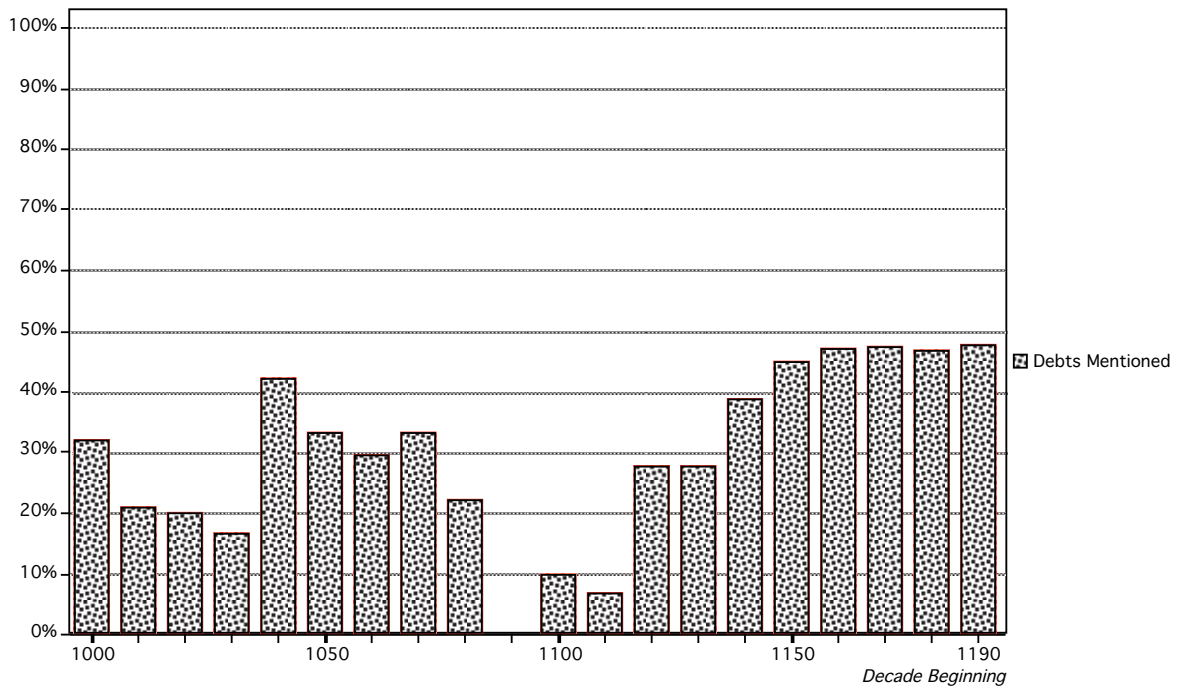


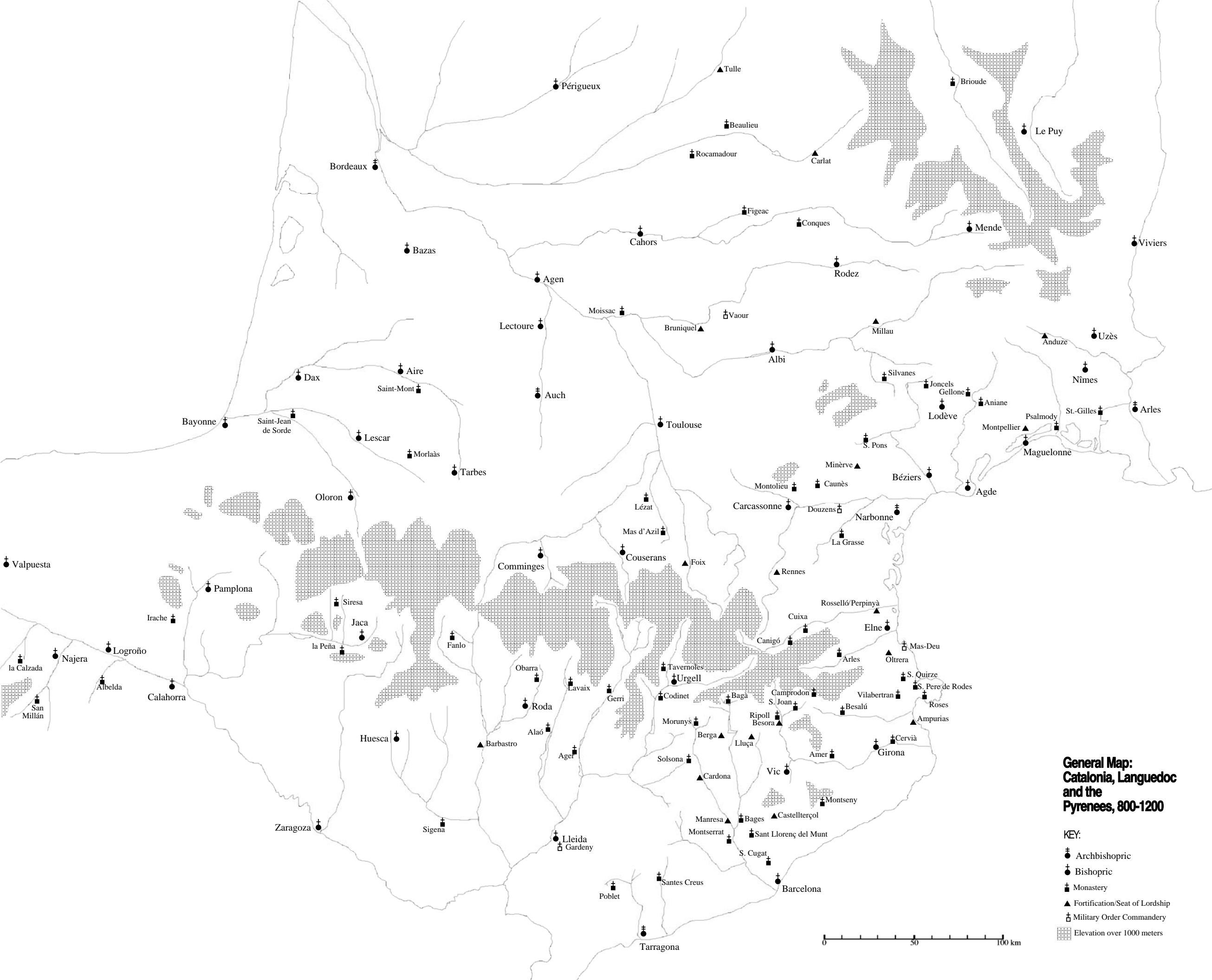
Figure 6.1. Personal Indebtedness in Catalan Testaments



Sample set: 531 testaments and testamentary publications; mostly with full-text transcriptions in database. Supplemental data from Udina i Abelló, *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval* (Barcelona, 1984), p. 330.

Figure 6.2. Mention of Debts: Relative Frequency

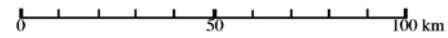


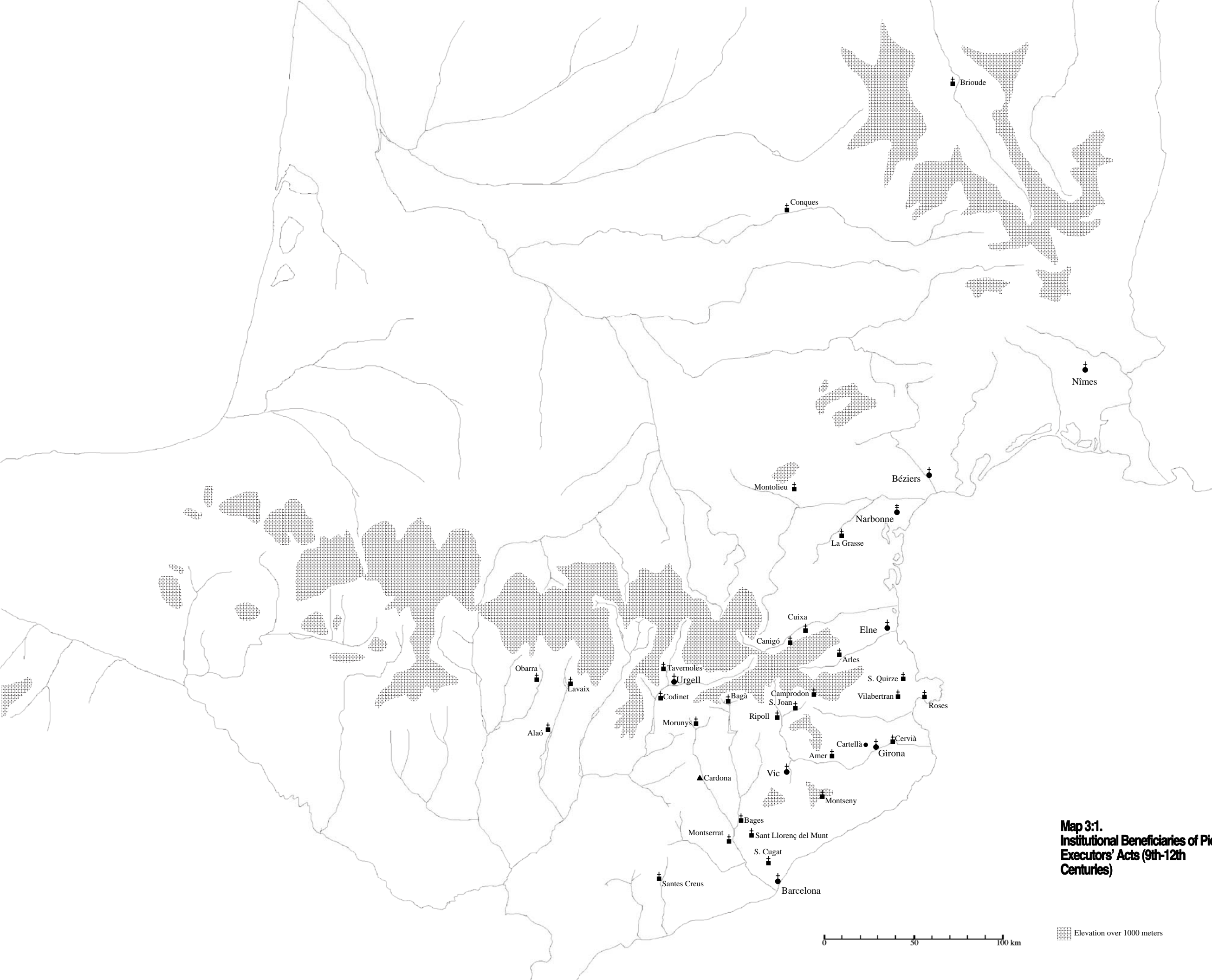


**General Map:
Catalonia, Languedoc
and the
Pyrenees, 800-1200**

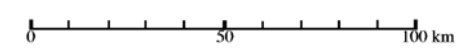
KEY:


- ⚡ Archbishopric
- ⚡ Bishopric
- ⚡ Monastery
- ▲ Fortification/Seat of Lordship
- ⚡ Military Order Commandery
- ▨ Elevation over 1000 meters

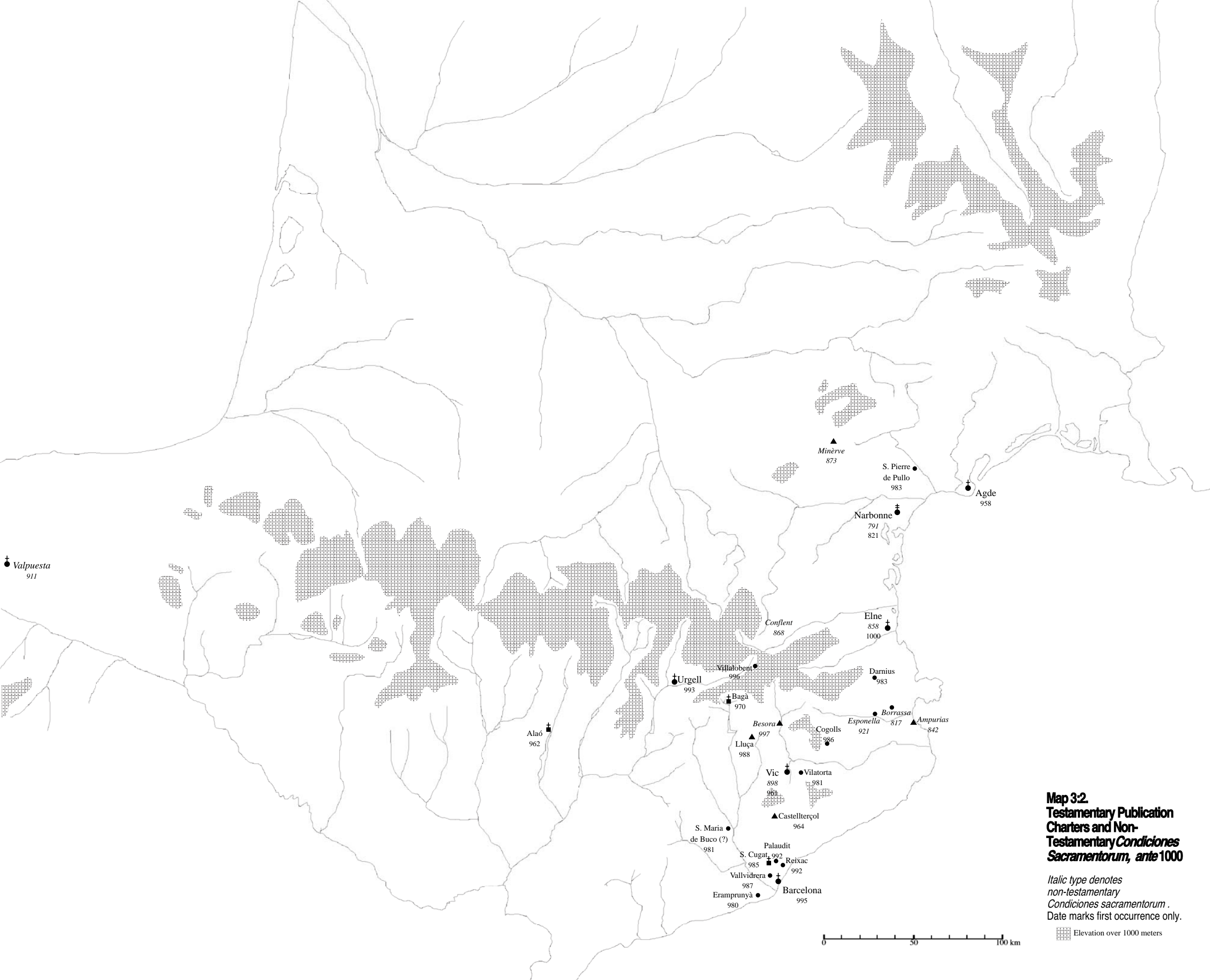




Map 3:1.
Institutional Beneficiaries of Pious
Executors' Acts (9th-12th
Centuries)



 Elevation over 1000 meters



**Map 3-2.
Testamentary Publication
Charters and Non-
Testamentary *Condicionum*
Sacramentorum, ante 1000**

*Italic type denotes
non-testamentary
Condicionum sacramentorum.*
Date marks first occurrence only.

Elevation over 1000 meters

APPENDIX A: PROSOPOGRAPHY OF *IUDICES* IN CATALONIA AND LANGUEDOC: A TESTAMENTARY CITATION INDEX, 791-1200

The following provisional citation index is compiled from the nearly five hundred testamentary documents in the current study in which an official identified as a *iudex* presides in some capacity at a testamentary court in Languedoc or Catalonia. A number of additional references has been incorporated in which *iudices* appear in non-testamentary documents (notably the non-testamentary *condiciones sacramentorum* of the ninth and early tenth centuries), or in which *iudices* appear in testamentary documents in non-professional capacities (e.g. as testator, legatee or decedent in documents of the eleventh and twelfth centuries). However, no attempt has been made systematically to search all non-testamentary documents for references to *iudices*. It would indeed be most illuminating if a list of *iudices* appearing in non-testamentary sources from the tenth through twelfth centuries were to be found to contain a significantly different personnel from the testamentary *iudices*. This would suggest thematic specialization among the judiciary. At any rate, it is clear that testamentary documents, particularly from Catalonia, provide the most abundant evidence of the activity of *iudices* in the mid-tenth through twelfth centuries.

In the following tables, each bold-face heading represents a tentative identification of a *iudex*. The heading consists of a name followed by a code number to distinguish different *iudices* bearing the same name (for example, “Berar” and “Beraz”). Following the name are the number of citations believed to represent that individual, a brief identification of the *iudex*, if possible, and the ambit in which he appeared. Below each heading appear the individual citations. Attributions of identity for *iudices* bearing the same have taken into consideration dates, locations and the clerical status assumed by the *iudex* in the document (which was not always consistent). Citations consist of a date, the name of the judge as it appears in the document (with standardized spelling but with *cognomens* or other distinguishing elements retained), the quality of the judge as given (which, again, may differ from the consensus in the heading), the location of the judgment or publication ceremony, if known, and, if that location is positively identified and falls within modern Catalonia, a code corresponding to a current standard Catalan physical map.¹ The location is abbreviated, and, when fully identified,

¹ *Catalunya Física: Mapa Físic de Catalunya* (1:280,000, 960 by 860 mm), with gazeteer. 1st ed., ed. Francesc Gurri i Serra. Barcelona: Distrimapas-Telstar, 1988.

takes the form of “Town-Church-Altar.” The city of Barcelona is abbreviated “B;” locations in or near castles are indicated with a “C.” Finally, an index number refers to the documentary index in Appendix C.

In addition to “j”, representing the title *iudex*, the abbreviations for status used in these citations are as follows:

<u>CODE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<i>archid</i>	archidiaconus
<i>cl</i>	clericus
<i>cs</i>	caputscole
<i>cv</i>	clavicularius
<i>eps</i>	episcopus
<i>l</i>	levita
<i>ps</i>	primiscrinus
<i>s</i>	sacerdos <i>or</i> presbiter
<i>sc</i>	sacricustos
<i>scr</i>	scriba/scriptor
<i>ss</i>	sacrista
<i>subd</i>	hypodiaconus <i>or</i> hypolevita
<i>vj</i>	vice-iudex <i>or</i> vicarius iudicis

The index is divided into two parts: the first part covers the years 791 to 921, and consists almost entirely of non-testamentary judicial records culled from published editions. Although they do not correspond to testamentary probate sessions, these other judgments were most often couched in the form of the *condiciones sacramentorum*, and thus represent the same legal tradition which was to grow into the testamentary probate system in Catalonia and, to a lesser extent, the Narbonnais. The second part contains almost exclusively testamentary publications dating from 958 to 1200. None of the *iudices* attested in the first period survived to appear in the second.

The density of attestations varies over time, and reflects the gradual increase of the volume of documentation, although the number of *iudices* clearly falls in the twelfth century. In the period 791 to 921, 176 citations attest 113 different *iudices*, with an average of 1.5 citations per person. From 958 to 1100, 101 *iudices* are attested in 344 citations, for an average of close to 3.5 citations per person. In the twelfth century, with the decline of the judicature, only 33 *iudices* are attested in 180 documents, the number of citations per person approaching 5.

APPENDIX A(1): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD I: 791-921

ludex , quality, ambit.		Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
Absalon1, j.	Citations: 1. Conflent.	08/18/868	Absalon	j	Conflent [?]	25
Adaulfus1, j.	Citations: 1. Besalú.	12/15/817	Adaulfus	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3 4
Adoura1, saio.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	04/23/873	Adoura	saio	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr] 29
Adroarius1, j.	Citations: 1. Besalú.	12/15/817	Adroarius	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3 4
Adroarius2, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	11/18/862	Adroarius	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr] 20
Aigilane1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	03/31/821	Aigilane	j	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr] 6
Aigone1, j.	Citations: 2. Narbonensis.	09/11/834	Aigone	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr] 9
		12/17/836	Aigone	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr] 10
Albarus1, j.	Citations: 4. Roussillon.	06/05/858	Albarus	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr] 18
		01/18/875	Albarus	j	Roussillon-Villa Tagnane	31
		01/30/875	Albarus	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2 32
		12/17/875	Albarus	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr] 33
Alfons1, j.	Citations: 2. Narbonensis.	09/11/834	Alfons	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr] 9
		11/18/862	Alfons	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr] 20
Ansemund1, j/vc.	Citations: 1. Ampurias: viscount named as and subscr. "hic iudex".	08/21/842	Ansemund	j/vc	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4 14
Aprolinus1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	09/10/852	Aprolinus	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr] 16
Argefred1, j.	Citations: 3. Narbonensis [& Elne?].	06/13/870	Argefred	j	Narbonne	[Fr] 27
		04/23/873	Argefred	j	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr] 29
		12/17/875	Argefred [Arifredus]	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr] 33
Argemadus1, j.	Citations: 1. Roussillon.	06/05/858	Argemadus	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr] 18
Arningo1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	06/01/865	Arningo	j	Narbonense-Prats	22
Balfila1, j.	Citations: 1. Roussillon.	12/17/875	Balfila	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr] 33
Beco1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	11/18/862	Beco	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr] 20
Benedicto1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	09/11/834	Benedicto	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr] 9
Bera1, j.	Citations: 1. Arles.	04/02/832	Bera	j	Elne	M-2 8
Bera2, j.	Citations: 6. Narbonensis (865), Conflent.	06/01/865	Bera	j	Narbonense-Prats	22
		08/18/868	Bera	j	Conflent [?]	25
		03/25/874	Bera	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr] 30
		01/29/879	Bera	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr] 37
		02/10/879	Bera	j	Conflent-Clarignano-S. Stephen [C]	38
		01/01/901	Bera	j	n. loc	49
Bericus1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	12/17/836	Bericus	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr] 10
Bidegisus1, saio.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	09/10/852	Bidegisus	saio	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr] 16
Bonarius1, j.	Citations: 2. Vic.	05/28/898	Bonarius	j	Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6 44
		05/30/898	Bonarius	j	Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6 45
Calbus1, j.	Citations: 1. Besalú.	12/15/817	Calbus	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3 4
Calvila1, j.	Citations: 2. Conflent.	01/01/879	Calvila	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr] 36
		01/29/879	Calvila	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr] 37
Chilricone1, j.	Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	09/11/834	Chilricone	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr] 9
Cirella1, j.	Citations: 1. Besalú.	12/15/817	Cirella	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3 4
Cixilanus1, j.	Citations: 2. Narbonensis.	05/08/814	Cixilanus	j	Narbonense-villa Marinorena	[Fr] 3

APPENDIX A(1): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD I: 791-921

ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
03/31/821	Cixilanus	j	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr]	6
Comparato1, saio. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
06/13/870	Comparato	saio	Narbonne	[Fr]	27
Daniel1, j. Citations: 1. Ampurias.					
08/21/842	Daniel	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
David1, j. Citations: 3. Narbonensis.					
03/31/821	David	j	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr]	6
09/11/834	David	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr]	9
12/17/836	David	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Desiderius1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
12/05/791	Desiderius?	j	Narbonne/Aniane?	[Fr]	1
Dodo1, j. Citations: 3. Conflent.					
03/25/874	Dodo	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
01/01/879	Dodo	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
02/10/879	Dodo	j	Conflent-Clariniàno-S. Stephen [C]		38
Egica1, saio. Citations: 1. Vic.					
05/30/898	Egica	saio	Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6	45
Enalario1, saio. Citations: 1. Conflent.					
03/25/874	Enalario	saio	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
Ermeldus1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
09/10/852	Ermeldus	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr]	16
Ermemir1, j. Citations: 2. Roussillon/Conflent [?].					
06/05/858	Ermemir	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
08/18/868	Ermemir	j	Conflent [?]		25
Ermenfred1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
11/18/862	Ermenfred	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
Ermengillo1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
12/17/836	Ermengillo	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Ermenisclo1, j. Citations: 2. Roussillon.					
01/18/875	Ermenisclo	j	Roussillon-Villa Tagnane		31
01/01/901	Ermenisclo	j	n. loc		49
Favane1, j. Citations: 4. Roussillon.					
01/18/875	Favane	j	Roussillon-Villa Tagnane		31
01/30/875	Favane	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2	32
12/17/875	Favane	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
01/01/901	Favane	j	n. loc		49
Fortes1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
11/18/862	Fortes	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
Fortun1, saio. Citations: 1. Ampurias.					
08/21/842	Fortun	saio	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Fulgentius1, j. Citations: 5. Conflent.					
03/25/874	Fulgentius	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
01/01/879	Fulgentius	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
01/29/879	Fulgentius	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	37
02/10/879	Fulgentius	j	Conflent-Clariniàno-S. Stephen [C]		38
01/01/901	Fulgentius	j	n. loc		49
Furrutio1, j. Citations: 1. Roussillon.					
06/05/858	Furrutio	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
Galindo1, j. Citations: 1. Conflent.					
08/18/868	Galindo	j	Conflent [?]		25
Gaugino1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
06/01/865	Gaugino	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
Geruntio1, j. Citations: 1. Ampurias.					
08/21/842	Geruntio	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Gintile1, saio. Citations: 1. Conflent.					
08/18/868	Gintile	saio	Conflent [?]		25
Godeforte1, saio. Citations: 1. Roussillon.					
06/05/858	Godeforte	saio	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
Goltred1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
09/10/852	Goltred	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr]	16
Gomesind1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.					
05/08/814	Gomesind	j	Narbonense-villa Marinorena	[Fr]	3
03/31/821	Gomesind	j	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr]	6
Gonteloc1, j. Citations: 4. Conflent.					
03/25/874	Gonteloc	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
01/01/879	Gonteloc	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
01/29/879	Gonteloc	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	37
01/01/901	Gonteloc	j	n. loc		49

APPENDIX A(1): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD I: 791-921

iudex , quality, ambit.		Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).			
Guademir1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
12/17/836	Guademir	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Guilardo1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
06/01/865	Guilardo	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
Gumilane1, j.	Citations: 1.	Arles.			
04/02/832	Gumilane	j	Elne	M-2	8
Ildesindo1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	Ildesindo	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Ildoigius1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
12/17/875	Ildoigius	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Inuvilardus1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
06/05/858	Inuvilardus	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
Isimbert1, j.	Citations: 2.	Narbonensis.			
09/11/834	Isimbert	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr]	9
12/17/836	Isimbert	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Joan1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
01/30/875	Joan	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2	32
Juvino1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
06/01/865	Juvino	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
Langobard1, j.	Citations: 6.	Conflent.			
08/18/868	Langobard	j	Conflent [?]		25
03/25/874	Langobard	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
01/01/879	Langobard	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
01/29/879	Langobard	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	37
02/10/879	Langobard	j	Conflent-Clariniano-S. Stephen [C]		38
01/01/901	Langobard	j	n. loc		49
Leo1, saio=>j.	Citations: 3.	Narbonensis.			
03/31/821	Leo	saio	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr]	6
09/11/834	Leo	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr]	9
12/17/836	Leo	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Leopard1, j.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
02/25/921	Leopard	j	Espoullà	N-4	74
Leopard2, saio.	Citations: 1.	Besalú [unless this is also the iudex Leopard?].			
02/25/921	Leopard	saio	Espoullà	N-4	74
Mademane1, j.	Citations: 2.	Narbonensis.			
06/01/865	Mademane	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
06/13/870	Mademane	j	Narbonne	[Fr]	27
Magnentius1, saio.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
12/15/817	Magnentius	saio	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3	4
Mantio1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
12/17/875	Mantio	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Manuel1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
06/01/865	Manuel	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
Medema1, j.	Citations: 3.	Narbonensis.			
11/18/862	Medenco [Medema?]	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
04/23/873	Medema	j	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr]	29
12/17/875	Medema	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Nazario1, saio.	Citations: 4.	Conflent.			
01/01/879	Nazario	saio	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
01/29/879	Nazario	saio	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	37
02/10/879	Nazario	saio	Conflent-Clariniano-S. Stephen [C]		38
01/01/901	Nazario	saio	n. loc		49
Obasio1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	Obasio	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Odalric1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
06/13/870	Odalric	j	Narbonne	[Fr]	27
Odolbald1, j.	Citations: 2.	Conflent.			
03/25/874	Odolbald	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
02/10/879	Odolbald	j	Conflent-Clariniano-S. Stephen [C]		38
Odovacar1, j.	Citations: 1.	Arles.			
04/02/832	Odovacar	j	Elne	M-2	8
Pere01, saio.	Citations: 1.	[Castile].			
05/18/919	Pere	saio	Espejo-Flumenzello-BMV	[Ca]	71
Provasius1, j.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
12/15/817	Provasius	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3	4
Radepertus1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
06/05/858	Radepertus	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
Ranoald1, j.	Citations: 2.	Roussillon.			

APPENDIX A(1): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD I: 791-921

ludex , quality, ambit.		Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).			
01/18/875	Ranoald	j	Roussillon-Villa Tagnane		31
01/30/875	Ranoald	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2	32
Rasoarius1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
12/05/791	Rasoarius	j	Narbonne/Aniane?	[Fr]	1
Remulus1, j.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
12/15/817	Remulus	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3	4
Restitundo1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
09/11/834	Restitundo	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr]	9
Riccemir1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
05/08/814	Riccmir	j	Narbonense-villa Marinorena	[Fr]	3
Sabaricho1, j.	Citations: 1.	Arles.			
04/02/832	Sabaricho	j	Elne	M-2	8
Salamó1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	Salamó	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Sanson1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	Sanson	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Scilane1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
09/11/834	Scilane	j	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr]	9
Sculpiarius1, j.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
12/15/817	Sculpiarius	j	Besalú County-Borrassà-S.Andreu	O-3	4
Seila1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
12/17/836	Seila	j	Narbonense-villa Julià	[Fr]	10
Sendred1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
05/08/814	Sendred	j	Narbonense-villa Marinorena	[Fr]	3
Sendred2, j.	Citations: 2.	Narbonensis.			
09/10/852	Sendred	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr]	16
06/01/865	Sendred	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
Senheresus1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
11/18/862	Senheresus	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
Seniofred1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
03/31/821	Seniofred	j	Narbonne-S. Julià	[Fr]	6
Seniofred2, j.	Citations: 4.	Conflent.			
01/01/879	Seniofred	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	36
01/29/879	Seniofred	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr]	37
02/10/879	Seniofred	j	Conflent-Clarignano-S. Stephen [C]		38
01/01/901	Seniofred	j	n. loc		49
Seniomir1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
06/05/858	Seniomir	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr]	18
Sentrariue1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	Sentrariue	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
ServusDei1, j.	Citations: 1.	Ampurias.			
08/21/842	ServusDei	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4	14
Sindilla1, j.	Citations: 2.	Roussillon.			
01/30/875	Sindilla	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2	32
12/17/875	Sindilla	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Stephanus1, j.	Citations: 1.	Conflent.			
03/25/874	Stephanus	j	Conflent-Vernet	[Fr]	30
Tesindo1, j.	Citations: 1.	Narbonensis.			
04/23/873	Tesindo	j	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr]	29
Teudedefred1, j.	Citations: 4.	Narbonensis.			
09/10/852	Teudedefred	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr]	16
11/18/862	Teudedefred	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
06/13/870	Teudedefred	j	Narbonne	[Fr]	27
12/17/875	Teudedefred	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Teuderic1, j.	Citations: 1.	Roussillon.			
12/17/875	Teuderic	j	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr]	33
Teuderic2, j.	Citations: 1.	Besalú.			
02/25/921	Teuderic	j	Esponellà	N-4	74
Teodosius1, j.	Citations: 2.	Vic.			
05/28/898	Teodosius	j	Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6	44
05/30/898	Teodosius	j	Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6	45
Teuriscus1, j.	Citations: 4.	Narbonensis.			
09/10/852	Teuriscus	j	Narbonense-vil.Crispiano	[Fr]	16
11/18/862	Teuriscus	j	Narbonense- Pegano [Cabestang]	[Fr]	20
06/01/865	Teuriscus	j	Narbonense-Prats		22
06/13/870	Teuriscus	j	Narbonne	[Fr]	27
Trasebad1, j.	Citations: 1.	Conflent.			
08/18/868	Trasebad	j	Conflent [?]		25

APPENDIX A(1): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD I: 791-921

ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
Trasoar1, j. Citations: 1. Ampurias.	08/21/842	Trasoar	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4 14
Trasoar2, j. Citations: 1. Besalú.	02/25/921	Trasoar	j	Esponellà	N-4 74
Troilane1, j. Citations: 1. Arles.	04/02/832	Troilane	j	Elne	M-2 8
Ugo1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	04/23/873	Ugo	j	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr] 29
Unifort1, j. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	05/08/814	Unifort	j	Narbonense-villa Marinorena	[Fr] 3
Unifort2, j. Citations: 5. Narbonensis (873); Conflent.	04/23/873	Unifort	j	Minèrve [ante C.]-S. Nazaire	[Fr] 29
	01/01/879	Unifort	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr] 36
	01/29/879	Unifort	j	Conflent-Villa Astrovere [?]	[Fr] 37
	02/10/879	Unifort	j	Conflent-Clariniانو-S. Stephen [C]	38
	01/01/901	Unifort	j	n. loc	49
Ursius1, saio. Citations: 1. Narbonensis.	09/11/834	Ursius	saio	Narbonne-S. Maria	[Fr] 9
Valafonso1, saio. Citations: 1. Roussillon.	12/17/875	Valafonso	saio	n. loc [Elne]	[Fr] 33
Valdefredo1, j. Citations: 1. Arles.	04/02/832	Valdefredo	j	Elne	M-2 8
Venerello1, j. Citations: 1. Ampurias.	08/21/842	Venerello	j	Ampurias-S. Martí	P-4 14
Vigilan1, j. Citations: 1. [Castile].	05/18/919	Vigilan	j	Espejo-Flumenzello-BMV	[Ca] 71
Vuiteric1, j. Citations: 3. Roussillon.	06/05/858	Vuiteric	j	Elne-S. Pere	[Fr] 18
	01/18/875	Vuiteric	j	Roussillon-Villa Tagnane	31
	01/30/875	Vuiteric	j	Arles-S. Maria	M-2 32
Wistimirus1, j. Citations: 1.	12/05/791	Wistimirus	j	Narbonne/Aniane?	[Fr] 1

APPENDIX A(2): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD II: 958-1200

Iudex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
Adalbert1, j/l. Citations: 1. Segarra [Ardèvol].	09/29/1027	Adalbert	j/l	S. Just d'Ardèvol	G-8 660
Adalbert2, j. Citations: 2. Bages/Vic.	01/02/1039	Adalbert	j	Castellnou de Bages-S. Andreu	I-8 779
	04/23/1039	Adalbert	j	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6 781
Adalbert3, j. Citations: 1. Cerdanya.	05/01/1058	Adalbert	j	Sanavastre-S. Iscle	H-3 986
Adalbert4, j. Citations: 1. Adalbert Eldemar: Osona (Lluçanes).	07/12/1069	Adalbert Eldemar	j	Pardines-S. Eulalia	J-6 1148
Adalbert5, j. Citations: 1. "iudex in pago Cornellana" (Urgell).	01/12/1072	Adalbert	j "in pago Cornella	S. Jaume (Josa)near Cornellana	G-5 1177
Adals1, saio. Citations: 1. Besalú.	02/24/1018	Adals	saio	Besalú County-villa Bundanti [?]	571
Albertinus1, j/l. Citations: 5. Seu d'Urgell.	11/06/1061	Albertinus	j/l	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pau	F-4 1034
	03/17/1064	Albertinus	j/l	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4 1070
	04/09/1064	Albertinus	j/l	Cerc (vall de)-S. Nazari d'Ursià	F-4 1073
	04/25/1065	Albertinus	j/l	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4 1097
	06/16/1071	Albertinus	j/l	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4 1165
Ansefred1, j. Citations: 1. Bages? ["C. Chozener"].	02/24/1023	Ansefred	j	C. Chozener (?) -S. Pere	625
Argemir1, saio. Citations: 1. Manresa county.	02/01/981	Argemir	saio	Manresa County-Buco [?]-S. Maria	I-8 290
Arnal1, j. Citations: 1. Urgell (Tost).	01/09/1030	Arnal	j	Tost-S. Marti	F-5 674
Arnal2, j. Citations: 1. Arnal Ramon: Seu d'Urgell.	03/15/1107	Arnal Ramon	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Jaume	F-4 1640
Arnal3, j [/?]. Citations: 1. Arnal Pere: possibly a high cleric at Ager?.	03/12/1132	Arnal Pere	j [ab Ager?]	Ager-S. Pere-S. Miquel	C-7 1983
Arnal4, vice-j/s. Citations: 13. Vice-judge at SS Just & Pastor, Barcelona.	08/08/1149	Arnal	j/s	Sedó-S. Donati	F-9 2193
	01/30/1157	Arnal	j/grammaticus	~unspec	2292
	05/04/1157	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2297
	01/25/1158	Arnal	vj/cl [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2310
	01/27/1159	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2321
	02/06/1160	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2331
	08/05/1160	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2342
	01/01/1161	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2345
	12/04/1167	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2438
	02/08/1169	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2463
	06/26/1170	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2489
	05/25/1172	Arnal	vj/s [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu [?]	L-11 2526
	08/25/1172	Arnal	j/s	Biosca [C]-S. Mary	F-8 2538
Arvendus1, j. Citations: 1. Arvenduz Auruz: Narbonne.	05/13/962	Arvendus cog. Auruz	j	Narbonne-S. Croix	[Fr] 202
Ato1, j "justitia". Citations: 1. Ato Sanz: "Justicia" in Aragon.	01/01/1148	Ato Sanz	j "justitia"		2168
Audesind1, j. Citations: 3. Vallès-Barcelonès.	11/04/993	Audesind	j	S. Cugat-S. Pere	K-10 396
	04/14/1002	Audesind	j	Eramprunya [C]-S. Climent	K-11 458
	12/04/1002	Audesind	j	Avinyonet del Penedes-S. Pere	J-11 463
Aurutius1, j. Citations: 2. Barcelona-seu.	02/01/995	Aurutius	j	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11 407
	01/28/1009	Aurutius	j	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11 501
Berenguer1, j/cs. Citations: 2. Caputscole Girona.	09/07/1071	Berenguer	j	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5 1170
	12/11/1081	Berenguer	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5 1301
Berenguer2, j/ss. Citations: 12. Berenguer Pere: Sacrist Vic: Vic/Osona.	08/22/1107	Berenguer	j/ss	Alp-S. Pere-S. Joan	I-3 1645
	11/25/1108	Berenguer	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan [?]	K-6 1654
	04/24/1110	Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1678
	01/23/1113	Berenguer	j/ss Vic	Cerdans-S. Cristòfol	M-7 1720
	01/24/1114	Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1733
	03/07/1119	Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1805
	11/29/1120	Berenguer	j/ss		1834
	01/11/1126	Berenguer	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1893
	08/19/1129	Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1933
	06/09/1135	Berenguer	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 2019
	06/17/1144	Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 2117

APPENDIX A(2): JUDGES IN Languedoc AND CATALONIA: PERIOD II: 958-1200

ludex , quality, ambit.		Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).			
05/30/1149	Berenguer	j/ss Vic [testator]			2188
Berenguer3, j/subd [j]. Citations: 7. Berenguer Arnau, Barcelona.					
05/30/1111	Berengarius	j	B-Seu-S. Joan	L-11	1701
05/24/1112	Berenguer	j/subd	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1713
05/08/1113	Berengarius Arnalli	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1724
08/12/1115	Berenguer	subd/j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1764
02/22/1117	Berenguer	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1783
10/15/1117	Berenguer	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1792
11/15/1117	Berenguer	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1793
Berenguer4, j/cs. Citations: 3. Caputscole Girona: Girona, Garrotxa [S. Privat d'en Bas].					
12/19/1123	Berenguer	j/cs	S. Privat d'en Bas	L-4	1869
06/11/1131	Berenguer	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1957
08/19/1131	Berenguer	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1964
Berenguer5, j. Citations: 1. Berenguer de Colonico: Girona-seu.					
09/16/1178	Berenguer de Colonico	j	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	2681
Bermon1, j/minister. Citations: 1. Vallès/Montserrat?.					
01/31/1030	Bermon	j/minister	?-S. Llorenç-S. Clement		675
Bermon2, j. Citations: 9. Osona; Valles: "iudex in Cleronomia" [?].					
11/13/1060	Bermon	j	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	1022
05/27/1061	Bermon	j "in Cleronomia"	S. Pere Molanta-S. Joan	I-11/12	1028
06/05/1063	Bermon	j "in Cleronomia"	S. Genis near El Pujol [?]	I-7?	1056
09/19/1066	Bermon	j "in Cleronomia"	Navarcles-S. Pere	J-8	1116
07/12/1069	Bermon	j	Pardines-S. Eulalia	J-6	1148
12/15/1077	Bermon	j	?-S. Hilari		1248
12/30/1077	Bermon	j	S. Maria de Vilamajor-S. Ponç	E/F-8	1249
08/23/1080	Bermon	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1282
12/02/1085	Bermon	j	S. Hipòlit[de Voltregà]-S. Llorenç	K-6	1353
Bernat1, j. Citations: 4. Seu d'Urgell.					
10/14/1058	Bernat	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pau	F-4	994
02/21/1065	Bernat	j	Seu d'U-Seu [?]-S. Joan	F-4	1087
03/11/1065	Bernat	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pau	F-4	1088
03/23/1071	Bernat	j	?-?-S. Joan		1162
Bernat2, j/cl. Citations: 19. Bernat Guifred: Caputscole Girona: Gironès.					
09/27/1067	Bernat Guifred	j/cl	Girona-S. Feliu-S. Just	O-5	1127
01/13/1069	Bernat Guifred	j/cl	S. Martí de Catian [?]-S. Pere		1144
09/07/1071	Bernat Guifred	j/cl	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1170
08/10/1072	Bernat	j/cl	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1182
02/28/1074	Bernat	j/cl	~illegible		1199
03/19/1075	Bernat	j/cl	Vilatenim-S. Joan	O-3	1219
01/31/1076	Bernat Guifred	j	Cornellà [de Terri]-S. Genís	N-4	1234
11/04/1080	Bernat Guifred	j/cl	Bisbal-S. Maria-S. Joan	P-5	1283
10/02/1081	Bernat Guifred	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1296
01/28/1083	Bernat	j/cs	Caldes [de Malavella]-S. Joan	O-6	1320
07/01/1083	Bernat Guifred	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1326
04/08/1088	Bernat	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1392
09/22/1089	Bernat Guifred	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1406
03/09/1095	Bernat Guifred	j	Mosqueroles-S. Martí	M-8	1483
08/31/1095	Bernat	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1491
12/03/1096	Bernat	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1511
10/03/1097	Bernat Guifred	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1529
12/03/1097	Bernat	j/cs	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1530
05/15/1101	Bernat Guifred	j/cs	Girona-?-altar S. Miquel [?]	O-5	1584
Bernat3, j. Citations: 1. Cervera.					
01/08/1092	Bernat	j	Cervera-S. Nicolau	F-10	1434
Bonusfilius1, j/cl. Citations: 9. Ponç Bonusfilius Marci: Barcelona/Vallès.					
12/02/1017	Bonusfilius	j	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	570
10/24/1020	Bonusfilius Marci	j	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	602
04/28/1024	Ponç cogn Bofill Marchi	j/cl	Ripollet-S. Esteve	K-10	635
09/04/1030	Ponç Bofill Marc	j/cl	B-S. Jaume-BMV	L-11	681
09/28/1030	Ponç Bofill Marc	j/cl	B-S. Eulalia del Camp	L-11	683
06/28/1032	Ponç Bofill	j/cl	S. Pere near S. Cugat-S. Paul	K-10	697
07/03/1032	Ponç Bofill	j/cl	Martorell-C. Rodanes-S. Maria	J-10	698
03/26/1034	Ponç Bofill	j/cl	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	718
07/23/1035	Ponç Bofill Marci	j	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	736
Bonushomo1, j/l. Citations: 19. Famus jurist: Barcelonès and Vallès (&Vic).					
02/16/988	Bonushomo	j/l	S. Cugat-S. Pere	K-10	339
03/19/988	Bonushomo	j/l			342
02/01/995	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	407
10/22/997	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	427
04/25/1000	Bonushomo	j/l	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	448

APPENDIX A(2): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD II: 958-1200

ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
03/11/1005	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	478
01/28/1009	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	501
10/04/1010	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	521
10/04/1010	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	522
11/17/1010	Bonushomo	j/l	S. Pere Molanta	I-11/12	526
12/16/1010	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	527
04/19/1011	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	531
12/19/1013	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	548
05/20/1017	Bonushomo	j/l	B-S. Eulalia de Vilapiscina	L-11	567
04/10/1018	Bonushomo	j/l	Ripollet-S. Esteve	K-10	575
08/13/1020	Bonushomo	j/l	S. Perpetua de Mogoda	L-9	598
10/24/1020	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	602
01/30/1022	Bonushomo	j/l	S. Pere de Reixac	L-10	616
01/08/1024	Bonushomo	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	632
Borrell1, j. Citations: 2. Vallès.					
12/04/985	Borrell	j	S. Cugat-S. Eulalie	K-10	320
06/26/987	Borrell	j	Vallvidrera-S. Maria-S. Joan	K-10	335
Borrell2, j=>j/s. Citations: 2. Barcelona.					
10/04/1010	Borrell	j [legatee]	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	522
04/19/1011	Borrell	j/s	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	531
Centull1, saio. Citations: 1. Alaó.					
06/01/962	Centull	saio	Alaó-S. Maria	B-5	203
Daco1, j/s. Citations: 4. Vic.					
09/28/989	Daco	j/s	Vic-Seu-S. Feliu	K-6	354
03/25/1000	Daco	j/s	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	446
01/25/1003	Daco	j/s	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	465
08/30/1009	Daco	j/s [decedent]	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	507
Enric1, j//monk [j]. Citations: 2. Manresa [Talamanca].					
01/01/1034	Enric	j//monk	Talamanca [C]-S. Stephen	J-8	713
02/11/1040	Enric	j	?-S. Maria Mauseleu-S. Egidius		789
Eriball1, j. Citations: 3. Vic, Lluçanes.					
03/25/1063	Eriball	j	S. Genesii-altar S. Petri		1052
07/12/1069	Eriball	j	Pardines-S. Eulalia	J-6	1148
08/28/1077	Eriball	j	Vic-Seu-S. Benet [?]	K-6	1245
Ermenald1, j/s. Citations: 1. Béziers.					
05/13/983	Ermenald	j/s	S.-Pierre "de Pullo"	[Fr]	305
Ermengol1, j. Citations: 1. Solsones.					
10/12/1042	Ermengol	j	Llobera de Solsones [C]-S. Miq	G-7	822
Ermengol2, j/sc/ost/cv. Citations: 10. Ostiarius, sacriscrinus, clavicularius Seu d'Urgell.					
03/18/1076	Ermengol	j/scr	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1235
03/28/1081	Ermengol	j/scr	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1288
08/13/1081	Ermengol	j/scr	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1291
09/17/1086	Ermengol	j "legislator ac iu	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1366
04/07/1088	Ermengol	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pau	F-4	1391
03/29/1090	Ermengol	j	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1417
03/28/1092	Ermengol	j/ost/janitor Urgell	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1437
09/27/1094	Ermengol	j/sc/jan "legis ac	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1471
04/26/1096	Ermengol	j/cv & janitor	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1503
05/06/1096	Ermengol	j/cv & janitor	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1504
Ervig1, j/s/eps. Citations: 6. Ervig Marci: suffragan eps Barc.: Barcelona/Vallès.					
06/26/987	Ervig Marci	j	Vallvidrera-S. Maria-S. Joan	K-10	335
08/03/992	Ervig Marci	j/s	Reixac-S. Pere	L-10	383
02/01/995	Ervig Marci	j/s	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	407
08/28/1007	Ervig Marci	j/s	Reixac-S. Pere-S. Joan	L-10	495
01/28/1009	Ervig Marci	j/eps	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	501
10/03/1010	Ervig Marci	j/eps	Palaciols [Palautordera]-S. Maria	L-9?	520
Gedballus1, j. Citations: 1. Osona [?].					
02/09/1069	Gedballus	j	Savasona-S. Pere [de Casta..?	L-6?	1145
Gerall1, j/subdeacon [j]. Citations: 3. Bages/Vic/Vilamajor.					
01/02/1039	Gerall	j	Castellnou de Bages-S. Andreu	I-8	779
04/23/1039	Gerall	j/subd	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	781
07/29/1041	Gerall	j/subd	S. Maria de Vilamajor-S. Joan	M-8?	808
Gerall2, j. Citations: 1. Montserrat [S. M. de Cancis].					
11/02/1094	Gerall	j	S. Lanbertus near S.M.deCancis		1475
Gerall3, j "legislator". Citations: 1. Gerall Ramon: Manresa [Boixadors].					
01/09/1113	Gerall Ramon	j "legislator"	Boixadors-S. Pere	H-8	1719
Geribert1, j. Citations: 3. Osona frontier-C. Mediona.					
09/16/1034	Geribert	j	Vic [?]	K-6	722
10/05/1034	Geribert	j	Mediona [C]-S. Maria-S. Vicenç	H-11	726

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ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
05/24/1038	Geribert	j	Mediona [C]-S. Margaret	H-11	774
Goltred2, j. Citations: 1.	Osona (Castellterçol).				
08/31/964	Goltred	j	Castellterçol-S. Fructuos	K-8	210
Gotmar1, saio-->j. Citations: 2.	Osona.				
06/29/961	Gotmar	saio	Vic-S. Sadurní	K-6	195
08/31/964	Gotmar	j	Castellterçol-S. Fructuos	K-8	210
Guifred01, j. Citations: 1.	Seu d'Urgell.				
10/13/993	Guifred	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Joan	F-4	395
Guifred02, j/l. Citations: 13.	Osona [Vic].				
11/30/997	Guifred	j	S. Quirze de Besora	K-5	428
01/25/1003	Guifred	j/l	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	465
01/13/1006	Guifred	j/l	Lluça [C]-S. Vicenç	J-6	484
04/09/1007	Guifred	j/l	Vic-S. Joan Baptist	K-6	491
08/30/1009	Guifred	j/l	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	507
08/21/1010	Guifred	j/l	Vic-Seu-S. Feliu	K-6	519
01/01/1015	Guifred	j/l	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	556
10/10/1022	Guifred	j/l	Navarcles-S. Maria	J-8	622
01/03/1024	Guifred	j/l	S. Maria de Oló [C]	J-7	631
02/02/1032	Guifred	j/l	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	694
04/15/1038	Guifred	j/l	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	773
04/23/1039	Guifred	j/l [decedent]	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	781
08/28/1039	Guifred	j/l	S. Julià de Vilatorra	L-6	783
Guifred03, j. Citations: 1.	Baix Llobregat.				
04/14/1002	Guifred [Wufred]	j	Eramprunyà [C]-S. Climent	K-11	458
Guifred04, j/s. Citations: 1.	Segre-Solsona.				
01/03/1007	Guifred	j/s	Madrona [C]-S. Pere	F-7	488
Guifred05, j "laicus". Citations: 1.	Vic.				
08/30/1009	Guifred	j "laicus"	Vic-S. Maria Mare de Déu	K-6	507
Guifred06, j. Citations: 3.	Barcelona.				
04/19/1011	Guifred	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	531
10/24/1020	Guifred	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	602
01/10/1038	Guifred	j/l	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	768
Guifred07, j. Citations: 2.	Osona frontier: Mediona, Cardona.				
10/05/1034	Guifred	j	Mediona [C]-S. Maria-S. Vicenç	H-11	726
05/01/1041	Guifred	j	Cardona-S. Vicenç-S. Pere	H-7	806
Guifred08, j/s. Citations: 1.	Osona [?].				
01/01/1039	Guifred	j/s	~unspec		778
Guifred09, j. Citations: 1.	Girona.				
08/24/1045	Guifred	j	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	851
Guifred10, j/l. Citations: 1.	Osona?.				
01/01/1050	Guifred	j/l	~unspec		895
Guifred11, j. Citations: 1.	Segarra [Ivorra].				
03/18/1065	Guifred	j	Ivorra [C]-S. Protasi	G-9	1089
Guillem01, j. Citations: 2.	Osona.				
10/12/986	Guillem	j	Cogolls-S. Cristòfol	M-5	327
11/30/997	Guillem	j	S. Quirze de Besora	K-5	428
Guillem02, j. Citations: 1.	Elne.				
11/01/1000	Guillem	j	Elne-"in vico"	[Fr]	451
Guillem03, j/s j?]. Citations: 2.	Barcelona [& Gironès?].				
12/28/1021	Guillem	j/s	B-S. Jaume-BMV	L-11	613
11/09/1024	Guillem	j	Gironès-S. Pere de Villa [?]		641
Guillem04, j [j/s?]. Citations: 9.	Guillem Marci: Rousillon, Barcelona, Valles.				
08/14/1030	Guillem Marci	j	Roussillon-Tuluges-S. Maria	[Fr]	680
01/25/1046	Guillem Marchi	j	Ripollet-S. Esteve	K-10	858
05/03/1048	Guillem Marchi	j/s	B-S. Jaume-BMV	L-11	879
08/18/1055	Guillem Marcho	j	Villa Alba-S. Vicenç	M-8?	962
12/15/1058	Guillem Marci	j	Valldrera-S. Maria-S. Joan	K-10	995
09/11/1060	Guillem	j	Sant Boi de Llobregat-S. Joan	K-11	1019
10/29/1060	Guillem	j	S. Sebastià dels Gorgs-S. Martí	J-11	1021
01/31/1063	Guillem Marci	j	Martorell-C. Rodanes-S. Mary	J-10	1049
01/05/1064	Guillem "Marcho"	j	B-S. Joan de Orta	L-11	1065
Guillem05, j. Citations: 1.	Seu d'Urgell.				
12/03/1035	Guillem	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pere-S. Pau	F-4	743
Guillem06, j/ps/ss Vic. Citations: 12.	Primiscrinus then sacrist Vic (& at Ager, Bergueda).				
05/29/1047	Guillem	j/s	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	868
01/05/1049	Guillem	j/s Ausonensis	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	885
11/03/1053	Guillem	j/s	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	938
11/04/1053	Guillem	j/s	S. Pere de Casserres	L-6	939
02/07/1059	Guillem	j/ps	Ager-S. Pere-S. Miquel	C-7	1000

