

«GREEKS» IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BARCELONA?

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During recent years our understanding of early medieval Catalonia has been greatly improved by a number of fundamental works¹. The previously frequently stated opinion that the impetus for the economic development of the city of Barcelona was provided by external contact and commerce² can no longer be accepted, and autochthanal growth must now be envisaged, the basis being agriculture rather than commerce³, the latter being a later expansion, especially in the overseas sphere, which did not really develop until the later 12th. century⁴. However, this is not say that Barcelona was completely isolated, devoid of foreign contacts in the 10th. and 11th. centuries, and a body of evidence indicates relations with much of the rest of western Europe and the Mediterranean basin, both of a sporadic and more regular nature.

¹ Particularly BONNASSIE, P., *La Catalogne du milieu du X^e à la fin du XI^e siècle* (2 volumes) Toulouse, 1975-1976; and the various works of RUIZ DOMENEC, J. E., especially in English, «The Urban Origins of Barcelona: Agricultural Revolution or Commercial Development?» in *Speculum* 52, (1976), pp. 265-286. Although the name of Catalonia cannot be strictly used of this period, it here implies the area under Christian control, roughly equivalent to the modern provinces of Barcelona, Girona and the northern part of Lleida.

² As suggested, for example, by VICENS VIVES, J., *Historia económica de España*, Barcelona, 1965, pp. 138-139.

³ RUIZ DOMENEC, J. E., «El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona» in *Miscellanea Barcinonensia* 11, (1972), pp. 55-86.

⁴ RUIZ DOMENEC, J. E., «En torno a un tratado comercial entre las ciudades de Génova y Barcelona en la primera mitad del siglo XII» in *Atti del 1° Congresso Storico Liguria-Catalogna*, Bordighera 1974, pp. 151-160.

The views of Abadal⁵ on this matter have recently been revised and restated by Bonnassie⁶, who has demonstrated contacts in the later 10th. and early 11th. centuries with France, the Rhineland, Italy and Muslim Spain. The available evidence has an almost exclusively religious inclination, and the scope of contacts in non-ecclesiastical matters is far less clear. Nevertheless, the products of Moorish products and ideas in Catalonia at this time indicated some commercial activity⁷, which may well have been continued further north, as is suggested by the presence of the probably Flemish merchant Robert in Barcelona in the first decade of the eleventh century⁸. Thus there is still some truth in the idea of Catalonia as a crossroad between north and south, between the Christian and the Muslim worlds, though care must be taken not to overstate its importance, and it should be noted that the people involved in this exchange of ideas and products were largely outsiders, rather than inhabitants of the area.

The aim of this article is to draw attention to a group of personal names which occurs almost exclusively in the city of Barcelona in these decades around the year 1000, which may throw some additional light on the range of external contacts. The name in question is that of *Græco*.

The name and its meaning

During the period 985 to 1025 second names were coming into use in the County of Barcelona. General studies of these have been made by Balari, Aebischer and Adams and a number of other partial studies exist of early medieval onomastics⁹. Various ways of differentiating between

⁵ ABADAL I VINYALS, R. DE, «L'esperit de Cluny i les relacions de Catalunya amb Roma i la Itàlia en el segle X» in *Studi Medievali* (3rd. series) 2, (1961), pp. 2-41; *ibid.* *Com Catalunya s'obri al món mil anys enrera*, Barcelona, 1960.

⁶ *Op. cit.* note 1, pp. 325-361.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 417-425.

⁸ WOLFF, P., «Quidam homo nomine Roberto negociatore» in *Le Moyen Age, Livre Jubilaire*, 1963, pp. 129-139.

⁹ AEBISCHER, P., «Essai sur l'onomastique catalane du IX^e siècle» in *Anuari de l'Oficina Romanica de lingüística i literatura*, 1, (1928); BALARI JOVANY, J., *Orígenes Històrics de Catalunya* (2nd. edition, San Cugat del Vallès, 1964), vol. II, pp. 565-601.; ADAMS, K. W. J., *A study of the Germanic personal names of Catalonia from 800 to 1000 A.D.* Unpublished MA Thesis, University of London, 1966.

two people of the same Christian name existed, and it seems clear that this was the reason for the development of second names. The most frequent method of formation indicated filiation, although sometimes the cognomen could be the result of profession or trade, or place of origin, and a few were apparently nicknames¹⁰. During these early decades those referring to place of origin and trade are perhaps the most interesting to the historian, since they can be studied with the confidence that the name is a fair indication of reality, and that it had not yet become a family name, nor had been passed from generation to generation, thereby bearing much less significance.

Surprisingly, none of the above authors mentions the use of *Greco* as a second name, although its appearance has not passed entirely unnoticed¹¹. In view of the above mentioned recently renewed interest in social and economic aspects of this formative period of Catalan history, it has seemed worthwhile to bring together these references and study their relevance, especially since there is no other such name which occurs with the same frequency.

The meaning of the name —in its various forms and spellings— seems clear, and can only be derived from the Latin *Graecus*, modern Catalan *grec*, English *Greek*¹². There appears to be no other sound possibility, although it is strange that the fundamental dictionaries of medieval Latin fail to cite it¹³. The problem must therefore lie in the interpretation of the name, and as a step in this direction it must be assigned to one of four groups of surnames:

a) there seems to be little likelihood that it indicates filiation. Firstly, there is no attested usage of the Christian name *Greco* in the period, although *Romano* does occur¹⁴. Secondly, during the years in question, the appearance of the patronym with the Christian name was normally accompanied by a phrase such as «son of»¹⁵ and in one of the examples

¹⁰ BALARI JOVANY, J., *op. cit.*, pp. 584-594.

¹¹ CARRERAS CANDI, F., *La Ciutat de Barcelona* in the series *Geografia General de Catalunya* (Barcelona, n.d.), p. 218 refers to «Orus lo Grech».

¹² ALCOVER, A. M.^a, MOLL F. DE, AND SANCHIS GUARNER, M., *Diccionari Català-Valencià-Balear*, Barcelona, 1968, vol. VI, pp. 397-398. See appendix I for the full list of occurrences.

