Noble Canons, Clerical Nobles: the Cathedral Chapter and Society in Fourteenth-Century Girona

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Centre for Medieval Studies
University of Toronto

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Abstract

This dissertation is an examination of the cathedral chapter of Girona, Catalonia in the first half of the fourteenth century, looking at its composition, function, and role in local society. Using material from the Girona chapter and diocesan archives, I argue that the Girona canons were important members of both the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies of the diocese. Due to a unique privilege requiring all canons to prove noble descent, the men of the Girona chapter were closely connected to the regional nobility. This shaped their sense of identity and influenced them as they sought to live like their noble counterparts and defend their honor. My work explores the boundary between secular and religious identities, discussing the range of activities carried out by these men.

In this dissertation, I outline the structure of the chapter and the norms governing daily life for the canons before discussing the canons’ duties in the cathedral and their work on behalf of the chapter. My research shows that many canons participated in religious activities not mandated by their position in the chapter and showed their devotion in their testaments by donating to charitable institutions, churches, and religious houses and by founding and endowing new benefices and altars in the cathedral. I then
discuss the chapter as a corporate body, arguing that it worked to protect its rights, holdings, and jurisdiction in the face of challenges from both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. Finally, I examine the ways that the canons remained connected to their families, arguing that the canons’ noble identity was an important part of their identity. My research shows that the canons actively built their personal patrimonies, conducted economic transactions for themselves and for relatives, and showed the enduring significance of ties with their families in their testaments. Many Girona canons made bequests to relatives, selected them as executors, and made provisions for their spiritual health in the afterlife. This dissertation shows that the canons could be both noble men and cathedral canons, and they maintained the values and mindset of men from both of these worlds.
Acknowledgments

I have received much guidance in the course of researching and writing this dissertation. I would first like to thank my supervisor, Professor Mark Meyerson, who introduced me to Iberian history and has been an invaluable resource throughout the years, sharing his time, knowledge, and support. I would also like to thank the other members of my committee: professors Joseph Goering and Isabelle Cochelin, whose attention to detail and helpful advice has greatly improved this dissertation. Additional thanks go to the Centre for Medieval Studies and School of Graduate Studies at the University of Toronto, both of which provided grants that funded research trips to Girona, making this dissertation possible. Finally, I would like to thank my parents, Michael and Troy, plus Stefanie and Evan and the rest of my family and friends who have provided love, patience, and encouragement throughout this long process.
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Introduction

In his 1337 testament, Girona canon Hug de Cruïlles founded three benefices at an altar in the Girona cathedral. The priests who held the first two benefices had to celebrate mass at the altar “for the honor, praise, and glory of the holy and indivisible Trinity and the most blessed virgin Mary and all saints and the aforementioned lord Gilabert, former bishop, my brother, and also my parents and benefactors.” He instructed the priest who held the third benefice “to celebrate mass at the said altar of the blessed Peter and Paul for my soul and [the souls] of my parents” and gave the right of patronage for this benefice to his nephew Bernat, who was not part of the cathedral community. In shaping his legacy, this canon very clearly sought to unite two important facets of his life: his religious devotion and his connection to his family. He enriched the cathedral monetarily and spiritually, sought to provide for his soul and those of his parents and brother, and increased the authority of another relative by giving him the right to appoint the priest who would perform these services. As he made his will, shaping the way he would be remembered, Hug firmly tied his wishes both to his spiritual family at the cathedral and his birth family, showing the significance of both parts of his identity. This mix of priorities, of secular and ecclesiastical ties, is emblematic of the life of the Girona cathedral canons in the fourteenth century.

Girona was one of the most important cities in Catalonia after Barcelona, and the Church was the most powerful institution within the city. Girona was located in a rich agricultural and commercial zone, along a major north-south roadway, and it enjoyed a period of relative peace in the first half of the fourteenth century. The Girona cathedral was a very wealthy institution, receiving income from tithes and its feudal holdings, comprising much of the land surrounding the city. Christian Guilleré, one of the main historians of the city of Girona, has called the Church the primary local power. It was the main property holder in the city and only increased in predominance in the first half of

1 “ad honorem, laudem, et gloriium sanete et indiviide trinitatis et beatissime uirginis Marie et omnium sanctorum, et dicti domini Guilaberti, quondam episcopi, fratris mei, neenon parentum et benefactorum meorum.” Arxiu Diocesà de Girona Dotalies de la Fundacions de la Seu D-2, fol. 124v.
2 “celebrare missam in dicto altare beatorum Petri et Pauli pro anima mea et parentum meorum” ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 126v.
the fourteenth century. This was a period of urban expansion, and the cathedral community benefitted and profited from this urban growth. In this period, it also embarked on a building project that included construction of a new episcopal palace and an expansion of the cathedral, making room for the growing number of foundations of chapels and altars. This increased the size of the cathedral, making this landmark even more notable as the largest and most prominent building within the city walls. The physical prominence of the cathedral in the city landscape reflected the position and prestige of the cathedral, bishop, and chapter.

The cathedral community played an important role in society in the late medieval period in a number of ways. It was comprised of the bishop, the chapter, including twenty-four canons and twelve priests who assisted them, and other various clerics who held minor positions or belonged to the households of the senior clergymen. The canons were part of the hierarchy of the diocese and had both liturgical and administrative functions in the cathedral, city, and region. Their main role was, of course, attending and carrying out the religious services that were the daily focus of the cathedral. The chapter itself existed to recite the Hours and assist with and attend masses in the cathedral, and this task provided the framework for their position and duties in the chapter. They also helped the bishop with diocesan administration, serving as emissaries or ambassadors to other ecclesiastical and secular officials. The canons met regularly in chapter to discuss capitular business and to manage the chapter patrimony, using the income it provided to deliver daily distributions of bread and wine to members of the chapter.

The cathedral chapter is an important institution to study because of its position within local society, at the nexus of ecclesiastical power in both the city and diocese. The canons’ spiritual home was the cathedral, the largest and most prestigious building in the

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4 Guilleré, Girona, vol. 1, 98.
5 Josep Canal i Roquet, Eduard Canal i de Diego, and Josep Maria Nolla i Brufau, La ciutat de Girona en la 1a meitat del segle XIV: La plenitud medieval (Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, n.d.), 17. A major part of the city was under the direct dominion of the ecclesiastical institutions of the city, primarily the Girona See, which then received rents or income generated by these properties.
7 The priests of the chapter were also allowed to attend chapter meetings, as will be discussed later, in Chapter One. This dissertation, however, will focus on the canons of the chapter. They comprise a majority of the chapter community (twenty-four canons to twelve priests) and the sources provide a fuller picture of the backgrounds, lives, duties, and activities of the canons themselves. The priests of the chapter will also be discussed but will not feature as prominently.
city, and the houses in which the canons lived were in its environs in the center of the city. The cathedral was, of course, a focus for Christian devotion and worship in the city, and the chapter’s key liturgical role in the cathedral made them integral to the religious life of the city.

The Girona chapter was also the place where lay and ecclesiastical power intersected in medieval Catalonia, and studying the chapter provides a lens to examine relations between the Church and society in the late medieval period. The Girona chapter was, as far as I know, unique in requiring all of the canons to prove that they were of noble descent. A chapter statute governed this membership restriction, noting that every place in the chapter had to be filled with a man who was descended from the military aristocracy in both the maternal and paternal lines. This rule allegedly dated back to a privilege granted to the cathedral community by Charlemagne, but it is unclear when it came into existence. It was strictly enforced at least by the thirteenth century and remained in place throughout the fourteenth century. Many other cathedral chapters included canons from aristocratic and noble families, but I have not found any evidence that other chapters required their canons to prove noble descent and investigated potential canons’ backgrounds to verify that they met this requirement. Most other chapters could and did include men from among the bourgeoisie or even the peasantry. David Lepine, in discussing English canons, noted that it was difficult to establish canons’ social origins, but that they could be from local knightly families, from non-aristocratic families that held small amounts of land, or from the upper ranks of urban society. Kathleen Edwards stated that men of all ranks could join English chapters, and that it was normal for chapter to include “new men” who rose to prominence at universities or through royal service. In Laon, the social origins of only fifteen percent of the canons in thirteenth century can

8 “Et primo omnia loca canonicorum, que sunt uiginti quatuor, et habent conferri ex indulto sedis apostolice de militari genere procreatis ex utroque parente.” Arxiu Capitular de Girona Llibre d’en Caçada, MS 66, fol. 80r. Joan Molina Figueras noted that a fourteenth-century constitution repeating this requirement stated that it was in place in the twelfth century. See “De genere militari ex utroque parente. La nobleza eclesiástica y los inicios de la catedral gótica de Gerona,” Anuario de Estudios Medievales 37:2 (2007): 743. He cited Jaime Villanueva’s discussion of this precept, but Villanueva did not give a specific reference; see Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España, vol. XII: Viage á Urgel y á Gerona (Madrid: La Real Academia de la Historia, 1850), 151.

9 David Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Late Middle Ages (Woodbridge [UK]: The Boydell Press, 1995), chapter 3.

be identified (as either nobles or from families that owned a fief without being noble), leaving 85% of the canons’ origins as unknown.\footnote{Hélène Millet, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédrale de Laon, 1272-1412} (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1982), 71-72.} María Soledad Suárez Beltran has identified the social origins of 59 canons in the chapter of Oviedo, Asturias, from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, finding that 27% were noble, while 50% were bourgeois. At least eight percent were from peasant backgrounds.\footnote{María Soledad Suárez Beltrán, \textit{El Cabildo de la Catedral de Oviedo en la Edad Media} (Oviedo: Universidad de Oviedo, 1986), 236.} Regarding the chapter of Vic, in Catalonia, Paul Freedman noted that men from both noble and non-noble backgrounds were able to join the chapter, and while the upper aristocracy dominated chapter membership in the thirteenth century, they did not make up an overwhelming majority.\footnote{Paul Freedman, \textit{The Diocese of Vic: Tradition and Regeneration in Medieval Catalonia} (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 51-56.} Even though other chapters included noble canons, they did not restrict membership based on social status and typically included men from a range of backgrounds. The social composition of the chapter made the Girona chapter unique and brings additional points of interest to this study, in considering the actions and motivations of the canons and their links to their families.

Due to the strict enforcement of this privilege, the Girona chapter was entirely composed of noble men, mainly from within the diocese itself. Their nobles families controlled patrimonies centered in the countryside and often included knights and \textit{castellans} whose property was anchored by a castle and included other lands and villages that surrounded the castle. They did not live in the city and were generally prohibited from holding office and exercising political power in Girona itself. That power instead belonged to the wealthy urban elites and merchants who served on the town councils.\footnote{The nobility played only a marginal role in the cities in the region, and in Girona, barely any noble families lived in the city. Those who did were devoid of any political power. Christian Guilleré, “Les élites urbaines catalanes à la fin du moyen âge: l’exemple gérondais,” in \textit{Les élites urbaines au moyen âge} (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 270-271.} Sending second or third sons to join the cathedral chapter, then, was a way for these rural noble families to have some sort of representation and power within the city, since other options were not available to them. The canon, as a son or nephew or brother of a local, rural lord, could act on behalf of family interests in the city, carrying out transactions and currying favor with the bishop or council. Having a relative gain entrance to the chapter

\paragraph*{Notes}
could also bring further honor to these families, due to the status, wealth, and power of the Girona chapter. Linking the family with a wealthy and prominent religious institution could also bring spiritual benefits to the extended lineage, with the family giving donations and financial support and receiving intercessory prayers in return.

Many scholars have researched the city and diocese of Girona, publishing editions of documents from the diocesan archive and writing extensively about a number of topics that relate to the cathedral community or bishops and chapter. Josep María Marquès i Planaguma was the archivist of the Girona diocesan archive for a number of years and published editions of cartularies that record important and valuable land acquisitions, sales, and privileges belonging to the cathedral community. He has done so both individually and jointly with Jaume de Puig i Oliver and Albert Serrat i Torrent, who are also both historians and archivists. Historian Ramon Martí has published an edition of documents from the Girona diocesan archive from the ninth through eleventh centuries, making it possible to trace the cathedral community’s earliest property transactions and royal privileges. Marquès also wrote a great many articles on various topics, including confraternities in the bishopric of Girona, the creation and elimination of parishes, benefice holders in the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries, cases of the episcopal court before 1500, and inscriptions and tombs in the Girona cathedral. He has also written more general histories of the bishopric of Girona, describing the structure of the Church in Girona, its property holdings and lordship, governance of the diocese and the actions and activities of the bishop and chapter.

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16 Ramon Martí, ed., *Col.lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona (817-1100)* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 1997).


Christian Guilleré is another historian who has written extensively about the history of Girona, including a monograph on the history of the city in the fourteenth century and articles about charitable practices in the city, urban elites in the city of Girona, relations between Jews and Christians in Girona, and about episcopal pastoral visitation in the diocese.\textsuperscript{19} Elvis Mallorquí has written about the Girona Church, discussing the foundation of parishes and the collection of the tithe, plus the composition of rural society in the diocese.\textsuperscript{20} He has also published an edition of the \textit{Llibre Verd} of the cathedral, recording information from the 1362 collection of the tithe in the diocese.\textsuperscript{21} Joan Molina Figueras is an art historian and has also written about the Girona Church in the fourteenth century, discussing Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon’s program of worship in the cathedral and the links between the nobility and the construction project to build a new Gothic cathedral in Girona.\textsuperscript{22} This historiography provides much information and analysis about the wider workings of the Church in the city and diocese, which sets the foundation for a study of the canons of the cathedral chapter.

The historiography concerning cathedral chapters has focused on a number of common topics, including the backgrounds and education of the canons, the chapter’s patrimony and its management, the duties of the canons and chapter dignitaries, the requirement for residence and issues of non-residence, and relations with the bishop. Paul Freedman has written about another chapter in Catalonia, that of Vic, focusing on the ninth through twelfth centuries. He discussed the role of the bishop and chapter in the secular government of the town of Vic, a role that declined after the eleventh century when the counts of Barcelona no longer needed the close cooperation of the cathedral community to solidify their power in the region. Freedman explained the formation,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Elvis Mallorquí, \textit{Parròquia i societat rural al bisbat de Girona, segles XIII-XIV} (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2011).
\item Elvis Mallorquí, \textit{El llibre verd del Bisbe de Girona (1362-1371): El delme i l'estructura feudal de la diòcesi de Girona al segle XIV} (Girona: Diputació de Girona, 2011).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
duties, and functioning of the chapter and addressed topics such as the canons’ family
backgrounds and their ability to hold private property, in addition to the relations between
family interests and capitular interests. Much of his book discussed the cathedral’s
power within the city of Vic and the factors that complicated or undermined the
cathedral’s lordship over the city. He also described the power and holdings of the
bishop, noting the decline of ecclesiastical lordship during the return of secular
governance in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Other studies of cathedral chapters in Iberia covering later periods have asked
similar questions, focusing on the chapter as an institution. María Soledad Suárez Beltrán
has studied the cathedral chapter of Oviedo, looking at the spiritual and administrative
functions of the chapter, management of the chapter patrimony, and administration of
chapter finances. She discussed the statutes and protocols that governed life in the chapter
and showed the importance of the chapter as a major landholder and landlord in the
diocese, possessing properties in both rural and urban areas. The third part of her study
focused on the canons themselves and used a book of donations to examine some
surviving wills which reveal much about the background and lifestyle of the canons, only
about a quarter of whom were noble. Historians have also studied the chapter of León in
the fifteenth century, again looking at the duties of the canons and chapter dignitaries, the
protocols for joining the chapter and remaining a member in good standing, including
residence in the city and attendance at choir, and the norms of chapter life, like
attendance at chapter meetings and customs of dress and behavior. The authors also
examined the chapter’s relations with other institutions and individuals, noting how the
chapter sought to maintain its privileges, immunities, and jurisdictions over possessions
and vassals in the face of higher authorities, and concluding that relations with the laity
were generally economic in nature.

26 Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, García García, *La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés*, 301, 314. Another study of a Spanish cathedral chapter, that of Lugo, asks similar questions about the chapter’s structure, dignitary offices, property holdings, and reforms. See James D’Emilio, “The Cathedral Chapter of Lugo in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: Reform and Retrenchment,” in *Cross, Crescent and*
Studies of chapters in Northern Europe have focused on similar themes, analyzing the social background of the canons, the framework of life in the chapter, and the management of the chapter patrimony. Jacques Madignier has written about the chapter of Autun and included sections on the canons’ lifestyles and mentalities, looking to discuss more about the lives of the individual canons. He noted that canons could build their own personal fortunes from various streams of income, and although some canons lived like nobility, many others lived modestly. He also discussed their testaments but focused on their foundations of altars in the cathedral and requests for commemoration, including anniversaries and intercessory prayers after death. Hélène Millet published a comprehensive study of the chapter of Laon, including a section on their social origins and family links. Her discussion focused on the geographic origins of the canons, noting the weak representation of local Laon noble families and the growing number of canons with connections to the royal government or family connections to bishops, cardinals, and popes. She also mentioned testaments briefly to show the wealth and status of a small number of canons from within the chapter who left large estates, analyzing their instructions on how to perpetuate their memory after death through the place of burial, size of candles, and number of anniversaries.

A number of historians have also written about English cathedral chapters, describing the structure of the cathedral community and the duties of chapter dignitaries and all the associated clerical personnel. Kathleen Edwards provided an overview of all the English chapters, looking comprehensively at the duties of the canons and chapter dignitaries and the relationships between the chapters and their bishops. Because of the

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27 Jacques Madignier, *Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun du XIe siècle à la fin du XIVe siècle* (Langres: Guéniot, 2011), 287-291. Many canons were from unknown social origins and although aristocratic membership in the chapter was constant, it was not exclusive (see pages 91-97).


31 Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals*. Julia Barrow has also written about English canons and chapters, often in comparison with their German counterparts, including articles about education; see “Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany, 1100-1225,” *Viator* 20 (1989), 117-138. Barrow also discussed the prebend system; see “Cathedrals, Provosts, and Prebends: a comparison of twelfth-century German and English Practice,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37:4 (1986), 536-564. Additionally, she has researched the canons of Hereford and their relationship with the
scope of her study, she did not specifically focus on the individual members of the various cathedral chapters, choosing instead to discuss larger trends like the difficulties of enforcing residence and the growing need for more clerics due to the expanded liturgy, chant, and anniversaries sung in cathedrals. Edwards concluded by emphasizing that changes in the duties and focus of these chapters should not be seen as a decline from earlier ideals but rather as adaptation to the changing needs of Church and society, in which canons had work to do in the world, studying and teaching at universities and serving in the administration of various secular and ecclesiastical officials.32 David Lepine has taken a similarly wide view in writing about English chapters, but he also discussed canons’ origins and religious and cultural interests. He concluded that many men joined the chapter from the upper ranks of urban society, including the sons of merchants, shopkeepers, and craftsmen. He used testaments to show canons’ personal devotion, viewing provisions for their souls as reflective of late medieval piety, and added that they also gave alms for charity and made donations to other churches and religious houses. In discussing their non-religious interests, he focused mainly on book ownership and education.33 Everett Crosby has written about cathedral chapters in England in a slightly earlier period but has focused on the political and economic relationship between the bishop and chapter, concluding that as the episcopal and chapter patrimonies gradually separated, chapters sought to define their function, protect their revenues, and acquire new wealth.34

These studies have provided a basic framework for an examination of the Girona chapter, as any study of this kind of corporate body first gives an overview of the institution itself and its members and their roles. My dissertation asks the same kinds of questions about the Girona chapter, examining who belonged to the chapter, how it functioned, what its role was within the city and region, and what relations with other institutions were like. This study tries to understand who the canons were, how they understood their religious responsibilities, and how they balanced their duties with their town and citizens; see “The Canons and Citizens of Hereford, c. 1160-1240” Midland History 24 (1999), 1-23.

32 Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals, 321-324.
33 Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons, chapters 3, 7, and 8.
own personal priorities. I look not only at the ecclesiastical activities mandated by the 
canons’ position but at their voluntary participation in other devotional and charitable 
activities to get a better understanding of how the canons viewed their participation in 
religious life. Additionally, the particular situation of the Girona canons has also shaped 
the types of questions my dissertation seeks to answer about the chapter. In researching 
the members of the Girona chapter, it is important to take a wider view, examining not 
just their duties and concerns as canons, but their personal and familial priorities. As 
mentioned above, the Girona chapter was unique in requiring all of its members to prove 
descent from the nobility, thus dictating that all members were from similar backgrounds. 
They were linked not just by membership in the chapter but also by social status and even 
marriage alliances between their families, the rural, landholding Catalan elite. I have 
sought to address questions about family, identity, and community, viewing the chapter 
as connected to both the diocesan hierarchy and the regional nobility. Thus, I look in 
detail at the lives, activities, and mentalities of the canons and their relations with the 
bishop, their own families, and the wider community. As the canons maintained ties to 
their relatives, they could and did act on behalf of themselves or their families, rather 
than simply acting on the interests of the bishop, chapter, or Church at all times. They 
continued to hold private property, expand their own personal patrimonies by buying and 
selling property, and communicate with and on behalf of relatives. This dissertation seeks 
to see the canons as more than one-dimensional members of a religious community, 
allowing for the integration of different concerns into a multi-faceted identity that 
reflected the various networks and communities that the canons belonged to throughout 
their lives.

To address these questions, this study makes use of sources from the diocesan 
archive in Girona, the Arxiu Diocesà de Girona, and the chapter archive, the Arxiu 
Capitular de Girona. The Arxiu Diocesà holds material from the bishop and cathedral 
community as a whole, including series of registers containing episcopal letters (the 
Registres de Lletres Episcopals), notarial documents (the Notularum series), court 
records (the Processos Medievals), foundations of benefices (Fundacions de beneficis), 
donations to the See (Dotalies de Beneficis) and a collection of loose parchments (the 
Pergamins de la Mitra). The archive also contains a number of cartularies, some of which
have been edited and published, containing documents and privileges important to the cathedral community. The holdings of the Arxiu Capitular are now housed in the diocesan archive as well and include material detailing the holdings and activities of the chapter itself, including cartularies like the *Llibre Vert* (named for its green cover) and compilations of statutes like the *Llibre d’en Caçada* and the *Llibre de statuts dit de Cubertas Blancas*.

This study focuses on the period from approximately 1292 to 1362, encompassing the episcopacies of seven bishops. The study begins in the late thirteenth century because that is when the first register series at the diocesan archive dates to, but it also makes use of earlier documents and charters to trace the early history of the chapter. I have chosen to end the study in 1362, at the end of Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles’s episcopacy, because the next bishop, Iñigo de Valtierra, was from outside the diocese. The chapter’s relationship with him may have been different than with the previous seven bishops, six of whom were from within the diocese and had previously been canons of the cathedral chapter. This seventy-year range is long enough to get a sense of the workings of the chapter, the duties and activities of the canons, and the chapter’s relations with outside authorities.

In analyzing these sources, I have tried to answer questions about the social history of the chapter, in addition to its institutional and ecclesiastical history. This study makes use of a group of testaments made by the canons; at least seventeen survive for the period under consideration. They are transcribed in three of the diocesan archive’s registers, including the regular notarial registers, and in registers recording foundations of benefices and donations to the See, since those wills in particular contained those types of bequests. These are very fruitful sources that can show both personal relationships and devotional choices, as seen through the various legacies and donations made by the testators. Since the Girona canons had the right to freely hold and dispose of their personal property in their wills, their testamentary choices can reveal personal connections and priorities. There are two general schools of thought about the types of information that testaments can provide, that of inheritance practices and of religious
mentalties.\textsuperscript{35} Scholars of testaments often include wills by priests, canons, or other ecclesiastical figures in their studies if such documents are included in registers or compilations with other wills, but they tend not to draw specific conclusions about the trends in such wills.\textsuperscript{36} Some studies of other cathedral chapters also use testaments as sources but do not always include a focused look at what these testaments can reveal about the canons as individuals with their own relationships and priorities, instead focusing on the economic holdings of the canons and the size of their estate. By asking similar questions of the wills of the Girona canons as scholars have done for mainly secular testators, this study demonstrates how much the canons maintained their close connections to the secular world.

This dissertation contributes both to the historiography of cathedral chapters and to that of Girona, as an in-depth study of a Gironese institution that maintained its identity and strength throughout this period and asserted its independence in the face of episcopal, comital, and royal challenges. In looking both at the chapter as an institution and the individual actions of its members, this study seeks to provide a full picture of the range of activities carried out by these canons. It locates the chapter within its geographical and temporal context, examining how the chapter interacted with authorities like the local bishop, the archbishop of Tarragona, the king of Aragon, and the pope, and the times in which these authorities could be either ally or opponent. These questions are significant because they can give a fuller picture of the chapter and the lives of the canons themselves, providing the context for understanding their lives as canons and as nobles. Answering these questions will add to our understanding of the role of the chapter within Girona and the wider society of late medieval Catalonia, showing a functioning


\textsuperscript{36} It is often the case that a very small minority of the wills in any of these collections are those of ecclesiastical figures. For example, in his study of Barcelona wills, Jaume Casamitjana i Vilaseca includes seven clerical wills in his sample of approximately 100 wills, including a bishop of Sogorb-Castelló, one canon of the Girona cathedral, one parish priest, and four priests or minor clerics. See Appendix I in \textit{El testamento en la Barcelona bajomedieval}. 
institution that continued to draw members from the secular hierarchy of the diocese, carried out a building project to expand and improve the cathedral, and provided a focus for worship and devotion. It can add to our understanding of life within medieval Girona and relations between the cathedral community and the laity and royal officials, examining the particular context that led to conflict or cooperation between various groups. This dissertation provides an overview of the chapter’s function and role in Girona in the first half of the fourteenth century but also asks deeper questions about the links between canons and their families and the effect these had on the motivations, actions, and lives of the canons themselves.

Chapter One examines the structure and principal procedures of the chapter, including the statutes governing admission to the chapter and the daily life of the canons. It begins with the context necessary for this study, looking at the history of the city of Girona and the foundation and development of the cathedral chapter, including the growth of its patrimony. The cathedral received a number of land grants and donations from the Carolingian kings, in addition to privileges and grants of immunity. The bishop and chapter also received donations from and conducted property transactions with a number of other individuals, including the counts and other nobles from the region, contributing to the development of a large and wide-ranging patrimony. Chapter One also looks at the early appearance of chapter dignitaries, plus the separation of the episcopal and chapter patrimonies and the later division and management of this patrimony into smaller units called *pabordias*. It moves on to discuss the requirements and procedure for joining the chapter, including the important provision that all canons prove descent from the military aristocracy in both the maternal and paternal lines. Finally, this chapter explores the canons’ family networks, discussing the lineages that provided sons for the chapter and their connections to other important aristocratic houses and to the monarchy in the Crown of Aragon.

Chapter Two examines the canons’ duties in the cathedral and their work on behalf of the chapter, plus their participation in other religious or devotional activities not mandated by their position within the chapter. The canons’ main task was, of course, to perform the Divine Office and attend masses at the cathedral and to participate in the readings, responses, and singing. However, they could dispense with some of this
responsibility by delegating tasks to the priests of the chapter, who would then carry out the cathedral worship.\textsuperscript{37} The twelve priests of the chapter comprised a group that was part of the cathedral community but separate from the twenty-four canons. Although the priests performed some of the canons’ tasks, the canons maintained their distinction from these priests, refusing to admit them as full members of the cathedral chapter. Next, Chapter Two discusses the main dignitary positions within the chapter and outlines their administrative and ecclesiastical duties, discussing the statutes that regulated liturgical dress and the daily economic distributions made to the canons. It also provides an overview of the canons’ other duties, including their administrative work in managing the chapter patrimony and the cathedral’s work fund, which financed the construction of new chapels and an expansion of the cathedral itself, the collation of benefices, in which the chapter or various canons selected priests to hold benefices within the cathedral, and the canons’ role in episcopal elections. I also discuss their service for the bishop, including their role as messengers and representatives sent to royal or papal courts. This chapter moves on to discuss the canons’ personal devotional activities, examining one canon’s institution of a new feast day celebration in the cathedral, various canons’ donations to charitable institutions, churches, and religious houses in the city, and the foundations of new benefices and altars in the cathedral, often recorded in the canons’ testaments.

Chapter Three discusses the Girona chapter’s interactions with powerful individuals, noting that it focused on protecting its rights, holdings and jurisdiction in the face of challenges from ecclesiastical authorities like the bishop of Girona, the archbishop of Tarragona, and the pope, and from secular authorities like the count of Empúries and the king of Aragon. This impulse to defend one’s position against outside encroachment was common to other cathedral chapters throughout Iberia and Western Europe, in a time of growing papal power and more frequent attempts to control matters like episcopal elections and nominations of benefice holders in cathedrals. Relations between the chapter and the bishop were relatively stable, which is unsurprising given that the bishop was almost always chosen from among the cathedral chapter. They worked together to protect the interests of the cathedral community, but the chapter was

\textsuperscript{37} The archival registers refer to the priests as “presbyteri de capitulo,” specifically associating the priests with the chapter.
able to reserve for its members the highest paying chaplaincies in the diocese and limit
the bishop’s authority to investigate and punish the canons for offenses. The Girona
chapter also appealed to higher ecclesiastical authorities to help it protect its jurisdiction
from encroachment by the count of Empúries, who wanted to create a new diocese with a
cathedral in the town of Castelló d’Empúries. The Girona canons also clashed with royal
officials in the city of Girona about jurisdiction over vassals and saw an outburst of
violence during Holy Week in 1331 that resulted in clerics and royal officials throwing
rocks and threatening each other with knives. Throughout these interactions, the chapter’s
priority was often protecting its honor and position in the city and diocese, desiring to
retain any power and privileges it already held and to fight off any challenges to these
rights or holdings.

Chapter Four shifts the focus towards the canons’ role in the city and their ties to
their families, studying their similarities to their lay counterparts among the diocesan
nobility. It looks at the canons’ activities in building their personal patrimonies,
conducting economic transactions, and maintaining their own households with a
comfortable residence and staff that included servants and squires. This chapter also
looks at the ways in which canons remained connected to their families, writing to and
conducting business with relatives and carrying out transactions on behalf of the family
heir or wider lineage. I also look to the canons’ testaments to further discuss their
connections to their parents, uncles, siblings, and other relatives. Their wills attest to the
enduring importance of these relationships, as canons made bequests to relatives, selected
them as executors, and made provisions for their spiritual health in the afterlife. Finally,
this chapter also discusses the canons’ participation in the world of competition for status
and honor, often involving their households and squires in disputes with others.
Chapter One
Composition and Organization of the Chapter
and Internal Life

The city of Girona was founded in the third decade BCE as part of the Roman
Republic due to its strategic location on the Via Heracles, later called the Via Augusta, a
north-south road that connected the Pyrenees to Barcelona. It developed relatively
quickly and saw significant municipal life by the third century CE, with residential villas
and agricultural estates located throughout the city and the surrounding region. Due to its
location along a major road, Girona enjoyed commercial and cultural ties with other
communities throughout the Roman Empire.\(^1\) The city had an important Christian
nucleus, with Christian origins that were well documented from the early fourth century,
and the episcopal See was probably in existence by the late fourth century. The
episcopate was an important part of the city’s urban setting, with the episcopal Church
and residence as significant structures in the city’s landscape.\(^2\) The early Girona See was
located at the church of Sant Feliu, outside the city walls, and Sant Feliu itself became a
pilgrimage destination and a strong center for the Christian community in this region
because it housed the tomb of Sant Feliu (Saint Felix), a Christian martyred in Girona in
the early fourth century. Six Christian sarcophagi, found in Sant Feliu, date back to the
late third and early fourth centuries, confirming this as an early Christian center.\(^3\) The
earliest known mention of the Girona episcopate comes from a 404 letter of Pope
Innocent I, and the first bishop known by name is Frontiniano, from 516.\(^4\) The early
bishops were representatives of this rich, growing community, given that the Church in
Girona was an active institution with building projects like the episcopal palace and the
church that served as the diocesan seat.\(^5\)

\(^1\) Marquès, “La Iglesia de Gerona,” 467; Josep Nolla, *Girona Romana: de la fundació a la fi del món antic*
(Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1987), 74.

\(^2\) Nolla, *Girona Romana*, 82-83.

\(^3\) Cristian Folch Iglesias, “El Poblament al Nord-Est de Catalunya durant la transició a l’edat mitjana

\(^4\) Marques, “La iglesia de Gerona,” 470. Names of the Girona bishops from this period are generally known
from documents recording their attendance at Church councils.

\(^5\) Josep Nolla, “Govern i poder politic a Gerunda (s I-VIII),” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* 48
By 476, the city had passed into Visigothic control, but the circumstances of this transition are unknown. With the end of Roman dominion and the imposition of a new power, there was much upheaval at the turn of the sixth century. The Visigoths replaced the Roman nobility, leading to a population shift away from rural estates and villages. As the population moved, the geographic distribution of villages shifted inland away from the coast, leading to a contraction in Mediterranean trade. The region then passed to Muslim control, and although not much is known about the period of Muslim rule in Girona, it is possible that there were military and administrative systems in place for Muslims in Girona in this period. By 760, the Muslims established a militarized front along the mountains and ridges near the Cap de Creus, in northern Catalonia, in an attempt to hold off the Carolingians, but Arab domination of Catalonia was relatively brief, spanning only about 90 years in Barcelona and 70 years in Girona. In 785, Charlemagne and his men entered the city of Girona and took control, representing their first major conquest south of the Pyrenees. The capture of the city also meant the acquisition of a large amount of territory in the surrounding area as well, leading to the formation of the counties of Girona, Besalú, Perelada, and Empúries. These county divisions helped shape the social structure in this area, with counts at the apex of the hierarchy, followed by viscounts, knights, and castellans. The bishopric was assimilated with the boundaries of these four counties together, thus covering the same area.

Formation and Consolidation of the Chapter

The city and bishopric grew after the Carolingian conquest, and the episcopal seat moved to the cathedral of Santa Maria, which was within the city walls. The city’s
religious community oversaw the restoration and enlargement of the cathedral and the construction of two new altars, including the main altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary and a second altar dedicated to the Holy Cross.\(^\text{11}\) During this period, the Church and the ‘state’ were closely connected, as the Carolingian kings named bishops, endowed ecclesiastical institutions, and gave grants of land, privileges, and immunity.\(^\text{12}\) These diplomas were also important in confirming holdings granted by earlier kings, solidifying Church property holdings and privileges.

In the ninth and tenth centuries, one of the cathedral community’s priorities was preserving and augmenting land and goods granted by the Carolingian kings. Between 834 and 922, Girona bishops repeatedly appeared before Charlemagne’s descendants to confirm existing privileges, including grants of land and immunity.\(^\text{13}\) Bishops also purchased land, both to augment episcopal holdings and to support the canons and clergy of the cathedral and the collegiate church of Sant Feliu. Throughout this period, the Girona episcopal and capitular holdings increased significantly through donations by Carolingian kings as well as by various other individual donors. At least 90 notarial documents that record donations of rural properties to the cathedral and clergy survive from the ninth through eleventh centuries. Some were gifts facilitating or accompanying the entrance of the donors’ sons to the chapter, some were in exchange for seigniorial protection from the bishop and cathedral, and many other donations were legacies left in testaments.\(^\text{14}\)

These early grants, donations, and transactions are preserved in a number of different cartularies currently held in the Girona diocesan archives. The *Cartoral de Carlemany* and *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles* are two such examples that contain a variety of documents deemed important enough to be recopied and preserved. This way, the bishop and chapter could be sure they would retain the records of these transactions and could draw on them if anyone challenged their possession of any holdings. Documents also survive as individual parchments, sometimes in the form of copies of earlier transactions. Due to the value of a number of these donations, purchases, and

\(^{11}\) Roura, *Girona carolingia*, 65.


\(^{13}\) Marques, “La iglesia de Gerona,” 481-482.

exchanges, documents appear in multiple cartularies and in other forms as well, showing the significance the cathedral community placed on maintaining and protecting these records.

A number of early donations to the Girona cathedral and chapter illustrate the typical patterns of donations of land and grants of immunity and privileges that the Carolingian kings bestowed upon the Girona Church. The first precept that Charlemagne granted is no longer extant but subsequent donations refer to it, listing certain villages and other possessions given by Charlemagne himself.\(^{15}\) An 834 donation from Emperor Louis the Pious to Bishop Wimer survives, recording the concession of certain goods and rights (originally granted by Charlemagne) to the Girona See and its men, plus protection and immunity. The Girona Church later used this precept to assert and defend the rights it received in this document at least four times in the ninth and tenth centuries, confirming ownership of certain lands and requiring the counts of Barcelona to give them judicial recognition. This precept itself was granted partially because Bishop Wimer asked for confirmation of lands and rights that Charlemagne granted to the cathedral community, including certain villages and other various parcels of land.\(^{16}\) Royal confirmation would help the bishop and clerics to maintain control over this land and income by reasserting their right to these holdings.

An 844 grant from King Charles the Bald to Bishop Gondemar followed a similar pattern, confirming previous donations made by his grandfather Charlemagne and father Louis as well as adding his own gifts to the cathedral community. He also placed the Church under his own personal protection and immunity and pledged to help defend it if necessary. Later bishops also used the authority from this donation to receive new royal diplomas, like in 886 when Bishop Teutari asked the emperor to give immunity and protection to the Girona Church, as his predecessors had done. They also made reference to this precept to protect the Church’s holdings during litigation, asserting that the

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\(^{15}\) Ramon d’Abadal i de Vinyals, ed., *Catalunya carolingia*, vol. 2, *Els Diplomes carolingis a Catalunya* (Barcelona: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1952), 119. Subsequent documents which refer to this list of donations are generally documents which were issued at episcopal request to confirm these possessions and privileges.

\(^{16}\) d’Abadal i de Vinyals, *Catalunya carolingia*, 120-122.
cathedral community rightly and wholly controlled a certain list of villages and other possessions.\textsuperscript{17}

Bishop Teutari succeeded in his 886 plea, receiving a grant of immunity from Emperor Charles III in addition to a confirmation and augmentation of the Church’s holdings. This grant repeated earlier donations and added an endowment of certain villages in the county of Girona, stating that no one ought to disturb the Church’s holdings. Charles made these donations, adding to the holdings of both the cathedral and the church of Sant Feliu, to benefit his soul and the souls of his relatives, a common motivation in gifts and legacies to the Church.\textsuperscript{18} Other royal contributions from the ninth and tenth centuries echo these types of grants, either affirming the Girona Church’s holdings in response to pleas to do so from Girona bishops or giving donations of additional land and income. They often confirmed that specific villages and properties were under royal protection and that the Church itself enjoyed various immunities.

The \textit{Cartoral de Carlemany} also preserves a number of other property transactions involving the Girona See, including donations and sales from individuals or couples. Between 934 and 945, Count Sunyer of Barcelona granted the cathedral an annual income, intended to aid the spiritual health of himself, his brother, his father, and his son. Together with his wife, Countess Riquilda, he also gave land in the county of Girona and various \textit{allods} in Calonge.\textsuperscript{19} A 958 donation made specifically “to the clerics of the house of Santa Maria” gave \textit{allods} in Besalú, near Parets.\textsuperscript{20} Other tenth-century donations by the counts of Besalú and Barcelona brought more land to the cathedral, enlarging its holdings in the county of Besalú. Additionally, a 1002 confirmation granted by Pope Silvester to Bishop Odó guaranteed the chapter’s holdings of certain possessions in Girona, Besalú, Empúries, and Perelada, the four counties that made up the diocese.\textsuperscript{21}

The cathedral community continued to receive valuable donations throughout the eleventh century, including land and money intended to fund various construction projects. Pere Roger, the bishop of Girona, his sister Ermessenda, countess of Barcelona, her son, Count Berenguer of Empúries, and a number of other individuals were among

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{17} d’Abadal i de Vinyals, \textit{Catalunya carolingia}, 125-127.
\item \textsuperscript{18} d’Abadal i de Vinyals, \textit{Catalunya carolingia}, 138-140.
\item \textsuperscript{19} Marquès, \textit{Cartoral, dit de Carlemany}, 43-45.
\item \textsuperscript{20} “ad ipsos clericos de domum Sancte Marie.” Marquès, \textit{Cartoral, dit de Carlemany}, 51.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Marquès, \textit{Cartoral, dit de Carlemany}, 70.
\end{itemize}
the contributors. The gifts included donations of the church of Santa Maria in Castelló, plus its landholdings and income, along with at least seven other churches, including those held by Miro, viscount of Besalú, at the time of his death. Bishop Pere gave a number of parishes, and the count of Empúries contributed rents that brought the chapter annual income. To ensure that the chapter would indeed receive the possessions promised to it, Bishop Pere confirmed the donations and warned that anyone who did not follow through on handing over the promised lands and income would be excommunicated.22 Due to these donations, the chapter controlled a variety of holdings, including land, churches, parishes, and more, plus the income brought in by these possessions. Bishop Pere added to these donations in 1031, giving more land and income to support the chapter.23 The 1019 donations were confirmed again in 1038 on the occasion of the cathedral’s dedication, at the request of Bishop Pere, Count Ramon, and Countess Ermessenda. Archbishop Guifre of Tarragona and a number of other bishops gathered and confirmed the chapter’s holdings and jurisdiction, and Ermessenda made another donation of 300 ounces of gold for an altarpiece for the cathedral.24

Two donations from the eleventh century show the possibility for a donor to give gifts to the chapter to facilitate entry into the chapter, either for himself or a relative. This kind of reciprocal donation could benefit both the donor and the chapter. In 1054, a cleric donated an allod in Fornells, inherited from his parents, and a house in Girona, plus any accompanying income. In return, he sought a place in the chapter or elsewhere within the cathedral community where he could live as a cleric and servant of God.25 Although this cleric was not hoping to become a cathedral canon in particular, he donated his property to the cathedral chapter in order to become a part of it. The intent of a 1072 donation is clearer, as Berenguer Renart gave the chapter his best estate and “asked the lord bishop Berenguer and the canons of the See that they might bring his son, a cleric named

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22 Marquès, Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, 79. A 1031 document repeats these donations, confirming the chapter’s holdings (Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, 85). Ermessenda and her son, Count Ramon Berenguer I, later donated to the See a round tower near the cathedral to the See; they did so out of love for Jesus, Mary, and all the saints, and for the health of Ramon, the former count, Ermessenda’s husband and Ramon Berenguer’s father (Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, 80).
23 Martí, Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona, 203.
24 Martí, Col·lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona, 224.
25 Marquès, Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, 114.
Dalmau, into their corporation, namely into the chapter of the See,” exchanging his donation for a place in the chapter for his son.26

The bishop and chapter received other grants to strengthen and augment their patrimonies, from nobles, laypeople, and members of the cathedral community. For example, Count Hug d’Empúries renounced his claims to any tithes in Castelló and to any properties that the chapter held there, giving them free hold of this land and income.27 The chapter also confirmed and increased its holdings around Sant Sadurní, as seen in the 1102 document recording an agreement between Ramon Arnau and the Girona chapter, in which Ramon Arnau donated the castle of Sant Sadurní and the allods he owned in that parish.28 Twenty years later, in 1121, Count Ramon Berenguer III confirmed the title of the Girona chapter to the castle of Sant Sadurní and renounced any rights he had to the castle, in exchange for 200 morabatins. He thus confirmed its holdings at Sant Sadurní, recognizing the properties and rights that the chapter had collected in this village, holdings which made up an important part of the chapter patrimony.29 Many other individuals also donated to the chapter throughout its history, giving estates or other parcels of land that enabled the bishop and chapter to hold and derive income from a sizeable patrimony.

The early Girona Church had many other connections to the secular nobility of the diocese, as some laypeople had founded churches and retained possession of them. However, the diocesan administration was unhappy about laypeople “usurping” Church rights. This was viewed as problematic and later led to eleventh- and twelfth-century reforms to consolidate ecclesiastical lordships and jurisdiction. The Church was dissatisfied with laypeople holding ecclesiastical lands or other possessions and wanted control of these churches, causing some conflict between the Church and the diocesan nobles who held them. Disputes over agrarian income derived from these holdings were also common as the Church sought to claim control over its land and any accompanying

26 “rogauit dominum Berengarium episcopum et canonicos eiusdem sedis ut filium suum clericum nomine Dalmatium colligerent in suum collegium, uidelicet in canonica eiusdem sedis.” Marquès, Cartoral, dit de Carlemany, 140.
27 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles, 116-119. However, in exchange for this, Count Hug received 40 ounces of gold from the chapter.
28 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles, 119-120.
29 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles, 127-129.
These kinds of conflicts continued as the diocesan nobility attempted to convert fiefs, benefices, and benefice donations into hereditary holdings and add them to the family patrimony. Multiple disputes arose in the eleventh and twelfth centuries between the Church and various lineages of the diocese, including the Cruïlles family (who supplied many members of the chapter in the following centuries). In the long run, though, these lineages tended to recognize that they held this property from the bishop, acknowledging episcopal control and ownership over these lands and income.31

Until the tenth century, a single group of clerics served both the cathedral and the nearby collegiate church of Sant Feliu. The structure of this group is unclear, but surviving references to particular clerical titles hint at some degree of hierarchical organization. An ‘archpriest’ is mentioned first in 881 as helping the bishop, and an archdeacon is first mentioned in 892. The first reference to two simultaneous archdeacons is from 980, and the first references to a sacristan and a head of the cathedral school come from only slightly earlier, between 970 and 975.32 This group of clerics split in the mid-tenth century, with one group serving the cathedral, headed by the bishop, and another group serving Sant Feliu, headed by the abbot of Sant Feliu. Until the twelfth century, the abbot also served as the major archdeacon of the cathedral, the preeminent cathedral dignity.33

When the size of the chapter was limited to twenty canons is unknown, but it was increased to twenty-four during the 1229 visit of Jean Halgrin, the cardinal bishop of Sabina who served as the papal delegate in Catalonia.34 The chapter also included a fixed hierarchy of dignities, which were, in order of precedence, major archdeacon (also called the archdeacon of Girona or archdeacon of Rabós), major sacristan, precentor, abbot of Sant Feliu (the nearby collegiate church), archdeacon of Besalú, archdeacon of Empordà, and archdeacon of la Selva. The bishop originally held the power to nominate canons to hold these positions.35 The four archdeaconries corresponded to the four ancient counties

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31 Salrach, “Disputes i compromisos,” 953.
33 Jaime Villanueva, Viage Literario, vol. XII, 138-139, 150.
34 Villanueva, Viage Literario, vol. XII, 150; ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Çaçada, fol. 80r. This reference is from a longer description of the chapter size and dignitaries copied into a fifteenth-century cartulary.
35 Marc Sureda i Jubany, “La Catedral i les seves sepultures: organització, economia, memòria. Una introducció,” in Inscriptios i Sepultures de la Catedral de Girona, Josep M. Marquès (Girona: Diputació
mentioned above, and contained between 60 and 150 parishes each. The main task of the archdeacons was to oversee the clerics within their archdeaconry who held care of souls, supervising their pastoral functions and visiting churches and parishes or designating a representative to do so.\(^\text{36}\) Canons of the chapter also helped with diocesan administration, in addition to their religious duties, and the scope of the tasks that fell to them necessitated additional help.\(^\text{37}\) This support came in the form of twelve priests, who each assisted two canons. The canons of the Girona chapter were not required to progress any further than the ecclesiastical rank of deacon, so they could sing the Hours and assist at mass but could not perform the mass themselves. They could hire other clerics, including the priests of the chapter, to fill in for them at the Divine Office, but the cathedral community needed the priests to celebrate mass since the canons could not. The priests also carried out other auxiliary tasks related to cathedral worship, and served as representatives or substitutes for the bishop, archdeacons, and other canons.\(^\text{38}\) They also filled the positions of second sacristan, responsible for the ornaments of the cathedral, second cabiscoi, responsible for direction of the choir and divine office, and treasurer, responsible for the items used during worship.\(^\text{39}\)

The internal organization of the chapter reflected a number of influences rather than following a single rule. Like the chapters of Barcelona and Urgell, organization of

\(^{\text{36}}\) Elvis Mallorquí i Garcia, ed., El llibre verd del Bisbe de Girona (1362-1371): El delme i l'estructura feudal de la diòcesi de Girona al segle XIV (Girona: Diputació de Girona, 2011), 68. In 1362, the archdeaconate of Girona contained 100 parishes, the archdeaconate of Empúries contained 101 parishes, the archdeaconate of la Selva contained 67 parishes, and the archdeaconate of Besalú contained 151 parishes.

\(^{\text{37}}\) The religious duties and functions of the canons and priests of the chapter will be discussed in further detail in Chapter two.

\(^{\text{38}}\) The priests of the chapter, logically, needed to be ordained as priests, but the canons did not need to do so. Santiago Bueno Salinas noted that the canons were not required to move beyond deacon or to receive a sacerdotal ordination and often employed the priests to replace them at Holy Offices; see El Derecho Canónico Catalán en la Baja Edad Media: La Diócesis de Gerona en los siglos XIII y XIV (Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, 2000), 31. This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 2 on pages 51-54. I have found only one reference to a cathedral canon becoming ordained as a priest and the record of his ordination specifically noted that he did not intend to set a precedent and encourage or require other canons to become ordained. See ADG Notularum G-2, fol. 71r (8 March 1307).

\(^{\text{39}}\) Sureda i Jubany, “La catedral i les seves sepultures,” 19; Marquès i Planaguma, “La iglesia de Gerona,” 528-529. The priests of the chapter will be discussed in further detail later in this chapter. They were specifically associated with the chapter, not just a general part of the cathedral community. In letters and notarial documents, they are always identified as “presbyteri de capitulo.”
the Girona chapter was influenced by legislation from the Fourth Council of Toledo (663), especially regarding the chapter’s subordination to the bishop and the bishop’s responsibility for managing and maintaining the Church’s endowment. Ideally, members of the chapter would live in a manner similar to the monastic life, holding property in common and living communally, but this ideal was rarely translated into reality in Spanish cathedrals. Another influence was the vita canonica Aquisgranense, or the rule of Aix-la-Chapelle, a set of norms for canonical life from the 816 Council of Aachen. Rules and customs from the 663 Council of Toledo and the 816 Council of Aachen had been adopted and practiced in the Girona chapter before the tenth century. Ideally, canons were to live together, making use of a dormitory and refectory, although they could still own private property and live in their own houses. This mix of influences is unsurprising, given the tendency of Spanish chapters to opt for varied norms of communal life. In the eleventh century, all Catalan cathedral chapters followed the rule of Aix, and many had buildings intended for use in communal life like a refectory and dormitory, but a majority of canons still lived in their own houses.

The eleventh century saw some attempts by bishops at the creation of the common life for cathedral chapters in Catalonia, including Girona, but it is unclear to what extent these attempts succeeded in making any significant or lasting changes. Carrero Santamaría noted that episcopal attempts at reform in the Iberian peninsula preceded the rigorous reform movement which spread throughout Europe after a 1059 Lateran synod, pointing to efforts by Bishop Pere of Girona, Bishop Ermengol of Urgell, and Bishop Aeci of Barcelona to bring some regularization to their clergy. In Girona, Bishop Pere Roger tried to encourage communal life through the construction of a domus

45 Carrero Santamaría, “Ecce quam bonum,” 780.
This was part of a series of building projects Bishop Pere began in 1019 when he ordered the construction of a new cathedral and canonical buildings, funded by donations of land and money from his sister, Countess Ermessenda. In the 1020s, construction of the cloister and houses for the canons took shape, and the new cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was consecrated in late September 1038. The refectory and dormitory were finished by the mid-1040s, but it is unclear if communal life actually occurred in Girona. The bishop of Vic also tried to enact and enforce reform between May 1087 and the end of 1088 but he experienced much opposition from the canons, who continued to dispose of their own property as they had before, and true regularization did not take place.

Communal life was, in any case, a distant memory by the mid-thirteenth century. Vones-Liebenstein quotes a 1239 document that noted how “all the canons formerly ate in the refectory,” suggesting they had not done so for quite some time. Also, by 1312, the old dormitory had become the sacristy. In 1319, Bishop Pere de Rocaberti cancelled the offices tied to communal life, making the revenues of the offices of cook, refectorer, porter, and dormitorer into prebends. At least by the end of the thirteenth century, all canons lived in their own houses, either owned by the canons themselves or by the chapter. Many lived in residences to the south and east of the cathedral, maintaining their own households similar to those of the local lay nobility. Canon Bernat de Güell

46 Carrero Santamaria, “Ecce quam bonum,” 780.
49 Carrero Santamaria, “El claustro,” 196. A 1068 compilation records all the donations intended to fund the construction of a dormitory for the canons, redacted after the donations made between 1019 and 1031 (Martí, Col.lecció diplomàtica de la seu de Girona, 332). Given the construction of individual houses for canons, which was happening at the same time, it seems unlikely that regular communal life was established and mandated for the canons.
52 Carrero Santamaria quotes an unspecified document pertaining to a construction project for the cathedral which states “...et in dormitorio veteriferit sacristia,” but does not give a reference. See “El Claustro,” 199, 205.
53 Villanueva, Viage Literario, vol. XII, 147.
54 Juan Molina Figueras, “De genere militari ex utroque parente: la nobleza eclesiástica y los inicios de la catedral gótica de Gerona,” Anuario de Estudios Medievales 37:2 (2007): 743-744. Their households could also include a number of servants. For example, canon Arnau de Mont-rodon received service from Guillem de Gurri, the sacristan of Quiexàs, who received episcopal permission to absent himself from his own benefice while he was in Arnau’s service; see ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-5, fol. 53v (1
donated his house, called Morera, to the chapter, which could then assign it to other members of the chapter as a personal residence.\textsuperscript{55} Similarly, canon Bernat de Vilert commissioned a notarial contract in 1324 in which he gave “to Guillem de Cornellà, canon of Girona, the entire canonical house, called Bellmirall, which I hold, possess, and inhabit within the city of Girona…with its garden… retaining its use for myself for my entire life.”\textsuperscript{56} Other notarial records noted the improvements canons made to their houses, gave canons permission to host particular guests at their homes, or provided guidelines about who could or could not rent these houses from the canons.\textsuperscript{57}

Residence in a canonical house was a benefit of chapter membership and was strictly regulated by the fourteenth century. Statutes governed the possession of such houses, requiring everyone in the chapter to possess a house befitting the position of its inhabitant and to provide hospitality.\textsuperscript{58} Possession of canonical houses was limited to canons, priests, or clerics of the chapter, and holders were limited to one canonical residence at a time. Some houses were limited to canons in particular and others to the holder of one of the chapter dignities, such as the four archdeacons.\textsuperscript{59} If a canon held one canonical house and the opportunity arose for him to possess another, he had three days to decide which residence he preferred and to notify the chapter of his decision.\textsuperscript{60} However, canons and other clerics were also allowed to hold multiple houses not owned by the Church; doing so would not preclude them from retaining a canonical house as well.

\textsuperscript{55} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-23, fol. 14r-15r (10 Oct. 1349). The chapter of Valencia also showed minimal signs of communal life even in the thirteenth century, and each canon had his own home large enough to support a sizeable household; see R.I. Burns, “The Organization of a Medieval Cathedral Community: the Chapter of Valencia (1238-1280),” \textit{Church History} 31:1 (1962): 16.

\textsuperscript{56} “Ego Bernardus de Uilla certo, canonicus Gerundensis, gratis et ex certa scientia, dono donatione pura et irreuocabili inter uiuos, ubis Guillermo de Corniliano, canonico Gerundense, totum illud hospicium canonicale, vocatum de Belmirayl, quod habeo, teneo, et inhabituo intus ciuitatem Gerunde… cum orto eiusdem… retento mei usufructu de tota uita mea.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-5, fol. 25r (24 Dec. 1324). See, for example, ADG \textit{Notularum} G-7, fol. 36r (17 Apr. 1330) and G-19, fol. 68r (9 Apr. 1347), and ADG \textit{Registres de Lletres Episcopals} U-5, fol. 151v (15 April 1334).

