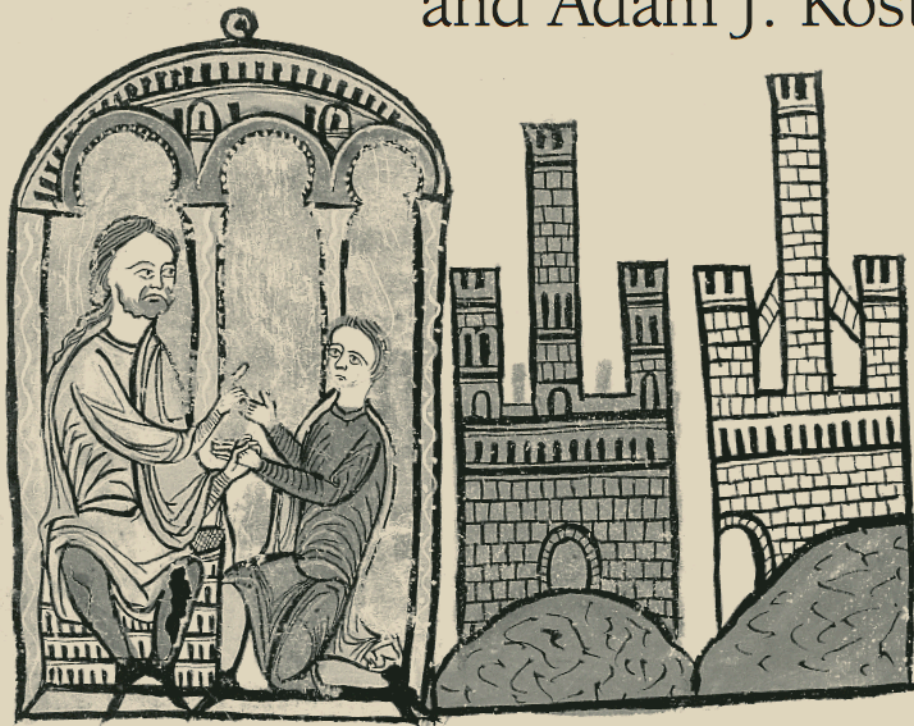




The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950–1350

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Essays in Honor of
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Chapter 8

Inheritance of Power in the House of Guifred the Hairy: Contemporary Perspectives on the Formation of a Dynasty

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When Alfons I, count of Barcelona and king of Aragón, died in 1196 he held a far-flung collection of territories from the Alps to the Andalusian frontier. To regulate succession to all these lands—and to secure his own salvation—he left an elaborate will, distributing lordships, lands, cash, and revenues to the Church, faithful functionaries, and of course to his sons.¹ Alfons epitomizes the successes or aspirations of rulers of his generation all over western Europe, with political and fiscal accomplishments rivaling those of his contemporary, Henry II of England. Yet he also lived in the region with one of the most prodigious documentary legacies of its era in Europe, including an unparalleled proportion of wills.² Alfons's kindred, encompassing the ruling elite of counts and prelates in Catalonia from the end of the ninth century onward, has left us the largest collection of wills of any contemporary family in Europe. Alfons was the successor to a ninth-century count, known by the twelfth century as Guifred “the Hairy” and revered as the founder of this ruling kindred in the Catalan counties. Guifred's known descendants (and descendants of his cousins), down to the year 1200, have left over one

¹ *Els testaments dels comtes de Barcelona i dels reis de la Corona d'Aragó*, ed. Antoni M. Udina i Abelló (Barcelona, 2001), nos. 14–17, pp. 106–32. See also Nathaniel Lane Taylor, “The Will and Society in Medieval Catalonia and Languedoc, 800–1200” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1995), Appendix B: “The Testaments of Count-King Alfons I (II): Manuscripts and Editions,” pp. 353–6.

² On the high volume of early charters extant in Catalonia see for example Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000–1200* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 16–17; on the high proportion of wills, see Taylor, “The Will and Society,” pp. 19–31. A collected edition of extant wills through the early eleventh century was published by Antoni M. Udina i Abelló: *La successió testada a la Catalunya altomedieval* (Barcelona, 1984).

hundred testamentary documents of various kinds.³ These wills provide a unique perspective on the self-perception of a ruling dynasty in the process of formation.

Why is this important? The house of Guifred the Hairy emerged during the epoch now defined as that of the *mutation féodale*, in which forms of public power and social order present in the Carolingian era were transformed by the parallel phenomena of political fragmentation and agrarian economic growth. This model holds that the tenth and eleventh centuries saw the eclipse of publicly conceived Carolingian (or older) institutions in favor of proprietary lordship exercised by individuals, who, succeeding to Carolingian comital and vicecomital offices, reformed them into new lordships supported by the proliferation of castles.⁴ Accompanying these social transformations were changes within the families exercising power. First, the establishment of familial succession to comital power in the place of royal appointment brought a measure of self-determination to those who had previously relied on royal patronage. Now-autonomous counts considered their *honores* to be fully alienable and experimented with co-lordship or partition of lordship in successive generations, seeking to provide for multiple heirs, in keeping with their native traditions of partible inheritance.⁵ Ultimately, however, in the wake of competition and economic pressure, aristocratic families abandoned co-lordship in favor of a vertical, dynastic structure of succession, restoring the indivisibility of lordship and assuming a new custom of primogeniture. The end result, by the twelfth century, was a reorientation of post-Carolingian society under dynasties identified with regional power bases and led by a single (male) head. This paradigm of familial and political reorientation derives from research in the 1960s by Georges Duby and others, research which was based on various regional studies

³ For the enumeration of these wills, and for some of the discussion that follows here, see Taylor, "The Will and Society," pp. 167–95, and figure 4:13, p. 326. While the kindred used for this study are actually the wider parentela of descendants of Guifred's apparent grandfather Belló, the "core" kindred was remembered from the twelfth century onward as that of Guifred the Hairy. On that commemorative legacy see especially Miquel Coll i Alentorn, *Guifré el Pelós en la historiografia i en la llegenda* (Barcelona, 1990).

⁴ See Thomas N. Bisson, "The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present*, no. 142 (1994), 6–42, and Stephen D. White et al., "Debate: The 'Feudal Revolution,'" *Past and Present*, nos. 152 (1996), 196–223 and 155 (1997), 208–25.

⁵ On the Visigothic custom of partible inheritance see P. D. King, *Law and Society in the Visigothic Kingdom* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 246–50, and Isabel Velázquez, "Jural Relations as an Indicator of Syncretism: From the Law of Inheritance to the *Dum inlicita* of Chindaswinth," in *The Visigoths from the Migration Period to the Seventh Century: An Ethnographic Perspective*, ed. Peter Heather (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 225–70. On continuity into post-Carolingian times see Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle: Croissance et mutations d'une société*, 2 vols. (Toulouse, 1975–76), 1:264–5.

of the western half of the Carolingian empire along the model championed by Duby with his 1953 study of the Maconnais.⁶

How was such a transition, and the creation of the new model of an aristocratic dynasty, understood by those directly involved in it? The way in which the lords functioned as a family group is surely fundamentally linked with their conceptualization and exercise of power. More than any other new princely dynasty of the *mutation féodale*, the kindred of Guifred the Hairy is well served by a range of source material through which one can approach the question of its self-image, despite the paucity of historical narratives from the time of its formation.⁷ Three distinct sources, down to the end of the twelfth century, will be considered here. The richest of these is the corpus of extant wills, which offer an almost continuous view of the changing family structure—real and projected—within that kindred. From generation to generation, counts and their near relatives considered how to shape the inheritance of power and property among their successors. Just how was rule over a county passed from parent to child, from testator to legatee? Could such power be subdivided? If so, what was to be the relation of one heir to another?

