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THOMAS MICHAEL WALKER

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DATE
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC FORCES REVEALED IN THE CARTULARY OF ST. GUILHEM-LE-DESERT

by

THOMAS MICHAEL WALKER

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

(History)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1970
DEDICATION

With the completion of any accomplishment, it is good to acknowledge the many people who have directly or indirectly contributed to its success. For my own personal development as an historian, I wish to thank several professors at Boston College: William Daly, Rev. Robert Healey, S.J., Paul Michaud, and Alan Wakstein. I especially want to thank Professor David Herlihy, my thesis director for both his inspiration and the valuable direction and training given in historical methodology. I wish to acknowledge the help given me by Mr. Lee Cassanelli, a graduate student at Wisconsin, in furnishing the materials to complete this thesis.

But most of all, I wish to thank and dedicate this thesis to my wife Peggy without whose untiring aid and the inspiration of our soon expected child this thesis could never have been completed.
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<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>115</td>
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</table>
INTRODUCTION

The general purpose of this thesis will be to recount the history of the Benedictine monastery of St. Guilhem-le-desert, or Gellone, during the great period of crisis and change in medieval Europe known as the Investiture Crisis of the eleventh century. In order to discern the forces at work, so that they can be properly measured and evaluated, it will be necessary to begin in the closing years of the tenth century and follow along until the end of the twelfth century. This thesis will examine the forces and influences of the new religious ideas of the Gregorian and other reformist programs, as well as linking them with the struggle of the medieval church to emancipate itself legally and economically from lay society. In this connection, this thesis will delve into the ecclesiastical, economic and social structures of the world of the monastery. The period of examination is particularly fortunate in that it coincides with the emergence of a feudal society in southern France where the monastery is located. Therefore, the life of the monastery as an economic unit in a changing society will be one of the principal objects of examination, as well as an attempt to evaluate the effect of that change on the general well-being of St. Guilhem.
CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY AND THE CARTULARY

While the entry-point into this turbulent society is indeed the very limited one of a single monastery, the subject matter to be discussed is so vast in its efforts to come to grips with the basic forces and conflicts of a whole society, that a few comments on methodology become a necessary starting point. This thesis is based almost exclusively, because of its focal point, on the cartulary of the monastery.¹ A few other source collections have been used and will be cited in the footnotes,² when these collections have

¹The original manuscript is located in the Archives of Hérault, Series H, in the Layette de Cellone, under the title of Cartularium monasterii sancti Guillelmi de Deserts a principio usque ad finem scilicet a regno accepti Ludovici pio anno 800 circiter usque ad Regnum alterius Ludovici noni anno 1232. It has been published together with the cartulary of its sister monastery St. Savior of Aniane by F. Alaux, A. Cassan, and S. Meyrial, eds., Cartulaires des abbayes d’Aniane et de Cellone publiés d’après les manuscrits originaux (5 vols., Montpellier, 1898-1910).

²Notably C. Devic and J. Vaisette, Histoire générale de Languedoc, (vols. III and V, Toulouse, 1872-1875) and Opera & Studio Monachorum Congregationis S. Mauri Ordinis S. Benedicti, Gallia Christiana (vol. VI, Paris, 1789). These citations are not many, since most of the supporting documents are reproduced in the published cartulary. However, there are two manuscripts which probably would have been helpful in preparing this thesis. Unfortunately, they have never been published and are available only in the Archives of Hérault. They are: Dom Jean Magnan, Chronologia Abbatiwm Sancti Guillelmi de Deserts (1700), and a work entitled Annales Cellonenses seu monasterii Sti Guillelmi de Deserts ordinis Sti Benedicti congregationis Sti Mauri coligebat Dominus Joseph Sort prior Sti Guillelmi et Sti Martini de Mauriacano anno 1705.
contained or referred to documents dealing with the monastery. Therefore, this thesis relies for the most part on primary works as they have been preserved since their compilations. Secondary works will be cited only to suggest fields for examination and to confirm or reject conclusions reached from a careful and consistent interpretation of the cartulary and related source collections. The evaluations and conclusions must be understood with this as an imposed limitation, and the reader must take care not to read into them more than is warranted from the nature of the evidence. The very structure of a cartulary as a body of documents dealing with land transfers and litigation makes it a valuable source in that it provides almost all the primary material for a study of local history before the later middle ages. But at the same time, one must remember that a collection of charters can never define the whole reality of a particular society. The historian must be careful not to rely for his conclusions on reconstructions based on no evidence. Not all the charters of a particular institution have been preserved; not everything the historian would like to know about a given situation was included; and finally, land charters by nature cannot tell the whole story.

But there do seem to be two valid uses to which these charters can be put. First, particular events, from a simple donation to a papal confirmation, are included and can be utilized by the historian to illustrate what did occur, possible reasons for its occurrence, and most importantly, their relation to other events over time.
Secondly, the charters contain terms and conditions which illustrate the structures, institutions, and customs of the society which wrote them. With a systematic correlation of these charters and their evolution, change and development within a particular society can be discerned. Thus, for the study to be at all valid, it must be constantly recalled that the conclusions stem only from the evidence as it exists today. While it is admittedly incomplete and unverifiable in the strictest sense from other sources, it does seem to present the most legitimate conclusions the historian can reach, enabling him to interpret with varying degrees of insight a particular society as it existed.

THE CARTULARY

The edited cartulary of Gellone contains 589 charters from 215 manuscript charters, beginning in 804 and ending in 1232. In order to establish periodic consistency by which to measure change, this thesis will divide the charters into 20 year periods. All charters of imprecise year are dated at the mid-point of the possible extremes, usually the regnal years of a king or an abbot.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>804 - 824</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>825 - 844</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>845 - 864</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>865 - 884</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>885 - 904</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>905 - 924</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>925 - 944</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>945 - 964</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>965 - 984</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>985 - 1004</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1185 - 1204</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE I (continued)

Number of Charters According to Time Periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Charters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1205 - 1224</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1225 - 1232</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undated</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>589</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Several points should be noted immediately. Table I indicates that there are only 33 charters before 1004 which have survived, and only 36 after 1184. 43 charters have not been included in the dating, since there are no reasonable indicators for even an approximate date. Approximately 95 per cent of the charters deal with actual land transfers. It must be realized, therefore, that this cartulary presents an unusually rich collection of documents for a compact period of time, which should afford the historian of this period a rather significant insight into the development that occurred. There are 477 charters for the 180 year period from 1004 to 1184 of which 284 are located in the 1065-1124 years, which are probably the decades exemplifying the greatest changes in the society of the area.

The preceding discussion on methodology is an important preface to the particular study at hand. The cartulary of Gellone presents some very difficult problems of interpretation for the
historian in terms of its authenticity. The central problem is that the abbey church including all its charters with a single questionable exception was destroyed by fire in 1066. This is an admitted fact by the monks of Gellone. Among other responses to the critical situation of the loss of their charters, was the compilation of a new cartulary at the express orders of Abbot Peter I. The method employed was one quite typical of the medieval mind. They begged in prayer the intercession of Christ, their patron St. William, and resorted to the memory of the monks.

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3The only edition, that of 1898, contains no footnotes and has no introduction. There is an incomplete index published in 1905. An introduction to the problems of the editing of the cartulary was published by its editor, Paul Alaus, Étude sur le Cartulaire de Gellone, prepared for the École des Chartes in 1885. The thesis is deposited there unpublished, and a review is available in the Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, XLVI (1885), 190. The principal reason given for the thesis's rejection is Alaus's failure to come to grips with the problems of authenticity peculiar to the cartulary.

4Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 3: (Abbas) Petrus conductus... quatinus omnes cartas honoris Sancti Salvatoris Gellonensis altari Sanctae Crucis ligno Sanctique Willelmi almi confessoris ob memoriam et recordationem simul conscriptas in uno volumine condirentur... olim arsa igne omnia testamenta cartarum supradiicti Sancti Willelmi atque pene cuncta consumpta sunt, nihil ex eodem testamento seu anabili memoria remanente, preter quod Juliofredus abbas ipsius cenobii Gellonensis brevi subscripto sigillo.

This one charter referred to here is, however, considered a forgery.

5Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 3: Eo prestante domino nostro Jesu Christo qui nos secum promisit regnaturos in evo omnes suos fideles collocat suo in regno, propter adipiscendum vero vite eternae, interventu beati Willelmi, michi Petro et omnibus confratibus nostri monasterii cenobitis premium, ut supra taxavimus, et a patribus actum esse ceriminos nostro seculo pandenda successoribus nostris decrevimus et nunc jam stilus scribentis ad opus peragendum iter accipiat, falsa reticens veraque componens...
Opinions of scholars on the question of authenticity present an interesting paradox. When speaking of the cartulary itself, they present almost a unanimous condemnation. For example, they range from the extreme caution of Émile Bonnet, who has written that "the first part of the cartulary of Gellone must be accepted only with the greatest reserve," to the charges of simply a "vast falsification" by Joseph Berthele. Moreover, Berthele refers to enough of the editor, Paul Alaus's thesis, that one learns that Alaus has concluded that much of the cartulary has been reworked a second time in 1122 at the orders of Abbot William II in order to place some of the charters in a more favorable light.

Unfortunately, the earliest extant manuscript of the cartulary is a comparatively recent 1690, which puts some limitation on the nature of the textual criticism that can be offered. Contrary to the above criticism, most of the authors who have used the cartulary in their research have been not at all so damning of its authenticity. Pierre Tisset, who in 1933 did the most exhaustive study to date on

6Émile Bonnet, Bibliographie du diocese de Montpellier, anciens dioceses de Maguelone-Montpellier, Béziers, Agde, Lodève et Saint Fons-de-Thomières (Montpellier, 1900), 109-110.
8See above, footnote No. 3.
the monastery of St. Guilhem, cites obvious interpolations in the
text and illustrates certain blatant forgeries among the documents.
However, he makes no such sweeping condemnation. In fact, he uses
the questionable documents dated before 1066 with almost the same
degree of acceptability as the others. His approach is quite typical
of authors using the cartulary in monographs. Rouquette sets up a
principle that many have followed: to accept the essence of a
charter, while remaining doubtful of the particulars such as the dates
and witnesses. Yet even he has not strictly adhered to this for
the very simple reason that there are really no other sources to
speak of by which to crosscheck the charters. Consequently, most
historians have been satisfied to sound a warning while proceeding
to use the charters as if there were little question of authenticity
involved.

Nevertheless, while this will be the approach taken in this
thesis, there are a few things to be said in defense of the cartulary.
First, one must remember that there are only 32 charters in the years
preceding 1004. This seems to indicate that the monks reconstructing
the charters did not often dare to venture beyond what might have
possibly been recalled by one of them as a witness. Of these 32
charters, seven are obvious forgeries, either supposedly containing

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10 Pierre Tisset, L'abbaye de Cellone au diocèse de Lodève des
origines au XIIIe siècle (Paris, 1933).

11 J. Rouquette, "Les abbés de Cellone," Revue historique du
diocèse de Montpellier, VI (1914-1915), 147.
grants from the Carolingian kings in an effort to legitimize their holdings, or containing phrases of an obviously later date.\textsuperscript{12} It would seem, therefore, that the monks went so far back only when they had a very particular need to affirm. Also, the fact that many of these charters are more easily classified as spurious seems to indicate that the monks were on much shakier ground here, and had to rely more on pure fabrication in these earlier charters, thus adding somewhat to the authenticity of the later charters of the pre-1066 period.

The second argument for a relative authenticity of the pre-1066 period lies in two documents from other sources. The Cartulary of the Chateau de Foix\textsuperscript{13} as quoted in the \textit{Histoire générale de Languedoc}\textsuperscript{14} recounts in approximately the year 1035 the decision in a feudal court of the litigation between Bermund, viscount of Anduze and marquis of Sauve, and Peter, count of Carcassonne and viscount of Béziers, his brother. In it, Bermund surrenders the abbeys of Gellone and Aniane to his brother Peter who in turn gives them back to Bermund in fief with certain exceptions. The important fact to be noted here is that a source independent of the cartulary has fixed the precise terms of control exercised over Gellone by a

\textsuperscript{12}Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 4, 160, 231, 232, 278, 279, 280.
\textsuperscript{13}\textit{Collection Doat} at the Bibliothèque Nationale, V. 165, f° 159.
\textsuperscript{14}Devic and Vaisette, \textit{Histoire générale}, V, col. 415.
seignorial family, the house of Anduze, in 1035. Turning to the cartulary, it can easily be seen that the pre-1066 charters dealing with the family and its relations to Gellone are consistent with this charter. In 1042, this same Bermundus de Salveo and another brother Almeradus de Andusa gave the church of St. Peter de Mairois to Gellone, exercising their familial patronage of the abbey. 15 This patronage remained intact still in 1077 when Petrus Bermundi, Satrapa Salvensis, the son of Bermund de Salveo, relinquished his holdings in this church. One of the witnesses to this was Almeradus de Andusa's son, Petrus Almeradi. 16 But one fact had changed by this date. In a charter dated 1051-1066, Peter, the son of Almeradus de Andusa set Gellone free. 17 So it can be seen that at least in regard to the holdings of this family, the cartulary is internally consistent as well as in harmony with another source.

The second charter again illustrates the consistency of the cartulary with an outside source. The Histoire générale gives as one of the witnesses of the election of Judith, abbess of St. Genevieve in Maguelone, Gauzfred, abbot of Gellone. The charter is dated Nov. 20, 1025. 18 On March 1, 1027, the cartulary indicates that

15 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 152.
16 Ibid., No. 151.
17 Ibid., No. 128: Done, et reddo totum alodem Sancti Salvatoris Gellonensis altario ipsius.
18 Devic and Vaissette, Histoire générale, V, col. 379.
Gauzfred was abbot of Cellone. Since the previous charter is dated 1019 with a different abbot, there is every reason to believe that the cartulary coincides with this outside source.

The third argument for accepting the pre-1066 charters as authentic will only be suggested here, while more complete illustration will be offered throughout Chapters III to V. This is the most compelling argument for the cartulary's acceptance. In the cartulary, one can see genuine change in customs and language over time. This change does not occur only after 1066, as would necessarily be the case if the pre-1066 documents were all composed together as a simple fabrication at that time. The best example is the occurrence of the terms "alode", "fief", and "honor" as indicative of the increasing feudalization of the area.

TABLE II

Relative Frequency of Charters Containing the Terms "Alodes", "Fiefs", and "Honors"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Alodes Percentage</th>
<th>Fief Percentage</th>
<th>Honors Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 Alaus, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 94.

20 Ibid., No. 87.

21 The use of the term "alode" also occurs in the expression ad alodem frequently from 1065-1124, but usually in direct connection with feudal terminology, which is further discussed in Chapter V below, pp. 95-96.
TABLE II (continued)

Relative Frequency of Charters Containing the Terms

"Alodes", "Fiefs", and "Honors"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Alodes</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Fiefs</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Honors</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table illustrates that allodial holdings fall, while holdings involving honors and fiefs go up during the very period when a total fabrication of the documents would demand a relative lack of change.

Moreover, this argument can be extended to the allegation that in 1122 the documents were reworked to the point that their authenticity is totally lacking. The tables given in this thesis will show time and again that historical change and development, an idea foreign to, or very dimly conceived in the mind of the medieval forger, is convincingly illustrated.

