During recent years our understanding of early medieval Catalonia has been greatly improved by a number of fundamental works. The previously frequently stated opinion that the impetus for the economic development of the city of Barcelona was provided by external contact and commerce can no longer be accepted, and autochthonal growth must now be envisaged, the basis being agriculture rather than commerce, the latter being a later expansion, especially in the overseas sphere, which did not really develop until the later 12th. century. 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 Xe à la fin du XIe siècle (2 volumes) Toulouse, 1975-1976; and the various works of RUIZ DOMÉNEC, 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 DOMÉNEC, J. E., "El origen del capital comercial en Barcelona" in Miscellanea Barcinonensis 11, (1972), pp. 55-86.

4 RUIZ DOMÉNEC, 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-Cataluna, Bordighera 1974, pp. 151-160.

—73—
The views of Abadal on this matter have recently been revised and restated by Bonnassie, 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 activity, 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 century. 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 Grèco.

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 onomastics. Various ways of differentiating between

---74---
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 nicknames. 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 unnoted. 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*. There appears to be no other sound possibility, although it is strange that the fundamental dictionaries of medieval Latin fail to cite it. 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 *Grecus* in the period, although *Romano* does occur. 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» and in one of the examples

---

13 For example those of du Cange or Niermeyer.
14 *Romano* is cited by Balari, *op. cit.*, p. 567.
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 origin\(^{17}\).

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 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*.

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 Paterdomnus19, 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 widespread 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 I, 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 historiques del Bisbat de Barcelona ix. Rúbrica dels Libr antiquitatum, Barcelona 1914, p. 21, doc. 47.
21 LAEC II 16 46 of 15.XI.987. Mas op. cit. p. 37 doc. 89.
23 ACB Diversorum C(b) 1, 18. 28.XII.1009.
24 ACB diversorum A 1441 of 7.V.1013 condam Aurutio iudice qui suit.
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 exchanges.

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 wealth. His residence was located in the southern part of the city, near the defences and the Regumir gate, an area which seems to have suffered particularly heavily in 985, 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 suburbs, and property of various types scattered in the *territorium*, particularly at *Auro Invento/Paretas Delgades* (probably the site of a Roman villa near Provensals); in the area of the old port to the south of Montjuich, which was falling out of use as this time.

---

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 136 549 of 5 II.992, Mas op. cit. p. 48 doc. 115, and present at the sacramental swearing of a Will LAEC I 55 101 of 28 I.1009. Mas op. cit. p. 118 doc. 277.


28 On 13 XII.1023 (ACA Berenguier Ramón i 47) one of his sons, Gondeballus sold his brother, Ermengaudus, *ipsa sexta parte* of the parental home in Barchinona *prope Regum* 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.


31 8 III.993 ACB Diversorum C(a) 1,44: 18 IV.998 ACA Ramón Borrell 36: 1 I.100 AÇA 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* 1 (1901), pp. 195-450.
along the course of the old Roman aqueduct; and near the church of
S. Pau del Camp. These widespread properties passed to his wife, Ma-
ria, and children on his death and they seemed to have maintained
them, though not always without difficulty, as a dispute with Seniofred
_Riotorubense_ in 1014 indicates.

Aurucius' will has not survived the centuries, although other sources
indicate that he probably had six sons—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 manner. 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's.

b) _Marcutius_. The second of the seven known «Greeks» also bears a
Christian name which is otherwise widely attested in the area at this da-
te. Chronologically, he is the first to appear with the second name «Gre-
ek» in the year 996, the early proven references all being to Aurucius
without this tag. Unfortunately, the fact that this Christian name was
fairly frequent, makes is almost impossible to distinguish him from
others of the same name, unless the cognomen is applied, and conse-
quently the number of definite references is considerably lower. The to-
tal is in fact only seven definite citations.

Unless he was the same person as the _bonhom_ of a document of
1008, which seems unlikely, he was probably not a public figure. He

---

54 Appendix I doc. 4.
56 This is implied from the six parts referred to in the document cited in note 28.
57 The five certain sons were: _Ermengaudus_ and _Gondeballus_ referred to in note 28; _Guilabertus_ 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 _Bone/li._ _s Aurucii_ (ACA Ramón Berenguer I 12 of 12.XI.1057) 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.
58 BONNASIE, P., _op. cit._ , p.430 and 560. The number of documents which indicate the
activities of _Ermengaudus_ is in fact considerable.
59 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 Barcelona. In addition he owned at least one property, and possibly more, in the expanding suburbs of Barcelona in 1018. 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 us, and this gives us considerably more information. First of all, he bequeathed to the Cathedral Chapter a vineyard at Cucullo (Cogoll) 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 stall which he left to his widow. The extent of his urban holdings, the ownership of a cellarium, 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 Ermejadi, which mentions land that

41 Appendix I, doc. 4.
42 Appendix I, doc. 16, and LAEC I 152 398 of 7.11.1018, Mas op. cit. p. 166 doc. 371 and LAEC I 129 326 of 23.11.1018 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\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{47}.