In contrast, two texts from the twelfth century show how the kindred was coming to be viewed in retrospect at the end of the period of its creation. One of these is no less rare in type than the wills: a dynastic cartulary. The *Liber feudorum maior* (*LFM*) is the fruit of Alfons's fiscal and archival initiatives, preserving and

⁶ Modern literature on this begins with the political narrative of Jan Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France, IX^e–X^e siècles* (Bruges, 1948) and many regional studies along the lines popularized by Georges Duby's *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953). A half-century of such studies are reviewed by Thomas N. Bisson, "La terre et les hommes: A Programme Fulfilled?" *French History* 14 (2000), 322–45. At the same time many shorter studies followed from the 1960s to 1980s examining the question of transformed family structures in the western half of the Carolingian empire, following the lead of German scholars of the so-called "Freiburg School," led by Karl Schmid, "Über die Struktur des Adels im früheren Mittelalter," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 19 (1959), 1–23, and Gerd Tellenbach, "Vom karolingischen Reichsadel zum deutschen Reichfürstenstand," in *Herrschaft und Staat im Mittelalter*, ed. H. Kämpf (Darmstadt, 1956), pp. 191–242. See the reflections of Bisson in "Nobility and Family in Medieval France: A Review Essay," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990), 597–613; Karl Ferdinand Werner, *La naissance de la noblesse: L'essor des élites politiques en Europe* (Paris, 1998); and now Constance Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia* (Philadelphia, 2001), esp. pp. 59–73 and 175–80. Bouchard, especially, cautions against generalizing the model of aristocratic transformation too broadly, though the paradigm seems validly applied in classic studies of the Midi and Catalonia, including Duby, *La société*; Bonnassie, *La Catalogne*; and now Claudie Duhamel-Amado, *Genèse des lignages méridionaux: L'aristocratie languedocienne du X^e au XII^e siècle* (Toulouse, 2001).

⁷ Thomas N. Bisson, "Unheroed Past: History and Commemoration in South Frankland before the Albigensian Crusades," *Speculum* 65 (1990), 281–308.

arranging important acts to serve the king as a fiscal and constitutional tool.⁸ The *LFM* occupies a dual role as evidence for family consciousness: while it is an important (in some cases the sole) source for some of the dynasty's wills dating back two hundred years, it also preserves many of the acts by which the terms, as well as the spirit, of earlier wills were misinterpreted or undone. In its implicit interpretation of past acts, the *Liber feudorum maior* shows a twelfth-century attitude toward that past—an attitude which is reflected also in the contemporary *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*.

As one of the classic princely genealogical narratives of its era, the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* belongs to a genre which is now the best-known type of source for dynastic self-perception, since research into northern French analogues was first published in the 1960s. Many similar examples of such narratives survive, penned for various regional comital families or their emulators all over the post-Carolingian West.⁹ The *Gesta* conforms to an established mold: a twelfth-century writer looks back over three centuries of his patron family's history and recasts it teleologically as that of a dynasty in the making.¹⁰ There is some value in considering the *Gesta* first, both because it conforms to a predictable genre bias, and because, as a narrative, it provides a concise, though subjective and incomplete, introduction to the kindred of Guifred the Hairy.

⁸ *Liber feudorum maior: Cartulario real que se conserva en el Archivo de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Francisco Miquel Rosell, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1945–47) [hereafter *LFM*, with document number]; see Adam J. Kosto, "The *Liber feudorum maior* of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), 1–22. On other dynastic cartularies, see Lucie Fossier and Olivier Guyotjeannin, "Cartulaires français laïques: Seigneuries et particuliers," in *Les Cartulaires: Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'École nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 du C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5–7 décembre 1991)*, ed. Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 379–410; and Theodore Evergates, "The Earliest Comital Cartulary from Champagne," in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto, 2002), pp. 128–36.

⁹ Georges Duby, "Remarques sur la littérature généalogique en France aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1967 de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris, 1967), pp. 335–45. Léopold Génicot, *Les généalogies*, Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental en Europe 15 (Turnhout, 1975; mise à jour, 1985). Much subsequent literature is covered in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *L'ombre des ancêtres: Essai sur l'imaginaire médiéval de la parenté* (Paris, 2000).

¹⁰ On the anachronisms or biases in a genealogical construction of the past see Gabrielle Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative," *History and Theory* 22 (1983), 43–53.

The *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*

The earliest portion of the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* was begun, probably by a monk at Ripoll, shortly after 1162.¹¹ It opens with a fabulous legend about Guifred the Hairy: the son of a count of Barcelona, Guifred is orphaned, dispossessed, and exiled by the king of France, but later returns to his father's old county, where he kills the current incumbent, avenging his own father's murder, and is acclaimed as count in the dead man's place. Guifred's violent advent is legitimized when he wins the grace and affection of the French king, as well as a formal regrant of the county, "receiving his *honor* from the king's hand."¹² Thus Guifred is remarkable both for having been born into power and for having won it by his own deeds, a dual trope also paralleled by other twelfth-century comital genealogies.

In the *Gesta* Guifred's opportunistic rise is transformed into permanent dynastic autonomy after a second legendary episode: Guifred, now count of Barcelona, learns of a Saracen assault while he is away in France. Because the Frankish king is unable to provide any assistance, he promises that if Guifred defends Barcelona by himself, "the *honor* of Barcelona would devolve for all time into his lordship and that of all his family ... by inheritance."¹³ "And this is how," explains the chronicler, "the *honor* of Barcelona passed from royal authority (*de potestate regali*) into the hands of our counts."¹⁴ More explicitly than the exile's triumphant vengeance, this episode lays a constitutional foundation for autonomous comital power, at once connecting Guifred to the Frankish monarchy and distancing him from it.

The paradoxical link and separation between Guifred and the Frankish monarchy are best reflected in the fourteenth-century illustration to a direct derivative of the *Gesta*'s foundation legend: a Catalan chronicle made for Guifred's descendant King Pere III.¹⁵ In this illuminated initial (Figure 8.1) Guifred is shown

¹¹ *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, ed. Lluís Barrau Dihigo and Jaume Massó Torrents (Barcelona, 1925). Josep M. Salrach, *El procés de formació nacional de Catalunya*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1978), 2:91–2, notes that the kernel of the Guifred legend may have come from Sant Miquel de Cuixà earlier in the twelfth century.

¹² *Gesta*, p. 5: "accipiens per manum eius honorem suum."

¹³ *Gesta*, p. 5: "Barchinonensis honor in eius dominium et totius generis sui in perpetuum deveniret; nam antea nemini per successionem generis idem comitatus datus, sed cui et quanto temporis spatio Francorum rex voluisset."

¹⁴ The constitutional element of autonomy is more explicitly celebrated in the thirteenth-century version known as the "definitive version" of the *Gesta*, which includes brief chapter rubrics. In it this episode is carefully titled "how Guifred came to hold the county as an *allod*"—that is, in unfettered proprietary lordship (*Gesta*, p. 24).

¹⁵ Salamanca, Bibl. Univ. MS 2664, f. 17v. See *Crònica general de Pere III el Cerimoniós, dita comunament Crònica de Sant Joan de la Penya*, ed. Amadeu-J. Soberanas Lleó

“receiving his *honor* from the king’s hand” in an obvious act of homage. And while the French king is not named in any version of the text, the heraldry (dimidiated arms of France and the Holy Roman Empire) and the imperial motif of the high closed crown both point clearly to Charlemagne, symbolizing to a fourteenth-century viewer the inheritance of lordship from an unimpeachable imperial source and further justifying the regalian status of Guifred’s descendants, since he has done homage not to a king but to an emperor.¹⁶

The *Gesta* continues from this foundation as a genealogy of power, laid out in logical segments reflecting temporal, spatial, and genealogical divisions within the Catalan march and Guifred’s kindred. First, two short paragraphs trace the first two generations of Guifred’s successors all together, rehearsing their filiation and succession to specific *pagi* in the march. The third to ninth generations of Guifred’s successors are then treated in four separate sections, corresponding to the territorial units in which distinct branches of the family became rooted as counts: Barcelona (including Girona and Osona), Besalú, Cerdanya, and Urgell. The account of Guifred’s earliest successors is marred by minor omissions, inaccuracies of filiation, and misattributions of *pagi*.¹⁷ This is understandable, as Guifred had over seven male-line grandsons who were counts, many simultaneously, and much remains uncertain about the nature of shared comital power among the counts of the first three generations after Guifred.¹⁸ The first genealogical chapter of the *Gesta* only imperfectly recalls an earlier vision of partible or even shared comital lordship.

