Herds, roads and water: A diachronic approach to Sant Magí de Brufaganya.

Graham Jones

Bones tardes, collegs, i moltes gracies per la seva introdució, Josep Maria.

I should begin by thanking you for giving me the honour of being associated with ICAC, and for being such good friends and colleagues during my first visit. I'm looking forward to getting to know you all more.

My first archaeological experience was on a beach somewhere in England, accompanied, I see from this photograph, by a dog. I also see I have broken the first rule of archaeology... by digging a hole. Over the years, as a volunteer on various excavations, my technique has improved a little I'm glad to say, and I continue to make new friends [like this skeleton on the next slide].

So, a couple of images of country life from little more than a century ago. I love this first photograph, taken in the French Landes region and showing the Gaston practice of *l'arristoun*, living under the same roof as the animals, giving them shelter and gaining their warmth.[1] The oxen of course have their names, Martin and Jouan, and they are having a meal of *pachedeuy*, a mixture of bran and oats.

The second image shows a group of women with their mules on one of the camis de Sant Magí, crossing the Rio de Boix, a couple of valleys over from Brufaganya.[2] The photographer, Àngel Toldrà Viazo, published more than 4,500 postcards of Catalan countryside and towns between 1905 and the 1930s, more than a thousand of them by 1908, and they constitute a rich resource for exploring past landscapes.

Here is a world in which people lived and worked in close proximity to animals, a world we have forgotten, unless we live on a farm. My father, born in 1914, could remember pig-killing day. Each house had its Christmas piglet, and you could hear the squealing as the fattened pigs were dispatched, house by house. I was born in 1943 and remember the railway stables in my town. Goods sent by train were still collected and delivered in the main by horse-drawn carts. Into the second half of the nineteenth century, thousands of cows lived in London cellars – their supply of milk only rendered obsolete with the introduction of 'milk trains', travelling up first thing in the morning from the dairying counties of the West Country.

This matters to archaeologists, I think, because if we have no experience of this intimate proximity to working animals, or indeed of a countryside populated by flocks and herds, which are increasingly under cover, we shall have some difficulty visualising the countryside we are investigating. This applies as much to classical and late antique landscapes as to any others.

More than that, there are elements of the landscapes captured early photographers in some respects may well resemble those of the Classical world. The French historian Fernand

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[1] 'Interieur dans les Landes (lou pachedeuy),' photographed by Ferdinand Bernède (1869-1963), photographer, folklorist, and poet, of Arjuzanx-Morcenx (Landes).

[2] Àngel Toldrà Viazo, 'A. T. V. 916 – Santuario de S. Magin de la Brufaganya, Rio de Boix y camino de S. Magin.'

Braudel wrote: 'History may be divided into what moves rapidly, what moves more slowly, and what appears not to move at all.' Among the things which appear not to move at all are pastoral landscapes, and in some parts of the world, even the roads and the field-patterns. You are all well aware of the Iron Age 'ladder-fields' in parts of England, preserved under the lines of Roman roads, and the Bronze Age field divisions called reaves which still march across Dartmoor. 'Some things,' said the English landscape historian W. G. Hoskins, 'are very much older than you might think.' It sounds trite. But Susan Oosthuizen now suggests common management of field systems begins in the Bronze Age.[3] And as Josep Maria Palet has demonstrated with his work on centuriated landscapes, if you start with a total survey of contemporary evidence and peel back the layers, it is possible to reveal Roman levels, for example, which without that systematic and scientific approach have been too often rejected.[4]

Since soon after beginning my second career in 1996, I've been fascinated by the cultural landscape of Sant Magí de Brufaganya. My doctoral work was on religious dedications, principally of churches, and the potential in the systematic study of the choices people have made about their patron saints to throw light on concerns and characteristics of past societies.[5] So for example, the German ethnologists who mapped. village by village, the saints venerated for the health of their farm animals, identified three corridors dominated by Brigid, Leonard, and Wendelin.[6] Wendelin, like Magí, was a local saint whose fame spread widely within a cultural region dominated and highly influenced by a conquering Frankish elite. He and Brigid are Celtic saints, and their popularity may take us back to the earliest evangelisation of the lands beyond the Roman *limes*. Though long-distance transhumance only became a feature in Germany in the later middle ages, archaeology has been able to demonstrate local cycles as early as the Neolithic.

