As royal authority disappeared in Southern France and Catalonia and both the governmental system and the Church passed into the control of important noble families, certain changes took place in the society which was forced to adjust itself to new conditions. For certain portions of this area, however, we are ignorant of the nature of such changes. This is simply because in Gascony, much of Western Aquitaine, and Alpine regions east of the Rhone, the disorganization caused by outside invasions and troubled internal conditions was so complete that we have almost no record whatsoever of these years. For the rest of the Midi and Catalonia, however, we possess sufficient documentation so that we can get a rather clear idea of the changes through which society passed during this period.

Let us first consider the matter of landholding, a key point in understanding Southern France and the Spanish March. Here we might begin by reiterating that up to 828 there were several ways in which land was held. The first was the allod, or full allodial ownership. The second was the aprisio, large or small. The third was the beneficium granted by Carolingian rulers to counts, viscounts, bishops, abbots, vassi dominici, or other fideles, or by counts and viscounts to their own vassi or fideles. The fourth was the benefice or precarium of a different sort given out by a church establishment or a private individual.

Let us begin by considering the allod during the period from 828 to 900. In a preceding chapter we noted that the prevailing system of landholding was allodial, even during the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. After 828 this continued to be true. Perhaps the best proof of this fact comes from an analysis of charters dating from this period by which private individuals gave property to churches and abbeys south of Poitou and Burgundy. What do they reveal? They show, after we eliminate all grants by the monarchs, which must be examined under a separate category, that we have a record of some 258 pieces of property given by private individuals to the Church in various parts of Southern France and Catalonia. Of these 82 are from Auvergne, 64 from the Limousin and Quercy, 12 from Rouergue and the Albigeois, 6 from Angoulême-Périgord, and 1 from the Toulousain\(^1\) -- which covers Aquitaine. The Rhone Valley is covered by 7 from the Lyonnais, 15 from the Vienne-Dauphiny area, 14 from Velay, Valence, Vivarais, and 1 from Provence.\(^2\) From Septimania we have 25, covering the region from Nîmes to Béziers and some 11 from the area of Narbonne-Carcassonne.\(^3\) From Roussillon and the rest of Catalonia we have some 25 such charters.\(^4\) We thus have a representative sample from a wide area of Catalonia and the Spanish March.

Property concerned in such gifts to abbeys and churches seems to have varied a great deal in size. Of those listed above some 86 represent property which can be called small holdings of a mansus, a field, a vineyard, or less. Some 70 represent medium-sized property of more than a mansus but less than a villa. The remaining 102 are holdings of at least a villa and frequently even more extensive tracts of land.
It is not the size of such holdings which interests us here, however, but how such property was owned. And here we note an important fact. Only 5 out of these 258 gifts of land to churches and abbeys during these years consist of anything but allodial land. These 5 came from a relatively small region of the Midi, 2 from Auvergne, 2 from the Limousin and 1 from Angoulême. Using this land then as a fair sample of the rest, we find privately held land in the Midi was 98 per cent allodial, or if we consider only Aquitaine where all our non-allodial land seems to be concentrated, it was 90 per cent allodial. These proportions are probably high, since allodial land was easiest to give to ecclesiastical establishments. Nevertheless, it is clear, in the light of this evidence, that we must regard allodial land as the prevailing system in the Midi and Catalonia.

The five cases of non-allodial land are also worth careful analysis. Two of them represent land given to the abbey of Brioude in Auvergne in 896 and 898 in which the consent of another individual is mentioned in the charter -- thus probably reflecting land held as precaria or benefices. Those from the Limousin concern gifts of land to the church of Saint-Etienne of Limoges in 884 and to the abbey of Beaulieu in 887. The first speaks of the consent of a certain Ermenicus whom the charter calls the lord of the giver. The second mentions the consent of a certain Mattfred and his sons -- probably members of a landowning family prominent in this region in the next century. That from Angoulême is a gift of a number of villas and other property given in 852 to the abbey of Saint-Cybard in which the charter states that Charles the Bald gives his consent -- thus identifying this land as a benefice from the monarch. Only in this last case do we seem to be involved with any important piece of property, for each of the others represents only a medium-sized holding.

These documents tell us something else also about allodial landholding. For in the same general region of Aquitaine in which we find some cases of non-allodial land, we find evidence of a resistance to any control over the right of an owner to dispose of his holdings as he sees fit -- the major feature of the allod. Thus in 859 in giving a gift of some property of medium size to Brioude, a certain Ancelmus says that he is following Salic law which gives him this right. In the Limousin, on the other hand, we find Roman law invoked in a general way as giving a man the right to dispose of his property as he wishes -- a far more accurate statement from the legal point of view. We find Roman law referred to in this way in 841 by a certain Boson who is selling large tracts of land to Bishop Rodulf, of the family of the counts of Turenne, for 1,500 solidi. We find it mentioned again in 865 in a charter by which Count Gotfred and his wife are giving a number of villas and other property to their son. We find it invoked and the Theodosian Code referred to specifically by name by a certain Frotaire in 871 in a gift to the canons of Saint-Etienne of Limoges. The allodial right of disposing freely of one's property, then, seems to have been a jealously guarded one in the only region of the Midi in which we find traces of non-allodial land.

A few other important things emerge from an examination of these grants of property to churches and abbeys. They show us, as noted earlier, that in the Midi there were large, medium, and small landholders who possessed allods during this period and that each type was relatively numerous. They also help us to understand something of how such land was acquired. Judging from our examples, allodial land was acquired in various ways by those who owned it. Most of it seems to have been inherited. Some came as a gift or grant from a ruler or someone else in authority, some by purchase or exchange. Other allods were acquired by aprisio or by attracto -- that is by settlement on wasteland. Some was acquired by other means including force or conquest. All these methods seem to have been in use and, provided they were legal, would make such land an allod, owned outright by the possessor and freely disposable if he so desired.