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ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
01/01/1062	Guillem	j/s	Ausonensis	Vic-Seu-S. Feliu	K-6 1036
11/22/1062	Guillem	j/ps		Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6 1043
02/23/1063	Guillem	j/ps	Vic	S. Quirici de Petroso [Pedret?]	I-5 1050
02/28/1063	Guillem	j/ps		S. Joan de Riu-Meritable[?]	1051
04/29/1064	Guillem	j/ps		Sederro-S. Mercelí	1074
07/12/1069	Guillem	j/ps/ss		Pardines-S. Eulalia	J-6 1148
01/01/1070	Guillem	j/ss		Vic-Seu-S. Pere	K-6 1151
Guillem07, j. Citations: 2. Vallès (Barberà).					
07/31/1067	Guillem	j		?-?-S. Adiscli	1124
08/27/1067	Guillem	j		Barberà-S. Coloma	K-10 1125
Guillem08, j. Citations: 10. Urgell.					
05/13/1074	Guillem	j		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4 1202
09/29/1078	Guillem	j		Torrefeta [Segarra]-S. Amanç	F/G-8 1261
09/17/1082	Guillem	j		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4 1311
11/12/1082	Guillem	j		Tuixén-S. Stephen-S. Columba	G-5 1314
02/19/1088	Guillem	j		Seu d'U-Seu [?]-S. Joan	F-4 1389
02/05/1092	Guillem	j		Torà-C. Figuerola-S. Pere	G-8 1436
07/23/1092	Guillem	j		Guissona-S. Maria-S. Ermengol	F-9 1440
12/20/1092	Guillem	j		Solsona-S. Maria-S. Joan	G-7 1447
03/04/1101	Guillem	j		Cabanabona-S. Joan	E-8 1578
10/22/1104	Guillem	j		Seu d'U-Seu-S. Stephen	F-4 1608
Guillem09, j. Citations: 10. Guillem Borrell: Vic, Manresa, Berguedà.					
05/27/1077	Guillem Borrell	j		Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1244
08/27/1081	Guillem	j		S. Maria Meslei [?]-S. Egidi	1293
02/02/1083	Guillem	j		Manresa County-C. Guardia-S. Miquel	1321
04/10/1088	Guillem Borrell	j		Taradell-S. Genis-S. Pet	L-7 1394
08/18/1093	Guillem	j		Berguedà-C. Fulgenti-S. Vicenç-S. Pol	I-5/6 1461
04/09/1095	Guillem	j		Osona-C Mirabelli [?]-S. Saturní	1485
03/29/1101	Guillem	j		Vilalleons-S. Maria	L-7 1580
02/18/1104	Guillem	j		Vic-Seu-S. Joan [?]	K-6 1605
04/24/1110	Guillem	j		Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1678
01/21/1111	Guillem Borrelli	j		Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6 1695
Guillem10, j. Citations: 11. Guillem Miró [?]: Barcelona/Valles; Palau-Saverdera [Peralada*].					
12/01/1113	Guillem	j		Ripollet-S. Esteve	K-10 1729
04/30/1123	Guillem	j		?-S. Genesius-S. Joan	1861
05/27/1124	Guillem	j		Ronçana-S. Eulàlia-S. Llocaia	L-8/9 1875
08/03/1125	Guillem	j		Palau-Saverdera	P-2 1889
01/15/1126	Guillem Mironi	j		S. Perpetua de Mogoda-S. Joan	L-9 1894
11/10/1127	Guillem	j		S. Pere Molanta-S. Joan	I-11/12 1908
04/01/1128	Guillem	j		~unspec-[Vallès?]	1912
05/08/1128	Guillem	j		B-S. Jaume-S. Tomàs	L-11 1916
06/16/1130	Guillem	j		Mollet del Vallès-S. Vicenç-S. Joan	L-9 1942
11/19/1130	Guillem	j		B-S. Gervase de Cassoles	L-11 1948
01/01/1125	Guillem	j		~unspec-[Barcelonès?]	1877
Guillem11, j/sc/ss. Citations: 7. Sacristan and sacriscrinus--(unidentified): Cervera, Odena.					
09/24/1117	Guillem	j/ss	"lator iuris"	Lavern ["Lavinaria"]-S. Pere	J-11? 1791
08/01/1119	Guillem	j/s		S. Pere de Ponts-S. Jaume	E-8 1813
09/29/1133	Guillem	j/sc		Cervera-S. Maria-S. Martí	F-10 1993
02/11/1145	Guillem	j/ss		Odena-S. Michael	H-10 2123
04/02/1147	Guillem	j/ss	"lector iuris"	Timor [C]-S. Jaume-S. Joan	F-10 2159
09/22/1153	Guillem	j/ss		Vilagrassa [C]-S. Andreu	E-10 2251
09/29/1156	Guillem	j/ss/sc		Anglesola-S. Pau	E-10 2287
Guillem12, j. Citations: 1. Roussillon-Elne.					
11/09/1128	Guillem	j		Elne-S. Esteve in Vico	[Fr] 1921
Guillem13, j/s [j/cl, j/?]. Citations: 11. Guillem de Colonico [?]: Barcelona, Valles.					
06/29/1129	Guillem	j/s		Caldes de Montbui-S. Martí	K-9 1930
09/01/1142	Guillem	j/s		Parets-S. Esteve-S. Miquel	L-9 2096
03/17/1143	Guillem	j/s		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2102
09/04/1143	Guillem	j/s		Parets-S. Esteve-S. Miquel	L-9 2107
09/21/1143	Guillem	j/s		S. Perpetua de Mogoda-S. Joan	L-9 2109
02/23/1145	Guillem	j/s		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2124
06/10/1145	Guillem	j/s		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2127
07/21/1145	Guillem	j/s		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11 2132
06/27/1146	Guillem de Colonico	j/cl		Bordiis-S. Esteve-S. Bart	O-5 2147
08/26/1146	Guillem	j/s		Caldes [de Montbui?]-S. Maria	K-9? 2150
08/05/1149	Guillem	j		Mollet del Vallès-S. Vicenç	L-9 2192
Guillem14, j. Citations: 1. Guillem de Baladed: Cerdanya.					
06/08/1164	Guillem de Baladed	j		Cerdanya-Emveg[?]-S. Illi[?]	2380
Guillem15, j/prior. Citations: 4. Prior (unidentified): Anoia.					
02/13/1168	Guillem	j/prior		S. Martí de Tous [C]	H-10 2447

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12/31/1169	Guillem	j/prior	C. Cunili-S. Vincenç [?]	I-13?	2478
06/23/1179	Guillem	j/prior	Carme [Chazma]-S. Martí	H-10	2696
03/05/1196	Guillem	j/prior	Aguiló-S. Pere	G-10	3016
Guillem16, j. Citations: 1.	Cervera--possibly Guillem15 (the prior)?				
04/21/1170	Guillem	j	Cervera [C]-S. Martí	F-10	2484
Guimar1, j/s. Citations: 1.	Lluça.				
09/01/988	Guimar	j/s	Lluça [C]-S. Vicenç	J-6	344
Guimar2, j. Citations: 2.	Osona-Baix Llobregat [?].				
11/30/997	Guimar	j	S. Quirze de Besora	K-5	428
04/14/1002	Guimar	j	Eramprunyà [C]-S. Climent	K-11	458
Guimar3, j/s. Citations: 1.	Barcelones [Olorda].				
01/07/1031	Guimar	j/s	S. Creu d'Olorda	K-11	687
Guisad1, j. Citations: 7.	Bages [Argençola]==>Barcelona.				
10/28/1031	Guisad	j	Argençola-S. Llorenç	I-7	690
04/17/1040	Guisad	j	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	794
12/22/1041	Guisad	j	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	815
12/23/1041	Guisad	j	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	816
07/05/1050	Guisad	j	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	907
06/15/1058	Guisad	j	B-S. Jaume-S. Tomàs	L-11	989
06/05/1062	Guisad	j	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Clemenç	L-11	1040
Guitard1, j=>j/l. Citations: 5.	Urgell? ==>Girona.				
01/27/1042	Guitard	j	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	817
08/24/1045	Guitard	j	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	851
08/18/1057	Guitard	j/l	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	975
06/14/1059	Guitard	j/l	Cervià-SS. Pere & Pol	O-4/5	1001
11/05/1063	Guitard	j/l	Girona-S. Llorenç martyr	O-5	1061
Isarn1, j. Citations: 3.	Urgell [Seu d'Urgell].				
09/28/1006	Isarn	j	Urgell [?]	F-4	485
12/13/1013	Isarn	j	Arfà-S. Sadurni	F-4	547
04/24/1014	Isarn	j	Seu d'Urgell-S. Agustí	F-4	553
Isarn2, j. Citations: 4.	Seu d'Urgell.				
02/13/1037	Isarn	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pere-S. Pau	F-4	757
09/22/1044	Isarn	j	Bajande [Alt Cerdanya]-S. Bartomeu		845
09/29/1044	Isarn	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pere-S. Andreu	F-4	846
12/13/1050	Isarn	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pere-S. Andreu	F-4	911
Joan2, j/cl/ad. Citations: 1.	Vallès [Moguda].				
06/19/1075	Joan	j/cl/ad	S. Perpetua de Mogoda	L-9	1225
Joan3, j/s. Citations: 1.	Segre.				
03/17/1152	Joan	j/s	Alentorn-S. Maria	D-8	2235
Llorenç1, j/s. Citations: 1.	Urgell.				
11/29/1008	Llorenç	j/s	Nabiners-S. Stephan	F-4	499
Marcus1, j. Citations: 2.	Segarra/Berguedà.				
09/29/1027	Marcus	j	S. Just d'Ardèvol	G-8	660
04/12/1038	Marcus	j	S. Joan de Montdarn	I-6	772
Miró1, j [decedent]. Citations: 1.	Urgell.				
08/13/978	Miró	j [decedent]			277
Miró2, j. Citations: 19.	Barcelonès and Vallès.				
03/14/1026	Miró	j	Valdoreix-S. Ciprian [?]	K-10	652
03/27/1026	Miró	j	S. Coloma de Cervelló	K-11	653
01/31/1030	Miró	j	?-S. Llorenç-S. Clement		675
10/12/1032	Miró	j	S. Cugat-S. Pere	K-10	699
01/12/1034	Miró	j	S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Pau	K-10	715
04/29/1034	Miró	j	Masquefa-S. Pere-S. Maria	I-10	720
10/31/1034	Miró	j	S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Pau	K-10	729
05/01/1040	Miró	j	Matadepera-S. Joan	K-9	797
04/20/1042	Miró	j	Cerdanyola del Vallès-S. Martí	K-10	819
04/27/1044	Miró	j	Reixac-S. Pere-S. Joan	L-10	839
10/10/1044	Miró	j	Mollet del Vallès-S. Vicenç-S. Joan	L-9	848
01/15/1046	Miró	j	Manresa County-C. Nespula-S. Pere	K-8	857
06/08/1046	Miró	j	S. Maria de Palautordera	M-8	862
07/17/1047	Miró	j	Cerdanyola del Vallès-S. Martí	K-10	870
09/20/1047	Miró	j	S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Pau	K-10	874
07/24/1050	Miró	j	S. Llorenç Savall?	K-9	908
02/23/1054	Miró	j	Polinya-S. Salvador	L-9	944
05/04/1054	Miró	j	S. Vicenç de Calders-S. Salvator	H-13	948
12/15/1058	Miró	j	Vallvidrera-S. Maria-S. Joan	K-10	995
Miró3, j. Citations: 7.	Vallès.				
08/26/1073	Miró	j	Cardedeu-S. Maria-S. Vicenç	K-10	1190
06/19/1075	Miró	j	S. Perpetua de Mogoda	L-9	1225

APPENDIX A(2): JUDGES IN LANGUEDOC AND CATALONIA: PERIOD II: 958-1200

ludex , quality, ambit.	Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).				
05/06/1080	Miró		Palau Solità-S. Joan-S. Eugenia	K-9	1280
07/24/1092	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1441
11/09/1093	Miró		S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Pau	K-10	1465
10/16/1094	Miró		S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Pau	K-10	1473
09/30/1100	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1568
Miró4, j. Citations: 26.	Barcelona, Vallès, Peralada, Lleida, Huesca [w/court].				
05/03/1139	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2057
07/04/1139	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2059
09/05/1146	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2151
09/09/1147	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2165
05/04/1148	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2175
02/23/1150	Miró		S. Cugat-S. Pere-S. Joan	K-10	2209
09/23/1150	Miró		Sant Joan Despi-S. Sadurní	K-11	2214
12/29/1150	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2218
07/01/1151	Miró		Tor-S. Climent	P-4	2226
10/27/1152	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2241
12/02/1153	Miró	[j/s?]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2255
03/28/1154	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2263
10/25/1154	Miró		Castellon-S. Mary-S. Llorenç	P-3	2272
04/17/1157	Miró		Lleida	B-11	2295
01/25/1158	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2310
01/01/1161	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2345
10/11/1162	Miró		Huesca	[Ar]	2359
05/08/1164	Miró		Perpinyà-S. Joan-S. Pere	[Fr]	2379
12/04/1167	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2438
05/07/1168	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2453
02/08/1169	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2463
12/30/1172	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2546
01/30/1173	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2555
10/24/1173	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2572
11/23/1173	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2573
02/05/1178	Miró		B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2665
Odigerus1, j. Citations: 1.	Alaó.				
06/01/962	Odigerus		Alaó-S. Maria	B-5	203
Oliba3, j. Citations: 1.	Oliba Miró: Barcelona.				
07/23/1035	Oliba Miró		B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	736
Oliba1, j/s. Citations: 1.	Osona-Montseny.				
03/22/1007	Oliba	j/s	Aiguafreda [de Dalt?]-S. Marti	L-7	489
Oliba2, j. Citations: 2.	Urgell.				
12/13/1013	Oliba		Arfà-S. Sadurni	F-4	547
04/29/1017	Oliba		Seu d'Urgell-S. Agusti	F-4	566
Pere02, j/cl. Citations: 1.	Vallespir.				
05/17/1043	Pere	j/cl	Vallevantosa (Valspr)-S. Julià	[Fr]	826
Pere03, j/cl. Citations: 5.	Pere Guillem; in Gironès.				
01/27/1064	Pere Guillem	j/cl	Girona-S. Feliu-S. Just	O-5	1066
01/29/1064	Pere Guillem	j/cl	Girona-S. Feliu-S. Just	O-5	1067
03/24/1064	Pere Guillem		Corça-S. Julià	P-5	1071
05/07/1064	Pere Guillem	j/cl	Girona-S. Feliu-S. Just	O-5	1075
10/09/1065	Pere Guillem	j/cl	Girona-S. Just "ante portas"	O-5	1108
Pere04, j/ab. Citations: 2.	Abbot of Ager.				
03/05/1093	Pere	j/ab Ager	Ager-S. Pere-S. Miquel	C-7	1454
01/20/1095	Pere	j/ab Ager	Ager-S. Andreu	C-7	1481
Pere05, j/cs/ss [j?]. Citations: 4.	Pere Bernat [?]: caputscole, sacrist Girona.				
05/28/1100	Pere Bernat		Celrà-S. Feliu	O-5	1561
08/28/1107	Pere	j/cs	?-S. Martí-S. Brici(?)		1646
04/09/1111	Pere	j/ss	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1698
06/27/1113	Pere	j/ss	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	1727
Pere06, j. Citations: 10.	Pere Isarn: Urgell, "elected by Odo eps".				
10/08/1113	Pere Isarn	j "a domno Odo...ele	Aravell-S. Stephen	F-4	1728
11/05/1115	Pere		Seu d'U-Seu-S. Jaume	F-4	1768
06/22/1119	Pere Isarn		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	1812
07/14/1120	Pere	"Urgellensis sedis	~unspec		1828
04/02/1124	Pere		Calaf-S. Jaume-S. Joan	G-9	1873
12/31/1134	Pere		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	2011
01/01/1136	Pere		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	2022
01/03/1136	Pere		Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	2024
12/19/1140	Pere		Sanaúja-S. Marie-S. Pere	F-8	2075
01/31/1141	Pere Guitard		Aguilar[de Segarra] [C]	E/F-7	2078
Pere07, j Pallarensis. Citations: 1.	"iudex Pallarensis".				
07/14/1120	Pere	j Pallarensis	~unspec		1828

APPENDIX A(2): JUDGES IN Languedoc AND CATALONIA: PERIOD II: 958-1200

ludex , quality, ambit. Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).					
Pere08, j/ss/canon. Citations: 6. Pere Berenguer de Balenyà, sacrist Vic, d. 1184.					
03/05/1154	Pere Berenguer	j/ss Vic	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2261
02/08/1158	Pere Berenguer	j/ss Vic	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2311
09/27/1169	Pere Berenguer	j/ss Vic	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2473
05/18/1170	Pere Berenguer	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2485
06/27/1180	Pere Berenguer	j/ss Vic	Manresa-S. Maria-S. Joan	I-8	2721
01/01/1181	Pere Berenguer de Bal	j/ss/canon Vic [test]			2735
Pere09, j/ss. Citations: 4. Pere Borrell: sacrist Girona; Besalu, Lleida.					
04/17/1157	Pere Borrell	j/ss	Lleida	B-11	2295
12/12/1157	Borrell	j	Besalu-S. Vicenç-S. Julià	M-4	2306
07/24/1164	Pere Borrell	j/ss	S. Leocadie de Palaol [?]		2383
04/01/1170	Pere Borrell	j/ss Girona [testato]			2483
Pere10, j. Citations: 1. Pere de Montacut: Peralada [Vilabertran].					
01/25/1171	Pere de Monte Acuto	j	Vilabertran-S. Maria	O-3	2504
Pere11, vice-j/scr. Citations: 22. Pere de Corró: Barcelona (SS Just & Pastor).					
12/30/1172	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2546
01/01/1173	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2547
01/26/1173	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2552
01/30/1173	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2555
10/24/1173	Pere de Corró	vj/scr	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2572
11/23/1173	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2573
06/04/1174	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu [?]	L-11	2584
02/05/1178	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2665
02/22/1179	Pere de Corró	vj/scr			2687
11/18/1182	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Miró]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2766
12/15/1190	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2906
01/09/1192	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	~unspec		2920
03/09/1195	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	2982
08/26/1195	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3000
08/28/1195	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3001
11/20/1195	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3005
12/30/1195	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3009
05/19/1196	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3031
09/11/1196	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3042
03/19/1197	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3062
06/11/1205	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	~unspec		3138
09/05/1206	Pere de Corró	vj/scr [sub Ramon]	~unspec		3142
Pere12, j/ss. Citations: 5. Pere de Tavartet: sacrist Vic (d. 1218).					
09/20/1184	Pere	j/ss Vic	S. Maria de [Ripoll?]-S. Joan	K-4?	2805
09/22/1192	Pere	j/ss Vic	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2928
01/01/1194	Pere de Tavartet	j/ss Vic [don]			2950
05/01/1196	Pere	j/ss Vic	Zaragoza-S. Mary Magdalene	[Ar]	3026
05/01/1196	Pere	j/ss Vic	Zaragoza-S. Mary Magdalene	[Ar]	3027
Ponç1, j/cs. Citations: 5. Caputscle Girona; founded S. Martí Sacosta.					
08/24/1045	Ponç	j/cs/l	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	851
08/18/1057	Ponç	j/cs/l	Girona-Seu-S. Anastasia	O-5	975
02/14/1064	Ponç	[j]/cs/l [testator]			1069
04/02/1064	Ponç	[j]/cs/l [testator]			1072
05/07/1064	Ponç	[j]/cs/l [decedent]	Girona-S. Feliu-S. Just	O-5	1075
Ponç2, j [?]. Citations: 1. Vallès.					
12/13/1128	Ponç	j [?]	Castellar del Vallès-S. Martí	K-9	1923
Proficius1, j/s. Citations: 1. Baix Llobregat (Eramprunyà).					
09/05/980	Proficius	j/s	Eramprunyà [C]-S. Miquel	K-11	287
Rainard1, j. Citations: 1. Agde.					
10/07/958	Rainard	j	Agde	[Fr]	174
Ramio1, saio. Citations: 1. Osona (Castellterçol).					
08/31/964	Ramio	saio	Castellterçol-S. Fructuos	K-8	210
Ramon01, j/l. Citations: 5. Ramon Senfred: Barcelona, Vallès.					
03/10/1037	Ramon	j/l			758
04/09/1040	Ramon	j/l	B-Seu-sacrarium S. Crucis	L-11	792
09/12/1049	Ramon	j/l	Caldes de Montbui-S. Martí	K-9	891
07/05/1050	Ramon Senfredi	j/l	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	907
03/24/1053	Ramon	j/l	Castelldefels-S. Pere	K-12	933
Ramon02, j/s. Citations: 2. Segarra/Segre.					
08/11/1044	Ramon	j/s	Montmagastre [C]-S. Jaume	E-7	844
08/01/1052	Ramon	j/s	L'Aguda [c]-S. Miquel	G-8	929
Ramon03, j. Citations: 2. Ramon Bonfill: Peralada [Vilabertran].					
07/21/1056	Ramon Bonfill prole	j	Peralada-Els Solers O-?	O-2	967
04/28/1085	Ramon Bonfill prolis	j	Vilabertran-S. Andreu-S. Eulal	O-3	1344

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Ramon04, j/l. Citations: 12. Vallès, Barcelona.					
10/01/1071	Ramon	j/l	Pierola-[C]-S. Pere	I-10	1172
06/05/1078	Ramon	j/l	Barberà-S. Coloma	K-10	1256
06/18/1078	Ramon	j/l	Ronçana-S. Eulàlia-S. Llocaia	L-8/9	1257
11/14/1080	Ramon	j/l	B-S. Maria del Pi-S. Pancraç	L-11	1284
11/23/1082	Ramon	j/l	B-Seu-S. Joan Bapt.	L-11	1316
11/12/1083	Ramon	j/l	S. Martí Sarroca-S. Martí	H-11	1327
03/17/1088	Ramon	j/l	La Roca del Vallès-S. Saturni [?]	L-9	1390
01/31/1089	Ramon	j/l	Villalba-S. Vicenç	M-8?	1398
08/28/1092	Ramon	j/l	Cànoves-S. Muç-S. Joan Bapt.	L-8	1443
04/13/1097	Ramon	j/l	Terrassa-S. Pere de RiuMolins	K-9?	1521
02/25/1102	Ramon	j/l	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1591
03/18/1107	Ramon	j/l	Sabadell-S. Sadurni-S. Martí	K-9	1641
Ramon05, j. Citations: 4. Ramon Guillem: Siurana (Peralada)=>Elne=>? Barcelona?.					
08/30/1076	Ramon Guillem prolis	j	Suiurana?S. Columbe-S. Mikael	O-3?	1237
01/01/1100	Ramon Guillem	j			1547
10/01/1100	Ramon Guillem	j	Elne-S. Esteve in Vico	[Fr]	1569
02/25/1102	Ramon Guillem	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1591
Ramon06, j. Citations: 5. Ramon Guitard [?]: Barcelona.					
11/12/1076	Ramon	j	B-S. Jaume-S. Tomàs	L-11	1240
08/06/1078	Ramon	j	Montmagastre [C]-S. Jaume	E-7	1259
04/15/1087	Ramon	j			1375
11/08/1095	Ramon Guitard	j [testator]			1495
12/18/1100	Ramon Guitard	j [decedent]	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1571
Ramon07, j. Citations: 3. Vallès: Moguda, Palau Saverdera (Peralada ?).					
11/11/1110	Ramon	j	S. Perpetua de Mogoda-S. Joan	L-9	1691
04/09/1113	Ramon	j	Palau Saverdera	P-2	1721
03/10/1114	Ramon	j			1735
09/23/1114	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	1747
Ramon08, j/archid. Citations: 1. Archdeacon (unidentified): Preixens near Agramunt.					
12/06/1172	Ramon	j/archid	Preixens-S. Pere	E-9	2545
Ramon09, j ["dictator"]. Citations: 1. Ramon de Cunilada: Ripoll.					
02/04/1179	Ramon de Cunilada	j ["dictator"]	Ripoll-S. Pere	J-4	2686
Ramon10, j. Citations: 7. Barcelona: SS Just & Pastor [Peralada, Perpinya, etc.].					
08/26/1195	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3000
11/20/1195	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3005
12/01/1195	Ramon	j	Cabanes-ecclesia-S. Vicenç	O-3	3007
05/19/1196	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3031
09/11/1196	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3042
01/24/1197	Ramon	j "mandato P. rege"	Perpinya-S. Joan	[Fr]	3055
03/19/1197	Ramon	j	B-SS. Just & Pastor-S. Feliu	L-11	3062
Ricard1, j=>ss. Citations: 15. Ricard [Amalrici?]: sacrist Vic, d. 1101.					
05/27/1065	Ricard	j "lator iuris & leg	Castellterçol?-S. Fructuos [?]	K-8	1101
07/12/1069	Ricard	j "lator iuris"	Pardines-S. Eulalia	J-6	1148
10/02/1069	Ricard	j "lator iuris"	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	1149
09/06/1073	Ricard	j "legislator"	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1191
07/16/1074	Ricard	j "lator iuris"	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	1204
05/27/1077	Ricard Amalric	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1244
11/04/1081	Ricard	j/ss "lator iuris"	Vic-Seu-S. Simon	K-6	1299
02/18/1082	Ricard	j/ss "legislator"	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1302
04/24/1085	Ricard	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1343
05/04/1089	Ricard	j/ss Ausonensis	Vic-Seu-S. Benet	K-6	1401
05/01/1091	Ricard	j "legislator"	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1427
08/01/1091	Ricard	j/s "lator iuris"	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1428
08/01/1095	Ricard	j/ss "dominus"	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1490
08/28/1097	Ricard	j/ss	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	1526
03/29/1101	Ricard	j/ss Vic [decedent]	Vilalleons-S. Maria	L-7	1580
Richelm1, j. Citations: 1. Agde.					
10/07/958	Richelm	j	Agde	[Fr]	174
Roger1, j. Citations: 1. 'judex nobilissimus Barc.'					
06/09/1135	Roggerius	j	Vic-Seu-S. Joan	K-6	2019
Salamó2, j/s. Citations: 1. Urgell.					
01/08/1054	Salamó	j/s	vall de Villec-S. Martí	G-4	941
Salamó3, j/s. Citations: 2. Caputscole (unidentified): Besalú?.					
08/01/1105	Salamó	j/s	Besalú-S. Vicenç-S. Julià	M-4	1621
10/16/1115	Salamó	j/cp	Besalú [?] [illegible]		1766
Salla1, j. Citations: 2. Urgell/Segre.					
06/30/1023	Salla	j	Coll de Nargó-S. Vincenç de Pi	F-6	627
01/09/1030	Salla	j	Tost-S. Martí	F-5	674

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ludex , quality, ambit.		Detail: Date, Name (as given in text), Title, Location (& Map ID); Index No. (see Appendix C).			
Sanç1, j.	Citations: 1.	Sanç Ballro: Urgell.			
05/06/974	Sancio Ballro	j			257
Sanç2, j	"justicia". Citations: 1.	Sanç Fortuñonez: "Justicia" in Aragon.			
08/01/1134	Sanz Fortunonez	j "justicia"	(Aragon)	[Ar]	2006
Sendred3, j.	Citations: 1.	Vic (S. Julià de Vilatorça).			
11/09/981	Sendred	j	S. Julià de Vilatorça	L-6	294
Sendred4, j.	Citations: 2.	Alt Cerdanya.			
12/09/996	Sendred	j	Vilallobent-S. Andreu	I-3	418
11/06/1010	Sendred	j	Estavar-S. Bartomeu	I-2/3	525
Sendred5, j.	Citations: 1.	Baix Llobregat.			
04/14/1002	Sendred	j	Eramprunyà [C]-S. Climent	K-11	458
Sendred6, j [j/l].	Citations: 2.	Manresa.			
02/19/1014	Sendred	j	Manresa-S. Miquel	I-8	550
03/08/1021	Sendred	j/l	Callús [C]-S. Pere	I-8	606
Sendred7, j.	Citations: 10.	Urgell/Cerdanya/Conflent.			
06/20/1018	Sendred	j	Cornellà de Conflent-BMV	K-1	576
09/05/1018	Sendred	j	Senavastre-S. Iscle	H-3	581
10/03/1024	Sendred	j	Roussillon-Bulaternera-S. Simplicí	[Fr]	639
09/09/1025	Sendred	j	Estoer-S. Esteve	K/L-1	648
06/25/1030	Sendred	j	Rigolisa-S. Jaume	I-3	678
09/16/1036	Sendred	j	Seu d'Urgell-S. Eulalia	F-4	754
07/25/1048	Sendred	j	?-?-S. Marc		881
12/22/1049	Sendred	j	Seu d'U-Seu-S. Pau	F-4	893
05/08/1051	Sendred	j	Vallfogona [fecunda]-S. Chris	K-4	914
07/25/1051	Sendred	j	All-S. Marc	H-13	917
Seniofred3, j.	Citations: 3.	Besalú.			
02/24/1018	Seniofred	j	Besalú County-villa Bundanti [?]		571
07/21/1019	Seniofred	j	Bascara-S. Iscle	O-4	590
10/13/1020	Seniofred	j	Besalu-S. Joan	M-4	599
Seniofred4, j/s.	Citations: 3.	Urgell.			
06/22/1050	Seniofred	j/s	Erasús [Castelliciutat]-S. Creus		906
06/03/1063	Seniofred	j/s	Ix-S. Martí	I-3	1055
10/01/1063	Seniofred	j/s	Alinyà-S. Sadurni	F-5	1059
Suniarius1, j/s.	Citations: 1.	Vallès (Ripollet).			
03/29/992	Suniarius	j/s	Ripollet-S. Esteve	K-10	377
Vivas1, j/s [j, j/l].	Citations: 8.	Barcelona/Bages/Vallès Oriental.			
05/30/1017	Vivas	j/s			569
12/02/1017	Vivas	j	B-S. Maria del Mar	L-11	570
10/24/1020	Vivas	j/l	B-Seu-S. Coloma	L-11	602
12/28/1021	Vivas	j/s	B-S. Jaume-BMV	L-11	613
10/28/1031	Vivas	j/s	Argençola-S. Llorenç	I-7	690
07/03/1032	Vivas	j/s	Martorell-C. Rodanes-S. Maria	J-10	698
04/29/1034	Vivas	j/s	Masquefa-S. Pere-S. Maria	I--10	720
10/06/1045	Vivas	j/s	S. Maria de Palautordera	M-8	853

APPENDIX B. THE TESTAMENTS OF COUNT-KING ALFONS I (II): MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

The surviving testamentary documents of this leading figure of Catalonia, Aragon and Languedoc typify the richness of the testamentary documentation of the highest class in Catalan society in the twelfth century; they also illustrate some of the textual problems encountered in the testamentary process and with the transmission and retention of testamentary documents.

King Alfons's testamentary documents come from the very end of the long period covered in the course of this study. The changes in notarial practices, legal practices and fiscal administrative practices in Alfons' reign help explain the exceptional nature of his testamentary documents, particularly the testament of December 1194, as it survives embedded in the publication charter issued at Zaragoza in May of 1196.¹ Even more important than these changes, however, was that this is the testament of the most powerful man in Catalonia and Languedoc in the entire period: inheritor of royal dignity and sole ruler of a clutch of traditionally sovereign provinces (Aragon, Catalonia and Provence), Alfons was also the beneficiary of economic and social development which left him at the pinnacle of a very sophisticated cosmopolitan culture. In addition, or perhaps despite this, it is also obvious that Alfons was a deeply pious man whose personal piety could even overcome the force of tradition, as, for example, in his election of burial at the Cistercian monastery of Poblet (a departure not made without an appropriately respectful conciliatory gesture toward Ripoll in his testament).

Despite the importance of Alfons' testaments and their publication and execution, no systematic study has been made of these documents. What is more, none of the documents (save the *donatio corporis* to Poblet) exists in a satisfactory edition. The editions have imperfectly represented the surviving manuscripts, either presenting partial transcriptions, or, in the case of the publication charter, misunderstanding the layering of embedded texts within that document.

The following pages contain a formal discussion of the six major testamentary documents of Alfons I which have been uncovered in the course of this study. Each is illustrative of a possible phase in the creation and declaration of testamentary or post-*obitum* desires. Collectively they illustrate the possibilities for complexity in the creation, publication and execution of a testament or of bequests.

¹ See above, chapter 6, pp. 286-287.

CALENDAR OF TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENTS OF KING ALFONS I (II)

I

1176, February. Anglesola. *Donatio Corporis*.

Alfons I donates his body to Poblet for burial. He promises to choose no other place of burial, unless it be Cebolla, where he has deliberated about founding a new monastery.

- A. AHN, Perg. Clero 2024:9 (Poblet). Original.
- B. Biblioteca Provincial de Tarragona, ms. 241, f. 29r-v (cartulary copy, s. XIII).
- C. AHN, Códices 992B, f. 10r (cartulary copy, s. XIII).
 - a. Emilio Morera Llaurado, *Tarragona Cristiana: Historia del Arzobispado de Tarragona y del territorio de su provincia (Cataluña la Nueva)* (Tarragona, 1897), no. 31, ex B (partial).
 - b. *Cartulari de Poblet: edició del manuscrit de Tarragona*, ed. Joan Pons i Marquès (Barcelona, 1938), no. 29, ex B.
 - c. Jaume Santacana Tort, *El monasterio de Poblet (1151-1181)* (Barcelona, 1974), no. 165, ex A.
 - c. *Diplomatari de Santa Maria de Poblet*, ed. Agustí Altisent, vol. i, 960-1177 (Abadia de Poblet, 1993), no. 549, ex A.

2 (?)

1194, 31 July. Poblet. *First Testament* (?).

Alfons I makes his testament (?).

- (B) Biblioteca-Museo de Balaguer. Copy, dated 9 February 1729, by Salvador Alba, notary of Montblanch.

Cit. Fernan Valls-Taberner, “Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça a partir del segle XI,” in *Obras selectas*, vol. iv: *Estudios de historia medieval* (Madrid/Barcelona, 1961), pp. 159-160 and n. 92. Valls-Taberner cites a discussion of this manuscript in an article by one Creus in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca Museo de Balaguer* for 26 May 1886. Valls-Taberner also cites Jaime Finestres y de Monsalvo, *Historia de el real monasterio de Poblet...*, 5 vols. (Barcelona etc., 1746-1765). Finestres, however, mentions a royal donation to Poblet dated 31 July 1194, and then proceeds immediately to discuss the king’s testament (reprint, Barcelona, 1947-49, vol. ii, p. 136). One may assume that the document to which Finestres refers is the testament of December 1194, below, and that Valls-Taberner was mistaken in his reading both of Finestres and of the Balaguer article. I have not personally been able to examine the Balaguer article, on which the existence of this “first testament” hinges.

1194, December. Perpignan. *Second Testament*.

Alfons I makes his testament. See Figure B-I for tabular illustration.

- (A) Embedded, minus the invocatio and pious arenga (if these ever existed), in the form in which it was read at the publication ceremony in Zaragoza, May 1196, in the publication charter from that ceremony. See below, no. 5.
- (B) ACA, Cancelleria, Registros, no. 2, *Libro de Testamentos*, ff. 94r-98v; a fifteenth-century copy which may be an independent copy of the original testament but more likely derives from the testamentary text embedded in the publication charter (no. 5), specifically the copy in ACA, Perg. Alfons I, no. 700.
 - (a) *L'Arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200*, ed. Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), no. 598. Text extracted from the publication charter and erroneously presented as separate document. See below, no. 5, ed. c.

1196, April. Perpignan. *Codicil/Testamentary Confirmation*.

Alfons I confirms his testament, appoints additional executors and makes additional bequests. See Figure B-I for tabular illustration.

- A. AHN, Perg. Clero 2062:05 (Poblet). Original.
- B. “CEMA, *Manuscrito de Sigena*, de Pano, no. 29.” Said to be copied from a lost exemplar in the archive of Sigena.²
- C. Embedded, without subscriptions, in the ceremonial publication charter in Zaragoza of May 1196. See below, no. 5.
 - a. Partial edition, *Documentos de Sigena*, ed. Agustín Ubieto Arteta (*Textos Medievales*, xxxii; Valencia, 1972), no. 22, ex B.

1196, May. Zaragoza, “ecclesia civitatis”. *Publication Charter*.

Arbert de Castellvell and Bernat de Portellà swear, on the altar of the Magdalene in the church near the Valencia gate in Zaragoza, to the authenticity of the king’s testament (no. 3) and codicil (no. 4). The documents are read publicly and incorporated into a new document. See Figure B-I for tabular illustration.

- B. ACA, Cancelleria, Perg. Alfons I, no. 700. A near-contemporary fair copy. This copy, although elegant, ends abruptly with the dispositive clauses of the codicil, and thus lacks both the the closing protocols of the codicil and of the publication ceremony itself.

² This archive or library, *CEMA*, is not identified in Ubieto’s edition (4a).

- C. ADB, Fons de Santa Anna, Caixa 13: “Documents reials”, 1st document. 16th-century copy on paper. Representing a textual tradition independent of B, this manuscript concludes with a date clause for the publication ceremony, although it also lacks the closing protocols of the codicil and also lacks any subscriptions which might have been made during the publication ceremony itself.
- a. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró. *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1836), vol. ii, pp. 216-227. This partial edition omits the embedded text of the codicil which follows that of the testament in B.
 - b. *Colección de documentos ineditos del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró et al, 42 vols. (Barcelona, 1847-1973), vol. iv, no. 168, ex B. Edition identical to a.
 - c. *L'Arxiu antic de Santa Anna de Barcelona del 942 al 1200*, ed. Jesús Alturo i Perucho, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1985), no. 620, ex C. Alturo misrepresented this text of the publication charter as two separate documents, publishing the embedded testament separately as his no. 598 (see no. 3a, above), and omitting the testamentary text (but not that of the codicil) in his edition of the publication charter (his no. 620).

6

1196, 6 June. Zaragoza. *Confirmation of Alfons' bequests to the Hospitalers.*

Pere gives and confirms to the Hospitalers all those possessions which had been given them in Aragon by Pedro Taresa, and whatever had been given or bequeathed to them in his other domains by his father or his father's father. In addition, he wishes to make known that he (Pere) promises his body for burial to the monastery of Sigena.

This is the only text that has been found to bear directly on the confirmation or execution of any of Alfons I's enormous slate of pious bequests.

- A. AHN, Ord. San Juan, *olim* Lengua de Aragón, legajo 38, no. 41. Original. This MS indication, provided by Delaville de Roulx, predates the translation of this archive to the AHN.
- B. AHN, Códices, no. 498, pp. 3-5 (cartulary copy, early s. XIII).
 - a. *Cartulaire générale de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris: Leroux, 1894-), vol. i, no. 987, ex A.
 - b. *Cartulario de la Encomienda de Aliaga*, ed. León Esteban Mateo (*Textos Medievales*, lvii; Zaragoza, 1979), no. 15, ex B.

Figure B-1. Manuscripts and Editions of the Testamentary Documents of Alfons I (II)

TEXTS	MANUSCRIPTS					EDITIONS			
	3B	4A	4B	5B	5C	4a	5a, 5b	5c: 598	5c: 620
Publication Charter (5/1196):									
[Invocatio]									
Titulus				●	●		●		●
Dispositive (witnesses/oath)				●	●		●		●
Testament (12/1194):									
[Invocatio/Arenga]									
Titulus	●			●	●		●	●	
Dispositive	●			●	●		●	●	
Date	●			●	●		●	●	
Subscriptions	●			●	●		●	●	
Codicil (4/1196):									
[Invocatio]/Arenga		●							
Titulus		●	●	●	●	●			●
Dispositive		●	●	●	●	*			●
Subscriptions		●	●			●			
Date		●	●			●			
Date					●				●
[Subscriptions]									

The Numbers of the Manuscripts and Editions refer to the lists in Appendix B. Diplomatic sections in [square brackets] have not survived, and may never have been present. The Christian invocatio was falling into disuse in certain documents, and may not have appeared in any of these. It is doubtful the publication charter originally lacked subscriptions, however. Following the style for non-Catalonian solemn courts, important individuals present were named in the opening, dispositive paragraph of the publication charter.

* The edition (Ubieto Arteta, Documentos de Sigena), only includes one of the dispositive clauses.

APPENDIX C: TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENTS IN CATALONIA, LANGUEDOC AND ARAGON, 791-1250

The following index is the fruit of an intensive campaign of document collection which formed the core of the initial phase of this study. A nearly exhaustive search of published documentation has been combined with thorough systematic examination of several major fonds of manuscript sources to compile this list of testamentary documents from the ninth through twelfth century. The circumstances and scope of document collection are explained more fully in Chapter 1, in the “Overview of the Source Collection.” Some ninth-century documents from elsewhere in Carolingian Frankland, mentioned in the text, have also been included for reference.

This list is presented in chronological order. Separate columns present a serial number (used here only for cross referencing documentary citations in Appendix A), name and quality of testator (if applicable), gender of testator, date, typological code (see below), and a brief citation.

The spelling of names has been partially, but not thoroughly, standardized. Names which appear with some frequency (more than five times) have been standardized into a single recognizable form regardless of the orthography or case usage in the documents. Names which occur only once have generally been left as they appear, sometimes normalized into a nominative form. Toponymic *cognomens* have been normalized into a form “de”-plus-name (either ablative Latin form or a modernized, recognizable equivalent). Patronimics have not been standardized. Sometimes they appear as a Latin genitive, sometimes as a modernized standard form representing vernacular usage.

The application of titles or indications of quality has largely followed usage in the documents. Aristocratic titles of count, countess, viscount, etc., have been presented with abbreviations and modern attributions of county, although counts did not usually apply geographic modifiers to their titles until the early twelfth century. Some indications of rank or status have been inferred from the context of the documents; these have been placed in brackets, such as “[castellan].”

The dates have generally been rendered into new style (when dated by the Incarnation) for the sake of consistency. For some documents, only cited or excerpted in published works, for which it has been impossible to determine whether the editor had already made that distinction, the dates have been left as stated by the original editor. Dates which are approximate are often assigned to the first of the year, or the first of a decade, or to a similar point near the midpoint of the possible range of dates. Such “roughly” dated documents form a small percentage of the total number listed. Since

the testamentary documents have been grouped by decade for statistical profiling, it has not been thought necessary to further clarify or distinguish documents for which a precise date is not determinable or is disputed. Therefore, reference to this index for narrative or other date-specific purposes should always be accompanied by independent verification of the date of the document.

The typological codes, describing the nature of the documents, are organized so that one can distinguish variants of basic groups: first-person testaments, third-person testaments, publication charters, executors' acts, etc. A full list of the possible codes, with a descriptive statement, follows:

<u>CODE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<i>1st</i>	first-person testament
<i>1st-codicil</i>	codicil
<i>1st-don/test</i>	transitional testament, naming only one beneficiary
<i>1st-egritude</i>	testator is ill
<i>1st-pilgrimage</i>	testator is undertaking pilgrimage
<i>1st-religious</i>	testator is entering religious orders
<i>1st-special</i>	will with special characteristics
<i>1st-travel</i>	testator is undertaking journey other than pilgrimage
<i>1st-war</i>	testator is going to war
<i>3d</i>	third-person document; testator does not sign
<i>3d-egritude</i>	testator was ill--probably already dead
<i>3d-pilgrimage</i>	testator undertaking pilgrimage
<i>confirmation</i>	confirmation by some authority of testamentary bequest
<i>corpus</i>	<i>donatio corporis</i> (see chapters 5,6)
<i>corpus-egr</i>	donor is professedly ill
<i>CS</i>	non-testamentary <i>condiciones sacramentorum</i>
<i>DC:will-related</i>	other document having some relevance to testaments
<i>don</i>	donation charter
<i>don-egr</i>	donor is ill
<i>don-inter fam.</i>	gift to blood-kin: succession settlement
<i>don-p</i>	donor is undertaking pilgrimage
<i>don-post ob</i>	<i>donatio post obitum</i>
<i>don-post ob-p</i>	donor is undertaking pilgrimage
<i>don-res</i>	<i>donatio reservato usufructu</i> (reserved for donor)
<i>don-res-3d party</i>	donor reserves usufruct for a third party
<i>don-res-p</i>	donor is undertaking pilgrimage
<i>don^will</i>	gift also referred to in a surviving will
<i>executors' act</i>	executors transfer a bequest
<i>executors' oblation</i>	executors formally oblate child of testator
<i>laud/exec</i>	heir or successor makes <i>laudatio</i> and executes bequest to a third party
<i>law-set/adj</i>	dispute: settlement or adjustment of testamentary bequest by legal authorities
<i>PMSig</i>	testator's <i>signum</i> added after death, or speech attributed to deceased testator
<i>pub</i>	publication charter of type otherwise unspecified
<i>pub-i</i>	"informal" publication charter (see chapter 3)
<i>pub-i-o</i>	"informal" publication of oral will
<i>pub-i-o-x</i>	"informal" publication or oral will by executors

<i>pub-i-o-x-p</i>	publication by executors of traveler's oral will
<i>pub-i-w</i>	informal publication of written will
<i>pub-o</i>	publication of oral will
<i>pub-o-p</i>	publication of oral will of traveler or pilgrim
<i>pub-special</i>	special publication charter
<i>pub-u</i>	nature of will unspecified (oral or written)
<i>pub-u-p</i>	testator was pilgrim or died traveling
<i>pub-w</i>	publication of written will
<i>pub-w-append</i>	publication notice appended to written will
<i>pub-w-p</i>	testator was pilgrim or died traveling
<i>pub-w-rel</i>	testator was entering a religious community
<i>-unspec</i>	unspecified document (citation or fragment only)
<i>-unspec-p</i>	unspecified document (testator a pilgrim)

The citations at the end of each index line refer either to printed editions or to manuscripts (when prefaced by "MS"). For the manuscripts, no city is given, but an abbreviated archive code indicates the location of the named fond. For further information, refer to the List of Manuscript Sources Consulted. The archives named in this index are as follows:

<u>CODE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<i>ACA</i>	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
<i>ACV</i>	Arxiu Capitular de Vic
<i>ADPO</i>	Archives Départementales des Pyrénées Orientales, Perpignan
<i>AHN</i>	Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid
<i>AM</i>	Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat
<i>BC</i>	Biblioteca de Catalunya
<i>BMP</i>	Bibliothèque Municipale, Perpignan
<i>BN</i>	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<i>HU</i>	Harvard University, Houghton Library

Citations to printed editions are abbreviated according to the following table. Note that these abbreviations do not necessarily reflect the shortened forms employed in the footnotes to the main text. In the left column are the abbreviations as they appear in the documentary index. To the right are abbreviated descriptive titles to aid the location of the item in the Bibliography. Abbreviations which do not appear at all in this list may be found by looking directly under that heading in part I of the Bibliography ("Cartularies and Diplomatic Collections"). If the entry on the right appears as a heading in **SMALL CAPITALS**, then the source may also be found in part I of the Bibliography under the heading on the right. All other citations may be located under either author

or title (as appears in the short reference in this list) in part II of the Bibliography (“Other Collections, Literary Sources, and Studies with Texts”).

<u>CODE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>
<i>Ager</i>	Sanahuja, Pedro, O.F.M. <i>Historia de la villa de Ager</i> .
<i>Ager y Caresmar</i>	AGER [Ed. Eduardo Corredera Gutierrez.]
<i>Altés i Aguiló</i>	Altés i Aguiló, Francesc. X. “El testament de Pere Bernat de Salt (1118).”
<i>An Mil</i>	<i>Les marches méridionales du royaume aux alentours de l’an mil</i> . Ed. Michel Zimmerman.
<i>Anglesola</i>	Altisent, Agustí. “Bernat d’Anglesola i dues expedicions militars d’Alfons el Cast.”
<i>Archivo Condal</i>	BARCELONA (COUNTS) [<i>El Archivo Condal</i> , ed. Udina.]
<i>Aurell</i>	Aurell i Cardona, Martí. “Jalons pour une enquête sur les strategies matrimoniales des comtes catalans.”
<i>Auvergne</i>	Baluze, Etienne. <i>Histoire généalogique de la maison d’Auvergne</i> .
<i>Baraut, Data</i>	Baraut, Cebrià. “La data de l’acta de consagració de la Catedral Carolingia de la Seu d’Urgell.”
<i>Bertran</i>	Bertran, Prim. “Dolça, comtessa d’Urgell, i els orígens del monestir de les Franqueses.”
<i>Bofarull</i>	Bofarull y Mascaró, Próspero de. <i>Los condes de Barcelona vindicados</i> .
<i>Brioude</i>	BRIOUDE [Ed. Baudot; “D” indicates Doniol edition.]
<i>Briz Martínez</i>	Briz Martínez, Juan. <i>Historia de la fundación y antigüedades de San Juan de la Peña</i> .
<i>Calzada i Oliveras</i>	Calzada i Oliveras, J. <i>Sant Pere de Galligans: la història i el monument</i> .
<i>Catalunya Romànica</i>	<i>Catalunya romànica</i> . Gen ed. Jordi Vigué.
<i>Cayla</i>	Cayla, P. “Un testament du XII ^e siècle.”
<i>CCM</i>	GIRONA [<i>Cartoral, dit de Carlemany</i> , ed. Marquès.]
<i>CDIACA</i>	BARCELONA (COUNTS) [<i>Colección de documentos ineditos...</i>]
<i>Coll i Alentorn</i>	Coll i Alentorn, Miquel. “Guillem I i Ramon Guillem II d’Òdena.”
<i>Columnella</i>	Pons i Guri, Josep Maria. “La columnella del llegat del comte Miró a favor del monastir de Ripoll.”
<i>Consagracions</i>	URGELL [<i>Actes de consagracions ...</i> , ed. Baraut.]
<i>Cros</i>	Cros-Mayrevieille. <i>Histoire du comté et de la vicomté de Carcassonne</i> .
<i>Cuadrada</i>	Cuadrada i Majó, Coral. “Documentació medieval.”
<i>Danes</i>	Danès i Torras, Josep. “Documents comunicats.”
<i>Diago</i>	Diago, Francisco, O.P. <i>Historia de los victoriosísimos antiguos condes de Barcelona</i> .
<i>Docs. Jurídics</i>	<i>Documents jurídics de la història de Catalunya</i> . Ed. Bassols and Balanzo.
<i>Ebro</i>	<i>Documentos para el estudio de la reconquista y repoblación del Valle del Ebro</i> . Ed. Lacarra.
<i>Fiscal Accounts</i>	Bisson, Thomas N. <i>Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia Under the Early Count-Kings (1151-1213)</i> .
<i>Fita</i>	Fita, Fidel. “El templo del Pilar y San Braulio de Zaragoza. Documentos anteriores al s. XVI.” <i>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</i> xliv (1904), 425-461.
<i>GC</i>	Sainte-Marthe, Denis de, et al. <i>Gallia christiana</i> .
<i>Gesta Aldrici</i>	<i>Gesta domni Aldrici Cenomanicae urbis episcopi a discipulis suis</i> . Ed. R. Charles and L. Froger.
<i>Guillem Umbert</i>	Pons i Guri, Josep Maria. “La successió de Guillem Umbert de Basella.”

Henry	Henry, Dominique-Marie-Joseph. <i>Histoire de Roussillon, comprenant l'histoire du royaume de Majorque.</i>
HL	Devic, Claude & Vaissete, Jean J. <i>Histoire générale de Languedoc.</i>
Jornet	Jornet, Nuria. <i>Ego Femina: les ultimes voluntats. la dona a traves dels testaments femenins catalans (938-1131).</i>
La Calzada	SANTO DOMINGO DE LA CALZADA [q.v.]
La Peña	SAN JUAN DE LA PEÑA [q.v.]
La Serós	SANTA CRUZ DE LA SERÓS [q.v.]
Lacarra & Gonzales	Lacarra, José Maria, and Luis Gonzalez Anton. "Les testaments de la reine Marie de Montpellier."
Layettes	<i>Layettes du Trésor des Chartes.</i> Ed. Teulet and de Laborde.
LFM	BARCELONA (COUNTS) [<i>Liber feudorum maior.</i>]
LIM	MONTPELLIER [<i>Liber instrumentorum memorialium.</i>]
Mabillon	Mabillon, Jean. <i>De re diplomatica libri VI...</i>
Mahul	CARCASSONNE [Ed. Mahul.]
Marca Hispanica	Marca, Pierre de. <i>Marca hispanica.</i>
Maresme	BARCELONA [<i>El Maresme</i> , ed. Baucells.]
Martène	Martène, Edmond. <i>Thesaurus novus anecdotorum ...</i>
Mas	BARCELONA [<i>Rubrica dels Libri Antiquitatum</i> , ed. Mas.]
Millenium	<i>Millenium: història i art de l'església catalana.</i>
Miret, ADLC	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. <i>Antics documents de llengua catalana.</i>
Miret, Castellbó	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. <i>Investigación histórica sobre el vizcondado de Castellbó.</i>
Miret, Ermengarda	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. "El testamento de la vizcondesa Ermengarda de Narbona."
Miret, Montcada	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. "La casa de Montcada en el vizcondado de Béarn."
Miret, Pedro	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. "Itinerario del rey Pedro I de Cataluña, II en Aragón."
Miret, Pro sermone	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. "Pro sermone plebeico."
Miret, T&H	Miret y Sans, Joaquím. <i>Les cases de Templers y Hospitalers en Catalunya.</i>
Mitra	GIRONA [<i>Pergamins de la Mitra</i> , ed. Marquès.]
Moncada	Moncada, Juan-Louis de. <i>Episcopologio de Vich.</i>
Montjuich	Carreras y Candi, Francesch. "Lo Montjuich de Barclona."
Morunys	SANT LLORENÇ DE MORUNYS [q.v.]
Negre	Negre i Pastell, Pelagi. "El testamento de Guilaberto, probable progenitor de linaje de Cruilles."
NH	Monsalvatje y Fossas, Francisco. <i>Noticias historicas del antiguo condado de Besalú.</i> For vols. 11-13, 15 and 19 see BESALÚ in part I of the Bibliography.
Obarra	OBARRA [Ed. Martín Duque.]
Oliba	VIC [<i>Diplomatari de l'abat i bisbe Oliba</i> , ed. Junyent.]
Oña	OÑA [Ed. del Alamo.]
Pagarolas	Pagarolas, Laureà. <i>La comanda del temple de Tortosa: primer Període (1148-1213).</i>
Paz y Meliá	<i>Séries de los más importantes documentos del Archivo y Biblioteca del Excmo. Sr. Duque de Medinaceli.</i> Ed. Antonio Paz y Meliá.
Poblet	POBLET [Ed. Altisent.]
Poblet (Pons)	POBLET [Ed. Pons i Marquès.]
Poblet (Santacana)	POBLET [Ed. Santacana.]
Polinyà	POLINYÀ DEL VALLÈS [q.v.]
Puig i Puig	Puig i Puig, Sebastián. <i>Episcopologio de la sede Barcinonense.</i>
Riquier	Riquier, Martín de. "El testamento del trovador Guilhem de Berguedán."
Roche	Roche Vallee, Marie. <i>La société languedocienne d'après les testaments (813-1270).</i>
Roussillon	ROUSSILLON [<i>Cartulaire roussillonais.</i>]

<i>Sabala</i>	Sabala i Sanfont, Josep M. “La comtessa Guisla de Barcelona: noves dades genealògiques.”
<i>Saint-Sernin</i>	TOULOUSE [<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Sernin.</i>]
<i>Saint-Victor</i>	MARSEILLE [<i>Cartulaire de Saint-Victor.</i>]
<i>San Millán</i>	SAN MILLÁN DE LA COGOLLA [q.v.]
<i>Sant Cugat</i>	SANT CUGAT DEL VALLÈS [q.v.]
<i>Sant Sadurní</i>	Marquès i Planaguma, Josep Maria. “La senyoria eclesiàstica de Sant Sadurní de l’Heurà.”
<i>Santa Anna</i>	BARCELONA [<i>L’Arxiu antic de Santa Anna</i> , ed. Alturo.]
<i>Serra</i>	Serra Vilaro, Joan. “Los senjores de Portell...”
<i>Simó</i>	Simó Rodríguez, María Isabel. “Aportación a la documentación condal catalana.”
<i>Sitjes</i>	Sitjes i Molins, F. Xavier. “Un testament de 1091, amb llegats per a obres publiques.”
<i>Successió</i>	Udina i Abelló, Antoni M. <i>La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval.</i>
<i>Taylor</i>	Taylor, Nathaniel L. “Medieval Catalan Wills: Family Charter Evidence in the Archives.”
<i>To & Bellver</i>	To Figueras, Lluís, and I. Bellver Sanz. “Les fundacions de Santa Maria de Cervià i Santa Maria de Vilabertran.”
<i>Urgell</i>	URGELL [“Els documents...” , ed. Baraut.]
<i>Urgell (Riu)</i>	URGELL [“Documents del AHN...” , ed. Riu.]
<i>Valls, Cardona</i>	Valls Taberner, Ferran. “La primera dinastia vescomtal de Cardona.”
<i>Valls, Família</i>	Valls Taberner, Ferran. “Notes per a la història de la família comtal de Barcelona.”
<i>Valls, Pallars</i>	Valls Taberner, Ferran. “Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça a partir del segle XI.”
<i>Valpueda</i>	VALPUEDA [Ed. Barrau Dihigo.]
<i>Viaje</i>	Villanueva, Jaime. <i>Viage literario a las iglesias de España.</i>
<i>Vic</i>	VIC [<i>Diplomatari de la catedral</i> , ed. Junyent.]