Brufaganya is a hidden upland valley, a *conca* or *alti-plan* whose main access is via a narrow, steep-sided break in the surrounding limestone sierras.[7] Once through the defile, the valley opens out, revealing terraced farmland rimmed by thick woods – 3km long, 2km at its widest, and rising at its edge to more than 900m above sea level. Its name means 'blown corn', and the eastern half of the *alti-plan* indeed contains an watershed exposed to the winds.

The pilgrimage landscape has existed since at least 1560 when a chapel was built at the spring.[8] Pilgrims climbed the hill to the sanctuary and shrine of the saint, and on to the caves in which it was said he and his companions took refuge. The way was lined with small chapels and crosses. With the exception of the spring this has something in common with the sacred landscape of Montserrat, and with the *Calvaria*, penitential landscapes reproducing the Via Dolorosa on a grand scale, which were a feature of the Counter-Reformation as far as Poland.

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[3] Susan Oosthuizen, *Tradition and Transformation in Anglo-Saxon England: Archaeology, Common Rights and Landscape* (London, Bloomsbury Academic, 2013).

[4] H. A. Orengo and J. M. Palet: 'Methodological insights into the study of centuriated field systems: A landscape archaeology perspective', *Agri Centuriati* 6 (2009), pp. 171-88.

[5] Graham Jones, 'Church dedications and landed units of lordship and administration in the pre-Reformation diocese of Worcester', unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leicester, Department of English Local History, 1996.

[6] Matthias Zender (ed.), *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde, Neue Folge*. Erläuterungen, Band 1, zu den Karten NF 1-36 (Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1959-1964), pp. 166-80.

[7] The Brufaganya mountain, rising to the Puig de les Creus, is Middle Triassic. The mountains on the other sides of the alti pla are older Devonian rocks.

[8] For the references to Brufaganya and Rocamora, see Graham Jones, work in progress.

The sanctuary church of Brufaganya sits on what appears to be a man-made terrace. It also has a characteristic which may well be unique in Catalunya and perhaps more widely: like St Peter's in the Vatican it faces west, not the conventional east towards Christ's Second Coming. Together with the saint's tomb and shrine it was destroyed in 1936 and not rebuilt until nearly 20 years later, minus tomb.

Water has been carried from the spring to Barcelona every year since at least 1793, when Baron Maldà wrote that it was 'the salvation of the city'.[9] Nine other towns also have or had annual convoys.

A map of all places where chapels and springs of Magí are found, plus place-names preserving the personal name shows a diffusion across Catalunya Nova, but not Catalunya Vella, plus outliers in the Balearics and Rosselló. One must be careful with such a map. Many of the toponyms are farm names perhaps no more than a hundred, or two hundred years old. However, naming traditions do not appear out of thin air. They grow in a cultural humus, in this case the lives of the people living in this central corridor which does not respect, for example, the boundary between the dialects of old and new Catalunya.

A list of miracles attributed to Magí was published in 1529, and in the margins of a painting in Tarragona Cathedral Museum dated *circa* 1560 there are two men bathing their diseased legs in an open pool fed from a spout. A woodcut of about 1480 from Nuremberg shows 'St Minus' invoked 'in welische lande' for curing the pox. Iconographers have taken 'Minus' to be 'Maginus of Tarragona', Sant Magí. However, it is likely that cures were being sought as early as the thirteenth century, when bequests were being made to the saint, meaning his church.

First reference to the saint at Brufaganya is from 1204, when the 'Roca de Sant Magí' is mentioned in the bounds of a land charter. However, when the spring and church were made into a benefice in 1524 it was claimed the church had been built by an ancestor of the then owners, the Cervelló family. Their possession of Brufaganya grew out of their barony of La Llacuna, in their hands since the tenth century.