¹³ For example those of du Cange or Niermeyer.

¹⁴ *Romano* is cited by Balari, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 587.

here studied does this occur, Thirdly, the name of the fathers of two of those who bear this surname are known not to be *Grecus*¹⁶.

b) neither usage as a nickname nor a profession appears to bear much sense. It may be suggested that it indicated an ability to speak or write Greek, but the available evidence seems to suggest that those who could write used Latin characters, at least to sign their names. Unlike Christian names of oriental origin, which are known not only throughout the early medieval period, but also in antiquity from epigraphical sources, it is unlikely that continuity from the Roman or Visigothic periods can be seriously postulated. Nor can it be described as a parallel movement to the «snobisme byzantinisant» to which Toubert refers as occurring in Latium in this period, for this was connected with a vogue for Christian rather than second names of oriental origin¹⁷.

c) so the conclusion must be drawn that it indicates some idea of origin, however vaguely conceived, and the significance of which will be discussed below.

The people

The Christian names of the people who bore this name are not orientally derived, and at least three — the most widely documented at that — are decidedly common in the County of Barcelona in this period. A total of seven people, all male, occur with this second name, although they are not always attested as using it, and on occasions can only be identified with the same person by other evidence.

a) *Aurucius* is the best-known and most frequently found character, although it is clear that this is a result of the fact that he was a judge in Barcelona, and it is therefore comparatively easy to identify him among the other people of the same name, who were not described as *iudex*, there normally being only three or four judges at any one time. However, he is only once described as *greco* in 1008, though it may be significant

¹⁶ *Vide infra* the sections dealing with *Aurucius* son of *Paterdomnus*, and *Guitardus* son of *Aurutius*.

¹⁷ TOUBERT, P., *Les structures du Latium médiéval. Le Latium méridional et la Sabine du IX^e à la fin du XII^e siècle*, Paris, 1974, p. 697, n. 1.

that this is the only extant document in which he is found as the prime mover of the transaction therein described¹⁸.

His father's name is known to have been *Paterdomnus*¹⁹, although nothing else can be said about him, except that the name is not otherwise unrecorded in 10th. century Catalonia²⁰. The life of Aurucius can be reconstructed in some detail from the available documentation. He was captured by the forces of Almansur in the attack on Barcelona in July 985, along with other notables of the city. However his ransom was soon paid or rather arranged, for he had returned to Barcelona by October 987²¹, whereas less fortunate captives found themselves languishing in Córdoba for periods of ten years or more. The process of his redemption seems to have been rather complicated, involving his exchange for a group of hostages whose ransom he must have undertaken to pay as soon as possible. The sums involved must have been considerable and the total had still not been raised by 991 and possibly not even in 995²².

We may thus assume that his importance was already considerable in 985, placing him alongside such figures as the archdeacon Sunifred Llobet and Ervig Marc, the famous jurist of this period. However, since the events of July 985 resulted in the widescale destruction of documentation in Barcelona, there is no record of his activities before that date, and we can only guess at a date of birth around the middle of the 10th. century.

Nevertheless, in the years of recovery in the County of Barcelona, 990 to 1010, we find him acting in various spheres particularly, although not exclusively, in the city. The last extant document which indicates that he was still alive is of December 1009²³, and he was certainly dead by May 1013²⁴. These dates may suggest that he was killed during one of the Catalan attacks on Córdoba, either in 1010 or 1013²⁵, although this

¹⁸ Appendix 1, document 7.

¹⁹ ACB Diversorum C(a) 1, 44 of 8.III.993. *Aurutio iudice filium Paterdomni*.

²⁰ E.g. Paterdomnus Pbr. in 971, in MAS, J., *Notes històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona* IX. *Rúbrica dels Libri Antiquitatum*, Barcelona 1914, p. 21, doc. 47.

²¹ LAEC II 16 46 of 15.XI.987. Mas *op. cit.* p. 37 doc. 89.

²² BONNASSIE, P., *op. cit.*, p. 345. LAEC II 93 282 Mas *op. cit.* p. 46-7 doc. 110 of 20.VI.991 *dedimus in redempcione pro captivis quod posuerat Aurutio iudice pro se in Spania*, and LAEC I 23 46 prior to 995, Mas *op. cit.* p. 63-4, doc. 148, *et dare pensas X ad Aurutio pro suos captivos*.

²³ ACB Diversorum C(b) 1, 18. 28.XII.1009.

²⁴ ACB diversorum A 1441 of 7.V.1013 *condam Aurutio iudice qui fuit*.

²⁵ For these expeditions see Bonnassie *op. cit.* pp. 348-349.

is unsubstantiated, and it is equally possible that he died from natural causes, as he must have been about sixty years old by this date.

His role as a public figure was played in two principal aspects; firstly as a judge, especially of property ownership disputes, which were particularly common in these years after the almost total loss of the conveyance documentation in 985, and secondly as an executor of wills. His signature as a witness appears on a large number of documents in the period, thereby indicating his importance in authenticating exchanges²⁶.

In addition, he is found in the extant documents acting in his own right, or simply as the owner of property in the city and *territorium* of Barcelona. As Bonnassie has pointed out, the judges must have been in an especially privileged position for finding out the property available for exchange or purchase, and in this way could easily amass considerable personal wealth²⁷. His residence was located in the southern part of the city, near the defences and the Regumir gate²⁸, an area which seems to have suffered particularly heavily in 985²⁹, but where there was a nucleus of habitation around the year 1000, separated from the core of the city located around the cathedral and the comital palace, by a less extensively developed quasi-agricultural zone. He also owned a garden in the nascent suburbs³⁰, and property of various types scattered in the *territorium*, particularly at *Auro Invento*/Parets Delgades (probably the site of a Roman villa near Provencals)³¹; in the area of the old port to the south of Montjuich, which was falling out of use at this time³²;

²⁶ Acting as a judge LAEC II 103 313 of 27.VII.998, *Mas op. cit.* p. 80 doc. 189 and a document of 1002 from the archive of the Cathedral of Seu d'Urgel *Liber Dotationum* vol. 1, fol. 234 doc. 796. Acting as an executor LAEC I 136 349 of 5.II.992, *Mas op. cit.* p. 48 doc. 115, and present at the sacramental swearing of a Will LAEC II 35 101 of 28.I.1009, *Mas op. cit.* p. 118 doc. 277.