APPENDIX C(1). TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENT INDEX: PERIOD I: 791-1199

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1	***	-	01/01/791	CS	Cros, no. 3
2	Dadila	M	06/05/813	1st	HL, ii, no. 24
3	***	-	05/08/814	CS	Mabillon, pp. 396-7 [tru]
4	***	-	12/15/817	CS	CCM, no. 001
5	Spaneldes	M	01/01/821	1st-don/test	HL, ii, no. 58
6	Adalaldus Maimon	M	03/31/821	pub-o	HL, ii, no. 57
7	Leybulfus & ux. Odda, c Arles	B	03/16/828	1st-don/test	HL, ii, no. 76
8	***	-	04/02/832	CS	HL, ii, no. 80
9	***	-	09/11/834	CS	HL, ii, no. 85
10	***	-	12/17/836	CS	HL, ii, no. 90
11	Aldric, eps le Mans	M	01/01/838	1st-don/test	Gesta Aldrici, pp. 98-109
12	Aldric, eps le Mans	M	09/07/838	confirmation	Gesta Aldrici, pp. 109ff
13	Sisebut, eps Urgell	M	03/26/839	1st-don/test	Baraut, Data, no. 1
14	***	-	08/21/842	CS	CCM, no. 004
15	Teubertus	M	09/29/842	executors' act	Aniane, no. 289
16	***	-	09/10/852	CS	HL, ii, no. 139
17	Rodulfe, Saint [abbess]	F	01/01/856	1st	Beaulieu, no. 16
18	***	-	06/05/858	CS	HL, ii, no. 150
19	Rodulfe, Saint [abbess]	F	01/01/860	1st	Beaulieu, no. 1
20	***	-	11/18/862	CS	HL, ii, no. 161
21	Tractemir	M	01/05/865	executors' act	Codinet, no. 9
22	***	-	06/01/865	CS	HL, ii, no. 165
23	Godefredus, c in Limousin	M	01/01/866	1st	Beaulieu, no. 3
24	Adalbert	M	05/26/867	executors' act	Tresponts, no. 4
25	***	-	08/18/868	CS	HL, ii, no. 169
26	Frunigildo	M	04/23/869	executors' act	Alaó, no. 49
27	***	-	06/13/870	CS	HL, ii, no. 174
28	Eccard, c in Burgundy (Nibelung)	M	01/01/873	1st	Fleury, no. 25 (etc.)
29	***	-	04/23/873	CS	HL, ii, no. 183
30	***	-	03/25/874	CS	HL, ii, no. 185
31	***	-	01/18/875	CS	Marca Hispanica, no. 35
32	***	-	01/30/875	CS	HL, ii, no. 187
33	***	-	12/17/875	CS	HL, ii, no. 189
34	Wictimir	M	03/21/877	executors' act	Pallars, no. 78
35	Protasius, ab St. Iermani [Cuixa]	M	09/13/878	1st-egritude	Cuixa, no. 54
36	***	-	01/01/879	CS	Marca Hispanica, no. 40
37	***	-	01/29/879	CS	Marca Hispanica, no. 39
38	***	-	02/10/879	CS	Marca Hispanica, no. 41
39	Seniofred, ab Arles, frater c Mironi	M	04/07/891	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 35
40	Joan, eps Clermont	M	08/05/891	executors' act	Brioude, no. 105 [D 102]
41	Nitardus	M	03/03/892	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Maria d'Amer, 01
42	Giscafredus, presbiter	M	11/16/893	executors' act	Nîmes, no. 6
43	Miro I, c Roussillon	M	03/12/896	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 03:091r-92r
44	***	-	05/28/898	CS	Vic, no. 27
45	***	-	05/30/898	CS	Vic, no. 28
46	Guillelma, ca Melgueil	F	01/26/899	1st-egritude	Maguelone, no. 3
47	Hug	M	09/01/899	executors' act	Conques, no. 409
48	Leutardus	M	01/01/900	executors' act	Brioude, no. 113 [D 109]
49	***	-	01/01/901	CS	Marca Hispanica, no. 60
50	Deusdedit [?], presbiter	M	05/08/901	1st-don/test	Consagracions, no. 16
51	Guadall	M	05/15/903	executors' act	HL, v, c. 1648 [inv]
52	Guido	M	12/25/904	executors' act	Apt, no. 7
53	Acfred I, c Carcassonne	M	02/19/906	executors' act	HL, v, no. 31
54	Idelguer, eps Vic	M	02/15/908	1st-egritude	Vic, no. 41
55	Seniofred, presbiter	M	12/24/908	executors' act	Codinet, no. 16
56	Odilo	M	06/01/909	executors' act	Brioude, no. 46 [D 44]
57	Bernat	M	02/01/910	executors' act	Brioude, no. 394 [D 267]
58	***	-	05/13/911	CS	Valpuesta, no. 11
59	Guifred II Borrell, c Barcelona	M	12/01/911	executors' act	Vic, no. 55
60	Rigaldus	M	01/20/915	executors' act	Brioude, no. 142 [D 134]
61	Oliba	M	02/03/915	executors' act	Vic, no. 64
62	Cixiniverga	F	04/17/915	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 04:038r-39v
63	Riculf, eps Elne	M	12/09/915	1st-don/test	NH, xxi, no. 15
64	Fulcher, eps Avignon	M	01/01/916	~unspec	GC, i, instr., p. 138
65	Elmeradus, eps Elne	M	09/01/916	don	NH, xxi, no. 16
66	Guifred II Borrell, c Barcelona	M	09/09/916	executors' act	Bofarull, i, p. 62 [des]
67	Audger	M	12/01/916	executors' act	Brioude, no. 136 [D 128]

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
68	Austorgius	M	01/01/918	executors' act	Brioude, no. 128 [D 121]
69	Guadamir	M	04/29/918	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 77
70	Bonso	M	06/01/918	executors' act	Pallars, no. 131
71	***	-	05/18/919	CS	Valpuesta, no. 12
72	Hug	M	09/27/920	executors' act	Brioude, no. 377 [D 284]
73	Remigius	M	10/10/920	executors' act	Brioude, no. 131 [D 124]
74	***	-	02/25/921	CS	CCM, no. 031
75	Eldebrand	M	06/04/921	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 69
76	Seniofred & ux. Ganduini	B	10/21/921	executors' act	Vic, no. 93
77	Oriol, presbiter	M	02/27/922	executors' act	Vic, no. 96
78	Ragniberta	F	09/19/922	executors' act	Brioude, no. 72 [D 70]
79	Alberic	M	02/02/923	don-egr	CCM, no. 038
80	Amalo	M	03/01/923	executors' act	Brioude, no. 255 [D 203]
81	Flodaldus	M	07/01/923	executors' act	Brioude, no. 206 [D 169]
82	Esclua, eps Urgell	M	07/08/924	executors' act	Urgell, viii, no. add:06
83	Leotardus	M	01/01/925	executors' act	Brioude, no. 303 [D 236]
84	Miro II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	06/13/925	1st	Bofarull, i, pp. 88-90
85	Dato & ux. Annera	B	12/27/925	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 82
86	Acfred II, c Auvergne; d Aquitaine	M	10/11/926	1st-don/test	Brioude, no. 420 [D 315]
87	Aicardus	M	11/01/926	executors' act	Brioude, no. 168 [D 155]
88	***	-	01/01/927	CS	Santoña, no. 2
89	Miró II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	09/11/927	executors' act	MS: HU P Gili, 001
90	Miró II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	09/11/927	executors' act	Bofarull, i, p. 91 [des]
91	Acfred II, c Auvergne; d Aquitaine	M	10/11/927	1st	Brioude, no. 433
92	Vivianus	M	11/26/927	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 12
93	Malanaicus	M	12/21/927	don-post ob	Archivo Condal, no. 87
94	Austogrius	M	01/01/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 249
95	Stephanus	M	03/01/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 327 [D 256]
96	Guillem II [?], c Auvergne [?]	M	07/05/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 30 [D 28]
97	Lugrizia ux. Rigaldi	F	08/01/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 352 [D 273]
98	Guillem	M	10/11/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 190
99	Callixtus	M	12/01/928	executors' act	Brioude, no. 67 [D 65]
100	Runa	F	06/12/929	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 29 [inv]
101	Garnerius	M	01/01/930	executors' act	Brioude, no. 159
102	Ausila, presbiter	M	03/18/930	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 05:072-73
103	Endico	M	04/01/930	executors' act	Viaje, xiii, no. 13
104	Levonius, presbiter	M	04/03/930	don-egr	Tavernoles, no. 6
105	Gulfaldus	M	05/01/930	executors' act	Brioude, no. 4 [D 4]
106	Landric	M	10/30/930	don-egr	Mahul, ii, p. 221 [des]
107	Gerau & ux. Gautrudis	B	03/01/931	executors' act	Brioude, no. 154
108	Oria	F	06/26/931	executors' act	Girona, no. 62 [inv]
109	Bello	M	07/17/931	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 101
110	Gauzbert [I], c Ampurias	M	11/20/931	executors' act	NH, viii, pp. 83-4 [des]
111	Oppila	M	11/26/931	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 05:043-44
112	Reginard, eps Béziers	M	03/19/933	executors' act	HL, v, no. 58
113	Gontardus & ux. Alodia	B	09/10/935	don-res	Vic, no. 171
114	Galindo	M	10/27/936	executors' act	Vic, no. 174
115	Hictor	M	01/01/937	executors' act	Brioude, no. 192
116	Cixilana	F	01/03/937	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 108
117	Arivonsus & ux. Sesnanda	B	04/27/937	don-res	Vic, no. 177
118	Radulf	M	05/21/937	executors' act	Codinet, no. 23
119	Comparatus & ux. Ledda	B	08/25/937	don-res	Vic, no. 179
120	Iñigo & ux. Senior	B	02/06/938	don-res	Vic, no. 181
121	Ausesza, devovota (nun)	F	04/18/938	1st	Archivo Condal, no. 112
122	Trasemiro	M	01/26/941	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 19
123	Adilius	M	02/12/941	don-res	Vic, no. 191
124	Grima	M	01/15/942	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 116
125	Embolatus	M	02/11/942	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 101
126	Garsaon	M	04/16/942	executors' act	Vic, no. 205
127	Druda & f. Anulfus	B	06/01/942	don-res	Marca Hispanica, no. 78
128	Sperandus & ux. Suficia	B	01/24/943	don-res	Vic, no. 214
129	Olimundus & ux. Ilduara	B	06/12/943	1st-don/test	Sahagún, no. 87
130	Garsen	F	02/01/944	don-post ob	Lézat, no. 334
131	Adroarius	M	02/23/944	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 07:41
132	Cixilanus, presbiter	M	03/14/944	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 105
133	Guimaranus, presbiter	M	05/09/944	executors' act	Vic, no. 221
134	Nectarán, presbiter	M	04/08/945	executors' act	Vic, no. 227
135	Teclana	F	08/01/945	executors' act	Brioude, no. 189 [D166]
136	Bernat	M	11/17/946	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:134v [tru]

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
137	Gregorius, ab	M	12/06/946	1st-egritude	Béziers, no. 23
138	Guadall, eps Elne	M	01/29/947	don-egr	NH, xxi, no. 23 [tru]
139	Seniulfus	M	04/18/947	executors' act	Vic, no. 240
140	Joan & ux. Vuideberga	B	02/06/948	don-res	Vic, no. 245
141	Guadamir, archilevita	M	03/12/948	1st	Vic, no. 246
142	Estetulfus	M	05/25/949	executors' act	Vic, no. 257
143	Oriol & ux. Fruilo	B	06/28/949	don-res-3d party	Vic, no. 258
144	Oliba	M	10/20/949	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 120
145	Fruela & ux. Maria	B	01/01/950	don-post ob	Valpueda, no. 31
146	Placenti & ux. Munnata	B	03/25/950	don-post ob	Valpueda, no. 23
147	Joan & ux. Kara, dominus/domina	B	08/18/950	don-post ob	Valpueda, no. 30
148	Guisad, eps Urgell	M	06/06/951	1st	Urgell, viii, no. add. 8
149	Salla	M	03/12/953	don-res-3d party	Vic, no. 277
150	Goldregotis, ca Pallars [ux. Lope I; dau Miro II Cerdanya]	F	05/18/953	don-res-3d party	Vic, no. 278
151	Isarn FORGERY, c Pallars	M	09/13/953	1st	Gerri, VIII fals de Gerri
152	Rodlan	M	01/01/954	PMSig	Savigny, no. 238
153	Iñigo, presbiter	M	01/01/955	corpus	Albelda, no. 21
154	Elmondus, sacer	M	02/11/955	executors' act	Vic, no. 282
155	Giscafredus & ux. Eilo	B	09/26/955	don-res	Vic, no. 284
156	Sunyer, sacer	M	10/12/955	1st	Vic, no. 285
157	Eldegod	M	10/20/955	executors' act	Girona, no. 84 [inv]
158	Richildis, ca Barcelona	F	12/27/955	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Montserrat), 08:226r-v
159	Nantegisus, presbiter	M	01/03/956	executors' act	Codinet, no. 33
160	Viventius	M	08/22/956	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:166 [tru]
161	Leudemundus	M	09/29/956	don-res	Vic, no. 291
162	Godegeva & f. Petrus	B	03/14/957	don-res	Vic, no. 295
163	Hug	M	05/01/957	executors' act	Brioude, no. 270 [D 216]
164	Golfinus	M	07/01/957	executors' act	Béziers, no. 25
165	Recosind	M	09/26/957	don-res-3d party	Vic, no. 304
166	Adevora & f.s	B	10/02/957	don-res-3d party	Vic, no. 305
167	Seniomir	M	10/21/957	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 53
168	Guifred II, c Besalú	M	01/13/958	executors' act	NH, i, no. 2
169	Iñigo & f. Lope, he presbiter	B	02/06/958	don-post ob	Albelda, no. 23
170	Torellus, presbiter	M	05/01/958	executors' act	Pallars, no. 173
171	Radipertus, fr. ab Lavaix	M	06/01/958	executors' act	Pallars, no. 175
172	Rainard	M	09/01/958	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:170r [tru]
173	Adalbert	M	09/28/958	executors' act	CCM, no. 051
174	Enginilda ux. Bernat	F	10/07/958	pub-u	Agde, Intr., pp. 80-81
175	Dodemar	M	01/27/959	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 003
176	Ailo & f. Durand & Sesemund, deodicata/presbiter/levita	B	03/16/959	don-res	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 09:068
177	Igila	M	03/27/959	executors' act	Vic, no. 311
178	Guifred	M	03/28/959	don-res	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 09:071-72
179	Ansemundus, archilevita	M	06/27/959	don-res	Vic, no. 315
180	Imula	M	10/31/959	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 59
181	Malik:FORGERY?, presbiter	M	12/01/959	1st-don/test	Sahagún, no. 168
182	Sigiburgis	F	01/01/960	executors' act	Savigny, no. 246
183	Hug, eps Toulouse	M	01/01/960	1st	HL, v, no. 109
184	Ansemar & ux. Arielede	B	03/27/960	don-res	Vic, no. 323
185	Daniel	M	04/09/960	don-res	Vic, no. 326
186	Oliba	M	04/27/960	executors' act	Mas, no. 21 [inv]
187	Ansaló	M	05/01/960	executors' act	Pallars, no. 180
188	Agelà, presbiter	M	05/09/960	executors' act	Vic, no. 327
189	Adalgrimus	M	08/01/960	executors' act	Conques, no. 218
190	Malik:FORGERY?, presbiter	M	12/01/960	confirmation	Sahagún, no. 183
191	Ramon [I], c Rouergue, m Gothie	M	01/01/961	1st	HL, v, no. 111
192	Hodimbellus	M	02/01/961	executors' act	Conques, no. 89
193	Aznar	M	02/03/961	executors' act	Pallars, no. 184
194	Recosind	M	04/03/961	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 62
195	Audger, levita	M	06/29/961	pub-w	Vic, no. 338
196	Gaufred & Regisendus	M	08/01/961	executors' act	Pallars, no. 187
197	Barchinona	F	09/22/961	executors' act	Mas, no. 26 [inv]

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
198	Ava, widow Miró II, ca Besalú/Cerdanya	F	12/30/961	don^will	Cuixa, no. 90 note
199	Ava, widow Miro II, ca Besalú/Cerdanya	F	02/26/962	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 132
200	Ava, widow Miro II, ca Besalú/Cerdanya	F	02/27/962	executors' act	Cuixa, no. 90
201	Ava, widow Miro II, ca Besalú/Cerdanya	F	03/07/962	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 020
202	Riquilda, vca Narbonne	F	05/13/962	pub-u	Vic, no. 346
203	Altemir, presbiter	M	06/01/962	pub-o	Pallars, no. 188
204	Altemir, presbiter	M	07/01/962	executors' act	Pallars, no. 189
205	Ebrald, prior "prévôt" Albi [chapter S. Salvi]	M	03/01/963	1st	GC, i, instr., p. 3
206	Gontardus (q. vocant Bonushomo)	M	12/30/963	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 68
207	Trasegoncia	F	01/01/964	1st-special	Vic, no. 363
208	Sintilanus	M	04/05/964	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:169 [tru]
209	Trasegoncia	F	06/12/964	executors' act	Vic, no. 364
210	Guadimir, levita	M	08/31/964	pub-o	Successió, no. 12
211	Joan	M	01/30/965	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 77
212	Desiderius	M	04/01/965	executors' act	Savigny, no. 200
213	Salla [Senla]	M	05/03/965	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 79
214	Silicius	M	06/29/965	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 80
215	Ermenric	M	09/11/965	executors' act	Vic, no. 370
216	Seniofred II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	10/01/965	1st-pilgrimage	Cuixa, no. 92
217	Seniofred II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	10/30/965	executors' act	Cuixa, no. 93
218	Seniofred II, c Besalú/Cerdanya	M	10/30/965	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 158
219	Ranulf	M	11/01/965	executors' act	Brioude, no. 245 [D 198]
220	Ermengoda	F	01/31/966	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 151
221	Matfred & ux. Adalaiz, vc & vca Narbonne	B	08/20/966	1st-pilgrimage	HL, v, no. 115
222	Miro, c Barcelona, Ausona	M	11/20/966	executors' act	Columnella, p. 12-13
223	Miro, c Barcelona Osona etc.	M	12/21/966	executors' act	Valls, Família, pp. 206-7
224	Seniofred II, c Besalú	M	01/01/967	executors' act	Bofarull, i, p. 93 [des]
225	Felicia	F	02/17/967	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 154
226	Undilianus, presbiter	M	03/05/967	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 87
227	Seniofred, levita	M	08/25/967	1st	Roussillon, no. 12
228	Gomez & ux. Ofresa	M	11/01/967	don-post ob	Arlanza, no. 19
229	Leopardus	M	04/07/968	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 157
230	Artrovario, monk	M	10/01/968	executors' act	Pallars, no. 203
231	Frugio ux. Langovard	F	12/23/968	1st-egritude	Vic, no. 387
232	Salacon	M	03/13/969	executors' act	Béziers, no. 31
233	Munio, presbiter	M	04/01/969	don-post ob	Arlanza, no. 20
234	Alimburgis Bonafilia	F	04/27/969	PMSig	Nîmes, no. 67
235	Adroarius	M	06/20/969	executors' act	Vic, no. 392
236	Rainard [II], vc Béziers	M	10/23/969	executors' act	HL, v, no. 118
237	Abbo, levita	M	05/25/970	executors' act	Girona, no. 100 [inv]
238	Abbo, levita	M	05/28/970	executors' act	CCM, no. 056
239	Borrell	M	10/19/970	1st-pilgrimage	Vic, no. 403
240	Bonfill, levita	M	12/06/970	pub-w	Successió, no. 16 [inv]
241	Just	M	01/01/971	executors' act	Pallars, no. 211
242	Guitard	M	04/21/971	executors' act	Mas, no. 47 [inv]
243	Sancho Garcez II & ux. & mother, rex Navarra	B	06/29/971	don-post ob	Huesca, no. 11
244	Pere	M	07/27/971	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 96
245	Mancho, presbiter	M	10/31/971	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 162
246	Garsendis ux. [Raym.] Poncii [widow], ca Toulouse	F	01/01/972	1st-special	HL, v, no. 126
247	Widberga	F	02/18/972	1st	Aniane, no. 248
248	Undiscló, presbiter	M	05/01/972	executors' act	Pallars, no. 216
249	Ramon	M	11/05/972	executors' act	Tavernoles, no. 11
250	Ermildi Olbene, "famula Christi"	F	12/05/972	1st-don/test	Sahagún, no. 266
251	Gucbaldus Barone	M	01/07/973	executors' act	Nîmes, no. 69
252	Stefanus	M	11/03/973	executors' act	Vic, no. 425
253	Viatic, presbiter	M	02/01/974	executors' act	Pallars, no. 224
254	Sesnanda	F	02/02/974	don-res	Vic, no. 427
255	Macola	M	04/01/974	executors' act	Pallars, no. 227
256	Bulgaranus, presbiter	M	04/08/974	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 104
257	Isarn, vc Conflent	M	05/06/974	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 166
258	Recosind, presbiter	M	08/01/974	executors' act	Pallars, no. 233

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259	Mascaró	M	09/22/974	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 105
260	Bella ux. Ennegonis	F	11/16/974	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 106
261	Hictor	M	09/01/975	executors' act	Conques, no. 423
262	Siero, presbiter	M	01/25/976	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 169
263	Fedancius	M	02/03/976	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 113
264	Arviansi	M	02/09/976	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 114
265	Bela Bermudez	M	03/27/976	1st	Sahagún, no. 283
266	Ansur	M	05/11/976	confirmation	Sahagún, no. 284
267	Umbert	M	08/01/976	executors' act	Conques, no. 21
268	Leudevinus	M	02/07/977	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. major Cuixa), 12:1-2
269	Armentaro	M	04/20/977	1st	Sant Cugat, i, no. 123
270	Aimeric, archieps Narbonne	M	06/13/977	executors' act	HL, v, no. 127
271	Guifred	M	06/27/977	don-res	Vic, no. 440
272	Durand	M	10/18/977	executors' act	Pallars, no. 240
273	Eldefred	M	01/23/978	executors' act	Sant Sadurní, no. 1
274	Ramius	M	02/26/978	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 127
275	Ermenardus	M	03/03/978	executors' act	Vic, no. 447
276	Radulf	M	04/17/978	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 176
277	Miro, iudex	M	08/13/978	executors' act	Urgell, ii, no. 179
278	Centullus	M	10/01/978	executors' act	Pallars, no. 241
279	Adalaidis, vca Narbonne	F	10/04/978	1st	HL, v, no. 130
280	Singis {?}	F	11/17/978	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:166v [tru]
281	Recosind, presbiter	M	01/01/979	executors' act	Pallars, no. 245
282	Gonfredus	M	01/03/979	don-res	Vic, no. 450
283	Miro III, bp Girona & c Besalú	M	02/22/979	1st	Bofarull, i, p. 98-105
284	Guadall, vc Cardona	M	02/23/979	executors' act	Urgell, viii, no. add. 12
285	Berno	M	09/01/979	executors' act	Savigny, no. 162
286	Rodlan	M	01/01/980	executors' act	Savigny, no. 211
287	Galindo	M	09/05/980	pub-w	Sant Cugat, i, no. 136
288	Galindo	M	09/22/980	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 137
289	Isarn	M	12/08/980	1st	Vic, no. 470
290	Guitard	M	02/01/981	pub-w	Sant Cugat, i, no. 139
291	Ixan & mother Baselissa, presbiter	B	07/16/981	don-post ob	Arlanza, no. 22
292	Guifred Brunicardo, sacer	M	10/20/981	1st-travel	Vic, no. 479
293	Engelrada ux. qnd. Borrell	F	10/24/981	1st-pilgrimage	Vic, no. 480
294	Ermentrud	F	11/09/981	pub-o	Vic, no. 481
295	Alfons	M	12/01/981	don-res	Pallars, no. 265
296	Sigillaiga	F	01/01/982	1st	Agde, Intr., pp. 81-82
297	Guinigisius Mascharoni, vc Girona	M	01/22/982	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 194
298	Alaric	M	02/01/982	executors' act	Savigny, no. 213
299	Adroarius	M	03/02/982	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:169 [tru]
300	Eilo	F	03/04/982	executors' act	Vic, no. 485
301	Godaldricus	M	06/01/982	executors' act	Savigny, no. 218
302	Oliba	M	07/01/982	executors' act	Vic, no. 495
303	Diego, presbiter	M	12/16/982	corpus	Arlanza, no. 24
304	Seniofred, presbiter	M	05/07/983	executors' act	Urgell, iii, no. 197
305	Amelius	M	05/13/983	pub-w	Béziers, no. 44
306	Wigo, cl	M	05/14/983	pub	Girona, no. 113 [inv]
307	Baro	M	05/23/983	executors' act	Vic, no. 502
308	Llobaton	M	06/30/983	executors' act	MS: BC P, 09065
309	Miro III, bp Girona & c Besalú	M	02/18/984	executors' act	NH, viii, no. 12
310	Miro III, bp Gerona & c Besalu	M	04/13/984	executors' act	Martène, i, c.99
311	Contantius, presbiter	M	01/01/985	executors' act	Savigny, no. 458
312	Raginerius	M	01/01/985	executors' act	Savigny, no. 457
313	Guisad	M	01/14/985	executors' act	Vic, no. 515
314	Baro	M	01/15/985	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 165
315	Ballovigius	M	02/13/985	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 164
316	Placidia	F	02/19/985	executors' act	Vic, no. 516
317	Uvinadus (Guinadus)	M	02/28/985	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 168
318	Seniofred	M	08/15/985	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 169
319	NN	M	09/07/985	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 170
320	Ramio	M	12/04/985	pub-w-p	Sant Cugat, i, no. 171
321	Odo [Ot], levita	M	02/24/986	executors' act	CCM, no. 063
322	Sendred	M	03/14/986	executors' act	Urgell, iii, no. 206
323	Sunyer	M	05/03/986	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 178
324	Guitard	M	07/23/986	executors' act	Mas, no. 84 [inv]
325	Pere	M	08/18/986	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 184
326	Sunyer	M	09/30/986	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 186

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327	Guilmundus	M	10/12/986	pub-w-p	Vic, no. 524
328	Seniofred, levita	M	11/05/986	1st	Sant Cugat, i, no. 188
329	Beneages	M	12/30/986	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 191
330	Vivas, eps Barcelona	M	01/01/987	1st-pilgrimage	Puig i Puig, no. 26
331	Seniofred	M	01/26/987	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 195
332	Oliba	M	02/09/987	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 197
333	Viatarius	M	02/23/987	executors' act	Mas, no. 88 [inv]
334	Bertran, presbiter	M	04/01/987	1st-egritude	Lézat, no. 257
335	Motio [?] filius Fruia	M	06/26/987	pub-o	Fita, p. 437-9
336	Seniofred	M	10/28/987	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 210
337	Vicenç Citi Amone & ux. Jimena	B	11/25/987	don-post ob	Sahagún, no. 337
338	Undisclo, presbiter	M	01/01/988	executors' act	Pallars, no. 274
339	Gontarius, puer	M	02/16/988	pub-w	Successió, no. 31
340	Adalbert	M	02/16/988	1st-egritude	Vic, no. 534
341	Dadila (gender?)	M	03/01/988	executors' act	Pallars, no. 308
342	Fredemund	M	03/19/988	law-set/adj	Sant Cugat, i, no. 218
343	Miro	M	05/26/988	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. major Cuixa), 14:72-3
344	Seniofred [de Lluçà]	M	09/01/988	pub-w	Vic, no. 536
345	Ermengardis	F	11/03/988	executors' act	Calzada i Oliveras, no. 1
346	Langobard	M	11/19/988	executors' act	MS: AM P. S. Cugat del Vallès, 037
347	Enivio [?] [Emiro]	F	12/29/988	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Arles), 14:084
348	Balascut[us]	M	01/01/989	executors' act	Vic, no. 540
349	Gauzfred [I], c Ampurias & Roussillon	M	02/20/989	1st	Simó, no. 11
350	Vivas, presbiter	M	03/01/989	executors' act	Mas, no. 97 [inv]
351	Oliba	M	07/29/989	executors' act	Mas, no. 100 [inv]
352	Guilmundus	M	08/01/989	executors' act	Pallars, no. 285
353	Guinidilda alias Belella	F	09/13/989	executors' act	Roses, no. 28
354	Eldemar, levita	M	09/28/989	pub-w	Vic, no. 543
355	Seniofred, sacerdos	M	11/29/989	executors' act	Mas, no. 104 [inv]
356	Guillem, vc [Béziers & Agde]	M	01/01/990	1st	HL, v, no. 150
357	Adalaidis, vca Narbonne	F	03/29/990	1st	HL, v, no. 151
358	Mortesinda	F	05/10/990	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 247
359	Bellido	M	06/03/990	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 250
360	Diego Scecariz & ux. Seneri	M	07/27/990	don-post ob	Sahagún, no. 343
361	Igigan	M	11/19/990	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, i, no. 258
362	Igigan	M	11/19/990	1st-codicil	Sant Cugat, i, no. 259
363	Livula	F	12/02/990	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 261
364	Gauzfred [I], c Ampurias & Roussillon	M	02/28/991	executors' act	HL, v, no. 152
365	Eimo	F	03/04/991	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 263
366	Sunyer	M	05/07/991	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 267
367	Salomon	M	06/09/991	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 268
368	Deila, presbiter	M	08/16/991	1st	NH, xv, no. 2160
369	Eribertus	M	09/16/991	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 012
370	Gudisclo	M	09/22/991	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 272
371	Arimannus	M	10/11/991	1st-egritude	Béziers, no. 50
372	Fruitosus	M	01/14/992	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 274
373	Orucia, deovota [nun]	F	02/05/992	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 37
374	Vivas	M	02/10/992	executors' act	Archivo Condal, no. 231
375	Teudisclo	M	02/18/992	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 277
376	Bersendi	M	02/22/992	executors' act	Mas, no. 117 [inv]
377	Fluridius	M	03/29/992	pub-w	Sant Cugat, i, no. 280
378	Guifred	M	04/24/992	executors' act	Morunys, no. 3
379	Fluridius	M	05/05/992	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 281
380	Langobard	M	05/13/992	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 282
381	Arnal	M	06/10/992	executors' act	Mas, no. 119 [inv]
382	Borrell	M	07/06/992	executors' act	Mas, no. 120 [inv]
383	Barcello, presbiter	M	08/03/992	pub-o	Successió, no. 39
384	Simplicius, presbiter	M	11/08/992	1st	MS: BN Doat (Arch. S.-Paul de Narbonne), 57:029-32v
385	Mambertus	M	11/22/992	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 290
386	Ansulf	M	01/06/993	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 286
387	Langobard, alias Belchon	M	02/21/993	executors' act	CCM, no. 065
388	Astremundus	M	04/21/993	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 013
389	Miro	M	05/29/993	executors' act	Vic, no. 575
390	Comparatus	M	05/31/993	executors' act	Mas, no. 130 [inv]
391	Fluridius	M	08/01/993	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 291
392	Ermessendis ux. Guillirici	F	08/18/993	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 292
393	Borrell II, c Barcelona, Osona, Girona, Urgell	M	09/24/993	1st	Urgell, iii, no. 232

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394	Stephanus	M	09/26/993	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat (Arch. S.-Paul de Narbonne), 57:034-37r
395	Borrell II , c Barcelona, Osona, Girona, Urgell	M	10/13/993	pub-w	Urgell, iii, no. 233
396	Giscafredus	M	11/04/993	pub-o	Sant Cugat, i, no. 294
397	Guitard	M	11/15/993	executors' act	Mas, no. 132 [inv]
398	Ermemir	M	11/27/993	executors' act	Vic, no. 578
399	Rudafredus	M	01/31/994	executors' act	CCM, no. 066
400	Langobard	M	04/22/994	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 298
401	Sesefredus	M	08/01/994	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 299
402	Jozfred	M	08/17/994	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 300
403	Guillem, vc Urgell/Castellbó	M	11/09/994	1st	Urgell, iii, no. 238
404	Eilo	M	12/27/994	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 014
405	Amelius Simplicius, like a c locally	M	01/01/995	PMSig	Lézat, no. 572
406	Borrell, c Pallars	M	01/01/995	1st	Pallars, no. 320
407	Vivas, eps Barcelona	M	02/01/995	pub-w	Successió, no. 44
408	Seniofred [Llovet], archipresbiter	M	03/08/995	1st-pilgrimage	Successió, no. 45
409	Flavius	M	09/24/995	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 307
410	Pere	M	09/26/995	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Borrell, 015
411	Ermengardis [ux. Oliba Cabreta?], ca [Besalú?]	F	01/01/996	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 204
412	Ermengardis [ux. Oliba Cabreta?], ca [Besalú?]	F	01/01/996	executors' act	NH, xv, no. 2161
413	Agilbert, presbiter	M	01/01/996	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 317
414	Guifred	M	07/01/996	executors' act	Girona, no. 134 [inv]
415	Seniofred, sacerdos	M	08/02/996	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 312
416	Cixilonus	M	08/25/996	executors' act	Vic, no. 605
417	Durand	M	11/13/996	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 315
418	Guitard	M	12/09/996	pub-w	Urgell, iii, no. 247
419	Ermentrud & f. Gerard	B	12/09/996	don-res	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 16:031
420	Richellus	M	02/24/997	executors' act	Mas, no. 175 [inv]
421	Guigelmus	M	03/04/997	1st	Vic, no. 614
422	Amelius	M	04/01/997	1st-pilgrimage	Lézat, no. 189
423	Eroigius, vc Barcelona	M	04/17/997	executors' act	Mas, no. 177 [inv]
424	Cintilona	F	06/08/997	executors' act	Girona, no. 136 [inv]
425	Oriol	M	06/18/997	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 326
426	Husil	M	09/23/997	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 082
427	Centullus, presbiter	M	10/22/997	pub-w	Successió, no. 48
428	***	-	11/30/997	CS	Urgell, iii, no. 252
429	Teudemundo, presbiter	M	03/09/998	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 49
430	Savaric	M	08/20/998	pub-u	Successió, no. 50 [des]
431	Fredulf	M	09/17/998	executors' act	Vic, no. 630
432	Guillem	M	10/11/998	1st-pilgrimage	Vic, no. 631
433	Avierna [ux. Sunyer Llobet]	F	12/30/998	1st	Successió, no. 52
434	Atilius Ocani de Marignac	M	01/01/999	don-post ob	Lézat, no. 1687
435	Ato, ab Lézat	M	01/01/999	don-post ob	Lézat, no. 641-2
436	Dato	M	01/01/999	don-egr	Lézat, no. 711
437	Gonfredus Perculfo	M	01/01/999	1st	Lézat, no. 1004
438	Bella	F	08/15/999	executors' act	Banyoles, i, no. 50
439	Miro	M	09/09/999	1st	Urgell, iii, no. 264
440	Durand	M	01/01/1000	executors' act	Savigny, no. 513
441	Rodlan	M	01/01/1000	executors' act	Savigny, no. 505
442	Adaloldus	M	01/01/1000	executors' act	Savigny, no. 499
443	Roger	M	01/01/1000	1st-don/test	Lézat, no. 699
444	Bernat, levita	M	01/01/1000	1st	Lézat, no. 536
445	Sentulf	M	01/31/1000	executors' act	Girona, no. 138
446	Salla	M	03/25/1000	pub-o	Vic, no. 635
447	Aicardus & ux. Geprude	B	04/01/1000	don-post ob	Lézat, no. 1285
448	Daco, adulescentulus	M	04/25/1000	pub-w	Vic, no. 641
449	Guademir, levita	M	05/13/1000	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 347
450	Gecesind & ux. Susanna	B	10/20/1000	don-res	Santa Anna, no. 14
451	Oriol, levita, caput scole Elne	M	11/01/1000	pub-special	HL, v, no. 158
452	Olserga	F	12/19/1000	executors' act	Sant Cugat, i, no. 352
453	Vivas, eps Barcelona	M	02/24/1001	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 354
454	Bonushomo	M	12/30/1001	executors' act	Mas, no. 213 [inv]
455	Centullus, sacer	M	02/24/1002	1st-pilgrimage	Successió, no. 57
456	Oliba Bonifilii	M	02/28/1002	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 220 [inv]
457	Roger I the Old, c Carcassonne	M	04/01/1002	1st	HL, v, no. 162
458	Recosind	M	04/14/1002	pub-u	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 372
459	Recosind	M	04/17/1002	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 373

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460	Recosind	M	04/27/1002	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 374
461	Mello	F	09/02/1002	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 377
462	Audesind	M	11/19/1002	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 383
463	Audesind	M	12/04/1002	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 381
464	Subrunia	F	01/10/1003	executors' act	Roses, no. 29
465	Bernat, vc Conflent ux. 563	M	01/25/1003	pub-w	Urgell, iii, no. 281
466	Bernat, vc (in Cerdanya?)	M	02/03/1003	executors' act	Urgell, iii, no. 282
467	Mello	F	02/05/1003	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 384
468	Eigna	M	02/26/1003	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 385
469	Arivonsus	M	03/25/1003	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 387
470	Berenguer, eps Elne, frater c Bernat Taill.	M	05/13/1003	executors' act	Oliba, ap. no. 31 [inv]
471	Salla, eps Urgell	M	10/23/1003	1st	Urgell, iii, no. 288
472	Plancer	M	03/29/1004	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 389
473	Vivas	M	04/30/1004	executors' act	Urgell, iii, no. 292
474	Madexus, sacriscripii [sacer]	M	06/23/1004	1st	Successió, no. 63
475	Servusdei	M	09/15/1004	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 392
476	Guillem Eirig	M	01/01/1005	don-egr	Lézat, no. 1141
477	Ermengol, archieps Narbonne	M	01/01/1005	1st	HL, v, no. 164
478	Guitard, [castellan] Barbera	M	03/11/1005	pub-w	Successió, no. 64
479	Guitard, [castellan] Barbera	M	03/12/1005	executors' act	Mas, no. 234 [inv]
480	Guitard, [castellan] Barbera	M	03/12/1005	executors' act	Mas, no. 235 [inv]
481	Bernat	M	07/02/1005	1st-religious	Gellone, no. 10
482	Jozbert	M	10/01/1005	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 17:226-227r
483	Joan	M	11/14/1005	executors' act	Girona, no. 145
484	Guisad [de Lluçà]	M	01/13/1006	pub-o	Successió, no. 66
485	Guitard, [miles] castellan	M	09/28/1006	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 67 [inv]
486	Sendred	M	09/30/1006	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 406
487	Muniadonna, domina	F	11/07/1006	don-egr	San Millán, no. 129
488	Seniofred	M	01/03/1007	pub-o	Successió, no. 68
489	Odesindus	M	03/22/1007	pub-w	Successió, no. 69
490	Seniofred	M	03/27/1007	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 70
491	Bonfill, levita	M	04/09/1007	pub-w	Successió, no. 71
492	Galindo, levita	M	04/25/1007	1st	Successió, no. 72
493	Marcutius	M	04/29/1007	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 408
494	Ermengol I, c Urgell	M	07/28/1007	1st	Urgell, iii, no. 300
495	Volenda	F	08/28/1007	pub-o	Successió, no. 73
496	Guillem	M	11/06/1007	executors' act	Mas, no. 260 [inv]
497	Seniofred	M	12/27/1007	executors' act	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 104
498	Adroarius	M	09/27/1008	executors' act	Mas, no. 272 [inv]
499	Vidal	M	11/29/1008	pub-o	Urgell, iii, no. 307
500	Belluci	M	01/20/1009	executors' act	Mas, no. 276 [inv]
501	Bonafilia filia Sisoaldi	F	01/28/1009	pub-o	Successió, no. 75
502	Ademar	M	02/08/1009	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 052
503	Ermessendis	F	02/20/1009	don-res	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 421
504	Robert, merchant	M	03/09/1009	pub-i	Mas, no. 493 [inv]
505	Alduard	M	03/29/1009	pub-i	Mas, no. 283 [inv]
506	Guitard, [miles]	M	08/28/1009	pub-w	Successió, no. 76 [inv]
507	Daco, sacer et iudex	M	08/30/1009	pub-w	Successió, no. 77
508	Undisclo	M	11/12/1009	executors' act	Urgell, iii, no. 301
509	Sunyer	M	02/05/1010	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 424
510	Sunyer	M	02/05/1010	executors' act	Mas, no. 292 [inv]
511	Alberic	M	02/06/1010	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 425
512	Seniofred	M	03/28/1010	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, iii, no. 312
513	Guillem f. Amelii Simplicii, marchio [c near Lézat]	M	05/01/1010	don-egr	Lézat, no. 721
514	Ramio	M	05/02/1010	1st-travel	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 427
515	Adalbert & ux. Adgarda	B	05/26/1010	don-inter fam.	Gellone, no. 421
516	Sinner [Signer]	F	06/03/1010	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 428
517	Bernat	M	06/17/1010	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:135r [tru]
518	Arnulf, eps Vic	M	07/29/1010	1st	Valls, Cardona, p.120-1
519	Arnulf, eps Vic	M	08/21/1010	pub-w	Successió, no. 81
520	Langobard	M	10/03/1010	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 82
521	Gondemar filius Steges	M	10/04/1010	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 84
522	Elias, filius Steges	M	10/04/1010	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 83
523	Adalbert, f. vc Barcelona	M	10/18/1010	1st	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 441
524	Eliardis	F	10/25/1010	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 430
525	Salla, eps Urgell	M	11/06/1010	pub-o	Urgell, iii, no. 314
526	Adalbert, f. vc Barcelona	M	11/17/1010	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 431

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527	Elias & Gondemarus, filii Steges	M	12/16/1010	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 88
528	Adalbert, f. vc Barcelona	M	01/04/1011	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 432
529	Guadall	M	01/27/1011	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 435
530	Guilara, presbiter	M	04/18/1011	executors' act	Mas, no. 305 [inv]
531	Guilarà, presbiter	M	04/19/1011	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 89
532	Isarn	M	04/21/1011	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 88
533	Adalbert, f. vc Barcelona	M	05/01/1011	law-set/adj	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 437
534	Seniofred, archilevita	M	07/25/1011	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 90
535	Sendred	M	08/27/1011	executors' act	Mas, no. 306 [inv]
536	Orseta	F	11/27/1011	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 089
537	Engelrannus, eps Cavailon	M	01/01/1012	1st-don/test	Saint-Victor, no. 339
538	Radulf	M	01/06/1012	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 319
539	Alba	M	05/11/1012	1st	Successió, no. 92
540	NN	M	05/19/1012	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), f. 112r [inv]
541	Eldovinus, levita	M	06/02/1012	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 323
542	Sunyer	M	07/15/1012	pub-w	Successió, no. 94 [inv]
543	Ecifred	M	07/23/1012	executors' act	Roses, no. 48
544	Ecifred	M	11/20/1012	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 093
545	Guitard "Niger"	M	07/11/1013	1st-war	Successió, no. 95
546	Gilbert I, c Roussillon	M	08/10/1013	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 18:226-227r
547	Martin, presbiter	M	12/13/1013	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 328
548	Christianus	M	12/19/1013	pub-w	Successió, no. 96
549	Martin, presbiter	M	01/07/1014	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 329
550	Guitard "Niger"	M	02/19/1014	pub-w	Successió, no. 97
551	Guifred	M	03/11/1014	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 110
552	Godemir	M	03/13/1014	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 457
553	Eldovinus, levita	M	04/24/1014	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 331
554	Bonfill, sacer, sacriscrini	M	05/11/1014	executors' act	Mas, no. 335 [inv]
555	Bella	F	11/23/1014	executors' act	Roses, no. 9
556	Seniofred, archilevita	M	01/01/1015	pub-w	Successió, no. 99
557	Guillem & ux. Adalgarda	B	01/01/1015	don-post ob	Saint-Victor, no. 757
558	Ponç, canon Nîmes	M	01/01/1015	1st-egritude	Nîmes, no. 112
559	Guillem Petri	M	10/02/1015	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 19:12-13r
560	Bernat & ux. Adalez	B	10/17/1015	1st	Successió, no. 100
561	Sclua {?}	M	12/12/1015	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 119
562	Joan, levita	M	06/08/1016	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 520 [inv]
563	Bernat	M	07/10/1016	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 601 [inv]
564	Gebert	M	09/24/1016	pub-w	Successió, no. 101 [inv]
565	Sancha [ux. Guillem], vca Urgell [Conflent]	F	04/13/1017	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 347
566	Sancha [ux. Guillem], vca Urgell	F	04/29/1017	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 348
567	Sunyer	M	05/20/1017	pub-o	Successió, no. 104
568	Sunyer	M	05/27/1017	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 132
569	Ermemir	M	05/30/1017	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 134
570	Trasoarius	M	12/02/1017	pub-w	Successió, no. 105
571	***	-	02/24/1018	CS	HL, v, no. 175
572	Iñigo	M	03/18/1018	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 106
573	Guila, ca Cerdanya	F	03/20/1018	1st	NH, ix, no. 5
574	Seniofred	M	03/22/1018	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 467
575	Seniofred	M	04/10/1018	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 468
576	Guila, ca Cerdanya	F	06/20/1018	pub-w	NH, ix, no. 6
577	Guila [FORGERY?], ca Cerdanya	F	06/20/1018	executors' act	MS: BMP MS Alart (privé), 107:21 (Z):75-8
578	Guila, ca Cerdanya	F	06/20/1018	executors' act	NH, ix, no. 7
579	Seniofred	M	06/25/1018	1st	Successió, no. 111
580	Fortun	M	07/01/1018	executors' act	Ribagorza, p. 417-8
581	Bernat	M	09/05/1018	pub-o	Successió, no. 112
582	Guillem, levita	M	09/24/1018	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 113
583	Ramon Borrell, c & marchio Barcelona	M	11/12/1018	executors' act	Oliba, no. 57
584	Guila ux. Gaufredi	F	12/01/1018	executors' act	Girona, no. 161
585	Guillem, levita	M	12/01/1018	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 472
586	Borrell Guifredi	M	02/13/1019	executors' act	Mas, no. 383 [inv]
587	Comparatus (?)	M	03/05/1019	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 473
588	Bardina, vc Bergeda	M	04/10/1019	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 474
589	Arnal	M	07/01/1019	1st	MS: BC P, 04103
590	***	-	07/21/1019	CS	CCM, no. 078
591	Ermemir	M	09/25/1019	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, iv, no. 358
592	Sicfredus	M	01/01/1020	1st	Lézat, no. 1284
593	Isilón	M	02/01/1020	executors' act	Obarra, no. 83
594	Seniofred	M	02/20/1020	executors' act	Roses, no. 49
595	Egasman	M	04/01/1020	1st	MS: BC P, 08704

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596	Bels	M	05/13/1020	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 081
597	Bernat	M	07/11/1020	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 102
598	Salla [Sanla], nobilis	M	08/13/1020	pub-special	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 148,149
599	Bernat Taliàfer, c Besalú	M	10/13/1020	pub-w	Oliba, no. 65
600	Bernat Taliàfer, c Besalú	M	10/13/1020	executors' act	Oliba, ap. no. 66 [inv]
601	Bernat Taliàfer, c Besalú	M	10/13/1020	executors' act	Martène, i, c.141
602	Langobard, presbiter	M	10/24/1020	pub-w	Successió, no. 116
603	Singifredo	M	11/17/1020	don-inter fam.	Alaó, no. 238
604	Andregoto, domina	F	01/01/1021	don-post ob	La Peña, i, no. 064
605	Elias	M	01/07/1021	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 364
606	Iñigo	M	03/08/1021	pub-w	Successió, no. 117
607	Senuira	F	04/07/1021	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 366
608	Ramon	M	06/08/1021	executors' act	Mas, no. 399 [inv]
609	Ermessendis	F	06/21/1021	executors' act	Santa Anna, no. 24
610	Bernat	M	08/09/1021	executors' act	Nîmes, no. 121
611	Vivas, sacer	M	10/21/1021	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, iv, no. 370
612	Sendred	M	12/09/1021	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 483
613	Marcutius Greco	M	12/28/1021	pub-w	Successió, no. 118
614	Segullus	M	01/18/1022	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 301 [inv]
615	Goltred	M	01/28/1022	1st-egritude	Successió, no. 119
616	Goltred	M	01/30/1022	pub-w	Successió, no. 120
617	Goltred	M	01/30/1022	executors' act	Mas, no. 405 [inv]
618	Radulf, ab St. Mary-Clermont	M	03/03/1022	pub-special	An Mil, part i, no. 3
619	Seguinus	M	03/10/1022	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 103
620	Seniofred	M	05/28/1022	1st	Successió, no. 121
621	Ermemir	M	06/01/1022	1st	Successió, no. 122
622	Radulf, archilevita	M	10/10/1022	pub-w	Successió, no. 123
623	Seguinus	M	11/08/1022	1st	NH, xv, no. 2176
624	Gerbert & Bonusfilius, cl	M	02/08/1023	1st-pilgrimage	Successió, no. 125
625	Ato	M	02/24/1023	pub-w	Successió, no. 126
626	Sancha	F	05/20/1023	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 165
627	Trudgardis	F	06/30/1023	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 382
628	Udalard	M	08/01/1023	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 488
629	Miro	M	09/22/1023	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 525 [inv]
630	Guifred	M	09/27/1023	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 489
631	Ermengol de Oló, [dominus]	M	01/03/1024	pub-w-p	Successió, no. 129
632	Emma	F	01/08/1024	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 491
633	Crispio	M	02/15/1024	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecília de Montserrat, 030
634	Seniofred	M	03/09/1024	1st	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 493
635	Seniofred Flavii	M	04/28/1024	pub-o-p	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 494
636	Ulina	M	06/01/1024	executors' act	Lavaix, no. 17
637	Ato	M	06/05/1024	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 105
638	Guillem, vc [in Roussillon?]	M	07/13/1024	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:158r [tru]
639	Guila, soror Ermengol eps Urgell	F	10/03/1024	pub-o	Urgell, iv, no. 387
640	Guila, soror Ermengol eps Urgell	F	10/03/1024	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 388
641	Sunyer Llobet	M	11/09/1024	pub-w	Successió, no. 134
642	Dominicus, presbiter	M	03/20/1025	1st	Successió, no. 135
643	Arnal & ux. Chilio	B	04/21/1025	1st	Successió, no. 136 [des]
644	Guadall	M	05/27/1025	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:157v [tru]
645	Arnal, vc Conflent	M	05/31/1025	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 397
646	Richildis	F	07/18/1025	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 498
647	Guillem	M	08/01/1025	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:134v [tru]
648	Guila [de Lluça] ux. Bernat, vca Conflent ux 387	F	09/09/1025	pub-u	Urgell, iv, no. 401
649	Landric	M	01/01/1026	executors' act	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 166
650	Berenguer, levita	M	01/01/1026	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 278 [inv]
651	Ponç, archilevita	M	01/20/1026	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 405
652	Sunyer	M	03/14/1026	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 499
653	Goldregotis	F	03/27/1026	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 500
654	Isimbardo	M	03/29/1026	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 501
655	Sunyer	M	06/01/1026	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 502
656	Guillem	M	11/12/1026	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 858 [inv]
657	Ermessendis	F	12/19/1026	1st	Jornet, no. 19
658	Seniofred	M	01/09/1027	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:157v [tru]
659	Cedantius	M	04/20/1027	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 529 [inv]
660	Rotrudis, castellana	F	09/29/1027	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 505

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661	Bernat & ux. Saixa & aliae	B	10/02/1027	don-post ob	Gellone, no. 46
662	Bernat, archilevita	M	12/28/1027	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 417
663	Truitillis ux. Ramon Aicii	F	01/02/1028	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 506
664	Seniofred	M	03/31/1028	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 507
665	Guitard, levita	M	12/07/1028	1st	Urgell, iv, no. 422
666	Oriol & ux. Leogarda	B	12/10/1028	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 308 [inv]
667	Ramon	M	12/11/1028	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 108
668	Seniofred, monk	M	12/29/1028	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 184
669	Daniel	M	03/27/1029	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 186
670	Carutio	M	05/01/1029	executors' act	Mas, no. 442 [inv]
671	NN	M	08/25/1029	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1385
672	Guillem	M	09/01/1029	law-set/adj	Mas, no. 444 [inv]
673	Engelbert & ux. Benedicta	B	01/01/1030	don-inter fam.	Lézat, no. 973
674	Bernat, archilevita	M	01/09/1030	pub-o	Urgell, iv, no. 428
675	Udalguer	M	01/31/1030	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 045
676	Lobet	M	04/13/1030	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 097
677	Fredolon	M	05/27/1030	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 21:81r-v
678	Ponç, archilevita	M	06/25/1030	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 434
679	Ponç, archilevita	M	06/25/1030	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 435
680	Pere	M	08/14/1030	pub-o	HL, v, no. 194
681	Borrell Guinarani	M	09/04/1030	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 092
682	Sendred	M	09/16/1030	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 093
683	Sendred	M	09/28/1030	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 094
684	Berenguer, levita	M	10/09/1030	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 290 [inv]
685	Ermengardis ux. Geribert, dau. c , w vc Barc.	F	10/17/1030	1st	Jornet, no. 21
686	Borrell [Guinarani]	M	11/07/1030	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 088
687	Gualter	M	01/07/1031	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 090
688	Hug Lobet	M	01/15/1031	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 516
689	Bernat	M	05/01/1031	pub-o	Mas, no. 452 [inv]
690	Maier	M	10/28/1031	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 204
691	Chicterio Alfons & ux. Goto	B	12/18/1031	don-post ob	Sahagún, no. 429
692	Atilius Bucaniger	M	01/01/1032	don-egr	Lézat, no. 1163
693	Paternus Velazquiz	M	01/30/1032	PMSig	Sahagún, no. 430
694	Sendred, sacerdos, canon Vic	M	02/02/1032	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0263
695	Landric, presbiter	M	02/17/1032	pub-o	Mas, no. 456 [inv]
696	Adalbert	M	04/17/1032	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 522
697	***	-	06/28/1032	CS	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 523
698	***	-	07/03/1032	CS	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 524
699	Riculf	M	10/12/1032	pub-w-p	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 526
700	Guillem [de Oló], levita [& dominus castle Mediona]	M	10/22/1032	1st-travel	Oliba, no. 108
701	Guillem de Mediona, senior, levita	M	10/22/1032	1st	MS: ACV P, 9:II:035
702	Berenguer Ramon I, c Barcelona	M	10/30/1032	1st-pilgrimage	Oliba, no. 127
703	Ramon	M	12/06/1032	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 25 Fossa (Cart. Elne), no. 110
704	Berillis	F	04/17/1033	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:165 [tru]
705	Oliba, sacer	M	04/18/1033	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:143v [tru]
706	Durand, presbiter	M	04/29/1033	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 458
707	Miro	M	05/10/1033	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 72 [inv]
708	Guifred	M	06/20/1033	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:166v [tru]
709	Ponç	M	08/03/1033	1st	Mahul, ii, p. 229 [inv]
710	Bernat	M	08/13/1033	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 222
711	Guinidilda, deo sacrata [nun]	F	09/23/1033	executors' act	NH, xv, no. 2184
712	Ermengol SAINT, SAINT eps Urgell	M	12/14/1033	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, iv, no. 463
713	Veronica, domina	F	01/01/1034	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0097
714	Rainard Archimberti	M	01/01/1034	1st-don/test	Saint-Victor, no. 255
715	Orucio	M	01/12/1034	pub-o	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 092
716	Adalbert	M	03/12/1034	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon I, 112
717	Durand	M	03/18/1034	1st-egritude	NH, xii, no. 575 [tru]
718	Reciverga	F	03/26/1034	pub-w	Jornet, no. 22
719	Guillem Ramon de Tau[...]	M	03/28/1034	1st	MS: BC P, 03683
720	Ermengardis	F	04/29/1034	pub-o	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 531
721	Ramon Borrell, c Barcelona	M	05/06/1034	executors' act	Millenum, p. 80 [des/fac]
722	Guillem [de Oló], levita Vic [dominus Mediona]	M	09/16/1034	pub-w	Oliba, no. 113 [des]
723	Bonucius, presbiter	M	09/25/1034	1st	Mas, no. 480 [inv]

