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SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF
THE EARLY HISTORY OF VÉZELAN
(Ninth to Twelfth Centuries)

by

Rosalind Kent Berlow

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April 5, 1971

date

Harold L. Odell
Chairman of Examining Committee

April 5, 1971

DATE

Harold L. Odell
Executive Officer

Professor David Huyler

Professor Pearl Kibre

Professor Raymond de Roover

Professor Richard Lemay

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

PREFACE

This study has grown in many stages from a preliminary survey of the problem of the origin of medieval towns to a Master's Essay on the early history of Vézelay and a seminar paper on monetary circulation in Vézelay before crystalizing in its present form. At every step of the way I have been privileged to work under the direction of Professor Howard Adelson whose guidance I most gratefully acknowledge. Indeed, Professor Adelson's help and encouragement has been with me from the very first day I began my graduate studies in History. His confidence in my ability has sustained me in many a difficult moment and challenged me to try to be worthy of it.

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I am very appreciative of the assistance of Mademoiselle Hélène Lafeuillade, Librarian of the Bibliothèque d'Auxerre, as well as the staffs of the Archives of Yonne, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Archives Nationales.

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Finally, I am grateful for the patience and encouragement of my family and friends; to Mary Somers, whose companionship, questions and criticisms made my research at Vézelay enjoyable as well as profitable; to Suzanne Pugh who met the test of true friendship by cheerfully sharing the task of proofreading this manuscript; to my children Matthew and Rachel for their tolerance of my work which often interfered with important projects of childhood; most of all, to my husband whose work in city planning first directed my interest to the problem of early urban history and who sometimes feels that he, too, has shared the experience of living in twelfth-century Vézelay these last few years.

CONTENTS

PREFACE	Page iv
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	ix
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Problem	2
Sources	17
Notes	37
II. EARLY HISTORY OF VÉZELAY	50
Foundation	52
Struggle for Survival	78
Origin of the Cult of the Magdalene	86
Growth	104
Notes	125
III. THE LORDS OF VÉZELAY	153
Renald and Reaction	153
Alberic and Compromise	170
Ponce and Conflict	187
Notes	224
IV. THE PEOPLE OF VÉZELAY	248
Numbers and Groups	248
Economic Activities	274
Revolt	317
Notes	342
V. CONCLUSIONS	372
APPENDIX A: Property of the Monastery of Vézelay - 1103 and 1170	383
APPENDIX B: Leaders and Extremists in the Communal Revolt	392
APPENDIX C: Bibliothèque d'Auxerre ms. 227, f. 21r	396
BIBLIOGRAPHY	397

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
1. View of Vézelay	frontispiece xi
2. The Basilica of Vézelay in 1840, 19th century engraving	36
3. Count Gerard and his wife, Bertha, 12th-century miniature Bibliothèque d'Auxerre, ms. 227, f. 22r	53
4. Map I. Vézelay and Monastic domains at the time of the foundation of the monastery	69
5. Saint Mary Magdalene, 13th century statue from Vézelay	98
6. View of the Nave, Basilica of Vézelay, 12th century	163
7. A Hand Mill, 12th-century capital from Vézelay	182
8. Site of the Preaching of the Second Crusade	196
9. Fighting Nobles, 12th-century capital from Vézelay	200
10. Map II. The Town of Vézelay	249
11. Masons' Marks, Exterior Walls of Basilica of Vézelay	257
12. Agricultural Activities; 12th-century sculptures from Vézelay	277
13. Financial Activities; 12th-century capital from Vézelay, 12th-century feudal coins	300
14. The Descent of the Holy Spirit, on Pentecost, Central Tympalum from the Narthex of Vézelay, 12th century	327

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AaSS	<u>Acta Sanctorum (Bollandiana)</u> , Antwerp-Paris-Rome-Brussels, 1643- (in progress).
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris.
Ann. Ben.	<u>Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti</u> , ed. J. Mabillon, Paris: 1703-1739.
ASFN	<u>Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique</u>
AY	Archives de l'Yonne, Auxerre.
BA	Bibliothèque d'Auxerre.
Bandini	<u>Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae</u> , ed. A. M. Bandini, Florence, 1774.
BEC	<u>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes</u>
Bib. Clun.	<u>Bibliotheca Cluniacensis</u> , ed. Marrier and Duchesne, Paris, 1614.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
BNJ	<u>British Numismatic Journal</u>
BSSY	<u>Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne</u>
Bull. Clun.	<u>Bullarium sacri ordinis Cluniacensis</u> , ed. P. Simon, Lyon: 1680.
CGY	<u>Cartulaire Générale de l'Yonne</u> , ed. Max Quantin, Auxerre: Perriquet, 1854-1860.
D'Achery	<u>Spicilegium sive Collectio veterum aliquot Scriptorum</u> , ed. Luc d'Achery, Paris: 1723, Vol. II.
deB	"List of the Rebels" published by Léon de Bastard, "De la commune de Vézelay," <u>BSSY</u> , II (1848), 549-552.
EHV	Chérest, Aimé, <u>Étude historique sur Vézelay</u> , Auxerre: Perriquet & Rouillé, 1863.

- Faillon Monuments inédits sur l'Apostolat de Saint Marie-Madeleine, ed. E. M. Faillon, Paris: Migne, 1865.
- GC Gallia Christiana seu series omnium archiepiscoporum, episcoporum et abbatum Franciae, Paris, 1715-1785.
- Labbe Nova Bibliotheca manuscriptorum librorum, ed. Philippe Labbe, Paris: Cramoisy, 1657.
- Mansi Sacrorum Conciliorum Amplissima Collectio, ed. J. D. Mansi, Florence-Venice, 1759-1798.
- MGH Leges Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Leges, Hanover, 1835-1889.
- MGH SS Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores, Hanover, 1826-
- MPL Patrologiae Cursus Completus: I Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1844-1855.
- NCE New Catholic Encyclopedia, New York, McGraw Hill, 1967.
- RBN Revue belge de numismatique
- Rec. Clun. Recueil des chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny, eds. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, Paris: 1878-1903.
- RHF Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, eds. M. Bouquet et al., Paris, 1738-1876.
- RN Revue numismatique



1. View of Vézelay

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The wooded, mountainous area known as the Morvan lies in the heart of France, about a three hour drive from Paris. Its infertile soil supports a sparse population in a region which today attracts vacationers and hunters from the capital city. On the edge of the Morvan, situated on a steep bluff overlooking the valley of the Cure river, is the town of Vézelay. Today this town with a population of a few hundred people is a minor administrative center (chef-lieu de canton) in the arrondissement of Avallon, department of Yonne.¹

The visitor enters the town of Vézelay from the west, access from other directions being prohibited by the steepness of the cliffs, and follows a sharply inclining narrow road to the summit on which is found the feature attraction of the town, the Basilica of St. Mary Magdalene. Superficially the town appears to have changed very little since the Middle Ages. It is still contained within the boundaries of its medieval walls. The Church of the Magdalene, which was falling in ruin at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has been laboriously restored.² The pilgrimage on the Feast Day of Mary Magdalene (July 22), which had been discontinued for centuries, was reinstated in 1876.³ The principal industry of the town today, as in the Middle Ages, is tourism.

This superficial resemblance, however, fails to sustain closer

scrutiny. Very little remains of the complex of buildings adjacent to the basilica which housed the Abbey of Vézelay, the administrative center of an ecclesiastical institution which in the mid-twelfth century "excelled all Gallican Churches after Cluny," according to Count William IV of Nevers (1161-1168).⁴ The pilgrimage today gives little suggestion of its significance in the twelfth century when King Louis VII (1137-1181) described himself as "a pilgrim of the Magdalene"⁵ and the notary of the Abbots of Vézelay boasted that "almost all of Christendom venerated the place."⁶ Tourists still visit the town, but in reverence to its past. Vézelay is no longer the scene of great historical events.

In the twelfth century, when the Church of the Magdalene was built, Vézelay was an important pilgrimage center. The streets then were thronged with visitors, especially during the festivities of Easter, Pentecost, and the Feast Day of Saint Mary Magdalene. Kings and Saints were frequent visitors. The thoughts of Western Europe converged on Vézelay when, on 31 March 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade to an enthusiastic multitude too vast to assemble in the Church.⁷ It was from the pulpit at Vézelay on Ascension Day, 1166, that Thomas Becket excommunicated the officials of King Henry II of England and threatened the King with the same.⁸ In 1190, Vézelay was the site for the meeting of Richard, King of England, and Philip Augustus, King of France, before they set forth on the Third Crusade.⁹

Problem

The twelfth century, which saw the town of Vézelay at the

height of its glory also witnessed violent struggles between the Abbots of Vézelay and other religious powers, both episcopal and monastic, as well as secular powers, both feudal and burgher. These struggles have been the subject of scholarly research since the early nineteenth century when Augustin Thierry devoted several chapters to the communal revolt at Vézelay.¹⁰ While capturing the excitement and drama of the situation, Thierry injected some elements not warranted by the sources. His study was severely criticized by Léon de Bastard who then went to the other extreme in asserting that there was, in fact, no justification for assuming that a *commune* existed at Vézelay during this period.¹¹ Bourquelot went to Thierry's defense, collecting the documentary evidence illustrating that writers of the twelfth century expressly stated that a *commune* existed at Vézelay at that time.¹² It remains to be seen what, precisely, these authors meant when they used the word commune.

The basic monographic study of the history of Vézelay is still the three volume work of Aimé Chérest published in 1863.¹³ This work is an admirable example of the industry and dedication of the local historian of the mid-nineteenth century. Nevertheless, it has certain shortcomings which are not surprising considering the date of its composition. Chérest applied little internal criticism to the sources but, while recognizing the bias of the twelfth-century chronicler, Hugh of Poitiers, tended to accept his testimony at face value. He had, moreover, little interest in economic aspects of the subject matter. He was apparently unaware of the existence of a fragment of a

cartulary from Vézelay in Florence which had been published in 1774.¹⁴ The work also contains some careless mistakes in dating and transcription which later scholars have accepted without question.

Various aspects of the history of Vézelay have been the subjects of recent publications which make important contributions to understanding the development of the town. René Louis, who supervised the excavations at nearby Gallo-Roman sites, is the author of a three volume work on Girart, Comte de Vienne which clarifies many points of local and literary history.¹⁵ The cult of Mary Magdalene in western Europe has been the subject of a two volume work by Victor Saxer who has also devoted an article to the problem of spiritual jurisdiction at Vézelay.¹⁶ The architecture of the basilica of the Magdalene at Vézelay has been the subject of works by Francis Salet.¹⁷ A semi-popular book by Calmette and David has attempted to summarize the results of recent scholarship.¹⁸

Very little attempt has been made to analyse the sources from the point of view of social and economic history. The loss of most of the archives of Vézelay does not permit the type of precise description of conditions that can be attempted for other localities.¹⁹ The extant sources nevertheless offer much information on economic and social aspects which can help clarify many of the questions which have arisen in work on Vézelay. They can suggest answers to such questions as the jurisdictional status of the monastery at the time of its foundation as well as in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the origin of the cult of the Magdalene at Vézelay, the cause of the growth of population around the monastery, the cause of the communal revolt, etc.

Some of these questions relate the history of Vézelay to the broader question of urban origins. The beginnings of town life in the Middle Ages are almost completely hidden by the obscurity of a period for which there is very little source material. In the later Middle Ages a town was clearly distinguished from the surrounding countryside by its social, economic, legal, and political structure, as well as by such vague considerations as its way of life, outlook, and values. In contrast to the village, which was an agricultural community inhabited by peasants under the jurisdiction of the local lord, the town was characterized by an economy which was primarily commercial or industrial, by a burgher class which was personally free, by self-government, and by its own laws. It was set off physically from the countryside by its wall which was so impressive to contemporaries that in paintings and municipal insignia the wall was sufficient to symbolize the town. We shall attempt to determine to what extent Vézelay conformed to this description at the time of the communal revolt.

Various theories have been developed to attempt to explain the origins of medieval towns.²⁰ The continuity of the use of terms of Roman municipal origin led to the early development of a theory of continuity of town life from antiquity based on the assumption that the continuity of language implied a continuity of institutions. German scholarship in the first half of the nineteenth century, however, effectively demonstrated that the institutions to which these terms referred were radically different in the pre-urban Middle Ages from those of antiquity. With the publication of Karl Hegel's two volume

work on the Italian cities in 1847, the Roman theory was, for all intents and purposes, a dead issue.²¹

At the same time it became the vogue for German historians to trace the development of urban institutions from Germanic traditions, associations, communities, privileges, immunities, etc., with varying degrees of success. The work of K. F. Eichhorn, published 1818-1823, was an early step towards the overthrow of the Roman theory in that it called attention to an alternative possibility, suggesting that the origin lay in manorial institutions (the Hofrecht theory).²² In 1831 W. E. Wilda sought their origins in the Germanic drinking associations or Gilds.²³ W. Arnold proposed the Staatsrecht theory which traced civic institutions ultimately to Ottonian privileges.²⁴ K. W. Nitzsch adopted the Hofrecht theory but turned his attention to the problem of the origin of the urban population rather than institutions. He traced the burgher population to the class of ministeriales which had been divided into milites (the class of knights) and officiales (ultimately the urban patriciate which seized the power of local government).²⁵ G. L. von Maurer's four volume work ascribed the origin to the mythical free German village community or Mark.²⁶

French scholars early recognized geographical divisions from the point of view of the history of their own municipal regimes. Augustin Thierry set up five basic divisions in his study: the north, the Midi, the center, the west, and the east.²⁷ The areas of greatest municipal development were the Midi, where ancient Roman traditions and the influence of Italy were strongly felt, and the north, which developed communes. Subsequent French scholars continued this

descriptive approach and attempted to carry the theoretical problem one step further by generalizing on the basis of their findings. Thus the French scholars Arthur Giry and Achille Luchaire developed a theory that ascribed to the formation of a commune the role of achieving a corporate place within the feudal structure.²⁸ While this theory has a certain validity in developments in the north of France, it does not apply, for example, in the Midi and thus fails to solve the basic problem which was not confined to one area.

The nineteenth century was a heyday for local history and the monographs devoted to individual towns served to bring much evidence to light but theories were still developing in isolation along local or national lines. At the end of the nineteenth century, Henri Pirenne, in discussing the various German theories, deplored the fact that most of those theories were still almost unknown in France.²⁹ The same tendency was evident in England where Stubbs looked for urban origins in the Anglo-Saxon Burh.³⁰ None of these theories were adequate for the scope of the problem. The rise of towns in the Middle Ages confronts one with the problem of accounting for the rapid development of a complex of structures throughout western and central Europe in sharp contrast with the structure of the pre-existing society. A satisfactory explanation must concern itself with more general conditions which were operative throughout the area involved. As Pirenne affirmed, "It is necessary to study them without taking into account political frontiers."³¹

The hypothesis put forward by the Belgian historian Henri Pirenne is the one which most adequately corresponds to the scope of

the problem. His theory and the criticisms it engendered have greatly influenced subsequent discussion which now approaches the problem of urban origins within the context of economic history. In 1895, in the second of a series of articles published in the Revue Historique,³² Pirenne presented the theory which was further developed in his book, Medieval Cities.³³ In essence he asserted that the general condition which gave rise to the development of towns was the commercial revival which Europe was experiencing. The origin of the town was to be found not in the old Roman city nor in the medieval military fortress but in the new settlement of merchants which grew up within or adjacent to it and eventually engulfed it. Merchants engaged in long-distance trade were attracted to those existing centers which were geographically well situated for trade and offered security by reason of the existence of defensive walls. As the settlements grew larger, more prosperous and more powerful, a new way of life developed and with it, conflicts which led to the development of the political, legal, and administrative institutions which were necessary to this way of life.

His thesis was admittedly based on "inference and hypothesis."³⁴ Pirenne noted a geographical coincidence: "A map of Europe on which was marked the relative importance of the commercial highways would coincide very closely with an abstract of the relative importance of the city groups."³⁵ By inferring from the contents of communal charters, which he considered to exhibit such a definite relationship to the needs and aspirations of a mercantile community as to suggest a causal relationship, and by buttressing his argument with snatches

of evidence from Saints' Lives and from the study of the evolving use of language, Pirenne attempted to explain this geographical coincidence. His theory, however, has the difficulty of all attempts to generalize in that specific cases rarely conform neatly to a model and need qualifications to take into account local conditions. This defect is most evident in applying this theory to the developments in Italy and Provence where Roman municipal traditions survived and were strong enough to affect urban developments.³⁶ While his theory has little relevancy as far as southern European developments are concerned, it has received some confirmation from documents and archeological evidence on the development of some northern cities.³⁷

In recent years, however, Pirenne's approach has more frequently been the subject of attacks, both from the point of view of the theoretical formulation and from the point of view of specific conclusions he had reached, but no satisfactory alternative theory has been proposed. The two works most readily available to American students of medieval urban history can illustrate this tendency. Lewis Mumford, a student of urban development and the author of The City in History, dismissed Pirenne's explanation in favor of a broader demographic approach. Noting the expansion of the area of cultivation and increased productivity, he concluded that, "The thriving life of these towns was rooted in the agricultural improvement of the countryside."³⁸ This truism, however, fails to provide an explanation of urban development. Increased agricultural productivity was certainly a necessary condition for urbanization but not its cause. Mumford, who is not an historian, may be forgiven for his

failure to examine the alternatives possible at that time. ;
 reader, however, should approach his book with an awareness of his limitations as far as historical method is concerned, as well as his interest in using historical developments to support his approach to contemporary urban planning. His selection of facts and their evaluation often reflect the message he wishes to bring to students of the contemporary urban scene.

The historian John Mundy has also rejected the clear-cut distinction Pirenne made between the town and the countryside but, in his attempt to link every aspect of the towns' development with broader tendencies, urban history per se is almost entirely lost in his essay. He has attempted to reduce all points of contrast to questions of degree as, for example, when he asserts, "No absolute distinction can be drawn between a village market and a town fair. Except that one was local and the other inter-regional, their essential functions were the same."³⁹ As if that one exception were not enough, one might note the enormous difference between the level of society in which a local market can exist and that necessary for regular inter-regional exchange. One might also point out the differences in the goods exchanged, the differences between a non-professional and a professional merchant, between retail vs. wholesale operations, between barter vs. money or book transactions, between a homogeneous local gathering and a heterogeneous assembly of men speaking different languages, knowing different ways of life, laws and customs, etc. Given Mundy's approach, all history could be dismissed as only differences of degree. Whether or not one agrees with his conclusion that "Their differences

reflected the transitory fact of the historical moment,"⁴⁰ should it not be the historian's role to examine his subject in an effort to define the fact of the historical moment? Many of Mundy's criticisms, not only of Pirenne but also of "the bourgeois thinkers of nineteenth century Europe" who "taught us to freight the town in history with an ideological baggage that it has no call to carry,"⁴¹ are well taken but the alternative approach he presents is singularly fruitless.

Many monographic studies have been published which have approached one or another of the questions posed by Pirenne and, in general, the conclusions he proposed have been rejected.⁴² So far, however, the work has proceeded in an unsystematic fashion which limits its usefulness.⁴³ The history of one individual town might in fact be exceptional. Even where several examples concur, the sample studied is too small to be conclusive and one must take cognizance of the fact that taking potshots at Pirenne makes better copy than reiterating the conclusions stated three-quarters of a century ago. This piecemeal approach also fails to give a solid foundation for an alternative theoretical formulation. At this point it is impossible to present valid support for or against a theory of urban origins since the citation of a few examples has little meaning with regard to a problem that encompasses hundreds, even thousands, of units. Until these units have been studied individually and the results tabulated and coordinated, theoretical discussion of the problem is at best hypothetical.

The sources for such monographic studies, however, are totally inadequate. In most cases adequate material probably never existed.

Records were kept during the period under discussion by clerics who were often hostile to, or at best contemptuous of, the new tendencies in the society. Generally these tendencies were ignored or, where they were reported, distorted. At the same time it was in the interest of those elements in society wishing to change conditions to cloak their subversive activities in secrecy. By and large the studies of individual urban units must depend on hints and scattered references in a wide variety of documents written for other purposes. Subsequent events have wreaked havoc with even such inadequate material as might once have existed. In France the destruction of archives during the Wars of Religion and the French Revolution, as well as the losses due to decay, weather, and fire, have been disastrous. Even such material as has survived has been published haphazardly and its availability is limited.

The difficulties notwithstanding, the purpose of this paper is to suggest a program for a coordinated approach to the problem of urban origins and to exemplify this program in a study of one specific example, the town of Vézelay. First of all, it is necessary to establish objective, relevant criteria for the consideration of a particular unit in this program of study. Then it is necessary to establish uniform categories for the analysis of such data as can be obtained for a particular unit in order to permit the tabulation of the results of monographic studies. Very few units will provide the answers to all or even most questions but hopefully the unanswered questions will result from the lack of material, a chance factor which should cancel itself out in a broad survey and not seriously distort the findings.

Population statistics in the middle ages might have provided an objective standard for the consideration of a particular unit within this program of study but unfortunately they are totally lacking for this early period. The circumference of the twelfth century walls offers one possible measure in so far as it is related to the size of the inhabited area. An attempt should be made to gather this information such as in the work begun by Ferdinand Lot on towns of Roman origin.⁴⁴ Certain problems must be borne in mind in its evaluation. How closely the wall conformed to the area of occupation can not be determined. It is possible, as appears to be the case at Vézelay, that the line of the wall was determined by the natural contours of the hill. Even when this is not the case, one cannot assume the density of population within the area was uniform from one unit to the next. Nor can one assume that all colonies which should be considered as within the urban complex were included within the wall. In the case of Vézelay, again, it appears likely that the village of St. Père housed a populace closely related in interests and activities to that of the town itself but was kept distinct to some extent by the natural barrier of the hill.

A recent bibliography of the history of French cities adopted a criterion of a minimum population of 15,000 according to 1962 statistics as the basis for inclusion in the work.⁴⁵ While this standard at least has the merit of objectivity and precision, it is of questionable relevance to twelfth century developments. Ganshof's study of towns between the Loire and the Rhine included only those centers which were allegedly of commercial importance in the

thirteenth century.⁴⁶ Considering the lack of data on which to evaluate the commercial importance of all but the most important centers in the thirteenth century, this involves subjective judgments which cannot be substantiated. Moreover, by selecting units for consideration with regard to the problem of urban origins on the basis of their later commercial importance, the material is pre-structured in such a way as to invalidate any support it might give to a theory proposing commerce as the cause of their development.

Richard Emery has offered an interesting suggestion in his work on the foundations of the early Friars for the use of his research in the study of early urban history.⁴⁷ In contrast to the earlier monastic orders which tended to flee the world, the early Friars sought to establish their houses in the midst of urban centers, in part to fulfill their apostolic mission and in part from the practical necessity of finding sufficient population to provide for the daily needs of the members of the mendicant orders. Their foundations in the thirteenth century, while somewhat later than the period of urban origins, at least have the merit of offering a criterion uninfluenced by much later developments, theories, or assumptions. The Franciscan house at Vézelay was one of the earliest foundations of the order, certainly in existence by 1226 and, according to local tradition, dating back to 1217.⁴⁸ Emery's suggestion can provide a useful list of communities whose development should be studied for a comprehensive treatment of the problem. The lack of evidence of the existence of an early friary in a particular locale, of course, should not exclude a center from consideration when other evidence justifies its inclusion.

While the existence of a friary indicates an urban center, the lack of one, if, indeed, it is not simply lack of evidence of one, may be totally unrelated to aspects of urban history. The list of friaries merely provides a starting point.

In studying a particular unit, it would be important to determine to what extent and at what date the features which characterized the later Medieval town developed. One would wish to investigate the evidence with regard to the appearance of a burgher class, its legal status, its economic activity and political organization. It would be desirable to determine the date of the appearance of the town wall and, if possible, its relationship to other characteristics.

In addition, one would wish to ascertain the meaning of terms which later were identified with municipal administration at the time of their earliest appearance in the sources. It would be useful to determine the origin of such terms, if possible, to trace the spread of influences and ideas.

Pirenne's theory, which is broadest in scope, suggests certain additional categories for analysis which have in the past proven fruitful. Three phases are involved in his theory which can be rephrased in the form of questions:

1. What was the character of the original settlement and what attractions did it offer which led to subsequent development? Pirenne asserted that, at the end of the ninth century, "the cities which were then to be found were without two of the fundamental attributes of the cities of the Middle Ages and of modern times--a middle-class population and a communal organization."⁴⁹ In identifying the original

burghers as the long-distance merchant colony, he observed "that geographical advantages plus the presence of a town or fortified burg seems the essential and necessary condition for a colony of merchants."⁵⁰

2. What caused the growth and the change in the character of the proto-town? According to Pirenne, "the origin of these cities is directly related, as an effect to its cause, to the commercial revival"⁵¹ which he asserted was characterized by "trade over long distances."⁵²

3. What was the cause of conflict and of the development of urban institutions? Pirenne attributed their genesis to necessary and inevitable conflicts between the established order and the new way of life. "Conflicts immediately arose. They were inevitable. . . ."⁵³ "There was . . . an incompatibility between their [the burghers'] new social status and their traditional legal status."⁵⁴ "The ancient law, in seeking to impose itself upon a social order for which it was not adapted, ended in manifest absurdities and injustices which called irresistibly for reform."⁵⁵ The burghers gradually achieved a de facto distinct legal status "and out of that legal status itself was to come, necessarily, the granting of an independent organization."⁵⁶

These questions will be explored in examining the material available for the social and economic history of Vézelay, the specific example to be studied in this essay. The history of Vézelay assumes greater significance in so far as it sheds light on the major problems in medieval history. By themselves, the struggles of the Abbots of Vézelay, while of tremendous dramatic value, have only limited interest for the historian. It cannot be claimed that they changed the

course of world history or created a new force which had serious later repercussions. The events which will be discussed assume greater dimensions in so far as they exemplify the all too little understood problem of urban origins.

Sources

The Archives of the Monastery of Vézelay were dispersed at the time of the Wars of Religion.⁵⁷ The bulk of the extant records which have been recovered are today to be found in the Archives of the Department of Yonne in Auxerre. They contain very little material relative to the history of Vézelay before the fourteenth century. These archives have been carefully studied by scholars, most notably by Aimé Chérest, author of the three volume Étude historique sur Vézelay, and by Max Quantin, archivist of the Department of Yonne in the mid-nineteenth century who prepared the catalog of the archives and published the important early sources.⁵⁸ My visits have failed to uncover any new material of major significance in that collection with regard to the early history of Vézelay. The archives of the Counts of Nevers, whose territory surrounded Vézelay in the twelfth century, have also been destroyed but at least an inventory of their contents prepared in the seventeenth century survives.⁵⁹

The mairie of Vézelay contains the archives of the municipality which do not appear to contain much of importance for the early period. Unfortunately they have not been re-organized since the time of their removal to their present location after the Second World War and their utter disarray makes a systematic appraisal of their contents impossible.

A project was to begin this summer (1970) under the direction of Abbé Bernard Lacroix to organize the catalog their contents. This project is desperately needed to protect them from further damage from the dust and rats, to say nothing of rendering them of service to scholars. Judging from the references of earlier scholars to the archives of the mairie, it would appear that the only manuscript of importance for the early history of the town was that prepared by Leonard Guillier, former mayor of Vézelay, in 1846 which contains transcripts of later medieval texts and references to archeological evidence uncovered in the course of public works projects in the early nineteenth century. Strangely enough Abbé Lacroix, who was kind enough to introduce me to the archives which were not open to the public, expressed complete ignorance of this manuscript despite the fact that he had cited the work in an article published in the most recent edition of l'Echo d'Auxerre.⁶⁰ Fortunately I was able to obtain a copy of this manuscript made in 1921 thanks to the kindness of R. P. Damien Vorreux, OFM.

Other collections contain important archival material. A fragment of a twelfth century cartulary from the monastic archives of Vézelay which contains documents relative to the earliest period of the history of the monastery is preserved in the Laurentian Library in Florence.⁶¹ Its presence in such an unexpected collection in a city whose history appears to be totally unrelated to the contents of this cartulary should serve as a reminder that other fragments may exist in unexpected collections. There are undoubtedly individual documents included in published and unpublished cartularies of other institutions which could serve to clarify individual points which are still to be

uncovered.⁶² There is always the hope of a major discovery of new material which has remained hidden for centuries. Recently repairs on the monastic structures at Vézelay led to the discovery of fragments of early documents and artifacts.⁶³ While one can hope for more discoveries, there seems no point in delaying any longer a study of the heretofore neglected social and economic aspects of the history of Vézelay which, despite the inadequacies of archival material, nevertheless can suggest answers to problems of both local and general interest.

The most important single manuscript source for the early history of Vézelay is the twelfth century manuscript preserved in the Library of Auxerre, manuscript 227. With the exception of two sections which were mutilated, the manuscript is in excellent condition and the twelfth century script is easily legible. The major portion of the manuscript is a History of Vézelay written by the monk Hugh of Poitiers, a notary in the service of the Abbots of Vézelay.⁶⁴ It has been suggested that the so-called Little Chronicle of Vézelay and the Brief History of the Counts of Nevers which precede the main work were also composed by Hugh of Poitiers, perhaps in preparation for his major work.⁶⁵ The Little Chronicle was begun by a writer who terminated his work in the year 1168, approximately the same date as the last recorded event in the History of Vézelay. If both were composed by Hugh of Poitiers, his work on both might have been terminated by his death around 1168. There is, however, very little relationship between the subjects treated in these works aside from the general concern of the author or authors with the history of Vézelay. The History refers rarely to events prior to 1146 which were mentioned

in the minor works. The Brief History of the Counts of Nevers, on the other hand, does not mention events after 1146 and the Little Chronicle treats the events between 1146 and 1168 with the same brevity as earlier entries.

These works were probably not originally contained in one manuscript. Folios 16 and 17 of the Little Chronicle, as well as folio 21 were added at a later date on parchment which differs from that used for the bulk of the manuscript in quality, color, and irregularity of size. Folio 21r which was not published with the other minor works contains the conclusion of a fourteenth century composition.⁶⁶ Folio 22r, the first page of Hugh of Poitiers' History of Vézelay, appears to be more discolored by exposure than the other leaves, possibly because it was once the first page of a manuscript.

This manuscript is written in a beautiful script and its preparation was evidently carefully supervised and corrected. Several hands can be detected in the text of the History, obviating the suggestion that the extant manuscript is an autograph copy.⁶⁷ It must have been written shortly after the original composition since around the year 1160 the use of ae was abandoned almost completely for e or ⁶⁸e, a development reflected in this manuscript in which, save for a few pages, ae does not appear. Embellishments were begun on the manuscript but not completed. Folio 22r has an illuminated miniature depicting two seated figures identified by the artist as Count Gerard and his wife Bertha, the founders of the monastery. Another initial has been illuminated and several have been elaborately drawn.⁶⁹ Color has been added to some of the initials and within the text for emphasis and for

decoration. In many cases, however, the space left for an initial letter remains blank.

Folios 1-17 of manuscript 227 contain the Little Chronicle, an annalistic record of events from the year 1 to the year 1316. Most of the entries up to the year 1168 are in a twelfth century hand. Additions to this section in a later hand are grossly inaccurate.⁷⁰ The years are written in a column of Roman numerals in the center of the page. Most of the events of ecclesiastical significance appear on the left side of the column while the secular events are written on the right side. The pages for the earlier section are carefully prepared with forty years on a page. The continuation on folios 16 and 17 is less carefully prepared, the number of years per page varying, and gives little information other than the years of the accession of the Abbots. Most of the Little Chronicle from the year 660 to 1316 was published by Philippe Labbe in 1657 based on the transcriptions available to him.⁷¹ He gave no indication of the omissions of entries between those dates or of the fact that some of the entries he published were later additions.

Folios 18-19 contain the Brief History of the Counts of Nevers which traces the development of that family from the time of Landry, the grandfather of the first Count of Nevers, to the time of Count William II's retreat to a Carthusian monastery (1146). The text is written in two columns on each page. Most of this work was also published by Labbe in 1657 but a substantial section was omitted, a fact which the editor indicated only by etc.⁷²

Folio 20r is blank. Folio 20v contains a brief statement of an

event in the year 1250. Folio 21r contains text describing events in the fourteenth century. It appears to be the final page of a later composition. The top line of the page begins in the middle of a sentence and the text concludes, "May his soul rest in peace. Amen." Folio 21v is blank. The contents of these folios have never been published. They add nothing, however, to the state of knowledge of events in the twelfth century. The contents of folio 21r, however, suggest that the codex as it exists today was assembled no earlier than the late fourteenth century.

The remainder of the manuscript, folios 22-187, contains the History of Vézelay by Hugh of Poitiers, written with the text running across the page. In the manuscript the History is divided into several sections whose divisions are only indicated by beginning the new section on a fresh leaf, sometimes with an elaborate initial letter. The first section, folios 22-63, contains a cartulary of early documents from the time of the foundation of the monastery in the ninth century to the time of the end of the communal revolt. A letter from Pope Adrian IV (1154-1159) to Abbot Ponce concerning the activities of Simon of Souvigny was later added in a different hand to fill the blank space at the end of this section. The next section, folios 64-73, relates the events and the testimony given in 1152 at Rome with regard to the dispute between the Abbot of Vézelay and the Bishop of Autun. A poem in praise of Abbot Ponce was inserted by the same hand as the letter concerning Simon of Souvigny to fill the blank portion of the final page. The third section, folios 73-75r, ends with the hearings of 1146, leaving half of the page blank. Folios 79v-122r

concern the resumption of the dispute between the monastery of Vézelay and the Counts of Nevers, as well as an account of the communal revolt. Unfortunately, the portion relating the events during the period of the commune, folios 91-116, has been cut lengthwise in the middle of the pages, leaving only half of the text. The final page of this section, folio 122r, has been left approximately three-fifths blank.

A brief but important fifth section, folios 122v-123v, contains a list of the rebels and their activities. The fact that the list begins on the back of the leaf containing the end of the narrative account leaves no doubt that it formed part of the original manuscript. It is in sharp contrast with the literary style of the History and contains many variant spellings of the same names from one section to the next, suggesting that different sections were compiled by different monks and that this list was copied from their records into the extant manuscript or its prototype.