One of the most fascinating features of Brufaganya is what we know of the church prior to 1600, and particularly the shrine. The latter was in the altar steps and the faithful were able to thrust their hands or instruments into a small window, a *fenestrella*, to gather dust, and in one scandalous event, a bone. Architectural reconstruction from the documentary records reveals a type of shrine popular from the ninth century onwards, but allowing practices evident in Late Antiquity. The idea of a *fenestrella* appears in Pope Gregory the Great's refashioning of St Peter's around the apostle's tomb *circa* 600, rebuilding the altar on a higher level and constructing a ring crypt around the tomb.[10] It is possible, then, that the Brufaganya church was built over a burial place esteemed by Christians at the end of the Al Andalus period and perhaps before it, with isolation in the mountains helping to preserve its sanctity. A straw in the wind is the grant in 1071 of the estate of Rocamora in the Brufaganya *conca* to a priest, Esclua, who proceeded to build a church there. In eleventh-century England, royal clerks picked up the lands of old minster churches almost systematically. From an earlier period, an

[9] Ramon Boixareu (ed.), Maldà, Rafael d'Anat i de Cortada, Baró de (1792-4), *Calaix de Sastre* (Barcelona, Curial, 1987), hereafter Maldá, '*Calaix*'.

[10] Richard Krautheimer, *Corpus basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Earliest Christian Basillicas of Rome (IV-IX cent.)* (5 vols, Vatican City, 1937-1977).

intriguing name in the immediate district is that of Conesa, from an Mozarabic word meaning 'a little church'.[11]

West-facing churches were normal practice in Rome in the earliest centuries, and it is not impossible that the church at Brufaganya developed as St Peter's had under Pope Gregory. In the previous hundred years, structures around tombs allowing access by the faithful in search of healing was fashionable in Gaul. 'When someone decides to put his head into a small window over the tomb and prays for what his situation requires, soon, if he had made a just petition, he obtains as result,' wrote Gregory of Tours.[12] He himself, beset by a headache when visiting the shrine of St Radegund of Poitiers, 'came out of the tomb healed'. Access was important to those wanting secondary or contact relics, *brandeia* – like the rosaries and other objects thrust through the bars of Magí's sepulchre to gather dust made sacred by proximity to the saint.

In comparison with records from more northerly lands of the Late Roman Empire and its successor states, little is known about the church's fortunes in the Peninsula in these centuries. One factor is the attitude of Rome towards 'heretical' aspects of the churches of Hispania – the date of celebrating Easter and so on. This continued into the Visigothic period. Another is the long period when contact was disrupted by conflict between the kingdoms of Al-Andalus and their neighbours to the north.

So, for example, evidence is scant about Hispanic monasticism in Late Antiquity. A priest named Maximus founded a monastery at Oveto (Oviedo) in Asturia in 761, but this is late and we can be confident in suggesting some forms of monasticism in at least the fifth century when Egyptian-style communities of hermits were established under St Martin at Marmoutier near Tours, and by others on the island of Lerins near the mouth of the Rhône.[13] Magí is a vernacular form of Maximus, so Brufaganya's saint certainly harks back to a period when Latin names were still in use, and eremetical occupation of the caves at Brufaganya would be wholly consistent with a small monastic community of this type. It would also be in line with the practice of establishing places of periodic retreat, where the hermit might find spiritual refreshment – or even battle with demonic forces.

When the occupant of the Brufaganya grave died can only be a matter of speculation. Hagiographers of the sixteenth century concocted a legend that Magí was a victim of persecution under Maximinian and had him imprisoned by the imperial authorities here in Tarragona. All is a patchwork made up of tropes from other saints' legends. Nevertheless, the ruins of the first church underlying the basilica in the ampitheatre of Tarragona, dated to the Visigothic period, shows how strong Christianity was here in Late Antiquity. Comparisons with, for example, a saint who shares the feast day of Magí, Magnus of Trani in southern Italy, takes us into the world of wonder-working saints, dead but active in protection of the faithful, described in the writings of Gregory of Tours and others, and evoked in Peter Brown's studies of 'Holy Men' and the cult of saints.[14] As Brown and others show, such beliefs had much in common with Classical understandings of divine epiphany – gods might

[11] Joan Coromines, *Onomasticon Cataloniæ: els noms de persona de totes les terres de llengua Catalana* (8 vols, Barcelona, Curial Ediciones Catalanes, 1989-96), 3 (1995), s.v. 'Conesa'.
[12] Gregory of Tours, *De Gloria Confessorum*, ch. 36 (MGH, SRM, i. 770-71).
[13] H. V. Livermore, *The Origins of Spain and Portugal* (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1971), p. 336.
[14] Peter Brown, e.g. 'The rise and function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971), pp. 80–101, and *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (1982).

appear beside you on the road; if you were seeking a cure by sleeping in a temple, the god might favour you with a vision.