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
724	Oda	F	09/27/1034	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1:007
725	Guillem, [not count of Besalú]	M	09/28/1034	1st	Oliba, no. 114
726	Guillem [de Oló] , levita & dominus Mediona	M	10/05/1034	pub-w	Oliba, no. 115
727	Belliardis ux. Esimberti	F	10/07/1034	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 533
728	Bonucius, presbiter	M	10/26/1034	pub-w	Mas, no. 481 [inv]
729	Belliardis ux. Esimberti	F	10/31/1034	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 534
730	Petronus, presbiter	M	02/14/1035	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 473
731	Guilbert de Cruïlles	M	04/07/1035	1st	Negre,
732	Tota, ca Liébana	F	04/26/1035	1st	Ribagorza, p. 346-7
733	Garcia & ux. Ermegards	B	05/01/1035	don-post ob	Lézat, no. 814
734	Roger, c Comminges	M	05/01/1035	don-egr	Lézat, no. 237
735	Gerau Tatger	M	07/01/1035	don-inter fam.	Lézat, no. 1149
736	Berenguer Ramon I, c Barcelona	M	07/23/1035	pub-w	MS: BC P, 08699
737	Pere [?]	M	07/30/1035	executors' act	CCM, no. 093
738	Ramon	M	08/21/1035	executors' act	Urgell, iv, no. 476
739	Seniofred	M	09/26/1035	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, iv, no. 477
740	Ermemir, presbiter	M	10/04/1035	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:0935
741	Ramon Guifredi de Copons/Balsareny	M	10/09/1035	pub	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1360
742	Guifred [III], c Cerdanya & Berga	M	11/08/1035	1st	LFM, ii, no. 693
743	Ermengol SAINT, eps Urgell	M	12/03/1035	pub-w	Urgell, iv, no. 478
744	Eg	F	12/20/1035	executors' act	NH, xv, no. 2186
745	Bernat	M	01/06/1036	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 490
746	Joan, levita	M	01/20/1036	1st	Mas, no. 486 [inv]
747	Reimundus	M	03/19/1036	pub-i-o-x	MS: ACV P, 6:0937
748	Durand	M	04/04/1036	executors' act	CCM, no. 095
749	Miro	M	04/26/1036	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 492bis
750	Ramon Olibani	M	05/27/1036	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 288 [inv]
751	Tedric Gueinil & ux. Ferosia	B	06/15/1036	don-res	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 237
752	Ramon	M	08/01/1036	pub	Mas, no. 487 [inv]
753	Richer	F	08/09/1036	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 494
754	Guisadus, levita	M	09/16/1036	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. add. 24
755	Joan, levita	M	12/07/1036	pub-w	Mas, no. 490 [inv]
756	Vidal	M	12/18/1036	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 496
757	Guillem, vc Urgell	M	02/13/1037	pub-w-p	Urgell, v, no. 499
758	Sendred, sacerdos	M	03/10/1037	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 246
759	Bernat	M	05/06/1037	1st	Mas, no. 498 [inv]
760	Bernat Poncius	M	05/19/1037	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 500bis
761	Bernat Poncii	M	05/20/1037	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 117
762	Maier	M	07/06/1037	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2150
763	Bernat	M	08/11/1037	pub-w	Mas, no. 502 [inv]
764	Seniofred, sacer, sacricustos	M	10/20/1037	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. add. 25
765	Exmunia	M	11/23/1037	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 026
766	Osberto	M	12/30/1037	1st	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 547
767	Amalric, presbiter	M	01/01/1038	1st	Mas, no. 505 [inv]
768	Maria	F	01/10/1038	pub-w	Jornet, no. 27
769	Berenguer Ramon I, c Barcelona	M	02/09/1038	executors' act	Oliba, no. 128
770	Leopardus	M	02/19/1038	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 043
771	Ermengol SAINT, eps Urgell	M	03/20/1038	executors' act	MS: ACV P, 9:II:014
772	Leopardus	M	04/12/1038	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 045
773	Odulina	F	04/15/1038	pub-w	Jornet, no. 26
774	Arsenda	F	05/24/1038	pub-o	Jornet, no. 28
775	Seniofred	M	06/11/1038	1st-egritude	Oliba, no. 129
776	Ermengol II, c Urgell	M	08/16/1038	executors' act	Guissona, no. 7
777	Engelburga ux. Guifred Copons/Balsareny, domina	F	11/06/1038	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 29
778	Ricleva	F	01/01/1039	pub-w	Jornet, no. 111 (p. 170)
779	Engelburga ux. Guifred Copons/Balsareny, domina	F	01/02/1039	pub-w	Danes, p. 444-8
780	Sendred Ramon, levita Vic	M	03/21/1039	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0269
781	Guifred, levita & iudex	M	04/23/1039	pub-w	Oliba, no. 137
782	Ermengol (II), c Urgell	M	08/15/1039	executors' act	Tavernoles, no. 25
783	Garsendis	F	08/28/1039	pub-w	Jornet, no. 30
784	Engelburga ux. Guifred Copons/Balsareny	F	09/22/1039	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 033
785	Guillem, levita	M	09/30/1039	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 13 [inv]
786	Salla [Sanla]	M	12/24/1039	executors' act	Mas, no. 514 [inv]
787	Sendred Guillem	M	12/27/1039	executors' act	CCM, no. 101
788	Pere	M	02/01/1040	don-egr	Lézat, no. 135
789	Ermengardis widow Eldric de Orís	F	02/11/1040	pub-w	Oliba, no. 139

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
790	Truitel	F	03/26/1040	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 31/1
791	Oliba	M	03/26/1040	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0271
792	Truitel	F	04/09/1040	pub-w-append	Jornet, no. 31/2
793	Truitel	F	04/09/1040	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 039
794	Esclua	M	04/17/1040	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 040
795	Guimar	M	04/29/1040	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 551
796	Sendred	M	04/30/1040	executors' act	Mas, no. 516 [inv]
797	Guillem, levita	M	05/01/1040	pub-w	Miret, ADLC, no. 12 [tru]
798	Adalaidis	F	06/11/1040	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 102
799	Bernat Ruvira	M	09/12/1040	executors' act	Oliba, no. 141
800	Eriballus, eps Urgell, vc Cardona	M	10/22/1040	1st	Urgell, v, no. 527
801	Guillem Ramon de Torrizela	M	11/25/1040	pub-i	Tavernoles, no. 26
802	Sendred Adalberti	M	01/08/1041	pub-i-o-x-p	Mas, no. 520 [inv]
803	Sendred Adalberti	M	01/08/1041	law-set/adj	Mas, no. 521 [inv]
804	Guillem Bernat, archilevita	M	02/14/1041	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, v, no. 534
805	Sancha	F	02/22/1041	executors' act	Mas, no. 525 [inv]
806	Eriballus, eps Urgell, vc Cardona	M	05/01/1041	pub-w	Valls, Cardona, pp. 129-132
807	Eriballus, eps Urgell	M	05/01/1041	executors' act	Girona, no. 214
808	Tedricus	M	07/29/1041	pub-o	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 259
809	Martin, presbiter	M	08/02/1041	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 14 [inv]
810	Adalaidis	F	08/05/1041	1st-egritude	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:143r [tru]
811	Adalaidis	F	08/07/1041	executors' act	CCM, no. 103
812	Gombau [de Besora]	M	08/15/1041	1st-travel	Oliba, no. 146
813	Seniofred	M	10/06/1041	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 557
814	Just Enneguez	M	10/26/1041	don-res-3d party	Sahagún, no. 463
815	Sancho	M	12/22/1041	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 054
816	Bonadona	F	12/23/1041	pub-w	Jornet, no. 32
817	Seniofred, sacer	M	01/27/1042	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. add. 26
818	Manfred	M	04/09/1042	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 23:114-115r
819	Bonfill, presbiter	M	04/20/1042	pub-u	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 558
820	Ermengardis ux. Guillelm vc, vca Urgell	F	06/02/1042	1st	Urgell, v, no. 551
821	Bonfill, presbiter	M	06/21/1042	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 559
822	Bonfill Sanç de Llobera, bro inlaw of vc Cardona	M	10/12/1042	pub-w-p	Urgell, v, no. 556
823	Sunyer	M	01/01/1043	executors' act	MS: BMP MS Alart (Oms), 107:59:317 [inv]
824	Sendred	M	01/31/1043	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 264
825	Guadall	M	02/05/1043	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 063
826	Bernat Garsian	M	05/17/1043	pub-u	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 123
827	Salla [Sanla]	M	07/18/1043	executors' act	Mas, no. 556 [inv]
828	Seniofred	M	07/21/1043	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 565
829	Arnal, levita	M	08/15/1043	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 567
830	Unifredus, sacer	M	09/11/1043	1st-egritude	Oliba, no. 152
831	Gerbert, sacer	M	09/30/1043	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, v, no. 568
832	Sunyer	M	11/07/1043	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BC P, 02008
833	Alvaro & ux. Flayna	B	01/01/1044	don-post ob	Valpuesta, no. 54
834	Giscalfredus	M	02/05/1044	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 068
835	Hug	M	02/07/1044	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 299 [inv]
836	Ariemir	M	03/21/1044	1st	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 568
837	Seniofred, sacer	M	04/06/1044	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 574
838	Guitard, levita	M	04/24/1044	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 575
839	Ballomara	F	04/27/1044	pub-w	Jornet, no. 34
840	Isarn	M	05/13/1044	1st	Urgell, v, no. 577
841	Ariemir	M	05/26/1044	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 570
842	Ciral [Eyrat, sez HL]	M	07/26/1044	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 23:169
843	Adalaidis [de Ogern]	F	08/10/1044	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 071
844	Adalaidis [de Ogern]	F	08/11/1044	pub-w	Jornet, no. 35
845	Guitard, levita	M	09/22/1044	pub-w	Urgell, v, no. 579
846	Gerbert, sacer	M	09/29/1044	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. add. 27
847	Galderich	M	10/04/1044	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 44 [inv]
848	Riculf	M	10/10/1044	pub-u	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 572
849	Adebrand, cl Girona	M	07/31/1045	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 222
850	Adalaidis	F	08/10/1045	1st	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0117
851	Adebrand, cl Girona	M	08/24/1045	pub-w	Girona, no. 223
852	Adebrand, cl Girona	M	08/24/1045	executors' act	Girona, no. 224
853	Guillem	M	10/06/1045	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 581
854	Bernat Guifred de Balsareny, dominus, fr. eps Vic	M	10/18/1045	1st	Sabala, no. 1

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
855	Ramon, levita	M	10/22/1045	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 582
856	Miro Bardina de Eschalarr], nobilis	M	01/01/1046	pub-i	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:161v [tru]
857	Adalaidis	F	01/15/1046	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0123
858	Ramon Seniofredi Avinionensi	M	01/25/1046	pub-o-p	Santa Anna, no. 52
859	Martin Lupez & ux. Gondisalva	M	03/05/1046	corpus	Sahagún, no. 493
860	Miro Bardina [de Schalar], nobilis	M	04/06/1046	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:164r [tru]
861	Eroigius	M	04/30/1046	1st	Mas, no. 583 [inv]
862	Ovasius	M	06/08/1046	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 587
863	Sendred	M	06/17/1046	pub	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1421
864	Pere Goltredi, sacrista, canon Vic	M	07/26/1046	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2145
865	Pere Languard	M	09/03/1046	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:135r [tru]
866	Gauzfred	M	10/11/1046	executors' act	Girona, no. 227
867	Adalaidis	F	03/08/1047	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 152
868	Bonadona	F	05/29/1047	pub-o	Jornet, no. 36
869	Ermengol Bernat	M	06/19/1047	executors' act	CCM, no. 107
870	Guillem Sendredi	M	07/17/1047	pub-u	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 590
871	Arnulf	M	07/23/1047	1st	Urgell, v, no. 603
872	Gudula	M	07/25/1047	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 604
873	Joan, servus ch S. Salvador [cleric?]	M	08/01/1047	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 26 [inv]
874	Sinner	F	09/20/1047	pub-w	Taylor, pp. 131-2
875	Gauzfred Vitalis	M	11/01/1047	executors' act	Girona, no. 229
876	Pere de Alcozare, et alii, presbiter & dominus (3 lords)	M	01/01/1048	corpus	San Millán, no. 253
877	Stephanus	M	03/16/1048	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 124
878	Ermengol prolis Bardina	M	04/12/1048	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0988
879	Bernat Ermengaudi, [castellan] Fornells	M	05/03/1048	pub-o	LFM, i, no. 431
880	Miro, sacer	M	07/04/1048	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 618
881	Ramon Guitardi	M	07/25/1048	pub-o	Urgell, v, no. 619
882	Sicfredus Bellushomo	M	08/01/1048	pub-special	Lézat, no. 1295
883	Isarn	M	08/05/1048	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 098
884	Stephanus, levita	M	10/29/1048	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 622
885	Guifred f. Eldemar de Mata	M	01/05/1049	pub-o	MS: ACV P, 6:1407
886	Muniadonna	F	03/13/1049	corpus	Sahagún, no. 527
887	Guinidilda	F	05/01/1049	1st-egritude	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0125
888	Guitard, presbiter	M	05/06/1049	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1408
889	Ramon Borrell, levita	M	08/04/1049	executors' act	Mas, no. 621 [inv]
890	Guifred, levita et canon Vic	M	08/27/1049	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2156
891	Amalric	M	09/12/1049	pub-o-p	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 108
892	Ermemir	M	09/23/1049	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 157
893	Ermengardis ux. Guillelm vc, vca Urgell	F	12/22/1049	pub-w	Urgell, v, no. 628
894	Guillem	M	01/01/1050	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, C:b:159
895	Galindo	M	01/01/1050	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0589
896	Ermessendis	F	01/01/1050	don-egr	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 158
897	Deusedit f. Bernat de Coderc	M	01/01/1050	1st-don/test	Conques, no. 281
898	Elisabet [1 ux. RBI], ca Barcelona	F	01/01/1050	1st	Aurell, p. 323-4
899	Ramon [Mironi de Sersui]	M	01/01/1050	1st	Gerri, no. 9
900	Arnal Seguini	M	03/05/1050	1st-pilgrimage	Cros, no. 42
901	Vita Fmitez & ux. Froilo	B	03/15/1050	corpus	Sahagún, no. 538
902	Salla [Sanla] de Vercio	M	05/07/1050	executors' act	Mas, no. 623 [inv]
903	Bernat Enovinus [Erovinus]	M	05/08/1050	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 24:170-171v
904	Fernan	M	06/04/1050	corpus	Sahagún, no. 539
905	Berenguer Ramon I, c Barcelona	M	06/08/1050	DC:will-related	LFM, i, no. 36
906	Ermengardis ux. Arnau Dach, vca Urgell	F	06/22/1050	pub-w	Urgell, v, no. 630
907	Bonfill, levita Barcelona	M	07/05/1050	pub-w-p	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 116
908	Fruilo	F	07/24/1050	pub-w	MS: BC P, 08994
909	Trasgonca	F	09/05/1050	1st-egritude	Urgell, v, no. 634
910	Sunyer Randulphi	M	10/27/1050	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1434
911	Radulf	M	12/13/1050	pub-o	Urgell, v, no. 636
912	Hug Arnalli	M	12/21/1050	executors' act	Urgell, v, no. 637
913	Garcia Aznarez de Orna [& ux. Toda]	B	01/01/1051	1st	Fanlo, no. 29 [inv]
914	Durand	M	05/08/1051	pub-w	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 248
915	Vivas, sacer, scricustos	M	05/31/1051	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 642
916	Emil	M	07/23/1051	executors' act	Mas, no. 632 [inv]
917	Guillem, archilevita	M	07/25/1051	pub-w-p	Urgell, vi, no. 643

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
918	Oriol, levita	M	10/05/1051	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 644
919	Galindo	M	11/01/1051	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 645
920	Arnal Salla	M	11/14/1051	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vi, no. 647
921	Garcia Jimenez de Orna	M	12/06/1051	pub-i-o	Fanlo, no. 28
922	Arbert	M	01/01/1052	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, C:b:169
923	Gauzfred	M	01/01/1052	1st	Urgell, viii, no. add. 17
924	Almerad, lord of Anduze	M	01/12/1052	1st-don/test	HL, v, no. 232
925	Volveradus, canon Elne	M	04/18/1052	don-egr	HL, v, c. 1521 [inv]
926	Ermengol	M	06/09/1052	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 058
927	Bonfill & ux. Logridia	B	06/11/1052	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 650
928	Arnulf, miles of Solsona (Bonn)	M	07/21/1052	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 654
929	Arnulf (Ranolf), miles	M	08/01/1052	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 653
930	Pere Vivani	M	12/31/1052	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 145
931	Guillem, miles of Martorell	M	01/01/1053	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, A:2171
932	Seniofred	M	03/01/1053	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1002
933	Amalric	M	03/24/1053	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 161
934	Ermentrud	F	04/06/1053	1st	Jornet, no. 40
935	Oriol	M	05/01/1053	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 658
936	Sunyer Guilelmi, sacer	M	08/26/1053	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 660
937	Gerbert	M	10/18/1053	pub	Mas, no. 661 [inv]
938	Cardose	F	11/03/1053	pub-o	Jornet, no. 41
939	Enric, monk	M	11/04/1053	pub-w	Catalunya Romànica, ii, pp. 358-9
940	Salla, sacer ?	M	12/13/1053	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 662
941	Radulf, archipresbiter	M	01/08/1054	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 663
942	Miro Llobet Sans	M	01/16/1054	pub	Mas, no. 671 [inv]
943	Pere Vicini	M	02/17/1054	pub	Mas, no. 672 [inv]
944	Salla [Sanla]	M	02/23/1054	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 64
945	Guillem Arnal	M	03/05/1054	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 665
946	Pere	M	03/31/1054	law-set/adj	HL, v, no. 240
947	Ermemir Guillem, canon Vic	M	04/23/1054	1st	MS: ACV P, 9:II:053
948	Guitard	M	05/04/1054	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 602
949	Radulf, archipresbiter	M	05/20/1054	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 671
950	Cixol	F	06/09/1054	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 42
951	Eicius	M	09/01/1054	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 605
952	Arnal, sacer	M	09/22/1054	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. 28
953	Ermemir	M	10/01/1054	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 260
954	Gaudericus	M	10/05/1054	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 794 [inv]
955	Bernat Gelmiri	M	10/11/1054	pub-o	Docs. Jurídics,
956	Berenguer Ramon I, c Barcelona	M	12/02/1054	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 155
957	Ermemir Guilielmi, cl canon Vic	M	12/05/1054	executors' act	MS: ACV P, 6:1016
958	Seniofred & ux. Ermengarda	B	01/11/1055	1st	Jornet, no. 43
959	Tedball, canon Vic	M	02/17/1055	pub-w-p	MS: ACV P, 9:II:054
960	Guifred	M	04/18/1055	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 539 [inv]
961	Sendred Livol	M	06/11/1055	1st	Mas, no. 699 [inv]
962	Adalaidis	F	08/18/1055	pub-w	Jornet, no. 44
963	Guillem II Trunnus, c Besalú	M	08/29/1055	don-p	CCM, no. 116
964	Ramon	M	12/13/1055	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 685
965	Miro	M	01/01/1056	1st	Pallars, no. 317
966	Miro Cheruci	M	05/22/1056	pub	Mas, no. 706 [inv]
967	Adalaidis	F	07/21/1056	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09084
968	Ramon, sacer, canon Vic	M	07/24/1056	1st	MS: ACV P, 9:II:055 & 057
969	Gauzbert d'Arenys	M	09/02/1056	executors' act	Girona, no. 251
970	Ebrin Richer	M	11/16/1056	pub	Mas, no. 713 [inv]
971	Seniofred, presbiter	M	12/19/1056	pub	Mas, no. 716 [inv]
972	Ermengardis	F	01/04/1057	1st	Mas, no. 717 [inv]
973	Chuscha, famula dei [nun?]	F	01/24/1057	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 061
974	Ermessendis, ca Barcelona	F	06/04/1057	don-inter fam.	LFM, i, no. 214
975	Ilia	F	08/18/1057	pub-u	Girona, no. 255
976	Ermessendis, ca Barcelona	F	09/25/1057	1st-pilgrimage	LFM, i, no. 490
977	Guillem Mir	M	10/19/1057	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vi, no. 697
978	Guillem	M	10/19/1057	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vi, no. 696
979	Sancho Manni	M	01/16/1058	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 701
980	Ramon, sacerdos	M	01/18/1058	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 9:II:058
981	Adalaidis	F	01/23/1058	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 703
982	Bardina proles Ecio	M	01/28/1058	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 611
983	Seniol Gillelmi	M	02/10/1058	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 70
984	Ermessendis, ca Barcelona	F	02/26/1058	pub-o	LFM, i, no. 491
985	Ramon Guillem [de Castelvell], [castellan] Voltre	M	03/26/1058	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 224
986	Guillem Ramon	M	05/01/1058	pub-o	Urgell, vi, no. 705

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
987	Sendred	M	05/05/1058	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 706
988	Vivas	M	06/14/1058	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 708
989	Ermengardis filia quond. Aeicioni	F	06/15/1058	pub-w	Jornet, no. 47
990	Guitard Anania	M	06/15/1058	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 9:II:059
991	Ramon	M	06/20/1058	pub-o	MS: ACV P, 6:2166
992	Ecifred	M	09/24/1058	1st	NH, xi, no. 318 [inv]
993	Isarn [prolis Sanlani], levita	M	09/28/1058	1st-pilgrimage	Santa Anna, no. 73
994	Guitard	M	10/14/1058	pub-o	Urgell, vi, no. 710
995	Miro, cl levita S. Cugat	M	12/15/1058	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 615
996	Bovet Renardi	M	01/01/1059	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, B:1424
997	Oriol Iñigonez [& ux.]	B	01/01/1059	1st-don/test	La Peña, ii, no. 153
998	Oriol Iñigonez & ux. Sancia	B	01/01/1059	1st-don/test	La Peña, ii, no. 152
999	Arnal, presbiter (Bonnassie)	M	01/17/1059	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vi, no. 712
1000	Exabelus, lord of Castle of Pedra	M	02/07/1059	pub-w	Ager, no. 18
1001	Silvius Lobeti, son of 556 & 359	M	06/14/1059	pub-w	Cervià, no. 12
1002	Elisendus [Elisendis]	F?	06/22/1059	executors' act	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. Canigo), 108:339r-v
1003	Ramiro I, rex Aragon	M	07/29/1059	1st	La Peña, ii, no. 150
1004	Miro Foget	M	10/25/1059	1st-travel	MS: ACV P, 6:2170
1005	Dodo [sieur de Bernède], dominus	M	01/01/1060	laud/exec	Saint-Mont, no. 40
1006	Robert de Castelli	M	01/01/1060	laud/exec	Conques, no. 284
1007	Gerau Niger et al.	M	01/01/1060	don-post ob	Saint-Victor, no. 466
1008	Carbonel & ux. Scocia	B	01/01/1060	don-post ob	Saint-Victor, no. 362
1009	Godinus	M	01/01/1060	don-inter fam.	Lézat, no. 605
1010	Roger de Lannux, dominus	M	01/01/1060	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 47
1011	Sancho, ab Huertulo [?]	M	01/01/1060	1st-special	La Peña, ii, no. 156
1012	Stefania ux. Garcia de Nájera, q Navarra	F	01/01/1060	1st	Rioja, no. 19
1013	Udalguer	M	01/07/1060	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 184
1014	Sesmir, monk	M	02/08/1060	PMSig	Sahagún, no. 611
1015	Ato Jolénus	M	04/01/1060	don-egr	Lézat, no. 1058
1016	Aiga	F	07/15/1060	executors' act	Mas, no. 768 [inv]
1017	Berenguer Donucii	M	07/24/1060	1st-war	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 044
1018	Ponç	M	07/26/1060	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 259
1019	Berenguer Guadalli	M	09/11/1060	pub-o-p	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 256
1020	Pere	M	10/01/1060	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 721
1021	Miro Geribert, dominus "prince" Olerdola [vc fam]	M	10/29/1060	pub-w-p	Montjuich, no. 28
1022	Rodbal	M	11/13/1060	pub-w-p	MS: ACV P, 6:1423
1023	Guillem Cixele, cl canon Vic	M	11/30/1060	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2171
1024	Riculf, sacerdos [canon]	M	12/12/1060	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV LDA, f. 067
1025	Arnal Guillem	M	01/01/1061	1st	MS: BC P, 09537
1026	Iñigo Lopeze & ux. Onneca, dominus & domina	B	02/28/1061	1st-pilgrimage	La Peña, ii, no. 158
1027	Ramiro I, rex Aragon	M	03/15/1061	1st	La Peña, ii, no. 159
1028	Senull[us]	M	05/27/1061	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 78
1029	Guillem Cixule, cl canon Vic	M	06/13/1061	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 9:II:061
1030	Berovardus, presbiter	M	06/26/1061	executors' act	NH, xv, no. 2187
1031	Pere Mironi	M	07/07/1061	1st	Poblet, no. 16
1032	Berenguer Bernat	M	07/12/1061	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 37-40
1033	Baro, presbiter	M	10/10/1061	executors' act	Obarra, no. 139 [des]
1034	Ramon	M	11/06/1061	pub-w-p	Urgell, vi, no. 734
1035	Miro Isarni, [castellan] Aguilar & Gerb	M	12/21/1061	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vi, no. 736
1036	Illa	F	01/01/1062	pub-u	Jornet, no. 48
1037	Berenguer	M	01/24/1062	PMSig	Urgell, vi, no. 738
1038	Seniofred	M	02/11/1062	pub	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1485
1039	Goltred	M	04/11/1062	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 742
1040	Gilabert, eps Barcelona	M	06/05/1062	pub-w	Puig i Puig, no. 49
1041	Pere f. Bernat de Malsere, [dominus]	M	08/22/1062	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 67
1042	Gerau, archidiaconus	M	10/16/1062	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Pere de Camprodon, 14
1043	Orucia	F	11/22/1062	pub-o	Jornet, no. 49
1044	Riculf Eldemar, canon Vic	M	12/24/1062	pub-w	MS: ACV LDA, f. 066v
1045	Engelburga ux. Mironi	F	01/17/1063	pub-u	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 114
1046	NN	M	01/17/1063	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 629
1047	Saturninus	M	01/18/1063	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 744
1048	Guitard Bernat de Ursià	M	01/20/1063	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 745
1049	Guitard Bernat	M	01/31/1063	pub-w-p	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 631
1050	Isovardi	M	02/23/1063	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1437
1051	Jozbert	M	02/28/1063	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 293
1052	Gelmir [de Vilaci?]	M	03/25/1063	pub-o	MS: BC P, 03815
1053	Jozfred	M	05/06/1063	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 270

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1054	Ponç Isarni	M	05/06/1063	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 747
1055	Ponç Isarni	M	06/03/1063	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 748
1056	Miro	M	06/05/1063	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 322
1057	Guido Riculf	M	06/29/1063	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 634
1058	Guido Riculf	M	08/03/1063	1st-codicil	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 637
1059	Ponç	M	10/01/1063	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 752
1060	Pere Bernat	M	10/07/1063	1st-travel	MS: ACV P, 6:1442
1061	Bonfill Baronis	M	11/05/1063	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0287
1062	Bernat Guifredi	M	12/18/1063	pub	Mas, no. 789 [inv]
1063	Ademar	M	12/31/1063	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 140
1064	Adilius, presbiter	M	01/01/1064	don-egr	Lézat, no. 47
1065	Galindo	M	01/05/1064	pub-o	MS: BC P, 08722
1066	Guitard, levita	M	01/27/1064	pub-w	Girona, no. 274
1067	Guila	F	01/29/1064	pub-w	Girona, no. 275
1068	Guitard Bernat de Ursià	M	02/14/1064	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 754
1069	Ponç, levita et caput schole Gerona	M	02/14/1064	1st-egritude	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 7
1070	Guillem	M	03/17/1064	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 755
1071	Rodlendis	F	03/24/1064	pub-o	Girona, no. 279
1072	Ponç, levita & caputscole Girona	M	04/02/1064	1st-codicil	Sant Sadurní, no. 4
1073	Guitard Bernat de Ursià	M	04/09/1064	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 757
1074	Adalaidis	F	04/29/1064	pub-w	Jornet, no. 50
1075	Ponç, levita & caputscole Girona	M	05/07/1064	pub-w	Sant Sadurní, no. 5
1076	Ramon filium Elliardis	M	05/21/1064	1st	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 640
1077	Arnal Ermemiri	M	05/29/1064	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 328
1078	Guillem Bonefilii	M	05/31/1064	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 329
1079	Bonfill Auruci, levita	M	06/11/1064	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 259
1080	Guadall	M	08/29/1064	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 136
1081	Bonafilia	F	10/06/1064	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 64 [inv]
1082	Guillem Berenguer, fr. RB I c Barcelona	M	10/14/1064	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 331,2
1083	Arnal	M	10/22/1064	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Generalitat, 9
1084	Maiassendis	F	11/04/1064	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1446
1085	Aimeruds ux. Richau [widow]	F	01/01/1065	corpus	Saint-Victor, no. 304
1086	Riculf	M	02/13/1065	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 35 [inv]
1087	Ponç	M	02/21/1065	pub-o	Urgell, vi, no. 771
1088	Guillem	M	03/11/1065	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 772
1089	Ermengardis	F	03/18/1065	pub-o	Urgell, vi, no. 773
1090	Bernat Beleli, cl Girona	M	03/31/1065	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 289
1091	Gerbert Bonutio	M	03/31/1065	1st-egritude	Miret, ADLC, no. 17 [tru]
1092	Guifred Seniofredi	M	04/05/1065	pub	Mas, no. 804 [inv]
1093	Dalmau Adalberti	M	04/07/1065	pub-w	MS: ACV LDA, f. 107v
1094	Ermengol III, c Urgell	M	04/12/1065	pub-i-o	Ager y Caresmar, no. 67 [inv]
1095	Odo Boeci	M	04/12/1065	pub	Mas, no. 806 [inv]
1096	Berenguer Ermengol	M	04/15/1065	pub	Mas, no. 805 [inv]
1097	Guillem	M	04/25/1065	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 776
1098	Sendred Mironi	M	05/06/1065	1st	Mas, no. 807 [inv]
1099	Bonfill Seniofredi	M	05/11/1065	pub	Mas, no. 808 [inv]
1100	Ponç	M	05/14/1065	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 778
1101	Ermemir Recosindi	M	05/27/1065	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0296
1102	Bernat Bernat	M	07/27/1065	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 642
1103	Udalguer	M	08/17/1065	executors' act	Mas, no. 813 [inv]
1104	Bernat, levita	M	08/23/1065	pub	Mas, no. 814 [inv]
1105	Guadall	M	08/29/1065	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 136
1106	Guadall	M	08/30/1065	law-set/adj	HL, v, no. 269
1107	Dominicius	M	09/29/1065	executors' act	Girona, no. 292
1108	Guillem Guifredi, canon Girona	M	10/09/1065	pub-w-p	Viaje, xii, no. 29
1109	Lio & mater Oria & sons Pelayo etc.	B	11/13/1065	corpus	Sahagún, no. 646
1110	Arnal Ramon	M	03/16/1066	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Maria d'Amer, 08
1111	Sendred	M	04/29/1066	executors' act	Cervià, no. 15
1112	Guillem Tedmari, canon Girona	M	06/09/1066	executors' act	CCM, no. 133
1113	Maïor, q Navarre/Castille (ux. Sancho Garces)	F	06/13/1066	1st	Carrion, no. 4
1114	Sicardis	F	09/03/1066	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 650
1115	Adalaidis	F	09/17/1066	executors' act	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 344
1116	Odo Randulfi	M	09/19/1066	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0138
1117	Sendred Sunnier	M	09/20/1066	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 200
1118	Bonucius, sacerdos canon Vic	M	10/14/1066	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1056
1119	Ramon Adalbert	M	12/10/1066	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 795
1120	Iñigo Garcés de Aísa	M	01/01/1067	1st	Fanlo, no. 57 [inv]
1121	Richildis	F	03/24/1067	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 656

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1122	Joan, sacerdos	M	04/28/1067	don-res	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 657
1123	Guifred Sendredi	M	05/21/1067	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1958
1124	Ramon Guifredi	M	07/31/1067	pub-o	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 660
1125	Bonfill Odesindus prolis	M	08/27/1067	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 92
1126	Arnal Bernat (de Fulhà)	M	08/27/1067	1st	Roussillon, no. 48
1127	Bonfill Donucii	M	09/27/1067	pub-w-p	Girona, no. 302
1128	Ramon Guifredi	M	12/14/1067	pub-w	Mas, no. 854 [inv]
1129	Gerbert	M	12/26/1067	1st	Mas, no. 855 [inv]
1130	Bernat Amati	M	01/09/1068	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 662
1131	Miro, presbiter	M	03/06/1068	don-res	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 663
1132	Eldemir, presbiter	M	04/06/1068	1st	MS: BC P, 09092
1133	Arsenda	F	05/05/1068	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 327 [inv]
1134	Arsenda ux. Arnau Mir de Tost, domina	F	05/22/1068	1st	Ager, no. 25
1135	Radulf, canon Vic	M	06/03/1068	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1454
1136	Aznar Sanchez & ux. Guntroda, senior [dominus]	B	06/04/1068	1st	San Millán, no. 367
1137	Miro	M	06/10/1068	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 815
1138	Gerbert	M	06/23/1068	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 349
1139	Rodlan	M	06/30/1068	1st	MS: BC P, 09840
1140	Isarn, sacerdos sacricustos	M	08/10/1068	pub-w-p	Urgell, vi, no. 816
1141	Arsenda ux. Arnau Mir de Tost, domina	F	01/01/1069	DC:will-related	Ager, no. 27
1142	Ponç f. Willielmi, vc Marseille	M	01/01/1069	1st-don/test	Saint-Victor, no. 551
1143	Sancho de Latrás	M	01/01/1069	1st	Fanlo, no. 58 [inv]
1144	Gerbert	M	01/13/1069	pub-w	Girona, no. 307
1145	Ermengardis	F	02/09/1069	pub-w	Jornet, no. 55
1146	Gelmir	M	04/01/1069	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 413
1147	Arnal Guillem	M	04/25/1069	1st	HL, v, no. 285
1148	Radulf, cl canon Vic	M	07/12/1069	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1463
1149	Gelmir	M	10/02/1069	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 421
1150	Company Tudiscli	M	10/14/1069	pub-o	Mas, no. 876 [inv]
1151	Orucia	F	01/01/1070	pub-w	Jornet, no. 110
1152	Benedicta de Campania et de Goron	F	01/01/1070	don-egr	Sorde, no. 38
1153	Alemaný Altemir	M	01/06/1070	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 825
1154	Miro Ato	M	01/30/1070	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 044v
1155	Guillem	M	04/10/1070	1st	Mas, no. 882 [inv]
1156	Sancho II, rex Navarra	M	08/26/1070	corpus	Oña, no. 58
1157	Eldemar	M	09/01/1070	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 831
1158	Gombau Sanla	M	11/07/1070	1st	Mas, no. 885 [inv]
1159	Adosinda Gutierrez, nun	F	01/13/1071	don-egr	Sahagún, no. 695
1160	Garsendis	F	01/30/1071	executors' act	Cervià, no. 21
1161	Miro Ato	M	01/30/1071	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1598
1162	Arnal	M	03/23/1071	pub-o	Guissona, no. 27
1163	Bonucius, sacrista Girona	M	04/08/1071	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 310
1164	Ramon Mironi [de Orcau]	M	06/01/1071	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 837
1165	Ramon Mironi [de Orcau]	M	06/16/1071	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 838
1166	Adroarius	M	06/18/1071	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1465
1167	Guila ux. Arnalli Guilelmi	F	08/02/1071	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 30:164r-v
1168	Bonucius, sacrista Girona	M	08/02/1071	don-inter fam.	Girona, no. 309
1169	Arnal Mironis [de Tost], dominus de Ager	M	08/11/1071	1st-pilgrimage	Miret, Castellbó, no. 6
1170	Bonucius, sacrista Girona	M	09/07/1071	pub-w	Girona, no. 312
1171	Arnal Petri	M	09/22/1071	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BC P, 09845
1172	Iohlen	F	10/01/1071	pub-u	Jornet, no. 56
1173	Em	F	10/18/1071	1st	Serra, p. 225
1174	Folc Guisard	M	01/01/1072	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, B 1053
1175	Bonadona	F	01/01/1072	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 57
1176	Pere Guillem	M	01/01/1072	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 842
1177	Pere Guillem	M	01/12/1072	pub-o	Urgell, vi, no. 843
1178	Arnal Bernat	M	03/10/1072	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 845
1179	Guillem Oliba	M	05/07/1072	executors' act	Banyoles, ii, no. 88
1180	Bonadona	F	05/21/1072	1st	MS: BC P, 09847
1181	Sendred Mir	M	05/24/1072	executors' act	Mas, no. 892 [inv]
1182	Miro Guasche	M	08/10/1072	pub-o	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 13
1183	Trudlindis	F	10/20/1072	pub-i-o	Béziers, no. 80
1184	Ermengardis	F	10/27/1072	1st-egritude	Sant Pol de Mar, no. 18
1185	Constancia	F	01/01/1073	1st	MS: BC P, 09851
1186	Guitard	M	03/07/1073	1st-religious	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 676
1187	Belisend	F	04/03/1073	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 58

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1188	Gombau Sanla	M	04/25/1073	pub	Mas, no. 904 [inv]
1189	Pere, levita	M	05/12/1073	executors' act	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 30:231r-v
1190	Guila Arberti	F	08/26/1073	pub-o	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 678
1191	Sendred	M	09/06/1073	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0304
1192	Berenguer Guifredi, [castellan]	M	10/27/1073	1st-pilgrimage	Guissona, no. 36
1193	Arnal Radulfi	M	12/18/1073	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 319
1194	Folc Seniofredi	M	12/19/1073	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1472
1195	Guitard	M	12/21/1073	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 855
1196	Folc Seniofred	M	01/07/1074	don-inter fam.	MS: ACV P, 6:1474
1197	Gerbert	M	01/18/1074	pub	Mas, no. 912 [inv]
1198	Guillem de Balsareny, eps Vic	M	02/06/1074	1st-religious	MS: ACV P, 9:II:066
1199	Guadall [?]	M	02/28/1074	pub-u	MS: BC P, 09900
1200	Guitard lozfredi	M	03/25/1074	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 067v
1201	Folc	M	04/29/1074	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1471
1202	Guitard	M	05/13/1074	pub-w	Urgell, vi, no. 863
1203	Gerberga	F	06/24/1074	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 60
1204	Amat Eldrici, [castellan] Castle Petra	M	07/16/1074	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 052
1205	Isarn Guadalli	M	08/10/1074	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 866
1206	Ermessendis	F	08/23/1074	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1477
1207	Bernat Bernat, eps Carcassonne	M	09/15/1074	1st-travel	CCM, no. 141
1208	Bernat Ramon	M	09/29/1074	pub-u-p	Ager y Caresmar, no. 86 [inv]
1209	Bonfill, presbiter	M	10/10/1074	pub	Mas, no. 921 [inv]
1210	Sancha	F	10/30/1074	1st	Santa Anna, no. 103
1211	Baro	M	11/19/1074	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 867
1212	Zennano Annaya Vellitiz & s. Claudia	B	12/13/1074	don	Sahagún, no. 738
1213	Ramon de Sion, dominus	M	01/01/1075	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 50
1214	Ramon de Sion, miles	M	01/01/1075	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 53
1215	Enard Mir de Montardit	M	01/01/1075	1st	Gerri, no. 70
1216	Guillem, sacer	M	02/24/1075	1st-egritude	Urgell, vi, no. 873
1217	Bernat proli Compang	M	03/07/1075	1st-egritude	Guissona, no. 37
1218	Guillem Guitardi	M	03/11/1075	executors' act	Cervià, no. 24
1219	Ramon Adalberti	M	03/19/1075	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09704
1220	NN	M	03/19/1075	1st	MS: BC P, 09704
1221	Ramon Adalberti	M	04/13/1075	1st	MS: BC P, no. 09855
1222	Amat Guitardi, levita	M	04/16/1075	pub	Mas, no. 931 [inv]
1223	Guilbert, sacer	M	04/23/1075	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 876
1224	Bernat Isemberti	M	05/31/1075	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 31:069-70r
1225	Berenguer Guilelmi	M	06/19/1075	pub-o-p	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 475
1226	Arnal Dachoni, vc Urgell	M	07/21/1075	1st	Urgell, vi, no. 880
1227	Ramon Arnaldus de Badas	M	08/01/1075	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 56
1228	Maior	M	09/04/1075	1st	MS: BC P, 03842
1229	Guitard Isarni	M	11/04/1075	executors' act	Urgell, vi, no. 884
1230	Bernat Guifredi	M	12/26/1075	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer I, 484
1231	Dalmau Olibani & ux. Ermengardis	B	01/10/1076	executors' act	Urgell, vii, no. 900
1232	Domnucius Bernat	M	01/14/1076	1st	Mas, no. 936 [inv]
1233	Guillem	M	01/23/1076	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 901
1234	Bernat Bernat, eps Carcassonne	M	01/31/1076	pub-o	CCM, no. 143
1235	Pere Mironis	M	03/18/1076	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 905
1236	Ramon Bernat	M	06/05/1076	1st	Mas, no. 942-3 [inv]
1237	Artal	M	08/30/1076	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09703
1238	Ermengol Samarell	M	10/04/1076	pub	Mas, no. 947 [inv]
1239	Ermengol Lobatoni	M	10/31/1076	pub	Mas, no. 948 [inv]
1240	Ramon Berenguer I, c Barcelona	M	11/12/1076	pub-w	LFM, i, no. 492
1241	Artal Artalli	M	03/19/1077	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 09714
1242	Gauzbert, cl	M	03/30/1077	pub-o	HL, v, no. 326
1243	Guntrigus	M	05/14/1077	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0307
1244	Olovara	F	05/27/1077	pub-o	Jornet, no. 61
1245	Ramon	M	08/28/1077	pub-o	MS: ACV P, 6:1483
1246	Senegundis	F	11/07/1077	executors' act	MS: ACV P, 6:1484
1247	Berenguer	M	11/09/1077	1st	Mas, no. 960 [inv]
1248	Folc Ermengaudi, [castellan]	M	12/15/1077	pub-w-p	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer II, 26
1249	Adalaidis ux. Bernat Senmiri	F	12/30/1077	pub-o	Urgell, vii, no. 919
1250	Seniofred & ux. Arsendis	B	01/01/1078	executors' act	Roses, no. 14
1251	Urraca, domina, da. rex Ramiro I	F	01/01/1078	1st-don/test	La Serós, no. 7
1252	Folc Raimunndi	M	01/28/1078	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer II, 27
1253	Ermengol de Malla, archidiaconus	M	02/28/1078	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 068v
1254	Ponç Ebrini	M	05/18/1078	pub	Mas, no. 969 [inv]
1255	Ponç I, c Ampurias	M	05/19/1078	1st	Catalunya Romànica, viii, pp. 76-77
1256	Berenguer Bonefilii	M	06/05/1078	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 112
1257	Guillem Arnal	M	06/18/1078	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 113

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1258	Guillem Donuci	M	06/23/1078	1st-egritude	Mas, no. 971 [inv]
1259	Seniofred	M	08/06/1078	pub-o	Urgell, vii, no. 921
1260	Ramon Ramon	M	08/16/1078	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 694
1261	Berenguer	M	09/29/1078	pub-w	Guissona, no. 42
1262	Joan, caputscole Gerona	M	10/06/1078	1st-egritude	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 15
1263	Bonifuosa	F	11/06/1078	executors' act	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer II, 36
1264	Sendred Compangni, [castellan]	M	12/15/1078	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 357
1265	Ponç Gerau	M	01/13/1079	1st	Mas, no. 979 [inv]
1266	Isarn Mironi	M	03/07/1079	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vii, no. 925
1267	Ramon, presbiter	M	05/03/1079	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 93 [inv]
1268	Ponç Ebrini	M	05/04/1079	1st	Mas, no. 982 [inv]
1269	Arnal Mironi	M	06/16/1079	executors' act	MS: ADPO H 273 (Ripoll), s.n.
1270	Gauceran	M	11/08/1079	1st	MS: BC P, 09859
1271	Pere Arnaldus	M	01/01/1080	pub-i-o	Lézat, no. 1067
1272	Bertran de Ampeils	M	01/01/1080	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 72
1273	Arnal de Falgars	M	01/01/1080	don-egr	Sorde, no. 46
1274	Odalric	M	01/01/1080	1st	Conques, no. 370
1275	Benjamin	M	01/01/1080	1st	Conques, no. 184
1276	Adalaidis ux. Poncii Dalmacii	F	01/01/1080	1st	Gualter, no. 12
1277	Ramon Sendredi de Rubí	M	02/24/1080	1st	Mas, no. 988 [inv]
1278	Ermessendis	F	03/03/1080	1st-egritude	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0156
1279	Elian	F	03/23/1080	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:151v [tru]
1280	Adalaidis	F	05/06/1080	pub-w	Jornet, no. 64
1281	Arnal, presbiter	M	05/11/1080	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 938
1282	Ermemir Quintila, sacerdos	M	08/23/1080	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1488
1283	Gauzfred Guillem	M	11/04/1080	pub-w	CCM, no. 148
1284	Richildis	F	11/14/1080	pub-w	Jornet, no. 65
1285	Gonzalo Fernandez, magnat palatii	M	12/03/1080	PMSig	Sahagún, no. 786
1286	Adalbert	M	01/25/1081	1st-religious	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 124
1287	Ramon Sunier	M	03/25/1081	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Cecília de Montserrat, 068
1288	Ponç, sacer	M	03/28/1081	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 951
1289	Sunyer Cixellani	M	05/03/1081	1st	Mas, no. 991-2 [inv]
1290	Adalaidis	F	05/13/1081	1st	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 239, p. 52 [des]
1291	Trudgardis, domina	F	08/13/1081	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 959
1292	Guillem Berillus	M	08/18/1081	pub-i-o-x	Urgell, vii, no. 961
1293	Sunyer Cixilani	M	08/27/1081	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1079
1294	Diego Ansurez	M	09/09/1081	1st-war	Sahagún, no. 794
1295	Bernat Guillem, sacrista Girona	M	09/17/1081	1st	Girona, no. 345
1296	Bernat Guillem, sacrista Girona	M	10/02/1081	pub-w	Girona, no. 347
1297	Amalric Be	M	10/04/1081	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 705
1298	Pere Geriberti	M	10/10/1081	1st	Mas, no. 1003 [inv]
1299	Garsendis	F	11/04/1081	pub-o	Jornet, no. 67
1300	Audger, presbiter	M	11/20/1081	1st	Mas, no. 1006 [inv]
1301	Arnal Petri	M	12/11/1081	pub-u	MS: BC P, 09534
1302	Amat	M	02/18/1082	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1491
1303	Arnal Vernardi	M	03/10/1082	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 966
1304	Pere Geriberti	M	03/21/1082	pub	Mas, no. 1012 [inv]
1305	Berenguer Sendredi	M	05/27/1082	pub	Mas, no. 1014 [inv]
1306	Gerbert & fr. Guillelmus [de Orcau]	M	06/28/1082	1st-pilgrimage	Gerri, no. 27
1307	Arnal Odegarii	M	07/21/1082	pub-u	Ager y Caresmar, no. 100 [inv]
1308	Gilabert	M	07/23/1082	1st	MS: BC P, 09054
1309	Dalmau Geribert, presbiter	M	08/17/1082	pub	Mas, no. 1017 [inv]
1310	Gonzalo Salvadores, c in León/Cast	M	09/05/1082	don-p	Oña, no. 77
1311	Guadall	M	09/17/1082	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 971
1312	Arnal Guillem	M	09/18/1082	1st	MS: BC P, 10030
1313	Stephanus Todrec [Tordera]	M	10/03/1082	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 151
1314	Arnal Mironi [ux. Sicardis]	M	11/12/1082	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 974
1315	Guillem Ramon, caputscole Vic, ab Ager	M	11/12/1082	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2195
1316	Guillem Sendredus, cl	M	11/23/1082	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 708
1317	Durand Ennego	M	01/01/1083	~unspec	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1578
1318	Sancho de Vilás	M	01/01/1083	1st	Fanlo, no. 74 [inv]
1319	Clemenca ux. Petri Bernat	F	01/13/1083	executors' act	Urgell, vii, no. 977
1320	Arnal Guillem [?]	M	01/28/1083	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09691
1321	Gombau Gonballi	M	02/02/1083	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 709
1322	Blancucia	F	03/25/1083	executors' act	Cervià, no. 25
1323	Guadall	M	05/21/1083	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 981
1324	Ramon Seniofredi	M	05/27/1083	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 982

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1325	Pere Bonardelli	M	06/30/1083	1st-pilgrimage	Girona, no. 352
1326	Gualter, presbiter [Girona]	M	07/01/1083	pub-w	CCM, no. 154
1327	Aimeruds	F	11/12/1083	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 713
1328	Orusc [?] Mironi	M	02/14/1084	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 34:71r-v
1329	Ponç Guitardi	M	03/17/1084	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 992
1330	Stefania	F	04/02/1084	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 997
1331	Aimericus, miles	M	06/01/1084	corpus	Lézat, no. 1155
1332	Bonfill	M	07/15/1084	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 718
1333	Emma	F	08/01/1084	pub-w	Jornet, no. 70
1334	Oliba	M	08/11/1084	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:139v [tru]
1335	Julian	M	08/29/1084	1st-egritude	Cervià, no. 26
1336	Bernat Bernat	M	10/01/1084	1st	MS: BC P, 09039
1337	Pere Bernat	M	10/21/1084	1st	Cornellà, no. 1 [inv]
1338	Gauceran Mironi, subdiaconus, canon Vic	M	11/17/1084	1st	MS: ACV P, 9:II:077
1339	Ermengol Bernat, cl levita	M	11/24/1084	1st	Mas, no. 1042 [inv]
1340	Guillem	M	01/01/1085	~unspec	MS: ACB P Div, C:b:292
1341	Guillem Guitard	M	01/01/1085	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:151r [tru]
1342	Alemaný Onofredi	M	03/12/1085	1st	Odena, no. 25
1343	Gauceran Mironi, subdiaconus, canon Vic	M	04/24/1085	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1501
1344	Pere Bernat	M	04/28/1085	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09713
1345	Guillem	M	05/30/1085	1st	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon II, 23
1346	Guila	F	06/20/1085	1st	Jornet, no. 71
1347	Arnal, sacer	M	07/12/1085	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1016
1348	Guillem Ramon	M	08/15/1085	1st	Girona, no. 361
1349	Ardmannus	M	09/10/1085	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 350
1350	Ramon, ab S. Pere Ager	M	10/01/1085	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:I:012
1351	Arnal	M	10/03/1085	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 147
1352	Baldwinus	M	11/01/1085	don-egr	Saint-Mont, no. 86
1353	Folc	M	12/02/1085	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1507bis
1354	Ermengol IV, c Urgell	M	01/19/1086	1st	CDIACA, ix, pp. 356-7 [des]
1355	Gisclamundus	M	03/14/1086	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, vii, no. 1024
1356	Pere Udaldardi	M	04/06/1086	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1025
1357	Rainard	M	04/14/1086	1st-pilgrimage	Miret, ADLC, no. 19 [tru]
1358	Guillem	M	04/17/1086	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 348
1359	Ermessendis	F	06/19/1086	1st	MS: BC P, 05500
1360	Aimericus, miles	M	06/29/1086	don	Lézat, no. 1157
1361	Guillem	M	06/29/1086	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1028
1362	Ramon Mironi	M	07/02/1086	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 726
1363	Guillem Gualterii, ostiarius S. M. S. Urgell	M	07/05/1086	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1029
1364	Sicardis	F	07/21/1086	1st	MS: BC P, 09867
1365	Amaltrud	F	08/30/1086	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1031
1366	Guillem Gualterii, ostiarius S. M. S. Urgell	M	09/17/1086	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 1032
1367	Miro Bonfill [de Polinyà]	M	11/05/1086	law-set/adj	Santa Anna, no. 127
1368	Umbert, eps Barcelona	M	01/01/1087	1st	Puig i Puig, no. 54
1369	Athanolf	M	03/01/1087	1st-pilgrimage	Girona, no. 368
1370	NN	M	03/06/1087	executors' act	Girona, no. 369
1371	Ramon Folc I de Cardona, vc Cardona/Osona	M	03/11/1087	pub-u-p	Moncada, i, pp. 340-1 [des]
1372	Ermessendis	F	03/19/1087	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:154 [tru]
1373	Bonucius Vives	M	03/19/1087	1st	Mas, no. 1058 [inv]
1374	Miro, sacerdos	M	04/07/1087	pub	Mas, no. 1059 [inv]
1375	Seniofred	M	04/15/1087	laud/exec	MS: BC P, 08957
1376	Miro Erimanni, archidiaconus	M	06/04/1087	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1038
1377	Ramon Geraldi	M	06/13/1087	1st	MS: BC P, 09731
1378	Goda Gonzales, ux. Fernando Díaz, ca in León/Cast	F	07/21/1087	laud/exec	Oña, no. 88 [des]
1379	Carbonel	M	08/23/1087	1st	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Cuixa), no. 148
1380	Pere Bernardus de Corneliano	M	09/07/1087	1st-pilgrimage	Marca Hispanica, no. 302
1381	Ramon	M	10/03/1087	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 225
1382	Guifred	M	11/06/1087	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 1041
1383	Ramon Domnucii	M	11/07/1087	pub	Mas, no. 1062 [inv]
1384	Gondelgandi, presbiter	M	11/27/1087	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon II, 44
1385	Citi Velazquez & ux. Sancha Garcia	B	12/01/1087	1st	Sahagún, no. 836