\textsuperscript{57} ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Caçada}, fol. 11r.

\textsuperscript{58} ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Caçada}, fol. 120r. For example, in 1349, the chapter assigned to Arnau de Mont-rodon “a certain house, bordering to the East the house which the archdeaconry of Besalú holds in the Girona See” (“quoddam hospicium contiginem versus orientem hospicio quod archidiaconatus Bisulldunensis habet in sede Gerunde”).” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-22, fol. 137v (19 June 1349).

\textsuperscript{59} Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, \textit{Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles}, 541-543.
Separation of the episcopal and chapter patrimonies was a very gradual process that had already begun in the ninth century, with some donations specifying the recipients as the See, the bishop, or the canons. Historian Josep Marquès has described a series of transactions that show the slow process of this separation of goods and holdings between the bishop and the chapter. The cathedral clergy became titleholders of their own property under the name “la canonica” in 958. In 1068, the bishop and the chapter exchanged goods held separately by each, and in 1088, the bishop ceded some properties held by the episcopate to the canons. In 1136, the bishop’s holdings were referred to specifically as the episcopal mensa, rather than property belonging to the entire cathedral community. These types of transactions show the understanding that these groups held different properties that brought them each income.

The second half of the twelfth century saw the partition of the chapter’s territorial dominions and the creation of twelve pabordias, units of seigniorial administration whose income would cover the ordinary necessities and expenditures of the chapter for a set period of time (usually one month). By dividing the capitular patrimony into smaller units, the chapter could make it easier to manage vast and disparate territories, assigning one group of holdings to a paborde (or provost), who would manage his pabordia. These pabordias became prebends for their administrators, who were usually canons but also occasionally priests of the chapter, selected by the bishop and chapter. If a paborde failed to complete his duties or mismanaged this land, he had to return the land to the chapter and a new paborde would take over. The chapter retained eminent domain over the land and ceded direct dominion to the provost, who received payments from tenants in money or in kind. Each paborde was assigned to pay a certain fixed sum to the chapter, but because this amount was often smaller than the income, the paborde could make a profit, thus placing him in an economically privileged position and giving him some social prestige. The pabordias were named after the months that they had to provide income.

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for, but also came to be called after the places that provided the majority of their income. In some cases, one *pabordia* supported multiple months because of its economic power.\(^{63}\)

Figure 1.1: *Pabordias* of the chapter of Girona\(^ {64}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Main geographic locations of holdings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>Arenys d’Empordà, Parets, Corts, Mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February-March-April</td>
<td>Castelló d’Empúries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Sant Julià de Ramis, Juià</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>Celrà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>Vall d’Aro, Calonge, Bescanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Santa Maria de Camós, Parlavà, Foixà</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September-October</td>
<td>Cassà de la Selva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Lloret de Mar, Pineda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>Vilablareix, Palol d’Onyar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another shift regarding the chapter’s income and holdings occurred in the thirteenth century with the foundation of the *Ferial*, a general fund, as new donations to the chapter went to the *Ferial* rather than to one of the *pabordias*. The foundation of the *Ferial* fund was an important development in the history of the chapter because it represented a new source of income for the canons, as it paid out additional daily distributions. Bishop Guillem de Cabanelles and the chapter established the *Ferial* fund in 1234, with the intent to sustain the canons by paying out canonical portions and other daily distributions. Each canon was required to leave 100 *sous* to the *Ferial* in his will, and if he forgot to do so, it would be deducted from his estate. Upon joining the chapter, new canons had to donate 100 *sous* to the *Ferial* as well, and a new bishop needed to give 20 gold *aureos*. Additionally, each canon had to donate half of the income he received in his first year of holding a benefice or prebend, excluding any daily distributions.\(^ {65}\) In their wills, some canons left extra money to the *Ferial* to further support the chapter, and laypeople made donations to this fund as well, rendering it a significant financial support to the canons.

\( ^{63} \) Sureda i Jubany, “La Catedral i les seves sepultures,” 24.
\( ^{64} \) Sureda i Jubany, “La Catedral i les seves sepultures,” 24.
\( ^{65} \) Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rúbriques Vermelles*, 200-202.
The Girona canons enjoyed a number of privileges that separated them from the rest of the cathedral community, including the priests of the chapter and the minor clerics who often belonged to the canons’ households. Canons had long been involved in personal landholding, and the acquisition and administration of land and manors in the countryside took up much of their time. This trend would continue at least until the fourteenth century. Canons also enjoyed the right to hold property and the right to freely make testaments, which led them to live and act like lords. They also delegated a number of their ecclesiastical responsibilities to other clerics, as seen in the notarial document recording Francesc Mitjà’s promise and oath to live in the city of Girona “and to be present at the Divine Offices in the Girona Church for Guillem de Vilarig, canon of Girona” for a one-year period. By the fourteenth century, the Girona cathedral canons lived in their own personal residences, freely disposed of their patrimonies, and arranged for the priests of the chapter to carry out a good part of their daily liturgical activities.

These priests of the chapter represented another significant group within the cathedral community, due to their extensive participation in diocesan life. These twelve priests attended and sang the Divine Office and performed masses daily. Authorities of the cathedral community conferred these positions: the bishop could confer four places, the major sacristan conferred four, and each of the four archdeacons conferred one. Two of the priests had other roles as well, with one serving as the second sacristan and one as the treasurer. Less is known about these minor clergymen than about the canons, despite the fact that all of them belonged to the priesthood, a higher ecclesiastical rank than that of the canons (who were deacons). The social origins of these priests remain unclear, but they constituted a group that was distinct from that of the canons. It does not

67 “facere residentiam personalem et interesse diuinis officiis in ecclesia Gerundense pro Guillelmo de Uillaricho, canonico Gerundense…” ADG Notularum G-3, 224v (1 March 1323). Mitjà was described only as a “clericus oriundus de Gerundi.” Similarly, Bonanat de Roca, a deacon in the church in Mercadal, on Minorca, “promised and swore to do service in the Girona Church for Baldrà de Soler, canon” for one year (“promisit et jurauit facere seruicium in ecclesia Gerundense pro Baldrano de Solerio, canonico”). See ADG G-4, fol. 12v (9 April 1323). A small number of similar records survive, suggesting that such arrangements were possible but not made by a majority of the canons.
68 Molina Figueras, “De genere militari ex utroque parente,” 743-744. Similarly, R. I. Burns noted that the religious duties of the canons of the Valencia chapter were often overshadowed by their role in helping the bishop as part of his general staff, as administrative assistants, and more; see “The Organization of a Medieval Cathedral Community,” 15.
69 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 79r.
appear that this position was a stepping-stone to becoming a canon of the chapter. Rather, these men remained priests of the chapter for a long duration of time, continuing to witness documents and participate in the cathedral community for decades. They were part of the chapter insofar as they participated in reciting the Divine Office and said mass, but they were not recognized as full members of the chapter like the canons, as will be discussed below.

This group was similar to the minor clergy who served at other cathedrals in this time period, and they could be known by various terms like capellanus, vicarius, and clericus chori. They were also similar to the group known as vicars choral in England. They represented a body of clerics who were clearly distinct from (and occupied a lower position than) the cathedral canons. Canons deputized these vicars or priests to fill in for them during any absences, so the substitutes attended the Hours and anniversary prayers and masses at minor altars, in addition to the daily masses in the cathedral. They also held other positions in the cathedral, including chaplaincies at minor altars, and they benefitted from the patronage of the canons who appointed them to such positions. They were in demand to support and substitute for canons during absences, but also because of the increasing trend of funding anniversary masses and thus the growing need for priests to perform them. Individual canons hired specific priests or vicars to fill in for them in some instances, or the chapter as a whole could employ a group of choral vicars as substitutes, who would then fill in and perform the Hours in case any canons were absent. For example, the minor clergy of Exeter cathedral, in England, performed the daily services in the cathedral, from which the canons were largely excused. Each canon had one choral vicar as his deputy, who filled his place in singing the Hours. These clerics originated as servants in the canons’ households and formed a distinctive body by the end of the twelfth century. Also similar to the situation in Girona, these vicars had to be priests, so they could carry out the full range of services in the cathedral.

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The strict distinction between the priests of the Girona chapter and the canons dates back at least to a 1240 dispute between the two groups. The priests claimed that they had an important role to play in the election of bishops, in attending choir, and in singing the Office, so they wanted to receive an income equal to that of the canons. The canons responded by noting that they had allowed the priests to be present at deliberations during episcopal elections, but that they were not equal to the canons and could not participate in the same way. A settlement recorded on October 29, 1240 declared that the priests were not canons and would not, therefore, receive daily distributions equal to those of the canons. However, they could not be excluded from chapter meetings or from being present at episcopal elections, although they could not participate directly. This decision also upheld the priests’ ability to manage the *pabordias*. The priests were unsatisfied with this and appealed to the pope, but Innocent IV confirmed the ruling in 1249. Although the priests of the chapter held an ecclesiastical rank superior to that of the canons, the canons asserted their superiority in other ways, ensuring that the priests were not referred to as canons and did not receive the same level of income despite performing many of the canons’ ecclesiastical duties and substituting for them in singing the Hours. Although the canons relied on the priests of the chapter, they fought to retain this firm separation between the groups, keeping the priests of the chapter in a lower-status position despite their superior ecclesiastical rank. The canons’ noble status may have made them more determined to maintain this boundary and mark the priests out as separate, given that they were not uniformly of noble descent as the canons were required to be. The canons ensured that that priests were subordinate to them and did not receive the same benefits or privileges, but they continued to delegate much of their liturgical responsibilities to the priests. This is similar to the stratification in chapters elsewhere, where despite the large numbers of priests as members of the cathedral community, they were generally of lower social status than the canons and did not have much voice in chapter or influence overall.

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73 Villaneuva, *Viaje Literario*, vol. XII, 125-126, 152-153. They could still attend meeting of the chapter, thus making them part of the chapter community.
74 Molina Figueras noted that canons dispensed with many liturgical responsibilities, passing these off to the priests of the chapter, each of whom served two of the canons. See Molina Figueras, “De genere militari,” 744.
Joining the Chapter: Requirements and Procedure

The power of nominating men to fill vacant places in the chapter was not clearly in the hands of a single authority, although papal collation was the norm by the mid-fourteenth century. As will be outlined below, prospective canons would bring papal bulls or letters granting canonries to them to the chapter, who would then admit the prospective canons and invest them in their offices. One such grant, from Pope John XXII to Guillem de Sanvicens in 1319, shows the form these letters could take. Pope John wrote to Guillem that,

out of consideration for my dearest son in Christ, Robert, Illustrious King of Sicily, who was humbly beseeching me on your behalf in this matter, I grant you, by apostolic authority, the special favor to hold a canonry of the Church of Girona and a prebend, and a \textit{pabordia} or month... But if no such prebend, and \textit{pabordia} or month is vacant at present in the aforementioned Church, I reserve, by apostolic gift, the prebend and \textit{pabordia} or month which will next become vacant in that Church to be conferred on you when it will have been vacated.\footnote{\textit{consideratione carissimi in Christo filii nostri Roberti, Regis Sicilie Illustris, pro te nobis super hoc humiliter supplicantis, gratiam facere specialem canonicitum ecclesie Gerundensis... et prebendam, ac preposituram siue mensatam... apostolica tibi auctoritate conferimus... Si uero nulle talis prebenda, ac prepositura siue mensata uacant ad presens, in ecclesia supradicta, Nos prebendam ac preposituram siue mensatam inibi proximo uacaturas... conferendas tibi cum uacauerint donationi apostolice reseruamus.” ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 721, fol. 1r-v. This was also the norm for the León cathedral chapter. The pope would write a letter conceding a canonry that the chapter would then deliver to the holder when there was a vacancy. See Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, \textit{La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés}, 59.}

The pope had not nominated Guillem to a specific position in the chapter in order to fill a vacancy, but rather had asserted that this privilege made Guillem eligible to join the chapter when next there was an opening. It seems likely that Guillem then brought a copy of this letter to the chapter in order to lay claim to this appointment because the document notes that it was “transcribed thanks to Guillem de Santvicens.”\footnote{\textit{translatum gratie Guillelmi de Sancto Uincentio.” ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 721, fol. 1r.}

Another possible method for collation was chapter participation in nominating new canons. In 1342, the chapter was in exile from Girona and forced to meet in other locations throughout the diocese, including the episcopal palace in Bàscara, about twenty
kilometers from Girona, and the church of Santa Maria in Castelló d’Empúries, about forty kilometers from Girona. The chapter had met in Bàscara “to discuss and have a meeting about the collation and assignment of the canonry, prebend, and pabordia in the said Girona Church made vacant by the death of the venerable Guillem de Cornellà, a former canon” but had been unable to reach a decision about whom to nominate. They met again at Castelló but despite further discussion, “they had not been able to unanimously agree” on a suitable candidate to fill the vacant canonry, but they decided that they would continue their discussions at a future date until they found a suitable candidate, “for the glory of God and the honor of his Church of Girona.” Although their discussion about the collation and provision of the canonry did not settle on a candidate, the chapter’s discussion of the matter and of potential candidates shows their possible participation in selecting new canons to fill vacancies within the chapter.

The bishop’s role in nominating men to canonries was not unilateral at this point in the fourteenth century. In a series of letters to the cardinals of Magalona, Albi, and Saragossa, Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles requested that, if there was a suitable opportunity, they should ask the pope to grant a canonry, prebend, pabordia, and chaplaincy to Huguet, son of the Count of Pallars and his wife. Bishop Berenguer’s request was motivated by his relationship to young Huguet, who was his nephew. If the pope agreed to grant these benefices, Berenguer offered that Huguet “could be marked with his first tonsure and clerical character by me or by another bishop.” Recognizing that perhaps the cardinals would hesitate to recommend a youth for these positions, Berenguer also suggested a potential alternative whom they could endorse to the pope: Gaufrido de Crüilles, a cleric from the diocese of Girona and another of Bishop Berenguer’s relatives.

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78 This chapter’s exile will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 3.
79 “…pro tractando et colloquium habendo super collatione et assignatione canonicitus et prebende ac prepositure uaccantium in dicta Gerundense ecclesia per mortem uenerabilis Guillelmi de Corneliano, quondam canonici.” ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 55v (12 March 1342).
80 “…non potuissent unanimiter concordare… ad laudem dei et honorem ipsius ecclesie Gerundensis.” ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 55v.
81 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-24, fol. 55v-56v (20 July 1354).
82 “per me uel alium episcopum possit prima tonsura et clericali caractere insigniri.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals G-16, fol. 55v.
83 ADG Registres de Lletres Épiscopals U-24, fol. 55v, 56r.
He sent a similar letter to Guillem de Torrelles, a Girona canon then in service at the Aragonese royal court, noting that Huguet’s parents, along with many other members of the Cruïlles family, had accompanied the king on an expedition to Sardinia, implying that endorsing Huguet for a canonry could be a good reward for the loyalty shown to the king by the Cruïlles family.\(^\text{84}\) These requests are similar to one Bishop Berenguer made three years earlier in another letter to Guillem de Torrelles, a canon serving as a royal procurator at the papal court. In this instance, the bishop asked that, if Guillem thought it acceptable, he assist in procuring a canonry, prebend, and chaplaincies in the cathedral and diocese of Girona for the aforementioned Gaufrido, son of Gilabert de Cruïlles, lord of Bestraca, and that this assistance would be very pleasing to the bishop.\(^\text{85}\) Bishop Berenguer used his connections to royal and papal courts to solicit support in helping his relatives receive nominations to the chapter, although he did not nominate or present them himself.

However, the bishop certainly still held some power that could affect who could obtain and hold canonries, as seen in certain restrictions and dispensations about the holding of canonries and other chapter benefices. In 1324, Bishop Pere de Rocabertí granted a dispensation to Guillem de Cornellà, who already held a canonry, \textit{pabordia}, and chaplaincies in the cathedral and diocese of Girona, so that “he may accept and licitly hold the canonry now vacant in the Barcelona Church, with its fiefs and chaplaincies.”\(^\text{86}\) Guillem needed a dispensation for this because canons were not typically allowed to hold additional positions in other cathedral chapters because this would prevent canons from fulfilling one of their main tasks, celebrating the Divine Office.

The same issue arose in a 1337 document that explicitly stated “that nobody holding a canonry and prebend, the place of a priest of the chapter, or another benefice in the cathedral church of Girona may hold a canonry and prebend, or another benefice, in the church of Sant Feliu in Girona at the same time.”\(^\text{87}\) This prohibition extended to other churches in the city and suburbs of Girona and to the monastery of Sant Daniel, outside

\(^{84}\) ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-24, fol. 57v-58r.
\(^{85}\) ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-19, fol. 187r (8 Nov. 1351).
\(^{86}\) “…possit canonicatum nunc vaccantem in ecclesia Barchinensis cum prestimonii et capellaniis eisdem acceptare et etiam licite retinere.” ADG Notularum G-4, fol. 98r (14 March 1324).
\(^{87}\) “…quod nullus in cathedralem Gerundensis ecclesiam canonicatum et prebendam, locum presbyteratus de capitulo, seu aliiu beneficium obtinens in ecclesia Sancti Felicis Gerunde canonicatum et prebendam, ul aliiu beneficium simul potest obtinere.” ADG Notularum G-12, fol. 78r (24 Apr. 1337).
the city walls. If any man wanted to obtain a new appointment in a different church, he first had to resign from the benefice or canonry he already held.\textsuperscript{88} There were some notable exceptions, however. The positions of abbot and major sacristan of Sant Feliu were reserved for canons of the Girona cathedral chapter, though, so these dignities were exempt from these restrictions.\textsuperscript{89}

The procedure for joining the chapter seems to have followed a model, at least by the 1320s. The 1328 notarial act recording the concession of a canonry to Jaume de Trilla, and his taking possession of the canonry, detailed this procedure. First, Bernat de Cornellà, a Girona canon, was appointed as a papal delegate to confer the canonry, which had been granted by the pope, upon the recipient. Appearing before the bishop and chapter, assembled in the episcopal palace, Bernat presented a papal bull detailing the apostolic grant of a canonry and prebend, which he ordered a notary to read aloud and later publicize. Bernat then showed the documents to the bishop and chapter, who could inspect the documents and their attached lead seals. Rather than appearing in person, the nominated canon Jaume had sent Pere Bernat, a cleric from a parish church within the diocese of Girona, as his representative. In order to comply with apostolic mandates, the bishop and chapter agreed to admit Jaume (or rather, admit Pere, his representative, in his name).\textsuperscript{90} Next, Pere “swore on the Holy Gospels on God, by physically touching them, in the spirit of the said Jaume de Trilla, in the hands on the aforementioned lord bishop, that the same Jaume will observe the statutes and ancient customs of the Girona Church in all things.”\textsuperscript{91} After this, Bernat, the papal delegate, “by the aforementioned apostolic authority, assigned a place in chapter to the said Pere Bernat” as Jaume’s representative. Together with the bishop and chapter, he ordered the creation of a public document recording this act.\textsuperscript{92} Later on the same day, Bernat went to the choir of the cathedral and assigned Pere, and therefore Jaume, a stall in the choir. He also gave possession of the

\textsuperscript{88} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-12, fol. 78r-v.
\textsuperscript{89} “...abbatia et sacristia maior ipsius ecclesie simul cum canonicatu et prebenda eiusdem habeant et debeat conferri canonics dicte ecclesie cathedralis.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-12, fol. 78v.
\textsuperscript{90} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-6, fol. 179v (30 April 1328).
\textsuperscript{91} “Dictus procurator jurauit ad sancta dei euangelia corporaliter tacta in animam dicti Jacobi de Trilia in manibus domini episcopi suprindicti quod idem Jacobus statuta, et consuetudines antiquas ipsius ecclesie Gerundensis, in omnibus obseruabit.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-6, fol. 179v.
\textsuperscript{92} “...subexecutor, auctoritate apostolica suprindicta, dicto Petro Bernardi... locum in capitulo assignuit.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-6, fol. 180r.
canonical portion to Jaume’s representative, thus signaling the completion of the
procedure for Jaume to take possession of his place within the chapter.\textsuperscript{93}

A 1356 document recording the same process for another nominated canon shows
procedural continuity with the earlier example. But, in this case, the nominated canon,
Fernando Muñoz, came in person to take possession of his benefice. He appeared before
the bishop and chapter assembled in the episcopal palace and provided a bull in which
Pope Innocent granted him a canonry, prebend, \textit{pabordia}, and chaplaincies.\textsuperscript{94} Next, as in
the 1328 act, a priest of the chapter, designated as papal subexecutor for this task,
admitted Fernando to the chapter and assigned him a place in the chapter and a stall in the
cathedral’s choir. Then, Fernando, the notary, the witnesses, and the subexecutor went
together to the refectory, where the papal subexecutor gave Fernando one pound of bread
for the lunch portion, one pound of bread for the dinner portion, six \textit{diners} for wine, and
twelve \textit{diners} for a small dish or pan (\textit{scutella}). Fernando, “receiving them, handed them
over to Arnau de Sant Bartolomeo, cook of the said church, to be given to the rector of
the hospital of Sant Jaume near Girona, out of the love of God, just as is customary of the
Church of Girona.”\textsuperscript{95} Finally, Fernando swore on the Gospels to uphold the customs and
statutes of the Girona Church, as Jaume’s representative had done in 1328, paying
particular attention
to three statutes published in the said Church, namely not alienating communal
goods of the \textit{Ferial} of the said Church, and only conferring chaplaincies on
people of the chapter of the Girona Church, and confirming and maintaining the
\textit{pabordias} each year on the Tuesday after Easter in the general chapter, or in the
days continuing after this day, as is customary to be sworn by the canons and
persons of the chapter of the Girona Church in their new reception.\textsuperscript{96}

\textsuperscript{93} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-6, fol. 180r. In this model, of course, the papacy controlled the right of nomination to
the Girona chapter. This became the typical procedure in the fourteenth century as the papacy sought to
control the right to appoint the recipients of this position. This will be discussed in further detail in Chapter
4, in the section examining the relationship between the chapter and the pope.
\textsuperscript{94} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-33, fol. 88r-v (5 Jan. 1356).
\textsuperscript{95} “…recipiens eas et eos, tradidit Arnaldo de Sancto Bartolomeo, cocho dicte ecclesie, tradendos et
tradendas, per cum amore dei, rectori hospitalis Sancti Jacobi prope Gerunda, prout est de consuetudine
ecclesie Gerundensis.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-33, fol. 89r.
\textsuperscript{96} “…tribus statutis editis in dicta ecclesia, uidelicet de non alienandis bonis comunibus Ferialis dicte
ecclesie, et non conferendis cappellanis nisi personis de capitulo ecclesie Gerundensis, et de assecurandis
et firmandis preposituris quolibet anno die martis post pascha in capitulo generalis uel diebus ad eam
continuatis, ut moris est per alios canonicos et personas de capitulo ecclesie Gerundensis iurari in sua noua
receptione.” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-33, fol. 89v. Joan Royç, another Girona canon, took a similar oath in 1355,
swearing to uphold the same three statutes, in addition to promising to keep the chapter’s secrets; ADG
\textit{Notularum} G-32, fol. 25r (9 Jan. 1355).
The final requirement to join the chapter was financial, as when Fernando swore to pay ten *lliures* for a new cloak of very high quality and to pay twenty *lliures* and the income from his first year holding the *pabordia* and chaplaincies to the general work fund of the cathedral. New canons, upon their acceptance as novice members of the chapter, had to pay for a silk *capa*, required to be well-made and beautiful, or pay 10 *lliures* to the chapter. This financial requirement served as another way to ensure membership in the Girona chapter was limited to the diocesan and regional elite. A 1330 document recording discussions between the bishop and chapter more clearly explained the necessity for new canons to provide or finance the purchase of an expensive cloak. During a meeting at the episcopal palace, the bishop and chapter were discussing the feast days celebrated in the cathedral, in honor of Mary and the other saints, and how these required purple silk garments for processions and the Divine Office. To ensure that all canons had garments appropriate for the gravity of such situations, they established for themselves and their successors that, beginning now, any new canon and cleric or priest of the Girona chapter, within six months from the day on which he will receive the canonical portion, computed continuously, [the new canon] ought to be held to acquire and to give a silk mantle, worth at least 200 Barcelona *sous*, for the service of this Church, … or to give the treasurer that 200 *sous*, counted in currency, otherwise, then with the six aforementioned months lapsed, the provost or provosts of the aforementioned Church ought not to be held to give the canonical portion… to the new canon or cleric or priest.98

The 100 *sous* Melgoresos or 115 Barcelona *sous* that new canons used to give was no longer sufficient to purchase mantles or cloaks of appropriate quality.99 This requirement was updated seven years later when the bishop and chapter changed the monetary value.

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97 ADG *Notularum* G-33, fol. 89v. The cathedral chapter of León also required the payment of entrance fees before a canon could take possession of his new position. See Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, *La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés*, 72.
98 “statuerunt per se et successores suos, quod ex nunc quilibet nouus canonicus et clericus siue presbyter de capitulo Gerundense, infra sex menses a die qua actu recipiet canoniciam portionem, proxime et continue computando, teneantur facere et dare unam capam de serice ad seruicium ipsius ecclesie ualentem ad minus cc solidos barchinensis de terno … uel dare thesaurario ipsos cc solidos in peccunia numerata alias extunc lapsis ui mensibus supradictis prepositi seu prepositi dictae ecclesie non teneantur sibi dare canoniciam portionem ipso nouo canonico et clerico seu prebytero.” ADG *Notularum* G-7, fol. 37r (17 April 1330). Canons were required to wear this kind of garment (a *sobrepelliz* or *capa*) while attending diocesan synods, as established in synodal constitutions issued by Arnau de Mont-rodon in the 1330s and Bernat de Cruïlles in 1354. See Bueno Salinas, *El Derecho Canónico Catalán*, 94, 105, 121.
99 ADG *Notularum* G-7, fol. 37v.
of the garment to ten Barcelona lliures and gave new canons two years, rather than six months, to pay this.  

One of the main requirements for joining the chapter was the ability to prove descent from the military aristocracy in both the maternal and paternal lines, ensuring that the Girona chapter remained uniformly noble, as mentioned previously. In a 1361 letter to the king, the bishop and chapter specified that this custom dated back to a privilege granted by Charlemagne, as founder and benefactor of the Girona cathedral. To uphold this requirement, the bishop and chapter wrote to Cecilia, Countess of Urgell, in 1356 in response to her recommendation that the chapter grant a canonry to her chaplain, that “unless [he] is born from military stock, he cannot obtain a canonry in our Gironese Church.” According to the bishop and chapter, allowing anyone who was not noble to join the chapter would have infringed on their ancient privilege and been an irreparable detriment to the Girona Church.

The bishop and chapter took great care to uphold this privilege, inquiring into and investigating the background of potential members of the chapter, thus showing this requirement’s significance. For example, in 1355, the bishop and chapter wrote to Francesc Ruffach, doctor of laws and canon of Barcelona, regarding Fernando Muñoz, a Barcelona canon who sought to join the Girona chapter in an exchange that the Holy See had approved. Muñoz asserted that he was noble on both the part of his mother and father, but in order for Muñoz to successfully take possession of the canonry and prebend, the bishop and chapter needed proof that he met their entrance requirements. To settle the matter, they instructed Ruffach to investigate by seeking out testimony from trustworthy witnesses about whether Muñoz was indeed descended from military stock.

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100 ADG Notularum G-12, fol. 79r (26 April 1337).
101 This privilege “per suum sanctum Karolum Magnum... posita fuit” and was “inuiiolabiliter observuari.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-41, fol. 160v (2 Nov. 1361). Although this and the following examples show its enforcement in the fourteenth century, the bishop and chapter regarded this privilege as something upheld uniformly throughout the chapter’s history as a perpetually-observed custom (“consuetudine perpetuo obseruata”). See ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-27, fol. 144r (26 Dec. 1355), U-33 fol. 44v (15 July 1359), and U-43, fol. 41r (4 Nov. 1361), all of which use this phrase.
102 “nisi tam de militari genere procreatus, non potest canonicitum in nostra Gerundense ecclesia obtinere.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-28, fol. 58v (4 March 1356).
103 The letter specifies that the bishop and chapter enforced this privilege in order to defend the Church from an irreparable detriment of this kind (“ab irreperabili detrimento huiusmodi... defensare”). ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-43, fol. 41v.
on both sides. Once he had done so, Ruffach was instructed to write back to the chapter, sending a letter with his personal seal to officially convey his findings.104

A similar situation occurred four years later, when the chapter wrote to the bishop of Castres, in Languedoc, to enquire about Aimeric de Felenor, a rector of two parish churches in the diocese of Castres. He was part of a proposed exchange with the current Girona canon Gallart de Montpezat, but the bishop and chapter needed to ensure that Felenor was noble on the part of each parent and also asked the bishop whether Felenor was “healthy in mind and sound in limbs and body.”105 Only after receiving a response from the bishop of Castres guaranteeing that Felenor fulfilled these requirements would the Girona bishop and chapter allow Montpezat to resign from his canonry and prebend and subsequently give possession of these offices to Felenor.106

Strict enforcement of the privilege requiring canons to be of noble origin resulted in a chapter uniformly composed of men from among the medium and lesser nobility. Most canons belonged to lineages that governed a castelló, or fortified mansion, in the diocese or region, and the chapter itself was dominated by a small number of families whose members succeeded each other for generations. For second and third sons of these families, entrance to the chapter could bring income and influence that could have been difficult to receive within the family patrimony.107 Families from the Girona urban patriciate were completely absent, making the chapter an important source of urban power and authority for these lineages from the surrounding countryside.108 Sending male dependents to join the chapter could have been a strategy to gain a foothold within Girona itself, to install sons and nephews in the city to represent family interests. At least nineteen lineages whose members joined the chapter can be identified as belonging to the hereditary nobility, and many of these lineages sent two or more canons to the chapter in the first half of the fourteenth century alone. The Rocabertí and Cruïlles families

104 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-27, fol. 144r. The letter mentions the requirement for canons “ex genere militari ex parte patris et matris eius procreatum et natum.”
105 “…sanus mentis et compos membris et corpore.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-33, fol. 44v (15 July 1359).
106 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-33, fol. 45r.
107 Molina Figueras, “De militari ex utroque parente,” 744. There are, as far as I know, no membership lists for the Girona chapter, but many canons are listed and identified in the notarial records, letters, and other registers from the diocesan archive.
108 Members from the urban patriciate may also have lacked the necessary background from the military aristocracy, thus enabling the chapter to exclude them and maintain its uniformity.
belonged to the middle ranks of the nobility, and the Vilamari, Vilarig, Palau, Montrodon, Pontós, Blanes, Cornellà, and Santapau families were barons and knights from the lesser nobility. Men from these lineages were viscounts, hereditary lords, tithe-holders, and royal councilors, officials, and lieutenants, making them closely connected to the high aristocracy and to the royal family of the Crown of Aragon. The king, secular lords, including counts, viscounts, and magnates, and other laymen collected or controlled a significant portion of the tithe in the diocese of Girona in the fourteenth century, although they often had to appear before the bishop and recognize that they held the tithe as a fief from the bishop, using the language and terms of a feudal relationship, making the lay holders of the tithe into ecclesiastical vassals.  

The Rocabertí family was perhaps the most prestigious lineage connected to the Girona chapter at this time and legend had it that they were descended from the Carolingian dukes of Austràsia, who sought refuge from Pepin in the Catalan Pyrenees. Their verifiable origins date back to the tenth or eleventh centuries and they were closely tied to the Alt Empordà since they held the title of viscounts of Perelada, which is 45 kilometers north of Girona. This family was equal in prestige and position to the most noble houses in medieval Catalonia, and members of the family were royal vassals who participated in royal expeditions, the conquest of Mallorca, and military action in Sardinia. They were also linked through marriage to the royal house of the Crown of Aragon, the counts of Urgell, other viscounts, and lesser barons and lords, including the Cruïlles family, which was also connected to the Girona chapter. Pere, son of Dalmau VI de Rocabertí, the viscount, was a Girona canon and bishop from 1318 to 1324, and his brother Guillem was archbishop of Tarragona from 1309 to 1315.  

The Cruïlles family was very closely tied to the Girona chapter, and at least four canons from the first half of the fourteenth century belonged to this lineage. It held

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109 Laymen had possessed tithes in the diocese of Girona dating back to the tenth century, when the foundation of new parish churches mixed with ancient fiscal rights over villages and parish incomes held by local secular lords, and the newly-created parish churches became centers of lordly dominion. In the eleventh through thirteenth centuries, many laypeople ceded their tithes to the Girona See, which wanted to end lay control of parish churches, but lay lords continued to hold tithes into the fourteenth century; Elvis Mallorquí, *Parròquia i societat rural al bisbat de Girona, segles XIII-XIV* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2011), 99-103, 131-135.


lordship over much of the Baix Empordà and included a main line plus other prestigious lineages from other minor branches. Gilabert and Hug, both canons, were sons of Gilabert IV, the lord of the baronies of Cruïlles, Calonge, and Cinclaus. Gilabert went on to be bishop of Girona from 1334 to 1335 and Hug served as abbot of Sant Feliu, the neighboring collegiate church. Their nephew, Berenguer, also joined the chapter in 1321 and was bishop from 1348 to 1362, and a fourth relative, Bernat, was also a cathedral canon. Various other members of the Cruïlles family held the baronies of Peratallada, Begur, Bestraca, Santa Pellaia, Fitor, and Rupit, plus the other lordships within the diocese. Through marriage, the Cruïlles lineage was connected to other noble and royal lineages, including the counts of Pallars and the viscounts of Rocabertí, and Bishop Berenguer’s brother, Gilabert V, served as governor of Valencia and married an illegitimate daughter of King Sanç I of Mallorca.\textsuperscript{112}

The Mont-rodon lineage also produced at least three canons in this period, including Arnau, who later was bishop from 1335 to 1348, and his nephews Bernat and Bertran, who also was selected as bishop in 1374. Arnau’s brother, Ferrer, was also involved in ecclesiastical administration through his position as abbot of Amer, a monastery also within the diocese of Girona. This family is a typical example of an ancient rural Catalan family of free knights who held the lordship of a small dominion outside Vic and grew in power as they developed links to more powerful lineages and then to the king, through holding royal offices as veguers of Vic and royal representatives and commissioners.\textsuperscript{113}

The Vilanova family was also closely connected to royal power and administration but only appears to have provided one canon in the early fourteenth century. Vidal de Vilanova (the elder) was the father of a canon, also named Vidal, and the son of a knight and castellan. He was a royal councilor in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries and was the majordomo of Queen Blanca and Queen Maria, two wives of King Jaume II. As a royal ambassador, he traveled to royal and papal courts and later served as the alcalde and batlle of Xativa, functioning as the king’s bailiff in the


city. He later served as an advisor to King Alfons III and King Pere III, even after retiring to Valencia.\textsuperscript{114} Other members of the family held local lordships around Valencia, commanded galleys for Pere III, and served as royal officials in Valencia.\textsuperscript{115}

At least fifteen other noble lineages can be identified from among the Girona canons, including many families that held lands and tithes within Catalonia. The Blanes family was a lineage of knights and tithe holders and included men who served as royal ambassadors, as did the Trilla family, another lineage of knights from the Alt Empordà.\textsuperscript{116} The Santapau family from the country of Besalú and possessed the castellany of Finestres, and the father and brother of canon Ramon went on royal expeditions to Sicily and held the lordships of Santapau and Finestres.\textsuperscript{117} The Torrellès family included castellans, ambassadors, and participants in royal expeditions, and canon Guillem de Torrellès was the uncle of Berenguer de Cruïlles, canon and later bishop.\textsuperscript{118} Other families, including the Sexano, Vildemany, Vilamari, Mont, and Cartellà lineages held similar lordships and also had ties to royal service. Most, if not all, of the Girona canons came from lineages which had ties to royal service, held lordships over towns of the diocese and region, and intermarried with each other, linking the canons not only as members of the same ecclesiastical body but as men with similar backgrounds, social status, and even family connections.

After taking possession of a canonry, the new canon was immediately entitled to receive the daily canonical portion, paid in money or in distributions of bread and wine from the \textit{paborde} of that month, as seen in the episcopal instruction to the July \textit{paborde} “to deliver to Arnau de Mont-rodon or to his procurator the daily canonical portion of money or distribution of his canonry.”\textsuperscript{119} Canons received two pounds of bread each day, one for lunch and one for dinner, if they attended at least one of the canonical hours that

\textsuperscript{114} Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 24 (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1989), 153.
\textsuperscript{115} Rafael Tasis, Pere El Cerimoniós i Els Seus Fills (Barcelona: Teide, 1957), 23.
\textsuperscript{116} For the Blanes family, see Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 5 (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1986), 113, and Lletres del Bisbe, 557. For the Trilla family, see Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 20 (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1988), 453.
\textsuperscript{117} Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 20, 286.
\textsuperscript{118} Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 22 (Barcelona: Enciclopèdia Catalana, 1989), 460; Lletres del Bisbe 633.
\textsuperscript{119} “tradere Arnaldou de Monterotundo uel eius procuratorii cotidianam canonicalem portionem denarioseu distributionem canonicatus...” ADG Notularum G-1, fol. 63r (18 July 1297). This document immediately follows the notice that Bishop Bernat de Vilamari had conferred a canonry on Arnau.
day. Otherwise, they would lose the dinner bread ration. If they held a papal privilege or a mandate from the chapter to be absent, canons could still receive this in absentia, in the form of an equivalent payment of money. Those who attended chapter and canons too infirm to attend always received the full canonical portion and the two pounds of bread.\textsuperscript{120} Canons also received rations of wine for lunch and money for wine for dinner, ranging from about four to twenty diners, depending on the day and month. On important feast days like Pentecost, the feast day of the Virgin Mary, All Saints’ Day, and Easter, canons received wine of the highest quality to fit with the significance of these days.\textsuperscript{121}

Canons could receive extra income as part of the canonical portion on certain feast days. For example, in January, canons could receive eleven extra diners on the feast days of Saint Anthony, Saint Sebastian, Saint Agnes, Saint Vincent, and the conversion of Saint Paul, plus two extra sous on the day of the feast of the Circumcision.\textsuperscript{122} The January paborde paid for most of these augmentations, but the Ferial fund, created to sustain canons and clerics, paid for half at the Circumcision feast day and the rector of the chapels of All Saints paid for the extra on the feast of Saint Anthony. Additionally, the January paborde received 162 sous from the Ferial fund to pay each member of the chapter a twelve diner daily augment.\textsuperscript{123} Each of the nine pabordes did the same in their months, paying between six diners and four sous on various feast days, plus the supplement of twelve diners on other days. For this, the paborde of Castelló (covering the months of February, March, and April) received 177 sous and four diners, the paborde of May received 155 sous, the paborde of June received 106 sous and eight diners, the paborde of August received 200 sous, the paborde of September and October received 506 sous and eight diners, the paborde of November received 136 sous, and the paborde of December received 72 sous and eight diners. The paborde of July did not pay any additions and therefore did not receive any extra money from the Ferial. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Çaçada}, fol. 132v-133r. In 1326, after the administrator of the pabordia of Castelló, covering the distributions for February, March, and April, had ceased to give out the canonical portion, the bishop and chapter confirmed that all those entitled to the canonical portion, whether present in the city and diocese or holding a privilege allowing them to be absent, should receive the entire distribution of the canonical portion which the paborde was required to pay in order to fulfill the terms of his service to the Girona Church; ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 8r-v (19 Feb. 1326).
\item For a full schedule of the distribution of wine and payments to purchase wine for each month, ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Çaçada}, fol. 152r-155v.
\item ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Çaçada}, fol. 135r-v.
\item ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Çaçada}, fol. 135v.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
September and October supplement was high because a number of feast days in those two months corresponded to additional payments of two *sous* to each canon, which was higher than most other feast day payments.  

New canons were also required to say three Hail Marys during the Easter feast day. Before they could receive the canonical portion, they had to swear to complete their assigned duties and to observe the statutes of the chapter.  

A 1375 statute specified six oaths that those newly received in chapter must swear, including first, to keep the secret of the chapter. Second, to not alienate communal goods or the *Ferial*. Third, to not confer chaplaincies that are said to belong to the chapter except to people from the chapter. Fourth to observe our own union of chapels to the communal *mensa*. Fifth, to only spend income of the specified united chapels for the uses for which they are marked. Sixth, to confirm and reaffirm the good written and unwritten customs of the Church for the *pabordia*, to not be held to swear to commands or statutes of the Church but only to promise to serve them.  

As seen in this oath, the Girona chapter was focused on maintaining its economic base through preserving its goods, income, and control of chapels.  

In order to take legitimate possession of a canonry, prebend, benefice, or other position in the Girona chapter, prospective canons needed to follow the procedures outlined above. However, some men apparently illegally sought to gain possession of benefices or canonries. A 1326 letter from the bishop to the chapter, all clerics associated with the chapter, and rectors of churches throughout the diocese of Girona detailed how the bishop had heard of men who claimed to have papal grants of positions within the chapter and had attempted to take possession of benefices or dignities such as canonries, prebends, or chaplaincies while they were vacant, despite the fact that they fell to episcopal collation. The bishop then reminded the recipients of the letter that no one could take possession of any of these positions surreptitiously, warning all to be alert to

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124 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 138v-139r, 142v, 144r, 145r, 147v, 149r, 150v, 151v.  
125 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 10v, 11r.  
126 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 118r. “Nona die nouembris anno domini m ccc l xx u fuit ordinatum quod ammodo perpetuo nouiter receptus in capitulo habeat sex que sequuntur specialiter iurare. Primo tenere secretum capituli. Secundum non alienare bona communia seu ferial. Tertium non conferre capellanias que dicuntur de capitulo nisi personis de eodem. Quartum obseruare unionem capellaniarum mense communi predictum nostrum propriam factam. Quintum de non expendendo redditus dictarum capellaniarum unitarum nisi in usus ad quos sunt deputati. Sexium de firmandis et refirmandis ad bonas ecclesie consuetudines scriptas et non scriptas preposituris dicte ecclesie alias uero ordinationes seu statuta dicte ecclesie non tenetur iurare, sed solum promittere ipsas per omnia seruare…”
these attempts. He instructed the recipients of the letter that episcopal knowledge and permission was necessary for licit collation and possession of these positions.\textsuperscript{127}

Conclusion

After Charlemagne and his men captured the city of Girona in 785 and reinstated the diocese of Girona, Charlemagne and his successors gave many donations to the Girona cathedral community. Cartularies from the diocesan archive preserve donations of land and villages by a series of Carolingian kings, in addition to grants of privileges and immunities. The bishop and chapter also received donations from other individuals, including the count and countess of Barcelona, the count of Empúries, and other local nobles. These grants formed the cathedral’s patrimony, and a gradual separation divided the holdings into an episcopal mensa and a capitular mensa, a process that took root by at least the eleventh century. In the thirteenth century, the chapter divided their patrimony into nine smaller units, called pabordias, to make managing these lands more effective. Canons and priests of the chapter served as pabordes, or administrators, and used the income from the pabordias to fund daily distributions to members of the chapter.

The procedure for joining the chapter seems to have stabilized by the fourteenth century, with prospective canons appearing before the bishop and chapter to present the grant which gave them a canonry, pay the required donation to the cathedral’s Ferial fund, swear to uphold the customs of the chapter, and receive his assigned stall in the cathedral choir. Potential canons also had to prove their descent from the nobility in both the maternal and paternal lines, due to a unique privilege allegedly granted by Charlemagne that required this proof.

The chapter included twenty-four canons, but also included a group of twelve priests of the chapter who served as the canons’ replacements at services in the cathedral. Although documents refer to these men as “priests of the chapter” (\textit{presbyteri de capitulo}), the canons fought to affirm their superiority and won a suit in the 1240s, successfully prohibited the priests from calling themselves canons or receiving the same

\textsuperscript{127} ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-2bis, fol. 17v-18r (15 Oct. 1326).
payment of daily distributions as the canons. The priests were essential to the cathedral community in that they recited the Hours and said mass in the cathedrals, and they could attend chapter meetings, but they did not have the same voice in chapter or in episcopal elections.
Chapter Two
Chapter Duties and Devotional Activities

Canons were a very important part of the life of any cathedral and diocese, given the centrality of their tasks to the spiritual and administrative functions of the Church. Canons had two main roles: reciting the Hours in the cathedral and helping the bishop with matters of diocesan government, a duality that made them powerful both within the Church and within civil society. The importance of canons’ liturgical duties was universal; cathedral chapters throughout Western Europe served this same function. They gathered throughout the day to celebrate mass and pray the Divine Office, assisted by the priests and other clerics. They also helped to maintain liturgical vestments and ornaments, as well as chapels and altars in the cathedral. But, because of their responsibilities as diocesan administrators, many canons had vicars who could take their place in carrying out liturgical responsibilities. To make up for canons’ absences, other clergymen and priests of the chapter could participate in the recitation of the Divine Office. Beyond their main duty of recitation of the Hours, canons also served the Church in other ways. Many canons held additional benefices within the city and diocese, such as a chaplaincy. These additional positions brought extra income and a small amount of extra work, for which a canon could appoint a procurator as his substitute. The administrative functions of cathedral canons grew to be just as important as their liturgical tasks, and this portion of their duties often took up much of their time. These responsibilities were twofold: canons assisted the bishop in diocesan administration and also oversaw their chapter community, meeting weekly or even daily to manage the chapter patrimony, approve expenses, and deal with routine business.

3 Freedman, The Diocese of Vic, 40.
4 Edwards, English Secular Cathedrals, 67; Madignier, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral, 426.
5 Millet, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon, 224-225; Madignier, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral, 187.
Beyond their basic religious duties, canons participated in a number of different devotional and charitable activities, many of which were customary for men of their status. As members of the ecclesiastical establishment, it was normal for canons to participate in Church-sponsored charitable work, serving institutions like hospitals and almshouses. A few canons even founded such almshouses, called almoinas, and many others made significant monetary donations, moving beyond a minimum level of involvement. Other activities that hint at canons’ personal religious devotion include participation in the cathedral’s confraternity as well as the foundation and endowment of altars and chapels in the cathedral.

**Spiritual Functions**

The main role of the Girona cathedral canons was, necessarily, to carry out religious worship in the cathedral. All canons were required to attend masses and the Divine Office at the cathedral, daily and nightly, and to participate in the readings, responses, and singing as required. They were to sing the Divine Office communally, ideally with a “full and lively voice” in order to best glorify God. The cathedral community performed these services within the choir and celebrated mass at different altars within the cathedral, including the main altar and those of the side chapels, depending on the feast day. To further venerate saints on their feast days, the bishop and chapter sometimes remained in the choir during the celebration of Matins or Vespers, then finishing with a procession to the altar of that particular saint.

Chapter statutes also dictated what vestments clerics had to wear in the cathedral, ensuring they would be properly clothed to carry out their sacred duties. All clerics, including the canons, were required to wear garments and cloaks befitting their position

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7 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 10r.
8 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 10r. “…rotunde et uiua uoce cantemus.”
9 For instructions about performing offices in the choir, see ADG Llibre d’Afers del Capitol de la Seu, vol. 1, fol. 123r. For the list of which altars to use on which feast days, see ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 169r-v.
and the sanctity of the occasion. The precentor would reprimand and expel from the choir those who disobeyed these regulations. Another statute further specified the types of garments clerics needed, noting that each canon and priest needed to have nine sets of vestments: three for feast days and Sundays to be worn for services at the altar of the Virgin Mary, three white vestments to be worn during the week, and three vestments for morning masses. Any cleric not associated with the chapter but still wishing to attend services in the cathedral also had to wear the appropriate vestments as specified.

The chapter included a number of dignitary offices and titles assigned to certain canons, including four archdeaconates, the precentor, the sacristan, and the abbot of Sant Feliu. The major archdeacon, also called the archdeacon of Girona or the archdeacon of Rabós, was the highest-ranking ecclesiastical figure in the diocese after the bishop. He held a number of episcopal powers and duties during episcopal vacancies, including the ability to confer benefices. He held the right of presentation to a number of other benefices as part of his office, including the one attached to the altar of Tots Sants (All Saints) in the Girona cathedral plus those linked to various chapels throughout the diocese. He also had a number of additional liturgical duties, including funding a lamp and candles during Nativity and performing a week of readings from the Gospel during the week of the Nativity. The right of presentation to various benefices could be very beneficial for the archdeacon and his household since he could appoint clerics from his retinue to these positions, financially and spiritually rewarding those connected to him. Additionally, the extra liturgical duties, especially during Nativity, could signify his importance and standing in the chapter.

The other archdeacons had similar duties to perform at important parts of the liturgical year. For example, the archdeacon of Empúries had to do a specific reading at Nativity services, perform other readings when he was present during choir, and do a week of Gospel readings during the year. He also had use of a house belonging to the

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10 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 13r. The statute does not differentiate between clerics, priests, and canons, referring instead only to “clerici.”
11 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 13r.
12 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 25r.
13 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 59v-60r.
14 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 59v.
Performing these readings would separate him from the choir as a whole, recognizing his position as the holder of a high chapter office. The archdeacon of Besalú also had liturgical duties during Nativity and was required to perform readings and officiate at Prime and Vespers during the Nativity period. He also did a week of Gospel readings during the year and gave a blessing on Palm Sunday, the day of the Passion, and Holy Saturday. His extra duties, like the other archdeacons, came at significant dates in the liturgical year, suggesting that it was important to the chapter for the highest dignitaries to lead these services. The archdeacon of la Selva also participated in Nativity services, sharing in the officiating duties and singing from a book titled the *Liber generationis*. He also did a week of Gospel readings during Pentecost and an anniversary mass for a previous archdeacon who had made improvements to the house that belonged to the archdeaconate.

Each canon, including the holders of major dignitary offices, was also responsible for one week of additional service in the cathedral, as assigned by the *magister cantus*. He assigned the weekly duties on Saturday and the required service began the following day. For this extra work, each canon or priest of the chapter received extra portions of bread and wine during their week of service, plus an additional monetary payment in *díners* made on the Friday before the week began. Generally speaking, their duties involved service at the daily masses and singing or reading texts from the Gospels. One statute from the chapter’s compilation outlined their duties in more detail, noting that every deacon and archdeacon (meaning all canons of the chapter) took turns doing these weekly tasks. They had to attend Matins, perform a reading, say the Hours at Terce, and assist the main officiant at the mass. During the mass, the deacon was to stand near the altar and to serve with humility and devotion. One of his main tasks included helping with the incense, by walking around the altar and through the choir, swinging the censer to distribute incense. Then, returning to the altar, he assisted the priest with singing the items of the mass. Next, he was to help with the Epistles and prepare the chalice, wine,
water, and the Hosts, and later, he received the cross and its covering from the *claviger* before presenting it to the congregation and receiving a benediction from the bishop. He then distributed more incense around the altar, helped with reading and singing more items, and participated in the kiss of peace.\(^1\) The deacon’s prescribed role during his week of service was quite involved, assisting the priest throughout the daily liturgical celebrations.

Since the chapter contained twenty-four canons (and the twelve associated priests), a number of weeks remained vacant. In 1328, the bishop and chapter decided to assign the vacant weeks to two clerics, selected at the annual general chapter, who would serve all the unassigned weeks each year in exchange for 40 *sous* annually.\(^2\) It seems likely, though, that canons passed their own weekly duties on to the twelve priests of the chapter who assisted them, given a statute from the late 1340s that mentions that “many canons… absent themselves from the cathedral,” sending substitutes “who do the Gospel service or [service] of the mass that they [the canons] are held to do because of their prebends in the said Church.”\(^3\) This practice is unsurprising, given the tendency of many canons to pass these kinds of tasks on to the priests of the chapter, who carried out the majority of the chapter’s daily liturgical duties.\(^4\)

In order to perform the religious duties outlined above, Girona canons were required to reach the ecclesiastical rank of deacon. However, not all canons were ordained as they should have been, perhaps signaling a lack of interest in this portion of their duties. When the archbishop of Tarragona, Guillem de Rocaberti, discovered this on a supervisory visit to the Girona cathedral in the early fourteenth century, he issued a set of constitutions with which the chapter needed to comply. Given that it was his task to ensure the smooth functioning of the cathedral, and wanting “to cultivate virtues, to

\(^1\) ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 15v-16v.
\(^2\) ADG *Notularum G*-6, fol. 178r-v (28 Apr. 1328). This practice was reiterated twenty years later, in 1347, so the practice seems to have become institutionalized; see ADG G-19, fol. 68r-69v (9 April 1347).
\(^3\) “multotiens canonici… a dicta ecclesia se absentat… qui faciat seruicium Evangelium aut misse quod ratione eorum prebendarum facere tenetur in dicta ecclesia.” ADG *Notularum G*-22, fol. 119v (17 April 1349).
\(^4\) Molina Figueras, “*De genere militari*,” 744. Marquès notes that the canons wanted the priests of the chapter to devote themselves to Divine Office worship and other auxiliary tasks of cathedral worship, rather than doing so themselves; “La Iglesia de Gerona,” 528. Since they were only required to reach the rank of deacon, most seem to have stopped there, so the priests of the chapter had to carry out acts of worship restricted to those who had taken sacerdotal orders; Marquès, *Una història de la diòcesi de Girona*, 93. For more on the priests of the chapter, see pages 30-33 in Chapter 1.
destroy iniquities, and to establish honorable things,” he outlined a set of instructions for the canons and cathedral.25 First, since he had found some members of the chapter had not been attending the Divine Office, as they were required to do, he warned that this was a danger to their souls. He ordered everyone to attend Divine Office, to carry out their weeks of service, and to do any other tasks associated with their positions. If they failed to do so after this warning, they would lose their canonical portion distributions for three days, which would instead be given to the poor.26 The main issue, however, was members of the chapter not reaching the required ranks of ordination, which Archbishop Guillem clearly addressed, stating

And because we have found that all canons of the Church ought to be deacons, and those who are called priests of the chapter of the Girona Church ought to be priests, and that Pere de Rocaberti, Gaufred de Ruppeberti, Hug de Cruüilles, Ramon de Santapau, Ramon Berenguer de Cervilione, Berenguer de Palacio, Guillem de Cornellà, Pere de Mont, and Bernat de Cruüilles, canons of this Church, have not reached the rank of deacon, and that Arnau de Vilarig, Bernat de Corneyla, and Francesc de Guernau, clerics of the chapter of the Girona Church, have not reached the rank of priest, we warn all the canons mentioned above by name, that they must have themselves promoted to the rank of deacon, and we warn the said Arnau de Vilarig, and Bernat de Corneyla, and Francesc de Guernau that they must have themselves promoted to the rank of priest, within one year; otherwise they would not have a voice in chapter, nor would they be admitted to any chapter discussion, until they will have moved themselves up to the said ranks… unless perhaps [the bishop] may excuse certain men from this because of a defect of age, or any canonical impediment; within one year counted continuously from the present say they will be held by the bishop to do this in full faith. However, those, who on account of a defect of age, are not able to be promoted to the aforementioned ranks ought to be promoted within one year to the orders for which their age is sufficient, and afterwards to the said ranks of deacon or of priest immediately, within a year when their age is sufficient… And we order the bishop to compel them to this.27

25 “plantare virtutes, iniqua destruere et edificare honesta…” Transcribed as Document LIX in Jaime Villanueva, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España, vol. XIII: Viage á Gerona (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1850), 337. There is no date given in this set of constitutions, but Guillem de Rocaberti was archbishop of Tarragona from 1309 to 1315.


Nine out of the twenty four canons of the chapter were named as failing to fulfill this basic requirement, including the archbishop’s own brother, canon and future bishop Pere de Rocaberti, and at least four other canons who would go on to hold chapter dignitary positions, including archbishoprics and abbacy of Sant Feliu.

