

# Catalan farmhouses and farming families in Catalonia between the 16th and early 20th centuries

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Received 20 May 2015 · Accepted 15 July 2015

## ABSTRACT

The *masia* (translated here as the Catalan farmhouse), or the building where people reside on a farming estate, is the outcome of the landscape where it is located. It underwent major changes from its origins in the 11th century until the 16th century, when its evolution peaked and a prototype was reached for Catalonia as a whole. For this reason, in the subsequent centuries the model did not change, but building elements were added to it in order to adapt the home to the times. Catalan farmhouses are a historical testimony, and their changes and enlargements always reflect the needs of their inhabitants and the technological possibilities of the period.

**KEYWORDS:** evolution, architectural models, farmhouses, rural economy, farming families

## INTRODUCTION

Some years ago, historians stopped studying only the major political events or personalities to instead focus on aspects that were closer to the majority of the people, because this is where the interest lies: in learning about our ancestors' ways of life. The study of the *masia*, or Catalan farmhouse, and farming families presented here reflects this purpose. Each of the following sections will be laid out the same. First there will be a summary of the political situation in order to understand the historical period; the next section will focus on the population and most salient features of each historical period; then we shall examine the economy, which sheds light not only on people's status but also on the changes that a family building like the farmhouse undergoes; and finally, we analyse the features that define the building in response to all the factors that were outlined previously because, just as in life, everything is interrelated.

The farmhouse was primarily developed in the second half of the 11th century when the population that had theretofore been spread around the territory of Catalonia began to coalesce. It was the fiscal unit that was comprised of croplands, a vegetable garden, access to water and the forest and a small home where people and animals lived together. This kind of home was built following the parameters of the era; therefore, it reflected the Romanesque style, with very thick walls, a tile roof and small rooms that could adapt to meet different needs. This unit gradually expanded as the new

techniques or the spread of these techniques became available to more and more people. Larger or more numerous rooms characterised the evolution of a structure that was originally called a *hospici*, *domus*, *casa* or *alberg*, although we are not certain of the reason behind such a variety of words. This evolution was marked by the needs of the inhabitants and the application of the technologies of the period. Thus, we understand that the building became more and more complete, added new comforts, expanded its interior spaces and even added an upper storey. These new developments were similar all over Catalonia as they arose in response to the farmers' needs, which were the same everywhere. Only a few specific local features developed, which can be attributed to the climate or the economy. When this building became an entity unto itself, when it became a solid home that varied little over time, it was given a specific name for all places and for posterity. Thus, in around the 15th or 16th century we begin to find in the name *masia* in the documentation, a name which has lasted until today.

The family served as the foundation of farming society in terms of both the division of the farm that each individual occupied and the division of labour. Based on patriarchal Roman law, the farming family was sustained by the male in both the kind of jobs performed – organisation of the family with the most responsibility befalling the father and the male heir, who took over for the father – and legal issues. Whereas prior to the application of Roman law (12th century), all the members of the family were treated the same, after it the women became much less important and had to give up their rights to protection if they wanted act at the same level as the man. Men

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always prevailed over women, and therefore the figure of the male heir, as the foundation of the transmission of assets and the head of the family, was at the core of a patriarchal society. If there was no male heir, this place went to the eldest daughter's husband, but then the roles shifted because the woman still owned the property. The woman and mother of the heir had some sway because of the dowry offered at the time of marriage. The dowry or statutory portion is the part of the inheritance that went to daughters or sons who were not the prime heir. As long as they neither married nor left the farm, the other sons and daughters could only serve as labour, albeit a kind of labour that was highly prized in the era before the advent of technology, when work was manual.

Therefore, complex nuclear families were made up of the married couple, perhaps their parents, maybe their sister or brother and several children. Large farms could be farmed either by tenant farmers or directly. If the family was well-off, between the 17th and 20th centuries farm hands and servants might also live with them in rooms set aside for them often located on the upper part of the farmhouse. The family of day labourers with little land and smallholders was usually simple and nuclear. In this latter model, the shortage of resources meant that some family members might be rented out as servants or farm hands, or they might emigrate to other towns, cities or villages. While at given times of the year, such as the harvest, additional labour was needed, mutual assistance among farmers was the most popular option. Most farming families worked on smallholdings that did not generate the income needed to reproduce the family unit. The extra children were subjected to mobility around the land, seeking jobs as farm hands, servants, day labourers or workers in the factories that started springing up.

#### **POLITICAL PRESENTATION, DEMOGRAPHICS AND FAMILY IN THE 16TH CENTURY**

Politically speaking, Catalonia retained its status within the Iberian Peninsula, with its own institutions and the capacity to act as a country. However, in practice, the marriage between Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Aragon, and Isabel of Castile unified the two regions, but to the detriment of Catalonia, which ceased to have economic and political influence in the other regions. The crucial event was the conquest of the Americas because of the market's shift in orientation, which came to be much more concentrated in the Cantabrian Sea and Atlantic Ocean than in the Mediterranean.

Catalonia reached the 16th century much diminished, both demographically and economically. The deaths started with the Black Plague in 1348 and continued in renewed outbreaks in the 15th century. This demographic decline was not the only problem; between 1472 and 1482 Catalonia also went through a civil war that erupted again in 1486. Even though the Black Plague affected all of Europe and is therefore a factor that came to bear in the crisis

in the feudal system, in Catalonia the civil war hit the population even worse, which was unable to recover because of the further outbreaks of the Black Plague. In consequence, the Catalan countryside was left fairly desolate.

The study of demographics has taken an interest in both Catalonia and the local world. Performing a global study on the topic that includes immigration is very difficult because of the lack of sources, and thus local sources prevail.

Even though the classic studies by Jordi Nadal and Emili Giralt stressed the demographic recovery in the 16th century and French immigration, more recently Valentí Gual and Llorenç Ferrer also noted the natural population growth.<sup>1</sup>

Gual's study examines immigration from the region of Occitania.<sup>2</sup> The local documentation, especially from inland Catalonia, points to this Occitanian immigration as early as the 15th century, which probably stemmed from the ease of finding work in the farmhouses and lands given the demographic gap caused by the two events mentioned above. Likewise, we should note that this immigration included not only farmworkers but also labourers in the construction and textile trades. The demographic surge recorded as the 16th century progressed translated into the tendency towards the extended family, which provided a significant amount of manpower, leading to productive improvements in an old-regime economy.

As a result of the mortalities, despite the preference for the male as the heir, quite a few women also took part in economic activity, thus giving up the protection offered by Roman law, which was still in force at the time. Shortly after the major outbreak of the Black Plague in 1348, the lords encouraged the freedom of the serfs' daughters meant for marriage to remove staff from the family and start new ones in order to create new workers and thus occupy the empty lands and rebuild the censuses.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to its demographic impact, the war also left its mark on society. As it was a civil war, it affected the entire population, especially its organisation, as two sides took shape with members from factions that had already been clashing even before the war. Thus, nobles often fought within the ranks of the serfs more to face off with their enemy than out of ideological conviction. Likewise, it was an economic way to emerge from the crisis by collecting a salary. Therefore, the end of the war meant the end to income for people who earned a living fighting. Many of them carried on with the same lifestyle during the 16th century, when activities like banditry had significant effects on the entire population.<sup>4</sup>

#### **ECONOMY: FORMATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF ASSETS, CONTRACTS AND DEBT**

In the rural world in the 16th century, the economy reached a new juncture as the outcome of the crisis in the feudal system that had been kindled in the 15th century. The recovery was very slow and lasted almost the entire

century or even until the last decades of the following century. The shift stemmed from the intensification in production of a single economic activity, such as livestock or viticulture, meant for the market in specific areas. This new economic approach was successful in seeking a product niche which made it attractive in the market, such as wine from Alella, cattle from the Empordà region and wine or saffron from Bages.<sup>5</sup>

Two very important events happened in the 15th century which help us to grasp the economic situation of Catalonia's rural world in the ensuing century: the formation of the large farmhouses and assets through the addition of abandoned farmhouses or lands, and the Arbitral Sentence of Guadalupe of 1486, which led much of the population to become indebted.