Section six, folios 124-128, relates events relative to the papal schism and the official withdrawal of the right of Cluny to supervise the monastery of Vézelay. Approximately three-fourths of the last page has been left blank. Section seven, folios 129-136r, describes internal dissension, the attempts to solve the papal schism, and renewed difficulties with Nevers. Half of the final page has been left blank. In the last section, folios 136v-187v, the author described the struggles with Nevers and with the monastic rebellion. The portion which included the details of the settlement with Nevers at the royal court, folios 179-184, has suffered mutilation similar to the earlier section.

Most of the History of Vézelay by Hugh of Poitiers was published in the seventeenth century by Luc d'Achery and reprinted with some orthographic changes by Migne in the Patrologia Latina. D'Achery had delayed his publication for some years in the hopes of locating an undamaged manuscript.⁷³ None has been found to date. D'Achery published only a few lines from the mutilated pages. The extant halves of these two sections, as well as other portions which had inexplicably been omitted by d'Achery, were published by Aimé Chérest in his Étude Historique sur Vézelay.⁷⁴ The list of the rebels, also omitted by d'Achery, was published by Léon de Bastard.⁷⁵ Excerpts relative to the period from 1159-1165 (from folios 125-158) have been published by Waitz in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores.⁷⁶ A French translation based on the d'Achery edition of the narrative portions of the History was published by Guizot and has recently been reprinted.⁷⁷

There is a need for a critical edition of the entire manuscript. The portions published by Labbe in the seventeenth century were based on transcriptions from unknown sources and contain omissions, inaccuracies, and inadequate information as well as orthographic changes. The same criticism applies to d'Achery's edition of the History of Vézelay to such an extent as to give rise to the suggestion that his edition was based on another manuscript.⁷⁸ A comparison between his edition and the manuscript BA 227 of the Library of Auxerre gives some support for that suggestion but coincidences with regard to the mutilated sections militate against that possibility. Differences in orthography, inversions of letters or words, mistakes in individual

words, minor omissions, and the use of the full name, sometimes incorrectly given, where the manuscript gives only the initial, probably have little relevance to this question and can be dismissed as most likely due to the editor's choice or inadvertence. Other differences may be more significant.

D'Achery stated in his introduction that the work was divided by the author into four books. Manuscript BA 227 falls into eight sections, distinguished only by beginning a new section on a fresh page. The first two books published by d'Achery correspond to the first two sections of the manuscript. D'Achery combined the third and fourth sections in his Book Three and omitted the brief fifth section with no indication of the omission. Sections six, seven, and eight were combined by d'Achery in Book Four. The letter appended to section one and the poem at the end of section two are published by d'Achery with no indication that they are in a later hand.⁷⁹ The poem is presented, moreover, at the beginning of Book Three whereas it was added in the manuscript at the end of section two. In some cases d'Achery published the marginal notes which appear in the manuscript. In other cases the marginal notes published by d'Achery are entirely different.⁸⁰

There are important differences in the published version of the cartulary at the beginning of the History. The dating formula which appears at the end of the letter of Count Gerard to Pope Nicholas I (858-867) does not appear in manuscript BA 227.⁸¹ It is found, however, in a seventeenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale⁸² whose relationship to d'Achery's edition, if any, cannot

be determined. If the editor had some justification for his addition he gave no indication of his source. Portions of the dating formulae which appear in manuscript BA 227 at the end of the privileges of Popes Nicholas I, Stephen VI (896-897), John XI (931-935), and Benedict VII (974-983) have been omitted without indication and other errors occur in the regnal years or indications.⁸³ The privilege of Pope Sergius III (904-911) has been omitted entirely.⁸⁴ In the privilege of Gregory VII (1073-1085), d'Achery merely gave the salutation, stating that the rest was missing in the manuscript.⁸⁵ While about half of the letter is missing from manuscript 227, it does contain much more than d'Achery published.⁸⁶ D'Achery then published the salutation of a privilege of Paschal II (1098-1118), which is not contained in the manuscript.⁸⁷

D'Achery had indicated the omission of the mutilated pages but with regard to the first section, stated that 28 leaves were involved rather than the 26 leaves of manuscript 227.⁸⁸ D'Achery published a few lines from the mutilated pages with additions not warranted by manuscript 227. Where he has "regina mater regis soror uxoris Archimbaldi de Burgobono. sed et filia eiusdem . . . quae post modum nupta est comiti de S. Egidio" and "Macharius autem Floriacensis cenobii abbas vegetis dolis," the italicized words are not found in the manuscript.⁸⁹ If another manuscript formed the basis for this edition, these lines which appear in the middle of the pages in manuscript BA 227 might have been written at the bottom of one verso and continued to the top of the next recto, giving a longer sequence than the extant half-lines of manuscript BA 227. The beginnings and the ends

of the mutilated sections, however, are identical in d'Achery's edition and in the manuscript. Such a coincidence would be possible if there were a page by page correspondence between the two manuscripts but if, as the other evidence suggests, the contents of 26 leaves were contained on 28 leaves in the hypothetical manuscript, affecting the placement of lines on the pages, the manuscripts could not have had such a correspondence. A coincidental correspondence at the beginning and the end of both these sections would therefore be highly unlikely. The different number of pages given in the d'Achery edition is probably an error and the most likely conclusion as to the additional words appears to be that they were added by the editor.

Signs of other possible editorial changes are evident elsewhere. Large sections that should appear in d'Achery's Book IV, some of which contain the more scandalous charges against the rebellious monks, have been omitted without any indication.⁹⁰ In one case d'Achery included sentences and phrases from the middle of the section and minor alterations appear to have been made to preserve the sense of continuity.⁹¹ Again, in the discussion of the Cluniac claims to supervision over Vézelay, the manuscript reads: "deinde vero arbitrium electionis furtivum quoddam privilegium sub nomine pape paschalis secundi componentes, a quo utique paschali omnino mentiebantur. . . ." ⁹² D'Achery's edition reads: "deinde vero jus electionis sibi arrogantes, mentientes utique a Paschali."⁹³ In the discussion of the monastic rebellion, the words "Qui protinus his verbis infectus"⁹⁴ was replaced in d'Achery's edition simply with "Ille."⁹⁵ Later the phrase "detestantibus universis supercilium et arrogantiam cluniacensium" was

omitted in d'Achery's edition.⁹⁶ The net result of these variations is to tone down the inter- and intra-monastic struggles.

One would like to conclude that the editor used another manuscript. If it could be established that another manuscript was in existence in the seventeenth century, especially one which, while suffering the same mutilations, contained a different spacing of words on those pages, there would be added hope for the recovery of the manuscript which could help in reconstructing the text on those pages. The existence of two manuscripts with identical mutilations would also bear on the question of the occasion for the destruction. Unfortunately this identity is such strong evidence against this suggestion that, while it can not be ruled out entirely, it must be considered as highly unlikely. The variations between the manuscript and the published edition, which must in all probability be ascribed to the editor, only serve to emphasize the need for a new edition. In the light of the inadequacies of the published editions, I shall cite the text from manuscript 227 as it appears in the manuscript except for punctuation and the use of v where u appears in the manuscript, with references to a published version. Only variations from the published edition which affect the meaning of the passage will be indicated.

One final problem with regard to manuscript BA 227 remains to be discussed, namely the date of the mutilations. Both sections were carefully cut, leaving the rest of the manuscript untouched. Both sections relate the details of the settlements between the monastery of Vézelay and the Counts of Nevers at the royal court. The first

section appears to begin with a discussion of a document produced by the Count of Nevers to support his claims.⁹⁷ This document may be the charter granting jurisdiction over the territory of the monastery of Vézelay which the Count of Nevers alleged on several occasions had been granted to his father by King Louis VI (1108-1137).⁹⁸ The section concludes with the taking of oaths before the King.⁹⁹ The second section appears to have contained the account of the debate before the King and an itemized statement of the resolution of the dispute. Only the subjects included in that resolution can be determined from the extant fragments.¹⁰⁰ If, as has been generally assumed, the mutilations were the result of vandalism at the time of the Wars of Religion when the archives of the monastery were dispersed,¹⁰¹ such selectivity would make no sense. The monastery had been secularized in 1538,¹⁰² after centuries of decline.¹⁰³ What concern could anyone have had at that date as to the decisions of the early Capetian court in this dispute? One would think the papal actions and the monastery's claims to direct submission to the papacy contained elsewhere in the manuscript would be more offensive in the sixteenth century.

This selective vandalism makes it appear likely that the mutilations were deliberate and must therefore be dated at a time when the evidence on those pages would be relevant. The most probable date is some time within approximately a half century after the date that the History was written. During that period the struggles between the monastery of Vézelay and the Counts of Nevers continued intermittently. By 1213 the Abbot of Vézelay officially recognized the Count of Nevers as protector of the monastery,¹⁰⁴ a role which they had previously

bitterly disputed. The text of this manuscript had been carefully corrected, including the mutilated pages. Embellishment of the manuscript had begun but was discontinued, leaving some initials drawn but not painted, others not even drawn in the space which had been left for them. It is possible that the decoration of this manuscript was interrupted by the decision to destroy those sections of the manuscript which were damaging to claims which the monastery was maintaining at that moment.

Nothing is known of the author of the History of Vézelay, Hugh of Poitiers, other than the few facts contained in the manuscript 227. Hugh describes himself as a notary for the Abbots of Vézelay.¹⁰⁵ He served under Ponce of Montboissier (1138-1161) and William of Mello (1161-1171). The History was begun at the order of Ponce,¹⁰⁶ probably shortly after the events recorded in the first four sections (i.e., 1155). The author was evidently very devoted to Ponce who appears as the hero of the narrative. In the eyes of Hugh, he was the defender of justice, a man of patience and generosity of spirit, most serene and valiant.¹⁰⁷ Hugh never expressed the same warmth and admiration for William of Mello¹⁰⁸ whom he nevertheless continued to serve loyally. He relates that he accompanied William to Montpellier for the purpose of an audience with the Pope¹⁰⁹ and later was sent by William to the Archbishop of Sens with his instructions for the excommunication of William IV of Nevers and his mother Ida.¹¹⁰ He probably accompanied the Abbot into his self-imposed exile in 1166 for, although he had discussed the dispute between Thomas of Becket and Henry II,¹¹¹ he did not report the excommunications by Thomas which took place on

Ascension Day, 1166, at Vézelay.¹¹² At that time the Abbot of Vézelay was at the monastery of Villare.¹¹³

The first four sections of the History appear to have been conceived as an entity. In the first section Hugh included all the relevant documents pertaining to the events described in the next three parts. The list of the rebels which follows next may have been added to the composition as an afterthought. The later sections were begun after the death of Ponce (1161),¹¹⁴ perhaps after August 8, 1165 since there is a reference to the elevation of Guichard, Abbot of Pontigny, to the Archbishopric of Lyons which took place on that date.¹¹⁵ They differ from the earlier sections in scope and format. The author discussed topics of broader interest, such as the events related to the papal schism¹¹⁶ and the exile of Thomas of Becket,¹¹⁷ in addition to the local struggles of the abbey. Prophetic events and the discovery of relics¹¹⁸ are reported in the narrative. Relevant documents are inserted within the text rather than presented separately.

The loss of the text of the mutilated pages is serious, particularly since the earlier sections dealt with the period of the commune. The sequence of events recorded on those pages can be reconstructed to some extent on the basis of the fragments which remain, the documents included in the first section, the list of the rebels, and other sources. The attitude and sympathies of the author himself present an even more serious handicap. As stated before, the hero of the History is the Abbot Ponce and the theme is the heroic defense of the "liberties" of the monastery of Vézelay. Hugh has

nothing but contempt for the challengers to these "liberties." Count William II of Nevers (1089-1147), for example, was evidently highly respected in the region. Robert of Auxerre, writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century described him as outstanding for justice and honesty, as praiseworthy as he was powerful.¹¹⁹ William made generous donations to ecclesiastical institutions.¹²⁰ Although asked to serve as co-regent of France during the King's absence for the Second Crusade, William declined due to ill health and retired to a Carthusian monastery where he died the following year.¹²¹ Even the author of the Brief History of the Counts of Nevers, probably another monk of Vézelay, reported his reputation for justice.¹²² This was the man whose death was described by Hugh of Poitiers as "the punishment for his crimes and the revenge for injustice."¹²³ His son, Count William III (1147-1161), was described as the heir to his sins, a corrupt spirit.¹²⁴ But Hugh of Poitiers surpasses himself in vituperation against Ida, "that old Herodias,"¹²⁵ wife of William III and mother of William IV (1161-1168).

Hugh of Poitiers despised the communal rebels, "most impious men in revolt against their lord abbot and God who had raised them from vagabonds to wealth."¹²⁶ At best he described them as tools of the Count of Nevers, looking to him for their leadership and direction. Although he referred to their grievances against "new and unjust laws" of the Abbot,¹²⁷ he never defined those laws. Even if his History had survived intact, it is doubtful that it would have provided much additional information as to the cause of the revolt. The author of the History of King Louis VII also included a brief account of the

communal revolt at Vézelay which agrees with details reported by Hugh of Poitiers. Since this author was probably a former monk at Vézelay and probably used Hugh's work as a source,¹²⁸ it cannot be considered as corroborative evidence and adds very little to our knowledge of that episode.

One must look elsewhere in order to attempt to determine the nature of the grievances of the rebels. Fortunately a document of 1137 which has been preserved in an eighteenth century copy, records an agreement which explicitly states the grievances of the burghers, as well as the complaints of the Abbot against them.¹²⁹ This document is extremely valuable for the information it affords on the conditions of the life of the burghers and permits one to clarify the issues involved in the later conflict described by Hugh of Poitiers.

Moreover, the Sermons of Julien of Vézelay, a contemporary of Hugh of Poitiers whose work was also written at the suggestion of Abbot Ponce,¹³⁰ afford some information on the intellectual activity of the monastery. Quite a different picture emerges from another manuscript which was probably written by a hand trained at Vézelay. The author of the Codex Sancti Jacobi, a fraud purported to have been written by Pope Calixtus II (1119-1124), was Aimery Picaud, alias Olivier of Asquins, who described himself as a chaplain of the church of Asquins,¹³¹ a dependency of the monastery of Vézelay. He apparently served in that capacity during the term of Alberic (1131-1138) and left the area shortly after the elevation of the latter to the bishopric of Ostia. An account of a miracle which supposedly was written in 1139 by "Lord Alberic, Abbot of Vézelay as well as Bishop of

Ostia and Roman *Legate*" indicates that the author was aware of the elevation of Alberic but did not know of his successor Ponce who took office in 1138. This date conforms with other evidence with regard to the dating of this manuscript.¹³² In addition to the letter from "Alberic," the manuscript contains a Pilgrim's Guide to Compostella as well as literature related to the pilgrimage routes.

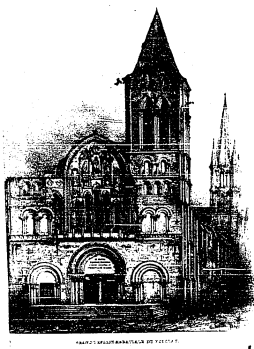
Another source from the realm of literature is the *chanson de geste* Girart de Roussillon,¹³³ based on the character of the founder of the monastery of Vézelay. While the date of the composition of this work has not been firmly established,¹³⁴ there is general agreement that the author of the poem was familiar with the town of Vézelay and its surroundings some time around the first half of the twelfth century. It appears to contain an eye-witness account of certain conditions in Vézelay around the date of its composition.

Hagiographic literature also offers valuable information for the early history of Vézelay. An account of the early miracles of the Magdalene at Vézelay appears to have been written by a man who was present at the time in which the cult of Mary Magdalene was established at Vézelay.¹³⁵ Later developments of legends of the translation of the relics of the Magdalene to Vézelay, the growth of cults in her honor and the dispersion of liturgical texts related to the cult of the Magdalene permit one to trace the growing influence of the pilgrimage site.¹³⁶ This evidence of religious influence, however, has only limited importance for social and economic history since it may merely indicate one point of contact which may not have been direct.¹³⁷

Finally, the archeological and architectural remains in and

around the town of Vézelay offer eloquent testimony to the period under examination. The Basilica of the Magdalene which was restored in the nineteenth century is of greatest importance. Other archaeological studies in the area, while primarily concerned with the utilization of sites in the Gallo-Roman period, disclose information with regard to the natural resources of the region.

Thus, although the extant sources for the early history of Vézelay are not sufficient to permit an adequate survey in many areas, their variety compensates to some extent for the lack of precision by giving more dimension to the picture that emerges.



2. The Basilica of Vézelay in 1840
19th-Century Engraving

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The Petit Larousse (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1965), p. 1770, lists the population of Vézelay as 541.
2. See excerpts from Prosper Mérimée, Notes d'un voyage dans le Midi de la France (Paris, 1835), published in Maurice Druon, Vézelay, colline éternelle (Paris, Union Générale d'Éditions, 1968), pp. 137-153, describing the condition of the basilica before the reconstruction; and Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, Monographie de l'ancienne église abbatiale de Vézelay (Paris: 1873). Vézelay was the first major commission of Viollet-le-Duc and was undertaken with a great deal more restraint than the architect showed on later projects.
3. The relics of the Magdalene at Vézelay were destroyed during the Wars of Religion. In 1876 the arm-bone which had been presented by the monastery to Saint Louis in the thirteenth century was restored to Vézelay; see Abbé Fissier, Le Culte de Sainte Marie-Madeleine à Vézelay (St. Père: Presbytère, 1923), pp. 3-10. The pilgrimage today attracts very few visitors.
4. BA 227, f. 150r (MPL CXCIV 1651).
5. Ibid., f. 169r (MPL CXCIV 1668).
6. Ibid., f. 166v (MPL CXCIV 1665).
7. "Concilium Vizeliacum" in Mansi, XXI, cols. 691-694.
8. Gervasius, Chronico de regibus angliae, RHF, XIII, 129; Radulfus de Diceto, Imaginibus Historiarum, RHF, XIII, 186.

9. Benedict of Peterborough, Gesta Regis Richardi, ed. Stubbs, (Rolls Series No. 49, London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1867), part 2, pp. 92-93, 111; Rigord, Gesta Philippi Augusti, ed. Delaborde, (Société de l'Histoire de France No. 210, Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1882), p. 99.

10. Augustin Thierry, Lettres sur l'histoire de France, (1st ed. 1827, Paris: Furne et Cie, 1851), pp. 311-346.

11. Léon de Bastard, "De la commune de Vézelay," BSSY, II (1848), 527-552; and "Recherches sur l'insurrection communale de Vézelay au XIIe siècle," BEC, ser. 3, II (1851), 339-365.

12. F. Bourquelot, "Observations sur l'établissement de la commune de Vézelay," BEC, ser. 3, III (1852), 447-463.

13. Aimé Chérest, Étude historique sur Vézelay (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouillé, 1863, 3 vols., henceforth to be noted as EHV.) This work was also published in BSSY, XVI (1862), 209-525 and XXII (1868), 5-631.

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15. René Louis, Girart, Comte de Vienne et ses Fondations Monastiques (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1946); Girart, Comte de Vienne dans les chansons de geste (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1947, 2 vols.).

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17. Fr. Salet, La Madeleine de Vézelay (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1948).

18. Joseph Calmette and Henri David, Les grandes heures de Vézelay (SELFT, 1951).

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21. Karl Hegel, Geschichte der Stadtverfassung von zwölften Jahrhunderts (Leipzig, 1847, 2 vols.).

22. K. F. Eichhorn, Deutsche Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1818-1823, 4 vols.).

23. W. E. Wilda, Das Gildenwesen im Mittelalter (Halle, 1831).

24. W. Arnold, Verfassungsgeschichte der deutschen Freistädte, (Hamburg, 1854).

25. K. W. Nitzsch, Ministerialität und Bürgerthum im XI und XII Jahrhundert (Leipzig, 1859).

26. G. L. von Maurer, Geschichte der Stadtverfassung in Deutschland (Erlangen, 1869-1873).

27. Augustin Thierry, Essai sur l'histoire de la formation et des progrès du tiers état (Paris: 1853), I, 38.

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29. Henri Pirenne, "L'Origine I," p. 54.
30. Stubbs, Constitutional History of England (1873).
31. Pirenne, "L'Origine I," p. 84.
32. Pirenne, "L'Origine des constitutions urbaines au moyen-âge II," Revue Historique, LVII (1895), 57-98, 293-327.
33. Pirenne, Medieval Cities, trans. by Frank D. Halsey, (New York: Doubleday, 1956).
34. Ibid., p. 101.
35. Ibid., p. 95.
36. Ibid., p. 116.
37. E. g., Stephenson, Borough and Town, pp. 186-214.
38. Lewis Mumford, The City in History (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1961), pp. 259-260.
39. John H. Mundy, intro. to Mundy and Riesenberg, The Medieval Town (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958), p. 36.
40. Ibid., p. 93.
41. Ibid., p. 92.
42. See the summary of recent scholarship by David M. Nicholas, "Medieval Urban Origins in Northern Continental Europe: State of Research and some tentative conclusions," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, VI (1969), 53-114.

43. Important works of synthesis, such as Edith Ennen, "Neuere Arbeiten zur Geschichte des Nordwesteuropäischen Stadtwesens im Mittelalter," Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XXXVIII (1949), 48-69; Hans Planitz, "Die deutsche stadtgemeinde," Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, LXIV (1944), 1-85; Fritz Rorig, The Medieval Town, trans. by Dr. D. J. A. Matthew (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967); and Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Les Communes Françaises (Paris: Albin Michel, 1947) have shown more system but have generally avoided a strong theoretical position.

44. Ferdinand Lot, Recherches sur la population et la superficie des cités remontant à la période gallo-romaine (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, #287, #296, #301) (Paris: Champion, 1945-1953).

45. Dollinger and Wolff, Bibliographie d'Histoire des Villes de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1967).

46. F. L. Ganshof, Étude sur le Développement des villes entre Loire et Rhin au Moyen Âge (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1943).

47. Richard W. Emery, The Friars in Medieval France (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 15-17.

48. Ibid., p. 123. An inscription at the entrance to the refectory of La Cordelle at Vézelay of the year 1707, recorded the local tradition of the arrival of the friars in 1217; "Pour memoire eternelle de St. François, ayant envoyé plusieurs de ses disciples pour la Mission de France, le bienheureux Frère Pacifique et le Frère Louis son compagnon, tous deux chefs de Mission, arrivèrent en cette Ville

de Vézelay l'an 1217. Ils logèrent d'abord dans un petit hermitage dédié à l'honneur de Ste. Croix . . . , " cited by Leonard Guillier, Notes et recherches historiques pour servir de continuation à la Chronique de Vézelay," (copy made in 1921 of a manuscript of 1846 preserved in the Archives of the Mairie of Vézelay, lent by R. P. Damien Vorreux), pp. 99-100.

49. Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 39.

50. Ibid., p. 99.

51. Ibid., p. 94.

52. Ibid., p. 86.

53. Ibid., p. 113.

54. Ibid., p. 115.

55. Ibid., p. 116.

56. Ibid., p. 135.

57. See Max Quantin, "Histoire des Bibliothèques des Établissements religieux des pays qui forment le Département de l'Yonne," BSSY XXIX (1875), 323-393.

58. CGY, 2 vols.; Recueil des pieces pour faire suite au Cartulaire Général de l'Yonne (Auxerre: Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1873).

59. Michel de Marolles, Inventaire des titres de Nevers (2nd ed. with intro by de Soultrait, Nevers: P. Fay, 1873).

60. L. Guillier, Notes et recherches historiques pour servir de continuation à la Chronique de Vézelay, ms. in 2 vols. preserved in the Mairie of Vézelay; cited by Abbé Bernard Lacroix, "De Bacchus aux Vignobles de Vézelay," L'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 87 (May-June 1970), p. 31, n. 4.

61. Bandini, I, cols.128-141; the existence of this cartulary was apparently unknown to Quantin and Chérest.

62. E. g., documents of Reigny, AY H 1565, AN LL 988bis, BN Latin 17725, include several charters relative to the history of Vézelay in the twelfth century. Other documents which have been published, e.g., the Cartulary of the Priory of St. Leu d'Esserent, ed. Abbé Eugène Muller (Pontoise: Bureau de la Société Historique, 1900-1901, 2 vols.) include documents which have not to date been incorporated in studies of the history of Vézelay.

63. See the report of this discovery and the publication of some of the material found in Robert Pirault (Father Sylvester, OFM), "Les Manuscrits de Vézelay," L'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 80 (March-April 1969), 6-10; No. 81 (May-June 1969), 24-28; No. 86 (March-April 1970), 15-18. I am indebted to Father Sylvester for the communication of further details and photographs of his finds.

64. BA 227, f. 156r (MPL CXCV 1654): the author described himself as "Hugonem Pictavinum notarium suum [Abbot William] huius operis auctorem."

65. E. g., Louis, Girart . . . et ses fondations monastiques, p. 119, n. 2.

66. See Appendix C for the text of BA 227, f. 21r. The modern binding does not permit an examination of the components of the original binding.

67. BA 227, f. 141r, for example, has an unusual terminal letter m; f. 106v was written by a scribe who used æ in contrast to the usage of g or e elsewhere in the manuscript.

68. See the Introduction by Challe and Quantin to Lebeuf, Memoires concernant l'histoire d'Auxerre (2nd ed. Auxerre; Perriquet et Rouillé, 1848-1855), IV.

69. See BA 227, f. 124r and f. 178v.

70. Ibid., f. 11r (Labbe 394): "DCCCXXXVIII. Nicolaus Papa. Huic oblata sunt Monasteria Pulteriense et Vizeliacense. . . ." can exemplify the accuracy of these later additions. Nicholas was Pope from 858-867. The monasteries of Vézelay and Pothières were founded ca. 859.

71. Labbe, 394-398; parts of Labbe's edition have also been published in RHF XI 384; XII 344; XVIII 743.

72. Labbe, 399-400; republished in RHF X 258-259.

73. D'Achery, II, 498-560; his introduction, p. 498, begins: "Quadriennium jam effluxit. . . ."

74. EHV, I, 309-360; III, 187-212.

75. DeB in BSSY, II (1848), 549-552.

76. Ed. G. Waitz, MGH SS, XXVI, 144-150.

77. Collection des Memoires, VII (Paris: 1824), 95-202; reprinted with other material by Vogade (La Charité-sur-Loire: Bernadat, 1969). Unfortunately Vogade did not cite the sources of his other material, which limits the usefulness of his work.

78. See Francis Molard, "Rapport sur la publication de la Chronique de Vézelay," BSSY, XL (1886), 295-300.

79. MPL CXCV 1589-1590; d'Achery, II, 517.

80. The marginal notes published by d'Achery were presented at the beginning of the paragraphs in Migne's publication.

81. BA 227, f. 28r (d'Achery II 502).

82. BN Latin 12703, f. 288r.

83. BA 227, f. 29v: "Imperante Ludovico. Karoli magni filio"; f. 33r: "Anno primo et post consulatus eius anno primo"; f. 35r: "In mense supra scripto. Indictione XXI (sic)"; f. 40v: "In mense et indictus suprascripta. Bene valete."

84. Ibid., ff. 33r-v (EHV I 298-299).

85. D'Achery, II, 505.

86. BA 227, ff. 45r-v; Chérest, EHV I 302-305, completed the document on the basis of a later copy.

87. This document which was preserved in the archives of Cluny is published in CGY II 39-42.

88. MPL CXCV 1613.

89. BA 227, f. 99v, f. 103r (MPL CXCV 1614).

90. EHV III 187-198.

91. BA 227, ff. 147r-149r (EHV III 187-190). After omitting about two full pages of text, d'Achery gave most of the final sentence of f. 147v, then omitted another page and a half before using another sentence. After omitting another third of a page, the text resumes. See MPL CXCV 1649-1650.

92. BA 227, f. 126v, "then, indeed, composing a certain secret privilege in the name of Pope Paschal II, they claimed completely falsely the judgment of election at least from Paschal."

93. MPL CXCV 1626, "then, indeed, claiming for themselves the right of election, feigning at least from Paschal."

94. BA 227, f. 149r.

95. MPL CXCV 1650.

96. BA 227, f. 186v.

97. Ibid., f. 91r (EHV I 309): the first mutilated page contains the line fragments "dixerunt se cartam Nivernis . . . sigillandam sibi transmissuros. . . ."

98. Ibid., ff. 84r-v, 174r (MPL CXCV 1605, 1673).

99. Ibid., f. 116r (EHV I 359): "abbas. Ego ait in manu tua sum. Verum. . . ."

100. Ibid., ff. 179-184 (EHV III 201-212; Chérest's numbers of the folios are in error).

101. See Saxer, Le Culte, I, 15.

102. GC XII 695.

103. For the later history of Vézelay, see EHV II and III.

104. Marolles, Inventaire, cols. 157, 368, 521. See also col. 51 for an agreement reached in 1233 with regard to the Count's jurisdiction and right to bear arms in Vézelay.

105. BA 227, f. 156r (MPL CXCV 1654).

106. Ibid., f. 74r (MPL CXCV 1591)

107. E. g., ibid., ff. 65v, 66r, 74r, 84r (MPL CXCV 1578, 1579, 1591, 1604).

108. Hugh does pay him the compliment of associating him with Ponce as "vere filii vere matris [the monastery of Vézelay]," ibid., f. 127v (MPL CXCV 1627).

109. Ibid., f. 156r (MPL CXCV 1654).

110. Ibid., f. 159v (MPL CXCV 1658).

111. Ibid., f. 140v (MPL CXCV 1643-1644).

112. RHF XIII 129, 186.

113. BA 227, f. 174r (MPL CXCV 1673).

114. Ibid., f. 125r (MPL CXCV 1624), the second leaf of this section, contains a reference to "sancte memorie Poncius noster." Details of his death are reported on f. 129v (MPL CXCV 1630).

115. Ibid., f. 140v (MPL CXCV 1644).

116. Ibid., ff. 124r-v, 131v-133v (MPL CXCV 1623, 1632-1635).

117. Ibid., f. 140v (MPL CXCV 1643-1644).

118. Ibid., ff. 138r-v, 161r-162r (MPL CXCV 1641, 1659-1661).

119. BA 145, f. 296v: "Florebat et Guillelmus nivernensis comes, vir iustitia et honestate insignis, cuius postmodum devotio miram enituit, dum de potenti principe seculi factus est in carthusia humilissimus pauper christi."

120. Marolles, Inventaire, cols. 78, 611; GC XII, Instru. No. 22; AY H 1405 contains grants of the twelfth century Counts of Nevers to Pontigny; BN Baluze XL, t. I, ff. 161r-170v to Molesme; BN Latin 9885, ff. 6v-7r to Crisenon.

121. M. A. Challe, "Histoire du Comté de Tonnerre," BSSY, XXIX (1875), 97. A necrology of Auxerre, EHV I 129, records for 21 Aug., "Eodem die Willelmus comes Cartusiae religiosam vitam ducens, sanctissime obiit."

122. BA 227, f. 19v (Labbe 400).

123. Ibid., f. 79v (MPL CXCV 1598): "penam criminis ipse a cane devoratus excepit et iniustitie vindictam. . . ." The italicized words appear as a suprascript in the manuscript, written in a different ink.

124. Ibid., f. 81v (MPL CXCV 1601).
125. Ibid., f. 141r (MPL CXCV 1644).
126. Ibid., f. 87v (MPL CXCV 1609).
- 1 7. Ibid., ff. 62r, 86v (MPL CXCV 1601, 1608).
128. Historia Gloriosi Regis Ludovici, ed. Molinier in Vie de Louis le Gros par Suger suivie de l'Histoire du Roi Louis VII (Paris: Collection des textes pour servir à l'enseignement de l'Histoire, 1887), pp. 174-176; see the discussion on the authorship, pp. xxxv-xxxvi.
129. CGY I 313-323.
130. Julien de Vézelay, Sermons, ed. R. P. Damien Vorreux (Vézelay: multigraph, 1966), p. 1.
131. See Jean Richard, "Pour la connaissance d'un type social: Un 'jongleur' bourguignon du XIIIe siècle," Annales de Bourgogne, XXV (1953), 182-185. See the discussion of this manuscript in the introduction by Jeanne Vielliard, Le Guide du Pèlerin de St. Jacques de Compostelle (Macon: Protat Frères, 1938), pp. ix-xiii.
132. René Louis, "Aymeri Picaud alias Olivier d'Asquins, Compilateur du 'Liber Sancti Jacobi'," Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires Français, 1948-1949, p. 84.
133. Girart de Roussillon, ed. W. Mary Hacket (Paris: Picard, 1953), 3 vols.
134. Joseph Bédier, Les Legendes Épiques (Paris: Champion, 1917), II, 3-93, attributed the proto-type of this chanson to a monk of Vézelay working around the end of the eleventh century; René Louis, Girart, Comte de Vienne dans les chansons de gestes (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1947), I, 370, ascribed the relevant sections to a visitor to

the town in the entourage of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1146; see also the discussion by Ferdinand Lot, Études sur les Légendes Épiques Françaises (Paris: Champion, 1958), pp. 73-165.

135. This narrative and versions of the translations of the relics have been published in Faillon, II, cols. 735-762.

136. See Victor Saxer, Le Culte, I, 89-152.

137. Ibid., I, maps II and III, illustrate the impermanence in that of the 80 sites for which there is evidence of veneration of the Magdalene in the eleventh century, either in the form of cults or of liturgical texts, only thirteen, including Vézelay, appear among those for which there is any evidence for the period 1100-1146.