The issue of canons needing to attain certain ranks in the clerical hierarchy was common to cathedral chapters across Europe, although the failure to progress to those orders does not appear to have been a widespread problem. In Autun, canons needed to attain the rank of at least subdeacon but in the fourteenth century, more aristocratic youths were accepted into the chapter and were not necessarily of the age at which one could proceed to this rank. It was expected, though, that once they reached eighteen years of age, they would become subdeacons to fulfill this requirement.\textsuperscript{28} Similarly, in Laon, in northern France, canons needed to be at least subdeacons, if not deacons or priests, so the minimum age for canons was fixed at eighteen.\textsuperscript{29} These chapters did not require their members to attain a rank as high as what the Girona chapter did, allowing them to stop at subdeacon. The Laon chapter, however, could refuse admission to a nominated canon if he was unqualified, making it possible to reject men who had not yet become subdeacons.\textsuperscript{30} There is no specific mention of canons deliberately delaying reaching this ecclesiastical rank, but these chapters had certain requirements and procedures to compel canons (or prospective canons) to become subdeacons before joining the chapter. In discussing cathedral chapters in England, David Lepine noted that few canons were ordained beyond minor orders before becoming a canon, although most seem to have taken major orders quickly after getting their first benefice, and that perhaps these men were those who joined the chapter in their thirties or forties as part of a longer ecclesiastical career. Some other canons, however, delayed this for a number of years,
and it seems likely that this group was comprised of the noblemen who tended to join the chapter at a younger age, around twenty.\textsuperscript{31} Elsewhere in Spain, the chapter of León contained men at three ranks: subdeacons, deacons, and priests, and canonries were supposed to be conferred only on suitable candidates who met the requirements.\textsuperscript{32} In Oviedo, however, the clerical rank was seen as a secondary element for entry into the chapter, with economic factors being the most important, given the fees canons needed to pay upon entry to the chapter. This emphasis meant that many canons within the chapter were not priests.\textsuperscript{33} Like the Girona chapter, these other chapters mainly focused on admitting qualified members who had obtained the ecclesiastical rank necessary required by the chapter, although noble rank or financial status could possibly allow these chapters to make exceptions.

The warning from the archbishop of Tarragona, however, did not resolve the issues with attendance at cathedral services. Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon addressed this problem in 1336, noting that he had found that many canons and priests of the chapter had not been attending Divine Office, which was a danger to their spiritual health. To provide for their salvation, he ordered them to attend Divine Office and masses daily, as their position required, unless they were unable to do so for legitimate reasons. He made reference to another statute issued by Jaume of Aragon and Anjou, son of King Jaume II of Aragon and Blanche of Anjou, in his capacity as apostolic administrator of Tarragona, which repeated the need for canons to attend mass and read the Gospels for their assigned weeks. The penalty for failing to do so, as laid out in this statute, was the loss of half the canonical portion for that day, far less than the loss of three days’ portions as in the earlier statute.\textsuperscript{34} Withholding financial payments as a punishment for absence, therefore, was a recurring strategy, but it was clearly not fully successful.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{31} Lepine, \textit{A Brotherhood of Canons}, Chapter 4.
\item \textsuperscript{32} Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, \textit{La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés}, 43, 71. There was an exception to this for the king of Castile and the lord of Villalobos, who held canonries in perpetuity (182).
\item \textsuperscript{33} Suarez Beltran, \textit{El Cabildo de la Catedral de Oviedo}, 52-53.
\item \textsuperscript{34} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-11, fol. 21v (14 Feb. 1336). All the canons had to attend the Hours or mass or suffer the penalty of deprivation of half the daily portion of that day (“priuationis dimidie portionis ipsius diei”). Jaume renounced his right to the throne and instead joined the Church, serving as archbishop of Toledo from 1319 to 1328, apostolic administrator of the archdiocese of Tarragona between 1327 and 1334, and titular patriarch of Alexandria from 1328 to 1334. His visit to the Girona church must have been between 1328 and 1334 since this document refers to him as administrator of Tarragona and patriarch of Alexandria.
\end{itemize}
This strategy was employed in a number of other chapters as well, in addition to the positive incentive of daily distributions for canons who did indeed attend services as they ought to, also used in Girona. For example, there were financial incentives for canons in Oviedo and León to attend choir, with the canons in attendance receiving extra distributions. This was a longstanding strategy to encourage the canons in León to be present in the cathedral, and a thirteenth-century León bishop augmented the daily portions for canons who attended the Hours. A fourteenth-century statute prohibited the cleric who managed anniversary payments from paying canons who did not attend anniversary masses or choir in the cathedral and by the fifteenth century, canons in León needed to be present for the duration of the daily Hours to receive their portions.\(^{35}\) This strategy was also employed in chapters outside of Iberia as well, with chapters in Hainaut giving daily distributions to those who attended the Hours and extra to those who attended anniversary masses. At times, chapters in this region added additional revenue to increase their funds for daily distributions to encourage attendance.\(^{36}\) All of these measures were designed to ensure the regular recitation of the Divine Office in the cathedral, the essential task of all cathedral chapters.

Another policy designed to encourage attendance was the residency requirement that mandated that all clerics also needed to be personally resident within the city itself. The bishop specified this, while noting that fewer clerics attended Prime, Nones, and the main daily mass, which was especially problematic, given the requirements to do so as mandated by Girona synodal constitutions.\(^{37}\) This warning did not solve the problem either, given that the bishop issued another statute designed to combat the same problem around ten years later.\(^{38}\) Although attendance at Divine Office and other cathedral worship was the cornerstone of their position in the chapter, many canons were seemingly little interested in this, creating a continuing problem that the bishop repeatedly tried to address.

\(^{35}\) For Oviedo, see Suárez Beltrán, *El Cabildo de la Catedral de Oviedo*, 63. For León, see *La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés*, 77, 84-85.
\(^{37}\) ADG *Notularum* G-11, fol. 22r (14 Feb. 1336).
\(^{38}\) ADG *Notularum* G-22, fol. 119v (17 April 1349). This statute noted that many canons and priests of the chapter were often absent themselves from their duties in the cathedral.
Canons’ power within the ecclesiastical hierarchy was also reflected in their exclusive rights of nomination to the most valuable chapels within the diocese. Chaplaincies with the highest annual income and without any attached pastoral duties could only be conferred on members of the chapter, giving them extra sources of income. This restriction was determined early in the fourteenth century and codified in statutes from 1313 and 1314, with the agreement of both the bishop and the chapter. To ensure proper fulfillment of this restriction, the chapter appointed two canons and a priest to make a list of all the chapels that fit into this category. The chapels within the diocese with income below these levels could still go to members of the chapter, but they were not necessarily reserved for them the way other chapels were. These restrictions further cemented the canons’ place at the top of the diocesan ecclesiastical hierarchy as holders of the most profitable and prestigious chapels of the diocese.

Holding other benefices and ecclesiastical positions in the diocese could bring additional income and prestige to the canons. Canon Francesc de Fortiano received the chaplaincy of L’Escala, conferred by the bishop, and as chaplain, he held all the income, rents, and rights of this chaplaincy, adding to the income he already received as a canon. He appointed a tonsured cleric to represent him and to take possession of this position in person and to provide pastoral care for the parishioners of l’Escala. The additional duties that accompanied these positions could prove slightly problematic, however, because the canons’ liturgical duties in Girona meant that they did not necessarily maintain a residence in the town or village for which they served as chaplain. For example, in 1326, canon Arnau de Mont-rodon held the chaplaincies of Sant Amanç and Sant Martí Sapresa, respectively 33 and 20 kilometers southwest of Girona, but he still lived in Girona to fulfill his duties as canon and paborde of December. The parishioners of these two towns wrote to the chapter, asking for a cleric who would reside in their

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39 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 448-449. This included all chapels with over 150 sous that belonged to episcopal collation (whose holder was nominated by the bishop) and those with 100 sous belonging to chapter collation (so the chapter selected who would hold these benefices). Income for these chapels could come from donations or legacies left in money or in the form of property that would provide an annual income for these chapels.

40 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 486-487.

41 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-5, fol. 117r (24 Sept. 1333). For another example of this, see U-4, fol. 125r (10 Nov. 1330), wherein Bishop Gastó de Montcada assigned the chaplaincy of Vilamalia to Berenguer de Portella, canon, who also appointed a procurator to take official possession.
towns and provide pastoral care. They were worried about the parishioners who died without confessing and receiving absolution and wanted a cleric who would perform these duties, offering to pay 20 *lliures* per year if only Arnau would appoint a procurator to provide for their spiritual health.\(^ {42}\) The problem was not simply an absentee benefice holder but the fact that Arnau had not nominated a replacement or substitute. To receive the income from these positions without providing personal service, canons often appointed substitutes, which would allow them to remain in Girona. Canons also were in charge of chapels within the Girona cathedral itself, which presented less of a conflict given the location and carried the same kinds of rights and income.\(^ {43}\)

**Administrative Duties**

The other main component of the canons’ duties was administrative, giving them a number of responsibilities tied to assisting the bishop and governing the cathedral community itself. First was the requirement of attendance at chapter meetings and at an annual general chapter.\(^ {44}\) All canons and priests of the chapter had to come to the cathedral or to the episcopal palace to attend chapter meetings called by the bishop, unless there was a legitimate impediment that would preclude their attendance.\(^ {45}\) All members were required to keep secret all matters discussed at chapter meetings, and revealing any secrets of the chapter was punishable by excommunication.\(^ {46}\) During these meetings, the bishop and chapter dealt with any and all matters pertaining to the Church and diocese, including filling vacant positions in the chapter, naming delegates for specific tasks, settling disputes, hearing accounts, and more. These tasks and the other

\(^ {42}\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-2, fol. 70r (4 May 1326). In their letter, the parishioners ask repeatedly for a “clerics” but they clearly want someone who can hear confession and offer reconciliation so the parishioners do not die without receiving absolution for their sins.

\(^ {43}\) Canons Ferran de More and Dalmau Alionis together were in charge of a chapel in the cathedral, and, as such, they had the right to select the sacristan for the church of Gualta, east of Girona; see ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-5, fol. 116rv (22 Sept. 1333).

\(^ {44}\) It is not clear when the annual chapter meetings at Girona were instituted. The *Llibre d’Afers del Capítol de la Seu* manuscripts, which record administration of the *pabordias* carried out at the annual general chapters, begin with the 1292 meeting, the same year in which the series of registers of episcopal letters began.

\(^ {45}\) ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 11r.

\(^ {46}\) ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 11r, 115v.
duties that canons performed to assist the bishop were crucial in taking care of both the spiritual and administrative affairs of the diocese.

The annual general chapter met in the Girona cathedral on the Tuesday after Easter. The bishop, canons, and priests of the chapter were required to attend. At this general meeting, each of the nine pabordes or a guarantor had to confirm the financial status of their pabordia and their continued competence in managing its accounts, guaranteeing that the revenue from their pabordia was sufficient in providing a canonical portion to all recipients entitled to such income. Each paborde also needed to provide two guarantors or a suitable pledge to continue managing and collecting the income from his pabordia. If a paborde failed to fulfill any of these requirements, or failed to adequately manage the land and income of his pabordia, the bishop and chapter would remove him from this position and select another canon or priest to serve as administrator of that pabordia for the coming year. Further punishment could include the loss of any pledges given in previous years.

Regular operation of the chapter also had a number of financial components that required canons’ participation and compliance. The Ferial fund produced income that was used to pay for the chapter’s daily distributions of canonical portions, and a 1234 statute required each canon to contribute to the Ferial half the income received from his benefice or prebend in his first year, except the daily portions. New canons also had to give 100 sous to the Ferial upon joining the chapter; new bishops had to give 200 aureos (gold coins). After this, the only additional requirement was for each canon to give 100 sous in his testament, with no required donations in the intervening years. Given these requirements, canons gave large sums at the beginning of their career in the chapter, which would be used to pay the daily portions for those who attended the Hours and mass in the cathedral. This “entrance fee” helped support worship in the cathedral by rewarding those who attended regularly in the form of monetary distributions. Such requirements only further served to restrict chapter membership to the wealthy who could

47 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 23v. Both canons and priests of the chapter were able to serve as provosts of the chapter’s pabordias. There was no distinction between the administrative duties of the canons and the priests in this regard.
48 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 400-401; ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 89v-90r.
49 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 201.
afford to make these donations. But, membership in the chapter could be financially profitable as well, with each canonry that included residential distributions said to be worth around 100 *lliures* per year and each non-residential canonry (whose holder had a privilege allowing him to be absent from Girona) worth around 25 *lliures*.50

Another aspect of the chapter’s role in financial administration was its involvement in the financing and construction of the new nave of the cathedral, a project the chapter approved in 1312. This decision was made in part in order to facilitate the foundation and construction of more altars and chapels for worship.51 They made this decision during an episcopal vacancy, so the impulse came completely from within the chapter itself.52 An initial donation of 12,000 *sous* from the testament of Guillem Gaufred, the treasurer of the cathedral, started the cathedral work fund that would pay for the construction. To manage this project, the chapter appointed archdeacon Ramon de Vilarig, canon Arnau de Mont-rodon, and priest Dalmau de Pujals. It was their duty to select and hire the master architect and builder as well as manage the organization and supervision of the finances of the work fund. Construction of the new chapels began in the 1320s and continued throughout the 1340s, and this construction allowed for more donations to and worship at these chapels and their altars.53 As the work progressed, the bishop had to approve and support decisions made by the chapter, but, overall, the bishop was not the instigator and leader of the Girona building project in the way that other bishops were for their cathedrals, like Bishop Martín Fernández and the cathedral of León in the mid-thirteenth century. Rather, the bishop of Girona followed the lead of the chapter in supporting this project.54 Other cathedral chapters did manage and help finance cathedral construction projects like the Girona canons did. For example, cathedral

50 ACG MS 66, *Llibre d’en Caçada*, fol. 80r.
51 Marc Sureda i Jubany, “Altars, Beneficis, i Aquitectura a la Seu de Girona,” *Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins* 45 (2004): 676. The growth in the number of benefices (and beneficed clerics) was one of the main reasons that the eleventh century cathedral was no longer sufficient for worship in the fourteenth century, given that there was not enough room in the cathedral to continue adding new altars, which economic donations allowed for.
52 Molina Figueras, “*De genere militari,*” 747.
53 Pladevall i Font, “Arnau i Bertran de Mont-rodon,” 402-403. The new construction also led existing altars and chapels to be moved to new places to fit with the structural and spatial changes; see Sureda i Jubany, “Altars, Beneficis, i Aquitectura,” 672-674. This new building program is part of a wider trend of urban growth, reconstruction, and the development of public works starting around the 1320s; see Christian Guillérè, *Girona Medieval: L’etapa d’apogeu* (Girona: Ajuntament de Girona, 1991), 12-15.
54 See Molina Figueras, “*De genere militari,*” 747-750.
chapters in Languedoc initiated a similar building project, and in Narbonne, two canon-administrators were selected annually to control the administration and finance of the cathedral’s fabric fund. In the fourteenth century, the archbishops and the cathedral chapter of Narbonne appeared in charters as leaders in the cathedral construction project, analogous to the work of the Girona canons.55

To support the work fund, the bishop and chapter assigned a number of different revenues to go towards the construction costs. In 1330, they assigned the money paid for absolution for clandestine marriages contracted within the city or diocese to this fund. They also gave full power to the administrators of the work fund to collect and receive this income.56 This program was still in effect thirteen years later, as seen in a letter to the rector of Figueres in which he received permission to absolve clandestine marriages if he would then deliver the payments made by those seeking absolution to the work fund.57 In 1336, the bishop and chapter added another source of revenue for the new cathedral, explaining that the old nave was too small to accommodate everyone coming to mass. “Wanting to provide a sufficient and suitable place for those coming and wishing to hear the Divine Office… in honor of God the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit and the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother of Christ,” they granted the work fund the right to receive all the income from any vacant benefice in its first year of vacancy.58 Any benefice that was vacated through a death, renunciation, or exchange would remain vacant for at least a year so the administrator of the work fund could collect its rents and income. This provision was repeated less than a decade later, in 1345, emphasizing the importance of this income to the work fund. Additionally, the responsibility for selecting an appropriate person to carry out the duties of the vacant benefices also fell to the administrators of the fund.59 In 1356, the bishop and chapter renewed this statute again, noting that it would remain in existence for the next fifty years.60 The way that money was collected for the

56 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-3, fol. 128r (6 May 1328).
57 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 112v-113r (7 Sept. 1343).
58 “ulentes dare locum sufficientem et idoneum conuenientibus ac diuinum officium audire ulentibus… ad honorem dei patris et filii et spiritus sancti beateque marie matris Christi virginis…” ADG Notularum G-11, fol. 40v-41r (5 April 1336).
59 ADG Notularum G-18, fol. 37r-v (28 June 1345).
60 ADG Notularum G-33, fol. 196r-199r (26 April 1356).
work fund (as well as for the Ferial fund discussed earlier in this chapter) focused on collecting money at three points: when benefices were vacant, when canons joined the chapter, and when canons died. This pattern suggests that these were perhaps the easiest times to collect money from the canons in particular.\textsuperscript{61}

Part of the chapter’s involvement in the cathedral’s expansion was appointing masters to manage the construction as well as nominating and overseeing the administrators of the work, chosen from within the chapter. In 1321, the first master of the work of the See died, so the chapter selected Jaume de Faveran as the new master and gave him a salary of 1,000 \textit{sous} per year.\textsuperscript{62} A subsequent master, chosen in 1330, received 300 \textit{sous} annually plus three \textit{sous} per day of work.\textsuperscript{63} To manage the daily accounts and tasks associated with the construction, the canon-administrators often named a procurator to serve in their stead, as they did in 1335 and 1337, paying him a salary of up to 20 \textit{lliures} annually.\textsuperscript{64} This way, they could continue to supervise the collection of income and payments of accounts but were freed up to fulfill their other duties within the cathedral. The chapter as a whole heard an annual summary of the work fund’s accounts from either the administrators or their procurator in order to ensure proper management, showing its continued involvement in a number of aspects of the construction of the new cathedral.

Other administrative tasks that fell to the canons included collation of benefices and other ecclesiastical offices, a responsibility they often held together with the bishop. They conferred the nine \textit{pabordias}, which “are able to be given both to the canons and to the twelve priests of the chapter.”\textsuperscript{65} The chapter also conferred benefices at the altars of

\textsuperscript{61} It would be very difficult to enforce any other sort of collection given the possibility for canons to be away at study or at episcopal, archiepiscopal, royal, or papal courts on official business or as representatives of the bishop and chapter. The beginning and end of a canon’s career in the chapter are distinct points at which money could be collected, given that this could be more easily enforced (since the chapter required these donations for entrance to the chapter and could petition for these sums to be extracted from a deceased canon’s estate).

\textsuperscript{62} ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 48v-49v (5 Feb. 1321). He had previously worked on the construction of the cathedral of Narbonne.

\textsuperscript{63} ADG Notularum G-7, fol. 43v (24 April 1330).

\textsuperscript{64} ADG Notularum G-10, fol. 33v-43v (21 April 1335) and G-12, fol. 83r-84r (24 Apr. 1337). In 1335 they named Pere d’Espolla procurator, giving him a salary of 250 \textit{sous}, with the right to take stones from the bishop’s quarry. The next procurator, Pere Esteve, was a priest of the chapter and received an annual salary of twenty \textit{lliures}.

\textsuperscript{65} ACG MS 66, \textit{Llibre d’en Caçada}, fol. 80r.
Saints Peter, Paul, Martin, and Raphael within the cathedral. A 1319 statute recorded that provision of the offices of porter, cook, refectoror, and dormitorer also fell to the bishop and chapter, and they made collation of these offices at the annual general chapter. The bishop also shared the power of nominating the twelve priests of the chapter with certain members of the chapter itself.

Collation of the major chapter dignities, however, fell solely to the bishop. He held the power of selection for the four archdeacons (the major archdeacon, also called the archdeacon of Girona or of Rabós, and the archdeacons of Besalú, Empúries, and la Selva), the major sacristan, the major precentor, and the abbot of Sant Feliu, a nearby collegiate church which was closely tied to the cathedral. The bishop chose from among the canons of the chapter to fill these offices, strictly limiting his possible pool of choices. For example, in 1339, Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon named Bertran de Mont-rodon, his nephew and a canon of the chapter, as archdeacon of la Selva, a position made vacant by the death of former archdeacon Bernat de Cornellà. Similarly, in 1342, Arnau, lord bishop of Girona by the grace of God, paying attention that the archdeaconate of Girona, at present, is vacant from the death of the venerable man, Ramon de Santapau, who had held it. Therefore, he confers and assigns the archdeaconate, which is vacant… to the venerable man, Lord Vidal de Blanes, abbot of Sant Feliu in Girona, constituted in his presence, with the fullness of his duty, and personally invests him with his ring. Then, since the office of abbot of Sant Feliu was vacant from Vidal de Blanes’s promotion, the bishop named Bernat de Cruïlles, then archdeacon of Besalù, to the abbotship.

Archdeacons, as high-ranking members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, formed an important part of the diocesan administration. They often served as representatives of the diocesan administration. They often served as representatives of the

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66 “possunt dari tam canonics quam duodecim presbyteris de capitulo...” ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 80r-v.
67 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 119r. It is not clear why they continued to select refectorors and dormitorers given that all the canons lived separately in their own houses.
68 ACG MS 66, Llibre d’en Caçada, fol. 79v-80r.
69 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 89v-90r.
70 “Arnaldus, dominus dei gratia episcopus Gerundensis, attendens archidiaconum Gerundensis de presenti uaccare per mortem uenerabilis uiri domini Raymundi de Sancta Pace, qui ipsum obtinebat. Idcircum archidiaconatum ipsum sit uaccatum... contulit et assignauti uenerabili iuro domini Uitali de Blanis, abbatis Sancti Felicis Gerunde, in eius presentia constituto, cum plenitudino sui iuris ipsumque per anulum suum de eodem personaliter inuestiit,” ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 88r (5 Aug 1342).
71 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 89v-90r.
bishop and chapter both within the diocese and further afield. In 1300, Ramon de Vilarig, archdeacon of Girona, and Francesc Alquer, archdeacon of Empordà, attended the provincial council of Tarragona after their selection as the chapter’s delegates for this event. In 1332, the bishop and chapter named Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empordà, to attend a provincial council and gave him specific instructions about how to vote on proposed measures like increased subsidies and the farming of certain taxes. Archdeacons even represented the bishop and chapter at the highest level, like when Bernat de Cornellà, archdeacon of la Selva, went with another canon to the Roman curia to present a case against a cleric from the diocese. Because of their prestigious position within the chapter, archdeacons were trusted men, qualified to represent the interests of the bishop and chapter in a variety of situations.

Archdeacons also served on behalf of the bishop in secular contexts, representing episcopal and diocesan interests while meeting with royal or aristocratic authorities. For example, the bishop and chapter nominated Arnau de Soler, archdeacon of Besalú, to attend a session of the Corts, the legislative assembly of Catalonia, celebrated in Girona, and empowered him to intervene on behalf of the chapter, if need be.

Bishop Gastó de Montcada also made and constituted and ordained as his certain and special procurators the venerable and distinguished men Vidal de Blanes, archdeacon of Besalú, and Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, present in the Girona Church, in order to require the Illustrious lord Infant Pere, count of Empúries, son of the most Illustrious King of Aragon, that he would give homage, as he is held to do, concerning each and every tithe and fief which he holds in perpetuity from the lord bishop and the Girona Church… just as his predecessors, the former counts of Empúries, recognized that they held these tithes and fiefs from the bishop and Girona Church and did homage, and in order that they may also require the said lord Infant that he would give recognition and do homage in the episcopal palace in Girona within fifteen days.

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72 ADG Notularum G-1, fol. 110v (22 Feb. 1300).
73 ADG Notularum G-8, fol. 9r-10r (10 Jan. 1332).
74 ADG Notularum G-8, fol. 21v (26 May 1332). The chapter named them “special procurators” for the case. Canon Berenguer de Pau also served as an episcopal envoy to the Roman curia, to represent the bishop in his various affairs in Rome. See G-1, fol. 28 (22 May 1296) and G-1, loose folio between fol. 77 and fol. 78 (4 Jan 1298). Unfortunately, the record gives no detail about the nature of this case against the cleric.
75 ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 82r-v (11 June 1321).
76 “fecit et constituit et ordinavit certos et speciales procuratores suos venerabiles et discretos uiros Utilem de Blanis, archidiachonum Bisuldunensem, et Berengarium de Palacio, archidiachonum Impuritanensem, in ecclesia Gerundense presentes, ad requirendum inclitum dominum Infantem Petrum, Illustissimi domini
Given the status and prestige of the message’s recipient, it was fitting that such a task fell to two of the highest-ranking chapter dignitaries, showing a level of respect for and deference to Infant Pere. In this case, the archdeacons were in service of the bishop and chapter in their role as holders of secular lordship; the bishop selected them as his procurators to ensure that Infant Pere did homage to the bishop for these fiefs.

Archdeacons and canons also served as administrators in other capacities, working in the retinues of other ecclesiastical or secular authorities or working for the bishop in a more clearly defined role. Both Guillem de Torrelles and Ramon de Prats were absent from the diocese for long periods of time because of their service to the pope. Archdeacon Jaume de Trilla received a special papal concession in 1354 to receive his chapter income while absent from Girona to personally serve Jaume, a canon in the Barcelona chapter, son of Pere, Count of Ribagorça, and grandson of King Jaume II of Aragon. Five years earlier, when he was a canon of the chapter, Jaume de Trilla was selected by the bishop as one of six clerical servants specially chosen to serve as episcopal administrators and representatives, along with another canon of the chapter, a canon of Sant Feliu, and a priest of the chapter. Hug de Fenollet was a royal councilor Rege Aragonum condam filium, Impuriarum comitem, uice et nomine ipsius domini episcopi et ecclesie Gerundensis, ut de omnibus et singulis decimis et feudis que tenet ad perpetatem suam pro ipso domino episcopo et ecclesia Gerundense... homagia faciat pro ut tenetur, et prout predecessores sui comites Impuriarum condam ipsas decimas et feuda recognouerunt tenere pro ipso episcopo et ecclesia Gerundense, et homaga inde fecerunt, et ad requirendum etiam dictum dominum Infantem ut dictam recognitionem et homagia predicta faciat in palatio episcopali Gerunde infra quindecim dies." ADG Notularum G-8, fol. 15v (23 April 1332). In a similar vein, the bishop and chapter sent canon Simó de Sexà to receive homage from Jaume, King of Mallorca, for the tithes and fiefs he held in the See of Girona; ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 66v-67r (19 Oct. 1326).

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77 See ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-42, fol. 117r (19 May 1362) and Notularum G-18, fol. 11r-v (5 May 1346).
78 ADG Notularum G-30, fol. 13v-14r (13 Jan. 1354). The document does not clearly describe Jaume de Trilla’s role, only mentioning that he has been selected as the other Jaume’s personal cleric or a cleric of his household (“suum clericum domesticum”).
79 ADG Notularum G-22, fol. 134r, 136r (12 June 1349). The grant refers to six clerics or chaplains the bishop may have as his servants (“familiares”). Two clerics were yet to be selected at that point. The papal grant specifically mentioned that these servants could still receive all income from their benefices while they were absent from the city and diocese for this service. This suggests that in their capacity as episcopal servants, they could be sent as envoys to ecclesiastical or secular courts or could be in residence at royal or papal courts, installed to represent the interests of the Girona bishop and cathedral community. The canon named as one of these servants was Guillem de Torrelles, who had previously served as an episcopal representative at the papal court and a royal procurator at the papal court.
and administrator before the king named him to the Girona chapter in 1345, and he remained in royal service even after this appointment.\(^{80}\)

Chapter dignitaries could also substitute for the bishop in gathering the canons into a chapter meeting to carry out tasks that the bishop assigned to them. In March and April 1326, the bishop wrote to Berenguer de Palau, the archdeacon of Empordà, giving him permission to convocation the chapter using episcopal authority in order to carry out the specific tasks the bishop assigned him. In the first letter, the bishop asked Berenguer to relay a letter from the archbishop to the entire chapter.\(^{81}\) In the second letter, Berenguer received instructions to convocation the chapter, together with Jaspert Folcran, a priest of the chapter, in order to concede licenses regarding unspecified matters to the monks of the nearby monastery of Sant Daniel.\(^{82}\)

Members of the chapter could also carry out these kinds of duties during an episcopal vacancy. In this situation, the chapter’s first step was to elect at least one member of the chapter to serve as vicar general in the vacant See, as they did in 1334 after the death of Bishop Gastó de Montcada, selecting *cabisco* Berenguer de Cruïlles and archdeacon Ramon de Santapau.\(^{83}\) They went through this process again in 1362, choosing Jaume de Trilla, archdeacon of la Selva, Guillem de Sanvicens, canon and *paborde* of January, and Jaume Albert, priest of the chapter. The chapter also elected Ramon de Campolongo, treasurer of the See, to serve as an official during this time.\(^{84}\)

There could, however, be issues with collations made during an episcopal vacancy, as in the case between Bishop Pedro de Urrea and the major archdeacon, Ramon de Santapau, in 1326. Serving as vicar general while the episcopal See was vacant after the death of the previous bishop and before Pedro’s election, Ramon had assigned benefices to various recipients and incurred some related expenses. After his election, Bishop Pedro brought a case forward in protest against Ramon’s actions. Two canons, Simó de Sexano

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\(^{80}\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-9, fol. 31v (29 April 1345). The bishop and chapter asked the king to stop naming people as *pabordes* if they were going to be absent from the See, given the importance of this task. In another letter from February 1346, Hug is described as a canon and royal counselor; see U-9, fol. 172v (6 Feb 1346).

\(^{81}\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-2, fol. 55r-v (30 March 1326).

\(^{82}\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-2, fol. 63r (14 April 1326).

\(^{83}\) ADG *Notularum* G-9, fol. 50v (12 Aug. 1334).

\(^{84}\) ADG *Notularum* G-42, fol. 158v (26 July 1362).
and Dalmau Alionis, served as arbiters. Unfortunately, the sole surviving document from this case only records the appointment of the arbiters, so there is little detail about the collations Ramon made or Pedro’s grievances and no information about the results of the case.

The chapter also played a role in diocesan episcopal elections, although they faced challenges in doing so. Throughout the twelfth through fourteenth centuries, the chapter elected the bishops, who tended to be from among the local elite. However, royal and papal nominations to fill episcopal vacancies began to disrupt the continued networks of family ties within the episcopate around 1350 or so. In the early to mid-fourteenth century, the chapter attempted to maintain control over the election of bishops, but kings and popes increasingly asserted their power through royal nominations and letters of support for specific candidates and papal provisions. For the chapter, the loss of this power would have been significant, as the election and nomination of a bishop would have been an occasion for them to show their power and influence within the diocese.

Tensions related to this shift of power are visible in a series of letters from 1325, regarding the election of a new bishop after the death of Bishop Pere de Rocaberti. After a disagreement about the date for the election, the chapter carried out the election before the end of January and selected Gilabert de Cruïlles, canon and sacristan of the Girona cathedral. Ramon de Santapau, the archdeacon and general procurator of the chapter during the See’s vacancy, selected another archdeacon to inform Gilabert of his election and seek his assent to become bishop. Gilabert,

at the request of the said procurator, and indeed at the supplication of the aforementioned venerable archdeacon and chapter present there, not wanting to resist divine will for the honor of the Trinity and of the blessed glorious Virgin in

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85 ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 32v (16 June 1326). Pedro and Ramon, as the litigants involved in the case, agreed upon the appointment of Simó and Dalmau as arbiters, suggesting that they worked together to select the arbiters or at least each had to agree to any selection made by the other. I have only found specific reference to one collation Ramon de Santapau made during this episcopal vacancy, naming Guillem Oliver, a Girona cleric, to the deaconate of Corçà; see ADG G-5, fol. 36v (12 Jan. 1325).

86 Pladevall i Font, “Arnau i Bertran de Mont-rodon,” 397.

87 Juan Molina Figueras, “De genere militari,” 744-745. The cathedral chapter of León also struggled with this problem, theoretically retaining the right to elect the bishop but, in practice, papal provisions and royal intervention limited their ability to do so; Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, García García, La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés, 51.
whose name the Girona Church is consecrated, consents to the aforementioned election.\textsuperscript{88}

The chapter’s next step was to seek confirmation of the election so that Gilabert could quickly accede to the Girona episcopate. Ramon de Santapau, the general procurator, and the chapter chose Bernat de Cruïlles, a relative of Gilabert, and Arnau de Mont-rodon, canons, to serve as their representatives to go before the archbishop of Tarragona to seek his confirmation of the election. The general procurator instructed them to tell the archbishop that Gilabert had consented to the election, as recorded in a notarial instrument, which was made freely in accordance with the full power of the chapter.\textsuperscript{89}

Since Gilabert was a “suitable person” for this office, Ramon wanted the procurators to urge the archbishop “to confirm him quickly” so that he could immediately take up the spiritual and temporal duties of his new office.\textsuperscript{90} Within a week, the archbishop wrote back to the chapter, asking Arnau de Mont-rodon, earlier named as procurator for the chapter in this matter, for confirmation of Gilabert’s election. He also issued a call for anyone “who wishes to oppose the said election” to “appear before us in the city of Tarragona, within a space of 60 days from the time of publication of the present letters” and instructed that the second sacristan read this letter publicly within the Girona cathedral.\textsuperscript{91} However, the pope overruled Gilabert’s election and instead selected Pedro de Urrea, a canon of Toledo and outsider to the diocese, to become the next bishop. The pope had received letters from King Jaume II, sent from Zaragoza, recommending Pedro, probably influencing papal provision of this office.\textsuperscript{92}

The chapter tried again, electing Gilabert de Cruïlles as bishop for a second time, ten years after his first nomination. However, Pope John XXII again annulled the election, noting that although the Girona chapter had again selected Gilabert and the cathedral chapter of Tarragona, using its metropolitan authority, had confirmed the

\textsuperscript{88} “uenerabilis dominus Guilabertus, ad requisitionem dicti procuratoris, et ad suplicationem etiam predictorum uenerabilium archidiaconi et capituli ibidem presentam, nolens diuine resistere voluntati ad honorem … trinitatis ac beate virgini gloriose in cuius nomine est ipsa Gerundense ecclesia consecrata, eleccioni predicte consensit…” ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 74v (30 Jan. 1325).

\textsuperscript{89} ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 74v-75r.

\textsuperscript{90} “persona ydonea… celerie confirmare.” ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 75r.

\textsuperscript{91} “qui uelit se opponere dicte eleccionis, compareat coram nobis in ciuitate Terrachone, infra spacium sexdecim dierum a tempore publicationis literarum presencium.” ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 41r (6 Feb. 1325).

\textsuperscript{92} Villanueva, 	extit{Viage Literario} vol. XIII, 209-210.
election, provision of this ecclesiastical position fell solely to him. But, in the same letter, Pope John “by apostolic authority, makes provision and places [Gilabert] in command in that episcopate, by fully entrusting to him the pastoral care and administration of that Church in spiritual and temporal matters, with firm hope and confidence.” This was clearly intended to assert papal control over high-ranking ecclesiastical appointments and to show the chapter that it was subject to papal oversight, even though the eventual nomination fell to the same person that the canons had chosen. In dismissing the chapter’s election and then selecting the same individual, the pope emphasized that he, not the chapter, was the ultimate source of ecclesiastical power within the diocese.

In another sign of their standing within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, canons could be exempt from fulfilling their duties within the diocese or serving the bishop or Church in the aforementioned ways if they had official permission to be absent from the diocese for the purpose of study. Attending a university was not a requirement for canons but was an option available to them, carrying certain privileges and protections. The oldest notice of this procedure is an 1173 constitution issued by Bishop Guillem de Monells which specified that canons absent from Girona for the purpose of study would receive one gold florin per month, from the pabordia associated with that month. Each canon would receive the first twelve florins at the beginning of his journey and could continue to receive this payment as long as he was still away at study. If, however, he returned before the end of any given year, he would have to return the florins he received for those months. A century and a half later, Joan, the archbishop of Tarragona and patriarch of Alexandria, established at the 1329 Council of Tarragona that each cathedral should send two of its members to study theology or canon law, and that those selected would continue to receive the daily portion, as if they were present at their cathedral.

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93 ADG Notuarum G-9, fol. 75r (12 Oct. 1334).
94 “auctoritate apostolica prouidimus, ipsumque illi in Episcopum prefecimus, et pastorem curam et administrationem ipsius sibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus plenarie commitendo firma spe fiduciaque…” ADG Notularum G-9, fol. 75r-v. About five weeks later, Gilabert brought a copy of this papal letter, complete with attached lead seals, to the chapter to provide the apostolic confirmation of his accession to the Girona episcopate. See ADG Notularum G-9, fol. 71v-72v (1 Dec. 1334).
95 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 130.
96 Lluís Batlle i Prats, “El Capítol de Girona i els Estudis Generals,” in Homenatge a Antoni Rubió i Lluch: Miscel·lànies d’Estudis Literaris, Històrics, i Lingüístics, (Barcelona: 1936), 688. There are, however, no surviving constitutions from diocesan synods that enact this obligation for at least two canons to be away at
Girona chapter paid out these study pensions at the general chapter held annually on the Tuesday after Easter.

The duration of study could vary but was generally between two and five years. Canons received licenses granting permission to be absent from the diocese for this prolonged period of time. A 1327 episcopal letter shows the form such licenses could take, when Bishop Pedro de Urrea wrote to canon Blai de Luna that “we grant an indulgence to you, so that for the next five years, you will be able to be absent lawfully from the aforementioned Girona Church.” Canons had to obey the terms of their licenses by residing in the city where they studied and actually carrying out their studies or face censure from the bishop. Canon Felip de Boïl failed to uphold the terms of his study privilege and faced a two-year exile from the city and diocese of Girona, until his mother intervened with the bishop in 1353. Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles wrote to the noblewoman Castellana de Boïl that we freely revoke the said exile for you with this present letter, if it pleases you, and we give him license to be and to live within our bishopric, and in the city and Church of Girona… and that he arrange to be away at study, and to study law well… which would be for the honor of God, for the profit and honor of the Church, and of your friends, and this would be very pleasing to us.

Felip’s exile was revoked, giving him permission to return to Girona, and the bishop’s letter also suggested that he either had granted or would in the future grant Felip another study license, allowing him to be absent from the diocese as long as he upheld the license’s terms. The incident with Felip shows that the bishop and chapter kept track of the study licenses they granted and worked to ensure that those who possessed such licenses carried out their studies, given these canons’ right to receive income from the chapter during their absence. Verifying the legitimacy of such study allowed the chapter to confirm that payments only went to the canons deserving of such financial support.

It is impossible to state precisely how many Girona canons left the diocese to study, but the episcopal notarial records and registers of letters contain scattered...
references to canons studying at Lleida, Tolosa, Montpellier, Orléans, and other university cities. Many of these references discuss and uphold the absent canons’ rights to receive income from their benefices while away at study, as seen in the 1334 document “concerning the grace granted to the venerable Guillem de Vilarig, canon of the said Church of Girona, studying at Montpellier, and to the other scholars studying in that place, that they may be able to receive the profits, income, and returns of all their ecclesiastical benefices… which they now hold or will hold in the future,” including daily distributions which did not require personal residence.99 This issue was raised again, regarding canons attending an unspecified General Study and canons studying law at Orléans.100 Canons absent from Girona to further their education, whether nearby at Lleida, or further afield in Orléans, still held the rights to a number of different sources of income from the chapter.

This practice was similar to other chapters that also allowed canons to receive financial distributions while they were away at a university. In the León chapter, the statutes governing daily distributions allowed for canons away at study to continue to receive the usual payments. This was judged to be a legitimate absence, similar to canons who were ill and unable to attend the Hours in the cathedral and still received daily distributions. In the fifteenth century, the bishop and chapter of León established an agreement that enabled them to select six canons to study at the university of Salamanca, who would receive licenses legitimizing their absence from the city.101 Similarly, the chapter of Autun allowed non-residence for canons who were pursuing university studies.

99 “super gratia facta uenerabili Guillelmo de Viliaricho, canonico dicte ecclesie Gerundensis studenti in Montepesullo- et alis scolaribus ibidem studentibus ut fructus redditus et prouentus omnium beneficiorum suorum ecclesiasticorum … que nunc obtinent uel iposterum obtinebunt… percipere ualeant.” ADG Notularum G-9, fol. 45v (23 July 1334). Canons Baldrà de Soler, Guillem de Villarí, and Dalmau Alió studied in Montpellier, although Baldrà wanted to continue his studies at Bologna; Batlle i Prats, “El Capítol de Girona i els Estudis Generals,” 690. There was indeed a tradition of Catalan students in Bologna, including Girona canons present in Bologna in the thirteenth century; see Joaquim Miret i Sans, “Escolars Catalans al Estudi de Bolonia en la XIIIa centuria,” Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona 8 (Barcelona: 1915-1916): 137-155.

100 Regarding the canons away at a General Study, see ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-9, fol. 92r (2 Oct. 1345). This letter does not specify where the two men were studying. For the canons at Orléans, see ADG Notularum G-33, fol. 10v-11r (30 Sept. 1355). This document mentions in particular the canon Pere Robert, bachelor in laws at Orléans, and an earlier episcopal letter (from 1350) to Cardinal Ademar, of St. Anastàsia, granted Ademar’s nephew, the same Pere Robert, the ability to receive the income from his prebend while he was at study in Paris.

101 Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, García García, La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés, 89.
allowing them to receive all of their normal chapter incomes.\footnote{Madignier, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun, 244.} In Hainaut, chapters allowed canons to be non-resident for two years for the purpose of study, granting licenses like those discussed above for Girona canons. However, any canon found to be absent without legitimate cause would lose the revenue of his prebend and be forced to repay what he had already received.\footnote{Nazet, Les chapitres de chanoines séculaires en Hainaut, 157, 161.} This suggests that some canons abused such licensed absences and only claimed to be away at study in order to receive their incomes. Allowing canons to be absent from the city and cathedral for long periods of time to study at universities was a common practice, showing that chapters valued education and supported their members who chose or were chosen to pursue further study.

The custom of allowing canons and priests of the chapter to continue receiving payments of the canonical portion while away at study did not always function smoothly in Girona. In 1339, Vidal de Vilanova, canon and administrator of the \textit{pabordia} of Castelló, covering the months of February, March, and April, brought forward a complaint to the chapter about canons receiving the canonical portion while they were absent from the city either at study or in service of secular or ecclesiastical authorities. Two other canon-\textit{pabordes}, Guillem de Sant Vicenç and Jaume de Trilla, testified in support of Vidal’s complaint, to which the bishop and chapter responded that this practice was an ancient custom, confirmed every year at the annual general chapter.\footnote{ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 211, fol. 1r-3v.}

The conflict did not end there, however. Vidal de Vilanova came before the bishop and chapter to challenge this decision, arguing that a number of absent canons and priests were not complying with the terms of their licenses. Canon Guillem de Vilarig was said to be away at study, but Vilanova said he “at least, is not there for reason of study,” and similarly, canons Antonio de Galiana and Guillem Galceran de Ruppebertino were not in service of the king of Mallorca or at the general study in Lleida as they were supposed to be.\footnote{“non est saltim causa studii.” ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 211, fol. 4r.} Accordingly, he asked the bishop and chapter to order the officials in charge of distribution of the canonical portion to cease payments to the aforementioned men, unless they proved that their privileges for service and study were legitimate. Vidal
appeared before the chapter a number of additional times, repeating the same basic arguments. 106

As administrator of the *pabordia* of Castelló, covering February, March, and April, Vidal was responsible for paying the canonical portion to the canons and priests of the chapter during those three months. By cutting off the payments to those absent from the city, Vidal would retain more revenue for himself, which seems a likely explanation for his bringing this case before the bishop and chapter. The proceedings record that three other *pabordia* administrators, including canons Dalmau de Castlario and Jaume de Trilla and priest Bernat de Lachu, continued to side with Vidal. 107 To this continued complaint, the bishop and chapter repeated their stance that they did not oppress the *pabordes* with the requirement to distribute the canonical portions, given that those who were absent were away from the city for legitimate reasons. 108 Perhaps antagonized by Vidal’s obstinacy, the bishop and chapter refused to budge on the issue, continuing to insist that all *pabordes* had to provide canonical portion payments for those away at study. They even threatened to divide Vidal’s *pabordia* into smaller portions, reducing the amount of land he managed and the income he drew from this administration. 109 Vidal and his supporters may have suspected that those absent from Girona were not always away for legitimate reasons, while the bishop and the rest of the chapter were convinced that they were away for good reason. Vidal’s attempts to challenge this long-standing practice of allowing those away from Girona for legitimate reasons to receive their daily distributions were a clear failure, as the chapter insisted that such absences were legitimate.

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106 “*indebte et iniustie et sine aliqua rationabili causa*…” *ADG Processos Medievals* 211, fol. 9v.
107 *ADG Processos Medievals* 211, fol. 10r-v. Jaume and Dalmau testified to their support in Dalmau’s house before a group of witnesses and the notary and Bernat did so later, also in his own home in front of witnesses and the notary. If this suit had been successful, the provosts would have kept a significant amount of money for themselves, increasing their income and potentially their social status, given the extra accumulation of wealth.
108 *ADG Processos Medievals* 211, fol. 11r.
109 *ADG Processos Medievals* 211, fol. 15v. The bishop and chapter asserted their right to make changes to *pabordia* administration during the annual general chapter (see fol. 16r).
Personal Devotional Activities

Some canons showed significant personal devotion, choosing to exceed the expected levels of participation in religious and charitable activities. It is worth noting that, in some such cases, they insisted that their gestures were personal and should not be required of other canons. In 1307, Ramon de Vilarig, canon and archdeacon of Girona, declared his desire to be ordained as a priest based solely on his personal devotion. He made sure to note that he did not intend to set a precedent for his successors, since holding an archdeaconate did not require ordination as a priest, nor did he want his piety to prejudice anyone against other members of the chapter who chose not to be ordained. Canon (and future bishop) Arnau de Mont-rodon also undertook extra devotional activities that demonstrated his piety, especially in regard to the Virgin Mary. In 1330, he appeared before the bishop and chapter to insist upon the foundation of a new celebration of the Virgin Mary in the Girona cathedral. The cathedral already celebrated the feasts of the Nativity, Purification, Annunciation, and Assumption of Mary, but the chapter did not yet celebrate the feast of Conception. Noted as having pious intentions and “having special devotion which he showed very often in chapter,” Arnau thought this feast was especially fitting for Girona because the cathedral was dedicated to the Virgin Mary herself, so the chapter ought to be attentive to honoring and celebrating her as much as possible. He also wanted to institute the celebration of this feast because it was celebrated on December 8 and he served as the paborde of December and was willing to double the portion on this day to support the extra worship. Although he intended for this celebration to continue in perpetuity, he noted that he did not want to require or oblige his successors (the future pabordes of December) to pay as much out of the income of the pabordia for this feast day as he chose to do.

The chapter as a whole was also involved in the institution of new celebrations in the cathedral six months later, including nine readings or lessons in honor of the Virgin

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110 ADG Notularum G-2, fol. 71r (8 March 1307). This is the only specific instance I have found in which a canon chose to be ordained as a priest. It seems that canons could be priests if they wanted to, but most remained deacons (the ecclesiastical ranking which they needed to attain due to their position as canons).

111 “specialem devotionem habente que hec pluries in capitulo exposuit…” ADG Notularum G-7, fol. 36v (17 April 1330).

112 ADG G-7, fol. 36v-37r (17 April 1330).
Mary. The bishop and chapter proposed to celebrate this office of the nine lessons every Saturday in the cathedral and to burn extra candles during the mass in honor of Mary as well. The chapter linked the candle duty to the vacant chaplaincies of Torroelles and Vilafant so the chaplain could use the benefices’ income to fund the new services and candles. They assigned this responsibility, and the benefices, to Arnau de Mont-rodon, due to the “devotion and affection” he had already shown for Mary.

His piety was clearly well known within the Girona ecclesiastical community and was expressed through the foundation of new services and extra devotional responsibilities.

Founding benefices at altars and chapels within the cathedral was another way for canons to express and visibly demonstrate piety while also improving their own spiritual health. This was a common feature of canons’ testaments, but some canons did this earlier in their lives as well. Vidal de Blanes, canon and abbot of Sant Feliu, instituted a benefice in the chapel of Saint Martin in the cathedral, and the holder of this benefice had to be ordained as a priest within a year of taking possession of it. The beneficiary was required to attend Divine Office with the other clerics and, after Vidal’s death, perform anniversary masses for him. To support the benefice, Vidal left 500 *sous* worth of annual censals and other revenue, purchased specifically for this purpose. He retained the right of patronage for himself during his lifetime and, after his death, collation would fall to his nephew, Guillem de Blanes (a layman), and then to Guillem’s heirs.

A benefice instituted by Gilabert de Cruïlles in 1330 shows similar links between expressions of piety and familial ties. The holder of this benefice at the altar of Saint Paul in the Girona cathedral was required to live in Girona, attend Divine Office, perform masses for Gilabert’s parents and other relatives, and to say prayers specifically for Gilabert and his parents. After Gilabert’s death, collation of the benefice would fall to his brother, Hug, also a canon, then to Bernat, a canon and another relative, and then to Berenguer, his nephew and also a canon. After the deaths of all those specifically named, collation would go to whomever was the oldest of the canons from the Cruïlles family in the

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113 “deuotionem et affectionem venerabilis Arnaldi de Monterotundi, canonici...” ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-4, fol. 122r (9 October 1330). This, of course, brings up the issue of vacancy again, showing that the chapter counted on revenue from vacant benefices to put towards other expenses.

114 ADG *Dotalies* D-2, fol. 86r-v, 90v. Vidal de Blanes went on to hold the office of bishop of Valencia from 1356 to 1369.
Girona chapter.\textsuperscript{115} Funding a cathedral benefice can be seen as an expression of piety or as a religious duty for these canons, but Gilabert clearly wanted control of this benefice to stay with his family. The number of canons from the Cruïlles family shows their longstanding connection to the chapter, so individual piety and familial devotion were very closely intertwined.

The founding of chapels and altars within the cathedral expressed a similar sense of religious devotion, given the financial resources needed to support such projects. Canon and future bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon founded and endowed the chapel of the Four Holy Martyrs, which contained the remains of four supposed martyrs from the Late Antique period, known by the names of Germà, Paulí, Just, and Sici.\textsuperscript{116} He later wanted to further enrich the chapel by instituting a lamp within it. The chapter consented, and Arnau gave 25 \textit{sous} in annual income to fund this lamp in perpetuity.\textsuperscript{117} Arnau continued to donate to this chapel even after he became bishop, founding the feast of the Four Holy Martyrs in 1335 and a benefice in this chapel in 1336. After his death, his nephew Bertran donated to the chapel, and the Mont-rodon family continued to serve as patrons of this chapel and benefice long after that.\textsuperscript{118} In their testaments, canons Pere de Crexell and Guillem de Cornellà founded benefices at altars that they had constructed within the cathedral, so their endowment of these altars was ongoing as well.\textsuperscript{119} Founding chapels and altars was a way to express devotion but also a way to visibly and permanently support worship in the cathedral, since these altars and chapels would become sites for worship and an enduring part of the cathedral for years to come.

Participation in the confraternity associated with the cathedral was another avenue for canons to express devotion and to participate in religious rituals both with other clerics and the laity. The earliest known confraternities in the diocese of Girona originated in the eleventh century, and the number grew slowly until the fourteenth

\textsuperscript{115} ADG \textit{Dotalies} D-3, fol. 42v.
\textsuperscript{116} Pladevall i Font, “Arnau i Bertran de Mont-rodon,” 403. They were allegedly Girona stonemasons who had converted to Christianity and were martyred by Dacià, who was allegedly the Roman prefect of Hispània in the time of the emperor Diocletian.
\textsuperscript{117} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-7, fol. 36r (17 Apr. 1330).
\textsuperscript{118} Pladevall i Font, “Dos grans bisbes,” 403, 413. Bertran was bishop of Girona from 1374 to 1384.
\textsuperscript{119} Guillem de Cornellà founded the altar of Saint Martin and Saint Francis (ADG \textit{Dotalies} D-2, fol. 170v) and Pere de Crexell founded the altar of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Nicholas (ADG \textit{Dotalies} D-1, fol. 1v).
century, when it increased dramatically. Confraternities were linked to monasteries, parish churches, or simply geographical locations, and most were titled after their patron saint. The oldest surviving documents from the confraternity of the cathedral date from around the turn of the fourteenth century, at the time when its members constructed an altar in the cathedral. A 1313 document about the confraternity listed Ramon de Vilarig, archdeacon of Girona, Hug de Cruïlles, abbot of Sant Feliu, and Arnau de Montrodon, canon, as among the confraternity’s members. As a group, they received permission to found a new chapel in the cathedral if they endowed a benefice there as well. Upon its completion, the beneficiate would attend the Divine Office at the cathedral, celebrate mass three times a week in the chapel, and celebrate an additional mass in honor of the members of the confraternity who had died. The collation of this benefice would remain in the hands of the confraternity, and they listed specific income and rents to fund the benefice. They also instructed the beneficiate to use this money to purchase items for the chapel, including a chalice, ornaments for the altar, vestments, books, candles and candelabras, and other necessities. A document from three years later confirms the foundation of this chapel and benefice, naming the same three canons as involved in administering the confraternity.

Later documents provide more information about the development and activities of the confraternity, showing its growth throughout the fourteenth century. To accommodate a larger membership, the administrators built a new chapel dedicated to Saint Christopher at the Torre Gironella, a tower near the cathedral and the cathedral cemetery, where a number of confraternity members were buried. A series of articles about the functioning of the confraternity survives in a 1385 copy, providing some information about the activities and administration of this group. On the second Wednesday of Lent, members gathered in the cathedral before the main altar, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, to hear mass and a sermon. The priest and deacon who officiated would be paid for their services, and the canons would receive bread and wine for their participation. After this mass, there was a general absolution, then the reading of seven

121 ACG MS 102, Repertori del Secretariat del capítol, vol. 1, fol. 92v.
122 ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 52r-53r.
Penitential Psalms and, later in the day, clerics from the See would perform the Office of the Dead in memory of the deceased members of the confraternity. The members met again in the cathedral on the second Sunday of Lent to read and discuss the statutes and practices of the confraternity and to elect four provosts and two procurators. The provosts, two clerical and two lay, served as the leaders or councilors of the confraternity, while the procurators, one clerical and one lay, were the main administrators, managing the confraternity’s income and expenses.\(^{124}\) The group’s other activities were typical of confraternities, including providing for members during times of illness, poverty, and old age, as well as paying burial expenses.\(^{125}\) The canons, as wealthy men, would not have needed this support from the confraternity, suggesting that they did not belong to it for this purpose. The extant testaments of the canons show that they were men of some means who made and paid for their own burial arrangements out of their estates, so it is highly unlikely that they joined the confraternity to secure financial support later in life. While the document recording the confraternity’s articles dates was written in the late fourteenth century, the procedures and activities of the confraternity were probably very similar in the first half of the century, providing a glimpse of what the canons did as members of this confraternity.

### Charitable Activities

The presence of a number of charitable institutions within the city of Girona, many of which were closely tied to the cathedral, provided canons with a variety of avenues to help those in need. Although the chapter did not directly command its members to participate in this kind of activity, a number of canons supported these organizations financially, and the chapter as a whole was involved with the

\(^{124}\) “Real Privilegi y Ordinacions,” as transcribed in Vila, “Ordinacions de la Confraria,” 1589-1595. A document from July 1325 records a number of confraternity members, including archdeacon Ramon de Santapau, naming canon Simó de Sexà one of the procurators for the confraternity; ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 59v (9 July 1325).