²⁷ BONNASSIE, P., *op. cit.*, p. 190.

²⁸ On 13.XII.1023 (ACA Berenguer Ramón I 47) one of his sons, *Gondeballus* sold his brother, *Ermengaudus*, *ipsa sexta parte* of the parental home in Barchinona *prope Regumir ad meridianam partem*.

²⁹ To judge from the considerable number of *casales* or pieces of land considered fit for construction purposes to be found in this area in the following years, and because the defences in this part of the city were in need of rebuilding in the 1030's.

³⁰ UDINA MARTORELL, F., *El Archivo Condal de Barcelona*, Barcelona 1951, p. 417 doc. 228 of 18.II.991; and LAEC I 157 412 of 15.VI.997, *Mas op. cit.* p. 76 doc. 179.

³¹ 8.III.993 ACB Diversorum C(a) 1,44: 18.IV.998 ACA Ramón Borrell 36: 1.I.1002 ACA Ramón Borrell 59: 8.IX.1007 ACA Ramón Borrell 90.

³² 1.VI.1000 ACA Ramón Borrell 50. For the port see CARRERAS CANDI, F., «Lo Montjuich de Barcelona» in *Boletín de La Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 6 (1901), pp. 195-450.

along the course of the old Roman aqueduct³³; and near the church of S. Pau del Camp³⁴. These widespread properties passed to his wife, Maria, and children on his death and they seemed to have maintained them, though not always without difficulty, as a dispute with Seniofred *Riorubense* in 1014 indicates³⁵.

Aurucius' will has not survived the centuries, although other sources indicate that he probably had six sons³⁶ — the names of five of whom are clear from the fact that they are stated to be the son of Aurucius the judge, or the brother of another who is described in that manner³⁷. Of these, none followed in his father's footsteps as a judge, and the most outstanding would appear to be *Ermengaudus Aurucii*, who is found purchasing property in the *territorium*, and loaning quantities of grain, until the early 1060's³⁸.

b) *Marcutius*. The second of the seven known «Greeks» also bears a Christian name which is otherwise widely attested in the area at this date. Chronologically, he is the first to appear with the second name «Grek» in the year 996³⁹, the early proven references all being to Aurucius without this tag. Unfortunately, the fact that this Christian name was fairly frequent, makes it almost impossible to distinguish him from others of the same name, unless the cognomen is applied, and consequently the number of definite references is considerably lower. The total is in fact only seven definite citations.

Unless he was the same person as the *bonhom* of a document of 1008⁴⁰, which seems unlikely, he was probably not a public figure. He

³³ At *Cemel*, ACB *Diversorum* B 579 of 27.VIII.1002, and LAEC I 112 227, Mas, *op. cit.* p. 112 doc. 263 of 25.III.1008.; at *Cogoll*, ACA Ramón Borrell 108 of 9.I.1014 and ACB *Diversorum* B 112 of 14.IV.1014.

³⁴ Appendix I doc. 4.

³⁵ Doc. cited in note 33 of 14.IV.1014.

³⁶ This is implied from the six parts referred to in the document cited in note 28.

³⁷ The five certain sons were: *Ermengaudus* and *Gondballus* referred to in note 28; *Gulabertus* in LAEC II 120 359 of 15.VIII.1026 Mas *op. cit.*, p. 198, doc. 429; *Petrus* in ACA Berenguer Ramón I 74, of 1.X.1028; *Guadallus* in ACA Ramón Berenguer I 130 of 30.I.1053; Two other possible sons are *Bonefili. s. Aurucii* (ACA Ramón Berenguer I 12 of 12.XI.1037) and *Berengarius* (LAEC I 135 346 of 20.IX.1048 Mas *op. cit.*, p. 284, doc. 615) but it is impossible to establish a definite relationship.

³⁸ BONNASSIE, P., *op. cit.*, p.430 and 560. The number of documents which indicate the activities of *Ermengaudus* is in fact considerable.

³⁹ Appendix I doc. 1.

⁴⁰ LAEC II 201 622 of 28.VIII.1008, Mas *op. cit.*, p. 115, doc. 271.

was, however, an important property holder in and around Barcelona. In 996 he is found with property at *Marunnano*, and in 1003 near S. Pau del Camp, and seven years later at *Pociolos*, all in the *territorium* of Barcelona⁴¹. In addition he owned at least one property, and possibly more, in the expanding suburbs of Barcelona in 1018⁴². He died in 1021, and although the previously mentioned half-dozen documents do not give a very ample picture of his property, the sacramental swearing of his will on the altar of St. Mary in the church of St. James has been transmitted to us⁴³, and this gives us considerably more information. First of all, he bequeathed to the Cathedral Chapter a vineyard at *Cucullo* (Coggoll) to cover the costs of his burial, which suggests that he was interred in one of the cemeteries around the cathedral, perhaps even the canonical one. The bulk of his property passed to his three sons, *Gifredus*, *Compagnus*, and *Gillabertus*. The first two received a tower of the late Roman defences, with a sollar, and adjoining large house, the connected garden, well and trees. The other son received another tower and sollar, with a yard and (wine-) cellar. His wife received a third large house and various pieces of land, particularly in the *Cucullo* zone.

The remaining bequests are of pieces of land or vineyards, not always very precisely defined, to members of the family or to friends. In addition he had a market stall⁴⁴ which he left to his widow. The extent of his urban holdings, the ownership of a *cellarium*⁴⁵, and the names of his associates, all join together to indicate that he was a person of some considerable wealth.