In the absence of material evidence, we are at a loss to know whether Brufaganya's *alti pla* was exploited in Roman times, and how, if at all, it fitted into the Late Antique economy. The archaeological record in the Conca de Barberà is scant, to say the least.[15] Thus we are forced back on to non-material evidence. Thanks to the magnificent work of Joan Coromines, it is possible to propose a series of landed estates, perhaps successors of Roman *latifundi*, in the region, preserved in place-names commemorating persons named Barberanus, Francolinus, Gaius.

The Roman economy could not function without its roads, and Pau de Soto, formerly of this centre, mapped the network of roads in Catalunya in his doctoral thesis, including those whose course can be reasonably inferred or hypothesised.[16] One of the latter, Pau's route 29, runs west and then from Barcelona, crossing the Via Augusta at La Granada in the Penedès. Pau pointed out the significance of the toponym 'La Carrerada' as applied to the section approaching La Granada. The term has two uses, according to the *Gran Diccionari*: routes of seasonal stock movements or transhumance, and the visible remains of Roman roads of the second and third ranks. Beyond the Via Augusta the route continues, first as a road defining plots of land, and at one point fossilised in the boundary between the comarcas of Alt Penedès and l'Anoia. However, having reached La Llacuna, the road, on Pau's map, goes no further. This is tantalising, since the toponym La Llacuna, 'the Gap', suggests it should.

Moreover, not far to the west, at Santa Coloma de Queralt, Pau's map appears to show two more 'dead end' roads meeting at Santa Coloma, one from Guimera to the west and the other northwards from Montblanc. In fact they form part of the same projected route 29 linking Tarragona with the Roman town of *Iesso* north of Cervera) – an alternative to the more direct route further west, but running up the valley of the Corb where there is plentious evidence of settlement in the Roman period.[17] De Soto suggests that the numerous find-spots of Roman material along the valley of the Corb indeed points to a 'transversal' road. This Route 29, marked by milliari, including one at Guimera,[18] was a military and administrative road. Route

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[15] A recent survey of the thinly distributed archaeological evidence from the Roman period is Antoni Carreras i Casanovas *et al*, 'La Romanització de la Conca de Barberà', in Antoni Carreras i Casanovas (gen. ed.), *Història de la Conca de Barberà [2]. Les Arrels del Passat* (Valls, Cossetània Edicions, 2011), pp. 260-313.

[16] Pau de Soto Cañamares, 'Anàlisi de la xarxa de comunicacions i del transport a la Catalunya romana: Estudis de mobilitat i accessibilitat', PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Facultat de Filosofia i Lletres', hereafter De Soto, 'Xarxa', online at <http://www.tesisenred.net/handle/10803/5560 >, pp. 230-33, including Fig. 166 for the alternative routes between Montblanc and Iesso. For a summary of his thesis, see Pau de Soto Cèsar Carreras [n.b. change of name], 'Anàlisi de la xarxa de transport a la Catalunya romana: alguns apunts', *Revista d'Arqueologia de Ponent* 16-17 (2006-2007), pp. 177-91, online at <www.rap.cat/online/rap_16_17/d2.pdf>, accessed August 24, 2015. The route linking *Tarraco* and *Iesso* via the valley of the Riu Corb and the Baix Segarra has been proposed by Joaquim Pera, 'La romanització a la Catalunya Interior. Estudi històrico-arqueològic de Iesso i Sigarra i el seu territori', PhD thesis, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1993, and 'Iesso i Sigara. Aproximació a la xarxa de comicacions en època antiga d'aquests dos centres romans de la Catalunya Central', in *Comerç i Vies de Comunicació (1000 a.-700 dC.). Actes del XI Col·loqui Internacional d'Arqueologia de Puigcerdà* (Puigcerdà, 1998), pp. 165-74. Do Soto, on the other hand, prefers a more direct route cresting the high rim of the Conca between Solivella and Belltall. The difficulty is in interpreting a Roman milestone found at Guimera, De Soto, 'Xarxa', p. 77, for which see also J. Lostal Pros (1992), *Los Miliarios de la Provincia Tarraconense: (conventos tarraconense, cesaraugustano, cluniense y cartaginense)* (Saragossa, Institución Fernando el Católico, 1992).