But the theme of subdivision of Guifred’s extensive *honor* is met in the *Gesta* by a persistent counterpoint: a theme of reconsolidation of that power in the hands of the later counts of Barcelona, noted as Guifred’s “worthier and longer

(Barcelona, 1961), pp. 191–3, and *Medieval Catalonia: From the 20th May to the 10th of August, Barcelona, 1992* (Barcelona, 1992), pp. 250–51.

¹⁶ For analogous iconography of Charlemagne in the late fourteenth century, see Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der “Nine Worthies” in Literatur und bildender Kunst* (Göttingen, 1971), esp. plates 1 and 3, and *The Belles heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, ed. Millar Meiss and Elizabeth H. Beatson (New York, 1974), f. 174.

¹⁷ Including the mistaken assignment of Sunifred, son of Guifred I, as a count of Barcelona, which persisted until the 1810s, when the parchments of the *Cancellaria* series of the Arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó were reclassified chronologically by comital reign, incorporating the erroneous succession. The archivist responsible for this regnal classification, Próspero de Bofarull i Mascaró, himself corrected the historical record in *Los condes de Barcelona vindicados*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1836), 1:64–138, but did not reclassify the parchments.

¹⁸ Three sons of Guifred’s son Miró are called “count” in a charter of 941 (Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, “Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc abans l’any mil: Eixalada-Cuixà,” *Analecta montserratensia* 8 [1954–5], no. 66, p. 286). In the next generation the future bishop Oliba of Vic briefly shared comital power with two brothers but may not have had a distinct territorial responsibility; see Paul Freedman’s contribution above, “A Charter of Oliba,” pp. 121–3.

posterity (*dignior et longior posteritas*).¹⁹ Presaged in the legend of Guifred himself, the theme is brought out at the ends of the sections on Besalú and Cerdanya, with the heir of each county bequeathing or granting the county to Ramon Berenguer III, count of Barcelona, “because one and the same *honor* had long ago been shared among their ancestors”—plainly a justification for consolidation.²⁰

Sections of the *Gesta* composed later sharpen the theme of consolidation and underline a new power differential between the counts of Barcelona (now kings) and their lesser comital cousins. Part of the section on Alfons I, added at the outset of the thirteenth century, dwells on the king’s control of Provence. The earliest redaction of the *Gesta*, while noting the acquisition of Provence by Ramon Berenguer III in right of his wife, did not mention that he had passed it on to a second son, who founded a branch of the family there. A generation later Alfons I recovered it from a childless cousin, then ceded it “as his share” to his own younger brother Ramon Berenguer, “who held it most freely while he lived.”²¹ On the latter’s death (again childless) Alfons “recovered all of Provence and held it while he lived, until he gave it as his share (*pro portione*) to his [second] son to rule.”²² This account casts Alfons’s actions as those of a monarch who retains firm authority over other members of his family, who may or may not receive *portiones* at the king’s pleasure. The monarch’s hegemony over his family is reinforced with the curious statement about another younger brother of the king, Sanç, of whom the *Gesta* states that “Alfons never liked him, and would give him no portion of his realm.”²³

The predominant themes of passage of power in the *Gesta* are clear: first the *Gesta* justifies the independent nature and heritability of comital power, paving the way for the count of Barcelona’s elevation to royal status. Second, while glossing over a period of subdivision of *honores* among Guifred’s grandsons, it justifies the return of those divisions into the hands of Guifred’s “worthier and longer posterity,” the counts of Barcelona. The *Gesta* offers a well constructed vision of the origin and parameters of comital power as understood in the twelfth century, an instructive contrast when held against the extant wills of members of the comital kindred.

¹⁹ *Gesta*, p. 6.

²⁰ *Gesta*, p. 10: “quia unus idemque honor...inter atavos eorum extiterat.”

²¹ *Gesta*, p. 14: “Postea vero Raimundo Berengarii fratri suo, inclito iuveni, Provinciae ducatum pro portione tribuit; qui liberalissime tenuit dum vixit.”

²² *Gesta*, p. 14: “Post hec autem Ildefonsus rex Aragonensis omnem Provinciam recuperavit ac tenuit dum vixit, usque pro portione ad regendum Ildefonso filio suo tradidit.”

²³ *Gesta*, p. 14: “Fratrem quoque suum iam dicti Ildefonso regis Aragonensis, Sancium nomine, nunquam dilexit et nullam portionem sui regni illi dare voluit.”

Guifred's Kindred and Their Wills

The descendants of Guifred and his cousins encompass more than the core branches chronicled in the *Gesta*. The schematic genealogical table produced here (Figure 8.2) shows something of the known many-branched kindred of Guifred the Hairy and his cousins; the broad extent of their lordship, secular and ecclesiastical, over the entire Catalan province; and the remarkable frequency with which their wills survive. It also marks the customs of sharing and partition of comital power, which will be discussed below; and it shows when these customs stopped, after which each branch was ensconced as a “vertical” dynasty in its own particular portion of the province.²⁴ Guifred’s own descendants were masters of the counties of central and Pyrenean Catalonia: Barcelona, Vic, Girona, Urgell, Cerdanya, and Besalú. From the mid-tenth century onward, the counts of Pallars and viscounts of Narbonne (counts in all but name) were also his descendants, through two granddaughters. Guifred’s cousins and their descendants also held the counties of Empúries-Roussillon to the East and Carcassonne-Razès to the North. In many cases throughout this period various branches of this kindred were rivals or enemies, though the *Gesta* at least shows a recognition of common ancestry among the descendants of Guifred himself. Yet whether they recognized kinship or not, nearly all family groups connected to this great kindred exercised the same strategies of power which we can see traced in their surviving wills.

The will, from 925, of Guifred the Hairy’s son Miró, count of Cerdanya and Besalú, is the earliest non-clerical will to survive from this family, and one of the very earliest from the entire region.²⁵ It may be an indication of old-fashioned ideas of a count’s *honor* as a position of royal or public trust that this document remains resolutely private, with bequests only to the Church, daughters, a mistress, and a bastard son. Miró’s legitimate sons were not given property or power in this document, although they are named as reversionary heirs for some of the other bequests, and also appear together in the pious bequest of a tithe of “all that God will provide on my allods which remain in the power of my legitimate sons.”²⁶ Though three of these four “legitimate sons”—all counts—left wills of their own of which some trace survives, none of them explicitly transmits a county or comital

²⁴ Based on Taylor, “The Will and Society,” p. 326, and also tables and reconstructions by Martin Aurell, “Jalons pour une enquête sur les stratégies matrimoniales des comtes catalans (IX^e–XI^e s.),” in *Symposium internacional sobre els orígens de Catalunya (segles VIII–XI)*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1991), 1:281–364, and idem, *Les noces du comte: Mariage et pouvoir en Catalogne (785–1213)* (Paris, 1995).

²⁵ Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los condes*, 1:88–90.

²⁶ This sentence begins with a lacuna in the defective document: “fruges quod Deus dederit de alodes meos qui remanent in potestate filios meos legitimos vel uxori mee dent ipsa undecima parte propter remedium anime mee aut ipsum precium per sigulos [sic] annos” (Bofarull, *Los condes*, 1:90).

office.²⁷ In fact, no will before 990 explicitly bequeaths or partitions comital power. This deficit has hampered our ability to understand the apparently collegial sharing of comital power among Guifred's descendents in the tenth century, a custom which yielded to discrete territorial assignments after 990.