Finally, it should be observed that probably very few of the cartularies that have reached us contain charters of absolute authenticity. Errors in transcription, interpolations, and the general lack of precision even of the original charters preclude
such absolute reliability. This, therefore, is a good time to recall the introductory word on methodology. Like most works which arise from the detailed examination of the cartularies, this thesis claims to be valid only in relation to what the evidence, which has been preserved, contains.
CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE MONASTERY

The monastery of St. Guilhem-le-desert, or Gellone, is located today about twenty miles to the north-west of Montpellier in the modern diocese of Herault in the south of France.¹ In the middle ages, Gellone was part of the diocese of Lodève, and situated in lands generally controlled by the viscounts of Anduze. Destroyed as a monastery in the French Revolution, the church today is used as the parish church of the village of St. Guilhem, while the cloister of the monastery has been removed and reconstructed at The Cloisters in New York City.² Its geographical location even today betrays the origin of its name, since the monastery is situated in the valley of Gellone among the very steep cliffs and hills surrounding the swift-flowing Herault River and its gorge. The whole vicinity to this day is described as wild and untamed. The term désert refers to the fact that the area was quite without habitation at the time of the founding. The village of St. Guilhem today still has less than 1,000 persons, and relies essentially for its livelihood on the vineyards or olive groves terraced along the tops of the hills.³

¹ Tisset, L' abbaye de Gellone, I.
Tradition holds that this very scene of desertion was sought out particularly by the founder of Gellone, Saint William, in an effort to escape the hectic scenes of his life, and secondarily perhaps to begin the work of repopulating areas deprived of their population in the Moslem and Frankish conquests of the Narbonensis.

The history of the monastery, especially in the first few centuries, is difficult to construct because of the extreme lack of documents and a rather long-standing historical argument concerning the autonomy of Gellone, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

St. Guilhem-le-desert was founded in December 804. It is to the founder of Gellone that most of the credit for this monastery's reputation in the middle ages must be given. For Saint William was none other than William of Orange, duke of Aquitaine and count of Toulouse. A brief summary of his life and later reputation will be helpful here to understand his importance to Gellone both in the Narbonensis and beyond.

Duke William was closely related to Charlemagne. His mother Aude was the daughter of Charles Martel, so William was Charles' first


5Marres, Saint Guilhem-le-desert, 10.
cousin. On his father's, Count Thierry's, side, he was related to the Merovingian kings. It is not surprising, therefore, that William received his appointment as duke in 790. In 793, the Saracens made their last large-scale attack across the Pyrenees. The leader of the resistance at a battle near the Orbieu River was Duke William. The outcome was in favor of the Saracens, but they turned back across the mountains. The bravery of Duke William after his companions had fled was celebrated in the local chronicles, making him a hero in defeat. William next appears in historical annals in the year 803, when he took part in the siege of Barcelona ordered by Charlemagne. After founding the monastery of Gellone in 804 and that of Casanova in the diocese of Uzes, he asked Charlemagne at his court to be relieved of his duties as duke and count. Charles reluctantly agreed and asked what he might give William as a sign of his eternal love for him. William requested and received a piece of the true cross which Charles had just received from Jerusalem. Then he went with this and other relics to Gellone where he became one of the

6Tisset, L' abbaye de Gellone, 24.


8Ibid., 157-58. There is a brief mention of his role in the Vita Hudovici in the Monumenta Germaniae Historiae, Scriptores, II, 612.
monks. He died there on June 26, 812.

There are two principal reasons for the fame of the monastery of Gellone. Certainly by the tenth century, the relic of the true cross was perhaps the most influential incentive for gifts made to Gellone. It is repeated over and over in the charters right to the end of the cartulary. Yet the growing importance of the cycle of William of Orange in medieval epic literature soon provided the monastery with its greatest attraction. The deeds of William recounted so briefly in the tenth century chronicles had been enlarged and woven into great deeds of valor by the mid-eleventh century. Bedier argues that the monks of Gellone had no small part in supplying the details for some of these tales, many of which he has been able to correlate with geographical facts in the cartulary.

One can see in the cartulary an increasing emphasis upon the body of

10Ibid., 376.
11Wilhelm Puckert, Ariane und Gellone (Leipzig, 1899), 105. See for example the expression in Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 12, dated 926: Dono... altario Sancti Salvatoris Gallonensis Sanctae Crucis ligno.
12For example, see Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 550, dated 1174: Concedo, Domino Deo, et beato Guillelmo, Sancte Crucis.
Saint William at Gellone and the attraction his body was to pilgrims and local residences of the area alike. Rarely does a charter after the year 1000 not mention a donation made to the monastery and then explicitly to Saint William. In a charter dated 1029, Garsinda donated the church of Saint Peter de Salveo to become a cella of Gellone and exhorted the monks to bring the cross and the body of Saint William there to bless the shrine.\textsuperscript{15} One can see how much the monks appreciated the relic's increasing reputation. After the construction of a new church after the fire, a great altar was dedicated to him in 1076 by Amatus, papal legate to Spain of Gregory VII, and a new tomb prepared for him in 1138.\textsuperscript{16}

The effect of St. William's reputation can be seen in the fact that the monastery was a stage on the Via Tolosana from Arles, one of the chief pilgrimage routes to Saint James of Compostela, which reached a peak of importance toward the late eleventh century. It is also most likely true that the fame of Gellone and its founder was increased because of its place on this direct route. The \textit{Codex Compostellanus} of about 1147

\textsuperscript{15}Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 382.
\textsuperscript{16}Mabillon, \textit{Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti}, II, 376.
expresses this reputation well. It does not seem too much to speculate that the great number of charters of donation from 1064 to 1144 is at least to some degree dependent on the flourishing of the cult of Saint William of Gellone at the monastery in that period.

The central problem to be faced in discussing the history of St. Guilhem is the legal relation of Gellone to its "sister" monastery, Aniane, only four miles to the southwest on the other side of the Hérault River. The eleventh century was the scene of a bitter quarrel between the two, occasioned by the demand of the monastery of Aniane for the rights of a mother house over its cella, Gellone. In all likelihood, the immediate cause of the quarrel was the fire of 1066 which was probably the occasion for a major reworking of many of the more significant charters of each monastery in support of its own claims. The chief document at issue was the charter of foundation of Gellone, for which two contradictory copies exist.

17Quoted in Bedier, "Recherches", 10: Igitur ab his qui per viam Tolosanam tendunt, beati confessoris Guilelmi corpus est visitandum, Sanctissimus nuncup Guilelhum, signifer egregius, comes Caroli magni regis, exitit non minimus, miles fortissimus, bello doctissimus. Hic urbem Nemausum, ut fertur, et Aurasiam, aliasque multas christianas imperio suas virtute potenti subjugavit, lignum dominicum apud vallem Gelloni secum detulit, in qua scilicet valle eremeticam vitam duxit, et beato fine Christi Confessor in ea honorificre requiescit.

18See above Table I, p. 5.
Gellone was founded then in December 804 by Duke William of Aquitaine. It seems certain that at his request, the great Benedictine reformer, St. Benedict, the abbot of Aniane, became the first abbot at Gellone. St. Benedict brought with him from Aniane to Gellone the first monks of the new community.\(^{19}\) The point at issue is whether Duke William subjugated Gellone to Aniane, or whether St. Benedict was merely the abbot of two independent monasteries. There are two charters of foundation, one favoring Gellone as explicitly independent,\(^{20}\) another favoring Aniane with Gellone explicitly subordinate to it.\(^{21}\) Besides these, there are other documents favoring each party, such as royal diplomas of the ninth century, the Life of Saint Benedict by Ardo dated 823 but probably composed in the eleventh century, and papal documents of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The argument seems to have been settled by Tisset. He illustrates that most of the pre-1066 documents on both sides of the quarrel, rather than only Gellone's as the majority of historians had held, are forgeries compiled or touched-up in the eleventh century. This probably took place at the time of the destruction of Gellone's charters in order

\(^{19}\) *Gallia Christiana*, VI, 581.

\(^{20}\) Alaus, *Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 160.

\(^{21}\) *Layette d'Aniane*, Archives of Hérault, Series H. Quoted in *Gallia Christiana*, VI, 264.
for each monastery to substantiate its claims. 22

What their actual relationship was in their founding can only remain speculation unless new documents are discovered. Tissot considers that Gellone was probably under Aniane at the beginning, since its first monks and abbots unquestionably came from there, but that soon afterwards, the monasteries each went their own way. 23 Three arguments in favor of Gellone's independence, at least for some considerable time before the fire, can be added here to Tissot's, whose are too complex to be included here.

First, a charter of 807, while in all likelihood heavily interpolated, nevertheless designates Juliofredus, then abbot, as the cousin of Charlemagne. 24 It would indeed be strange that such a person would be the abbot of a clearly subordinate monastery, but much more highly likely that he would be the abbot of a royal abbey under the protection of Charlemagne and Louis.

Secondly, there exist three charters dated respectively 1036-1048, 1030-1031, and 1036-1048, which treat of agreements made

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22 A complete list and analysis of these documents are found in Tissot, L' abbaye de Gellone, 39-89. Tissot argues quite thoroughly and convincingly in favor of Gellone's independence. Pückert, Aniane und Gellone, a generation earlier, ties together in a thorough manner the earlier historical school favoring the rightful supremacy of Aniane.

23 Tissot, L' abbaye de Gellone, 89.

24 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 4.
between the abbots of Aniane and Gellone over their respective rights in the Héault River.\textsuperscript{25} There is nothing in them to doubt their authenticity, except that they do not appear among the charters of Aniane. But interestingly enough, among the very few charters in Aniane's cartulary in these years, a charter does appear there dated 1032-1060, which negotiates Aniane's fishing rights in the Héault with Eneas de Frontiniano, the exact subject of charter 18 of nearly the same date in the cartulary of Gellone.\textsuperscript{26} An added touch of originality occurs in the charter of 1030-1031.\textsuperscript{27} It is Pons, abbot of Aniane, who orders the drawing up of the charter, something the monks of Gellone, if fabricating these charters, would certainly have not included. Except for this one inconclusive fact, the three charters deal with the relation of the two abbots and their monasteries as equals, and there is no hint whatever of any struggle for dominance or independence.

Finally, it would seem strange that no evidence of any litigation exists before 1066, the date of the fire, if Aniane had had a real case which could have been put forth earlier. Of course, it is possible that Gellone had been quite peacefully subject to Aniane until the fire, and used it as a pretext to rework all the

\textsuperscript{25} Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 18, 19, 20.

\textsuperscript{26} Cassan and Meynial, Cartulaire d'Aniane, No. 80.

\textsuperscript{27} Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 19.
essential documents in its favor. Then the forgeries on Aniane's behalf might be interpreted as a "just" response to secure support for their case, from what may have once been noncommittal documents. But this argument seems fallacious from the frequent and unanimous papal approval of Gellone's claims beginning in 1066 and 1068 with Alexander II.28

If, on the other hand, the evidence on the side of Aniane is to be accepted, then it must be to the reign of Abbot Peter I (1049-c.1074) that one must attribute the monastery's first moves toward independence. The most convincing proof for this is the letters sent by Abbot Ememo of Aniane to the Holy See requesting from Alexander II and Gregory VII a direct condemnation of the free election of the abbot of Gellone without Aniane's consent, as well as his consecration by any bishop of the area.29 It is interesting to note in this regard that it is Rostaing, bishop of Lodeve, who makes the appeal in Rome in 1066 in favor of Gellone, and to whom the Rome-Aniane correspondence might be referring to.30 In view of

28Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 72-83; Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 1, 2.

29Mabillon, Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, IV, 622-623 and V, 73-74; Cassan and Meynia, Cartulaire d'Aniane, No. 2, 3. The three contradictory letters of Alexander II are all presented in Philipp Jaffe, ed., Resepta Pontificum Romanorum (Leipzig, 1885), No. 4592 and No. 4845 for Gellone, and No. 4597 for Aniane. However, Gellone's are preserved only in its cartulary, while two other copies of Aniane's are preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

30Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 1.
the great energy ascribed to Abbot Peter of Gellone and the work which he accomplished, it would not be inconceivable that he would have dared to take such a step. But the letters indicate that Peter was elected without the original consent of the abbot of Aniane. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that any move toward independence would have been taken before 1066, the year of the fire as well as Emmeno's urgent appeal to Rome, seventeen years after Peter's election. Therefore, the original claim of Peter's improper election seems to have been a fabrication. Perhaps, if one is to favor Aniane's claims, one may hypothesize that Abbot Peter proved a very disobedient abbot, energetically reformed Gellone from an economic point of view, and, when the fire occurred, used the pretext to secure Gellone's permanent independence. It is recorded that Abbot Emmeno was originally a monk at Gellone, and therefore would have witnessed personally the prosperity there. Later he became prior of St. Peter de Salveo, one of Gellone's most prized possessions. In this regard, it would not be unexpected that he would try with whatever means available in 1066

31 See below, pp. 30-31.
32 Mabillon, Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 74.
33 Ibid., IV, 622.
34 Loc. cit.
either to get control of Gellone, if it had never been controlled by Aniane before, or to renew control over Gellone, if it had recently become free.

Probably the most significant piece of evidence for the combination of the two monasteries originally and still in the early eleventh century\textsuperscript{35} comes from a charter in the Cartulary of the Chateau de Foix in which one of the things retained by Count Peter in his granting in fief of the monasteries of Aniane and Gellone was the election of the abbot of Aniane.\textsuperscript{36} Yet the two monasteries seem to be lumped together as practically a single donation. This might indicate that the abbot of Aniane was the principal figure to control in the total property of both monasteries, which would of course be true if Gellone were subject to Aniane.

Nevertheless, when all is said and done on both sides, the papal condemnations of Nicholas II and Alexander II against Gellone have been convincingly proven to be forgeries by Tisset, while the papal protection and guarantees of the independence of Gellone by

\textsuperscript{35}Tisset ignores this in his analysis.

\textsuperscript{36}See above, pp. 10-11, footnotes 14 and 15: Et Petrus suprascriptus dedit ad jamdictum Bermundum ipsam abbatiam de Sancto Guillelmo ad fevum, et ipsam Sancti Salvatoris (Aniane) similiter per fevum, exceptus electionem de Sancti Salvatori . . . .
Alexander seem acceptable.\textsuperscript{37}

In either case, neither of which can be proven completely beyond doubt since so many of the relevant documents are highly interpolated, the whole situation illustrates the relative prosperity of the monastery of Gellone in the mid-eleventh century. Either Gellone felt it important enough to secure for itself full control over its property and income, or, more likely, Aniane felt it important enough to try as best it could for supremacy.

Tisset hypothesizes that the primary reason for Aniane's efforts to get control over Gellone was the profits received from pilgrims to Saint James.\textsuperscript{38} In all likelihood, the pilgrimage profits were significant because the monastery would have normally received some profit from the inns in the neighborhood, and whatever donations they would have received from the pious pilgrims. Unfortunately there is no record of any of this. In fact, there is only one charter which can be definitely ascribed to a pilgrim, an English nobleman, who gives five solidi sterling annually from his estates at Tewkesbury.\textsuperscript{39} Almost all the donations to Gellone, in

\textsuperscript{37}Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 72-83; Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 2 (1068): Proinde, quia devotia vestra postulavit a nobis ut monasterium vestrum defensione nostre romane ecclesie muniremus, inclinati precibus vestris idem cum omnibus juste sibi pertinentibus, sub tutela et defensione apostolice sedis recipimus et ab omni conditione liberum et quietum esse decernimus, ita tamen ut, proprii tantummodo episcopi reverentia servata, nulli loco subjaceat nisi huic sancte romane ecclesie.

\textsuperscript{38}Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 87.

\textsuperscript{39}Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 500.
all periods of the cartulary, are from the immediate neighboring
dioceses and counties, and probably reflect local piety or
economic conditions.