\(^{125}\) “Real Privilegi,” 1592.
administration of some of these charitable institutions. The Almoina del Pa was the most important almshouse in the city, and it was closely tied to the cathedral throughout the fourteenth century. An almoina was a very typical type of charitable institution in the medieval Crown of Aragon, and many episcopal sees in the region had their own, including Jaca, Roda de Isabeña, Huesca, Zaragoza, Lleida, Barcelona, La Seu d’Urgell, Mallorca, Vic, and Valencia. These almshouses operated in slightly different ways, distributing bread, wine, or money (or a combination thereof) to the local poor, but they all had a number of similarities. Their foundations were linked, in some way, to the cathedral and chapter (which usually oversaw the administration and governance of the Almoina), and were supported by capital or property sufficient to fund their ordinary operation and the distribution of alms to feed or clothe a set number of paupers during a given part of the year.

The Girona Almoina del Pa was founded in 1228 by Arnau Escala, a lay servus of the cathedral who most likely served as an administrator of material goods held by the chapter. He donated the houses he owned at the foot of the steps of the cathedral to house the Almoina del Pa and left to this institution the tithes that he held in the town of Sant Esteve de Marenỳà and in the parishes of Santa Llogaia del Terri and Sant Andreu d’Estanyol, outside the city of Girona. The main task of the Almoina del Pa was to distribute bread from Lent until Pentecost, and Escala also founded a benefice whose holder would serve as the almoina’s administrator. This cleric would live in the Almoina del Pa building, manage the institution’s income and expenditures, and supervise the distribution of bread. The notarial document of the Almoina’s foundation records the assent of the bishop, the four archdeacons, the abbot of Sant Feliu, and five canons of the

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126 Charitable activity was common for cathedral canons throughout Spain as well. The chapter of León was involved in supporting hospitals and other institutions to help pilgrims, plus distributing alms to the poor; Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, Garcia Garcia, Organizacion del cabildo catedralicio leonés, 287-288. In England, the principal forms of charity for cathedral canons were gifts to churches and religious houses, funding for public works, and alms for the poor; Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons, Chapter 7.
128 Joan Villar Torrent, “La Pia Almoina del Pan de la Seo de Girona,” Memoria Ecclesiae XI (1997): 244. Arnau had previously purchased these houses from the bishop and chapter (so perhaps it was pre-arranged that these would later help fund the Almoina).
chapter to this act. Because Arnau reserved for himself the use of these houses and income during his lifetime, the donation was not formally accepted until four years later, in 1232.\textsuperscript{130}

The \textit{Almoina del Pa} continued to receive donations of land, rents, and income from people of all levels of society, including clerics, nobles, artisans, and inhabitants of the countryside. This enabled the \textit{Almoina} to build a significant patrimony, concentrated within a thirty-kilometer radius of the city, and to purchase adjoining houses and properties to increase the size of the \textit{Almoina} complex. By adding more space, the \textit{Almoina del Pa} was able to house all parts of the institution in one block of space containing the offices, a chapel, the administrator’s residence, storage rooms, and space for the preparation of the bread. The bread itself was baked at a nearby public oven under the dominion of the \textit{paborde} of December of the cathedral.\textsuperscript{131} By 1340, the \textit{Almoina} held rents and income worth approximately 18,000 \textit{sous} annually and possessed a number of other seigniorial holdings, including the baronies of Brunyola, fifteen kilometers southwest of the city, and Gaüses, twenty kilometers northeast of the city.\textsuperscript{132} This income made it possible for the \textit{Almoina} to distribute more bread, growing from feeding the poor three months a year to seven months, starting in November and ending in May.\textsuperscript{133}

By the mid-fourteenth century, though, the bishop felt that the \textit{Almoina} needed reform, so he and the chapter nominated a commission to investigate the \textit{Almoina’s} practices and develop a new set of operational guidelines. This commission included canon and abbot of Sant Feliu Vidal de Blanes, two priests of the chapter, and three other clerics. The bishop and chapter assigned this committee to report back with the best course of action for the \textit{Almoina del Pa} and the needy people it served. A month later, the commission appeared before the bishop and chapter with a series of observations, focusing on the need for careful administration of the \textit{Almoina’s} holdings and income, accountability of the \textit{paborde} to appear before the chapter and confirm the accounts, and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{130} Jaime Marqués Casanovas, “La Pia Almoina de la Seu de Girona,” \textit{Revista de Girona} 81 (1977): 330-331. There is no given explanation for the absence of the rest of the canons of the chapter.
\item \textsuperscript{131} Villar Torrent, “La Pia Almoina,” 246; Rico Camps, “Las almoinas catedralicias,” 182-183. The \textit{Almoina del Pa} in Girona was the first \textit{almoina} to have a set of buildings like this that contained room for all the various stages of work involved with the production and distribution of bread.
\item \textsuperscript{132} Marques, “La iglesia de Gerona,” 517.
\item \textsuperscript{133} Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, vol. 1, 102.
\end{itemize}
appointment of other clerics to aid the provost and keep track of how much bread the *Almoina* distributed.\(^{134}\)

These recommendations were instituted in June 1347 as a series of statutes to officially govern the operation of the *Almoina del Pa*, and they included a variety of regulations about the accounts and activities of this institution. Many of these statutes focused on the administrative duties of the *paborde*, and the bishop and chapter established a set of clear expectations for how he should run the *Almoina*. He had to maintain a register (or series of registers) containing copies of all the important notarial documents concerning the income, holdings, and expenses of the *Almoina*. This register had to be updated each time the *Almoina* received a new donation and was to be kept in the house of the sacristan so it was easily accessible.\(^{135}\) Other statutes also focused on proper administrative procedures and implemented strict supervision by members of the chapter, so they would quickly notice and correct any mismanagement by the *paborde*. The sacristan had to consent to or approve of any arrangements the *paborde* made regarding the *Almoina*’s income, whether it was selling or renting land or purchasing censals. Additionally, the provost had to deposit any physical currency belonging to the *Almoina* in a chest kept in the cathedral treasury.\(^{136}\) To help the provost, the sacristan and chapter selected two clerics of the cathedral to confirm documents and aid in the distribution of bread, and they also authorized the hiring of household servants for the *Almoina del Pa*.\(^{137}\) By outlining a regular procedure for the running of the *Almoina*, the bishop and chapter intended for it to function as effectively as possible, producing food for the poor without any sort of waste or fraud. Given the large amount of income that the

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\(^{134}\) ADG *Notularum* G-19, fol. 11v-13v (29 Dec. 1346). This document does not explicitly state why reform was needed, but presumably it is because the bishop and chapter felt the Almoina was not running as best it could, and therefore the poor of Girona were not receiving as much food and assistance as they could be. See discussion about these possibilities in Christian Guilleré, “Une institution charitable face aux malheurs du temps: la pia almoina de Gerone (1347-1380),” in *La Pobreza i la Asistencia a los Pobres en la Cataluña Medieval*, vol. 2, ed. Manuel Rio (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1982), 316.

\(^{135}\) ADG *Notularum* G-19, fol. 93r (19 June 1347). All rents, income, tithes, mills, ovens, and other property which belonged to the *Almoina*, whether they were rented out for a set period of time, or cultivated for grain to make the bread, or held in exchange for a certain censal, had to be recorded in the book. It was the duty of the *paborde* (or the sacristan) to keep the register up to date.

\(^{136}\) ADG G-19, fol. 93v (19 June 1347). The chest had two keys; the sacristan held one and the *paborde* had the other.

\(^{137}\) ADG G-19, fol. 94v-95r (19 June 1347). These statutes governed the *Almoina* until the mid-seventeenth century.
Almoina’s holdings generated, the bishop and chapter would have wanted to ensure that the Almoina’s finances were managed properly and remained under the control of the cathedral community.

After this reform, the holdings of the Almoina continued to grow. The institution received annual payments for its estates, mills, and lands that were rented in leasehold, often for contracts of four to six years. For properties close to Girona, the Almoina could receive payment in kind since the agricultural products could be easily transported to Girona, with the grain being made into bread to distribute to the poor. Holding tithes also gave the Almoina payment in currency that could be used to rent a mill and an oven in Girona for the production of bread itself. By the 1370s, growing revenue enabled the Almoina to purchase more tithes, further increasing its income, and donations continued to flow to the Almoina, often in the form of testamentary bequests. Laypeople both from Girona itself and from rural villages in the surrounding areas made donations to the Almoina in their testaments, showing the reach of its charitable reputation.

A number of the Girona canons also left legacies to the Almoina del Pa in their testaments, showing a continued charitable impulse beyond any involvement they may have had in supervising the Almoina during their time in the chapter. Pere de Crexell, for example, left 100 sous to the Almoina in his 1315 testament, and canon Dalmau de Albis also named the Almoina as his universal heir, for which the Almoina received at least 4,200 sous.

138 Guilleré, “Une institution charitable,” 319, 322-323. The Almoina held tithes in Serinyà, Gaüses, Viladesens, Vilobi, and Salt, all in the countryside around Girona, within about twenty five kilometers of the city. In 1353, the bishop and chapter made use of some of the Almoina’s income to help another cathedral institution, the Ferial general fund. Since the Ferial had significant debts and the Almoina had currency reserves, the bishop and chapter transferred 20,000 sous from the Almoina to the Ferial fund in exchange for the income the Ferial received from Fornells for the next ten years. This way, the Ferial received an infusion of currency that it could use to pay immediate expenses, and the Almoina could collect the Fornells income for the next ten years. See ADG Notularum G-28, fol. 49r-50v (8 April 1353).

139 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 1v; Notularum G-23, fol. 192r (4 Dec. 1350). The figure of 4,200 sous was part of the 20,000 sous paid to the Ferial, discussed in the previous footnote. Pere de Crexell also left bread to two hospitals in the city of Girona, the Hospital Nou (New Hospital), founded in 1211, and the Hospital Vell (Old Hospital) or Hospital of the See. Hug de Cruïlles, the abbot of Sant Feliu, also made the Almoina his universal heir in his 1337 testament and selected the current paborde of the Almoina as one of his executors, suggesting a close connection with this institution (see ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 126v). Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon also made the Almoina del Pa a universal heir, together with the work fund for cathedral construction; ADG G-19, 28v-29r (6 Feb. 1347). This pattern of canons donating to the Almoina was common in other cities as well; see Prim Bertran i Roigé, “L’Almoina de la Seu de Lleida a principis del segle XV,” in La Pobreza y la Asistencia, 350.
Despite this income, however, the amount of bread distributed by the *Almoina del Pa* fell considerably after the mid-fourteenth century, most likely because of the high mortality rate of plague and famine (given that the poor were especially vulnerable to these troubles). In the years 1347 and 1348, the *Almoina* distributed about 130,000 loaves and daily rations could go to over 2,500 people. But the number of loaves distributed annually fell by more than 60% to only 44,000 loaves in 1376-1377, and continued to fall to 30,000 loaves in 1378-1379.\(^{140}\) Despite this, the *Almoina* remained an important part of the system of diocesan charity overseen by the bishop and chapter, serving both a religious and social function. For its donors, the *Almoina* served as a vehicle to express their Christian devotion and charity; for the recipients of the bread, it was an important provider of basic sustenance. It remained in existence until the nineteenth century, indicating its long-standing importance within the city.

The *Almoina del Pa* was just one part of the larger system of charity within the city itself. The other almshouses were founded around the same time as the *Almoina del Pa*, but they tended to focus on distributing alms (in the form of food or clothing) only on specific feast days. However, like the *Almoina del Pa*, they were also often under ecclesiastical administration, thus involving members of the chapter. In 1228, Bernat de Subiranegues instituted an *almoina* to be founded after his death, to which the bishop and chapter assented. This *almoina* distributed 300 *sous* worth of bread per year, 100 *sous* on All Saints’ Day and 200 *sous* on Good Friday, and administration of this legacy fell to the chapter.\(^{141}\) Canon Bernat de Vilafreser acted similarly in 1245, leaving 2,000 *sous* to purchase rents to fund the distribution of clothing to the poor. This institution, called the *Almoina del Vestuari*, or almshouse of clothing, distributed shirts and pants on Easter and tunics on All Saints’ Day. The bishop added a donation, including rental income from a mill near the city, and the *Almoina del Vestuari* came to have significant holdings on the island of Mallorca as well. Administration fell to two clerics from the cathedral, appointed to this position for life.\(^{142}\) These other charitable institutions in the city were

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\(^{140}\) Guilleré, “Une institution charitable,” 329-332. Of course, other factors may have contributed as well.

\(^{141}\) ACG MS 102, *Repertori del Secretariat del Capitol*, vol. 1, fol. 89v. Bernat left holdings in Subiranegues (the *honor* of Subiranegues) to fund the *Almoina del Vestuari*.

\(^{142}\) Guilleré, “Assistencia i Caritat,” 158. A 1296 notarial document records the chapter’s sale of its rents in Mallorca to the bishop for 2,000 *sous* per year, of which the *Almoina del Vestuari* received 1,400 *sous*; ADG *Notularum G*-1, fol. 26r-v 30 (March 1296).
also very closely tied to the cathedral, and their continued support and administration also involved priests and canons of the chapter.

One additional almoina was founded in the fourteenth century by canon Guillem de Cornellà. In his 1341 testament, he founded this almoina, funded with his goods and those of his deceased brother, the former canon and archdeacon of la Selva, Bernat de Cornellà. In his own will, made a decade earlier, Bernat had selected the poor as his universal heirs and instructed his brother to fund a hospital or an almoina with the bulk of his estate, a desire which Guillem would later fulfill.\(^\text{143}\) In his own testament, Guillem expressed that he was founding the almoina based on his brother’s wishes and for the salvation of his brother’s soul, using any funds left from his estate. To this, Guillem added his portion of the tithe of Borrassà, purchased in 1325 from another brother, Pere, a knight. The priest who held the benefice that Guillem created in his testament was to manage this almoina under the supervision of the bishop and chapter. Guillem intended for this almoina to provide four diners worth of food to each pauper per day, given in the form of bread, wine, meat or fish.\(^\text{144}\) He gave powers of supervision and administration to the chapter, and the bishop and chapter consented to this foundation, adding an extra portion of the tithe of Borrassà to help fund this almoina.\(^\text{145}\) The impulse to aid the poor by founding an almoina complemented the other charitable bequests in the wills of both Cornellà canons, who named the poor as their universal heirs and founded and endowed benefices at the altars they had constructed.

Other Girona canons made additional charitable bequests in their testaments, similar to the spirit of the donations to the Almoina del Pa. Bernat de Vilert held an archdeaconate in the chapter of Elne in addition to a canonry in Girona, so he left money to feed and clothe 100 paupers in both Elne and Girona on the first Good Friday after his death. He left an additional twenty sous to the pauper hospital in Elne and named “the poor of Jesus Christ [as his] universal heirs.”\(^\text{146}\) Archdeacon of Empúries and canon of Lleida Guillem de Vilarig also left a charitable legacy in his testament, instructing his

\(^{143}\) ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 168r-169v.
\(^{144}\) ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 171r-v. The testament did not specify, however, the number of days per year this almoina would distribute food or the number of paupers it could serve.
\(^{145}\) ACG MS 102, Repertori del Secretariat, vol. 1, fol. 89r.
\(^{146}\) “…facio et instituo heredes meos uniurales pauperes Ihesu Christi.” ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 6v, 7r. The cathedral of Elne served as an episcopal See until the seventeenth century, when the episcopal seat moved to Perpignan.
executors to use the remainder of his estate (besides his two monetary bequests) to support the poor, whom he named his universal heirs. At least five more canons named the poor as their universal heirs in the first half of the fourteenth century. These donations help to further illustrate the integration of charitable activity into the mindset of the Girona chapter, which makes sense given the chapter’s administration of most of Girona’s charitable institutions.

Testaments of the Girona Canons

The Girona canons enjoyed the privilege of making testaments freely, without restriction, and had the right to dispose of their goods however they pleased, with only one required donation to the *Ferial* fund. Therefore, the bequests and instructions made by the Girona canons in their testaments reflected their own desires, although there were a number of common practices that were probably part of a larger tradition of donations and bequests. At least seventeen testaments survive for the period under consideration, and they are preserved in various registers from the *Notularum* and *Dotalies de la Fundacions de la Seu* (Endowments of the Foundations of the See) series. The *Notularum* series are the records of the episcopal notaries, recording various acts and transactions, while the *Dotalies* series preserves documents that record foundations of altars, chapels, and benefices, so the testaments copied into these registers contain these sorts of religious foundations. It does not mean that their contents are out of the ordinary, rather the opposite. Their text is indistinguishable from those that survive in the *Notularum* registers. Both sets were indeed simply copies from the original notarial documents,

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147 ADG *Dotalies D*-2, fol. 192v-193r.

148 According to Christian Guilleré, assistance for the poor came mainly from the Church rather than from the laity in early fourteenth century Girona, and the absence of the Hospitaller order in Girona may have contributed to the episcopal focus on charity as part of pastoral care. See “Assistencia i Caritat,” 168. Canons from other chapters throughout Western Europe participated in similar charitable activities, supporting hospitals and donating alms to the poor; see Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, *La organizacion del cabildo catedralicio leonés*, 287-288.
recopied in each of these register series (or in both, as is the case for a number of the surviving testaments).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Berenguer de Rabós</th>
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<tr>
<td>Guillem de Vilamarí</td>
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<td>Pere de Crexell</td>
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<td>Romeu de Montoliu</td>
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<td>Bernat de Vilert</td>
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<td>Simó de Sexà</td>
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<td>Arnau de Soler</td>
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<td>Hug de Cruïles</td>
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<td>Berenguer de Palau</td>
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<td>Guillem de Cornellà</td>
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<td>Pere de Mont</td>
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<td>Guillem de Vilarig</td>
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<td>Dalmau de Balbs</td>
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<td>Francesc de Fortià</td>
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<td>Ponç de Sant Vincenç</td>
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<td>Guerau Patau</td>
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<td>Dalmau de Mont</td>
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Figure 2.1: List of canon testators and year in which testament was recorded

There were a number of stages in the production of medieval wills, from the initial writing of the will to the final distribution of goods after the testator’s death. There were also a number of different types of wills, including wills written and signed by the testator himself, wills written by a notary and authenticated or signed by the testator and witnesses, wills signed by a proxy (usually when the testator was too ill to do so), and oral wills which were later written down.¹⁴⁹ The wills of the Girona canons under consideration for this study appear to be mainly of the second type (written by a notary and signed by the testator and witnesses), but they have all been recopied into one of the series of registers held in the cathedral archive and do not survive as single sheets of parchment. In general, after the testator’s death, the next stage was calculating the value of the estate, including recovering the testator’s credits and other assets currently being

¹⁴⁹ Nathaniel Taylor, “Medieval Catalanian Wills: Family Charter Evidence in the Archives,” in Discovery in the Archives of Spain and Portugal: Quincentary Essays, 1492-1992, ed. Lawrence McCrank (New York: The Haworth Press, 1993), 116-117. There is a large body of secondary literature discussing wills, often investigating the “religious mentality” expressed by such wills or looking more closely at inheritance practices and other economic features of wills. See Chiffoleau, La comptabilité de l’au-delà, Cohn, Death and Property in Siena, and Epstein, Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa. For Spanish wills, see Casamitjana i Vilaseca, El testamento en la Barcelona bajomedieval and Eire, From Madrid to Purgatory.
held by other people and paying his debts. The executor or executors also brought the will to the proper ecclesiastical authority for probate at this stage. The final step was distributing property according to the testator’s wishes as expressed in the will.  

However, depending on the bequests or legacies of the testament, the executor’s duties could last much longer. If the testator outlined any special conditions, which could last years, a lifetime, or indefinitely, the executor would continue to supervise the execution of these wishes to the extent that he was able. These types of long-term bequests were common for the Girona canons, often linked to donations to altars or chapels for which the executors appointed priests.

In medieval wills, there were generally three types of beneficiaries, including relatives of the testator, other named individuals who were not relatives, and religious institutions. Giving pious legacies was very common among both lay and ecclesiastical testators, reflecting a sense of charity. Individuals could direct these legacies to specific religious institutions, including altars, chapels, parish churches, monasteries, or convents, or they could leave generic pious legacies that would be settled by their executors. In general, pious bequests in wills were very important, as they were a way the faithful could help provide for the spiritual health of their soul in the afterlife. Clerical and lay testators in Barcelona in the later medieval period very commonly gave donations to the cathedral for its building project and other general purposes and also left legacies to other specific churches, monasteries, hospitals and almshouses. In general, pious bequests also often involved masses, including perpetual masses to be said at specific intervals, lasting generations, and chaplaincies to support a priest to say these masses. Founding and endowing these chapels, sometimes referred to as family chapels, was a way to both display the status of oneself and one’s family and win salvation. These chapels then served as a secure, exclusive place for the saying of perpetual masses and provided an exclusive way for elites to achieve salvation for themselves and their relatives. Both clerical and lay testators could assign these chaplaincies to relatives or recipients of their

patronage, giving the chaplain a steady income and thus enabling testators to help
themselves in the afterlife and their relatives or dependents on earth.\textsuperscript{154}

These practices were widely followed by cathedral canons, both in Catalonia and
further afield in Western Europe. For example, canons in Aquitaine, although in an
earlier period, had similar flexibility in the possession and disposal of property, and some
made donations to the cathedral and other parish churches.\textsuperscript{155} Many Autun canons
included in their wills plans with significant financial investment for the creation of new
altars or chapels where the canon then wanted his funeral held and his final burial,
showing much care in the planning of funerals and burial places. These canons also
focused on individual commemoration, founding anniversaries for themselves to be held
in perpetuity, funded by goods or rents.\textsuperscript{156} David Lepine noted that canons in England
also provided for their souls after death. This led them to found anniversary masses in
order to receive intercession after death and to bring spiritual benefits to those who
celebrated and attended these masses. Additionally, they gave alms to recipients who
were to pray for them, again bringing benefits to both parties.\textsuperscript{157} The canons of Laon did
similarly, founding benefices, chaplaincies, and anniversary masses, in addition to
leaving pious legacies, all of which could improve the health of their souls. Their wills
also showed collections of precious objects which they frequently donated to the
cathedral treasury, including vases, relics, and statues with precious stones. Like the wills
of some Girona canons, a number of wills of the Laon canons showed much wealth, with
canons owning multiple houses and properties that they distributed upon their deaths.\textsuperscript{158}
As members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, it is fitting that many cathedral canons
included a number of bequests to religious institutions, with no requests for prayers in
return, as well as bequests made for their spiritual health.

Many of the Girona canons’ testaments share common features of charitable
donations, including the foundation of anniversary masses, the institution of various other
masses, the foundation and endowment of benefices at altars within the cathedral,

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\textsuperscript{154} Eire, \textit{From Madrid to Purgatory}, 202, 206, 208.
\textsuperscript{155} Anna Trumbore Jones, \textit{Noble Lord, Good Shepherd: Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine}, 877-1050
(Leiden: Brill, 2009), 36.
\textsuperscript{156} Madignier, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédrale d’Autum}, 306-308, 311.
\textsuperscript{157} Lepine, \textit{A Brotherhood of Canons}, Chapter 7.
\textsuperscript{158} Millet, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon}, 282, 284, 287.
donations to purchase ornaments, lamps, and candles for various altars, and donations to charitable institutions. Some testaments are much more detailed and include large numbers of bequests to parish churches and monastic houses within the city and diocese of Girona, as well as bequests to specific individuals. Other testaments are much briefer, giving only a few specific directions with the bulk of the estate going to a single universal heir. In addition to these religious and charitable legacies, some canons made many bequests to specific individuals or to family members, which will be discussed in further detail in Chapter Four. In all of the testaments examined for this study, canons left bequests to the cathedral. They did so in a variety of ways, giving money or precious objects to specific altars or chapels, to the cathedral’s work fund for its building project, or a general donation to the cathedral. Seven testaments contain provisions to found a benefice for a priest at an altar or chapel within the cathedral, and one canon founded a chapel in his testament. Seven canons left donations to other churches or monasteries, which were mainly parish churches or religious houses within the city of Girona. Three canons donated to the Almoina del Pa. Four canons donated to the Franciscans, four to the Dominicans, and two to the Carmelites, leaving their bequests to these orders’ houses in Girona. Spiritual or charitable motivations are also evident in a number of the canons’ choices of universal heirs, who received the remainder of the estate after any debts or other legacies had been paid. Of the thirteen canons who did so, eight selected the poor, two chose the Almoina del Pa, and two picked the cathedral work fund. In nearby Perpignan, the greatest part of an estate generally went to the testator’s universal heirs, making this choice quite significant.

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159 The single remaining canon who specified a universal heir chose his brother, a knight. The poor are identified only as “the poor of Christ” (pauperes Christi) but it is not clear exactly to whom this referred. 160 Rebecca Lynn Winer, Women, Wealth, and Community in Perpignan, c. 1250-1300: Christians, Jews, and Enslaved Muslims in a Medieval Mediterranean Town (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 17.
Figure 2.2: Testamentary bequests to ecclesiastical institutions

![Bar chart showing bequests made in testaments](image)

Figure 2.3: Canons’ selection of universal heirs

![Pie chart showing universal heirs](image)
The most common provision in these testaments was the foundation of anniversary masses, which almost every canon included. Only Francesc de Fortià made his testament without specifically funding an anniversary mass, although his testament noted that he was ill with the illness from which he would die, so it is quite brief in comparison to the others. All other canons instituted anniversary masses for themselves, usually to be celebrated in the cathedral on the day of their death. Many canons instructed their executors to fund these masses with the sale of their goods and with the purchase of censals or other annuities that would provide annual income. Often, any canon, priest, or cleric of the cathedral who attended an anniversary mass would receive a small payment, usually between six and twelve diners, provided by the deceased’s executors. For example, Berenguer de Rabós instructed his executors to purchase annuities that would provide at least 40 sous of annual income to fund an “anniversary each year, on the day of my death, for my soul and the souls of my parents and the souls of all the faithful departed.” Canon Bernat de Vilert had already purchased such income in the form of rents in Villafredario, bought from the layman Dalmau Xatmar, revenue that he assigned in his testament to pay for an anniversary mass. Similarly, in 1343, Guillem de Vilarig instituted an anniversary mass in the cathedral, likewise to be held on the day of his death. He also instructed that each man from the chapter who attended this mass would receive nine diners, providing a financial incentive to increase the number of canons and clerics attending mass. It was customary for canons to institute and fund these masses, creating an event that would preserve their memory in the cathedral and aid in the salvation of their souls.

A large proportion of these testaments also included instructions and provisions for another anniversary to be celebrated in the cathedral by a large number of priests, usually ranging from 40 to 60. Pere de Mont’s will included this type of direction,

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161 ADG Notularum G-20, fol. 114v (26 July 1348). Fortià made his testament on 26 July 1348, suggesting that his serious illness may have been the plague, which hit Girona in approximately mid-May 1348. The first wave of the plague lasted until approximately the end of August 1348; see Christian Guilleré, “La peste noire à Gérone (1348),” Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins 27 (1984): 87-161.

162 “anuersarium annuatim, pro anima mea et parentum meorum et aliorum fidelium defunctorum, die obitus mei…” ADG Dotales D-2, fol. 18v.

163 ADG Dotales D-1, fol. 5r.

164 ADG Dotales D-2, fol. 192r.
recording his “wish and command that a conventual anniversary of fifty priests always take place on the day of my death in perpetuity.” Guillem de Cornellà also established a presbiterial anniversary to be celebrated by 60 priests on the anniversary of his death and stipulated that each participating priest would receive six diners.

Many canons gave donations to other churches or convents in the city and diocese, often to fund masses. Pere de Crexell instituted masses at three other churches; at Sant Genesius on the feast day of Saint Genesius (August 25), at Santa Maria Puellorum on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (August 15), and at the monastery of Sant Daniel in Girona in honor of his mother. He also left a general bequest of 300 sous to fund other masses, with 200 sous for masses in the cathedral and 100 sous for masses in other churches. Ponç de Sant Vicenç left money for masses to two female monasteries in the diocese, as well as five sous to the Franciscan convent in Girona, and thirty sous to a brother at the Dominican convent in Girona. Archdeacon Guillem de Vilarig similarly gave money to both the Girona Franciscans and Dominicans for masses, but his bequest of 50 lliures to the two mendicant houses is much larger than that of Sant Vincenç. Funding anniversary masses in other churches and convents was another way for canons to aid in the salvation of their souls through additional intercessory masses and prayers, and it was also a way to offer financial assistance to other ecclesiastical institutions in the city and diocese.

A few canons left money to other churches and religious institutions without requiring masses to be said in return, reflecting pious generosity and perhaps personal connections to certain churches. Pere de Crexell in particular left a significant number of bequests, giving five sous each to the churches of Sant Feliu, Sant Pere, Sant Nicolau, Santa Eulalia, Sant Jaume de Pedreto, Sant Martí, Santa Susanna de Mercadal, Santa

165 “Uolo et mando quod fiat aliud anniuersarium semper pro anima mea conuentualem et l presbiterorum die obitus mei perpetuo…” ADG Dotalies D-3, fol. 143v. This type of anniversary mass differs from that discussed in the previous paragraph due to the number of celebrants requested by the testator. There are no documents recording whether the cathedral community actually gathered such numbers of priests to perform these masses, though. He specified that he wanted these masses to continue in perpetuity (“in perpetuum”) but does not specify how this will be managed after the deaths of his executors.
166 ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 170v.
167 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 1r, 2v. Similarly, Bernat de Vilert left 100 sous to the church of Vilert for masses for his soul and the souls of his father and other relatives. His surname obviously suggests a personal connection to this particular church (D-1, fol. 6r).
169 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 192v.
Maria de las Puellas, Sant Genesius, all of which were in Girona, and the church of the Hospital Nou of Girona. He also left 100 *sous* each to the Girona Franciscans, Dominicans, and Carmelites.  Bernat de Vilert also left 100 *sous* each to the Franciscans and Dominicans and 50 *sous* to the Carmelites, and Guerau Patau left ten *sous* to each order. Donations to the Dominicans and Franciscans were common for lay testators as well, recognizing their religiosity and making contributions to fund prayers for the afterlife, lamps, and new construction projects.

Other bequests came in the form of donations to the crosses of these churches or donations intended to fund either work on a church itself or the production or purchase of ornaments for its altars. Bernat de Vilert and Pere de Crexell, who both made a number of other devotional bequests in their testaments, also funded specific items in other churches in Girona. Crexell’s testament specifies that he had already given silver chalices to the churches of Santa Maria de Pineda, Sant Pere de Pineda, and Sant Pere de Cornellà (which were outside the city of Girona but within the diocese), and that he wanted silver chalices to be made and distributed to the other churches in which he had funded altars or served as chaplain, if they did not already have them. Bernat de Vilert left ten *sous* to the cross of Sant Feliu in Girona and 50 *sous* to Sant Feliu’s work fund. He also left five *sous* each to the crosses of two parish churches, two hospitals, and a monastery in Girona and three *sous* each to the crosses of another three churches. For ornaments for the altar, the church of Sant Feliu in Buada received one silver mark, the church of Sant Stephen of Oculo received 50 *sous*, the church of Sant Martí of Maçanet received 30 *sous*, and the church of Vilert received 30 *sous*. Both Crexell and Vilert left large estates and chose to leave the bulk of their estates to religious institutions or to fund other devotional groups or activities. By leaving money to parish churches in Girona and in the

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170 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 1r.
171 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 5v; ADG Notularum G-42, fol. 52v (5 April 1362). Bernat de Vilert also left twenty *sous* to the Benedictine monastery of Sant Daniel in Girona (ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 6r).
172 Antonio Zaldívar, “Patricians’ Embrace of the Dominican Convent of St. Catherine in Thirteenth-Century Barcelona,” in *Mendicants and Merchants in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Taryn Chubb and Emily Kelley (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 27, 30. Barcelona’s patricians heavily favored the mendicant orders in this period, giving both cash and specific objects and often choosing to be buried in Franciscan and Dominican convents.
173 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 3v.
174 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 5v-6r, 7r-v.
surrounding countryside, they could show their piety and use their wealth to improve the devotional ornaments of these churches.

Bequests to the cathedral itself could also take a number of forms, including donations to the work fund to pay for the construction of the new apse. Three canons made donations ranging from 100 to 1,000 sous, and two others named the work fund as their universal heir, so it would receive anything left from the estate after the executors fulfilled other bequests and debts. Another way to support the cathedral was through donations of specific items to various altars or chapels within the cathedral, as Guillem de Cornellà did with the altar of Saint Martin and Saint Francis. He had previously financed the construction of this altar and in his 1341 testament, he left a chalice, two candelabras, two candles, a cross with a silver base, vestments, other silk cloth, and a Missal to this altar. Clearly, his devotion to these saints was strong enough to motivate him to create, fund, endow, and support this altar during his lifetime and with his final wishes. The ornaments and objects left to this altar would certainly have enhanced its glory and prestige within the cathedral. So, for Guillem, the piety shown by these donations was part of a pattern of support for this particular religious foundation. Guerau Patau probably had similar motivations in making a bequest of 10 lliures to fund the purchase of missals for the chapels of Saint Catherine, Saint Margaret, and Saint Michael. Providing these chapels with their own missals would also have made it easier for the chaplains to perform masses at their altars, better serving the chapel’s benefactors and perhaps also increasing the prestige of these chapels.

Founding and endowing benefices at altars and chapels of the cathedral were other common ways for canons to show devotion in their testaments. At least seven canons did so, creating a permanent place for a priest attached to a specific altar in the cathedral, often with instructions about performing masses in honor of the canon and his

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175 Pere de Crexell donated 580 sous (ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 1r), Bernat de Vilert gave 1,000 sous (ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 5v), and Simó de Sexà left 100 sous (ADG Dotalies D-3, fol. 69v). Ponç de Sant Vincenç and Francesc de Fortià named the work fund as their universal heir; ADG Notularum G-31, fol. 105r (7 Oct. 1354) and ADG Notularum G-20, fol. 114v (26 July 1348).

176 ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 171v.

177 ADG Notularum G-37, fol. 148v (8 Jan. 1358). Whenever the clerics beneficed at these altars did not need the missals to celebrate mass, they were to lend them to the clerics in the adjoining chapels who would use them to celebrate their mass, then return the missals to their holders. A codicil, written four years later, noted that the cleric serving as chaplain for the altar of Saint Catherine already had a missal; see G-42, fol. 52v 5 Apr. 1362).
relatives. Pere de Crexell instituted two priestly benefices at the altar of Saint Bartholomew and Saint Nicholas, which he had previously created and endowed. To fund these benefices, Pere assigned the income from his holdings in a nearby town, purchased from the abbot and monastery of Amer, and any rights and rents he owned in Centenys. The first priest had to maintain and keep lit a lamp in front of this altar, and the second priest was to celebrate mass three times per week at this altar for the souls of Pere, his relatives, and all the deceased faithful, in addition to attending recitation of the Divine Office in the cathedral. To support the second priestly benefice, Pere assigned ten *morabatins* in censals bought from Juçef Falconis, a Jewish man, one *morabatin* bought from Bonafilia, a Jewish woman, and another smaller censal also bought from Bonafilia, all of which came from houses and vineyards. Additionally, he instructed his executors to use 8,000 *sous* to purchase more annual rents and income to support the work these beneficed priests would carry out. The two priests could live together in the house Pere owned in Girona.¹⁷⁸

Bernat de Vilert instituted a similar benefice for a priest in the Girona cathedral not attached to a particular altar. This priest had to recite the Hours in the cathedral each day and night and celebrate mass an additional three times per week for Bernat’s soul and the souls of his parents. The priest also had to follow the cross outside the Girona church during funeral processions. To support this priest, Bernat instructed his executors to purchase 300 *sous* of annual income. Bernat selected Bernat de Camps, a cleric who lived with him in Girona, to first hold this benefice.¹⁷⁹ After Bernat’s death, collation of this benefice would fall to three other canons named in his testament who would select Bernat de Camps’s replacement to hold this benefice. After all three of these canons had died, collation would fall to the current bishop. The funding base for this foundation was 300 *sous* in annual rents and income to be purchased by the testament’s executors.¹⁸⁰ This foundation seems born from a combination of priorities: religious piety, providing

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¹⁷⁸ *ADG Dotalies* D-1, fol. 1v-2v. For more information about this benefice, see ACG MS 102, *Repertori del Secretariat*, vol. 1, fol. 141v.

¹⁷⁹ At least three other clerics are also mentioned in the testament as living with Bernat. Simo de Sexà also instituted a benefice and named the first holder as a cleric who lived with him (*ADG Dotalies* D-3, fol. 70v). This seems to have been an accepted way for canons to provide indirectly for clerical members of their households after their own death.

¹⁸⁰ *ADG Dotalies* D-1, fol. 7v.
salvation for the souls of himself and his relatives, and, in the short term, providing a position (and perhaps some extra income) for a cleric from his own household.

This combination of pious and personal priorities was also reflected in the priestly benefices instituted by Hug de Cruïlles in his 1337 testament. A prominent member of the chapter with strong ties to the local military elite, Hug was abbot of the collegiate church of Sant Feliu and brother of the former bishop Gilabert, and he declared in his testament that

I institute in the Girona cathedral two sacerdotal places, wishing and ordaining that the priests holding the said sacerdotal places should be held to attend the canonical hours in the said Church, equally by day and by night, and whichever of them should be held to celebrate mass three times in whatever week at the altars of Saints Peter and Paul, which Gilabert, Girona bishop of blessed memory, had made in the said church.181

These priests also had to alternate weeks assisting the claviger (or custodian), serve as guardians for the ciborium, the vessel containing the Hosts, while the claviger was ill, and maintain a candle before the main altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. For this, he assigned 1,000 sous worth of annual income and censals that he received from the castle of Petracissa and its lands, rights, and rents, and from holdings that Gilabert, his brother, had left to him. The right of conferral of these benefices fell to the bishop and chapter but, if they did not choose a suitable candidate within eight days of the benefice falling vacant, the right went to a smaller group made up solely of the highest dignitaries of the chapter.182 These benefices, connected to the altar founded by Hug’s brother, funded with

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181 “Instituto in ecclesie Gerundense due loca sacerdotalia, uolens et ordinans quo presbyteri dicta loca sacerdotalis tenentes, teneantur interesse oris canonicalibus in dicta eclesia diurni pariter et nocturnis, et quilibet eorum teneatur ter qualibet ebdomada celebrare missam in altaria beatorum Petri et Pauli in dicta eclesia fieri facta per dominum Guilabertum bone memorie Episcopum.” ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 124v-125r. These two presbyterial places were separate from the 12 priests of the chapter, but there is no restriction mentioned in the testament that would prohibit a man who was already a priest of the chapter from holding this position as well.

182 After eight days, collation fell to the bishop, sacristan, precentor, abbot of Sant Feliu, and archdeacon of Girona or whoever from among this group was present in Girona at the time (ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 125r-126r). Also of note is that the holdings around the castle of Petracissa were bought from the noble Gilabert de Cruïlles, lord of the castle of Petracissa and a relative of Hug the testator. Hug also instituted a third sacerdotal benefice in the cathedral, giving the right of patronage to his nephew Bernat, also a Girona canon, and then in perpetuity to the abbot of Sant Feliu. Similarly, Guillem de Vilarig instituted a sacerdotal benefice and named his squire as the first holder of this benefice (if he did not already possess a different benefice by the time of Guillem’s death). No other details are given about his squire, so it is unknown whether or not the squire was ordained as a priest. Guillem gave collation of this benefice to his brother Amengaud, abbot of the monastery of Vilabertran, who would choose the next holder of this benefice when it fell vacant. After Amengaud’s death, collation fell to the chapter as a whole; see ADG Dotalies D-1, fol. 192r-v.
holdings purchased from Hug’s relative, further exemplify the intermingling of familial and pious activities. These benefices were, of course, religious foundations designed to help bring salvation to Hug and his brother and honor to the Girona Church, but also exist, in some ways, because of the closely maintained connections Hug had with his relatives both within the chapter and outside of it.

Similar connections are visible in the foundation and endowment of a sacerdotal benefice by canon Guillem de Cornellà in his 1341 testament. As mentioned earlier, the benefice was attached to the altar of Saint Martin and Saint Francis, which Guillem himself founded in the new apse of the cathedral. The priest who held this benefice needed to attend Divine Office regularly, celebrate mass three times a week, and perform an anniversary mass. Guillem also instructed the priest to maintain a candle before the main altar and a candle at the tomb of his uncle, Berenguer de Pau, to be lit on the anniversary of Berenguer’s death and the anniversary of the death of Guillem’s brother, Bernat de Cornellà. To support the costs associated with this benefice, Guillem instructed his executors to use his portion of the decimà, or tithe, of Borrassà, an area north of Girona, bought from his brother Pere de Cornellà, a secular lord. In outlining the duties of and support for this priest, Guillem’s connections to both his brothers, one a canon and the other a secular lord, are visible. Funding to support the benefice came from land purchased from one brother, and the duties of the beneficiate included masses and a candle to honor the other brother.

A few of these testaments have an especially large number of religious bequests, including bequests to other canons and clerics, donations of religious items, and funding for other pious causes, in addition to the contributions mentioned above. For example, Pere de Crexell left a silver chalice and other religious objects to Ramon de Vilarig, archdeacon of Girona, and instructed his executors to distribute his vestments, other garments, and books to other clerics in the cathedral. He left 200 sous to each of the two clerics who lived with him, but if they obtained a benefice before his death, they would receive only 50 sous. All other goods, holdings, and money not otherwise distributed was

183 ADG Dotalies D-2, fol. 170v-171r. The priest was also to help in distributing money to the poor as specified in Bernat de Cornellà’s will, again showing how closely this benefice was tied to Guillem’s personal relationships as well as his religious devotion.
184 ADG D-2, fol. 171r.
to be sold by his executors to benefit the poor.\textsuperscript{185} Bernat de Vilert also made bequests to clerical members of his household, giving 50 \textit{sous} to one who was also his relative, and 100 \textit{sous} to the other.\textsuperscript{186} These types of bequests seem like a mix of personal and pious activities, as they were made to other members of the Girona cathedral community but those with whom the testator had a personal relationship. This type of connection is also evident in the donation made by canon Dalmau de Mont to Francesc Andree, cleric of the cathedral. Dalmau selected Francesc as one of his executors, left him books containing the Office of the Passion, of the Dead, and of the Virgin Mary, and seven \textit{lliures} and five \textit{sous} that he owed him.\textsuperscript{187}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{figure2.4.png}
\caption{Canons’ selection of burial location}
\end{figure}

The tombs and memorial inscriptions of many Girona canons also reflect their religious devotion and pious acts. Foundations of anniversaries, institutions of candles

\textsuperscript{185} ADG \textit{Dotalies} D-1, fol. 1v, 3r-v.
\textsuperscript{186} ADG \textit{Dotalies} D-1, fol. 6r. He also left money to his squire, messenger, and servant, and left 300 \textit{sous} and ten \textit{lliures} to two other Girona clerics.
\textsuperscript{187} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-38, fol. 96v-97v (15 Dec. 1358). Francesc was also holding a number of silver instruments and objects that Dalmau had borrowed which he was to return to the rightful owner.
and lamps, and charitable gifts are all mentioned in the tomb inscriptions of canons throughout the fourteenth century. At least sixteen such inscriptions survive for the period under consideration, memorializing the canons’ pious and charitable acts. For example, the tombs of both Bernat and Guillem de Cornellà mention their endowment of an almoina for the poor, linking their aid for the poor with their memory within the cathedral. Burial within the cathedral could serve as a continuing sign of religious devotion, but it also seems to have been customary. Bernat de Vilert, though, left specific burial instructions in his 1324 testament, given the possible complications of his situation. He was canon of both the Elne and Girona cathedrals, so he specified that if he died in Girona, he was to be buried in the Girona cathedral, but if he died in Elne, he chose the Elne cathedral. If he died elsewhere, he wanted to be buried in the nearest Franciscan convent. Nine of the seventeen testaments of the canons gave specific burial instructions, with three specifying they wanted to be buried in the cathedral, four in the cloister of the cathedral, and two in the cemetery of the cathedral. Many canons did not give burial instructions in their testaments, suggesting that burial within the cathedral complex was the norm and did not need to be expressly requested. As significant members of the cathedral community, the burial of the canons within the cathedral or its cloister or cemetery, like anniversary masses, served to link them to the Church even after their deaths and to preserve their memory as part of this group.

Conclusion

As ranking members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the canons’ function was essentially spiritual, requiring them to carry out liturgical duties in the cathedral. They were to attend and sing the Divine Office daily and nightly, help with the celebration of mass, and perform readings. Statutes governed attendance requirements, the dress code,

189 ADG *Dotalies* D-1, fol. 5r.
190 Canon Simo de Sexà requested burial in the cemetery of the Girona cathedral (ADG *Dotalies* D-3, fol. 69v) and canon Francesc de Fortià instructed his executors to bury him in the cloister of the cathedral (ADG *Notularum* G-20, fol. 114v [26 July 1348]). Dalmau de Mont also wanted to be buried in the cloister of the cathedral and specified that his tomb should be similar to those of the other canons (ADG G-38, fol. 97r [15 Dec. 1358]).
and the manner in which canons were to perform these responsibilities, ensuring that the canons performed the liturgy in a manner that fit with the spiritual importance of these services. The Divine Office provided for daily glorification of God and was a way to show reverence to the Holy Trinity and to the Virgin Mary, to whom the cathedral was dedicated, so the regular operation of these services was an absolute necessity.

However, lack of attendance by canons was a recurring problem addressed in a number of statutes, issued by both the bishop and the archbishop of Tarragona. Canons did not attend services with the necessary regularity, so the bishop and archbishop tried to solve this by instituting a punishment consisting of the loss of the daily canonical portion. This effort seems to have been relatively unsuccessful, given the repetition of these types of statutes. A number of canons also failed to advance to the ecclesiastical rank of deacon, a requirement of their canonry, given that it was necessary for them to perform their diaconal duties in the cathedral. This seems representative of a larger trend of ambivalence towards their ecclesiastical duties that led a number of canons to shift much of this work to the priests of the chapter, freeing themselves for administrative work or other personal tasks. Each priest of the chapter served two canons and could act as their substitute within the cathedral, leaving the priests of the chapter as the main liturgical functionaries within the cathedral.

Canons, and particularly the archdeacons, also served the diocese in a number of administrative capacities. They could assist the bishop in matters of diocesan government and serve as his messengers to or representatives in royal and papal courts. In managing the episcopal and capitular patrimony by overseeing accounts, collecting rents and other revenues, and buying and selling property throughout the city and diocese, some canons must have developed effective administrative skills. These administrative functions cannot, of course, be separated from their spiritual duties, given that both kinds of activities were in the service of the bishop and Church, albeit in different ways. In order to finance the regular operation of worship in the cathedral, canons needed to properly manage the episcopal and capitular patrimonies. Proper management and extraction of revenue from lands, estates, and castles were necessary to support the cathedral community by funding both regular and extraordinary distributions to the canons as well as enlargement of the cathedral, designed to bring further glory both to the Girona
cathedral itself and to God and the Virgin Mary. The canons’ temporal activities provided the support for their spiritual activities and made it possible to sustain the clerical establishment necessary to continually celebrate the Divine Office.

Canons could also show their spiritual devotion in ways not mandated by their position within the chapter. A number of canons participated in the activities of a confraternity based at the cathedral, and others worked to institute new services of worship in the cathedral. Many others founded altars, chapels, and benefices in the cathedral, desiring to create a visible memory of their piety and to continue to provide for their spiritual health even after their death. Yet, canons’ continued ties with their families also heavily influenced these activities as well. At the altars and chapels they founded, many canons required the beneficiaries to perform masses for the spiritual health of themselves, plus their parents, siblings, and other relatives. Even after joining the chapter and becoming a member of the spiritual community based at the cathedral, canons remained firmly tied to their families, which were often powerful lineages within the diocese. These foundations, then, necessarily reflect a combination of priorities, showing the integration of both religious and familial concerns.

The testaments of the Girona canons also show devotional priorities and familial ties. Many canons made a number of religiously-themed bequests, donating to crosses, altars, and churches throughout the diocese or to ecclesiastical charitable foundations. These offerings, made often in the canons’ testaments, show a desire to contribute to the Almoinas and hospitals in a way that would directly benefit the individuals served by these institutions, whether it was by increasing the number of days the Almoína could distribute bread or clothing or allowing more poor people to receive these services. In some cases, the churches selected as donation recipients were close to familial estates or were the burial places of canons’ mothers, fathers, siblings, aunts, and uncles. Beneficiaries at the altars they founded, as discussed above, had to celebrate masses for them and their relatives. Often, canons assigned either the benefice itself or collation of the benefice to a relative who was also a cleric or a member of the chapter. It is impossible, therefore, to untangle canons’ lives within the chapter from their activities and ties outside the chapter. The skills they used to administer the chapter’s patrimony also helped them to administer familial or personal property. The legacies left in their
testaments solidified these connections to the ecclesiastical establishment as well as to the lay elite of the diocese, locating the Girona canons firmly at the confluence of these different types of priorities and power. Given their prestige among both the ecclesiastical and lay hierarchies, they had the power to act out the integration of these types of priorities, as shown both in the duties required by their position and in their voluntary activities.

In examining the Girona canons’ spiritual and administrative duties and their devotional and charitable priorities, the strength of their ties to their families and their status as elite members of a privileged group remain clearly visible. Despite their main duty to participate in liturgical services, they were able to shift much of this burden to the priests of the chapter, freeing their time for other tasks. As administrators, they worked for the bishop and for the chapter as a whole, but they also worked to manage their family or personal patrimony. They used the same types of skills in selling or buying land for the cathedral community as they did in making personal transactions. Their testaments, though, illustrate this most clearly. Often, canons made donations to churches to perform anniversary masses for their parents and other relatives or to churches located near their family’s estates or where relatives were buried. They founded altars and chapels in which the beneficiary would say masses in remembrance of relatives and often selected an associate or a relative as the first holder of this benefice. It was very common to assign collation of these benefices to a brother or nephew within the chapter, also showing the strong association between a number of families and the chapter itself. The canons’ continued ties to their families and continued involvement in civil society was inextricable from their identity as canons; their spiritual, administrative, and charitable functions all further serve to illustrate their identity as members of both the secular and ecclesiastical elite.
Chapter Three
The Chapter’s Corporate Relations and Concerns

In its interactions with both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, the Girona cathedral chapter focused on maintaining its jurisdiction, holdings, rights, and privileges, which occasionally left it at odds with the bishop, the king, or the pope. Most of the major conflicts the chapter experienced during the first half of the fourteenth century involved its attempts to fight off encroachments on its holdings and accompanying revenue. A dispute with the king over the requirement for ecclesiastical vassals to participate in royal military service touched off a decade-long conflict including a year-long expulsion of the chapter from the city. This disagreement over the limits of both ecclesiastical and royal jurisdiction was exacerbated by the aggressive action of the veguer, a royal official posted in Girona, when he infringed upon the chapter’s authority by breaking into the treasury inside the cathedral. The bishop and chapter also clashed with the Count of Empúries over his plan to elevate Castelló d’Empúries to a diocesan seat, thus taking land, jurisdiction, and prestige away from the Girona cathedral. This focus on protecting the chapter’s autonomy also led to friction with ecclesiastical authorities, as in the case of the chapter’s complaints about papal provisions to absentee holders of Girona canonries, benefices, and pabordias as rewards for loyalty or service. The pope continued to assert his right to nominate men for these positions, even as the chapter complained about the harm that absentee holders caused to the administration of chapter properties and goods. The chapter also resisted episcopal attempts to restrain its power, instead asserting its independence and pushing for episcopal concessions that recognized the chapter’s autonomy and privileged position within the diocese.

In general, however, the chapter enjoyed peaceful relations with major secular and ecclesiastical powers and occasionally turned to many of them for help in defending its authority against others. The bishop and chapter fully cooperated to protect the holdings of the Girona Church and conducted mutually beneficial business with great regularity. During disputes with tenants, the chapter looked to the secular authorities in the area for support, eliciting promises to enforce secular punishments if excommunication failed to convince the chapter’s tenants to pay various exactions. At
times, the chapter also looked to the archbishop of Tarragona to protect its jurisdiction from royal encroachment as well as encourage the king to make amends for previous infringements by donating significant amounts of money to the chapter. Because of their position and duties, canons of the chapter worked closely with the bishop and generally enjoyed a peaceful relationship. This is relatively unsurprising since most bishops in this period rose through the ranks of the chapter before holding episcopal office; moreover, as former canons, it meant that they were from among the ranks of the military elite of the diocese and closely linked to the lineages of the other canons. In viewing the chapter’s relations with other important authorities in the diocese, region, and kingdom, it is clear that much of how the chapter dealt with others stems from the canons’ concerns for property, income, and prestige, leading them to confront their challengers and seek assistance from those interested in helping the chapter maintain its position.

These types of relations were common to other cathedral chapters in the region and throughout Western Europe in this period. In order to strengthen their holdings and consolidate economic and seigniorial power, canons needed support from the monarchy, the episcopate, and the nobility, all of whom could make donations of land, privileges, and exemptions to the chapter. Important families could follow the royal example in giving gifts, enhancing chapter holdings as well as prestige. This enabled chapters to become significant landowners, often controlling vast holdings in the city or diocese.\(^1\) Chapters also worked to assert and maintain their economic power and jurisdiction in the face of challenges from urban oligarchies, rural nobles, rival seigniorial powers, and both royal and ecclesiastical authorities. Sometimes these rivals directed their attacks at the cathedral or the episcopal palace, the symbolic representation of the cathedral community’s power within the city.

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\(^1\) The chapter in Tournai, for example, was the principal holder of land in its surrounding parishes and brought in much income as a landlord. See Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle: son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Brussels: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1986), 39.
Relations with Ecclesiastical Authorities

In its relations with high-ranking ecclesiastical figures, the chapter usually acted in a very respectful manner, especially when it was asking for assistance or intervention to protect its rights. For example, in a conflict between the bishop and chapter on one hand and the *veguer* and king on the other, the bishop and chapter repeatedly appealed to the archbishop of Tarragona to defend their jurisdiction from royal encroachment and protect their privileged position as both the highest ecclesiastical authority in the diocese and one of the major landholders.\(^2\) They also requested his help in compelling the king to make a significant 1,000 *lliure* donation to the cathedral to atone for his behavior during this conflict, writing to the archbishop at least three times and urging him to intervene with the king on their behalf.\(^3\) In such a situation, appealing to the archbishop could help for a number of reasons. Given his status as their ecclesiastical superior, they would have seen him as sympathetic to their plight in protecting their jurisdiction from challenges from secular authorities. In addition, his rank as one of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries in Catalonia would give him the access and power to potentially sway the king’s behavior, giving the Girona chapter its desired results.

The chapter also, on occasion, was in direct contact with the pope. Relations between the chapter and the pope could be complicated, as the chapter both turned to the pope for help in protecting its holdings and jurisdiction and resisted papal encroachment into matters it considered internal chapter business. In the decades-long struggle for control over the *pabordia* of Castelló, the pope was involved at various points, making decisions about who had the right to hold the *pabordia* and if the terms of its service were properly upheld. Throughout this period, the chapter looked to the pope as its superior, appealing to him for judgments and support. In the mid-1320s, two canons, Ferran Muredine and Vidal de Villanova, both asserted that they held the rights to the *pabordia* of Castelló, which included a large amount of land and funded the daily distributions for canons in February, March, and April. The bishop and chapter forwarded this case to the

\(^2\) ADG *Notularum* G-3, fol. 127r (20 Apr. 1322). I will discuss this in further detail later in the chapter.

\(^3\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopal* U-6, fol. 103v (24 Aug. 1343), U-8, fol. 155v (9 Nov. 1344), and U-10, fol. 73r-v (1 July 1346).
papal court, and the pope ruled in favor of Vidal de Villanova, giving him control of the *pabordia* and its lands and revenue.\(^4\) The bishop later widely publicized this decision, following the apostolic mandate by giving Villanova possession of the *pabordia* and removing Muredine. Bishop Gastó de Montcada required all who received this letter to accept and support this decision and give Villanova the rents and income to which he was entitled. Anyone who resisted would be fined or excommunicated.\(^5\) In this situation, the cathedral community looked to the pope as their ecclesiastical superior to rule on this case.