Along with this privately held allodial land, however, we find another sort: that which was the property of Carolingian monarchs themselves. This land -- consisting of estates and villas and churches and
much unused and unoccupied land which had been conquered by the Carolingians -- made up the royal
fisc. In the last chapter we have already shown how much of this royal fisc was distributed by these
monarchs in the course of the century to churches and abbeys, mainly in Septimania and Catalonia
where such land, much of it unoccupied, seems to have been extensive. Such royal property given to
the Church need not concern us here.

What we do need to consider, however, is that land which Carolingian rulers gave out in the form of
large and small aprisiones or in benefices conferred on their fideles and vassi dominici. What had
happened to this property by the year 900 and what methods were used in holding it? [159] Let us first
consider aprisiones. This form of quasi proprietorship had been begun by Charlemagne, who used it to
make large grants of land belonging to the royal fisc in Septimania and Catalonia, and was continued
by his son, Louis the Pious. By 828, however, large aprisiones seem to have begun to change their
character. They began to become allodial and indistinguishable from private property held as allds
elsewhere in Southern France and the Spanish March. This process was not the result of usurpation of
such a status by aprisio holders themselves. It was a result of a deliberate royal policy which, by
specific grants, transformed property held as aprisiones into allds. A number of specific cases
illustrate this change. One of the earliest goes back to the year 832 when a certain Wimar and his
brother, both of whom are called fideles by Lothaire, were given a charter which expressly changed
into an allod the aprisio which they had received from Charlemagne. The charter states they are now to
hold it "jure pro prietario."(13) A year later they are given another charter by Louis the Pious, in which
Wimar is called a vassus, which confirms this change in their land.(14) Still another interesting case is
the well-known aprisio of John of Fontjoncouse in the Narbonnaise which was the subject of specific
royal charters in 834, 844, and 849. John's heirs, his son and brother, are also called fideles in these
charters, and by 849 it is clear that their aprisio has been transformed into an allod which they hold
"jure pro prietario."(15) In 847 we have another case, this time an aprisio held by a certain Alphonse
and his nephews near Narbonne, which they inherited from the former's brother and which is now
theirs "jure proprietario."(16) In 854 two Goti, Sunald and Riculf, called fideles, are given in full
ownership the aprisio in Roussillon which their father and grandfather held from the Carolingian
rulers.(17) In 889 a certain Ansemundus and his wife, in giving an allod to Bishop Agilbert of Béziers,
state that they got this land "ex aprisione parentum suorum" and "per praeceptum regum," probably
from Charles the Bald.(18) Finally for an example of a nonroyal aprisio which became an allod we have
the land given to the nunnery of Saint-Joan de les Abadesses in 898 by Gotmar, bishop of Ausona.
In giving the allod to Saint-Joan, Gotmar expressly states he had received this land as an aprisio from his
uncle, Count Sunifred.(19)

[160] Not every aprisio, though, became an allod at once. There is some indication that Carolingian
monarchs were reluctant to alienate them completely if they contained fortresses. Thus in the Béziers
region those two hispani who held aprisiones in which the castra of Mesoa and Turres were located,
were given this property "jure beneficiario" in 848 instead of "jure pro prietario." Since this charter,
gave them the right to sell, bequeath, or exchange this land, there is little doubt that their
rights of quasi proprietorship, stated in this grant, were quite similar to those pertaining to an allod.(20)
Again in 854 the fortress or rocca, in the aprisio given Sunald and Riculf as an allod, is expressly
excluded from such status and is called a beneficium.(21) With these exceptions it seems clear that we
are face to face with an inevitable trend which was transforming aprisiones into allds -- even when, as
in the case of Asnar Galindo's aprisio, it had changed hands. By 862 this property had become an allod
and was in that capacity protected from usurpation by the public authority of the region.(22)

While there can be little doubt that these large aprisiones became allds in the course of the century,
what about small ones? Such less important ones, initially, had a less independent status than larger
aprisiones and were subject to certain dues and duties -- perhaps even a cens. Did they, too, become allods? It is hard to say. We find many references to such aprisiones in Roussillon, in the rest of Catalonia, and in Pallars and Ribagorça in documents dating from these years. But they are vague as to their exact status. We do find a reference to two such aprisiones in Roussillon though, which had become allods by the end of the century, two pieces of small property acquired as allodial land by the Bishop of Elne in 861 and 869. If our information from these southerly regions is slight concerning smaller aprisiones, we have more from Auvergne where this method of landholding seems to have been known as attracto. Such property, so-called, is given to Brioude in a number of charters dating from 861, 876, 877, and 891 (five cases in all). Every one of them is alodial land. In general then we can probably fairly say that the tendency was for small aprisiones to become allods just like the larger ones.

This leads us to a consideration of those benefices which Carolingian monarchs also gave to their fideles and which tend so much to resemble aprisiones. During these years did they too become allods? Our evidence again clearly indicates that they did, again with the full concurrence of the monarchs. Let us examine some examples of such changes in land given to lay and church fideles. The first two cases we know of go back to the time of Louis the Pious. In 829 this monarch gave to his fidelis Sunifred a villa near Narbonne, which the charter states had been held earlier by his father, Count Borell. Now it is to be his "jure pro prietario." Four years later another fidelis of the emperor, called his vassallo, is given a villa in the Toulouseain on the same terms.