Yet, there does seem to be a second, even greater reason for
Aniane's attempt. Table I indicates the great number of donations
which have been correlated above with the rise of the cult of Saint
William, at least to some degree. In comparison, the Cartulaire
d'Aniane lists only 37 charters dated between 996 and 1060,
significantly fewer than at Gellone. It seems quite reasonable to
conjecture that the monks of Aniane realized that their monastery
was becoming less important to the religious zeal of the local
nobility who would be making most of the eleventh century donations.
Perhaps, too, it was for this same reason that the monks of Aniane
elected a monk of Gellone as abbot in an effort to bring vitality to
their economic decline. One should recall that it is precisely this
class of nobility, in the South, on all levels, who would be
interested in the Crusades and the Reconquista. It is not surprising
therefore, that they would be moved enough by the legends of William
of Gellone, saint and warrior, to produce the large number of
donations one sees in the Cartulaire de Gellone.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to a chronological

40 See above, pp. 18-20.
41 Cassan and Meynial, Cartulaire d'Aniane.
history of the principal known events and developments at St. Guilhem from its founding in 804 until its destruction and desertion at the time of the French Revolution. It will be brief, because of the extreme lack of detailed evidence, and the fact that the remainder of this thesis will consider in detail the religious, economic, and social development of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The monastery of St. Guilhem-le-desert, or Gellone, was founded on December 14 or 15, 804 by Duke William of Aquitaine, who placed it under the abbacy of Benedict of Aniane.

After Juliosfredus, Hucerandus, and Ardingus, who were probably abbots of Gellone in the ninth century, the first abbot mentioned by name in a document of apparent authenticity is Juliosfredus II in a charter of 925.42 As the general prosperity of Gellone and the reputation of its founder increased, a larger church was built under Abbot Gerald shortly after the year 1000. The remains of Saint William, were interred there with the help of Bishop Fulcran

42Alus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 12. There are several complete lists of the abbots of Gellone available, which generally disagree with each other only in relation to the relevant dates of the manuscripts. The most exhaustive are: Gallia Christiana, VI, 581-601; Tissot, L'abbaye de Gellone, 91-118; and J. Rouquette, "Les abbes de Gellone," Revue historique du diocese de Montpellier, V (1912-1913), 481-495 and 549-553, and VI (1914-1915), 101-108 and 145-154. Rouquette also compares all these lists with a newly discovered cartulary of Gellone dated about 1700, which has still never been published. Interestingly enough, there are very wide discrepancies in this cartulary with the published one.
of Lodeve. \textsuperscript{43} Gerald was succeeded by the first apparently important abbot of Gellone, Gauzfred II, probably from the early 1020's until the late 1040's.\textsuperscript{44} He received from the house of Anduze the priories of St. Peter de Salveo in 1029\textsuperscript{45} and St. Peter de Nairois in 1042.\textsuperscript{46} These priories, along with their priors, increased in importance as time went on. The prior of Salveo became a major office, and he appears in many of the twelfth century charters as an instrumental participant. Salveo became so strong that in 1265, it requested its independence from Pope Clement IV and received it.\textsuperscript{47}

Abbot Peter I succeeded Gauzfred in 1049. He may be called the investiture crisis abbot. It is he who secured the effective independence of the monastery from the house of Anduze,\textsuperscript{48} perhaps in the spirit of the search for the freedom of ecclesiastical property from lay control. After the fire of 1066, the monastery was placed under the protection of the Holy See by Alexander II. Finally, Peter resisted with complete success the attempts of Aniane to gain control over Gellone. His reputation was one of the highest.

\textsuperscript{43} Gallia Christiana, VI, 582. A history of the miracles attached to this shrine can be found in Carnadet, \textit{Acta Sanctorum}, 812-817.

\textsuperscript{44} Tisset, \textit{L'abbaye de Gellone}, 93-94.

\textsuperscript{45} Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 6, 381, 382.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Tbid.}, No. 152.

\textsuperscript{47} Gallia Christiana, VI, 594.

\textsuperscript{48} Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 128.
of the abbots of Gellone, called a "vir eruditissimus, inclytus, et prudentissimus."

The fruits of Abbot Peter's work can be seen in the highly successful abbacy of his successor, Berengar (1077-1100). Tissot feels that Berengar marks the high point of prosperity in the history of the monastery. Under Berengar, a bull of Urban II formally ended the quarrel with Amiane in Gellone's favor, the present abbey church was built with its dedication in 1076, and there was an utterly remarkable increase in the number of donations. Tissot quotes Dom Sort's description of Berengar: "vir non solum bonus atque pius sed etiam solers et industrius in bonis acquirendis et conservandis." One can also see this in the great number of churches donated to the abbey and guirpitiones received.

The twelfth century saw the increased dependence of Gellone upon financial means to secure its possessions and retain them against the demands of the local feudal powers. An excellent illustration of this occurs when Raymond of Two Virgins became abbot in 1137, the nephew of a local magnate Ermengaudus of Two

49 *Gallia Christiana*, VI, 583.
50 See above, Table I, p. 5.
52 See below, Tables III and XI, pp. 44 and 76.
53 See below, Table VIII, p. 67, which indicates the increasing amount of money paid out by Gellone.
Virgins.\textsuperscript{54} This is the first known time that a member of a powerful local family secured the abbacy, although there is no definite indication of anything other than free election, or that he was not a monk beforehand. Yet in one charter, Ermengaudus confirms a donation he made previously and receives permission to be buried in Gellone, together with the huge grant of 2800 solidi of Melgueil.\textsuperscript{55} Judging from the amount of money needed in the charters for the abbey's business, it is easy to conjecture that Raymond felt constrained to put pressure on his uncle for this donation. This increasing need for outside reliance upon feudal powers to secure its possessions can be seen in a charter of 1133 in which a Count Berengar of Arles gives some donations, while in return he takes all the honor of Gellone "in manutenentia et defentione."\textsuperscript{56}

Nevertheless, in 1146 from Pope Eugene III\textsuperscript{57} and in 1164 from Pope Alexander III,\textsuperscript{58} confirmation of Gellone's freedom and its protection by the Holy See was extended. In 1162, even King Louis VII, in his policy of protecting monasteries as a means of extending royal influence in areas beyond his effective

\textsuperscript{54}Gallia Christiana, VI, 597.

\textsuperscript{55}Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 547.

\textsuperscript{56}Ibid., No. 161.

\textsuperscript{57}The charter is reproduced in Gallia Christiana, VI, 280.

\textsuperscript{58}Ibid., 590.
control, confirmed many of the donations made by his ancestors.

The financial difficulties the monastery found itself in can be seen in the abbacy of Bernard de Mesua (c. 1170-1189), in which no money was paid out by the monastery in the extant charters. Nevertheless, Gellone seemed forced to borrow 4,000 solidi of Malgueil from a bourgeois of Montpellier in 1175.

Since this is the chronological limit of this thesis, the remainder of this history of St. Guilhem will be only briefly summarized. While the economic fortunes of the monastery seem never to have again reached their peak of the eleventh century, the purely localized power of Gellone seems to have increased. By 1289, Gellone was able to secure full episcopal power over the two parishes of the village of St. Guilhem, St. Barthélemy and St. Laurent, as well as in the whole valley of Gellone, both spiritually and temporally. This was matched in 1313 by a decree of King Philip IV which granted to Gellone "first justice" in all the village.

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60 The charter appears in Gallia Christiana, VI, 282-283. Tissot accepts its authenticity, while nevertheless there are some questions about it which demand further investigation because of a striking similarity in language with a charter of Louis the Pious, confirming royal grants.
61 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 551.
63 Gallia Christiana, VI, 596: Cogitationem primarum appellationum in tota Gellone concessit.
the fourteenth century, completely free election of the abbots was
replaced by a system of papal selection, although the custom seems to
have reverted to papal confirmation of free election in the
following century. 64 An interesting postscript to the church's
fight to retain its property can be seen in the decree of Pope
Innocent VIII in 1488 forbidding the abbot to grant benefices to
anyone other than the monks of Gellone. 65

In 1562, Huguenots plundered the monastery, and its relics and
charters were for the most part withdrawn to the episcopal church at
Lodeve for safe-keeping, and were not restored until 1576. 66 Gellone
was brought under the rule of the reformed congregation of the
Maurists on May 24, 1626. 67 This remained the state of affairs
until it was destroyed and sacked in the French Revolution and its
property attached to the diocese of Herault.

This chapter has served to introduce the monastery of St.
Guilhem-le-desert, its history, and its unique problems. The next
chapter will examine the influence of the investiture conflict and
its reforming ideals upon the life of the monastery, both in
religious and economic terms.

64 Gallia Christiana, VI, 596-599.
65 Ibid., 599.
66 Ibid., 599.
67 Ibid., 600.
CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF THE INVESTITURE CONFLICT TO CELLORE

To discern sweeping change in a particular location can often be a more vexing problem than one would ordinarily think. This is especially true in an age long past and hidden in obscurity. The historian is often forced, as in this case, to try to put together bits and pieces which by no means form a coherent whole. He must also try to evaluate them and their relationship with imperfect measures and comparisons. In particular, the historian using primarily the evidence of cartularies must content himself with merely occasional glimpses into the reality behind the problems he is trying to solve, especially when attempting to measure the social force of ideas. In the case of the charters of Cellone, only here and there can one see the great problems of the day being fought out, and usually only at one particular stage with barely any reference to a wider context.

The purpose then of the next two chapters will be to attempt to evaluate the changes related to the investiture crisis which can be discerned in the cartulary. This will be approached in two basic ways. The first will be on the level of ecclesiastical or institutional change in the direction of autonomy for the monastery. By this is meant the basic movement of church institutions in general in this era toward freedom from the lay
world to whatever degree possible.\textsuperscript{1} This is, of course, on the
widest level, the basic impulse of the Gregorian Reform, which
reached its ideological climax, as Augustin Fliche has argued, in
the structural reforms of the church hierarchy which he denotes as
papal reform.\textsuperscript{2} On this level, these chapters will try to discuss
whether the different reform programs were operative at Gellone, or
in any way influential in the transactions or issues involving
Gellone as reflected in the cartulary.

The second level follows quickly from the first. In its efforts
for reform and independence, the church eventually began to strive
for economic independence as an essential prop for its program.\textsuperscript{3} It
strve valiantly to eliminate the fiscal ties to the lay world which
made the church an easy prey to its control.\textsuperscript{4} Thus this chapter
will try to illustrate whatever trends can be seen at Gellone for the
increased ecclesiastical and monastic control over church property

\textsuperscript{1}David Herlihy, "Church Property on the European Continent," \textit{Speculum},
XXXVI (1961), 96-97. See especially Note 41.

\textsuperscript{2}Augustin Fliche, \textit{La réforme grégorienne} (3 vols., Paris, 1924), I,
148-159.

\textsuperscript{3}Catherine Boyd, \textit{Tithes and Parishes in Medieval Italy} (Ithaca, 1952),
112-113.

\textsuperscript{4}In addition to the previous work which is primarily concerned with
the economic causes and consequences of the investiture crisis in
Italy, a more general survey of the economic conditions of church
property and the relation of ecclesiastical offices to lay power
can be found in E. Amann and A. Dumas, \textit{L'Eglise au pouvoir des
laïques} (888-1057) (Paris, 1948), especially Books II and III.
and income. It will try especially to measure to what degree these changes were linked to the general ideological struggle.

Naturally, the two levels are interrelated, so they will usually be treated as two facets of the same problem. In fact, one of the purposes of these chapters will be to illustrate their close relationship at Cellone. In addition, there will be some reference to ideas illustrated in Chapter V on the general economic and social structure of the region. This will be necessary since the different approaches toward independence and their varying success were quite naturally somewhat dependent on the structure of the society in which they occurred. In general, the first of these two chapters illustrates the different facets of the movement toward a meaningful independence for Cellone. The second chapter, while intimately related to the first by its subject matter and approach, nevertheless focuses on the limitations upon this movement that contemporary circumstances eventually imposed.

Cellone, like most monasteries in the medieval world, at various times secured more independence as an ecclesiastical institution and with regard to its possessions than at others. This independence could at different times be threatened or guaranteed by lay powers from kings down to local magnates, or from spiritual powers such as bishops or the papacy.

At the beginning of its history, the tradition gleamed from the interpolated documents of the early ninth century indicates that from
its very founding Gellone was a royal abbey.⁵ The documents, whether in favor of Gellone's subjugation to Aniane or not, speak of the immunities guaranteed by the Carolingian emperors.⁶ There is nothing surprising or reprehensible to the church of the day, which welcomed the cooperation with and aid from the new Christian emperors of the west. This close cooperation can easily be seen in the sponsorship given to the first abbot of Gellone, St. Benedict of Aniane. This was not limited to Gellone, but later spread throughout the empire and culminated in the reform promulgated at the Council of Aachen in 816.⁷ But on a lesser and perhaps much more suspicious level, one can see even within these events the seeds which would produce new developments in a different context. The founder of Gellone was the most powerful magnate of the region. He chose the abbot and arranged for the first monks to inhabit Gellone.⁸ Himself a relative of Charlemagne, one may reasonably question whether St. William had any influence in naming Juliofredus, another relative of the emperor, as Benedict's successor. In themselves none of these events threatened the sanctity of Gellone, yet customs such as these in a

⁵Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 132-133.

⁶Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 113, 160, and 249; Gallia Christiana, VI, 263-264.


⁸Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 160.
changed social context could and did.

The Carolingian political system broke down in the latter ninth and tenth centuries, along with its system of consistent policies extending from the central authority down to the counts and dukes like William of Orange. The old sweeping political system was replaced by a more autonomous local power structure based on the authority and military force of the local magnate. Yet this was by no means a sudden change, and local magnates continued to deal with their problems in much the same way as earlier generations had, with one major exception. They were no longer subject to recall for failure to carry out the wishes of their king.9

In terms of ecclesiastical relations, this meant that the power exercised beneficially for the church by much of the lay aristocracy in the time of Charlemagne now became an instrument of the lay magnates according to whatever terms they deemed favorable to themselves. Thus a system of secular leadership and royal abbeys gave way to a system of lay control over the church on the local level in regard to the appointment of bishops and abbots and the control of their lands.10 The church in the ninth century controlled vast amounts of property, perhaps even one-third of the cultivated land.11 In a society where land was the instrument of power, and

10Amann and Dumas, L'Eglise, 221-249.
11Herlihy, "Church Property", 92-93.
power so often the determinant of local politics, the lay magnates could ill afford to allow the church the freedom of control over these vast properties it once possessed. Within this context in the ninth and tenth centuries of increasing lay control over church offices and property, it is easy to understand how the church itself became secularized with many of its leaders appointed in the interests of lay politics. All this is the background for the investiture crisis. Individuals in different times and contexts advocated systems of reform for a reinvigorating of the spiritual life of the church by means of the emancipation of its institutions from the lay world.\textsuperscript{12}

Unfortunately, the cartulary of Gellone gives few insights into this period of change from the Carolingian to the system of local lay dominance. It is not until the early eleventh century, when this prevailing system was nearing the end of its life, that the charters begin to occur with any frequency. It is only from about the year 1000 that one can follow the church's and especially Gellone's fortunes, both institutionally and economically.

It is interesting to observe that despite the power of Duke William's successors,\textsuperscript{13} there is no record of any control whatever maintained by that family. It is true that Duke William selected the first abbot, in a genuine effort to secure the zealous practice

\textsuperscript{12}Fliche, \textit{La reforme}, I, 39-308.

\textsuperscript{13}Tisset, \textit{L'abbaye de Gellone}, 1-39.
of the Benedictine rule. Nevertheless, there is no evidence available to illustrate lay abbots, lay investiture, or appointment of the abbot by any means other than the free election by the monks of Gellone. But while there seems no way to discover how or when the house of Anduze secured control over Gellone, it is known that in 1035 the abbey was considered an important possession of that family of lay magnates. In the same charter, the election of the abbot of Aniane is reserved to the viscount of Beziers. Whether this meant the actual choice of the abbot or only a veto power over his election is unclear. But since Gellone is included in the property being enfeoffed, this charter does indicate that in 1035 both the full possession of a monastery and the "election" of an abbot were still considered proper matter for a feudal court in this region. Within thirty-five years, indications appear in the cartulary that a really new ideological mood had begun to hold sway.