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1386	Guillem Giscafredi	M	12/06/1087	1st-religious	Miret, ADLC, no. 20 [tru]
1387	Guadall	M	01/01/1088	executors' act	MS: BC P, 10033
1388	Miro Stephani	M	02/15/1088	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1511
1389	Adalaidis	F	02/19/1088	pub-o	Urgell, vii, no. 1044
1390	Rainard Guillem	M	03/17/1088	pub-w	MS: BC P, 08723
1391	Tedball	M	04/07/1088	pub-o	Urgell, vii, no. 1048
1392	Seniofred Arnalli [?]	M	04/08/1088	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09711
1393	Guillem Mironis	M	04/09/1088	1st	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon II, 50
1394	Ademar Sancii	M	04/10/1088	pub-u	MS: ACV P, 6:0322
1395	Borrell Adroarii, cl canon Vic	M	06/18/1088	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1513
1396	Pere Arnalli	M	08/27/1088	1st	MS: BC P, 09872
1397	Ermenardis	F	09/19/1088	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:170v [tru]
1398	Trudgardis ux. Erm. Samarell, widow	F	01/31/1089	pub-w	Jornet, no. 75
1399	Umbert proli Gerberti	M	02/21/1089	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 731
1400	Guillem Fuie	M	04/27/1089	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1515
1401	Chintol	F	05/04/1089	pub-o	Jornet, no. 74
1402	Ermengol Bernat	M	08/05/1089	pub	Mas, no. 1076 [inv]
1403	Baro Radmundus	M	08/22/1089	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 733
1404	Bernat Ramon	M	08/22/1089	1st	MS: BC P, 09873
1405	Rodlan	M	08/29/1089	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1056
1406	Dalmau Vitalis	M	09/22/1089	pub-w	CCM, no. 160
1407	Arnal Ramon	M	10/20/1089	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1057
1408	Adalaidis	F	12/20/1089	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 76
1409	Munio Nuñez	M	01/01/1090	PMSig	Sahagún, no. 1173
1410	Arnal de Marenci	M	01/01/1090	don-egr	Sorde, no. 19
1411	Arnal Godafredi	M	01/01/1090	1st	Gerri, no. 75
1412	Bernat Isarni	M	01/12/1090	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 36:21-22v
1413	Guillem Domenec	M	01/27/1090	1st-pilgrimage	CCM, no. 162
1414	Gombau	M	02/01/1090	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1062
1415	NN	M	02/18/1090	1st	MS: BC P, 09735
1416	Ponç Adalberti	M	02/25/1090	1st	MS: BC P, 10035
1417	Amaltrud	F	03/29/1090	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 1063
1418	NN	M	04/23/1090	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 139v
1419	Ermengol IV, c Urgell	M	04/29/1090	1st	Diago, f. 137r-v [des]
1420	Guillem Belliti	M	07/25/1090	1st-egritude	MS: ACB P Div, C:b:493 (C:c?)
1421	Barduinus Durandi	M	12/12/1090	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 397
1422	Guila	F	01/01/1091	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 77
1423	Arnal Bofill	M	01/17/1091	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 1076
1424	Onedonia	F	03/17/1091	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 367
1425	Guillem, vc Castri Novi [?] et archilevita Elne	M	04/13/1091	1st	Marca Hispanica, no. 307
1426	Arnal Fuiani	M	04/19/1091	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1100
1427	Arnal Fuiani	M	05/01/1091	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0332
1428	Berenguer Ato	M	08/01/1091	pub-w-p	Catalunya Romànica, iii, p. 620
1429	Sancho Pascual & ux. Sancha Velaz	B	08/30/1091	1st	Sahagún, no. 883
1430	Gausbert Arivors [?]	M	10/22/1091	executors' act	MS: BC P, 08946
1431	Guillem Geriberti	M	12/04/1091	1st	Sijjes, no. 1
1432	Gerbert	M	01/01/1092	~unspec	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1602
1433	Umbert Otoni	M	01/01/1092	~unspec	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1603
1434	Ponç	M	01/08/1092	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Berenguer Ramon II, 77
1435	Miro Bonifilii	M	01/20/1092	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1081
1436	Rodlan proli Guilelmi	M	02/05/1092	pub-o	Urgell, vii, no. 1083
1437	Bernat	M	03/28/1092	pub-o-p	Urgell, vii, no. 1089
1438	Ermessendis	F	05/31/1092	1st-egritude	Urgell, vii, no. 1091
1439	Ermessendis	F	07/17/1092	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 79
1440	Bernat Trasvarii, [castellan] Benavent (Urgell)	M	07/23/1092	pub-w	Urgell, vii, no. 1092
1441	Ermessendis	F	07/24/1092	pub-w	Jornet, no. 79bis
1442	Oliba, sacer	M	08/18/1092	1st	Urgell, vii, no. 1093
1443	Hug Sendredi, [castellan] Canoves	M	08/28/1092	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 130
1444	Ramon Sesemundi	M	09/30/1092	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09696
1445	Pere Geraldi	M	10/08/1092	1st	MS: BC P, 05549
1446	Guillem Sunyer	M	12/12/1092	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 19 [inv]
1447	Guillem Isarni	M	12/20/1092	pub-w	Serra, p. 258-60
1448	Hug, cl	M	01/01/1093	corpus	Lézat, no. 267
1449	Guillem, eps elect Urgell	M	01/01/1093	1st	Urgell, viii, no. 1107
1450	Borrell Adroarii, cl	M	01/01/1093	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 54v
1451	Berenguer Domnucii	M	01/08/1093	pub	Mas, no. 1106 [inv]

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1452	Bernat Johannes de Ogassa, cl & senior	M	01/13/1093	1st-egritude	NH, xv, no. 2208
1453	Ramon Sevallí	M	02/28/1093	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1526
1454	Berenguer Isarni [de Ager], senior Agarensis castri	M	03/05/1093	pub-w	Miret, Castellbó, no. 7
1455	Guillem	M	03/10/1093	don-egr	Tavernoles, no. 48
1456	Borrell Adroarii, cl canon Vic	M	05/11/1093	pub-w-append	MS: ACV LDA, f. 054v
1457	Guillem	M	06/01/1093	1st	MS: BC P, 04132
1458	Berenguer Bernat	M	06/13/1093	1st	MS: BC P, 09883
1459	Tedball Guerlini	M	06/26/1093	1st	Urgell, viii, no. 1106
1460	Dalmau Arnalli	M	07/25/1093	1st	MS: BC P, 09882
1461	Adalaidis	F	08/18/1093	pub-w	Jornet, no. 112 (pp. 105-7)
1462	Guillem Girbertus, cl	M	09/07/1093	executors' act	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 750
1463	Ademar Raimundo	M	09/16/1093	1st-egritude	NH, xi, no. 368 [partial]
1464	Pere Ramon	M	09/22/1093	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1118 [inv]
1465	Baro Radmundus	M	11/09/1093	pub-w	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 752
1466	Adalaidis	F	11/18/1093	1st	MS: BC P, 09887
1467	Berenguer Eldemari	M	04/06/1094	1st	Girona, no. 412
1468	Rainard (de Pollestres)	M	04/17/1094	1st-egritude	Roussillon, no. 70
1469	Ermessendis	F	05/28/1094	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 80
1470	Bernat Ramon	M	08/09/1094	1st-pilgrimage	Layettes, v, no. 33
1471	Gerberga	F	09/27/1094	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. 1117
1472	Bernat Arnaldi	M	10/11/1094	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. 1118
1473	Stephanus Guitardi	M	10/16/1094	pub-o	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 756
1474	Gauceran Erimanni	M	10/21/1094	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1119
1475	Bernat	M	11/02/1094	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 075
1476	Odo	M	11/06/1094	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 59 [inv]
1477	Guillem Lobet	M	11/12/1094	pub	Mas, no. 1130 [inv]
1478	Artal lozberti, canon Vic	M	11/15/1094	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1118
1479	Ramon Mir	M	12/12/1094	pub	Mas, no. 1131 [inv]
1480	Guifred, presbiter	M	01/01/1095	1st	MS: BC P, 08943
1481	Guillem, sacer & sacrista Ager	M	01/20/1095	pub-o	MS: ACV P, 6:1105
1482	Arnal Bernat	M	02/26/1095	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1127
1483	Arnal	M	03/09/1095	pub-w	Girona, no. 417
1484	Rodlan Ramon	M	03/11/1095	1st	Santa Anna, no. 142
1485	Jozbert	M	04/09/1095	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1103
1486	Gurimira	F	04/14/1095	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 757
1487	Guillem Duran	M	06/30/1095	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1138
1488	Bernat Seniofredi	M	07/04/1095	1st	MS: BC P, 09893
1489	Guitard Vivani	M	07/21/1095	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 145
1490	Ermessendis	F	08/01/1095	pub-w	Jornet, no. 84
1491	Disposia [de Montar], castellana (Osona)	F	08/31/1095	pub-w	Jornet, no. 83
1492	Guitard Boecii	M	09/29/1095	1st	Mas, no. 1139 [inv]
1493	Sancha, ca da rex Ramiro I	F	10/01/1095	1st	La Serós, no. 15
1494	Guillem Ramon I, c Cerdanya	M	10/07/1095	1st	LFM, ii, no. 694
1495	Ramon Guitardi, iudex	M	11/08/1095	1st	Mas, no. 1141 [inv]
1496	Guillem, sacricustos	M	11/11/1095	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1135
1497	Guilbert Ramon, cl	M	11/13/1095	pub	Mas, no. 1142 [inv]
1498	Ramon	M	01/01/1096	~unspec-p	MS: AM P S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 13
1499	Gonalgod, castellana Claramunt (Osona)	F	01/01/1096	~unspec	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 1608
1500	Guillem [Enard de Montardit]	M	01/01/1096	1st-special	Gerri, no. 61
1501	Rodlan Ramon	M	01/01/1096	1st-codicil	Santa Anna, no. 149
1502	Bernat Berengarii	M	04/25/1096	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. 1140
1503	Guillem, eps elect Urgell	M	04/26/1096	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. 1141
1504	Guillem	M	05/06/1096	pub-w	Urgell, viii, no. 1142
1505	Gerbert	M	05/31/1096	1st	Urgell, viii, no. 1143
1506	Arnal, magister	M	08/07/1096	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 370 {carp. 4}
1507	Pere Ramon	M	08/11/1096	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:0329
1508	Pere Ramon, sacrista advocatus St. Paul Narbonne	M	08/25/1096	don-p	MS: BN Doat (Arch. S.-Paul de Narbonne), 57:087-89v
1509	Adalaidis	F	09/23/1096	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 85
1510	Maria Alfonso	F	11/04/1096	don-post ob	Sahagún, no. 988
1511	Adalaidis	F	12/03/1096	pub-w	Girona, no. 427
1512	Guila	F	01/01/1097	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 86
1513	Fortun de Arbeiza & ux. Blasquita	B	01/01/1097	1st-don/test	Irache, no. 72
1514	Gombau Ramon	M	01/10/1097	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, ii, no. 764
1515	Pere Udalardi, nephew c Sunyer R. Pallars	M	01/23/1097	don-p	Gerri, no. 56

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1516	Stephanus, levita	M	01/24/1097	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1147
1517	Ramon, sacer	M	02/20/1097	1st	Urgell, viii, no. 1149
1518	Gauzfred	M	03/01/1097	1st	MS: BC P, 03661
1519	Joan de Ayerbe	M	03/30/1097	1st	La Serós, no. 16
1520	Bernat Girberti	M	04/02/1097	1st-egritude	NH, xi, no. 383 [inv]
1521	Guillem	M	04/13/1097	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 131
1522	Guadall, sacricustos	M	04/25/1097	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1150
1523	Ponç Geralli	M	06/13/1097	1st	MS: BC P, 09739
1524	Bernat Gerovardi	M	08/04/1097	1st	Mas, no. 1151 [inv]
1525	Bernat Guillem	M	08/05/1097	1st	MS: BC P, 09950
1526	Ermemir, presbiter	M	08/28/1097	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1119
1527	Bernat Reimon	M	09/23/1097	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Cecília de Montserrat, 079
1528	Garsendis Malenutrita	F	10/01/1097	1st-egritude	Girona, no. 431
1529	Guillem Bernat de Cartellà	M	10/03/1097	pub-w	Banyoles, ii, no. 112 [inv]
1530	Adalaidis	F	12/03/1097	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09896
1531	Ademar, vc Toulouse	M	01/01/1098	1st-egritude	HL, v, no. 402
1532	Fruila, don-dominus	M	01/01/1098	1st-don/test	Huesca, no. 89
1533	Isarn, canon	M	01/12/1098	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1156
1534	Eriballus	M	04/11/1098	1st	MS: BC P, 09549
1535	Ponç Oliba	M	08/10/1098	1st	MS: BC P, 09019
1536	Bernat Gaucfredi	M	10/29/1098	1st-religious	Girona, no. 435
1537	Arbert Bernat	M	12/29/1098	1st	Mas, no. 1167 [inv]
1538	Berenguer Suniofred de Lluça, archieps Tarragona	M	01/07/1099	1st-egritude	Catalunya Romànica, iii, pp. 688-9
1539	Berenguer Ramon	M	02/07/1099	1st	Mas, no. 1168 [inv]
1540	NN	M	02/14/1099	1st	MS: BC P, 09689
1541	Gerbert f. Guillelmus, canon Vic	M	06/06/1099	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1546
1542	Ramon Adalberti	M	07/07/1099	1st	MS: BC P, 09543
1543	Pere Bligerii of Celrà, cl	M	09/25/1099	1st	CCM, no. 180
1544	Beatrix [de Santa Eugènia], domina Santa Eugènia de Vic	F	10/22/1099	1st-pilgrimage	Jornet, no. 87
1545	Gombau, canon Urgell	M	11/05/1099	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. 1174
1546	Geriballus	M	01/01/1100	pub-i-o	Alaó, no. 319
1547	Miro Helia & Petrus Pera	M	01/01/1100	law-set/adj	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. Elne), 108:108r
1548	Guillem Petri de Roca Forcada	M	01/01/1100	don-p	Aniane, no. 60
1549	Guillem Dat de Sen-Cric	M	01/01/1100	don-egr	Sorde, no. 15
1550	Imbertus f. Rostagni	M	01/01/1100	corpus	Saint-Victor, no. 812
1551	Vidianus, miles	M	01/01/1100	corpus	Alaó, no. 294
1552	Guillem Mironi	M	01/01/1100	3d	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 098
1553	Bertran de Bas, canon le Puy	M	01/01/1100	1st-egritude	Chamalières, no. 100
1554	April	F	01/01/1100	1st-don/test	Huesca, no. 81
1555	Baro Onisculo & ux. Elena & f. Ramon	B	01/01/1100	1st	Alaó, no. 317-8
1556	Stefania	F	01/01/1100	1st	MS: BC P, 09755
1557	Ramon Atonis, canon Vic	M	02/18/1100	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:0335
1558	Valencia, ca Pallars	F	02/19/1100	1st	Valls, Pallars, pp. 140-1
1559	Ramon Bernat, vc Cerdanya	M	04/12/1100	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, viii, no. 1177
1560	Guillem, sacer	M	05/25/1100	1st	MS: BC P, 04192
1561	Pere Bligerii de Celrà, cl of Celrà	M	05/28/1100	pub-w	CCM, no. 183
1562	Rodlan Od	M	05/30/1100	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 326
1563	Munio Perez	M	06/07/1100	don-p	Sahagún, no. 1053
1564	Rosselon	M	07/03/1100	don-post ob-p	HL, v, c. 1526 [inv]
1565	Arnal	M	07/26/1100	1st-egritude	Urgell, viii, no. 1181
1566	Arnal Petri & ux. Ermesen	B	09/01/1100	don-res	Gerri, no. 84
1567	Arnal Guillem de Salses	M	09/26/1100	confirmation	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 37:245-246r
1568	Pere Bernat	M	09/30/1100	pub-w	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 022
1569	Arnal Guilelmi de Salses	M	10/01/1100	pub-o	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 37:237-240r
1570	Miro Guillem	M	11/22/1100	executors' act	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0173
1571	Ramon Guitardi, iudex	M	12/18/1100	pub-w	Mas, no. 1178 [inv]
1572	Miro Jospert	M	12/27/1100	1st-war	Ager y Caresmar, no. 132 [inv]
1573	Giraldus Guifredi	M	01/01/1101	don-p	Gellone, no. 203
1574	Ramon de Moncada [Montcada], [castellan]	M	01/25/1101	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 066
1575	Arnal	M	02/26/1101	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1191
1576	Ramon Fulc	M	03/01/1101	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, p. 83 [des]
1577	Alemany, canon Vic	M	03/02/1101	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 034v-35
1578	Ramiro	M	03/04/1101	pub-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1192
1579	Guila	F	03/13/1101	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1193
1580	Ricardus, sacrista iudex Vic	M	03/29/1101	pub-w	Viaje, vi, no. 6
1581	Ato Ramon	M	04/04/1101	corpus	Lézat, no. 877
1582	Gerbert Ugoni	M	04/05/1101	1st	Santa Anna, no. 153

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1583	Pere Ansurez & ux. Eilo, c in Léon	B	04/13/1101	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1069
1584	Ponç Bernat de Bianna	M	05/15/1101	pub-w	NH, xi, no. 373
1585	Ponç Jordani	M	05/24/1101	don-post ob-p	Maguelone, no. 21
1586	Miro Jospert	M	08/01/1101	pub-u	Ager y Caresmar, no. 133 [inv]
1587	Bernat Ato I (IV), vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	08/31/1101	don-p	Gellone, no. 299
1588	Pere Udalardi, nephew c Sunyer R. Pallars	M	10/13/1101	don-p	Gerri, no. 81
1589	Berenguer Ademarii	M	12/15/1101	1st	MS: BC P, 09056
1590	Ermengol V, c Urgell	M	01/01/1102	pub-i-o	Ager y Caresmar, p. 85 [des]
1591	Ponç, sacricustos	M	02/25/1102	pub-w	MS: BC P, 08730
1592	Sendred	M	03/06/1102	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1197
1593	Gerau Lobaton	M	03/08/1102	1st	MS: BC P, 09758
1594	Guillem Gauzfredi	M	03/11/1102	1st	MS: BC P, 09904
1595	Guillem lordani, c Cerdanya	M	04/13/1102	1st-pilgrimage	LFM, ii, no. 695
1596	Guillem Ramon	M	04/26/1102	1st-travel	MS: BC P, 09026
1597	Gauzfred Bastó	M	06/02/1102	1st	To & Bellver, pp. 25-6
1598	Guilbert, caputscole canon Vic	M	08/17/1102	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV LDA, f. 025v-27
1599	Bonadona	F	11/21/1102	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 90
1600	Ordoño Sarraciniz & ux. Fronilde	B	02/25/1103	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1092-3-4; 1099
1601	Gerau Guitardi	M	03/12/1103	1st	Mas, no. 1189 [inv]
1602	Ademar Franconi	M	05/25/1103	1st	MS: BC P, 09906
1603	Ponç Hugo	M	12/17/1103	corpus	Lézat, no. 1535
1604	Arsenda	M	01/01/1104	don-inter fam.	CCM, no. 194
1605	Ramon Guilaberti, cl canon Sant Pere [Vic]	M	02/18/1104	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1115
1606	Arnal Moger	M	05/29/1104	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1212
1607	Guillem Arnalli, presbiter	M	06/24/1104	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 140 [inv]
1608	Guillem	M	10/22/1104	pub-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1215
1609	Berenguer Arnalli	M	10/25/1104	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1457
1610	Stephanus Adalberti	M	10/30/1104	1st	Mas, no. 1200 [inv]
1611	Frotardus	M	01/01/1105	1st	Conques, no. 290, 301
1612	Arnal Seniofredi	M	01/20/1105	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 023
1613	Pelayo Roderiguez & ux. Iulia	B	02/06/1105	1st	Sahagún, no. 1120
1614	Guillem	M	03/01/1105	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1554
1615	Ponç Jaumfredi	M	03/19/1105	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 089
1616	Ramon Arnalli, miles	M	04/17/1105	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1218
1617	Guillem Segari	M	05/01/1105	1st	NH, xi, no. 397 [inv]
1618	Pere Ramon	M	05/21/1105	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BC P, 05569
1619	Iñigo	M	06/06/1105	executors' act	Cervià, no. 30
1620	María	F	07/11/1105	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 91
1621	Ademar Franconi	M	08/01/1105	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09759
1622	Froila Vimaraz [Vimaraz]	M	08/20/1105	1st-egritude	Huesca, no. 93
1623	Pere Guillem	M	09/04/1105	1st	MS: BC P, 09540
1624	Bellisime	F	09/11/1105	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 92
1625	Isarn	M	01/31/1106	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 159
1626	Ramon Sancti Ægidii [IV], c Toulouse	M	01/31/1106	1st	HL, v, no. 420
1627	Arnal Isarni	M	02/16/1106	1st	CCM, no. 197
1628	Ramon Guiberti, cl canon Vic	M	02/18/1106	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 014
1629	Bernat Ramon	M	02/20/1106	1st	MS: BC P, 09951
1630	Guillem Bernat	M	03/30/1106	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1231
1631	Bernat	M	04/10/1106	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1233
1632	Guillem Gausperti & ux. Godlen	B	04/13/1106	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1234
1633	Assuerus Fafilaz	M	05/01/1106	1st-don/test	Huesca, no. 97
1634	Pere Bernat	M	06/06/1106	executors' act	Cervià, no. 31
1635	Ramon Rodballi	M	08/18/1106	1st-egritude	NH, xi, no. 401
1636	Hug, vc (de Tatzo)	M	09/17/1106	1st	Roussillon, no. 85
1637	Ramon Rotballi	M	09/23/1106	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 324 [inv]
1638	Iñigo [Ennec]	M	10/26/1106	executors' act	Cervià, no. 32
1639	Pere Ricuinus	M	01/10/1107	1st-egritude	Béziers, no. 108
1640	Tedball Arnalli	M	03/15/1107	pub-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1242
1641	Ermeniarda	F	03/18/1107	pub-w	Jornet, no. 93
1642	Folc Bernat de Cornella, presbiter	M	05/04/1107	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1220 [inv]
1643	Girardus I, c Roussillon	M	05/31/1107	1st-war	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:048-50v
1644	Ruy Salvadores & ux. Echavida	B	06/01/1107	1st-don/test	Oña, no. 113
1645	Ramon Arnalli, miles	M	08/22/1107	pub-w-p	Urgell, ix, no. 1244
1646	Ermeniarda	F	08/28/1107	pub-w	Jornet, no. 115 (p. 136-)
1647	Eha	F	10/13/1107	1st	Roses, no. 21
1648	Bernat Bonifilii & ux. Senter	B	12/14/1107	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1246
1649	Bermond de Cers	M	01/02/1108	1st	Agde, no. 218

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1650	Ermeniarda	F	01/18/1108	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 95
1651	Arnal, sacerdos	M	02/09/1108	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 109
1652	Miro Guitardi	M	04/16/1108	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 033
1653	Vidal Iohan	M	06/27/1108	executors' act	Cervià, no. 64
1654	Guillem	M	11/25/1108	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1560
1655	Adalaidis	F	12/10/1108	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 96
1656	Berenguer Tedmari	M	12/23/1108	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:2232
1657	Ramon, c Melgueil	M	01/01/1109	1st-pilgrimage	Maguelone, no. 32
1658	Guillem Guitardi [de Caboet]	M	03/27/1109	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1250
1659	Arnal Petri	M	05/02/1109	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1122
1660	Miro Guitardi	M	05/17/1109	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2218
1661	Bernat Ramon	M	06/16/1109	pub	Mas, no. 1235 [inv]
1662	Adalaidis	F	06/18/1109	pub-w-p	Jornet, no. 97
1663	Guillem, presbiter	M	07/23/1109	1st	MS: BC P, 09952
1664	NN	M	07/30/1109	1st	MS: BC P, 09720
1665	Ramon Sendredi	M	08/21/1109	1st-egritude	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 20
1666	Gauzfred Seniofredi	M	08/25/1109	1st-egritude	Cervià, no. 34
1667	Bernat Guilaberti	M	11/09/1109	1st	MS: BC P, 09763
1668	Arnal Bernat	M	11/30/1109	1st	NH, xi, no. 414 [inv]
1669	Ramon	M	12/31/1109	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2233
1670	Sancho Fortunez	M	01/01/1110	PMSig	Saint-Sernin, no. 465
1671	Sancho Sancii, c Haro [Navarre]	M	01/01/1110	don-post ob	Conques, no. 472
1672	Bernat Gilem de Lane	M	01/01/1110	don-egr	Sorde, no. 31
1673	Sancho Fortunez	M	01/01/1110	1st	Saint-Sernin, no. 483
1674	Stephanus Udalgerius	M	01/01/1110	1st	Béziers, no. 114
1675	Maria	F	01/11/1110	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 98
1676	Udalguer de Petra calci	M	02/24/1110	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:153v [tru]
1677	Fulcramus de Nibiano	M	04/22/1110	don-egr	Aniane, no. 121
1678	Maria	F	04/24/1110	pub-special	Jornet, no. 98
1679	Gerau Bernat	M	04/26/1110	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:2236
1680	Gauceran	M	04/27/1110	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1256
1681	Ermessendis , ux. Poncii Bernat	F	04/28/1110	1st-egritude	Odena, no. 31
1682	Bonadona	F	05/10/1110	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 09548
1683	Bonadona	F	06/19/1110	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 09743
1684	Guillem Ramon [de Castellvell], dominus	M	07/06/1110	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 129
1685	Ermengol, archidiaconus Barc	M	07/12/1110	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1261
1686	Guillem Guitardi [de Caboet]	M	07/31/1110	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1262
1687	Miro Bardina	M	08/27/1110	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 808
1688	Bernat Arnaldi	M	09/15/1110	1st	MS: BC P, 08951
1689	Pere Arnalli	M	10/17/1110	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2239
1690	Guillem Donucii	M	10/28/1110	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 809
1691	Arnal Guilelmi	M	11/11/1110	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 135
1692	NN	M	12/18/1110	pub	MS: ACB P Div, A:1844
1693	Sancha Jimenez (Tota Aznariz), domina	F	01/01/1111	laud/exec	Irache, no. 92
1694	Sancha Jimenez	F	01/01/1111	don-post ob-p	Irache, no. 94
1695	Tedmarus de Castroterciolo	M	01/21/1111	pub-w-p	MS: ACV P, 6:1125
1696	Bernat Guilabert	M	03/06/1111	1st-pilgrimage	Layettes, v, no. 36
1697	Guillem Bofill [de Santa Coloma?], [lord/castellan]	M	03/15/1111	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:02
1698	Bernat [Umberti], eps Girona	M	04/09/1111	pub-w-p	Viaje, xiii, no. 29
1699	Berenguer Eriballi, cl Vic	M	05/06/1111	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1567
1700	Pere Ramon de Vilavenuti [?]	M	05/08/1111	1st	MS: BC P, 09915
1701	Aleman Hug	M	05/30/1111	pub	Mas, no. 1246 [inv]
1702	Ramon Fulchonis	M	06/30/1111	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 033v
1703	Udalric de Baniag	M	08/05/1111	corpus	Mahul, ii, p. 242
1704	Bernat III, c Besalú	M	08/20/1111	executors' act	MS: ADPO 12 J 24 Fossa (Arles), no. 024
1705	Ponç Seniofredi	M	10/23/1111	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 10093
1706	Guillem Gelaberti	M	10/25/1111	1st	MS: BC P, 03977
1707	Stephanus	M	12/11/1111	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1267
1708	Maiassendis	F	12/23/1111	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 99
1709	Pere Riguald & f. Raimundus	M	01/01/1112	corpus	Lézat, no. 1200
1710	Eislonza, ca Pallars (subirà)	F	01/01/1112	1st	Gerri, no. 106
1711	Eliardis ux. Guillem	F	02/27/1112	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 210
1712	Guillem Bernat	M	04/26/1112	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 817
1713	Guillem	M	05/24/1112	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 166
1714	Rodlan de Solario	M	06/09/1112	1st	MS: BC P, 05537
1715	Stephanus Stephani de Soler	M	06/17/1112	1st	MS: BC P, 09920

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
1716	Pere Oliba	M	08/17/1112	don-res	Gerri, no. 103
1717	Berenguer Bonifilii	M	10/21/1112	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 52
1718	Guillem Sindredi	M	01/01/1113	1st	MS: BC P, 09953
1719	Berenguer Bonifilii	M	01/09/1113	pub-w	Poblet, no. 53
1720	Pere Amati	M	01/23/1113	pub-u	MS: ACV P, 6:1133
1721	Ramon Guilaberti	M	04/09/1113	pub-u	MS: BC P, 09719
1722	Ramon Tedballi	M	04/17/1113	don-res	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 820
1723	Ramon, vc [proconsul] Urgell-Castellbò	M	05/03/1113	pub-i-o-x	Urgell, ix, no. 1275
1724	Bernat Guillem	M	05/08/1113	pub	Mas, no. 1266 [inv]
1725	Ramon Tedballi	M	05/14/1113	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 821
1726	Guillem Mironi	M	06/07/1113	1st	NH, xi, no. 426 [inv]
1727	Ramon Guadalli	M	06/27/1113	pub-w	CCM, no. 211
1728	Ramon, vc Urgell-Castellbò	M	10/08/1113	pub-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1278
1729	Bermond	M	12/01/1113	pub-w	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 138
1730	NN	M	01/01/1114	executors' act	NH, xi, no. 429 [inv]
1731	Ramon Arnaldi de Dalbs	M	01/01/1114	don-egr	Lézat, no. 552
1732	Guillem V, lord Montpellier	M	01/01/1114	1st-war	Maguelone, no. 38
1733	Ermessendis	F	01/24/1114	pub-u	Jornet, no. 100
1734	Guillem Martini	M	03/08/1114	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:02A [inv]
1735	Bonfill, presbiter	M	03/10/1114	law-set/adj	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 822
1736	Miro Isarni	M	03/17/1114	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1279
1737	Guillem Bonifilii	M	04/09/1114	pub	Mas, no. 1274 [inv]
1738	Pere Ramon, vc Urgell-Castellbò	M	04/09/1114	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1280
1739	Maria	F	05/21/1114	1st-egritude	MS: AM P S. Cugat del Vallès, 139
1740	Carbo	M	05/29/1114	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1281
1741	Berenguer Bernat, archilevita	M	06/02/1114	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1283
1742	Garcia Sanz de Oyerza, senior	M	06/26/1114	1st-don/test	Irache, no. 97
1743	Micaelles de Sona	M	07/10/1114	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 004
1744	Bonfill Guitardi	M	07/14/1114	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1569
1745	Gerau Guillem	M	08/11/1114	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 828
1746	Adalaidis	F	08/13/1114	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 101
1747	Gerau [Gerau]	M	09/23/1114	pub	Mas, no. 1280 [inv]
1748	Sendred Ramon	M	10/01/1114	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:0348
1749	Guillem Guadalli	M	12/23/1114	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 172
1750	Ramon de Ox	M	01/01/1115	don-egr	Lézat, no. 1608
1751	Bernat Rainardi, archidiaconus St. Just	M	01/01/1115	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat, 55:148
1752	NN	M	02/25/1115	1st	MS: BC P, 09718
1753	Riculf	M	04/05/1115	executors' act	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 831
1754	Maria	F	04/21/1115	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 162 [inv]
1755	Ponç Guitard	M	04/30/1115	1st-pilgrimage	Santa Anna, no. 173
1756	Berenguer Arnalli	M	04/30/1115	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:151v [tru]
1757	Arnal Ramon	M	05/03/1115	don-res	Gerri, no. 110
1758	Guillelma	F	05/19/1115	1st	MS: BC P, 10094
1759	Arnal Gisberti cog. Marcelli	M	05/30/1115	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:153r [tru]
1760	Arnal	M	06/17/1115	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1871
1761	Ramon Dalmacii, cl almoiner of seu Barcelona	M	06/26/1115	1st	Mas, no. 1283 [inv]
1762	Ramon Guillem	M	07/12/1115	corpus	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:18 [inv]
1763	Pere Ramon	M	08/07/1115	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 03846
1764	Ramon Petri	M	08/12/1115	pub	Mas, no. 1284 [inv]
1765	Guadall	M	09/26/1115	1st	MS: BC P, 03816
1766	Gauzfred, miles	M	10/16/1115	pub-u	MS: BC P, 09767
1767	Ramon Guillem	M	11/03/1115	1st	NH, xx, no. 11 [tru]
1768	Guillem Onofredi	M	11/05/1115	pub-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1289
1769	Ricardus Guillem	M	11/08/1115	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 187
1770	Pere de Almaria	M	01/01/1116	1st	Huesca, no. 120
1771	Berenguer Ramon	M	01/04/1116	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1571
1772	Arnal Balagario	M	03/01/1116	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 165 [inv]
1773	Pere Ponci	M	05/10/1116	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1292
1774	Isarn Sallano	M	05/12/1116	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 176
1775	Guillem Seniofredi	M	05/25/1116	executors' act	Cervià, no. 39
1776	Pere Chitardi	M	06/21/1116	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 177
1777	Arnal de Ortal	M	07/11/1116	1st	MS: BC P, 09994
1778	Ermengardis	F	07/23/1116	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 102
1779	Guillem Bernat	M	10/11/1116	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1297

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1780	Girardus	M	01/01/1117	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1199
1781	Pere	M	01/23/1117	1st	MS: BC P, 05653
1782	Miracleta	F	02/02/1117	don-egr	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. major Cuixa), 117:154v [tru]
1783	Vivas Artalli, sacerdos	M	02/22/1117	pub	Mas, no. 1292 [inv]
1784	NN	M	03/31/1117	pub-w	MS: ACB P Div, A:2531
1785	Pere Berengarii & ux. Valenca	B	05/25/1117	1st	Poblet, no. 58
1786	Bernat Isarni	M	06/27/1117	executors' act	Cervià, no. 40
1787	Arnal Guiriberti & ux. Guilia	B	07/05/1117	don-res	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 835
1788	NN, capellanus Vil.bertran	M	08/19/1117	1st	MS: BC P, 09717
1789	Berenguer [de Montcada] & ux. Erm., dominus	B	09/01/1117	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 199
1790	Guillem Ramon, cl seu Barcelona	M	09/04/1117	1st	Mas, no. 1297 [inv]
1791	Ermessendis	F	09/24/1117	pub-w	Jornet, no. 113 (p. 153-)
1792	Ermessendis	F	10/15/1117	pub-w	Jornet, no. 103
1793	Miro Gelabert	M	11/15/1117	pub	Mas, no. 1299 [inv]
1794	Gerbert Bernat	M	11/27/1117	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 247
1795	Bonfill Guillem	M	12/22/1117	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 200
1796	Jimeno Garcez	M	01/01/1118	don-p	Huesca, no. 122
1797	Sancho Ennecones	M	01/01/1118	1st-pilgrimage	Huesca, no. 121
1798	Jordan	M	04/24/1118	1st-war	Urgell, ix, no. 1307
1799	Bernat Ato I (IV), vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	05/07/1118	1st-travel	HL, v, no. 462/1,2
1800	Pere [Bernat de Salt], sacrista Girona, prelat S. Marti Saco	M	12/06/1118	1st	Altés i Aguiló, p. 148-151
1801	Ponç & Iohannes, caputscole Gerona	M	12/18/1118	DC:will-related	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 21
1802	Guillem Sendredi	M	01/09/1119	pub	Mas, no. 1302 [inv]
1803	Ramon Bernat, prepositus S. M. Urgell	M	01/09/1119	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1313
1804	Pere Gonballi	M	02/25/1119	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1314
1805	Joan Rennalli [sic]	M	03/07/1119	pub-u	MS: ACV P, 6:0354
1806	Bernat Guillem, vicarius Montpellier	M	03/11/1119	1st-pilgrimage	LIM, no. 103
1807	NN	M	03/13/1119	1st	MS: BC P, 09656
1808	Ermessendis, vca Bas	F	04/29/1119	1st	NH, xv, no. 2220
1809	Joan Ramon	M	05/21/1119	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 253
1810	Bertran	M	06/01/1119	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 847
1811	Berenguer Bernat	M	06/12/1119	pub	Mas, no. 1304 [inv]
1812	Ponç Òllemari	M	06/22/1119	pub-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1316
1813	Vidianus	M	08/01/1119	pub-w	Poblet, no. 62
1814	Bernat Guilelmi	M	09/19/1119	corpus	MS: ADPO H 200 (St.-Isclle), 1
1815	Seniofred	M	10/15/1119	1st	MS: BC P, 09929
1816	Constantia	F	11/24/1119	pub-w	Jornet, no. 105
1817	Pere de Auduque [Tarn], eps Pamplona	M	01/01/1120	law-set/adj	Conques, no. 453
1818	Sancha Sanchez	F	01/01/1120	1st-don/test	La Calzada, no. 1
1819	Lop Sanchez de Javier & ux. Oria Vita, dominus etc.	B	01/01/1120	1st	Ebro, i, no. 68
1820	Bernat Berengarii	M	01/27/1120	pub-i-o	Ager y Caresmar, no. 181 [inv]
1821	Pere Guillem & ux. Rossa	B	02/01/1120	1st	Santa Anna, no. 183
1822	Stephanus, capellanus	M	02/07/1120	don-res	Cervià, no. 41
1823	Bernat Suniefred & ux. Maiassen	B	03/08/1120	1st	Poblet, no. 63
1824	Bernat	M	03/30/1120	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1322
1825	Arnal Guillelm	M	04/13/1120	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 254
1826	Ermessendis	F	05/24/1120	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, p. 94-5 [des]
1827	Lop Garcez [de Alagó] & ux. Maria, senior & domina	B	05/31/1120	1st	Ebro, i, no. 66
1828	Tedball de Vallferrera	M	07/14/1120	pub-i-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1324
1829	Arnal Salla	M	08/01/1120	1st	Santa Anna, no. 184
1830	Ponç Bernat, canon sacriscrini Vic	M	08/06/1120	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1:022
1831	Pere Bonifillii, cl	M	10/28/1120	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 851
1832	Guillem Ramon, dapifer	M	11/17/1120	1st	NH, xi, no. 444 [inv]
1833	Ponç & Iohannes, caputscole Gerona	M	11/19/1120	DC:will-related	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 22
1834	Martin, cl canon Vic	M	11/29/1120	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0018
1835	Guillem V, lord Montpellier	M	01/01/1121	1st	LIM, no. 94
1836	Ramon Bernard	M	01/22/1121	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1328
1837	Ramon Adalberti	M	01/27/1121	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1637
1838	Berenguer Amati	M	02/26/1121	1st	Sant Sadurni, no. 12
1839	Ermessendis, vca [Bas]	F	03/07/1121	laud/exec	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 233
1840	Ramon Ademari	M	03/15/1121	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 09616
1841	Ermessendis, vca Bas	F	04/24/1121	laud/exec	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 234
1842	Arnal Guiribert	M	05/16/1121	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 254bis

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1843	Dalmau Berenguer	M	07/16/1121	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 237
1844	Arnal Giriberti de Antiqua	M	07/17/1121	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 856
1845	Arnal Giriberti de Antiqua	M	09/11/1121	don^will	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 857
1846	Eliardis	F	11/30/1121	1st-egritude	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0183
1847	Guillem	M	11/30/1121	1st	MS: BC P, 09771
1848	Ramon	M	12/01/1121	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1331
1849	Ramon Berenguer III, c Barcelona etc.	M	03/07/1122	1st	Bofarull, ii, pp. 171-3
1850	Ramon Llopart [Leopardi?], cl	M	05/24/1122	1st	Mas, no. 1316 [inv]
1851	Arbert Berengarii	M	07/25/1122	pub	Mas, no. 1317 [inv]
1852	Bernat Guillem	M	10/31/1122	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1579
1853	Godemar & ux. Elliardis	B	11/04/1122	1st	Jornet, no. 106
1854	Ramon Enard de Montardit, miles	M	12/28/1122	pub-i-o-x-p	Urgell, ix, no. 1337
1855	Bertran Goiran	M	01/01/1123	don-egr	Hospitallers, no. 64 [inv]
1856	Guilbert de Lauraco	M	01/01/1123	1st-egritude	Saint-Sernin, no. 5
1857	Maiencia & f. Berengarius	B	01/04/1123	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 863
1858	Guillem de Vilan	M	01/28/1123	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 249
1859	Oliba Guillem	M	03/08/1123	pub	Mas, no. 1321 [inv]
1860	Ramon Arnalli	M	03/30/1123	1st-egritude	Gualter, no. 15
1861	Udalard	M	04/30/1123	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 865
1862	Berenguer	M	05/02/1123	1st	MS: BC P, 09750
1863	Ramon Oller	M	05/06/1123	1st	MS: BC P, 09932
1864	Berenguer, eps Girona	M	05/10/1123	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 24
1865	Berenguer Austors	M	06/18/1123	1st	Silvanès, no. 471 [partial]
1866	Berenguer Sendredi, [castellan/dominus]	M	07/25/1123	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 303
1867	Bernat Otoni	M	07/28/1123	1st	MS: BC P, 09955
1868	Berenguer Bertrandi	M	10/22/1123	pub	Mas, no. 1327 [inv]
1869	Udalard, vc Bas	M	12/19/1123	pub-o	NH, xi, no. 460
1870	Guillem de Mesoa	M	01/01/1124	corpus	Gellone, no. 486
1871	Berenguer de St-Cyprien	M	01/02/1124	1st	MS: ADPO 12 J 25 Fossa (Cart. Elne), no. 172
1872	Berenguer	M	02/05/1124	pub-i-o-x	MS: BC P, 09774
1873	Luciana	F	04/02/1124	pub-o	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 087
1874	Ramon Bradile, canon Vic	M	05/01/1124	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1:024
1875	Pere Girberti	M	05/27/1124	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 195
1876	Erovis	M	08/04/1124	1st	Poblet, no. 67
1877	Guillem	M	01/01/1125	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3212
1878	Bernat Guillem de Frexinet	M	01/01/1125	pub-i-o-x-p	Miret, T&H, p. 31 [tru]
1879	Laugier, eps Apt	M	01/01/1125	don-post ob	Apt, no. 125
1880	Lazarus Fortunez, [castellan]	M	01/01/1125	1st	Ebro, ii, no. 426
1881	NN	M	01/20/1125	1st	MS: BC P, 09692
1882	Ponç Geralli	M	03/10/1125	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 879
1883	Bernat Guillem de Claromonte	M	03/28/1125	1st	Mas, no. 1335 [inv]
1884	Arnal de Cabanes	M	04/10/1125	1st	MS: BC P, 09933
1885	Catalana	F	05/31/1125	1st-egritude	Jornet, no. 114 (p. 163-)
1886	Gerau Poncii, vc Ager	M	06/04/1125	1st	Ager y Caresmar, p. 96 [des]
1887	Berenguer Eci	M	06/23/1125	1st	Mas, no. 1336 [inv]
1888	Bernat Albamell	M	07/27/1125	1st	MS: BC P, 09934
1889	Berenguer Ramon	M	08/03/1125	pub-w-p	MS: BC P, 09715
1890	Arnal de Cabanes	M	08/13/1125	pub	MS: BC P, 09956-7
1891	Ferrera de Monteferrarii, domina	F	08/17/1125	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1372
1892	Bos de Grandmont [Grammont], miles nobilissimus	M	01/01/1126	don-post ob	Hospitallers, no. 73
1893	Ramon Fulchoni	M	01/11/1126	pub-u	MS: ACV P, 6:1582
1894	Ramon Mironi	M	01/15/1126	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 276
1895	Pere Ramon & ux. Ferranna & Cornela	B	03/07/1126	don-res	Cervià, no. 45
1896	Gauzfred & f. Sicard	M	04/01/1126	corpus	Lézat, no. 568
1897	Pere Arnalli [de Vilamur], vc Siarb/Vilamur	M	04/30/1126	1st-pilgrimage	Vilamur, no. 1
1898	Guila Bonushomo	M	05/22/1126	executors' act	Cervià, no. 47
1899	Guillem Targa	M	06/01/1126	executors' act	Cervià, no. 48
1900	Pere, eps Elne	M	06/21/1126	1st	MS: BN Baluze (Cart. Elne), 108:100r-v
1901	Berenguer Eci	M	08/13/1126	pub-w	Mas, no. 1356 [inv]
1902	Odgerius Clexni	M	11/02/1126	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1384
1903	Giraldus de Cupra	M	01/01/1127	corpus	Lézat, no. 311
1904	Ramon Berengarii de Curso, cl canon Vic	M	04/28/1127	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV LDA, f. 047
1905	Ramon Olibani	M	05/25/1127	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO 1 B, 68:1
1906	Ato de Dalbs	M	09/01/1127	don-egr	Lézat, no. 916

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1907	Bernat	M	10/11/1127	1st	Mas, no. 1362 [inv]
1908	Berenguer Bonifilii	M	11/10/1127	pub-w-p	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 890
1909	Joan, presbiter	M	01/01/1128	don-egr	Ebro, i, no. 169
1910	Ricsendis	F	01/13/1128	1st	MS: ADPO 12 J 25 Fossa (Cart. Elne), no. 173
1911	Ramon Ugoni	M	03/28/1128	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 892
1912	Ramon Mironis	M	04/01/1128	pub-u	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 893
1913	Berenguer de losa	M	04/03/1128	don-res-p	Urgell, ix, no. 1395
1914	Guillem Petri [de Sersui]	M	04/24/1128	1st-pilgrimage	Gerri, no. 119
1915	Guillem Ramon de Canta..	M	05/04/1128	1st	MS: BC P, 09669
1916	Pere Bonifilii	M	05/08/1128	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 202
1917	Arnal Arnalli	M	05/10/1128	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1169
1918	Arnal Mironi	M	08/09/1128	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 53:87-89r
1919	Pere Folc [?]	M	08/22/1128	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 300
1920	Ramon Amat	M	09/30/1128	pub-w-append	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 262
1921	Arnal Petri	M	10/07/1128	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:2276
1922	Bernat Petri de St.-Cyprien	M	11/09/1128	pub-o	HL, v, no. 499
1923	Adalaidis	F	12/11/1128	1st	MS: BC P, 09936
1924	Bernat Ato I (IV), vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	01/01/1129	1st-egritude	HL, v, no. 504
1925	Pere Menendez	M	02/16/1129	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1236
1926	Godina Soarit	F	02/26/1129	1st-don/test	Templars, no. 23
1927	Ramon Adalberti	M	02/28/1129	executors' act	Cervià, no. 53
1928	Ponç de Nebiano	M	03/05/1129	1st	Agde, Intr., pp. 82-83
1929	Bernat Sendredi	M	06/12/1129	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2275
1930	Ramon Ugoni	M	06/29/1129	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 896
1931	Guillem Ramon	M	07/02/1129	1st-religious	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 264
1932	Guillem [de Béziers]	M	07/02/1129	1st-pilgrimage	HL, v, no. 501
1933	Arnal Arnalli	M	08/19/1129	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:1585
1934	Gerau Ramon, cl	M	10/10/1129	1st	Mas, no. 1380 [inv]
1935	Pere Bernat & ux. Borrella	B	11/28/1129	corpus	Douzens, no. C 11
1936	Wittherius de Barbona	M	01/01/1130	don-post ob	Templars, no. 29
1937	Pere Sancii [de Portell?], dominus	M	01/01/1130	1st-egritude	Serra, ii, pp. 101-2
1938	Bonfill Beleta	M	01/15/1130	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 266
1939	Guitard	M	02/28/1130	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 901
1940	Pere Bernat de Avalri	M	03/24/1130	1st-egritude	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 54:220-221v
1941	Ermengardis de Ampouillac	F	05/01/1130	corpus	Lézat, no. 49
1942	Ponç Arnaldi	M	06/16/1130	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 207
1943	Guillem Rainardi	M	06/27/1130	1st	Agde, no. 18
1944	Ermessendis	F	07/27/1130	1st	MS: BC P, 09062
1945	Ramon Berengarii	M	08/06/1130	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1409
1946	Guillem, presbiter	M	09/27/1130	1st-pilgrimage	Santa Anna, no. 208
1947	Arnal Petri	M	10/03/1130	1st	MS: BC P, 09940
1948	Bernat Ramundi	M	11/19/1130	pub-o	Solsona, no. 43
1949	Dalmau de _____	M	12/08/1130	1st	MS: BC P, 09958
1950	Ramon Iozberti & ux. Ermessen	B	12/13/1130	don-res-p	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 269
1951	Gerau Alamanni de Cervelló	M	12/15/1130	pub-o	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 906
1952	Guillem Arnal, eps Urgell	M	01/01/1131	1st	MS: ADBP E 393 (Inventaire de Castellbó), f. 8 [inv]
1953	Adalaidis	F	01/28/1131	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 081
1954	Berenguer Bernat	M	03/20/1131	1st	Mas, no. 1398 [inv]
1955	Berenguer Petri, secundixerii {cleric?}	M	04/26/1131	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 017v
1956	Ramon Guifre & ux. Ermengardis	B	05/07/1131	1st	Jornet, no. 109
1957	Ramon Guillem de Caldes	M	06/11/1131	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09959
1958	Guillem Compan	M	06/20/1131	1st-codicil	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 004
1959	Guillem Engi	M	06/25/1131	don-res	Cervià, no. 55
1960	Gerau Poncii, vc Ager	M	07/04/1131	1st	Ager y Caresmar, p. 96 [des]
1961	Ramon Berenguer III, c & marchio Barcelona	M	07/08/1131	1st	CDIACA, iv, no. 1
1962	Gerau Poncii, vc Ager	M	07/22/1131	don^will	MS: BC P, 04086(1):adj.
1963	Berenguer Bernat	M	08/05/1131	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 912
1964	Ramon Berenguer III, c Barcelona	M	08/19/1131	pub-w	LFM, i, no. 493
1965	Guillem de Palamore	M	08/24/1131	1st	Poblet, no. 77
1966	Pere Iohanni	M	08/27/1131	executors' act	Cervià, no. 56
1967	Diaz de Fossat "Rossa"	M	09/15/1131	corpus	Lézat, no. 627
1968	Alfonso I, rex Aragon & Pampilona & Ribagorça	M	10/01/1131	1st	Navarre, no. 10
1969	Pere Ramon	M	10/12/1131	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1588
1970	Joan, cl diaconus canon Vic	M	10/16/1131	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:0177
1971	Guillem Adalberti	M	12/08/1131	1st-religious	NH, xi, no. 467 [inv]

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
1972	Pere Pauci	M	12/20/1131	don-egr	Cervià, no. 58
1973	Arnal Donucii	M	12/31/1131	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1411 [inv]
1974	Arnal Petri	M	01/01/1132	don-res	Gerri, no. 121
1975	Bernat [IV], c Melgeuil	M	01/01/1132	1st-religious	Maguelone, no. 59bis (p.516-7)
1976	Alerand, cl canon Vic	M	01/01/1132	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2471
1977	Luciana ux. Arnalli	F	01/19/1132	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 918
1978	Ramon & fr. Berengarius	M	01/22/1132	don-res	Cervià, no. 59
1979	Gerau Poncii, [not the v• Ager]	M	02/10/1132	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 012
1980	Bernat de Collo de Canes [sic]	M	02/10/1132	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 011
1981	Pere Ollomari	M	02/26/1132	pub	Mas, no. 1413 [inv]
1982	Ramon Poncii	M	03/09/1132	pub	Mas, no. 1414 [inv]
1983	Gerau Poncii, vc Ager	M	03/12/1132	pub-w	MS: BC P, 04086(1)
1984	Arnal Berengarii, cl	M	09/14/1132	pub	Mas, no. 1417 [inv]
1985	Balluinus, presbiter	M	10/01/1132	don-res	Cervià, no. 60
1986	Bonadona	F	01/06/1133	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 215
1987	Ermengol [VI], c & marchio Urgell	M	02/08/1133	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1425
1988	Pere Guillem	M	04/11/1133	1st	MS: BC P, 09045
1989	Gombau & ux. Agnes	B	04/13/1133	1st	Poblet, no. 80
1990	Arsenda	F	04/27/1133	1st	MS: BC P, 05520, 09961-2
1991	Ramon de Gurb	M	06/22/1133	1st	MS: BC P, 03948
1992	Adalaidis	F	07/29/1133	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 135v-136r
1993	Guillem Dalmatii	M	09/29/1133	pub-w	Poblet, no. 82
1994	Ponç Ramon	M	12/19/1133	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1591
1995	Lop Garcez Pelegrino, [dominus]	M	01/01/1134	1st	Ebro, i, no. 230
1996	Alerand, cl canon Vic	M	01/01/1134	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 049
1997	Pere Berengarii, canon Agde	M	01/01/1134	1st	Agde, no. 135
1998	Galindo de l'pes [Ipiés]	M	02/01/1134	1st	Fanlo, no. 107
1999	Bernat Audgerii	M	02/05/1134	pub	Mas, no. 1431 [inv]
2000	Bartolomeus, presbiter	M	04/12/1134	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 927
2001	Berenguer [?] de Montcada, dominus	M	04/17/1134	1st-egritude	CDIACA, iv, no. 12
2002	Guillem Ramon	M	04/30/1134	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 260
2003	Guillem Dalmacii	M	05/09/1134	pub	Mas, no. 1436 [inv]
2004	Pere Ramon de Vilafont	M	05/29/1134	1st	MS: BC P, 09963
2005	Guillem Umberti & ux. Rodlen	B	07/13/1134	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 035
2006	Lop Kixal	M	08/01/1134	pub-i	Templars, no. 84
2007	Guillem Petri	M	08/01/1134	1st-pilgrimage	Douzens, no. A 45
2008	Bernat Gerallus & ux. Maria	B	08/05/1134	don-egr	Cervià, no. 62
2009	Alfonso I, rex Aragon	M	09/04/1134	1st	Briz Martínez, p. 806-7
2010	Guillem [de Fornells]	M	10/26/1134	don-res	NH, xi, no. 472 [inv]
2011	Bertran de Liled	M	12/31/1134	pub-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1440
2012	Ramon Gondeballus de Alas	M	01/01/1135	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1449 [tru]
2013	Ramon	M	02/24/1135	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 480
2014	Arnal Gaucerandi	M	03/06/1135	laud/exec	Templars, no. 102
2015	Ramon lozberti	M	03/21/1135	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 415
2016	Bernat Luvell	M	04/12/1135	1st	Miret, Pro sermone, p. 112
2017	Ponç, cl & sacerdos	M	04/24/1135	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 115
2018	Berenguer, vc Minerve [Minervoís]	M	04/27/1135	corpus	HL, v, no. 529/1
2019	Pere Palacii, miles	M	06/09/1135	pub-o	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 046
2020	Guillem Tedioballi	M	07/13/1135	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1445
2021	Guillem Seguer de Montagut	M	11/02/1135	1st	MS: BC P, 09964
2022	Gombau, sacrista	M	01/01/1136	pub-o	Urgell, ix, no. 1450
2023	Andreas Petri	M	01/01/1136	executors' act	MS: BC P, 10056
2024	Guillem Tedioballi	M	01/03/1136	pub-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1451
2025	Ramon Bernat	M	02/28/1136	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1452
2026	Roger, cl	M	03/14/1136	1st	Mas, no. 1451 [inv]
2027	Arnal de Prugonosa	M	03/17/1136	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1453
2028	Guia	F	04/20/1136	1st	MS: BC P, 10111
2029	Pere de Barbaira	M	04/24/1136	laud/exec	Douzens, no. A 109
2030	Agnes	F	07/07/1136	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 065
2031	Bonfill Guadamiri	M	07/10/1136	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:26 [inv]
2032	Ponç Bernat	M	07/19/1136	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1456
2033	Berenguer Bernat, cl canon Barcelona seu	M	10/27/1136	1st	Mas, no. 1456 [inv]
2034	Bernat de Riudepares, canon Vic	M	12/27/1136	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV LDA, f. 041-2
2035	Bertran de Balmis	M	01/01/1137	corpus	Templars, no. 125
2036	Bernat de Beuste, capellanus Morlaas	M	01/01/1137	1st-don/test	Morlaas, no. 35
2037	Rodlan Guiribertus	M	03/16/1137	corpus	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 083
2038	Bernat Oromir & ux. Bilisen	B	05/02/1137	pub-i-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1460