After 840 when Charles the Bald and Pepin II were competing for support, such gifts of royal land seem more numerous. In 842 Charles gave to his fidelis Miró six villas in the Carcassonne region in full allodial ownership. In the same year we hear of a gift made by Pepin II to Bishop Rodulf of Limoges whom he calls "fidelis nostri," of two villas "jure pro prietario." In 843 a similar gift of lands belonging to the royal fisc was made by Charles to his fidelis, Sunifred, one which included villas in Roussillon, Confluent, Cerdanya, and Urgell (Andorra). In 844 he gave a mansus and church outright to his fidelis Hilduco, and in the same year bestowed on his fidelis, the archbishop of Narbonne, one half of the city of Narbonne and its turres as an alodial possession. It was probably at about this time that Pepin II gave to Astronove the castle of Cerrucium on the Gascon border as an allod, which in 847 the latter gave to the abbey of Moissac. In the next year, in 848, this same ruler gave to Bishop Rodulf of Limoges two more villas in the Limousin "jure pro prietario," while Charles matched this gift with one of a villa in the Agde region and a mansus near Substantion to his fidelis Deodatus (Deusdat), the latter on the plea of Count Appolonius of Agde.

The defeat of Pepin II in 852 did not end Charles' gifts of royal lands as allods to his supporters. Rather, they continued. In 853 we find him giving a certain fidelis Teutmund seven mansi in Confluent "jure proprietario." Six years later in 859, on the plea of Marquis Humfrid, he gave to his fidelis Isembert two villas and a church in the Narbonne region. In the charter this gift is called "in proprium aeternaliter." In the same year, again on the petition of Humfrid, he gave to his fidelis Aureol two villas "jure pro prietario." Ten years later he gave to his fidelis Dido, vassus of Otger, two villulas in Roussillon as alodial property. An even more generous gift followed in 870. In this year he gave to Count Oliba II of Carcassonne fiscal lands and a number of churches in Ausona and Carcassonne. In his charter he says he concedes these lands to Oliba "aeternaliter ad jus proprium." In 876 Hildebert, viscount of Limoges, was given the villa of Cavalicus in the Limousin "jure beneficiario." At first glance this seems to be a gift of land on more limited terms than the preceding ones, but careful examination of the charter shows it is actually the gift of a benefice for two lifetimes, since it specifies not only Hildebert as the recipient but his son also. Whatever Charles' intent
concerning this land, it became allodial, since it is so specified in 916 when Hildebert gave it to a nearby church establishment. Finally in 877, just before his death, Charles made another gift of land to Count Oliba II of Carcassonne. This consisted of property taken from the "infideliter Etilius Berani [Bero]," which was now given to Oliba as "rebus suae proprietatis." Caroll continued this practice. In 881, on the plea of Count Appolonius he gave to his fidelis Rainald several villas and a church "in proprietatem." In 885 we find an allod in the possession of Ermenicus, a leading magnate of the Limousin, which he says he acquired from this monarch. In the next year two villas given to the abbey of Beaulieu by [163] Charles and Caroll are called "res proprietatis" by Count Raymond of Toulouse. Two years later in Cerdanya Count Guifred and his wife own an allod which they say they got from a certain Sesenardo who received it "per praeceptum regis." Eudes, Charles' Capetian successor, acted in similar fashion. In 889 this monarch granted to Count Guifred vast tracts of land "de fisco" as his allodial property -- a grant which was probably as generous as that given to Count Oliba II by Charles the Bald in 870. In the same year, on the plea of the bishop of Gerona, he gave a certain Peter a villa as an allod located in this region of Catalonia. Nor did the return of the Carolingian family to power with Charles the Simple change matters. For in 898 we find him, on the plea of his fidelis Robert, giving another fidelis, a certain Theodosius, land belonging to the royal fisc in Narbonne and Roussillon, as well as property in Besalu and Gerona, as his full allodial possession. A year later, in 899, on the instance of Arnulf, archbishop of Narbonne, he gave his fidelis Stephen a number of villas "in jus proprietatis et in allodem perpetualiter." Nor was Charles the Simple alone in making such grants. In 902 his contemporary, King Louis of Provence, acted similarly in the Valley of the Rhone, where he gave to his fidelis Viscount Berlon fiscal property belonging to the crown "jure proprietario." These numerous examples show what happened to land which belonged to the royal fisc south of Poitou and Burgundy. As Dhondt and others have pointed out, by 900 the fisc had been exhausted by the extensive gifts to the Church, to counts and viscounts, and to other fideles -- a fact which helps to explain the end of royal authority in these regions. But what they have not emphasized is a point of equal importance to us. That is that such land was given by the monarchs to individuals in such a way that it expressly became the full alodial possession of those who had earlier held it as royal benefices or aprisiones. By 900 the royal fisc had disappeared in such a way that it swelled the alodial possessions of leading families in these regions and of the Church. From this time on, except in Catalonia and Pallars and Ribagorça, where aprisiones continued to be granted by the counts from land belonging now to the fisc, we find no more land granted in the fashion of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious to their fideles. We have no evidence of royal property still existing, only alodial family possessions which followed the general rules which governed alodial land south of Poitou and Burgundy.