There can still be seen fleeting indications of the old order of lay participation in some of the charters of the early eleventh century. For example, one can discern the strong presence of laymen in the strictly monastic agreement concerning the Herault River between the abbots of Aniane and Gellone, about 1030. Laymen do not disappear entirely in charters concerning purely ecclesiastical

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14See above, p. 10.
15See above, p. 26, footnote No. 36.
16Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 20.
groups. But the contrast can be made with any number of charters between bishops, canons, and the monastery in which few, if any, laymen are mentioned, and these in a secondary role.\footnote{17} One may also see the influence of lay magnates in securing the appointment of their children as bishops.\footnote{18} In a charter dated 1027-1048, Seneganda, countess of Substancion, donated the church of St. Reparata to Gellone. Other donors included her son Peter, bishop of Maguelone, and Bernard, count of Maguelone.\footnote{19} No other instance among the many bishops mentioned later in the eleventh and twelfth centuries presents even a hint of family control or purchase of the episcopate. However, the house of Anduze that controlled Gellone also controlled for a time in the early eleventh century the bishoprics of Nîmes and Le Puy.\footnote{20} It also exercised its role as beneficent lay protector toward Gellone by granting its two principal cellas, St. Peter de Salveo and St. Peter de Mairois.\footnote{21} Finally, one may see the vitality of the old order even within the very charter which set Gellone free. In this charter, three vassals of Almeradus de Andusa held possession of parts of Gellone in fief at least as late as 1054, the very year

\footnote{17}{See, for example, Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 155 and 342.}
\footnote{18}{An excellent illustration is the classic family episcopate described in R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (New Haven, 1962), 118-124.}
\footnote{19}{Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 8.}
\footnote{20}{Archibald Lewis, The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society (Austin, 1965), 322.}
\footnote{21}{Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 6, 152, 381, and 382.}
of the death of the first of the reforming popes, Leo IX.\textsuperscript{22} At this late date, therefore, a monastery is owned by a local magnate and parceled out in fiefs.

This very charter probably illustrates the real tension of the times. At the very moment when Cellone is revealed to be most subjugated to the demands of the local aristocracy, it was set free. Why? The charter offers only one hint at an explanation. There are none of the usual pious platitudes. There is only the mention of a fully outfitted war-horse given by Cellone in return. It would seem, therefore, that Almeradus truly regretted his loss of the abbey. Yet, in the blunt use of the term \textit{reddo}, without the usual pious phrases, one can probably discern the new power of the church which produced this sudden turn-about.\textsuperscript{23}

In a provincial council in Narbonne of 990, excommunication was threatened against all holders of properly ecclesiastical property. This was greatly reinforced in a council of 1054 presided over by a papal legate at Toulouse.\textsuperscript{24} The period between these dates saw councils of all sizes condemning the increased militarism of the local magnates and their usurpation of church

\textsuperscript{22}See above, p. 10 and Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Cellone}, No. 128.

\textsuperscript{23}Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Cellone}, No. 128: \textit{Ego, Petrus, filius Almeradi de Andusa, dono, et reddo totum a lodem Sancti Salvatoris Gallonensis altario ipsius . . . .}

lands. The result seems to have been an increased frequency of *guirpitiones* or surrenders of lands to bishoprics and especially to monasteries. These returns are probably to a significant degree responsible for the fairly large increase in church property in Southern France in this period. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that the "return" here in charter 128 is due to this new ideological force.

**TABLE III**

Charters Containing the Term "Guirpitiones"

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table III indicates the number and percentage of charters which

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26 Herlihy, "Church Property", 96.
involve these guirpitiones by laymen. It is interesting to note that a great increase in this type of charter occurs in the years 1025-1044. These are the very years which Lewis indicates as being the era in which the church in this area began its first really concerted drive against the usurpation of church property. In fact, this time period has the highest percentage of all periods for this type of donation. It occurs here rather than at the height of the reform movement in the latter third of the eleventh century. A possible explanation for this might be that the first wave of reform enthusiasm touched off many of the easier cases, while the full strength of the reform movement might have been needed to convince some of the more conservative of the laity that they must comply. A second and more probable explanation is that in the earlier part of the reform movement, these guirpitiones were comprised chiefly of churches and ecclesiastical property which were more obviously unjustly held. By the end of the eleventh century, however, their content had changed to consist chiefly of parts of churches and tithes, which would never in this era be completely recovered by the church.29

27 Many of these charters include donations as well. One should not conclude that a high percentage of guirpitiones would indicate a fall-off of donations.

28 Lewis, Development, 330-333.

29 See below, pp. 74-76.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage of Total &quot;Guirpitiones&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
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<td>1105 - 1124</td>
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<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table IV indicates the number and percentage of these charters called *guirpitiones* which specifically admit that the land in question had been usurped from Gellone or an usurpation had been attempted. The percentage rises in every time period with the exception of 1025-1044, and the already high later time periods. This may indicate that the *de facto* injustice of such usurpations had come to be recognized more firmly as the investiture crisis ran its course, a possible measure of the successful spread of reform ideology.

Once Gellone had realized its freedom as an ecclesiastical and economic institution from the house of Anduze, the struggle with the monastery of Aniane as outlined above took place.30 It is

30See above, pp. 20-29.
particularly fortunate for the historian of the period that the quarrel took place in the 1060's, since there are various references in the documents on both sides which give genuine insight into the ideological forces of the period.

The first thing to be noticed is the plane on which the quarrel took place. There is no record of any litigation on the local diocesan level. All charges and appeals are made to Rome, an indication of the importance and respect the Holy See had managed to amass. In fact, Rostaing, bishop of Lodeve, was an avid supporter of Gellone's claims and traveled to Rome to plead its case before Pope Alexander II. The Pope in turn took the monastery under the defense and protection of the Holy See, confirmed all the property it had held for thirty years and all which it would receive in donation in the future. In addition, he forbade any power, lay or clerical, to alienate the property of the abbey.

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31 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 1.

32 Ibid., No. 1: Nos ipsius justis petitionibus inclinati idem monasterium sub tutela et defensione sancte apostolice sedis suscepimus, et omnia que juris ipsius sunt queque a triginta annis retro pacifice tenuit, sed et omnia que in futuro tempore ibidem sunt conferenda, in quibuscumque rebus mobilibus et immobilibus, privilegii nostri pagina confirmamus atque corroboramus, statuentes itaque apostolica censura et sub divini judicii obestatione interdicientes, sanctsimus ut nullus rex, dux, marchio, chomes, vicechomes, sed neque archiepiscopus aut episcopus seu alicujus dignitatis vel conditionis persona, de his omnibus que prefato monasterio presenti pagina confirmamus, auferre, alienare, seu diminuere presumat.
Several other things in the charter should be immediately observed. First, the papacy did act decisively. It removed Gellone from all jurisdiction except its own. Secondly, one must notice the stern prohibition against the alienation of church lands. Charter 2 in 1068, a second letter of Alexander II, illustrates some of these even more clearly.\textsuperscript{33} In taking Gellone under its protection, the papacy declared the monastery free from any conditions. This can easily be taken to refer to papal desire and efforts for the freedom of ecclesiastical institutions from local politics.\textsuperscript{34} Alexander makes further stipulations which indicate quite clearly the problems which were being attacked by the papacy. The first is that no bishop could consecrate the abbot unless he were elected according to the rule of St. Benedict.\textsuperscript{35} It is not difficult to imagine the type of invalidly elected bishop or abbot against whom it was becoming customary by this time for the papacy to proceed.\textsuperscript{36} The second is a guarantee of the clear-cut right to appeal to the papacy in their own defense against any bishop who

\textsuperscript{33} Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 2.

\textsuperscript{34} Fliche, La réforme, I, 129-135.

\textsuperscript{35} Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 2: Qui videlicet episcopus nullum in predicto monasterio abbatem presumat ordinare, nisi quem monachi ejusdem monasterii, Dominum timentes, juxta tenorem regule beati Benedicti aegerint; ipsum vera sine omni fraude et contradictione benedicit.

\textsuperscript{36} Fliche, La réforme, I, 131-135.
violates church law.  One cannot overemphasize this new direction in the papal solution for a monastery which felt itself threatened. Namely, the papacy chose to plant itself as the immediate and active guardian of the monastery, rather than set up ecclesiastical intermediaries which could not always be dependable. This was of course a revolutionary trend. One might possibly argue that actions such as these foretold the policies of active interference in the far-flung affairs of European principalities, even beyond the strictly ecclesiastical level, which Gregory VII began.  

This protection received from the Holy See was not meaningless. Over the next century, this new papal policy became quite standard with regard to Gellone, as well as other parts of the church. New bulls proclaiming papal protection for Gellone were issued by Urban II about 1090, which is reputed to have been the final settlement of the quarrel with Aniane, Calixtus II in 1123, Eugene III in

37 Alus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 2: A quo nimurum episcopo, si abbasi vel monachi ipsius monasterii se injuste pregravari cognoverint, ad defendandum propriam innocentiam et episcopi infestationem corrigendum libere hanc sedem appellent.

38 Southern, Making of the Middle Ages, 142-148.

39 No text of this bull has been preserved. Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 41, reports that Dom Sort gives the date 1092. The best authority for its existence is that it is referred to in the authentic bulls of Calixtus II and Eugene III.

40 Jaffe, Regesta, I, No. 8947. It is published in Gallia Christiana, VI, 280-281.
1146,41 and Alexander III in 1162.42

In the documents from Aniane, one can see even more clearly the awareness these monks had of certain issues of their day. Their force becomes especially strong when one realizes, as Tisset has shown,43 that they are in all probability forgeries. As such, certain elements would probably have been composed to appeal to the great issues of the day. But first, it should be observed that the monks of Aniane felt it necessary to secure papal letters approving their position, creating documents from Nicholas II in 1061 and Alexander II in 1068.44 In addition to the purposeful condemnations of Gellone’s independence, there are the usual excommunications of the day against the alienation of all properties of the monastery by any lay or clerical powers. It should be specifically noted that the monks saw fit to insert a phrase in the bull of Alexander II condemning the heresy of simony,45 which was one of the chief targets of the reformers.46 It also decreed

41Jaffe, Regesta, II, No. 8947, and Gallia Christiana, VI, 280-281.
42Jaffe, Regesta, II, No. 10769.
43Tisset, L’abbaye de Gellone, 72-83.
44Cassin and Meynial, Cartulaire d’Aniane, No. 2, and 3.
45Ibid., No. 3: Et quia inefrenata cupiditas heresisque simoniaca apud vestras omnino temperantisque modum ignorat, ut liberius que speculative vite sunt congrua exercere valeatis subrogatione Abbatis, sana congregacionis electione, secundum beati Benedicti normam concedimus.
46Fliche, La reforme, I, especially 132-138.
that only free election according to the Benedictine rule would be
valid, just as the seemingly genuine bull of Alexander did for
Gellone.

Nowhere in the cartulary of Gellone does one meet that highly
charged word of the day, simony. Yet there are two other specific
instances in matters related to Gellone which do indicate the
power of and reality behind that charge. First, Abbot Ememo of
Aniane sent a letter to the great reforming pope, Gregory VII, in
1074. In it he charged that Gellone was leading an independent
existence contrary to the will of Nicholas II and Alexander II. No
reply is preserved, even in tradition, and one can only wonder at
the charge leveled at Abbot Peter of Gellone, heretical simony.47
The legends surrounding him are all highly favorable. It would
seem that, if the letter were really sent, Gregory would have felt
constrained to respond. In any case, one important thing should be
realized. It was this very charge of simony that Abbot Ememo
resorted to as probably his final hope of getting action in his
favor, such was the power of that charge.

The second case is an obvious instance of simony in one of the

47In Mabillon, Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti, V, 73-74, Ememo is
reported to have written: "Quam haec tenus antecessores nostri tenuerunt,
donec praevaleante simoniaca haeresi, monachi e jussu cellae
praeposuerunt sibi abbates contra jus et monasticum ordinem, quos
non solum abbates, sed et pontifices, qui eos confirmarunt, tui
antecessores, Nicolaus videlicet et Alexander, in privilegiis ab
iisdem nobis traditis, sub anathematis vinculo posuerunt, quosque
ordinatio et dispositio possibilitys jam dicte Gellonensis in manu
consistat abbatis Anianensis."
charters of this era, although the word is never used. It occurs at the priory of St. Peter de Salveo, a cella of Gallone. After several years of the priorate of William Pharaldi, a monk by the name of Pontius Barnerius bought the priorship from some principes of the county of Nimes in which the priory was located. These magnates, in turn, forced out the rightful abbot and installed Pontius. The charter is dated according to the pontificate of Alexander II. It is quite surprising that at this late date the magnates would dare to embark on such blatant abuses. It is also interesting that a monk, who by his station was supposed to hold no property in his own name, could have resource to the amount of money necessary to buy the priorship.

But the most revealing fact in this charter is that what was in all probability not an uncommon practice in the tenth century was now met with instant protest and action. The course of the case is most illustrative. The monks of Gallone appealed to Frotar, bishop of Nimes, who excommunicated the so-called prior. But Pontius relied on the secular powers who had granted him his office to retain it and ignored the excommunication of the bishop. Perhaps it is significant that the bishop of the same county as these magnates so speedily opposed them. This can only serve to indicate that the progress of reform seems to have begun to place courage as well as good churchmen on the episcopal seats. Fifty years earlier it

48. Alaus, Cartulaire de Gallone, No. 383.
would have probably been much more likely that the same powers who
could install the prior would have at least been able to intimidate
the bishop, that is, in the highly unlikely event he would have
even considered opposing the move. But not so any longer! Each
side held its ground, and Gellone now sent an urgent appeal to
Rome. The papal reaction seems to have been expected. Alexander II
backed up the bishop of Mimes, confirmed his excommunication, and
placed an interdict on the priory. It is not recorded what happened
to the usurper, but Abbot William of Gellone regained his priory.
What should of course be observed is that once again the power of
the papacy in this part of France is very real and effective in
combating simony and the alienation of church property, which is
expressly forbidden to anyone, specifically the new class of
knights.49 In this charter occurs one of the earliest references
to that class. No doubt their threat to church property must have
been quickly realized.

One final example illustrates the weight that the papal decrees
seem to have had on the local nobility, and, in particular, the house
of Anduze. In a charter dated 1074, Peter Bermundus of Anduze
corroborated the gift his father made Gellone of the priory of
St. Peter de Salveo. Quite possibly this charter was the result of

49Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 383: Excommunicationem quoque per
ipsos transmisit, ut omnes qui contra monasterium Gellonense malum
diliquid hostiliter temptaverit, in honore, aut in substantia, verbo,
aut scripto, vel actu, aut vi, sive monachus, clericus, laicus,
miles, majoris minorisque manus ab officio ecclesiastico privarentur.
the previous controversy, and the house of Anduze might even have been the principes mentioned above. In addition to the usual prohibition against the alienation by anyone of the gift, there is added the specific condemnation in this regard by Alexander II. This unique occurrence supports the idea that this particular family, which was so closely involved in Gellone's affairs, was well aware of this new and powerful influence. In addition, this charter was presented in front of many of the local gentry who are specifically called nobles, illustrating that the idea must have been fairly widespread among precisely those classes it was aimed at.\(^50\)

### TABLE V

Restrictions Against Alienation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>18</td>
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<td>1105 - 1124</td>
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<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{50}\)Alaus, *Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 384: Sane si quis hanc istius nostre donationis cartam ... atque alienare temperavit, manibus maledicionibus novi et veteris testamenti donatus atque repletus, atque per interdictum Alexandri pape a liminibus sancte ecclesie segregatus.
A good illustration of the course of the struggle against alienation might be seen in Table V, which presents the occurrence of restrictions upon donations in the charters. By a restriction is meant any phraseology that specifically denies the right of alienation. It is interesting to note that the percentage of general restrictions of some type against alienation of the transferred land drops each decade without exception from 100% to 114%, from a high of over 50% to under 20%. This might seem to indicate that the occurrence of such alienations was becoming less and less commonplace, and the composers of the charters did not see fit to include them. Of course this assumes that the more prohibitions there were, the more alienations were occurring. This seems not at all unreasonable if one remembers that the force of the written charter as such was more exhortatory than legal in that age.