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY

In pre-Roman times, Vézelay was in the territory of the Éduen tribe, close to the frontier of the Lingoni, and at an early date the area may have been a crossroad for commerce as well as a pilgrimage center with a religious shrine at the nearby site of Fontaines-Salées.¹ Excavations at this site near the village of Saint Père-sous-Vézelay have revealed the existence of a sanctuary pre-dating the period of Roman domination. Its foundations exhibit the use of techniques of construction which are probably Gallic in origin.² There is very little evidence to suggest any settlement on the site of the present town of Vézelay prior to the ninth century.³ The site of Saint Père on the Cure river at the foot of the hill of Vézelay appears to have been more inviting to early settlement than the site atop the forbidding cliff. The river provided one avenue of communication and a minor Roman road which connected with the major routes through Gaul passed by the site of Saint Père.⁴ The salt baths nearby were more extensively developed by the Romans, exhibiting the typical features of Roman baths, a thermal complex and surrounding shops.⁵ Jewelry, coins, and other artifacts found at this site indicate that the baths were frequented by an elegant, complex society until the catastrophes of the mid-third century. Occupation of the site was resumed for a period in the fourth century on a much more modest scale and a

different character, the ruined baths merely providing the background for an artisan settlement.⁶ Another resource in the area of Vézelay, namely iron, probably provided the basis for long distance commerce. The ironworks in the forests to the west of the present site of Vézelay, known today as the Bois de la Madeleine and the Bois des Ferrières, show evidence of Roman exploitation in the second and the first half of the third centuries.⁷

It was probably in the fourth century, after the devastation of the highly sophisticated, complex society in the area, that the name of Vézelay was first applied to the site on the shores of the Cure river known today as Saint Père-sous-Vézelay.⁸ The name itself is derived from a combination of the Roman proper name Vitellius and the Gallic suffix -acus, the equivalent of the Roman suffix -villa.⁹ Such combinations in place names were common during the Gallo-Roman period, the earliest example appearing in a document of the second century.¹⁰ The documents related to the history of Vézelay in the ninth through the twelfth century show that names derived from a proper name and the Gallic suffix -acus were very common in the region around Vézelay,¹¹ suggesting that the Gallic-speaking population continued to be numerically powerful although, by the end of the Gallo-Roman period, organized into villas under the domination of Roman or Romanized proprietors. In the ninth century documents, however, such names frequently appear in combination with the word villa,¹² a redundancy illustrative of the fact that the knowledge of the Gallic language had long since died out by that time, although the region was never so completely depopulated in the intervening period as to

permit the use of these names to be lost.¹³

52

The earliest documentary reference to Vézelay, meaning the site of the present Saint Père, may be that which occurs in the seventh century Life of Saint Aunaire. Mention is made of gifts to Saint Germain of Auxerre in the territory of Avallon of Decimiacum cum Vidi-liaco, which is usually identified as Domecy with Vézelay.¹⁴ The site was apparently of sufficient importance at that date to warrant mention by name although subordinate to Domecy.

Foundation of the Monastery

The history of Vézelay really begins with the foundation in the mid-ninth century of a convent for women by the powerful lord, Count Gerard of Vienne, and his wife Bertha.¹⁵ Four documents, which have survived in twelfth century copies, relate to the foundation of the monastery.¹⁶ Although these records give much information on the conditions of the foundation, the exact date of the foundation remains obscure. Only the statement of the privileges of the monastery from Charles the Bald, which is undoubtedly the latest document in the series, bears a date, 868, in the twelfth century manuscripts.¹⁷ The actual foundation must have taken place about a decade earlier. Flooard's History of the Church of Rheims mentions, in the context of events of 861, "that King Charles the Bald wished to usurp the monasteries which Gerard had given to the blessed apostle Peter."¹⁸ This is in all probability a reference to the monasteries of Vézelay and Pothières which were established at the same time in the same document in the territory of Charles the Bald.

René Louis, in his biography of Count Gerard, suggests the

subsequentibus privilegii
 mentum confirmantibus



scilicet ecclesia scilicet sibi

3. Count Gerard and his wife, Bertha
 12th-century miniature
 Bibliothèque d'Auxerre, ms. 227, f. 22r

period of 858-9 as the most likely date for the foundation of these houses from the point of view of Gerard's political activities.¹⁹ With all due respect to the religious devotion of the founders of the monastery, it would appear that secular affairs played a large role in determining the time, place, and conditions under which the monastery was founded. Count Gerard had been engaged in a bitter struggle with King Charles and was faced with the imminent danger that the latter would confiscate his northern possessions.²⁰ A temporary lull in the hostilities in 858-9 provided the hope of securing these properties by means of a religious donation which would permit him to continue to enjoy the revenues from the property during his lifetime and redound to his credit in the hereafter. In essence, by this donation, he sought to insure this property against royal confiscation since he could not expect to retain it otherwise. The charter of foundation provided for his and his wife's enjoyment of the usufruct during their lives, requiring only an annual payment of a pound of silver from the monastery to the papacy. During his lifetime he would be the defender of this property.²¹ He clearly meant to maintain effective control over these temporal possessions for the rest of his life.

The earliest document related to the foundation of the monastery of Vézelay is probably the so-called "Testament" which contained those provisions. It is addressed to "All the faithful of Christ,"²² and begins with a statement of purpose strikingly similar to the formulas which appear in the charter of foundation of the Abbey of St. Benedict of Cessieu dated 859, additional evidence supporting the date proposed by René Louis.²³ Although they were fairly standard formulas in

documents of this period, the expressions of gratitude for the benevolence of the family of Charles the Bald and the provision for prayers for their welfare also suggest a date at a time of relative harmony in the relations between Gerard and Charles.²⁴ Gerard endowed the monastery of Vézelay with the villas of Vézelay, Dornecy, Cisternas, Fontenay, Molnitas, and whatever he and his wife had acquired in the territory of Avallon or Tonnerre. He used the perfect tense to refer to his donation and to the house which he had constructed on the deserted site, suggesting that this document formally records an establishment which had taken place at some indeterminate earlier date. The original monastery at Vézelay was a house for women who were to observe the Rule of St. Benedict.²⁵

The second document, a letter from Gerard to Pope Nicholas I (858-867) with regard to the foundation, is undated in the twelfth century manuscript.²⁶ D'Achery's edition of the letter bears a dating formula attributing the letter to the year 863.²⁷ This formula is also found in a seventeenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale.²⁸ While it is possible that this formula was derived from another manuscript of the History to which d'Achery may have had access, since it cannot be traced back any earlier than the seventeenth century, it cannot be considered as conclusive evidence as to the dating when other evidence conflicts. Flodoard's reference to the fact that the monasteries had been given to St. Peter by 861 suggests that this letter was prior to that date. Surely he would not have considered a donation to St. Peter seriously if it had not been announced to the Pope. The letter to Nicholas I, however, set down the full particulars of the donation

and made no reference to earlier correspondence. It must be considered as the earliest notification to the Pope of this donation. Moreover, the fact that this letter contains the names of twenty-eight witnesses, in addition to the signatures of Gerard, Bertha, and their daughter Eve, which are identical and in the same order as those who witnessed the "Testament,"²⁹ would seem to indicate that the two documents were written at the same time. It is highly improbable that the same twenty-eight individuals could have been assembled after some four years, the frequently accepted interval between the two documents,³⁰ for the purpose of bearing witness. While it is possible that the names of the witnesses on one or the other document may be a later interpolation, this type of information was commonly omitted in transcripts of the twelfth century and a scribal addition seems less likely. Moreover, the arrangement of names is different although the order is the same. In one case they succeed each other in a paragraph; in the other, they are arranged in three columns, reading from top to bottom. If a scribe had copied one from the other, it seems likely that he would also have copied the arrangement.

Of even greater significance is the fact that the ideas expressed in the two letters and the details of the arrangements made for the two houses which were founded are identical in both documents. Saxer professed to have discovered a significant change in the ideas expressed in the two documents.³¹ In the "Testament," Gerard merely stated that he was subjecting the houses to the Blessed Apostles;³² in the letter to Nicholas, he specifically named the church as his heir.³³ The difference, however, is more one of emphasis than of

substance, reflecting the different purposes of the two letters. In the first, addressed generally "to all the faithful," Gerard wished to ingratiate himself with the ruling house while at the same time presenting it with a fait accompli. This letter was to remain in the area and there was no point in dwelling on the relationship with the papacy which Gerard hoped to establish but which had not yet been accepted and confirmed. In the letter to Nicholas, the references to the Carolingian ruling house were reduced to a minimum and the desired role of the papacy, as well as the limitations to that role, were developed. Even though he named the church as his heir, it could be argued that Gerard thought less in terms of the church as heir to his property, property which it was expressly forbidden to grant,³⁴ than as heir to his function as protector. The basic conditions and the list of the properties with which the monastery was endowed, however, remained the same.³⁵

One of the most important conditions set forth in these documents provided a means for preserving the integrity of these properties from encroachments by other authorities. While seeking to protect his property against royal confiscation, it is unlikely that Count Gerard would have wished to risk having it subjected to exactions from episcopal powers. The subjection of the monastery directly to the papacy provided the means for avoiding this danger. The sisters at Vézelay were to observe the Rule of St. Benedict which, strictly speaking, provided very little occasion for episcopal interference.³⁶ Under that Rule, the head of the house was responsible for the well-being of the establishment and directly accountable to God.³⁷ The

major opportunity for episcopal interference arose in the case of an unworthy election.³⁸ In Carolingian times, however, Benedictine houses had generally been subjected to episcopal supervision, receiving regular visitations and supervision by their local bishop. By subjecting the house of Vézelay directly to the Apostolic Seat, Gerard obviated the occasion for episcopal interference in the case of elections, which he specifically mentioned,³⁹ as well as other occasions. The Pope was asked to be guide, consoler and protector, to regulate the house and maintain order, and to approve the election of a new abess who would be chosen by the sisters.⁴⁰ The annual payment of a pound of silver to Rome confirmed the subjection to the papacy which was, in fact, too far away to interfere.⁴¹ The dedication to the See of Peter, in other words, was intended by Gerard as a form of insurance, excluding other, more threatening claimants who might limit his control over this property.

Pope Nicholas undoubtedly recognized the intent of Gerard but at the same time realized the implications of direct subjection to the papacy which were in accord with his struggle against the decentralizing forces within the Gallican Church.⁴² In his statement of privileges for the monastery of Vézelay (also undated in the manuscript), he therefore accepted the conditions of Gerard's donation and added specific prohibitions against the exercise of episcopal control, including that "The Bishop of the diocese of that parish may not perform public masses there unless invited by the abess of that monastery and may not appoint to positions in that convent, nor may he have the power to disturb the quiet of the handmaidens of God by any kind of a popular assembly, and

he may not presume to exact procurations thence."⁴³ The assertion by Saxer that this statement was not meant to preclude regular episcopal visitations but only extraordinary exactions⁴⁴ is simply not warranted by the document. Pope Nicholas knew what he was talking about.

The development of immunity from episcopal spiritual control was an important step, providing a solid foundation for the later growth of papal power. Paul Fabre, in his study of the Liber Censuum, devoted several pages to an illuminating discussion of the documents related to the foundation of Vézelay in connection with this development. He concluded, however, that "Nothing in these documents authorizes us to think that the monastery of Vézelay was, in any way whatsoever, withdrawn from the authority of the diocesan bishop."⁴⁵ He considered the prohibitions of Nicholas cited above as "a purely financial and fiscal immunity, a sort of franchise."⁴⁶ It is difficult to see how the prohibition against saying mass unless invited can be characterized as "purely financial and fiscal." Moreover, both Gerard and Nicholas were experienced administrators and must have been aware of the fact that those who exercise spiritual functions could not perform those functions without material resources. By not providing such resources and, in fact, by expressly forbidding any imposition,⁴⁷ it was clearly their intention that the monastery should be withdrawn from diocesan control.

In a recent study of the problem, Lemarignier, while recognizing the precocious development at Vézelay, defined the problem more precisely and concluded that the status of spiritual immunity as he defined it did not fully evolve until the eleventh century.⁴⁸ Among the

conditions which he considered essential to the fully-developed status and which could not be found at the earlier date were specific statements of the right to by-pass the diocesan bishop to apply to another for spiritual services and immunity from excommunication by the diocesan bishop. In his examination of the jurisdiction of Vézelay, Saxer accepted Lemarignier's definition as his point of departure and, rejecting his recognition of the early development at Vézelay, concluded that it was only at the end of the eleventh century, due to Clunian influence, that Vézelay could be considered as spiritually immune.⁴⁹

The monks of Vézelay, in the twelfth century, certainly believed that these documents related to the foundation of the monastery were their basis for claims to spiritual immunity and brought them out to support these claims whenever the question arose.⁵⁰ This does not, of course, necessarily indicate that their claims were in accord with the original intent of the documents; nor, in fact, does papal recognition of their claims on the basis of these documents. But this recognition is relevant to the status of Vézelay around the end of the eleventh century. Pope Paschal II's confirmation of Cluny's control over Vézelay (1103) referred specifically to those powers which had been included in the documents of foundation, rather than to the powers which Cluny had attained during the previous century. The immunity from episcopal interference applied only to the monastery and the churches in the surrounding town, not to other possessions in the diocese or in other more distant regions. Ordinations in the monastery and these local churches were to be performed with the advice of the Abbot of Cluny acting "in our place." Elections were to be held under the supervision

of the Abbot of Cluny. The man elected was to be consecrated in accordance with the advice of the Pope or of the Abbot of Cluny. The diocesan bishop was not permitted to exact procurations or celebrate private masses in the monastery unless invited.⁵¹ Vézelay's immunity at the beginning of the twelfth century, therefore, is along the model established by Gerard and Nicholas in the ninth century and not, as Saxer maintained, an extension of Cluny's immunity. To the extent that these provisions have been more explicitly stated by Paschal, they reflect the more than two centuries of experience but no basic change in concept. Rather than increasing the independence of Vézelay by the association with the Cluniac order in the eleventh century, the grant of these rights to Cluny curtailed Vézelay's independence by subordinating the monastery to Cluny which was in a better position to interfere in the affairs of Vézelay than the papacy.

The development of spiritual immunity at Cluny may, in fact, have been somewhat influenced by the status of Vézelay. As Fabre had recognized, the charter of foundation of Cluny does not provide the basis for their spiritual immunity.⁵² It does not even contain a statement comparable to that found in the letter of Nicholas to Gerard with regard to the immunity of Vézelay. Nor do any of the earliest papal privileges to Cluny contain such provisions. The early Abbots of Cluny undoubtedly acted with a great deal of independence from ecclesiastical authority because of their prestige and their aura of sanctity. It is difficult to gainsay a man who is so respected in life as to be canonized in death. These early Abbot-Saints of Cluny may be said to have achieved a de facto spiritual immunity if not

de jure. The earliest papal privilege which appears to give a basis for de jure spiritual immunity is that of Gregory V (996-999) in which he declares "that no Bishop or any priest may presume to come for the purpose of performing in that venerable monastery any ordination, or consecration of the church, of the priests or deacons, and to celebrate masses unless invited by the Abbot of that place but let the monks of this place receive the grades of ordination from whomever they wish and wherever it pleases you and your successors."⁵³ This clause clearly appears to have been modelled on the provisions found in the letter of Nicholas with regard to Vézelay. Its insertion in a statement of the privileges of Cluny also indicates the importance in the eyes of tenth century ecclesiastics of these provisions which modern scholars have disparaged.⁵⁴ It remained for Cluny to refine the details of spiritual immunity and, most important of all, to extend them to all its holdings, creating an Order sufficiently powerful to influence the course of events. In 1016 Benedict VIII informed the Bishops of Burgundy, Aquitaine, and Provence that the liberties of Cluny applied equally to its possessions in their dioceses.⁵⁵

The importance of the spiritual immunity at the monastery of Vézelay at the time of its foundation, however, should not be exaggerated. It was not accompanied by any spiritual leadership. Vézelay never had a saint as abbot whose prestige could have given substance to its exceptional status. Moreover, the difficult struggles for survival during the first century of its existence negated the value of its privileges. The house which gratefully accepted the charity of the Bishops of Autun was not in a position to assert its independence. Although papal

privileges periodically reiterated prohibitions against episcopal power,⁵⁶ the Bishops of Autun appear to have performed visitations and ordinations⁵⁷ and no doubt were welcomed by the monks of Vézelay to whom they made generous gifts. Even had the spiritual immunity not soon fallen in abeyance, it is doubtful that its development at Vézelay would have had much significance. Vézelay's spiritual immunity was purely local. Even in the twelfth century when the spiritual immunity of the monastery is undisputed, it never extended to possessions at any distance from the mother-house. It was the combination of spiritual immunity and a wide-spread order established by Cluny that gave the development significance.

The fourth and final document related to the foundation of the monastery of Vézelay is the statement of the privileges of the monastery by the King, Charles the Bald, dated 6 January 868. It had taken about a decade since the earliest statement of the conditions under which the monastery was founded, conditions which had been inspired by the King's menaces, before Gerard succeeded in obtaining royal confirmation of his arrangements. Charles the Bald acknowledged the dedication of the monastery to the apostolic seat of Rome and warned that no public judge or judiciary power might intrude or demand exactions from the churches, places, fields or other possessions of the monastery for any reason whatsoever. Charles also conceded whatever obligations were due to the fisc for the purpose of charity to the poor and for the needs of the nuns.⁵⁸ This grant of immunity from secular authorities contains nothing unusual for this time when much ecclesiastical property enjoyed such privileges. The unusual aspect lies in the apparent difficulty

Gerard had in obtaining the royal grant which was obviously so important to him. The document makes no mention of an Abbess of Vézelay but mentions only the founders, Gerard and Bertha, at whose request the confirmation had been granted.

Having received royal and papal confirmations, Gerard could now relax, assured that his property enjoyed all the legal protection available at that time. What was the extent of these properties that he had sought so anxiously and ingeniously to secure? No precise answer can be offered to this question but the letters of Gerard and other documents preserved in twelfth century copies enable us to form some idea of the temporal possessions of the monastery of Vézelay at the time of its foundation. In the "Testament" and the letter to Nicholas, Gerard declared that he had endowed the monastery of Vézelay with the villa Vézelay, the villa Dornecy, the villa Cisternas, Fontenay, Molnitas, and whatever he and his wife had acquired in the districts of Avallon or Tonnerre. Gerard had obtained the villa of Vézelay with all that pertained to it from the Emperor Louis the Pious (814-840), through the agency of his Queen Judith, in exchange, presumably, for property of comparable size owned by Gerard.⁵⁹ This high-level exchange suggests that property of considerable size or importance was involved. No other information is available with regard to the villa of Vézelay.⁶⁰

The cartulary in Florence preserves records of land acquisitions by Gerard involving properties at two other sites mentioned in the endowment. In 827, Gerard had purchased a meadow from one Constantius and his wife Ataila, in Fontenay, for three solidi. This meadow was between the river and a pasture of Saint Martin; on both

sides it adjoined the lands of Saint Stephan.⁶¹ The following year Gerard purchased another meadow in Fontenay from Ermengaudus for five solidi which adjoined his property on two sides and, on the two others, the land of Saint Stephan.⁶² If this meadow was adjacent to the one purchased in 827, which may not have been the case, one can infer the acquisition some time prior to the second purchase of at least one other piece of property which adjoined the second purchase on the other side. At least one other acquisition, and probably more, has left no record. Gerard's holdings in Fontenay appear to have increased dramatically in subsequent decades for, in a document from the time of King Charles (840-877), Fontenay was described as Gerard's fisc.⁶³ Since the term fisc was usually used to describe royal estates, Fontenay might once have been royal property which had been alienated. The document from the time of King Charles records the purchase for twelve solidi by Gerard of properties from Berillus, who describes himself as a rustic, including five "holdings of rustics."⁶⁴ Any infringements of the conditions of that sale were to be punished by a fine of ten pounds of gold, payable to the fisc of Fontenay. The act was signed in the public house of Fontenay.

These documents suggest that the fisc of Fontenay was inhabited by a free peasant population. The sellers, Constantius, Ermengaudus, and Berillus, owned property apparently with no restrictions on its alienation. Berillus had substantial holdings, including the holdings of five men of his own social class. By the late 820's the holdings of one individual in Fontenay might consist of scattered parcels. Constantius and Ermengaudus presumably owned or held other parcels on which

they lived and grew food in addition to the meadows which they had sold but these properties were not adjacent. Several churches held parcels of property in this area, probably as a result of individual grants or sales on the part of small holders. As fiscal lands, these properties, and presumably the church property as well, would be subject to some sort of taxation payable to Gerard as holder of the fisc. He would also have received the revenues from justice. The penalty mentioned in the sale by Berillus (if it was seriously intended, which is doubtful from the amount named) would probably have gone directly into Gerard's coffers. The monastery of Vézelay may have lost control over this property, perhaps shortly after the death of Gerard (877), since the list of the property of the monastery in 1103 only confirms their rights over the church of Fontenay.⁶⁵

Gerard had acquired the property at Dornecy in 853 from one Roclinus and his wife Teutildis. The total value of the property conveyed to Gerard in this document is stated as 300 pounds.⁶⁶ Property in the villa of Dornecy on the Armanche River had been granted to Roclinus a decade earlier by King Charles the Bald.⁶⁷ This grant included twenty-two mansu with mancipiis, lands, vineyards, woods, meadows, waste, and standing and running waters. The church at Dornecy was specifically excluded in this grant, indicating that the property conveyed by Charles did not represent a complete social or economic unit. There was also no mention of buildings, houses, mill or press. Such properties were, however, included in the grant from Roclinus to Gerard, but identified as located in "the other Dornecy" on the Yonne River. In the same deed, Gerard also acquired a mansus of arable land in Villiers and 17 1/2

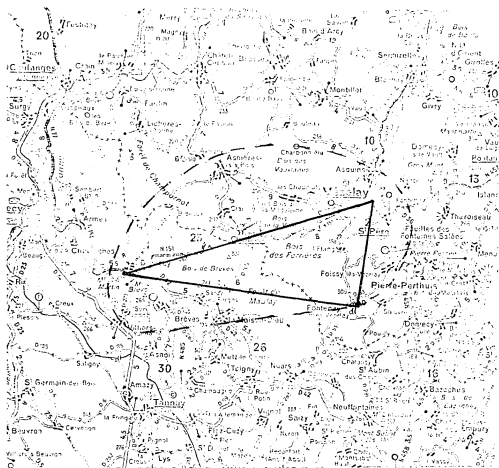
mansi in the territory of Dornecy but in Cirsiaco villa. The properties conveyed in this document appear to make up a complete agricultural unit although they are identified as belonging to several villas.

It may be that the different territorial divisions used to identify these properties were vestiges of an older agricultural organization in the area which had been so completely disrupted that the territorial divisions no longer corresponded to the productive units. A reorganization of the territory had produced one unit composed of parts of four older divisions. The preservation of the older boundaries suggests that the reorganization had taken place in the relatively recent past. After a few generations as a functioning unit, the older terminology would probably have disappeared. It is not unlikely that the reorganization is to be attributed to Roclinus. The monastery of Vézelay appears to have been able to retain this property in the succeeding centuries since the enumeration of its property in 1103 confirms possession of the villa of Dornecy as well as the church of St. Peter in that villa.⁶⁸

The villa Cisternas and Molnitum have not been identified. Quantin suggested that Molnitum was the site of Maulni,⁶⁹ an identification rejected by René Louis on linguistic grounds.⁷⁰ The latter suggested instead the site of Mornay. It is possible that Molnitum should be located in the region known today as the Forest of Maulay, to the south-west of Vézelay, behind the Bois des Ferrières. This suggestion which I put forth is admittedly not without difficulties, but a donation of property in this region would provide a connecting link between the villas of Vézelay and Dornecy. There are no other references in the

extant sources to either Cisternas or Molnitum. If the latter were a forested area such as Maulay, with sparse population and no administrative or religious structures, the lack of later references might be understandable.

A triangle drawn from the present town of Vézelay to Fontenay to Dornecy would include the Forest of Maulay.⁷¹ The area enclosed by this triangle would be approximately 37.5 square kilometers. It would include no sites which can be identified as being in the power of other authorities at about this time. While the documents contain nothing to indicate that the properties enumerated consisted of a single block of territory, the map suggests that this is highly probable. The triangle which is formed by connecting the three identifiable localities and including a possible fourth, should probably be considered as the core of the property with which the monastery of Vézelay was endowed. The boundaries of the identifiable properties must have extended far beyond the nucleus of the present site bearing their names. In the case of Dornecy, the property extended to the Yonne, approximately two kilometers from the town bearing that name today. The short leg of the triangle should bulge to the east to include at least the site of Saint Père where the original monastery was established and probably the salt springs at Fontaines Salées.⁷² It should probably be extended to the north beyond Asquins.⁷³ The hypotenuse should probably bulge out to include Crai⁷⁴ and perhaps as far as Asnières.⁷⁵ Moreover the unidentified villa Cisternas may not have fallen within the area. It is not unlikely that the extent of the original endowment of the monastery of Vézelay was at least double the size of this triangle, or approximately



4. MAP I: Vézelay and Monastic domains at the time of the foundation of the monastery.

- Triangle formed by identifiable properties of original endowment
- Possible extent of core of lands.

seventy-five square kilometers. Much of the land included in this area is hilly and heavily wooded. It is rich in mineral resources, including salt and iron, although to what extent these were known and exploited in the ninth century cannot be determined.

A donation of five properties amounting to seventy-five square kilometers would be completely in accordance with the evidence that exists for the Carolingian period with regard to the size of properties and ecclesiastical foundations. Philip Grierson's identification of the fisco described in Brevium Exempla indicated that the four properties ranged in size from 1406 to 2850 hectares each, the average size being 1994.5 hectares.⁷⁶ The territory granted to Vézelay would have included five properties whose average size would have been 1500 hectares or, if the villa Cisternas was not within the core of properties, 1875 hectares. Such a generous donation is certainly not unusual for this period. A description of the properties granted in 876 by Count Echard to Saint Benoit-sur-Loire survives which indicates that his donation included twelve entire villas plus 180 mansi in other villas.⁷⁷ One can get some indication of the relative importance of the foundation of Vézelay with regard to other ecclesiastical institutions of the period from the records of the Council of Aachen in 816 which described major ecclesiastical facilities as comprising 3,000 or 4,000 or even 8,000 or more mansi. Medium sized estates ranged from 1,000 to 2,000 mansi. Those of only 200 to 300 mansi were considered minor establishments.⁷⁸ The property of Vézelay at Dornecy included the mansus indominicatus and 40 1/2 mansi. If the four other properties conveyed were of similar size, Vézelay would still have been hardly more than a minor establishment according to the standards of the Council of Aachen.

The villa of Fley in the territory of Avallon was not mentioned in the "Testament" of Gerard or in his letter to Nicholas. It was bought by Gerard and Bertha in October of the fifth year of the reign of King Louis from Gerard and his wife Alboara in exchange for property in five villas in Tonnerre and fifty pounds.⁷⁹ The document recording Gerard's acquisition of Fley assumes considerable importance in the biography of Count Gerard by René Louis. Louis dates the document in 819⁸⁰ on the assumption that the dating formula refers to the fifth year of the reign of Louis the Pious (814-840), making it the earliest evidence for the life of Gerard. In both the "Testament" and the letter to Nicholas, however, Gerard declared that his donation included all the property that he and his wife had acquired in Avallon. Surely a property of the apparent importance as the villa of Fley would warrant a specific mention. According to the record of its acquisition by Gerard, the villa of Fley included a main house, a church in honor of Saint Symphorian, buildings, houses, arable land, vineyards, fields, meadows, pastures, woods, tithes, streams, fountains, fisheries, mills, fruit-bearing and non-fruit-bearing trees and waters.⁸¹ The inclusion of this document in the monastic archives is strong presumptive evidence that it was important as the basis of their claims to this property.

A date of 819 in accordance with the reign of Louis the Pious presents other difficulties. Louis the Pious had been crowned emperor by his father, Charlemagne, the year before the latter's death.⁸² The papal consecration of Louis had taken place on 5 October 816.⁸³ There can be no doubt that, in the year 819, documents would have been dated in accordance with the regnal years of Emperor Louis. The Annales are in

agreement in calling Louis Emperor at the time of his accession in 814.⁸⁴ Louis' own acts, which are dated from the death of Charlemagne, use the title Emperor.⁸⁵ Prior to his coronation as Emperor, Louis had used the title King of Aquitaine but the acts bearing this title are dated from the year 781 when he was crowned king.⁸⁶ A date for the acquisition of Fley in accordance with Louis' use of the title King at this time is obviously out of the question. One would have to conclude that Gerard, who was married at the time of its acquisition and thus presumably at least twenty years old, was born ca. 766 and therefore almost a hundred years old at the time of the foundation of the monasteries of Vézelay and Pothières at which time he was actively engaged in armed rebellion.

There are, however, other kings who bore the name Louis during the lifetime of Count Gerard. The least likely possibility is King Louis the German (806-876) who was crowned King of Bavaria in 825, King of the East Franks in 833, King of Germany in 843, and King of Lorraine in 870. On several occasions during the complicated struggles for power, Louis the German attempted to assert his claims to territory in France, but with little success. Louis of Italy (822-875) had greater success in southern France. Crowned King of the Lombards in 844, he was made joint Emperor in 850 and in 855, on the death of his father, became sole Emperor.⁸⁷ In 863, he succeeded in establishing himself as successor to King Charles of Provence for whom Gerard had served as Regent.⁸⁸ It is possible that Gerard's formula recognizes Louis of Italy as King of Provence and that the date in the fifth year of his reign indicates that the document was written in 867, but in

all probability documents of that date would have referred to Louis of Italy by his more important title, Emperor. Finally, Louis the Stammerer (846-879), son of Charles the Bald, was King of Aquitaine in 866 and, in 877, King of France.⁸⁹ A date in accordance with his use of the title King since 866 would place the acquisition of Fley in the year 871.

A date in the year 871, while not without difficulties,⁹⁰ offers a simple solution to the problem of the omission of any reference to Fley in the original endowment of the monastery. Gerard had not yet acquired Fley at the time of the foundation of Vézelay. In all probability this acquisition took place about twelve years later. A comparison of the names of the witnesses to this transaction with those which appear on the documents related to the foundation may offer some confirmation of this temporal relationship between the documents. Six of the witnesses and the seller of Fley may have also witnessed the documents of foundation.⁹¹ One cannot insist on a positive identification in any one instance due to the practice at this time of using only one name and to the inconsistencies in the spelling of names. Nevertheless, considering the group of names, it would appear unlikely that seven men in attendance on Gerard in 819 would have the same names as seven of his men approximately forty years later. This coincidence is quite likely, however, after an interval of little more than a decade.

The re-dating of this document presents the necessity for a major reexamination of the early life of Count Gerard. The earliest documents which relate to his career appear to be those which record his modest purchases in Fontenay in the year 827 and 828. There is

no mention of Bertha in these documents. He does, however, already bear the title Count. Instead of envisaging him as a powerful lord who burst on the scene in 819 dealing in substantial properties, this series of documents suggests more modest beginnings. His career may have begun with imperial preferment, slowly and gradually augmented with land purchases, beginning with modest acquisitions for only a few shillings. It may have been a long and devious process by which Gerard achieved the power he later enjoyed as virtual ruler of Provence. Such a career would go far to explain Gerard's stubborn tenacity in holding on to these properties which, at the height of his career, were no longer essential to his power or position.

The acquisition of the villa of Fley in the year 871 affords some insight into the role of Gerard vis a vis his new foundation. This villa was acquired, in part, in exchange for property in Tonnerre. Yet, according to the "Testament" and the letter to Nicholas, Gerard had endowed the monastery of Vézelay with all his holdings in Tonnerre. While he might have acquired additional property in Tonnerre in the intervening period, since this period was so occupied in civil war which made his ownership of property in the north extremely precarious, Gerard seems to have been more concerned with securing and consolidating his possessions in the north than with increasing them. It would appear, therefore, that in acquiring the villa of Fley, although Gerard and Bertha acted in their own names, they were dealing with property supposedly belonging to the monastery of Vézelay in order to acquire property which was to form part of the estates of that house. There is no reason to doubt that whatever property had been initially granted

in Tonnerre was relinquished at about this time. Later documents afford little evidence of any ownership of land in Tonnerre by the monastery of Vézelay prior to the time of Abbot Ponce (1138-1161).⁹² The list of the property of the monastery of 1103 mentions the churches of Ingulos in the diocese of Noyon which may have been in Tonnerre. It also included the villa of Fley with the church of St. Symphorian which the monastery had, in all probability, succeeded in retaining in the intervening period.⁹³

The lack of any reference to the sisters at Vézelay is somewhat surprising but altogether consistent with the vagueness of their existence in other documents. Not one document has survived written either to or from the sisters or an Abbess of Vézelay. The statement of the privileges of the monastery of Vézelay from Nicholas referred only by name to "you, Gerard and Bertha."⁹⁴ The confirmation of these privileges by Charles the Bald mentioned only Gerard and Bertha by name.⁹⁵ Not one name has survived identifying any of the sisters of Vézelay. It has been suggested that Bertha or her daughter Eve served as the first Abbess of Vézelay.⁹⁶ If so, there is no document from that time which identified her as such. The sisters apparently took no active role in managing the affairs of the monastery. Rather, it would appear that Gerard and Bertha continued to act as the proprietors of the property of the monastery as long as it was a convent for women, freely acquiring and disposing of its estates.⁹⁷ It is possible that that there never was an abbess of Vézelay. The confirmation of Charles the Bald stated that as long as Gerard and Bertha lived, they would possess, order, and dispose of the property, only making the annual payment to

the apostolic seat. After their death, the women of the convent were to elect an abbess from their number.⁹⁸ The convent for women, however, did not survive the death of Gerard.

The property of the monastery of Vézelay at this date would appear to consist of a nucleus of land in the territory of Avallon of perhaps some seventy-five square kilometers which had been granted by Gerard at the time of the foundation. To this must be added the substantial property at the villa of Fley which Gerard had exchanged for the lands in Tonnerre originally granted to the monastery. The villa of Fley, also in the territory of Avallon, was much closer to the bulk of the estates of the monastery although not adjacent to the main body of their holdings. The monastery probably never controlled the territory around the castellum of Metz which by the tenth century was held by the ancestors of the Counts of Nevers⁹⁹ and separated Fley from the main lands.