Which brings us to a final question. Did counts and viscounts who were gaining full de facto independence and control over their honores as hereditary family possessions and who transformed benefices and aprisiones given them by the monarchs into allds, succeed in transforming the large aprisio holders or fideles of the Carolingian monarchs into vassi or fideles who held such property from them? Were Carolingian vassals changed into comital ones and their land made dependent on the new rulers of these regions? It is frequently asserted that this is what took place, and a case in Auvergne in which the nephew of a royal vassal did homage to the duke of Aquitaine for his uncle's land is cited as the proof of the fact. This particular case, however, seems a poor proof for such a development, since it shows not a willingness to transfer such an allegiance, but an unwillingness to do so on the part of the
royal vassal concerned. Furthermore, the source reporting it dates from the next century.\(^{(54)}\)

As far as our regions are concerned down to 900, the evidence seems clear and unequivocal. We have no single case in which we can either directly or indirectly prove that such a transfer to a count or viscount of fidelitas or of land belonging to a royal vassal or aprisio holder took place. What we do find is some attempts on the part of counts to achieve this. The apriones of John of Fontjoncouse near Narbonne\(^{(55)}\) and that of Asnar Galindo in Cerdanya\(^{(56)}\) are cases in point. So are certain lands belonging to the Church which usurpers claimed were given to them by counts, or even bishops as benefices.\(^{(57)}\) But in every case, as far as we can tell, such claims were denied and the land in question returned to full allodial ownership of the individual or church or abbey concerned. South of Poitou and Burgundy the allodial principle triumphed, and no such \(^{[165]}\) transfer of land or loyalty seems to have taken place during this period. The results of this fact will be examined in later chapters.

Nevertheless, in the Midi and Catalonia we do have some evidence that vassals and fideles existed, though they were not royal ones transformed into men with a new dependence upon the counts of these regions. In 844 in giving aprisio privileges to the inhabitants of the city of Barcelona and the castle of Tarrassa, Charles the Bald in his charter gave to these Goti the right to commend themselves to counts as vassi, as the Franks were accustomed to do.\(^{(58)}\) By 858 such vassi existed in Roussillon, for in the year we find Viscount Richelme declaring that he gave four churches to "homine suo Tructerio."\(^{(59)}\) A decade later before a court presided over by Count Saloman a certain Recosind, a Goth, states that he was given certain church lands as a benefice by his lord.\(^{(60)}\) In 875 before another court held in this part of Catalonia a certain Arnold claims that he holds land belonging to the church of Elne "per beneficium" of the count.\(^{(61)}\) A posterior document of 913 mentions the fideles of Count Guifred who assisted him in occupying Ausona after 878.\(^{(62)}\)

In Aquitaine a vassus of Bishop Stodile of Limoges is mentioned in 851\(^{(63)}\) and certain grants of lands a little later in this same region imply the same sort of dependent relationship, particularly one already noted, in 884, in which in giving land to Beaulieu a certain Daniel mentions his lords Deusdet and Ermenicus.\(^{(64)}\) We also find two vassi, obviously dependent on the count of Rouergue-Toulouse, who are mentioned at Nimes in 898.\(^{(65)}\) These cases, however, are few in number. In contrast to the widespread, full allodial ownership of land without dependence and other ties, evidence of this sort seems unimportant. By 900 Carolingian-type feudal relationships and control over land seem to have largely disappeared in \([166]\) the Midi. The whole method whereby such monarchs had used honores and royal fiscal land to tie individuals to them through homage and fidelitas was in full decay. A few vestiges of the system remained which counts and others attempted to keep alive. But these were only vestiges. What we find is a society in which, with the possible exception of Catalonia, these have disappeared, leaving private allodial land under control of important families as the normal pattern found everywhere south of Poitou and Burgundy.

If our information concerning these years shows a disappearance of land given out in the Carolingian fashion to vassi and fideles in return for military and other services, and its transformation into allodial land everywhere in the Midi and Catalonia, what of those very different precaria and benefices which had long been a feature of this society? I refer to grants of land by individual landowners or church establishments, long known south of Burgundy and Poitou, which did not resemble Carolingian grants. These were grants of allodial land, generally for a lifetime, in return for a definite payment of a cens and what is more important, grants which seem to have involved, as far as we can tell, no oath of homage or fidelitas on the part of the recipient. The grantor remained owner or had the dominio over the land involved. But he did not become lord of the individual who received it in the Carolingian sense, though no doubt he who received such land at a nominal yearly cens was in some ways the client
or dependent of him who gave it.

This sort of precaria or benefice did not disappear along with those of the Carolingian variety. Instead, we find a good deal of evidence of its continued use, particularly by church establishments in Central France, in the Lyonnais, the Viennois, Velay, Auvergne, the Limousin, and Rouergue. Thus we find seven such precaria granted by the abbey of Savigny to important nearby magnates between the years 857 and 889, all calling for a yearly payment in kind or in money of a nominal sort. Four were precaria of more than one lifetime. Three were limited to a lifetime only. This giving out of such precaria was not confined to Savigny. The nearby church of Saint-Etienne of Lyon followed suit, as we learn from the fact that King Lothaire II of Lorraine held two of its villas in such a manner between 863 and 868, and its benefices are referred to in a [167] charter of King Louis of Provence in 892. Similar benefices seem to have been included in the domains of the church of Viviers in 877, and it was probably such practices that caused two donors of land to the church of Saint-Maurice of Vienne in 871 and 889 to state that their property given to this church could not be alienated or given out as benefices.

In Auvergne similar practices seem not uncommon either. In 857 we find evidence that a church "cum ipso beneficio" was given to the abbey of Brioude and that a villa "ad beneficium" was granted in 869 to a "vir nobilis" Hildegare, a grant which Archbishop Frotaire reconfirmed in 874 when he became abbot of this monastery. In the charter which tells us of this reconfirmation we find a mention of the fact that Hildegare in return for this grant gave to the abbey a mansus and some land planted in vines and promised a yearly cens of five solidi. In 888 we hear of a church and other property in the Cantal given by the same monastery to a certain Cunibert as a precarium for which he is to pay eight solidi a year in cens.