Like Aurucius, his father's name is known — but he was the son of another Aurutius, not of Paterdomnus\textsuperscript{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 house\textsuperscript{49}.

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 area\textsuperscript{50}.

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

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{46} Appendix I, docs. 19 and 23.
\item \textsuperscript{47} Appendix I, docs. 2, 4-6, 12-15, 17, 20, 22 and 24.
\item \textsuperscript{48} Appendix I, doc. 6.
\item \textsuperscript{49} ACA Berenguer Ramón I 17, of 19.XII.1028.
\item \textsuperscript{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 Philipi regis. However it is possible that this was a misreading of anno I Henrici (i.e. 1052) since the document represents a dispute over part of the inheritance of condam Guitardi greci, 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.
\end{itemize}
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* and especially in the Banyols area of the by then almost totally silted up port. 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 mentioned. 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 988 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 to, and similarly in 1012, when his widow Aurucia, together with Ansemundo sold this same property. A Janni signs a document of 992, 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 century. 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)\textsuperscript{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 person\textsuperscript{60}.

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 \textit{iuxta domos que fuerunt de Felice clrico grecob}. The interpretation of the penultimate word is problematical: the initial conclusion would be that they are an abbreviation for \textit{clerico}, but the normal contraction is \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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 \textit{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.

\textsuperscript{59} Appendix I, doc. 8.
\textsuperscript{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 century.62

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 958, 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 time.63 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 south,64 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 Emporion,66 the presence of oriental names in the Roman period,67 north Africa's links in the late Roman period,68 pottery from the east Mediterranean at the same time69, and the evidence for oriental merchants in the Visigothic period,70, and the exceptions apparently made to the Jewish population of Septimania, and perhaps Tarraconensis in the seventh century.71

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 Pazo y Melia, A., «La embajada del Emperador de Alemania, Otón I al Calif de Córdoba, Abderramán III» in Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba, 10, (1951), 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 tithe on tpsas rafías in Tortuosa (LAEC III 75 193 Mas op. cit., p. 8, doc. 14) may well indicate that commercial contact was becoming a regular feature.
65 Doejaerd, 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 Perelló, E., Ampurias, description des ruines et Musee Monographique, Barcelona, 1973.
71 Bonnasie, 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 cities of the eleventh century were long-established, rather than recent immigrants and maintained contacts with the communities in other cities, often over long distances. 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 name. This is not at all surprising considering the Catalan presence in Greece in the fourteenth century, but even before this date, there is evidence for regular eastern contacts, such as Catalans in the east Mediterranean ports in the late twelfth century, and Benjamin of Tudela at a slightly earlier date refers to Orientals in Barcelona.

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 other. 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 impo-

72 E.g. Schwab, M., and Miret y Sans, J., «Le plus ancien document à present conservé 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 sparse, 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. 33-54.

73 Agus, I., Urban civilization in pre-Crusade Europe, as reflected in responsa literature. Leyden, 1965.


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 before 79.

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 century 80. Moreover, the word in Catalan can have the meaning of «coming from the east» which may refer to an area no further distant than Italy 81.

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 emigration 82, and the area was far from stable during the following century and a half 83. Cities such as Naples and Amalfi were still nominally Byzantine in the ninth century 84, and it is to be expected that Greek was spoken in Calabria and Apulia 85. Similarly, Bonnassie has postulated a migration from Lombardy to Catalonia in the late tenth century 86, 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».


81 See note 12.


84 McEvedy, C., op. cit., p. 48.


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 grounds. 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 1000. The monastery of Cuixà had close contact with Venice, which in turn had direct links with southern Italy and the east.