There is no basis at all for estimating the revenues that the monastery could expect from these lands. They must have been at least sufficient to assure a decent maintenance for the sisters who were established at Vézelay at the time of its foundation since the women could hardly have been expected to produce their own sustenance. In all probability the revenues were considerably more than this minimum at the time of the foundation since Gerard apparently expected to secure a substantial personal income from the usufruct of these estates. He would hardly have bothered to take such elaborate steps to protect his holdings if the income was no more than a pittance. Gerard warned that care be taken lest the number of sisters strain the resources¹⁰⁰ but this may reflect his desire to keep the establishment to a minimum

lest his own income be reduced. Nicholas also warned that care should be taken to maintain the numbers lest too many lead to poverty and too few be taken as an indication of the abandonment of the site.¹⁰¹

The documents related to the early property of Vézelay reveal that varied social and economic conditions existed on its estates. Lands at Fontenay which had once formed part of the royal fisc appear to have been divided by the time of Louis the Pious into small parcels owned or held by individual free peasants. Other lands were organized into larger agricultural units as villas. These reveal the typical organization with the lord's demesne and its residence, buildings, mill, etc., surrounded by small holdings which probably had rights to woods, meadows, waste, waters, etc. Servile labor in some form was probably typical of the villas. Mancipia are mentioned specifically with regard to the grant of twenty-two mansi which formed part of the villa of Dornecy.¹⁰² Roclinus' grant of the entire unit to Gerard, however, included servi as well as ancillae and mancipia.¹⁰³ The association of mancipia with the individual holdings suggests that in reality the status of these two classes was beginning to merge. Forty years later, nevertheless, the privilege of Sergius III continued to recognize the existence of two types of economic organization as well as status in his confirmation of "manorial as well as allodial or fiscal [property], servi and mancipia."¹⁰⁴

The only other information on conditions at Vézelay during the time when it was a convent for women is the brief entry in the Little Chronicle telling of a severe famine in the year 867 which supposedly caused the death of fifty men in one day at Sens.¹⁰⁵ One can only

imagine the hardships women endured during their brief residence at Vézelay which soon led to their disbanding. The exact date at which the women left is not given in the sources. The earliest references to their departure are found in the confirmations of the privileges of the monastery to Abbot Odo by Emperor Charles on 10 September 877 and by Pope John VIII (872-882) on 19 September 877.¹⁰⁶ Count Gerard had died on 4 March of that same year.¹⁰⁷ Although any connection between these events has been denied,¹⁰⁸ it is difficult not to imagine a direct relationship between Gerard's death in early March and the dispersal of the sisters by September. If the monks had arrived at Vézelay during the lifetime of Gerard, would he not have taken appropriate steps to secure confirmation of this change? Instead, the approval of this change was granted to Odo, first Abbot of Vézelay. The death of Gerard, whose forceful activities on their behalf condemned the sisters to perpetual anonymity, apparently removed the support necessary for their continued presence in difficult times.

Struggle for Survival

With the arrival of the monks, the monastery of Vézelay really becomes a religious institution rather than a shield to protect the temporal possessions of a powerful lord. Odo, the first Abbot of Vézelay (877-ca. 903), appears to have taken the affairs of the monastery vigorously in hand. He applied immediately for imperial and papal confirmation of his position and of the privileges of the monastery. The following year the Pope was in Gaul to attend the Council of Troyes and may have visited Vézelay to dedicate the monastery.¹⁰⁹ Nothing is

known of Odo's career prior to his arrival at Vézelay but it has been suggested that he was connected with the early monastic reform movement emanating from Saint Martin of Autun.¹¹⁰ The evidence for this connection, however, is very slight, consisting of no more than a coincidence of names which, during this period when only a praenomen was generally used for identity, is very hazardous. An eleventh century legend identifying Odo as the brother of the knight Adelelmus who uncovered the relics of the Magdalene appears to have no basis in fact.¹¹¹

Odo's term in office began in difficult times. The monastic community he guided was poor and evidently small in number. The monks originally occupied the house which the sisters had abandoned near the present site of Saint Père. Emperor Charles' confirmation in 877 still referred to the monastery situated on the Cure river.¹¹² In 886, however, the Normans invaded Burgundy and in the following years wreaked havoc in the region.¹¹³ The site of the original foundation had to be abandoned and the monastery of Vézelay was moved to a better defensive position atop a nearby cliff, the present site of Vézelay, where a fortified structure was erected. The confirmation of the privileges of the monastery by King Odo (887-898) contains the earliest reference to the castellum which was constructed because of the harassment of the pagans.¹¹⁴

More hardships lay ahead for the region but by the beginning of the tenth century, Odo had organized the administration of the monastic property and modestly increased its holdings. In June 900 the monastery had received a gift from one Agenolfus of a mansus in the territory of

Vergigny at a place called "Long Hunger"¹¹⁵ -- a name which eloquently suggests the hardships the inhabitants must have suffered. The property was located between the Cure river and the via publica. The owners of the adjacent properties are not mentioned. The donor also granted a vineyard next to one of Saint Peter. The record of this donation was drawn up in the villa publica of Vézelay in the time of Abbot Odo and Prepositus Arbertus. Arbertus is the only subordinate official of the monastery prior to the end of the eleventh century whose name has been preserved. He may have played a very prominent role in the affairs of the monastery to warrant mention by name.

It was probably at approximately the same time that the monastery received another gift, also in the villa of Vergigny. This donation of two mansi included lands, meadows, buildings, still and running waters, woods, a mill, and other appurtenances. Since these are apparently small individual peasant holdings, the document probably only conveyed rights to the waters, woods, mill, etc. The donor, Horulfus, reserved only one iornale "where four sextaria may be sown, which I give to my grandsons."¹¹⁶ One iornale, or the amount of land for one day's plowing, would hardly have been enough to support his grandsons. It is difficult to understand the reason for this reservation in a donation which actually disinherits his heirs. They may have had other property or, perhaps, ownership of one iornale would be sufficient to enable them to retain their status even if it could not feed them. The description of this iornale as one where four sextaria may be sown probably set a standard of fertility for the land reserved for them, the precise meaning of which cannot be determined

due to the lack of data for comparison. The donation included one mansus which adjoined the via publica and was bounded on the other sides by the allods of Berengarius, Acbergus and Adalardus. The other, also adjoining the via publica, was surrounded by lands of St. Peter, St. Martin, and St. Amatoris. It seems likely that these lands of Horulfus, as well as the parcels donated by Agenolfus, were allodial properties since the donors recorded no obligations or approvals on the part of superiors to their donations and since they are in an area in which allodial property existed.

Although Vergigny is described as a villa and the gift on the part of Horulfus mentions various types of property suggesting the organization of a villa where rights to communal property would have been associated with individual holdings, such organization and the effective assertion of lordship associated with it appears to have dissolved by this time. The land was now held by individuals in their own right with no apparent restrictions on its alienation. The omission on the part of Agenolfus of the names of the owners of the properties adjacent to his holding in the place called "Long Hunger" may indicate that these properties were abandoned. Famine may have caused serious depopulation in the area. Three of the four parcels involved in these gifts adjoined the via publica, a location which presumably would be among the last to be abandoned. Vergigny was very close to Vézelay. The twelfth century burghers of Vézelay were concerned about fishing rights in the waters of Vergigny.¹¹⁷ It is likely that the famine and depopulation which had affected Vergigny was also felt on the other properties of the monastery nearby. These

modest gifts apparently were not incidental to a major acquisition at Vergigny at this time since later abbots claimed it had been acquired around the beginning of the twelfth century.¹¹⁸

The monastery of Vézelay had also increased its holdings in ecclesiastical property around the end of the ninth century. It had had possession of the church of Saint Symphorian and the tithes in the villa of Fley since the time of Count Gerard. In the time of Odo, Bishop Walo of Autun (893-?), granted the churches of Saint Germain of Fontenay and Saint Leger of Morvan to Vézelay to help the struggling community.¹¹⁹ This is the earliest evidence of interest on the part of a Bishop of Autun in the affairs of Vézelay and implies not only a knowledge of conditions at the monastery but also approval of the order Odo instituted. Odo, perhaps a product of the church of Autun, could hardly have rejected any assertion of episcopal rights at this time even if he had wanted to due to the precariousness of the monastery's existence. Subsequent Bishops of Autun confirmed the grant by Walo¹²⁰ and Vézelay was apparently able to retain the possession of these churches in the succeeding centuries as they were included in the list of their properties in 1103.¹²¹

In 903 Pope Sergius confirmed to Odo the monastery's right to be paid tithes "without any contradiction because a church which has been specially subjected to the Holy Apostolic See should not be held to the customs of another church."¹²² This privilege, erroneously dated in 911 by Chérest, has for that reason created unnecessary confusion in the chronology of the early Abbots of Vézelay.¹²³ Although Sergius' term in office is officially recognized as having begun in

904, he was actually elected towards the end of 898 and did not recognize Popes John IX (898-900) and Benedict IV (900-903) who are officially listed for the intervening period.¹²⁴ A document dated by him the fifteenth Kalends of June in the fifth year of his term in office must be dated on 18 May 903. At that date Sergius was not in control of the papal chancellery which may explain the fact that his letter does not conform to the standard statement of the privileges to which most of the Popes adhered very closely. Sergius also expressed his approval of the succession of Aripertus after the death of Odo.¹²⁵ Aripertus may be the same man as the prepositus Arbertus who was mentioned in the donation of 900. He, too, must have played a prominent role in the affairs of the monastery during the declining years of Odo and did, in fact, succeed him,¹²⁶ although apparently only for a very short time. The Little Chronicle did not include his name but recorded the accession of Abbot Aimo in 907.¹²⁷

The history of the monastery in the next century is very vague. The names of some of the Abbots are known from the Little Chronicle but nothing else about them can be determined.¹²⁸ A remark in a Sermon of Odo, second Abbot of Cluny (926-942), reports that the monastery was burnt down as a result of fire allegedly started by the candle of a careless monk.¹²⁹ The structure built atop the hill in the late ninth century was undoubtedly constructed of wood which would have burnt quickly. The Little Chronicle recorded a severe famine in Gaul in the year 939. Again, in 941, famine spread from Italy to the West and "a dragon [was] seen next to the monastery of Vézelay."¹³⁰ Bishop Rodmundus' confirmation of the grants of his predecessors was written

shortly after these troubles.

During the term of Abbot Eldrado, Bishop Gerard of Autun (968?-976) requested papal approval of the grant to Vézelay of the tithes of four churches: St. Peter, St. Christopher, St. Germain and St. Leger.¹³¹ Monastic possession of tithes was not common at this date and their confirmation to Vézelay provides an early example of what later became ubiquitous.¹³² St. Germain and St. Leger had been granted to Vézelay ca. 900. The church of St. Peter cannot be definitely identified since, by 1103, the monastery had possession of three churches of that dedication in the diocese of Autun.¹³³ At this date St. Peter probably refers to the church of St. Peter at Dornecy, a villa which had formed part of the original endowment of the monastery although the church apparently had been excluded from the donation. There is no further mention of a church of St. Christopher in the documents of Vézelay before the late twelfth century.¹³⁴ During the period when Vézelay was subject to Cluniac control, Cluny came into possession of a church of St. Christopher in Autun,¹³⁵ possibly the same one which was granted to Vézelay at this time. De Sancto Christophoro does occur in the documents of the mid-twelfth century as a cognomen.¹³⁶

Pope Benedict VI (972-974) granted the requested confirmation on 28 November 973 but, despite the apparent benevolence of the Bishop of Autun towards Vézelay, the Pope added a warning that no Bishop of Autun should practice any sort of chicanery towards the Abbot or the monks with regard to these churches or diminish these and other tithes or transfer them to another parish. He reiterated the prohibitions against episcopal interference which had been contained in the papal

privileges to the monastery since the time of Pope Nicholas.¹³⁷ These prohibitions, nevertheless, appear to have long been ignored. The Bishops of Autun clearly were exercising rights of supervision expressly forbidden in the original grant. If they were not exacting dues of a financial nature, this was more a reflection of the poverty of the monastery of Vézelay which called for charity rather than exactions.¹³⁸

One final aspect of the early history of Vézelay remains to be discussed because of its relevance to later developments. As yet there has been no mention in the documents of the relics or of the cult of Saint Mary Magdalene at Vézelay. The "Testament" of Gerard described the monastery of Vézelay as established in the honor of Jesus Christ.¹³⁹ The letters to and from Nicholas had declared that it was in the honor of Jesus Christ and in veneration of his mother, the Blessed Virgin Mary,¹⁴⁰ and this continued to be the standard statement in the papal privileges of the tenth century. In 868 Charles the Bald confirmed the foundation of Vézelay "for the love and honor of God and our Lord Jesus Christ and his Blessed Mother Mary" which was subject to "God and his Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul of the Holy See of Rome."¹⁴¹ Ten years later Charles re-confirmed the privileges of the monastery, this time "in honor of our Lord Jesus Christ and of his mother the Virgin Mary and also of St. Peter and St. Andeol, martyrs."¹⁴² The donation of Agenolfus, ca. 900, was given "to the Princes of the Apostles Peter and Paul and to St. Andeol."¹⁴³ Horolfus, in the year 900, granted his gifts "to our Lord Savior and his mother the Blessed Mary in the monastery called Vézelay where rest the bodies of the Blessed Martyrs, namely Andeol and Poncian."¹⁴⁴

Thus, although there has as yet been no mention of the Magdalene, the monastery was identified at an early date as possessing relics. A

source written during the lifetime of Count Gerard described his efforts to procure relics which were then given to the monasteries he had founded.¹⁴⁵ Gerard's role in acquiring these relics formed the basis for some of the later legends which developed to explain the acquisition, by the monastery of Vézelay, of the body of St. Mary Magdalene.

The series of papal confirmations which penetrated the darkness of the tenth century at fairly regular intervals came to an end with the privilege of Pope Sylvester II (999-1003).¹⁴⁶ Half a century would elapse before the next papal privilege. This was a crucial half century for the history of Vézelay in which the events can only be dimly grasped.

Origin of the Cult of the Magdalene

The privilege of Leo IX (1049-1054), dated 27 April 1050, officially recognized the dawn of a new era in the history of Vézelay. It was addressed to Gaufredus, Abbot of the monastery of Vézelay (1037-1052) "which is in the honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the veneration of his Mother, and of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and of the Blessed Mary Magdalene."¹⁴⁷ The remainder of the document is merely a repetition of the statement of privileges which had become standard since the time of Pope Nicholas. The statement was issued just prior to the Lateran Council which got underway around the 29 April of that year and which Abbot Gaufredus attended.¹⁴⁸ It is the earliest official recognition of the cult of Saint Mary Magdalene at Vézelay, the cult which was to make Vézelay famous throughout western Christendom.¹⁴⁹

Almost a half century of papal silence with regard to the affairs of Vézelay had gone by during which time an important development had taken place, laying the foundation for the future course of

events. This crucial period in the history of Vézelay is but dimly illuminated by the extant sources. The Little Chronicle provides a skeletal framework for the chronology of the period. At the beginning of the eleventh century the Abbot Robert (999-1008), to whom Pope Sylvester addressed his privilege,¹⁵⁰ was in office. His successor, Everardus (1008-1011), is otherwise unknown. In 1011, Herman became Abbot and remained in office for twenty- six years until the accession of Gaufredus in 1037. The Little Chronicle also records a severe famine of seven years duration for the year 1042.¹⁵¹

In the early eleventh century Vézelay came under the influence of the reformer William of Volpiano, Abbot of Saint Benigne of Dijon (990-1031).¹⁵² A letter from William to Odilo, Abbot of Cluny (994-1049), recorded a chain of events which had its beginning at Vézelay. Landry, Count of Nevers (d. 1028), had "shamefully" ejected the monks of Vézelay with their abbot. "Lord Oddo", probably Otto-Guillaume of Burgundy, protector of Saint Benigne (d. September 1027), supported the monks of Vézelay without having consulted the Bishop of Autun who was incensed at this. The Bishop of Autun held the monks of Saint Benigne responsible and attached their possessions in the diocese of Autun, usurping the monastery of Mèvre which belonged to Saint Benigne and desecrating their altars. The Abbot Saint Benigne, a disciple of Cluny, asked the help of the Abbot of Cluny to rectify the situation.¹⁵³ This letter provides the earliest evidence suggesting Cluniac involvement in the affairs of Vézelay.

Abbot Herman had taken office in 1011 according to the Little Chronicle and died in 1037 as Abbot of Vézelay.¹⁵⁴ He was evidently

restored after his expulsion by Landry. A source written shortly after Herman's death described conditions at Vézelay towards the end of his term in office. The writer reported that although the discipline of the monastery had been preserved for a long time under many abbots, alas, the inactivity and idleness of the inhabitants had had their effect. Sometime around the year 1030, discipline had been relaxed and disturbances caused by lasciviousness had increased.¹⁵⁵ It is possible that this development lay at the root of Landry's oppression of the monks. The sequence of events described by William, however, began in or before 1027 while the author of the account of these conditions, written shortly after these events, placed the degeneration around the year 1030. This disparity in the dates, which may amount to no more than three years, would not present a major difficulty were it not for other circumstances. Landry hardly had the character of a religious reformer¹⁵⁶ while the monastic reformers par excellence, the disciples of Cluny, appear to be on the side of the ejected monks of Vézelay. Herman's eventual restoration may well have been due in part to the good offices of Abbot Odilo of Cluny.

As for Count Landry of Nevers, he was a military adventurer who established the fortunes of his descendants. His family may long have enjoyed prominence¹⁵⁷ but Landry himself first appeared on the scene in the not too distinguished role of heir to the castle of Monceaux which his father had built in the Nivernais.¹⁵⁸ The twelfth century Brief History of the Counts of Nevers offers some more details on the history of his ancestors in the region as well as an account of how Landry obtained the county of Nevers. The narrative takes the form of a

series of anecdotes with many common literary motifs and should probably be dismissed as more legend than history. We are told, for example, that Landry was dining with his comrades-in-arms, the Count of Poitou, the Count of Anjou, and the Count of Burgundy. The three lords were vying to establish a special claim to the friendship of Landry, their host. The Counts of Poitou and Anjou based their claims on his ancestry. Landry's grandfather supposedly came from a Poitevin family. His grandmother was an Angevin. Not to be outdone, the Count of Burgundy, who could offer no such claim, declared himself prepared to demonstrate his friendship by granting a request. Landry promptly asked for the County of Nevers which was granted.¹⁵⁹ The story obviously cannot be taken literally but the fact remains that Landry received the County of Nevers from Burgundy around the end of the tenth century and was the first of the line of hereditary counts who ruled the area surrounding Vézelay during the period with which this study is concerned.¹⁶⁰

The relationship between the Count of Nevers and Vézelay in the early eleventh century is not at all clear. Landry's "shameful" act described in 1027 was soon forgotten by the monks of Vézelay. The source, which described the end of the term of Herman, contains no reference which could be interpreted as inspired by that event. By the mid-twelfth century the author of the Brief History of the Counts of Nevers, presumably a monk of Vézelay, described Landry as "a man of great liberality who received almost all travellers, nobles and ordinary people, going to the tombs of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul--for, to be sure, at that time many Gallic and Britannic natives frequented the tombs."¹⁶¹ The reference to pilgrims passing through the region on their way to

Rome at this early date, before the development of Vézelay as a pilgrimage center, is noteworthy. The numbers of pilgrims could not, however, have been very great if Landry was able to entertain "almost all" passers-by. But why should Landry have exhibited such liberality? The travelers might possibly have been received by him as a diversion. During this period pilgrims frequently brought news and tales from afar which helped pass the time of day. The account of Landry in the Brief History suggests somewhat the character of a bon vivant who might seek such entertainment. But his generosity extended not only to nobles who might be considered suitable guests but to the ordinary traveller as well--although the source does not mention the poor who might most be in need of shelter and could also bring news and stories. Perhaps Landry had some ulterior motive in his liberality. A possible explanation will be offered below.

In the decade that followed the death of Landry, the area was beset by severe famine and plague. Rodulfus Glaber's account of these hardships and the millenarian interpretation he gave them is well known. According to Glaber, the calamities began in the East, spread through Greece and Italy and reached through Gaul to the English peoples. There was a war of the elements which began with inundations, making sowing and reaping impossible. He described incidents of cannibalism and barbarity in Troyes and Macon.¹⁶² There can be no doubt that the region between these towns, in which Vézelay is situated, was also affected. The Little Chronicle recorded a seven year famine next to the year 1042.¹⁶³ Hugh of Fleury also mentioned a three year period of famine which began with torrents of rain in the year of the death of King Robert, 1031.¹⁶⁴ Robert of Auxerre agreed in reporting a severe famine in the year of the

death of King Robert and suggested that the populace resorted to cannibalism.¹⁶⁵ While it is impossible to reconcile the dates of Glaber, the Little Chronicle, and these two reports, it is probable that they refer to the same events.

Glaber associated his account with the millenium, ascribing the onslaught of these calamities to the approaching year 1033, one thousand years after the Passion of Christ. The war of the elements which made agriculture impossible for three years was followed by three years of pestilence. At last, with the passing of the millenial year, "the skies began to clear."¹⁶⁶ If his dating of these events in terms of the millenium is to be taken seriously, the beginning of the period of hardships must be placed in 1028, with recovery being apparent only in 1034. According to the Little Chronicle entry for 1042, the beginning of the seven year famine must be dated in the year 1035. That there could have been two such calamitous periods, one of six years and one of seven years, succeeding each other with an interval of only one year between them seems highly unlikely. The effects of the natural catastrophes might have been delayed in the remote hills surrounding Vézelay but this delay would hardly be adequate to explain the seven year gap between the dates of these two sources. It is of great significance that both accounts agree in placing the beginning of the period of famine in the latter part of the term of Abbot Herman. The year 1031 mentioned in the other sources appears a likely date for the onslaught of these difficulties.

Certain details of Glaber's account can be accepted as relevant to the history of Vézelay during this period. That the period of troubles began with torrential rains is extremely important. The

flooding of the land, which Glaber reported made agriculture impossible, would not have affected so disastrously a hilly forested region, such as is found in the area of Vézelay. The excess water would have drained into the lowlands while the trees would have prevented serious erosion. Agriculture in the region around Vézelay would have been relatively undisturbed. According to Glaber, hunger drove the people from place to place in search of food. Such supplies as existed were offered for sale at exorbitant prices.¹⁶⁷ At just about this time, according to the source written about a decade later, the discipline of the monks of Vézelay was relaxed and they were acquiring taste for luxuries. Coincidence? Perhaps. But perhaps these facts are related. The monks of Vézelay, whose food supplies would have been less seriously affected by the natural calamities, may have taken the opportunity to profit by selling food to the starving populace which came to the hills fleeing hunger.

One more aspect of Glaber's account deserves comment--that is, the association of these calamities with increasing popular credulity. Prior to his account of the millennial horrors, Glaber had related incidents involving the sale of relics and miracles.¹⁶⁸ At the end of his account of the catastrophes, he reported the tremendous feeling of relief and joy in the abundance which was felt to be a sign of the mercy of God.¹⁶⁹ He then described the activities of religious leaders in establishing the Truce of God. The author of the source for the conditions at Vézelay at this time also discussed the Truce of God, which was proclaimed a few years after Gaufredus, Herman's successor, took office.¹⁷⁰ This coincidence helps to establish the relationship between the events

recorded by both sources. It is against the background of these events and of the state of mind described by Glaber that the next development at Vézelay must be viewed.

In 1037 Abbot Herman died. A great search was made by the "provincials" to find a suitable successor to improve monastic order and dedication.¹⁷¹ The reference to this development gives no further details which might clarify the situation. The author appears to have referred to steps taken by local inhabitants who were not members of the monastic community. It is thus the earliest reference to a non-religious populace at Vézelay. The concern with finding a suitable successor to Herman suggests strong disapproval of the policies he and the monastic community had pursued. Gaufredus, who apparently was a priest known for his devout pastoral service and not one of the monastic community, was "unanimously" elected. Herman's followers could hardly have approved the unprecedented role of the provincials in selecting the new Abbot and one suspects that after the death of Herman, his community had been run out of town. Gaufredus is described as a model in humility and patience. He began to reform the monastery, applying himself assiduously to psalms and prayers. "By divine inspiration" a great number of people had gradually begun to arrive, journeying not only from the surrounding provinces but also from distant regions. On taking office, Gaufredus found something peculiar in the monastery of Vézelay--iron chains. He had a balustrade made from them and set it up around the altar.¹⁷² This peculiar detail requires further examination, but first one must examine the source from which it comes.

Shortly after 1040, this account of the beginnings of the

pilgrimage to Vézelay was written by an eye-witness to these events. It is almost the only source of information for conditions at the monastery during the time of Herman and Gaufredus, and has already been cited on several occasions. The narration is simple and straightforward; the events described, even the miracles, are completely within the realm of possibility, if one discards the causal role ascribed to the Magdalene in which the author so fervently believed. He described no elaborate, contrived, or astounding feats. Nor did he borrow the stock miracles found in other examples of hagiographic literature. Rather, he appears to have recorded to the best of his ability, what went on at Vézelay at this time, giving details of names, dates, place of origin, etc., whenever this information was available, although not with sufficient consistency of detail to suggest a contrived composition. He offered no explanation of how the relics of the Magdalene came to be at Vézelay beyond stating that anything is possible to God.¹⁷³ We are extremely fortunate to have such an eye-witness account to help fill in the gaps in this crucial period in Vézelay's history. The details of his account seem quite credible and, although one may believe they have sometimes been somewhat garbled in the re-telling and one may discard completely the supernatural causation, they are extremely suggestive in their peculiarities.

The author may have been a monk at Vézelay. The mere fact that he was literate at this date argues for a religious career. He apparently arrived at Vézelay sometime soon after the installation of Gaufredus. His account of conditions under Herman is rather vague and it is in his narration of events that happened before Gaufredus took office that one

can offer the most serious objections to his account. He was, however, on the scene before the existence of the body of the Magdalene was generally accepted as being at Vézelay and injected himself into the narration to relate an incident which, he asserted, dispelled all doubt. "One Saturday," he declared, "after solemn Matins when I was standing on the road as usual, the figure appeared to me of a most noble woman, standing before the entrance to the place where the bones of the aforementioned maiden of Christ were preserved." He reported hearing words which seemed to come from her mouth, saying, "It is I, whom many believe to be here."¹⁷⁴

After describing the decline under Herman, the accession of Gaufredus, and the arrival of people from near and far, our source told of the finding of the iron chains and related the stories that were told to explain their presence. At the city of Auverne a certain soldier who had been seized in battle was kept in heavy iron chains. He prayed for the intercession of Mary Magdalene, and, "just as the Lord Christ had absolved her from the chains of her sin," the soldier was released from his chains and later freed by his captor. The soldier came to the monastery of Vézelay, bearing his chains, which he hung before the tomb of St. Mary. A man of Bourges, cruelly bound by iron foot-shackles, was also released through the intercession of St. Mary and journeyed to Vézelay to hang his chains in the oratory. Similar events happened to prisoners at Chateau Landon and Noyers.¹⁷⁶ They brought their iron chains to Vézelay.

If one excludes the explanation in terms of supernatural intervention, these tales seem very strange indeed. Why should prisoners from Auverne, Bourges, Chateau Landon and Noyers journey after their

release to a distant obscure monastery which, up to that date, had no call to fame and no association with Saint Mary Magdalene? Why should they drag along with them their iron chains on this difficult journey to a region rich in iron resources? There is no reason to doubt the reality of the iron chains. The very peculiarity of this detail enhances its credibility. Nor is there any reason to doubt that they were brought to the monastery by escaped prisoners who then departed for distant homes. But a far more likely source for any iron implements found in the monastery of Vézelay would be the ironworks in the forests in back of the monastery. If this were the source of the iron chains, the released prisoners might have been fleeing forced labor in the mines in these forests. The monastery of Vézelay would have provided a logical place to seek sanctuary. Later, after the escaped prisoners had departed, the facts may have become somewhat confused and associated with supernatural intercession.

This explanation is offered as a possible interpretation of those facts of the narrative which appear plausible. There are, of course, other possibilities. The monks themselves might have been exploiting the ironworks and merely storing the chains in the church, but it is difficult to explain their source of labor which appears, from these stories, to have been prisoners of war. It seems far more likely that any exploitation of the mines at this time was under the auspices of a secular power who could supply labor by enslaving his military captives. Iandry, the genial host to nobles and commoners, immediately comes to mind. If Iandry, a military adventurer, were developing these iron resources using his prisoners of war as labor, he would certainly have

reacted violently against the monks of Vézelay if they offered sanctuary to escaped prisoners. Perhaps this was the reason for his violent ejection of the monks and their Abbot in or before 1027. This would also explain his hospitality to great and common travellers--any stranger in the area with money would be a potential customer for his iron.

Abstention from interference with the operations of the mines would be an obvious condition for the reinstatement of the monks of Vézelay and their Abbot. By the time Gaufredus took office in 1037, the details of how the chains had come to be in the monastery were only dimly remembered. The chains had been there at least a decade. In the intervening period the mining operations had undoubtedly ceased. The torrential rains which marked the beginning of the period of natural calamities would have flooded the mines at its onset. In the subsequent period when the cost of food was highly inflated, it is unlikely that Landry's son and heir would have wished to resume operations which would not have been profitable under those conditions. The character of the monastery had changed. Popular opinion would have retained the impression of conditions as they were at the end of Herman's term in office and not dwelt on earlier acts of charity. Gaufredus' accession was probably accompanied with a change of monastic personnel. Small wonder that the memory of how the chains came to be in the church was vague.

But how did these chains come to be associated with Saint Mary Magdalene? She was not a very popular saint in Western Europe at this time. Vézelay was, in fact, one of the earliest examples of the introduction of her cult into France.¹⁷⁶ Iron chains were not one of her attributes. Representations of the Magdalene generally show her with



5. Saint Mary Magdalene
13th-century statue from Vézelay

long, flowing hair, recalling the Biblical incident when she washed the Savior's feet with her hair. The later seals of the abbey represented her holding an alabaster box of ointment, her most common attribute.¹⁷⁷ She was generally identified during the Middle Ages with the woman taken in adultery in the Bible suggesting the "chains of sin" mentioned in the source. It was not her sins that were generally emphasized, however, but her closeness to Christ.¹⁷⁸ The scene in the garden when Christ appeared to her immediately after the resurrection was most popular in pictorial representations. The Hymn to the Magdalene attributed to Odo of Cluny presents somewhat of an exception in exalting "Mary, sister of Lazarus, who committed so many crimes, from the very mouth of hell He restored to the reward of life." The hymn concludes: "Glory be to the one God for many graces, who forgives guilt and shame and gives rewards."¹⁷⁹

The monks of Vézelay might have learned some such hymn during their contact with disciples of Cluny at St. Benigne in 1027, or perhaps the psalm-loving Gaufredus introduced it himself when he took office in 1037. At any rate, at this date he found a quantity of iron chains in the monastery whose presence could not be adequately explained. A credulous population was on hand, grateful for an end of the natural catastrophes and grateful especially for their personal salvation which they had found at Vézelay. It may have been an easy step to associate the iron chains with "chains of sin" and accept them as a sign of salvation. And what more natural intermediary for this salvation than Saint Mary Magdalene whose own crime and guilt had been forgiven and who had been the first witness to the resurrection of Christ.

If this explanation is accepted, one can date the beginning of the cult of the Magdalene at Vézelay to the period shortly after Gaufredus' accession in 1037. The question of the relationship between the cult at Vézelay and its development at other localities becomes of secondary importance. Although there may have been contact with earlier foundations and such contact might have reinforced the identification of the Magdalene as intermediary, the origin of the cult at Vézelay can be satisfactorily explained in terms of local developments. While the evidence in support of this interpretation is admittedly very slight, one cannot, under the circumstances, expect more adequate documentation. Had there been an observer on the scene sufficiently skeptical to provide an accurate detailed account of the origins of this cult, chances are the cult would never have started. Or if it had, despite the efforts of such a rational observer, chances are his account would not have been preserved.

The belief in the existence of the relics of the Magdalene at Vézelay soon was "confirmed" by miracles attributed to her intervention. These miracles, which probably took place or were reported when our eye-witness was in Vézelay, have an entirely different character from the earlier miracles which were related to explain the presence of the chains. The earlier miracles had occurred somewhere else before the accession of Gaufredus to able-bodied men who were released from their fetters, then came to Vézelay where they left their chains and departed. The Magdalene now offered intercession on behalf of her worshippers to attain miraculous salvation from imminent death or recovery from illness. The recipients of her good graces were ordinary people of either sex

who had come to Vézelay with the knowledge of the presence of her relics there or to fulfill a vow to go there which was made in the hope of a miracle.

The circumstances are recorded with considerable detail. On a boat on the Loire, crowded with men and women, a storm threatened imminent destruction. A pregnant woman prayed to the Magdalene, promising her child, if it were a boy, to Vézelay. She alone was saved and fulfilled her vow. Presumably the child was still at Vézelay at the time the account was written. On 20 September, our informant relates, a young woman named Alleburgis arrived at Vézelay from the Côte d'Or with her mother. At the hour of Vespers her repeated prayers to the Magdalene led to her recovery from a semi-paralyzed condition. Another day a blind man from Chatillon recovered his sight at the monastery. A woman, native to Besançon, was cured of madness.¹⁸⁰

The period of natural calamities had uprooted people and fostered credulity. Then the Truce of God, to which both Rodulfus Glaber and the eye-witness from Vézelay referred, contributed to promote popular mobility. The news of the efficacy of the relics of the Magdalene at Vézelay had spread quickly. Legends to explain their presence there soon developed and won currency.¹⁸¹ By ca. 1043-44 one version of the translation of the relics was known in Cambrai where the Gesta Episcoporum Cameracensium included a reference to Baidilo "who brought the body of Saint Mary Magdalene from Jerusalem into Burgundy, into the place Vézelay."¹⁸² Thus, within approximately six years after its establishment, the cult of the Magdalene at Vézelay apparently was known in the Loire Valley, on the Côte d'Or, in Chatillon and Besançon, and as far away as Cambrai.

What effect did these events have on the development of Vézelay? The earliest to arrive, the soldier-prisoners who came in 1027 or earlier, soon departed, leaving nothing behind except their chains and the dim recollection of their visit. Neither their temporary presence nor the mining operations which soon ceased would have had any significance for the later developments of the town were it not for the peculiar set of associations which were later connected with their visit. The actual beginning of the influx of population must be placed soon after the beginning of the period of calamities described by Rudolfus Glaber. These people, uprooted by hunger, had come to Vézelay to buy food. Many apparently stayed, for by the time of the death of Abbot Herman (1037), the local populace was sufficiently large in numbers and power to impose their selection as the new Abbot. They had come not only from the immediate vicinity but from distant regions as well.