In the Limousin where large prestaria and precaria were to become such a feature of the use of church lands in the next century, we find them in this period, too. In 859 Archbishop Rodulf and Abbot Garnulf of Beaulieu seem to have been given a church as a precarium by the bishop of Limoges, for which they were to pay seven solidi annually. That gift of two mansi by Daniel in 884 to Saint-Etienne of Limoges seems to have represented not only land which Deusdet held as a benefice, but also additional property for which he must annually pay seven solidi to the canons of the church. Such practices may help explain why donors forbade grants of precaria or benefices from lands they were giving Beaulieu in 866, 878, 887, 893, and 899. We possess similar prohibitions in charters which mention land given to the abbeys of Vabres and Conques in Rouergue dating from 862 and 892, as well as evidence of precaria which the latter monastery gave to a certain Askipito and his son, in 900, in return for an annual cens of wine "in vestitura."

Judging from our documents fewer such precaria were in use in more southern regions of the Midi or in Catalonia. Yet we do find proof of just such a precarium which in 837 the abbey of Lagrasse gave to Countess Rithelde of Carcassonne in return for an annual cens of forty solidi -- a large sum. Some years later in 898 a precarium granted by the abbey of Montolieu in the same general region is mentioned. We also find a reference to lands in Roussillon which in 861 were held "de beneficio" from the church of Eme, and in nearby Urgell as early as 840 a charter of Count Sunifred's speaks of land belonging to the church of Urgell held "sub beneficio." Perhaps it was such practices which caused Louis the Pious in 835 to forbid the holding "in benificium" of any lands belonging to the Church which were located in Urgell, Berga, Cerdanya, Cardona, Pallars, and Ribagorça.
Though the origin was different, the practice whereby owners gave land to a church or abbey and reserved the usufruct of such property for more than one generation or for more than one person, generally with payment of a *cens*, in effect set up *precaria* or benefices similar to those mentioned above. A charter from Périgord dating from 856, which calls this a “*beneficium usufructarium*,”(87) and one from Auvergne dating from 880(88) makes this clear. Such a practice seems to have been an increasingly popular one in the Midi. We find many examples of it in our documents: in Auvergne in charters of Brioude dating from 834 to 898,(89) in Lodève in one from Aniane dating from 840,(90) and one from Saint-Barnard de Romans which bears the date 889.(91)

In this same period we also find our first clear references to a fief or *feudum*, where it seems to be a synonym for *beneficium*. The first reference is in a charter from the abbey of Brioude which dates from 895-896. [169] This charter uses the term "*cum feudo*" in reference to some property exchanged by this monastery.(92) The second is from the Melgueil region where it is used in describing a gift of lands to the church of Maguelonne in 899.(93)

Last of all we have several references to that system later called *medium plantum* in which vacant land is given by an allodial owner to an individual who then puts it into cultivation, with the property being divided equally after five years between the cultivator and the original owner. An actual contract of this nature is found in a charter from Auvergne dating from the period 887 to 889(94) and we have what seems to be a reference to land of this nature in a charter dating from 879. (95) In the next century, this system of *medium plantum* was to become one of the most important ways in which new land was put into cultivation in the Midi and in Catalonia.

Such then is a description of the various types of landholding found south of Poitou and Burgundy during this period and of the various changes in such systems which are apparent. But no discussion of landholding by this society would be complete without at least some examination of serfs and serfdom. In early chapters we noted the existence of serfs in the Midi down to 828. After 828 we continue to find them relatively numerous, judging from our sources of information. This seems particularly true of parts of Aquitaine, particularly the Limousin, Rouergue, Quercy, Angoulême, and Périgord, those centers of the old Roman *villa* system. Charters dating from 841, 859, 860, 863, 865, 866, 878, 879-884, 885, 893, and 899(96) testify to the presence of serfs in the Limousin and Quercy, while they are also found in Rouergue and the Albigeois, according to charters dating from 838, 862, and 865.(97) In Angoulême and Périgord they are mentioned in 855 and 888. They seem to be rarer in Auvergne where only one serf appears in our documents, one who in 851 was living on land belonging to the royal *fisc*. (99)

Judging from our sources, serfs seem to be rarer in the rest of the Midi. We find a reference to four serfs near Avignon in 897(100) and no mention [170] of others in the rest of the Valley of the Rhone or Septimania. On the other hand, it seems clear that there still existed a certain number of serfs in a region generally thought of as free from such bondage, the region of Roussillon, Confluent, Cerdanya, and Ausona. Here charters dating from 874, 876, 887, 889, and 898-917(101) attest to their presence. This would tend to make one believe that the settlement of such regions at the time of Count Miró and Count Guifred was, at least initially, a more aristocratic affair than has sometimes been assumed with the *fideles* of these counts who staked out *aprisiones* bringing into these regions a number of serfs who assisted them in the initial task of clearing the soil for cultivation. Whatever the explanation of this fact, it is clear that here and in Aquitaine serfdom still remained, as late as the year 900, an institution which had not yet begun to disappear.
Finally we need to consider the role of women in the ownership of property. In this period, as in earlier ones, we find them everywhere the proprietors of large and small estates and able to dispose of them as freely as men. Our documents, for instance, reveal such women owning and disposing of property in 857, 860, and 876\(^{(102)}\) in Velay; in 882 in Dauphiny;\(^{(103)}\) in 829, 840, and 899\(^{(104)}\) in the Melgueil region; and in 889 near Béziers.\(^{(105)}\) We find a woman who owns a villa in the Narbonnaise in 850\(^{(106)}\) and others who possessed villas and other property in Roussillon in 876\(^{(107)}\) and in Ausona in 900.\(^{(108)}\)