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
2039	Ermengol de Sono	M	05/24/1137	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 118v-119r
2040	Amaneux de Ox	M	06/01/1137	don-egr	Lézat, no. 1513
2041	Roger, canon Barcelona seu	M	08/03/1137	1st	Mas, no. 1471 [inv]
2042	Guillem de Santa Eugenia, canon Vic	M	08/12/1137	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1601
2043	Guillem, presbiter	M	11/24/1137	1st	Banyoles, ii, no. 142
2044	Bernat Ermengol de Malla, archilevita, canon Vic	M	12/31/1137	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1604
2045	Berenguer Guillem de Galifa	M	01/28/1138	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 936
2046	Bernat de Torrelles, canon Elne	M	02/27/1138	1st	MS: ADPO 12 J 25 Fossa (Cart. Elne), no. 183
2047	Ramon Amati	M	04/11/1138	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 419
2048	Bernat Guillem de Sancta Columba	M	06/02/1138	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 223
2049	Arnal de Puteolis	M	08/31/1138	1st	MS: BC P, 09542
2050	Berenguer Bernat	M	10/21/1138	1st	Mas, no. 1479 [inv]
2051	Guillem	M	11/17/1138	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 096
2052	Pere Maioris	M	12/30/1138	1st-pilgrimage	Roche, ii, pp. 55-6
2053	Berenguer Ramon	M	12/31/1138	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1486 [inv]
2054	Adalaidis	F	04/05/1139	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 045v
2055	Bernat Berengarii de Oló, cl canon Vic	M	04/05/1139	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1646
2056	Gonalgod & ux. Adaledis	B	05/01/1139	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2293
2057	Guillem	M	05/03/1139	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 089
2058	Rodlan & ux. Agnes	B	05/04/1139	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 095
2059	Berenguer Guillem de Galifa	M	07/04/1139	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 939
2060	Pere Maestre	M	09/25/1139	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 90
2061	Pere Mironi	M	11/06/1139	1st	Mas, no. 1493 [inv]
2062	Berenguer Aurucensis	M	12/26/1139	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1467
2063	Pere Bernat, presbiter, canon	M	12/31/1139	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1505 [inv]
2064	Roger	M	01/01/1140	1st-pilgrimage	Gellone, no. 219
2065	Arsenda	F	02/05/1140	1st	MS: BC P, 08948
2066	Eliardis	F	02/24/1140	1st-egritude	Sant Pol de Mar, no. 29
2067	Adalaidis ux. Petri Berengarii	F	04/27/1140	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 58:162r-v
2068	Arsenda de Murnag	F	06/18/1140	corpus	Lézat, no. 1081
2069	Bernat Barronarius	M	07/02/1140	1st-religious	Gellone, no. 320
2070	Bernat Arberti	M	07/27/1140	pub	Mas, no. 1506 [inv]
2071	Alfonso I, rex Aragon	M	09/16/1140	DC:will-related	LFM, i, no. 11
2072	Alfonso I, rex Aragon	M	09/16/1140	DC:will-related	LFM, i, no. 12
2073	Bordel de Conas	M	10/09/1140	1st	Agde, no. 298 [1/2]
2074	Berenguer de ipsa Rovira	M	11/26/1140	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 120
2075	Pere	M	12/19/1140	pub-u	Urgell, ix, no. 1473
2076	Miro lozberti	M	12/27/1140	1st	MS: BC P, 04182
2077	Ramon Sancti Poncii	M	01/01/1141	1st-pilgrimage	Gellone, no. 487
2078	Miro	M	01/31/1141	pub-w	Urgell, ix, no. 1475
2079	Pere Adalberti	M	03/18/1141	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 289
2080	Ramon Gilabert & ux. Bonadona	B	04/01/1141	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 95
2081	Arnal Geralli	M	04/03/1141	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 052
2082	Malesdis de Pugrab..I	M	05/01/1141	1st	MS: BC P, 05502
2083	Pere, vc [Castellbò]	M	05/13/1141	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, ix, no. 1478
2084	Guillem Bonefilii, canon Vic	M	06/08/1141	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:0363
2085	Guillem Guilamany	M	08/04/1141	1st	Mas, no. 1515 [inv]
2086	Alfonso I, rex Aragon	M	08/29/1141	DC:will-related	LFM, i, no. 10
2087	Arnal de Sornjano	M	01/01/1142	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 146r
2088	Arnal Poncii	M	01/18/1142	1st-religious	MS: ADPO 12 J 25 Fossa (Cart. Elne), no. 193
2089	Guillem Fulchonis	M	02/02/1142	corpus	Miret, T&H, p. 35 [tru]
2090	Guillem Fulchonis	M	02/03/1142	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 341
2091	Dalmáu, diaconus	M	03/27/1142	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 137
2092	Berenguer Tedmar	M	04/04/1142	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV LDA, f. 044v
2093	Ramon Gischafrédi	M	05/11/1142	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 138
2094	Joan, presbiter	M	08/21/1142	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 237
2095	Ramon de Montredon	M	08/28/1142	corpus	Lézat, no. 5
2096	Arbert	M	09/01/1142	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 945
2097	Guila ux. Arnallus [widow]	F	11/07/1142	1st	Polinyà, no. 94
2098	Arnal Ermengol, eps Barcelona	M	12/18/1142	1st-pilgrimage	Puig i Puig, no. 70
2099	Guillem Ramon de Cuxac	M	01/01/1143	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 61-62
2100	Arsenda	M	01/16/1143	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2299
2101	Arnal Petri, miles	M	02/13/1143	pub	Mas, no. 1545 [inv]
2102	Guillem Ramon [& ux. Stephania?]	B	03/17/1143	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 946
2103	Guillem Dalmacii, miles	M	03/25/1143	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 152

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2104	Bernat Umberti	M	04/08/1143	1st	Sant Pol de Mar, no. 30
2105	Pere Bernat	M	04/10/1143	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp Temple, Hp 189?:S. Felixs.n.
2106	Ermengardis	F	08/20/1143	1st	NH, xi, no. 488
2107	Pere Bernat	M	09/04/1143	pub-o	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 950
2108	Bernat Arnalli	M	09/05/1143	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 100
2109	Ramon de ipsa Ruviera	M	09/21/1143	pub-o	Templars, no. 306 [partial]
2110	Vidianus	M	10/02/1143	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 952
2111	Arnal Ermengol, eps Barcelona	M	11/06/1143	pub-w-p	Mas, no. 1559 [inv]
2112	Pere de Aquilone	M	12/28/1143	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 050
2113	Beatrix de Bitulona, domina	F	12/28/1143	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2304
2114	Pere Bernat	M	01/01/1144	1st	MS: BC P, 01753
2115	Berengaria de Frangoliano	M	01/15/1144	don-post ob	Templars, no. 322
2116	Bernat Galter	M	02/18/1144	1st-religious	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 34:023
2117	Jordana ux. Bernat Petri	F	06/17/1144	pub-u	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 165
2118	Ramon de Monte Esquino	M	09/05/1144	1st-egritude	Templars, no. 339 [partial]
2119	Berenguer de ipsa Rovira & f. Ramon	M	01/01/1145	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3506
2120	Gonzalo Pinto & ux. Maria Pelaiz	B	01/01/1145	don-post ob	Templars, no. 343
2121	Guillem Ramon de Cuxac	M	01/01/1145	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 63-65
2122	Dalmau de Castries	M	01/14/1145	pub-i-o	LIM, no. 394
2123	Pere Berengarii	M	02/11/1145	pub-w	Templars, no. 348
2124	Berenguer de Rivopollo	M	02/23/1145	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 961
2125	Bernat de Meda	M	04/25/1145	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1663
2126	Guillem Bonefilii	M	05/07/1145	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 180
2127	Vidianus	M	06/10/1145	pub-w-p	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 964
2128	Otardus, dominus [don]	M	06/16/1145	corpus	Ebro, ii, no. 332
2129	Pere Ramon de Mata	M	07/13/1145	executors' act	CCM, no. 302
2130	Pere Exavel	M	07/14/1145	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 204 [inv]
2131	Berenguer, cl canon Vic	M	07/20/1145	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 022
2132	Ermessendis	F	07/21/1145	pub-w	MS: BC P, 08729
2133	Pere Fulconi	M	07/26/1145	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 182
2134	Raimbaud, caputscole Elne	M	08/11/1145	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 61:140-141v
2135	Jaume de Palomar	M	08/26/1145	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 248
2136	Ramon Fulconi	M	09/21/1145	pub	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:31 [inv]
2137	Guillem Bernat, [castellan]	M	10/12/1145	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:066-69v
2138	Rodlan & ux. Agnes	B	12/23/1145	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 185
2139	Berenguer Umberti	M	12/28/1145	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 967
2140	Miteira, domina	F	01/01/1146	don-inter fam.	Huesca, no. 194
2141	Joan Scriba, scriba [scriptor]	M	01/01/1146	1st-don/test	Templars, no. 382
2142	Bertran de Favairolas	M	01/21/1146	corpus	Templars, no. 385
2143	Pelayo Tructesindiz	M	04/01/1146	1st-don/test	Templars, no. 394
2144	Gonzalo Cabeza	M	04/01/1146	1st-don/test	Templars, no. 393
2145	Bernat Guillem	M	04/15/1146	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 968
2146	Pere Montisferrarii	M	04/18/1146	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1495
2147	Berenguer	M	06/27/1146	pub-w	Cervià, no. 65
2148	Berenguer, ab S. Feliu de Girona	M	07/25/1146	1st-pilgrimage	MS: BC P, 09966
2149	Guillem Berenguer	M	08/04/1146	1st-egritude	Urgell, ix, no. 1496
2150	Jozbert de Poliniano	M	08/26/1146	pub-w	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:039
2151	Pere Bernat, [castellan] Cleriana	M	09/05/1146	pub-w	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 030
2152	Bertran de Bolbotone	M	09/11/1146	corpus	Templars, no. 406
2153	Guillem Mironi	M	10/13/1146	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 028
2154	Pere Guillem	M	10/16/1146	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 969
2155	Gauzfred, canon Elne	M	11/02/1146	1st	MS: BN Moreau (Cart. Elne), 62:111-112r
2156	Guillem VI, lord Montpellier	M	12/11/1146	1st	LIM, no. 95
2157	Bordel de Conas	M	02/17/1147	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 298 [2/2]
2158	Guillem Berengarii, fr. canonici Agde	M	02/22/1147	don-post ob	Agde, no. 137
2159	Ramon [de Timor ?]	M	04/02/1147	pub-u	Santes Creus, no. 41
2160	Bernat de Roujan	M	04/03/1147	1st	Agde, no. 340
2161	Bertran & ux. Laureta	B	04/13/1147	1st	Urgell, ix, no. 1497
2162	Berenguer de Ros	M	05/12/1147	1st	MS: BC P, 09997
2163	Guillem [& soror & br-in-law], sacer	B	06/03/1147	don-res	Urgell, ix, no. 1498
2164	Pere Ramon, canon Barcleona	M	08/11/1147	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1623 [inv]
2165	Guila	F	09/09/1147	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 973
2166	Pere Maioli & ux. Ermessendis	B	10/26/1147	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 974
2167	Ponç Guillem de Camplonch	M	12/15/1147	1st	MS: BMP MS Alart (Puignau), 107:7 (G):2 [inv]
2168	Lop Garcez Pelegrino, [dominus]	M	01/01/1148	law-set/adj	Ebro, ii, no. 354
2169	Stephanus, capellanus de Mèze	M	01/01/1148	1st-pilgrimage	Agde, no. 258
2170	Girardus de Mèze, presbiter canon Agde	M	01/01/1148	1st	Agde, no. 277

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2171	Aznar Aznariz & ux. Belaschita	B	02/18/1148	1st	Templars, no. 505
2172	Bertran de Perexelc & fr. Arnallus	M	04/14/1148	don-res	Urgell, ix, no. 1499
2173	Guillem Mironis de Antiqua	M	04/21/1148	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 977
2174	Pere, primicerius, canon Vic	M	05/01/1148	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2321
2175	Guillem Mironis de Antiqua	M	05/04/1148	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 978
2176	Guillem Petri de Serriano	M	05/04/1148	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 979
2177	Gauzfred de Illes [?]	M	05/24/1148	1st	MS: BC P, 09967
2178	Pere de Annes & ux. Gebelina	B	05/31/1148	don-res	Urgell, ix, no. 1500
2179	Vidal	M	06/24/1148	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 980
2180	Guillem Bernat, cl canon Barcelona	M	09/02/1148	1st	Mas, no. 1639 [inv]
2181	Arnal Geriberti	M	09/27/1148	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1195
2182	Bernat Berengarii	M	10/29/1148	1st	Mas, no. 1643 [inv]
2183	NN, sacer S. Genis de Orís	M	01/01/1149	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2460
2184	Gerau de Rupià	M	02/03/1149	pub-w-p	Mitra, no. 45 [inv]
2185	Ramon filii Ramon Mir de Challari	M	02/19/1149	corpus	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 210
2186	Pere de Santo Leiro	M	04/04/1149	1st	Templars, no. 509 [partial]
2187	Bertran de Castellet, [comital agent]	M	04/24/1149	1st	Fiscal Accounts, ii, no. 144
2188	Berenguer, sacrista iudex Vic	M	05/30/1149	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 044
2189	Pere Amati	M	07/12/1149	1st-travel	Solsona, no. 56
2190	Pere de St.-Hilaire	M	07/24/1149	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 71-74
2191	Blanca de Fossad	F	08/01/1149	don-egr	Lézat, no. 669
2192	Guillem Arnal	M	08/05/1149	pub-w	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:01
2193	Guillem, [castellan] Cannos	M	08/08/1149	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 216
2194	Pere Arnalli	M	08/10/1149	1st-travel	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 217 (1/3)
2195	Ermengol, eps Agde	M	09/01/1149	1st	Agde, Intr., pp. 83-84
2196	Bermond Aianrici, fr. ab (Bernard) S. Lorenç	M	09/23/1149	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 285
2197	Arnal, archieps Narbonne	M	09/28/1149	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:074-76v
2198	Ponç Guarin	M	12/18/1149	1st	Agde, no. 20
2199	Guillem Stephani	M	01/01/1150	1st-travel	Aniane, no. 138
2200	Guila ux. Guillem	F	01/01/1150	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1391
2201	Maria de Farhaon, domina	F	01/01/1150	1st	Huesca, no. 570
2202	Lucia	F	01/01/1150	1st	Huesca, no. 565
2203	Jimeno Aznarez	M	01/01/1150	1st	Huesca, no. 415
2204	Guillem Sinfre & ux. Ermessend	B	01/01/1150	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Milis.: Testaments, 041
2205	Guillem Eberard	M	01/01/1150	1st	LIM, no. 225
2206	Ponç Dalmacii	M	01/01/1150	1st	MS: BC P, 09968
2207	Bernat Bernat	M	01/01/1150	1st	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3232
2208	Bernat Rodllandii, [castellan] Aguda (?)	M	01/22/1150	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Milis.: Testaments, 002
2209	Berenguer de Valle Vidreva	M	02/23/1150	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 983
2210	Bernat lohannis	M	07/01/1150	1st	MS: BC P, 10001
2211	Prima, domina	F	08/04/1150	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 77-79
2212	Roger IV, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	08/12/1150	1st-egritude	HL, v, no. 580/1
2213	Roger IV, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	08/17/1150	pub-w-append	HL, v, no. 580/ii,
2214	Guillem Ponç	M	09/23/1150	pub-o	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 522
2215	Adalaidis	F	09/28/1150	1st	Mas, no. 1667 [inv]
2216	Bertran	M	11/02/1150	1st-war	Ager y Caresmar, no. 205 [inv]
2217	Martin	M	12/15/1150	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1196
2218	Guillem Poncii	M	12/29/1150	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 271
2219	Pere de Tartareu	M	01/05/1151	1st-egritude	Ager y Caresmar, no. 223 [inv]
2220	Roger IV, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	01/15/1151	laud/exec	HL, v, no. 586/1
2221	Roger IV, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	01/16/1151	laud/exec	HL, v, no. 586/2
2222	Gombau de Corneillano	M	05/08/1151	pub-i-o	Béziers, no. 168
2223	Guillem Umberti [de Basella]	M	06/03/1151	pub-o	Guillem Umbert, no. I
2224	Bonet Nado [de Déu]	M	06/23/1151	1st-travel	Santa Anna, no. 273
2225	Ermentrud	F	06/26/1151	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 235
2226	Guillem Umberti de Basella	M	07/01/1151	pub-w	Guillem Umbert, no. II
2227	Guillem Umberti de Basella	M	07/23/1151	law-set/adj	Guillem Umbert, no. III
2228	Guillem, presbiter	M	07/31/1151	don-res	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 240
2229	Guillem, presbiter	M	07/31/1151	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 239
2230	Guillem Bernat, cl S. M. del Castell de Besalu	M	09/14/1151	1st	MS: BC P, 09522
2231	Adalaidis	F	11/02/1151	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 246
2232	Arbert de Terracia	M	12/02/1151	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 106
2233	Miro Guitardi	M	12/30/1151	1st	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:078-81

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
2234	Pere Guillem de Sarrià	M	03/16/1152	pub	Mas, no. 1681-2 [inv]
2235	Bernat	M	03/17/1152	pub-w	Urgell, x, no. 1513
2236	Petronilla, ca Barcelona, q Aragon	F	04/04/1152	1st-egritude	LFM, i, no. 16
2237	Guillem, archilevita Besalu (Gerona? or Besalu?)	M	04/29/1152	1st-pilgrimage	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 25
2238	Joan de Quintana Fortuna [de Ortega], SAINT senior Hurtega	M	06/01/1152	1st	Rioja, no. 513
2239	Berenguer, ab St.-Sever	M	09/21/1152	1st	Agde, no. 88
2240	Berenguer	M	10/03/1152	1st-war	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 26
2241	Bonet [de Déu]	M	10/27/1152	pub-w-p	Santa Anna, no. 280
2242	Sicardis	F	10/29/1152	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 289
2243	Deusdedit de Tamarith {?}	M	12/13/1152	pub	Mas, no. 1691 [inv]
2244	Ferrer de Figeroia, [castellan] Guardia de Prats	M	12/28/1152	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer III, 257
2245	Arnal de Ponte	M	01/01/1153	1st	Silvanès, no. 177
2246	Pere Rainardi	M	05/07/1153	1st	Agde, no. 386/1
2247	Pere Raimundus de Barbaira	M	06/11/1153	1st-religious	Douzens, no. A 6
2248	Arnal d'Heres [?]	M	07/18/1153	1st	MS: BC P, 09942
2249	Pere Ramon de Erill, [dominus Erill]	M	08/17/1153	pub-i-o-x	Lavaix, no. 57
2250	Pere Brufallo & ux. Guilla	B	09/19/1153	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 025
2251	Ramon Guillem	M	09/22/1153	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 262
2252	Bernat de Galliners, canon Girona	M	10/15/1153	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 291
2253	Bertran [de Alentorn], servuus Poblet [monk?]	M	10/18/1153	1st	Poblet, no. 150
2254	Ponç [I] de Cervera, vc Bas	M	11/19/1153	laud/exec	CDIACA, iv, no. ____
2255	Bernat de Vilademager, [castellan/dominus]	M	12/02/1153	pub-o	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 291
2256	Pere Pauci de Canoveles	M	12/29/1153	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1197
2257	Juliana	F	01/01/1154	don-egr	Gellone, no. 513
2258	Arnal Guisaudus	M	01/01/1154	1st-egritude	Tavernoles, no. 74
2259	Ramon Guillem	M	01/18/1154	1st-egritude	Miret, ADLC, no. 23 [tru]
2260	Ermengol de Llerona, canon Barcelona	M	02/09/1154	1st	Mas, no. 1710 [inv]
2261	Guillem Berenguer	M	03/05/1154	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 265
2262	Arnal Gaufredi	M	03/07/1154	1st	MS: BC P, 09969
2263	Guillem Berenguer de Lacera	M	03/28/1154	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 259bis
2264	Ramon Trencavel I, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	04/03/1154	1st	HL, v, no. 599
2265	Berenguer de Benages, canon Vic	M	05/07/1154	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1688
2266	Guillem Rotlandi	M	05/12/1154	1st	Mas, no. 1715 [inv]
2267	Guillem Rotlandi	M	05/24/1154	pub-w	Mas, no. 1716 [inv]
2268	Roger de Saint-Médard	M	05/27/1154	corpus	Lézat, no. 629
2269	Rainard de Maureillan, cl canon St. Nazaire	M	07/28/1154	1st-religious	Béziers, no. 182
2270	Bertran de Alentorn	M	08/29/1154	corpus	Poblet, no. 165
2271	Berenguer de Camplonch	M	10/08/1154	1st	MS: BMP MS Alart (Puignau), 107:7 (G):2 [inv]
2272	Bernat de Vultrera	M	10/25/1154	pub-w	Mitra, no. 50 [inv]
2273	Ponç Geralli de Olorda	M	11/07/1154	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 109
2274	Pere Rainardi	M	01/03/1155	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 386/2
2275	Pere de St.-Michel	M	03/02/1155	pub-i-o-x-p	Roche, ii, pp. 088-89
2276	Arnal Bonifili	M	03/09/1155	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 02605
2277	Guillem Rainardi, canon Agde	M	04/15/1155	1st	Agde, no. 17
2278	Ferrer, presbiter	M	04/19/1155	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1198
2279	Ramon de Olost [?]	M	06/05/1155	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 283
2280	Seguinus	M	12/13/1155	1st-egritude	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:046
2281	Guillem de Omelas, fr. lord Montpellier	M	03/08/1156	1st	LIM, no. 552/1
2282	Bernat Guillem	M	03/21/1156	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, x, no. 1525
2283	Guillem de Omelas [Montpellier], fr. lord Montpellier	M	06/05/1156	pub-w-append	LIM, no. 552/2
2284	Ramon de Caboet, lord	M	06/18/1156	1st	Urgell, x, no. 1529
2285	Berengaria, vca Ca.brera	F	06/30/1156	1st-egritude	Ager y Caresmar, no. 225 [inv]
2286	Bernat Guillem	M	09/05/1156	1st	Urgell, x, no. 1530
2287	Ramon Arnaldi	M	09/29/1156	pub-w	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 266
2288	Pere Arnalli de Puteovite	M	12/31/1156	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2347
2289	Ermessendis, ux fr. lord Montpellier	F	01/01/1157	pub-i-o	LIM, no. 395
2290	lñigo [lñigo] Sanz, dominus [don]	M	01/01/1157	pub-i-o	Huesca, no. 224
2291	Guila	F	01/08/1157	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 295
2292	Guillem Ramon de Galliner	M	01/30/1157	pub-w	Urgell, x, no. 1531
2293	Ramon de Foreville	M	02/10/1157	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 171 [1/2]

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2294	Ramon de Foreville	M	02/19/1157	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 171 [2/2]
2295	Guillem Umberti de Basella	M	04/17/1157	law-set/adj	Guillem Umbert, no. IV
2296	Sancha	F	04/28/1157	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1011
2297	Pere de Montornes	M	05/04/1157	pub-w-rel	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1012
2298	Brunetus, presbiter	M	05/07/1157	don-post ob	Solsona, no. 62
2299	Pere Arnall de Puteovite	M	05/30/1157	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:2346
2300	Bernat de Machiz [?]	M	06/18/1157	pub	Mas, no. 1770 [inv]
2301	Bernat de Erill	M	07/09/1157	1st-pilgrimage	Lavaix, no. 59
2302	Ponç de Rossono	M	07/25/1157	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 97-8
2303	Bernat Ioan	M	08/01/1157	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 310
2304	Arnal Mir, c Pallars	M	09/22/1157	1st-egritude	Valls, Pallars, pp. 147-152
2305	Pere Bernat de Pezenacios	M	11/08/1157	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 91-93
2306	Embridia de Besalú, ux. Lobatón	F	12/12/1157	pub-w	NH, xi, no. 521 [inv]
2307	Bertran de Laurs	M	01/01/1158	don-egr	Gimont, ii, no. 107
2308	Ramon Guillem de Odena, [dominus]	M	01/03/1158	1st	Odena, no. 37
2309	Pere Bernat de Olost	M	01/08/1158	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 016v
2310	Ramon Guillem de Odena, [dominus]	M	01/25/1158	pub-w	Odena, no. 38
2311	Sicardus Raymundi	M	02/08/1158	pub-o	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 20:D:22
2312	Ponç Petri de Banyeres	M	02/12/1158	pub	Mas, no. 1776 [inv]
2313	Ramon Berenguer et al., c Melgueuil, Provence	M	03/01/1158	corpus	Miret, T&H, pp. 223-4 [tru]
2314	Iñigo Sanz de Binies	M	04/01/1158	laud/exec	Huesca-Templars, no. 13
2315	Guillem Poncii	M	05/11/1158	1st	MS: BC P, 09970
2316	Bernat de Castelnou	M	06/08/1158	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 333
2317	Bernat	M	06/08/1158	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1907
2318	Ramon Berengarii [de Ager]	M	06/23/1158	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 229 [inv]
2319	Maria ux. Arnalli	F	10/13/1158	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 217 (2/3)
2320	Guillem de Alaiano	M	12/10/1158	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 94-5
2321	Guila	F	01/27/1159	pub-w	MS: ACA Div. Monistrol, 5
2322	Bernat de Tongue	M	04/01/1159	1st	Agde, no. 36
2323	Ponç de Aurenciana, decanus Barcelona	M	05/18/1159	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1795 [inv]
2324	Ermessendis	F	06/20/1159	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 295
2325	Arnal Berengarii, cl canon Barcelona	M	06/29/1159	1st-pilgrimage	Mas, no. 1796 [inv]
2326	Ponç Arbereti	M	08/31/1159	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 294
2327	Bernat de Amindola	M	12/21/1159	1st-pilgrimage	Ager y Caresmar, no. 233 [inv]
2328	Guillem Ricart	M	01/01/1160	don-egr	La Selva, no. 128
2329	Girard de Tourouille	M	01/01/1160	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 142
2330	Guillem de Campanolis	M	01/25/1160	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 99-100
2331	Bernat de Minorisa [Manresa]	M	02/06/1160	pub-w	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:059
2332	Pere Bernat	M	03/14/1160	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2351
2333	Peretalo	M	03/18/1160	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1029
2334	Ramon	M	04/20/1160	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1550
2335	Berenguer [.....]	M	05/12/1160	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 007
2336	Berenguer de Terroja	M	05/31/1160	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 337 ("dup")
2337	Arbert Poncii	M	06/19/1160	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Div. Monistrol, 6
2338	Ramon Cellevarie & ux. Guilla	B	06/22/1160	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 444
2339	Ramon Cellevarie & ux. Guila	B	06/22/1160	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 445
2340	Dalmau	M	07/22/1160	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1704
2341	Belliardis	F	08/02/1160	1st	Urgell, x, no. 1553
2342	Enric [de Piera], bailiff/agent	M	08/05/1160	pub-o	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1033
2343	Pere de Ox	M	09/08/1160	corpus	Lézat, no. 1611
2344	Maria de Mermian	F	11/18/1160	1st	Agde, no. 37
2345	Berenguer de Torroja, dominus	M	01/01/1161	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 337 ("orig")
2346	Ponç de Bassil	M	04/14/1161	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1710
2347	Pere Amalrici	M	05/06/1161	1st	Huesca, no. 236
2348	Arnal Mir, canon Barcelona	M	12/29/1161	1st	Mas, no. 1844 [inv]
2349	Bertran de Galian	M	01/01/1162	don	Gimont, i, no. 46
2350	Arnal Mir, canon Barcelona	M	01/09/1162	pub-w	Mas, no. 1845 [inv]
2351	Bernat de Terrers, canon Vic	M	01/27/1162	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2356
2352	Pere Bernat, [castellan] Vilademager	M	03/23/1162	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 292
2353	Guila	F	05/29/1162	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 356
2354	Ramon Guillem	M	06/25/1162	1st	Mas, no. 1848 [inv]
2355	Ferrer & f. Bernardus	M	07/10/1162	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 457
2356	Ermessendis	F	07/30/1162	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 008
2357	Adalaidis	F	08/15/1162	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 297
2358	Arbert de Petra	M	09/06/1162	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1206
2359	Ramon Berenguer IV, c Barcelona	M	10/11/1162	pub-o	LFM, i, no. 494

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
2360	Ponç Arberti	M	11/19/1162	pub	Mas, no. 1852 [inv]
2361	Bernat Sancii, eps Urgell	M	11/23/1162	pub-i-o	Urgell, x, no. 1565
2362	Ponç de Artesa	M	01/17/1163	don-post ob	Poblet, no. 232
2363	Ferrera	M	01/18/1163	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, x, no. 1567
2364	Joan [Correger]	M	01/21/1163	1st	Santa Anna, no. 359
2365	Pere [Pere] Bord de Sero	M	03/17/1163	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 011
2366	Ramon Barrufel	M	05/01/1163	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 262
2367	Gerau	M	05/16/1163	1st-egritude	Templars, no. 82 [partial]
2368	Ponç Adalberti	M	06/01/1163	1st	MS: BC P, 09943
2369	Ramon Mironi	M	08/12/1163	1st-pilgrimage	Roses, no. 70
2370	Bernat Tizonis, canon Vic	M	10/08/1163	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1714
2371	Ponç Guillem de Vultrera	M	11/28/1163	1st	Mitra, no. 51 [inv]
2372	Pere Sachet	M	01/01/1164	3d	Douzens, no. A 84
2373	Pere Manalas & ux. Ricardis	B	01/01/1164	1st-religious	Silvanès, no. 375
2374	Albert	M	01/01/1164	1st	Huesca, no. 241
2375	Pere Adalberti	M	01/01/1164	1st	Miret, Pro sermone, p. 113
2376	Giraldus de Castillon	M	01/03/1164	1st	Saint-Sernin, ap. no. 47
2377	Pere de Solario	M	03/19/1164	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1715
2378	Ponç, cl	M	04/24/1164	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1908
2379	Gauzfred [III], c Roussillon	M	05/08/1164	pub-o	LFM, ii, no. 788
2380	Pere de Anes	M	06/08/1164	pub-w	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 555
2381	Petronilla, queen Aragon, ca Barclona	F	06/18/1164	don-inter fam.	LFM, i, no. 17
2382	Bernat de Cilabor [?]	M	06/23/1164	1st	MS: BC P, 04225
2383	Pere de Sancta Eulalia	M	07/24/1164	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09971
2384	Arnal Guillem	M	07/30/1164	1st-egritude	Cervià, no. 68
2385	Bertran	M	09/30/1164	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 273
2386	Bernat de Malaspina	M	10/23/1164	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 104-105
2387	Seniofred	M	10/25/1164	1st	MS: BC P, 09817
2388	Ramon de Noves	M	10/28/1164	don-egr	Urgell, x, no. 1589
2389	Pere Rufatus	M	11/01/1164	DC:will-related	Lézat, no. 1374-5
2390	Guillem de Mediano	M	11/02/1164	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 010
2391	Guillem Geraldi, cl canon Vic	M	11/21/1164	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2371
2392	Bruneta	F	11/25/1164	pub	Mas, no. 1875 [inv]
2393	Pere de Puigverd	M	12/18/1164	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 268
2394	Berenguer de Cheralto, [castellan/dominus]	M	12/20/1164	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, s.n.
2395	Berenguer de Orta	M	01/01/1165	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 373
2396	Maior dau. Fernando Pelayez, domina	F	01/01/1165	1st	Rioja, no. 222bis
2397	Bernat de Castelpers	M	01/01/1165	1st	Bonnecombe, no. 251/5
2398	Gerau de Turre	M	04/20/1165	don-egr	Chamalières, no. 078
2399	Stefania	M	05/31/1165	1st-egritude	Lavaix, no. 61
2400	Jordan Bonnevigne	M	06/24/1165	don-p	HL, viii, inv Grdslv 261
2401	Bernat Rogerii, eps Urgell	M	06/25/1165	DC:will-related	Urgell, x, no. 1598
2402	Bernat Ferrarii	M	07/22/1165	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 090
2403	Bernat de Oluga	M	08/21/1165	pub-i-o-x	Santes Creus, no. 118
2404	Sicardis ux. Petrus Gondeval	F	09/01/1165	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 378 [des]
2405	Gauzfred de Rocabertí, vc Rocabertí	M	10/06/1165	1st	MS: BC P, 09972
2406	Guillem Bernad	M	11/07/1165	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç prop Bagà, 558
2407	Miro Ermengaudus	M	02/26/1166	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 122
2408	Bernat de Emposta	M	02/28/1166	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1725
2409	Ermengol de Caresag	M	05/05/1166	1st	MS: HU P Gili, s.n. (1166)
2410	Guila q. vocabant Ermessendis	F	06/17/1166	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1060
2411	Ermessendis	M	06/19/1166	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 036
2412	Guillem Mantilini	M	06/26/1166	1st	Douzens, no. D 10
2413	Joan	M	07/11/1166	1st	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0200
2414	Berenguer de Llobregat	M	07/13/1166	1st	Mas, no. 1892 [inv]
2415	Ermengol d'Oló, canon	M	09/10/1166	1st	Mas, no. 1893 [inv]
2416	Berenguer de Togores	M	10/28/1166	1st	Mas, no. 1894 [inv]
2417	Ponç de Capmany	M	11/24/1166	1st	MS: BC P, 09973
2418	Berenguer de Queralt	M	12/21/1166	1st-egritude	Catalunya Romànica, ii, pp. 38-9
2419	Berenguer de Llobregat	M	01/01/1167	pub-w	Mas, no. 1898 [inv]
2420	Ramon Trencavel I, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	01/01/1167	1st-egritude	HL, viii, no. 2
2421	Bernat Rogerii, eps Urgell	M	01/01/1167	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1615
2422	Oliver	M	01/01/1167	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:0380
2423	Pautonnier de Preissan	M	02/07/1167	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 89
2424	Bernat de Cornellat	M	02/07/1167	1st	MS: ACA P. Ramon Berenguer IV, 217 (3/3)
2425	Agnes	F	02/23/1167	pub	Mas, no. 1899 [inv]
2426	Pere de Cheralt [Queralt]	M	03/03/1167	1st-religious	Poblet, no. 306
2427	Berenguer de Togores [Tuguriis]	M	03/06/1167	pub-w	Mas, no. 1900 [inv]

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2428	Berenguer de Terrassa, canon Barcelona (seu)	M	04/16/1167	1st	Mas, no. 1902 [inv]
2429	Pere Arnallí & ux. Ermessen	B	06/09/1167	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:0033
2430	Ramon de Subirats, dominus / servus christi	M	06/13/1167	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 044
2431	Bernat de Savassona	M	08/02/1167	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:51 [inv]
2432	Ermengol VII, c Urgell	M	08/03/1167	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1621
2433	Ramon de Spolazan [?]	M	09/08/1167	1st	MS: BC P, 04152
2434	Pere de Llındars	M	09/20/1167	1st-religious	Poblet, no. 315
2435	Berenguer Revertarius, vc Barcelona	M	10/29/1167	1st-travel	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 046
2436	Sicardis	M	11/18/1167	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:49 [inv]
2437	Guillem de Montis Acuti	M	11/23/1167	1st	MS: BC P, 09044
2438	Ramon de Subirats	M	12/04/1167	pub-w	Santes Creus, no. 133
2439	Malol Pilicer	M	12/08/1167	1st-egritude	MS: BMP MS Alart (Domaine), 107:26 (V):567-70
2440	Guillem [IV] & fr. Bertrandus [II], c Forcalquier	M	01/01/1168	corpus	Hospitallers, no. 386
2441	Arnal Falcucii	M	01/01/1168	corpus	Poblet, no. 321
2442	Bertran de Alentorn	M	01/02/1168	don-p	Poblet, no. 322
2443	Pere de Castelló	M	01/08/1168	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1622
2444	Ademar	M	01/11/1168	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 316
2445	Saurina	F	01/13/1168	pub	Mas, no. 1907 [inv]
2446	Agnes	F	02/01/1168	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:03
2447	Guillem Montis Acuti	M	02/13/1168	pub-w	Miret, T&H, pp. 321-2 [tru]
2448	Arnal Radulfi	M	03/03/1168	1st	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 35:002
2449	Bernat de Noadac	M	03/18/1168	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 012
2450	Pere [de Palagret], sacrista Celrà [?]	M	04/04/1168	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 318
2451	Pere Johannis	M	04/29/1168	1st-religious	Poblet, no. 328
2452	Guillem Artal	M	05/06/1168	1st	Poblet, no. 329
2453	Ponç, scriptor	M	05/07/1168	pub-o	Fiscal Accounts, ii, no. 145
2454	Arnal de Kaneto	M	06/02/1168	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 129
2455	Ermengardis ux. Udalger	F	07/09/1168	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 283
2456	Berenguer de Terrassa, canon Barcelona	M	07/15/1168	pub-w	Mas, no. 1920 [inv]
2457	Bernat Sancti Licerii	M	07/22/1168	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:091
2458	Bernat Ermengaudi de Freixenet	M	07/29/1168	law-set/adj	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 045
2459	Adalbert Baronus	M	08/01/1168	pub-w	Roche, ii, pp. 109-111
2460	Gaucelmus	M	10/04/1168	corpus-egr	Douzens, no. A 74
2461	Pere de Marata [Meserata orig]	M	11/20/1168	1st	Mas, no. 1923 [inv]
2462	Huguet	M	12/05/1168	1st	Santa Anna, no. 401
2463	Guillem de Tarragona	M	02/08/1169	pub-o	Poblet, no. 335
2464	Berenguer de Minorisa [Manresa]	M	02/21/1169	1st-egritude	MS: AM P S. Benet de Bages, 0201
2465	Ramon de Albas	M	03/05/1169	1st-egritude	Douzens, no. A 8
2466	Berenguer de Puisserguier	M	03/13/1169	1st-religious	Béziers, no. 225
2467	Andregot de Artazu, domina	F	04/01/1169	don-egr	Irache, no. 175
2468	Guillem, eps Gerona	M	04/01/1169	1st-egritude	Viaje, xiii, no. 40
2469	Bertran de Medià [Mediano]	M	04/15/1169	1st	Mas, no. 1928 [inv]
2470	Pere Arnallí & ux. Orega	B	04/24/1169	don-inter fam.	MS: HU P Gili, s.n. (1169)
2471	Sicardis	F	04/27/1169	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1069
2472	Curbo de Bruliano	M	07/03/1169	1st-religious	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 047r-v
2473	Guillem de Capraria [Cabrera]	M	09/27/1169	pub-w	Poblet, no. 358
2474	Pere de Liciano	M	10/21/1169	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1069
2475	Bernat de Combes	M	10/30/1169	1st	HL, viii, inv Grdsiv 353
2476	Arnal de Artesa	M	12/01/1169	1st-religious	Poblet, no. 367
2477	Berenguer de Subirats	M	12/11/1169	1st	Mas, no. 1935 [inv]
2478	Bernat Montis Eschini	M	12/31/1169	pub-o	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 073
2479	Pere Arcmanz	M	01/01/1170	corpus	La Selva, no. R 24
2480	Arnal de Caboet, [lord]	M	01/14/1170	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1642
2481	Arnal de Caboet, [lord]	M	01/31/1170	1st-egritude	Andorra, no. 71
2482	Solestendis	F	02/02/1170	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1072
2483	Pere Borrell, sacrista iudex	M	04/01/1170	don-post ob	CCM, no. 322
2484	Pere, [castellan]	M	04/21/1170	pub-w-append	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 079
2485	Guillem de Luciano	M	05/18/1170	pub-w	MS: ACV P, 6:0383
2486	Ramona	F	05/23/1170	1st	Mas, no. 1938 [inv]
2487	Ramona	F	05/29/1170	pub-w	Mas, no. 1940 [inv]
2488	Sicardis	M	06/23/1170	1st	Urgell, x, no. 1646
2489	Ponç de Fonelar	M	06/26/1170	pub-o	Santa Anna, no. 415
2490	Bernat de Caborriu	M	06/27/1170	1st-pilgrimage	Urgell, x, no. 1647

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2491	Arnal Vitalis	M	07/07/1170	1st-pilgrimage	Santa Anna, no. 416
2492	Arnal de Caboet, [lord]	M	07/13/1170	pub-w	Urgell, x, no. 1648
2493	Estrella	F	08/01/1170	1st	Mitra, no. 54 [inv]
2494	Ramon de Baux, dominus [Marseille region]	M	09/07/1170	1st	Hospitallers, no. 418 [inv]
2495	Berenguer de Sud	M	09/16/1170	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 089
2496	Bernat de Galifa	M	10/09/1170	don-res	Santa Anna, no. 421
2497	Blanca de Ribes Altis	F	10/30/1170	1st	MS: ADPO H 1 (Espira), 5
2498	Salvador	M	11/01/1170	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 013
2499	Hug [de Cervelló], archieps Tarragona	M	01/01/1171	pub-i-o-x	Viaje, xix, no. 18
2500	Jimeno de Luna	M	01/01/1171	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 45
2501	Alemanda widow Petrus de Magalas	F	01/09/1171	1st	Béziers, no. 233
2502	Pere de Aragall	M	01/11/1171	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1654
2503	Pere de Aragall	M	01/15/1171	pub-w	Urgell, x, no. 1655
2504	Arnal de Ortal	M	01/25/1171	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09974
2505	Aleman de Riudepares	M	02/19/1171	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 16:P:07 [inv]
2506	Pere de Sentmenat & ux. Ermessendis	B	03/03/1171	1st	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:04
2507	Ferrer Balb & ux. Girona	B	04/10/1171	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 014
2508	Pere de Campagnolles	M	05/01/1171	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 115-6
2509	Bernat d'Avinyó	M	06/24/1171	1st	MS: BC P, 10004
2510	Bernat Pelet, c Melgueil	M	09/01/1171	laud/exec	Hospitallers, no. 430
2511	Berenguer de Freixenet [Fraxanent]	M	09/08/1171	pub-i-o-x	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 113
2512	Arnal Mir, c Pallars	M	11/09/1171	1st	Valls, Pallars, pp. 152-154
2513	Bernat Ministrat [de Monistrol?]	M	11/13/1171	pub	Mas, no. 1957 [inv]
2514	Guillem Dominico	M	12/03/1171	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 118
2515	Dalmou de Livière	M	01/01/1172	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 123-125
2516	Bernat de la Roca	M	01/01/1172	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 070v-71r
2517	Baro	M	02/16/1172	1st	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 37:039
2518	Gombau de Malleolis	M	03/19/1172	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 251r-252r
2519	Pere Bernat	M	03/23/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 336
2520	Beatrix, ca Melgueil	F	04/01/1172	1st-don/test	Maguelone, no. 155
2521	Guillem de Malvezina	M	04/05/1172	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 117-119
2522	Miro de Castro	M	04/21/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:105
2523	Guila	F	05/03/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 306
2524	Guilbert Anglicus	M	05/08/1172	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 157
2525	Pere Ninot {?}	M	05/18/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 480
2526	Bernat de Espulges	M	05/25/1172	pub-o	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1081
2527	Guilbert Engles	M	06/01/1172	don^will	Santes Creus, no. 104
2528	Guillem de Camarrasa stepf. RII Odena, [castellan]	M	06/05/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 318
2529	Alegret, presbiter	M	06/28/1172	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 298 [inv]
2530	Girardus II, c Roussillon	M	07/04/1172	1st	LFM, ii, no. 792
2531	Pere de Anguera	M	07/21/1172	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 158
2532	Bernat de Broliano	M	07/29/1172	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 045r-v
2533	Bernat	M	07/30/1172	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:53 [inv]
2534	Ramon de Artesa	M	07/31/1172	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1669
2535	Bertran de Agde, canon St-Stephen of Agde (?)	M	08/01/1172	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 27
2536	Pere Dominici, presbiter	M	08/11/1172	1st-religious	Mas, no. 1964 [inv]
2537	Bernat de Espulges	M	08/21/1172	executors' oblation	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1082
2538	Ramon Bernat [de Sero], [castellan] many things	M	08/25/1172	pub-w	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 015
2539	Pereta	F	09/03/1172	1st	Mas, no. 1966 [inv]
2540	Goaudus de Currulio	M	09/11/1172	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 129
2541	Guillem VII, lord Montpellier	M	09/29/1172	1st	LIM, no. 96/1
2542	Ramon de Cervera, fr. vc Bas	M	10/19/1172	1st	Poblet, no. 441
2543	Albira ux. Fortun de Tena	F	12/01/1172	1st	Huesca, no. 287
2544	Berenguer de Badalona	M	12/04/1172	pub	Mas, no. 1971 [inv]
2545	Bertran de Preixens, fr eps Urgell	M	12/06/1172	pub-o	Urgell, x, no. 1672
2546	Guillem de Torre	M	12/30/1172	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 436
2547	Guillem	M	01/01/1173	pub-u	MS: HU P Gili, s.n. (1194)
2548	Dardón	M	01/01/1173	corpus	Huesca, no. 300
2549	Raimbaud IV d'Orange, dominus	M	01/01/1173	1st	Hospitallers, no. 441 [inv]
2550	Pere Bernat	M	01/01/1173	1st	Layettes, i, no. 247

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2551	Berenguer de Xissano	M	01/01/1173	1st	NH, xi, no. 551 [inv]
2552	Ramon de S. Felice	M	01/26/1173	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1086
2553	Pere Dominici, presbiter	M	01/27/1173	pub-w	Mas, no. 1974 [inv]
2554	Ferrer de Lliandars	M	01/28/1173	don-post ob	Poblet, no. 452
2555	Guillem de Barchinona	M	01/30/1173	pub-o	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 279
2556	Guillem Colrat	M	03/16/1173	1st	Mas, no. 1977 [inv]
2557	Arnal de Villaclara	M	03/23/1173	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACV P, 6:1742
2558	Sibilia	F	04/19/1173	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 018
2559	Guillem Ramon II, dapifer	M	04/20/1173	1st	Miret, Montcada, p. 137-139
2560	Guillem de Cervera	M	04/26/1173	pub-w-append	Poblet, no. 457
2561	Marina ux. Petri Ramon Herillensis	F	04/27/1173	PMSig	Lavaix, no. 63
2562	Gerau de Graiana	M	06/20/1173	pub-o	Poblet, no. 461
2563	Arnal de Fenoleto, [vc Fenouillet?]	M	07/05/1173	1st	MS: H Malte Homps, 5:4
2564	Berenguer de Calaf	M	07/06/1173	1st	Poblet, no. 463
2565	Maiassendis	F	08/13/1173	1st-egritude	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:106
2566	Bernat de Bleda [Blita], canon Barcelona	M	09/11/1173	1st	Mas, no. 1987 [inv]
2567	Guillem Artall	M	09/16/1173	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 017 [fra]
2568	Berenguer de Tennis, canon Vic	M	09/17/1173	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 048
2569	Arnas de Fenoleto, vc Fenouillet	M	10/01/1173	pub-i-o	MS: BN Doat, 59:072
2570	Gauzfred Angles	M	10/05/1173	1st	Santes Creus, no. 173
2571	Ramon [Petri] de Yrillo [Herill]	M	10/17/1173	1st-egritude	Lavaix, no. 64
2572	Petronilla, ca Barcelona, q Aragon	F	10/24/1173	pub-o	LFM, i, no. 18
2573	Pere de Casteleto	M	11/23/1173	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 141
2574	Ramon de Salliforis	M	12/02/1173	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1749
2575	Pere Rainardi de Biterris	M	12/07/1173	pub-w-append	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:102r-v
2576	Pere Remardi de Biterris	M	12/07/1173	1st-egritude	Silvanès, no. 478 [partial]
2577	Ermengol de Assoa [?]	M	01/01/1174	1st-religious	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 316
2578	Galburgis	F	01/01/1174	1st-egritude	Gellone, no. 549
2579	Arnal de Capite Stagno	M	01/24/1174	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 043v-44v
2580	Arnal, sacerdos	M	01/24/1174	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 318
2581	Joan, "Medicus" [cleric?]	M	03/30/1174	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1748
2582	Ramon de Todena	M	04/16/1174	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:0398
2583	Guillem de Anglairoia [Anglesola]	M	04/29/1174	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 490
2584	Taianus	M	06/04/1174	pub-u	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1094
2585	Guillem, miles	M	06/11/1174	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 100r-v
2586	Ponç Ortafani, miles ecclesiae	M	06/13/1174	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 091v.
2587	Pere de Grebertes	M	09/27/1174	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 492
2588	Ademar	M	11/01/1174	1st	Agde, no. 80
2589	Bertran Davira, canon Vic	M	11/03/1174	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1:044
2590	Carbo	M	11/24/1174	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 158
2591	Raustitz	M	01/01/1175	don-post ob	La Selva, no. 46
2592	Tota, domina	F	01/01/1175	3d-egritude	Huesca, no. 416
2593	Sancho Garcez	M	01/01/1175	1st	Huesca, no. 414
2594	Ferrer	M	01/02/1175	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 163
2595	Arnal	M	02/03/1175	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 167
2596	Bernat f. Arnalli Poncii	M	02/20/1175	1st	Mas, no. 1996 [inv]
2597	Guillem de Berguitano [Bergedà], f. vc Berga	M	03/03/1175	don-post ob-p	Poblet, no. 520
2598	Pere de Ortis & ux. Adaledis	B	03/10/1175	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 495
2599	Berenguer de Stetela	M	04/04/1175	1st	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:111
2600	Bernat de Sancta Colomba	M	04/24/1175	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 175
2601	Pere de Montgai	M	05/13/1175	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 526
2602	Pere de Talladell	M	05/22/1175	1st-don/test	Poblet, no. 527
2603	Bernat [de Caixàs]	M	05/22/1175	1st	NH, xi, no. 557 [inv]
2604	Roger de Lespinassière	M	05/28/1175	1st-egritude	Douzens, no. D 17
2605	Ramon de Miralpex	M	06/02/1175	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 187
2606	Ermessendis	F	06/03/1175	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1102
2607	Guillem	M	07/10/1175	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1103
2608	Guillem de S. Fide	M	08/11/1175	1st	Santa Anna, no. 455
2609	Guillem de S. Fide	M	08/19/1175	laud/exec	Santa Anna, no. 456
2610	Ferrer de Sud	M	09/02/1175	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 182
2611	Gerau	M	09/06/1175	1st-war	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 184
2612	Hug, vc Bas	M	09/28/1175	1st-war	NH, xi, no. 560
2613	Berenguer & ux. Pocha&Petrus& ux. Bernard	B	09/28/1175	1st	Poblet, no. 539
2614	Gerau de Rivo Sicco	M	10/07/1175	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:06

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2615	Pere Tomasii	M	10/07/1175	1st	Mas, no. 2004 [inv]
2616	Bernat de Anglesola	M	10/08/1175	1st-war	Poblet, no. 540
2617	Rodlan de Rivopetrarum, cl canon Vic	M	10/29/1175	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 042
2618	Guillem Calvet	M	11/20/1175	1st	MS: BC P, 09645
2619	Ponç de Sero et al	M	01/01/1176	corpus	Miret, T&H, p. 161 [des]
2620	Bernat Adalberti	M	01/01/1176	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 132
2621	Ponç de Sancto Guiraldo	M	01/01/1176	1st-egritude	Aniane, no. 324-5
2622	Hug II, c Rodez	M	01/01/1176	1st	Carlat, ii, no. 6
2623	Pere de Olono & ux. Dulcia	B	01/01/1176	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1:046
2624	Bernat de Tennis, cl canon Vic	M	01/11/1176	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 063v
2625	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona, etc.	M	02/01/1176	corpus	Poblet, no. 549
2626	Arnal de Parazols	M	02/01/1176	1st	Mahul, ii, pp. 256-7
2627	Subirana	M	02/05/1176	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1105
2628	Guillem Rainardi, canon Agde	M	03/25/1176	1st	Agde, no. 19
2629	Barufel	M	04/02/1176	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 201
2630	Bernat de Crampagna et al.	M	04/06/1176	corpus	Lézat, no. 50
2631	Flandina	F	04/11/1176	1st	MS: BC P, 10069
2632	Guillem de Castellvell, [dominus]	M	04/28/1176	1st-egritude	Miret, T&H, pp. 322-3 [tru]
2633	Ramon de Perelada	M	05/12/1176	1st	MS: BC P, 09705
2634	Arnal Gaufredi	M	05/29/1176	don-egr	Douzens, no. A 170
2635	Guillem de Tarboreig	M	07/01/1176	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 131
2636	Guillem d'Archs, canon seu Barcelona	M	07/17/1176	1st	Mas, no. 2008 [inv]
2637	Guillem de Alcarràs f. Grd. de Jorba	M	10/17/1176	1st-egritude	Poblet, no. 571
2638	Ermessendis, ca Melgeuil	F	11/03/1176	pub-u	HL, viii, no. 28
2639	Iñigo & ux. Martina	B	12/21/1176	corpus	Huesca, no. 324
2640	Joan Tortus	M	12/30/1176	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1744
2641	Ramon de Torroja et al.	M	01/01/1177	corpus	Miret, T&H, p. 161 [des]
2642	Pere Arnalli	M	02/09/1177	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 232
2643	Pere de Tutela [de Monte Petano]	M	02/09/1177	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 497
2644	Ramon de Mulnels	M	02/26/1177	don-post ob	Pagarolas, no. 65
2645	Pere de St. Hilaire, cl canon St. Paul [?]	M	03/01/1177	1st	MS: BN Mélanges Colbert, 414:50
2646	Ponç, vc Ca.brera	M	04/06/1177	corpus	Poblet, no. 584
2647	Ermessendis de Puig Ocet [?]	F	04/16/1177	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 307
2648	Arnal de Anglada, cl	M	05/13/1177	1st	Cervià, no. 76
2649	Guillem de Palma	M	06/08/1177	1st	MS: BC P, 05548
2650	Ermengol VII, c Urgell	M	06/18/1177	1st-war	CDIACA, ix, p. 418
2651	Ramon Iohannes	M	07/04/1177	corpus	Poblet, no. 590
2652	Guila widow Petri Stephano	F	07/15/1177	corpus	Pagarolas, no. 66
2653	Berenguer de Cardona, fr. vc Cardona	M	07/19/1177	1st	Poblet, no. 594
2654	Arnal de Sadao [Sedó]	M	08/01/1177	don-post ob-p	Poblet, no. 598
2655	Guillem Affuel	M	08/01/1177	1st	Agde, no. 82
2656	Febrissa, domina	F	08/09/1177	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 133-4
2657	Ermengardis	F	08/09/1177	1st	Urgell, x, no. 1730
2658	Ramon [V], c Pallars	M	09/04/1177	1st	Valls, Pallars, p. 156
2659	Pere de Banalocha	M	11/05/1177	pub-w	MS: ADB P Santa Anna, 1:119
2660	Arnal Bruneta	M	12/15/1177	1st	Mas, no. 2035 [inv]
2661	Guila [Vila] de Vernet, domina	F	12/31/1177	1st-religious	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), f. 109r [inv]
2662	Pere de Nomenova	M	01/01/1178	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 136-140
2663	Morotus	M	01/22/1178	1st	Santa Anna, no. 478
2664	Gui Guerregiat, fr. Lord Montpellier	M	02/01/1178	1st	LIM, no. 97/1
2665	Guillem de Guardia	M	02/05/1178	pub-o	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 286
2666	Gerau de la Vid [Vite]	M	02/10/1178	pub	Mas, no. 2040 [inv]
2667	Berenguer de Pug Arreg [Puigreig]	M	02/14/1178	1st-religious	Poblet (Santacana), no. 195
2668	Gui Guerregiat, fr. lord Montpellier	M	02/15/1178	pub-w-append	LIM, no. 97/2
2669	Matfred, archilevita	M	02/22/1178	1st	Béziers, no. 259
2670	Gui Guerregiat, fr. lord Montpellier	M	03/01/1178	confirmation	LIM, no. 97/3
2671	Arnal de Costa	M	03/05/1178	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 133
2672	Berenguer de Valli	M	03/23/1178	1st-travel	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 276
2673	Rodland de Soler	M	04/12/1178	1st	MS: BC P, 09975
2674	Bernat Hug de Saint-Cirq	M	05/01/1178	corpus	Vaour, no. 32
2675	Stephanus Rainardi	M	05/01/1178	1st-pilgrimage	Roche, ii, pp. 143-4
2676	Oria, ca Pallars	F	05/01/1178	1st	Valls, Pallars, pp. 156-158
2677	Guillem Falchoni	M	06/19/1178	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 241
2678	Guillem de Vila Nova	M	07/28/1178	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 082
2679	Pere de Paganel	M	08/11/1178	corpus	Poblet (Santacana), no. 205
2680	Berenguer de Alantorn	M	08/23/1178	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 020
2681	Rodland de Soler, miles	M	09/16/1178	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09976
2682	Guillem	M	12/01/1178	1st-travel	Santa Anna, no. 480