The pope was also involved in the case concerning the *pabordia* of Castelló twenty-five years later, when Villanova was accused of not sharing the revenue with the chapter, as was required. The chapter was unable to resolve the matter internally and sought resolution from the pope, who issued a decision that Villanova was legally prohibited from holding the *pabordia* any longer, a decision that the chapter then widely circulated to the clergy and secular authorities of the diocese.\(^6\) The pope also declared that Villanova had to repay the income that he took from the *pabordia* and fulfill the service he owed, despite losing control of the land and its administration. Additionally, because of the harm his actions caused the chapter, he was excommunicated, and anyone who aided him in any way could be excommunicated as well.\(^7\) The pope, as the highest ecclesiastical authority, protected the interests of the chapter and cathedral community, preserving their patrimony and expelling Villanova for the harm he caused the Church.

However, cathedral chapters and the Spanish Church as a whole often resisted outside encroachment into their affairs, instead seeking to maintain their independence from external influences, even including the papacy. Throughout the second half of the thirteenth century, as the papacy sent legates to Iberia to oversee the Spanish Church and its newly formed dioceses, the legates often encountered difficulties in implementing their reforms. In the 1230s, papal legate John of Abbeville urged some Spanish chapters to accept more canons since their patrimonies and incomes could support these additions, but the chapters resisted outside intervention, desiring instead to protect their autonomy.

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\(^4\) ADG *Notularum* G-6, fol. 105v-106r (19 Apr. 1327).
\(^5\) ADG *Notularum* G-7, fol. 68r-v (19 Sept. 1330).
\(^6\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-19, fol. 146v-147v (13 March 1352).
\(^7\) ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-21, fol. 239r-240r (16 May 1353).
For example, Abbeville wanted the chapter of Vic to accept more canons, but it delayed in doing so indefinitely in an attempt to stave off this reform.\(^8\)

Another main task of the papal legates sent to Iberia was the collection of money for military and diplomatic purposes, but this fed into further tension between the pope, the kings of Aragon and Castile, and the bishops, due to the multiplicity of issues it touched upon as kings and bishops sought to protect their own financial and jurisdictional independence. The situation in Iberia differed from the rest of Europe because of the ways in which the Reconquest linked the Spanish kings and bishops to the program of resettlement and expansion, with some distance from Rome. These ties between Church and royal administration, especially in Castile, led to royal influence in selecting holders of high Church offices, and the latter often went to members of the royal family or favored nobles, which further strengthened these kinds of links.\(^9\) In Castile, even into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was much interpenetration between Church and state, including royal control of the Church and Church involvement in royal decisions. Bishops were often from families linked to the monarchy, and monarchs often participated in, if not controlled, episcopal and benefice provisions.\(^10\)

Clerics, bishops, and archbishops also used this distance from Rome to resist papal exactions that they deemed excessive, like the complaints of Spanish bishops in the 1240s to Pope Urban about the taxes that Innocent III had imposed. At other times, they simply refused to give financial support to papal projects and expeditions, claiming they were too impoverished to do so.\(^11\) These kinds of protests were common, especially after mid-fourteenth century increases in papal exactions on top of the *servicios comunes* (papal taxes) and the *vigésima* (1/20\(^{th}\) of ecclesiastical rents).\(^12\) Of course, there were also instances of good relations and cooperation between Spanish bishops and the pope, as the bishops sought favorable grants and privileges and protection for their autonomy. It

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\(^9\) Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, 103, 112-113. Spanish monarchs, of course, had their own financial incentives to maintain links to the Church, as they sought to profit from the Church’s income.

\(^10\) Jorge Díaz-Ibañez, *Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla: El Obispado de Cuenca en la edad media (siglos XII-XV)* (Cuenca: Editorial Alfonsipolis, 2003), 347, 356. Many Spanish bishops were also present at meetings of the Castilian Cortes.

\(^11\) Linehan, *The Spanish Church*, 159, 177. The papal focus on collecting subsidies from clerics led to many difficulties due to these clerical claims of their inability to pay.

\(^12\) Díaz-Ibañez, *Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla*, 477, 482, 487.
became increasingly common in the later thirteenth century for cathedral communities to send permanent representatives to the papal curia to prevent unfavorable papal provisions and to lobby on the community’s behalf for advantageous grants and privileges.  

But, the pope could also infringe on what the chapter considered to be its jurisdiction, leading to some friction. As discussed in Chapter One, papal provision of chapter canonries, benefices, and other possessions was common. The nominee could bring the letter detailing his collation to the chapter, which was then bound to admit him if there was a vacant canonry. These collations could also bestow a pabordia, chaplaincies, and other ecclesiastical offices upon the recipient. Throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, the pope assigned a number of benefices associated with the Girona cathedral to men of his choosing, who often also held other ecclesiastical positions. Granting them these other benefices could be a reward for service and loyalty to the papacy. For example, Pope Clement VI used his powers of papal provision to assign a benefice in the cathedral to a cardinal, selecting the archbishop of Burgos to serve as the papal sub-executor in this case. This suggests that papal provisions were made not necessarily to nominate a man to live as part of the cathedral community and carry out the tasks required for this position, given that the cardinal surely did not live in Girona. Holding multiple benefices was more about collecting income from different ecclesiastical positions than about fulfilling the duties of multiple positions in various cities. In this situation, the absent ecclesiastics normally appointed substitutes who would live in the city and perform the duties of the office for a portion of the office’s total income.

Papal provision of Girona cathedral offices provoked discontent among the members of the chapter, showing the tension over who had the right to nominate men to fill these positions. In 1330, Bishop Gastó de Montcada had to absolve the archdeacon of Girona, Ramon de Santapau, and another canon, Guillem de Santapau, after they were excommunicated by the pope for resisting apostolic conferrals of chaplaincies in the

14 For example, in 1356, the pope granted Ferran Muñoz a canonry, a prebend, the pabordia of December, and two chaplaincies in the diocese. See ADG *Notularum* G-33, fol. 89r (5 Jan. 1356). No information was given about Ferran’s background, but his name appears very infrequently in the chapter’s registers of notarial records and episcopal letters, suggesting that he was not an active member of the chapter.
15 ADG *Notularum* G-26, fol. 107r-v (22 Aug. 1351).
diocese of Girona. The pope had appointed the bishop of Padua to serve as apostolic executor in assigning five chaplaincies in Girona vacated by the death of canon Ramon de Villademagno. The chapter, and the two canons mentioned above, wanted these positions to go to someone within the chapter and objected to their conferral by an outsider on another diocesan outsider. This was, in some ways, similar to the chapter’s other struggles with secular authorities over jurisdiction; they wanted to assert their right to control nominations to ecclesiastical positions within the cathedral without papal encroachment, but this was not always successful given that papal authority superseded that of the canons. Papal provisions to other cathedral chapters also increased in the fourteenth century, perhaps due to growing papal bureaucracy and centralization, and other chapters complained about absentee recipients of provisions as well. The Girona chapter’s experience with this was not unique.

These types of issues continued in the 1340s as well, when some recipients of papal provisions failed to uphold the duties of their positions in the Girona cathedral. The chapter launched a general protest against papal collations of chaplaincies and benefices to absent or inactive clerics, appointing two representatives to deal with the issue of provisions that were “damaging and detrimental to the bishop and chapter,” leading them to ask the pope not to appoint men who would be absenteeees. This does not appear to have affected papal collations in any significant way, however, given that the issue reappeared about four years later when Arximbau de Lautricho, nominated by apostolic collation to be a canon and the administrator of the pabordia of November, failed to fulfill the service he owed to the chapter and cathedral. The bishop and chapter selected Bernat de Mont-rodon, a Girona canon, and Ramon de Campllong, cleric of the chapter, as procurators to compel Lautricho to fulfill his duties and to appeal to the pope about this matter. They warned Lautricho that if he failed to appear at the next annual general chapter and report on the accounts of the pabordia, or to send a representative in his place to do so, he could be sentenced to excommunication and would certainly lose control of the pabordia and its revenue. In appealing to the pope, they wrote of the harm

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16 ADG Notularum G-7, fol. 53r-v (16 June 1330).
17 See, for example, Díaz-Ibañez, Iglesia, sociedad, y poder, 458.
18 “in dampnum et detrimentum Episcopi et capituli…” ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 155v-156r (13 March 1343).
that Lautricho’s lack of attention could cause to the chapter’s patrimony, reminding the pope that it was inappropriate for any paborde to ignore the chapter’s procedures and to deprive the canons of their daily portions. In this instance, papal collation had led to an inept or unwilling nominee whose inaction could have had a negative financial effect on both the administration of the chapter patrimony as well as on the daily distributions given to the canons. The chapter thought of these matters as internal, desiring the continued autonomy to select its own members and ensure the proper fulfillment of all ecclesiastical duties and management of cathedral and chapter assets.

The Bishop and Chapter: Protection of Chapter Autonomy

Overall, relations between the bishop and chapter were relatively stable. A number of factors contributed to this, including the close ties between the bishop and canons who were often linked by direct family relations. The bishops tended to be selected from within the chapter, so they were sons of local noble and knightly families, just like the rest of the canons (except for the seemingly small number nominated by the pope). Only two of the seven bishops between 1292 and 1362 were not from the chapter: Pedro de Urrea, bishop from 1325 to 1328, had been a canon of Toledo and Gastó de Montcada, bishop from 1328 to 1334, was previously bishop of Huesca. Between 1334 and 1384, two sets of uncles and nephews each held the Girona episcopate, and all had previously been canons of the chapter. These sorts of ties linked the bishops and canons more closely as a unit rather than as two separate sources of authority working against each other. As discussed in Chapter Two, the canons were an important part of the episcopal bureaucracy, serving as procurators, messengers,

19 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-11, fol. 102v-103v (3 Nov. 1347).
20 Pladevall i Font, “Dos grans bisbes,” 397.
21 Molina Figueras, “De genere militari,” 745. Only one of the following four bishops (between 1362 and 1408) was not from the chapter.
22 Marquès, “La Iglesia de Gerona,” 522. These were Gilabert de Cruïlles (1334-1335) and his nephew Berenguer de Cruïlles (1348-1362) and Arnau de Mont-rodon (1335-1348) and his nephew Bertran de Mont-rodon (1374-1384). As discussed on pages 10-11, the Cruïlles and Mont-rodon families were very closely linked with the chapter for a long period of time, and many members of each family belonged to the chapter over the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.
emissaries, and more. They and the bishop worked to fulfill their duties in the cathedral and in the city, carrying out tasks relating to both ecclesiastical and secular lordship.

In a number of situations, the bishop and chapter worked together to protect the holdings and jurisdiction of the Girona Church from outside intrusion; in such circumstances their interests clearly aligned. In addition to the situations discussed earlier, wherein the bishop and chapter worked to fend off encroachment, they also cooperated to manage the property already owned and controlled by the Girona Church. For example, the castle of Sant Sadurní de l’Heura, about twenty five kilometers west of Girona, formed part of the chapter patrimony as part of the holdings of the *pabordia* of July, but the canon-administrator was unable to maintain control over this land and its inhabitants. Many of the men and women who lived on chapter land in the vicinity of the castle refused to provide the services and rents they owed the chapter, thus refusing to fulfill the terms of their relationship. The bishop and chapter decided “that the said castle, with all that the canons of Girona possessed there, by reason of the said *pabordia*, will be united to the episcopal dignity and will be transferred to it with the right of dominion.”

Since this land was close to other episcopal holdings and castles, the bishop and chapter decided that the bishop would be better able to maintain control of the castle of Sant Sadurní. The document recording this exchange noted that they decided the bishop was more likely to “be able to restrain the wickedness of the said vassals and to protect the rights of the Church to this castle and these men,” since episcopal officials already supervised other episcopal tenants in the area and successfully collected rents and other fees owed to the bishop. In exchange, the bishop released land producing an equivalent income from the episcopal patrimony, which was joined to the *pabordia* of July. The bishop, the canon who managed the July *pabordia*, and the chapter agreed to this transaction, and the leading rebellious vassals agreed to make peace as well. By transferring these holdings to the bishop, the Girona ecclesiastical community was able to secure its control, making this land more functional and guaranteeing more income for

\[23\] “quod dictum castrum cum omni eo quod habet ibi canonica Gerundensis ratione dicte prepositure uniretur episcopali dignitati et in eam iure dominii transferetur.” Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 553.

\[24\] “fuerit dicti vassali maliciam cohibere et iura ecclesie in ipso castro et hominibus conservare.” Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 553.

\[25\] Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 555-557.
the Girona Church as a whole. This document shows how the bishop and chapter worked together to protect and consolidate Church holdings in the diocese. This kind of cooperation, based on mutual interest, was not unusual for bishops and cathedral chapters. In Cuenca, for instance, relations between the bishop and the chapter were normally peaceful, due to their desire for mutual assistance.26

The bishop and chapter conducted other mutually beneficial business as well, like the exchange of houses arranged in 1319. The bishop was in the process of improving and expanding the episcopal palace at the same time as the expansion of the cathedral. In order to move forward with this construction, he and the chapter arranged to exchange a capitular house directly east of the episcopal palace for a house the bishop owned in the cathedral district of the city. Because

the house, contiguous to the episcopal palace of Girona on the eastern side, that is one belonging to the canons of the Church of Girona, and that the venerable Bernat de Güell, archdeacon of la Selva and canon in the same Church now possesses, is very necessary for that palace, since it is very close to the said palace and [the palace] cannot be expanded from another side in any way.27

The chapter therefore gave this house to the bishop and received in return another house near the cathedral that had previously belonged to the cathedral almshouse, located near the main bread oven in this section of Girona. The archdeacon of la Selva took possession of this other house along with all its rights and possessions. The house near the oven thus became part of the chapter’s holdings and would be passed down and reassigned to other canons or to the successors of the archdeacon of la Selva. The bishop, the archdeacon, and the other canons of the chapter all signed off on this exchange, subscribing to this document to note their approval.28 By agreeing to this, the chapter made it possible for the bishop to proceed with the renovations to the episcopal palace, enhancing the prestige and public display of episcopal power within the city.

However, the canons could band together to protect the chapter in the face of episcopal challenges. Given the noble status of the canons and their place in the secular

26 Díaz-Ibáñez, *Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla*, 513. There were, of course, some conflicts, mainly due to economic and juridical concerns.
27 “hospicium palacio episcopali Gerundense a parte videlicet orientis contiguum, quod est unus ex canonicis ecclesia Gerundensis et quod nunc possidet venerabilis Bernardus de Godello, archidiaconus de Silva tamquam canonicus in eadem, esse multum necessarium ipsi palacio, cum sit valde strictum dictum palacium nec possit ex alia parte modo aliquo ampliari.” Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 575.
28 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, *Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles*, 577-578.
and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the diocese, they were a powerful, privileged group who lived like lords and sought to maintain their autonomy. They were clearly distinguishable from the other clergy of the diocese because of their backgrounds but also because of the privileges they enjoyed due to their position in the chapter, such as owning property as individuals and making testaments freely, and disposing of their personal holdings and wealth as they pleased. This influenced the canons to see themselves as powerful men and to protect their authority and autonomy from the bishop.

A 1313 Girona statute serves as a good example of this. The chapter came to acquire the sole rights to the most valuable chaplaincies of the diocese, as recorded in a statute preserved in one of the chapter’s cartularies. It detailed how some members of the chapter were unable to properly provide hospitality since their income was not high enough, something very problematic given that hospitality was very important for canons to practice. In order to augment their income and make this possible, Bishop Guillem de Vilamari and the chapter ordained that no chaplaincy without care of souls, which should belong to the collation of the bishop of Girona, and which exceeds the annual worth of 150 Barcelona sous in income, ought to be conferred or are able to be conferred on anyone other than canons, priests, or clerics of the chapter of the Church of Girona. Any chaplaincy with income below this amount could be granted to anyone, whether part of the chapter or not. Additionally, all chaplaincies collated by any member of the chapter with an annual income over 100 sous could only be conferred on canons, priests, or clerics of the chapter as well, thus completely reserving the most valuable chaplaincies for those connected to the chapter. This guaranteed extra income for those who received these collations so they could maintain an appropriate standard of living and hospitality. The bishop and chapter swore to uphold this agreement, promising to confer these chaplaincies as specified and noting that all canons, priests, and clerics of the chapter.

30 “statuimus et ordinamus quod nulla capellania sine cura que ad collationem pertineat et que valorem annuum centum quinquaginta solidorum barchinonensium de terno in redditibus excedat, conferatur vel possit conferri alicui, nisi solummodo canonicos, presbiteris, vel clericis de capitulo ecclesie Gerundensis.” Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 448-449. Episcopal collation of chaplaincies meant that the bishop had the power to nominate the holder. The collation for specific chaplaincies could fall to the bishop or to specific dignities within the chapter, so a certain archdeacon would hold the collation to a set list of chaplaincies, meaning he selected who held those chaplaincies.
would have to swear similarly upon joining the chapter. Even though these offices still fell to episcopal collation, they (and their income) could only go to those from the chapter, thus limiting the bishop’s power of choice.

The chapter sought to further control conferrals of chaplaincies and benefices two years later, arguing that part of the 1313 concession was not licit and should be revoked. They took their case to the archbishop of Tarragona and won, asserting their communal power. Canons Hug de Cardona and Pere de Rocaberti represented the chapter’s interests in this matter, appealing to the archbishop, Guillem de Rocaberti, Pere’s brother. The canons asserted that the concession granted by the bishop to the chapter, that he could confer all benefices belonging to the chaplaincies with less than 150 sous in annual income, was not valid. They maintained that the collation of these benefices should belong to the holders of the chaplaincies, not to the bishop. Moreover, this concession was not valid both because it had not been properly discussed in chapter and because all those affected by this concession had not been summoned to discuss the matter and were not present when it was ratified. The bishop countered by maintaining that this concession was indeed valid, given that it had been discussed and agreed to at the annual general chapter, when the chapter tended to its communal business. Also, the bishop argued that those within the chapter, including Hug de Cardona and Pere de Rocaberti, had agreed to the earlier concession and failed to register any concerns. However, based on the letters and other information he received about the case, the archbishop sided with the canons, deciding that the concession was invalid because not all those affected by the concession were present at its ratification. In winning this case, the chapter was able to limit episcopal powers and retain the possibility of holding the power of collation for these additional benefices.

The canons also challenged the bishop’s authority over them directly, including his power to punish delinquent canons and his ability to call chapter meetings. Another 1313 statute recorded the final agreement between Bishop Guillem and the chapter on this matter, again restricting episcopal power in the face of the united cathedral chapter.

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31 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 449.
32 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 503-504.
The statute mentioned that, during the episcopate of Bernat de Vilamari from 1292 to 1312,

there was a contention between Bernat, lord bishop of Girona, of blessed memory, on one hand, and the venerable chapter of Girona on the other, about the method of punishing crimes and excesses which are committed by members of the aforementioned chapter or by a particular one of them, with the bishop saying that he was able to punish these aforementioned crimes and excesses, and to proceed against these men without the chapter asking for this, but the aforementioned chapter asserted the contrary and saying that in seeking or punishing the aforementioned crimes or excesses, the bishop was not able to start proceedings without the consent and will of the aforementioned chapter.  

Bishop Bernat also had asserted that he had the right to convocate the chapter in the cathedral or in the episcopal palace, as he wished, while the chapter said he could only call a chapter meeting in the cathedral. These issues reflected a struggle for control; the chapter asserted its independence, arguing that it could not be called to the bishop’s residence and that the bishop needed its agreement to investigate and punish chapter members, while the bishop attempted to assert his position as the ‘leader’ of the chapter who could thus intervene at will. Bishop Guillem and the chapter reached an agreement in 1313, wherein the bishop could investigate or open proceedings against a canon only if the canon was accused or denounced by another member of the chapter, or if the bishop had counsel and consent from the chapter. He was able to convocate the chapter in the episcopal palace, given that this practice was customary and long-standing, but only if there were no laypeople present in the episcopal palace at that time. The canons were able to codify important concessions from the bishop here, asserting their autonomy and protecting their community from his encroachment in regard to what they considered the internal matter of chapter discipline. Although they were still required to go to chapter meetings convoked at the episcopal palace, they were able to protect the privacy of matters discussed there by banning any laypeople from the episcopal palace at that time, showing some success in challenging the bishop to protect their self-governance.

33 “contentio esset inter boni memorie dominum Bernardum Gerundensem episcopum ex una parte et venerabile capitulum Gerundense ex altera super modo puniendi crimina et excessus que comitterentur per illos de capitulo supradicto seu aliquem eorundem, dicto domino episcopo dicente quod ipse crimina et excessus predicta punire poterat, ac in eisdem procedere irrequisito capitulo, supradicto ipso capitulo contrarium asserente ac dicente quod in requiringo vel puniendo predicta crimina seu excessus procedere non poterat sine consensu et voluntate capituli supradicti…” Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 468-469.

34 Marquès, de Puig i Oliver, and Serrat i Torrent, Cartoral de Rubriques Vermelles, 469-470.
The chapter of Vic also worked to assert its authority in the face of episcopal challenges. The Vic chapter, which also contained a number of aristocratic and knightly canons, refused to submit to episcopal control and accused the bishop of Vic of misconduct, denouncing him to the pope.\textsuperscript{35} Through tradition and their ties to important local families, the canons were, at times, largely independent of episcopal control.\textsuperscript{36} This kind of conflict occurred in Valencia as well, given that within two years of the reconquest of Valencia, the cathedral chapter had the ability to pass its own laws and act under its own seal. Because of this juridical power, the chapter could clash with the bishop over jurisdiction, mainly due to competition for revenue.\textsuperscript{37} Further afield in León, the cathedral chapter also tried to restrict episcopal power in order to enhance its own, acting as a fully independent corporation by the fourteenth century.\textsuperscript{38} This type of interaction was, of course, not confined to Iberia. Cathedral chapters in England also sought to control their own affairs and property without episcopal intervention and to challenge episcopal control. Due to the frequent absences of medieval English bishops from their cathedrals, chapters developed their own customs about allowing bishops to attend or speak at chapter meetings. They also limited when a bishop could intervene in chapter affairs, generally restricting this to instances when canons broke diocesan statutes or when the chapter asked for episcopal assistance on a matter it could not resolve internally.\textsuperscript{39} The chapters’ evolution towards firmer statements of independence tended to come in response to challenges to their authority, often from their bishop, and most English chapters had their own estates, administration, and officials by the twelfth century.\textsuperscript{40} Cathedral chapters could clearly think of themselves as corporate bodies independent from the bishop and assert their autonomy in the face of episcopal encroachment.

\textsuperscript{35} Freedman, \textit{The Diocese of Vic}, 143-144.  
\textsuperscript{36} Freedman, \textit{The Diocese of Vic}, 40.  
\textsuperscript{37} Burns, “The Chapter of Valencia,” 14, 19. The Cuenca chapter also sought to firmly separate its economic holdings from the bishop’s, seeking to limit his ability to intrude on its capitular mensa. The chapter complained multiple times in the 1360s that episcopal mismanagement was damaging to cathedral funds, explaining its desire to separate its funds from the bishop’s. See Díaz-Ibañez, \textit{Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla}, 514.  
\textsuperscript{38} Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, \textit{La organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés}, 53.  
\textsuperscript{39} Edwards, \textit{English Secular Cathedrals}, 99, 106, 125.  
\textsuperscript{40} Lepine, \textit{A Brotherhood of Canons}, 184.
Relations with the King and his royal officials

Relations between the bishop and chapter of Girona and the king of Aragon appear mainly to have been peaceful, and that disputes that arose tended to do so over issues of jurisdiction. The king, as the highest secular authority, asserted the supremacy of his jurisdiction over the lands and inhabitants of the Crown of Aragon, while the bishop and chapter tried to protect and preserve ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The two parties conducted many peaceful transactions though, like the 1321 agreement about criminal jurisdiction over the town of Ullà, about thirty kilometers west of Girona. Although the king insisted that he and his successors retained absolute control (mero imperio), he recognized that the bishop and the chapter held some of this jurisdiction as part of their seigniorial lordship over land in the region. Their representatives could capture malefactors in the town and parish of Ullà, hold them in jail, interrogate them, and punish, ban, or fine them. A notarial document preserving the agreement between King Jaume II and Bishop Pere and the chapter recorded the promise of the bishop and chapter not to impede royal officials in any way while they were exercising royal jurisdiction on behalf of the king, in meting out penalties or fines. This agreement showed that the two sides could share jurisdiction, working together to manage the criminal jurisdiction over this town. They also bought and sold property from each other, as recorded in a notarial document detailing the 1323 sale by King Jaume II of the castle of Pals, with all its rights, holdings, and feudal vassals. This purchase enlarged the chapter’s seigniorial holdings, adding to the capitular mensa. It would then receive any income associated with the castle and its feudal vassals and loyalty and service from the vassals.

But, in other situations, these two parties clashed regarding jurisdiction, with the king generally trying to extend his jurisdiction while the bishop and chapter wanted to protect theirs. A year after the 1321 agreement concerning Ullà, a notarial document

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41 ADG Notularum G-3, 92r-v (23 Sept. 1321).
42 ADG Notularum G-4, fol. 8r-v (29 March 1323).
records the appointment of a procurator to travel to Tarragona and appeal to the archbishop to intervene with the king on behalf of the bishop and chapter, since the king and his royal officials in Girona and Besalù were “using [their] jurisdiction against some people living in places, the jurisdiction of which the bishop asserted to belong to himself or to other ecclesiastical persons.” The bishop and chapter wanted the archbishop to remind the king that this was “prejudicial and injurious to spiritual jurisdiction and ecclesiastical liberty.” They instructed their procurator to ask the archbishop to convoke a provincial council to remedy this issue and show just how problematic this royal encroachment was and would continue to be if the king did not stop interfering. They also appointed two men from the chapter as special procurators to require the lord king and to beseech him that he ought to revoke the injuries and troubles caused or inflicted by him or by his officials upon the Church of Girona and its prelates and other ecclesiastical people of the Church and diocese of Girona, and their men, as much regarding jurisdiction as other matters.

Protecting ecclesiastical jurisdiction would have been a major priority for the bishop and chapter, since it entailed safeguarding their hold over land and vassals, and thus protecting their income. Canons in other locations in Iberia had similar problems, like the canons in León who had to cooperate with the bishop in order to maintain privileges, immunities, and jurisdiction over possessions and vassals in the face of challenges from other, higher authorities like the king and the pope.

The 1331 Girona Holy Week Riot

Another noteworthy flashpoint of conflict between the cathedral community and secular authorities was the 1331 Holy Week riot. During this liturgically-significant

43 “uterentur iurisdictione contra non nullos degentes in locis quorum iurisdictionem ipso episcopo uel alia ecclesiastica persona sibi asseret pertinere…” ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 127r (20 Apr. 1322).
44 “in preiudicium et lesionem spiritualis iurisdictionis et ecclesiastice libertatis.” ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 127r (20 Apr. 1322).
45 ADG G-3, fol. 127v.
46 “ad requirendum ipsum dominum Regem ac supplicantum eidem ut injurias et grauamina per eum seu per officiales eiusdem factas seu illatas ipsi Ecclesie Gerundensis et prelatis et aliiis personis ecclesiasticis ipsius ecclesie et diocese Gerundensis ac hominibus eorumdem, tam in iurisdictione quam in aliis debeat reuocare.” ADG Notularum G-4, fol. 91v (17 Feb. 1324).
47 Nicolas Crispin, Bautista Bautista, and García García, La Organización del cabildo catedralicio leonés, 301.
week, the canons and clerics of the chapter carried out their celebration of the Divine Office, but many also participated in a violent confrontation with royal officials and Girona citizens after being caught throwing rocks at the walls of the call, or Jewish quarter. After the royal officials confronted them, the clerics and canons turned their aggression against the officials, throwing more rocks, brandishing weapons, and shouting threats. There are two major sources describing these events that provide very different interpretations of the riot. The first is a royal inquest into the riot, ordered by King Alfons III, which heard testimony from over thirty witnesses, including lay officials such as the battle and sotsveguer, in addition to other minor officials and Girona citizens. This testimony identified clerics, students, squires, and two cathedral canons as the aggressors who threw rocks at the Jewish quarter, threatened the royal officials who tried to stop them, and started a riot to further attack the royal officials. The second main source is a lawsuit brought by the Girona chapter against the royal officials for invading the cathedral, and this lawsuit heard testimony from canons and priests of the chapter. This lawsuit recast the conflict, accusing the Jews of being free within the city and displaying weapons to flaunt their disobedience and painting the royal officials as the aggressors. It accused the officials of breaking into and throwing rocks inside the cathedral itself. The perspective of the witnesses necessarily informed their testimony, as each group presented a narrative that blamed the other for starting and escalating the conflict.

David Nirenberg saw this activity as “ritualized aggression,” with clerical actors using weapons, insults, and aggression to display their willingness to act violently, but this action normally remained within unspoken boundaries. He concluded that clerics thought of themselves as enforcing the purity of Holy Week by forcing the Jews to remain locked away in the call, with the events as a whole representative of a ritual

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48 I will discuss the behavior of the participating canons in more detail in the following chapter as part of a larger examination of violence perpetrated by cathedral canons, in connection to values and activities of the noble world into which these canons were born.

49 It is impossible to determine which is the “true” version of events. Certain elements are present in both the inquiry and the lawsuit, such as the dispute over whether or not the gate to the call was properly closed, the physical confrontation between the royal officials and the chapter, and the various locations of fighting around the cathedral. It is unsurprising that each side blamed the other, but for the purposes of this analysis, it is more important to examine how each side viewed and described this conflict rather than trying to determine the exact sequence of events.

paradigm for continued Christian toleration of Jews but with a reminder of Jewish inferiority in the world.\footnote{David Nirenberg, \textit{Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 201.} He has found incidents of Holy Week violence in at least eleven towns in the Crown of Aragon in the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, noting that it was normal for Jews to hire guards to protect the Jewish community from attack during this week. In other Holy Week incidents elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon, clerics clashed with Jews even in situations where the Jews were locked into the \textit{call}. For example, in 1335 in Barcelona, tonsured and lay members of the household of the archdeacon of Lleida dug a tunnel from a house near the walls of the Jewish quarter that led into the \textit{call} itself. On the day before Easter, they burst out of the tunnel and broke into a synagogue, attacking a Jew inside, destroying lamps, and removing Torah scrolls from a cabinet. They also entered a nearby home and robbed the inhabitants. Although the Jews raised the hue and cry, no royal official came to their assistance.\footnote{Nirenberg, \textit{Communities of Violence}, 204-205, 213.} This interpretation suggested that any anti-Jewish sentiment motivating the behavior of canons and clerics was based on confessional identity rather than on any particular conflict between the Girona chapter and the Girona Jewish community. Nirenberg also pointed to the importance of ties between Jews and royal government and noted that stoning the Jewish quarter should also be seen as an attack on royal power and majesty and representative of clerical anger at royal officials’ interference in their Holy Week activity.\footnote{Nirenberg, \textit{Communities of Violence}, 221-222. It was indeed more common to attack the king’s officials than the king himself, due to the idea that the king’s power and position were divinely sanctioned. He does discuss a 1322 incident in Valencia in which the \textit{sagiones} of the criminal justice stood outside the episcopal palace and rallied a crowd to attack the cathedral community, killing and injuring a number of the bishop’s men. This dispute, he said, shows the possible role that disputes between ecclesiastical elites and royal officials could play in Holy Week violence, something I see as important in the Girona Holy Week riot. See \textit{Communities of Violence}, 223.}

But, in looking more closely at the local circumstances in Girona, there seems to have been more friction between the cathedral community and the royal officials than with the king himself or the Jews. As discussed in Chapter One, many of the canons’ families had close ties to the monarchy either through personal service as councilors, ambassadors, or participants in royal expeditions. Of course, some Holy Week violence did indeed suggest or show criticism of the king, but this interpretation cannot be
universally applied to all Holy Week riots without a closer examination.\textsuperscript{54} In fact, during the 1331 Holy Week riot itself, citizens who intervened portrayed this incident as a conflict between the secular royal officials and the clerical community, lamenting the clerics’ treatment of the officials’ court.\textsuperscript{55} The officials most heavily involved, the secular royal officials including the veguer (vicar) and the battle (bailiff), represented royal power within Girona; their activity centered on their court, run by an administration composed of royal agents.\textsuperscript{56} They were laymen who maintained the king’s jurisdiction in the city and worked to defend royal interests and the patrimony, which included the Girona Jewish community. The veguer was a royal judicial official posted in Girona who exercised a number of royal rights within the city: maintaining public order, granting and enforcing safe conducts, directing the royal military, overseeing the administration of royal justice, and more.\textsuperscript{57} Vegueries were administrative divisions, based on subdivisions of the Catalan counties. These divisions were often centered on cities or towns and could change over time. The battle was charged with defending the patrimonial interests of the king as well as exercising civil and criminal jurisdiction. In the first half of the fourteenth century, the majority of them were knights. They were mainly from outside the city, although some Gironese citizens served as veguers. Sotsveguers, who assisted the veguers with their duties, were more likely to be from Girona itself, drawn from among the prominent families of the city.\textsuperscript{58} Before 1330, battles could either be a Girona citizen or a man from outside the diocese, such as a member of the royal entourage who received this position as a reward for loyal service. However, from 1331 on, this position was reserved for Gironese citizens from five specific families, none of which was represented in the cathedral chapter.\textsuperscript{59} Generally, the royal officials, therefore, came from a different segment of the population than the cathedral canons. As a group of noble men from elite

\textsuperscript{54} See, for example, Mark Meyerson, \textit{Jews in an Iberian Frontier Kingdom: society, economy, and politics in Morvedre, 1248-1391} (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 63-67, in which he discussed links between Holy Week violence in the early 1280s to the rebellion of the Union against the monarchy and its use of Jewish battles.\textsuperscript{55} Nirenberg, \textit{Communities of Violence}, 222.\textsuperscript{56} Different groups constituted different bases of power within the city, including the ecclesiastical hierarchy, royal officials, and municipal officials, and each group drew its members mainly from separate segments of society. See Guilleré, \textit{Girona medieval}, 38-40.\textsuperscript{57} See Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, vol. 1, 130-131, 137.\textsuperscript{58} For a table listing the veguers from 1308-1408, see Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, vol. 1, 132-133.\textsuperscript{59} Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, vol. 1, 137, 140. For a table of the battles from 1304 to 1403, see Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, vol. 1, 133-134. Even the royal officials who were cavallers were from the knightly, or lesser, nobility, below the status of the noble canons.
families, the canons’ understanding of their own power and prestige within the diocese encouraged them to view themselves as at the top of the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the region and to resist any outside encroachment. The clash with local lay officials, then, was informed by a number of tensions inherent in the canons’ position as clergy of noble origin who challenged the preeminence of the jurisdiction of the royal and municipal government.

In the course of the events of the Holy Week riot, members of the cathedral community clashed repeatedly with royal officials, which is indicative of a larger conflict between ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Girona, the two major sources of power within the city. A large part of this was the conflict over space, with canons and clerics acting to defend perceived encroachment on the cathedral itself, the source and symbol of their power within the city. On the other hand, the royal battle and veguer were also trying to protect the Jewish quarter, as royal property, and assert the supremacy of royal power by threatening the prestige of the cathedral community within the city.

The royal inquest heard testimony from over thirty witnesses, including a number of royal officials, but it did not include any testimony from canons, clerics, or any other member of the cathedral community.60 The Girona battle, Berenguer de Bas, testified that on Holy Thursday, he and a number of men from his retinue were patrolling the area around the Jewish call, including the part facing the cathedral, in order to ensure that nobody disturbed the Jews. While on patrol, they saw some clerics and students hanging around, throwing rocks at the walls and gate to the call. The officials and clerics clashed over whether or not the gate to the call was properly closed so as to prevent the Jews from being free in the city during the Christian Holy Week. The clerics said that they had seen that the gate was open, while the royal officials stated that it was indeed closed. Both secular and ecclesiastical law mandated strict enclosure for Jews during Holy Week, requiring them to remain within the call with the gate locked, firmly separating Christians and Jews during the week before Easter.61 This requirement was also designed to protect the Jewish community, as specified in a 1285 privilege granted by King Pere III to the

60 José M. Millás Vallicrosa and Luis Batlle Prats, “Un alboroto contra el call de Gerona en el año 1331,” Sefarad 12:2 (1952), 298. On May 15, King Alfons ordered his councillor (also the battle general of Catalonia) and a jurist from Besalú to begin an inquiry into these events.

Girona Jewish community that prohibited them from leaving the *call* from the Wednesday of Holy Week to Easter Monday. The canons and clerics fled inside the cathedral and into the cathedral cemetery, where they began to throw rocks and shout directly at the royal officials who then tried to plead with other members of the chapter to intercede and resolve the conflict. From among the attackers, the *battle* recognized two cathedral canons, Vidal de Villanova and Dalmau de Mont.

Some clerics then left the cemetery to directly confront the royal officials with their weapons, and a squire of one of the canons struck Bonanat Tornavells, a citizen, on the head with the handle of his knife. After receiving this blow, the citizen, along with an official from the *battle’s* court, dashed away from the chaotic scene and into the house of Pons Albert, a cleric of the cathedral. Villanova and Mont, the two canons who directly participated in the riot, followed their opponents there and approached the door as Villanova, brandishing his knife, repeatedly threatened to stab them. Only the intervention of one of the ranking cathedral dignitaries, Hug de Cruïlles, the abbot of Sant Feliu, allowed the two laymen to flee, as Cruïlles held Villanova back and physically restrained him. The two laymen quickly left the cathedral area of the city and rejoined their group at the *battle’s* court, where the rest of the men had retreated when it was clear they were outnumbered. After gathering reinforcements, the *battle* and his men, other laymen who worked for the court of the royal officials, returned to the area between the cathedral and the *call* where another fight broke out between the royal officials of the city and the clerics. After this brief skirmish, which included more rock throwing and threats, the officials retreated again and the clerics locked themselves inside the cathedral. The majority of this conflict, then, was between the cathedral community and the royal officials, rather than between the clerics and the Jews. The municipal officials and other

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63 Testimony of Berenguer de Bas, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 315. This inquest was not focused primarily on the actions of the two canons in particular, rather it was focused on investigating the events of the whole. In light of Nirenberg’s assertion that participation by cathedral canons was atypical for these events, I have focused in particular on their role in the riot, in addition to the actions of other canons as bystanders and witnesses.
64 Testimony of Bonanat Tornavells, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats “Alboroto,” 318. From his testimony, Bonanat seems to have been a witness or observer to the conflict, rather than a part of the *battle’s* retinue.
65 Testimony of Bernat Portell, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 324.
citizens only joined the royal officials later, after the royal officials’ initial retreat and return to the conflict that kicked off the second phase of shouting and fighting.

Although the beginning of the action was directed at the walls and gate of the Jewish quarter, the clash shifted very quickly and the threats and violence were directed not at the Jews themselves, who were largely absent from the events as described in this inquest, but at the royal officials. Witnesses made no mention of Jews participating in any of the skirmishes, and no further violence was reported for Saturday or Sunday. In fact, direct references to the locations and actions of the Jews during the riot itself are scarce. In the royal inquiry, most witnesses testified about attacks on the gates and walls to the call but provided little to no information about the Jews themselves. One witness mentioned that the battle had received a report “that the Jews of the said call were being attacked and assaulted by clerics of the aforementioned See and their squires,” suggesting that the Jews were inside the call and this onslaught was part of the wider attack on the call itself.66 The battle then gathered his men and reminded the veguer and sotsveguer that he required them to act “on behalf of the Lord King, and help him to defend the Jews and their possessions.”67 Guillem Morell and Bernat Portell, officials from the battle’s court, all testified that they were patrolling the cathedral precinct on Holy Thursday as part of their duty to guard the Jews when they saw a group of clerics and students throwing rocks at the call. Once the officials confronted the clerical assailants, the latter immediately shifted their focus and threw rocks at the officials, transferring their aggression to this new target.68 Throughout the rest of the conflict, the clerics fought with the officials and did not direct any further attention to the Jews or to the call.

Citizens of Girona portrayed and understood this as a conflict between royal officials and clerics, who represented two major sources of power within the city. The veguer in 1331 was Pere de Cornellà, described as a knight (miles or cavaller) rather than as a citizen (civis or ciutadà). It is very likely that he is the same Pere de Cornellà, knight, who appears elsewhere in documents of the same time and who was the brother of Guillem and Bernat de Cornellà and the uncle of Arnau de Cornellà, all members of the

67 “‘de part del senyor Rey, quem ajudets a defendre los jueus e lurs bens.’” Quoted in the testimony of sotsveguer Jaume Deuslofeu, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 326.
68 Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 318, 324.
Girona chapter during this period.\textsuperscript{69} Pere did not mention these connections in his testimony, but that of course does not preclude this possibility. During the riot itself, Pere, as the veguer, was not among the main opponents of the clerical combatants. Rather, the battle seemed to fill this role as the leader of the party out on patrol that first witnessed the clerics throwing rocks. Pere joined the group after they first retreated to the officials’ court, later returning with them to help guard the call against further attacks. In his own testimony during the royal inquiry, Pere described witnessing a group of clerics throwing rocks from the cathedral cemetery and identified by name the two canons he recognized as part of this group. He did not mention participating in any direct conflict with the canons and clerics, suggesting he played a more passive role than some other officials and citizens who engaged their opponents in verbal and physical altercations.\textsuperscript{70}

Bernat de Bas, the battle, testified that while some clerics were throwing rocks from the cemetery, Pere, the veguer, approached another group of clerics, urging them to convince their colleagues to cease throwing rocks and refrain from causing any further injuries, but they failed to come to an agreement.\textsuperscript{71} Pere also tried to speak with the archdeacon of Girona and other canons but failed to achieve a resolution.\textsuperscript{72} He was the only royal official who attempted to resolve the dispute in this way, by approaching and speaking with the clerics rather than shouting and brandishing his weapon. Pere’s unique position of being connected to each side, through familial ties and his role as veguer, may have encouraged him to function as a mediator, attempting to negotiate rather than resorting to threats and violence to end the conflict.

In the testimony given during the royal inquest, a number of witnesses directly identified Vidal de Villanova and Dalmau de Mont as active participants and instigators of much of the conflict. It is, however, more difficult to construct a clear picture of the behavior of the rest of the chapter during the riot. Bernat de Bas, the battle, testified that

\textsuperscript{69} None of the Cornellà canons actively participated in the 1331 Holy Week riot. For Pere’s oath as the new veguer, see ADG Notularum G-7, fol. 23r-v (21 Feb. 1330). He maintained ties to his brothers after they joined the chapter, selling Guillem a portion of a tithe in three towns in the diocese for 8,500 sous; see ADG Dotalies de Fundacions de la Seu D-2, fol. 176v-177r (8 Dec. 1325). Pere and his son sold another portion of this tithe to Guillem’s executors almost twenty years later; ADG D-2, fol. 177r-178v (14 Oct. 1342).

\textsuperscript{70} ADG Processos Medievals 119, fol. 21r-v.

\textsuperscript{71} Testimony of Bernat de Bas, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 315.

\textsuperscript{72} Testimony of Berenguer Foxa, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 322.
at one point during a break in the conflict, a number of canons refused to negotiate with the *veguer* because they were busy holding chapter.\(^{73}\) A number of minor officials from the retinue of the *battle* testified to seeing the *veguer, sotsveguer, battle*, and other men entering the home of Jaspert Folcrandi, the second sacristan of the cathedral, in order to flee from the clerics throwing rocks at them. Once inside, they conferred about what to do and chose to retreat, returning to the court of the *battle*. None of the witnesses specifically mentioned Folcrandi being present at his home during this temporary conference. More likely, the officials dashed inside to escape the rocks, given that this house was in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral.\(^{74}\)

The only major involvement of another member of the chapter, as mentioned above, was when Hug de Cruïlles, the abbot of Sant Feliu, physically restrained Vidal de Villanova to stop him from attacking two royal officials with the knife he was brandishing. These scattered references hint that the other members of the chapter, besides Vidal de Villanova and Dalmau de Mont, were mainly observers of the conflict who intervened only to limit violence directly perpetrated by their two colleagues but otherwise stayed out of the fray.\(^ {75}\) Clerics and squires from the households of archdeacons and canons, though, formed the bulk of the clerical band of combatants, and it is significant that the chapter authorities did not immediately attempt to restrain the aggression of their subordinates, instead seemingly allowing the riot to take its course, sheltering the participants in the cathedral as they ran from the royal officials and, later, deflecting the blame for the event itself.

In two previous Holy Week rock-throwing incidents, it is similarly difficult to reconstruct the actions of the chapter members. In 1278, the bishop heard a complaint about clerics throwing stones from the cathedral belfry, damaging Jewish vineyards and

\(^{73}\) Testimony of Bernat de Bas, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “*Un alboroto,*” 315. This statement seemed to support the assertion (discussed later in this chapter) that the chapter was celebrating Vespers in the cathedral when the tumult began, and that they would not engage in discussion with the royal authorities during this kind of disruption to their Offices.

\(^{74}\) Testimony of Guillem Morell, Millàs Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “*Un alboroto,*” 319-320.

\(^{75}\) Villanova and Mont did not hold any of the dignitary offices in the chapter. Their position in the chapter would not necessarily have prevented other canons from intervening, since they were not senior canons, and their actions seem to have met with at least tacit approval from the rest of the chapter, given that other canons or dignitaries did not immediately intervene.
gardens.\textsuperscript{76} Then, in 1302, an inquest was held after a Christian boy was killed when a rock from a young cleric’s slingshot hit him in the head. Two witnesses testified that this practice of throwing rocks at the Jewish quarter during Holy Week was customary in Girona, Barcelona, Valencia, and other cities, and had been for at least thirty years. Berenguer de Riera, a Girona citizen, explained that in the thirty years he had lived in Girona, it was common for students and adolescents ("scolares et adolescentes") to throw rocks at the Jewish \textit{call} in remembrance of the Passion and for laypeople to join them in this activity.\textsuperscript{77} The letter and the court proceedings that record these incidents referred to the participants as clerics, students, and adolescents ("clerici, scolares, et adolescentes") and did not denote their ecclesiastical rank with any specificity, but this, of course, does not preclude the possibility that cathedral canons were among those involved.\textsuperscript{78}

The other main source for this conflict, a lawsuit brought by the chapter against the royal officials of the city, contains testimony from six witnesses connected to the chapter, including two archdeacons, the abbot of Sant Feliu, a priest of the chapter, and a cleric of the cathedral. It was clearly intended to present a uniform description of events that starkly contradicted the account from the royal inquiry. This version shifted the blame away from the cathedral chapter and clerics and directly onto the royal officials, citizens, and Jews, and showed how members of the chapter and the wider cathedral community worked together to intentionally reframe the narrative of these events to protect their two fellow canons who participated in the armed conflict. This alternative version showed how those associated with the chapter interpreted the events of Holy Thursday 1331: they perceived the efforts of the royal officials as a direct threat to the chapter’s duties, honor, and position within the city, prompting chapter members to react in defense.


\textsuperscript{77} ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 120, fol. 3r, 3v-4r.

\textsuperscript{78} A number of witnesses in the 1302 proceedings also testified that laymen were involved in this incident, throwing rocks at the \textit{call} together with the clerics and students. But, the 1278 incident is known through a royal letter, and it isn’t surprising that the king just refers to “clerics” as perpetrators of the incident. This does not necessarily mean that canons were not involved, but it is impossible to know. “Clerics” could refer to young clerics living in the households of the canons, priests of the chapter, other clerics benefited in the cathedral, or to the canons themselves, or perhaps even to parish priests or the personnel of other religious institutions in Girona. It seems more like a catch-all term to refer to men from the ecclesiastical community.
The bishop named Francesc de Guiniano, a Girona jurist, to hear testimony and evaluate the chapter’s lawsuit. Ramon de Santapau, archdeacon of Girona, testified first. He said that while the chapter was in the choir of the cathedral celebrating Vespers, they heard a great tumult outside. Upon exiting the cathedral to investigate, they saw the sotsveguer standing armed outside the doors of the cathedral with two other men from the battle’s court, all of whom had weapons and looked to be ready to invade the cathedral, with a larger group not far behind. Santapau admitted that some clerics and squires had weapons, including knives and daggers, but only for the purpose of defending the cathedral and preventing the royal officials from invading it. As some clerics fled to the cathedral cemetery, some from among the group of officials and citizens threw rocks at them, and more came right up to the doors of the cathedral and attempted to enter. Next, Santapau testified, the laymen went to the gate of the call, started a fire, and threw rocks at the gate. This account clearly reflected an alternative interpretation of events, depicting the royal officials as the aggressors and villains who attacked the cathedral itself, the group of clerics fleeing the initial melee, and the walls and gates of the Jewish quarter.

The rest of the testimony provided more details. Hug de Cruïlles, a canon of the chapter and the abbot of the collegiate church of Sant Feliu, testified that the armed royal officials interrupted Vespers, but also that he himself was struck by stones the armed mob had thrown at the group of canons and clerics inside the cathedral itself. He heard shouts and other loud noises as the crowd outside the cathedral grew, leading the clerics to close the cathedral doors and shut themselves inside. As the crowd continued to grow, some clerics and squires moved to the cemetery to defend themselves and the cathedral, but rocks thrown by the crowd also struck them. Cruïlles added that he heard that during the confusion, many Jews came to the gate of the call that was nearest to the cathedral armed with knives and swords and some even left the call, breaking the strict requirement of enclosure. Bernat de Balbs, priest of the chapter, testified to confirm this version but added that on the following day, he observed from the window of his room some laypeople throwing rocks at the gate of the call. No clerics, squires of clerics, or anyone

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79 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 1v-2r.
80 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 2v-3r.
else from the cathedral was present. Additionally, like Cruïlles, he had heard that the Jews left the call on Thursday, openly displaying their weapons and loitering near the open gates.  

Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, was ill on that Thursday and therefore unable to attend services in the cathedral, but he witnessed the events from a window in his home. His version even more strongly blamed the royal officials, as he said he saw the battle and many members of his retinue come armed to the cathedral and deliberately interrupt Vespers by invading the cathedral, while some men remained outside and threw stones at the cathedral itself. This caused such a disturbance that the chapter had immediately to stop the service and was unable to recite the rest of the day’s Offices as well. Like the previous witness, he also saw on Friday a group of laypeople throwing rocks at the gates of the Jewish quarter. The final witness, precentor Berenguer de Pau, gave a similar account but added “that he had never in all the time of his life seen such injury and trouble from any official of the lord king.” The chapter would have perceived this type of attack, the throwing of rocks at the cathedral, as particularly insulting given that it reversed traditional Holy Week practices from the throwing of rocks at the Jewish call to the throwing of rocks at the cathedral itself. In addition, the precentor also mentioned that he heard that the battle himself gave the Jews license to leave the gate to the call open. This lawsuit clearly showed the members of the chapter presenting a united front, deliberately trying to record their version of events as the official version. In this alternative account, the royal officials attacked the chapter, the cathedral itself, and the members and property of the cathedral community, showing how the chapter firmly placed the guilt for starting the riot on the royal officials’ shoulders.

The image of the Jews presented in the chapter’s lawsuit contrasted starkly with that from the royal inquiry. In the testimony of the royal officials and Girona citizens, the Jews were rarely mentioned and were not depicted as meaningful actors or participants in the conflict in any way. However, in the chapter’s lawsuit, the witnesses described the

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81 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 3v.
82 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 3v-4r.
83 “dixit etiam ipse testis quod numquam toto tempore uite sue uidit per aliquem officialem domini regis tantam inuriam seu molestiam...” ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 4v.
84 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 5r.
Jews as instigators of much of the trouble and active participants in the conflict. The archdeacon of Empúries testified that he heard from other people that some Jews, while bearing arms, had left the call through the gate facing the cathedral steps, since it had been left open. The cathedral precentor also testified to this, stating that the battle had left the gate to the call open because the Jews had paid him to do so, in further violation of both ecclesiastical and secular laws requiring Jews to remain within the call during Holy Week. Additionally, the precentor stated that he had heard that the Jews had hung around near the open gate, displaying and brandishing their weapons. In this version of events, the Jews were not passive victims of clerical aggression but were themselves active in flaunting their disobedience. They colluded with the royal officials to challenge the canons, brandishing weapons and loitering near the open gate, making them an aggressive group who contravened Holy Week rules rather than a defenseless group victimized by clerical aggression.

The version of events presented in the chapter’s lawsuit against the royal officials reflected the canons’ interpretation of the events of Holy Thursday as an attack on their dominion over the cathedral and its immediate environs that required the cathedral community to retaliate. Aggression and violence, then, were tools Villanova and Mont used during this direct confrontation. In this version, by attempting to breach the physical boundaries of the cathedral, the royal officials violated the very source and symbol of the chapter’s power within the city. So, when Villanova shouted, “you have come to disturb our offices” at two men from the battle’s retinue, he was likely referring to an interruption of the actual celebration of Divine Office in the cathedral. Even in the testimony of the first lawsuit, a number of witnesses mentioned that the battle, the veguer, and their men gathered directly outside the main doors to the cathedral, and that their presence there touched off fighting between the two groups. Whether the version of events as presented in the second lawsuit was accurate or not, the cathedral community constructed a version of events that showed that the royal officials disrupted Vespers;

85 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 4r.
86 ADG Processos Medievals 120, fol. 5r.
87 Millás Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 325. Bernat Portell, a sagio from the battle’s court, reported this speech.
88 See, for example, the testimony of Jaume Stanyol, an official from the battle’s court, who mentioned that the battle and sotsveguer came to the See, standing directly outside the main doors to the cathedral; ADG Processos Medievals 119, fol. 9v.
they believed that the battle and his men were threatening to storm the cathedral and thought the royal officials were working together with the Jews to break the enclosure restrictions. For Villanova, Mont, and the other members of the chapter who testified in this lawsuit, the clash of Holy Thursday 1331 was, to a certain extent, not just a clash between Christianity and Judaism but also a clash between two sets of local authorities, competing for power and prestige within the city. Holy Week represented a different forum for the struggle for municipal power between local elites. In reconfiguring and presenting the narrative to favor their version, the chapter reported how the royal officials had attempted to challenge the chapter’s supremacy within the city by attacking it and by disturbing the sanctuary of Church, violating God’s house and the chapter’s service to God. Members of the cathedral community were able to fight off this threat and preserve the sanctity of their institution and community.

The 1331 Girona Holy Week riot was much more than a ritual confrontation between Christians and Jews, although tensions stemming from religious difference certainly played a role in sparking the larger confrontation. Relations between the cathedral chapter and the royal officials stationed in Girona were also tense, given the potential for competition between these two groups within the city. Canons were exclusively from among the more rural military elite of the diocese, and they were their families’ only representatives in the city; city officials were rarely, if ever, drawn from such families. This left these two major groups as rivals for civic prestige. This incident gave the battle Bernat de Bas and his men a chance to challenge the chapter directly, engaging them in a violent confrontation and threatening the honor and integrity of the chapter by attempting to break into the cathedral itself. This threat then further pushed the chapter to react in defense, with two canons directly confronting the royal officials in the thick of the conflict, and the rest of the chapter banding together afterwards to bring forward a lawsuit against the officials. The chapter’s behavior during and after the riot, then, reflected not only attitudes towards Jews and their place in the Christian world, to be expressed annually through ritual, but also the position of the canons at the confluence of the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies as seen in their willingness to react firmly, using any means necessary, against any challenges to their power and authority.