Although he died in 1021, his memory lived on after him. Firstly, in the dedication of the church of S. Cugat del Camí (later del Rech) in 1023, the Bishop of Barcelona included among the endowments, property derived from the bequest of *Marcutius Greco*. Interestingly enough, another reference to him occurs over forty years later in the sacramental will of *Bernardus Ermegaudi*, which mentions land that

⁴¹ Appendix I, doc. 4.

⁴² Appendix I, doc. 16, and LAEC I 152 398 of 7.II.1018, Mas *op.cit.* p. 166 doc. 371 and LAEC I 129 326 of 23.II.1018 Mas *op.cit.*, p. 167, doc. 373.

⁴³ Appendix I, doc. 18. Transcribed in appendix II.

⁴⁴ A *tabula*.

⁴⁵ For *cellarium* see BASSOLS DE CLIMENT, M., *et alii*, *Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Cataloniae*, Barcelona, 1962, fasc. 4 and BALARI, *op. cit.*, p. 664.

had been of *Marcutius Greco*⁴⁶. The fact that the memory of this person survived so clearly so long after his death is unusual, but is also found in connection with another of the «Greeks», which may not be coincidence.

c) *Guitardus* is the third of the «Greeks» who similarly bore a not atypical Christian name. First appearing in 997, he is mentioned at least twelve more times, and it is quite probable that he remains concealed among others occurrences of the name *Guitardus*, without the cognomen *Greco*⁴⁷.

Like Aurucius, his father's name is known — but he was the son of another *Aurutius*, not of *Paterdomnus*⁴⁸, which must exclude the idea that they were very closely related, or that *Greco* was a patronym. There is no extant will, nor any definite reference to heirs, although it is not impossible that some of the bearers of the cognomen *Guitardi* in the period 1020 to 1060 were his sons. However, it is also possible that he died without direct descendants for a document of 1028 refers to the sale of property of *condam Guitardo*, in an area where *Guitardus Greco* had a house⁴⁹.

His name appears regularly in the surviving sources between 997 and 1018. This may suggest that he died c. 1021 like Marcutius or possibly slightly later if the reference of 1028 is to be associated with him. Similarly he re-appears in the sources some considerable time after his presumed death, not only once, but no less than three times; firstly in March 1054, as the late owner of property at Banyols; secondly, later in the same year as the late owner of a house in the city, near those of Marcutius and probably that referred to in 1028; and finally, as the late owner of property also in the Banyols area⁵⁰.

His property, like that of Aurucius and Marcutius, seems to have been restricted to the city and the *territorium* of Barcelona. Like them, his urban property was concentrated in the south-western and Regumir

⁴⁶ Appendix I, docs. 19 and 23.

⁴⁷ Appendix I, docs. 2, 4-6, 12-15, 17, 20, 22 and 24.

⁴⁸ Appendix I, doc. 6.

⁴⁹ ACA Berenguer Ramón I 17, of 19.XII.1028.

⁵⁰ The date of the final document may be disputed, since the relevant part of the parchment is no longer legible, although an eighteenth century copy says it read *anno I regnante Philippi regis*. However it is possible that this was a misreading of *anno I Henrici* (i.e. 1032) since the document represents a dispute over part of the inheritance of *condam Guitardi gre-ci*, which one might expect to have occurred at date dearer his death than 1061. Be that as it may, the two other documents clearly belong to a period a generation after his death.

districts of the old walled area, and in the *territorium* he also had property near S. Pau del Camp. In addition he owned land at *Buadella*, the *Celada*, *Esplugues*, *Sarrià*⁵¹ and especially in the *Banyols* area of the by then almost totally silted up port⁵². This last property was especially important including a house with a stone built tower and extensive tracts of land.

The other four remaining men can be summarized much more rapidly, since they are cited on far fewer occasions.

d) *Damianus* appears but once in a document of 998 which has already been mentioned⁵³. By this date he was dead, and the document concerned is the sale by his daughter, *Eldemara* and her husband, *Bonus Home*, to *Aurucius* the Judge of property in the *Auro Invento/Parets Delgades* zone. *Damianus* is a comparatively rare name, although of Latin-Christian origin, and it may be that an earlier reference to a certain *Damianus* in 988⁵⁴ is to the same person. It is also noteworthy that this sale was to *Aurucius*; sales of property in this period were often conducted within certain limits, and this may be an indication of a degree of relationship or of common interests between the two men.

e) *Ianno* also appears in the documentation when he was already dead, as *condam Ianno Greco* in 1009, when property which had been his at the *Cucullo Antico* is referred to⁵⁵, and similarly in 1012, when his widow *Aurucia*, together with *Ansemundo* sold this same property⁵⁶. A *Janni* signs a document of 992⁵⁷, and the name also appears alongside that of *Guitardus greco* in the notes for the compilation of a conveyance deed written on the reverse of another document, which are undated, but probably belong to the early years of the eleventh century⁵⁸. In view of the rarity of the name, it is feasible that all these refer to the same person.

f) *Viatarius* also appears on only one occasion in 1009, by which time he may well have been dead for some considerable time. The docu-

⁵¹ Appendix I, docs. 2, 24, 15 and 17.

⁵² Appendix I, docs. 5, 6, 14, 20 and 22. For the port, see note 32.

⁵³ Appendix I, doc. 3.

⁵⁴ ACB *Diversorum* B 139, of 15.XII.988.

⁵⁵ Appendix I, doc. 9.

⁵⁶ ACA Ramon Borrell 100 of 12.VI.1012.

⁵⁷ LAEC II 151 437 of 22.IX.992, *Mas op. cit.*, p. 52 doc. 123.