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2683	Alcher de Alcala	M	01/01/1179	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 79
2684	Beatrix de Callers ux. Guillem, castellana	F	01/08/1179	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 510
2685	Marchesa ux. R. de Guardia	F	01/31/1179	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 262
2686	Marchesa ux. R. de Guardia	F	02/04/1179	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 263
2687	Seniol Guillelmus	M	02/22/1179	law-set/adj	Santa Anna, no. 482
2688	Guillem Dionisii	M	03/16/1179	pub	Mas, no. 2050 [inv]
2689	Beatrix de Callers ux. Guillem, castellana	F	03/26/1179	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 511
2690	Ramon de Timor	M	04/26/1179	1st-war	Poblet (Santacana), no. 213
2691	Bartolomeus, cl	M	05/18/1179	1st-egritude	Ager y Caresmar, no. 338 [inv]
2692	Pere de Alvernio	M	05/26/1179	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 222
2693	Ramon de Guardia	M	05/30/1179	pub-i-o	Santes Creus, no. 223
2694	Guillem Arnaldi, sacrista St. Paul [Narbonne?]	M	06/01/1179	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat (Arch. S.-Paul de Narbonne), 57:139--142v
2695	Ponç, vc Ca.brera	M	06/03/1179	corpus	Poblet (Santacana), no. 215
2696	Albert de Caralt [Queralt]	M	06/23/1179	pub-o	Santes Creus, no. 225
2697	Ramon Guillem [de Lubicato]	M	08/04/1179	1st	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 598
2698	Pere R. de Porcairargues	M	08/27/1179	1st	Béziers, no. 270
2699	Pere R. de Porcairargues	M	08/28/1179	pub-w-append	Béziers, no. 270
2700	Gombau de Ribeles & ux. Marchesa, [dapifer comitis Urgelli]	B	09/17/1179	1st-egritude	Miret, T&H, p. 324-5 [tru]
2701	Gilabert	M	09/19/1179	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 338
2702	Ponç de Vilanova	M	11/23/1179	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 274
2703	Guillem Ramon de Castelmary	M	01/01/1180	corpus	La Selve, no. 20
2704	Arnal Bernat de Marquefave	M	01/01/1180	corpus	Lézat, no. 551
2705	Ponç Umberti	M	01/01/1180	confirmation	Roche, ii, pp. 196
2706	Ponç Umberti	M	01/01/1180	1st-don/test	Roche, ii, pp. 196
2707	Pere Ribodt, cl	M	02/07/1180	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1128
2708	Pere de Avellano	M	02/16/1180	PMSig	Poblet (Santacana), no. 224
2709	Arbert de Avellano	M	02/22/1180	corpus	Poblet (Santacana), no. 226
2710	Arnal de Pinos	M	03/01/1180	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 290
2711	Guillem VII, lord Montpellier	M	03/14/1180	pub-w-append	LIM, no. 96/2
2712	Guillem Longus & ux. Petrona	B	03/15/1180	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 035
2713	Guillem d'Auti	M	04/01/1180	corpus	Vaour, no. 42
2714	Seniol Guillelmus	M	04/10/1180	law-set/adj	Santa Anna, no. 488
2715	Maria Giberta [?]	F	04/24/1180	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:64 [inv]
2716	Adalaidis de Tornafort	M	04/26/1180	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1754
2717	Seniol Guillelmus	M	05/21/1180	law-set/adj	Santa Anna, no. 490
2718	Arnaleta, dau Arnau de Condamina	F	06/01/1180	1st	MS: BC P, 03820
2719	Joan de Portella	M	06/09/1180	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 272
2720	Fernan & ux. Ermessen	B	06/23/1180	1st	Poblet (Santacana), no. 230
2721	Beatrix de Callers ux. Guillem, castellana	F	06/27/1180	pub-w-rel	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 512
2722	Olric du Portal	M	07/01/1180	don-egr	HL, viii, inv Grdslv 552
2723	Arnal de Pinos	M	07/11/1180	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 295 (1/1)
2724	Guillem de Santa Coloma	M	09/18/1180	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 494
2725	Berenguer de Guardia	M	09/22/1180	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 273
2726	Berenguer Arnallus de Anglerola	M	09/30/1180	corpus	Poblet (Santacana), no. 232
2727	Sancho I, rex Portugal	M	10/01/1180	1st	Hospitallers, no. 591 [partial]
2728	Guillem de Turre	M	10/08/1180	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 300 (1/3)
2729	Arnal de Pontibus	M	10/13/1180	pub-u	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Susterris, s. n.
2730	Bartolomeus	M	11/02/1180	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 514
2731	Guillem de Helz	M	11/15/1180	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO H 160 (Canigo), f. 2r - 5r
2732	Maria Brosga {?}	F	11/21/1180	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 026
2733	Ramon de St.-Médard	M	01/01/1181	corpus	Lézat, no. 94
2734	Ramon Guibertus	M	01/01/1181	1st	MS: H Malte Puystran, 1:92
2735	Pere Berenguer de Balenyà, sacrista canon iudex Vic	M	01/01/1181	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 038v-41
2736	FinaRebos [?]	M	01/03/1181	1st	MS: BC P, 09819
2737	Berenguer Pol	M	02/03/1181	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2229
2738	Berenguer Bothler	M	03/04/1181	corpus	Poblet (Santacana), no. 235
2739	Bernat de Castagnac	M	04/01/1181	corpus	Lézat, no. 908
2740	Berenguer de Fabania	M	04/07/1181	1st	MS: BC P, 04302
2741	Ermessendis	F	04/10/1181	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 07:B:19B
2742	Sancho Lopez	M	05/03/1181	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 83
2743	Ramon f. Geralli Bernat	M	07/06/1181	1st	Mas, no. 2084 [inv]
2744	Odo de Cornone [Cournon]	M	08/01/1181	1st	Maguelone, no. 176/1
2745	Odo de Cornone	M	08/15/1181	pub-w-append	Maguelone, no. 176/2
2746	Nicolau Zabater	M	10/01/1181	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 85

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2747	Geralla-Rogera, ux. Petri de Gourdon	F	11/16/1181	1st	HL, viii, inv Grdslv 588
2748	Bernat Calcain	M	11/21/1181	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 35:019
2749	Froila Ramirez & ux. Urraca Gonzales	B	11/22/1181	1st	Hospitallers, no. 611 [inv]
2750	Almoravid [sic]	M	11/26/1181	1st-religious	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 323
2751	Guillem Constantinus de Jaca	M	12/01/1181	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 87
2752	Oria de Estallo, domina	F	01/01/1182	1st	Huesca, no. 363
2753	Bliger	M	01/01/1182	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 149-151
2754	Ramon de Berguedà	M	01/29/1182	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1767
2755	Ramon de Moli	M	03/01/1182	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 027
2756	Bernat de Anglesola	M	03/05/1182	1st	MS: AHN P Poblet, 2033:15
2757	Bernat de Anglesola	M	04/22/1182	laud/exec	Anglesola, no. 2
2758	Berenguer [?] de Belestar	M	06/26/1182	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 029
2759	Ermengardis ux. Guillem d'Avena	F	07/01/1182	1st-egritude	Silvanès, no. 486 [partial]
2760	Bernat, caputscole cantor	M	07/04/1182	1st	Ager y Caresmar, no. 353 [inv]
2761	Bernat de Nauja	M	09/10/1182	pub-o	Urgell, x, no. 1769
2762	Martin don Esmon [form?]	M	11/01/1182	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 93
2763	Berenguer de Puisserguier	M	11/01/1182	1st-don/test	Aniane, no. 86
2764	Ramon Aimoin, vicar Montpellier	M	11/01/1182	1st	LIM, no. 116
2765	Borgondio, fr. lord Montpellier	M	11/01/1182	1st	LIM, no. 98/1
2766	Sancho ["Saxió"]	M	11/18/1182	pub	Mas, no. 2110 [inv]
2767	Arnal	M	11/29/1182	1st-egritude	MS: ACV P, 6:1772
2768	Borgondio, fr. lord Montpellier	M	12/01/1182	pub-w-append	LIM, no. 98/2
2769	Bernat de Bégola	M	12/31/1182	corpus	Béziers, no. 282
2770	Sancho de Auzimpoi	M	01/01/1183	don-post ob	Gimont, i, no. 95
2771	Pere Ramon de la Garrigue	M	01/01/1183	corpus	Vaour, no. 75
2772	Tota, domina	F	01/01/1183	1st	Rioja, no. 284
2773	Ermessendis	F	01/01/1183	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 156
2774	Pere, magister	M	02/07/1183	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 346
2775	Udalguer de Poussan	M	03/01/1183	1st-religious	Mahul, v, pp. 545-546
2776	Ramon de Exeneia	M	03/28/1183	1st	Santes Creus, no. 256
2777	Berenguer de Guardia, f. vc Barcelona	M	04/13/1183	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 338
2778	Guillem de Vilar	M	07/01/1183	1st-pilgrimage	Arenys de Mar, no. 29 [inv]
2779	Pere Tequit de Montagnac	M	07/01/1183	1st	Agde, no. 87
2780	Odo de Saint-Médard	M	07/01/1183	1st	Lézat, no. 960
2781	Stefania de Codones	F	07/10/1183	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 346
2782	Solestendis	M	07/21/1183	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 261
2783	Joan de Riera	M	08/20/1183	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 348
2784	Jozfred Isaac, dominus	M	10/01/1183	DC:will-related	Huesca, no. 387
2785	Jozfred Isaac, dominus	M	10/01/1183	1st	Huesca, no. 384
2786	Guila de Torrelles	F	10/01/1183	1st	Mas, no. 2136 [inv]
2787	Flandina de Talamanca & f. Guilelmus	B	10/03/1183	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 351
2788	Maria	F	10/21/1183	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 523
2789	Guillelma	F	10/28/1183	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 148
2790	Guillem de Bajourville	M	11/01/1183	corpus	Lézat, no. 1393
2791	Guillem, vc Berguedà	M	11/29/1183	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Cervera, 474
2792	Berenguer de Altarriba	M	12/01/1183	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 263
2793	Robert lanuensis [Genovese]	M	12/07/1183	1st-egritude	Pagarolas, no. 80
2794	Berenguer de Lico ["la Clappe"?)	M	01/01/1184	1st	MS: AD Aude G 12, no. 7
2795	Maria de Gurgitibus [?]	F	01/01/1184	1st	MS: BC P, 09025
2796	Gui Guerrigiat, fr. lord Montpellier	M	02/01/1184	law-set/adj	HL, viii, no. 47/3
2797	Arnal de Gurbo	M	02/17/1184	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 380
2798	Berenguer Rufoni	M	04/13/1184	1st-religious	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 038
2799	Bernat de Podio Alto [Puig Alt], canon Barcelona	M	05/17/1184	pub	Mas, no. 2147 [inv]
2800	Pere de Sancta Fide	M	07/01/1184	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 039
2801	Bernat Sancius	M	07/03/1184	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 258r-
2802	Pere de Sancto Poncio	M	07/11/1184	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 040
2803	Bernat de Claromonte, [castellan] Belestar	M	07/24/1184	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 032
2804	Dulcia de Ostules, domina	F	09/16/1184	1st	NH, xii, no. 593
2805	Pere de ...no	M	09/20/1184	pub-w	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 372
2806	Guillem de Bergedano, troubadour, f. vc Berga	M	09/29/1184	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 031
2807	Pere de Turre	M	11/10/1184	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 287
2808	Maria Ferraria	F	11/27/1184	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 516
2809	Bertran de Qexel	M	11/29/1184	PMSig	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 298
2810	Pere de Clareto	M	12/29/1184	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 529

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2811	Guillem de Berguedà et al	M	01/01/1185	corpus	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3423
2812	Pere Pelayez de Arnales & ux. Teresa	B	01/20/1185	1st	Sahagún, no. 1416
2813	Pere Ramon de Narbona	M	01/27/1185	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 157-161
2814	Guillem Eschasset	M	02/02/1185	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 269
2815	Guillem de Santa Eugenia, canon Vic	M	02/28/1185	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1876
2816	Adalaidis de Subirats, domina	F	03/15/1185	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 383
2817	Adalaidis de Subirats, domina	F	03/28/1185	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 384
2818	Pere de Marca [sic!]	M	03/29/1185	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 385
2819	Ermessendis	F	04/23/1185	1st-egritude	Banyoles, ii, no. 177
2820	Ramon de Orulo	M	04/26/1185	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 046v-47r
2821	Bernat custos de Clerani, custos	M	05/08/1185	1st	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:08
2822	Arnal Berengarii	M	05/10/1185	1st	Santes Creus, no. 272
2823	Ponç de Mureden	M	07/07/1185	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1160
2824	Dulcia	F	07/19/1185	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2492
2825	Miro de Villa Grassa & ux. Ermessenda	B	08/01/1185	1st	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 395
2826	Joan Picon	M	09/01/1185	1st-egritude	MS: AM P Montserrat, 13
2827	Pere Rufatus	M	09/05/1185	corpus	Lézat, no. 1369
2828	Pere Rufatus	M	10/03/1185	don-inter fam.	Lézat, no. 1372
2829	Pere Rufatus	M	10/07/1185	pub-i	Lézat, no. 1371
2830	Ermengol VII, c Urgell	M	11/14/1185	laud/exec	Ager y Caresmar, no. 371 [inv]
2831	Adalaidis de Malla	M	01/07/1186	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2495
2832	Guillem de Illa	M	01/11/1186	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1870
2833	Arnal Sancti Stephani, cl	M	01/15/1186	pub-o	Urgell, x, no. 1796
2834	Monpar	M	01/28/1186	1st	Mas, no. 2159 [inv]
2835	Pere Rufatus	M	02/04/1186	laud/exec	Lézat, no. 1370
2836	Ramon de Caraman	M	02/16/1186	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 323
2837	Peirota f. Poncii Fusarii	M	04/01/1186	laud/exec	Lézat, no. 1345
2838	Joan Radulfus	M	04/27/1186	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1798
2839	Ponç de S. Gogato	M	06/01/1186	corpus	HL, viii, no. 59
2840	Geralla de Labigia	F	09/03/1186	3d-egritude	Lézat, no. 1475
2841	Pere de Sala	M	09/07/1186	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:70 [inv]
2842	Maria wid. Porcell. ux. Guill. de Riera	F	10/14/1186	1st	MS: AM P Montserrat, 14
2843	Guillem de Ponto	M	10/17/1186	1st	Tavernoles, no. 107
2844	Amelius de Auriaco	M	10/25/1186	pub-i-o	Roche, ii, pp. 162-3
2845	Deports ux. Petrus Rufatus	F	12/06/1186	corpus	Lézat, no. 1373
2846	Berenguer Cedailz [Cédal]	M	01/01/1187	don-post ob	Bonnecombe, no. 268/1
2847	Hug de Salela, prior Sallèles	M	01/01/1187	1st-egritude	Cayla, p. 176
2848	Umbert, ab St.-Paul Narbonne	M	01/01/1187	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat (Arch. S.-Paul de Narbonne), 57:143
2849	Bernat de Tennis, cl canon Vic	M	01/11/1187	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1843
2850	Sicardis	F	01/27/1187	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 438
2851	Arnal de Pissa Vacca	M	02/01/1187	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 164-5
2852	Radulf, magister	M	03/01/1187	1st	Viaje, xvi, no. 16
2853	Lombarda	F	04/06/1187	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 166
2854	Ramon de Beujure [Beviure]	M	04/22/1187	1st-travel	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 269
2855	Guillem de Bergedano, troubadour, f. vc Berga	M	04/24/1187	1st	Riquier, pp. 581-3
2856	Pere de Vila Franch & ux. Guillelma	B	07/07/1187	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 285
2857	Berenguer de Villanova	M	07/24/1187	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2505
2858	Genciana ux. Johannis de Vilavenut	F	08/13/1187	1st	Mitra, no. 61 [inv]
2859	Anglesa [de Chastro Bello]	F	08/22/1187	1st-religious	MS: ACA P. S. Cecilia de Montserrat, 105
2860	Pere Salvator	M	09/01/1187	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 042
2861	Arnal Boxera [Boissera]	M	09/25/1187	1st-egritude	MS: BC P, 02614
2862	Berenguer de Guardia, vc Barcelona	M	10/18/1187	1st-travel	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1172
2863	Sancha [Sancha] ux. Alfonso II, q Aragon ca Barcelona	F	11/01/1187	don-res	Hospitallers, no. 837
2864	Berenguer de Sancta Eulalia	M	11/10/1187	1st	Mas, no. 2180 [inv]
2865	Ponç de la Fenouillède	M	12/01/1187	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 83
2866	Bonèt, prepositus seu Urgell	M	12/16/1187	1st-egritude	Urgell, x, no. 1824
2867	Guillem de Molins	M	03/02/1188	1st	MS: BC P, 10072
2868	Pere de Sero, [castellan] Tarazona	M	03/24/1188	1st-travel	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 327
2869	Guillem de Castellar & f. Raimund	M	04/04/1188	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 481
2870	Arnal del Blanquet	M	05/08/1188	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 168
2871	Pere, sacristan [Barcelona]	M	05/11/1188	1st	Mas, no. 2187 [inv]
2872	Hug de Sorniano	M	05/23/1188	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 123v-
2873	Arnal de Matarone	M	09/20/1188	pub	Mas, no. 2192 [inv]
2874	Ramon	M	12/10/1188	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 033

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
2875	Maria Videal [Vidal]	F	01/07/1189	1st	Mas, no. 2195 [inv]
2876	Bernat Laborot	M	01/29/1189	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 322
2877	Andregot	M	04/27/1189	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 036
2878	Adalaidis de Subirats, domina	F	05/09/1189	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 518
2879	Pere Marcii	M	07/23/1189	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 532
2880	Fortun de Tena, dominus	M	08/14/1189	1st	Huesca, no. 443
2881	Guillem de Sancto Martino	M	08/20/1189	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 325
2882	Ponç	M	08/27/1189	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 546
2883	Roger V, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	09/25/1189	1st	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:111-115v
2884	Montaner	M	10/09/1189	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 037
2885	Pere Berengarii de Cloquer, canon Vic	M	11/17/1189	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:2528
2886	Adalaidis de Liciano [Subirats], domina	F	11/26/1189	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 532
2887	Adalaidis de Subirats [Liciano]	F	12/01/1189	don	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 534
2888	Guillem Vedia	M	01/01/1190	corpus	La Selva, no. 102
2889	Ermessendis de Castelpers	F	01/01/1190	corpus	La Selva, no. 87
2890	Roger V, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	01/01/1190	1st-codicil	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:116-119
2891	Pere de Petrabrana	M	01/01/1190	1st	Gerri, no. 186
2892	Guillem de Turre	M	01/20/1190	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 034
2893	Pere Flaviol	M	03/07/1190	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 043
2894	Bernat de Valle Virida	M	04/02/1190	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 344
2895	Guillem de Claromonte	M	04/27/1190	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1182
2896	Berenguer de Orle, [dominus]	M	04/30/1190	1st	Miret, T&H, p. 326-7 [tru]
2897	Ramon de Dieupentale	M	05/07/1190	don-egr	HL, viii, inv Grdsvl 715
2898	Gerberga	F	05/08/1190	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 048
2899	Guillem Dalmacii	M	07/26/1190	1st	MS: BC P, 05553
2900	Fortun de Pallaruelo	M	08/01/1190	1st	Huesca, no. 452
2901	Guillem Badal	M	08/20/1190	pub	MS: BC P, n.n. [*not 10075]
2902	Calvetus, cl	M	09/04/1190	don-res	Cervià, no. 91
2903	Beatrix & f. s	B	09/04/1190	corpus	Cervià, no. 90
2904	Ramon de Sero & ux. Aled, [castellans [Lo.deocel?]	B	10/19/1190	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 045
2905	Stefania ux. Giullelmi de Turre	F	10/31/1190	1st-egritude	Cuadrada, pp. 49-50
2906	Guillelma ux. Gaufredi de Carrofo	F	12/15/1190	pub-w	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:10
2907	Guillem de Malla, archidiaconus, canon Vic	M	12/20/1190	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1:052
2908	Pere de Flors [?]	M	02/20/1191	1st	MS: BC P, 09043
2909	Ponç de Soler, miles	M	02/22/1191	1st	Paz y Melià, no. 196bis
2910	Joan Bonshom	M	02/25/1191	1st-religious	Poblet (Pons), no. 111
2911	Gauzfred de Carrofo	M	03/16/1191	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 17:A:09
2912	Arnal de Paratico	M	04/04/1191	3d-pilgrimage	Roche, ii, pp. 169-171
2913	Maria de Cabanes	F	05/03/1191	1st	MS: BC P, 09977
2914	Ramon de Cascol	M	06/10/1191	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 044
2915	Arnal de Raissac & Stephanus	M	08/07/1191	corpus	Lézat, no. 1487
2916	Ramon [de Castellfolit]	M	08/07/1191	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 593
2917	Guillem de Elz	M	11/05/1191	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), f. 119 [inv]
2918	Ponç de Tales & ux. Raymunda	B	12/31/1191	corpus	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 611
2919	Pere Ameilz	M	01/01/1192	laud/exec	Vaour, no. 104
2920	Gerau de Bedorch	M	01/09/1192	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1186
2921	Berengaria, f. Ponseta de Olost	F	01/20/1192	~unspec	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. Vic:N:73, 76 [i]
2922	Carbonel	M	01/31/1192	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, ex. inv. 2623
2923	Pere _____	M	02/20/1192	1st	MS: BC P, 10006
2924	Ramon de Medala, cl canon Vic	M	03/18/1192	pub	MS: ACV LDA, f. 064
2925	Joan Carelli	M	06/22/1192	pub	Mas, no. 2225 [inv]
2926	Pere de Osca [Huesca]	M	07/01/1192	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 123
2927	Arsenda ux Pontii, panicerius =baker	F	08/27/1192	1st-egritude	Santes Creus, no. 361
2928	Ramon de Guardia	M	09/22/1192	pub-o	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 634
2929	Arnal de Ribellus	M	10/17/1192	pub-i-o-x	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 330
2930	Pere Bernardus, presbiter	M	12/01/1192	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 65
2931	Guillem de Madeira	M	12/14/1192	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 049
2932	Lop de Cintruénigo	M	01/01/1193	1st	Rioja, no. 333
2933	Arnal de Tenes, canon Vic	M	01/13/1193	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1796
2934	Guillem de Horta	M	01/24/1193	1st	MS: BC P, 08980
2935	NN	M	02/04/1193	pub	Maresme, p. ___ [inv]
2936	Ramon de Vilafedante	M	02/05/1193	1st	NH, xii, no. 610 [inv]
2937	Guillem de Media	M	02/21/1193	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 576
2938	Bernat de Marcarra	M	03/15/1193	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 325

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
2939	Arnal de Era	M	04/01/1193	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 650
2940	Roger V, vc Carcassonne, Razes, Béziers & Albi	M	04/01/1193	1st	Auvergne, ii, pp. 500-1
2941	Arsenda de Balaguer	F	04/15/1193	1st	Bertran, no. 4
2942	Gerau Alemany	M	05/05/1193	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1196
2943	Ponç de Sancto Johannes	M	05/15/1193	1st	Mas, no. 2232 [inv]
2944	Bernat Ato de Castelnou	M	06/01/1193	corpus	Vaour, no. 105
2945	Berenguer de Cleriano	M	06/29/1193	1st	Miret, T&H, p. 327-9 [tru]
2946	Pere de Penna	M	08/02/1193	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 348
2947	Berengaria filia Mascharelli de Pugvert	F	08/26/1193	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 052
2948	Berenguer de Morera	M	10/11/1193	1st	MS: BC P, 08703
2949	Pere Burdus de Riba Alta	M	11/28/1193	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 664
2950	Pere de Taveret, sacrista iudex Vic	M	01/01/1194	don	MS: ACV P, 6:2567
2951	Berenguer [de Vilamuls], archieps Tarragona	M	02/26/1194	pub-i-o-x	Viaje, xix, no. 41
2952	Maria Agadesana	F	03/01/1194	1st	Agde, Intr., pp. 84-85
2953	Bertran de el Prat	M	03/01/1194	1st	Miret, ADLC, no. 24
2954	Joan Bachonis, levita, canon Vic	M	03/10/1194	1st	MS: ACV LDA, f. 018v
2955	Guillem Belo	M	03/25/1194	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 541
2956	Pere Raimundus de Buada [?]	M	04/01/1194	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp Temple, Hp 186: Ceret s.n.
2957	Ponç de Valle, presbiter	M	05/06/1194	1st	Sant Martí Sacosta, no. 33
2958	Burdus de Aquilario	M	05/20/1194	corpus	MS: ACA P. S. Benet de Bages, 542
2959	Arsenda	F	06/01/1194	1st	Mas, no. 2240 [inv]
2960	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	07/31/1194	1st	Valls, Pallars, p. 159n [des]
2961	Ponç de Sadao [Cedó]	M	08/04/1194	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 054
2962	Mattheus, cl	M	08/13/1194	1st	Mas, no. 2243 [inv]
2963	Ramon [de San Feliu]	M	08/26/1194	executors' oblation	NH, xii, no. 620 [inv]
2964	Ramon Guillem de Benque	M	09/01/1194	don-egr	Lézat, no. 356
2965	Pere de Raimundo Bernardo {?}	M	09/05/1194	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 021
2966	Pere Arnaldus	M	09/30/1194	pub-i	Roche, ii, pp. 178-180
2967	Vidal Garcia	M	10/06/1194	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 053
2968	NN de Viladosone, mater Raimundi	F	10/21/1194	1st	MS: BC P, 10077 [*wrong sig]
2969	Guillelma de Fontallada	F	10/22/1194	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 308
2970	Ricomandus [?]	M	11/13/1194	1st	Santa Anna, no. 597
2971	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	12/01/1194	1st	Santa Anna, no. 598*
2972	Arsenda de Cegunoles, widow	F	12/23/1194	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 288
2973	Berenguer de Puigverd	M	01/01/1195	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3122
2974	Pere de Monte Paone	M	01/01/1195	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3404
2975	Gerau de Castel Tort	M	01/01/1195	1st-egritude	Miret, T&H, pp. 269-70 [tru]
2976	Ponç [II] de Cervera, vc Bas	M	01/01/1195	1st	NH, xii, no. 622 [inv]
2977	Adalaidis Almeraza	F	01/01/1195	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 174-6
2978	NN	M	01/13/1195	1st	MS: BC P, 09678
2979	Ramon Guadal	M	01/15/1195	1st	Cervià, no. 95
2980	Vicenç de Capite Stagno	M	01/30/1195	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 35:061
2981	Guillelma ux. Michael Falconer	F	03/01/1195	1st	Huesca, no. 494
2982	Ramon de Terrasa, [castellan] Rocamur	M	03/09/1195	pub-w	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 350
2983	Pere de Figuerola	M	03/29/1195	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 057
2984	Guillem de Agde	M	03/29/1195	1st-egritude	Agde, no. 79
2985	Milia ux. [widow] Martin de Pina	F	04/01/1195	1st-egritude	Huesca, no. 496
2986	Joan de Sero	M	04/20/1195	1st-religious	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 329
2987	Berenguer de Coma	M	04/27/1195	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 091r.
2988	Pere de Munterols	M	04/27/1195	1st	Santa Anna, no. 603
2989	Miro Bernardus [Stafani?]	M	05/11/1195	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 678
2990	Sibilia de Cheralto, domina	F	05/20/1195	1st	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 163
2991	Guillem de Pontibus	M	05/23/1195	1st-egritude	Gualter, no. 23
2992	Guillem de Montrodon [Montis Rotundi]	M	05/28/1195	1st	MS: BC P, 05465
2993	Ponç Vitalis	M	06/04/1195	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 182-3
2994	Guillem de Cala	M	06/05/1195	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 352
2995	Guillem de Savassona	M	06/11/1195	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:2586
2996	Arnal de Terasia & ux. Nabrimisse, [castellan]	B	06/13/1195	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 335
2997	Arnal Senhero	M	07/07/1195	pub-i	Lézat, no. 1613
2998	Guillem, magister Huesca	M	07/21/1195	1st	Huesca, no. 500
2999	Arnal Carnifex, carnifex (butcher)	M	08/03/1195	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 058
3000	Bernat Marcucci	M	08/26/1195	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 609

ID.	Name. Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
3001	Guillem de Spiellis	M	08/28/1195	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 610
3002	Ramon Sancti Laurencii	M	09/01/1195	1st-egritude	NH, xii, no. 621 [inv]
3003	Hug de Cadarona	M	11/02/1195	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 184-6
3004	Guillem de Vila Nova	M	11/19/1195	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 059
3005	Guillem de S. Columba	M	11/20/1195	pub-w	Santa Anna, no. 612
3006	Guillem de S. Columba	M	11/20/1195	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1208
3007	Maria de Cabanes	F	12/01/1195	pub-w	MS: BC P, 09559
3008	Pere Ramundus	M	12/19/1195	pub-i	Roche, ii, pp. 187-8
3009	Guillem de Papiol	M	12/30/1195	pub-u	Solsona, no. 76
3010	Ramon Amiel	M	01/01/1196	corpus	Vaour, no. 109
3011	Dalmau de Dalfià	M	01/01/1196	1st	MS: BC P, 10007
3012	Ramon Lombardi	M	01/06/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Alfons I, 713
3013	Pere de Castellar	M	01/28/1196	1st	Mas, no. 2253 [inv]
3014	Pere de Maldà	M	02/03/1196	1st-egritude	Urgell (Riu), no. 3
3015	Bernat de Coscho	M	02/16/1196	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 001
3016	Gerau de Castel Tort	M	03/05/1196	pub-w	Miret, T&H, p. 270 [tru]
3017	Bernat Gauceberti	M	03/18/1196	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 616
3018	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	04/01/1196	1st-codicil	Sigena, no. 22 [tru]
3019	Berengaria	F	04/06/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 065
3020	Berenguer de Barchinona	M	04/07/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 21:C:06
3021	Cervianus	M	04/21/1196	1st-egritude	Cervià, no. 96
3022	Arnal de Terraciola	M	04/25/1196	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 01
3023	Ponç de Milicia	M	04/26/1196	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 02
3024	Ermengardis de Narbonna, vca, domina	F	04/30/1196	1st-egritude	Miret, Ermengarda, pp. 43-6
3025	Arnal de Ripis	M	04/30/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 21:C:07
3026	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	05/01/1196	pub-w-append	Santa Anna, no. 620 [tru]
3027	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	05/01/1196	pub-w-append	Bofarull, ii, pp. 216-227
3028	Pere Martha	M	05/01/1196	1st	Huesca, no. 522
3029	Geralla de Pugvert	F	05/05/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 067
3030	Guillem de Villa Granata	M	05/15/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 05
3031	Guillem de Bassia	M	05/19/1196	pub-w	Fiscal Accounts, ii, no. 162
3032	Gauceran de Malmercat	M	05/30/1196	1st	Gerri, no. 183
3033	Ermessendis	F	06/01/1196	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 06
3034	Alfons II (I), rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	06/06/1196	laud/exec	Hospitallers, no. 987
3035	Raimunda	F	06/12/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 682
3036	Elisendis ux. Petri de Sentmenat	F	06/19/1196	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 343
3037	Pere de Solario & ux. Arsen	B	06/23/1196	1st	Santa Anna, no. 621
3038	Sancho, c Provence	M	07/07/1196	corpus	Hospitallers, no. 989
3039	Roderic de Cereso, medicus [?]	M	07/22/1196	1st	Rioja, no. 363, 364
3040	Bernat de Muredine	M	08/04/1196	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. S. Llorenç del Munt, 354
3041	Campiador [?]	M	09/05/1196	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1855
3042	Berenguer de Midiona	M	09/11/1196	pub-w	Odena, no. 54
3043	Terrenus Martinus	M	10/01/1196	pub-i	Roche, ii, pp. 189-193
3044	Ramon de Otina (Odena), [dominus]	M	10/05/1196	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1215
3045	Pere Romeus	M	10/18/1196	1st	Pagarolas, no. 109
3046	Ponç de Sero	M	10/30/1196	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 064
3047	Ponç de Monte Aragone	M	11/06/1196	3d	Lézat, no. 1261
3048	Guiljelma de Sala Veridie	F	11/07/1196	1st	Santa Anna, no. 625
3049	Bernat Richerii	M	12/13/1196	1st-egritude	Santa Anna, no. 627
3050	Bernat de Viver	M	12/19/1196	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 060
3051	Titborgis de Sancta Colomba	F	01/01/1197	corpus	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 17
3052	Pere de Rocha Mora	M	01/06/1197	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 063
3053	Guillem de Mor	M	01/07/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 062
3054	Garcia Salvador	M	01/10/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 061
3055	Guillem Guirandi	M	01/24/1197	pub-o	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 35:009
3056	Bernat de Frexanet	M	02/06/1197	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 20
3057	Ramon de Cardona, [vc Cardona?]	M	02/08/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 21
3058	Pere de Molendino	M	02/21/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 23
3059	Alegret de Edra	M	02/28/1197	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 24
3060	Bernat de Monte Aragon	M	03/01/1197	corpus	Lézat, no. 200
3061	Joan de Pueyo	M	03/01/1197	1st	Huesca, no. 528
3062	Bernat de Gelida	M	03/19/1197	pub-w	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1219
3063	Agnes Fales {?}	F	03/25/1197	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 41
3064	Pere de Noger	M	04/13/1197	1st	MS: ACV P, 6:1857
3065	Pere Orchalli [de Orcau?]	M	05/04/1197	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 27
3066	Ramon Oller	M	05/25/1197	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 072
3067	Berenguer de Salis	M	07/01/1197	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 197-8
3068	Miro d'en Ponç [Ponçij]	M	07/10/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Miils.: Testaments, 069

ID.	Name, Quality of Testator	Sex	Date	Doc. Type	Abbreviated Citation
3069	Guillem Rubeus	M	07/11/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 351
3070	Ramon de Sancto Lley [?]	M	08/12/1197	1st	Mas, no. 2288 [inv]
3071	Bernat Dionisii	M	09/11/1197	corpus	Mas, no. 2289 [inv]
3072	Bernat de Plicamanibus & ux. Pereta	B	09/25/1197	1st	MS: ACA Div. Sentmenat, Inv. 16:P:09
3073	Ramon Ferrer	M	09/26/1197	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 070
3074	Bernat Dionisii	M	10/14/1197	1st	Mas, no. 2293 [inv]
3075	Stefania Isarna	F	10/30/1197	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. sin procedencia, 690
3076	Bernat de Zasala & ux. Jordana	B	12/07/1197	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 073, 79b, 79c
3077	Sibilia de Bleda	F	01/01/1198	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 274
3078	Alemaný de Signos & ux. Urracha	B	02/01/1198	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 133
3079	Alemanda ux. Petrus Galdrani	M	02/01/1198	1st-egritude	Huesca, no. 538
3080	Guillem de Mirambel	M	02/21/1198	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 65
3081	Bernat de Tornamira	M	03/01/1198	pub-special	Silvanès, no. 501 [partial]
3082	Berenguer de Chagnoch de Jusolls	M	04/06/1198	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), no. 850 [inv]
3083	Ricxendis	F	04/07/1198	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 199-201
3084	Valentinus	M	04/27/1198	1st	Santa Anna, no. 633 [des]
3085	Bartolomeus de Milagro & ux. Agnes	B	05/01/1198	corpus	Huesca-Templars, no. 138
3086	Guillem de Granata [Granada]	M	06/21/1198	1st	Poblet (Pons), no. 264
3087	Ramon de Vilademager, [castellan]	M	09/01/1198	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 290
3088	Garcia Alpazar	M	09/01/1198	1st	Huesca, no. 546
3089	Maria Roiz [Ruiz], domina	F	09/20/1198	don-egr	Irache, no. 224
3090	Berenguer de Zaguda	M	10/17/1198	1st	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 074
3091	Tolosana, domina	F	01/01/1199	laud/exec	Huesca, no. 548
3092	Pelayo Pelayez & ux. Vita Stephanis	B	01/01/1199	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1531
3093	Glorieta	F	01/01/1199	1st	Rioja, no. 383
3094	Ponceta de Mogoda, widow	F	01/30/1199	don-inter fam.	MS: ACA P. S. Maria de Montalegre, 168
3095	Pereta	F	01/31/1199	1st	Banyoles, ii, no. 198 [inv]
3096	Bermond	M	02/16/1199	1st	MS: BC P, 10079 [*wrong sig]
3097	Ramon de Torre Rubea [Torroja], father vc Bas [see gen.]	M	03/07/1199	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 055
3098	Pere Poncii	M	03/13/1199	1st	MS: BMP MS Alart (Orle), 107:29 (VIII):212-4
3099	Sancha, ux. Petrus Arnalli de Vilamur, vca Vilamur	F	03/22/1199	pub-i-o-x	Vilamur, no. 8
3100	Ramon de Villata	M	04/03/1199	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 202
3101	Domingo Martini & ux. Agada	M	04/17/1199	corpus	Sahagún, no. 1525
3102	Guillelma Entrevinhada	F	05/05/1199	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 203-4
3103	Pere de Soler	M	05/06/1199	pub	Mas, no. 2308 [inv]
3104	Dalmau de Molins	M	06/28/1199	1st	MS: BC P, 05531
3105	Ramon de Garagues	M	07/01/1199	1st	MS: BC P, 10008
3106	Ramon Badaió, presbiter, capellanus S. Baldiri [esg.]	M	07/17/1199	1st	Mas, no. 2311 [inv]
3107	Pere Martha & ux. Marta	B	08/01/1199	laud/exec	Huesca, no. 556
3108	Guillem Arnal	M	09/17/1199	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 136r
3109	Maria	F	09/26/1199	pub-i	Roche, ii, pp. 205-6
3110	Bernat Gaufredus, f. miles	M	10/16/1199	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 207-211
3111	Ponç Baudis	M	11/01/1199	corpus	Vaour, no. 111
3112	Gina, domina castellan	F	11/11/1199	1st	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 72
3113	Ramon de Tous, [castellan/dominus]	M	12/02/1199	1st-egritude	MS: ACA Ords. Mils.: Testaments, 297

APPENDIX C(2). TESTAMENTARY DOCUMENT INDEX: PERIOD 2: 1200-1250, SELECTED DOCUMENTS

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name, Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
3114	Guillem Jordani de Caneto	M	01/01/1200	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 130v-131r
3115	Pere Fabre	M	01/01/1200	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 277-80
3116	Bernat, levita	M	01/01/1200	1st-egritude	MS: BN Doat (rec. tests.), 40:131-133
3117	Arsenda de Villa Granata	F	01/27/1200	1st-egritude	MS: ACA P. Pere I, 81
3118	Pere II, rex Aragon c Barcelona	M	04/13/1200	corpus	Hospitallers, no. 1114
3119	Bernat de Valle, miles	M	06/01/1200	pub	MS: ACV P, 6:1933
3120	Pere de Rio	M	11/25/1200	1st-egritude	Sant Pol de Mar, no. 48
3121	Amiel Vassal	M	12/28/1200	laud/exec	Vaour, no. 113
3122	Guillem Bistani, cives Narbonne	M	02/14/1201	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 215-223
3123	Pere de Rocovilla	M	07/15/1201	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 213-4
3124	Pere de Tulugiis (Toulouges)	M	08/04/1201	1st-codicil	Henry, I, no. 1
3125	Bernat de Vilamur, eps Urgell	M	09/10/1201	DC:will-related	Viaje, xi, no. 20
3126	Ramon Furnarieus	M	03/05/1202	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 224-5
3127	Ponç Bernat de Magantruno	M	05/07/1202	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 226-7
3128	Pere Karolus	M	06/06/1202	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 228-9
3129	Arbert de Apierola	M	10/02/1202	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1241
3130	Guillem VIII, lord Montpellier	M	11/04/1202	1st	LIM, no. 99/1
3131	Guillem VIII, lord Montpellier	M	11/09/1202	pub-w-append	LIM, no. 99/2
3132	Berenguer Bernardo, canon & chanter Agde	M	02/06/1203	1st	Agde, no. 78
3133	Palaciol Minestral de Palaciolo, minestral {?}	M	05/25/1204	corpus	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 139v
3134	Pere II & fr. Alfons, c Barc rex Arag/c Prov	M	10/04/1204	1st-pilgrimage	Miret, Pedro, p. 282
3135	Arbert de Castellvell, lord of Castellvell	M	01/01/1205	DC:will-related	MS: ACA P. Ex. Inv., 3457
3136	Egidius, cantor Calahorra	M	01/01/1205	1st	Rioja, no. 428
3137	Joan Gramaticus de Fossa & ux. Peita	B	04/15/1205	corpus	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 34:016
3138	Elisendis de Alcarraz	M	06/11/1205	pub-u	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1254
3139	Ramon de Guardia	M	07/12/1205	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1255
3140	Guillem Thomas	M	03/27/1206	pub-i	Lézat, no. 1603
3141	Berenguer de Hospitali	M	06/27/1206	1st-religious	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 32:104
3142	Arnal de Podio (Puig) Naucler	M	09/05/1206	pub-o	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1265
3143	Berenguer Perdigo	M	09/25/1206	1st	Poblet (Pons), no. 344
3144	Ramon VI, c Toulouse & d Narbonne	M	09/30/1206	1st-pilgrimage	HL, viii, no. 146
3145	Guillem Ramon de Insula	M	11/10/1206	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 237-41
3146	Ugardus de Claromonte	M	01/01/1207	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 244-7
3147	Bernat de Torrellas	M	01/01/1207	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 248-51
3148	Pere de Casafabra	M	02/01/1207	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.2 (Canigo), f. 113v [inv]
3149	Stephanus de Sancto Baudilio	M	05/19/1207	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 242-3
3150	Berenguer de Palaciolo	M	06/30/1207	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 032r-v
3151	Bernat Granel	M	07/24/1207	1st	Fiscal Accounts, ii, no. 168
3152	Ponç David	M	01/22/1208	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 252-60
3153	Ermengol (VIII), c Urgell	M	08/30/1208	1st	Tavernoles, no. 112
3154	Ramon de Crebasino	M	11/13/1208	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1270
3155	Rodlan de Lacu, cives Narbonne?	M	02/04/1209	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 261-4
3156	Maria, q Aragon/ca Barcelona	F	07/28/1209	1st	Lacarra & Gonzales, pp. 117-118
3157	Arnal de Liers [Lercio]	M	02/15/1210	1st-egritude	CCM, no. 396
3158	Ramon lambertus	M	09/15/1210	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 265-9
3159	Bertran de Beranno	M	10/08/1210	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 270-2
3160	Stephanus Iohanis f. Petrus de Pomars, cives Narbonne	M	10/16/1210	1st	MS: MSS Narbonne, GG1838
3161	Sarimunda, domina Clayra	F	01/16/1211	1st	MS: BMP MS Alart (Puignau), 107:29 (VIII):529
3162	Ponç de Verneto	M	04/25/1211	1st-pilgrimage	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 015v-17r
3163	Guillem Rostaing, canon Agde, chaplain Vias	M	10/03/1211	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 86
3164	Maria, q Aragon/ca Barcelona	F	10/06/1211	1st	Miret, Pedro, iv, pp. 26-7
3165	Berenguer de Puisserguier	M	01/01/1212	laud/exec	Aniane, no. 87
3166	Ramon de Bessan, levita, canon Agde	M	02/09/1212	pub-w-append	Agde, no. 81
3167	Guillem [de Pino]	M	02/24/1212	1st	NH, xii, no. 671 [inv]
3168	Arnal de Torn	M	04/01/1212	1st	NH, xii, no. 672 [inv]
3169	Miro, lord of Hostoles	M	08/03/1212	1st	NH, xii, no. 673 [inv]

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name. Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
3170	Maria, q Aragon/ca Barcelona	F	04/20/1213	1st-egritude	Miret, Pedro, iv, pp. 96-7
3171	Ramon, eps Agde	M	11/03/1213	1st	Agde, p. 236-8
3172	Guillem de Monte Esquino [Montesquieu]	M	05/29/1214	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 009r-10v
3173	Ramon de Rocabertí, archieps Tarragona	M	07/01/1214	1st-egritude	Viaje, xix, no. 19
3174	Guillelma filia qd. Ricardi	M	08/27/1214	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1284
3175	Pere de Lupiano	M	08/31/1214	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 045v-46v
3176	Carbonel	M	08/03/1215	1st	Agde, p. 334-6
3177	Ermessendis Raffarda de Tezano	F	11/24/1215	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 135r-v
3178	Guillem Barrianus	M	03/01/1216	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 281-3
3179	Isarn de Liurano	M	03/01/1217	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 289-91
3180	Guillem Pons Astro	M	05/04/1217	pub-i-o-x	Lézat, no. 1452
3181	Pere Margaloni f. Raimundus, [cives Narb.]	M	12/30/1217	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 292-9
3182	Hug [de Torroja], vc Bas	M	08/08/1218	1st	NH, xii, no. 692 [inv]
3183	Guillem de Capite Stagno, Curaterius	M	01/16/1219	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 35:041
3184	Berenguer Seniofredi de Malleolis, miles	M	05/03/1219	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 203r-204r
3185	Arnal de Crebasi	M	05/08/1219	1st-egritude	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1296
3186	Enric I, c Rodez	M	08/01/1219	1st	Carlat, ii, no. 7
3187	Pere Porcelli	M	09/20/1219	1st	MS: ADPO H 141.1 (Canigo), f. 27 [inv]
3188	Pere de Vonta, cives Narbonne	M	01/01/1220	1st	MS: 5e Thalamus Narbonne, MS AA 105, f. 5r
3189	Berenguer de Malleolis, miles	M	02/27/1220	laud/exec	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 213r-215r
3190	Ponç de Magalato f. Petri de Vallano	M	12/01/1220	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 300-303
3191	Enric I, c Rodez	M	10/01/1221	1st-codicil	Carlat, ii, no. 8
3192	Arnal de Lacu	M	01/01/1223	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 304-8
3193	Oliver, magister, cantor Aix, sacricustos Agde	M	04/23/1223	1st	Agde, p. 307-8
3194	Guillem de Captolio, cl	M	06/25/1223	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 310-14
3195	Ponç Arlaudi, canon Aniciensis (le Puy)	M	01/22/1224	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 315-318
3196	Arnal Gotmar de Corniliano	M	01/23/1224	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hôpital de Perpignan, olim 36:008
3197	Maria filia Galterii de Roca, ux. ...	F	11/29/1224	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 327-30
3198	Odo de S. Medardo	M	06/30/1225	pub-i-o	Lézat, no. 140
3199	Odo de S. Medardo	M	06/30/1225	pub-i	Lézat, no. 738
3200	Belissenda, fa. Folorandi de Mèze, ux...	F	12/06/1225	1st	Agde, p. 332-4
3201	Guillem Pelet	M	01/29/1226	1st-egritude	MS: HU P Gili, s.n. (1225)
3202	Guillem de S. Oliva	M	02/24/1226	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1301
3203	Ermengol de Salsis	M	04/24/1226	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 332-4
3204	Guldus Picharella, miles de Fanviovís	M	07/25/1226	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 335-8
3205	Guillem [I] de Odena, [dominus]	M	08/16/1226	1st-war	Coll i Alentorn, no. 1
3206	Galliane fa. Petri Ugonis	F	10/16/1226	1st	Mahul, v, p. 550
3207	Armandus de Mirmanda, canon St- Egrève	M	10/17/1226	3d	Roche, ii, pp. 340-2
3208	Ramon Pons, miles	M	01/01/1227	1st	MS: H Malte Puysubran, 2:22
3209	Ermessendis, ca Foix & vca Castellbó	F	01/28/1229	1st	Andorra, no. 108
3210	Ponç de Caputdenario	M	03/02/1229	1st-travel	Roche, ii, pp. 343-57
3211	Guillem Eusebii, capellanus St- Simeon de Pinet	M	03/03/1229	1st-pilgrimage	Agde, p. 423-4
3212	Saurina filia qd. Guillem de S. Oliva	F	01/20/1230	1st	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1303
3213	Guillem Eusebii, capellanus St.- Simeon de Pinet	M	07/20/1231	1st-special	Agde, p. 423-5
3214	Aurembaix, ca Urgell	F	08/11/1231	1st	CDIACA, ix, p. 506
3215	Stephanus Bertrand, canon St.-Vozy	M	03/01/1232	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 360-4
3216	Gregorius f. Carbonel	M	04/04/1233	1st	Agde, p. 344
3217	Ponç Carbonel, sacrista St.-Nazaire Beziers	M	01/30/1235	1st	Agde, p. 345-8
3218	Garsendis ux. Berenger de Boutenac, dau miles	F	07/29/1236	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 367-73
3219	Bertrana ux. Ramon Andree	M	04/27/1237	1st-egritude	MS: ADPO Hôpital d'Ille, olim B:019
3220	Aimeric, vc Narbonne	M	01/01/1238	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 374-8
3221	Aimeric, vc Narbonne	M	01/18/1239	1st	Roche, ii, pp. 379-84

<u>ID.</u>	<u>Name, Quality of Testator</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Doc. Type</u>	<u>Abbreviated Citation</u>
3222	Gauzfred de Cereto	M	08/13/1239	1st	MS: ADPO Hp 191 Cart. Temple Mas-Deu, f. 112v-113
3223	Berenguer de Castri Podiisergarii, dominus	M	10/01/1240	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 388-96
3224	Jaume I, rex Aragon, c Barcelona	M	01/01/1241	1st	Viaje, xvii, no. 57
3225	Arnal de Castlare	M	01/10/1241	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 385-7
3226	Aicardus de Mauressac	M	05/06/1241	pub-i-o	Lézat, no. 1115
3227	Berenguer, eps Barcelona	M	08/20/1241	1st	Puig i Puig, no. 96
3228	Nuño Sancii, c Roussillon	M	12/15/1241	1st	MS: ADPO 1 B, 1 B 9, no. 14
3229	Vidal Gautier	M	03/29/1243	1st	HL, viii, no. 360
3230	Guillem de Bateguas, miles	M	04/10/1243	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 398-402
3231	Ponç, c Urgell	M	06/09/1243	1st	MS: ACU LDEU, f. 290
3232	Tolosana ux. Iohanis Mazallarii	F	12/12/1243	3d-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 403-6
3233	Patavus Foulc f. Bernat de Posqueris	M	12/18/1244	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 407-10
3234	Elis f. P. de Vigoro, widow Benavent	F	01/01/1245	1st	Bonneval, no. 162
3235	Bernat de Rivosicco	M	03/11/1246	law-set/adj	Sant Cugat, iii, no. 1386
3236	Pere de Cumbis	M	09/02/1248	1st-egritude	Roche, ii, pp. 411-4
3237	Jaume Macerius	M	01/01/1249	1st	MS: H Malte Puysubran, 2:40
3238	Ramon VII, c Toulouse	M	09/23/1249	1st	Layettes, iii, no. 3802

APPENDIX D. SAMPLE DOCUMENTS

The following series of fourteen unpublished documents is presented as an illustrative sample of testamentary documents--both typical and atypical--encountered in the course of this study. Some of these documents have been cited or quoted in the text of chapters 1 through 6. These transcriptions have not been heavily annotated; simply reading the documents should bring a number of significant issues to mind which have already been addressed elsewhere.

Three of these documents involve Catalonian counts or their immediate family members. They are included, not out of snobbery, but because it has been the custom to make such documents available for the use of those who wish to pursue studies around the figures of the counts and their families. Of these, the apparent testament of Guillem Berenguer, younger brother of count Ramon Berenguer I (no. 7), has not before been remarked upon by dynastic historians and seems to raise the question of the station and fate of this comital cadet (and incidentally of his brother Sanç Berenguer).

The documents included here are not numerous enough to give a picture of uniformity; rather it is hoped that they might represent the diversity of the documentation studied. This, in conjunction with consideration of the quantity of documents corresponding to the more typical formulae, should give the reader an impression of the scope and range of testamentary documentation surviving from these areas and period.

<u>No.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>
1.	927	Executors' act: bequest of count Miró of Cerdanya
2.	1005	Will of Jozbert (Elne)
3.	1035	Publication of the will of Berenguer Ramon I of Barcelona
4.	1037	Letter of executors to request a publication ceremony (Vallès?)
5.	[1046]	Letter of beneficiaries to publicize a bequest (Cuixa)
6.	1046	Executor's act to finalize bequest (Cuixa)
7.	1064	Will of Guillem Berenguer, brother of Ramon Berenguer I
8.	1090	Will of Bernat Isarn, going to the Holy Sepulcher (Elne)
9.	n. date	Rustic will of Guillem Mir (Catalonia, frontier?)
10.	1126/28	Will of Ramon Amat; publication notice appended at foot of will (Vallès)
11.	1133	<i>Donatio corporis</i> of Adalais to the Knights Templar (Mas-Deu)
12A-B.	1151	Will of Guillem, a priest (Osona); donation charter with same bequest
13.	1177	Will of Pierre de Saint-Hilaire, canon of Saint-Paul de Narbonne
14.	[c. 1190]	Group of statements of <i>donatio corporis</i> in favor of the Knights Templar

SAMPLE DOCUMENTS

I

927, 11 September. *Executors' act of donation to an individual.*

Hemmo, abbess of Sant Joan de les Abadesses, and viscounts Remesarius (of Cerdanya) and Unifredus (of Berga), and Gelsinda, the executors of the late count Miró of Besalú and Cerdanya, donate to Cixilona two allods which the count bequeathed to her in his will. If she does not pass them on to her children, she must return them to the keeping of Miró's legitimate sons.¹

- A. Harvard University, Houghton Library. Joan Gili collection of medieval Catalonian parchments. Provisional inventory, number 1 (misdated and misidentified). Original, 214 x 314 mm.

Cit. Cited by Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados*, i, p. 91. The MS Bofarull saw (not necessarily the same exemplar as above) was in the archive of the monastery of Ripoll in or before 1836.

In domini {for *nomine*} Dei eterni et salvatoris nostri Ihesu Christi. Nos Hemmo misericordia dei abba, Remesarius, Unifredus vicescomites, /2 et Gelsinda femina, qui sumus advocati vel helemosinarii de condam Mironi comiti, donatores tibi Chixilone femina. Certum /3 quidem et manifestum est enim quia commendavit nobis condam Miro comis {sic} suam helemosinariam ad extrema voluntate sicut in ipso testamen- /4 to insertum est, quod manibus firmavit et testibus corroboraverit, et in ipso vinditio resonat quod vindicibus [?] corroboratum est, et iussit nobis /5 ut donare faciamus ad «te»² Chixilone iamdicta femina «ipse alode» ~~de hœe~~³ quod habebat in comitatu Bergitano, in villare de Donato, et in villa Alaternosa /6 et hoc quod habebat infra fines de Puio Reges, sicuti et facimus. Donamus tibi omnia qua[ntum] predictus condam Miro comes habebat in /7 iamdictis locis, ut omnibus diebus vite tue teneas et possideas et si filios habueris qui hoc hereditarent, post obitum tuum quic- /8 quid ex inde facere voluerit in omnibus habeant potestatem. Si autem filios non relinqueris, dimmittere hoc facias in potestate de filiis /9 legitimis Mirone comiti, quam suprestis extiterint. Quicumque autem contra ista donatione venerit ad inrumpendum componat /10 ista omnia dupla cum omni sua inmeloriatione, et ista donatione firmis permaneat omnique tempore.

Facta ista donatione .iiii. idus septembri anno .xxx. regnante Karulo rege filio Leodovici. ‡Hemmo gra. Dei abba .sss. /11 Remesarius vices comis .sss. Vufredus vicecomis .sss. ‡⁴ Sig† num /12

¹ This act is remarkable in that a woman acts as the first and principal executor. Hemmo's place as abbess of the comital foundation and sister of two reigning counts warranted this position. That a second executrix should also be female is doubly unusual. Gelsinda is not identifiable as a family member of count Miró.

² «Braces» surround supralinear corrections by the same hand.

³ So canceled in the MS.

⁴ Subscriptions within ‡these symbols‡ are autograph.

Gelsinda femina, qui hanc donatione fecimus et testes firmare rogavimus. Sig†num /13 Uuilafonso. Sig†num Cervo. Sig†num Exemiro. Sig†num Goltredo. Sig†num Fruila. Sig†num Daco. /14 ‡Wigaudus presbiter .sss. Vviras presbiter .sss. Ennego presbiter .sss. Sesegudus presbiter .sss. RECOSINDUS levita .sss.