Large bodies of assets were amassed by purchase or hire through the establishment of emphyteusis, which led to a real division between useful and direct property. As long as the *censo*s taxes were being paid, this indefinite contract became a kind of land ownership and was the most widely used. Compared to these two advantages, in the late 15th century a new limited-duration contract came to be popular, *masoveria* or tenant farming, which was aimed at speculation, since after four or five years the conditions changed.

Most of the farming estates of the 16th century were actually an assembly of around four homes that were already dilapidated and dated from prior to the 14th century. Only the lands were used, even though many of the lords and even the Church had the rights over these empty houses with the hopes of getting them back some day.<sup>6</sup>

The assets were administered through different kinds of contracts:

1) Emphyteusis was the option used in the 14th century by those lords who wanted to continue earning income from lands or empty houses. However, the conditions were quite varied depending on the economic status of the owner of the lands and estates. Very few offered advantageous conditions in the years immediately following the epidemic, and it was not until the 15th century that they became aware that the situation was irreversible. Therefore, things mostly worsened after they witnessed the drastic reduction in their income. They sought to offset these losses by making the application of *mals usos* or "bad customs" compulsory, and they even imposed *els cinc* and the *remença* (a redemption payment paid by serfs) to the same population.<sup>7</sup> This deterioration in conditions led the peasants to react in a bid to lower or redeem these taxes. They discussed this matter with the monarchy, but they did not achieve their aims and, in consequence, two successive civil wars were fought at the end of the 15th century.

2) One variation in the same contract offered advantageous conditions, but only for a limited time: a ten-year period for the maintenance or recovery of the farming estate was rather widespread. After this period, things went back to the way they were before or "bad customs", sei-

gniorial rights and the recognition of the *remença* were applied depending on the lords' reactions in view of their economic capacities.<sup>8</sup> Even though the contract was emphyteutic, oftentimes, after the good times had passed the peasants returned the farm to the owner objecting at their inability to fulfil the new conditions.

3) Finally, there was the *masoveria* contract, which was a sharecropping contract for a limited period of time, between four and five years. Seeds and tools were contributed, and the profits were split in half by the tenant farmers and the owners.<sup>9</sup> *Rabassa morta* was a kind of contract in which grapevines or other non-irrigated shrubs were planted; this kind of contract lasted as long as two-thirds of the plantings remained alive. Therefore, it was more long term, although the harvests were split in half with the owner.

The accumulation of lands or farming estates was a new way of organising farm labour: either there was a return to the extended family or the farms were sublet with tenant farming contracts under the conditions discussed above.

The extended family tended to live together for years until the marriage of one of the sons who had worked for the family home enough to deserve lands, livestock to farm the land, smaller livestock and the tools needed for the new estate. This process was called "*fer la messió*". The new farming estate tended to be one of the dilapidated homes – uninhabited and in ruins – which the family had purchased or which, if they owned it themselves, had been left empty and was now brought back to life. In either case, the family estate split off part of its extensive assets.<sup>10</sup>

If what had been purchased was lands, then the owners sorted the best lands for farming, those to be left fallow and those meant for livestock, an activity which surged considerably and served as one of the ways out of the crisis in certain areas within Catalonia. But not everyone amassed land, and the end result was a great deal of inequality within rural society.

Indebtedness in the rural world was omnipresent throughout all those years and centuries of the old regime, and in the 16th century there were two very specific causes. One was the shift from draught animals to farm animals, particularly from the ox to the mule. Gabriel Ramon reflects on this: "A change that despite the mule's possibilities and advantages compared to the ox, was not affordable for all peasants; the fact that it was a sterile animal and that to secure a mule one had to have mares and donkeys raised the price of these animals, and this meant that purchasing one led many peasant families to become indebted."<sup>11</sup> The other cause of debt was the Arbitral Sentence of Guadalupe of 1486, which rescued the serfs to restore to them full freedom of movement and safeguarded them from the five "bad customs", in the case of peasants who had been affiliated with the land, in exchange for an immediate cash payment. This sentence benefitted the wealthy, who had this surplus, but the *censo* led to the

indebtedness of a very large part of the rural population because payment of the redemption fee lasted over many years, as the *censal* implied periodic payment of interest and allowed the payment of the debt to be delayed.<sup>12</sup> These peasants thus acquired a kind of endemic debt.

### THE MASIA FARMHOUSE BUILDING

We know that the *masia* was a building that took shape over the centuries, always adapting to the needs of its inhabitants, including economic conditions, family requirements and the need for protection. For this reason, even though common rooms developed similarly all over Catalonia, other more local, unique parts of the house were built for economic, geographic and historical reasons. Thus, unique features were added in each stage, such as towers, wine cellars and stables.

By the 16th century, the *masia* had become the structure that was to culminate this process. Likewise, unique elements from that historical period were added to the building, such as defence towers, in both inland Catalonia because of the banditry there and on the coast to defend against corsairs, although these defence towers became even more visible after the 17th century. Following this same approach, the 16th-century *masia* consolidated the addition of rooms used to produce goods meant for trade, such as wine cellars in the Bages region, livestock pens in

the Empordà and livestock stables in grazing lands such as Collsababra. This came in response to the need to fit means of production into the home which were sources of money aimed at emerging from the crisis of feudalism.

The evolution of the building<sup>13</sup> started with a rectangular body with thick walls and a tile roof, features of the Romanesque, which was comprised of a kitchen and pens in the 11th century, and it was gradually enlarged to include the oven and stable, all on the same level, by the late 12th century. In the 13th century the *masia* underwent significant changes, such as a more vertical construction and the addition of a large area meant for the kitchen as a multipurpose room, and thus the house came to have two main bodies. This change was possible thanks to the availability of two materials, lime and tile, which allowed lighter-weight constructions to be built, more in keeping with the Gothic. This pattern was gradually improved and adapted such that between the late 14th and the 15th centuries, the two processes were merged and the building became two bodies and two storeys. The 16th-century *masia* was meant to be used as a family home divided into three main bodies.

This distribution was attained by adding a parallel body to the new buildings in the central part of the 15th-century two-bodied, two storey building. Until the formation of the farming estate/farmhouse building in the 15th century, each room that was added had a purpose and reflected the architectural style of the time, using the