89 Nirenberg, “Two Faces of Secular Violence,” 393.
Disputes with the Veguer

In the 1340s, the bishop and chapter became embroiled in a long-running dispute with the veguer of Girona, Berenguer de Montbui, with each side asserting the supremacy of their jurisdiction. The issue stemmed from the refusal of a number of men of the diocese, who were vassals of the bishop and chapter, to serve in the royal army or cavalry. The bishop, Arnau de Mont-rodon, and the chapter asserted that these men did not need to serve, as they fell under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but the veguer still collected items from them as pledges, some of which he sold. This veguer in particular seems to have troubled the bishop and chapter, aggressively challenging their standing in the city by using his power as a royal official against them, exacerbating the existing issues. This clash eventually led to banishment, an interdict, and at least two separate sentences of excommunication. The timeline is unfortunately not totally clear, but after the initial clash in January 1342 between the veguer and the bishop and chapter, the bishop excommunicated the veguer, sotsveguer, batlle, and other royal officials of Girona and, in return, the veguer banished the bishop and chapter from the city of Girona. An undetermined amount of time later, an interdict was placed on cities, prelates, and clerics who did not cooperate with royal officials. Those who disobeyed the interdict and continued to celebrate mass and the Divine Office, or bury their dead in cemeteries, or communicate with the bishop and chapter of Girona were then excommunicated. There are two main sources for these events: documents from the chapter’s notarial registers

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90 Even before this specific conflict began, the bishop and chapter had complained about the veguer’s treatment of them, appointing three clerics as procurators to go to him and the sotsveguer, batlle, and other Girona royal officials to ask them to stop causing further injuries and troubles to the Church. See ADG Notularum G-14, fol. 140v-141r (1 July 1340).

91 A letter from 11 March 1342 from the king to the veguer notes that the bishop excommunicated the royal officials after the veguer continued to collect pledges from ecclesiastical vassals. In response, the veguer commanded the cathedral community to leave the city. See ACA Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pere III, 1310 (11 March 1342).

92 In the notarial documents and letters detailing the lifting of this interdict and the absolution granted to those who were excommunicated, no mention is made of who laid this interdict or when, or who sentenced those who broke the interdict to excommunication. Later grants of absolution, though, went to abbots, monks, and nuns at five monasteries in the region. See, for example, ADG Notularum G-17, fol. 1v (9 May 1343), G-17, fol. 23v (1 August 1343), and ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 94r-v (8 August 1343).
plus a larger, single parchment recording the entire episode and the royal letters sent from the king of Aragon to his royal officials and to a Barcelona jurist. The sources in the chapter archive necessarily reflected the chapter’s perspective and may have presented a version of events designed, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to emphasize the veguer’s transgressions and portray the cathedral community as the victims of his aggressive actions. However, the events appear consistent with what was described in the royal letters, suggesting that the chapter did not totally exaggerate or misrepresent the events of this conflict.

On 12 January 1342, Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon appointed a special procurator to require the veguer and other royal officials to return a mule and other goods seized from the bishop. He also required the veguer to revoke any proceedings he had begun against the bishop. The reaction was swift and by the following day the chapter had received an order from Montbui, the veguer, issued on behalf of the King Pere III, requiring the bishop, chapter, and other clerics of the cathedral to leave the dominion of the king within three days. It is unclear exactly when this order was publicized, but on the next day, there was a public declaration of the peace and truce of God, and the ejection of the bishop and his men from the peace and truce was proclaimed. The ejection of the cathedral community from the peace and truce would have removed guarantees of royal protection or defense of ecclesiastical liberties or privileges. Indeed, Montbui publicly announced that anyone who owed rights or income to the bishop, chapter, or cathedral was released from this requirement, and that anyone who fell into this category should...

93 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 25r (12 Jan. 1342). Montbui returned these items, including the mule, to the bishop in July, as confirmed by the chapter. See ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 85r (29 July 1342).

94 If the Girona bishop and chapter were no longer covered by peace and truce agreements with the king, the king would no longer be required to fulfill the terms of peace and truce agreements to protect ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the clergy. For example, a 1257 agreement between the king of Aragon and the bishops of the Crown of Aragon included guarantees of royal protection for ecclesiastical collection of money for protection and defense of men of the Church, and for the clergy itself against any violations of the peace and truce. The king also promised to require his veguers and battles to swear to faithfully execute justice, observing ecclesiastical liberty, and to defend the clergy from any violations of this agreement; see Les Constitucions de Pau i Treva de Catalunya (segles XI-XIII), ed. Gener Gonsalvo i Bou (Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, 1994), 198-202. Other agreements of this type from the Crown of Aragon in this period contained similar provisions, suggesting that the agreement in place at the time of this conflict would have included the same kinds of guarantees. This conflict, and the removal of the bishop and chapter from the peace and truce, would have removed them from receiving this royal protection and support.
notify the *veguer*. The bishop and chapter voiced their objections, given that this was to the detriment of the ecclesiastical liberty of the bishop and the cathedral community.\(^{95}\)

By ejecting the bishop and chapter from the city, the *veguer* asserted his position as a major representative of temporal power within the city and his power over the cathedral community. Removing the bishop and chapter from the cathedral, the physical representation of their power and prestige within the city, was a direct challenge to their view of themselves as the preeminent authority in the city and diocese. To address this matter before the king, Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon named Vidal de Villanova his special procurator, perhaps because of Vidal’s connection to royal authority.\(^{96}\) Vidal was to go to the royal court and plead the chapter’s case, appealing to the king’s faith so that he would revoke the ban proclaimed by the *veguer*, order the *veguer* not to act against the men of the cathedral, and restore things to their previous state.\(^{97}\) In claiming that the *veguer*’s actions were damaging to ecclesiastical liberty, the bishop called upon the king to protect the Church and uphold his rights as the highest ecclesiastical authority in the diocese. Despite their protests, the bishop and chapter must have departed from the city, because a series of notarial documents record them meeting at a series of different locations.

A document written during the period of expulsion detailed the confrontation that proceeded between the *veguer* and the chapter, and in this document, the bishop and chapter recorded the damage and disruption the *veguer* caused when he came to the Girona cathedral to enforce the order to vacate the cathedral and depart from royal domains. Montbui came personally to the outer doors of the cathedral with a number of other Girona officials, including *sagios*, *prohoms*, and Bernat Margarit, the *batlle*, to deliver the royal mandate which had been entrusted to him. Although the group intended to enter the cathedral, no one inside would open the doors until the precentor, Berenguer de Cruïlles, opened the doors very slightly and stuck his head out to speak with the officials. The *veguer* repeated his demand for the doors to be opened, on behalf of the

\(^{95}\) ADG *Notularum* G-16, fol. 25r (13 January 1342). The exact circumstances of the issuance of the mandate are unclear. It is identified as “from the mandate of the lord king” but issued “by the venerable Berenguer de Montbui, *veguer* of Girona, for the lord king” (“de mandato domini Regis” but issued “per uenerabilem Berengarium de Montebouino, Gerunde pro domino Rege uicarium”).

\(^{96}\) Vidal’s father was a long-standing royal advisor, emissary, and majordomo.

\(^{97}\) ADG *Notularum* G-16, fol. 25v (13 January 1342).
king, but the precentor again refused, stating that out of reverence for God and the Virgin Mary, the *veguer* should inflict no injury or violence upon the Church. The *veguer* and his men were then allowed to enter the cathedral, and closed the doors so no cleric could exit before the *veguer* delivered his message expelling the cathedral community from the city.  

Although almost certainly done for practical reasons, it is striking that the *veguer* delivered this notice to the bishop and chapter while they were in the cathedral itself, given the prominence of the cathedral within the city’s landscape. The ejection of the bishop and chapter from the city would necessarily require them to vacate the cathedral, the physical representation of their power and standing in the community.

After that, the precentor, serving as a representative for the cathedral community, delivered a prepared response. He stated that he intended to go personally before the king, given that he had been deputized to attend the provincial council and to deal with matters of the Girona Church, including its relations with the king. He continued, addressing the *veguer,* and stating that

> You have commanded me and the others from the chapter of Girona that within three days, I ought and we ought to depart from the entire kingdom and jurisdiction of the aforementioned king, and it is impossible for me to go and for me to depart if I must go [to the council] within such time.

The precentor therefore asked again, in his name and in the name of the entire chapter, and on behalf of God and the Virgin Mary, that the *veguer* not inflict any violence or offense against the Church by breaking the doors or anything else inside the cathedral, or doing anything else against God and the Church, or else he would seek justice from both the king and the pope.

Montbui, the *veguer,* then commanded the precentor to lead him to the treasury of the See so that the royal officials could take control of its contents and hand it over to four *prohoms* of the city of Girona who would hold it until the lord King will make another order about the aforementioned matters. And the said precentor, responding to the aforesaid things, said that he was prepared in all

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98 ADG *Pergamins de la Mitra* 1097 (1 February 1342).
99 “mandaueritis michi et aliis de capitulo Gerundensis quodinfra tres dies debeam et debeamus exire a toto regno et jurisdicctione domini regis predicti et sit impossibile me ire et me exire si uadam infra tale tempus.” ADG *Pergamins de la Mitra* 1097.
100 ADG *Pergamins* 1097.
ways and for all things to obey the mandates and precepts of the most illustrious and magnificent lord king. However, the precentor said he would only do so when he saw the document containing this royal mandate, since he did not believe that a command like this could come from the king himself, and he could not obey what he did not believe to be true. He and the other members of the Girona chapter were suspicious of this royal order, given that it seemed so unjust and contrary to the honor of God and the Church and its members. He repeated his plea for the royal officials not to cause any injuries or offenses to the Church and its servants and goods, which were “under the protection of the said lord king.” But despite the precentor’s protests, the veguer had the doors to the treasury broken open in order to gain access to the cathedral’s material holdings inside. To fend off this challenge, the precentor tried a number of different tactics, calling on the chapter’s ties to both secular and ecclesiastical authorities and arguing that the bishop and chapter could go to both the king and the pope to seek justice for the wrongs perpetrated by the veguer, battle, and others. The document registered the precentor’s objections at the royal officials daring to breach this part of the cathedral, located near the choir, in front of the altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

Violating the sanctuary in this way surely represented an affront to the honor and integrity of the cathedral and, by extension, the bishop and chapter. By forcing entry into the cathedral itself, then into the treasury, the secular officials trespassed on this sacred space, breaking into the physical representation of the power of the bishop and chapter within the city. This conflict, originally about the refusal of some ecclesiastical vassals to perform military service for the king, escalated to a significant degree as it took on additional dimensions concerning power and reputation in the city. The veguer wanted to emphasize the supremacy of royal power in asserting why and how the chapter was in error, while the bishop and chapter wanted to defend their place in the city and block the veguer from harming their holdings or community. As each side continued to assert their position, they escalated, rather than resolved, the conflict.

101 “et ea tradere quatuor probis hominibus ciuitatis Gerundensis, qui ea teneant donec dominus Rex aliud super predictis duxerit ordinandum. Et dictus precentor ad predicta respondens dixit quod ipse est paratus in omnibus et per omnia obedire mandatis et preceptis illustriissimi ac magnifici domini regis…” ADG Pergamins 1097.
102 “sub protectione dicti domini regis.” ADG Pergamins 1097.
After the *veguer* banned the bishop and chapter from the city, they left Girona but continued to meet elsewhere. On 4 February 1342, the chapter was convoked in the house of the Military Order of St. John in Castelló d’Empúries, conducting normal business. The bishop, six canons, and six priests of the chapter were present, as were the abbots of the Benedictine monastery of Ripoll and the Augustinian canons of Vilabertran. They were still in Castelló on February 20, meeting at the church of Santa Maria, with three canons and seven priests of the chapter present. On March 12, they met again at Castelló, but the notarial act recording this meeting and the canons’ discussion of the filling of a vacant canonry notes that the chapter had been convoked at Bàscara as well. The bishop was absent, so Dalmau Alió, a canon, filled in as vicar general.

While the chapter was still absent from Girona due to the aforementioned ban, the king issued at least seven different letters on this matter, sent to the *veguer*, the *batlle* of Girona, and a Barcelona jurist. Four of these letters went to the *veguer*, Berenguer de Montbui, issuing him further instructions for his continued dealings with the Girona bishop and chapter. Two letters focused on the current conflict between the royal and the ecclesiastical powers. The first letter instructed Montbui to return the pledges taken from the Girona ecclesiastical vassals, either restoring their goods to them or paying back their value in currency. Montbui had taken these pledges earlier when the men of the Church had refused to serve in the royal army and cavalry the king was mustering against the Count of Pallars. The second letter provided more information about the royal perspective on this conflict, when the king wrote to the *veguer* concerning the proceedings which are said to have been made against you and our other officials by the bishop of Girona, or his official, who [imposed on] you and others the sentence of excommunication… on account of the pledges which you caused to be given by the men of the Church of Girona, who refused to go in the royal army… because of this it is said to have happened that you commanded the same bishop and also the canons and clerics of the mentioned Church, that they must leave from our dominion, and that their goods will be seized, and that you will even proceed against them through the constitutions of the peace and truce previously publicly proclaimed.

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103 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 41v-42r (4 February 1342).
104 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 47r (20 February 1342).
105 ADG Notularum G-16, fol. 55v (12 March 1342).
106 ACA Cancillería, Cartas Reales, Pere III, 1309 (11 March 1342).
107 “super processionibus qui facti dicuntur contra uos et alios officiales nostros per Episcopum Gerundensis, seu eius officialem, qui uos et alios excommunicationis sententia… propter pignera que
The king was aware that the veguer had physically broken into the cathedral treasury and therefore ordered him to replace the items he had taken, restoring the cathedral’s possessions to the canons’ control. He also ordered Montbui, the veguer, to revoke “all proceedings of the peace and truce which are said to have been made by [Montbui] against the bishop, canons, and clerics of the Church and diocese of Girona,” returning them to the king’s peace and truce and revoking the aforementioned mandates to leave royal dominion and have their goods seized. The king, then, was not fully supportive of the drastic actions that Montbui took against the bishop and chapter, instead urging him to resolve the matter and undo his censure of them, even though it took six weeks to do so.

The other two letters to the veguer dealt with the same issues of military service and pledges in relation to upcoming military campaigns, since the ecclesiastical vassals still refused to serve in the royal army. Despite urging Montbui to resolve the matter with the chapter, the king at least partially agreed with him and approved of his actions, instructing that men of the Church of Girona who refused to serve in the royal army and cavalry had to give pledges to the veguer as penalty for their lack of cooperation. A group of men could band together and give one pledge, or they could give pledges individually.

The king granted the veguer the power to sell these pledges for money to be used to support the army. Since the struggle between the king and the Girona Church was ongoing, the king needed to instruct his representatives on what action to take in the interim, until the question of who had jurisdiction over these men was settled. By instructing the veguer to collect pledges, as he had done before, the king continued to

fecistis ut fertur hominibus Ecclesie Gerundensis, qui in exercitum regium… ire ut dicitur contemptserunt… super eo etiam dicitur accidisse uos mandasse eidem Episcopo, necnon canonicis et clericis ecclesie memorate, quod extra nostrum exire dominium, et quod bona caperentur ipsorum, uos etiam contra illos per constititiones pacis et treuge preuia preconizatione publica processisse.” ACA Cancilleria, Cartas Reales, Pere III, 1310 (11 March 1342). This letter suggests that the veguer, not the king, issued the order ejecting the bishop and chapter from the city.

“reuocetis processus omnes pacis et treuge qui per uos facti dictuntur contra dictos Episcopum, canonicos, et clericos ecclesie et diocesis Gerundensis.” ACA Cancilleria, Cartas Reales, Pere III, 1310 (11 March 1342). However, the chapter was still absent from Girona for Easter and their general chapter at the beginning of April. Returning the bishop and chapter to the peace and truce would allow them to enjoy royal guarantees of their privileges and exemptions and royal defense against encroachment.

These two letters are very similar, stating this same information and procedure. ACA Cancilleria, Cartas Reales, Pere III, 1308 (March 11, 1342) and 1322 (11 March 1342).
assert his authority over these ecclesiastical vassals as well as collect revenue to support the royal army and cavalry.

On March 11, the king also wrote to the *batlle*, another royal official in Girona, keeping him informed about this conflict. The king specified that the Girona bishop had granted the *batlle* absolution from the excommunication imposed on the previous *batlle* for his role in breaking into the cathedral’s treasury and removing the Church’s property. The king also laid out the procedure for dealing with pledges, instructing the *batlle* to assist in returning pledges to the men who had already given them for refusing to serve in the army against the Count of Pallars. However, like the *veguer*, he was also tasked with collecting new pledges from men who continued to refuse to serve in the royal army.\(^{110}\)

Finally, the king issued a royal letter to Jaume Mateu, a Barcelona jurist, informing him about the case with the Church of Girona. He wrote to Mateu again a week later, appointing him to select a notary suitable for the work that this case would require.\(^{111}\) Two months later, in May, the king formally commissioned Mateu to go personally to Girona to judge the case between the king and the bishop and chapter about the participation of ecclesiastical vassals in the royal army and cavalry.\(^{112}\)

The chapter’s exile from the city lasted at least two months, since the cathedral community had to celebrate their annual general chapter at Santa Maria in Castelló. Normally, as was customary, the annual chapter was celebrated in the cathedral on the Tuesday after Easter, but

> at present, the said chapter was not able to be held or even celebrated within the said Girona Church, in the place where it was customary [to hold it]… because the Reverend lord Arnau, bishop of Girona by the grace of God, and each and every person from that chapter was banned and publicly ejected from the peace and truce by the *veguer*, by royal authority, on account of which they were not able and did not dare to personally publicly be present within the said Girona Church as they were accustomed.\(^{113}\)

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\(^{110}\) *ACA Cancillería, Cartas Reales*, Pere III, 1305 (11 March 1342) and 1311 (11 March 1342). This seems contradictory given that the royal officials needed to return the pledges already collected and then re-collect new pledges from those who still refused to serve. Perhaps the king wanted to settle the conflict by returning the pledges but reassert his authority by requiring all those he considered his vassals to either perform military service or give new pledges instead.

\(^{111}\) *ACA Cancillería, Cartas Reales*, Pere III, 1315 (19 March 1342). Mateu is referred to only as a Barcelona jurist, so the specifics of his legal education are unclear.

\(^{112}\) *ACA Cancillería, Cartas Reales*, Pere III, 1873 (18 May 1342).

\(^{113}\) “de presenti, dictum capitulum non potest teneri nec etiam celebrari infra dictam Ecclesiam Gerundensis in loco ubi fuerat assuetum… quod Reuerendus dominus Arnaldus, dei gratia Gerundensis Episcopus, ac
While holding their annual meeting, the chapter conducted the business typical of their general chapter, confirming the appropriate administration and financial output of the cathedral patrimony, in the form of the nine *pabordias*.\(^{114}\)

Another parchment from three months later also dealt with the issues between the Girona Church, the king, and the *veguer*. This document, from 6 May 1342, recorded an agreement between King Pere and the bishop and chapter about the procedure for resolving this conflict. Precentor Berenguer de Cruïlles, second sacristan Jaçpert Folcrandi, and canon Guillem de Torroelles had authorization from the bishop and chapter to act on behalf of the cathedral community and presented notarial documents to this effect.\(^ {115}\) Jaume Mateu, the jurist appointed by King Pere to deal with this matter, swore to bring the case to a conclusion within two years. The two sides agreed that if, during the case, the royal army or cavalry was in the *vegueries* of Girona and Besalú or within the diocese of Girona, the men of the churches of the diocese would not be required to join the army but would instead be required to offer a pledge, placed in the possession of the *veguer*.\(^ {116}\) Because the case was undecided, they would not be punished further or detained or troubled in any way for failing to join the royal army.

This document also made provisions to bring about reconciliation between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities of the city. The king agreed that all commands that had been issued by the *veguer* against the bishop, abbot of Amer, canons of the chapter, and other ecclesiastical men of the diocese would be revoked, a fact which would be publicly proclaimed within the city of Girona. In return, the chapter representatives agreed that the bishop would absolve the *veguer*, *sotsveguer*, other royal officials, and their retinues from all sentences of excommunication incurred during the conflict. Finally,

He [the *veguer*] should have restored all things taken or seized from the Church of Girona and they are to be replaced in the place from where they were taken, and also all things taken from the bishop, abbot, officials or canons, or clerics, or the

\(^{114}\) ADG *Notularum* G-16, fol. 60r (2 April 1342).

\(^{115}\) ADG *Notularum* G-16, fol. 61v (2 April 1342).

\(^{116}\) This is perhaps referring to the 1 February 1342 parchment discussed earlier, which detailed the specific events of the conflict between the *veguer* and the cathedral community, which was most likely written to record and make official the chapter’s version of events.

\(^{116}\) ADG *Pergamins de la Mitra* 1101 (6 May 1342).
...aforementioned ecclesiastical persons [are to be returned] wholly and without any decrease.\footnote{117}{“faciat restitui omnia ablata uel capta de ecclesia Gerundensis et ea reponi in locum unde ablata fuerunt, necnon omnia ablata Episcopo, abbati, officiali, seu canonicis set clericis seu personis ecclesiasticis supradictis integre et sine aliqua dim unicione.” ADG Pergamins 1101 (6 May 1342). The abbot referred to here is the abbot of Amer, a Benedictine monastery within the diocese of Girona.} Both the king and the ecclesiastical representatives agreed to these arrangements, promising to observe all of these provisions while the case was still undecided.\footnote{118}{ADG Pergamins 1101. King Pere, the three Girona chapter representatives, and five royal officials from the king’s retinue signed this agreement.}

There is no record of Jaime Mateu’s decision in the case. Whatever it contained, lingering issues remained between the veguer, king, and cathedral community for the next few years. In May 1343, Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon and the chapter appointed three procurators to represent them before the pope and the Roman curia to deal with any lingering effects of their banishment and the aforementioned interdict: a canon of the Barcelona cathedral chapter, a precentor of the Barcelona chapter, and a canon of the collegiate church of Sant Feliu in Girona. The notarial records and letters describing the end of the interdict are unfortunately very vague regarding who issued this interdict and why, only mentioning that it accompanied the bishop and chapter’s exile from the peace and truce and from the city itself.\footnote{119}{For example, in a document regarding absolution granted by a cardinal named by the pope for this purpose, the abbot of Banyoles mentioned that he and his community received absolution “from whatever sentence or sentences of suspension or interdict we have met with” (“a sententia seu sententiiis suspensionis uel interdicti siquas incurrimus”), but no mention was made of who laid this interdict or when. See ADG Notularum G-17, fol. 23v (1 Aug. 1343).} The Barcelona canon and precentor met with a cardinal named by the pope to settle matters related to this interdict. They sought to have sentences of excommunication lifted from those who did not comply with the interdict and continued to celebrate mass or the Divine Office, as the Girona chapter had done when it left the city and met in Castelló d’Empúries. They also sought absolution for other ecclesiastical figures and communities who had refused to cooperate with the king and royal officials and had disobeyed the interdict by celebrating mass and Divine Office and burying the dead in cemeteries during the interdict.\footnote{120}{ADG Notularum G-17, fol. 1v (9 May 1343). A letter written a week later to other religious communities in the diocese also mentioned that these communities were receiving absolution “from whatever sentences of excommunication and suspension they met with” for disobeying the rules of the interdict (“ab excommunicationis et suspensionis sententiis siquis incurrerunt”). It was further described as “the interdict placed on the diocese of Girona” (“interdicto Gerundensis diocese supposita”). See ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 94r (8 Aug. 1343).} Arnau, abbot of the monastery of St. Stephen of Banyoles, near Girona, appointed procurators to seek absolution for
himself and his community. The bishop of Girona also commissioned representatives to absolve the abbot and canons of Santa Maria of Vilabertran, the abbot and monastic community of Santa Maria of Roses, three nuns of the monastery of Sant Daniel in Girona, and a nun at the monastery of Vilanera, all within the diocese of Girona. These abbots, canons, and nuns had incurred sentences of excommunication because they disobeyed the interdict and continued to communicate with the Girona bishop and chapter.

The bishop and chapter wanted the king to make financial reparations to atone for dishonoring the bishop and chapter by challenging their position and authority in the city and ejecting them from Girona. They decided that he should give the cathedral community 1,000 lliures, a sum that could contribute to the construction of a chapel and the institution of a new presbiterial benefice in the cathedral. To collect this sum, in August 1343, they wrote to the archbishop of Tarragona, urging him to write a letter to the king and require him to pay, since the king had previously been in Girona without donating the money. This plea was unsuccessful, however, given that the chapter wrote again to the archbishop over a year later, in November 1344, repeating their request for the archbishop to urge the king to pay. This letter stated that the king should pay “one thousand lliures as satisfaction for the injuries done to us and to the Church” and that the archbishop should appeal to the king’s religious devotion and suggest that donating this money would show reverence for the Virgin Mary, to whom the cathedral was dedicated. Given that the bishop and chapter were moving forward with the cathedral’s expansion, they needed this money to fund construction of the new chapels. With the archbishop’s urging, they hoped that “the most Christian prince and the most devoted son

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121 ADG Notularum G-17, fol. 23v (1 Aug. 1343). This is not the abbot mentioned earlier, who was the abbot of Amer, a different monastery.
122 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 94r-v (8 Aug. 1343). Amengaud, the abbot of Vilabertran, was the brother of Guillem de Vilarig, one of the Girona canons (see ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 119r). Girona canon Arnau de Soler founded the female monastery of Vilanera in 1326; see ADG Notularum G-6, 39v, 48r. The letters refer to Vilabertran and Santa Maria as monasteries, and one letter is addressed to Ramon de Olivis, “canon of the monastery of Vilabertran” (“canonico monasterii Uillabertrandi”).
123 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-6, fol. 103v (24 Aug. 1343).
124 “…mille libris in satisfaccionem iniurie nobis et dictie ecclesie.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals, U-8, fol. 155v (9 Nov. 1344).
of the Church will acquiesce.”

By collecting money as a sort of compensation for the king’s treatment of them, the bishop and chapter could force an acknowledgement that this ejection and banishment had been unjust as well as enhance the prestige of their cathedral through the construction of a new chapel.

Despite their attempts to use the archbishop’s influence on their behalf, the bishop and chapter continued to have issues collecting the money from the king. They wrote to him directly about this matter in 1346, reminding him that he had failed to make satisfaction. They delivered letters to him about this while he was returning from Roussillon, passing through Girona, and asked specifically for him to assign them the 1,000 lliures out of the royal portion of the decimà to be collected that year in the diocese of Girona. This suggestion and appeal appears to have worked because within four months they had received 5,000 sous out of the tithe money, and the king had promised that they would receive the rest from the continued collection of the decimà. The entry noted that the king granted them this money “for reasons which touched his conscience” (“ex causa suam conscienciam tangenti”), suggesting that his slow reaction against the expulsion of the bishop and chapter shows he was in favor of this expulsion, at least for these six weeks. Since two priests of the Girona chapter served as the appointed collectors of the decimà of the diocese, the chapter could easily subtract the 5,000 sous from the total amount before passing the money on to the king, making this solution very practical. The king did not have to withdraw any money and deliver or send it to the chapter himself, and the chapter received its money, a solution that seemed to satisfy both parties.

The issue of jurisdiction over vassals and service to the king, however, continued to drag on without any clear resolution. The chapter was still collecting money in 1350 to

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125 “princeps Christianissimus et ecclesie deuotissimus filius acquiescat.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals, U-8, fol. 156r (9 Nov. 1344).
126 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-10, fol. 73r-v (1 July 1346). They also wrote to cardinal Bernat de Sant Ciriac, the archbishop of Tarragona, and Hug de Fenollet, a royal chancellor, asking for their help in this matter (see ADG U-10, fol. 89v-90r). Laymen, including the king, counts, and other nobles, controlled a significant portion of the tithe in the diocese of Girona, as mentioned in Chapter 1. For a further discussion of this issue, see pages 165-166 in the following chapter.
127 ADG Notularum G-18, fol. 170v-171r (18 Oct. 1346). Non-ecclesiastics could possess the right to collect the decimà, or tithe. They could do so by paying a large sum up front and buying the right to collect it for a set period of time; see Josep M. Marqüés, “Recensió. Al marge del dret canònic diocesà de Girona durant la baixa edat mitja,” Annals de l’Institut d’Estudis Gironins 42 (2001): 701-702.
pay its expenses related to this case and appointing representatives to deal with this matter directly by meeting with the king. They earmarked over 2,000 sous from the chapter’s general fund (the Ferial) to pay expenses related to the chapter’s case against the king. Later that year, the bishop and chapter “desiring that peace and concord be agreed upon before the aforementioned parties, about these and other things… make, constitute, and appoint their certain and special procurator, the venerable man Vidal de Blanes, abbot of Sant Feliu in Girona” to manage the case the bishop and chapter have “with the lord king concerning service of the army and cavalry of the men of the aforementioned churches of the See, of the city, and of the diocese of Girona.” The king would be at the general Corts in Perpignan, so Vidal de Blanes was sent to attend on behalf of the chapter in the attempt to negotiate with the king regarding this case. No specific outcome or decision was recorded in the material within the Girona archives, but it was clear that this struggle over jurisdiction and power within the diocese was a long-standing issue between the king and the bishop and chapter. Each side wanted to claim the supremacy of its jurisdiction over this group of laypeople, the ecclesiastical vassals, and did not want to concede to the other. The bishop and chapter were trying to protect the integrity of their ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the accompanying revenue they received from the laypeople subject to their seigniorial jurisdiction. The king, on the other hand, repeatedly attempted to assert his right to call on any men from the kingdom to serve in his army and wage campaigns against rivals and challengers, showing that he saw this requirement as part of his subjects’ duty to him as their ultimate sovereign lord.

Interaction with other Secular Authorities

The other major secular authority figure with whom the bishop and chapter dealt regularly was the Count of Empúries, whose territory overlapped with the diocese of

128 ADG Notularum G-23, fol. 94v (1 Apr. 1350).
Girona. These two authorities could work together to maintain order but could also clash when one undermined the other. In 1335, though, the bishop and chapter wrote to the count, asking for his help. Eleven residents of the diocese had refused to pay the 440 lliures that they owed to the paborde of Castelló for various rights, holdings, and annuities that they had purchased from him, and the bishop excommunicated them. If the laypeople continued to refuse to pay the amount owed, the ecclesiastical authorities could hand them over to the secular arm for more serious punishment, but the bishop and chapter first needed to secure a license from the count to have this punishment imposed. They wrote to the count to secure his agreement, but there is no record of his response. In this instance, the bishop and chapter wanted the count’s support in punishing people who failed to uphold the terms of their contracts with a chapter functionary; this specific episode offers a good example of the potential cooperation between these secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

They could, however, work against each other as well, such as in the conflict about the status of the church of Santa Maria in Castelló d’Empúries. In 1326, the bishop and chapter wrote to Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, having heard that the lord Infant Pere [count of Empúries], at the instigation of the abbot of Sant Pere of Rodes and the consul of the town of Castelló, intends to manage and to have happen… that in the aforementioned place of Castelló, a cathedral church be erected, which would be exceedingly prejudicial to us and to the Church of Girona.

If Infant Pere were able to successfully lobby the pope for the creation of a new diocese, this would have affected the Girona cathedral in a number of ways. It would have challenged the bishop’s authority over parts of his diocese, reduced the Girona cathedral’s landholdings and revenue, and diminished its prestige through these losses. To prevent this, the canons convoked a chapter meeting and resolved to send representatives to the papal curia to report their opposition to this plan. They sent a canon

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130 The paborde was the canon or cleric who managed the pabordia, a portion of the chapter’s patrimony. The revenue from the pabordias provided the funding for the daily distributions paid to the members of the chapter. For further discussion of the pabordias, see Chapter 1.

131 ADG Notularum G-10, fol. 70v-71r (3 Sept. 1335).

132 “quod dominus Infans Petrus ad instigationem abbatis Sancti Petri Rodensis et consulum uille Castiliones intendit procurare et facere quod in loco predicto de Castilione erigatur ecclesia katedralis quod esset preiudiciale admodum… nobis et ecclesie Gerundensis.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-2 bis, fol. 93r-v (3 June 1326). Pere’s desire for a new diocese centered on Castelló d’Empúries was a near impossibility and very unlikely to ever be successful.
to the papal court to argue for the damage that a new bishopric would cause to the city of Girona, and the pope ultimately blocked Pere’s efforts and preserved the existing diocesan boundaries.\textsuperscript{133} This letter also described other aspects of the chapter’s relationship with Pere, since the bishop wrote to the archdeacon to remind him that Pere had possession of a number of fiefs held from the Girona Church. The letter noted that Pere was planning to depart from the region soon for an unspecified destination, so the bishop instructed the archdeacon to require Pere to do homage for these fiefs immediately.\textsuperscript{134} Compelling him to do homage to the archdeacon, a representative of the Girona cathedral community, would serve to remind him that he owed the bishop and chapter obedience. Doing so would further demonstrate their position at the top of the diocesan hierarchy, perhaps reminding the Infant that his attempts to elevate Castelló to a cathedral church and challenge Girona’s superiority would be unwise and unsuccessful. In concluding the letter, the bishop asked the archdeacon to respond quickly, letting him know what Pere’s response was, perhaps intending to gauge how resolved Pere was to assert his authority at the Girona cathedral’s expense.\textsuperscript{135}

Other cathedral chapters in Iberia also struggled with counts and nobles. In La Seu d’Urgell, the bishop and chapter clashed over jurisdiction with regional lords, including the local counts (who were largely independent from the kings of Aragon until the early fourteenth century). Various barons banded together and their combined power made them quite powerful, as when the viscount of Castellbó and the count of Foix joined together to attack the Church in Urgell due to conflicts over jurisdiction and income. These nobles and their men physically attacked clerics and stole ornaments from the cathedral, damaging symbols of the cathedral community’s power.\textsuperscript{136} The chapters of Lleida and Urgell also experienced jurisdictional disputes with another religious

\textsuperscript{133} Pladevall i Font, “Dos grans bises,” 405. The jurats of the city of Girona also supported the cathedral community in this conflict against the proposed new diocese. See Guilleré, \textit{Girona al segle XIV}, 80. The cathedral chapter of Murcia also successfully prevented a neighboring church, Orihuela, from forming its own diocese; see Miguel Rodriguez Llopis and Isabel García Díaz, \textit{Iglesia y sociedad feudal: el cabildo de la catedral de Murcia en la baja edad media} (Murcia: Universidad de Murcia, 1994), 34.
\textsuperscript{134} ADG \textit{Registres de Lletres Episcopals} U-2, fol. 93v (3 June 1326). A notarial document from six years later also records the chapter’s intent to require him to do homage for the tithes and fiefs he held from the bishop and cathedral; see ADG \textit{Notularum} G-8, fol. 15v (23 Apr. 1332).
\textsuperscript{135} ADG \textit{Registres de Lletres Episcopals} U-2, 93v (3 June 1326).
community, the collegiate church of Ager, which both episcopal sees wanted under their jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{137}

In Castile, cathedral chapters came into frequent conflict with urban oligarchies and the nobility as they competed for power in territories regained during the Reconquest. The bishop and chapter often held seigniorial lordship over land and buildings within the city, giving them the right to collect income as rents from their tenants and to require their tenants to swear loyalty as episcopal vassals, something which could cause conflict with city councils that did not want to acknowledge the chapter as its superior in any way.\textsuperscript{138} Chapters cooperated with the urban oligarchy sometimes, depending on the types of ties between these two groups. In Cuenca, for example, many canons, including most who held chapter dignities, were from powerful families of the city, making it more likely that these two institutions would cooperate. Some disputes still arose between them, mainly economic in nature, as the chapter worked to protect its privileges and exemptions. The Cuenca chapter received royal support in the late thirteenth century as Infante Sancho wrote to the town council on multiple occasions, urging it to respect all privileges held by the bishop and chapter and threatening it with financial penalties if it did not.\textsuperscript{139}

Chapters also clashed with rural nobles, often over tithes, as nobles tried to restrict or stop the collection of tithes. In some cases, these nobles tried to usurp this income or simply refused to pay it themselves, as many nobles did in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. In some dioceses, this could be especially contentious as nobles, who were the patrons of churches, simply collected the tithes themselves and kept the income, with or without the right to do so. In these circumstances, cathedral chapters often looked to the Castilian monarchy for support, and the royal response was most

\textsuperscript{137} Paul Freedman, “Jurisdictional Disputes Over Sant Pere d’Ager (Catalonia) in Light of New Papal Documents,” in \textit{Church, Law and Society in Catalonia, 900-1500} (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, 1994), 7, 11. The collegiate church of Ager had a papal privilege making it exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, but both cathedral communities sought to expand their own jurisdiction by claiming control over Ager, thus entitling them to extract revenue from the properties and clerics of Ager.


\textsuperscript{139} Díaz-Ibañez, \textit{Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla}, 133, 138, 551-553.
often protection of the Church. Nobles living near Murcia also tried to resist paying tithes but they did not possess the juridical privileges allowing them to do so, and the chapter, with royal assistance, was able to compel them to pay. However, sometimes the Church would accept a single payment of a quantity of money in return for not collecting the tithe.

The other main clash between the Girona bishop and chapter and the counts of Empúries came in relation to the chapter’s struggles with one of its own members, canon Vidal de Villanova (the canon discussed earlier who had actively participated in the 1331 riot). For approximately two years, Vidal had resisted sharing the profits of the *pabordia* of Castelló with the rest of the chapter, as was required, so the chapter reached out to a number of other authorities, both secular and ecclesiastical, to dissuade them from helping Vidal in any way, thus forcing him to comply with the chapter’s demands. The count and countess of Castelló, however, resisted the chapter and instead supported Vidal. In 1351, the bishop and chapter appointed a procurator to instruct the count, Infant Ramon Berenguer, and his wife not to interfere with the *pabordia* of Castelló but rather to leave its holdings, rights, and income alone. The next year, the chapter wrote directly to the count, asking for his help in ensuring the proper collection of the *pabordia*’s income. They passed on information from the pope, reminding him that the fruits of the *pabordia* were intended to serve the Girona chapter and cathedral, not just the *pabordia*’s administrator. Because Vidal de Villanova had ceased to turn over this income for the two previous years, the Church and chapter had suffered, and they needed the count’s help to end this harm to the Church and defend their rights to this income. This attempt to secure the count’s assistance, rather than opposition, was part of the chapter’s efforts to protect their jurisdiction and income in the county of Empúries.

This situation continued unresolved, and the bishop and chapter remained at odds with Villanova. In May 1353, they wrote a general letter to the clergy of Castelló and to the Count of Empúries, sharing a papal decree ordering Villanova to repay the income he

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140 Jorge Díaz-Ibañez, “Iglesia, Nobleza, y oligarquías urbanas,” in *La Monarquía como conflicto en la Corona Castellano-Leonésa (c. 1230-1504)*, ed. José Manuel Nieto Soria (Madrid: Silex, 2006), 197, 215-216. This was also common in Cuenca; see Díaz-Ibañez, *Iglesia, sociedad y poder en Castilla*, 583.
141 Rodríguez Llopis and García Díaz, *Iglesia y sociedad feudal*, 130.
142 ADG *Notularum* G-24, fol. 163r (18 June 1351). It is unclear how exactly they supported Vidal in this process, but there is no mention of him sharing this revenue with them.
143 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-20, fol. 167r (Aug. 1352).
took from the *pabordia* (without sharing it with the rest of the chapter) and to fulfill the service he owed the Girona Church. Because of his failure to do so thus far, the bishop excommunicated him and issued instructions for all the Castelló clerics and the count not to pay Villanova any rent or other payments owed to the *pabordia*. If they did so, or assisted him in any other way, they could suffer the penalty of excommunication as well. The chapter repeated these instructions a month later in another letter to the count, noting that the inhabitants of Castelló should only hand over money or rent to the proper *pabordia* administrators, as deputized by apostolic authority. They asked him to execute these instructions and not to give any assistance, counsel, or favor to Villanova. Because the *pabordia*’s holdings were located in the county of Castelló, the bishop and chapter required the count’s help in their struggle with Villanova, since the people who paid rent and fees to the *pabordia* and its administrator fell under the count’s jurisdiction as well. However, the count did not comply with the chapter’s instructions, and he and his wife received a sentence of excommunication for aiding Villanova, although this excommunication was later lifted. There is no explicit explanation as to why the count and countess so firmly supported Villanova, but it was probably due to his family’s ties to the monarchy. Infant Ramon Berenguer, the Count of Empúries, was the son of King Jaume II and Queen Blanca, and Villanova’s father had served as Blanca’s majordomo. The bishop and chapter depended on the count for support in managing their property within his county and resorted to spiritual punishment when he did not.

The chapter’s dealings with the king of Mallorca were fairly similar to those with the count of Empúries, concerned with property, jurisdiction, and feudal relations. The chapter had close ties with Mallorca and held a sizeable amount of land on the island. The *Almoina del Vestuari*, which distributed clothing to the poor within the city of Girona, also held much land in Mallorca from which it drew a large portion of its

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144 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-21, fol. 239r-240r (16 May 1353).

145 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-22, fol. 43r-v (21 June 1353). By this point, Villanova had been removed from his position as the *pabordia*’s administrator, excommunicated, and legally prohibited from collecting *pabordia* income; see ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-18, fol. 13r (11 June 1351), ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-19, fol. 65v-66r (11 Jan. 1352), and ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-19, fol. 146v-147v (13 March 1352).

146 The bishop and chapter later authorized a Castelló cleric to absolve Count Ramon Berenguer and his wife Maria and any members of their household who had also received a sentence of excommunication. ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-25, fol. 52r (19 June 1354). For more about Vidal de Villanova’s father’s ties to the monarchy, see page 42.
In this relationship, though, it was the bishop and chapter that needed to do homage to the king of Mallorca, rather than the other way around as with the count of Empúries. They did so at least twice in the 1320s, appointing canons to offer and recognize to the Illustrious Lord Jaume, by the grace of God king of Mallorca and count of Roussillon and Cerdanyà, and lord of Montpellier and lord of the section [of land] which the chapter, bishop, and other aforementioned people of the said Church have and possess on the island of Mallorca, from the lord King and his successors, in the kingdom of Mallorca… and to offer and present an oath of fidelity for the aforementioned land to the same lord King.  

They repeated this oath to the king at least four additional times from 1329 to 1351, even after Pere III annexed the kingdom of Mallorca in 1344 and made this title part of the Crown of Aragon. Four documents from the Pergamins de la Mitra (Parchments of the Miter) series record these oaths, made in 1329, 1330, 1345, and 1351, wherein the bishop and chapter appointed a special procurator to travel to the island and offer this homage and oath of fidelity, swearing to uphold all of the expected conventions and to respect his ultimate jurisdiction. In this case, the king owned the land that the Girona chapter held in Mallorca, so it owed him loyalty, fidelity, and homage for it, as sworn by its representatives. The chapter acted like any other tenant in this situation, conducting transactions and rituals as a participant in the system of feudal land relations.

Conclusion

The common thread running throughout most of these interactions between the chapter and other authorities was the importance of asserting and defending authority and

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147 For example, in May 1330, the Vestuari received 297 sous, eight diners from its Mallorca holdings: ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-4, fol. 94v (26 May 1330).
148 “ad offerendum et cognoscedum Illustriissimo domino Jacobo, dei gratia Maioriensis Regi, Rossillonis et Ceritanie comiti, ac domino Montepessullani portione dicte ecclesie capitulum, Episcopus, et cetera supradiicti in insula Maioriensis habent et possident per ipsum dominum Regem et eius successores, in Regno Maioriensis… et ad offerendum et prestandum eadem domino Regi predicta portione iuramentum fidelitatis.” ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 66v-67r (19 Oct. 1326). Very similar to this is a 1329 entry that records that the chapter selected the precentor as a procurator to appear before the king of Mallorca and offer him an oath of fidelity [see ADG Notularum G-7, fol. 12r-v (27 Dec. 1329)].
149 See ADG Pergamins de la Mitra 958 (16 June 1329), 963 (29 March 1330), 1126 (30 Nov. 1345), and 1171 (17 July 1351). There does not appear to be a specific reason that the oaths were taken on these particular dates. The 1345 and 1351 oaths were made after Pere III annexed Mallorca and made it part of the Crown of Aragon, so the 1345 oath was the first opportunity to do homage to the new lord.
autonomy. In relations with the bishop, archbishop, pope, counts, and king, the Girona chapter was mainly concerned with maintaining its own privileges, rights, and holdings and thus looked either to block challenges or to seek support from others as necessary. Of course, other factors also played into determining the course of these relationships, but this appeared to be a consistent priority. The most explosive clash the chapter had with a rival power was during the 1331 Holy Week riot which began as a ritual-inspired clerical assault on the Jewish quarter but morphed into a brawl between chapter members and associates and a number of Girona royal officials and citizens. Through their actions, the veguer and other royal officials made it clear that they were willing to challenge the chapter’s prominence and power within the city. This may have caused the chapter to see and describe the 1331 riot in a specific way, with the royal officials as encroaching on the cathedral, the chapter’s home within the city and the physical representation of its power and prestige. To stop the officials and citizens from attacking the cathedral, the participating canons and clerics went on the offensive, throwing rocks and shouting threats. They appear to have fended off the veguer, batlle, and their men without suffering significant censure, despite the king’s order to conduct an inquiry. The chapter clashed with the same officials again less than a decade later when the veguer took a heavy-handed approach to enforcing participation by ecclesiastical vassals in the royal army, including physically breaking into the cathedral’s treasury and removing its contents, plus expelling the bishop and chapter from the city.

Using various techniques, the canons also took on other challengers to their autonomy. They limited the bishop’s power to investigate and punish alleged misbehavior among chapter members and reserved for themselves the most valuable chaplaincies in the diocese. They appealed to higher ecclesiastical authorities to stop the Count of Empúries from elevating Castelló d’Empúries to an episcopal see, thus protecting the diocese of Girona’s territorial holdings, income, and prestige. They tried to stop papal encroachment on collation of chapter canonries, dignities, and chaplaincies but met with less success, given the obvious supremacy of their opponent in this case. In these situations, the chapter often relied on its own power to achieve its goals but, at times, sought help from its superiors, looking to its more prestigious allies for support against tougher challengers. However, for the most part, relations between the chapter
and the other major authorities of the diocese, region, and kingdom seem to have been relatively peaceful. Since the canons were necessarily from among the elite lineages of the diocese, they were closely connected to the comital and royal worlds, through ties of family, service, or alliance. As men of high rank, both from their personal backgrounds and their ecclesiastical positions, the canons were, as a group, confident in asserting and defending their autonomy, a priority that directed much of their interaction with others.
Chapter Four
The Chapter’s Connections to the Secular World

In addition to fulfilling their duties in the cathedral and chapter, the Girona cathedral canons had the freedom to pursue their own personal agendas. They were fully integrated into the social fabric of the city and diocese and firmly connected to the secular world, building their own personal patrimonies, conducting land and other economic transactions such as buying goods from merchants in Girona and Barcelona. Many, if not all, canons maintained ties to their families throughout their lives, and these relationships were reciprocal, with canons and their relatives buying and selling land for each other and naming each other as executors and recipients of bequests in testaments. In addition, canons demonstrated the strength of their ties to the world of the secular aristocracy through other behaviors, actions, and priorities that were appropriate for men of their social backgrounds.

The Canons’ Family Backgrounds

The canons of the Girona cathedral chapter were closely connected to each other, not only as members of the same ecclesiastical body but also as members of the same social group. They were mainly from the rural military aristocracy of the diocese and remained firmly tied to their lineages and enmeshed in the lifestyle and activities of their relatives. This type of dynamic allowed the cathedral canons to develop and enjoy a multi-faceted identity that combined their ecclesiastical and familial priorities. As part of both the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies of the diocese, they enjoyed an extremely privileged position wherein they received the benefits of holding valuable canonries, chaplaincies, and other benefices but also enjoyed the freedom to manage and grow their own personal patrimonies. Dispensing with a portion of their liturgical duties by passing them off to the priests of the chapter made it possible for the canons to focus on these personal priorities, giving them more time to attend to their personal and familial business.
As discussed earlier, the Girona chapter prioritized and defended its right to accept only members who could prove their descent from noble lineages in both the maternal and paternal lines, resulting in a chapter composed uniformly of men from the military aristocracy.\(^1\) Most canons belonged to a lineage that governed a castelló, or fortified mansion, in the countryside of the diocese, and no canons belonged to the urban patriciate of the city. They were generally from within the diocese of Girona, but this shifted as nominations to the chapter gradually fell into papal hands. Still, a number of canons came from the same small group of families whose sons and nephews continued to join the chapter for generations, making family ties within the chapter itself strong and nephew-uncle pairs common.\(^2\)

There was some variety in the prestige of the canons’ backgrounds: a small number were from the high to middle nobility, while the majority was from knightly families of the minor nobility.\(^3\) By the thirteenth century, only a few Catalan comital houses were left; the size of the high nobility, which was comprised of families that claimed illustrious origins from among Carolingian vassals and included counts, viscounts, and magnates, was quite small in comparison with the much larger lower aristocracy. The latter was the military aristocracy (known as cavallers or milites), and most canons of the Girona chapter belonged to this social group.\(^4\) For these families, sending second or third sons to the chapter could bring income and prestige. Many noble families restricted the number of sons who could marry out of a desire to reduce competition among heirs, given the limits of the family patrimony. For these unmarried sons, careers in the Church could bring the income and prestige that would not have been available to them otherwise.\(^5\) It was also a way for these families to gain a foothold within the city of Girona itself, since no urban families were represented in the chapter.

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\(^1\) See pages 39-40.
\(^2\) Marques, “La Iglesia de Gerona,” 522. In the fourteenth century, there were uncle-nephew pairs from at least four lineages: Cruïlles, Mont-rodon, Pau, and Margarit. The individuals nominated to the chapter by the pope still had to prove their descent from the nobility, in accordance with the chapter’s privilege requiring this.
\(^3\) Molina Figueras, “De genere,” 744.
and canons were exclusively from lineages based in the countryside. As these families were fully separate from the urban patriciate, they were largely excluded from municipal power and focused their attention on their rural patrimonies. The urban patriciate represented a different power base than the knights (cavallers) who were instead basically rural. Sending sons to the chapter, therefore, was a good option to have some sort of urban-based influence. The chapter was exclusively the domain of the nobility and excluded the urban patriciate, making these two groups wholly separate and sometimes competing groups that both held power within the city.

Canons in many other chapters were not uniformly noble, even if a large proportion of canons were indeed from among the minor nobility. In England, there could be a wide variety in canons’ origins, although many were from landholding families, including local knightly families or non-aristocratic landholders. A significant difference from the Girona chapter, however, was the inclusion in English chapters of men from urban society or men who had worked their way up through administrative careers, working in diocesan courts. For many other European chapters, it could vary whether canons were from within or beyond the boundaries of the diocese. This often depended on how open the chapter was to receiving men from backgrounds of royal or papal service, who often received canonries as rewards. Aristocratic families could attempt to maintain some control over chapters, but it depended on who held rights of nomination to vacant canonries. Unlike the Girona chapter, no other chapters required canons to be noble. In many other chapters, it is impossible to determine the social origins of all canons and there could be much diversity, ranging from the aristocracy to the urban bourgeoisie to men of very humble backgrounds.

The Rocabertí and Cruïlles families were two of the most prestigious lineages represented in the Girona chapter, as they controlled large patrimonies in the diocese and were closely connected to many other aristocratic lineages. The Rocabertí, as viscounts of Perelada, were first after the counts in the seigniorial hierarchy. Legend says they were descended from the Aubertins, the fifth-century dukes who sought refuge in the Catalan

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7 Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons, Chapter 4; Millet, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédrale de Laon, 71.
8 Madignier, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun, 81, 95.
Pyrenees and built a castle called Roca Aubertí, from which the lineage derives its name. Jofre de Rocabertí was the first to be definitively identified as a viscount, in 1147, and the Rocabertí family was closely tied to the other high-ranking lineages in Catalonia, including marriage alliances with various counts and kings. The second and third sons, who did not inherit the title of viscount, instead held other baronies or had high-ranking careers in the Church, like bishop of Girona or archbishop of Tarragona. This lineage had functions and prestige equal to those of the noblest houses in Catalonia.

Pere de Rocabertí, Girona canon and bishop from 1318 to 1324, is an excellent example of the types of connections many of the canons had to other members of the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies. He was the son of Dalmau VI de Rocabertí, viscount of Rocabertí, baron of Vilademuls, Sales, and Sant Llorenç de la Muga, and lord of Santa Cecilia de Terrades and Bassegoda, and his wife Ermessenda Desfar, baroness of Navata and Calabuig. Two of Pere’s sisters, Constança and Marquesa, were nuns, and at least two others, Elisenda and Alamanda, married Catalan noblemen. His brother Jofre IV inherited the viscounty while at least three other brothers, Ponç, Dalmau, and Guerau, inherited various baronies or lordships, and another, also named Dalmau, served as a Knight of the Temple. Finally, his brother Guillem had a career in the Church, culminating in his position as archbishop of Tarragona. In his and subsequent generations, members of the Rocabertí lineage intermarried with other noble families, including the Cruïlles family, also represented in the chapter, and the Montcada family, two of the most prestigious Catalan noble families. Marriage, of course, was a common way to increase family importance and prestige, since marriage ties could create wider alliances.

The Cruïlles family owned a number of fiefs in La Bisbal, approximately 30 kilometers from Girona. Its members served in important positions in both the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchies of the diocese, as royal officials and diplomats as well as prelates. They held lordship over much of the Baix Empordà; besides this lineage existed other prestigious branches stemming from it. Like the Rocabertí, this family

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11 *Gran Enciclopedia Catalana*, vol. 19, 421-424.
provides a good example of the types of family connections common amongst the Girona canons. At least three members of the Cruïlles lineage belonged to the Girona chapter in the fourteenth century, including Gilabert, who served as bishop of Girona from 1334 to 1335, his brother Hug, who also held the position of abbot of Sant Feliu, and their nephew Berenguer, bishop from 1348 to 1362. Gilabert and Hug were the sons of Gilabert IV, lord of the baronies of Cruïlles, Calonge, and Cinclaus, and of Guillema de Peratallada, lady of the baronies of Peratallada and Begur. At least three of their brothers inherited portions of the family patrimony, and another brother, Jofre, was a canon of Tarragona and abbot of Sant Volusiò de Foix. At least one sister was a nun, while two other sisters married into noble lineages, including Cecília, who married Jofre, the viscount of Rocabertí. Subsequent generations included members who were castellans, served in military orders, and a daughter who married the count of Pallars.¹³

The Mont-rodon family also contributed an uncle-nephew pair to the chapter, both of whom went on to hold the Girona episcopacy. This family was typical of an aristocratic, rural Catalan lineage, as its members were free cavallers, or knights, who were allodial lords of a dominion near Taradell, approximately 70 kilometers west of Girona. From at least the thirteenth century, they held and administered a number of estates that provided them with income. They also served as veguers of Vic and procurators, or representatives, for other powerful families in the region, linking them to other aristocratic lineages as well as the king of Aragon.¹⁴ Arnau de Mont-rodon was a Girona canon and bishop from 1335 to 1348 and his brother, Ferrer, was abbot of the Benedictine monastery Santa Maria d’Amer. Arnau facilitated the entrance of his nephews, Bertran and Bernat, to the chapter and named Bertran as one of the chapter’s four archdeacons, before Bertran later became bishop of Girona from 1372 to 1384.¹⁵

Other, lesser-known families show the same types of landholding and connections, albeit on a smaller scale. One can identify canons from the Blanes, Cartellà, Mont, Santapau, Sexano, Soler, Torrelles, Trilla, Vilamari, Vildemany, and Vilanova lineages, all of which were knightly families who held lordships throughout Catalonia and the Crown of Aragon. For example, the Santapau family, from Besalú, held the

¹³ Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 8, 367-376.
¹⁴ Pladevall i Font, “Arnau i Bertran de Mont-rodon,” 396, 398-399.
¹⁵ Pladevall i Font, “Arnau i Bertran de Mont-rodon,” 410.
castellany of Finestres. Ramon, an archdeacon, was the son of Ponç III, lord of Santapau and Finestres, who went on a 1282 royal expedition to Sicily, and brother of Hug III, who died in 1323 on another royal expedition to Sicily. The father of canon Vidal de Vilanova served King Jaume II as a councilor and ambassador to royal and papal courts, and later served as alcalde and batlle of Xàtiva. Because of the requirement for Girona canons to be noble, they came from prominent families of the diocese, connected to each other and to other wealthy, landholding families of the region and to the royal court.