In Aquitaine charters show them in the same role; such as some from Auvergne which date from 891 and 898\(^{(109)}\) and others from the Limousin dating from 844, 847, and 860.\(^{(110)}\) Some of these women, like Countesses Aiga and Rotrudis and Abbess Irmenna of the Turenne family, or Karissima, abbess of Saint Sernin of [171] Albi, or Berteiz, countess of Toulouse, or Guillaumette, countess of Melgueil, were not only important landowners, they were important personages in their own right. Perhaps the best symbol of such women, however, was Emma, to whom Count Guifred, her father, gave land to found the nunnery of Saint-Joan de les Abadesses about 885\(^{(111)}\) and to whom Gotmar, bishop of Ausona, gave his aprisiones in 898.\(^{(112)}\) A somewhat posterior document sums up her role and position as follows, "the late Count Guifred gave to his daughter, Abbess Emma, the honor of the nunnery of Saint-Joan, so that all men who inhabited it should be under her control."\(^{(113)}\) Emma, the powerful and able abbess of Ausona, then, is a symbol of those other women who in later centuries were to wield so much power and influence in every segment of the life of Southern France and Catalonia.

Such was the landholding system found in the Midi and the Spanish March between the years 828 and 900. It was one which was essentially based upon allodial ownership of land both large and small and one where in some regions there were still a considerable number of serfs. It was a system in which by 900 large aprisio holdings and benefices, established by the Carolingians, had changed until they were indistinguishable from allodial property. It was one which still seemed to preserve some vestiges of Carolingian vassalage, but now only as a tie maintained by local counts, viscounts, and bishops in an unimportant role: the more important and more numerous precaria and benefices which existed were those given out by churches and individuals in return for a cens instead of in return for fidelitas and military service or even court service. It was a system in which women, who were in many respects the equal of men, were playing an increasingly important role. By 900, in fact, it was a system which in many ways seems to have resembled that of pre-Carolingian times more than it did that to be found at the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious. The Carolingians had come and then they had declined, but the society of the Midi remained relatively intact, remaking the landholding system of Carolingian times into one which was different from that of Northern France and more nearly suited to their own traditions and their own needs.

As a final view of this society, let us examine its economic development [172] during this period. During these decades land remained the most important basis of the economic life of these regions. In some parts of the Midi and Catalonia, therefore, the clearing of the soil and the colonization of vacant land, a feature of the earlier Carolingian period, continued. This seems to be particularly true in Auvergne, which was far enough away from the regions which the Vikings and Moslems devastated not to be affected by their raids. Evidence of land held by attracto or medium plantum seems to point to activity of a colonizing nature by peasant cultivators in this region.\(^{(114)}\) Perhaps during these years there also continued to be a similar movement in nearby areas like those near the Tarn, in the Toulousain, where we hear of land belonging to Raymond of Toulouse which in 862 was being put into vineyards.\(^{(115)}\) If so, it was a very limited movement, for we find nothing of a similar nature in any other part of Septimania, Gascony, or Aquitaine north of Narbonne and Carcassonne. In the Valley of the Rhone we have one reference in Velay to a villa "ad heremum" in 857,\(^{(116)}\) which seems to imply clearing; that is all. Elsewhere all is either silence or as in the case of the Lyonnais in 892 we hear of
deserted land and *villas* called "absas et vastitas." (117) Obviously Auvergne and parts of Velay and the Toulousain were islands of agricultural progress in a sea of agricultural stagnation and decay.

To the south in Roussillon, Confluent, and parts of Catalonia, however, we sense a different mood. Here, throughout these years, the new settlement of land started by Charlemagne and Louis the Pious continued. We hear of new abbeys being founded in waste places and of land being cleared by the monks, We find many references to *aprisiones*. Even more important between 878 and 898 we have that advance of Count Guifred, Count Miró and their *fideles* into Ausona, Berga, and Barcelona beyond the Llobregat and a beginning made of colonizing land deserted since the revolt of Aizo in 826-828. (118) This advance was the only one which we find in our regions during this period, and it was to have very important consequences for Catalonia. Nevertheless, one must not overestimate the actual extent of the repopulation which was accomplished in Guifred's [173] time. This able count did regain such regions and organize them politically, and he began a restoration of the Church, particularly in Ausona. But the actual resettlement of much of this region came later. A beginning was made on the fringes of his reconquest only, by abbeys like Saint-Joan and Ripoll and by his *fideles* to whom he allotted land. (119) But not until well into the next century was sufficient colonization achieved so that this region had a full population.

If our evidence seems to show some continuing agricultural advance in two portions of the Midi, the Massif Central and the general region of Catalonia which are in contrast to a general agrarian stagnation and decay elsewhere, what of trade and commerce? Did limited advances noticeable at the time of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious continue, or did such progress show the effect of the same troubled times which set back agricultural progress in so much of the Midi? Here our evidence is scant, but on the whole significant.