⁵⁸ Appendix I, doc. 24.

ment mentions the previous donation by him and his wife, *Salvide*, to the Chapter of Barcelona, of property at Castellet (Panadés)⁵⁹. He is thus very much the outlier of the group, for this property was some fifty kilometres from the city. A *Viatarius* appears in another document referring to the same area in 963 and it would seem logical that it is the same person⁶⁰.

g) *Felix*. The last person to bear this cognomen is equally, if not more, enigmatic. A partially damaged document of the Archivo Capitular de Barcelona includes the words *iuxta domos que fuerunt de Felice clerico greco*⁶¹. The interpretation of the penultimate word is problematic: the initial conclusion would be that they are an abbreviation for *clerico*, but the normal contraction is *clo* and the scribe uses this elsewhere in the same parchment. However, no other satisfactory explanation is forthcoming and so this hypothesis must tentatively be accepted. Although there are other occurrences of the name Felix in the city at this date, none bear this tag, so it is impossible to identify him to any greater extent. The meaning of *clericus grecus* must also remain unclear in the absence of further documentation, although two distinct possibilities exist; firstly that an ecclesiastic of Barcelona bore the tag *Grecus*, or secondly, that he represents an easterner with recognisably different ecclesiastical rites, who for some reason had come to Barcelona. It is the sum of these ideas and hypotheses that must now be considered.

Discussion

Thus there are seven people who bore the second name *Greco* in the Country of Barcelona, and almost exclusively related to the area immediately around the city of the same name, and who were alive in the period up to c.1025. The range of Christian names is strictly local, even though some are not very common. However in the tenth century there was far more variety in these than at a later date. Some, but by no means all, played a role in public life, or had considerable personal fortunes, but all seem to have been fully integrated into the local community.

⁵⁹ Appendix I, doc. 8.

⁶⁰ RIUS SERRA, J., *Cartulario de San Cugat del Vallés*, Barcelona, vol. I, 1945, p. 56, doc. 65 of 30.III. 963.

⁶¹ Appendix I, doc. 10.

There is no evidence to suggest that they in any way formed a distinct group, or were isolated from local events. Nor were they apparently related by direct family links.

There were, however, a number of factors which would seem to connect them, apart from the second name *Greco*. Firstly, they owned properties in similar districts. This is particularly true of Aurucius, Marcutius and Guitardus, but Ianno and Damianus would also seem to fit the pattern. The first three named all had extensive properties in the southern part of the defended urban area of Barcelona, at a time when the main concentration of habitat was situated further north in the city. These three also appear as having adjacent properties in the area around S. Pau de Camp. In the *territorium* the place names of *Auro Invento*/Parets Delgades, Cogoll, and Banyols are recurrent. This is even more remarkable when the general paucity of documentation for the period is taken into account, and it can hardly be coincidental.

Nevertheless, the type of property that was owned by them is in no noticeable manner different to that usually found: -various fields, pieces of land, gardens, orchards and especially vineyards, all in plots of varying sizes. In the city itself, at least four, probably five, houses, three of which were sufficiently substantial to warrant them being sub-divided on the death of the person in question. In addition another important residence near the silted up port, where there may have been an attempt to establish a nucleus of habitat in the tenth century⁶².

Their sons did not inherit the name, but it was by no means forgotten, and another linking factor could be seen in the reappearance of two of them in the documentation, a generation after their deaths, a fact without parallel outside the comital and higher ecclesiastical spheres. The irregularity in the usage of the name is perhaps not of considerable importance, given that this was a formative period in the appearance of second names, and the need to differentiate would depend on the context.

What, then, is the meaning of this name, given its limited chronological and geographical distribution? The initial response may be to interpret these men as evidence for an oriental community in tenth and

⁶² In 938, there is a reference to a villanova in this area (ACB Diversorum B 514) and in the late tenth century, there are a remarkable number of references to dwellings in this area, more than in the 11th. and 12th. centuries.

eleventh century Barcelona, perhaps brought by commercial links, which at first sight would not appear unreasonable in the light of the Arab and Flemish connections which are known to have existed at this time⁶³. A number of other factors could then be used to support this argument — the existence of a port, facilitating maritime contacts, the evidence of sea links with points further north and south⁶⁴, the presence of Greek traders in Arles in the tenth century⁶⁵ — and all this could be used to develop a hypothesis of a commercial relationship, albeit at a low level, between Barcelona and the east Mediterranean at this time.

This could then be paralleled by precedents for oriental contact-stretching back to foundation of the Greek colony of Emporion⁶⁶, the presence of oriental names in the Roman period⁶⁷, north African links in the late Roman period⁶⁸, pottery from the east Mediterranean at the same time⁶⁹, and the evidence for oriental merchants in the Visigothic period⁷⁰, and the exceptions apparently made to the Jewish population of Septimania, and perhaps Tarraconensis in the seventh century⁷¹.

⁶³ See the references in notes 7 and 8.

⁶⁴ For example, the journey of John of Gorz in the mid 10th. century, who stayed in Barcelona for a fortnight on his way to Córdoba. See PAZ y MELIA, A., «La embajada del Emperador de Alemania, Otón I al Califa de Córdoba, Abderramán III in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba*, 10, (1931), pp. 255-282. His next stop after Barcelona was Tortosa, and the donation of 944 by the Count of Barcelona to the Cathedral of the title on *ipsas raficias in Tortuosa* (LAEC III 73 193 Mas *op. cit.*, p. 8, doc. 14) may well indicate that commercial contact was becoming a regular feature.

⁶⁵ DOEHAERD, R., *Occidente durante la Alta Edad Media: economías y sociedades*, Barcelona, 1974, p. 171.

⁶⁶ The bibliography on Ampurias, is of course, vast. For a brief summary see RIPOLL PELLÓ, E., *Ampurias; description des ruines et Musée Monographique*, Barcelona, 1973.

⁶⁷ MARINER BIGORRA, S., *Las inscripciones romanas de Barcelona*, Barcelona, 1973, *passim*.

⁶⁸ BLÁZQUEZ, J. M^a., «Posible origen africano del cristianismo español» in *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 40, (1967), pp. 30-50.