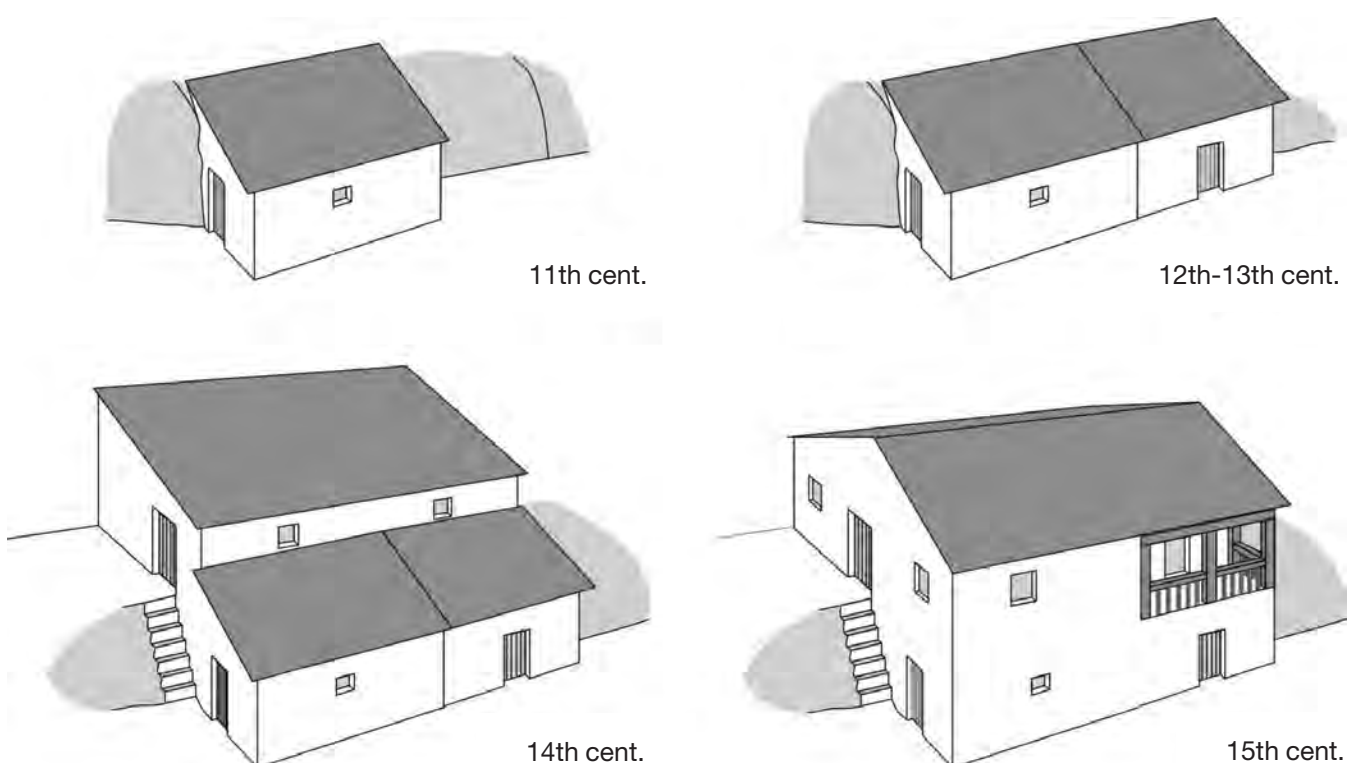


FIGURE 1. Reconstruction of the evolutionary stages in the farming estate (*mas*) and farmhouse (*masia*).



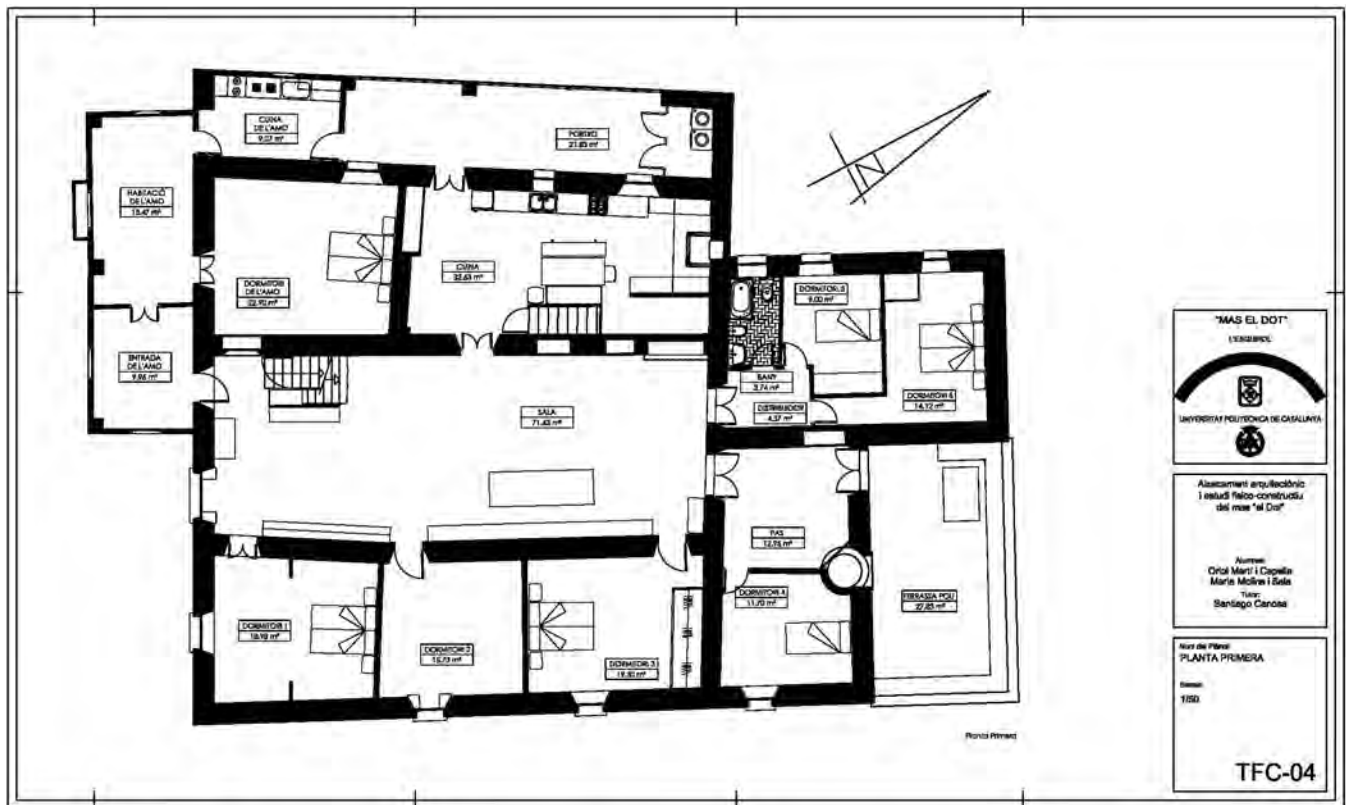


FIGURE 2. Plan of the first floor of Masia del Dot (St Martí Sescorts, Osona), which highlights the *sala* (living room), a symbolic and important space of the Catalan *masia* (farmhouse), standard in the 18th century, with attachments to the traditional 16th century *masia*.

corresponding technology. In Catalonia, the Gothic lasted until the 16th century, but the mindset of the Renaissance, with the importance of the individual and therefore each person's tasks, had been assimilated into the 15th century building, in which each act in life had its own space, even if it was not solely used for that activity. Therefore, according to some authors, this addition of an entire body on the central part was a response to the victory of the Arbitral Sentence of Guadalupe for owners who were wealthy yet still serfs. It is possible to accept this explanation for the few buildings that were constructed during those years, but the reality is that the emblematic space that was added to this new building was the parlour, which was included in all farmhouses, both new and already built, throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially in the latter years. Therefore, the motivation is more likely the economic upswing. The parlour, which became emblematic for any family, signalled the addition of a noble room that dated from the 11th century. It was more symbolic than useful; it was where any family displayed its affluence or most valuable possessions, such as portraits, small chapels devoted to saints or large tables crafted of wood from the trees on the land. In the buildings that already existed, the most visible place was always the parlour.

In new buildings, the parlour became the most prominent room after the main entrance. The large entrance occupied the ground floor and the granary the upper sto-

rey. From then on, the granary was established as a place to store the wheat in the most ventilated place in the house.