[17] Joan Duch i Mas, <http://www.guimera.info/wordpress/histories/>, accessed September 7, 2015.

[18] TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS DRUSI FILIUS
CAESAR AUGUSTUS GERMANICUS

22 to La Llacuna would appear from the term *carrerada* to be more agrarian, and perhaps specifically for the seasonal movement of animals. So in theory there is no reason why they should be linked. Even so, the name La Llacuna, and the possibility that the road was leading to – or from - the internal plains, tempts one to test the water.

The easiest route to join this road to a Tarragona-*Iesso* road at Santa Coloma curves north and then west around the sierras enclosing Brufaganya's upland valley. Today it is that of the BP-2121 over the Coll de la Creu del Pla, and then the B-220/C-432 rising up the valley of the Riera de les Colomines, a head valley of the Anoia, before cresting the Serra de Queralt to reach Santa Coloma. A shorter but more taxing route runs up in and across the *alti pla* of Brufaganya, passing east of the sanctuary as it crests the Serra del Pany by the Collet dels Apòstols where the chapel of that name stood until the Thirties. I have driven in the opposite direction down the present-day road with its hair-raising, hair-pin bends, and it wasn't a journey I'd care to repeat in a hurry. However, government mapping from the first half of the twentieth century[19] labels this route as a 'Camino de San Magin', and shows it with quite straight stretches, including the eastern ascent towards Brufaganya.

Any study of the origins of Sant Magí de Brufaganya must include the means and directions taken by pilgrims and others. The thousands of ex-votos and devotional objects bought in by the convent for sale to the faithful suggests a steady stream of travellers – and the miracle list of 1529 shows them coming from as far afield as Barcelona, Tarragona, and Lleida – even France.[20] Every settlement has its hinterland, and it was useful to use the early twentieth-century mapping to trace those long distance routes which in close proximity to Brufaganya are labelled as 'Caminos of Sant Magin'. One can see, for example, that Brufaganya lies on an axis linking Igualada (and so Vic, Osona, and Girona) with Tarragona, via the gap at Cabra del Camp.

It was equally revealing to follow Josep Maria's methodology and trace all the roads, lanes, and paths shown on contemporary mapping, and to analyse the results. The limits for the exercise were set along a series of modern carreteras, including the road striking north from La Llacuna in order to assess the evidence from the maps of 1927 and 1934.

The results were interesting. A few routes were clearly modern: for example, where access roads were needed for the erection of power lines. Some led to farms which may be modern, others wandered on the mountainside and might represent hunting paths or the habitual paths of sheep and goats. It bears remembering that the current ICC mapping uses orthographic images produced from aerial photography, so includes features which might be difficult or impossible for surveyors to map on the ground. Stripping these out, Brufaganya's *alti plana* is reached by a number of roads which pass though gaps in the surrounding mountains. These roads do not make for a central point – unless one takes this to be the farm called Cal Ofre –

PONTIFEX MAXIMUS
TRIBUNICIA POTESTATE IIII
IMPERIO VIII CONSULATU III
PATER PATRIAE
CCXVIII
228 mil pedes (322km)

[19] For example, Mapa topográfico nacional 1:50,000, sheet 418, 'Montblanch' (Instituto Geográfico y Catastral, Espanya, 1927). The 1936-1937 survey is very similar.

[20] The miracle list of 1529, for example, mentions pilgrims from Barcelona (4), Tarragona (3), Cervera (2), Costanti (2), Lleida, Montblanc, Vilafranca, Valls, Sitges, Penedes, Quer (diocese of Tarragona), Grenyanella, Cervello, Vilanova, Cover (?Alcover), Sevella, Nasquesa, and France.

but seem more intent on crossing from one side to another. Indeed, they appear to ignore both the church and its surrounding hamlet, and the sister settlement of Rocamora.