TABLE VI

Restrictions Specifically Included Against Gellone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE VI (continued)

Restrictions Specifically Included Against Cellone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition, Table VI indicates the percentage of charters in each time period that include a specific prohibition to the monastery from alienating its property. This percentage remains fairly steady with a slight increase until 1084, when it drops off rapidly and becomes almost non-existent by 1124. The probable reason for the behavior of the first half of the table is that it corresponds to the rising tide of ecclesiastical censures against alienation. The suddenness of the drop in the second half is probably explained with the reason that from the point of view of the monastery, it had by now become quite unthinkable to alienate its own property directly. Possibly the more gradual drop in the general restrictions which applied to laymen especially indicates the lag in their acceptance of the new attitude toward church property in the eleventh century.

The old attitude of lay control over church property indeed seems overwhelmed in the vast majority of the charters of the cartulary. There is only one clear instance of a layman simply
seeking control of a church which goes unchallenged. This charter dates from the very early eleventh century, about 1015. Yet it would be a serious mistake to believe that the great impulse toward church reform toward the middle of the eleventh century, whose effect at Gellone has been outlined above, ushered in a golden age of ecclesiastical freedom in its actions and properties. The truth was rather different. The next chapter will deal with these developments on the twin levels of the monastery as an institution and its property.

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51 Alau, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 95.
CHAPTER IV

THE LIMITATIONS OF REFORM IDEOLOGY AT GELLONE

The previous chapter has discussed in detail the meaningful impact which the reform movement had at Gellone. While the church in general and in particular at Gellone succeeded in eliminating the most blatant abuses of lay dominance or interference, the ideological offensive which the church waged in the eleventh century became tempered by the circumstances of the early twelfth century. At Gellone, this meant that the monastery came to compromise with the secular world in which it existed and to deal with it as a related unit in a single society. This chapter will discuss how the ideals of full ecclesiastical independence for the monastery were defined within the practical realities of the society in which monk and layman lived.

There are few instances of limitations upon the full independence of Gellone in the closing decades of the eleventh century. Probably this can be attributed to three main factors. These are the cult of St. William as outlined in Chapter II,\(^1\) the freshness and vitality of the reform movement which had direct

\(^1\) See above, pp. 18-20.
connections with the monastery,\(^2\) as well as perhaps the success and reputations of abbots Peter and Berengar.\(^3\) There are two trends which can be mentioned in this regard. First, the continued existence of such a significant number of guirpitiones might indicate, beyond the more obvious return of church property, the difficulty of securing donations which had been made and later regretted by the donor or his heirs. This will be treated in more detail in Chapter V.\(^4\) The second is the real development in this period of feudalism,\(^5\) which would severely hamper Gallone's independence in the twelfth century.

By the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century, indications of the restriction of the independence of Gallone as an institution appear. In addition to the previously mentioned reasons, there are two others which seem responsible. First, the great reforming movement had lost much of its vitality, especially in regard to the less important institutions of the church.\(^6\)

Perhaps one could also conjecture that the feedback of complacency

\(^2\)Principal examples of this are the direct interferences of Alexander II and Urban II, as well as the symbolic significance of the consecration of the altar in honor of St. William by the legate of Gregory VII in 1076.

\(^3\)See above, pp. 30-31.

\(^4\)See below, pp. 100-101.

\(^5\)See below, pp. 87-93.

\(^6\)Boyd, Tithe and Parishes, 127-129.
after the Concordat of Worms in 1122 drained off much of the remaining vitality. Secondly, the zeal which resulted in tremendous acquisitions in the reform period may have quite possibly overextended many of the monasteries. In any event, the process of change in the social and economic structure resulted in a new balance and compromise of ecclesiastical and secular powers which left the abbey as well as other ecclesiastical institutions well short of their ideal independence.

The process at work in this region seems to have taken the following pattern. In the early eleventh century, the long-standing system of lay control over church institutions and their property began to crumble. This system was replaced in the latter eleventh century by a church very prosperous and relatively free from secular interference. But at the same time, this general reorganization of the powers of the region produced, or helped to produce, a new system of feudal institutions which came to dominate the countryside, a process which will be described in Chapter V. The simultaneity of this change with the changes brought by the investiture crisis might be accidental. Or it might be causal in that the changes in the control of church property and the resulting loss by secular powers of much of the land they used to maintain their positions

7Herlihy, "Church Property", 98.

8See below, pp. 87-93.
could very well have produced a power struggle which called for new solutions and compromises. While indications are that the latter is closer to the truth at Gellone, much more research here and on the general level would have to be done to determine exactly what this relationship was. In any case, this new social system seems to have evolved a fairly well organized and powerful social class, which the local ecclesiastical institutions were then forced to live with along somewhat mutually acceptable lines. At least with Gellone, this seems to have been the situation.

Some of these new types of control by secular powers have been outlined already. The monks at Gellone felt that they could not maintain their greatly extended land intact within the new feudal society of the south, and that it was necessary to secure some means of aid and protection. To put it quite simply, the late eleventh century means of protection, no longer carried their old weight. These safeguards had been religiously oriented, such as prohibitions, sanctions, and the devotion and respect inspired by the reform. Now Gellone had to meet the secular powers on terms which were also political and financial. In this sense, the reform failed, since the final compromise brought the church down a degree to the secular level again. Yet it was not a total failure, because this compromise never brought the church under the whimsical control

9See above, p. 31.
of the laity. It was a compromise of degree rather than principle. Despite the partial resecularization of local institutions like Gellone, the ideas of the reform remained strong and meaningful enough to produce the Cistercian and Carthusian movements in reaction to this failure to achieve the total emancipation in fact and spirit, which the reform had called for.¹⁰

From the year 1133 exist two charters which illustrate the present disadvantages when dealing with the powerful nobles of the area. In the first, Count Berengar Raimundi of Arles granted a house to Gellone for the rather large sum of 200 solidi of Melgueil. In exchange, he accepted all the honor of St. Guilhem in maintenance and defense and ordered his bailiff to defend and guard it as he would his own lord’s.¹¹ The key word is of course omnem. It is unlikely that this meant all of Gellone’s possessions, but it is nevertheless possible. If this interpretation is correct, then this charter would illustrate either that Gellone felt the need to purchase a protector for its properties, or, less likely, that a local magnate used the excuse of this transaction to impose himself as a new kind of overlord. More probably, the word refers only to

¹⁰Boyd, Tithes and Parishes, 116-128.

the total property of Gellone which used to belong to the count. 12 This charter would then illustrate quite clearly that the grant was by no means complete. Rather, in this case, a secular power could and did retain the immediate physical control over it, probably with only the title being transferred to Gellone.

The second charter of 1133 illustrates the problem for Gellone even more clearly. In it, Raymond of Anduze granted the apparently large manse of Boieta to Gellone. However, Abbot William gave back the whole manse along with its subordinate fiefs and service to Raymond so that he would become William's vassal. In return, Raymond swore homage to the abbot and promised to guard all of this honor from anyone who wished to remove it from the community of the monks. 13 Gellone, therefore, received from this transaction only the title over the manse and probably a loyal vassal. Of course, the restrictions in both these charters of 1133 were intolerable for one who proclaimed the absolute integrity of church property. But it is quite clear from the cartulary that Gellone made its compromise with

12This is the interpretation given by Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 139-140.

13Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 531: Et ego, Guilelmus, abbas, dono tibi, Raimundo de Andusia, ad fevum fevales, et omnium et servicium illorum, et quantum in eodem manse supradicto de Boieta fevales debent habere, ut fidelis et amicus sis beato Guilelmo, et hunc honorem guericas nobis de omnibus hominibus; et ego, Raimundus de Andusia, si quis hunc mansum vel aliquid ejusdem mansi a communia monachorum beati Guilelmi auferre voluerit, promitto, ut hunc honorem gueriscam de omnibus hominibus beato Guilelmo, et abbatii, et monachis ejusdem loci, et me bonum auxiliatorem, et fidelem anicam esse in omnibus.
the feudal society in which it existed, and either chose to or
felt it necessary to hold title to its property at times as a real
feudal lord. No doubt this system of receiving property and
giving it back in fief recalls the old precarial grants for which
no record exists at Celleone. But the inducements in a world which
recognized formally the granting of fiefs were real. This was not
a sell-out to the secular world as in pre-reform days. Celleone
maintained its independence and some title over, control of, and
income from these lands. Rather, it was an accommodation, a new
balance. With less important laymen, it was probably more of an
accommodation with current social practices; with greater magnates
a real means for them to avoid returning the church property they
would have otherwise felt obliged to. On Celleone's side, it may
have been the means whereby it would receive grants which laymen
otherwise could not have afforded to give. But when all is said,
this practice seems to have been a disadvantage since it identified
and placed Celleone at least partially within a purely secular system.

To be sure, these charters of 1133 are not isolated, but reflect
in clearest terms a growing change. The idea of giving a donation
and receiving all or part of it back in fief begins to become common
in the eleventh century. At Celleone, it first occurs in charter
182, dated in the abbacy of Berengar, 1077-1099. In the period

1/ Emile Chenon, Étude sur l'histoire des alleux en France (Paris,
1888), 43-45.
1084-1104, there are eleven such charters where at least part of the donation is returned in fief.\textsuperscript{15} One of these, No. 262, dated 1077-1099, actually refers to the grantor's swearing homage to the abbot, although none of these charters reflect the power and control over Gellone's property that the 1133 charters do. The period 1105-1124 has seven such charters.\textsuperscript{16} The incidence falls off to two in each of the last three time periods, but straight donations also fall off here remarkably. It can thus be seen that the idea of the abbot as a feudal lord, just as any secular power, did in fact become known here, even though the church reform had tried to eliminate such ties to the secular world.

The idea of the monastery's military and feudal role and obligations can be seen in the occurrence of the \textit{albergum} or \textit{receptum}. This is a means of measuring the quantity of soldiers which were being provided for from Gellone's lands. The importance of the \textit{albergum} can be seen for example in the feudal structure in the charter of 1077 in which Peter Bermundi confirms his father's gift of St. Peter de Mairois with one exception, namely a \textit{receptum} for twenty-one knights.\textsuperscript{17} This is by far the largest number of knights mentioned for any one \textit{receptum} or \textit{albergum} in the charters. That such a powerful magnate felt it necessary to retain for himself

\textsuperscript{15}Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 177, 182, 213, 239, 262, 287, 418, 458, 471, and 494.

\textsuperscript{16}Ibid., No. 187, 188, 204, 301, 316, 435, and 463.

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., No. 151.
this share of knights’ provisionings shows the importance attached to
these. Perhaps Gellone itself did not want this either, because at
that time it was shunning involvement in the military structures
around it. This can be illustrated in the incidence of these two
terms being credited to Gellone in the charters.

TABLE VII

The Occurrence of "Alberga" and "Recepta" in the Charters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VII shows that while they do occur sporadically in the
years before the reform, in the age of the reform's peak, there is
only one occurrence. As the reform spirit began to wear down, they
reappear in higher numbers. In addition, most of the post-1085
charters contain several pieces of property which include these
burdens. This no doubt illustrates that Gellone was becoming
somewhat involved in the military affairs of its society. The
danger in this development seems clear. In terms of spirit,
unquestionably the concern for purely secular matters and obligations must have weighed heavily upon the monks. No doubt there must have been a corresponding loss of religious zeal, at least in their external relations.

The results of all this become obvious by the very late eleventh century. With the spirit of reform ebbing, less gifts were being made outright. More and more Gellone had to rely on financial means to secure land it wanted, or to reclaim lands usurped that earlier would have been surrendered much more willingly in the vigorous drive against alienation of church property in the mid-eleventh century.

TABLE VIII

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table VIII shows that in charters of surrender of land once held by the monastery, money was paid out as a compensation by
Gellone for *guirpitiones* starting from 7.6% of the total charters in the years 1005-1024 to 28% in the years 1045-1064. Then in the key reform years 1065-1084, only 5.7% of the charters involved money being paid out for land surrenders. But the trend becomes quickly reversed again, which shows that Gellone had to resort once more to financial means rather than the reform spirit to secure lands that had been usurped, especially in the latest years.

TABLE IX

Percentage of Total "Guirpitiones" Without Financial Remuneration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise, in Table IX the percentage of *guirpitiones* with no money involved has two high peaks. One is in the years 1025-1044. Here one could argue that minted money was not circulating enough yet to form an accurate picture of the motivations behind the
surrender. But probably this drop in money paid out was due to the local councils which were prevalent in those years. The other peak occurs during the prime reform years, 1065-1104. From then on, these non-money *guirpitiones* fell off to zero by the year 1125.

**TABLE X**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>11 (1)</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>9 (8)</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>6 (5)</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the same results are indicated in Table X, which lists the percentages of charters in which Gellone pays for land it never had. These acts can be referred to as either donations or outright

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18 See above, p. 43.

19 For a concise monetary history of this region, see: Mireille Castaing-Sicard, *Les monnaies féodales et circulation monétaire en Languedoc (X-XIIIèmes siècles)* (Toulouse, 1961).

20 The number in parentheses in the second column indicates the number of sales in that time period.
sales. Once again, the low point is a mere 1.9% in 1065-1084, while the high point is 33% in 1125-1144, chiefly from sales. These figures all serve to indicate that after the great reform period had passed, Gellone was forced to rely increasingly on financial means to secure the lands it wanted. In terms of guirpitiones, this of course meant that the reform spirit against the alienation of church property had less effect as time went on. The usurpers were surrendering their lands only with greater and greater inducements. Perhaps, even more significantly, it meant that Gellone had to rely to an even greater extent on financial means as the key even to keep many of its lands. As the twelfth century wore on, more and more Gellone became forced to rely either on the benificence of wealthy nobles or outright loans. In either case, it meant a new dependency on the new secular powers or the new financial interests.

Two examples which have been mentioned above illustrate each kind of dependence. The first is a charter of 1134 in which Ermingaudus of Two Virgins, a local magnate and uncle of the future Abbot Raymond of Gellone, surrendered to the abbey all he had in the two honors of Tuda and Tudeta. In exchange, Abbot William gave him fraternity and participation in all the benefices of the monastery.

21See above, pp. 31-33.
just as any monk would have. What this phrase meant is unclear. Certainly it seems to indicate that some rights were given this powerful magnate, who, as a layman, should never have received them according to even the least bit of the spirit of reform. In view of the slightness of the donation involved, it may be more an indication of the erosion of the independence of the monastery as such, as well as a feeling of obligation to this magnate. One possible result of this obligation could have been the election of Ermengaudus's nephew Raymond as abbot in 1137. Shortly afterward, in the same year, Ermengaudus confirmed the donation of 1134. In addition, he donated the rather huge sum of 2800 solidi of Melgueil. This probably indicates in just what desperate need of funds Gellone was. This might also be a compensation to the monastery for the rights it surrendered to this lay noble.