### 17TH CENTURY: HISTORICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC EVOLUTION, CROPS AND INDEBTEDNESS

The 17th century in Catalonia stands out for being years of upheaval, with constant clashes, some of them political (loss of power to Spain) and others outright wars (Guerra dels Segadors or Catalan Revolt), which affected both the economy and the people. The economy was midway between the labour system of the old regime and the system that began and developed in the 18th century. This situation brought poverty and a lack of income more than prosperity, and the most prominent and immediate outcome was the development of banditry. As Antoni Ferrando insightfully notes,<sup>14</sup> in that century the factional skirmishes of the feudal period with the participation of petty feudal lords ceased, and instead the faction members became bandits who attacked farmhouses and travellers who stole whatever they could and distorted reality through kidnappings. Likewise, the coasts of the Mediterranean were also exposed to the attacks of the corsairs. They had already existed in the Middle Ages, but the problem was aggravated during this century by the advent of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>15</sup>

Demographically and population-wise, the 17th century can be regarded as falling fully within the demographic model of an old-regime society. A society within this system was ever-fluctuating and highly dependent upon the climate: adverse weather conditions damaged harvests and led to shortages and difficulties accessing minimum foodstuffs. This health weakness wrought havoc in the recurring plagues (Bubonic Plague in 1650 and 1654). This is the scenario that can be described for a population that suffered from heavy infant mortality at both birth and weaning, and where it was very difficult for all newborns to reach adulthood. At the same time, female deaths from childbirth were also all too frequent, so couples in their second and even third marriage were quite common.

This population was extremely mobile with the continued arrival of French immigrants from the late 15th century coupled with movement within the same region. As noted above, the figure of the heir meant that the other siblings had to seek alternatives, especially by renting themselves out as farm hands or servants in the large farming estates. They also could work as day labourers or create their own farming family through tenant farming. This was a migratory wave<sup>16</sup> that did not wane but instead intensified in the subsequent centuries which served as an alternative to or support for the extended family labour model.

Another quite prominent factor was the insecurity of the population because of internal problems such as banditry, the clash with Spain and forced involvement in the European wars. The Spanish monarchy's clash with the Ottoman Empire led to the advent of corsairs, who brought a great deal of insecurity to commercial sailing. Llorenç Ferrer believes that "until 1640 the slow growth continued and the rate was situated at 76.6 in 1630-1639, and later dropped during the two decades of the Catalan Revolt (1640 and 1652) (rate of 65.6 in 1651-1659). After 1670, a slow recovery got underway which continued throughout the 18th century."<sup>17</sup>

As mentioned above, human labour was the key factor in the increase in agricultural production. Incomes were low and irregular due to the effects of external factors like pests and variable weather.

The evolution in production in those two centuries was marked by fluctuations in the harvests. As seen for the 16th century, in the 17th, too, we can notice a rise in production, with bountiful harvests during the core years and a drop between 1580 and 1640. Jaume Dantí,<sup>18</sup> specialist in agrarian history, believes that in the 17th century Catalonia devoted part of its output to specific crops meant for the market. We could say that the trend that began in the late 15th century and started to be implemented in the 16th century, which was a factor in emerging from the crisis in the regions where it was applied, continued into the 17th century but with other crops. Thus, even though it was present on Catalan lands, the olive tree, which did not suffice as an intensive crop in

the Middle Ages, started to become more popular in the late 17th century. The other intensive crop was grapevines, which became quite common all over Catalonia after the 11th century, especially in the Maresme region. Several authors who have studied this region believe that the impetus brought by the cultivation of grapes started in the 17th century.<sup>19</sup> In contrast, in the Penedès, Tarragonès and Anoia, grapevines only accounted for 15% to 20% of crops in that century.<sup>20</sup> After mid-century, exports of liquor became a very active trade and laid the groundwork for what it would become in the 18th century.<sup>21</sup> Another specialisation was livestock in regions like the Empordà.<sup>22</sup>

Even though Charles III did not issue the free-trade decree with the American colonies in Barcelona and Els Aïacs until 1778, Catalan products were already being traded long before through groups of Catalan merchants living in Seville and Cadiz.

The new and quite noteworthy indebtedness in the 17th and 18th centuries was due to the new mentality brought about by the Baroque, which was characterised by the outward expression of feelings and, more particularly, religiosity. This phenomenon was so important that the monetary contributions to hold a variety of masses (such as the trentenary and others), Church benefits to maintain a chaplain and other fervent expressions reached extremes that even led to debt. Some children were even left without an inheritance and saddled with debt, although the Church itself often waived this obligation when the children were left with no resources for living.

Gabriel Ramon believes that after the 1640 Catalan Revolt, the number of lawsuits over taxation and debt increased, "particularly in the period 1653-1658, when they tripled compared to the previous period, with a greater prominence in the regions that had suffered the most from the war, such as Segrià, Baix Camp, Garrigues, Urgell, Segarra and Anoia".<sup>23</sup>

## UNIQUE CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

The regional differences, such as the institution of livestock pens in the Empordà owing to the intensification of livestock husbandry, were sparked by the economy. Let us consider a livestock pen, which originated in the Middle Ages as a place to keep animals, primarily sheep and even the shepherd. New constructions meant for homes were added to this building, such that it gradually became a farmhouse (after the 16th century).<sup>24</sup> Therefore, what is worth noting is how animal husbandry prefigured a construction form of the local farmhouse in the Empordà. In the inventories of subsequent farming estates in the 17th century, this construction was sometimes reported as an entrance hall because of the similarity of the construction. Even now, there are old farming estates with a unique constructive form, with open spaces and a perimeter that



FIGURE 3. Torre Bagura farmhouse (Torroella de Montgrí, photograph by J. Serra), where the tower was built in the second half of the 16th century. In the photograph, note the farmhouse with three bodies, three storeys, voussoir door and carved window. This is a prototypical farmhouse from the late 16th century.

is usually made of large arcades through which the animals could be shuttled.<sup>25</sup> The existence of livestock pens along the entire coast of the Alt Empordà is confirmed by a map in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid dating from the late 17th or early 18th century. Virtually the same livestock pens, but under different names, appear in the 1877 *Nomenclàtor* (Gazetteer), the first one drawn up in our country.<sup>26</sup>

Defensive constructions were unique features that were the hallmark of the constructive form of those years owing to insecurity. Defensive features were added to farmhouses. In the inland regions of the country, we can find farmhouses with towers, machicolation and turrets on the corners.<sup>27</sup> Many of these constructions had fore-runners back in the Middle Ages.

Further back from the coastline, the farmhouses were equally exposed to corsair attacks, such as in the *comarca* of Baix Camp, which is an example of the fortification of farmhouses because the population was highly dispersed and thus choose this kind of defence. For this reason, defence towers were built in these farmhouses that tended to stand separate from the house because they were usually

built during different periods. The towers from these centuries tended to be square in shape and large enough to have inhabitable rooms inside them. According to a fascinating study of the topic by Olga Martín and Ernest Gallart, in which they classify the different lookout and defence systems, one of the defence systems is fortified farmhouses which have their own alarm network, provide defence and offer a place where refuge can be taken inside.<sup>28</sup> One example is the Torre Bagura farmhouse in Torroella de Montgrí (Empordà).

The construction of street houses spread in towns in response to the internal immigration between mountain *comarques* by the non-heir children of farmhouses who went seeking work in the plains, near rivers. This is how a group of salaried workers in the secondary sector coalesced around the artisan labour that later gave way to industrial jobs. They created their home in a largely orderly way. Built next to each other, the houses all had the same physiognomy: the building on the front part with a plot of land behind it for a vegetable garden. The plots of land were granted in emphyteusis by one of the local lords, to whom the residents had to pay *censo*s. These houses tend-



ed to have one body measuring  $86.5 \times 39.5$  metres,  $62 \times 10$  metres or  $55 \times 10$  metres. They usually had a ground floor and one upper storey.<sup>29</sup>

### 18TH CENTURY: HISTORICAL EVOLUTION, DEMOGRAPHIC AND AGRICULTURAL GROWTH AND SOCIAL DIVERSITY

The 18th century was decisive for Catalonia. At the beginning of the century, the death of King Charles II without any offspring triggered tensions regarding his succession that affected not only Spain but also all of Europe, which became enmeshed in a power struggle. Catalonia played its part in history when it participated in these disputes and ended up on the losing side, leading to a loss of its political freedoms.