This could mean that these principal routes predate the two settlements. Neither was 'magnetic' enough to cause a permanent deflection of established paths. Moreover, since both were sites of castles in the period of conflict between the Franks and the Andalusians, these were presumably intended to guard routes, or a productive and settled landscape, or both.

The existence of a through route is proved from a record among the six boxes of parochial documents rediscovered earlier this year. On the last day of July in 1628, there was buried a nameless person of Vilaseca, found dead in a roadside shelter (*una coveta del cami*) on the way to Montalegre. In 1767 the convent at Brufaganaya paid for a notrial declaration that the road between La Llacuna and Pontils 'for the passage of strangers'[21] crossed the Obaga of Rocamora and not the land of the friars.[22]

Interestingly, too, one route through the mountain rim appears to have disappeared in the twentieth century, that passing south over the Coll de Loup. The biggest change, though, is in the east. The straightish 'Camino de San Magin' shown on the mapping of 1927 and 1934, appears to have given way to a tortuous web of paths.[23] One must bear in mind that the scales of mapping are very different – 1:50,000 as against 1:10,000. Also, cattle droving routes in Britain often manifest themselves as a weaving complex of paths – animals do not move in single file, and weather conditions can put one path out of use in favour of another.

Nevertheless, the evidence no longer exists on the map of a well-defined Camino. It is certainly the case that attempting to reconcile early twentieth-century and current mapping can produce some odd results, but in general I think one must trust those surveyors, who were, after all, also mapping features other than roads, and whose purpose was as much military as administrative. In this case one notices also that a north-south road is also now missing, and may have been abandoned with the construction of the modern carretera a little to the west.

The latter road followed what has been proposed as a road linking Tarragona with a Roman settlement at La Clariana on the Anoia, though not included in Pau de Soto's network. From here southwards it follows the Igualada-Tarragona axis mentioned earlier. De Soto's route 29 to La Llacuna could well have continued north to meet this, and it could equally have followed the line of the camino. Passing across Brufaganaya would have taken it towards the head of the Riu Corb and down to the internal plains. It would also have taken it past a constant supply of good and refreshing water, the spring of Sant Magí, the one constant of Brufaganya. Animals need water, and the saint's spring supplies it in abundance.

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[21] *forrenses*, probably meaning 'outsiders'.
[22] Literally 'shady'.
[23] Straight stretches leave La Lacuna and then, having crossed the Riera de Miralles, the route ascends the very steep slope towards the eastern, upward edge of Brufaganya's high plateau. There the plateau is enclosed north and south respectively by the roughly parallel (though converging) Serra de Pinyol (*pinyol* is the stone of a fruit) and Serra de la Savinosa and between them the Coll de Guix (the col or pass of plaster or perhaps chalk). Just across the col, the two serras have between them the Túro de Pixallits (Hill of Dandelions), which is also a marker on Brufaganya's territorial boundary. On the pre-Civil War mapping, the route eastwards away from Sant Magí over the mountains into the valley of the Riera de Miralles divides at the Col de Guix. One way passes south of the Túro de Pixallits over the Coll de Camp and down the valley of a small tributary of the Riera de Miralles. The other, to the north of the Túro, is the steep descent described in the previous paragraph. The first is not shown on the 1967 mapping to the same scale, or since.

It comes as no surprise, there, to find that Brufaganya lies on a transhumance route, a carrerada, included in a recent comprehensive survey of such routes. This was published just three years ago by Eduard Trepat and Anna Vilaseca under the aegis of the Fundació del Mon Rural, in an report on the decline of the transhumance system and recommendations for dealing with the resulting challenges to aspects of the Catalan rural economy and culture.

This route approaches Brufaganya from the south-east over the Coll de Pilot which now longer appears on contemporary mapping, and originates in two places on the coast, Roda de Berò and Vendrell. In fact it is probably the route shown schematically on Joan Vilà i Valentí's map of 1951 and that of Ricard Vives i Sabaté of the same decade, as originating in Tarragona abd passing Rodonyà.