Households and Lifestyle

After joining the chapter, canons continued to enjoy a lifestyle befitting men of noble background. In their privileged position, they lived and acted like secular lords, maintaining sizeable households in comfortable residences. Most canons lived in their own houses in the cathedral district of the city. They continued to hold and manage their personal patrimonies without restriction, conducting transactions with each other and the laypeople of the diocese. To free up more of their time, canons delegated liturgical duties in the cathedral, including celebration of the Divine Office and other services, to the priests of the chapter. As men at the top of the municipal and diocesan ecclesiastical hierarchy, the canons enjoyed a privileged position and the freedom to prioritize their own interests and concerns.

Canons bought and sold property and tithes to build their own personal patrimonies, showing that economic security and success were not simply priorities of the wider lineages but of the canons as well, who were looking to maintain the type of lifestyle and status that they had enjoyed as members of aristocratic families. Personal wealth allowed them to purchase expensive fabrics and household furnishings. For example, a notarial document recorded canon Arnau de Mont-rodon’s purchase of a cens payment in diners and morabetins from a Girona draper. Tellingly, it named him as the

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16 Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana, vol. 20, 286.
17 Rafael Tasis, Pere El Ceremoniós y els seus fills (Barcelona: Teide, 1957), 8; Gran Enciclopedia Catalana, vol. 24, 153.
son of Ferrer de Mont-rodon, former knight, before identifying him as a canon of the Girona chapter. This document also explicitly specified that Arnau was acting “in his own name and not [in the name] of our Church” in this purchase.\textsuperscript{19} As guaranteed by their privileged positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, each canon was free to buy, sell, and own property to increase his personal income and support a lifestyle that reflected the prestige of his position in the cathedral and his background as a member of the secular elite.

Canons’ households and retinues included clerics who performed services for the canons and laypeople who did administrative tasks or took care of the household. Two notarial documents from 1323 recorded the type of oath these servants swore and the types of duties they were to perform. First, “Francesc Mitjà, cleric, born in Girona, promised and swore to be personally resident and to be present at the Divine Offices in the Church of Girona for Guillem de Vilarig, canon of Girona,” for a full year.\textsuperscript{20} Similarly, Bonanat de Roca, deacon of a parish church in Girona, “promised and swore to perform service in the Church of Girona for Baldrà de Soler, canon” for a year.\textsuperscript{21} Although the notarial records did not specify a salary for these tasks, serving as replacements or substitutes for canons seems to have been a way for clerics to increase their income, as Bonanat de Roca made three of these agreements within six months.\textsuperscript{22} Patronage was another benefit in return for this service, as will be discussed in a later examination of canons’ wills. Even if these clerical servants did not live in the household of the canon they served, working in a canon’s or bishop’s household could be a step towards higher duties and promotions.\textsuperscript{23} Before his contract to provide service for the canon Baldrà, he made a similar agreement with Pere de Miars, who was not a canon but

\textsuperscript{19} “…nomine proprio et non nostre ecclesie…” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-11, fol. 59r (4 Jan. 1335).
\textsuperscript{20} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-3, fol. 224v (1 March 1323). “Franciscus Migan, clericus, oriundus de Gerona, promisit et iurauit facere residentiam personalem et interesse diuinis oficiis in ecclesia Gerundensis pro Guillemo de Uilaricho, canonico Gerundensis…” Unfortunately, this record is quite brief and does not specify the tasks Francesc was to perform or any information about what or how he was paid for his service.
\textsuperscript{21} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-4, fol. 12v (9 April 1323). “…promisit et iurauit facere servicium in ecclesie Gerundensis… pro Baldranus de Soler.”
\textsuperscript{22} In the households of prestigious lords in medieval England, payment could take a variety of forms, including daily wages, food, lodging, and a stipend as a quarterly cash payment; see C. M. Woolgar, \textit{The Great Household in Late Medieval England} (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 31.
\textsuperscript{23} Patronage in return for service was common, as the households of canons could include a number of minor clerics or other adult clergy, as chaplains; see Barrow, \textit{The Clergy in the medieval world}, 236.
held a benefice in the Girona See. Only twelve days after he made the contract with Baldrà, he also swore to be in the service of Berenguer Ariol, a cleric of the See (who was also not a canon).²⁴ Having clerics who performed these duties for them could free up canons (or other clerics) from attending daily services at the cathedral, leaving them more time to attend to their personal priorities.

Canons also had lay servants who carried out household duties. For example, Dalmau de Mont’s home included quarters for his servants.²⁵ Canons’ households, like their secular counterparts, could also include squires, although little is known about their precise duties and role in the household.²⁶ Canons from other chapters also had clerical and lay servants in their households, whose duties included maintaining the house, cooking, and serving as secretaries, notaries, or spiritual advisors. Canons’ relatives could also be part of their households as servants, with canons serving as patrons for younger nephews or other family members.²⁷

Information from notarial records and testaments provided a good picture of the living situations of the canons within the city. Many lived in canonical houses, passed down from archdeacon to archdeacon or canon to canon. For example, Bernat de Vilert, a canon, gave the canonical house called Bellmirall to Guillem de Cornellà, another canon. This house included a garden “with all honors, cens, thirds, lauds, and foriscapis belonging to the said house,” providing income to the holder as well.²⁸ In return, the holder was required to pay for the lighting and maintenance of “two good and beautiful candles in the chapter of the choir of the See of Girona.”²⁹ Guillem later left this house to

²⁴ ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 184v (4 Nov. 1322), G-4, fol. 19v (21 Apr. 1323). Unfortunately the other contracts do not specify the type of work Bonanat did for the other beneficite and cleric. A number of other notarial documents record similar agreements wherein clerics agree to provide service for other holders of ecclesiastical office, including chaplains, rectors, and sacristans.
²⁵ ADG Processos Medievals 786, fol. 5r.
²⁶ At least some of these squires were clerics as well, given their ability to receive grants of ecclesiastical benefices from the head of the household. For example, Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, conferred the sacristy of Aiguaviva on his squire, Miquel de Bosc, in 1321. See ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 52r (25 Feb. 1321). This is the only entry I have found mentioning Miquel by name, so the rest of his background or ecclesiastical career is unknown. The bishop often granted ecclesiastical offices to his squires. See, for example, ADG Notularum G-3, fol. 120v (18 March 1322), which recorded Bishop Pere de Rocaberti conferring one chaplaincy each to two of his squires.
²⁷ Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons, Chapter 6.
²⁸ “cum omnibus honoribus, censibus, terciis, laudisimis, et foriscapiis, ad dictum hospiciu pertinentibus…” ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 25r (24 Dec. 1324). There were different forms of income attached to the house, including income for land held by this house and rented out.
²⁹ ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 25r. “…duos cereos bonos et pulcros in capitulo cori sedis Gerunde…”
his nephew Arnau de Cornellà, another Girona canon, with all its rights and income, and repeated the requirement to fund and maintain the specified candles. If Arnau did not make use of this house and personally reside in it, Guillem instructed him to pass it on to Dalmau Alionis, another Girona canon identified as a relative of Arnau (“canonicum consanguineum meum”). If possible, Guillem wanted possession of this house to remain in the family, preferring to honor family ties within the chapter.

It was common for canons of other chapters to live in individual houses as well, which usually were in the vicinity of the cathedral. Many canons passed these houses on to a fellow canon in their wills, or to other heirs if said heirs were canons or were going to join the chapter. These grants, often to nephews (as canons or future canons) or to other non-related canons, typically came with the expectation that the recipient would fund an anniversary for the donor. Another option was to donate the house back to the cathedral and give collation to the bishop, who would then select the next holder of the house. Canons in England often had large houses, signifying their prestige, within the cathedral close. These houses were similar in size and plan to those of the wealthy merchants in the same towns, typically with more than one private room in order to accommodate important guests. In Autun, the cathedral canons lived in individual houses, usually owned by the chapter but possessed by the canon for his lifetime before it reverted back to the chapter. They could also live in houses they owned which they later passed to lay inheritors. Canons from the Oviedo chapter could live in houses owned by the chapter as well, often investing their own money on improvements, or live in houses purchased with their own money. The chapter of Laon had a different system, in which canons also lived in and owned their own houses, which they generally left to the chapter in their wills on the condition that it sell these houses to other canons. The money from these sales would then fund anniversary masses for the previous owner. By the end of the

31 Barrow, The clergy in the medieval world, 286-289.
32 Lepine, A Brotherhood of Canons, Chapter 6. In Hereford, however, there was no cathedral district so the canons owned houses throughout the city; see Barrow, “The Canons and Citizens of Hereford,” 8. In Exeter, the canons lived in their own, privately-owned houses by the mid-twelfth century; see David Blake, “The Development of the chapter of the diocese of Exeter, 1050-1161,” Journal of Medieval History 8 (1982): 6.
33 Madignier, Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun, 261-262.
34 Suárez Beltrán, El Cabildo de la Catedral de Oviedo, 252. Canons also frequently purchased houses in their place of origin, to increase their familiar patrimony.
fourteenth century, the Laon chapter possessed around 40 canonical houses, of which thirty-six were within the cloister. There was also a statute which required individual canons to purchase canonical houses if one was vacant and they did not already possess one, showing that the Laon chapter strongly required, if not mandated, residence in a canonical house in the cloister.\footnote{Millet, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral de Laon}, 253-255.}

An inventory of the goods owned by one of the Girona canons at the time of his death provides further insight into the canons’ living situations. After canon Dalmau de Mont died, his executors compiled this inventory in preparation to sell his possessions and settle his estate. The inventory listed the items room by room, showing that his house contained at least seven rooms, including a main room, bedroom, kitchen, pantry, cellar, and a servant’s room. The inventory of goods from Dalmau’s bedroom noted furniture, including a bed, chairs, and a chest, plus other furnishings, including pillows, cloths, garments, shoes, notebooks, a candelabra, and candles.\footnote{ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 786, fol. 1r-3v.} The other rooms in the house contained similar items, with tables, chairs, benches, and food storage in the kitchen, furniture and furnishings in the maid’s room, and other storage items in the pantry and cellar. The executors arranged for the sale of his possessions, which brought in a total of 2,642 \textit{sous} and three \textit{diners}. A variety of people purchased these goods, including clerics, laypeople, and Jews from within the city.\footnote{ADG \textit{Processos Medievals} 786, fol. 3v-6v.} Dalmau left the house itself to Galceran de Montecurvo, another canon of the Girona chapter. After the sale of Dalmau’s goods was complete, this sum would be added to his estate and the executors would distribute the legacies and donations he specified. Anything left would go to his universal heirs, the “poor of Christ” (\textit{pauperes Christi}).\footnote{ADG \textit{Notularum} G-38, fol. 97v. I have found no record of what his executors did with this final sum, so I do not know how his executors fulfilled his wish to help provide for the poor. Chapter 2 of this dissertation discusses possible charitable options, including hospitals and almshouses within the city of Girona.} The size of his house, the number of possessions he owned, and the prices they fetched during the sale provide insight into the type of household that a typical Girona canon supported and maintained. This was similar to the households of wealthy English canons, whose houses contained decorations, furniture,
and possessions that served to reinforce displays of their status and wealth. Their houses often had glazed windows, painted walls, silver ornaments, and tapestries.\(^{39}\)

Items that the canons purchased and owned also show their financial situation and lifestyle, including debts that some canons had yet to repay at the time of their death. For example, in 1338, canon Guillem de Sant Vicens purchased some garments and cloth from Pons Malarç and Ramon Guerau, two Girona drapers, and pledged to pay them the 102 sou\(s\) that he owed.\(^{40}\) Canon Dalmau de Mont also recognized debts to two drapers and a shoemaker in his testament, noting that he owed twelve sou\(s\), or even up to twenty sou\(s\), to Marco Abrun, the shoemaker. He owed seven lliures and eleven sou\(s\) to Francesc Andree and an unspecified amount to Ramon Tortosa for silk.\(^{41}\) Similarly, in 1347, canon Bernat de Mont-rodon purchased garments worth nine lliures, thirteen sou\(s\), and six diners from the same Girona draper Ramon Tortosa.\(^{42}\) The executors of canon Ramon de Vildemany were left to pay his debts from his estate, including a variety of charges for garments, like the sixteen lliures he owed to a Barcelona draper for various pieces of cloth, including multi-colored silk, the twelve lliures, five sou\(s\), and seven diners he owed to a Girona draper, and the twenty-two lliures, eleven sou\(s\), and three diners owed to another Barcelona draper for more multicolored silk, among other charges.\(^{43}\) Ponç de Sant Vicenç owed money for clothing and shoes as well, including thirteen sou\(s\) and eight sou\(s\) to shoemakers in Barcelona and Perpignan, respectively, plus sixteen sou\(s\) for cloth to a draper in Perpignan.\(^{44}\) Clothing was, of course, a clear way to show one’s social status, so sizeable expenditures on silk and various garments show these canons’ financial outlay in dressing appropriately for their position.

The goods and money left as bequests in testaments are another source of valuable information about the wealth and lifestyle of the canons. For the canons who made many bequests, it is possible to calculate the total value of their gifts, and these sums could be rather large. For example, Pere de Crexell left 9,325 sou\(s\) to various churches and the cathedral to fund masses and benefices, plus 1,000 sou\(s\) to individuals to

\(^{40}\) ADG *Notularum* G-13, fol. 118v (11 Dec. 1338).
\(^{41}\) ADG *Notularum* G-38, fol. 97r.
\(^{42}\) ADG *Notularum* G-20, fol. 6v (29 Dec. 1347).
\(^{43}\) ADG *Processos* 109, fol. 24v, 26v, 28r.
\(^{44}\) ADG *Notularum* G-31, fol. 104v.
cover debts he owed, and 400 sous in gifts to men of his household. When added to other various bequests from his will, his estate totaled at least 14,725 sous and seven silver marks. Bernat de Vilert left five silver marks, nineteen lliures, and over 3,700 sous to religious and charitable institutions and twenty lliures and 1,450 sous in individual legacies, totaling over 39 lliures, 5,000 sous, and five silver marks. These figures represent some of the largest amounts specified in the testaments of the Girona canons, but it is sometimes impossible to determine the values of the canons’ estates because of the ways in which they drew up their testaments. They often designated a universal heir for any items and money not left to other heirs but did so without specifying a total amount.

Although the testament of canon Ramon de Vildemany did not survive, a series of documents detailing the execution of his estate show how his executors paid off a number of debts. In April 1330, Arnau de Mont-rodon, acting as episcopal vicar, approved the executors’ plan to compile and certify a list of debts before proceeding with settling the estate, since they had to make restitution to creditors first. So, in order to proceed, the episcopal vicar and executors received a series of visitors to whom Ramon de Vildemany owed money. Many creditors brought with them notarial documents detailing the terms and amount of the loan or transaction to certify the truth of their claim and prove what Ramon owed. At least thirty individuals appeared before the executors to claim an unpaid debt and, in total, Ramon’s creditors registered claims for at least 88 lliures, 3,600 sous, and twenty diners. Ramon owed money to clerics, rectors, and chaplains from churches throughout the diocese, as well as to the treasurer of the king of Mallorca. He owed 114 sous to a Girona apothecary, sixteen lliures to a Barcelona cloth merchant for multi-colored silks, twelve lliures to a Girona draper for more cloth, and twenty-two lliures to the procurator of another Barcelona draper, for silks of various colors. His debts to these cloth merchants suggests that he took care to dress in a manner that demonstrated this status, wearing silks and garments of other fine cloth to show others his standing and

45 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-1, fol. 1r-4r.
46 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-1, fol. 4v-8v.
47 ADG Processos Medievals 109, fol. 1r-2r.
48 ADG Processos Medievals 109, fol. 14v-15r, 24v, 25v, 28r. The documents only describe the amount as debts he owed to them, without further detail. They appear to be loans, based on the documents the creditors brought to the estate executors, which explain that Vilarig had promised to repay them in full for the stated amounts.
importance. It is unclear why Ramon owed so much to various clerics from the diocese, but he received loans from these men on a number of occasions. He borrowed various sums ranging from 80 to 200 sous from Arnau de Rovira, a priest of the chapter, on at least five occasions between October 1301 and October 1309, suggesting that they had a long-standing financial relationship or arrangement.49

Relations with Relatives

As mentioned previously, canons frequently carried out personal economic transactions, especially lending and borrowing money. In these types of transactions, they dealt with the bishop, other canons and clerics, and various lay inhabitants of Girona, serving as lenders and incurring and repaying debts. For example, in 1322, canon Ramon de Vilamarí confirmed that he owed Bernat de Llach, a priest of the chapter, 623 sous for the loan he had received and promised to repay Bernat for this sum.50 Canon Ramon de Vildemany conducted a similar transaction with Blanca, widow of the knight Berenguer de Santa Eugenia, confirming that he owed her 400 sous, which he had received as a loan.51 The canons could also conduct these kinds of transactions with relatives within the chapter, showing the benefits of these close connections. Guillem de Cornellà, canon, received 5,100 sous as a loan from his brother, Bernat de Cornellà, archdeacon of la Selva, and bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon loaned his nephew Bertran 800 sous, which Bertran promised to repay out of his income as a canon.52 These familial relationships were economically beneficial for canons since they created built-in borrowing and lending relationships. This also speaks to the comfortable financial situation of at least some of the canons, who could lend such amounts at will.

Ties to relatives outside the chapter were important as well, and canons assisted in managing family property by serving as representatives for their lineages in various transactions. They were valued members of the family, trusted to represent their relatives

49 ADG Processos Medievals 109, fol. 12v.
51 ADG Pergamins de la Mitra 946 (9 June 1328).
52 ADG Notularum G-14, fol. 20v (23 June 1339) and G-14, fol. 33r (3 Sept. 1339).
well and act in the family’s best interests. For example, canon Bernat de Vilert sold goods for his sister Blanca to fellow canon Hug de Cruïlles for a price of 1,500 sous.\textsuperscript{53} In this situation, Bernat’s connection to Hug could have been the catalyst for this sale in providing Blanca with a buyer, showing that these family connections could be beneficial both for the canons and their relatives. Similarly, in 1301, canon Gilabert de Cruïlles sold a tithe in Empúries for his brother, Jaume, to two knights, who then appeared before Gilabert to perform the homage necessary for this transaction.\textsuperscript{54} Jaume was the lord of Cinclaus, in the county of Empúries, and would surely have had a number of other relatives or lieutenants who could have carried out this transaction for him. Because this sale involved a tithe, it was probably advantageous that a relative who was also a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the cathedral preside over this sale.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, lay control of portions of the tithe in the diocese of Girona was not exceptional. The Catalan model of the tithe differed from elsewhere in Iberia in that it closely followed the Carolingian model, due to the Carolingian conquest of Catalonia in the ninth and tenth centuries. As Carolingian forces conquered territory and parishes were established, bishops granted tithe revenues to these newly-founded parishes, some of which had lay patrons. At a 1068 Church council in Girona, ecclesiastical authorities denounced the lay holding and selling of tithes, but a 1078 council preserved the right of laypeople to hold tithes.\textsuperscript{55} The tithe could also be split into smaller portions, with part going to the bishop and part going to lay holders of this revenue.\textsuperscript{56} In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was common for lay nobles to do homage to the bishop of Girona for tithes they held in fief, and of all the tithes enfeoffed in 1362, approximately 90% were in the hands of the laity. In fact, Mallorquí referred to the tithe as the revenue of lay nobles in the fourteenth century “par excellence.”\textsuperscript{57} These lay tithe holders could also buy and sell tithes, paying a fee to the bishop when this type of transaction took place. Allowing laymen to hold tithes as fiefs allowed the bishops of

\textsuperscript{53} ADG Notularum G-2, loose fol. after fol. 67 (5 March 1307).
\textsuperscript{54} ADG Pergamins de la Mitra 556 (28 June 1301).
\textsuperscript{56} Pere Gifre Ribas, Els senyors útils i propietaris de mas. La formació històrica d’un grup social pagès (vegueria de Girona, 1486-1730) (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2012), 81.
\textsuperscript{57} Mallorquí, “Dîme et féodalité,” 140-141, 144.
Girona to retain essential lordship over these tithes and receive indirect economic benefit through the aforementioned transaction fees.\(^{58}\)

The lay possession of tithes was not unique to Girona. Thomas Barton discussed these practices elsewhere in Iberia, analyzing conflicts in Tortosa and Lleida in the twelfth century between the bishop and lay lords, as the bishop sought to reclaim tithes and their revenues from lay tithe holders.\(^{59}\) The same situation existed elsewhere in Europe and in earlier centuries. John Eldevik’s comparative work on tithes in Lucca, Mainz, and Salzburg mentioned how a ninth century bishop of Orléans wrote of powerful men controlling local parish churches and appropriating the tithe revenue, since they controlled the appointment process for the local priests. Laymen also founded and endowed chapels in Bavaria, named the chapels’ priests, and retained the tithe income.\(^{60}\) This practice appeared widespread in tenth-century Lucca, with the bishops leasing churches, tithes, and other properties to the rural aristocracy around Lucca.\(^{61}\) This also existed in Italy in the twelfth century, with long-term lay possession of tithes regarded as fiefs and commodities to be bought, sold, bequeathed, and used as dowries. Even if a lay tithe holder restored the tithe to the bishop or to the parish church, the ecclesiastical holder could turn around and lease it back to the layperson, who regarded this as an investment. The lease of the usufruct of a tithe could be made for a set period of time and in return for an annual payment, making this a business transaction rather than a feudal one.\(^{62}\)

Canons also conducted economic transactions with their relatives, exchanging property, goods, or money, showing their ability and interest in managing their own personal patrimonies. Such was the case in 1325 when Pere de Cornellà, knight, sold a portion of the tithe of Borassà, Creixell, and Vilamorell “to the venerable Guillem de Cornellà, canon of the Church of Girona, [acting] in his own name and not in the name of

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\(^{58}\) Mallorquí, “Díme et féodalité,” 144.


\(^{61}\) Eldevik, 155-157.

Pere had purchased the rights to collect a sixth of the tithe of these three areas, in the form of meat, wine, wool, bread, and other items, from a fellow member of the secular aristocracy the previous year. The final price of the sale to his brother was 8,500 *sous*, which gave Guillem full rights to collect his portion of the tithe. Although Guillem’s purchase was linked to the Church, he acted for himself and not for the Church in its acquisition, meaning the income would be his personally and not tied to his canonry or any benefice. This transaction was a way for Guillem to increase his personal holdings and patrimony and for his brother Pere to acquire some money in cash rather than in kind, all while keeping these holdings in the family.

Canons from the Mont-rodon family were particularly active in carrying out these types of transactions for their family, representing specific relatives or the lineage as a whole. Bertran de Mont-rodon, canon and archdeacon of la Selva, served as “lord and governor and administrator of the house of Sant Lleir,” a position he received as an inheritance from his uncle, also named Bertran, former rector of the church of Caldes de Montbui. From this grant, Bertran the canon received the use of the house and estate for his lifetime, including the furnishings of the house and any crops grown or animals raised on the estate. In addition, Bertran received any other rights, holdings, and income associated with Sant Lleir and other income the estate held rights to in ten other parishes, making this estate very valuable. In his capacity as administrator of Sant Lleir, Bertran later sold a portion of the fruits of this estate for 500 *sous* annually, showing that maintaining these family connections could prove personally valuable for the canons and their economic situations.

Canon and archdeacon Bertran also later worked with Bernat, another Mont-rodon canon, to support the family patrimony by purchasing tithes on behalf of the Mont-rodon heir and lineage. They paid the seller 580 *sous* for the right to collect the tithe in the parishes of Esponellà, Serinyà, and Centenys, all within the diocese of Girona, and they made this purchase on behalf of the heir of the house of Mont-rodon, also named

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63 ADG *Dotalies* D-2, fol. 176v (8 Dec 1325). “…uenerabili Guillemo de Corniliano, canonico ecclesie Gerundensensis, nomine proprio et non nomine ecclesie…”
64 ADG *Notularum* G-17, fol. 56v-57r (5 Oct. 1343).
65 ADG G-17, fol. 57r.
66 ADG *Notularum* G-18, fol. 149r-v (16 Aug. 1346).
Representing the interests of the family heir and patrimony provided an avenue for canons to continue to provide service helpful to their families. They were trusted representatives, capable of acting in a way that prioritized the concerns of their aristocratic lineage, like expanding its patrimony and providing economically for the heir. Joining the chapter did not disqualify canons from serving their families in this way, since the canons maintained these connections and integrated their family’s priorities into their lives and activities. These links were beneficial for the canons’ relatives as well, since the canons could continue to work on their family’s behalf, representing it in matters that related to the Church or to the city of Girona in particular.

Arnau de Mont-rodon went on from holding a canonry to being the bishop of Girona, but even then, he still maintained links to his family and worked with and on behalf of them in acquiring land and income. In 1347, together with his nephew Bernat, a Girona canon, he arranged the sale of the rights and income of the castellany of Brull to Ferrer Gener, a citizen of Vic. The two Mont-rodon ecclesiastics did so on behalf of Bernat, heir of the Mont-rodon house, who was too young to manage the family patrimony on his own. They then arranged to use a portion of the 500 lliures Ferrer had paid for this to buy tithes within the diocese. They carried out this transaction with the approval of Alamanda de Mont-rodon, the heir’s grandmother, and Bertran de Mont-rodon, Girona canon and archdeacon of la Selva and the heir’s uncle, since the heir was still underage, showing the involvement of a wider family network in managing the family patrimony. This was all done “for the utility and benefit of the said Bernat and the aforementioned house of Mont-rodon.” Because the Mont-rodon family was so prolific in sending sons to the chapter, three of the four family members mentioned in this document were ecclesiastics involved in supervising the management of the family patrimony. They still served to safeguard the family’s interests even after joining the chapter, showing the possibility for a combined focus on Church, personal, and family priorities. Although the requirement for celibacy was supposed to remove the desire for clerics to provide for their families and focus their attention on ecclesiastical service and

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67 ADG Notularum G-20, fol. 28v (3 March 1348).
69 “…per utilitatem et comodum dicti Bernardi ac predicte domus de Monte rotundo…” ADG Notularum G-19, fol. 22v.
devotion, canons still sought to maintain close relationships with their families and make use of these ties for economic purposes.

Arnau, the bishop, also displayed this combination of priorities when he donated a number of books to the house of Mont-rodon, giving at least three sets of *Decretals*, some of which contained glosses. In the document that recorded this gift, Arnau specified that he had owned these books before he was elected as bishop, and that they should be useful for the house of Mont-rodon and its heir, and that any cleric or student who also belonged to the Mont-rodon lineage should have access to these books. Any Mont-rodon male could possess and use these books for his period of study or for his lifetime, as long as he returned the books intact to the heir of the house. For the time being, Arnau noted that the books would go to a nephew who was a canon of the Mallorca chapter and a student of law, who then swore to make use of the books and return them so that future generations of Mont-rodon clerics and students could learn from these collections. With this donation, Arnau encouraged the education of clerics in future generations of his family, using his personal collection of ecclesiastical law books.

It is difficult to discern the amount and type of contact canons had with their relatives, but it seems likely that they kept in contact through personal visits and letters, although there are only a small number which are preserved in the diocesan archive. Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles, who had previously been a canon, remained in touch with his relatives in this way after becoming bishop. In June 1351, he wrote to his sister Constança and her husband, assuring them of their son’s safe arrival in Girona, indicating that his “dear nephew” (“*car nebot*”) had come to stay with his uncle. He reassured her that he would take good care of her son and wished her and her husband good health. His nephew seems to have stayed with Berenguer for over a year, since the bishop wrote again to his sister in September 1352, sending news of his nephew’s good health. The bishop had received their letter and was happy to hear that his “beloved sister” (“*cara

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70 ADG *Notularum* G-17, fol. 172v (20 Oct. 1344).
71 ADG G-17, fol. 172v-173r.
72 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-18, fol. 13v (17 June 1351). Other letters indicate that Berenguer had traveled with Constança with a group of other nobles in 1344, detailing an incident in which they were attacked. There are also other letters sent to Constança and her husband dealing with business in Peratallada, which was part of their lordship. See, for example, ADG U-18, fol. 75v; U-20, fol. 103v-104r; and U-25, fol. 209v.
germana nostra”) was well. For his sister, sending her son to live in the household of his uncle could be a way to prepare him for an ecclesiastical career.

Canon Vidal de Villanova used his familial ties for help during a conflict with the chapter over control of the pabordia of Castelló. His father and brother were both involved, at various times, in making appeals on Vidal’s behalf so he could maintain control of the pabordia (and continue to receive the income associated with this position). In the mid-1320s, both Vidal and Ferran de Mora, another Girona canon, asserted that they had the right to hold the pabordia of Castelló, which controlled the largest amount of land and provided income to cover three months’ of daily distributions in the cathedral for February, March, and April. Vidal de Villanova’s father, also named Vidal de Villanova, was in contact with the bishop in support of his son. The elder Villanova, who had served as a royal councilor and advisor, wanted to bring this matter to the royal court, where his connections could possibly benefit his son. The chapter decided in Vidal’s favor, allowing him to hold and manage the pabordia (and receive its income), but he needed familial assistance again in the second main phase of the conflict many years later. Vidal had been stripped of the pabordia after failing to share its revenue with the chapter, and the bishop and chapter were in communication with his brother, Pere, lord of Carlet, near Valencia. Pere wrote to the bishop and requested a copy of the proceedings against his brother, which the bishop agreed to send to him. Six months later, the bishop agreed not to make peace with Vidal without Pere’s agreement. Pere even submitted some type of document on Vidal’s behalf during this case, a copy of which the bishop requested directly from Pere. Even though this was an internal chapter matter regarding administration of chapter property and daily payments to members of the cathedral community, Vidal involved his father and brother in the dispute, hoping that their participation, authority, and connections could help him be victorious in gaining and maintaining control over this valuable pabordia and its estates. He viewed these

73 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-21, fol. 112v (Sept. 1352).
74 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-2, fol. 27r-v (21 Feb. 1326).
75 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-2, fol. 27v-28r (21 Feb. 1326).
76 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-26, fol. 46r (26 Aug. 1355).
77 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-27, fol. 96r (4 Jan. 1356). The bishop even mentioned this matter in a letter to his niece, mentioning that he would not make peace with Vidal without Pere’s agreement (ADG U-27, fol. 158r [20 Jan. 1356]).
78 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-30, fol. 30r (13 Oct. 1356).
connections as valuable for the assistance they could provide him, even in internal matters of the Girona chapter.

Families with strong ties to the Girona chapter were also linked to the monastery of Sant Daniel, a nunnery for women of the Catalan lower aristocracy. The nuns of this monastery were similarly linked to local society through familial connections, and many had surnames that matched the names of castles and villages in the region around Girona, suggesting that their fathers were castellans, knights, and minor lords whose holdings lay in close proximity to the city. Some families, like the Cruïlles and the Vilamarí, had male members that belonged to the cathedral chapter and female members that belonged to Sant Daniel, meaning that some canons had female relatives who belonged to this monastery. The connections between nuns and their families could also be a point of conflict, like the longstanding dispute between two nuns from the Vilamarí family and Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles, families which were both well represented in the cathedral chapter. Both Ermessenda and her niece Sibilla de Vilamarí were nuns at Sant Daniel, and it was common for multiple women from the same family to belong to this nunnery.

The dispute began in 1350 when Bishop Berenguer accused Ermessenda of taking objects from the sacristy and giving them to Sibilla, prioress of the monastery, who hid the items in her room. He then excommunicated Ermessenda and Sibilla. Two years later, he renewed Sibilla’s excommunication, saying she still had the stolen items. In a royal hearing to discuss a case between Bishop Berenguer and three nuns of the monastery, the nuns pointed to a latent cause for this conflict, other than a dispute about the objects of the monastery. Nuns Sibilla de Vilamarí, Guillema de Sant Sadurni, and Gueraua de Juia accused the bishop of harassing them because of a family conflict, noting that their relatives had a conflict with the bishop and his relatives, implying that the bishop was treating them unjustly for improper, personal reasons. Sibilla accused the bishop of seizing her income as prioress for the past six months, but he asserted that he had acted justly, and that he had only taken action against Sibilla and not the other two. Sibilla countered by asserting that the bishop had invented charges to defame her and other nuns from the families that opposed his nephews, saying that she was connected to several

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knightly families from Empúries.\textsuperscript{81} There is no record of a specific end to this matter, leaving Sibilla’s accusation unresolved, but it is implied that the nuns of the monastery, like the canons of the cathedral chapter, remained close to their families and could act, or be perceived, as agents or representatives of family interests and not just as ecclesiastics. The same types of families, and even some of the same families themselves, were represented in both ecclesiastical institutions, with these rural families seeking a place for their sons and daughters within the city. Like the chapter, the nunnery of Sant Daniel was not closed off to the outside world; the nuns were closely connected to their families and to the Girona laity through social visits, economic relationships, and ties to local churches and priests.\textsuperscript{82}

**Testaments**

One of the best ways to observe the importance of canons’ continued connection with their relatives is through their testaments. Canons enjoyed the privilege of distributing their personal goods without any restrictions from the Church, allowing them to select their own executors and heirs. They used two common strategies in their wills: providing for their own souls in the afterlife and providing for relatives both financially and spiritually, thus balancing spiritual and temporal concerns.\textsuperscript{83} Canons used their wills to express their religious devotion, as discussed in Chapter 2, but also to transfer their property and holdings to their relatives. In selecting which institutions and individuals would receive bequests, testators revealed important bonds, demonstrating which priorities and relationships mattered most at this critical moment. Testaments were a way for canons to shape their own legacies, deciding how to be remembered depending on where they chose to be buried, where they wanted anniversary masses to be held, and to whom they left their wealth and possessions. Many canons also took this opportunity to recognize the importance of their family bonds, leaving money to individual relatives.

\textsuperscript{81} Herder, “The Monastery of Sant Daniel,” 134.
\textsuperscript{82} Herder, “The Monastery of Sant Daniel,” 190.
\textsuperscript{83} This is, of course, not unique to these Girona testators. See the introduction in Cohn, *Death and Property in Siena.*
funding anniversary masses for specific relatives, or selecting family members as executors. Remembering their lineages in these concrete ways allowed the canons one final opportunity to demonstrate their lifelong connections to their families, providing for them financially and spiritually both during their lives and after their deaths. These connections were also evident in how canons figured into some of their relatives’ testaments as well. Canon Bernat de Vilert served as executor for his father, Berenguer de Vilert, a knight. The latter had named as his universal heir Francesc de Vilert, the designated heir of the Vilert lineage. In fulfilling his father’s wishes, Bernat received instructions to financially support a priest in the church of Santa Maria de Vilert who would celebrate mass in honor of Berenguer and all other deceased relatives. Canon and archdeacon of la Selva Bertran de Mont-rodon also served as executor for the testament of a relative, his uncle, rector of the church of Caldes de Montbui. In executing this testament, Bertran himself received possession of the valuable estate of Sant Lleir, discussed earlier on page 167. Additionally, canon Guillem Galceran de Rocaberti was named as executor by his brother, the viscount of Rocaberti. His brother’s status and holdings made this an important position, suggesting that Guillem Galceran still held a trusted and respected place in his lineage. Because of the nature of the sources of the cathedral archive, it is difficult to determine the extent to which canons figured in the testaments of their relatives, but their appointment as executors, especially in cases involving large estates, suggests that canons continued to be valued members of these families throughout their lives. Selecting relatives as executors was common in wills from the region at this time, which is unsurprising given that testators placed much trust in their executors to manage their estate and follow their wishes.

84 I have found little information about bequests left to relatives in the testaments of canons from other cathedral chapters. However, canons in Aquitaine had similar freedom to the Girona canons in making wills and distributing their property, and many gave land and property to their relatives rather than to the cathedral; Trumbore Jones, *Episcopal Power and Piety in Aquitaine*, 37.
86 ADG *Notularum* G-17, fol. 147r.
87 ADG *Registres de Lletres Episcopals* U-8, fol. 74v (July 1344).
88 Maria Josepa Arnall i Juan, “Testaments de Fons Monacals Gironins existents a l’arxiu de la Corona d’Aragó (segles XI-XV): Llurs Clàusules Diplomàtiques,” in *De Scriptis Notariorum (s. XI-XV)* (Barcelona: Publicacions de la Universitat de Barcelona, 1989), 53-55. Epstein noted that a many Genoese testators selected relatives as executors, most often their spouses, probably due to the strength and trust of this relationship (*Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa*, 223). This was also the case for testators in...
Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles was indirectly involved in settling his brother’s estate, working informally with his relatives to deal with any debts owed to or from the estate. He wrote to the widow of his brother, Jofre Gilabert de Cruïlles, stating that he had received her letter about the estate of his “beloved brother” (car frare nostre) and informing her that he had no outstanding debts to Jofre’s estate.\(^89\) His sister-in-law must have asked if he owed the estate any money, to allow the executors to settle her husband’s estate. Although Berenguer’s answer was negative, his reference to not having any outstanding debts suggested that he had indeed borrowed money from his brother in the past. A couple of months later, he wrote to the abess of the monastery of Sant Daniel in Barcelona where his sister, Beatrice, lived, indicating that Jofre’s debt to Beatrice had been paid in full.\(^90\) Even though he was not named as one of his brother’s executors, Bishop Berenguer was still involved in communicating information about the estate to relatives, showing his close continuing ties to his family.

The canons’ choice of executors reflected their connections to both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds, but they strongly favored selecting other men of the Church. All of the canons selected multiple executors, ranging in number from two to ten. In almost a third of the testaments, canons chose family members as part of this group, including four canons who selected their brothers and another canon who selected an unspecified relative. Three of the chosen relatives were also members of the chapter, including two canons and one archdeacon. Another brother was not a part of the chapter but was the abbot of the nearby monastery of Vilabertran. The final brother was not an ecclesiastic, but rather a knight (referred to as a “miles”).\(^91\) In approximately three quarters of the testaments (13 out of 17), the canon testator selected only ecclesiastics as executors, including nine of seventeen testators who selected other canons. Four of seventeen testators included a priest of the chapter among their executors. In the remaining quarter of the testaments (4 out of 17), the canon testator chose one lay

\(^{89}\) ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-34, fol. 58r (13 Feb. 1359).

\(^{90}\) ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-34, fol. 59r (8 Apr. 1359).

\(^{91}\) The individual details of these relationships will be discussed in the following pages.
executor in addition to at least one ecclesiastic. This group included the aforementioned knight, a Girona physician, a man “from the household of the bishop,” and a squire.  

Figure 4.1: Canons’ selection of executors

![Chart showing executors selected by canons]

In the testaments made by canons themselves, family members were involved in a variety of ways, including as witnesses, executors, and recipients of bequests. A number of wills show the links between canons and their uncles, brothers, or nephews who also belonged to the chapter. Canon and archdeacon of la Selva Bernat de Cornellà selected his brother, Guillem, also a canon, as one of his executors. He wished initially to be buried in the Girona cloister and then have his bones translated to the tomb of his uncle, Berenguer de Pau, former precentor of the Girona cathedral. Bernat assigned his brother Guillem the duty of managing his properties and income to pay for anniversary masses to be held in the cathedral and instructed Guillem to use any additional resources to support

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92 Canon Ponç de Sant Vicenç selected a man “de domo domini Episcopi...” ADG Notularum G-31, fol. 104r (7 Oct. 1354). Canon Francesc de Fortià chose “my squire” (scutiferum meum); ADG Notularum G-20, fol. 114v (26 July 1348).
the poor by founding an *almoina*, hospital, or some other pious work, if possible.⁹³ The wishes he expressed in his testament clearly showed Bernat’s piety and devotion but also his trust in his brother to faithfully execute his wishes. He was confident in Guillem’s ability to manage his land and financial holdings to best support and provide for the poor in whatever way Guillem thought possible. Bernat’s choice to be buried in his uncle’s tomb showed that canons could maintain these familial bonds throughout their lives as well as after their deaths, emphasizing the permanence of these ties.

In his own testament, Guillem de Cornellà emphasized these kinds of links as well. Among his executors, he selected canon Dalmau Alionis, a family member whose exact relation is unspecified.⁹⁴ He founded a priestly benefice, and the holder’s duties included the lighting and maintenance of a candle on the tomb of Berenguer de Pau, Guillem’s uncle, in honor of Berenguer and Bernat, Guillem’s deceased brother. Additionally, to fulfill Bernat’s last wishes to provide for the poor, Guillem designated them as his universal heirs, instructing that any money from his estate not marked for another purpose should go to fulfilling Bernat’s wishes to fund a charitable organization to help the poor.⁹⁵ Guillem used his own testament to fulfill his brother’s final wishes, adding his own funds to those already pledged by Bernat to help the poor. Endowing a candle to be perpetually lit at his uncle’s tomb shows Guillem’s wish to remember and honor his uncle and brother, linked through ties of family and ecclesiastical service.

The cases of Berenguer de Palau, sacristan, and Ramon de Vilarig, archdeacon of Girona, were similar, as reflected in their testamentary instructions. Berenguer the sacristan selected his brother, Ramon, as one of his executors and together they founded and endowed a chapel in the cathedral, donating at least 3,000 *sous* for this purpose.⁹⁶ After the deaths of Berenguer and Ramon, their executors followed their wishes and instituted a benefice in the newly constructed chapel of Saint Salvador. They codified the priest’s duties and specified that he had to consult with the executors and Ramon’s nephew Arnau de Vilarig on the management of the property and income that supported

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⁹³ ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 168r-169r. Guillem also witnessed Bernat’s testament.
⁹⁴ ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 170r. Guillem refers to Dalmau as “consanguineum meum.”
⁹⁵ ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 171r-v.
⁹⁶ ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-3, fol. 48v.
this benefice. Berenguer and Ramon were even buried together in a tomb marked with an elaborate, four-sided monument upon which a poem about the two was carved. The poem identified the two as brothers who shared a mother and referred to them as devoted, pious men who left money from their estates to build a chapel, endow anniversary masses, and fund lamps to be perpetually lit on the altar of the chapel they founded. Although they were buried separately at first, their bodies were moved so they could be buried together, linking them through their relationship and religious foundations in life and their final resting place and monument in death. Later, their nephew Berenguer, canon and archdeacon of Empúries, left a testamentary bequest to support a priest who would celebrate mass at the altar of the chapel founded by his “most beloved uncles.”

Guillem de Vilarig, canon, archdeacon of Empúries, and Ramon’s nephew, also valued his relationship with his uncle, choosing a burial place directly adjacent to Ramon’s tomb.

Other canons made similar provisions, giving money or goods to men with whom they shared ecclesiastical and familial connections. Canon Simo de Sexà left his house in Girona to another Girona canon, Dalmau de Mont, identified as Simo’s dearest relative. Although it is unclear if it was the same house, Dalmau de Mont later left his own house to another Girona canon as well, Galceran de Montecurvo. Ponç de Sant Vicenç left a number of goods and household items to his relative Guillem, also a Girona canon. Although Gilabert de Cruïlles went on to hold the position of bishop of Girona, he made a testament while he was still a canon that expressed these kinds of priorities. He instituted a benefice in the cathedral for a priest who would celebrate mass three times a week for his soul and for his father and mother and say a prayer specifically for him and his parents. Gilabert held the right of presentation for the benefice during his lifetime, meaning he had the right to choose the priest who would hold this benefice. After his death, this right would pass to his brother, canon Hug de Cruïlles, then to another relative and fellow canon, Bernat, then his nephew, canon Berenguer, then to whomever was the

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97 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-3, fol. 101v-102r.
98 Marquès, Inscripcions, 88-91.
99 “…auunculi carissimi…” ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 109r.
100 Marquès, Inscripcions, 86.
101 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-3, fol. 70r. Simo refers to Dalmau as “carissimo consanguineo meo.”
102 ADG Notularum G-38, fol. 97v.
103 ADG Notularum G-31, fol. 105r (1354).
eldest of the canons from the Cruïlles family. This list clearly showed how membership in the chapter was very common for men of the Cruïlles family, linking at least these four men through both familial and ecclesiastical ties. In giving the right of nomination to other Cruïlles canons, Gilabert highlighted the continuing value placed on recognizing the bonds of lineage.

This type of testamentary bequest was a way both to give money to the cathedral and to privilege one’s birth family. Gilabert de Cruïlles also chose a burial location in the Girona cathedral, like many other canons. However, a number of his relatives were also buried in the cathedral, so this choice again reflected a desire to connect to both his spiritual and carnal families, linking him to his relatives and to the ecclesiastical community. He also gave 300 sous to the Girona Franciscans to celebrate mass for his father (who was buried at this convent) and all his relatives, 200 sous to the collegiate church of Sant Feliu for masses for Dalmau Petracissa, his uncle, and 200 sous to the monastery of Sant Daniel in Girona for an anniversary for his mother and all other relatives buried there. In the cathedral, he funded presbyterial masses for Cecilia, his sister (who was, before her death, the viscountess of Rocaberti), Alamanda, Cecilia’s daughter, and Geralda, his sister, all of whom were buried in the cathedral. The extent to which Gilabert paid tribute to members of his family shows the continuing importance he placed on these relationships, even after death. These connections and the spiritual health of his relatives were clearly a priority.

Gilabert’s brother, Hug de Cruïlles, canon and abbot of Sant Feliu, also used his testament to express his religious devotion through legacies for anniversaries, altars, and priests, and his familial loyalty was also evident in these donations. He left money to support two priests to attend the Hours in the cathedral, in honor of his brother Gilabert, who was a former bishop of Girona, and himself. These priests were assigned to altars in the cathedral dedicated to Saint Peter and Saint Paul, altars which Gilabert had founded and endowed. To fund these priests, Hug allocated income from the castle of Petracissa,

104 ADG Dotalies D-3, fol. 42v (22 Oct. 1330).
105 ADG Dotalies D-3, fol. 43v (22 Oct. 1330).
106 ADG Dotalies, D-3, fols. 43v-44r (22 October 1330).
purchased with money Gilabert left to Hug in his own will. Hug, therefore, used money he inherited from his brother to create ecclesiastical benefices whose holders would honor these Cruïlles brothers. The links between these ecclesiastical foundations and the Cruïlles lineage was strengthened by the right of presentation for these priestly places that Hug assigned to his nephew Bernat, also a Girona canon. After Bernat’s death, patronage would pass to the abbot of Sant Feliu, the role Hug held in the chapter, further showing the intertwining of his familial and ecclesiastical loyalties.

Canons’ executors managed their estates after death and often had to deal with relatives to settle any outstanding financial debts or instructions. The latter can show more about the relations between canons and their relatives during their lifetime. For example, canon Guillem de Vilarig owed his relative, archdeacon Ramon de Vilarig, 1,000 sous, and Ramon’s executors sought to collect this debt on behalf of the estate. He sent a procurator to deliver this money, and the executors recognized that the debt was paid. This transaction demonstrates the potential benefit to having relatives who were fellow canons in the chapter and could loan large sums of money, seemingly without a firm deadline for repayment.

Canons also used their testaments to honor their relationships with relatives and members of their household who were not part of the chapter. Pere de Mont recognized his uncle, Dalmau de Pontós, in his testament, seeking to honor Dalmau’s memory through an anniversary mass. Although Dalmau had been a canon of the Girona chapter, he ended his life as a doctor in laws and a nobleman, as shown by his testament that mentioned also a wife and two sons. Despite this change in status away from his earlier ecclesiastical career, he was buried in the cathedral. Pere showed the value that he placed on his relationship with Dalmau both in his testament and on the inscription of his tomb, which stated that he founded an anniversary “for the venerable Dalmau de Pontós, his deceased uncle.”

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107 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 124v, 125v. The income associated with this castle had another connection to the Cruïlles family: the noble Gilabert de Cruïlles, a relative of bishop Gilabert and Hug, had sold this income to a Girona draper who then sold it to Hug.
108 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-2, fol. 126r-v.
109 ADG Notularum G-5, fol. 13r-v (2 March 1325).
110 Marqués, Inscript ions, 71.
111 “…pro uenerabili Dalmacio de Pontonibus quondam auunculo suo…” Marqués, Inscript ions, 85. For Pere’s testament, see ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-3, fol. 143v.
Some canons used their testaments to repay debts to relatives, suggesting that they had remained in close contact during their lives to conduct such transactions. For example, canon Ponç de Sant Vicenç specified that his executors should pay his sister 44  

_lliures_ and his niece 50 _sous_ in order to repay his debts.\(^\text{112}\) Canon Pere de Crexell anticipated owing such sums to his mother and uncle, noting that his executors should pay such debts, if notice of them arose and could be verified. He instructed the estate to repay up to 300 _sous_ to his mother and up to 700 _sous_ to his uncle.\(^\text{113}\) His executors also dealt with a case involving Pere’s brother, Dalmau, who sought payment from Pere’s estate. In settling this matter, the estate paid out 1,000 _sous_ to Dalmau.\(^\text{114}\) The practice of repaying sums owed was common in testaments from this region and era, with many testators setting aside specific amounts of money to repay anyone who registered a debt with the executors.\(^\text{115}\)

Canons also selected relatives who were fellow churchmen as executors. Canon and archdeacon of Empúries Guillem de Vilarig selected as one of his executors his brother Amengaud, abbot of the monastery of Vilabertran. He assigned to Amengaud in particular the task of supervising the funding and distribution of donations to churches in Girona and Lleida.\(^\text{116}\) This assignment was part of the continuing theme of the mix of familial and ecclesiastical priorities and relationships: Guillem assigned his brother, also an ecclesiastical figure, the task of supervising pious legacies to various churches in the diocese. He also assigned Amengaud the right of patronage for a benefice he had founded and endowed in the cathedral, although he specified that Bernat Seriya, his own squire, should hold this benefice first (unless he held another benefice by that point). After Amengaud’s death, the right of patronage fell to the chapter as a whole.\(^\text{117}\) Canon and abbot of Sant Feliu Vidal de Blanes also nominated a relative, his nephew Guillem de

\(^{112}\) ADG _Notularum_ G-31, fol. 104v. Ponç also owed 40 _sous_ to another nun at the monastery where his niece lived, among other debts.

\(^{113}\) ADG _Dotalies de Beneficis_ D-1, fol. 3r. It is unclear why Pere anticipated accruing such debts to his relatives and why he capped the repayment limits, but this suggests a financial relationship with these relatives.

\(^{114}\) ADG _Notularum_ G-3, fol. 7v-82 (23 May 1320).

\(^{115}\) Arnall i Juan, “Testaments de Fons Monacals Gironins,” 62.

\(^{116}\) ADG _Registres de Lletres Episcopals_ U-6, fol. 119r.

\(^{117}\) ADG _Dotalies de Beneficis_ D-2, fol. 192v. The expectation that Bernat, Guillem’s squire, would go on to hold an ecclesiastical benefice suggested that he either was already a cleric or planned on taking clerical vows which would enable him to hold such an office.
Blanes, to hold the right of presentation for the benefice he founded, although his nephew was not a cleric. Rather, he was lord of a nearby castle and, after his death, patronage fell to his successors as lords of the castle.\textsuperscript{118} Even though his nephew and the nephew’s successors were not clerics, Vidal still gave them this right of presentation, perhaps as a way to informally reserve this benefice for clerics within the family.

Canons also used their testaments to provide for their relatives or associates. Guillem de Vilamarì, canon and abbot of Sant Feliu, named his brother, Ramon de Vilamarì, a knight, as his universal heir. Ramon would then receive any items not specifically given to other named individuals and any other property, possessions, or money belonging to Guillem’s estate.\textsuperscript{119} Canon Pere de Crexell left 200 \textit{sous} for each of the two clerics who were part of his household, unless they obtained an ecclesiastical benefice before his death, in which case they would receive only 50 \textit{sous}.\textsuperscript{120} He wanted to provide for those who had lived with him as part of his household and facilitate their advancement in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As clerics living with a cathedral canon, it seems that they hoped to advance to holding a benefice, as Pere’s testament suggests. Simo de Sexà similarly instituted a benefice in the codicil to his testament and instructed that it should go first to Berenguer Riaria, a cleric who lived with him.\textsuperscript{121}

The testament of Dalmau de Mont, canon, suggests a close relationship with Maria, a woman described as his handmaiden (“\textit{ancilla}”). He instructed that everything in his house which belonged to her should be freely released to her and left her a number of items, including furniture and household goods. He also left her two separate sums, 50 \textit{sous} and eight \textit{lliures} (equivalent to 160 \textit{sous}), to pay her back for what he owed her.\textsuperscript{122} The precise relationship between Dalmau and Maria was unclear, but it would be

\textsuperscript{118} ADG \textit{Dotalies de Beneficis} D-2, fol. 90v.
\textsuperscript{119} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-2, unnumbered folio inserted after f. 101. There is no specific total given to this amount left after all other bequests had been filled.
\textsuperscript{120} ADG \textit{Dotalies de Beneficis} D-2, fol. 3r-v. These two clerics also witnessed Pere’s testament.
\textsuperscript{121} ADG \textit{Dotalies de Beneficis} D-3, fol. 70v. Julia Barrow noted that it was common for canons to found and endow chaplaincies and select relatives or members of their household as the first chaplain (“\textit{Origins of Vicars Choral},” 15). This was a way to give property back to the Church and provide for relatives or protégés at the same time.
\textsuperscript{122} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-38, fol. 97r (1358). It was not unusual for servants to receive bequests from their masters in their testaments; see Woolgar, \textit{The Great Household}, 32. Steven Epstein noted that around 1/6 of the Genoese wills he surveyed included bequests to servants, most often small amounts of money or articles of clothing (\textit{Wills and Wealth in Medieval Genoa}, 127).
surprising for a canon to borrow money from a servant in his household, suggesting that Maria was more than a domestic helper. Canon Francesc de Fortia also left money in his testament to a woman who may have been a servant, giving 160 sous to “Sibilla, who has lived and does live with me at present.” In recognizing the relationships important to them, canons continued to include unrelated members of their households, including servants, squires, and other clerics.

Canon Bernat de Vilert also recognized his relatives and associates to a significant degree in his testament, leaving legacies and funding anniversary masses in the cathedral for his soul and for the souls of all his relatives, including the former Girona bishop, also named Bernat de Vilert. He left 100 sous to three nuns at the same female monastery, two of whom can be specifically identified as his relatives, and he funded anniversaries at the monastery to honor his mother, Sibilla de Vilert, in particular. He also left fifteen lliures to Berenguer de Thisa, identified as a knight and relative. In addition, Bernat provided for members of his household, leaving 50 sous to a relative, identified as a cleric who lived with him, and fifteen lliures to his squire (not a relative), if he had not yet received an ecclesiastical benefice by the time of Bernat’s death. Other non-relatives who lived with Bernat and received legacies included another cleric who received five lliures (100 sous) and his messenger who received one lliure (20 sous). Bernat’s testament shows an effort to recognize the important relationships in his life, providing sums to relatives and members of his retinue and leaving legacies to fund masses for his parents.

Arnau de Soler and the Vilanera monastery

Provisions in the testament of canon and archdeacon Arnau de Soler very clearly demonstrated a desire to honor and provide for his lineage even after his death through the foundation of a female monastery, Vilanera. As will be demonstrated below, he intended for his illegitimate daughter and other female relatives to join the monastery and

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123 “...Sibilie que mecum stetit et stat de presenti...“ ADG Notularum G-20, fol. 114v.