In 1175, Gellone borrowed the rather considerable sum of 4000 solidi of Melgueil from a bourgeois of Montpellier. Not only does the very occurrence of this debt show the relative poverty to which the monastery had been forced by its policies of the previous

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23 Ibid., No. 547.

24 Ibid., No. 551, and 552.
decades, but there are several even more startling facts about the contract. First, as security and even interest, the revenues of several parishes, especially the tithes, were transferred to the lender for twelve years at the end of which the debt was to be repaid.²⁵ There are other instances in the cartulary of laymen possessing the tithes of a district. But this is the only place where the tithes are actually being transferred away from the control of a major institution to a layman.

Secondly, there is even a papal charter confirming the mortgage which Gellone had contracted.²⁶ But very interestingly, it does not mention explicitly the tithes in the parishes which have been given over. These tithes are referred to only in the charter between Gellone and its creditor. The meaning of this is not entirely clear. Perhaps the papal charter was considered necessary because of the unusualness of the situation. At any rate, the failure to mention the tithes in the papal charter seems to indicate that Gellone felt constrained to hide this fact from the papacy. In addition, Alexander III in 1163 at the Council of Tours had forbidden mortgages involving ecclesiastical institutions, whether as lender or borrower.²⁷ Thus it is possible that the papal charter may have been forged to persuade

²⁵ Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 552.
²⁶ Ibid., No. 551. This letter does not appear in Jaffe's lists.
²⁷ Tisset, L'abbaye de Gellone, 108.
the bourgeois that no trouble would be made about the loan.
Interestingly enough, in showing that Gellone in this century lived more by the needs of their local situation than by papal programs, it should be mentioned that two charters after 1163 deal exclusively with Gellone as a lender.28

Two more examples will illustrate well the failure of the reform ideology to divest the church and its members completely of their secular practices which had led to abuses. One is the possession of property by individual monks, rather than in common. Individual monks with their own private property appear in seven charters in the years 1086-1128, either as donors or sellers to Gellone.29 No such charters exist from the pre-reform period. That all of these charters are dated well into the reform period seems to indicate the real survival of abuses which would, in all strictness, be condemned. It is indeed noteworthy that not one hint of such a reaction appears in any of these charters.

Secondly, there are some indications that the secular, feudal ideology began to be applied strictly within the church. For example, in a charter of 1101, a man and his wife donated their son with his inheritance to be a monk at Gellone. The terminology is striking. He is handed over to Gellone "to serve and fight"

28Alaus, _Cartulaire de Gellone_, No. 541 (1165), and 549 (1174).
29Ibid., No. 194, 289, 304, 313, 353, 361, and 379.
and be a monk. 30 Another indication is in the feudal nomenclature given to ecclesiastical offices. The best example is the *fevum presbiterale* which appears in the majority of the charters involving the donation of a church. It refers to the land which directly supports the priest assigned to the church. A charter of 1127 describes the exact nature of this idea. In this charter, the canons of the cathedral of Eiterrense, at the order of the bishop who donated the church to Gellone, gave the keys of the church of St. Vincent de Popiano to the abbot. He, in turn, gave them to the priest he installed there as a symbol of the fidelity he swore to the abbot for his priestly fief. The words show the precise and very real similarity with the basic feudal act:

"Abbas vero jan dictus pietate motus et misericordia, susceptis clavibus prenomitate ecclesia, commendavit eas Petro Gaucelmo, presbitero, ad fidelitatem Sancti Guilemi." 31

The failure to achieve full reform in the purest sense can best be seen in the compromise effected by the church as a whole with the laity in regard to the control of local churches and tithes. From the beginning of the eleventh century, the laity began to surrender some of their control over churches and tithes. Especially favored in these "donations" were cathedral chapters,

30 *Alaun, Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 288: *Et tradimus eum ibi monachicho habitui, ut semper ibidem servist, et militet vero et summo regi Deo omnipotenti . . . et sub regula beati Benedicti in perpetuum.

and even more so, the monasteries. This trend reached huge proportions. However, it would be a serious mistake to suppose that a fully revolutionary system of local control over local churches occurred. In effect, the system changed lay proprietorship into clerical proprietorship. It never freed parish churches entirely to be controlled by the priests and bishops. Rather, it replaced lay control usually with cathedral and especially monastic control of the church itself and the appointment of the priest.\textsuperscript{32} But perhaps the most significant part of this compromise was that it left a considerable portion of the tithes beyond the control of the parish church. It left only a portion for the use of the priest, the \textit{quartesa} in Italy,\textsuperscript{33} or the \textit{presbiterale fevum} in the region of the Midi. The remainder of the parish revenues were split up and divided. The recipients were those power groups eventually compromised by the end of the reform period, namely the bishops, the monasteries, and the lay aristocracy.\textsuperscript{34}

The cartulary of Gellone vividly illustrates in its charters much of this development. Table XI presents the percentage of charters in each time period in which either all or part of a church is given to the monastery, most often by laymen.

\textsuperscript{32}Boyd, \textit{Tithes and Parishes}, 87-102 and 125-126.

\textsuperscript{33}\textit{Ibid.}, 118-119.

\textsuperscript{34}\textit{Ibid.}, 127-128.
TABLE XI
Churches Surrendered to Gellone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noticed that in the years 1005-1024, of thirty-nine charters, not a single occurrence exists. In the next time period, 22% of the charters deal with this type of donation. This corresponds once again with the period of local councils against the alienation of church property as shown above.\(^{35}\)

The next period falls off, but from 1065 until 1124, charters of this type average just under 20%, which is quite considerable. This seems to illustrate a steady flow of local churches to Gellone because of reform ideology.

\(^{35}\)See above, pp. 38-39.
TABLE XII
Tithes Surrendered to Cellone

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XII similarly deals with the explicit transferral of tithes to Cellone. Although barely mentioned before 1084, the next two time periods include a fairly significant number of charters of this variety. Aside from the unexplained exception of 1125-1144, the list is topped by a large 24% of the charters in the years 1145-1164. These figures seem to indicate that tithes were the very last element of ecclesiastical property to be returned. Unquestionably, this was due to their economic importance. This importance as perhaps the real key in ecclesiastical property can be seen in several ways.

First, a full fourteen charters refer to the gift or
surrender of tithes to Gellone without any part of a church.\textsuperscript{36}

This illustrates that they were considered a significant donation in themselves. In addition, ten charters include property given to Gellone in which the tithes were retained by their lay donors.\textsuperscript{37}

These figures seem to indicate that there was a struggle going on for control of these tithes.

The real infusion of these tithes into the feudal structure as well as their division among laymen can be clearly illustrated in several charters. For example, in a charter of 1109, Peter Raimundi of Monte Petrosoro gave the church of St. Martin in his village to Gellone. This would be a clear example of the transfer of lay proprietorship to monastic proprietorship. But Peter made the specific exception of the tithes of this church, which Raymond of Podio Abone held from him.\textsuperscript{38} In a charter dated eight years earlier, his two sons had given their parts of the same church, this time held in their own rights.\textsuperscript{39} In another charter of 1101, the real division of the tithes of a church, even more than the actual church, can be seen. In it, William Matfredi granted

\textsuperscript{36}Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 177, 242, 286, 357, 407, 449, 455, 456, 457, 465, 470, 480, 504, and 523.

\textsuperscript{37}Ibid., No. 78, 169, 170, 171, 296, 352, 388, 447, 483, and 511.

\textsuperscript{38}Ibid., No. 170.

\textsuperscript{39}Ibid., No. 169.
to Gellone four parts of one-third part of the tithes. Likewise, this reticence of laymen to hand over the tithes can be seen in a charter dated 1077-1099, in which a certain Gauzfred and his family donated to Gellone the Church of St. Martin de Mauriac with half of the tithes. The other half was specifically retained by the family as a guarantee against usurpation by any family. Sometimes the retention of tithes is unavoidable because of the complexity of the social structure. For example, in a charter of 1100, the church of St. Martin de Caux was given to Gellone with its tithes. Yet the donor states that many of his vassals hold parts of the tithes in fief and that these would be transferred to Gellone only with their consent. Of course, this was by no means always received. As late as 1154, when parts of churches were returned to Gellone, their tithes were explicitly excepted, unless the vassals whose fiefs they now were voluntarily surrendered them. Gellone no doubt realized the hesitancy of the lay powers to turn over these tithes. This is shown by the fact that of the few sales made to Gellone, four are of tithes.

40 Claus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 300.  
41 Ibid., No. 461.  
42 Ibid., No. 284.  
43 Ibid., No. 513.  
44 Ibid., No. 345, 380, 514, and 515.
To be sure, monastic or cathedral proprietorship was not the ideal reform. Yet even this had to be compromised by the retention of partial lay control. While tithes were coming into the possession of Gellone, very often only parts of them were being received. Sometimes all of them were explicitly retained. Even among the churches themselves, full exclusion from the laity was never achieved in this period, probably for fairly realistic reasons. Try as Gellone seems to have done, especially considering the amount of money paid out, only partial success was ever achieved.

Beside the strictly proprietary churches of the old type created and donated by the house of Anduze, there is only one instance of a possible proprietary church. In a charter dated 1060-1108, a certain Hugo and his family donated a church in nostrum beneficio with the immediately surrounding property to Gellone.45 Rather, much more frequently, the usual situation is a church divided among many holders. In this case, the difficulties of gaining control from these laymen were considerable. Despite the reform ideology, the granting of only parts of a church at different times occurred often enough to illustrate this difficulty. These donations must have been quite fragmentary with control often divided between lay and ecclesiastical groups. At other times, several holders of the same church together or soon after one

45Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 214.
another surrendered their parts of the church. This can be seen, for example, in eight charters dealing with the church of St. Martin de Adicano.\textsuperscript{46} From 1097 to 1114, six different donors, only half of them related, gave their parts of this church to Cellone. It should be pointed out that most of these grants read as if the whole church were the object of the donation. This should be a warning to the reader of other charters and cartularies, lest he overstate the degree to which the local nobility actually did surrender their holdings in these local churches.

Also, it should be observed that in the first of these eight charters, the bishop of the diocese of Lodève with his canons gave the whole church in 1097 to Cellone.\textsuperscript{47} This cooperation of the dioceses with monasteries in the transferral of churches from lay to ecclesiastical control is a landmark of the reform movement. It is possible that such charters are meant to be more of a statement of ecclesiastical right, then legal fact. Probably, diocesan approval of such a transferral meant an additional impetus for laymen to give up voluntarily their rights in one of these churches to a monastery, which the diocese had designated. One of the clearest examples of this comes in four charters of the year 1154.\textsuperscript{48}

\textsuperscript{46} Claus, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, and 172.

\textsuperscript{47} Ibid., No. 165.

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., No. 509, 510, 511, and 513.
In the first, the bishop of Rodez transferred to Gellone the churches of the village of Creissel, while in the second, the count of Rodez did likewise. In charters 511 and 513, other laymen also surrendered their holdings in these same churches. It should be noted that the bishop had already "donated" these very same churches to Gellone in 1123.49 But no corresponding gifts were recorded from the lay magnates, until after the bishop of Rodez apparently retook the lead in 1154.

The cooperation of bishops with Gellone in the transfer of churches and their property is apparent directly within some charters. Often the bishop appears as prime witness to the donation, sometimes as co-receiver. For example, in a charter dated 1080-1090, Raymond de Rocafoliesi granted to Gellone a piece of land on which to build a church, with the approval and confirmation of the bishop of Nimes. It is significant that in this charter of the reform period, there was included a specific referral to full freedom for this church from any secular power under the pain of excommunication.50

It would seem that the bishops themselves favored this gradual

49Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 308.

50Ibid., No. 395: Ecclesiam vero in honore Sancti Guilelmi ibi construere precept, quae etiam tante libertatis in presenti et in futuro esse instituit, ut nulla ibi umquam secularis potestas invadendi, vel aliquid auferendi licenciam habeat, et si fecerit, nisi in spatio quadraginta dies post festum, se excommunicationis vinculo innadatum esse secat.
policy of using their influence to secure the transferral of churches from lay to monastic control where possible. It may be that the bishops felt that the prestige attached to pious donations to monasteries would encourage such donations, rather than a program by which they kept them themselves. The reform seems to have insisted only that the unity of the diocesan structure be maintained. 51 This meant in practice that the bishops themselves often granted churches to the monasteries, or parts of churches they gained control of. For example, fourteen charters deal with a church donated by a local bishop to Gellone, of which eleven occur within the thirty year period, 1097-1127. 52 This is probably a period of heightened cooperation between bishops and monasteries. But the bishops always did include the stipulation that canonical reverence and obedience owed to the bishop must be retained. In addition, rents were often added to be paid by the monastery to the bishop as a sign that the diocese remained the actual proprietor. 53 Boyd does indicate that this cooperation became strained in later years as the monasteries came into control of a very considerable number of churches. 54 An

51 Boyd, Tithes and Parishes, 127.

52 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 155, 158, 165, 208, 225, 266, 276, 282, 315, 318, 342, 378, 443, and 509.

53 For example, in charter 155, dated 1077-1099, Gellone agreed to pay two pounds of incense a year to the bishop of Rodez for the church of St. Stephen de Larzac, which he had granted them.

54 Boyd, Tithes and Parishes, 126.
indication of this occurs in the year 1153. In a charter of that year, the bishop of Nîmes arbitrated a quarrel between the abbot of Gellone and the bishop of Lodève about jurisdiction over several churches of the diocese. 55

In conclusion, it can be said that the reform movement had considerable influence at Gellone. It was to a great degree responsible for helping to secure a meaningful independence institutionally from the lay aristocracy of the region, as well as the monastery of Aniane. In addition, the reform ideology of church control over ecclesiastical property made this independence meaningful by providing Gellone with great prosperity.

At the same time, the "victims" of the reform movement, the lay magnates, were regrouping their strength and hold over the lands they still held in a system of feudalism. While never successfully challenging at Gellone the prime elements of the reform movement, they did succeed in maintaining much of their hold over local churches and their revenues as a means of support for their own system. In addition, as the zeal of the reform wore off, the monks at Gellone succumbed to many of the pressures of the social system around them. As the laity responded less and less to the reform ideals, the monks at Gellone lost their revolutionary aggressiveness, and began to deal with the lay

55 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 507.
magnates on their own terms. In practice, this meant that Cellone would follow and mold reform ideology according to the needs of the moment. They followed it as long as they could and as far as it could get them. When it ceased to be realistic, they compromised. But they never forgot it. It was a compromise, although certainly at times a tense one, between a free church and a free secular nobility, both working in relative harmony in the new society which had replaced the system of the tenth century.

The next chapter will examine this transformation of lay society as revealed in the cartulary. It will especially treat the origins of feudalism in this region and the characteristics it took, and relate them to the affairs of Cellone. Finally, it will consider to some degree the role of the monastery in its secular affairs, as just another landowner.
CHAPTER V

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS REVEALED IN THE CARTULARY

The examination of the role of the investiture crisis at Gellone has often required references to the social conditions of its environment, changes in the structure of land tenure, and the role of the local nobility. The purpose of this chapter will be to examine in detail the glimpses into the economic and social structure of this territory which the cartulary affords. The chief tool utilized will be an investigation into the changing terminology and shifting emphasis of concepts which the cartulary contains. However, this study will be limited naturally by the restriction of a single cartulary as an example for a whole region. What conclusions are reached would in all strictness need to be verified by cross-checking the same terms in other cartularies of this area.¹

The period of this thesis is particularly interesting since it coincides with the rise of feudalism in this part of France. This chapter will discuss its characteristics as revealed in the charters, its limitations, and the effects it produced, particularly in regard to the ability of Gellone to hold land.