⁶⁹ GRANADOS GARCÍA, J. O., «Estudio de cerámica romana Barcelonesa: un vaso de cerámica corintia hallado en la necrópolis romana de Las Corts» in *Boletín del Seminario de Arte y Arqueología*, 43, (1977), pp. 395-409, and for amphorae of late Roman date from the east Mediterranean or Black Sea, THOMAS, C., «Imported pottery in Dark Age Western Britain» in *Medieval Archaeology*, 3, (1959), p. 92, note 7.

⁷⁰ GARCÍA MORENO, L. A., «Colonias e comerciantes orientales en la Península Ibérica s. V - s. VII» in *Habis*, 3, (1972), pp. 127-154.

⁷¹ BONNASSIE, P., *op. cit.*, p. 116 states that the Jews of Septimania enjoyed exceptional privileges, which were perhaps extended to Tarraconensis also. This perhaps ought to be reconsidered in the light of BACHRACH, B. S., «A Re-assessment of Visigothic Jewish Policy» in *American Historical Review*, 78, (1973), pp. 11-34.

The Jewish link could be extended to the early Medieval period. The Hebrew communities in the Catalan cities⁷² of the eleventh century were long-established, rather than recent immigrants and maintained contacts with the communities in other cities, often over long distances⁷³. Moreover, the second name «Grech» reappears in Barcelona in the later Medieval period. The heart-tax of 1389-1390 includes a minimum of seven people of this name⁷⁴. This is not at all surprising considering the Catalan presence in Greece in the fourteenth century⁷⁵, but even before this date, there is evidence for regular eastern contacts, such as Catalans in the east Mediterranean ports in the late twelfth century⁷⁶, and Benjamin of Tudela at a slightly earlier date refers to Orientals in Barcelona⁷⁷.

However, a number of serious criticisms can be made of this argument in favour of tenth century oriental commercial links on the basis of a group of personal names. This is not the place to discuss the Pirenne thesis, nor the subsequent arguments concerning early medieval commercial activity, but it should be noted that these «Greeks» stand very much in isolation, between the seventh century on the one hand, and the twelfth century evidence on the other⁷⁸. It would appear that there is no other occurrence of the name in Barcelona in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries. Secondly, there is no evidence whatsoever to suggest that they engaged in external commerce, although it could be suggested that Aurucius put his contacts with Córdoba to such a use. In fact, the reverse would seem to be the case, for their wealth appears to have been founded on local property, and they were apparently fully integrated into the local community, to the point where one of them was an im-

⁷² E.g. SCHWAB, M., AND MIRET Y SANS, J., «Le plus ancien document à present connu des juifs catalans» in *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 3, (1915-1916), pp. 229-233. The Jewish population of Barcelona is documented, if sparsely, from the 9th. century, although the establishment of the «Call», or Jewish quarter may well have been a later, perhaps 11th. century development. For the establishment of the Call of Girona with Jews from a rural context see, MARQUÉS CASANOVAS, J., «Sobre los antiguos judíos de Gerona» in *Sefarad*, 23,(1963), pp. 22-34.

⁷³ AGUS, I., *Urban civilization in pre-Crusade Europe, as reflected in responsa literaturæ*, Leyden, 1965.

⁷⁴ MARSA, F., *Onomastica Barcelonina del segle XIV*, Barcelona, 1977, p. 331.

⁷⁵ SETTON, K. M., *Los Catalanes en Grecia*, Barcelona, 1975.

⁷⁶ HILLGARTH, J. N., *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250-1516*, Oxford, 1976, vol. 1, p. 246

⁷⁷ ADLER, M. N., «The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela» in *Jewish Quarterly Review* (old series), 16, (1904), pp. 453-473 especially p. 467.

⁷⁸ HILLGARTH, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 246.

tant public official. The commercial life of the city at this time seems to have been but slight, and not until the twelfth century is there any evidence for long distance maritime ventures by the local population. Even in the commercial centres of Liguria, people of eastern origin do not appear before the mid-twelfth century, and so it is hardly likely that oriental traders would appear in Barcelona before⁷⁹.

The interpretation of the name as being the same as Greek in its modern sense must be considered carefully. There is a strong possibility that it is not derived from Greece proper as it is known today, but from some other root. The Byzantine Empire — to which the name of «Greece» was frequently applied in a general sense — still extended to parts of southern Italy in the tenth century⁸⁰. Moreover, the word in Catalan can have the meaning of «coming from the east» which may refer to an area no further distant than Italy⁸¹.

Using this as a starting point, it is possible to put forward a somewhat different hypothesis. The advent of the name must date to pre -985, and possibly to the mid-tenth century or even before, if the fathers of the men here discussed lived in Barcelona, and transmitted the name to their sons. The Muslim invasions of Sicily and southern Italy in the ninth century seem to have provoked emigration⁸², and the area was far from stable during the following century and a half⁸³. Cities such as Naples and Amalfi were still nominally Byzantine in the ninth century⁸⁴, and it is to be expected that Greek was spoken in Calabria and Apulia⁸⁵. Similarly, Bonnassie has postulated a migration from Lombardy to Catalonia in the late tenth century⁸⁶, which would be a parallel or even related movement. This type of origin would be in far greater concordance with the known, rather than presumed, knowledge of the activities of these «Greeks».

⁷⁹ BYRNE, E. H., «Easterners in Genoa» in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 38, (1918), pp. 176-187.

⁸⁰ MCEVEDY, C., *The Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*, Harmondsworth, 1961, especially the map on p. 53.

⁸¹ See note 12.

⁸² LEWIS, A. R., *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, Princeton, 1951, p. 143.

⁸³ DANIEL, N., *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, London-Beirut, 1975, p. 57.

⁸⁴ MCEVEDY, C., *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁸⁵ BROOKE, C., *Europe in the Central Middle Ages 962-1154*, London, 1964, p. 66.

⁸⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

It is noteworthy that the moment of «opening» to the outside world by Catalonia belongs to the same decades of the mid-tenth century, and some of its first movements were directed towards Rome on ecclesiastical grounds⁸⁷. The sources do not reveal what other results these missions may have had. The major Italian port of the tenth century, Amalfi, had contacts with the Iberian peninsula around the year 1000⁸⁸. The monastery of Cuixà had close contact with Venice, which in turn had direct links with southern Italy and the east⁸⁹.