Details as to their place of origin are available only with regard to the next wave of arrivals who came as pilgrims but there is no reason to believe that these early pilgrims came from different geographic or social origins than the earliest settlers. In fact, it seems likely that some of the earliest arrivals who came for food, returned to their original homes when the troubles were over, bringing news with them to their neighbors of events at Vézelay. The early pilgrims mentioned came from the Loire Valley, the Côte d'Or, Chatillon and Besançon. The places associated with the earlier prisoners, Auvergne, Bourges, Chateaulandon, and Noyers, probably represent other localities from which early pilgrims to Vézelay came. These places would represent the outer limits of the territory from which the early pilgrims came since miracles very seldom seem to happen to the person next door but rather on the outer

limits of possibility.

As far as the social and economic background of the immigrants is concerned, there is little information. Rodulfus Glaber had described mass movements of ordinary people. Although our source from Vézelay only gave information with regard to the pilgrims, this information is probably equally applicable to the earliest arrivals and appears to confirm Glaber's description. The early pilgrims included a woman saved from shipwreck on the Loire and her infant son, the semi-paralyzed young woman and her mother from a farm on the Côte d'Or, a blind man from Chatillon, and a mad woman from Besançon with her family. If these people were distinguished in any other way, whether socially or professionally, our early source did not see fit to mention it.

The origin of the non-monastic settlement at Vézelay must therefore be dated prior to the establishment of the Cult of the Magdalene. This settlement might quickly have evaporated with the gradual recovery of agricultural activity. The establishment of the cult of the Magdalene guaranteed its continuance. By 1049 the monastery apparently had considerable prestige in ecclesiastical circles as Abbot Gaufredus was seated seventh of almost fifty abbots mentioned as present at the Council of Rheims.¹⁸³ The cult received official recognition by Pope Leo in 1050. The Magdalene did not completely replace the veneration of other saints at Vézelay at this time. The Privilege of Pope Gregory VII of 1076 indicates that the Virgin Mary was still important at that date.¹⁸⁴ The pilgrimage to the Magdalene, however, was almost an instantaneous success although it was not until the end of the eleventh century that it received official blessing.

Growth

Soon after these developments, Vézelay fell under the sway of Cluny. As early as the first half of the tenth century, Abbot Odo of Cluny had been aware of the monastery of Vézelay and had been informed of events there, although he mentioned them merely as hearsay.¹⁸⁵ It was only in 1027 that Cluny was called on to take a more active interest in the affairs of Vézelay but at that time the influence of Saint Benigne was more direct. Gaufredus, the reforming Abbot of Vézelay who took office in 1037, probably found Cluniac ideals compatible and may have welcomed the active interest of Cluny. Under his successor, Abbot Boniface (1052-1083?), Cluniac involvement became official. In 1058, Pope Stephan X granted "possession of the Abbey of Vézelay where Saint Mary Magdalene rests" to Abbot Hugh of Cluny.¹⁸⁶ Chérest suggested that Boniface might have begun his career as a monk of Saint Benigne since his death on 12 September was recorded in a necrology of that house.¹⁸⁷ Other houses of the order of Cluny, however, also honored his memory in their obituaries.¹⁸⁸

What, precisely, Pope Stephan meant in his grant of "possession" was not stated. There is evidence at this time of an entanglement of the affairs of Cluny and Vézelay to the material detriment of Vézelay. The increasing number of pilgrims coming to Vézelay from distant regions created the need for accommodating them en route. Vézelay, probably due to Cluniac influence, seems to have concerned itself with this problem. Monks from Vézelay may have taken part in the original foundation of the house at La Charité-sur-Loire. The Little Chronicle recorded the foundation of that house in 1056 and later, in 1088, reported the death

of its first Prior, Gerard.¹⁸⁹ The close relations between these two establishments suggested by the entries at this time gains added support from the record of a donation made jointly to them sometime before the end of the century.¹⁹⁰ La Charité-sur-Loire was located at a site which would have been convenient for pilgrims travelling to Vézelay from the south and west, such as the woman saved from shipwreck on the Loire who was one of the earliest pilgrims to Vézelay. A bridge was constructed at an early date across the Loire at La Charité-sur-Loire which could have served pilgrims coming from the regions of Bourges or Orleans to Vézelay.¹⁹¹ The document of the foundation of the priory of La Charité-sur-Loire, however, records the donation in 1059 to Saint Peter and Cluny.¹⁹² Cluny apparently used the rights which had been granted by Pope Stephan the year before to establish its own position. At this time Cluny may also have taken control of a church of Saint Christopher which originally belonged to Vézelay.¹⁹³

This policy on the part of Cluny undoubtedly gave rise to resentment in the monastery of Vézelay and appears to have led to a temporary retreat on the part of Cluny. Vézelay was not included among the properties of Cluny listed in the privilege of Alexander II (1061-1073).¹⁹⁴ The first Pope to include Vézelay in the routine list of possessions of Cluny was Gregory VII (1073-1085) in a document dated 9 December 1076.¹⁹⁵ Earlier that year, on 27 February, however, Gregory had issued a statement to Abbot Berno of Vézelay reiterating the same formulae which had been standard in the privileges of Vézelay since the time of Nicholas.¹⁹⁶ Although Abbot Berno's name was omitted by the monk of Vézelay who composed the Little Chronicle, he was honored by the Cluniac order which

included his name in the obituaries of several priories.¹⁹⁷ His omission from the Little Chronicle may reflect the anti-Cluniac bias at the time of its composition when Berno's policy of returning Vézelay to the Cluniac fold had been rejected

The policy of Pope Gregory appears on the surface to be inconsistent. There would seem to be a contradiction between the status of Vézelay as a possession of Cluny and the broad statement of independence included in the privilege to Vézelay a short time earlier. Perhaps the contradiction is more apparent than real. One need not assume that Gregory's grant to Cluny involved complete property rights over Vézelay as it has generally been interpreted to mean. Gregory may only have intended to confer such rights over Vézelay as the papacy possessed according to the conditions set up by the founder of the monastery, Count Gerard. If that were the case, there would be no conflict between that grant and the privileges of Vézelay which had recognized its immunity from secular and episcopal authority under papal supervision. The privileges of Gregory's successors, which were more specific as to the nature of the grant, mention only those rights which had originally been implied in the donation by Gerard to Nicholas. The privilege granted by Urban II (1088-1099) to Abbot Hugh of Cluny of 16 March 1095, for example, specified that the grant of Vézelay concerned supervision of ordination and regulation of the monastery.¹⁹⁸

The most complete statement of Cluny's authority over Vézelay was contained in the privilege of Pope Paschal II which has already been discussed. Paschal undoubtedly considered his statement as consistent with Gregory's intent since he had earlier included

Vézelay with a group of abbeys specifically mentioned as having been committed to Cluny by Pope Gregory.¹⁹⁹ The grant of supervision over the spiritual affairs of Vézelay to Cluny did, however, conflict with the episcopal claims and it was probably for that reason that the status of Vézelay was discussed in 1103 at the Council of Marseilles. Bishop Norgaud of Autun (1096-1115) acknowledged the limitations of his authority vis à vis Vézelay to Abbot Hugh of Cluny in accordance with the decisions of that Council.²⁰⁰ His statement was consistent with the policy outlined by Paschal in November of the same year. The earlier period of Cluniac control was short-lived. Paschal's reference to Vézelay as having been granted to Cluny by Gregory VII indicates that the period of Cluniac authority over Vézelay should really be dated from 1076. This authority evidently only involved the specific rights which had originally been granted to the papacy by Count Gerard. Any grant exceeding these rights would, in fact, have involved the concession of rights and properties which the Pope himself did not possess.

The date of 1076 is probably the time of the reform of the monastery of Vézelay alluded to by the author of the Life of Saint Hugh who asked, "Who but this blessed man led the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene of Vézelay back to the pristine state of ordered rule?"²⁰¹ The length of Hugh's term as Abbot of Cluny (1049-1109) creates considerable ambiguity in dating this statement. From 1076 until the time of Hugh's death in 1109, however, the authority of Cluny over Vézelay did not face any challenges from within the monastic community. The retreat of Cluny after a brief but over-bearing period of control may have led to a relaxation of discipline at Vézelay. This, in turn, led the Pope to

reimpose the authority of Cluny, this time on clearly defined terms. Henceforth care was taken to respect the traditions of Vézelay and to maintain the integrity of its temporal possessions. These increased in the next two decades until, by the end of the eleventh century, Vézelay was a rich prize for which all the powers in the area contended.

It was probably before the reimposition of Cluniac authority that the monks of Vézelay established a cell in Beauvais and, from there, acquired control of other properties in the area.²⁰² The history of their activities in Beauvais in so far as it related to their dispute with the monastery of Saint Lucian was reported in a letter of 1108 from Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, to Richard, Bishop of Albano. According to Ivo, the Church of Bulles had originally been under the jurisdiction of the monastery of Saint Lucian but had been deserted as a consequence of the Norman invasions. It had fallen into lay control and canons had been installed in the church. Count Hugo of Dammartin, on the advice of Bishop Guido of Beauvais (ca. 1064-1085), had determined to return the church to the monastery of Saint Lucian, asking indulgence for himself and his ancestors for having usurped the church. The Abbot of Saint Lucian was opposed to the canons in residence and had therefore postponed ordaining them as his monks and taking possession of the church. Count Hugo then called in the monks of Vézelay who had established a cell nearby. The monks took possession of the church, but without the consent of the Bishop. Ivo reported that Count Hugo later repented and returned the church to Saint Lucian.

At about the same time as his summons to the monks of Vézelay to take possession of the church of Bulles, Count Hugo also granted

them rents of the village of Esserent, a vineyard, the chapel of Saint Michael in the Woods and part of the forest surrounding it. Hugo apparently also repented this decision and later granted it to Cluny. Perhaps the relaxation of discipline at Vézelay prior to the reimposition of the authority of Cluny contributed to his change of mind. In any event Vézelay's claims continued to be maintained with regard to this property until the beginning of the twelfth century despite the rival claims of Cluny. In the time of Abbot Artald (1096-1106), disputes arose over this property between the monks of Vézelay and the Cluniacs at Saint Leu d'Esserent. Around 1104-6 Artald concluded a peaceful settlement which involved the renunciation of Vézelay's claims.²⁰³ The omission of this property from the list of the possessions of Vézelay in 1103 suggests that papal pressure may have been brought to bear in favor of Cluny.

The dispute over the church of Bulles was not so easily resolved. In 1081 a complaint was made against Vézelay at the Council of Issoudun²⁰⁴ but its continued possession was confirmed pending a full hearing. Twenty-seven years later the property was still in dispute and Ivo of Chartres pointed out that the decision in 1081 was not intended to be a definitive judgment.²⁰⁵ The controversy continued into the middle of the twelfth century but Vézelay's ownership of the churches of Bulles in Beauvais was confirmed by Paschal II in 1103 and again by Alexander III in 1170.²⁰⁶ The history of this dispute sheds an interesting light on the methods of acquisition of property during this early period, revealing the monks of Vézelay as aggressive and opportunistic in extending their control outside the territory of the mother house.

There is additional information available with regard to acquisitions of property in the time of Artald. All the lands of Vergigny and its appurtenances, such as running waters, fountains, etc., were acquired in the time of Artald from Hervé of Donzy and Savaran of Vergigny who held them in allod by hereditary right.²⁰⁷ The fishing rights in the waters of Vergigny were an issue of dispute between the burghers and the Abbot of Vézelay.²⁰⁸ The catch was presumably good in these waters since it gave rise to dispute. This property may also have been important because of its location on a trade route since, by the mid-twelfth century, an important road passed through these lands to Blannay. The church of Saint Sulpice of Vergigny probably was acquired at the same time even though it was not mentioned in the later description of the acquisition. Since the description was offered in the context of a dispute concerning the road, there would have been no cause to mention the church. The privilege of 1103 confirmed Vézelay's possession of the villa as well as the church. It also confirmed possession of the church of Blannay which may also have been acquired at this time.²⁰⁹

Vézelay also had title to property in Crisenon in the time of Artald. This property had been held by three brothers. Around the end of the eleventh century two of the brothers, Iterius and Hugo of Toucy, set out for the Holy Land, perhaps in connection with the First Crusade. Iterius died en route, having left his share of his patrimony to the houses of Vézelay and La Charité.²¹⁰ Hugo, the oldest brother, was evidently unaware of his brother's donation and hastened to find an alternative means of fulfilling his vow by making charitable donations

to the Abbey of Molesme. He himself began construction of a church and other buildings for Molesme²¹¹ but unfortunately the boundaries of the property of the brothers had never been clearly defined. There must have been some understanding between them, however, for it turned out that the buildings which Hugo had constructed for Molesme were on the property donated by Iterius to Vézelay. The problem was finally resolved around 1119 when Abbot Renald (1106-1124?) of Vézelay agreed to accept rent or an exchange of property with Molesme.²¹²

The extent of the property which had been donated to Vézelay at Crisenon is not stated but one can get some idea of what was involved from the documents recording the grants of the other brothers to Molesme. The earliest donation at Crisenon to Molesme was made by the knight, Marcus, of the church of Luchy which he held from Hugo, who gave his permission for this donation. Approval was also required from Iterius to whose house staff (casamentum) Marcus belonged.²¹³ It may be that the knight, Marcus, was of servile origin since not only the lord from whom he held the property but also the lord to whom he personally was attached was necessary in the alienation of this property. It is also possible that Iterius' approval was required as heir to his brother's property. Marcus may have originally received the church as a reward for his services to the father of the present owners before the division of the property which left him attached to one part and his property in the other.

In approving this donation, Iterius had augmented it by two olive trees (oleas) in his allod in the same villa, as much land as the monks could plow, as much of the meadow of le Breuil as they could reclaim, and full rights to the use of woods, pastures, and waters. It

would appear to have been Iterius' intention to permit the monks of Molesme to establish a small cell on his property where they would support themselves by cultivating the lands he had donated for that purpose. After the death of Iterius, Hugo, as heir to his property, gave sufficient land to Molesme for the construction of a church, a garden, an orchard, and a cemetery, apparently in ignorance of the fact that his brother had already granted this property to Vézelay. He later added a third part of his own allod.²¹⁴

The third brother, Norgaud, had approved the donations made by Hugo, on the second occasion receiving thirty solidi for his approval.²¹⁵ Then, after the death of Hugo, he gave to Molesme the church of Lixy with all its appurtenances, specifically tithes, offerings, burial fees, and court-yard, the fief which Peter of Chatel-Censoir had held of him, as well as whatever he himself held in lands, woods, pastures and all customs. His wife and children approved this donation.²¹⁶ It seems strange that the most generous possession granted to Molesme, Norgaud's lands, etc., which amounted to one-third of the allod of Crisenon²¹⁷ was mentioned last, almost in passing. One could understand a possible religious motive for mentioning the church first of all. But why, then, the fief held by Peter of Chatel-Censoir? This property, which is not even dignified by further description, could not have been very extensive. Perhaps the conveyance of these lands was, in fact, the least valuable property granted to Molesme in this document, as would seem to be implied in the order in which it is listed. If so, then one must assume that, for some reason its real value to Norgaud was considerably lower than one would expect.

Other documents would seem to indicate that Norgaud had need for cash. His consent to the earlier grant by his brother Hugo was only obtained at the price of thirty solidi. Again, ca. 1119, when a settlement was reached between Vézelay and Molesme, it was noted that, on having received an unspecified amount of money, Norgaud confirmed that he would not oppose occupation of his third of the allod.²¹⁸ The apparent insignificance of the value of this property to him and his need for ready cash suggest an answer to this apparent puzzle. Perhaps Norgaud had already borrowed extensively on the revenues from this estate--so extensively, in fact, that his personal income from it had been reduced to virtually nil. If so, then the most logical party to suspect of having lent the money to Norgaud is the monastery of Molesme to which he ultimately conveyed title. In 1123 a sale of land in Lixy was contested on the grounds that the men at St. Mary of Molesme formerly practiced usury. The monks were obliged to make a payment to the claimants in order to retain the property.²¹⁹ Carrying this line of thought one step further, perhaps his brother, Iterius, had also borrowed on the security of his property. The expenses involved in his trip to the Holy Land would provide sufficient reason for a need for ready cash. If this were so, one could see why his brother and heir might have been in ignorance of the arrangements made for his property which, on default of payment caused by his death, was claimed by the lender, in this case the monastery of Vézelay.

This questionable means of acquisition may explain the fact that the monks of Molesme took the trouble to obtain a confirmation from Norgaud of the grants made by Hugo and himself. This confirmation

repeated the basic provisions of the earlier documents but added qualifying clauses, in some of which one can probably see the influence of the Abbot Robert of Molesme to whom the confirmation was made.²²⁰ Perhaps there was a change in policy after the return in 1099 of Robert. The grant of "as much land as a plow can work" was qualified to permit any woman who wanted to live on the land cultivated by the monks to do so. The monks would accept other land of the same amount. The monks would owe no dues for their own pigs and could have a building site for the construction of a storehouse and an oven if they wished. They could have two fishermen on the Yonne River but whenever the Abbot or Prior of Molesme came to Crisenon, they might permit more men to fish in the river as long as these men swore that they were not going to sell the fish but to bring them to the kitchen.

The donation by Norgaud of his third of the allod was modified to exclude his property in serfs (servis) and their cabins. Norgaud confirmed whatever had been granted of the manorial facilities, namely half of the mill which Gaufredus de Vincelles had held from him, the church of Luchy,²²¹ and a contingent of men (manus firmus) under Hugo de Puncta. To three of the slaves (mancipis) of the monastery, the fisherman, cook and cellarer, he gave use of the waters, pastures and woods for building their houses, as well as building sites for the houses. They would have to pay dues, however, if they had pigs in the woods. Norgaud also gave the monks rights of justice over his own slaves (mancipiorum) who remained within the cloister or cemetery of the monastery.²²² Norgaud, it would appear, retained considerable property rights in this allod despite his earlier comprehensive renunciation.

Perhaps the return of Robert to Molesme had led to a reevaluation of methods of acquisition at that monastery.

With this vague jumble of rights and grants of indeterminate boundaries, it is no wonder that the claims of Molesme were disputed. There appears to have been a significant delay before the claims of Vézelay became known since Hugo had made additional grants and begun construction in the intervening period. Perhaps the news of the death of Iterius did not reach Vézelay for some time, or perhaps the Abbot did not press the claim until the period of the loan had expired lest the heirs repay the loan. The property at Crisenon was not included in the list of properties of Vézelay confirmed by Pope Paschal II in 1103.²²³ The monks of Vézelay and la Charité must have had documents to prove their claims to this property.²²⁴ The property of Iterius had included the out-buildings of the villa with its servile population. It evidently included much uncultivated land since the amount granted to the monks of Molesme by Iterius could be exchanged for an equal amount without foreseeable difficulty and since it also included the site chosen for construction of the monastic facilities which would presumably have been an uncultivated area. It also contained woods, pastures, and waters although not a church which was on Hugo's part of the property. Rights of justice may also have been associated with this property but since they were only mentioned after the deaths of both Hugo and Iterius, the rights of justice may have remained undivided and devolved on Norgaud as heir to his brothers' properties.

Not far from Crisenon is the town of Bessy-sur-Cure. The monastery of Vézelay also acquired property at Bessy in the time of Artald

although it was not included in Paschal's confirmation of 1103. In this case the omission probably indicates that it was acquired between 1103 and 1106. The property at Bessy was held in fief by Hugo, son of Wibert of Chatel-Censoir, from Saveran, Count of Chalon, who approved the donation to Vézelay.²²⁵ Hugo granted half of his possessions in the villa of Bessy, including woods, fields, pastures, lands, orchards and revenues. Serfs belonging to the manorial residence were included in the grant whether they were in residence there or not. Serfs not belonging to the manorial residence would pay whatever each one owed individually. The church and cemetery with burial fees, offerings, and baptismal fees, were also granted to Vézelay. The monks, however, were to pay the donor half of the receipts from the justice of the church and cemetery as well as from rentals of merchants' stalls. If the donor or his heirs chose to take up residence in the houses of the cemetery, he would be charged no rent but others would owe rent to the monks. The cemetery apparently was the nucleus of the commercial and residential community on the property. The expenses for the mill and the oven were to be deducted from the donor's share of the revenues.

The text of this donation was incorporated into a document of 1204 which also included a record of an agreement reached in the time of Abbot Alberic (1131-1138). In the time of Alberic the property remaining to the heir of the donor was described as an allod.²²⁶ The owners obviously did not intend to deny the original source of the property since they transcribed the text which acknowledged their obligation to the Count of Chalon at the beginning of the twelfth century. The term "allod" does not appear to be used in opposition to "fief"

but rather to describe property claimed by hereditary right. Whatever obligations had been recognized by the original owner at the time the fief was granted were evidently not considered binding by his heirs. The candor in recording the earlier relationship implies that the heirs of Chalon no longer were considered as having a legal basis for reasserting their rights. The use of the term "allod" in connection with the villa of Vergigny also described a claim by right of inheritance.²²⁷

The privilege of Pope Paschal II of 1103, which is so important for the information it gives on the status of Vézelay, is also invaluable for its information on the material situation in that it gives a list of the holdings which the Pope confirmed.²²⁸ The list may not be complete. Paschal's primary purpose appears to have been to confirm the monastery's ecclesiastical holdings. Other properties (villas, appurtenances) are only mentioned in connection with a church. It would appear likely that the monastery of Vézelay had also acquired scattered holdings, possibly whole villas, which were not associated with a church and therefore not mentioned, although there is no other evidence of additional property. There is, unfortunately, no list of the properties of the monastery since the time of the original endowment two and a half centuries earlier to provide a solid basis for assessing the more recent growth of the monastic property.²²⁹ In all probability, Paschal's list recorded an enormous increase, most of which occurred after the establishment of the pilgrimage to Vézelay around 1037.

There is no evidence at all since the death of Count Gerard, the founder of the monastery, that Vézelay owned any property at all outside the diocese of Autun. The property in Tonnerre which had been

included in the original charter of foundation had been exchanged in Gerard's lifetime for the villa of Fley in Autun. Paschal's privilege would seem to indicate that Vézelay had retained the villa of Fley, as well as the villa of Dornecy, in the intervening period. There is no mention in Paschal's privilege of the villa Cisternas, Molnitum, or lands in Fontenay which had been included in the original endowment. The church of St. Germain in Fontenay as well as the churches of St. Peter in Dornecy and St. Leger, which had been granted in the tenth century by the Bishops of Autun, were apparently retained. Vézelay had, however, lost control of the church of St. Christopher. The document includes the church in honor of St. Peter which had been built on the monastic lands near the site of the original settlement of Vézelay on the Cure river. The monastery had recently acquired the villa of Vergigny which was included in Paschal's list along with the churches of St. Sulpice at Vergigny and St. Peter at Blannay. The holdings in the Morvan were increased to include the villa in which the church of St. Leger was located as well as a church in honor of St. Andoce. Control of the churches of St. Sulpice in Asnières and St. George of Island was also recognized. In general, the increase of the holdings of Vézelay in the diocese of Autun was relatively modest. It is probably significant that most of the new acquisitions lie along important routes of communication with other centers. Vergigny and Blannay, as well as Bessy, which was acquired soon after this privilege, are on the banks of the Cure river, along the route to Auxerre. Island is slightly over half-way to Avallon.

The increase in the number of more distant possessions of the monastery of Vézelay is most striking in this document. Vézelay now

possessed churches in Auvergne, Auxerre, Beauvais, Bourges, Macon, Nevers, Noyon, Poitiers, Sancerre, and Sens. The property in Mailly-la-Ville in Auxerre, as well as the property claimed at Crisenon, would lie on an alternative route to Auxerre along the Yonne River. Most of the distant acquisitions probably represent donations on the part of pilgrims from these areas to Vézelay. They would seem to indicate that by this date the pilgrimage was attracting visitors from a large area of northern and central France. Evidence of pilgrims from the Mediterranean region is notably lacking. Vézelay probably could not compete with the attractions of Santiago de Compostella and Rome for pilgrims from the south. There is also no evidence of donations of property in imperial territory although soon after the establishment of the cult of the Magdalene at Vézelay a pilgrim had come from Besançon and the cult was known in Cambrai. Contact with these relatively developed commercial centers evidently did not remain of much significance.

The shrine of the Magdalene was, however, attracting prominent pilgrims, such as the Duke of Burgundy whose visit in 1084 was recorded.²³⁰ The donation of a mill to the Abbey of Savigny has preserved the memory of another visitor, ca. 1100, who fell deathly ill on his return from a pilgrimage to the Magdalene.²³¹ The success of the pilgrimage did not go unchallenged. Roger, a pilgrim from Evreux, was arrested by a royal official after having prayed at Vézelay and Saint Gilles. Hugo, Bishop of Lyons and apostolic legate, wrote in 1097 to Ivo of Chartres, who was acting for the deceased Archbishop of Sens, of the fury of Bishop Gilbert of Evreux over the arrest of his parishioner. "Prayers and pilgrims should always be secure," the papal legate declared, and instructed Ivo to place the royal official and his family under interdict to secure the

release of Roger without ransom and the restoration of his goods.²³² The incident provides the earliest evidence of contact between Vézelay and the southern pilgrimage route to which the reference to Saint Gilles, probably Saint Gilles-du-Gard in Provence, alludes. Roger may have been a merchant since his goods were confiscated by the royal official and was probably of some substance since ransom was considered. No more is known of his fate.

The actions of the bishop of Autun posed an even greater threat to Vézelay at about this time. Bishop Norgaud (1096-1115) or his Archdeacon, "moved by envy" according to Pope Paschal II,²³³ took measures to forbid pilgrims from coming to Vézelay to worship at the tomb of the Magdalene and to make donations. Paschal reacted indignantly and addressed a letter to the clerks, soldiers and other lay members of the Gallican Churches, removing the interdict. Paschal's strong support of the pilgrimage to Vézelay effectively silenced skeptics for over a century and opened the new era in which the fame of Vézelay reached its height. The authority of the Bishops of Autun had suffered a decisive set back with regard to their spiritual authority over the monastery and the associated pilgrimage but they continued to contend with the Abbots of Vézelay over control of the churches of Autun in the possession of Vézelay.

Very little is known of the internal affairs of Vézelay during this period of growth. A prefect, Odo, was in the service of the monastery some time before 1106. He was alleged to have been a serf.²³⁴ To what extent Cluny used its power to control the internal affairs of the monastery after the reform by Hugh of Cluny cannot be determined. Only

the names of the Abbots who presided in the period between Gaufredus and Artald have been preserved.²³⁵ The lack of any other information may reflect their lack of distinction which made no impression on contemporaries or subsequent generations. Abbot Artald, who took office in 1096, was another matter. His aggressive policy of aggrandizement is attested by the fact that several significant properties were acquired during his term in office. Perhaps his most ambitious project was the reconstruction of the basilica of the Magdalene which was dedicated in 1104.²³⁶ There is some controversy as to which parts of the church were to be attributed to Artald but it seems likely that almost nothing remains today of his structure.²³⁷ Artald's reconstruction probably involved the choir and other areas which were rebuilt in the thirteenth century. It was on a smaller scale than the present basilica. It is unlikely that even Artald could have envisaged the continued growth in numbers and prestige that Vézelay would enjoy in the next half century sufficiently to have planned a basilica which could have satisfied the needs of the pilgrims in the century to come.

The expenses for construction and other ambitious programs which Artald may have initiated probably led to the imposition of heavy demands on the populace of the territory under the control of the monastery. Natural disasters may also have created difficulties. In the same year as the dedication of the basilica, the Little Chronicle records severe tempests which exhumed bodies.²³⁸ These storms would have affected agricultural conditions as well. The populace of the area, however, was no longer the famished, credulous refugees who had arrived in Vézelay around the time of Abbot Gaufredus. The newcomers who had settled in

the region had undoubtedly shared the prosperity of the intervening period, supplying the needs of transitory visitors for food and shelter. Artald's policy probably caused widespread resentment.

In 1106 Abbot Artald was murdered. Gaufredus, Abbot of Vendôme, referred to the assassination of the defenseless Abbot.²³⁹ His murderers apparently had a great deal of sympathy from important people. The source closest to the crime is a letter from Pope Paschal II to the Bishops of Gaul dated 25 October 1106 in which he complained "that criminal persons whom you ought to persecute for their crimes are fondled, for the killers of the Abbot of Vézelay are said to live in the parishes of some of you without restraint."²⁴⁰ He directed that they be exiled or, if they did not obey, that they be excommunicated. Almost forty years later, Pope Lucius II (1144-1145) reaffirmed those instructions in a letter to Abbot Ponce of Vézelay, adding "we forbid that they or their heirs (namely Stephen, the clerk of Auxerre . . .) presume to disturb the monastery itself any more. Nor may the Abbot or Prefect permit them to take up residence in the town of Vézelay."²⁴¹ It hardly appears like a common murder, but rather a conspiracy involving more than one murderer. The killers' identities were known and both they and their heirs had maintained contact with Vézelay to such an extent that forty years later the Pope not only feared their return but also that the new Abbot and his representative would permit it. According to Lucius, one of their heirs, Stephen, the clerk of Auxerre, had appeared with Abbot Ponce, perhaps to discuss the question of their return, before prominent ecclesiastics including Bernard of Clairvaux, the greatest spiritual leader of the age.

Hugh of Poitiers recorded a reference to this murder allegedly made by Count William III of Nevers in 1151 when William was attempting to convince the burghers to renounce their allegiance to the Abbot of Vézelay: "I wonder where the heir may be," he exclaimed, "or to what cowardice your once determined courage has degenerated with which you had killed the wise and rather liberal Abbot Artald because of a matter of two requisitions of houses."²⁴² Artald had required that the burghers receive the guests of the monastery at Easter and during the Feast of the Magdalene.²⁴³ Hugh of Poitiers furnished one further detail with regard to the murder. In writing of events during the term of Abbot William of Mello (1161-1171), he described the acts of "a most evil man, Hugo Letardus, a serf of the monastery, whose mother was a sister of Simon, son of Odo, prefect of Vézelay and also a serf of the church."²⁴⁴ This Simon, Hugh asserted, "betrayed and killed his lord, Artald."²⁴⁴ The author was obviously exaggerating the responsibility of Simon for the purpose of discrediting his relative, Hugh Letard, then Prefect of Chatel-Censoir, who was alleged to have "persecuted the church more than any other satellite of the Count."²⁴⁵ There is, however, no reason to doubt that he had identified one of the murderers. The involvement of a man from a family which enjoyed the favor of the Abbot to the extent of being promoted to the highest official secular office in his service is of great significance.

Conditions at Vézelay at the beginning of the twelfth century present a sharp contrast to those at the beginning of the eleventh. The impoverished, desolate monastic outpost had, at the earlier date, shrunk to such insignificance that even the papal recognition of its

existence had ceased. By the end of the century, the fame and wealth of the monastery had increased enormously. Vézelay was now a desirable prize, attracting the attention of lay and ecclesiastical powers whose challenges would increase in severity in the next century. The Abbey had been subjected to Cluniac control of spiritual affairs. This would provide another source of conflict in years to come. Last but not least, the town of Vézelay now had a new element of population whose interests were often opposed to those of the monastic community. The success and prosperity of Vézelay in this period contained the seeds of conflict which would sprout and blossom in the period of its greatest glory.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. See Robert Dauvergne, Sources minerales, thermes gallo-romains et occupation du sol aux Fontaines-Salées, (Paris, 1944), pp. 1-8. Unfortunately this detailed report of the archeological findings was published in only 200 copies and is very difficult to obtain. For a summary of these and other archeological findings, see Calmette and David, Les Grandes Heures de Vézelay (SELF, 1951), pp. 15-33.

2. Abbé Bernard Lacroix, Un Sanctuaire de l'eau de plan circulaire aux Fontaines-Salées (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1964), pp. 24-30.

3. The few ancient objects which have been found on the site, such as the Etruscan statuette of the seventh century B.C. in the archeological Museum of Saint Père-Sous-Vézelay and the Roman statuette described by Abbé Poulaine, "Statuette de Bronze découverte à Vézelay," BSSY, LXX (1916), 255-258, could easily have been brought to the site by temporary visitors. Abbé Lacroix's suggestion that there was a temple to Bacchus at the site of the church of Saint Étienne, "De Bacchus aux Vignobles de Vézelay," L'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 87 (May-June 1970), 23-32, is based on very slim grounds. The evidence he presents of the existence of Roman construction at Vézelay, namely the assertion by the priest of Saint Étienne ca. 1700 and a comment by Viollet-le-Duc, cannot be verified.

4. See the maps in BSSY, XXXIV (1880), opposite p. 6; and Abbé Pissier, "Notice historique sur Saint Père sous Vézelay," BSSY, LVI (1902), opposite p. 150.

5. See Sir Banister Fletcher, A History of Architecture (New York: Scribner, 1954), 164-171.

6. Dauvergne, Sources minérales, pp. 7-8; Albert Grenier, Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine, IV (Paris: Picard, 1960), 449-460; and the charts of numismatic finds by Abbé Lacroix, Les Fontaines Salées: Notule et Tableau (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1965).

7. Abbé Lacroix, "Les origines protohistoriques et gallo-romaines de Vézelay," Ogam, XV (1963), 81, suggests that the ironworks might have employed as many as a thousand workers. There is, however, no basis at all for any statistical estimate and the sites which he assumes were exploited concurrently might in fact have been successive.

8. See Pissier, "Notice historique," pp. 133-176, 275-368 and BSSY, LVII (1903), 11-91 for the history of this site. In the thirteenth century Saint Père was still referred to as the "loco qui Vetus Viceliacus cognominatur"; BN Latin 5296B, p. 140.

9. Auguste Vincent, Toponymie de la France (Brussels: Librairie Générale, 1937), p. 85. Other suggested etymologies, such as that in the thirteenth century manuscript BN Latin 5296B, p. 136, "Dicitur enim Viceliacum quasi inde videatur orizonti celi circumamplissimum per amplissima. Seu etiam Viceliacus quod exinde videatur amplissimum celi latus potest intelligi"; or that of Nicolas-Leonard Martin, Précis historique et anecdotes diverses sur la ville et l'ancienne Abbaye de Vézelay, (Auxerre: Gallot-Fournier, 1832), p. 1, who suggested a derivation from the Celtic words Ugell, meaning point, and Awch, meaning mountain, are purely imaginary and do not take into account that the name originally applied to a site at the foot of the hill.

10. Vincent, Toponymie, p. 70. See Abbé M. Chaume, Les Origines du Duché de Bourgogne (Dijon: Rebourseau, 1925-1931), II, 110-111 on the controversy surrounding the interpretation of the implications of such names for the period of the Roman conquest.