However, this century also witnessed strong economic and demographic growth, especially in the second half, which translated into major construction. Following the process started years earlier, the opening of the economy led to new needs which gave rise to new trades.

The 18th century began with economic and demographic stagnation that lasted and even intensified with the War of the Spanish Succession. Llorenç Ferrer tracks the stagnation caused by the war and its aftereffects until 1720, followed by moderate growth until 1750 (an overall gain of around 20%), which was when the major expansion of the century got underway, with just a few brief hiatuses in the decade from 1760 to 1770. After that, it once again picked up pace, particularly between 1790 and 1799 (gains of 21–23% in one decade). However, the demographic expansion became truly spectacular in the second half of the 18th century.

This population surplus migrated to the nuclei where they were given plots of land to build houses and streets. Many local publications explain this situation, which is also clearly captured in the lintels of many of the houses. The lords who owned these lands made them available through the most common kind of contract in the rural world, *emphyteusis*. In this way, the current physiognomy of Catalonia began to be forged, with a disperse population concentrated in villages.

Even though Catalonia lost many of its institutions after the War of the Spanish Succession, it did retain Catalan civil law, so it was able to apply its own legal and contractual systems such as *emphyteusis* and *rabassa morta* for vineyards, which permitted non-heir children of farmers who were excluded from inheriting property to nonetheless access land. Cultivation intensified particularly because of the expansion of the lands into patches and wooded areas. Varied crops were also common depending on the zone. We can note a major presence of grains, carob and hazelnuts inland and vineyards on the coasts and in Bages.

Olive trees were important in the *comarques* of Urgell, Segarra, Noguera and especially Garrigues, where they

became a specialisation. After the second half of the 18th century, grapevines spread to inland Catalonia, namely Penedès and Bages, two *comarques* which had already experienced intensive grapevine cultivation during the Middle Ages.<sup>30</sup> Priorat and the valleys of Segre and Noguera also started to cultivate the grape.<sup>31</sup>

The external liquor trade distributed this product in northern and central Europe,<sup>32</sup> and the coastal nuclei began to experience one of their peak periods. Sailing vessels of all kinds constantly arrived on the beaches. For example, in Vilanova i la Geltrú in around the mid-18th century, the annual movement was higher than 1,000 boats, leading Vilanova to receive the nickname of Little Havana. In Lloret, the boats headed to Santiago de Cuba, Havana, Montevideo or Buenos Aires loaded with wine, oil, textiles, salt, flour and other goods, and they returned to Catalonia laden with cotton, fine wood, leather, sugar, tobacco, coffee and rum.

After trade with America was liberalised in 1778, it grew and became the alternative to trade with the north, which was waning by the end of the century. Trade with the Americas became extremely important: it channelled much of the wine production aimed at exports and returned with the cotton that the local industry needed.<sup>33</sup>

We can distinguish between three different groups. The first one was the large landowners or estate owners who had acquired major properties thanks to inheritances and marriage pacts. Some of them did not participate in the productive process and lived off of their income. They often spent periods of time in these villages which had just been built, or in small cities engaging in social relations. Their land assets were rented out to tenant farmers or sharecroppers or in *emphyteusis*. However, other landowners participated directly in the productive process. In addition to using tenant farmers, *emphyteusis*, etc., the basis of their labour was also farm hands and day labourers.

Secondly were the farmers with access to land through indefinite contracts via *emphyteusis*. They also had access to this land for a limited time through sharecropping and tenant farming, and the new development was the *rabassa morta* contract to cultivate grapevines. The contractual conditions led to clashes between the owners and the *rabassa morta* farmers late in the century which lasted until the 1930s.<sup>34</sup>

The third group consisted of day labourers and farm hands, the outcome of the demographic growth. The farm hands were the sons of farmers who did not have large enough holdings to employ all of their sons. They lived in the same house as the owner and worked every day of the year. Even though they received a salary, most of it was spent on their own upkeep. Servant girls were hired out for housework, although at certain periods during the year they might also help with the field work.

In contrast, the day labourers only worked on specific jobs as a complement to their work at home. Either they lived in the family home while they were young, or they



were the ones who founded or enlarged the new population nuclei mentioned above. They did not earn enough to live off of farm work, and therefore they also worked in pre-industrial jobs like textiles, shoemaking, construction, blacksmithing and shop-keeping.

These groups went into debt in order to secure land, a house or the means of production such as beasts of burden and tools. Despite this economic improvement, indebtedness became endemic among the peasantry, who managed to survive but never amassed wealth or improved their standard of living. The plots of land were insufficient, plus they had to pay the *censo*s, and the entry payment for emphyteusis was usually covered with a loan.

### THE CONSTRUCTIONS

The *masia* of the 18th century showed new architectural features, both when the landowners lived off of incomes and when they participated directly in production. In farmhouses where the inhabitants worked directly in production, the layout of the interior spaces underwent several shifts which reflected the economic and social changes described above. Thus, we can see an internal division of the rooms, with small quarters for the female house servants and others for the farm hands. These divisions were often made of perishable materials like partitions made of burlap or wooden walls when the rooms were on the first storey. It was also common to refurbish one side of the attic on the third floor, next to the granary.

The other change shown in the inventories is the construction of new granaries in the regions where grain was cultivated, and new wine cellars wherever the cultivation of grapevines was expanding.

These changes took place within the building itself, which, as explained above, had already reached the peak of the process of defining its spaces in the 16th-century *masia*. The subsequent building innovations were additions that did not alter the original layout: the most frequent additions were in the front or on the side of the original body. They began to be built in the 17th century, but just barely since the effects of the demographic and economic growth did not truly become noticeable until the 18th century. This is revealed through sumptuous new developments found inside the farmhouses, especially those of the large landowners. Most of these additions consisted of large arcades which were sometimes even echoed on two storeys.

The interior spaces of the farmhouses of the landowners who lived off the income of their lands did not undergo such major changes, but they could have the same additions with large arcades, galleries, etc. This was the most visible part, while in the corresponding interior spaces, the owner's office and the couple's bedroom were added, the latter with an antechamber furnished to receive guests, all aiming to show this new economic level that they had attained.<sup>35</sup>

Naturally, during the Baroque period this sumptuousness was also expressed through religiosity. Private chapels were built in each of these large farmhouses as a display of opulence. In a private document from Can



FIGURE 4. Photograph of Mas Sala (Rupit, Osona).

Plantada (L'Ametlla del Vallès, 1798), Josep Plantada says that his house was located more than 45 minutes from the parish church in L'Ametlla:

[...] what happens on many holidays, primarily in the winter, because of rains or poor weather, is that the people in the house cannot attend the church to hear the holy sacrifice of mass and thus the petitioner, his consort and his children are deprived of this consolation, even though they have the comfort of riding there in horseback. In addition, the petitioner has an elder son named Antonio who is suffering from the gout, which renders him unable to move from the house when it afflicts him, which happens all too often. And this is aggravated by the fact that the petitioner's daughter has such a delicate and weak constitution that she can barely stand because of her extreme weakness and natural defect.

On the other hand, the petitioner's house is famously opulent and outfitted with everything, and consequently it is exposed to being robbed at the most unexpected time and at the time the family has spent at the church to attend mass, as it is mostly isolated and has no neighbours, so sometimes a just servant boy or girl is left there alone.

For these reasons, he requested permission to build a public chapel, and records show that it opened in 1832.

### DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVOLUTION FROM THE 19TH CENTURY UNTIL THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The early years of the 19th century were characterised by widespread crises in the guise of famine and epidemics which affected the most disadvantaged. However, the course of the century witnessed major political upheaval in the Napoleonic invasion in 1808, which profoundly affected both society and the economy. Expropriations of assets owned by the Church got underway during the Liberal Triennium (1820-1823) as a way to redistribute wealth, and these expropriations were expanded in 1836 by Mendizábal, although they primarily affected the large urban and rural property owners. The Triennium also instated a tax reform with the imposition of a fixed amount payable in cash at a time of major recession in agricultural prices, which sparked discontent in both the Church and the peasants. This situation, along with the artisans' fears of industrialisation, were the causes behind the three Carlist Wars.

During Espartero's first government in 1840, the free trade laws clearly harmed the incipient textile industry in Catalonia with the entry of English textiles. During his second mandate in 1849, the disentailments were reinstated; this time it also affected municipal lands, which were put up for sale and bought up by the bourgeoisie. In 1866,

there was a serious financial and political crisis which led to the downfall of the monarchy. Two years later the crisis continued, now one of subsistence, dovetailing with the outbreak of the Cuban War of Independence. All of these factors heralded the end of the moderate regime and the exile of Isabel II. In 1871, the crown was offered to Amadeus, Count of Savoy, although that did not halt the third Carlist War (1872-1876), during which Amadeus abdicated in 1873. Spain became a republic for the first time, but it was unable to stop the internal divisions and uprisings in different regions, which degenerated into a veritable civil war until, after several heads of state, the Bourbon monarchy was restored under Alphonse XII in December 1874. In January 1875, the king disembarked in Barcelona with the support of the Catalan bourgeoisie, which chose unity of action with the Castilian oligarchy and appealed for the intervention of the Spanish army when faced with pressure from the working class.

The century ended in crisis and instability. The war in Cuba and the Philippines magnified the crisis that had begun in 1892 with the phylloxera plague, which ruined many vineyards in Catalonia. Industrial prosperity sparked internal population displacements. Cuba was affected by the economic crises in 1857 and 1866, which brought financial ruin to many estate owners. The Ten Years' War (1868-1878) was the first Cuban war of independence. After 1898, the date when the Spanish Empire lost the last of its American colonies, Cuba and Puerto Rico, the emigrants to the New World began to return to Spain given the instability of the situation in the Americas.

The demographic growth of the 18th century slowed down precisely at the turn of the next century, when the birth rate stagnated, albeit with major dips and peaks related to the Peninsular War and the Carlist War (the birth rate dropped to 1790 levels), but it rallied again until 1850-1859, when it reached 229. In reality, the curve hints at a serious demographic crisis in the first half of the 19th century, which witnessed only modest growth.<sup>36</sup>

During the 19th century and until the mid-20th century, the complex structure of the farming family remained largely intact. Migratory movements were more temporary than permanent and did little to change the family structure. The industrialisation process in Catalonia tended to attract rural dwellers, but it was still a weak phenomenon.

The agricultural situation was not exactly good: many small sharecroppers were ruined and day labourers became more prominent. The expected agricultural reforms which might have stemmed from the disentailments never achieved their goals. The farming class' fear of new developments in both politics and technological advances characterised the century, which left the sector playing an increasingly secondary role. Much of its labour shifted to the industrial sector, sometimes through emigration to cities and other times by promoting local industry.

European historiography claims that in the 19th century, families that had inherited large assets were ruined

because of the drop in agricultural prices and the rise in industrial salaries.<sup>37</sup>

Those Catalans who had set sail for the Americas in the 19th century to do business were known as *Indians* or *Americanos*. They had often amassed considerable wealth, returned to Catalonia and built houses and palaces to show off their new economic status. With the years of trade relations and their return, the *Indians* contributed to spurring the Catalan economy in the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century. They invested in the land and in the modernisation of the country. Agriculture, trade, industry and infrastructures all benefitted from their outlays.

The land that was not farmed with the best techniques or crop alternatives became impoverished. Potatoes tentatively started to be cultivated. When crop rotation began to be practiced, it started with legumes, fava beans, potatoes and perhaps French grass; the second year spelt and wheat were grown; the third year corn and barley; and to complete the rotation, turnips or wheat were cultivated.

But the product par excellence in terms of both production and exports was still wine. Francesc Valls, who has studied all of these phases, believes that the difficulties in European trade caused by the wars against Napoleon ended up closing the northern European markets to Catalan liquors. This situation changed its destination and paved the way for trade with the Americas. After 1820, wine exports to the Americas served as a decisive impetus for Catalan textile manufacturing with the return of the ships that traded in wine and American cotton.<sup>38</sup> Catalan wines were in heavy demand because of the decline in French production owing to the phylloxera plague that besieged this country between 1845 and 1885. However, prosperity turned to ruin when the plague attacked Catalonia's vines in 1878. It is calculated that 385,000 hectares of grapevines were lost in 1895, a loss that prompted a population flight from some *comarques*, such as Priorat.

The disentailments meant the shift of lands owned by the Church, the nobility and the municipalities into the hands of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. The peasants affected by these processes were harmed, since the new owners increased the taxes in order to boost or maintain their incomes. The large landowners who had accumulated many assets by a variety of means entered into a cycle of debt that led to the sale of small plots of land from the family holdings.<sup>39</sup> At first, the labourers were the beneficiaries of these sales, but the plots were not large enough to sustain a family at a time of declining agricultural prices and in light of the tax reform, which stipulated fixed amounts payable in cash instead of the Church tithes in kind or in proportion to the harvest.

The *Indians*, as mentioned above, not only brought a heavy impetus to industry, both textiles and the production and trade in wine and construction, but also prompted changes in the territory, sometimes by installing infrastructures and other times by modernising wine

production. Some studies of specific cases bear witness to this presence, such as in Calafell or Llançà. While in Llançà the world of wine and its trade were promoted, in Calafell the presence of *Indians*, primarily during the period spanning from the late 18th to late 19th century, meant a concentration of land purchased by them as a way to invest the money they had earned in the Americas. One of the most prominent families in Calafell from this period was the Samà family, who had important businesses in Cuba and the Philippines. They purchased all the lowlands in Calafell, which they used to cultivate vegetables and grapevines. In 1868, they erected a building to be used as a distillery to craft liquor. There was yet another wave of repatriated capital with the second Spanish-Cuban war.

Ricard Garcia-Orallo has studied indebtedness during this period and believes that the reasons the large farming landowners became indebted, especially in the second half of the century, were not too different from the reasons in previous periods: land purchases, home constructions, improvements in farms and family obligations such as paying statutory portions and dowries. He also believes that they invested in non-agricultural activities in order to diversify their investments, as happened in the rest of Europe. These changes were primarily caused by the decline in land income, as mentioned above.<sup>40</sup>

The dire crisis caused by phylloxera ushered in a period of conflicts between the landowners and cultivators around contracts, especially around the *rabassa morta* contracts in viticulture. After a period of calm, the conflicts re-emerged towards the beginning of the 1920s and culminated during the years of the republican Generalitat in the 1930s.<sup>41</sup>

## THE NEW FARMHOUSES

We cannot say that there are *Indian*- or Moderniste-style farmhouses, since these styles were more focused on decoration than on architecture. Even though new farmhouses were built or old ones were adapted, the *Indians* kept the same architectural conception of the *masia* which has been described thus far. It is said of the *Indians* that upon their return they wanted to change the physiognomy of the villages of Catalonia, and indeed they did. They spearheaded the urban development of the towns, and even though they did not bring a new artistic style they did have a particular form when they attempted to reproduce the landscape of the Antilles, to the extent possible, by introducing flower and vegetable gardens and arcades to the cities.<sup>42</sup>

One example of a *masia* built by an *Indian* is the one that the Samà family built in Calafell, La Sínia, which is typically *Indian* in style. It is comprised of two storeys with a noble room. Just like any other *masia*, the ground floor was the production area, and there was a complete wine cellar with everything needed to distil liquor, as well



as animal pens. A farmhouse with a similar layout is the one known as Cal Bolavà built by Antoni López, the Marquis of Comillas, another *Indian*.<sup>43</sup>

Another *masia* in the *Indian* style is the one known as Mas Miró in Mont-roig del Camp (Baix Camp). This house used to be known as Mas d'en Ferratges because it was owned by Antoni Ferratges, the Marquis of Mont-roig. It is believed to have been built between the 18th and 19th centuries.