In the first place, examination of our charters shows that a use of money continued in those regions for which we have evidence, that is to say in most of Aquitaine, in the Valley of the Rhone, in Septimania, and in Catalonia. Only in remote areas like Pallars and Ribagorça do phrases like "*in rem valentem,*" that sign of a barter economy, appear very often in charters (120) One should not, however, attach too much significance to this continued use of money. For we also find that in certain regions mints, active during the early years of Charles the Bald and of his father, Louis, had begun to disappear. First to disappear were those in Gascony and along the Garonne at Dax, Bordeaux, Agen, and Saintes -- all of which were in areas which were much exposed to Viking attacks. (121) At about the same time Marseille ceased to coin money, and a little later the mints at Uzès, Nîmes, Béziers, and Maguelonne had disappeared also. (122) By 900 the only mints left in the Midi seem to have been those located at Vienne, Avignon, and Arles in the Rhone Valley; Narbonne, and Carcassonne in Septimania; Barcelona, Gerona, and Ampurias in Catalonia; and Toulouse, Limoges, Melle, Clermont, and Le Puy in Aquitaine. (123) It seems worth [174] noting that in general it is in regions in which agricultural progress continued in Central Aquitaine and in Catalonia that mints continued their activities.

At the same time the external commerce of most of the Midi also declined. Judging from the lack of Southern French coins in Northern French coin hoards which date from this period, there was less contact between these northern parts of France and the Midi than had been true earlier. (124) The most important trade was that in the hands of Jews of Verdun who were still carrying slaves south through the Midi on their way to Moslem Spain. (125) Some contacts were still maintained with Italy via Alpine clasae, (126) but less by sea from the mouths of the Rhone. Only from Catalonia by sea and overland, especially from Ampurias, was much contact maintained with Mediterranean Moslem and Christian lands nearby. (127)
This growing economic localism is best illustrated, perhaps, by certain coin hoards which date from this period and which show the circulation of money in portions of the Midi. The first we should consider is one from Brioux, near Melle in Poitou, which dates from about 870. All of the coins found in this hoard were either minted at Melle or other places in Aquitaine with one exception, a silver denier from Pavia in Italy. A somewhat later coin hoard dating from the first years of the tenth century and found nearby at Bonnevaux is even more revealing. It contains money minted during the reigns of Charles the Bald, Carloman, Eudes, and Charles the Simple. Those dating from the reign of Charles the Bald come from mints all over Northern and Western France. Those struck in Carloman's reign come from Toulouse, Limoges, and Melle. Those of Eudes' came from Limoges alone, and those of Charles the Simple are only from Melle. In these two hoards one can see the increasing localism of this part of the Midi.

Lest this be thought unusual, a coin hoard from Avignon of about the same date throws light on similar conditions along the lower Rhone during this period. This hoard contains coins minted during the reigns of Charles the Bald, Carloman, and Charles the Fat, as well as some coined by the archbishop of Arles early in the tenth century. Those minted by Charles the Bald came from Clermont, Toulouse, and one from Italy. Those of Carloman's reign came from Arles and Substantion. Those from the reign of Charles the Fat came from Béziers, Uzès, and Nîmes. Those minted later came only from Arles. Here again we see localism triumphing as we reach the year 900.

To sum up then, the economic conditions of regions south of Poitou and Burgundy show a steady deterioration from 828 to 900 and especially after 875. As royal authority declined and the governmental system, the Church, and society changed, the agrarian growth and economic advance which characterized the period of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious stopped, except in parts of Catalonia and Central Aquitaine. As this happened, mints disappeared and commerce declined, too, leaving localism triumphant almost everywhere -- a localism which was to increase in the decades ahead. It was this local agrarian economy which in no small measure was to determine the conditions under which the Midi and the Spanish March were to operate in the next century.

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Notes for Chapter 9

1. Most of these Auvergne charters are from the Cart. de Brioude and Le Grand Cart. de Brioude. A few are from the Hist. Gén. de Lang. and the Cart. de Saint-Chaffre. The majority of the Limousin and Quercy charters are from the Cart. de Beaulieu. Others are from the Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges, the Chartes de Charroux, the Hist. Gén. de Lang., and the Cart. de Tulle. Those for Rouergue and the Albigeois are from the Cart. de Conques and the Hist. Gén. de Lang. Included also are charters from the Cart. d'Angoulême, the Fragments du cartulaire du Monastère de Paunat, ed. R. Poupardin and A. Thomas for Angoulême-Périgord, and one from the Hist. Gén. de Lang. for the Toulousain.

2. See the Cart. Lyonnais, the Cart. de Savigny, the Cart. de Grenoble, the Cart. de Vienne, the Cart. de Saint-André-le-bas, the Cart. de Saint-Barnard de Romans, the Chartes de Maurienne, the Chartes de Cluny, the Cart. de Saint-Chaffre, the Hist. Gén. de Lang., and the Cart. de Saint-Victor.

3. From the "Cartulaire de Psalmodi" (unprinted), the Cart. d'Aniane, the Cart. de Gellone, the Cart. de Maguelonne, the Cart. de Nîmes, the "Cartulaire de l'Evêché d'Agde" (unprinted); the Livre Noir ou Cartulaire du chapitre cathédral de Béziers, ed. J. Rouquette, the Hist. Gén. de Lang., the Cart. de Carcassonne, the Catalunya Carolingia, II, Marca hispanica, the Cart. roussillonnais, and Cros-Meyrèville, Documents.

4. From Catalunya Carolingia, II; Marca hispanica; Hist. Gén. de Lang.; the Cartulario de San Cugat des Valles, ed. J. Ruiz Serra; the Archivo Catedral de Barcelona, ed. S. Puig y Puig; and El Archivo
Condal de Barcelona.