11. E. g., Bassiacus, Blanniacus, Chamcsiacus, Cirsiacus, Clemiciacus, Dorniacus, Flaiacus, Gibriacus, Ioviniacus, Lixiacus, Maliacus, Prissiacus, Varginiacus.

12. E. g. Cirsiaco villa, Bandini, I, col. 130; Villa Viriniaco, ibid., I, col. 133; villam denique Dorniaciacum, BA 227, f. 23v (d'Achery, II, 499); by the twelfth century the spread of the name to a nearby chateau resulted in distinctions such as Malliaco-castro and Malliaco-villa, EHV III 172.

13. For evidence of Merovingian settlements in the area, including one at Asquins at the foot of the hill of Vézelay, see Abbé Parat, "Le Cimetière Barbare de Vaux-Donjon," Bulletin de la Société d'Études d'Avallon, 1909, 171-260.

14. Sources for St. Aunaire in Aa Ss Sept. 7:79-102. See also L. M. Duru, Bibliothèque historique de l'Yonne (Auxerre: Perriquet, 1850), I, 332. Chaume, Les Origines, IV, 875, notes 5 and 6, identifies Decimiacum with Dissangis (Yonne, canton of Isle-sur-Serein) and Vidiliaco with a site which would be known as Veilly or Villy which, he declares, would "doubtless" be found in an examination of the cadastres of the region of Dissangis. Until such evidence is found, however, I have reserved judgment on the traditional identification.

15. See the recent biography of Count Gerard by René Louis Girart, Comte de Vienne et ses fondations monastiques (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1946).

16. The first three are included in BA 227, ff. 22r-29v (d'Achery 498-503; MPL CXCTV 1561-1570; CXIX 1116-1118); the fourth is included in the cartulary in Florence, Bandini, I, col. 134-135, and has been published from another manuscript from Saint Germain by Quantin, CGY, II, 4-5.

17. See above, p.25 , for a discussion of the dating formula published in d'Achery's edition of the letter to Nicholas. The other documents are frequently dated in 863 on the assumption that they are closely related in time to the letter to Nicholas.

18. MGH SS XIII 540.

19. Louis, Girart, p. 60.

20. The "Testament" suggests this fear in the specific introduction of the King's name in the standard formula which begins, "Quod si quis, quod non credimus futurum, presumpserit, Domini et Senioris nostri Karoli pii Regis precepto damnatus. . . ." BA 227, f. 24r (d'Achery 500; MPL CXCV 1565).

21. Ibid., f. 23v (d'Achery 499; MPL CXCV 1564). See the discussion of precedents for the direct submission to the Apostolic seat in Lemarignier, "L'exemption monastique et les origines de la reforme gregorienne," in "À Cluny. Congrès scientifique, fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints abbés Odo, et Odilon. 9-11 juillet 1949," Travaux du congrès: art histoire et liturgie, publiés par la société des amis de Cluny (Dijon: Bernigaud et Privat, 1950), pp. 291-297.

22. Ibid., f. 22r (d'Achery 498; MPL CXCV 1561). See Louis, Girart, pp. 62-63 for a discussion of the authenticity of this document

which has not recently been questioned. For the use of the word "Testament" in connection with this document, see Victor Saxer, "Le status juridique de Vézelay dès origines à la fin du XII^e siècle," Revue de droit canonique, VI (1956), 229, n. 9. Paul Fabre, Étude sur le Liber Censuum (Paris: Thorin, 1892), p. 40, dated this letter last in the series of documents.

23. See Louis, Girart, pp. 205-208, for a comparison between the texts of these two documents and their relationship to other documents of 856 and 860.

24. BA 227, ff. 22r, 23v (d'Achery, 499; MPL CXCV 1562-1564).

25. Ibid., f. 23r (d'Achery, 499; MPL CXCV 1564).

26. Ibid., ff. 24v-28r (d'Achery, 500-502; MPL CXCV 1566-1570).

With regard to the authenticity of this document, see Louis, Girart, p. 87.

27. D'Achery, 502; MPL CXCV 1570: "Data in mense Martio anno xxiii regnante gloriosissimo et serenissimo Rege et Domino nostro Carolo. Ego Gilerammus Clericus rogatus scripsi et subscripsi."

28. BN Latin 12703, f. 288r.

29. Compare BA 227, ff. 24v and 28r (variations of these names as they appear in the second document are given in parentheses): Saunari (Saimari), Teuderici (Theuderici), Bunonis (Dimanis), Aiverti (Ayverti), Fanuel, Fredeberti, Baunarii (Baimari), Radulfi, Widerici, Gerardi, Sigiberti, Rotardi, Gislemari, Abbonis (Abonis), Gauzselini (Gauzselmi), Auzgarii, Ayrbaldi (Airbaldi), Optadi, Bernonis (this name appears twice on 28r, at the bottom of one column and the top of the next), Galfarii (Walfarii), Odolardi, Athonis, Odoberti (Odeberti),

Ardulfi, Austorici, Bercharii, Amalberti, Raganaudi. While some of these variations are common spelling variants of the same name, others are scribal errors, suggesting that the documents were written by different hands which were not equally legible to later scribes.

30. E. g., Louis, Girart, pp. 60 and 87; Saxer, "Le status juridique," pp. 230-231.

31. Saxer, "Le status juridique," p. 232.

32. BA 227, f. 24r (d'Achery, 500; MPL CXCV 1565): "Hoc vero Monasterium . . . Beatissimis Apostolis apud Romam subdidimus et testamentario libello dato. . . ."

33. Ibid., f. 25r (d'Achery, 500; MPL CXCV 1567): "legitime ac testamentario donationis iure ecclesiam Dei rerum nostrarum constituentes heredem. . . ."

34. Ibid., f. 25r (d'Achery, 500; MPL CXCV 1567): "ut nulli unquam ea beneficiario dono concederet. . . ." The pope accepted, ibid., f. 28v-29r (d'Achery 502; MPL CXIX 1117), "ea conditione ut nullus successorum nostrorum in sancta hac sede, cui auctore domino deservimus, unquam vel usquam quiddam de eisdem rebus cuiquam beneficiare, commutare, aut sub censu concedere, vel retinere, per futura tempora patiatur."

35. Lemarignier, BEC, CIX, 315, had reached this same conclusion.

36. MPL LXVI 215-293.

37. See Chap. II, "Qualis debeat esse abbas," MPL LXVI 263-266.

38. Chap. LXIV, "De ordinando abbate," MPL LXVI 879-882, provides that in the event of the election of an unsuitable person, even

if by unanimous election, the diocesan bishop or neighboring abbots or Christians are obliged to step in to set up a worthy man.

39. BA 227, f. 24r (d'Achery, 500; MPL CXCV 1565) provided that the Abbess be elected from the community "prosequente Pontificis super hac re probatione qui sedem Apostolicam tunc temporis meruerit."

40. Ibid., f. 26v (d'Achery, 501; MPL CXCV 1569): "regulariterque sub suo jure per vos tutati et defensata vivant. . . "; f. 24r (d'Achery, 500): "ad regendum ordinandum . . . disponendumque perpetuo commisimus. . . ."

41. One pound of silver may have been an amount traditionally associated with Gerard's status, as in the capitulary of 779-780, MGH Capitularia, I, 52: "Comites fortiores libram unam de argento aut valentem; mediocres mediam libram, vassus dominicus de casatis ducentis mediam libram, de casatis centum solidos quinque, de casatis quingenta aut triginta unciam unam." This evidently continued to be the customary payment through the thirteenth century; an account of a papal taxcollector in 1291 records the payment of one pound of silver by the monastery of Vézelay; see William R. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), II, 39. In 1317, however, a payment of 750 gold florins was made by Vézelay to the papal treasury; ibid., II, 251.

42. It was about this time that Nicholas was involved in his dispute with Hincmar of Rheims. For a convenient summary of that controversy, see Walter Ullmann, The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages (Methuen: 1962), pp. 190-209.

43. BA 227, ff. 29r-v (d'Achery, 502; MPL CXIX 1118): "Neque Episcopus civitatis ipsius parrochie, nisi ab Abbatisa ipsius monasterii invitatus, ibidem publicas missas agat, neque stationes in cenobio eodem indicat, ne ancillarum Dei quies quoquomodo populari conventu valeat perturbari, neque paratas, aut mansionaticos exinde presumat exigere." An English translation of this document has been published by Lunt, Papal Revenues, II, 28. Lunt dated the document in the year 863, probably in accordance with the date which appears in d'Achery's edition of the letter from Gerard to which this privilege responded. Quantin, CGY I 86, dated it ca. 865. Migne, MPL CXIX 1116 published the document with the date 867.

44. Saxer, "Le status juridique," p. 233, n. 16.

45. Fabre, Étude, pp. 40-49.

46. Ibid., p. 47; Saxer, "Le status juridique," p. 233, concurs with this interpretation.

47. BA 227, f. 29r (d'Achery, 502; MPL CXIX 1118): "nullum de Sacerdotibus, nullum de Regibus, vel quemcumque fidelium per se suppositamve personam de ordinatione eiusdem Abbatisse, vel Clericorum atque Presbyterorum, vel de largitione Chrismatis aut consecratione Basilice, aut de quacumque commoditate spiritualis* aut temporalis obsequii, sive quibuscumque causis ad idem Monasterium pertinentibus, audere in auro vel alia quolibet specie commodi vel exenii loco quicquam accipere, neque eandem Abbatissam ordinationis sue causa quicquam dare presumere, ne hac occasione ea que a fidelibus pio loco offeruntur, aut iam oblata sunt, consumantur." *The manuscript reads spālis. As d'Achery noted, spiritualis is more in accordance with

the meaning and usage, in opposition to temporalis, than specialis which he nevertheless published in the body of the text.

48. See Lemarignier, "L'Exemption monastique," pp. 288-334.

49. Saxer, "Le status juridique," pp. 237-244.

50. BA 227, ff. 64v, 66r, 69v, 75r, 126v (MPL CXCV 1577, 1579, 1584, 1592, 1626).

51. CGY II 41: "Praeterea statuimus ut consecratio monasterii ipsius, et ecclesiarum quae sunt in circumadjacenti villa . . . ecclesiae vero ejusdem monasterii per diversas provincias constitutae et earum altera, ab episcopis, in quorum dioecesi sunt, consecrentur." By 1182 the immunity was extended to the churches of Asquins and Saint Père at the foot of the hill; EHV III 177. By the late Middle Ages it had been extended to the entire body of lands of the mother house, a development reflected in the late source, Fundatio coenobii Vizeliacensis, Bib. Clun. notes, cols. 54-56. See Louis, Girart, p. 197, on the dating of this source.

52. Fabre, Étude, pp. 54-55; for the charter of Cluny, see Rec. Clun. I, 124-128.

53. Bull. Clun. p. 10: "ut nullus Episcopus seu quilibet Sacerdotum in eodem venerabili Coenobio pro aliqua ordinatione, sive consecratione Ecclesiae, Presbyterorum, aut Diaconorum, Missarumque celebratione, nisi ab Abbate ejusdem loci invitatus fuerit, venire ad agendum praesumat; sed liceat Monachis ipsius loci cujuscumque voluerint ordinationis gradum suscipere, ubicunque tibi tuisque successoribus placuerit." Compare with the texts from the privilege of Nicholas to Vé zelay in notes 43 and 47.

54. Fabre, Étude, p. 92, had recognized the importance of the privilege of Gregory V to Cluny.

55. MPL CXXXIX 1601-1604.

56. The prohibitions of Nicholas were repeated in privileges from John VIII, BA 227, f. 30v (d'Achery, 503; MPL CXXVI 803-804); Stephan, f. 32r-v; John IX, f. 34v; Marinus II, f. 36v; Benedict VI, f. 38v; Benedict VII, f. 40r; John XV, f. 42r; Sylvester II, f. 43v, etc. D'Achery did not publish the full text of these privileges but referred the reader back to earlier statements. The only pope during this period to depart from the standard formulae of Nicholas was Sergius II; see discussion, pp. 82-83.

57. Rodmundus, Bishop of Autun (935-968), in confirming grants made by his predecessors from the time of Walo on, referred to "aliisque quampluribus suo quisque tempore emolumenta quaedam paratarum quae e xeniis Ecclesiae nostrae competeabant ad supplementum praefati loci impetrare studuerant. . . ." Bandini I col. 129; in 973 Pope Benedict approved the grant by Autun to Vézelay, observing, BA 227, f. 38v (d'Achery, 504; MPL CXXV 1085-1086): "quas ipse predictus Abbas ab eodem Episcopo impetraverat, sicuti antecessores eius ab Episcopis ipsius sedis per succedentia tempora ordinatis fecisse noscuntur. . . ."

58. Bandini, I, col. 135. Quantin, CGY II 4-5, published this document based on a manuscript of Saint Germain which contains minor variants, the most interesting being the interpolation of the phrase "juste et legaliter" ("quicquid idem Gerardus . . . et . . . Bertha . . . aut quolibet contracto vel acquisito juste et legaliter

possident . . . quicquid a Deum timentibus ipsi sancto loco juste et legaliter collatum est. . . ,) and a change in the amount of the payment to the pope from one pound of silver to "duas scilicet libras argenti," in this case probably to make the terms of the document conform to the terms found in the "Testament" and the letter to Nicholas even though these two referred to the payments to be made by two monasteries while Charles' letter referred only to Vézelay.

59. BA 227, f. 23r (d'Achery, 499). In the letter to Nicholas, the details of the acquisition were condensed; f. 27r (d'Achery, 501).

60. The statement in the late source, *Fundatio Coenobii Vezeliacensis*, Bib. Clun. notes, cols. 54-56: "dicto Carolo [Charlemagne] . . . permutavit cum territorio ad dictum Girardum pertinente vulgariter dicto Mons Regalis cum territorio de Vezeliaco," has been characterized by Louis, *Girart*, p. 197, as "fantasy."

61. Bandini, I, cols. 132-133.

62. *Ibid.*, I, col. 133.

63. *Ibid.*, I, col. 132.

64. *Ibid.*, I, col. 132: "Vendo . . . quod nos rusticani rusticanorum taenaturas vocamus."

65. CGY II 40.

66. Bandini, I, col. 130.

67. *Ibid.*, I, col. 130. The grant of King Charles to Roelinus was also preserved in the archives of Vézelay; *ibid.*, I, col. 139.

68. CGY II 40.

69. A fifteenth century cartulary preserved in a later copy, AY H 1941, p. 2, identified Molnitum with Montillot but, aside from

linguistic problems in this identification, it does not appear as though the property of Vézelay extended that far north until the late eleventh century.

70. CGY I 79. AY H 1941bis, pp. 936-942 records fourteenth-seventeenth century documents with regard to the property of the monastery at Maulny in Champagne, near Troyes. See Louis, Girart, p. 64, n. 4 for criticisms of this identification.

71. See Map No. 1, p. 69.

72. In the twelfth century, the saltworks were a source of conflict with Nevers; BA 227, ff. 80r, 136v (MPL CXCV 1598, 1639).

73. Asquins is at the foot of the hill of Vézelay. Its church was described in the mid-twelfth century, BA 227, f. 66v (MPL CXCV 1580) as "obedientia Virzeliaci [sic]."

74. The route of Crai was in the jurisdiction of the Abbots of Vézelay in the mid-twelfth century; BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

75. Vézelay held the church of Asnières by 1103; CGY II 40.

76. Philip Grierson, "Identity of Unnamed Fiscs in Brevium Exempla," Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire, XVIII (1939), 437-461.

77. See the list of properties based on the study by André Déléage in Chaume, Les Origines, III, 586-588. The estimated total reached of ca. 300 mansi is extremely conservative, based on an average of ten mansi per villa.

78. Council of Aachen 816, canon 122, ed. Pertz, MGH Leges I 197: "In locis vero ubi majores facultates sunt ecclesiae, verbi gratia tria aut quatuor millia aut certi octo et eo amplius millia

mansi. . . . In mediocribus locis . . . mille aut mille quingentos vel certe duo millia mansos habentibus. . . . Porro in minoribus locis ducentos aut trecentos mansos habentibus. . . ."

79. Bandini, I, cols. 131-132. The document is dated "die Iovis in mense Octobrio, regnante Domino meo Rege Ludovico anno quinto regni eius feliciter."

80. Louis, Girart, pp. 30-31, uses this document which shows Gerard already married to Bertha, as the basis for estimating their age and the Count's early power in the area.

81. Bandini, I, col. 131.

82. E. g., Annales Sancti Emmerammi, MGH SS I 93; Annales Weissemburgenses, ibid., p. 111; Annales Laurissenses Minores, ibid., p. 121; Einhardi Annales, ibid., p. 200.

83. Annales Sancti Emmerammi, MGH SS I, 93.

84. E. g., Annales Laubacensium Pars Secunda, MGH SS I, 15; Annales Weingartenses, ibid., p. 65; Annales Augienses, ibid., p. 67; Annales Sangallenses Maiores, ibid., p. 76; Annales Iuvanenses Maiores, ibid., p. 87; Annales Sancti Emmerammi, ibid., p. 93.

85. See A. Giry, Manuel de Diplomatie (New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.), p. 722.

86. Ibid., p. 722; Louis styled himself "Hludowicus gratis Dei rex Aquitanorum."

87. Prudentii Trecensis Annales, MGH SS, I, 440 and 445.

88. Annales Bertiniani, MGH SS, I, 459; Ado of Vienne, Chronicon, MGH SS, II, 323. Chaume, Les Origines, I, 255 and n. 3, mentions a tradition which he himself rejects according to which Gerard sought

refuge towards the end of his life in the territory of Emperor Louis.

89. Hincmari Remensis Annales, MGH SS, I, 474 and n. 97.

90. The shortness of the reign of Louis the Stammerer (877-879) precludes a date in the fifth year of his term as King of France. He did, however, serve as regent during the latter part of the reign of Charles and it may have been during such a regency that this document was written. The only known documents of Louis the Stammerer date from his reign as king; see Giry, Manuel, p. 729.

91. Bandini, I, col. 132, in addition to the seller, Gerard, contains the names of sixteen witnesses including Sigisberti (Sigiberti), Eriboldi (Ayrbaldi, Airbaldi), Erilulfi (Ardulfi), Radulfi (Radulfi), Gulferii (Galfarii), and Gauceranni (Gauzselini, Gauzselmi). The names listed in parentheses are the possible variants which appear in the "Testament" and the letter to Nicholas." The name of another witness to this transaction, Erfredi, also appears among the witnesses to another transaction dated only "in mense Maio, regnante Karolo Rege," ibid., I, col. 132, which must be dated between 840 (the date of the accession of Charles) and 858-859 (the date of the foundation of Vézelay) since it involves property included in the original endowment.

92. BA 227, f. 146v (MPL CXCV 1649).

93. The church of Angolox in Tonnerre, EHV III 172, may be the same one as Inguolos listed in 1103 in Noyon, CGY II 40.

94. BA 227, f. 28r (d'Achery, 502; MPL CXIX 1116).

95. Bandini, I, col. 134.

96. Lunt, Papal Revenues, II, 660 identifies Bertha as Abbess of Vézelay in the Index. Turgot, Histoire de la ville et de l'abbaye

de Vézelay (1826 ms. in the collection of M. Raymond Clavreuil), pp. 7-9, developed a romantic, imaginative account of the career of Eve in the manner of a Walter Scott novel.

97. The grant in 867 of the village of Tharoiseau to Notre Dame of Avallon, see Pissier, Recherches sur l'Histoire de Tharoiseau (re-printed from the Bulletin de la Société des Études d'Avallon, I and II (1909), 3, may provide another example of Gerard's disposal of property in Avallon which had supposedly been donated to Vézelay.

98. Bandini, I, col. 135: "Post utriusque ab hac luce migrationem Monachae ipsius Coenobii, secundum praefatae apostoliae Sedis institutionem, Abbatissam ex sese eligant. . . ."

99. Brief History of the Counts of Nevers, BA 227, f. 18r (Labbe, 399).

100. BA 227, f. 24r (d'Achery, 500; MPL CXIV 1565).

101. Ibid., f. 29v (d'Achery, 503; MPL CXIX 1118).

102. Bandini, I, col. 139: "cum Mancipiis." On the general problem of slavery in Medieval France, see Charles Verlinden, L'Esclavage dans l'Europe Médiévale (Brugge: De Tempel, 1955), I, 635-747.

103. Ibid., I, col. 130: "tam in servis, quam in ancillis, vel Mancipiis."

104. Ibid., ff. 33r-v (EHV I 298).

105. Ibid., f. 11v (unpublished). The Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonenses, MGH SS I, 103, also records the death of fifty-six men in one day in Sens.

106. Bandini, I, cols. 135-136; BA 227, f. 31r (d'Achery, 503; MPL CXXVI 803-804). For a discussion of the dating of these documents and their relationship, see Louis, Girart, p. 120, n. 3, p. 135, n. 2.

107. Louis, Girart, pp. 122-123.

108. Ibid., p. 120, n. 2; Louis dates the replacement between 871-877, inclining towards the earlier date.

109. The evidence for this visit comes from later traditions and may reflect legendary accretions. See one account inserted in a legend of the relics of the Magdalene in Faillon, II, cols. 746-747. The Little Chronicle, BA 227, f. 11v (Labbe, 395) records the visit for the year 857 which is obviously in error and is written in a later hand than that of the twelfth century scribe who wrote the original entries.

110. Louis, Girart, pp. 154-155.

111. Faillon, II, cols. 741-742.

112. Bandini, I, col. 136.

113. The Little Chronicle, BA 227, f. 12r (unpublished) records for the year 888: "Burgundia a normannis vastatur." See also the Annales Sanctae Columbae Senonenses, MGH SS I 104; Reginonis Chronicon, MGH SS I, 599. Ferdinand Lot, Études sur les Légendes Épiques Françaises (Paris: Champion, 1958), p. 101, suggested that a Viking massacre in 873 had led to the dispersion of the women and the reconstruction on a better fortified site. The evidence, however, indicates that these were two separate events. The twelfth century historian Hugh of Poitiers had also confused these events, BA 227, f. 75v (MPL CXCIV 1592-1593), blaming the Saracens for the destruction and attributing the reconstruction to Gerard. This confusion militates against the suggestion that Hugh also composed the Little Chronicle.

114. Bandini, I, col. 138.

115. Ibid., I, col. 134: "in loco qui Longa Fames vocatur"; the Annals of St. Benigne of Dijon report a very severe famine in 895, MPL CXLI 879.

116. Bandini, I, col. 133: "excepto iornale uno, ubi possunt seminari sextaria quatuor, quem dono nepotibus meis. . . ." The number of iornali in a mansus, the normal family holding, varied considerably. Around Dijon, thirty iornali were equal to a mansus; in Lorraine, there were sixty iornali in a mansus. See Déléage, La Vie en Bourgogne, pp. 692-693.

117. CGY I 316-317.

118. BA 227, f. 78r (MPL CXCIV 1596).

119. This grant is known from the later confirmation by Bishop Rodmundus of Autun (935-968); Bandini, I, col. 129.

120. Ibid., I, col. 129: Rodmundus referred to acts confirming Wido's donation by Walo, Herveo and Gerard, Bishops of Autun, to Odo, Eldulfus, Aimo, and Aripertus, Abbots of Vézelay.

121. CGY II 40.

122. BA 227, f. 33v (EHV I 298-299): "Decimas quoque secundum antiquam consuetudinem decernimus in eodem tuo solvi monasterio, absque alicuius contradictione, quoniam ecclesie, que sancte apostolice sedi [sic] specialiter subdite sunt culmini, non debentur alterius ecclesie consuetudine detineri." This is an interesting early justification of monastic tithes although at this time based on Vézelay's relationship with the papacy.

123. Since the Little Chronicle records the accession of Abbot Aimo in 907 while the privilege of Sergius was considered to indicate

that an Abbot Odo was in office in 911, Chérest conjured up a second Eudes to succeed Aimo who can now be consigned to oblivion.

124. See the biased account of his life in MPL CXXXI 969-970; the Little Chronicle, BA 227, f. 12r (unpublished) recorded Pope Sergius in 903. In addition to Popes John IX and Benedict IV, Pope Leo V was in office for two months in 903 and Christopher, now considered an Anti-Pope, claimed title in 903-904.

125. BA 227, f. 33v (EHV I 299).

126. His name was included among the former abbots of Vézelay in the confirmation by Rodmundus of Autun, Bandini, I, col. 129.

127. BA 227, f. 12r (Labbe, 395).

128. In addition to Aimo, the Little Chronicle, *ibid.*, ff. 12v-13r (Labbe, 395) lists: 941 Guido, 956 Ebraldus, 961 Rotbertus, 999 Rotbertus. Bandini, I, col. 129 also mentions an Eldulfus as a predecessor of Wido (Guido). An Abbot Guarbedo appears on a privilege from King Louis which may date from 936, Bandini, I, col. 140. An Abbot Eldrado (possibly the Ebraldus listed in the Little Chronicle, in which case there is an error in that source) was the recipient of privileges from three different Popes, Benedict VI dated 28 November 973, Benedict VII dated 31 December 974, and John XV (986-996); BA 227, ff. 37r-42v (d'Achery, 504, does not give the complete texts of these privileges which repeat earlier formulae); the privilege of John XV was also included in the cartulary of Florence; Bandini, I, col. 140 refers the reader to d'Achery's edition.

129. Bib. Clun. col. 213.

130. BA 227, f. 12v (unpublished): "939: Fames magna per totam Galliam . . . 941 Fames valida romanum orbem attrivit ab Italia usque in occidente et Draco visus iuxta monasterium Vizeliaci."

131. Ibid., f. 38v (d'Achery, 504; MPL CXXXV 1085-1086).

132. See Constable, Monastic Tithes (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1964), p. 76.

133. CGY II 40.

134. At that date a church of Saint Christopher was described as being in the surrounding town, MPL CCXIV 134, and therefore probably was not in existence in the tenth century.

135. The privilege of Gregory VII (1073-1085) to Abbot Hugh of Cluny included in Autun "ecclesiam sancti Christophori juxta Castrum Caninum. Et Abbatiam Vizeliacensem, omnes etiam Ecclesias et terras. . .," Bull. Clun., p. 19. The possibility that this church was the one formerly in the possession of Vézelay is increased by the fact that the reference to Vézelay follows immediately after it.

136. Aimo de Sancto Chrostophoro appears in BA 227, ff. 119v, 114r-v (EHV I 355-356; MPL CXIV 1619); Renaldus de Sancto Christophoro appears on ff. 78v, 95v, 114r, 176v, 180r (MPL CXIV 1597, 1676; EHV I 318, 355; III, 203).

137. Ibid., f. 38v (d'Achery 504). The entire text was repeated in the privilege of Benedict VII (974-983), ff. 39v-40v (d'Achery 504; MPL CXXXVII 323-325).

138. The motives of the Bishop of Autun in applying for papal approval of this grant are obscure. Since their position was not too secure at this time, being contested by the Counts of Autun, they too

may have been willing to appeal to the Pope as protection against more immediate threats. See Jean Richard, Les Ducs de Bourgogne, pp. 53-54.

139. BA 227, f. 23r (d'Achery, 499; MPL CXCIV 1564).

140. Ibid., f. 26r (d'Achery, 501; MPL CXCIV 1567-1568).

141. Bandini, I, col. 134.

142. Ibid., I, col. 136.

143. Ibid., I, col. 134.

144. Ibid., I, col. 133.

145. Translatio sanctorum Eusebii et Pontiani, AaSs II 368-377.

146. BA 227, ff. 42v-44r (d'Achery, 504-505). Pope Sylvester II was the celebrated scholar, Gerbert of Aurillac.

147. Ibid., f. 44r (d'Achery, 505; MPL CXLIII 642): "Leo Episcopus servus servorum Dei, Gaufrido Abbati Vizeliacensis cenobii quod est in honore Domini nostri Jesu-Christi, et veneratione eiusdem genitricis, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et Beate Marie Magdalene. . . ."

148. Mansi, XIX, 770-772.

149. See Victor Saxer, Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident (Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1959, 2 vols.).

150. BA 227, ff. 43r-44r (d'Achery, 504-505; MPL CXXXIX 675-676.

151. Ibid., ff. 13r-14r (Labbe, 395-396, is neither complete nor accurate): "999 Rotbertus abbas Vizeliacensis . . . 1008 Everardus abbas Vizeliacensis . . . 1011 Ermannus Abbas Vizeliacensis . . . 1037 Gaufredus abbas Vizeliacensis . . . 1042 Fames valida per 7 annos diruit. . . ."

152. MPL CLXII 818.

153. CGY I 166-167. Louis, Girart, p. 156, adopted the interpretation of this letter as evidence that Landry had installed Cluniacs under an Abbot Eudes and that it was this act which angered the Bishop of Autun. I agree with Quantin, CGY I 166, who identified domnus Oddo with Count Otto-Guillaume whose death and burial was reported in the same letter. The sequence of events reported would indicate that some time had passed since the Count had extended his protection. William of Saint Benigne had condemned Landry's act. Autun's anger was not directed against Vézelay but against the possessions of Saint Benigne. There is no other evidence for "la colonie venue de Cluny avec un certain Eudes pour abbé" and Louis, Girart, 157, n. 1, omitted the passage specifically describing the acts against the monastery Magabrense in his documentation. The fact that William had taken the trouble to recount the whole history of the episode to the Abbot of Cluny militates against the suggestion of involvement on the part of monks from Cluny since in that case Odilo would have been informed of those facts.

154. Faillon, II, col. 736.

155. Ibid., II, col. 735. This portion is also published in EHV, I, 300-301.

156. The main source for the life of Landry is the Brief History of the Counts of Nevers, BA 227, ff. 18r-19v (Labbe, 399-400 contains most of this work).

157. See Léon Mirot, "Les origines des premiers comtes héréditaires de Nevers," Annales de Bourgogne, XVII (1945), 7-15.

158. BA 227, f. 19r (Labbe, 399).

159. Ibid., ff. 19r-v (Labbe, 400).
160. See Mirot, "Les origines," p. 7; in the mid-twelfth century, Hugh of Poitiers, BA 227, f. 82r (MPL CXCV 1601) described the fury of Count William III of Nevers "cuius infra terminos cludebantur."
161. BA 227, f. 19r (Labbe, 400).
162. Raoul Glaber, Les cinq livres de ses Histoires, ed. Prou (Paris: Picard, 1886), pp. 99-101 (MPL CXLII 675-676).
163. BA 227, f. 14r (Labbe, 396).
164. RHF XII 795.
165. Chronicle of Saint Marien, BA 145, f. 276v.
166. Glaber, Les cinq livres, pp. 99-103 (MPL CXLII 675-678).
167. Ibid., p. 100 (MPL CXLII 676): Glaber alleges "in plerisque locis fuit modii precium sexaginta solidorum, alias quoque sextarius solidorum quindecim."
168. Ibid., pp. 96-98 (MPL CXLII 673-675).
169. Ibid., p. 103 (MPL CXLII 678).
170. Faillon, II, col. 739.
171. Ibid., II, col. 736.
172. Ibid., II, cols. 736-739.
173. Ibid., II, col. 739.
174. Ibid., II, col. 740.
175. Ibid., II, cols. 737-738.
176. Saxer, Le Culte, I, 46-65.
177. Douet d'Arcq, Inventaire des Sceaux (Paris: 1872) Nos. 8436-8438; Charles Ferguson, Signs and Symbols in Christian Art (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 80.

178. Biblical sources considered in the Middle Ages as referring to Mary Magdalene were Matthew 27.55-56, 61; Mark 15.40, 47, 16.9-11; Luke 7.36-50, 8.2-3; and John 11-12.1, 19.25-26, 20.1-2, 11-18, 23.49-56, 24.10.

179. Joan Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 103-104.

180. Faillon, II, cols. 740-742. Abbé Pissier, Le Culte de Sainte Marie-Madeleine à Vézelay (St. Père: Presbycère, 1923), p. 18, identified Castellulo as Chastellux, asserting that he had found this form on a document of 1162. Unfortunately he gave no specific reference to his source. A document of 1137, CGY II 320-321, contains both the names Castellione and Castelluz.

181. See the discussion of these legends in Louis, Girart, pp. 166-175.

182. MGH SS VII, 464.

183. Mansi XIX 737.

184. BA 227, f. 45v (EHV I 303) contains a reference to "petitionem tuam monasterio Sancte Dei genitricis Mariae."

185. Bib. Clun. col. 21c, Odo described the event and its cause "sicut audivimus."

186. MPL CXLIII 883.

187. EHV I 282.

188. Obituaires de la Province de Sens, ed. Molinier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), I, 456 and 526.

189. BA 227, ff. 14r-v (Labbe, 396).

190. Lebeuf, Memoire sur le diocèse d'Auxerre, ed. Challe et Quantin (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouillé, 1855), IV, 30.

191. René Louis, L'Église de la Charité-sur-Loire (Auxerre: l'Universelle, 1931), p. 2.

192. GC XII cols. 102-103.

193. See above, p. 84.

194. Bull. Clun., p. 17.

195. Ibid., p. 19.

196. BA 227, ff. 45r-v contains approximately half of this document. EHV I 302-305 gives the complete text, based in part on a later copy.

197. Obituaires, I, 447 and 525.

198. Bull. Clun., p. 23.

199. Ibid., p. 32.

200. MPL CLIX 978-979.

201. Bib. Clun., col. 455.

202. RHF XV 142-143; "Vigeli::censes monachos, qui ibi pro .e habebant cellam unam . . ." Ivo of Chartres, the author of the letter recording this information, was a highly influential churchman and canonist; for further details and references to his published works see NCE VII 777-778.

203. Le Prieuré de Saint Leu d'Esserent: Cartulaire, ed. Muller (Pontoise: Bureaux de la Société Historique, 1900), I, 12-13.

204. Mansi, XX, 577-580.

205. RHF XV 142-143.

206. CGY II 41; EHV III 171; GC VIII 1557 mentions a final settlement in 1159 but gives neither the source nor details.

207. BA 227, f. 78r (MPL CXCIV 1596).

208. CGY I 316-317.

209. Ibid., II, 40.

210. Lebeuf, Mémoires, IV, 30.

211. GC XII 104.

212. Lebeuf, Mémoires, IV, 30.

213. GC XII 104.

214. Ibid., XII, 104.

215. Ibid., XII, 104.

216. Ibid., XII, 104-105.

217. Ibid., XII, 105, describes the donation as "tertiam partem de toto alodio de Crisenon monachis in augmentum dedit, exceptis servis suis cum tenementis eorum." The original donation made no mention of such an exception.