Another phenomenon from the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the construction of farmhouses or sharecropper homes following the techniques of that period meant for the new inhabitants, the outcome of the division of large properties, as outlined in the section on the economy and debt.<sup>44</sup> As discussed by the local history, this phenomenon can be found in different areas around Catalonia, such as Baix Empordà, La Selva and Alt Penedès. The result has already been analysed above.

So what kind of homes were built on sharecropping farms? As the authors outline in the studies on Gelida, Torroella de Montgrí and Maçanet de la Selva, the homes retained the layout of the earlier sharecropper homes: simpler constructions, often with just two bodies, with a kitchen and dining room or entrance on the lower floor and maybe a stable inside the building as livestock pens or wine cellars in the winemaking regions in the rear, built perpendicular to the entrance. The bedrooms were on the first storey, or the houses had a square layout with three bodies on one floor, such as the ones in Maçanet. All the authors believe that the prime difference compared to the older ones is the materials used: stone and lime.

In the beginning of the 20th century, at the same time that new farmhouses were being built using patterns similar to the preceding centuries, although they were simpler because of their use, some were also being rebuilt or embellished following the architectural model of the period, Modernisme. However, in these houses only complements in the Modernista style were added to the original building dating from centuries earlier, such as the Modernista farmhouses in the region of Reus or Els Pallaresos, including Casa Bofarull.

Of everything we have outlined, it is clear that despite these stylistic variations the standard layout of three bodies and three storeys remained intact, with an internal layout of spaces that was similar throughout the entire land and the same in each chronological period. This serves to confirm the thesis that the *masia* is a building meant to be used as a family home which gradually took shape as new room was needed following the constructive form of each period. Likewise, in line with this same thesis, each geographic zone had its own unique particularities to adapt it to the local economy.

Depending to the construction system, the farmhouses borrowed what was used for major constructions. We do not know who made these kinds of constructions in the Middle Ages, but a painstaking analysis allows us to note

how the technique was the same as the churches being built during that period. Therefore, in the 11th century they were built in the Romanesque style, in the 13th to 14th centuries in the Gothic style, in the 16th century in the Renaissance style, and in the 18th century in the late Baroque style. Likewise, we have seen how they borrowed details from the *Indian* style, bearing in mind that this is not a unique, distinct style of its own, as well as details from Modernisme, and that 20th-century techniques were used for new constructions.

## NOTES AND REFERENCES

- [1] The rate of 56.6 in 1550-1559 became 68.8 in the late 16th century. This is when we can also see slow but steady natural demographic growth throughout the entire century, according to Llorenç Ferrer. See L. FERRER. "Una revisió del creixement demogràfic de Catalunya en el segle XVIII a partir dels registres parroquials". *Estudis d'Història Agrària*, no. 20 (2007), pp. 17-68.
- [2] V. GUAL. "El punt de partida de l'agricultura moderna. De la Sentència arbitral de Guadalupe i les Germanies a la crisi de finals del cinc-cents". In: E. GIRALT (dir.). *Història agrària dels Països Catalans*. Vol. 3. *Edat moderna*. Universitat de Barcelona, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Universitat de Girona, Universitat de les Illes Balears, Universitat Jaume I, Universitat de Lleida, Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Universitat Rovira i Virgili and Universitat de València, Barcelona 2008, pp. 13-30.
- [3] A. SERRA I CLOTA. *La comunitat rural a la Catalunya medieval: Collsacabra (s. XIII-XVI)*. Eumo, Vic 1990.
- [4] A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Anàlisi de la guerra civil catalana (1462-1472) a partir de les actuacions locals". In: *Enfrontaments civils: postgueres i reconstruccions*. Vol. I. *Recerques*, Pagès, Lleida 2002, pp. 83-103; A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Bandositats a Catalunya al s. XV: un fenomen també urbà". In: *XVII Congrés d'Història de la Corona d'Aragó*. Vol. 2. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2003, pp. 401-420.
- [5] A. SERRA I CLOTA: "La ganadería, una posible solución a la crisis de la Baja Edad Media en la Cataluña Central". In: *VI Congreso de la Asociación de Historia Económica*. Girona 1997, pp. 1-12.
- [6] As an example, in the parish registry of Sant Cristòfol de Tavertet from the late 15th century all the farmhouses were reported as empty and the payment that the farmhouses had made remained in the lands. The same holds true in a seigniorial record book from the mid-16th century. A. SERRA I CLOTA. *La comunitat rural a la Catalunya medieval...*, *op. cit.*
- [7] A. SERRA I CLOTA. "La crisi agrària del s. XIV a Osona". *Ausa* [Vic], no. 124 (December 1990), pp. 13-30.
- [8] A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Reaccions senyoriales a la crisi agrària a Catalunya, a la Baixa Edat Mitjana: els remences". *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* [Barcelona: CSIC], vol. 29 (1999), pp. 1005-1042.