It is remarkable that the first extant testamentary bequest of comital power, or of a "county" as property, comes not from Guifred's male-line descendants, but from a woman: Adelaide, viscountess of Narbonne, daughter-in-law of Guifred's granddaughter Richildis. In 990, as a widow, she bequeathed, among other legacies, "to my son Raimond, the viscounty of Narbonne and of the Narbonnais, with those *censos* and *districtos* and with the *honor* that the viscount had there or ought to have had, and with the *fiscs*."²⁸ From this year onward surviving wills give more direct testimony to the conception and transfer of comital power, either as *comitatus* or *honor*.

At almost the same moment comes the first extant will spelling out the partition of comital power among a count's sons. The will, from 989, of Count Gausfred I of Empúries-Roussillon, opens with pious bequests and endowments of wife and daughters, and then speaks indirectly of a major division in a reversionary clause:

After [my wife's] death those *allods* which are in the county of Roussillon and in the county of Peralada ... shall pass to that son to whom I will give the castle of Oltretera with the county of Roussillon; and my other *allods* which are in the county of Peralada and in the county of Empúries shall pass to that son to whom I will give the *civitas* of Empúries with the county of Empúries and with the county of Peralada.²⁹

²⁷ See Taylor, "Will and Society," pp. 177–9. They all did bequeath lands described as "allods," a term once thought to signal a despoiled fisc, yet surely not so: see Élisabeth Magnou-Nortier, "Note sur le sens du mot 'fevum' en Septimanie et dans la Marche d'Espagne à la fin du X^e et au début du XI^e siècle," *Annales du Midi* 76 (1964), 141–52.

²⁸ Claude de Vic and Joseph Vaissette, *Histoire générale de Languedoc avec des notes et les pièces justificatives*, new ed., 16 vols. (Toulouse, 1872–1904) [hereafter *HGL*], 5, preuves, no. 151: "Ad Raymundum vicecomitem filium meum, dono ipsum vicecomitatum de Narbona seu de Narbonense, cum ipsos censos et districtos, et cum ipsum honorem qui vicecomes inde habuit vel habere debet, et cum ipsos fiscos." This raises the question of the nature of Adelaide's tenure of the viscounty, which cannot have been merely a dower interest. On the norms of comital power in dower in the region see Aurell, *Les noces*, pp. 117–23 and 221–55 (on Ermessend of Carcassonne).

²⁹ María Isabel Simó Rodríguez, "Aportación a la documentación condal catalana," in *Miscelánea de estudios dedicada al profesor Antonio Marín Ocete*, 2 vols. (Granada, 1974), 2:1012–36, no. 11 (a. 989): "Et post obitum suum ipsi alodes qui sunt in comitatu Resolionense et in comitatu Petralatense, id est...[three major allods are defined], remaneant ad ipsum filium meum cui ego dimiserō chastro Vultraria cum ipso comitatu Resolionense; et alios meos alodes que sunt in comitatu Petralatense et in comitatu Empuritano remaneat

The tenses used here suggest that Gausfred intended to vest his two sons with comital power in a separate, subsequent act (or two acts), perhaps because an outright gift, accompanied by an investiture and acclamation, might have greater ceremonial impact among witnesses than a post-obitum transfer.³⁰ Nevertheless this will, like that of Adalaide of Narbonne, certainly describes comital power as a private, heritable, and divisible property—an appurtenance attached to a *civitas* or castle.

Among all other contemporary divisions of comital power taking place within the kindred around the millennium,³¹ the only one which survives as an explicit act is that effected by Roger the Old, count of Carcassonne and Razès, dating probably to 1002, called simply “a charter of division between my sons Raimond and Bernard.”³² On Roger’s death Raimond was to receive the city and county of Carcassonne outright (*civitas Carcassonne cum ipso comitatu*), as well as Roger’s portion of the castle of Rennes-le-Château, with its county of Razès, shared with Roger’s brother Count Odo. The second son, Bernard, was to receive the county of Couserans and the castle and lands of Foix. Unusually, the tradition of partial or shared comital power in Carcassonne and Razès would last for generations, past the time in 1068–70 when the count of Barcelona sought to purchase rights to the county from various descendants.³³

By the mid-eleventh century the tradition of division of comital honors began to reach its logical limits. As Figure 8.2 shows, comital partition becomes rare thereafter. More numerous wills show how it is supplanted with various impositions of inequality among counts’ sons.³⁴ The wills of two brothers, Bernat Tallaferró of Besalú (d. 1020) and Guifred of Cerdanya (d. 1035), provide complementary views of the limits of comital subdivision. Both counts turned aggressively toward episcopal placement as a means of endowing younger sons.

ad ipsum filium meum cui ego dimisero Empurias civitate cum ipso comitatu Empuritano et cum ipso comitatu Petralatense”

³⁰ A parallel is the 993 will of Borrell II, count of Barcelona, which divides allodial properties and executorial duties among two of his sons, already styled “count” and later ruling Barcelona and Urgell separately, but which passes no rule explicitly (Cebrià Baraut, ed., “Els documents, dels anys 981–1010, conservats a l’Arxiu Capitular de la Seu d’Urgell,” *Urgellia* 3 [1980], 7–166, no. 232 at pp. 63–5).

³¹ Divisions: Empúries-Roussillon, 990; Besalú-Cerdanya, 990; Barcelona-Urgell, 993; and Pallars Jussà-Pallars Sobirà, 1010. See the classic dynastic summary of these counties in Santiago Sobrequés, *Els barons de Catalunya*, 4th ed. (Barcelona, 1989), pp. 1–28.

³² *HGL* 5, no. 162: “Ego Rogerius comes facio brevem divisionalem inter filios meos Raimundo et Bernardo.”

³³ For the obscure history of Roger’s and Odo’s descendants, the account of *HGL* 4:109–26 is well contextualized by Fredric L. Cheyette, “The ‘Sale’ of Carcassonne to the Counts of Barcelona (1067–1070) and the Rise of the Trencavels,” *Speculum* 63 (1988), 826–64.

³⁴ Cf. Duhamel-Amado, *Genèse des lignages*, pp. 340–48, on parallel changes in the Biterrois.

Guifred bought three sons sees outside the ambit of his own *pagi* (including, famously, the archbishopric of Narbonne for his ten-year-old son Guifred), while Bernat Tallaferro worked to elevate Besalú to cathedral status so he could benefice two of his sons there. In his will Bernat stated that his youngest son, Henry, should become bishop of Besalú after the current bishop, his older son Guifred, with Henry's entrance fee to be paid by his eldest brother, the future count Guillem, who was the only son to inherit comital power.³⁵ Two younger lay sons were endowed with arrays of allodial lands, strategically placed on the borders of the county. While named as residual heirs, they were nevertheless to be nothing more than castellans or marcher vassals of their comital brother.

Count Guifred of Cerdanya was able to divide three *pagi* among two sons in his will of 1035.³⁶ Cerdanya and Conflent passed to his oldest son Ramon, while the Berguedà went to a second son, Bernat, with a third son, Berenguer, as residual legatee. The will then stated that the Berguedà and any other possessions of Bernard or Berenguer were to be placed "in the keeping and gift of my son Ramon, until twelve years from this past Easter."³⁷ Another sort of restriction was placed on bequests to the two clerical sons: Guillem, later bishop of Urgell, and Guifred, already archbishop of Narbonne, were both endowed with allodial lands including churches with their revenues, in each case with the stipulation that it all be held without the installation of vassals (*sine ullo fevatario*), "and let no one build a castle there without the consent of the count of Cerdanya," guaranteeing the count's strategic mastery over unfortified lands.³⁸ A sixth son, Ardouin, was only given lands described as *fevum*, which appears to be the first non-allodial property bequeathed to a count's son in any of the wills in this region. While the appearance of *fevum* may be only a shift in language, it is suggestive that this is also the first comital will explicitly to differentiate among lay sons who inherit the title of count and those who do not, and the first will explicitly to place all younger sons under the power of a single comital successor. Each of these forms of differentiation would henceforth be normative in the comital wills.