218. Lebeuf, Mémoires, IV, 30.

219. GC IV Instr. col. 109-110.

220. Ibid., XII, 105.

221. This same church had originally been donated by the Knight, Marcus; GC XII 104.

222. GC XII 105. Despite the evidence of the confusion of status in the ninth century, see above, p. 77, I have translated the word Mancipium as "slave" due to the fact that the document makes a distinction between servi and mancipii. The circumstances of the latter, who perform functions directly related to the establishment of the manor

or who live in special quarters rather than in a village or on their own lands, suggest the survival in the area of slavery. See Charles Verlinden, L'Esclavage dans l'Europe médiévale (Brugge: De Tempel, 1955), I, 729-747 for a discussion of the evidence that exists for the survival of the institution at this time.

223. CGY II 39-42.

224. The document, Lebeuf, Mémoires, IV, 30, states their claims "probatum fuerat." Since Iterius was dead and his brothers had been ignorant of this donation, it seems likely that such proof was a written document.

225. Quantin, Recueil des pièces pour faire suite au Cartulaire Général de l'Yonne (Auxerre: Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1873), p. 14. Savarin, co-seigneur of Chatel-Censoir (1087-1104) had acquired the county of Chalon ca. 1100; see Jean Richard, "Origines féodales: les Chalon, les Vergy et la Puisaye," Annales de Bourgogne, XVIII (1946), 112-119.

226. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

227. This is consistent with conclusions reached in other studies of Burgundian rural developments; see P. de St. Jacob, "Études sur l'ancienne communauté rurale en Bourgogne," Annales de Bourgogne, XV (1943), 182; Georges Duby, La Société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région maconnaise (Paris: Colin, 1953), 39, n. 1.

228. CGY II 39-42; see Appendix A.

229. Chérest, EHV I 26, considered the fact that papal bulls up to the time of Gaufredus confirm the conditions of foundation but mention no additional property as indicating that there was none. In

fact, Boniface VI confirmed an increase of the tithes of four churches and there is other evidence of acquisitions in the time of Abbot Odo. Moreover the privileges received from the time of Gaufredus to the time of Artald also contain no hint of increasing possessions.

230. Ernest Petit, Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne (Paris: Le Chevalier, 1885-1905), I, 221. The statement by William of Tyre, Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum, Book 1, chap. 14, MPL CCI 231, that Pope Urban II had first planned to preach the first Crusade at Vézelay, however, is probably an anachronism.

231. A. Bernard, Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Savigny (Paris: 1853), p. 458. The editor had identified the site of the pilgrimage to the Magdalene with Lorette, an identification rejected by Saxer, Le Culte, I, 92, who found no evidence that Lorette was a site of pilgrimage at that time and considered Vézelay the only probable site.

232. RHF XIV 792-793.

233. BA 227, f. 46r (d'Achery, 505; MPL CLXIII 122-123).

234. Ibid., f. 138v (MPL CXCI 1641-1642).

235. Ibid., ff. 14r-v (Labbe, 396), the Little Chronicle records Abbot Bonifacius for 1052, Abbot Stephan for 1083, Abbot Joscerannus for 1088. The privilege of Gregory VII dated 1076, ibid., f. 45r (d'Achery 505), was addressed to Abbot Bernoni.

236. BA 227, f. 14v (Labbe, 396).

237. See Fr. Salet, La Madeleine de Vézelay (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1948), pp. 39-40.

238. BA 227, f. 14v (Labbe, 396).

239. Ann. Ben. V, 497: "Vizeliacensis abbatibus nobis obitum exprobantes quem sine vincita dicunt fuisse truncatam."

240. BA 227, f. 46v (d'Achery, 506; MPL CLXIII 196-197).

241. Ibid., f. 48r (d'Achery, 507).

242. Ibid., 227, f. 85v (MPL CXCV 1606).

243. CGY I 316 required hospitality on those occasions based on the practice in the time of Artald.

244. BA 227, f. 138v (MPL CXCV 1641-1642). Gaufrido filio Oddonis de Virzilio and Oddo filius Oddonis de Virzilio who appeared as witnesses to documents of the priory of Saint-Leu d'Esserent in the first decade of the twelfth century, Le prieuré de Saint-Leu, pp. 17, 18, may have been members of the family of the murderer.

245. BA 227, f. 138v (MPL CXCV 1642).

CHAPTER III

THE LORDS OF VÉZELAY

Renald and Reaction

Renald de Sémur, the successor to the murdered Abbot Artald, received the benediction of Pope Paschal II (1099-1118) in October 1106 at the Council of Guastalla.¹ There may have been some delay before he could take control at Vézelay as the Little Chronicle records his accession in the year 1106.² The circumstances surrounding the death of Artald evidently necessitated concessions on the part of Renald before the authority of the Abbot of Vézelay could be restored. Exemption from the obligation of receiving the guests of the monastery was later claimed by the burghers to have been conceded to them by Renald in the presence of the Count of Nevers.³ Since the imposition of this obligation seems to have been the immediate cause of Artald's assassination, it is likely that such a concession was made by Renald immediately on taking office. A limited obligation to provide hospitality every fourth year for the Count and his men which the burghers later acknowledged may have been incurred by them at this time in return for his protection.⁴

Count William II of Nevers sympathized with the townspeople in their struggle against Artald and may have been active in fostering the revolt. His support was probably a key factor in their success in obtaining relief from the onerous demands of Artald. Renald also was

obliged to make concessions to the Count who had attempted to interfere with his accession. William was persuaded to renounce his "former evil custom" and agreed to permit whoever was elected Abbot to take possession of the monastery, exacting no payment for this agreement.⁵ The text of his renunciation gives tacit recognition to William's actual control of the surrounding territory and the practical necessity for his acquiescence to the election of a new Abbot. There is no record of what consideration led William to renounce the custom of exacting payment for his approval but it is likely that Renald acknowledged his role as advocate and guardian of the territory of Vézelay as well as the right to receive the hospitality of the monastery.⁶ Count William also claimed that Renald had granted him the right to collect customs from the men of Vézelay on the route to Auxerre, which may also date from this time. Some forty years later this concession was challenged on the grounds that it had been conceded without the consent of the brothers.⁷ The new Abbot may not have been able to count on their support at the time of his arrival.

Although Renald of necessity reversed the tendencies of his predecessors in pursuit of a more conciliatory policy, he did not repudiate them but, as the Mortuary Rolls indicate, continued to honor his immediate predecessors, Joscerannus and Artald.⁸ These men had taken office during the time when Vézelay had been subjected to Cluniac supervision and undoubtedly had the approval of Cluny.⁹ Nothing is known of their background, however, or of the degree to which they personally embodied Cluniac traditions. With the accession of Abbot Renald, however, the control of Vézelay was in the hands of a man with

very close ties to Cluny who sought a more direct affiliation with the Cluniac order.

Renald himself had been a monk of Cluny and was a nephew of Saint Hugh, then the Abbot of Cluny.¹⁰ While in office at Vézelay, Renald composed a life of his uncle in verse, dedicated to "all the sons of the church of Cluny," in which he described himself as "Brother Renald of the church of Vézelay, not so much abbot as Servant."¹¹ The title Abbot appears to have been an embarrassment to this loyal son of Cluny which in 1100 had been granted the privilege of being an order in which there was only one Abbot; the heads of the daughter houses were known as "Priors."¹² Renald's loyalties were unquestionably first and foremost to Cluny and, when he died 7 August 1131, he was buried "in the bosom of Cluny." The epitaph composed by Peter the Venerable emphasized the most important fact of his life, that he was a monk of Cluny.¹³ His tombstone, however, referred to his service as Abbot and particularly to his role as restorer of the monastery.¹⁴ Renald arrived in Vézelay ca. 1108 with a small band of monks from Cluny to help him in restoring order. Peter the Venerable later referred in a letter to one such companion, the monk Tezelinus, who had arrived at Cluny under Abbot Hugh, then had gone to Vézelay with Renald. When the latter was elevated to the bishopric of Lyons in 1128, Tezelinus accompanied him to his new post.¹⁵

By far the most celebrated monk at Vézelay during the term of Renald, however, was Peter the Venerable himself. Later, when Abbot of Cluny, he wrote to his brother Ponce, who was to become an Abbot of Vézelay, referring to a ten-year period that they had spent together.¹⁶

It has generally been assumed that Peter referred to the time of their stay at Vézelay but this assumption has been disputed in a recent publication by Constable on the grounds that in 1116 Peter was at Sauxillange where he witnessed his father's will. Constable inferred that Peter arrived at Vézelay after 1116 and, since he left in 1120, the ten-year period must have referred to another time, perhaps in their childhood when the brothers were together in their parental home.¹⁷

One need not, however, assume that Peter was in residence at Sauxillange at the time he witnessed his father's will; the illness of the latter would give sufficient reason for a visit. The alternative offered by Constable, moreover, has other difficulties. Peter, as the second son of a fairly prominent family,¹⁸ was destined at an early age for a religious career and was probably sent to a monastic school before he reached the age of ten, when his brother Ponce was even younger. It is therefore unlikely that the brothers ever spent ten years together in their parents' home.

The description that Peter gave of their relationship during that ten year period also does not suggest the memories of early childhood. "All that whole time," Peter recalled, "how much conversation about divine things between us, what fervent speech of spiritual things, how frequently joined in contempt of the present which was urged by the desire for eternity."¹⁹ Surely Peter's memories of childhood would have contained some lighter moments. It appears far more appropriate to assign Peter's description of this period to a time spent together in a monastic environment, such as Vézelay, where both brothers were educated.²⁰ Peter may have arrived at Vézelay soon

after Renald's accession as a child enrolled in the monastic school. His ability was recognized at an early date and he was promoted to the position of Prior of Vézelay before he left the monastery in 1120.²¹

The fact that Renald was chosen in 1114 to present the decision of the judges at the Council at Beauvais²² as well as his later elevation to the Archbishopric of Lyons suggests that his capabilities as an administrator were respected by his contemporaries. Very little is known of his role in the affairs of Vézelay during his term as Abbot. The letter of Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, which recounts the background of the case between the monastery of Saint Lucian and Vézelay was written about the time Renald assumed control at Vézelay in 1108.²³ Perhaps Ivo hoped that a new Abbot, particularly one whose position was somewhat precarious, could be persuaded to make concessions in this case as well. If so, Ivo's hopes were frustrated for Vézelay continued to control the disputed church of Bulles throughout this period. There was also a dispute between Vézelay and Fleury; on 23 October 1109 Pope Paschal II wrote to Daimbert, Archbishop of Sens, with regard to a complaint that had been made by the Abbot of Vézelay against Fleury.²⁴ No details are given as to the cause of the dispute. Around 1119, Abbot Renald agreed to a settlement in the case of Vézelay vs. Molesme with regard to the property at Crisenon.²⁵ The property or payment accepted by Vézelay in exchange was not stated. Since the later Abbots of Vézelay continued to concern themselves in the affairs at Crisenon, although there is no later reference to their having property there, it is possible that they accepted an annual payment to surrender their claims.²⁶

Natural catastrophes also beset the area. The Little Chronicle recorded that in 1116 winds overturned houses and trees. In 1117 there was an earth tremor²⁷ which may have been seen as a sign of the renewed friction with the Count of Nevers. On 21 December of that year Pope Paschal II wrote to the Count prohibiting his exactions or usurpations and the same day he wrote to the Archbishop of Sens and the Bishops of Nevers, Autun, Langres, and Auxerre, instructing them to protect Vézelay against "someone's" exactions and injuries.²⁸ An undated letter from Pope Paschal II to Abbot Renald in which specific grievances against Nevers were enumerated was probably written about this time. Paschal complained that the Count descended on the guest-house of the monastery with his retinue demanding hospitality. He also claimed criminal jurisdiction in the town as well as the right to determine quarrels between the inhabitants of Vézelay and the Abbot. In disputes between himself and the Abbot, he claimed the jurisdiction of his own court. Furthermore, he had forbidden the Abbot to receive Papal Legates in the guest house of the monastery unless he was informed. He also demanded provisions from the church for all his excursions.²⁹

In 1119, Cono, Bishop of Praeneste and Apostolic Legate, accompanied Pope Calixtus (1119-1124) to Vézelay and took the occasion to verify the details of an attack on the monastery on the part of the clients of the Count of Nevers. A description of the attack was included in the letter from Cono to the Bishop of Nevers instructing the latter to inform the Count that satisfaction was demanded from his men for the sacrilege and that if it was not forthcoming, the lands of

Nevers would be placed under anathema.³⁰ Cono listed the names of the assailants, referring specifically to twenty-seven men who were among the attackers. The name of Renald, Prepositus of Monceaux, leads the list which includes the names of many other men from Monceaux, an important military and administrative center in the territory of Nevers.³¹ Also named on the list is Gaudricus of Clamecy who was present at the attack with seven associates. Clamecy was also in the territory of Nevers and the Count evidently maintained a residence there.³²

Unfortunately, Cono gave no information as to the provocation for the assault. The fact that the Count was not held directly responsible but, rather, that satisfaction was expected from his men, militates against the possibility that the attack was a military operation on the part of his garrisons of Monceaux and Clamecy undertaken at his command. The only possible later reference to this event occurred in the hearings of 1146 in the dispute between Nevers and Vézelay. At that time the Count's men of Clamecy had objected to paying customs on the merchandise they were bringing to the market at Vézelay and a struggle with the officials of Vézelay had ensued. It was stated that a similar situation had arisen in the time of Renald which had been settled when the Count accepted a monetary payment to withdraw his complaint against the custom.³³ Immunity from tolls throughout his territory may have been a privilege granted by Count William to the burghers of his towns. A later confirmation of the immunities which had been granted in 1097 to the burghers of Saint Stephan of Nevers made specific mention of their right of free entrance

and egress and their right to buy and sell throughout his land without impediment.³⁴ The peculiar status of Vézelay in which the Abbots claimed an independent jurisdiction in its territory which was surrounded by the lands of Nevers would have presented these privileged burghers with unaccustomed demands.

While a provocation of this order hardly seems sufficient to account for the violence of the attack in which, according to Cono, the doors of the cloister of Vézelay were ripped out and the monks were stoned and abused, perhaps the reaction to the unexpected demand simply got out of control. At any rate, the strained relations with Nevers at this time may have prompted Renald to approach King Louis VI (1108-1137) for a royal confirmation of the privileges of the monastery which was granted in April 1119.³⁵ The Capetian Kings evidently had had no prior interest in the affairs of Vézelay and Louis repeated provisions found in the privilege of Charles the Bald, such as the concession of all fiscal dues for alms for the poor and the needs of the monks,³⁶ a cheap enough concession since in all probability the royal treasury had not received revenue from the region since the ninth century. In January of the next year, Renald may have received further confirmation from Pope Calixtus.³⁷

The most dramatic occurrence in the time of Renald was the tragic fire in the Church of the Magdalene, 21 July 1120. This was the eve of the Feast day of Saint Mary Magdalene and the church was crowded with pilgrims. The Little Chronicle recorded briefly that many men and women were killed by fire.³⁸ The Chronicle of Saint Marian of Auxerre stated that at the hour of Vigils, a "crowd of different sexes, ages, and orders were burnt [when] the church suddenly caught fire in that

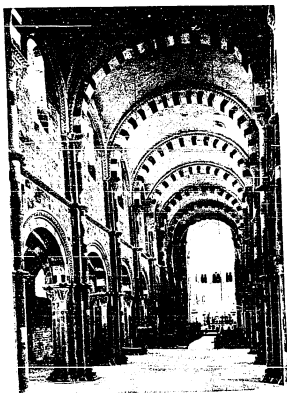
twilight between day and night."³⁹ The Chronicle of St. Maxentius related that "the monastery of St. Mary Magdalene of Vézelay was burnt with 1,127 men and women."⁴⁰ The holocaust must have made a profound impression on the people of that time. The Little Chronicle of Auxerre recorded for the year 1149, "This is the thirtieth year from the great fire of Vézelay."⁴¹

The usual interpretation of these sources as describing a fire in the church of the Magdalene has been questioned in a recent article by Oursel.⁴² Noting the fact that the records of Viollet-le-Duc, the architect who restored the church in the middle of the nineteenth century, stated that there was no evidence of the fire in the nave of the church, Oursel, who dated the construction of the nave to the time of Artald, concluded that the fire could not have taken place in the church. He suggested that it actually destroyed the portion of the town adjacent to the church. Oursel considers the fact that women were also killed as additional evidence of his theory since, he asserted, the presence of women would have been inappropriate in a monastic church. This assertion is not, however, tenable in the light of evidence to the contrary. The admissibility of women in the older structure is evident in the account of the mid-eleventh century miracle in which the woman Alleburgis was healed after repeated prayers at the altar.⁴³ At the time of the Second Crusade women must have been admitted since the original plan had been to have Saint Bernard preach in the basilica.⁴⁴ It is difficult to imagine that Eleanor of Aquitaine would have journeyed to Vézelay with the expectation of waiting outside the church during the main event. The presence of women

in the church at Vézelay is specifically mentioned in the History of Vezelay with regard to events of 1165.⁴⁵

The theory which ascribes the fire to the surrounding town must be rejected on other grounds. It is difficult to see how a fire in the town could possibly have caused the high death toll reported in the Chronicle of St. Maxentius. Even assuming that the figure 1,127 is exaggerated, which may not be the case, the death toll must have been horrendous for it to be remembered thirty years later as the "great fire." The town itself was probably built of wooden houses, some of which might have been two-stories high at this date. But even assuming that the entire surface of the plateau was covered with wooden structures, the site is not sufficiently large to allow a fire to reach the intensity of heat necessary to trap a thousand people. Such a fire is possible in a large, urban area of multi-storied tenements, warehouses, and industry where waste and industrial products might intensify the flames but Vézelay in the twelfth-century had neither the size nor intensive development to support such combustion. Its inhabitants could have been down the hill and bathing in the Cure river minutes after the fire broke out. Such a tragedy is, however, quite possible in an enclosed space such as the basilica and fires in churches were very common occurrences in the early twelfth century when the problems of roofing large structures with fireproof material (i.e., stone) had not yet been solved.

The lack of evidence of fire in the nave of the basilica probably indicates that the present nave was constructed after the fire of 1120. Work on the reconstruction of the church was begun immediately



6. View of the Nave of the
Basilica of Vézelay
12th-century

and undertaken on a much more ambitious scale. In contrast to the usual procedure, the construction of the nave was begun at the west end and proceeded bay by bay towards the east. This is evident from the alignment of the columns on the right hand aisle of the nave where a minor error was made which increases as one continues down the aisle from west to east until finally, where the nave meets the transept, the error is quite apparent and results in an awkward transition to the transept. The construction was apparently begun prior to the removal of the debris of the burnt structure. In the arch of the third bay on the right side, a keystone was placed, decorated with a medallion containing a female figure holding a portion of the church in one hand and a banner in the other. An inscription surrounding the figure reads, "Now I am smokey but soon I shall be beautiful." It may have been necessary at this point to stop construction temporarily until the ruins of the burnt edifice could be removed.⁴⁶

Once the work was resumed, it proceeded at great speed. The placement of the sculptured column capitals in the nave which apparently were mounted in the order in which they were completed rather than in accordance with an iconographic scheme attests to the rapidity of the work. Many different hands may be detected in the sculpture of the basilica including, perhaps the sculptor Gislebertus who was responsible for the celebrated Last Judgment tympanum of the church of Autun. A relief, now in the lapidary museum of Vézelay whose original placement can no longer be determined, may be an example of the early work of this master.⁴⁷ The precise stage at which work was begun on the magnificent tympanum between the narthex and the nave cannot be determined

with any certainty.⁴⁸ The original scheme does not seem to have envisaged a narthex of the dimensions which were finally constructed. When work was resumed in this area, the plans were radically changed and a completely new structural system introduced, suggesting the arrival on the scene of a new master mason to supervise work in accordance with a radically different concept.⁴⁹

The reconstruction of the basilica was probably completed by 1132 when, in the presence of Pope Innocent, Bishop Stephan of Autun dedicated the "Church of the Pilgrims."⁵⁰ There is some controversy as to what was meant by the phrase "Church of the Pilgrims" and the question assumes some importance in that this dedication provides one of the key dates for the construction at Vézelay. The phrase, which was used at the papal hearings in 1152, does not recur anywhere else in the sources. The witnesses who described the dedication apparently distinguished between the "Church of the Pilgrims" and the main church.⁵¹ It has generally been accepted that the phrase was meant to refer to the unusually large narthex of the basilica in which penitents, who would have made up a significant number of the pilgrims to the Magdalene, could have heard the mass, even though they were excluded from the sacraments.⁵² This explanation has been rejected by Salet, the author of a recent monograph on the basilica. He suggests that the phrase applied to a small, independent structure at the entrance to the monastery.⁵³ There is, however, no other known reference to a dedication of the entire structure after its reconstruction following the fire of 1120. Perhaps the dedication took place during the time of the usurpers, Baldwin or Gerard, and therefore, like other events of

their terms, was ignored by subsequent writers.⁵⁴ Or perhaps the phrase "Church of the Pilgrims" referred to the entire structure, including the nave and the narthex, the "main church" referring only to the nave to which the monks had direct access from the cloister without having to pass through the narthex. Such a dedication would have been worthy of the papal presence.

Renald's tombstone, which mentions his restoration of the church, also points to its completion during the time he bore the title of Abbot of Vézelay. It was certainly complete by 1138 when Aimery Picaud, who described it as "a huge and most beautiful basilica," left the area.⁵⁵ The new structure was apparently sufficient to accommodate the usual needs of visitors to Vézelay, a notable exception being in 1146, on the occasion of the preaching of the Second Crusade. No major additions were made until the end of the twelfth century when a fire in the choir of the church necessitated the construction of the present choir in Gothic Style to replace the remains of the choir constructed by Abbot Artald. The tragic fire in the church in 1120 does not appear to have been connected with civil conflict but it may have contributed indirectly to future tensions. The cost of reconstructing the church would have been passed on ultimately to the lay inhabitants of the lands of the monastery.

Abbot Renald apparently attempted to conduct the spiritual affairs of Vézelay strictly in accordance with the provisions outlined by Paschal II. Although monks and clerks of Vézelay were ordained at Autun during his term, others were sent to the Bishops of Auxerre,

Angers and Nevers. Angers and Nevers also supplied oil and chrism for the churches of Vézelay. Renald exercised jurisdiction in cases of matrimony, as in the case of Stephan Aicaphit who had returned from the Holy Land to find his wife living with another man. Renald ordered the wife to return and prescribed punishment for the adulterers.⁵⁶ But while exercising considerable independence from the episcopal authority with regard to the affairs of the monastery and its surrounding town, the priests of the other churches in the diocese of Autun which belonged to Vézelay continued to acknowledge the spiritual authority of Autun. They regularly attended the synods of Autun.⁵⁷ The agents of Autun took up collections from the parishioners of Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay and even inhabitants of the town of Vézelay itself, as individuals, acknowledged the authority of the secular clergy of the diocese by attendance and offerings at the church of Avallon.⁵⁸ The issue must have caused serious misgivings and divisions among the lay populace during Renald's term.

The Little Chronicle mentions an Abbot Baldwin for the year 1124.⁵⁹ At the papal hearings in 1152, a witness for Autun testified to having seen Bishop Stephan of Autun (1112-1140) bless Abbot Baldwin.⁶⁰ Since no other source mentions this Abbot, the entry in the Little Chronicle has been usually dismissed as erroneous. Chérest suggested that the date given might have been an error for 1129 and that Baldwin might have been invested by the Bishop of Autun to succeed Renald in that year but withdrew because of opposition.⁶¹ There is no question that Renald continued to use the title Abbot of Vézelay at least until his appointment in 1128 as Archbishop of Lyons.⁶² There is, however,

no evidence at all that he functioned as Abbot of Vézelay between the years 1124 and 1128. The latest dated document on which he appears recorded his presence as a witness in 1123 at Auxerre.⁶³ An undated letter from Renaud to Abbot Peter of Cluny which may very well date from ca. 1125, the date affixed by the editor, made no mention of conditions at Vézelay but instead described an incident which took place when he was staying at the hostelry of Luperciacum and reflected the internal problems of Cluny at that time.⁶⁴

Abbot Baldwin might have exercised control over the monastery of Vézelay at that time without the authorization of Cluny. A letter from Pope Calixtus to the monks and servants of Verziacensis monastery dated 7 December between 1122 and 1124 mentions the complaint of Abbot Peter of Cluny that they had refused to receive the Prior of Cluny. The Pope ordered them to receive him in accordance with their custom of almost thirty years.⁶⁵ It is not clear whether the Prior had come on a tour of inspection or whether Cluny had attempted to impose a Prior to govern the monastery in question. It does, however, seem likely that the monastery was Vézelay. Verzeliacensis, a common variant spelling,⁶⁶ might easily have been incorrectly transcribed Verziscensis. The almost thirty year custom of receiving the Prior of Cluny may have been observed at Vézelay during this period when the monastery had been subordinated to Cluny. In the 1120's, the Cluniac order was split by internal dissension over the rival claims of Abbots Ponce and Peter.⁶⁷ The monks of Vézelay might have supported the Abbot Ponce in defiance of Renaud, their own abbot, or, even more likely, they might have taken advantage of the weakness of Cluny to

assert their independence under Baldwin, their own choice. The basilica, which was in construction at this time, shows evidence of a major revision of plans at this point, away from the Clunian model in the direction of the style of Saint Martin of Autun and its priories, firm supporters of the policies of the Bishop of Autun.⁶⁸ In rejecting the authority of Cluny, the monks of Vézelay may have turned to the episcopal authority.

An Abbot Gerard appears on a charter of 1130 but is otherwise unknown. The charter recorded an agreement reached between Vézelay and the Abbot of Premontre in which Gerard, on behalf of Vézelay, renounced the jurisdiction and dues which the Prior of Ville-Serve had claimed in the territory of the Premonstratensians at Bonneuil, near Ham, as well as two modii of grain paid yearly for the site of the mill. The Abbot of Premontre renounced the tithe on the land of Vézelay at Golencourt which amounted to twelve modii of seed.⁶⁹ The Little Chronicle records the foundation of the Premonstratensian Order just ten years prior to this agreement.⁷⁰ The lists of the properties of Vézelay indicate that such a transaction might have taken place. In papal privileges of 1103 and 1170, the ownership of property by Vézelay in Ville-Serve was confirmed.⁷¹ Their ownership of the Church at Golencourt was also confirmed in 1170, although the document did not mention the tithes. The complete lack of any reference to Abbot Gerard in the documents from Vézelay would seem to indicate that subsequent abbots did not recognize his title. His acts, therefore, would not have been considered valid by his successors although they would have provided the basis for rival claimants to property.

The letter of Pope Innocent II (1130-1143) to Stephan, Bishop of Autun, in which he announced his choice of Alberic, Subprior of Cluny, to be Abbot of Vézelay in 1131, deplored "the temporal and spiritual detriment that the monastery had sustained because of the absence of a shepherd."⁷² At a later date, Peter the Venerable protested against the promotion of Alberic to the Bishopric of Langres for fear that the recovery of the monastery of Vézelay might be destroyed if the Abbot were again removed.⁷³ Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, in a letter written shortly after 1133, referred to the deplorable conditions at Vézelay prior to Alberic's accession: "With what a strong hand was that noble monastery of Vézelay set in order! The Majesty of the Apostolic See did not even consider giving away one inch to the insane rabble of armed people, to the frenzied fury of undisciplined monks, or to what is more powerful than all this, the forces of mammon."⁷⁴ Officially, the chronology of the Abbots of Vézelay indicates a three year gap between the terms of Renald and Alberic. Actually, it would appear that Renald lost control of the monastery by 1124. Baldwin and Gerard had the support of both the monastic and the lay community of Vézelay. During their terms, concessions may have also been made to the spiritual authority of the Bishop of Autun and to the power of the Count of Nevers which strengthened their later claims.

Alberic and Compromise

At the request of Pope Innocent II, Abbot Alberic received the blessing of Bishop Stephan of Autun.⁷⁵ Hugh of Poitiers, writing in

the 1160's, after Cluniac control had been withdrawn, described his accession as an intrusion imposed by Cluny through the force of the Pope and the Count of Nevers. Almost all the monks, Hugh asserted, were thrust into chains and dispersed through Provence, Italy, Germany, Lorraine, France and Aquitaine, and replaced by "foreigners."⁷⁶ This allegation appears to be confirmed by the fact that at the discussions between the Abbot and the burghers in 1137, no monastic witness could be produced to testify to conditions before Alberic took office.⁷⁷ Again, at the papal hearings in 1152, the only witness for Vézelay to mention events during the term of Renald was a former monk of Vézelay, Gerard, Prior of Alborne, who may have left Vézelay at about the same time as Renald as he had nothing to say about later conditions.⁷⁸

Like Renald, Alberic was a loyal son of Cluny and evidently a member of a distinguished devout family.⁷⁹ Having served as Subprior of Cluny under Peter the Venerable, he was undoubtedly familiar with the reforms and administrative procedures instituted by the latter,⁸⁰ and may have introduced them at Vézelay. Like Renald again, he appears to have avoided the title "Abbot" which he omitted in a later letter to Abbot Ponce written when he was Bishop of Ostia and Apostolic Legate.⁸¹ His promotion to that position in 1138 attests to the fact that he too was respected by contemporaries as a capable administrator. A later addition to the announcement of his death in the necrology of Saint Martin des Champs indicates that he was remembered in the Cluniac order as a good official and in particular for his financial competence.⁸² Saint Bernard's esteem is evident in the fact that at Alberic's funeral

in 1151, he celebrated the mass and honored him by the recitation of the Collect for a Saint Confessor.⁸³ Hugh of Poitiers, nevertheless, accused Alberic of having permitted the goods of the church to be seized by villagers, giving uncusomary dues to Nevers, as well as paying the exactions of the latter for justice and permitting frequent visits which reduced the temporal goods of the monastery.⁸⁴ Relations between the monastery and Count William II of Nevers were cordial during Alberic's term in office. If Hugh's description of his accession is accurate, Alberic had the active support of Nevers at the beginning of his term. There is no evidence of later friction and, in 1137, Count William served as one of the arbitrators in the agreement reached between Alberic and the burghers of Vézelay.⁸⁵

Alberic continued the policy of Renald vis à vis the authority of the Bishop of Autun. The spiritual services known to have been performed by Autun with regard to the monastery during his term were expressly authorized by the Pope or in the presence of the latter. Such was the case in 1131 when Alberic received the blessing of Autun and the following year when Bishop Stephan dedicated the church. On other occasions, however, Alberic asserted the independence of the monastery from the authority of Autun. Hugo, Prior of Moreto and former monk of Vézelay, testified at the papal hearings of 1152 that, in the time of Alberic, Bishop Matthew of Albano had ordained himself and others at Vézelay when Pope Innocent was in Auxerre. He had also seen Hugo, Archbishop of Rouen, consecrate the altar of Saint Gilles in the main church. Alberic had resolved a controversy with regard to the marriage of two local inhabitants in the presence of Bishop

Galterius of Chalons even though the father and the groom were from a parish of Autun.⁸⁶ He evidently took no action to prevent the secular clergy of other churches in the diocese of Autun from continuing to attend the synods of Autun and in other ways recognizing the Bishop's authority over the churches outside the town.

Most of the information on the administration of monastic property during Alberic's term in office concerns the resolution of situations which he had inherited on taking office. Peter the Venerable mentioned a meeting in 1133 between Alberic and Matthew of Albano, Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of Pontigny⁸⁷ which may have been the occasion for Alberic's concession to Pontigny of the priory of Chsalis in exchange for an annual rent of ten solidi.⁸⁸ Chsalis, in the area of Senlis, had been subject to the priory of Mello, a dependency of Vézelay. The circumstances surrounding this concession cannot be determined. Nor is there information with regard to the relinquishing in 1135 of an estate at Frigido Monte by Alberic.⁸⁹ In 1135, Alberic attended the Council of Pisa⁹⁰ and on this occasion Pope Innocent II adjudicated the dispute between Vézelay and Bartholomew, Abbot of Ham. Since the Pope did not wish to evict the monks of Ham who had long been established on the property, it was determined that the church of Ham should be free from all claims and disturbances on the part of Vézelay. The monks of Ham were confirmed as having full possession of the church of Ham as well as the church of Cantoro.⁹¹

Abbot Gerard's surrender of rights to property in this area may have been incidental to the complete loss of these churches by Vézelay. Certainly the negligence on the part of the predecessors of

Alberic in permitting the monks of Ham to establish themselves on property to which Vézelay had claims was a major factor in the loss of this property. Vézelay had owned the Church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Ham at least since 1103 when possession of it was confirmed by Pope Paschal II.⁹² The dedication of this church to the Magdalene suggests that the influence of Vézelay had once been very strong. The loss of this church appears to have been permanent since it was not mentioned in the confirmation of the property of Vézelay in 1170, but, while Paschal's privilege made no mention of a church of Cantoro, the list of the property of Vézelay of 1170 confirmed their possession of the church and tithes of Candore. If this is the same church, Vézelay apparently had reasserted its control.

To compensate Vézelay for the loss of the churches of Ham and Cantoro in 1135, Alberic was invested with the Church of Fraxino by Simon, Bishop of Noyon. Fraxino had been held from the Bishop by his Chancellor, Hugo, whose return of this property to the hands of the Bishop and whose agreement to its transfer to Vézelay was recorded. The continuing rights and jurisdiction of the Bishop of Noyon over this property was also confirmed.⁹³ Considering the apparent weakness of Alberic's bargaining position with regard to the property in Noyon, the grant of Fraxino was probably poor compensation for the loss of the other churches. The Abbot of Vézelay was forced to take what he could get, knowing that, barring the use of force to expel the monks of Ham, time would only decrease the value of Vézelay's claims. The Church of Fraxino and its tithes were still in the control of Vézelay in 1170.