/15 IN DEI NOMINE IELDEMIRUS levita qui hanc donationem scripsi et .sss. die et anno quod supra.

2

1005, 1 October. *Testament.*

Jozbert makes his testament.

- (B). Copy in the Cartulary of Elne; now lost. "Liber 2, ch. 17, f. 67v" or "68v."
- C. ADPO 12 J 25, no. 101. Fair copy, s. 18, in notebook of François de Fossa, probably ex B.
- D. BN, Collection Moreau, vol. 17, ff. 226-227. Fair copy, s. 18, by François de Fossa, with C.
- E. Bibliothèque Municipale de Perpignan, MS 107: notebooks of Julien-Bernard Alart, vols. *I, pp. 229 and Z, p. 231. Copies, late s. 19, from C.

In nomine domini et salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Ego Jozbertus timeo et paveo penas inferni et cupio pervenire ad gaudia et premia paradisi Deo propicio, sano animo metuens casu repentina mors michi perveniat hunc testamentum fieri volui, dum tempus vite me mature dum venerit universaque notavero denique jussero firmum et stabilitum permaneat omnique tempore. Tunc primum sic jubeo atque discerno ut fiant advocati vel elemosinarii mei, id est Ozucone presbitero, et Adalgards coniux mea, et Poncio levita et Vuadald. Ideo precipio ego vobis ut donare faciatis a Jozbert filio meo ipsum alodem que fuit de Wolverado archilevita, ut dum vivit teneat et possideat; post obitum suum remaneat a Sancta Eulalia. Et ipso alodio que fuit de Guatario, ipso Pujó, dono a Jozbert filio meo totum et ab integrum, a facere quecumque voluerit, et cum ipsa terra que est subtus molino de Durando levita, et cum ipso aquaducto que discurrit a mulino de Udalgario. A Bertille filia mea ipso meo alode quem abeo in villa Bages, totum et ab integrum. Alium meum alodem quem habeo in Narbonensis et in Carcasensis, Jozbert et Berteld illi equaliter dividere faciant. Alium meum alodem que est in vico Elna que michi advenit per parentorum sive per comparatione vel pro qualicumque voce, id est terras et vineas, casas, casalibus, curtis, curtalibus, ortis, ortalibus, pratis, pascuis, silvis, garricis, aquis, aquarum vieductibus vel reductibus--omnia et in omnibus--sic dono a Jozbert filio meo totum et ab integrum a facere quecumque voluerit. Et in ipsa lanca a vilar Martina ipso meo prato, et in ipsa isola Palazholes ipsa terra que comparavi de Acfred.

De alium meum averem mobilem id est in pane et vino, bovis, asinos, equas, porcos, drapos laneos et lineos, tonas, tinas, ocas, vos prendere faciatis ipsam terciam partem ad Adalgod; ipso alode de Montescabii et villa Seca⁵ de ipsum meam terciam partem vos donare faciatis ipsa medietate ad ipsa canonica de Sancta Eulalia propter remedium anime mee; alia medietate vos donare faciatis in clericis, in reclamatoribus, in pauperibus, pro anima mea, in tali ratione quod Adalgard stetit in sua viduitate perfecta ipsum alodem teneat et possideat et exfructurare faciat cunctis diebus vite sue; et si illa non stetit in sua viduitate perfecta, ipsum alodem revertere faciat in potestate de Jozbert et de Berteld filios meos; et in antea ista scriptura testamentum firmum et stabilum permaneat usque ad alium faciendum.

Facta scriptura testamenti kalendis octobris anno .viii. quod Robertus rex francorum cepit regnare in Francia.

Sig†num Jozbert qui ista scriptura testamentum scribere fecit et testes firmare rogavit.

Adalgard et Jozbert caballo cum freno et sela.⁶

Sig†num Josmar. Sig†num Beruar. Sig†num Oliba.

Goltredus, presbiter, qui ista scriptura testamentum scripsit et subscripsit die et anno quod supra.

3

1035, 23 July. Santa Maria del Mar, Barcelona. *Testamentary publication charter.*

Publication of the written testament of count Berenguer Ramon I of Barcelona. Formal sworn testamentary publication at Sant Maria del Mar, presided over by Ponç Bofill Marci and Oliba Miró, judges.

- A. Biblioteca de Catalunya, Reserva, Pergamins, ingrès no. 8699. Original, 454 x 435 mm. Acquired by the BC circa 1971, noted formerly to have been in the archive/library of Moyà.
- B. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia. Papers of Padre Joaquín Traggia, vol. 5, f. 61. Early nineteenth-century transcription labled "B 169." Reported by Abadal to have been made possibly from a parchment in the Arxiu Capítular de Girona (which apparently does not now preserve a copy).
- Cit. *Ramon d'Abadal i de Vinyals*, "La data e el lloc de la mort del comte Berenguer Ramon I." *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics i* (1952), 43-44 (reprinted in *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, (Barcelona, 1969-70), ii, pp. 331-332). Here d'Abadal brought to light the copy by Traggia; he was apparently not aware of the existence of the original in a Catalan collection, and did not live to see its acquisition by the Biblioteca de Catalunya.

⁵ This phrase is difficult to parse in the context of the division of Jozbert's movable goods; it may have been transposed by Fossa.

⁶ No insertion marks are retained in Fossa's copies. It is not clear whether this was intended for insertion in a specific place above or was intended to stand alone as an afterthought.

Condiciones sacramentorum ad quarum ex ordinationem residebant sacerdotes Ermemirus et Durandus et Remundus et Eldemarus et Amalricus et Bonuspar et Ermemirus et Remundus Iohannis et Trasoarius levite /2 quoque Bonifilii Iohannis et Hermemir sacristae et Iohannis et Gifredi et Remundi Borrelli et Bonucii Iohannis et Compagni Heliae et Gauzfredi Sendredi et Remundi Seniofredi et Geriberti presbiteri et Bonihominis presbiteri et Lobeti presbiter et Mironis Cherucii /3 et Durandi et Guilelmi presbiterorum et Hermemiri sacristi; Suniarii Borrelli et Ermengaudi Auruci et Gerberti Ugonis et Bonisfilii Sanlani et Bernardi Gelmiri et Adalberti Plancarii et Bernardi et Bonifilii Henrici et Remundi Trasveri et Guilelmi Suniarii /4 et aliorum multorum quorum nomina longum fuit texere; testificati sunt testes Olibanus Mironis et Bonusfilius Marchi iudex quos ad testimonium protulit Guadallus gratia Dei episcopus Barchinonensis advocatus helemosinarius /5 domni Berengarii comitis, ad testificandum voluntatem ultimam predicti Berengarii per testamentum aeditam qui iure iurando testificati sunt ita dicentes. Iuramus nos testes Bonusfilius et Olibanus unum dantes /6 testimonium primo per Deum patre omnipotentem et per Ihesum Christum filium eius, atque per sanctum spiritum confitentes hanc trinitatem unum et verum Deum esse, et per altare consecratum Sancte Marie cuius aeclesia sita est in suburbio Barchinonae /7 urbis in littore maris ubi has condiciones manibus nostris continentes dicimus, quia nos supradicti testes vidimus quando Berengarius comes filius qui fuit Remundi comitis firmavit suum testamentum, in quo ordinata erat /8 sua ultima voluntas, et ante quam eum firmasset manu propria fecit eum legi ante se et ante nos testes et auctorizavit eum ipsud etiam testamentum dicimus in quo ordinatum est quod supradictus Berengarius comes et mar- /9 chio cupiens pergere Romam ad visitanda limina apostolorum Beatorum Petri et Pauli aliorumque sanctorum Dei ob metum mortis suae hoc testamentum fieri detrevit, ut si in prefato itinere aut antequam alium testamentum /10 fecisset mors illi advenisset, quicquid per supradictum testamentum alligatum est de rebus suis, et de substantia sua ita permaneat ordinatum et stabilitum, quem ad modum in ipso subterius est anotatum. Voluit autem ut sint /11 helemosinarii sui Guadallus gratia Dei episcopus Barchinonensis et Gondaballus Bisoensis et Heriballus vicecomes et Bernardus Guifredi. Precepit namque per iamdictum testamentum suis helemosinariis prefatis ut ita faciant de rebus /12 suis quem ad modum invenerint ordinatum in suo prefato testamento, et ita facultatuem suam distribuunt.

In primis concessit ad domum Sancte Crucis sedis Barchinonensis ipsud alodium quod habebat et retinebat in territorio /13 Barchinonae, in loco vocitato Provincialibus, vel quod habebat prope amnem Bisocium quod fuit et debet esse predicte sedis. Et reddidit ad prelibatam sedem et ad domum Sancti Cucufatis octavianense cenobium ipsum castrum Avignionum /14 cum finibus et terminis et pertinentiis eius quod est in comitatu Barchinonensi infra terminos de Olerdula in Penitense. Et reddidit ad prelibatam sedem Sancte Crucis ipsum alodium quod debet esse sui iuris infra terminos Ae- /15 gare sive Terraciae. Et concessit ad domum Sancti Petri sedis Ausonensis ipsud

suum alodium de Ederes. Et reddidit ad prelibatam sedem Sancti Petri aeclesiam Sancti Baudilii cum omnibus suis pertinentiis ad integritate quod est /16 in comitatu Ausonae prope terminum castru Luciani, quomodo tenebat Arnulfus episcopus cum omnibus terminas eius. Et concessit ad filium suum maiorem cui nomen est Remundus ipsam civitatem de Gerunda et ipsum comitatum Gerunda /17 densem cum ipso episcopatu et cum finibus et terminis et adiacentiis eius. Et concessit eidem supradicto filio suo ipsam civitatem de Barchinona cum ipso episcopatu integro et ipsum comitatum usque ad flumen Lubricatum. Et concessit ad filium suum Sancium ipsum comitatum Barchinonensem cum ipsa civitate de Olerdula de flumine Lubricato usque ad paganorum terram, cum ipsis suis dominicaturis et cum ipsis absequiis hominum omnium qui ibi /19 habitant. Haec omnia habeat Sancius supradictus filius eius sub obsequio et baiulia filii sui Remundi predicti. Et concessit ad uxorem suam Guiliam comitissam ipsum comitatum Ausonensem cum ipso episcopatu et cum ipsis /20 hominibus et ipsis dominicaturis, ut haec omnia habeat si virum non apprehenderit, cum filio suo Guilelmo quem ex ea genuit. Si autem alium virum apprehenderit, remaneant haec omnia supradicta filio suo et illius /21 Berengarii Guilelmo. Ita ut ipse haec omnia habeat sub obsequio et baiulia predicti filii sui Remundi. Similiter sit supradictus filius suus Guilelmus cum omnibus rebus quae illi dimisit in obsequio et baiulia predicti filii sui /22 Remundi, si mater sua virum non apprehenderit. Post obitum autem predictae Guiliae omnia quae illi dimisit concessit filio suo supradicto Guilelmo subprascripto ordine si vivus fuerit. Si autem vivus non fuerit, remaneant haec omnia /23 ad supradictum filium suum Remundum. Haec autem omnia quae in prefato testamento resonat sic iussit conservari et stabilita permanere quem ad modum superius ordinata sunt. Concessit autem omnes suas mobiles /24 res quaecunque inveniri poterunt ad supradictam uxorem suam Guiliam comitissam ad suum proptium.

Postquam autem haec omnia ordinavit .iii. kalendas novembris anno .ii. regni Henrici regis perrexit Romam et inde /25 reversus vixit usque in quartum annum regni predicti, et mortuus est in predicto anno .iiii. prefati regis .ii. kalendas aprilis infra Barchinonensi palacio. Et nos testes eaque dicimus recta et veraciter profitemur. Et ego Guadallus /26 gratia Dei episcopus iuro in Deum et per Deum quia in supradicto testamento quod ego firmavi manu propria ulla fraus aut ullum malum ingneium mesaente impressum non est; sed secundum voluntatem prefati conditoris est factum vel ae- /27 ditum.

Late conditiones .x. kalendas augusti anno .v. regni Henrici regis.

Sig†num Olibani Mironis. Sig†num Poncii cognomento Bonifilii clerici et iudicis. Nos qui hoc testimonium dedimus et firmari rogavimus /28 et iureiurando confirmavimus.

‡+ Wadaldus ac si indignus gratia Dei episcopus †††‡, ego qui supradictum testamentum firmavi manu propria et iureiurando confirmavi. Sig†num Gondeballus /29 Bisorensis. Sig†num Bernardus Guifredi. Nos helemosinarii sumus. Sig†num Bonifilii Sallani. Sig†num Adalberti

Planc[arii]. Sig†num Bernardi Orsatoni. /30 Sig†num Bonifilii Henrici. Sig†num Remundi Trasveri. Sig†num Emballi Richarii. /31

‡S+ Ermemirus levita et sacriste. S+ Compan clericus. S+ Bomparus presbiter. S+ Geriberbus presbiter .sss. S+ Lobetus presbiter .sss. /32 S+ Bonushomo presbiter. S+ Gaucefredus presbiter. S+ Durandus presbiter. S+ Bonucii Iohannis. S+ Reimundus presbiter. S+ Mirone levita.‡ /33 Sig†num Remundi clericus. ‡Ermemirus presbiter. S Placianus presbiter. S+ Ermengaudus+ /34 simnum {sic} Girbertus. S+ REMUNDUS levita ††† SUNIARIO + Bernardus. Wilelmus +‡ /35 Sig†num Poncii cognomento Bonifilii clerici et iudicis. /36

Sig†num Poncii cognomento Bonifilii clerici et iudicis qui haec scripsit et .sss. die et anno quo supra. †††.

4

1137, 10 March. “*Mandatum helectionis et exortationis.*”

Ermemir, Cixilanus, Bonusfilius, and Iohannes write to the levita Ramon (who is probably also a iudex), urging the performance of a testamentary publication ceremony.

A. ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 246. Original.

In Christi nomine nos helemosinarii quondam Sendredi sacerdotis, Ermemirus sacrista et Cixalanus et Bonusfilius sacerdotes et Iohannus levita, tibi Remundo levite. Rogantes mandamus maximetius obsec[ramus] ut facere et ordinare procures conditiones sacramentorum testamenti ultime voluntatis Sendredi sacerdotis, et quicquid ex inde legaliter feceris et ordinare procuraveris. Nos tibi in omnibus ratos et stabilis esse pollicemur.

Actum est hoc .vi. idus marcii anno .vii. regni Henrici regis.

‡Signum ERMEMIRUS LEVITA & SACRISTAN‡. Sig†num Bonusfilius presbiter .ss. Sig†num Iohannes levita. Sig†num Cixalane presbiter .ss. Nos qui prope hoc mandatum helectionis et exortationis f[acere] iussimus et firmavimus et firmari rogavimus. Sig†num Onofredi Vitalis. Sig†num Vitalis. Sig†num Isarnus levita.

5

[1046.] *Pastoral letter to publicize testamentary terms.*

The monks of Cuixa wish to make known to all the people of Pallars the terms of a bequest to them made by the late Miró Bardina de Escalarre.⁷

⁷ This letter doubtless corresponds to the executors' donation charter below (no. 6).

- (B). Great cartulary of Sant Miquel de Cuixa (lost).
- C. BN, Collection Baluze, v. 117, f. 161v. Possibly truncated antiquarian copy, s. 17, ex B.
- D. ADPO, 12 J 24, no. 239, p. 64. Notes and quotations in notebook of François de Fossa, s. 18, ex B.

Notum sit vobis omnibus qui habitatis in terra Pallarensi presentibus & futuris, quod nos congregatio monachorum qui sumus de monasterio Sancti archangeli Michaelis coxianensis suscepimus in finitate nostrae societatis duos de vestra patria nobiles homines, quorum nomina sunt Isarnus et Ardmannus, filii condam genitoris eorum nomine Mironis qui fuit de villa Escalarr; et quia ipse iam dictus Miro in vita et in plena sua memoria domino dictato Archangelo Mikaeli seu cum iam dictis filiis suis et cum omni suo honore comendavit et ad suum obitum de suo melior alaude domino Deo & supradicto cenobio coxianensi Sancti Archangeli Mikaelis villam nomine Burg cum ecclesia que ibi est in honore Sancti Iohannis fundata donavit, in tali conventu ut iam dicti filii eius Ysarnus & Ardmannus dum viveant teneant iam dictam villam, et prescripto cenobio Sancti Michaelis Archangeli per unumquemque annum unum aureum donant; et post illorum obitum totum ab integro prescripto cenobio coxianensi Sancti Michaelis archangeli remaneat.

Nos omnes eiusdem cenobii Sancti Michaelis archangeli servi convenientes ante presentia venerabilis altaris eiusdem gloriosi archangeli & principis magni beati Michaeli in cuius honore sepe dictus cenobius est consecratus comendavimus animam iam dicti Mironis Domino omnipotenti cum precibus humiliter deprecantes, ut Beatis Arcangelis Michael sua potentissima intercessione apud Dominum obtineat ut defunctus seculo vivat in aeternum cum sanctis in celo. Damus etiam societatem predictis filiis eiusdem Mironis Isarno et Armanno in omni beneficio nomine quod facimus & factum sumus id est in orationibus, in elemosinis, et in aliis omnibus Domino placitis bonis, ut in cunctis similes sint nobis in hoc seculo omnibus diebus & post presentem vitam Domino concedente & sancto archangelo Mikaeli interveniente nobiscum socientur in celestibus regnis. In hoc autem beneficio superius scripto tibi eius Samueli similem damus societatem propter hoc vero quod donas Domino Deo & Sancto Michaeli Archangelo.

6

1046, 6 April. *Executors' act of pious donation: "karta belemosinaria."*

The heirs of Miró Bardina de Escallare donate to Sant Miquel de Cuixa the allod of Burgo (upper Aneu valley, Pallars) and its church of Sant Joan bequeathed by him to the monastery. This act coincides with or succeeds the letter printed above (no. 5).

- (B). Great cartulary of Sant Miquel de Cuixa (lost).

C. BN, Collection Baluze, v. 117, f. 164r. Truncated antiquarian copy, s. 17, ex B.

In nomine Domini. Ego Isarnus et Armannus qui sumus manumissores et helemosinarii de condam patre nostro nomine Mironi; ut mandavit et iniunxit nobis per suis verbis et in suum testamentum ut karta helemosinaria fecissemus aliquid de suo alode ad domum Sancti Mikaelis qui est situs in comitatu Confluente in locum quem vocant Coxiane prope fluvium Litterani. Et advenit illi prescriptiis alodis de Bernardo comite vel per genetrice eius Stephania sive per qualicumque voce. Et nos iamdicti filii vel elemosinarii sequentes eius mandata carta helemosinaria facimus unde iudicium obligatum habemus infra metas temporum asserie conditionis editum. Et est ipsum alodium in comitatu Palearensi in locum que vocant valle Anavi ipsa villa integra que dicitur Burgos cum ecclesia Sancti Iohannis & cum decimis et primiciis vel ciminteriis, & omnia que ad ipsa ecclesia pertinent. Et in ipsa villa que vocatur Burgs sunt casas, casalibus ... {ellipsis}.⁸

Et habet ipsa villa Burges terminos et fines de .i^a. parte in flumine Noguera, et de alia in locum que vocant ad Aras Burgitanas, et de .iii^a. in Valle Unar, et de .iiii^a. in puio que vocant Karasohal. Quantum iste .iiii^{or}. afrontationes includunt ... {ellipsis}.

Facta karta helemosinaria .viii. idus aprilis anno .xv. regnante Henrico rege. {ellipsis}.

7

1064, 14 October. *Testament.*

Guillem Berenguer, brother of Count Ramon Berenguer I, makes his testament.

- A. ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 331. Original.
- B. ACA, Perg. Sant Benet de Bages, no. 332. Notarial copy of 1325.

In Dei nomine. Ego Guillelmus Berengarius ago gracias Deo meo qui me fecit, quia sum sanus, set scio quia sum mortalis et valde timeo eventum inane mortis, et ne inordinatis meis rebus ab anc luce quandoque subducar facio hunc libellum /2 testacionis, et rogo amicos meos, id sunt domino Mironi Abba et Raimundo Trasuario, et Amad fratri suo et Sancio fratri meo, ut ipsi sint mei manumissores et mea sint rerum distributores, et sicut erit scriptum, si antea non fecerim aliut testa /3 [mentum] in omnibus modis maneat firmum et a nullo unquam proibeatur set volumptas mea ~~mea~~ taliter ad impleatur, in exordio mee distributionis pro redempcione anime mee.

In primis concedo a domino Deo et a Sancti Benedicti cenobii ipsum /4 ipsum meum alodium quem frater meus senior domno Raimundo comes dedit mihi propter precium ereditatis patris mei, id est ipsam villam que nuncupant Auri, cum terminis et aiacenciis suis, simul cum ipsam

⁸ These transcriptions from the Cuixa cartulary were truncated by the antiquary; a mark somewhat like the symbol § was placed at each gap in the transcription.

eel ecclesia Sancti Petri qui ibi est fundata, /5 cum decimis primiciis oblationibus ecclesiasticis et omnibus eidem ecclesie pertinentibus exceptus ipsa konamina que est supra villam Sancti Petri, et ipsas vineas quas emit de Isarn Galin, et de Ollomar Domnucii, qui sunt ad ipso Prato, /6 et ipsas alias vineas qui fuerunt de Bonifilio Todredi; et concedo iamdicta konamina ad Sancio fratri meo cum modiatas .ii. vineas quas emit de Isarn Galin in tali modo: ut teneat et possideat in diebus vite sue, et post /7 obitum suum remaneat ad Sancti Benedicti. Et concedo ad Amad Trasvar semodiatam .i. quam emit de Ollomar, et a Guillelmo Raimundo concedo ipsam semodiatam vinea qui fuit de Bonifilio Tanredi, et ipsam meam mulam /8 remaneat ad Amad Trasvar, in tali modo: ut solvat a meos debitores uncias .x.: a Raimundo Trasvar uncias .ii., et a Bernardi Mironi uncias .iii., et a Ebrino Leopardi uncias .iii., et a Guillelmo Raimundo uncias /9 .ii.. Et ipsos meos .iiii. porcos et .xx. oves concedo a Guillelmo Raimundo, ut solvat Sede uncias .iii. unde est in fiducia. Et ipsum meum vinum vindant mei manumissores et solvant ad Ollomar Domnuncii mankosos /10 .viii. inde est in fiducia et a Guillelmo Oliba mankosos .iiii.. Et alium precium vini qui remanet solvant mei manumissores ad meos debitores ubi invenire potueritis. Et de meo blad donent mei manumissores /11 ad meos provendarios a Gitard et Vidal et Sendret et Trasvar monag {?} unde vivere possint usque ad novo veniente. Et concedo ad Sancio fratri meo ipsa tonna quam emit de Guillelmo Giskafredi; et ipso meo kub /12 quem emit de Isarn Galin et alias .iiii. tonnas remaneat ad Sancti Benedicti; et ipsa tonna que emit de Guillelmo Bartolomei cum ipsos meos drapos et cum ipsas colcedras concedo ad clericos pro anime mee, pro sacrificiis; /13 et ipsum meum blad qui remanet cum alium meum avere donent a pauperibus pro anime mee, et ipsas meas vineas qui remanent in vineario de condam Bonifilio concedo a Reimundo Trasvar, et ipsum meum servicium que debent /14 facere mei omnes de isto anno remanet ad unumquemque pro anime mee, et de mea laboracione ad novo veniente fiant persolutos meos debitos, et qui remanent pro anime mee. Et alias .x. uncias qui remanent /15 de ipsam mulam suprascriptam remaneat ad Amad Trasvar, per suum debitum.

Factum istum testamentum .ii. idus octobris anno .v. regnante Philippi regis.

Sig†num †Guilelmo Berengario† qui istum /16 testamentum feci et firmavi et testes firmare rogavi. Sig†num.⁹ Sig†num Raimundo Trasvar. Sig†num Amad. Sig†num Sancio. Sig†num Ollomar Domnuncio. Sig†num Sendre Langvard. /17 Sig†num Seniofre Sendre. Sig†num Ballovino Bonifi. †Miro gratia Dei abbas .ss.†

WILELMUS sacerdos qui istum testamentum scripsit et subscripsit cum literis fuis / 18 in tertia et quarta et quinta linea¹⁰ die et anno quod ††† supra.

⁹ Unfilled Signum, with points in 3 quadrants.

¹⁰ The *litterae fusae* are not visible in line 5.

1090, 12 January. *Testament of one undertaking a pilgrimage.*

Bernat Isarn, going to the Holy Sepulcher, makes his testament.

- (B). Copy in the Cartulary of Elne; now lost, originally on “f. 84.”
- C. ADPO 12 J 25, no. 151. Fair copy, s. 18, in notebook of François de Fossa, probably ex B.
- D. BN, Collection Moreau, vol. 36, ff. 21-22v. Fair copy, s. 18, by François de Fossa, with C, ex B.
- E. Bibliothèque Municipale de Perpignan, MS 107: notebooks of Julien-Bernard Alart, vols. *I, p. 421(413), and IV, p. 31. Copies, late s. 19, from C.

In nomine Domini {for sanctae?} et individue trinitatis. Ego Bernardus, cognomento Isarni, volo pergere ad sanctum sepulchrum Domini, et desidero videre loca sancta, et timeo et paveo penas inferni, ne superveniat michi repentina mortis mee, propterea hunc testamentum de rebus meis fieri decrevi, ut quicquid in hunc testamentum subnixum fuerit, firmissimum et stabilissimum permaneat omnique tempore. Jubeo atque discerno ut sint advocati elemosinarii mei id est Ballonim de Cantalupos, et Petrus Bliger, et Raimundus presbiter. Precipio namque vobis predicti elemosinarii mei ut si michi advenerit mors in ista peregrinatione antequam alium testamentum faciam, plenam habeatis potestatem ad distribuere omnes facultates meas, propter Deum et remedium anime mee.

De meum panem et meum vinum et meo mobile vel immobile, duas partes sunt de conjux mea Guila et filio aut filia qui erit natus de me et de illa, et si predicto filio meo aut filia qui erit natus de me et de illa superveniat mors, ipsa medietate de jamdicto mobile sit mea et de ipsa parte mea faciant predicti elemosinarii mei .iii. partes: una pars dimitto ad sancti Petri Rodas; duas partes dimitto in ecclesiis et in clericis, et in pauperibus ad cui Deus largire voluerit. In primis dimitto ad Sancti Stephani de Orule .ii. pecias de terras que sunt ad via petrosa, et medalada .i. de vinea in garrigola, exceptus decimum et primitiam. Et ad Sancti Michaelis cenobii dimitto campo de Lebegano, et modiada .i. de vinea in parcelas inter duos locos, et farragine que tenet Pontius Suniarii. Et ad Sancta Eulalia dimitto in Capud Stagno pecia .i. de vinea que tenet Senfre Duran, et ad Sancta Maria de Villa Bertran dimitto ereditatem de medio lodio qui est ad Pug de Areias. Et ad Sancta Maria de Panicars dimitto alodio meo de Ban de Bancel. Et ad Ballocino de Cantalupos dimitto alodio meo que habeo in villa Laneo, ad proprium alode. Alium meum alode vel fevos que ego habeo vel habere debeo in cunctisque locis dimitto ad filio meo qui fuerit natus de conjux mea Guila, et si est filia, dimitto alode meum qui est in terminio de Orule ipsa medietate exceptus ipso violario que dimitto ad conjux mea Guila, hoc est ipso alodio que est super vassa extremora, sicut pergit de Agulas via usque ad flumen Ted de parte oriente. Quantum infra istos locos includunt sic dono ad conjux mea Guila ego Bernard suprascripto, que intra vivis teneas et possideas post obitum meum; remaneat ad filio vel ad filia qui est de me et de te; alia medietate de ipso alode de Orule suprascripto remaneat

ad Sancti Petri Rodas, alia medietate filia mea, si filia erit. Et de ipso alode de Orule ipsum decimum qui inde exierit aut primitia remaneat ad clerico de jamdicto Bernard. Et ipso alodio que ego habeo subtus villa Perpiniano in cunctisque locis si deveniat de filio meo sine infante de legitimo conjugio, remaneat ipsa medietate ad Balloveno de Cantalupos; alia medietate ad Sancti Petri Rodas. Et si deveniat de filio meo aut de filia sine infante de legitimo conjugio, remaneat ipso alodio ad Sancti Petre Rodas. Et ad Sancti Petri Rodas dimitto modo ipsa ferragine de Petri Masegad {?}. Et est manifestum.

Factum istum testamentum .ii. idus genoarii anno .xxx. regni Philippi regis.

Sig†num Bernard, cognomento Isarn, qui istum testamentum fieri jussit et testes firmare rogavit, et ista omnia suprascripta remaneat in guarda et in bajolia de Domino Deo et de Sancta Maria et de Sancti Petri et de omnibus sanctis, et de Petri Bliker et Poncius Bliker, et de Ramon Barera, et de Balloveno et de meos bonos seniores.

Sig†num Balloveno. Sig†num Raymundus presbiter. Sig†num Petri Bliker.

Et Deus-Salvet presbiter qui et scriptor die et anno prefato.

9

No Date. First half s. 12? *Brief testament, rustically executed.*

An ordination of Guillem Mir's testament. Written in the third person, but probably at the behest (and in the presence?) of the testator.

A. ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 98. Original.

Hec est verba testamenti de Guilelm Mir de suum avere mobile quod mandavit pro anime sue. Et elevi {sic} mamesors Em coniug sue et Guilelm [...]ga et Petro Senfred. Manda[vit eis] ut abeant potestatem in isto ano aut in alio de omnes res facultas sua et divideant sui elemosinari; et faciant .iii. partes: .i. tercia pars a Guilelm Reimund, et de alias duas faciant .iii. partes: et donent .i. tercia pars a congiu sua; et alia .iii. pars a filiabus suis; et alia pro anime sue. In primis dimisit a opera de Sancti Petri de Ponts solidos .ii. diners nous, et a suos clericos solid .i. per missa et .i. ova pro cimiteri. Et qui hoc scripsit solido .i.; alium qui super venit mandavit per missas. Homnes alaudes quod abebat in cuctique locis totum reliquit a coniugi sue ut teneat in vita sua et post obitum suum relinquit a filiabus suis, qui de illos ambos fuerit creati.

Testes sunt Bernard Fruga et Iuda Guadall et Pere Guilelm.

Raimundo sacer qui hoc scripsit.

10

1126, 13 December; and 1128, 30 September. *Testament with appended text of testamentary publication.*

Ramon Amat makes his testament. At the foot of the document, the publication of his testament is recorded.

- (A). Original parchment, inscribed twice contemporaneously to the drafting of the testament and its publication.
- B. ACA, Perg. Sant Llorenç del Munt, no. 262. Translatio of 7 November 1152, ex A.

In Dei omnipotentis nomine ego Raimundus Amati timens mortis eventum, et ordino atque eligo super eis rebus distribuendis elemosinarios meos: Petrum quoque Girberti, et Guillelmum Borrelli, atque Raimundi Saburid. Isti supradicti sint elemosinarii mei atque distributores facultates mearum sicut eis per istum testamentum iniungo.

In primis dimitto domino Deo et cenobio S. Laurentio de Monte ipsam meam salam de orta, cum ipsis mansis qui ibidem pertinent, et cum ipso manso de Pedo seu ipso manso de Gargal. Hoc totum dimitto S. Laurentio iam dicto, tali vero conventu ut teneant iamdicti filii mei Sicharddis et Arbertus in vita sua, et donent per unumquemque annum ipsum quartum qui inde exierit ad S. Laurentium; et post obitum illorum, fiat solide et libere de S. Laurentio. Et S. Marie Castri Petre dimitto ipsum mansum de Ganiscar, cum ipsis triliis, et cum ipso manso de Torner, in tali ratione, ut teneat et habeat predictos mansos presbiter S. Marie qui missas cantet pro anima mea. Deinde dimitto cenobio S. Michaelis Fagi ipsum alodium quod habeo in Garga, simul cum ipsa baiulia quam habeo in Genegrada, tali convenientia, ut teneant filii mei predicti in vita sua, et per unumquemque annum donent ipsum quartum predicto S. Michaelis et eius servientibus, et post obitum illorum fiat solide et libere S. Michaelis. Ecclesie quoque S. Benedicti de Baies, ipsam meam medietatem dimitto ipsius mansi quem habeo in Talamancha, et post obitum meum accipia[nt] eum semper pro anima mea. Et cenobio S. Petri Cluniensis concam .i. et arceolum .i. dimitto. Et ecclesie S. Vincentii Cardonensis supellectilem .i. concedo pro anima mea. Et concedo ecclesie S. Laurentio de Valle vinea .i. quam nucupant vinea de Chasals, cum terra ubi est fundata, ad luminaria concinanda. Barchinonensi quoque episcopo .x. uncias auri dimitto super[.], ut absolvat meum corpus et meum sepulcrum benedicat, et missam cantet pro anima mea. Et hoc totum quod est supra scriptum quod dimitto sanctis Dei in ea ratione et vinculo concedo, quod si aliquis clericus de ullus ordo ecclesiasticus voluerit in aliquo mutare aut mutere aut alienare, non possit facere. Quod si fecerit aut fecerint, habeant potestatem infantes et proprinqui mei qui vivi fuerint recuperare hoc totum quod a comunione predictorum sanctorum fuerit separatum. Fevos quoques meos quos habeo et teneo per Sanctum Cucuphatem et Sanctum Laurentium et Sanctum Michaellem et Sanctum Petrum de Rodes et Sanctum Stephanum, si accaptare poterint filii mei Sichardis et Arbertus de iam dictis Sanctis, habeant eos; si non, laxent eos post obitum meum absque ulla contrurietate. Et si predicti filii mei

Sichardis et Arbertus voluerint concordare habeant omnem meum honorem in simile. Et si noluerint concordare dimitto Sichardo chastrum Sancti Martini cum ipsis fevis vicecomitales, sicut ego habeo et teneo ad servicium vicecomiti; exceptus ipso fevo de Aqua Frigida, quod dimitto ad Arberto. Et omnes alios fevos quos teneo per cunctos meos seniores, vel per omnes homines dimitto ad Arberto ad servicium illorum. Meum [... ..]rum de vetra quomodo ego habeo et habere debeo [... ..] aliis alodiis sive baiuliis que de[...]cunctis locis dimit[to filio meo] iamdicto Arberto, exceptis his que superius concessi sanctis Dei. Totum autem meum honorem suprascriptum quem dimisi filiis predicti [.. si unus ex e]orum obierit sine legitimis filiis ille qui superstes fuerit habeat supradictum honorem. Quod si ambo discesserint sine legitimis filiis, concedo supradictum honorem nepotibus meis filiis filiarum mearum. Filio quoque meo Sichardi dimitto meum lansem et meam loricham et clipeum, et precor illum ut faciat cantare .L. missas pro anima mea. Dimitto quoque predictos filios meos cum illorum honoribus, in bauilia Dei et Sanctae Marie, et sanctis Dei, et in guarda meorum seniorum, et in bajulia meorum hominum. Et precor militum Raimundum Gauzberti per Deum et sanctos eius sicut mihi promisit ita sit memor filiorum meorum sicut bonus ac nobilis homo debet facere per fidem rectam sine engann. Et precor et mando ambobus filiis meis ut reddant mea debita, et sit Deus testis inter me et illos.

Quod est actum idus decemb. anno .xix. regni Lodoyci regis.

Sig†num Raimundi Amati, qui hoc testamentum fecit scribere et firmavit et testes firmare rogavit. Sig†num Guillelmi de Terracia. Sig†num Berengarii de Rivera.

Sig†num Petrus levita qui hoc scripsit cum litteris suprapositis in linea .vii. die et anno quo ††† supra.

Publicatum est etiam hoc testamentum iuxta legalem secundi ordinis modum, in presentia Poncii atque clericorum et populi beati Stephani de Chastelar, a prescriptis testibus Guillelmo Borrelli, et Poncio diachono, et ab altero eorum nomen Poncio iuratum est, super altare Beati Iohannis qui est situm in ecclesia Beati Martini in parrochia de Chastelar, quod ipse viderit quando prephatus testator manum propria hoc ipsum signum impressit, quod sub nomine illius superius impressum est, ad corroborationem ultime sue voluntatis.

Actum est hoc publicatio .ii. kl. octb. anno .xx. i. regnante Ledovico rege.

Berengarius levita qui hoc translatum scripsit de testamentum et de iuditio .vii. idus novembri anno .xvi. †††† regni regis Lodovici junioris.

Adalais donates herself, body and soul, to the order of the Knights Templar, in their commandery of Mas-Deu at Colliure (Roussillon).

- B. ADPO, Hp 19I, Cartulary of Mas-Deu, f. 135v-136r.
- C. Bibliothèque Municipale de Perpignan, MS 107: notebooks of Julien-Bernard Alart, vol. VII, pp. 129-132 (old pagination). Copy, late s. 19, from B.

In nomine dei patris. Ego Azalaidis femina dono et laudo corpus meum et animam meam domino deo et ad sanctam miliciam templi Iherosolimitani qui vocatur Templum Salamonis ad ipsos qui ibi sunt milites et in antea venturi sunt ad servicium Dei faciendum subtus obedienciam de ipso magistro qui ibidem est et in antea venturus est sine ulla proprietate. Et ad sanctam miliciam suprascriptam de Iherusalem dono et laudo omnem meum alodem in manu Uguonis Rigualdi qui est servus et obediens ad milites Christi quantum habeo vel habere debeo per qualescumque voces sine blandimento ullius hominis vel femine in locum quem apellant Cirsano pro remissione omnium peccatorum meorum et parentum meorum absque ullo retentu. Est autem prescriptum alodem in Comitatu Rossilionensi infra terminos Beate Marie de Anils et Beati Juliani de Villa Mulacha. Quantum infra ipsos terminos habeo vel habere debeo totum dono sine omni enganno ad suprascriptam miliciam et ita ut milites prescripti Templi traxerint de Olibe de Candel prescriptum alodem quia ille habebat in pignus per .iii^{or}.¹¹ libras argenti.

Et hoc donum facio propter quod dominus meus fuit dignatus esse pauper per me sicuti ille fecit pauper per me sic volo esse paupercula per illum; et ut ille faciat me pervenire ad veram penitenciam et ad veram confessionem et faciat me pervenire ad sanctum paradysum et habeat mercedem ad animam patris ac matris mee et ad omnium parentum meorum et ad omnes infantes meos faciat facere suum sanctum servicium per quod veniant ad bonam finem, et hoc donum facio cum consilio et cum bona voluntate de meis infantibus videlicet Guillelmi Galterii et Raymundi et Bernardi. Istum donum et istum honorem sicut superius est scriptum dono et laudo et firmo domino Deo et ad Sanctam Miliciam prenominatam. Si quis aliquis de meis infantibus aut de meis parentibus rem intulerit aut infregerit de prescripto alodio sit separatus de libro vite usque veniat ad emendacionem et est manifestum.

Actum est hoc .iii^o. kls augusti anno Dominice incarnationis .M.C.XXX.III. regnante Lodovico rege .xx.iiii. anno. Sig†num Azalaidis femine qui istam cartam donacionis fieri iussit firmavit et testes firmare rogavit. Sig†num Guillelmi Galterii. Sig†num Reymundi Sig†num Bernardi filiorum eius. Sig†num Dalmacii de Paretz Tortas gener eius qui hoc laudat et firmat. Sig†num Ugoni Rigaldi qui est servus ad Milites Xti qui hoc donum recipit. Sig†num Petri Bernardi de Perpiniano confrater eius. Sig†num Bernardi de Peralada similiter confratris ejus. Sig†num

¹¹ *Sic*, for “.iii^{or}.”?

Poncii Adalberti de Tazio. Sig†num Jacobi de Perpiniano. Sig†num Guillelmi Casal. Sig†num Raymundi Stephani. Sig†num Johannis Peregrini. Sig†num Petri Mancipii filii ejus. Sig†num Oliba de Candel. Sig†num Bernardi Guillelmi de Monte Eschino. Sig†num Poncii de Rocha. Sig†num Petri de Coneiano. Sig†num Berengarii Arnalli. Sig†num Bernardi Utalgerii confratres predictae Milicie. Sig†num Poncii Stephani de Candel.

††† Petrus monachus et sacerdos rogatus scripsit die et anno quo supra.

I2A

1151, 31 July. *Testament (contemporaneous with donatio reservato usufructu, below).*

Guillem, a priest, makes his will, donating his body to the Templars with his allods in the parish of Sant Esteve de Granollers, although his brothers are to have possession of the lands and render a fourth of the expletis. There is an explicit clause reserving the revocability of these terms.¹²

- A. ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 239. Original. Chirograph, top portion. Divided along letters: "ABCDEFGHIJKLMNQRSTVXZ." For the second part of this chirograph (which did not divide two identical charters), see the following act.

In Christi nomine, ego Guillelmo presbitero facio meum testamentum et eligo manumissores amicis meis id sunt Miro Iohanni et Petro Geraldo presbitero et Gerado Petro ut isti fiant testes sicut ego subtus facio scribere.

In primis dimitto meum corpus ad milicie templum Iherosolimis, et insuper dono et concedo meas hereditates et meos directos de alodio francho que ego abeo vel abere debeo in villa Gualamers et in eius terminis sicut venit per ienitorum meorum et per ullas voces sicut ego abeo in parroechia Sancti Stephani Granollarii in omnibus locis, in tale conventu ut teneant et abeant ad laboracione fratres meos Raimundo et Bernardo et filiis de Rosel equaliter mente, et reddant ad milicie prescripta quartam de omnibus expletis quod ibi Deus dederit fideliter omni tempore. Et retineo ad meum opus ad meam voluntatem «unam peciam terre» qui vocant Clapers cum ipsas mansiones Sancte Marie ubi abito. Et dimitto meam honorem vel tenedone vel hereditates que ego abeo per paterna vel materna voce per Sancte Marie Rivipollensi et per Sancti Petri sede Vici et Sancti Petri cenobii Barchinone inter meos fratres et nepotos suprascriptos ut abeant equaliter mente. Et si opus michi est per ullas necessitatem omnia honore superius scripta qualicumque hora voluerit recuperare abeo licencia sine illa contrarietate hominis vel femina.

Actum est hoc .ii kalendas augusti anno .xiiii. regnante Ledovico rege iuniore.

¹² Documents I2A and B, two strictly unequal acts (a bequest and a donation) treated as functionally equivalent, illustrate the difficulties in distinguishing such acts, even in the twelfth century.

Sig†num Guillelmi, qui istum testamentum facio et firmo. Sig†num Miro Iohannis. Sig†num Pere Gerat. Sig†num Gerat Pere. Sig†num Raimundo. Sig†num Bernardo. Sig†num Guillelmo.

Guillelmus presbiter qui hoc scripsit cum litteras suprapositas in .viii. linea die et anno quo ††† supra.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNQPQRSTUVWXYZ {top half}

12B

1151, 31 July. *Donatio reservato usufructu (contemporaneous with testament, above).*

Guillem, a priest, makes the same gift to the Templars as in 12. Here, however, the act is couched as a simple donation, not as a testament.

- A. ACA, Perg. Ramon Berenguer IV, no. 240. Original. Chirograph, bottom portion. Divided along letters “ABCDEFGHIJKLMNQPQRSTUVWXYZ.” For the first part of this chirograph (which did not divide two identical charters), see the previous act.

ABCDEFGHIJKLMNQPQRSTUVWXYZ {bottom half}

In nomine domini. Ego Guillelmo presbitero Dono et concedo ad domino Deo et ad milicie templum Iherosolimis omnem meum alodium franchum totum ab integrum cum meos directos de domos qui intus sunt, in tale conventu ut teneant et abeant fratres meos Raimundo et Bernardo et nepotes meos filiis Rosel et proienie eorum, et reddant ad milicie suprascripium «omni tempore» quartum de omnibus expletis quod ibi Deus dederit preo redempcionem anime mee et parentorum meorum fideliter mente. Et est in comitatu Ausone in parroechia Sancti Stephani Granollarii in villa Gualamers, et in terminis eius. Si quis hoc frangere voluerit in duplo componat. Actum est hoc .ii. kal augusti anno .xiiii. regnante Ledovico rege iuniore.

Sig†num Guillelmo presbitero qui hoc donum facio et firmo. Sig†num Raimundo. Sig†num Bernardo. Sig†num Guillelmo. Sig†num Miro Iohannis. Sig†num Petri Geralli. Sig†num Gerat Pere.

Et faciant meos fratres omnibus censis et serviciis qui debent exire de honore suprascripta. Guillelmus presbiter qui hoc scripsit die et anno quo ††† supra.

13

1177, March. *Testament.*

*Pierre de Saint-Hilaire, a canon of the Augustinian monastery of Saint-Paul de Narbonne, makes his testament.*¹³

- A. BN, *Mélanges Colbert*, v. 414, no. 50. Original parchment, now somewhat darkened and difficult to read, pasted into a scrapbook, s. 17.

In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Anno incarnationis eiusdem .M.C.LXXVII., regnante rege Lodoicus, mense Marcii. Certum sit omnibus hoc audientibus quod ego Petrus de Sancto Ylario positus in infirmitate timens in meo bono sensu et in mea plena memoria meum facio testamentum, et mearum rerum dispositionem, et volo et precipio quod sicut hic scriptum est, firmum ratum ac stabile omni tempore habeatur, nisi aliud in postum fecero testamentum.

In primis dono et reddo meam animam et meum corpus domino Deo et beate Marie et ecclesie Sancti Pauli ut ibi sepeliar si de me defierit in hac infirmitate; et dimitto mense ecclesie Sancti Pauli .xx. solidos melg. de illis .cccc.l. solidis melg. quos Ato meus consanguineus mihi debet pro quibus habeo suum mansum in retineo cum carta retinari quam inde habeo; et Pontio de Sancto Ylario meo avunculo dimitto .xx. solidos melg; et .lx. solidos melg. inter meum corpus procurameum et missas que dicantur pro remissione peccatorum meorum, et pro salute anime mee. Et pro debitis meis persolvendis, dimitto .l. solidos melg. Et dimitto Guillelmo Arnaldi sacriste maiori et Aimerico de Castro novo medium per medium .l. solidos melg. Et mee matri dimitto .cc. solidos melg. Et Atoni consanguineo meo dimitto .L. solidos melg.; et .xxv. solidos melg. quos michi debet de alia parte, quos ei clamavi multociens in presentia domini sacriste predicti; sub tali conditione dimitto laxam iamdicta Atoni predicto: quod ipse paccet in bne et in pace et sine placito predictos .cccc. solidos melg. quos mihi debet, et super plus dimitto ei quod si facere noluerit, paccet omne supradictum debitum quod michi debet, et non habeat aliquod de laxa quam ei facio, et distringant eum inde dominus sacrista predictus et Aimericus de Castronovo, in quorum posse posse dimitto hanc meam manimissionem, quod ipsi eam compleant et faciant complere de meo sine eorum dampno. Et dimitto helemosine Sancti Pauli .c. solidos melg. de pignore Montis Rotundi, in quo habeo .D. solidos meog., et quod helemosina iamdicta habeat quintam partem redditus qui inde exient donec redimatur, et quando redimatur habeat inde .c. solidos melg. Pontio fratri meo dimitto .cccc. solidos melg. de iamdicto pignore montis rotundi, et adhuc dimitto ei .xl. solidos melg. de Coniliaco, quos Guillelmus de Sancto Ylario meus consanguineus mihi dimisit et adhuc dimitto ei .i. meam domum quam habeo super sacristani maiorem, que scilicet domum Bernard Iohannes habet de me in pignore pro .lv. solidos melg., sub tali conditione dimitto ei supradictam domum, quod ipse donet .c. solidos malg., et post recuperet suam domum iamdictam libere. Et adhuc dimitto ei .i. meam

¹³ A late twelfth-century epitaph of another member of the family of Saint-Hilaire, also from the church of Saint-Paul, survives in the epigraphical collection of the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse. In this document, the divergence of the Narbonnais from the traditional Gothian and Septimanian testamentary forms is readily apparent.

archam cum libris qui intus sunt, et tres flaciatas et unum coopertorium, et .iii. coxinis. Et capellano de Luirano dimitto unum matellum que Guillelmus Escobolarius habet de me in pignore duos superpellicos, et unam flaciatam, et unum frenum, que habet Petrus epdomedarius in pignore pro .viii. solidos, et .iii. deenarios melg. dimitto Bernardo Iohannis quod ipse ea sibi redimat et dimitto ei unam patenam et unum pairolum et quasdam tripodas et quod ipse faciat canere unum trentanarium de missis pro anima mea, et adhuc dimitto ei quasdam bacinis. De tribus ss. frumenti, quos capellanus de Coniliaco mihi debet, dimitto unum p[...] sacriste predicto et unum ss. Aimerico de castro novo, et alium ss. Guillelmo de Fontiano. Et adhuc dimitto fratri meo Pontio unam culettram plume, et unum epistolarium quem Udalguerius habet de me in pignore pro .iiii. solidos Narb.

Huius rei sunt testes Petrus de Senseraco, Guillelmus de Cucuciaco clericus, Pontius de Rocacorba, Guillelmus Ferroil, Pontius de Fonte Ioncoso, Guillelmus Guiraldi, Guillelmus ministrat.

Iohannes gramaticus hoc scripsit.

14

[On or after 24 April 1187].¹⁴ *Memorandum of donationes corporum.*

Memorandum of first-person statments by Arnallus de Vilar, Guillem de Berguedà, and others, in which they bequeath their bodies, horses and arms, and in one case some other goods, to the Templars.

- A. ACA, Perg. Extra Inventari, no. 3423. Possibly a fragment of a larger document. Prickings along the top of this vertical parchment suggest it may have been (or may have been intended to be) sewn into a larger roll.

Et ego Arnallus de Vila dono et trado corpus meum in vita et in morte domino Deo et milicie templi Iherusalem, cum meo cavallo et omnes meos armas de ligno et ferro, et modo dono ego iamdictus Arnallus de Vilar et coniux mea Berengaria et filiis nostris nos omnes in simul per remedium animarum nostrarum et de parentorum nostrorum donamus et concedimus et liberamus ad milicie templi Iherusalem ipsam nostram bordam quam tenent Bernardus Chabót et coniux eius Ferréra in ipsum vilar de Sancta Eugenia cum onmem censum et usaticum quod nobis facere debent per prescriptam bordam.

¹⁴ The reference by this Guillem de Berguedà to “those things he left the Templars in his testament” may refer to one of two surviving testaments of the *joglar* Guillem de Berguedà, son of Guillem, viscount of Berguedà. In the first, dated 29 September 1184 (ACA, Ords. Mils., Armari 28 (Testaments), no. 31), he willed his body to the monastery of Poblet and may have also mentioned the Templars, but the document only survives in a fragmentary state. In the second, dated 24 April 1187 (ed. Riquer, “El testamento del trovador Guilhem de Berguedán”), he willed his body to the Templars with other bequests. This act probably postdates the second testament.

Et ego Guillelmus de Bergedá dono et trado corpus meum in vita et in morte domino Deo et milicie templi Iherusalem, cum meo cavallo et omnes meas armas de ligno et ferro, cum hoc quod in meum testamentum dimisi ad iamdictam miliciam de Iherusalem pro remedium anime mee et de parentorum meorum.

Et ego Bernardus de Exencia dono et trado corpus in vita et in morte domino Deo et milicie templi Iherusalem cum meo cavallo et omnes meas armas de ligno et ferro.

Et ego Petrus de Travessero dono et trado corpus meum in vita et in morte domino Deo et milicie templi Iherusalem, cum meo cavallo et omnes meas armas de ligno et ferro.

Et ego Raimundus similiter de Travessero dono et trado corpus meum in vita et in morte domino Deo et milicie templi Iherusalem, cum meo cavallo et omnes meas armas de ligno et ferro, et si cavallum non abuero unam de meliore de meos bestias.

Et ego Pelegrinus trado et dono corpus meum in vita et in morte domino Deo milicieque templi Iherusalem in vita et in morte et si —¹⁵ «cum» tercia partem de omni meo avere portador et menador; et per censum annuatim unum quartallum de blad.

Ego Raimundus Gaucerandi dono Deo et domui milicie templi in remissione peccatorum meorum in die obitus mei et meum equum et mea arma de fuste et ferro.

Ego Vitalis Cabater de Ux trado me ipsum domino Deo et milicie Iherusalem in vita et in morte cum omni meo avere mobile et immobile, et in die mei obitus mei sit tercia pars de omni meo avere milicie salvo jure ecclesie et annuatim facio per censum milicie medium quartallum de sigale.

Ego Petrus Ferrarii de Edors trado me ipsum in vita et in morte Deo et milicie Iherusalem cum omni meo avere mobile et immobile; et facio per censum annuatim milice unum quartallum sigalis, et in die obitus mei duas partes de omni meo avere relinquo milicie, salvo iure ecclesie. Et fratres milicie quando voluerint per fratrem recipiant me, et si mors mihi advenerit ante quam sim frater faciant consuetudinem mihi unius fratris.

¹⁵ Two other canceled words (after “et si”) are not legible here.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS CONSULTED

BARCELONA

Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó

CANCELLERIA REIAL

Pergamins

"Miró"
"Seniofred"
Borrell II
Ramon Borrell
Berenguer Ramon I
Ramon Berenguer I
Ramon Berenguer II
Berenguer Ramon II
Ramon Berenguer III
Ramon Berenguer IV
Alfons I
Pere I
Extra Inventari

Registres

no. 1, *Liber feudorum maior*
no. 2, *Liber testamentorum*

ORDRES MILITARS

Pergamins

Armari 2 (Susterris)
Armari 3 (Cervera)
Armari 4 (Tortosa)
Armari 11 (Gardeny)
Armari 20 (Celma)
Armari 28 (Testaments)

Registres

Armari 4 (Tortosa)
Armari 11 (Gardeny)

ORDRES RELIGIOSES

Pergamins

Sant Benet de Bages
Santa Cecília de Montserrat
Sant Cugat del Vallès
Sant Joan les Fonts
Sant Llorenç del Munt
Sant Llorenç prop Bagà
Sant Marçal de Montseny
Santa Maria d'Amer
Santa Maria de Cervià
Santa Maria de Montalegre
Sant Pere de Camprodó

Sin Procedencia

FONDS PATRIMONIALS

Marquesat de Sentmenat
Marquesat de Monistrol

GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA: Pergamins

Arxiu Diocesà de Barcelona

CANONICAT DE SANTA ANNA: Pergamins & Lligalls

Biblioteca de Catalunya

RESERVA: Pergamins

MONTSERRAT

Arxiu de l'Abadia de Montserrat

Pergamins

Sant Benet de Bages
Santa Maria (Santa Cecília) de Monserrat
Sant Cugat del Vallès
Sant Llorenç del Munt
Sant Llorenç prop Bagà
Santa Maria de Cervià
Sant Pere de Galligans

PARIS

Bibliothèque Nationale

Collection Baluze
Collection des Bénédictins
Collection Doat
Collection Moreau
Mélanges Colbert
MSS Lats.

PERPIGNAN

Archives Départementales des Pyrénées-Orientales

Série B (Archives Anciens du Domaine)
Série G (Elne, Corneilla de Conflent, etc.)
Série H (Canigou, Ripoll, etc.)
Série H-Provisoire (Templiers de Mas-Deu, etc.)
Série J (Cahiers de Fossa)
Non-Coté (Archives des Hôpitals de Perpignan, Ille)

Bibliothèque Municipale

MSS de Julien-Bernard Alart (MS 107 et al.)

POBLET

Arxiu de l'Abadia de Poblet

Pergamins (originals and photographs)

TOULOUSE

Centre d'Études Méridionales

Photocopies and microfilms, various

Archives de Midi-Pyrénées et de la Haute-Garonne

Série H (Saint-Sernin, Malte, etc.)

VIC

Arxius Eclesiàstics de Vic

Calaixos (Pergamins)

Liber Dotationum Antiquarum

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