124 ADG Dotalies de Beneficis D-1, 5v-6v. He also left money to pay for anniversary masses for his father in the church of Santa Maria de Vilert.
live in the company of other elite women. Although his testament itself does not survive, a number of later notarial documents describe its contents and execution, discussing the instructions Soler left for his estate. He entrusted the administration of his goods and the execution of his will to Bishop Pedro de Urrea, who appointed Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, to manage Soler’s estate. Within two months, Berenguer had started to fulfill the terms of Soler’s testament, delivering 500 sous and a number of household items, including a bed, pots, linens, garments, and candles, to Fresca de Soler, one of Arnau’s relatives who was to take the habit and live as a nun at Vilanera. She confirmed receipt of these items, acknowledging that she had received them from Berenguer and that they were delivered according to the mandate of the bishop. This money and these items went to fulfilling the terms of Arnau’s testament, as they were intended to provide for the female monastery that Arnau had founded.

The bishop closely supervised the distribution of goods from Arnau’s estate, emphasizing archdeacon Berenguer’s role in managing any disbursements. He approved the archdeacon’s delivery of more items to Fresca, goods which Arnau instructed in his testament should go to supporting the monastery at Vilanera. The bishop also wrote to the batlle of Empúries, noting that the batlle was not to disburse any of Arnau’s holdings or goods in Empúries to the recently constructed monastery without the express permission of archdeacon Berenguer. The batlle also needed to hand over any income from these holdings or money from the sale of any of these items to the archdeacon. These instructions showed that the bishop wanted to supervise the terms of this testament closely, especially items relating to the monastery.

The content of Arnau’s testament was explained more fully in a 1328 document that recorded the foundation and dedication of the female monastery of Vilanera. Bishop Pedro de Urrea traveled to Vilanera, in the parish of Sant Marti of Empúries, accompanied by Berenguer de Pau, precentor, Bernat de Godello, archdeacon of la Selva, Berenguer de Palau, archdeacon of Empúries, and other canons and priests of the chapter. There, he explained that Arnau de Soler, as archdeacon and doctor of law, had

125 ADG Notularum G-6, 39v (3 Aug. 1326), 48r (3 Sept. 1326).
126 ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 70v-71r (27 Oct. 1326).
127 ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 192r (5 May 1328).
128 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-3, fol. 17v-18r (8 Nov. 1327).
understood the importance of dedication to the religious life and how pleasing the conversion of nuns was to God, and that he had intended for them to live honorably in order to merit mercy from God for themselves and all their relatives. Arnau therefore had founded and endowed a monastery in Vilanera, which his estate would support, “hoping that on account of the Divine Office which would take place in that monastery, and on account of the merits of those nuns, he would be able to reach that celestial home… and live in glory without end.”

129 Founding this monastery had been a way for Arnau to work towards his own salvation but also an extension of his religious devotion, intending to further serve and please God and bring spiritual benefit to the Vilanera nuns as well.

Bishop Pedro de Urrea outlined his approval for this monastic foundation and the role he, as bishop, would play in the monastery’s future. He bestowed the monastic habit upon nine named women, including Fresca de Soler, and asserted his right to nominate or place additional nuns at the monastery and his power to visit and supervise the nuns, who were subject to diocesan law and episcopal jurisdiction.130 Since many of the named women had not yet reached adulthood, the bishop declared his intent to provide them with continuing counsel and supervision, so that they would avoid any danger of misdeed in regard to either spiritual or temporal matters. To facilitate the operation of this monastery, he assigned two priests to say the mass there, one at each of the two altars. He finished by naming Fresca de Soler as abbess.131 To facilitate her move to Vilanera to take up the position of abbess, the bishop had granted her license to take up residence there a month earlier.132 Although this document did not specify the relationship between Arnau and Fresca, their identical patronymic and Fresca’s prominence in receiving money and goods from Arnau’s estate and her nomination as abbess suggests a familial connection.

Within a decade, however, this monastery had run into some difficulties. In exercising the requirement of visitation, Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon went to Vilanera in 1335 but found that the monastery was not operating properly and that there was no

129 “Sperans quod propter diuina officia que in ipso monasterio fieren, et ipsarum sanctimonialium merita, ad patriam illam celestem mereretur pertingere… et vivitur in gloria sine fine.” ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 183r (30 Apr. 1328)
130 ADG G-6, fol. 183v.
131 ADG G-6, fol. 183v-184r.
132 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-3, fol. 103br (8 Apr. 1328).
appropriate governor. The current administrator, Marie de Soler, was failing to carry out her duties since she was “very much oppressed both by infirmity and by the old age of her person.”\textsuperscript{133} In the intervening years, Fresca de Soler had died and command of the monastery had passed to Marie, suggesting that the position of abbess was reserved for women from the Soler lineage, to which the monastery’s founder belonged. Since Marie was incapable of providing the proper care and administration of the monastery in both spiritual and temporal matters, the bishop relieved Marie of this duty. He selected Felipa de Soler as the new administrator due to her honesty and the sincerity of her religious devotion, entrusting her with the spiritual care and temporal administration of the monastery. The bishop instructed that Felipa was to manage all of the monastery’s holdings and rights, focusing on the advantage and good of the monastery.\textsuperscript{134} After the monastery incurred difficulties under another Soler administrator, the bishop still kept the administrative power in the hands of a member of Arnau’s family, in accordance with his wishes.

Further information about this transition came in a later document, showing Arnau’s specific requests regarding Felipa and hinting at his purpose in founding the monastery. It noted that he,

having instituted our lord Jesus Christ as his universal heir in his final testament, in honor of [Jesus] and the most blessed Virgin Mary, his mother, commissioned that a monastery of nuns be constructed, under the habit and rule of the blessed Benedict, in the place of Vila Ner in the terminus of the castle of Empúries, and that it be ruled by the venerable Fresca de Soler, former prioress of Pedardell, until Felipa de Soler, now a nun of the said monastery, daughter of the venerable Blanca de Montpaó, should reach the age when she is able to be abbess of [the monastery], and then when she has reached that age, she should be abbess of it.\textsuperscript{135} Arnau, then, specifically requested that Felipa become abbess when she had reached an appropriate age, and since that time had come, Felipa received this position. Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon noted that Felipa, having lived at the monastery for much of her

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\textsuperscript{133} “tam infirmitate quam senio persone sue plurimum oppressa…” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-13, fol. 168\textsuperscript{r} (10 Mar. 1339).

\textsuperscript{134} ADG \textit{Notularum} G-13, fol. 168\textsuperscript{r-v}.

\textsuperscript{135} “Arnaldus de Solerio… in suo testamento ultimo dominum nostrum Ihesu, Christum heredem suum universalem instituendo ad honorem ipsius et beatissime virginis Marie matris eius monasterium sanctamoniulium sub habitu et regula beati Benedicti, in loco de Vila Ner in termino castri Impuriarum fieri, ac per uenerabilem Frescham de Solerio, priorissam Pederdella condam, quousque Philipa de Solerio, nunc monialis dicti monasterii, filia uenerabilis Blancho de Monte Pauone, perueniret ad etatem quod posset ebbe abbatissa eiusdem regi mandauit, et tunc cum ad illam etatem peruenerit sit abbatissa ipsius…” ADG \textit{Notularum} G-15, fol. 128\textsuperscript{v}-129\textsuperscript{r} (17 Aug. 1341).
life, was prepared to fulfill the terms of Arnau’s testament by serving as abbess and managing both the spiritual and temporal matters of the monastery.\textsuperscript{136}

A later document obliquely explained why Arnau specifically mandated that Felipa become abbess, suggesting that she was his illegitimate daughter. In order to fulfill the terms of Arnau’s testament by serving as abbess, Felipa, as “a woman born illegitimately,” needed a dispensation to hold this position, so bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles appointed a Girona canon as his representative to grant this.\textsuperscript{137} Because of her good character and the honesty of her religious dedication, the episcopal representative absolved Felipa of the indecency of her birth and the defect of “being born of a deacon and released [her] so that she could be abbess.”\textsuperscript{138} Since deacon was the ecclesiastical rank that Girona canons needed to attain, it is likely that Arnau de Soler was Felipa’s father. Founding this monastery and enabling her to serve as abbess was a way for Arnau to provide for his daughter, despite the circumstances of her birth. His instructions made it possible for her to gain authority and prestige as abbess of Vilanera, surrounded by women from the Soler lineage and other women of noble birth.

A 1360 letter from Bishop Berenguer de Cruïlles to Felipa confirms this interpretation. He wrote to the nuns, reminding them of Arnau’s wishes for the monastery as specified in his testament, noting that “the said monastery should not receive anyone as a nun if she was not the daughter of a gentleman or born from an ancient lineage of knights.”\textsuperscript{139} This would guarantee that Arnau’s daughter would be brought up and live among her peers, since she was part of the knightly Soler lineage.\textsuperscript{140} But, Arnau intended to provide not just for his daughter, but for other women from his family as well, specifying in his will that “if there should be any girl or woman from the Soler lineage, and she wanted to be a nun of the said monastery, [the monastery] would be held to receive her willingly… in memory of the said Master Arnau, who was patron, donor, and

\textsuperscript{136} ADG G-15, fol. 129r.
\textsuperscript{137} “...domina illegitime nata...” ADG Notularum G-35, fol. 129v (18 May 1359).
\textsuperscript{138} “...de diacono genita et soluta ut abbatissa esse...” ADG G-35, fol. 130r.
\textsuperscript{139} “...lo dit monestir non sia reebuda neguna en monja si no sera fila lo doyne e natural de antic linyatge de caualer.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-37, fol. 154r (18 Feb. 1360).
\textsuperscript{140} The only thing known about Felipa’s maternal lineage is the name of her mother, Blanca de Montpaó, as cited in a footnote on the previous page. Montpaó was the name of a village near Calafell, between Tarragona and Barcelona.
founder, and was born of the said house of Soler.”¹⁴¹ The bishop passed on some information about Isabel, daughter of Dalmau de Soler, who wanted to join the monastery.¹⁴² By founding and endowing this monastery, Arnau provided a place not only for his daughter but also for other women from his family, using his estate to craft a legacy for himself and his lineage. He used his material wealth to provide for the spiritual health of his daughter and other Soler women, tying his legacy both to his family and to the Church. The strength and longevity of Arnau de Soler’s testamentary wishes is striking; they were seen as indefinitely binding on the monastic community he founded and on the bishops of Girona, appointed to carry out the terms of his testament. This extended duration of fidelity to a testator’s wishes is unusual, although mostly because of the scarcity of bequests of this scale and scope. Founding a religious organization is not typical of the surviving wills of the Girona canons, but, as mentioned previously, a number of canons founded chapels, altars, or benefices and left accompanying instructions for selecting the benefice holders. In this way, canons like Arnau could safeguard familial wealth, status, and memory.

### Participation in the World of Honor

Because of the value placed by the canons on their relationships with their families and the extent to which canons maintained these ties throughout their lives, canons also remained firmly tied to the world of the secular aristocracy in Catalonia, a world of honor and potentially violent competition to defend and enhance status. The strength and duration of canons’ relationships with their families exposed canons to these kinds of values and norms, which were reflected in the canons’ own priorities and actions. Violence was a type of social interaction and exchange, wherein two or more parties engaged with each other during a conflict using verbal or physical tactics, which bystanders or the wider community then interpreted. People could use this kind of

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¹⁴¹ “…sera alcuna donzela ho dona del linyatge den Soler, e vuyla esse monja del dit monestir, sia tengut de grat aquela reebre… en memoria del dit micer Arnau, fo patron, donador, e fundador era, e fo natural de dit holborch den Soler.” ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-37, fol. 154v (18 Feb. 1360).
¹⁴² ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-37, fol. 154v.
behavior as a tool to negotiate or compete for honor and social status within their own social groups by challenging their opponents or defending their own reputation, demonstrating their bravery or physical prowess. In medieval Iberia, honor was an important social value to seek and defend, and violence was a crucial part of the process. Individuals, families, and other groups participated in the rituals associated with this process, which were understood and interpreted by the wider community. Violence or conflict like this was not necessarily feared; rather, it represented normative, acceptable forms of verbal threats and physical confrontation. It was not always an irrational explosion of anger, signaling that the violent actor was out of control, but a behavior that was understood and perhaps even expected in certain situations. Private violence was a normal way to settle disputes within religious communities, acting against opponents and rivals. The desire to defend one’s own honor or the honor of one’s household or family should be considered a manifestation of behavioral norms appropriate for these men, not an aberration.

The canons of the Girona chapter, as men who had taken clerical vows, were supposed to live according to a different set of ideals and standards than their lay counterparts. However, given their ties to the secular community through their families and their life in Girona, they did not summarily reject one set of priorities for another. They, like many other clerics, still desired to participate in the world of honor, making the use of violence a way to compete for and maintain honor and to resolve disputes. Their behavior showed that they subscribed to an understanding of honor that legitimized threats and violence to defend personal and familial reputations. They were still men in a society in which men had recourse to and chose to use violence as a way to contest, assert, and defend status in a socially-prescribed and approved way. As members of the

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146 Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 32.
ecclesiastical establishment, they were not supposed to act like laymen, but they were aware of the ways in which people could use verbal and physical violence to publicly demonstrate and defend their power.  

The situation of the canons at the intersection of sacred and secular and clerical and noble was clearly complex, and the canons did not uniformly follow a set program of behavior. They, like other clerics, adapted their behavior to their particular situation and there was often a link between clerical and familial strategies. For example, many parish priests in medieval Normandy behaved in gendered ways indicative of secular manhood, bearing arms and threatening violence. This behavior was not altogether unsurprising when considering that many had noble social origins, making them part of the group that would prioritize this kind of behavior. Jennifer Thibodeaux saw this not as wayward conduct but as gendered behavior, with priests continuing to act based on traditional secular masculine ideals rather than renouncing all aspects of secular manhood. This youthful lay masculine power was expressed through violence, including brawling, carrying weapons, and responding in vigorous defense when threatened, as this participation in secular masculine activities allowed clerics to behave as secular men.

Parish priests in particular could be fully integrated into the towns in which they lived and the communities they served, tying them into a complex network of social relations and expectations, in which they were “bound by their ecclesiastical duties, yet steeped in temporal values.”

A mix of gender norms, economic motives, and class codes of conduct could compel clergymen to use violence. Churchmen from knightly and gentry families, like the canons, belonged to the segment of society which was expected to vigorously assert and defend masculinity and status. Wealthy clergy, also like the canons, could employ a large retinue or armed servants to again signal their power and prestige, and they could

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150 Thibodeaux, “Man of the Church,” 393, 395.
151 Thiery, Polluting the Sacred, 153.
also use their servants to commit violence for them.\(^{152}\) As discussed earlier, the Girona canons maintained their own households and many employed a number of servants and squires, who could participate in disputes on behalf of their masters. Violence was certainly against ecclesiastical proscriptions in most instances, but the complexity of intertwined relationships and expectations could lead clerics to break these proscriptions in favor of asserting their masculinity and power. Because of the ways in which these churchmen were exposed to and enmeshed in secular society, there could be tension between the program of behavior they were supposed to uphold and the impulses to instead assert and defend honor through particularly masculine means, either committing violence or showing their willingness to do so.

The Church had tried to prohibit this behavior but, overall, had little success. Gregorian reform legislation had focused on prohibiting behavior typical of elite, secular men, denying the outward markers of lay masculinity to clerics.\(^ {153}\) Because of canonical bans on clerics shedding blood, clergy were generally prohibited from carrying and using weapons, although this legislation was often ignored.\(^ {154}\) Church reform pushed ecclesiastics to accept and adopt ‘clerical manhood’ but clerics could instead desire to observe traditional masculine norms and behave like other men in the villages and towns in which they lived. Given the social context in which many secular clergy lived, it could be difficult, if not impossible, to implant and enforce a different sense of masculine behavior.\(^ {155}\) The Church’s desire to set the clergy apart drove a lot of this legislation, but since the secular clergy lived and worked in the world, in close contact with the laity, they were exposed to other ideals which could be fairly firmly engrained.

There are some debates about gender and the clergy, issues of clerical masculinity, and the degree to which clerics accepted or renounced secular masculine values. R. N. Swanson pointed to the clergy constructing what he called a “third gender,” due to the renunciation of sexual masculinity in favor of a priestly masculinity. The insistence on chastity required clerics to reject the reproductive power of masculinity and


\(^{155}\) Thibodeaux, “Man of the Church,” 381, 384.
the prohibitions against weapons and violence separated them from the performativity of demonstrating and seeking honor. Rather than Swanson’s ‘emasculinity,’ Miller instead pointed to an alternative image of masculinity that viewed some clerical behavior as attempts by the clergy to define a masculinity that preserved their power. However, this seems to have failed and lay definitions of masculinity seem to have remained the standard. Cullum noted that clerics could not become subdeacons until age 18 and deacons until age 19, at which point gender identity was already largely formed. Since the secular clergy were removed from fighting and reproducing, this cut them off from the two main markers of maleness. Fornication and fighting were two of the most common clerical transgressions, suggesting that clerics still held on to values of secular masculinity and participated in the accompanying activities. Thibodeaux also disagreed with Swanson’s conception of a clerical third gender due to its implications that clerics viewed themselves and were viewed by others with ambivalence, in terms of their gender identity, which she saw as not the case. Some clerical activities mirrored actions taken by secular counterparts to achieve masculine goals, such as acquiring a household and ‘family’ through holding a benefice and clerical house and developing a retinue and serving as a spiritual father to other clerics. Although their prescribed behavior was supposed to follow a different set of ideals, neither masculine nor feminine, the secular clergy were familiar with secular norms and often participated in this kind of behavior. Meyerson discussed the ways that clerics in Valencia, for example, continued to bear arms, wear masculine attire, and express their masculinity publicly to their clerical peers as well as the laity, issuing threats and showing a willingness to be violent in front of an audience.

Perhaps because of their position in the Church hierarchy, canons still had reputations they felt compelled to defend and uphold. Conflict with others could draw out

156 R.N. Swanson, “Angels Incarnate: Clergy and Masculinity from Gregorian Reform to Reformation,” in Masculinity in Medieval Europe, 161, 167.
157 Miller, “Masculinity, Reform, and Clerical Culture,” 28, 50.
160 Meyerson, “Clerical Violence,” 469.
this impulse, as in the case of the archdeacons of Girona and la Selva in the 1320s. This dispute existed already by 1324, when the bishop summoned the two men, Ramon de Santapau and Bernat de Guell, to the episcopal palace. The reasons for the dispute were unclear, as is whether or not this dispute had spilled over into physical fighting, but the bishop, chapter, and two Franciscans from the Girona house had gathered to moderate between the archdeacons and reach a peaceful settlement. Each man had to swear off all rancor, hatred, and ill will and promise to the other that he would not inflict any injuries upon the other or any members of the other’s household, nor would he incite or permit any member of his own household to do so. Each archdeacon had to swear this oath on his own behalf, as well as on behalf of the members of their household. The familia of archdeacon Guell included two clerics who held benefices in the Girona cathedral and four other laymen, while archdeacon Santapau listed one cleric and three other laymen as the members of his retinue. Since the canons, as deacons, were forbidden from procreating and forming their own biological families, having a household and retinue of clerics and servants was a way for them to show leadership and develop a different kind of family. A household of this size, which also included men identified as squires, echoed the size and structure of noble households. The involvement of the wider retinue or network in disputes was also similar to disputes involving secular nobles, whose squires or servants could threaten or commit violence on their behalf. These two archdeacons also each promised that if they received any new clerics, squires, or servants into their household, these men would have to agree to the same terms. Swearing on the Gospels to follow these orders, they agreed that the bishop could excommunicate them if they failed to uphold this pact.161

Despite the stated consequences of breaking this oath, the trouble between these archdeacons and their retinues continued for at least another four years. In April 1328, the bishop wrote to a royal judge and the Girona battle, informing them about a fight that took place near the episcopal palace. Men from the archdeacon of Girona’s household had attacked Antoni de Colell, a Girona cleric who was named in the abovementioned document as a member of the household of the archdeacon of la Selva.162 The bishop

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161 ADG Notularum G-4, 127v-128r (8 July 1324).
162 ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-3, fol. 106v (14 Apr. 1328).
declared that there would be an inquiry and any guilty parties would be punished. This
dispute between the archdeacons had spilled over to violence among their subordinates,
with servants and squires attacking their rivals to defend the prestige and honor of their
own household at the expense of their opponent. For the archdeacons, having a large
retinue that included armed servants was a show of strength and prestige, allowing them
to demonstrate their power to their opponent and the wider community. Even the chapter
archdeacons and their men directly participated in and prolonged such conflicts, in the
same fashion that secular lords and their retinues engaged their rivals in conflict to
dishonor each other and protect their own reputations. Violence was part of dealing
with conflict within their community, even if that meant within the cathedral chapter
itself.

In 1326, in the period between these two events, Bishop Pedro de Urrea had
attempted to curb such conflicts by banning all canons and other clerics from bearing
arms within the city, suggesting that this type of strife and the accompanying threat of
violence were recurring problems. Legislation from diocesan synods frequently repeated
bans on bearing arms, but in 1326, the bishop sought specifically to address this
problem. He circulated letters to the city’s clerics, banning all clerics from carrying
weapons, except for self-defense (“for defense of the body”). A number of canons and
other clerics came before the bishop to hear the specific terms of these instructions,
including the archdeacon of la Selva (one of the sparring archdeacons) and Ferran de
Mora (a member of his retinue), the archdeacon of Empúries, four canons, and fourteen
other clerics and priests of the chapter. The bishop required them to swear on the Gospels
“that they do not and will not henceforth carry any kind of weapons within the city of

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163 The canons and archdeacons differed from other clerics who would not have had their own household or
family, thus removing them from competition between households. Daniel Thiery noted that English
clergymen could use their retinues to make threats or commit violence on their behalf, to intimidate their
opponents or display their power to the community. See “Plowshares and Swords,” 210. For discussion of a
long-running feud involving social competition and violence between Jewish and converso families in
Valencia, see Mark Meyerson, “The Murder of Pau de Sant Martí: Jews, Conversos, and the Feud in
Fifteenth Century Valencia,” in *A Great Effusion of Blood?*, 57-78.

164 For this legislation from diocesan synods, see the constitutions referred to as AM 24 and BCR 2,
promulgated by bishops Arnau de Mont-rodon and Bernat de Cruilles, described in Bueno Salinas, *El
derecho canónico catalán*. This kind of prohibition was issued in many other places as well. For Valencia,
see Meyerson, “Clerical Violence.”

165 “…ad defensionem corporis…” ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 180r (27 Apr. 1326). This exception for self-
defense was an important loophole, as canons and clerics could easily assert that they carried weapons only
for this reason, as indeed they did when they later swore their oaths.
Girona for the purpose of striking or assaulting anyone... but only for a lawful reason in order to bodily defend oneself,” under threat of the penalty of excommunication.\textsuperscript{166} Everyone except the two archdeacons and one canon swore this oath right away, and more men from the cathedral community came to the episcopal palace to swear the oath in the coming days. In total, the documents recorded the oaths of two archdeacons, six additional canons, and 46 more priests, clerics, and squires associated with the chapter. A number of canons came with their retinues, swearing this oath together with their squires and the clerics who lived with them, showing the importance of the household bond. For example, the archdeacon of la Selva, who had initially refused to swear this oath, returned to do so with his squire, two messengers, and a cleric, and the archdeacon of Besalú also came with four men from his household.\textsuperscript{167} Despite this warning and the oaths they swore, canons and clerics continued to bear arms within the city at times, seen in the aforementioned 1328 fight, although they could use the claim of self-defense to legitimate carrying and making use of weapons.

Another incident from the 1320s also points to the normality of canons bearing arms and their desire to maintain this practice. After entering the female monastery of Sant Daniel, located outside the Girona city walls, without first seeking or receiving episcopal permission, canon Ramon de Vilamarì was excommunicated, but the bishop absolved him of this penalty. Ramon then requested that the bishop allow him and all his associates and those from his household license to carry weapons again, since the penalty of excommunication had been lifted. The bishop agreed to further deliberate on this matter but allowed the men to carry weapons again during his deliberations.\textsuperscript{168} Ramon’s desire to be reinstated to his regular status explicitly contained his request to carry his weapons, and for the other members of his household to do the same. This document again emphasized the importance of the household as a unit, with canons providing for

\textsuperscript{166} “...quod ipsi non portant nec portabunt decetero aliquid genus armorum infra ciuitatem Gerundensis causa offendendi uel inuadendi aliquem de eiusdem set tamen in causa licito ad eorum corpora defendenda...” ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 180r. One of the canons present, who swore this oath, was Vidal de Villanova, one of the main actors in the 1331 Holy Week riot. The other, Dalmau de Mont, also swore this oath on a later date. This list records only the archdeacons, canons, and other members of the cathedral community who were present on that day to hear the bishop’s terms and instructions.

\textsuperscript{167} ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 180v-181r.

\textsuperscript{168} ADG Notularum G-6, fol. 184r (1 May 1328). The Vilamari family was known to have had connections to the monastery of Sant Daniel, with multiple women from the family joining this nunnery throughout the fourteenth century, so it was likely that Ramon went to the nunnery to visit a female relative.
and supervising the members of their retinue, who in turn were loyal to the canons and enjoyed the benefits of these connections. Ramon’s request did not specify why he and his men wanted to carry weapons. Although it may have ostensibly been for self-defense, it may also have been for other reasons, as discussed earlier. Bearing arms and travelling with a retinue of his armed servants would have helped Ramon demonstrate his masculine prowess and honor to his fellow canons and the other inhabitants of Girona.

As part of their responsibilities as head of a household, canons were expected to supervise or account for the behavior of the men of their retinue as well. Canon Bernat de Cornellà had to appear before Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon at the episcopal palace because of an incident wherein “someone from the household of the venerable Bernat himself had wounded Jaume Carosa, a tonsured cleric from the diocese of Barcelona, [while he was] near the palace of the lord bishop,” but Bernat “had not assented to this nor did he believe that anyone from his household had done anything to the said Jaume or had wounded him.”

Bernat vowed that if it was true, he would be ready for the bishop to investigate and dispense justice. It is important to note that Bernat did not deny that men from his household carried weapons but rather insisted that they would not have perpetrated this particular instance of violence. This accusation was taken quite seriously, as Bernat was summoned to appear before the bishop himself, a Girona jurist, and a number of high-ranking members of the chapter. To protect his own reputation, he had to defend his household and deny any possible involvement on their behalf.

Although they managed their own households, canons could still be part of a relative’s retinue and be exposed to violence and armed confrontation in this capacity. This happened to Berenguer de Cruïlles while he was travelling with relatives, including Constança, wife of Gilabert, lord of the house of Cruïlles, and a number of other nobles. While they were travelling between two castles that formed part of the Cruïlles patrimony, some men approached their party and shouted and threw rocks at them while brandishing weapons. After hearing news of this, bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon sent

\[169\] “...aliquis de familia ipsius uenerabilis Bernardi... uulnerauerant iuxta palatum ipsius domini episcopi Jacobum Carosa, clericum tonsuratum Barchinonensis diocesis... non consenserat nec credebatur quod aliqui de sua familia aliquid dicto Jacobo fecerint seu ipsum uulnerauerint.” ADG Notularum G-11, fol. 62r (11 July 1336).
Arnau de Vivers to conduct an inquest, seeking to locate and punish the attackers.\(^{170}\) As men fully integrated into their larger kin networks, canons could participate in conducting family business, leaving them fully enmeshed in the world of the secular aristocracy where such armed conflict was not out of the ordinary. Such behavior was necessarily normal for the canons, who experienced it as members of noble families and as men of the Church.

Canons themselves could be accused of this kind of aggressive behavior as well, suggesting that recourse to threats and violence, particularly against perceived rivals or in defense of one’s honor, was not unusual. Canon Ponç de Sant Vicenç suffered a temporary excommunication and was sentenced to perform additional penance after being involved in a fight with Francesc Calvet, a cleric who held a benefice at the collegiate church of Sant Feliu. The notarial document recording the penance and reconciliation of the two men provided little information about their conflict besides noting that the two men were both armed and had attacked each other.\(^{171}\) Similarly, canon Jaume de Trilla had to appear personally before the bishop and swear on the Gospels that he himself would not incite or perpetrate harm or injury against Dalmau de Pou, three monks who were Dalmau’s brothers, Bertran de Villanova, or Bertran’s brother. If he did so, the bishop could imprison him.\(^{172}\) The number of men named as possible targets in addition to the implicit understanding that Jaume could provoke men from his household to do his bidding suggests a significant degree of animosity. Unfortunately, Jaume, Dalmau, and Bertran are not named in any other documents that mention this dispute or any violent action between them, so it is impossible to determine the roots of the conflict. It is interesting to note that the two men named as canon Jaume’s opponents, Dalmau and Bertran, may well have been knights, making it possible that this dispute was tied to conflict between their families, all of similar rank and living in the same general area. These references to canons threatening or perpetrating violence against their rivals both

\(^{170}\) ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-7, fol. 153r-v (March 1344).

\(^{171}\) ADG Notularum G-28, fol. 46v-47r (9 Nov. 1353).

\(^{172}\) ADG Notularum G-19, fol. 129v (7 Sept. 1347). Other documents identify Dalmau de Pou and Bertran de Vilanova as knights, but I am uncertain if these documents refer to the same men. Another document from 1347 recorded Bertran de Vilanova, a cavaller, selling trees from the forest he owns in Bescanó to the bishop for 27 lliures; ADG D-154, fol. 48r-v (1 Oct. 1347). In 1351, Dalmau de Pou, also identified as a cavaller, was chosen to appear before the king on behalf of the Count of Empúries; ADG Notularum G-25, fols. 20r-21r (28 June 1351).
within and beyond the ecclesiastical establishment showed their continued willingness to act in ways which reflected norms befitting men of the secular aristocracy, not cathedral canons who had taken ecclesiastical oaths. They behaved in these ways both during moments of conflict and in long-standing personal rivalries, to confront others and defend themselves against the possibility of dishonor.

Another incident in which a canon was accused of perpetrating violence also demonstrated the ways in which a canon’s household and its activities could parallel that of a secular noble. In February 1325, Astruga de Codines, a Girona resident, brought a complaint to the episcopal court about an incident during which she was attacked by a group of men. Pons Albert, the bishop’s official, heard her testimony and supervised the inquiry. Astruga stated that she was leaving her house when she saw four men, and when she was passing through a gate at the end of the street, the men approached her and blocked the gate. One of the men then unsheathed his sword and struck her in the face with it, wounding her, and then the entire group fled. When asked if she knew the four men, Astruga said she recognized Baldrà de Soler, a Girona canon, and his squire, and another man whom she knew to be a squire of another canon, but she could not identify the fourth man. Astruga then described their clothing, noting that Baldrà was wearing a silk garment and a cloak and the squires were wearing tunics and cloaks, but she could not see what the fourth man was wearing because she was bleeding heavily after being wounded.

The previous contact she had had with Baldrà provided some clues to explain why he and his squire, along with two other men for backup, attacked her in this way. She had seen Baldrà recently when she was with two female friends, one of whom was named Cilia de Gornallo. Astruga testified that she had never done or said anything injurious to Baldrà, certainly not anything that would have provoked this attack, but she thought she knew why he would commit such a grave sin. Baldrà attacked her or had his squire attack her “because he was afraid that she would reveal the carnal relations that he had had with the said woman Cilia de Gornallo.” This revelation suggested a much more elaborate

173 ADG Processos Medievals 89, fol. 1r-v.
174 ADG Processos Medievals 89, fol. 2r.
175 “...quia timebat ne ipsa reuelaret accessum carnalem quem habebat cum dicta domina Cilia de Gornallo.” ADG Processos Medievals 89, fol. 3r.
scenario than a random attack on the street, bringing to light Astruga’s knowledge of the forbidden sexual relationship between Baldrà and Cilia. Baldrà, fearing that Astruga would reveal this illicit relationship, then attacked her in order to intimidate her into keeping this secret, although this plan clearly failed.

Astruga also noted that Cilia may also have been involved in planning this confrontation because Astruga refused to swear that she would not reveal what Cilia had done, despite Cilia’s requests. Baldrà was present when Cilia asked Astruga to swear this oath, so he would also have known that her knowledge of this affair could prove dangerous.\(^{176}\) Baldrà, as a canon, would have faced discipline if this affair became known, and he chose to resort to threats and violence to protect his reputation, as other canons did in the previously discussed situations. Although it is unclear if Baldrà himself injured Astruga, he was the instigator of this incident. Whether he struck the blow himself or had his squire do so, he clearly involved his retinue in maintaining his reputation by bringing more men as back-up or to provide extra intimidation. When faced with his sin becoming public, Baldrà resorted to familiar tactics to protect his public standing, threatening and striking Astruga in hopes of keeping her quiet.\(^{177}\) His use of violence in this circumstance was designed to protect his secret, given the need for canons to remain celibate, suggesting that he was willing to risk committing these additional violent offenses to avoid potential punishment for breaking the rule of celibacy. This was not violence against a rival, as in the other examples, but violence against a witness to his indiscretions. Ensuring Astruga’s silence was a way for Baldrà to maintain his reputation and standing in the clerical community.

The most striking incident of violence involving the cathedral chapter was the 1331 Holy Week riot, as discussed in the previous chapter. When viewed within the larger context of the composition of the chapter, the canons’ backgrounds, and other incidents involving the use of threats and weapons, the recourse to violence during the conflict with the royal officials does not seem so extraordinary. As men from the military aristocracy of the diocese, canons were still part of the noble world, familiar with its

\(^{176}\) ADG *Processos Medievals* 89, fol. 3r-v.

\(^{177}\) Very disappointingly, the records of the inquiry are incomplete, containing only Astruga’s testimony. There is no indication of what happened with Baldrà or if he received any sort of punishment for the alleged attack or his relationship with Cilia.
values and activities. To defend themselves and the honor of the chapter itself, canon Vidal de Villanova rallied other clerics to push back against what the chapter’s lawsuit characterized as aggression and encroachment by the Girona royal officials. This was not simply violence stemming from confessional difference but rather the canons protecting themselves and their organization from perceived encroachment and attacks by the royal officials. For men of their backgrounds, this was a normal response, using tools and behaviors that were typical and perhaps even expected as responses to threats to one’s honor and status. Both canons had sworn the oath required by the bishop five years earlier not to bear arms to attack others, except for the purposes of self-defense, and the chapter phrased the canons’ and clerics’ action in the conflict precisely this way in the lawsuit they brought against the royal officials, as self-defense.

The actions of the canons, and Villanova and Mont in particular, align with behavioral patterns identified and discussed by scholars in relation to cultural practices tied to honor and shame. Aggressive competition was a common way for opponents or rivals to contest social status or affirm their own honor and prestige. In the struggle to gain or maintain standing within a community, directly confronting a rival using threats, posturing, and even violence was a public way to respond to challenges. The wider community played witness to these types of struggles, interpreting the language and actions of the combatants. Each witness who testified had the chance to repeat his or her experience and view of these events, necessarily giving his or her own perspective. The inquest sought to hear not only from participants, but also from those who witnessed the conflict and could report back on the actions of all those involved. In the 1331 conflict, the role of the community was crucial in the continuation of this conflict through the royal inquiry and the lawsuit.

Bystanders had an important role in interpreting the meaning of these events and, in some ways, influencing the behavior of the combatants. For example, when Villanova

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178 Interestingly, Vidal de Villanova was known to have had significant contact with Jews in a later time of need, suggesting the possibility for connections to Jewish residents of the diocese. After suffering the punishment of excommunication for an attack on a church, he stayed at the home of Abraham Magalats, who sometimes repaired chalices for the church of Perelada; ADG Registres de Lletres Episcopals U-18, fol. 149v. During this time, he also stored some of his possessions in the home of Bonsenyor Momet, a Jew of Perelada; ADG Notularum G-25, fol. 27r (22 Sept. 1351). Although this was twenty years after the 1331 Holy Week riot, it is notable that he sought refuge with two Jews of Perelada while excommunicated.

and Mont cornered two lay officials, Villanova threatened to stab them while another cathedral canon held him back, thus giving the officials a chance to flee.\textsuperscript{180} The motif of calling for others to restrain you while you make threats and brandish a weapon was common, enabling the aggressor to bluff and posture while knowing that bystanders would intervene.\textsuperscript{181} Such posturing on the part of the aggressor could be designed to provoke a fight, but bystander intervention relieved the aggressor from having to follow through with his threats and provided a way for him to display his bravado without actual physical violence.\textsuperscript{182} Many witnesses to the 1331 riot were present throughout all phases of the conflict, and relatively little serious violence took place. The participants shouted, threw rocks, and brandished and waved their weapons, but they did not directly attack their opponents with these knives or swords to any significant degree. The only serious injury noted was when a cleric “with an unsheathed sword... ran towards Bonanat Tornavells... and then strongly struck the said Bonanat on his head... with the said sword... but afterwards this witnesses recollected that the said Bonanat was not wounded.”\textsuperscript{183} Since Bonanat was not harmed, it seems likely that he was struck with the handle of the sword or the flat side of the blade, rendering this blow more symbolic than dangerous, again keeping the conflict within unspoken boundaries. Although the whole crisis is most commonly referred to as a riot, it remained, for the most part, relatively controlled. The action was confined mostly to threats of violence rather than actual violence that carried the danger of serious injury or death.

In attacking the cathedral itself, the royal officials and the men of their retinues directly threatened the physical representation of the power and prestige of the Church within Girona. The cathedral was one of the largest, if not the largest, buildings in Girona in the early fourteenth century. It was the center of the ecclesiastical zone of the city and was obviously a well-known feature of the municipal landscape. The bishop and chapter had just begun a building project to enlarge the cathedral nave to accommodate more chapels, space which was necessary given the number of testamentary bequests and

\textsuperscript{180} Testimony of Bernat Portell, Millás Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 324-325.
\textsuperscript{181} Falk, “Bystanders and Hearsayers First,” 102.
\textsuperscript{182} Phythian-Adams, “Rituals of Personal Confrontation,” 78-80.
\textsuperscript{183} “cum ense evaginato... irruens contra Bonanatum de Tornavellis... tunc percussit dictum Bonanatum filium dicti Bonanati cum dicto ense in capite fortiter... set postea hic testis recognovit quod dictus Bonanatus non erat vulneratus...” Testimony of Bernat de Bas, Millás Vallicrosa and Batlle Prats, “Alboroto,” 313.
funding for anniversary masses the cathedral received. Assaulting this physically prominent structure would have been seen and understood as an assault on the honor of the inhabitants, the bishop and chapter, whose very existence and role were inextricably tied to the cathedral. This was similar to laypeople symbolically assaulting the houses of their enemies. This kind of ritualized attack could lead to a loss of prestige for the householder, who was shown to be unable to defend his home, honor, and family.  

In shouting insults and throwing rocks at the walls of the Jewish quarter, the Girona clerics were attacking the “house” of the Jews, which in turn provoked the royal officials to retaliate by assaulting the cathedral, the Girona cathedral chapter’s symbolic house. The chapter prayed the Divine Office within the cathedral daily, thus tying their function to the physical space in which they performed their duties. By disrupting Vespers and causing so much of a disturbance that the chapter could not finish this service or the remaining Hours on Holy Thursday, the royal officials transgressed against the chapter’s public role within the city as expressed through their regular, continued celebration of religious rituals. The chapter would certainly have been aware of the implications of this threat to its honor and status, as shown in the testimony of its members that repeatedly stressed the officials’ attempts to damage and invade the cathedral. Although the testimony from the chapter’s lawsuit does not specifically state that the canons acted in defense of the chapter’s collective honor, it shows how they interpreted the royal officials’ actions in that way. The witnesses testified “about the invasion” and about “who invaded the said church,” showing that they interpreted the royal officials’ action as an attack on their community and place of worship.  

Archdeacon Ramon de Santapau testified that he saw the armed veguer and his men immediately outside the cathedral and that the canons and clerics prohibited them from entering, “in defense of the Church.” Other witnesses offered similar testimony, noting how the armed royal officials entered during the singing of Vespers and invaded the

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185 Nirenberg noted that throwing rocks at the houses of one’s enemies was a common practice, as was the stoning of official buildings to express anger or disapproval. See Communities of Violence, 207. The stoning of the call was a way to emphasize difference and boundaries that were not to be crossed (see Nirenberg, Communities of Violence, 218).
186 Witnesses testified “super inuasionem” and “quis uel qui inuaserunt dictam ecclesiam.” See, for example, the testimony of archdeacon Ramon de Santapau: ADG Processos Medieuales 120, fol. 1v.
187 ADG Processos Medieuales 120, fol. 1v.
cathedral and that the canons and clerics had to retreat into the cathedral to avoid danger of bodily harm. The chapter’s collective response, as seen in their lawsuit against the royal officials, presented this as an attack on their community, describing the royal officials as the aggressors who disrupted the Office and the cathedral community’s efforts to keep the invaders out. They presented the royal officials’ actions as transgressive and threatening to the cathedral and the safety of the clerical community, thus infringing on the honor that the cathedral community’s position in the city demanded, provoking canons and clerics to respond in defense of the Church.

This was not the only instance in which Vidal de Villanova resorted to outright violence, suggesting that it was a familiar behavior on his part that could be deployed when necessary. He clashed with the chapter repeatedly regarding administration and profit sharing from the *pabordia* of Castelló, and, at one point, led a band of clerics in about the composition or motivations of this group, so it is unclear what provoked Vidal to do this. This took place after he lost control of the *pabordia*, which included property throughout Empúries, so perhaps this attack was meant as retribution. In any case, he and an unspecified number of other clerics burst into the church where many laypeople and clerics had gathered on the vigil of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in August 1351. They caused such a disturbance and disruption that the officiant had to abandon the service after the assailants began to throw rocks inside the church into the chapel of Saint John, hitting many clerics and priests. To further investigate this incident, the Girona chapter and episcopal vicar ordered an inquiry, citing Vidal de Villanova to appear and testify about his role in this incident, described as a sin “against God and his holy Church and ecclesiastical liberty.” Although his motivations are uncertain, it is clear that Villanova regarded violence as a useful tool. It was not an aberration but rather a familiar behavior, known and accessible to the canons because of their backgrounds from among the minor nobility.

Although these incidents seem disparate, there are a number of common threads informing the behavior of the canons during these situations. As men from the secular aristocracy of the diocese, canons were familiar with cultural ideas surrounding honor

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188 See ADG *Processos Medievales* 120, fols. 4r, 4v.
189 “ad defensionem ecclesie,” ADG *Notularum* G-26, fol. 172v (2 Nov. 1351).
190 “...contra deum et eius sanctam ecclesiam ac ecclesiasticam libertatem.” ADG G-26, fol. 172v.
and shame and could resort to violence to protect their reputation against direct or indirect threats. If their prominence or position was directly challenged, verbal threats and physical actions were tools to push back against real or perceived opponents, both pre-emptive and reactive. It often involved weapons like knives or swords, and canons defended their right to bear arms, despite a number of ecclesiastical constitutions that forbade this. Although they swore that they bore arms only for self-defense, canons and members of their households made use of these weapons, both theatrically and seriously, in order to warn off or harm their opponents.

**Conclusion**

The Girona cathedral canons were not unique in their integration into the secular life of the city and diocese. Many canons from other cathedral chapters were involved in the outside world through attending university, holding positions at royal courts, or serving in the ecclesiastical hierarchy outside of their chapter. Because cathedrals served as places of worship and hosted mass, processions, and other ecclesiastical services, there was a significant lay presence there. Canons’ lifestyles also kept them connected to the laity, since they lived and acted like wealthy lay elites. Canons from chapters across Western Europe lived in their own comfortable houses and employ servants, depending, of course, on their own personal fortunes that they continued to manage while in the chapter. Their situation was far from being exceptional. Canons in England were often required to provide hospitality to guests and thus needed to maintain large, comfortable households appropriate for hosting important or high-ranking guests. Their households could be similar to those of wealthy merchants who lived in the same towns, with furniture and decorations to reinforce displays of status and

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wealth.\footnote{Lepine, \textit{A Brotherhood of Canons}, Chapter 6.} If they had sufficient personal income, they could live like nobility, but some with different social origins lived more modestly.\footnote{Madignier, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun}, 291.}

Girona canons also remained connected to their families, often for the same kinds of reasons as the canons of other chapters. If they were from wealthy and aristocratic backgrounds, family influence could be important in helping them gain opportunities for patronage and service.\footnote{Lepine, \textit{A Brotherhood of Canons}, Chapter 4.} Families that included a canon could also hope for protection and support, especially for other relatives with ecclesiastical careers, making it desirable to send second or third sons into cathedral chapters.\footnote{Madignier, \textit{Les chanoines du chapitre cathédral d’Autun}, 99-100.} Families that entered sons into the chapter in Vic, in Catalonia, remained close to these sons, who also retained control over private property and aligned their interests with family financial interests. Membership in the Vic chapter was also a way for these families to prove their high social standing and further advance family priorities like safeguarding land and obtaining spiritual benefits.\footnote{Freedman, \textit{The Diocese of Vic}, Chapter 2.} Canons also contributed to building the family patrimony, often by purchasing land or estates in their place of origin, a practice common for canons of Oviedo, in Asturias.\footnote{Suárez Beltrán, \textit{El Cabildo de la Catedral de Oviedo}, 252.} These connections were meaningful and valuable for canons with high-status backgrounds, whose families had the resources and connections to help their sons and nephews who joined the chapter, but canons from urban or more humble backgrounds would not necessarily prioritize a family agenda in the same way.

In medieval Iberia, in the world in which the Girona canons lived, identity could be multi-faceted, based on things like status, family heritage, profession, and confessional identity. The Girona canons behaved in ways that expressed all of these different identities at different times, showing an integration of various priorities into their lifestyles and activities. They belonged to a number of communities and had a role in each, including the corporate community, that of the chapter, and their personal community, including their family, household, and so on. Because of this, they combined ecclesiastical and familial priorities and expectations, acting at times like canons and at other times like noblemen, without much complication or contradiction. They lived in
their own houses and maintained sizeable households with servants and other members of their retinues, but these houses were in the cathedral district, in the area directly adjacent to the cathedral. They could pass these houses only to other members of the chapter, whether the recipients were blood relatives or not.

Canons maintained their allegiances to their families without compromising their ecclesiastical position and obligations, and they continued to perform their duties in the cathedral and diocese while freely conducting economic transactions for and with relatives. This kind of behavior demonstrated the canons’ values, priorities, and important relationships, showing that many canons maintained ties to their lineage and participated in various activities to protect and augment the family patrimony. In buying and selling land for the family, leaving goods, land, and money to the family heir, and recognizing family ties in other ways in their testaments, canons demonstrated the continuing importance of these bonds. Despite entering the cathedral chapter and living a life focused on ecclesiastical worship and service, canons could still hope to support and honor their wider lineage, prioritizing family concerns while still fulfilling the duties of their position. Their actions reflect their roles as members of the chapter and sons of the nobility, showing genuine impulses that directed behaviors in both spheres.

The strength and duration of the relationships between canons and their families exposed canons to the values, norms, and priorities of the Catalan secular aristocracy. They were both men of the Church and men of the aristocracy and acted accordingly, making use of threats, aggression, and violence in situations in which they felt the need to defend or assert their own honor. When two canons perceived the actions of the Girona royal officials as a threat to the chapter’s honor and position in the city in 1331, they reacted strongly in defense, and, along with other members of the wider cathedral community, threatened and assaulted the royal officials and their supporters. To strike back against encroachment on the cathedral, they threw rocks, brandished weapons, and shouted threats intended to warn the royal officials off from further challenging them. This kind of behavior, with its unspoken rules, meanings, and implications, would have been familiar to the canons and to the wider community that witnessed it, making it a tool they could deploy in situations which needed this kind of response.
Throughout the first half of the fourteenth century, canons both carried weapons and asserted their right to do so, showing that this practice was normal and deemed appropriate for men of their status, at least implicitly. Constitutions from Girona ecclesiastical synods prohibited clerics from bearing arms, and in 1326 bishop Pedro de Urrea summoned canons, priests, and clerics of the chapter to swear that they would not carry weapons with any aggressive intent. The men insisted they did so only for self-defense, asserting their right to continue to carry knives and swords for this purpose. Other incidents show situations in which canons used these weapons to assert or defend their honor, including in potentially violent situations with perceived rivals within the chapter. Although they held high-ranking ecclesiastical positions, canons and archdeacons still wanted to protect their reputations as men and enlisted their retinues in defending their honor. They still conducted themselves in ways much as men of the secular aristocracy would, showing that they did not renounce or give up the values of the world into which they were born, even long after joining the chapter.

The men of the Girona cathedral chapter remained firmly integrated into the secular fabric of the city and diocese. They had the freedom to control their own personal patrimonies and worked to manage and increase their own holdings, conducting economic and property transactions on their own behalf, interacting with Girona citizens and inhabitants of other locales in the diocese. They could act similarly on behalf of the chapter but also on behalf of their relatives or the family patrimony. Their testaments also recognized the value of these relationships, as canons worked to create legacies which tied them to their families in perpetuity, through burial instructions, tomb inscriptions, founding or endowing benefices for relatives, and more. There was no defined boundary between their ecclesiastical duties and familial priorities, making it possible for them to maintain a lifestyle that recognized the behaviors and values of each group.
Conclusion

The lives of the Girona canons reveal them to be men with a mix of priorities and motivations, but who formed a group that united around the common features that governed their lives as members of the cathedral chapter. They were all from similar familial backgrounds, ranging from the lower to upper aristocracy, and often from within the diocese of Girona but outside the city. These ties linked them to some of the most prestigious families in the region and also to comital and royal houses through marriage alliances or direct service. They lived within the cathedral district of Girona in houses they or the chapter owned, often with clerical or lay servants who helped run the household and formed a retinue of sorts. All had followed the specific procedures for joining the chapter, including proving that they were from a noble background and paying the required donations to the chapter general fund (the *Ferial*).

For all members of the chapter, their tasks were central to the function of the cathedral. They were required, by virtue of their position, to be present in the cathedral daily to recite the Hours and attend mass. Another portion of their duties included management of the sizeable chapter patrimony and distribution of its income and assisting the bishop with tasks of diocesan government, making them an important part of both ecclesiastical and civil society. Although their tasks were primarily religious, some canons were seemingly not as devoted as others and sought ways to free themselves of their religious responsibilities. For example, some canons were reluctant to progress to the required ecclesiastical rank and become ordained as deacons, instead remaining at the subdeacon level. This led the archbishop of Tarragona to admonish them and instruct them to become ordained as deacons as soon as possible, as noted during one of his visits to Girona in the early fourteenth century. Low attendance at the Divine Office and at mass was also a sign of this problem, as seen in Bishop Arnau de Mont-rodon’s warnings to the chapter in 1336 and again a decade later. He said that canons had not been attending mass and participating in the Divine Office, as was their duty, and that they needed to do so with the required regularity. These two incidents suggested that canons had, unsurprisingly, varying levels of devotion and commitment to the ecclesiastical duties mandated by their position.
However, it is clear that a number of the canons were very religious men, participating in a range of devotional and charitable activities beyond what was required of men in their position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. One canon founded an *Almoina*, and many others donated to at least one of the three almshouses in Girona, including the *Almoina del Pa*, which distributed bread, and the *Almoina del Vestuari*, which donated clothing to the poor. Two canons selected the *Almoina del Pa* as their universal heir, and eight more selected the poor to inherit the remainder of their estate as their universal heir.

Many canons also invested significant sums of money to found and endow new chapels and altars in the cathedral, and even more founded new benefices at these altars. To support the priests and clerics who would hold these benefices, the canon-founders donated either a large sum of money, a piece of property, or a set annual income. In the documents that record the endowment of these benefices and altars, the founders often included instructions for the priest who held the benefice to say masses or prayers for the souls of the founder, his family, and all faithful Christians. These canons sought to provide not only for their own spiritual health but that of those around them as well, including minor clergy who were members of the canon’s household, often selected as the first holder of these benefices. These foundations would also honor the particular saint to whom the chapel was dedicated and increase the number of services or worship carried out in the cathedral. Other acts by individual canons also show how they felt about their religious position, with one canon founding and financially supporting an additional feast day in the cathedral, the feast of Conception, due to his particular reverence for the Virgin Mary. Another canon also showed his notable piety by ascending further in the ecclesiastical ranks, surpassing the rank of deacon and seeking to be ordained as a priest. Canons also expressed their devotion in their testaments, founding anniversary masses and making donations to other churches, monasteries, and religious houses in Girona. Despite the evidence suggesting that some Girona canons did not embrace the ecclesiastical duties of their position, other canons expressed their spirituality and devotion in concrete ways, showing that they took their religious duties seriously and that religion devotion was an important part of their lives.

These examples of pious devotion were often tied to familial devotion, showing an important link between these two facets of the canons’ identities. In some instances,
the family provided a framework for these kinds of devotional expression; canons often specified that benefice holders needed to pray for specific relatives, including parents and siblings. Family links were also evident in the chapels and altars founded by canons as well. Canons continued to donate to chapels and altars founded by their relatives, leading to family patronage of particular chapels and altars. For example, after canon (and future bishop) Arnau de Mont-rodon founded and endowed a chapel in the cathedral, other canons from his family continued to donate to this chapel in particular. Founding documents for cathedral benefices could also keep nomination rights for the benefice holder in the family, as some canons gave these rights to other relatives in particular. Similarly, the founder sometimes named the first holder of this kind of benefice, and some gave the benefice to members of their household or family, even specifying that in the future it should go to other members of the same family if they were still represented in the chapter, using these spiritual foundations to provide both spiritually and financially for members of their family or households. Many of these families supplied a number of canons to the chapter throughout the fourteenth century, including some pairs of brothers or uncle-nephew pairs, developing longstanding links between these families and the chapter, and making this kind of transmission possible.

This connection to their wider lineage seems to have been important for many of the canons. They used similar strategies to other men of their background to build personal patrimonies and conducted land transactions with and on behalf of relatives, maintaining reciprocal relationships with their families. They supervised the distribution of family land and conducted business on behalf of the heir of their lineage, but they also called on relatives to help them, even with matters directly relating to their position in the chapter. Their family ties were valuable and the canons treated them as such, but these connections could be important for their families as well. The Catalan nobility tended to live in rural castles, and almost no noble families lived within the city of Girona. They were excluded from municipal government, so sending second or third sons to the chapter was a way for these families to have some sort of foothold in Girona, with the possibility of their relative, the canon, there to represent their interests. A canon could conduct transactions for them with the Girona notaries, arranging for the sale or purchase of land or carrying out other transactions. Not only was this a way for a member of their lineage
to live in Girona, but also for him to be a member of one of the most powerful institutions in the city itself.

Canons maintained these ties during their lives and expressed them at the end of their lives, as reflected in their testaments. Some canons served as executors for their relatives or chose family members, both within and outside the chapter, as their own executors. They left money to friends, relatives, and members of their household and retinue, showing the significance of these bonds. Canons also provided for the spiritual health of those they cared about in addition to these material legacies, donating money to the cathedral or to other religious institutions in Girona to fund anniversary masses for parents, aunts, uncles, and siblings. They also recognized these bonds in perpetuity, choosing to be buried in a tomb with their relatives or linking themselves to other members of their family in the chapter in the inscriptions on their tombs. These bonds endured throughout the lives of the canons as well as after their deaths.

The canons of the Girona chapter were integrated into the secular fabric of the city and diocese in a number of ways. Their duties as canons involved managing the chapter’s holdings, interacting with their tenants, and helping the bishop in his capacity as a secular lord, writing to the village under his control, dealing with disputes, and managing relations with other high-ranking individuals and institutions in the region. Their relationships with their family members also exposed them to the secular world, and the maintenance of these relationships meant that the canons remained important members of these lineages. But, at the heart of it, they were members of a powerful religious institution. They had to recite the Hours and attend mass and expressed their devotion to God in a number of ways. These two facets of their identity were not contradictory; the canons could be both noble men and cathedral canons, and they maintained the values and mindset of men from both of these worlds. They integrated these priorities and lived their lives as nobles and as clerics, both as members of the prestigious lineages of the diocese and as canons of the cathedral chapter, maintaining and protecting the honor and prestige that both of these identities commanded.
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