5. Cart. de Brioude, nos. 64, 254.
6. Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges, no. 3.
7. Cart. de Beaulieu, no. 43.
9. Cart. de Brioude, no. 43.
10. Cart. de Beaulieu, no. 86.
11. Ibid., no. 186.
12. Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges, no. 8. Perhaps the Frotaire who is mentioned in this charter is Archbishop Frotaire.
19. Archivo Condal de Barcelona, no. 10.
22. Ibid., pp. 325-326.
24. The phrase is "tam de alode quam de atracto" in Cart. de Brioude, no. 110 (866). See also ibid., nos. 263 (876), 197 and 260 (877), 212 (891).
25. During his bitter struggle with Pepin II of Aquitaine in 845 Charles the Bald stated in a charter that he was giving away land from his fisc to gain supporters by necessity "in beneficiario jure aut in allode." See "Capitularia de Beauvais," anno 845, ch. 20, in Boretius, Capitularia, II, 403.
29. Cart. de Beaulieu, no. 6.
32. Ibid., no. 115.
33. Ibid., no. 131.
34. Cart. de Beaulieu, no. 7.
37. *Cart. de Carcassonne*, II, 598.
40. Cros-Meyrévielle, *Documents*, no. 16.
41. *Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges*, no. 84.
45. *Cart. de Beaulieu*, no. 55. This even included a castle.
47. *Marca hispanica*, appendix 45.
52. *Cart. de Vienne*, no. 11.
55. See the charter of 834, a record of a court case, explaining how the counts tried to take over this *aprisio*, in *Catalunya Carolingia*, II, 442-444.
57. For examples see *Hist. Gén. de Lang.*, II, nos. 150, 169, 189, and *Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges*, no. 3.
58. *Catalunya Carolingia*, II, 423-425. This is a right similar to that which Louis the Pious gave to *aprisio* holders in 815. The fact, however, that Charles the Bald felt it necessary to include it in this charter reflects on the whole the rarity of such types of commendation among the non-Frankish population of this region, rather than its prevalence.
62. El Archivo Condal de Barcelona, no. 38.
63. Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges, no. 3.
64. Ibid., no. 5.
65. Cart. de Nîmes, no. 8. On the possibility that these \textit{vassi} may be royal \textit{vassi dominici} rather than comital ones see F. Ganshof, "L'origine des rapports féodovassiliques," in \textit{I problemi della Civiltà Carolingia}, p. 19 n.
66. Cart. de Savigny, nos. 1, 2, 3, 20, 21, 23, 25.
67. Ibid., nos. 1, 2, 3, 21.
68. Ibid., nos. 20, 23, 25.
69. Cart. de Grenoble, no. 30.
70. Ibid., no. 31.
73. Cart. de Brioude, no. 77.
74. Grand Cart. de Brioude, no. CXCI.
75. Cart. de Brioude, no. 132. This charter clearly states that this \textit{villa} is a \textit{precarium} which owes a \textit{cens} to the abbey.
76. Ibid., no. 38.
77. Cart. de Beaulieu, no. 33.
78. Cart. de Saint-Etienne de Limoges, no. 5.
79. Cart. de Beaulieu, nos. 3, 22, 46, 156, 162.
81. Cart. de Conques, no. 56.
83. Cart. de Carcassonne, I, 73-74.
85. Ibid., no. 98.
87. Cart. de Paunat, no. 7.
88. Cart. de Brioude, no. 219.
89. Ibid., nos. 17, 26, 38, 60, 85, 102, 131, 165, 197, 212, 225, 240, 268, 279, 289, and many others.
90. Cart. d'Aniane, no. 123.
91. Cart. de Saint-Barnard de Romans, no. 4.
92. Cart. de Brioude, no. 7.
93. Cart. de Maguelonne, I, no. 3.
94. *Grand Cart. de Brioude*, no. CCXXXI.

95. *Cart. de Brioude*, no. 268.

96. *Cart. de Beaulieu*, nos. 20 (841), 18 (859), 19 (860), 112 (863), 186 (865), 3 (866), 46 (878), 17 (879-884), 55 (885), 155 (893), 22 (899).


98. *Cart. d'Angoulême*, no. 52; *Cart. de Paunat*, no. 11.

99. *Grand Cart. de Brioude*, no. CXIV.


102. *Cart. de Saint-Chaffre*, nos. 59 (857), 60 (860), 72 (876).


104. *Cart. d'Aniane*, nos. 313 (829), 55 (840); *Cart. de Maguelonne*, I, no. 3 (899).

105. *Cart. de Béziers*, no. 6.


110. In the charter of 844 Countess Aiga's relatives sign as witnesses to signify, it would seem, their consent (*Cart. de Beaulieu*, no. 34). According to the 847 charter Abbess Immena seems to be acting without her family's consent (*Ibid.*, no. 184). For the 860 charter see *Ibid.*, no. 19.

111. *El Archivo Condal de Barcelona*, nos. 3, 4; *Catalunya Carolingia*, II, 216-217; and *Marca hispanica*, appendix 45.


114. For examples of *attracto* land see *Cart. de Brioude*, nos. 110, 197, 212, 260, 263. For *medium plantum* see *Ibid.*, no. 268, and *Grand Cart. de Brioude*, no. CCXXXI.


118. See Abadal, *Els Primers Comtes Catalans*, pp. 73-110, and *La Plana de Vich* for excellent accounts of this colonization.


120. See the large number of examples of payments in kind found in the charters contained in Abadal, *Els Comtats de Pallars i Ribagorça*. For examples from Auvergne see *Cart. de Brioude*, nos. 219 (880), 131 (881), 289 (881), 223 (882), 225 (888), 18 (893), 277 (895), 26 (898), 85 (898).

122. Ibid.
123. Ibid., pp. 290-291.
124. Ibid., pp. 291-293.
125. Ibid., p. 287.
126. Ibid., pp. 295-296.
129. Ibid., pp. 124-137.
130. Ibid., pp. 147-153.