The overall picture then is one of some degree of mobility in the mid-tenth century and subsequent decades in the north-west Mediterranean. Thus the migration of a small number of people from a Greek-speaking area such as southern Italy is not beyond the bounds of possibility. We do not know whether this phenomenon is to be found elsewhere, or if these «Greeks» all came to Barcelona at the same time. In view of the lack of evidence for the movement of natives of Barcelona to southern Italy and the eastern Mediterranean in this period, apart from pilgrimages⁹⁰, which would seem insufficient ground for the application of this name, a minor immigration appears a reasonable hypothesis, but in view of the lack of definite corroborating evidence, it can be no more than that, a hypothesis which may throw some more light on the early Medieval history of Barcelona and the western Mediterranean.

⁸⁷ The works cited in note 5.

⁸⁸ RENOARD, Y., *Les villes d'Italie de la fin du X^e siècle au début du XIV^e siècle*, Paris, n.d., p. 73.

⁸⁹ ABADAL I DE VINYALS, R. DE, «Com neix i com creix un gran monestir pirinenc a finals de l'any mil: Eixalada-Cuixa» in *Dels Visigots als Catalans*, Barcelona, 1969, vol. I, p. 465 *et. seq.*

⁹⁰ For pilgrimages see BONNASSIE, P., *op. cit.*, pp. 332-7.

APPENDIX I

DOCUMENTS IN WHICH THE NAME *GRECUS* APPEARS

Num.	Date	Name	Reference	Description
1	3.IX.996	Marcucio Gregco	ACA R. Borrell 29	Owner of land at <i>Marunmano</i>
2	15.VI.997	Gitardo Greco	LAEC I 157 412	Owner of land at <i>Baudella</i>
3	18.IV.998	Damiani Greco	ACA R. Borrell 36	Deceased owner of vine at <i>Parietes Delgadas</i>
4	25.VII.1003	Marcutio Greco Gitardo Greco	ACV Lib. Dot. f. 55	Land near S. Pau <i>extra muros</i>
5	19.V.1005	Guitardo Greco	LAEC IV 152 355 Mas IX n. 240	Buys house in city and land at Banyols From the Bishop and Canons of Barcelona
6	3.VIII.1006	Gitardus Greco filium Aurucii	S. Pere 10	Buys land, house and stone tower at Banyols
7	25.III.1008	Aurutio Greco qui est iudice	LAEC I 112 277 Mas IX n. 263	Exchanges 2 modiatas of vineyard at <i>Croso</i> called <i>Cemel</i> with Bishop and Canons
8	3.III.1009	Viatarus Grecus	LAEC IV 74 213 Mas IX 280	Had given an allod called <i>Castelletto</i> to Cathedral
9	13.VI.1009	Ianno Greco	ACA R. Borrell 94	Deceased owner of vineyard at Cogoll Antic
10	28.XII.1009	Felice clerico (?) Greco	ACB Div. C(b)1,18	Previous owner of house in city of Barcelona
11	XI/XII.1010	Marcucio Greco	S. Pere 14	Owner of land at <i>Pociolos</i>
12	12.V.1014	Gitardus Grego	LAEC II 7 22 Mas IX n. 335	Executor of will of Bonfill
13	24.V.1015	Guitardo Greco	ACB Div. C(b)1,38	Owner of <i>clausum</i> in city, near Regumir Castle
14	11.III.1016	Guitardo Greco	ACB Div. c(b)1,42	Owner of land at Banyols
15	17.VI.1016	Guitardo Greco	LAEC III 96 247 Mas IX 353	Previous owner of property at Espluges
16	3.III.1018	Marcutio Greco	LAEC I 114 285 Mas IX 374	Owner of garden near city walls prope de ipsa Palma
17	23.XI.1018	Guitardo Greco	Montserrat S. Benet de Bages 1291	Owner of land in Sarria
18	28.XII.1021	Marcutius Greco	LAEC I 63 136 Mas IX 400	Sacramental swearing of his will
19	8.IV.1023	Marcutii Greci	LAEC I 25 47 Mas IX 412	Deceased owner of property, of which the tithes and first fruits were given to S. Cugat del Camf
20	7.III.1054	Guitardi Greci	ACB Div. A 2368	Deceased owner of land at Banyols
21	11.X.1054	Guitardi Greci	ACB Div. C(b)1,185	Deceased owner of houses in city
22	5.V.1061	Guitardi Greci	S. Pere 27 bis	Deceased owner of allods at Banyols
23	5.IV.1065	Marcutii Greci	LAEC I 58 121 Mas X 805	Deceased owner of land at Cogoll
24	undated	Gitard Gco	ACA R. Borrell 34 <i>verso</i>	Land et <i>Celada</i>

Abbreviations:

- ACA R. Borrell = Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Cancillería. Pergaminos de Ramón Borrell
ACB Div. = Archivo Capitular de Barcelona. Diversorum (followed by series and document number)
LAEC = *Libri Antiquitatum Ecclesiae Cathedralis* in ACB. (followed by volume, folio and document number)
Mas IX = J. Mas, «Notes Històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona» Vol. IX. Rúbrica dels *Libri Antiquitatum* part I (and document number)
S. Pere = Archivo del Monasterio de S. Pere de les Puelles (parchment series)
Montserrat
S. Benet de Bages = Archivo del Monasterio de Montserrat, parchments of S. Benet de Bages
ACV Lib. Dot. = Archivo Capitular de Vich, *Liber Dotationum* (and folio number)
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LAEC. f. 63v-64r. doc. 136

MAS, *op. cit.*, doc. 400 p. 183

Sacramentalis Marcucii Greci qui dimisit canonicè vineam suam apud cucullum.