From 1035 to 1078 partition of comital power coexisted with increasingly explicit power differentials between older and younger sons. The will of Count Ponç of Empúries in 1078 is one of the last wills to effect a partition of a previously

³⁵ LFM 497; 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. 117–28.

³⁶ LFM 693 (a. 1035).

³⁷ LFM 693: "Volo eciam ut hec omnia de comitatu, scilicet, Bergitano vel filiis meis Bernardo et Berengario sit in tuicione vel donacione filii mei Raimundi usque de ista Pascha transacta qui fuit .iii. kal aprelis ad .xii. annos."

³⁸ LFM 693: "Hec omnia mando venire in sua potestate [that is, both Guillem and Guifred—the sentence is repeated] sine ullo fevatario, et ut nemo ibi construat castrum sine consensu comitis Cerritaniae."

integral comital region.³⁹ Two sons, Hug and Berenguer, were willed Ponç's entire comital *honor* and landed property together, including the counties of Peralada and Empúries and a long list of cities, lordships, and castles, as well as half of the county of Roussillon. No terms of division or co-rule are stated, though Hug's primacy among the two heirs is hinted in the condition that

the *honor* that Guislabert [the count of Roussillon] and his father held from me, I give to Hug alone, so that Guislabert, and whoever will be count of Roussillon after him, will hold it of Hug and be his men.⁴⁰

So while the fealty of the counts of Roussillon was indivisible, presumably the rest of the inheritance could be shared. But not equally, as it turned out: Hug and his descendants remained sole counts of Empúries, while Berenguer and his offspring were viscounts of Peralada.

Among the counts of Barcelona themselves (the "worthier posterity" of the *Gesta*) the same tensions in inheritance strategy appear after 1030. In 1032 Count Berenguer Ramon I partitioned his counties by will among three young sons, Ramon, Sanç, and Guillem.⁴¹ To Ramon, the eldest, he left the "city and county of Girona with its bishopric" and "the city and county and diocese of Barcelona, with the county of Barcelona as far as the river Llobregat" to the west. Sanç was to have "the county of Barcelona from the river Llobregat to the border with pagan lands" and the city of Olerdola, though Berenguer Ramon willed that he should hold it "under obligation and protection of my son Ramon," apparently indefinitely.⁴² A

³⁹ *Catalunya romànica*, 27 vols. (Barcelona, 1984–98), 8:76–7. The will was not known to Sobrequés, *Els barons*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ *Catalunya romànica*, 8:76–7: "Honorem quem Guilbertus [i.e. the count of Roussillon] et pater suus tenent per me dimitto Ugoni soli ut Guilbertus aut qui comes Rossilionensis fuerit teneant per eum et sint sui homines ..."

⁴¹ *Diplomatari i escrits literaris de l'abat i bisbe Oliba*, ed. Eduard Junyent i Subirà (Barcelona, 1992), no. 127 (a. 1032), with a corresponding probate charter now published by Udina, *Els testaments comtals*, no. 9 (a. 1035). Bernat, a fourth son, born after 1032, is not in the will, though all four brothers appear in their grandmother Ermessend's will of 1058 (*LFM* 491).

⁴² *Diplomatari*, no. 127: "Et concedo ad filium meum maiorem, cui nomen est Reimundus, ipsam civitatem de Gerunda, et ipsum comitatum Gerundensem, et cum ipso episcopatu, et cum finibus et terminis et adiacentiis eius. Et concedo eidem supradicto filio meo ipsam civitatem de Barchinona cum ipso episcopatu integro, et ipsum comitatum usque ad flumen Lubricatum. Et concedo ad filium meum Sancium, ipsum comitatum Barchinonensem cum ipsa civitate de Olerdula, de flumine Lubricato usque ad paganorum terram, cum ipsis meis dominicaturis, et cum ipsis obsequiis hominum omnium qui ibi habitant. Haec omnia sic habeat Sancius supra dictus filius meus sub obsequio et baiulia filii mei Reimundi predicti. Et concedo ad uxorem meum Guiliam comitissam, ipsum comitatum Ausonensem cum ipso episcopatu, et cum ipsis hominibus, et ipsis dominicaturis, ut haec omnia habeat si virum

third son, Guillem, with connections in Osona through his mother Guisla de Lluça, was to be given the county of Osona (after his mother, who was to hold it in dower), also holding it under his brother.⁴³ The terminology of subordination for younger sons is clear, yet since there was no indication that the bequests were only life tenures, they might have resulted, as in earlier generations, in the foundation of new parallel branches of the kindred.⁴⁴ Yet Sanç and Guillem faced an ambitious lord in the person of their eldest brother. Neither of the younger sons ever appears as “count,” and in 1050 and 1054, respectively, they surrendered any claim to their inheritances to their elder brother in exchange for quite modest settlements, retiring to religion (Sanç) and obscurity (Guillem).⁴⁵

Their brother Ramon Berenguer I went on to a well studied campaign of consolidation of lordship, securing fealty from noble and castellan lineages throughout the lands in his power.⁴⁶ Nevertheless his own will of 1076 reveals he was a traditionalist in his belief in comital *condominium*.⁴⁷ His will, along with that of Ponç of Empúries in 1078, represents the last document to effect partition or sharing of comital power within the core lands of the Catalan province.⁴⁸ His

non apprehenderit, cum filio suo Gilelmo, quem ex ea genui: si autem alium virum apprehenderit remaneant hec omnia supra dicto filio meo et suo Guilelmo, ita ut ipse hec omnia abeat sub obsequio et baiulia filii mei Remundi predicti.” On the sons see Aurell, *Les noces*, pp. 127–8. The *Gesta* (pp. 6–7) remembered Sanç not as count but in his later religious identity as prior of Sant Benet de Bages.

⁴³ Guisla soon surrendered her dower rights to Osona on her remarriage into the house of the viscounts of Barcelona (Aurell, *Les noces*, pp. 229–30), and Guillem Berenguer was never recognized as count in Osona. The *Gesta* calls Guillem “count of Manresa” (p. 6) and notes only that he left no descendants.

⁴⁴ Aurell (*Les noces*, p. 127) characterizes the eventual bequest of Osona to Guillem as a life tenure (like his mother’s dower interest), but the will places no limits on the eventual bequest.

⁴⁵ In their quitclaims they do not state what their father had willed them, nor do they refer to the count as their brother; see below, p. 140. Sanç’s quitclaim: *LFM* 36, and *Els pergamins de l’Arxiu Comtal de Barcelona de Ramon Borrell a Ramon Berenguer I*, ed. Gaspar Feliu et al., 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1999) [hereafter *PAC*], no. 362. It was preceded by an undated loyalty oath to his brother (*PAC* 359) and was reciprocal with a grant of the homage of one man (*PAC* 363). Guillem quitclaimed his inheritance in the same way in 1054 (*PAC* 440). Guillem’s will of 1064 in favor of his brother’s Benedictine priory of Sant Benet de Bages shows a very modest estate indeed: Manuel Rovira i Solà, “El testament i la mort de Guillem Berenguer (1064–1065), fill de Berenguer Ramon I,” *Ausa* 7 (1972–74), 257–63.

⁴⁶ Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 160–63.

⁴⁷ The interlocking purchases of partial comital rights to Carcassonne in 1067–70, memorialized in the *LFM*, also attest to Ramon Berenguer’s belief in co-lordship. See Cheyette, “The ‘Sale’ of Carcassonne.”