¹It is unfortunate that secondary literature in this particular region of France is extremely lacking. It will be necessary to resort at times to secondary material of a more general nature or from neighboring localities, especially near Toulouse where similar conditions seem to have existed.
Since a cartulary is essentially a compilation of changes in land tenure, any examination into the elements of feudalism described in it must be limited to an analysis of terms. The key word is fevum, or fief, which replaced beneficium in Languedoc in the tenth and eleventh century. This marked the disappearance of the old Carolingian feudal system and the rise of the new military feudal aristocracy.\(^2\) The term beneficium appears only three times in the cartulary, perhaps a late survival of the earlier system or a less widely circulating synonym for the more common fevum.\(^3\)

In general, the social character of southern France began to be thoroughly militarized in the later tenth and early eleventh centuries.\(^4\) The new feudalism of the south consisted of a class of military lords much larger than the few great dominant families of the past Carolingian system. Its most significant characteristic was its new reliance upon a class of milites, often living with the lords in castles. They might have been given individual fiefs, or their support might have been provided for by obligations imposed upon the population tilling the soil. In either case, the economic

\(^2\) Canshof, Feudalism, 109, and Élisabeth Magnon, "Note sur le sens du mot FEVUM en Septimanie et dans la marche d'Espagne à la fin de X\(^\text{e}\) et au début de XI\(^\text{e}\) siècle," Annales du Midi, LXXVI (1964), 141-152.

\(^3\) Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 136 (1039), 17 (1042) and 214 (1084).

\(^4\) Archibald Lewis, "La féodalité dans le Toulousain et la France meridionale (850-1050)," Annales du Midi, LXXVI (1964), 251.
impact of such a class upon essentially a self-reliant agricultural society must have been considerable. Much of this development occurred in the years 975-1050. Quite probably the house of Anduze was a typical family of the new local nobility.

The cartulary of Gellone reveals to a degree the militarization of the region. An indication of this new system occurs in the frequent, sudden occurrence of castles in charters of the Midi. At Gellone, castles are mentioned in charters of 972, 975, two in 1004, and 1013. But the new militarization is best illustrated in the demands it made upon the surrounding populations for support. To provide for the knights under his control, the lord imposed certain precise rents upon his tenants to meet the expenses of his knights. The usually employed terms, albergum and receptum, almost always refer to a particular number of knights. Thus, it seems that certain lands in the vicinity of a castle were encumbered with the specific rent of the economic support of a number of knights. While the legal origin of this custom seems obscure, certainly the reality must have been very great to these people. For the use of at least one of these two terms occurs in 40 separate charters in

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5Lewis, "La féodalité", 252-255.
6Lewis, Development, 220-241.
7Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 36, 37, 141, 280, and 281.
8Lewis, Development, 312-313.
9See, for example, Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 218: Cum omni censu, videlicet . . . unum albergum de duobus caballariis . . .
the cartulary from 970-1140 with eleven dated prior to 1050.\(^{10}\) In charters dated 1039, 1041, and 1097, Gellone paid a war-horse for land donated or surrendered to it. In the charter of 1097, the horse is valued at 100 soli, a considerable sum.\(^{11}\)

It can therefore be seen that the new military class made a tremendous impact upon this part of France by the eleventh century. Generally speaking, this new class filled a vacuum of disorder and anarchy resulting from the devastations of barbarian raids and the breakdown of royal authority.\(^{12}\) Another characteristic of this class seems to have been a rather heartless expropriation of territory to support their needs with the consequent result of significant pressure upon the small alodial landholder to surrender his land. This change marked the creation of a new power, which meant to establish its rules over the older prevailing systems. It would seem quite probable that it was at least partially the land pressures from this class which drove the church into its eleventh century reform.\(^{13}\) More likely this new class in its thirst for land would have shown an even more marked dominance toward the church than the powerful families of Carolingian days.

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\(^{10}\) See above, Table VII, p. 66.

\(^{11}\) Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 271, 220, and 226.

\(^{12}\) Joseph Strayer, Feudalism (Princeton, 1965), 34-35.

\(^{13}\) Lewis, Development, 314.
The primary means whereby the spread of feudalism can be seen in the cartulary is undoubtedly the increased mention of fiefs in land transactions. Table II indicates that there was a gradual transformation from alodial holdings to fiefs.\textsuperscript{14} By no means did one type exist to the exclusion of the other. However, a real shift in their frequency is obvious. A downward trend in alodial holdings begins about the third decade of the eleventh century and their incidence becomes negligible after the first quarter of the twelfth century.

The initial occurrence of the term "fief" is in a charter dated about 1015.\textsuperscript{15} However, it is contained only in a formulaic prohibition to the monastery against the alienation of its property. Table II indicates the emergence of fiefs significantly in the last quarter of the eleventh century. This would seem to indicate that at this time a new feudal landholding system began to make headway over the old alodial system. Another indication is in the occurrence of fiefs de reprise.\textsuperscript{16} Of twelve charters in which an alode is given to the monastery with all or more usually part returned in fief to the donor, ten occur in the decades 1085-1124. These seem to afford the reader with a real insight into the

\textsuperscript{14}See above, Table II, p. 12.

\textsuperscript{15}Aless, Cartulaire de Gallone, No. 35.

\textsuperscript{16}Chénon, Étude sur l'histoire des alleux, 43-45.
pressures on the average landholder to convert his holdings to the new system to retain some semblance of self-sufficiency. It is not unlikely that these men gave their alodes to Gellone in order to retain more from the monastery than they would have been able to within the new feudal class's policy of land expropriation. This seems to indicate that while Lewis treats Gellone as a typical monastery in the Midi, he correlates the militarization of the area with its full feudalization much too speedily. Probably, Lewis has oversimplified his expectations and his understanding of the resistance to this change.

The change into a feudal social structure can be seen in several other ways than just the simple occurrence of fiefs in the cartulary. The use of the feudal honor seems to have become fairly widespread just a bit earlier than fiefs. From a rarely used term up to the mid-eleventh century, a sharp increase can be seen in Table II beginning about 1065. It is easy to understand the confusion in the minds of this society which the two different systems caused while the feudal system was still new and by no means precisely defined. This fluidity in the new feudal system will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.\textsuperscript{17}

Another example of a change in the prevailing system of land ownership might be seen in the decreased occurrence of single donations among the charters of the cartulary.

\textsuperscript{17}See below, pp. 94-97.
TABLE XIII
Charters Containing Single Donations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This change may be due to the increased prosperity of Gellone. More likely, multiple donations in one charter increase due to the more complex system of land ownership that evolved with feudalism. Instead of small, individually owned manors, it appears that feudalism caused a consolidation of ownership, not necessarily in area, but apparently in the amount of land held by each individual. By the beginning of the twelfth century, it seems that most donors held fiefs in different areas, indicating that most alodial holders had turned their alodes into fiefs. Thus by the turn of the twelfth century, charters containing single donations decrease and usually involve alodial holdings, while the increased multiple donations more often include fiefs, tithes, and churches. Unquestionably, to support his knights, a lord had to increase greatly his holdings.
wherever he could.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>&quot;Knight&quot;</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>&quot;Vassal&quot;</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
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<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9%</td>
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<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
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<td>1145 - 1164</td>
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<td>6%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Finally, the different levels of the feudal hierarchy can be seen more and more clearly as time advanced. Table XIV indicates that *milites* appear in the cartulary first in the years 1025-1044 sporadically, but increase in frequency fairly consistently with time. In a very similar manner, this table illustrates that vassals appear a bit later, but increase at approximately the same rate in the charters as knights. Finally, the term *senior*, while very infrequent, made all seven appearances after 1085. These terms seem to indicate that feudalism really began to catch hold in the last decades of the eleventh century in the area of Gallone, after about a century of existence there.
Since a certain amount of detail is included in these land charters, certain characteristics of the feudalism which existed in this region should be included in this thesis. Much has been written concerning the nature of the feudal contract. Many instances can be illustrated demonstrating the essential quality of the feudal oath as an individually binding contract between lord and vassal. On the other hand one can at other times point to a situation where the fief has lost its personal nature and become inheritable. At Gellone, no totally clear pattern emerges. Clear instances of each type of fief can be discovered, probably indicating the fluid nature of the institution at this time.

There are quite a few references to the oath of fidelity being used at Gellone. One of the clearest is from a charter of the year 1122 in which this oath is definitely required as the one essential act of the grant in fief of an honor by Gellone.

In another charter of 1122, Raimund of Monte Petroso threatened not to surrender his fief back to Gellone upon his death. However, after a good deal of argument, an agreement was reached whereby he

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18Ganshof, *Feudalism*, 83-84, and 139-143.

19Alaus, *Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 364: Abbas enim dicebat quod supradictus Guillelmus Assaillith debebat facere ei non solum hominium, sed eiam jurare fidelitatem pro feudo quem ab eo tenebat; Guillelmus vero Assaillit hominium quidem profitebatur, set sacramentum fidelitatis negabat. Quapropter predictus abbas Guillelmus producit tres idoneos testes . . . unde Assaillit adquiescens veritati juravit fidelitatem . . .
promised that his fief was to cease with his death and would not be transferable to his heirs. Yet at other times, both in the early and later stages of feudalism here, the idea of the permanent affixation of the vassal and his heirs to the fief is just as apparent. For example, in a charter of 1093, along with the gift of their son to become a monk at Gellone, a couple gave one of their vassals with his fief to the abbot who then in turn became his new lord. This would then indicate that the land could be regarded as the essential part of the feudal relationship. Moreover, the personality of the relationship is completely missing. In this charter, the essential elements are the fief and the abbey. In addition, nearly half the fiefs mentioned in the cartulary are simply the grant of a fief by its lord to Gellone. Presumably, the vassal merely transferred his allegiance, or more probably in these single donations, his rents to the monastery.

Probably single donations like this one indicate the underlying confusion still inherent in the terminology used. It would seem

\[20\text{Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 187.}\]

\[21\text{Ibid., No. 350: Dono insuper ego jam dicta, cum consilio filiorum meorum supradiactorum, fevalem, qui habet quartum istius mansi, et oblitas de manu nostra, ut semper habeat de manu abbatis, et monachorum prephati loci, et faciat ei servicium per unumquemque annum . . . .}\]

\[22\text{See, for example, Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 204: Solvo . . . alium mansum, qui est juxta confinium supra drecti, quem Petrus Geraldi de Materiis tenet ad fevum . . . .}\]
that single fiefs like these are not the strict military relationships sometimes referred to. One should be acutely aware that the pressures to conform to the new social hierarchy probably caused transferral of many alodes into fiefs without even bringing these landholders into a military role. A good indication of this transitional stage is the large number of times the same donation is referred to as both fief and alode. The distinction can be fairly clear as in charter 418 dated 1088: "donamus bono animo et bona voluntate omne aodium et omnem fevum."\textsuperscript{23} Yet in a charter of 1161, the confusion in terminology is blatant. The terms are used together in a single phrase which indicates a feudal situation, but at the same time casts doubt as to how to interpret the meaning of alode.\textsuperscript{24} Or in a charter of 1070, just how is one to interpret the phrase: "relinquo omnem honorem alodis mei."\textsuperscript{25}

The role of the monastery as a unit in a feudal society is already apparent. Gellone could receive fiefs as grants; the abbot could receive an act of homage for a fief either personally or as representing the monastery. The first clear reference to the abbot as the grantor of a fief is in the previously quoted charter of

\textsuperscript{23}Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 418.

\textsuperscript{24}Ibid., No. 575: Aodium vero carti de manso de Mizinz, qui fuit Martini atque Juliani, de quo dissencio erat inter me et abbatem supradicti loci, etiam cognosco atque me ad fevum habere ab eo. Item aodium honoris quem habeo . . . .

\textsuperscript{25}Ibid., No. 147.
A very definite example of the abbot as feudal lord occurs in a charter dated about 1088: "Ego, Berengarius, abbas . . .
dono . . . ville . . . ad fevum . . . et per hunc fevum eritis
comendati homines et mei fideles." While there is no indication whatever that a military role was ever ascribed to the abbots of Gellone, certainly all the ability to fulfill one seems to have been present in the charters. But only recepta included as rents to the monastery indicate any real military role, and these could in turn have been rented or given in fief to those who so desperately needed them. Therefore, it would seem best to consider this feudal role as the response of the monastery to the new socio-economic conditions of the region in the late eleventh century. Its late dating indicates that the monastery hesitated to become part of the system until it was highly established. Despite the obviously unreligious nature of much of its attributes, Gellone seems to have felt it necessary to adapt to this feudal society in order to survive economically, a clear indication of the failure of much of the pure reform spirit.

The role of women is an interesting one in the charters of Gellone. They reveal an unusually active role for their sex in the middle ages. This is perhaps to be equated with the exalted position

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26 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 147.
27 Ibid., No. 477.
of women in southern French society. For example, in 126 charters, a full quarter of the total, women are considered as potential fully-empowered land owners, with no hint whatever of any reduced control due to their sex.28

TABLE XV

The Economic Power of Women in the Cartulary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of Full Potential Owners</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number of Actual Donors</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005-1024</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025-1044</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045-1064</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065-1084</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085-1104</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105-1124</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125-1144</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>26%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145-1164</td>
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<td>15%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1165-1184</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One might expect that their role would decrease as feudalism took hold, but quite the opposite seems true. A full third of the charters from 1085-1104 indicate that women still could exercise full economic power, which is the highest percentage of any time

28The fullness of this economic power can be seen in Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 556 in which a couple surrendered land to Gellone and received it back in fief in the year 1143: Totum hunc honorum habeatis, tenetatis, et possidentis pleno jure proprietatis sicut medius Sussolma, mater tua, visa fuit habere et tenere.
period. In many of these charters, a woman is the actual principal donor. There is no drop whatever in charters of this type in the feudal era. By no means are such rights of ownership limited to a woman who is a widow. For example in charter 301 in the year 1114, a woman surrendered to the abbey a fief she inherited from her father, with her husband fulfilling the role only of a secondary donor. Women seem to have been able to maintain full rights of inheritability, as seen from this charter and several others. While there are quite a few examples of land specifically reserved as inheritable only by male heirs, it seems possible that wives could on occasion have inherited land from their deceased husbands. In a charter of the year 1112, Cellone saw fit to demand that a wife confirm that the donation of her husband pass to the monastery after his death, rather than be kept by her.

Since the role of women in the charters remained strong even after feudalism became well-established, the question of the position of women in this system must be met. The classic theory of the female role in feudalism can be seen in a charter dated about 1086. In this case, a woman gave some land to Cellone, and the abbot

29 Alaus, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 301.

30 For examples, see Alaus, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 129, 142, 305, 469, and 556.

31 See, for example, Alaus, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 182.

32 Ibid., No. 227.
gave it back in fief to her sons, indicating the inability of a woman to fulfill the military role required. However, by this time, the female inheritance of fiefs had become a reality in much of France, particularly in the Midi. There are several hints of the actual female participation in feudal society. Charter 301 has already been referred to as a clear example of the ability of a woman to inherit a fief. There are quite a number of charters in which a woman donated or surrendered fiefs to Gellone. Finally, one charter used the title domina attached to the name Bernarda. Perhaps the lady filled the position usually occupied by a feudal lord. But nowhere is there any indication that a woman actually played the military role ordinarily prescribed to a fief holder. Rather it would seem that women might have begun to hold fiefs which did not have a real military character. This would be consistent with the nature of the fiefs already described in this chapter.

It would be a mistake to assume that all grants to the monastery were simple outright gifts. In reality, while men of this era were quite anxious to secure salvation for their souls, at the

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33 Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 163. See also No. 262 in the same year in which a woman donated land to the abbey, which her brother received back in fief.