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 pilgrimages, 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.
90 For pilgrimages see BONNASSIE, P., op. cit., pp. 332-7.
## APPENDIX I

### DOCUMENTS IN WHICH THE NAME GREGUS APPEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Num.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.IX.996</td>
<td>Marcucio Greco</td>
<td>ACA R. Borrell 29</td>
<td>Owner of land at Marunnano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.VI.997</td>
<td>Gitardo Greco</td>
<td>LAEC I 157 412</td>
<td>Owner of land at Baudella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>18.IV.998</td>
<td>Damiani Greco</td>
<td>ACA R. Borrell 36</td>
<td>Deceased owner of vine at Parietes Delgadas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>25.VII.1003</td>
<td>Marcucio Greco</td>
<td>ACV Lib. Dot. f. 55</td>
<td>Land near S. Pau extra muros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>19.V.1005</td>
<td>Gitardo Greco</td>
<td>LAEC IV 152 355</td>
<td>Buys house in city and land at Banyols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.VIII.1006</td>
<td>Gitardus Greco</td>
<td>Mas IX n. 240</td>
<td>Buys land, house and stone tower at Banyols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>25.III.1008</td>
<td>Aururio Greco</td>
<td>LAEC I 112 277</td>
<td>Exchanges 2 modiatas of vineyard at Croso called Cemel with Bishop and Canons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.III.1009</td>
<td>Viatarius Grecus</td>
<td>LAEC IV 74 213</td>
<td>Had given an allod called Castelleto to Cathedral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.VI.1009</td>
<td>Ianno Greco</td>
<td>ACA R. Borrell 94</td>
<td>Deceased owner of vineyard at Cogoll Antic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>28.XII.1009</td>
<td>Felice clerico</td>
<td>ACB Div. C(b)1,18</td>
<td>Previous owner of house in city of Barcelona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>XI/XII.1010</td>
<td>Marcucio Greco</td>
<td>S. Pere 14</td>
<td>Owner of land at Pociolos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.V.1014</td>
<td>Gitardus Grego</td>
<td>LAEC II 7 22</td>
<td>Executor of will of Bonfill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>24.V.1015</td>
<td>Guitardo Greco</td>
<td>ACB Div. C(b)1,38</td>
<td>Owner of clausum in city, near Regumir Castle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>11.III.1016</td>
<td>Guitardo Greco</td>
<td>ACB Div. c(b)1,42</td>
<td>Owner of land at Banyols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>17.VI.1016</td>
<td>Guitardo Greco</td>
<td>LAEC III 96 247</td>
<td>Previous owner of property at Esplugues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.III.1018</td>
<td>Marcucio Greco</td>
<td>LAEC I 114 285</td>
<td>Owner of garden near city walls prope de ipsa Palma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.XI.1018</td>
<td>Guitardo Greco</td>
<td>Montserrat S. Benet de Bages 1291</td>
<td>Owner of land in Sarria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>28.XII.1021</td>
<td>Marcutius Greco</td>
<td>LAEC I 65 156</td>
<td>Sacramental swearing of his will</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.IV.1023</td>
<td>Marcutii Greci</td>
<td>LAEC I 25 47</td>
<td>Deceased owner of property, of which the tithes and first fruits were given to S. Cugat del Camf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.III.1054</td>
<td>Guitardi Greci</td>
<td>ACB Div. A 2368</td>
<td>Deceased owner of land at Banyols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>11.X.1054</td>
<td>Guitardi Greci</td>
<td>ACB Div. C(b)1,185</td>
<td>Deceased owner of houses in city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>5.V.1061</td>
<td>Guitardi Greci</td>
<td>S. Pere 27 bis</td>
<td>Deceased owner of alllods at Banyols</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.IV.1065</td>
<td>Marcutii Greci</td>
<td>LAEC I 58 121</td>
<td>Deceased owner of land at Cogoll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>undated</td>
<td>Gitard Gco</td>
<td>ACA R. Borrell 34</td>
<td>Land et Celada</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
### Abbreviations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACA R. Borrell</td>
<td>Archivo de la Corona de Aragón. Cancillería. Pergaminos de Ramón Borrell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACB Div.</td>
<td>Archivo Capitular de Barcelona. Diversorum (followed by series and document number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAEC</td>
<td>Libri Antiquitatum Ecclesiae Cathedralis in ACB. (followed by volume, folio and document number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mas IX</td>
<td>J. Mas, «Notes Històriques del Bisbat de Barcelona» Vol. IX. Rúbrica dels Libri Antiquitatum part I (and document number)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Pere Montserrat</td>
<td>Archivo del Monasterio de S. Pere de les Puelles (parchment series)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Benet de Bages</td>
<td>Archivo del Monasterio de Montserrat, parchments of S. Benet de Bages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACV Lib. Dot.</td>
<td>Archivo Capitular de Vich, Liber Dotationum (and folio number)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX II 28.XII.1021

LAEC. f. 65v-64r. doc. 136
MAS, op. cit., doc. 400 p. 183

Sacramentalis Marcucii Greci qui dimisit canonice vineam suam apud cucullum.