⁴⁸ *LFM* 492 (a. 1076). The only later *condominia* are within Pallars Jussà (Sobrequès, *Els barons*, pp. 26–7), for which no documentation survives, or for the exogamous heiress-marriages of the counts of Urgell and Barcelona.

counties—“all his *honor* which he had in all places”—were to pass *en bloc* to his two sons to be shared.⁴⁹ The permanence of this projected co-lordship was underscored by the reversionary clause that a surviving brother, while temporarily ruling the portion of his dead brother, must pass it on his own death to the brother’s son.⁵⁰ Yet tempering this perplexing vision of a dual rule, a single brief clause ensures the subordination of one son to the other:

...and Berenguer, his son, shall have all that *honor* and all the things belonging to the *honores* and lands, in the same way Ramon has his share, except for one thing: that Berenguer shall not install any lord on those lands or *honores* (*quod non faciat de ipsas terras atque honores ullum seniorem*).⁵¹

Given that the “making of lords” was one of the chief mechanisms of their father’s own exercise of power, his intention may have been that the second son would have little independent power as co-count. In contrast to Ramon Berenguer’s record of shrewd manipulation of his vassals while alive, this testamentary *condominium* seems naive. At any rate, the fratricide of 1082 must have demonstrated the practical flaws of this aging paradigm.⁵²

The next century saw a widening gulf between the regalian pretensions of the counts of Barcelona and their neighbors, now increasingly cast as subordinates whether or not they had made oaths of fealty to Barcelona, as some did from the time of Ramon Berenguer I. The extended comital kindred was now recognizable as a cluster of vertical dynasties—four of which, by chance or by design, came to an end in the twelfth century, in each case with cession of rule into the hands of the count of Barcelona, some by the very testamentary instruments which had earlier been the vehicle of subdividing comital rule.⁵³ Comital wills of the twelfth century

⁴⁹ *LFM* 492: “Primum, quoque, dimisit duobus filiis suis, scilicet Raimundo Berengarii et Berengario Raimundi, omnem suum honorem quem habebat in omnibus locis, id est ...”

⁵⁰ *LFM* 492: “Et de istis suis filiis duobus, qualiscumque prius moriatur, hoc totum quod suprascriptum est de suo honore, remaneat ad alterum; et si ipse, qui prius mortuus fuerit de iam dictis filiis suis duobus, habuerit filium de legitimo coniugio, teneat frater eius, qui vivus fuerit, de predictis filiis in vita sua ipsam medietatem quam pertinebit ad eius nepotem, et ad obitum ipsius revertatur ad ipsum suum nepotem ...”

⁵¹ *LFM* 492: “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 seniorem.”

⁵² On the settlements after the assassination of Ramon Berenguer II see Sobrequés, *Els grans comtes de Barcelona*, 4th ed. (Barcelona, 1985), pp. 109–13; Kosto, *Making Agreements*, pp. 164–5.

⁵³ Besalú in 1111 (marriage settlement between Bernat III and Ramon Berenguer III, *LFM* 506); Cerdanya in 1118 (will of Guillem Jordà, a. 1102, *LFM* 695); Roussillon in 1172 (will of Gerau II, *LFM* 792); and Pallars Jussà in 1192 (donation by Dolça de So, too late for inclusion in the *LFM*; see Ferran Valls Taberner, “Els comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça a partir

from Barcelona, Roussillon, Urgell, and Pallars reflect with unanimity what Martin Aurell has called “the triumph of primogeniture.”⁵⁴

The wills of the counts of Barcelona themselves reflect the increasing confidence of regalian rulers setting up apanages following successful acquisitions through exogamous heiress-marriage. The wills of Ramon Berenguer III, while bequeathing the Catalan counties as an indivisible unit (consisting of “all the *honores* of the March, and of Spain”) to an eldest son, could endow another son with “all my *honor* of Provence,” safely separated from the home counties, with no terminology of subordination.⁵⁵ Yet the will of Ramon Berenguer IV, in granting Carcassonne (then in the hands of the rival Trencavels) along with Cerdanya to a second son, explicitly subordinates him to his royal brother: “and for it he shall do homage and fealty and serve him.”⁵⁶

The most watertight mechanism for guaranteeing fraternal subordination arrived in Catalonia with the Roman juridical revival of the late twelfth century.⁵⁷ The *heres*—a single individual, assuming the estate and obligations of a deceased testator entire—must have seemed a natural extension of the existing formulae—*baiulia*, oaths, and *convenientiae*—now used to guarantee the primacy of the eldest son. The will of King Alfons I is the first comital will in the area to include the formal naming of such an heir (“I institute my son King Pere my heir in all my realm.”)⁵⁸ Among the long list of counties in this *regnum* the inclusion of Cerdanya underscores a new conception of pan-comital power already hinted at in the *Gesta*. For it implies that Alfons’s own youngest brother Sanç, intermittently appearing as count of Cerdanya in fulfillment of their father’s will, held it only as subordinate of his nephew the new king. There was no possibility that this appanage could be interpreted as a division: Sanç himself does not appear in his brother’s will, which

del segle XI,” in *Obras selectas*, 4 [Madrid, 1961], pp. 158–9). Urgell, Empúries and Pallars Sobirà retained independent counts but came effectively under royal control in the thirteenth century. See Thomas N. Bisson, *The Medieval Crown of Aragon: A Short History* (Oxford, 1986), pp. 48–9.

⁵⁴ Aurell, *Les noces*, pp. 127–8.

⁵⁵ Bofarull y Mascaró, *Los condes*, 2:171–3 (a. 1122); and Próspero de Bofarull y Mascaró et al., eds., *Colección de documentos inéditos del Archivo general de la Corona de Aragón* (Barcelona, 1847–), 4, no. 1 (a. 1131); probated in *LFM* 493 (a. 1131).

⁵⁶ *LFM* 494 (a. 1162): “ex inde faciat ei hominum et fidelitatem et serviat ei.”

⁵⁷ André Gouron, “Les étapes de la pénétration du droit romain au XII^e siècle dans l’ancienne Septimanie,” *Annales du Midi* 69 (1957), 103–20.

⁵⁸ Udina i Abelló, *Els testaments*, no. 14: “Ad ultimum vero in hoc presenti testamento illustrem filium meum regem Petrum instituo heredem in toto regno meo Aragonis cum omnibus suis terminis et pertinenciis, et in toto comitatu Barchinone cum omnibus terminis et pertinenciis suis et cum omni suo iure et directis,” etc., separately naming Roussillon, Cerdanya and Conflent, Pallars, and “tota Cathalonia.” A second son was granted Provence (in which he had already been installed since 1185) with effective independence, as had also been seen under Ramon Berenguer III. See above, p. 129.

corroborated (and may have provoked) the *Gesta*'s admission that the king did not like him and would give him no power.⁵⁹ With the recognizably regalian, dynastic nature of Alfons's conception of his power, a long and laborious transition to primogeniture and pan-comital sovereignty is finally complete.

The *Liber feudorum maior* and the Triumph of Primogeniture

For the better exercise of this new regalian power of Alfons I, Ramon de Caldes assembled the *Liber feudorum maior*, a massive dossier of lordship which not surprisingly contains wills or quasi-wills of nineteen counts or countesses (or kings of Aragón) spanning nearly two hundred years.⁶⁰ The geographic organization of the *LFM* is readily apparent, with twelve great regional sections covering Aragón to Provence, with acts arrayed by castle or lordship within each section.⁶¹ Within the comital nucleus of Barcelona, Girona, and Osona in New Catalonia, and within each additional county or region, the *LFM* is designed as a working document to support the king's explicit power in each named locale. Yet the cartulary as a whole also supports the same sweeping claim to regalian power that is visible in the 1196 will of King Alfons.⁶² This conception is not only seen in the comprehensive geographic extent of the *LFM*, but also in its inclusion of wills and related charters which trace the transmission of comital power within each county, as well as the passage of that power into the hands of the house of Barcelona.

Several of the sections of the *LFM* either begin or end with a "historical" sequence of comital wills. The most grandiose series falls at the end of the section covering the comital nucleus of Barcelona, Girona, and Osona, rubricated "Here begin the wills of the counts of Barcelona."⁶³ The *LFM* holds similar groups for Aragón,⁶⁴ Pallars Jussà,⁶⁵ Besalú,⁶⁶ Cerdanya,⁶⁷ and Roussillon.⁶⁸ In each case, the sequence ultimately supports the overlordship of the king, either through eventual

⁵⁹ See *Fiscal Accounts of Catalonia under the Early Count-Kings (1151–1213)*, ed. Thomas N. Bisson, 2 vols. (Berkeley, 1984), 1:194.