Another carrerada follows the line of De Soto's Route 29 and then heads to Santa Coloma, using the road skirting Brufaganya, what I described earlier as the easier but less direct route from La Llacuna.

The existence of a transhumance route crossing the *alti pla* prompts the thought that the second element in Bufagranya's name refers not to grain but to a granjia, or grange, a destination or a stopping place for long-distance herders engaged in the seasonal movements of animals en masse to upland summer pastures. To the south and south-west lie two of the great medieval abbeys which obtained such pastures in the Pyrenees, Santes Creus and Poblet. Thus Count Ramon Berenguer IV granted to the monastery of Poblet in 1160 '*casas... grangias vel cabannas*' for the abbey's herds.[24] 'Houses... [and] granges or cabins', the temporary summer cabins or shielings.[25] The recent survey map shows the Poblet herds being driven along the western crest of the Conca de Barberà towards Santa Coloma. For the animals of Santes Creus, the obvious route would take them over Brufaganya. From there they would travel to Manresa to pick up the trail north through the Ripollès.[26]

The grants to these monasteries cooincide with the point at which the intensity of transhumant pasturing in the high Pyrenees makes a sudden increase, as demonstrated in the ICAC excavations at Coma de Vaca in Queralbs. Before that point, the evidence for transhumance reaches back to *circa* 2000 BCE, that it, to the Late Neolithic. For that

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[24] Joan Vilà i Valenti, 'Evolució històrica de la transhumància a Catalunya', Treballs de la Societat Catalana de Geografia

[25] Poblet's possessions included the pastures of Angostrina (Cerdanya, valley of Sant Marti, 414547.2 E, 4703940.3 N, due north of Manresa), Estany de Lanós (close by at 410064.4, 4715776.3), vall d'Eina (east of Puigcerda, 424539.2 E, 4702750 N), and Enveig (north of Puigcerda, 410900.3 E, 4700495.5 N). Those of Santes Creus included Coma de Vaca (in Ripolles, 434103.5 E 4694854.8 N), Estany de Lanós, Font Viva (north of Peramola in Alt Urgell, 356814.1 E 4659588.3 N), and Tregurà (in Ripolles, east of Queralbs, 431709.9 E 4688751.8 N).

[26] Map is from Ferran Miralles i Sabadell and Joan Rovira i Merino, *La Transhumància al Ripollès i al Canigó. La transhumance au Ripollès et au Canigou* (Ripoll, Consell Comarcal del Ripollès, 2007). Antoni Llagostera Fernández has traced the road north from Ripoll by reference to hostals, bridges, paving and walling, *encintament*, *margeres*, steps. springs, *basses*, *passeres*, as well as the other elements of a road: its orografia, the colls, its physical configuration, etc. Note also the report by Eduard Trepat and Anna Vilaseca, 'Camins ramaders i transhumància a Catalunya. Recomanacions i propostes' (Lleida, Fundació del Món Rural, 2012), with bibliography.
I have not been able to consult Joan Rovira i Merino, *Camins de transhumància al Penedès i al Garraf : aproximació a les velles carrerades per on els muntanyesos i els seus ramats baixaven dels Pirineus a la marina* (Lluçà, Associació d'Amics dels Camins Ramaders, 1999).

research, a question is what were the networks in use at both earlier and later periods. Did the monasteries' shepherds adopt existing routes, for example?

Evidence of transhumance in other parts of Europe points to systems in which high pastures were used on a more local basis. So part of any programme of investigation at Brufaganya would certainly take that into consideration. We may note the *pastor* of Brufaganya, Josep Torres, recorded in 1672, and the *mossos* who slept over the mule stable in the convent buildings in 1603. Fairs have been linked to transhumance routes in a recent study.[27] It may be worth noting, then, that the right to hold a fair at Brufaganya was granted to the batlle, or steward, around 1690. Was this *fira* new, or a more ancient place of exchange on a tribal boundary? Brufaganya's location is intriguing, at the meeting point of three comarcas looking to three central places which had been Roman cities.

At first sight the central band of Catalan transhumance routes occupies a similar zone as the places associated with the devotion, or the name of Sant Magí. However, when mapped against the new map of transhumance routes, there is in fact little or no correlation.