34 Ganshof, Feudalism, 143.

35 See above, p. 99: Ego Jacardis . . donamus . . apennarium unam quam supradictus pater meus habebat ad fevum de manu abbatis.

36 See above, pp. 95-96.
same time they were less eager to become poor in their lifetime
doing so. Probably the most frequently used means to meet their
particular desire in the Midi was the donatio in extremis.\footnote{37} Under
various terms, the donor usually gave the title of his land to
Gellone, while retaining usufruct for himself and his immediate
heirs.\footnote{38} One may wonder whether such a grant ever did in fact pass
to the monastery since the custom of using land could conceivably
lead to inheritability. However, a few of the charters list small
rents to be paid to the monastery during the donor’s lifetime to
indicate customarily the legal reality.\footnote{39} In addition, there are
several instances of litigation over this specific type of charter
preserved in the cartulary by which Gellone made claim several
generations later to land when the donation after death had not been
completed.

On the other hand, while some donors hesitated to give up
control of the property they nominally gave Gellone, many others sought
to guarantee that their donations remained firm.\footnote{40} This could have

\footnote{37} For a full discussion on this topic, see Castaig-Sicard, "Donations Toulousaines", 40–44.

\footnote{38} For example, see in the year 1107, Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone,
No. 188: Donamus mediatatem mansi ... et quandiu viverimus, eam
habeamus, et aliam partem, quam ab abbate, et senioribus obtinuimus;
post mortem vero nostram ambe partes in alode ... revertatur pro
animabus nostris.

\footnote{39} Ibid. No. 58, 82, 100, 183, 189, 240, 309, 376, and 521.

\footnote{40} See above, pp. 55–56.
been due to the religious motivation that their grants would have
been spiritually profitable. Quite probably, these prohibitions
reflected the general trend of the military to usurp land from the
weakest elements of society. It seems reasonable to conjecture that
many donations in the eleventh century were made to ensure at least
a religious value to lands which the less powerful might have felt
they would have been forced to give up anyhow.

There seem to have been three types of securities demanded or
imposed by the donors upon Gallone. The first, and most common, were
the very formulaic spiritual threats against violators of the sacred
character of the donation. It is noteworthy that this type of
prohibition was most common up to the end of the first half of the
eleventh century. This coincides with the greatest period of anarchy
with few organized courts to settle appeals.

The second type was contemporaneous, but more long-lived, called
the *compositio*. According to this system, a price was determined
which violators would have to pay if they usurped the donation.\footnote{For example, see Alaus, *Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 181: *Si quis vero contra hanc scripturam guirpicionis ad inrumpendum venerit, non si liceat facere, sed componat hoc fevum duplum, et melioratum.*}

Both of these seem to have brought an illusory protection because of
a more or less complete lack of any means of enforcement.\footnote{Castaing-Sicard, "Donations Toulousaines", 52-54.}

But out of this second type, a more realistic means of
stabilizing donations evolved. By the last third of the eleventh century, donors began to charge one of their family with the responsibility to see that the donation remained firmly in the monastery's possession. If he were to see that the terms of the donation were not being met, by paying a small sum upon the altar of St. William, usually less than 10 deniers, he would legally repossess the grant.\textsuperscript{43} Two differences from the previous type indicate that this was more than an empty threat. First, the obligation to insure that the grant was not violated passed from a general to a specific one. The obligation belonged to a blood relative, which greatly increased the likelihood of the prohibition being enforced.\textsuperscript{44} Secondly, the fine to be paid generally fell from an unrealistic amount of gold to a very small amount. This seems to prove that the obligation was to be taken seriously and was met when necessary.\textsuperscript{45} The occurrence of this type of payment coincides with the first appearance of mints of coinage in the same period of the eleventh century. Once again, this

\textsuperscript{43}Castaing-Sicard, "Donations Toulousaines", 54-55.

\textsuperscript{44}Marc Bloch, Feudal Society (2 vols., Chicago, 1961), I, 134-135.

\textsuperscript{45}An argument supporting the idea that smaller values tend to be more realistic in the middle ages can be found in David Herlihy, "The History of Rural Seigneurty in Italy, 751-1200," Agricultural History, No. 2, XXXIII (1959), 58-71.
suggests a genuine warning.

Finally, in the twelfth century, this system of guarantees seems to have been replaced by one symptomatic of a more modern and reliable legal structure. Fidejussores appear near the end of the charters, not merely as witnesses, but coswearers that the provisions of the charters would be fulfilled. 46 Typical of this new approach is the fact that the writers of the charters now included the idea that the charter was meant to be a legal, written witness. 47

It does not seem proper to conclude a chapter on socio-economic changes without reference to the wider economic changes revealed in the cartulary and typical of eleventh and twelfth century France. The occurrence of towns, possibly indicated in the word castrum, varies in the eleventh century between ten and twenty percent of the charters, but rises to a peak of about one-third of the charters between 1105 and 1124.

46 Castaing-Sicard, "Donations Toulousaines", 57.

47 For example, see Alaus, Cartulaire de Gellone, No. 557, dated 1164: Cum hac carta trado totum honorem . . . . Si quis vero in hoc omni predicto honore, juste vel injuste aliquid reclamaverit vel inquietaverit seu amparaverit, fidejussorem do vobis Bertrandum Ademarum, qui vobis apud Sanctum Guilelmum totum restituat . . . .
TABLE XVI

The Occurrence of the Term "Castrum" in the Charters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This could possibly indicate the spread of a somewhat urban civilization inland at this time. It is interesting to note that olives appear at the end of the eleventh century as a normal agricultural product, but are never mentioned in charters of the early or mid-eleventh century. Possibly the introduction of the olive on these lands meant that a more commercially oriented agriculture was beginning to evolve. This, in turn, could be related to the growth of towns and urban civilization.

Another good indicator of the appearance in this region of a commercially oriented civilization is the increased distribution of coined money. Table XVII shows that money was mentioned in a significant percentage of the charters beginning in 1025. From
1065 on, this percentage varied from thirty to seventy percent. This would seem to indicate that the circulation of money was rapidly becoming commonplace in this region.

TABLE XVII

Charters Referring to Coined Money and Their Mints

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number Referring to Coined Money</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number of Mints</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1005 - 1024</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1025 - 1044</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1045 - 1064</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1065 - 1084</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1085 - 1104</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1105 - 1124</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1125 - 1144</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1145 - 1164</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1165 - 1184</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of even more significance is the much more frequent mention of mints of coinage. The first occurrence is in a charter of 1045.\(^4^8\) The mints become mentioned much more frequently from the year 1085. Table XVII shows that by the end of the time period covered in this thesis, every mention of money in the cartulary was accompanied by the name of the specific mint at which it was coined. The reason

\(^4^8\) Alaus, *Cartulaire de Gellone*, No. 102: *Census autem supra scripti mansi, hic est: . . . et octo solidi de Feges de censum.*
for this seems to lie in the writers' awareness that in a new commercial age the products of some mints were more dependable than others. No doubt these certain mints were preferred. Here in this region, the coins from the mint at Melgueil seem to have circulated most widely, since over ninety percent of the charters containing mints refer to it. It was founded in the tenth century and enjoyed a period of fairly considerable activity under first the counts of Toulouse and later the bishops of Maguelone in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It seems to have had a reputation for relative stability, which is probably the reason it predominated among the mints of the cartulary. However, beginning in 1097, the mint did devaluate several times.\textsuperscript{49} This is reflected on a number of occasions in the cartulary when the payment of loans was specifically requested according to the listed value of the mint at the time the loan was first made.\textsuperscript{50}

There are thirteen charters in which the monastery loaned money. The debtor in turn put into Gallone's trust some type of collateral,

\textsuperscript{49}Castaing-Sicard, "Les monnaies féodales," 28-36.

\textsuperscript{50}See, for example, Alaús, Cartulaire de Cellone, No. 520, dated 1162: Tamdiu donec ego reddam et persolvam tibi vel successoribus tuis centum quinquaginta solidos Melgorienses; et si, tempore solucionis, moneta predicta fuerit abatuda vel vilificata, reddam tibi vel successoribus tuis argentum finum ad rationem marche que nunc valet quinquaginta solidos, donec hac ratione centum quinquaginta solidos tibi vel successoribus tuis in integrum sint persoluti.
usually lands or the rents from them.\textsuperscript{51} The first charter of this type is dated 1088, which indicates that this practice probably was an innovation of the commercial revolution. This change in attitude is hinted at in some of the phraseology of the later charters. Particularly, one can point to the new emphasis on the written charter as a record to preserve the conditions of the donation.\textsuperscript{52}

It can be seen, therefore, that the region from which Gellone drew its donations had entered a new era by the late eleventh century. This age, both feudal and commercial, was highly fluid in its young vitality. Changes came quickly, while standard characteristics are difficult to discern. The monastery itself, even though it had just been through a deep religious reform, adapted itself to these new situations. By the twelfth century, this chapter has shown that Gellone had reached an accommodation with the religious upheavals in Christian Europe and the socio-economic changes in the Midi.

\textsuperscript{51} Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 107, 240, 259, 286, 303, 389, 391, 392, 520, 540, 541, 549, and 552.

\textsuperscript{52} The best example is in a charter of 1156. Alaus, \textit{Cartulaire de Gellone}, No. 532: Quod quaci permutacionem, ut memorie reducere tur, in scripturam redigere in hunc modum curaverunt.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this thesis has been to describe the changes at the monastery of St. Guilhem-le-desert during the eleventh and twelfth centuries which resulted from religious and socio-economic forces. I have tried to remain consistently within the self-imposed limitations of the written evidence which has survived. Consequently, the reader has often found it necessary to do without many solidly proven interconnections among the topics discussed. However, a sincere attempt has been made to provide the reasons behind the developments detailed in this thesis, wherever any answers could be conjectured to be consistent with the evidence as it exists today.

One of the major tenets illustrated in this thesis has been the vital relationship between economic and ideological forces. Chapter III has shown that the constrictive influence of the social structures of the lay world of southern France nourished the movement toward reform and the precise characteristics of ecclesiastical independence which it took. Likewise, in Chapter IV, one cannot fail to realize that the lay world was forced by the reform to restructure its approach to ecclesiastical properties in terms of a modus vivendi. Chapter V has discussed the contemporary development of feudalism in the area and its various aspects in its relationship with the
monastery. Certainly, in view of the mutual influence of lay and ecclesiastical forces upon each other, one may legitimately pose the question whether the ability of laymen to hold lands in fief from a monastery and vice versa encouraged the development of feudalism secondarily as a practical response to the reform ideology. Unquestionably, the eventual twelfth century compromises used these new feudal ideas to work out the solutions agreed upon. Thus laymen and ecclesiastical institutions could coexist in a single economic system, which probably never satisfied or discouraged either completely. The laymen could have some control over economic interests essential to them while usually being unable to achieve total economic dominance as before the reform. This thereby insured some meaningful ecclesiastical independence.

A second, and equally important tenet of this thesis has been to illustrate that change in the era was very fluid and by no means a "static pattern". By this phrase is meant that while a certain tendency in a specific direction might have appeared even with vitality and strength, nevertheless its ascendancy was by no means assured and its success usually fluid and variable. I have tried to demonstrate that historical forces were quite variable and the patterns which eventually emerged as standard by no means were consistent with previous ones or even necessarily predictable. Two principal illustrations have demonstrated these points. First, with regard to the reform spirit, its successes were apparently brilliant
by the later third of the eleventh century in this region. However, there were undercurrents a great deal less observable which the reformists could not overcome. But perhaps it is reading too much into the charters even to attribute such ideas of total economic independence and isolation to these local churchmen. This could be an error of logic utilizing a system of a "static pattern".

Similarly, in Chapter V, it can be readily seen that characteristics of the feudal system established in this region were by no means constant. Inherited fiefs existed side by side with those whose sole legal basis lay in the oath and personal contract that established them. In the same way one can point to charters in which women could play a primary role in land contracts, even of a feudal nature, while others explicitly degrade their rights to a subordinate nature. A predominance of charters of one type in one time period by no means ruled out the development of quite different types in a short time. This thesis has therefore shown that the historian must try to seek out as many individual examples of trends as possible and not be satisfied to generalize too quickly. More importantly, he must beware not to judge evidence too strictly by the criteria of analogous, but not identical situations from different times. It seems obvious merely from a study of this cartulary that this era was a time of extremely fluid change with various undercurrents influencing these developments. They must be measured and evaluated in the context of the evidence which has been preserved
for us. Therefore, this thesis in a sense has justified its methodology by casting a reasonable doubt upon many historical studies of this period. It challenges those works which deal in generalizations and theories without a solid base of factual evidence measured and evaluated in a system allowing practical comparability.

It would be unfortunate in this type of study not to include a few recommendations for enlargement of this methodology over a wider area than that revealed in a single cartulary. In addition to the topics covered here, a careful systematic investigation into the documents of a specific region would probably be able to yield additional information of which the cartulary of Cellone indicates the potential.

Primarily, the study of a regional area should be able to yield significant information from an investigation of the many names included in the charters. In a locality with many extant cartularies, it might be possible to discover many familial connections and especially social classes. In the charters of Cellone, particular people are named many times as witnesses and principals. A computerized study of the relationship between size and wealth of grants and the names mentioned in these particular charters might prove fruitful in unfolding a somewhat detailed social structure. It could also yield more information about powerful and influential families and their holdings than is at present known. In addition, many place names are included in the charters both as indicators of
location and in the names of many people. From an analysis of these, it would seem possible to help pinpoint the origin of certain towns and villages, their growth, and economic viability. Finally, a study of occupations and agricultural and even commercial products mentioned in the charters would probably enable the historian to reach a more complete understanding of economic development in each locality.

In conclusion, I have examined the influence of the different facets of the reform movement at Gellone, the changes in the economic and social structures of the area of the monastery, and the mutual restructuring that occurred in their clash. This study has tried especially to concentrate on the relative strengths and weaknesses of the major trends in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in so far as the charters were capable of being methodically evaluated. Finally, this thesis has illustrated the potentiality of a meaningful contribution to our knowledge of medieval Europe from the careful comparative examination of local history through cartularies.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Number of Charters According to Time Periods</td>
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<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Relative Frequency of Charters Containing the Terms &quot;Alodes&quot;, &quot;Fiefs&quot;, and &quot;Honors&quot;</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Charters Containing &quot;Guirpitiones&quot;</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Percentage of &quot;Guirpitiones&quot; Indicating Admitted Usurpation</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Restrictions Against Alienation</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Restrictions Specifically Included Against Gellone</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>The Occurrence of &quot;Alberga&quot; and &quot;Recepta&quot; in the Charters</td>
<td>66</td>
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<td>VIII</td>
<td>Financial Remuneration for &quot;Guirpitiones&quot;</td>
<td>67</td>
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<td>IX</td>
<td>Percentage of Total &quot;Guirpitiones&quot; Without Financial Remuneration</td>
<td>68</td>
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<td>X</td>
<td>Money Paid by Gellone for Non-&quot;Guirpitiones&quot;</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
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<td>XI</td>
<td>Churches Surrendered to Gellone</td>
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<td>XII</td>
<td>Tithes Surrendered to Gellone</td>
<td>77</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>Charters Containing Single Donations</td>
<td>92</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIV</td>
<td>The Occurrence of the Terms &quot;Knight&quot; and &quot;Vassal&quot;</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XV</td>
<td>The Economic Power of Women in the Cartulary</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVI</td>
<td>The Occurrence of the Term &quot;Castrum&quot; in the Charters</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XVII</td>
<td>Charters Referring to Coined Money and Their Hints</td>
<td>106</td>
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Approved by  David H:

Date  August 19, 1967