Conditiones sacramentorum ad quarum ex hordinatione residebat sacerdote vel iudice, a nomine Guillelmus et in presentia Bonus Filius clericus et iudex et aliorum multorum bonorum hominum qui ibidem aderant. Testificant testes prelati quis prefert Sendredus Vivenis, et Emermirus Russus et Ermengarda femina, in faciem de superdicto sacerdote vel iudice ad comprabandum causam helemosinariam de condam homine nomine Marcutius Greco. Et hic sunt nomina testium qui hi testificant sicuti et jurant. Id est Gifredus et Falcutius levita et Deodatus presbiter. Iurandi autem dicimus in primis per Deum Patrem omnipotentem et per Iesum Christum Filium eius Sanctumque spiritum qui est in trinitate unus et verus deus et per hunc locum venerationis Sancte Marie virginis cuius altare fundatum est intus in aula sancti Jacobi Apostoli, infra muros civitatis Barchinona, super cuius sacro sancto altario as manos nostras continemus vel jurando contangimus que nos superscripti testes bene scimus in veritate sapemus de presente eramus oculis nostris vidimus et aures nostras audivimus ad ea ora quando condam prefatus Marcutius iacebat in sua egritudine in obiit sic nos videntes et audientes commendavit vel injuncxit omnem suum elemosinam ad istos iamdictos suos elemosinarios et precepit eis ut si de ipsa egritudine mortuis fuisset sicuti et fuit plenam potestatem abuissent adistribuere omnem facultatem suam, quem ad modum eis ordinavit vel iniuncxit per suum testamentum quod ante se scribere iussit et manu propria firmavit et testes firmare rogavit.

In primis concessit ad ipsam canonicam Sancti Crucis ipsam suam vineam quam habetat in terminio de ipso Cucullo, iusta vineam Seniofredi Riorubiensi pro sua sepultura ut memores sint canonici prefati domus beneficii, quod Dei gratia prefate ecclesia feci retro acto tempore, et concessit pro sacrificio K Vi de vino. Et concessit episcopo Sancti Crucis mancosos ii pro sua absolutione. Et concessit filio suo Gifredo et filio suo Compagno ipsam turrem et ipsum solarium quod iungitur turri Gilmundi Baiarci et ipsam mansionem dispense quod aderet prefati turri, simul cum orto et arboribus et puteo et palma que infra sunt sicut terminatur de ipsa posterula unde ingressus est in ipso orto directa linea usque in calle publica trans ipsam parietem. Et concessit filio suo Gillaberto illi bene serviente alterum solarium et turrem cum curte et cellario et puteo et quoquina et portum et exeum atque regressum quod est iusta exeum Petri presbiteri et Siguivini. Et concessit uxori sue prefate mansionem ubi ille detentus egritudine iacebat cum partem ortuli qui remanet de prefate uxori sue ipsa terram que est trans civitatem justa terram Guagalli et ortum Guitardi Arnallo. Et concessit illi fexa i de terra qui est iusta terra Sancti Iuliani et concessit illi ortum quod commutavit cum epscopo Deusdedit et concessit illi medietatem de ipsis vineos que sunt in terminio de ipso Cucullo, iusta terras Bernardi Gelmiri et vineas filiorum Aurucii Iudicis quondam. Hec omnia prefata quod illi donavit teneat et possidet omnibus diebus vite sue et post obitum suum remaneant equaliter omnibus filiis et filiabus suis. Et concessit prefato filio suo Gilaberto ipsum ortum de Salvatore integriter causa meliorationes. Et concessit prefate uxori sue ipsam tonnam et ipsum cubum que emi de Boveto Renardo. Ipsos suos drapos que abebat tam de lecto

quam alios concessit illis alia autem omnia que remanent terras et vineas cultum sive eremum mobile sive immobile concessit omnibus filiis suis et filiabus equaliter exceptus ipsam tabulam quam concessit uxori sue et concessit ad novum venientem ipsam terciam partem de pane et vino quod Deus dedit in sua possessione pro anima sua et postquam hec omnia ordinavit sic addidit tmm in suis verbis coram prefato Ermemiro Russu et Gilabertus filio suo et Compagno et Boveto gener suum et Sigifret Gramaticum et Ermemir sacriste et Ermengarda uxor sua ut medietatem de ipso ortulo ubi Ermemir Matarucos abitat, simul cum ipsa fexa de terra qui injungit cum predicto orto et connectu se cum terra Sancti Petri cenobio Puellarum et vadit directa linea usque ad domos de Mir Transgancia ipsam medietatem a predicto Gifret, ubi ille vult adprehendere. Alia vero medietas concessit filiis suis Gilaberto et Companno et iter concessit in suis verbis post omnem ordinationem suam ad prefato Boveto generum suum modiata i de vine ad ipsa turre Alba in presencia Ermengarda uxore sua tam Gifre filio suo et Gilabertus Compagno. Et postquam hec omnia ordinavit adhuc loquela plena et memoria integra sic obiit de hoc seculo in mense decembris. Et nos superscripti testes sic Juramis in Deum et per Deum quia quantum istum vidium scluptum est nulla fraus nec nullo malo ingenio hec pressa non est. Sed secundum voluntatem ipsius conditoris est editus vel factus sic nos adiuvet Deus et istorum sanctorum reliquarum. Et ea que dicimus recte et veraciter iuramus atque testificamus super et iuxtum iuramentum in domino. Late conditiones v. kalendis januarii Anno XXVI regni Roberti regis. S + Deodatus pbr. S + Falcutius levita S + Guifredus. Nos testes sumus et hanc sacramentum fidelitat in dno iuramus. S + Senderedus S + Rememirus S + num Gifredus S + n Boveto S + Adalbertus levita nos ad presens fuimus et hanc sacramentum audivimus S + Vivas sacer et iudex.

S + Adalbertus levita qui hec scripsit cum litteras suprapositas ad capud paginola ubi dicit et iter concessit in suis verbis post omnem suam ordinationem ad prefato Boveti generum suum modiata i de vinea et ad ipsa Torre Alba in Presentia Ermengarda uxore sua et Gifer filio suo et Gilabertus et Compagno et die et anno quo supra.