Nevertheless, since we are here only a couple of hundred metres from the Chapel of the Portal del Carro, it is worth noting the very strong association of Magí with transport. Mule-drawn carts to carry the water of Sant Magí to its various destinations are a charming, touristic aspect of the *festes* in these places, part of the celebration of Catalan cultural traditions. Not so in previous centuries, when the mule and the muleteer were everywhere a constant sight in the landscapes of the Mediterranean. The Tarragona gate in which the saint's image was displayed was that of *El Portal del Carro*. The chapels of Sant Magí are almost all on principal, if not transhumance routes. And in the folk-song Lo Pardal, it's the *traginer* or muleteer who tells the homesick and lovesick youth to stop singing and go to bed, while the cheeky young sparrow of a lad replies 'I'll sleep no longer, I will take the road, I have made a promise to Sant Magí.' 'Who taught you that song?' asks the *donasella* he's serenading. 'It's a young man of the plain, a *gentil romà*, or in another version, 'from l'Ampurda'.[28]

So what is worth investigating at Brufaganya? Evidence of the transhumance, certainly. It has crossed my mind that the now ruined Barretet chapel might occupy the site of an overnight shelter. Out of use and hidden from view today is the paved road visible in this photo.

The caves: could they have been occupied in Late Antiquity, if not in Prehistory – as were other caves in the district?

The church: can geophysics recover the plan and possibly something of the form of the shrine? Could there be material evidence of Late Antique occupation?

And of course the spring, whose water has not been tested, as far as I am aware. The modern fonts issue from a point some way below present-day ground level – indeed below sixteenth-century ground-level, if the chapel and wellhouse represent the building or rebuilding of 1560. The painting of 1560-ish shows what appears to be a metal wellhead, and certainly a

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[27] Lluis Casassas i Simó, *Fires i mercats a Catalunya* (Barcelona, Societat Catalana de Geografia, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2000).

[28] Josep Massot i Muntaner, *Inventari de l'Arxiu de l'Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya*, Obra del Cançoner Popular de Catalunya, Materials, vol. 4, fasc. 1, and fasc. 2 (Barcelona, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, 1993-94).

pond. There has clearly been a significant amount of sedimentation in the valley bottom, and one which was already built up by the sixteenth century. Any programme of investigation could include borings here, and two or three test pits. There was a medieval hospital next to the spring, but there may be evidence of much older activity.

One should not discount the possibility of ritual use of the spring, perhaps interpreted as a source of the Gaia. One could easily fantasise about a Roman-period farmhouse underlying the Masia de les Fonts and a nymphaeum at the spring rather than the watering of animals. There is, after all, another spring further east, though not now in use, or accessible, but very close to the main transversal route along the Torrent de Sant Magí. Alas, one can probably discount the presence of a taverna or way-station – otherwise there would surely be reports of finds of Roman material.[29] The same presumably applies to a farmhouse. But on such matters, you, not I, are the experts.

Moltes gracies.

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[29] If the route shown on the pre-Civil War mapping was indeed on the line of a Roman road, Brufaganya would lie 30km from the Via Augusta, and thus at the upper end of the range for a normal distance between way-stations on Roman routes, 25-30 kilometres (some on the Catalan network are considerably closer, typically 18km, perhaps reflecting the ease or otherwise of particular routes). La Granada – Guardiola, 7.5km; Guardiola – Guineo, 3km, cumulative 10.5km; Guineo – Coll de Barraca, 5.78km, cumulative 16.18km; Coll de Barraca – La Lacuna, 5.25km, cumulative 21.43km; La Lacuna – Sant Magí, 8km, cumulative 29.43km, machine measured on Google Earth aerial images. However, it is not clear if secondary routes like this one (as distinct from principal post roads like the Via Augusta), had a formalised system of *tavernas*, let along *mansiones* for travelling officials. Nodal towns like Santa Coloma or La Lacuna – if Roman settlements existed there – would have been better placed to provide the wants of travellers. Against this, the spring at Brufaganya would have been a huge attraction for travellers eager to bathe and to water horses. The suggestion deserves testing.