⁶⁰ There are but two non-comital wills in the *LFM*, filed among charters for specific castles with which they are concerned (*LFM* 347 and 431).

⁶¹ *LFM*, 1:xviii–xxviii.

⁶² This is particularly underscored by the placement of documents showing the inheritance of the Aragonese crown at the beginning of the volume (*LFM* 6–18), though the cartulary is not otherwise concerned with enumerating the rights and revenues of the crown in Aragonese lands (Kosto, "Liber," p. 6).

⁶³ At *LFM* 490: "Incipiunt testamenta comitum Barcinonensium."

⁶⁴ *LFM* 6–7 and 16–18.

⁶⁵ *LFM* 142–4.

⁶⁶ *LFM* 496–7 and 505–10.

⁶⁷ *LFM* 693–6.

⁶⁸ *LFM* 787–93.

bequest or grant of that inherited power into the hands of Barcelona,⁶⁹ or at least recognition of Barcelona's role as protector or overlord.⁷⁰ This intention is clearly seen in the rubric for the entire section on Roussillon: "Here begin the charters of the county of Roussillon, which count Guerau gave and bequeathed to the venerable Alfons, king of Aragon and marquis of Provence."⁷¹

Yet many of these wills retained little intrinsic evidentiary value in the late twelfth century.⁷² The oldest wills, in particular, were not only replete with juridically or fiscally moot data (e.g., pious cash bequests), but more importantly they exemplified the now anachronistic custom of partition of comital power.⁷³ Given their placement at the beginning or the end of various series of more utilitarian documents, these comital wills may have been intended for celebratory contemplation, a rhetorical if not juridical affirmation of power. This is reflected in the illuminated miniature at the beginning of the section on Besalú, in which Count Bernat Tallaferro is shown passing his patrimony (or part of it) into the hands of his son, the future count Guillem Bernat (Figure 8.3). The placement of figures is typical of many of the *LFM*'s illuminations, but while most of these depict the rendering of homage of vassal to lord, here the seated figure is gesturing to the patrimony, and the power/size differential is merely generational. As a ceremonial narrative of power, the testamentary sections of the *LFM* closely correlate to the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*, both in their celebration of the various branches of Guifred's kindred, and in their emphasis on the passage of *dominium* from those branches "back" to the house of Barcelona itself.

⁶⁹ Aragón (donations by King Ramiro II, *LFM* 7; donation and will of Queen Petronilla, *LFM* 16–18), Besalú (conditional donation of Bernat III, *LFM* 506), Cerdanya (will of Guillem Jordà, *LFM* 695), Roussillon (will of Gerau II, *LFM* 792), and Carcassonne (represented not by inheritance or grant, but by the series of *cartae acquisitionum*, *LFM* 812–28, and numerous later oaths and agreements, on which see Cheyette, "The 'Sale' of Carcassonne").

⁷⁰ E.g., the will of Oria, countess of Pallars Jussà (*LFM* 144), though the *LFM* does not contain the outright donation of 1192. With these wills one also finds other types of document which collectively support the definition of comital lordship and its passage to Barcelona. For example: the instruments by which the will of Alfonso the Battler is resolved in favor of Ramon Berenguer IV (*LFM* 10–12); a memorandum defining the territorial limits of the Berguedà (*LFM* 696); papal letters disinheriting the illegitimate sons of the count of Roussillon (*LFM* 789–91); and an oath by the men of Perpignan recognizing the lordship of King Alfons (*LFM* 793).

⁷¹ At *LFM* 697: "Incipiunt carte comitatus Rossilionis quem Guirardus, comes, venerabili Ildefonso, regi Aragonis ac marchioni Provincie, dedit et reliquit."

⁷² As Kosto has observed in other cases within the *LFM* ("*Liber*," pp. 10–11).

⁷³ E.g., Bernat Tallaferro of Besalú (a. 1020, *LFM* 497), Guifred of Cerdanya (a. 1035, *LFM* 695), and Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona (a. 1076, *LFM* 492); the enigmatic will of King Alfonso I of Aragón (a. 1134, *LFM* 6) is hardly analogous.

The *LFM*'s celebratory theme of passage of regalian power into the hands of the counts of Barcelona may be epitomized by an unfinished miniature which illustrates one of the only documents to fall wholly outside the regular geographic organization of the cartulary. At the beginning of the section on Pallars is an odd insertion, noted in the section rubric:

Here begin the charters of the counts of Pallars. But first a deed of gift and sale which count Sanç made to lord Ramon, count of Barcelona, over that *honor* which Bernat [sic], count of Barcelona, had left to him in his will.⁷⁴

The charter which follows the rubric may well have been misunderstood by the compilers of the *LFM*, as the various errors in the rubric imply. The quitclaim (for such it is) had nothing to do with Pallars: Sanç, younger brother of Ramon Berenguer I, was originally willed that portion of the county of Barcelona which lay west of the Llobregat, with the city of Olèrdola, by their father Berenguer Ramon I (not "Bernat"). But the quitclaim never states what the original inheritance had been, and the compilers of the *LFM* may not have known what it was.⁷⁵ Sanç is never styled "count" here or elsewhere, nor is there any explicit statement that the man to whom he is submitting, "my lord," is his own brother. But the document is accompanied by an illumination whose visual statement is quite clear: a regalian count Ramon Berenguer I, crowned and enthroned, receives the submission of a humble man with no attributes of power (Figure 8.4). The unfinished state of the miniature emphasizes the disparity of power between the two brothers.

If the identity of Sanç had been clear to the compilers of the *LFM*, the miniature might have served as a conscious evocation of the pruning and consolidation of the lineage through exclusion of cadets from power. Yet the *LFM*'s very confusion over "count Sanç" and his father "Bernat" similarly attests to the relative oblivion of these displaced cadets in the memory of subsequent generations.⁷⁶ The horizontal kindred had been remade into a vertical dynasty, and the very documents which illustrated this transition could be artfully arranged into a rhetorical affirmation of regalian power.

⁷⁴ At *LFM* 36: "Incipiunt cartae comitis Paliarensis. Et primum, instrumentum donationis et venditionis quam fecit Sanctius, comes, domino Raimundo, Barcinonensi comiti, super omni honore quem Bernardus, comes Barcinonensis, in testamento suo ei reliquit."

⁷⁵ The will of Berenguer Ramon I is preserved in only one known copy, at Vic, made for the bishop of Vic in 1038 from an unspecified source; the original probate charter of 1035 (from Santa Maria del Mar at Barcelona) is now in the Biblioteca de Catalunya, but its provenance is unknown (both documents cited above, n. 41). No trace of a copy of either can be found now in the comital archive.

⁷⁶ Though it is tempting to consider that the charter, even though misunderstood, might have been included as a token reference to the current king's (Alfons's) own troublesome brother, Count Sanç.

So in Barcelona, at least, the later twelfth century saw the “triumph of primogeniture” amply reflected in the conception of such expressions of power as the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium* and the *Liber feudorum maior*. Yet the extant wills of the previous two hundred years show only a gradual experimentation with, and hesitant adoption of, such new patterns of the inheritance of power. The tenth-century wills showed an easy recognition of sharing or division of comital power, even before it became commonplace, after 990, to convey and subdivide a *comitatus* or *honor* in a will, and to define *comitatus* as the appurtenance of a city or fortified place. The next generations saw explicit divisions of such power by will, but from 1030 to 1080 partition was increasingly tempered by the imposition of various mechanisms to preserve a core patrimony, while attempts to continue *condominium* or subdivision resulted in dispossession, fratricide, or protracted conflict. By 1100, all branches of the comital kindred recognized primogeniture, and the policies of the counts of Barcelona permitted them to press their advantage over the “vertical” and hence vulnerable lineages of cousins in neighboring counties. Barcelona eclipsed and absorbed its neighbors into a regalian polity, and by the time of Alfons I, the endowment or deprivation of brothers or younger sons was subject to regalian choice.