- [9] A. SERRA I CLOTA. "La memòria d'un poble. Santa Maria de Corcó - l'Esquirol, la seva gent i una forma de viure al llarg dels segles". In: A. PLADEVALL I FONT, F. X. COLL I FERRET and A. SERRA I CLOTA. *Història de la parròquia i poble de Santa Maria de Corcó*. Diac, 2002; X. JORBA. *Òdena: segles XVI i XVII*. Parnass, Barcelona 2011, p. 224.
- [10] This can be proven in both Collsacabra with the farmhouse of Turons de Sant Joan de Fàbregues, and in Bages with the farmhouse of Grabolosa de Súrria (A. Serra i Clota, reports on excavations).
- [11] G. RAMON. *El crèdit a la Catalunya dels segles XVI i XVII; un estat de la qüestió*. Universitat de Lleida, Lleida 2014, p. 16. See the issue of mule trading in A. SERRA I CLOTA. "La ganadería, una posible solución...", *op. cit.*
- [12] V. GUAL. "El punt de partida de l'agricultura moderna...", *op. cit.*
- [13] One study of this evolution until the 18th century has been published: A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Análisis de la evolución del manto en la organización del espacio rural y en su forma constructiva (Catalunya ss. XI-XVIII)". In: *Mundos medievales: espacios, sociedades y poder. Homenaje al profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre*. Vol. 2. Universidad de Cantabria, Santander 2012, pp. 1915-1932.
- [14] A. FERRANDO I ROIG. *Les sendes dels bandolers. Sant Llorenç del Munt - Serra de l'Obac*. Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona 2002. I have studied this topic for the Middle Ages: A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Lucha de bandos en Catalunya: orígenes y características en el siglo XIV". In: *Poder y sociedad en la Baja Edad Media hispánica: Estudios en homenaje al profesor Luis Vicente Díaz Martín*. Vol. 2. Universidad de Valladolid, Valladolid 2002, pp. 1103-1128; A. SERRA I CLOTA. "Bandositats a Catalunya al s. XV...", *op. cit.*
- [15] The victory of the Christians over the Turks in the Battle of Lepanto (1571) signalled the end of Turkish supremacy in the Mediterranean, although in 1644 they seized Crete. In 1669, Venice lost Candia to the Turks, but in 1694 the Venetian admiral Francesco Morosini won a clear victory over the Ottomans. S.-J. GÓMEZ and J. M. SANET I JOVÉ. *La Gent de mar de Tarragona: segle XVII*. Silva, Tarragona 2014, p. 81.
- [16] A. CAPDEVILA MUNTADAS. *Pagesos, mariners i comerciants a la Catalunya litoral. El Maresme a l'època moderna*. Doctoral thesis. Departament d'Història Moderna. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 2004.
- [17] L. FERRER. "Una revisió del creixement demogràfic...", *op. cit.*, p. 17.
- [18] J. DANTÍ. "La diversidad agraria en la España Moderna: campo, campesinos y actividades productivas". In: *Campo y campesinos en la España Moderna. Culturas políticas en el mundo hispano*. Fundación Española de Historia Moderna, Madrid 2012, pp. 153-179.
- [19] Between 1596-1606 and 1656-1672, the cultivation of grapevines in Mataró rose 300%. J. GIMÉNEZ BLASCO. *Mataró en la Catalunya del segle XVII. Un microcosmos en moviment*. Caixa d'Estalvis Laietana, Mataró 2001.
- [20] A. CAPDEVILA MUNTADAS. *Pagesos, mariners i comerciants...*, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
- [21] From the 1760s until the early 1790s, two markets showed themselves to be extremely dynamic in purchasing Catalan liquors: first and foremost, the French market, and secondarily the colonial American market: F. VALLS. "El paper de les exportacions vitícoles de les relacions exteriors de l'economia catalana 1672-1869". *Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, no. 12 (2001), pp. 161-172.
- [22] P. GIFRE. *Els senyors útils i propietaris de mas. La formació històrica d'un grup social pagès (Veguèria de Girona, 1486-1730)*. Fundació Noguera, Barcelona 2012, pp. 357-389.
- [23] G. RAMON. *El crèdit a la Catalunya...*, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
- [24] A. COMPTE. "Els cortals de Castelló d'Empúries en la baixa edat mitjana". *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Empordanesos [Figueres]*, vol. 38 (2005), p. 69.
- [25] For this description, see P. GIFRE. *Els senyors útils i propietaris de mas...*, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
- [26] A. COMPTE. "Els cortals de Castelló d'Empúries...", *op. cit.*, p. 60.
- [27] A. FERRANDO I ROIG. *Les sendes dels bandolers...*, *op. cit.*
- [28] O. MARTÍN and E. GALLART. "Els sistemes defensius de la costa catalana contra la pirateria i el corsarisme (XVI-XVIII)". *Manuscrits. Revista d'Història Moderna*, no. 7 (1988), pp. 225-240; J. NOGUER GÓMEZ. Les torres de vigilància i de defensa de la Costa Brava". *Revista de Girona*, no. 116 (1986), pp. 271-280.
- [29] Many of the villages were formed after the 18th century, although the process had gotten underway in the 17th century: A. SERRA I CLOTA. "La memòria d'un poble...", *op. cit.*; X. JORBA. *Òdena: segles...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 480 and forward.
- [30] A. SERRA I CLOTA. "El vi, la seva importància i la seva elaboració entre el s. XIII-XVI a la Catalunya Central". In: E. GIRALT (coord.). *III Colloqui d'Història Agrària sobre mil anys de producció, comerç i consum de vins i begudes alcohòliques als Països Catalans*. Vol. 2. Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona 1993, pp. 281-298.
- [31] "From then until the arrival of phylloxera, grapevines characterised part of Catalonia's rural landscape, while its supply of grain depended on other *comarques*": J. DANTÍ. "La diversidad agraria en la España Moderna...", *op. cit.*
- [32] Francesc Valls believes that the liquor cycle had gone through two phases in terms of the goods traded for viticulture exports: 1) In the first stage, textiles predominated: wool, linen or even calico, i.e., cotton textiles; 2) In the second stage, which started in the 1860s, it was semi-finished linen textiles. See F. VALLS. *La Catalunya atlàntica. Aiguardent i teixits a l'arrencada industrial catalana*. Eumo, Vic 2004.
- [33] F. VALLS. *La Catalunya atlàntica...*, *op. cit.*
- [34] As noted, *rabassa morta* was a contract in which grapevines or other unirrigated shrubs were planted for a virtually undefined period of time as long as the grapevines

did not die. However, for the owners it was simply long-term sharecropping. This twofold interpretation is what caused the discord.

- [35] A. SERRA i CLOTA. “Análisis de la construcción del manso en Catalunya, del libro: *Llibre dels secrets d’agricultura, casa rústica i pastoril*, de M. Agustí (1617)”. In: S. HUERTA (coord.). *Actas del Séptimo Congreso Nacional de Historia de la Construcción*. Vol. 2. Instituto Juan de Herrera, Madrid 2011, pp. 1339-1348.
- [36] L. FERRER. “Una revisió del creixement demogràfic...”, *op. cit.*
- [37] R. GARCIA-ORALLO. “La gran propiedad endeudada: decadencia, continuidad y recomposición de las élites rurales catalanas a finales del siglo XIX”. In: *XIV Congreso Internacional de Historia Agraria* (Badajoz, 7-9 November 2013), 29 p.
- [38] F. VALLS. *La Catalunya atlàntica...*, *op. cit.*, p. 14.
- [39] At the start of the 20th century, the Marquis of Robert was the owner of several farmhouses on the plain between the nuclei of Torroella de Montgrí and L’Estarrit (Torre Bagura, Mas Cassà, Mas Ral, La Galera and Mas Boixó). In 1912, a restructuring process got underway which led eight new farmhouses to be built, known as the *masos nous d’en Robert* (Robert’s new farmhouses). This action was one of the last great agricultural, social and architectural transformations of the plain. The house that the lords of Gelida had owned in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was sold in parts to different new owners: La Talaia, tenant farming or independent property (19th century), which depended on Can Batllell; Can Migrat (19th century), which is the division of Can Voltà; and Ca l’Altimires (19th century) to the Leblonds, who also purchased the castle, Ca n’Oller dels Tarongers (19th century), which was a second home of the Oller de la Muntanya family.
- [40] R. GARCIA-ORALLO. *La gran propiedad endeudada...*, *op. cit.*
- [41] A. BALCELLS. *El problema agrari a Catalunya. La qüestió rabassaire (1890-1936)*. Nova Terra, Barcelona 1968. The second edition is from 1983.
- [42] C. SOBREVILA. “Els indians catalans”. In: “RE”, revista de pensament i opinió..., Fundació Catalunya-Amèrica, Barcelona 2008 pp. 44-45.
- [43] Now, after an in-depth renovation, it houses the Casa de Cultura of the Calafell Town Hall; see the Calafell Town Hall website.
- [44] At the start of the 20th century, the Marquis of Robert was the owner of several farmhouses on the plain between the nuclei of Torroella de Montgrí and L’Estarrit, such as Mas Llorers. This is a farmhouse built in the early 20th century on the land of Mas Ral (Torre Bagura, Mas Cassà, Mas Ral, La Galera and Mas Boixó); see J. SERRA i GIRONELLA and A. ROVIRAS i PADRÓS. “Els masos nous d’en Robert”. *Plecs d’Història Local*, no. 148 (February 2013). A similar process took place in Gelida: R. ROVIRA. “Inventari de les masies de Gelida”. *Paratge*, no. 7 (1996). In Maçanet de la Selva, the result of the division of the lands of Torre de Marata has been studied in *El nostre poble de pagès*. Taller d’història de Maçanet, Maçanet de la Selva 1988.

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Assumpta Serra holds a PhD in mediaeval history from the Universitat de Barcelona. From 1983 until 2003, she worked as a professor of mediaeval history in the Faculty of Geography and History at the same university. With a sweeping view of history, she has used written and archaeological documentation to analyse the evolution of the *masia* and the rural world (economy and society, such as serfs) in Catalonia between the 11th and 18th centuries. She is currently the coordinator of the Rural History Section of the ICEA-IEC, where she has assembled an interdisciplinary group that has organised the 1st Congrés del Món de la Masia (Barcelona, 11-3 March 2015).