Conditiones sacramentorum ad quaram ex hordinatione residebat sacerdote vel iudice, a nomine Guillelmu et in presentia Bonus Filius clericus et iudex et aliorum multorum honorum hominum qui ibidem aderant. Testificant testes prefati quis prefert Sendredus Vivenis, et Emermirus Russus et Ermengarda femina, in faciem de superdicto sacerdote vel iudice ad comprabandum causam helemosiniam de condam homine nomine Marcucius Greco. Et hic sunt nomina testium qui hi testificant sici 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 altae fundatum est intus in aula sancti Jacobi Apostoli, infra muros civitatis Barchinona, super cuius sacro sancto altarium ad manus nostras continemus vel jurando contangimur 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 Marcucius iacebat in sua egritudine in obiit sic nos videntes et audiemus commendavit vel injunxerit ommem suum elemosinam ad istos iamdictos suos elemosinarios et precepit eis ut si de ipsa egritudine mortuis fuit plenam potestatem abuisissent adtribuere ommem facultatem suam, quem ad modum eis ordinavit vel injunxerit per suum testamentum quod ante se scribere iussit et manu propria firmavit et testes firmare rogavit.

In primis concessit ad ipsam canonican Sancti Crucis ipsam suam vineam quam habetat in terminio de ipso Cucullo, iusta vineam Seniofredi Riorubiensi pro sua sepultura ut memores sint canonici preferati domus beneficii, quod Dei gratia prefate ecclesia feci retro acto tempore, et concessit pro sacrificio K Vi de vino. Et concessit episcopo Sancti Crucis mancusos 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 aderit 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 exuem atque regressium quod est iusta exuem Petri presbiteri et Siguivini. Et concessit uxori sue prefata mansionem ubi ille detentus egritudine iacebat cum partem ortuli qui remanet de prefate uxori sues rissa 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 mediatatem de ipsis vino que sunt in terminio de ipso Cucullo, iusta terras Bernardi Gelmiri et vineas filiorum Aurucii judicis quondam. Hec omnia prefata quod illi donavit teneat et possidest omnibus diebus viretue et post obitum suum remaneant equaliter omnibus filiis et filiabus suas. Et concessit prefato filio suo Gillaberto ipsum ortum de Salvatore integrer causa meliorationes. Et concessit preface uxori sue ipsam tonnem 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 ipsum tabulam quam concessit uxorì 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 Ernengarda uxor suà ut medietatem de ipso ortulo ubi Ermemir Matarucos abitabit, simul cum ipsa sexa 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 Transgondcia ipsam medietatem a predicto Gifret, ubi ille uult apprehendere. Alia vero medietas concessit filiis suis Gilaberto et Companno et iter concessit in suis verbis post omnem ordinacionem suam ad prefato Boveto generum suum modiata i de vine ad ipsa turre Alba in presencia Ernengarda uxor sua tam Gifre filio suo et Gilabertus Compagno. Et postquam hec omnia ordinavit adhuc loquela plena et memoria integra sic obit de hoc seculo in mense decembris. Et nos superscripti testes sic iuramis in Deum et per Deum quaia quantum istum vidium sculptum est nulla fraus nec nullo malo ingenio hec pressa non est. Sed secundum voluntatem ipsius conditionis est editus vel factus sic nos adiuuer Deus et istorum sanctorum reliquarum. Et ea que dicitur recte et veraciter iuramus et veraciter iuramus et perch ma terum conditiones v. kalendis januarii Anno XXVI regni Roberti regis. S + Deodatus pbr. S + Falcuti levita S + Guifredus. Nos testes sumus et hanc sacramentum fidelitatem in dno iuramentum in domino. Late conditions v. S + Sendereudas 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 suprapositis ad capud paginola ubi dicit et iter concessit in suis verbis post omnem suam ordinacionem ad prefato Boveti generum suum modiata i de vine et ad ipsa Torre Alba in Presentia Ernengarda uxore sua et Gifer filio suo et Gilabertus et Compagno et die et anno quo supra.