This regalian, dynastic self-image of the twelfth-century house of Barcelona belies the long tradition of collegial power among Alfons’s ancestors and cousins stretching back to the ninth century. In Catalonia, the survival of so many wills from the tenth and eleventh centuries makes the process of transition to a vertical ruling dynasty arguably clearer than in any other province of the old Carolingian empire. The fact that such a prolific testamentary culture was unique to Catalonia unfortunately precludes specific comparisons with other principalities. It would be unwise to extrapolate too grandly from the Catalan case, let alone to defend blithe generalizations of swift and synchronous “revolutions” in family consciousness and social order among all post-Carolingian principalities. Nevertheless, this case study of what came to be the dynasty of Guifred the Hairy should serve as a provocative local testament to the broad outlines of the kaleidoscopic feudal transformation.



Figure 8.1 Foundation of the *lignage*. Guifred the Hairy receives his *honor* from the hand of the Frankish king (i. e., Charlemagne). *Crònica general de Pere III el Cerimoniós* (derived from the *Gesta comitum Barcinonensium*). Barcelona. Third quarter of fourteenth century. Biblioteca Universitaria de Salamanca, ms. 2664, fol. 17v. Reproduced by permission.

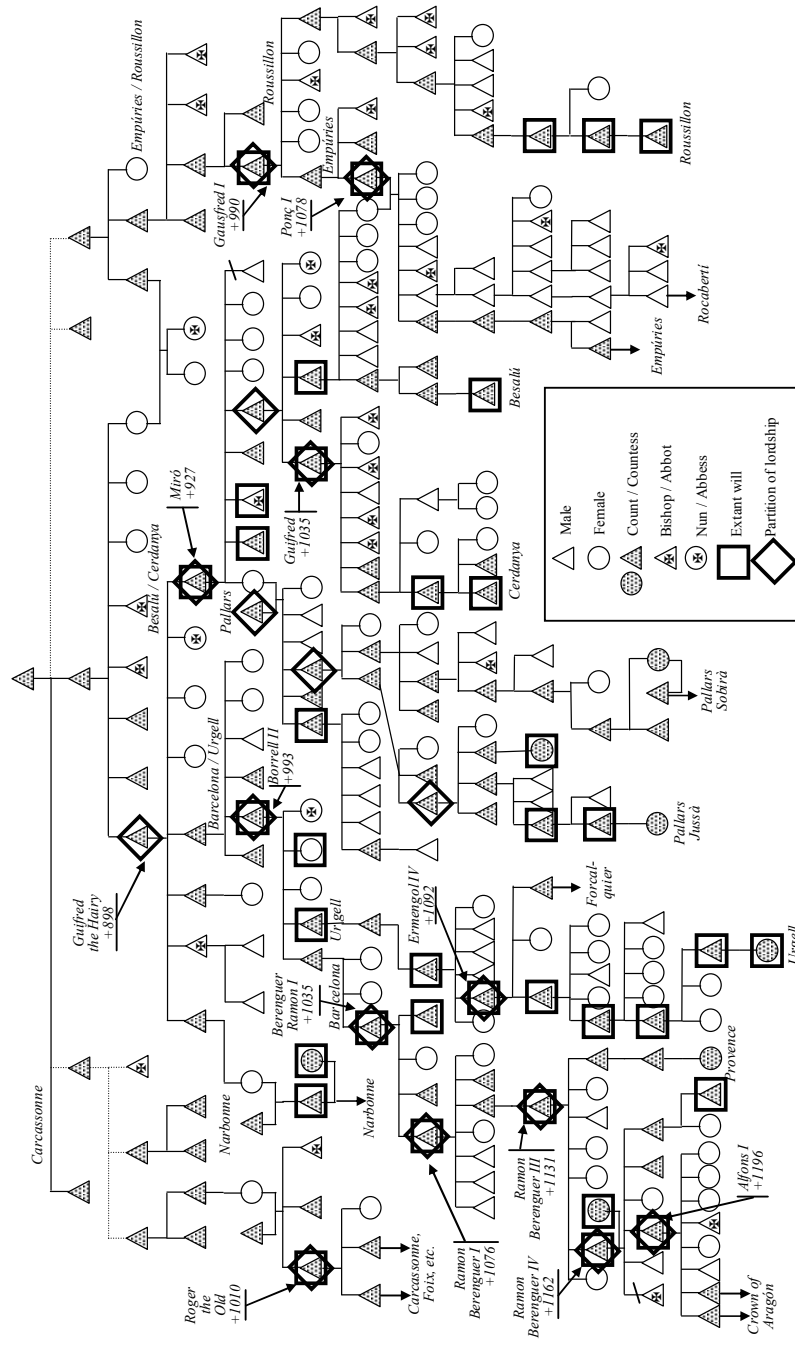


Figure 8.2 The Kindred of Guifred the Hairy, 10th - 12th c.

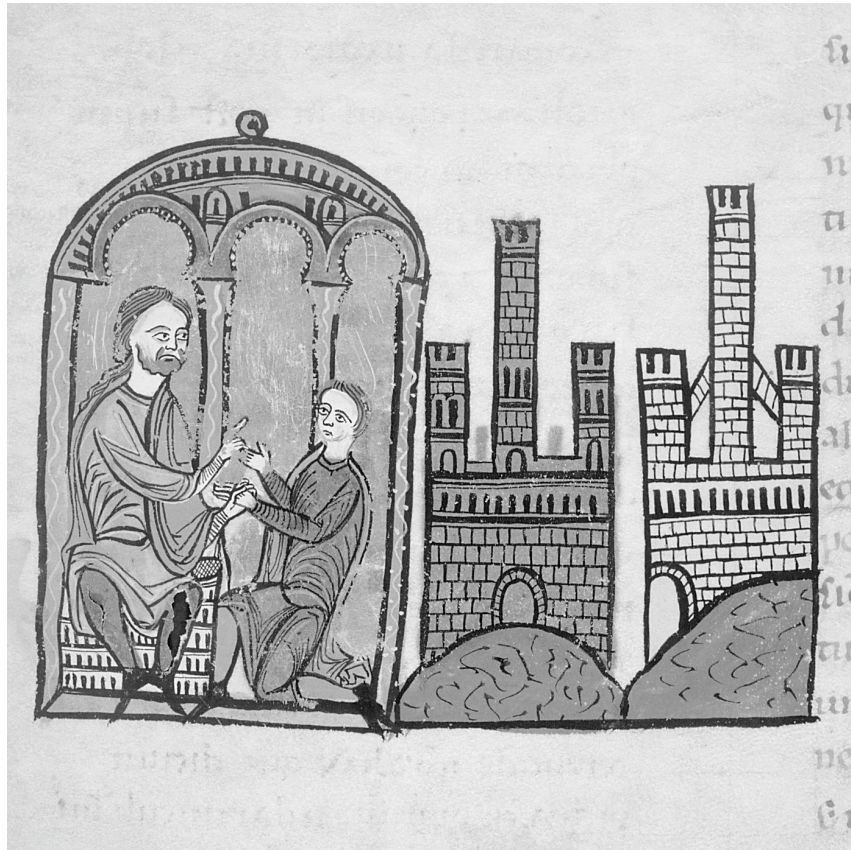


Figure 8.3 Function of the *lignage*. Count Bernat Tallafero of Besalú passes his patrimony to his son Guillem Bernat. Barcelona, 1190x1200. Arxiu de la Corona de Arag3n. Cancelleria, *Liber feudorum maior*, fol. 61r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministerio de Educaci3n, Cultura y Deporte.



Figure 8.4 Consolidation of the *lignage*. Sanç Berenguer surrenders his inheritance to his older brother, Count Ramon Berenguer I of Barcelona. Barcelona, 1190/1200. Arxiu de la Corona de Arag3n. Cancelleria, *Liber feudorum maior*, fol. 23r. Reproduced by permission of the Ministerio de Educaci3n, Cultura y Deporte.