Controversies had also arisen with regard to the property of Vézelay at Bessy-sur-Cure. Half of the villa of Bessy had been given to the Magdalene in the time of Artald. Ascelinus, brother and heir to the donor, had witnessed the original grant. In order to resolve the disputes, Alberic called on Stephan, Abbot of Regny, and Rodulf, Sacristan of Vézelay, to examine the issues with the help of oath-takers from both sides. The first problem discussed concerned the servile populace of Bessy, specifically the children of André of Bessy, Letericus and his brothers and sisters. It was decided that they and their posterity should be shared equally by the Abbot of Vézelay and Ascelinus. The other serfs who belonged to the houses of Bessy and had been in the villa when the original donation was made would also be shared equally by the co-owners. Those who belonged to the houses of Bessy but had left before the original donation was made would belong to Ascelinus.⁹⁴ This decision represents a diminution of the donation which had originally included all the servile populace, wherever they were.⁹⁵ Those who remained the property of Ascelinus, however, would be liable to the summons by the Abbot to his justice.⁹⁶

The decision reached in the next issue disentangled the rights to properties which were exclusively used by one co-owner or the other. The house and courtyard of the Abbot, as delineated by the cloister which enclosed it, was to be held freely, without any ties. Similarly the house of Ascelinus, its courtyard and its enclosure, which was adjacent to that of the Abbot, was to be held freely. A mill had been built at Lucy-sur-Cure which served the monks also as a court and residence. It was determined that an annual rent would be paid for that

part of the establishment which was on the allodial property of Ascelinus. The revenues of the mill, including those from justice, were to be shared by both co-owners. Other dues pertaining to the church, villa, or houses, were to be fixed according to the testimony of Renald Caprarius, a man of professed allegiance and dependency on the Abbot who had witnessed the original grant, and another witness chosen by Ascelinus. On the advice of experienced and wise men (probis et sapientibus viris) who were present, it was decided that the prefect would serve both owners and swear fidelity to both. Common fishing rights were more precisely defined. When both owners were present, anything captured in the water would be shared. If only one were present, he would not have to reserve the part of the other. If neither were present, the catch would be shared. Neither would grant fishing rights without the consent of the other. Nor would either seize men in the power of the other without his consent.⁹⁷

The agreement concluded with provisions for the peaceful settlement of any future controversies which might arise. Vézelay's property in the villa and church of Bessy was confirmed in the list of property of the monastery in 1170. The agreement concluded with Alberic remained in force throughout the twelfth century since it was incorporated into the extant document in 1204 on the occasion of the settlement of a new controversy which had arisen with regard to the construction of a wine-press. Vézelay's rights in Bessy may have been somewhat compromised prior to Alberic's agreement, representing still another example of the deterioration of the monastery during the terms of Baldwin and Gerard. Such a situation would explain Alberic's

willingness to accept the loss of his rights to serfs who had left the servile quarters prior to the original grant even though they had clearly been included in it.

By far the most important document preserved from the time of Alberic for questions related to the urban development at Vézelay is the agreement reached between the Abbot and the burghers in the next to last year of his term in office. This document, preserved in an eighteenth century copy, was drawn up for the purpose of recording the decisions which had been reached by a group of arbitrators after they had heard the claims of both sides to the disputes. It was then read publicly.⁹⁸ There are many lacunae in the text but by comparing the discussion of the issues with the decisions rendered it is possible to get a very clear idea in most cases of the problems involved. We will reserve discussion on specific points indicating the social and economic conditions of the burghers at this date except in so far as they illustrate monastic policies and attitudes, administration, and finances.

Alberic had taken the initiative in setting up the inquiry in order to settle arguments of long duration. Burghers were present but the text does not state whether their arguments were presented by their own representatives or by the Abbot or monastic officials on the basis of the complaints which they had heard. The statements of their positions, however, appear to have been faithfully recorded and bear no trace of the distortions which might be expected had they been presented by a monastic intermediary. The arbitrators to the disputes were Hugh, Bishop of Auxerre, the Abbots Hugh of Pontigny, Stephan of Regny,

Stephen of Trois Fontaines, Geoffrey, Prior of Clairvaux, and Count William II of Nevers. The witnesses included a number of men in the service of the Count of Nevers,⁹⁹ suggesting the possibility that these hearings may have been held at his court.

The document reveals a keen awareness on the part of all parties concerned of the growth of the town. Almost all of the disputes involved economic conflicts. Some reveal nascent political activity. Both sides sought to justify their positions on the basis of customary practice, although the Abbot's case was often based on earlier practices which probably had not been continued during the terms of his immediate predecessors. The arbitrators at these hearings generally supported his position, even to the point of reimposing the obligation of hospitality which had not been required for over thirty years. In some cases the higher taxes and rents against which the burghers complained probably resulted from the failure of previous officials to take into account the rising property values or the increased areas of cultivation. Concessions to individuals and outright mismanagement may have added to Alberic's difficulties.

It would appear that at this date the monks of Vézelay were no longer directly concerned with agricultural activities since even the arable demesne had been parcelled out. Some of the settlers on these parcels had been authorized but others had allegedly been usurped by local burghers and rustics--or perhaps settled under the previous Abbots on terms Alberic refused to accept. In either case the monastic interests had evidently suffered, whether from the gross negligence

which left parts uncultivated and inviting settlement or from the authorization of settlement on unfavorable terms. These settlers were told to leave the land unless they could establish that their right to it had been authorized by the "proper" officials.¹⁰⁰ Alberic himself had apparently continued the policy of parcelling out lands although he was prepared to renounce in principle the practice of renting common lands.¹⁰¹

The increased wealth in the region was a very basic source of conflict. The monks attributed the prosperity of the town to divine providence¹⁰² and undoubtedly felt justified in securing its control. The burghers, on the other hand, while quick to profit from increased property values, were unwilling to see the Abbey do likewise when their interests were affected.¹⁰³ They were also concerned with insuring their families' enjoyment of their possessions.¹⁰⁴ Questions of conditions of ownership and the transfer of property, therefore, assumed some importance. Alberic was also attempting to control the operations of the market-place by standardizing weights and currency exchange¹⁰⁵ and licensing street-vendors.¹⁰⁶ Some such controls would ultimately have been beneficial to business. His jurisdiction in the market-place appears, however, to have been limited.

Other complaints against abuses or dishonesty on the part of monastic officials reflect perennial problems. The burghers complained, for example, that the grain measure of the mill had been made larger than customary.¹⁰⁷ The text of the decision is too fragmentary to determine the outcome in this issue but there was certainly nothing new in this sort of complaint. A letter of Gregory the Great in 591

regarding the administration of the patrimonies in Sicily deplored the fact that "when something is taken from the rustics of the church for the pints of grain due to the lord, they are compelled to give by a larger peck measure than is used in the granaries of the church."¹⁰⁸ This type of complaint created no major difficulty as the Abbot generally expressed willingness to rectify the situation.

Economic interests also impinged on the religious functions of the monastery as is apparent in complaints against the demands of monastic officials for unwarranted exactions for spiritual services. The Abbots of Vézelay exercised jurisdiction over disputes related to marriages and in the agreement of 1137 insisted that the Abbot or his officials be informed of marital unions. They were, however, prohibited from making pecuniary demands for their services which probably involved the registry of marriages.¹⁰⁹ It was not yet considered necessary that a priest officiate at a marriage ceremony.¹¹⁰ The burghers had also complained that burial and prayers for the dead were withheld until the relatives and friends of the deceased had paid for these services. The Abbot flatly denied the charge, asserting that he had expressly forbidden this practice even if it could be proved that it was followed by his predecessors, but "after death as in life we may appropriately receive something from the goods of our men; we do not believe that in this we act against justice."¹¹¹ There was undoubtedly a very thin line between demands for spiritual services and the withholding of these services until all debts to the monastery were satisfied.

The Abbey of Vézelay obviously realized a substantial income

from its domains. It collected a tithe on wines and grains, as well as on oxen, lambs, calves, pigs, and "first fruits."¹¹² It also received additional revenues from the vineyards, some of which were taxed at a rate of half a pint of wine per jurnali and some of which were held on a share-cropping arrangement, owing a third of their harvest to the monastery.¹¹³ Monastic officials were desirous of collecting the tax in coin rather than wine which led to disputes over the rate of commutation.¹¹⁴ The abbey also received a trussia of grass each year from all men who owned a meadow or meadows.¹¹⁵ Natural resources, such as waters and woods, were also a source of income. Certain waters and woods were restricted although special permits could be given for their use--presumably at a price. Choice fish caught in the waters were to be given to the officials of the Abbot.¹¹⁶ Although handmills were known in the area, income was also obtained from facilities such as mills and ovens.¹¹⁷ The Abbot received a pint of wine for the use of the wine press.¹¹⁸

A taille was levied on all burghers and rustics after they had been in residence a year.¹¹⁹ The market-place was also a source of revenue. Alberic may not have charged a toll on goods brought into the market but he received rents from the stalls and tables used by merchants and money-changers and probably fees for permission to set up stands on the streets.¹²⁰ He also realized an income from direct sales of produce, such as wine on which he was permitted to declare a monopoly for his own sales for one month¹²¹--perhaps a rough indication that he controlled one-twelfth of the stock of wine in the town. Burghers were also required to provide hospitality for the guests of



7. A Hand Mill
12th-century capital from Vézelay

the monastery and, although this was not properly income, it freed the monastery from the necessity of assuming the expense.¹²²

The Abbot also claimed the right to invest the heirs of free men who died without children and to confiscate the property should the heirs refuse to receive it from his hands. The property of men of the church was escheat to the Abbot should they die without children. The lepers and their church were declared to belong to the monastery, hence any property that they held or received entered into the monastic possession.¹²³ The chapel of the lepers probably referred to the chapel of Saint Stephan in Vézelay. It was in existence at about this time since an altar in the chapel had been dedicated by Bishop Stephan of Autun (1112-1140).¹²⁴ Inscriptions on the bells of Saint Stephan which survived into the eighteenth century indicated that at an early date the chapel was connected with the hospital of Vézelay.¹²⁵ Later evidence from the fifteenth century indicated that the goods of those who entered the Hospital of Saint Stephan were united with those of the Abbey,¹²⁶ a continuance of the policy stated in the agreement of 1137.

There is some information from the time of Alberic on the functions of subordinate officials in both the monastic and lay administration of Vézelay. The most important subordinate monastic official was Prior Peter whose name appears among the witnesses to the agreement with the co-owner of Bessy.¹²⁷ Peter was born to a family of Auvergne and had come to Vézelay as a youth.¹²⁸ If the replacement of the monastic population of Vézelay at the beginning of the term of Alberic was as complete as it appears to have been, Peter must have arrived in

1131 or later. He would have been a young man when appointed Prior. By dint of his industry and hard work, Peter was advanced to take charge of a monastery in Tonnerre by Ponce of Montboissier, Alberic's successor as Abbot.¹²⁹ Hugh of Poitiers asserted that Peter was subsequently removed from office in Tonnerre due to his scandalous relationship with the young monk Theobald and his dissipation of the resources of the house in Tonnerre.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, by Hugh's own testimony, Peter was received back at Vézelay with honors by Ponce and was entrusted with responsibilities by William, Ponce's successor, despite his opposition to William's election.¹³¹ Hugh's character assassination should be taken cum grano salis, especially since he presented this accusation in a section written after the suppression of a monastic revolt in 1165 in which Peter was apparently elected Abbot by the insurgent faction.¹³²

The Subprior in the time of Alberic was Garnerius who in that capacity led a group of monks of Vézelay, including Hugo, later Abbot of Moreto, to Auxerre to be ordained into the priesthood by the Bishop of Auxerre. Hugo was later advanced to the position of Chamberlain when he was responsible for conducting fourteen monks to Auxerre for ordination.¹³³ The monastery also had a cellarer whose responsibilities for provisioning the monastery included having the first choice of purchasing fish caught in the waters of Vézelay for which he was expected to pay the usual price.¹³⁴ The name of the cellarer during the term of Alberic has not been preserved. Benedict, the cook of the Abbot, appeared as a witness on the document of Bessy¹³⁵ and he continued to serve Abbot Ponce for whom he testified in Rome in 1152.¹³⁶ Benedict

may have been a lay oblate. His son Renald was mentioned in connection with the events during the communal revolt when he remained loyal to the monks of Vézelay. Bardelinus the Forester was also a layman in the service of the monastery and in 1137 he appeared at the hearings with the burghers to testify to conditions during the time of Artald.¹³⁷ He may be the same person as the William Bardelinus who was a witness for Alberic in the dispute over the property at Bessy.¹³⁸

The highest secular administrator of the affairs of the monastery was the Prefect Hugo whose name also appeared among the witnesses to the agreement with regard to Bessy in the time of Alberic. In 1146 he was still in office as he testified for Abbot Ponce with regard to the supervision exercised by Vézelay of the routes approaching the town. These were probably under his jurisdiction. It was to him that six counterfeiters who had been seized on the route by the men of Pressy were brought for justice.¹³⁹ In 1165 the Prefect was also responsible for the detention of criminals.¹⁴⁰ In other official functions the Prefect shared responsibility with the decanus.

The name of the decanus during the term of Alberic is not given in the sources. Perhaps Guinimerus, who was described as the former decanus in 1146, served under Alberic.¹⁴¹ In 1137, the Prefect and the decanus were responsible for assessing the taille. They also registered marriages and were responsible for ascertaining the character of the guards of the vineyards selected by the burghers.¹⁴² As ministers of the Abbot, it was probably also their responsibility to supervise the division of the harvest of men who owed a third of the crop,¹⁴³ and to receive the choice fish caught in the waters of

Vézelay which were reserved for the Abbot.¹⁴⁴ The decanus also was to receive the payment of twelve pennies for each guard of the vineyards from the burghers.¹⁴⁵ With the Marshall, he took charge of assigning the obligations for hospitality.¹⁴⁶

Financial affairs appear to have been the province of the decanus, just as jurisdictional affairs were the province of the Prefect. In 1137, the burghers had several complaints against the arbitrary acts and exactions of the prefect and the decanus. They objected to the demands for money on the part of these officials when they married, to their practice of arbitrarily assigning guards for the vineyards, and to the practice of the decanus of sending his servants to gather their grapes before the harvest.¹⁴⁷ One would like to believe that these complaints had some effect. Perhaps it was in response to these complaints that Guinimerus was removed from office.

The Marshall, in addition to his responsibilities in assigning obligations of hospitality, was responsible for receiving a trussiam of hay from each man belonging to the territory of Vézelay who had a meadow or meadows.¹⁴⁸ The stables were his sphere of responsibility and it was probably in connection with providing adequate facilities for the horses of guests that he was involved in assigning hospitality. William the Marshall, who was listed among the witnesses to the agreement with the burghers in 1137,¹⁴⁹ was probably not in the service of the Abbot as the group of witnesses appears to include notables from the surrounding territory. He may have been in the service of the Count of Nevers as a William the Marshall is listed among the men of Nevers responsible for the attack on the monastery of Vézelay in 1119.¹⁵⁰

Ursus the Marshall appeared as a witness to the settlement of Bessy in the time of Alberic as did Renald the Constable,¹⁵¹ but whether they were in the service of Vézelay or of Ascelinus, the co-owner of Bessy, cannot be determined. Rodulf, named as the Sacristan of Vézelay on the document of Bessy, must have had considerable responsibility and influence under Alberic since he had served with the Abbot of Regny to adjudicate that dispute. Among his responsibilities was keeping the official weights of the town.¹⁵²

On his accession in 1131, Alberic had taken over a house whose affairs were in disorder. The monastic population was dispersed and replaced and a new, more complex administration introduced. The resolutions he obtained in property disputes appear to have endured. Perhaps the agreement he reached with the burghers might also have provided the basis for a lasting arrangement, had he been succeeded by a man of a similar spirit. In 1138, however, despite the warnings of Peter the Venerable, Alberic was elevated to the See of Ostia. He surrendered a well-ordered monastery, on good terms with neighboring lay and ecclesiastical powers.

Ponce and Conflict

Ponce of Montboissier, Peter the Venerable's own brother, succeeded Alberic and received the blessing of Bishop Stephan of Autun at the request of Peter and the chapter of Vézelay.¹⁵³ The new Abbot came from a distinguished family of Auvergne and was related to the Count of Nevers.¹⁵⁴ Other members of his immediate family distinguished themselves in ecclesiastical service. Ponce's brother Jordan became Abbot

of the monastery of Chaise-Dieu. Another brother, Heraclius, rose to be Archbishop of Lyon.¹⁵⁵ With such powerful connections, the fortunes of the monastery of Vézelay seemed secure under the guidance of its new head. Moreover, Ponce, like his brother Peter, had been educated at the monastery of Vézelay. But, unlike his brother, there is no evidence that Ponce showed early signs of distinction. There is no record of his having had any official responsibilities prior to his appointment to head the monastery of Vézelay. The Little Chronicle records merely that he came to Vézelay from the monastery of La Chiusa.¹⁵⁶

The letters of Peter the Venerable shed an interesting light on the character of his brother before he was raised to prominence. In one letter which Peter wrote to Ponce a few years after his taking office as Abbot of Cluny in 1122, Peter the Venerable defended himself against his brother's accusations of pride and indifference: "You have complained that I, forgetful of brotherhood, had forgotten you, not having written to you for a long time and, in my majesty, despised your humility."¹⁵⁷ Peter excused himself for not having written, referring to his cares and duties in office, but denied having forgotten their close relationship. The early years of Peter's term as Abbot of Cluny were, indeed, turbulent, as the Clunian order was split by rival claimants to the office of Abbot. After years of struggle, Peter then had the enormous task of reorganizing the order, reestablishing unity and recovering control over the administration of the vast estates over which he ruled.¹⁵⁹ In the light of the problems which his brother faced, Ponce's reproaches seem totally uncalled for.

In his letter, Peter went on to approve his brother's

pilgrimages to the tombs of the martyrs--"but," he warned, "you should not spurn that love of humanity (caritas)" for which the martyrs had died.¹⁵⁹ And then the great lord of Cluny defended himself against his brother's reproaches for not having sent him a tunic. "But I will send the tunic," he promised, "lest it be imputed to avarice if the law of justice is served."¹⁶⁰ One has a strong feeling of the disappointment of the Abbot of Cluny with his importunate younger brother. Whatever hopes he might once have had when they had talked together of spiritual dedication, must have been rudely shattered by the selfish pettiness of Ponce. Like a spoiled child, he demanded his brother's attention and gifts. The only spiritual activities in which he apparently was associated, the pilgrimages--an activity which Peter generally did not encourage--apparently appealed more to a restless pursuit of adventure than to any genuine religious sentiment.

There is another letter from Peter to "the monk Ponce."¹⁶¹ Constable considers that the recipient of this letter was probably not his younger brother Ponce because of the absence of any reference to their relationship.¹⁶² The recipient of the letter, however, appears to have a character very similar to that of Ponce of Montboissier which is apparent in the letter discussed above. Peter's exasperation with the recipient is even more apparent. "Unless I provide for you, you will call down the vengeance of heaven!" he wrote. "I beg, spare your threats that God will spare the same. . . ."¹⁶³ It would be a strange coincidence if there were two monks named Ponce at about this time corresponding with the Abbot of Cluny who displayed such effrontery. It is hard to imagine that another Ponce, not connected to Peter by the

close bonds of family, would dare to so threaten a man in his position-- and whose threats would be dignified by an answer! It seems more likely that the absence of an express reference to their relationship is rather an indication of the disgust Peter felt with his younger brother's demand.

Knowing Ponce's character as he apparently did, why then did the Abbot of Cluny promote him to the head of a prominent monastery such as the Abbey of Vézelay? Perhaps his younger brother's imprecations and a sense of family loyalty got the better of the Venerable Peter. Or perhaps, fearing a recurrence of the problems which had beset the monastery before Alberic took office, Peter felt pressured to name a successor and believed that he could exercise a strong supervision over his younger brother. It is also possible that the initiative came from the monastic chapter of Vézelay. Perhaps, wishing to avoid the imposition of another dedicated Cluniac, the monks of Vézelay sought to assert their independence by choosing for themselves an Abbot that the Abbot of Cluny could not fail to approve. Ponce may have visited Vézelay as a pilgrim and become known to the monks. We only know that Ponce's installation as Abbot of Vézelay was performed by the Bishop of Autun at the request of Peter of Cluny and the chapter of Vézelay. The chapter of Cluny appears to have played no role in his accession and it may have been in recognition of that fact that Hugh of Poitiers, who had described Alberic as an intruder from Cluny, never reproached Ponce in similar terms. Rather than considering Ponce as a Cluniac intruder, Hugh of Poitiers presented him as a true son of Vézelay who had returned to champion her liberties.

Ponce took over Alberic's organization and retained his key personnel in official positions. The Prior Peter had continued to hold that position until he was advanced by Ponce to take charge of a monastery in Tonnerre. Prior Hilduinus who held that responsibility at the time of the communal revolt¹⁶⁴ may have succeeded Peter at that time. The Prefect Hugo also continued to serve Ponce at least until 1146. The Little Chronicle recorded the death in 1140 of Hugo didascalus.¹⁶⁵ This unusual entry suggests a loss deeply felt by the monastic community of a teacher whose career at Vézelay must have extended back some time, certainly into the term of Alberic.

The earliest evidence of a child at the monastery of Vézelay comes from the period around 1040 when the woman saved from shipwreck on the Loire presented her son to the monastery.¹⁶⁶ Conditions at the monastery prior to that date do not suggest the existence of a monastic school at Vézelay. If the example of this woman found imitators, which is not unlikely since the presence of her son is only known because it was associated with an alleged miracle, the need for a school may have been felt soon after. Such a project would probably have been congenial to the psalm-loving Abbot Gaufredus. At any rate, the monastic school at Vézelay had achieved sufficient prominence at the beginning of the twelfth century to attract students from a distance and from good families such as the brothers Peter and Ponce.

There is very little evidence as to the actual instruction offered at Vézelay. The Sermons of Julian of Vézelay, written at the direction of Abbot Ponce, contain occasional references to scholars, perhaps reflecting the experiences in the school of the monastery of

Vézelay. A sermon on the message, "Decline from sin" led him to remark on the five declensions, such as those in the Isagogue which were given to boys in the schools of some grammarians. "Those boys who do not decline well are flogged," he observed, and went on to quote Cicero, "The roots of letters are bitter, the fruit sweet."¹⁶⁷ In another sermon he remarked on the worthlessness of the man who "denigrates the wax of the tablets of scholars."¹⁶⁸ The writings of Peter the Venerable suggest a basic education of high quality.

A recent discovery at Vézelay of fragments of manuscripts including some from around the end of the eleventh or the early twelfth century indicates that the monastic library at that time included copies of the Sermons of Saint Augustine and the Gospels of Saint Mark,¹⁶⁹ as one would expect. The Bible and the writings of the early church fathers undoubtedly formed an important part of the curriculum.¹⁷⁰ Classical authors were also known and honored at Vézelay at this time. The Little Chronicle mentioned the philosopher Pythagoras in connection with the year 1 and, for the year 13, noted that Virgil, Sallust, Livy, Hortensius, Terence, and Horace were famous. Again, for the year 19, the death of Ovid was noted.¹⁷¹ Hugh of Poitiers included occasional references to classical mythology and in style and theme often appears to have imitated classical models.¹⁷² The sermons of Julian of Vézelay are replete with classical references. He exhorted the monks of Vézelay to "Read the books of Tullius, De Officiis, De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Natura Deorum; read his letters and the Tusculan Disputations. Read Plato, Seneca De Beneficiis, De Clementia, and his letters."¹⁷³ Mythological subjects from Virgil and the Bestiary are found represented

on the sculpture of the basilica of the Magdalene.¹⁷⁴

Music appears to have been important at the monastery of Vézelay, perhaps having an uninterrupted tradition going back to the time of Abbot Gaufredus. During the exile of the monks of Vézelay in 1165, they marched singing psalms, according to Hugh of Poitiers' account.¹⁷⁵ Fragments of music from a later period, as well as pieces of slate with the four line staff incised which may have been used for teaching purposes, have also recently been found.¹⁷⁶

Vézelay was also the site of much literary activity during the first half of the twelfth century. The Life of Saint Hugh of Cluny composed by Abbot Renald has already been mentioned. During the term of Abbot Alberic, Aimery Picaud, the author of the well-known fraud, the Liber Sancti Jacobi, served in the church of Asquins, a dependency of Vézelay.¹⁷⁷ The most famous literary work inspired by Vézelay is probably the chanson de geste based on the life of the founder of the monastery, Girart de Roussillon.¹⁷⁸ The author and the precise date of composition of this poem are not known. The importance that construction plays in the work, presenting the opportunity for a miracle, suggests that its author was present at Vézelay during a period of major construction. It may have been written by a man who lived or visited the town during the reconstruction of the church after the disastrous fire of 1120. The suggestion that it is to be attributed to a man in the entourage of Eleanor of Aquitaine who was present on Easter Sunday, 1146, for the preaching of the Second Crusade¹⁷⁹ seems unlikely in view of the fact that the crusading theme was relatively unimportant in this poem. The Sermons of Julian of Vézelay as well as the History of Hugh

of Poitiers and other minor works included in the same manuscript attest to the continuity of literary activity through the term of Ponce who encouraged these endeavors.

Unfortunately the new Abbot abandoned his predecessor's policy of seeking conciliatory settlements in disputes. Within a short time, the monastery of Vézelay was embroiled in controversies on all sides. Ponce stubbornly insisted on the recognition of all his claims, refusing to admit any validity to those of his opponents, prolonging and embittering the conflicts which arose. He was indifferent to the spiritual and material suffering of his subjects caused by the prolongation and aggravation of these disputes. As his older brother well knew, he was totally lacking in that caritas which might have led him to pity their condition. Armed with royal and papal privileges confirming the liberties of Vézelay, Ponce held out against the combined opposition of spiritual and secular powers, convinced that his position would be maintained. His family connections were a powerful guarantee for his position. The alternative of replacing him with another Abbot (a measure which was attempted without success during the term of his successor) was not a serious concern for Ponce. No matter how exasperated Peter of Cluny might be with his policies, he could never consent to his brother's deposition and so the prestige and influence of Cluny stood behind him. During a time of crisis, brothers, Heraclius, Bishop of Lyons, and Jordan, Abbot of Chaise-Dieu, also lent support.¹⁸⁰

Shortly after 1140 Ponce was involved in a serious dispute with Humbert, Bishop of Autun (1140-8). At Ponce's request, Elias, Bishop of Orleans (1137-ca. 1145) had celebrated mass at Vézelay and

ordained monks in sacred orders.¹⁸¹ It was probably on this occasion that Elias granted in writing the church of St. Machaut to the monastery a donation which was soon challenged and apparently not retained.¹⁸² At first glance, Ponce's request to Orleans for such spiritual services would appear to be a continuation of the policies of Abbots Renald and Alberic who had applied to other bishops for spiritual services. Humbert's reaction in placing the clerks ordained by Orleans under interdiction seems to violate the privileges of Vézelay as outlined by Paschal II in 1103. But the election of Elias was disputed and it might have been for this reason that his ordinations were challenged. Elias' character and luxurious tastes were attacked and one suspects that he and Abbot Ponce had much in common--kindred spirits but hardly spiritual leaders. Elias was eventually removed from office.¹⁸³

Ponce retaliated against Autun by refusing to permit the priests of his churches in the diocese to attend the episcopal synods,¹⁸⁴ and wrote for papal assistance. Renard, Abbot of Cîteaux, supported the position of the Bishop of Autun and wrote to the Pope to protest the affront that had been offered by the Abbot of Vézelay.¹⁸⁵ Innocent II (1130-1143) supported Ponce's position, however, and in a letter to the Bishop of Autun, instructed that the clerks be reinstated.¹⁸⁷ Ponce also exhibited his independence from Autun by exercising jurisdiction in matrimonial disputes. Hermon, later Archdeacon and Archpriest of Avallon, was mentioned as having served as advocatus in one case, suggesting that some formal processes were observed in these proceedings.¹⁸⁷ Ponce may also have exercised certain episcopal privileges with regard to property in the diocese of Auxerre but this



8. Site of the Preaching
of the Second Crusade

extension may post-date his term in office.¹⁸⁸

Conflict with the Count of Nevers resumed by 1144 when Ponce refused to pay him customary offerings. William reacted by blockading the routes to Vézelay and demanded that Ponce appear at his court.¹⁸⁹ Nevers had the active support of the Abbot of Saint Germain of Auxerre who surrendered to him men of Vézelay.¹⁹⁰ Hearings to resolve this dispute were held at the grange on the property of Vézelay at Bessy on the fourth day of Easter in 1146 before Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of Til.¹⁹¹ Ponce's argument at these hearings was similar to the rationale he later expounded at Rome with regard to the claims of Autun. He did not deny the facts presented by Nevers but attacked the basis for their continuance by insisting that past acts were offered spontaneously on the part of the monastery.¹⁹² Nevers contended that since Vézelay was under his protection, it was subject to his jurisdiction.¹⁹³ The decision reached at these hearings was not recorded but at a later date, Saint Bernard referred to the Count's promise in his presence not to molest merchants and others wishing to go to Vézelay.¹⁹⁴ These hearings had been held shortly after the preaching of the Second Crusade at Vézelay and subsequent events intervened to suppress this conflict temporarily.

The fame of Vézelay had reached new heights when, on Easter Sunday 1146, Bernard of Clairvaux preached the Second Crusade to an enthusiastic multitude assembled on the slope of the hill at Vézelay, near the route to Auxerre. The "great Parliament" included Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots and "most" of the barons of France.¹⁹⁵ King Louis VII and his Queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, led the rush to receive the

Crusader's crosses which exceeded even the fondest hopes of its proclaimer. St. Bernard wrote triumphantly to the Pope, "The Crusaders have multiplied to infinity."¹⁹⁶ Other prominent leaders who were present on this occasion were Count Robert of Dreux, Count Alfonse-Jordan of Toulouse, Count William of Nevers, Henry, the heir to Champagne, Thierry of Flanders, Amadeus of Savoy, Count Archimbold of Bourbon, and the Bishops of Langres, Arras, and Lisieux.¹⁹⁷ The presence of such leaders, each undoubtedly accompanied by an impressive entourage, made the name of Vézelay known to an area at least as far north as Flanders and extending to the south to Toulouse and Savoy. As for the inhabitants of Vézelay, such an event must have been a wind-fall for those who were involved in commercial and service occupations.

Count William II of Nevers was ill and retired to a Carthusian monastery where he died the following year.¹⁹⁸ His sons, William and Renald, who had taken the cross at Vézelay, departed on the Crusade. Renald disappeared soon after his arrival in the Holy Land. Hugh of Poitiers related that he was captured by the Saracens and died an ignominious death,¹⁹⁹ but since Hugh could not have had reliable sources for this information, it probably only reflects his hatred of the family. William II returned as Count of Nevers after the death of his father in 1147²⁰⁰ and after narrowly escaping shipwreck on his return trip, the new Count resolved on a policy of peaceful relations with the monastery of Vézelay, taking an oath to that effect before the brothers.²⁰¹ This era of good relations did not last long.

In 1151, an unfortunate incident took place which led to the renewal of hostility between the monastery and Nevers. A monk, making

his rounds of the monastic lands, surprised a man in the act of chopping down a tree in one of the forests. He tried to seize the ax as evidence but the man resisted, knocking the monk off his horse, and made his escape. To avenge this insult, a group of dependents of the monastery attacked the offender and blinded him.²⁰² Ponce apparently expected a reaction from Nevers to this incident and, when the Count refused to discuss the matter with him at Vézelay, the Abbot sought him out at Clamecy.²⁰³ Count William declared that the injured man was the child of one of his men whose status had been determined by that of his mother, at which the Abbot laughed. At the obvious unwillingness of the Abbot to take any action against the assailants, William summoned him to his own court for a hearing on the matter. Ponce refused to recognize his jurisdiction, declaring such a summons to be contrary to divine law and to the customs of the church.²⁰⁴

The Count of Nevers again blockaded the routes to Vézelay and withdrew his protection from the monastic lands, at which time the petty lords of the neighborhood had no restraints on their lawlessness. Whether the Count of Nevers actually authorized the depredations described by Hugh of Poitiers, or whether, by simply withdrawing his restraints on their activities, he gave occasion for the excesses of the petty nobility, could be debated. On a later occasion, when he was charged in the presence of cardinal-legates with these deeds, the Count denied responsibility.²⁰⁵ The sympathy of the populace appears to have been wholly with the Count of Nevers. Even Hugh of Poitiers noted that the villagers held "the abbot to be the author and cause of all ills."²⁰⁶ The people faced other hardships that year and the



9. Fighting Nobles
12th-century capital from Vézelay

withdrawal of the protection which the Count had afforded was a serious blow. As the Feast of the Magdalene was drawing near, the monks requested a week's truce to observe her festival which was granted. Ponce, who had been summoned to Rome with regard to his dispute with the Bishop of Autun, arranged for an extension of the truce, promising to use the occasion of his stay in Rome to persuade the Pope to permit him to submit to the hearing demanded by Nevers, and paying a sum of sixty pounds to the Count.²⁰⁷

Ponce had won the first round of the conflict with Bishop Humbert of Autun but the dispute had resumed under Humbert's successor, Henry of Burgundy (1148-ca. 1170) and reached a climax in January 1152 when the case was presented in Rome before Pope Eugene III (1145-1153). Witnesses were produced by both sides to testify to the practices which had been observed with regard to the spiritual functions and authority of the Bishops of Autun over the possessions of Vézelay. Autun was able to produce witnesses who attested to practices recognizing their authority going back thirty-five and forty years. The Bishop requested a continuance of the hearings in Gaul so that weak and aged witnesses who were unable to make the journey to Rome could be heard. Ponce contended that these practices, such as yearly attendance at the synods of Autun, were voluntary and did not constitute recognition on the part of the Abbots of Vézelay of the authority of Autun.²⁰⁸ In fact, his aim appears to have been to gain recognition of the principle that the immunity of the monastery of Vézelay extended beyond the town to other parish churches in its territory. Hugh of Poitiers considered the case for Autun completely untenable but the Pope postponed decision.

A truce was later arranged giving de facto recognition to the independence claimed by Ponce but explicitly stating that the agreement would not prejudice the position of future Bishops of Autun.²⁰⁹ Ponce failed to get recognition of the principle but by then he was so embroiled in other disputes that a complete victory could not be expected. His independence of action, which was now at least temporarily recognized, could provide precedents for subsequent discussions.

At the conclusion of the hearings in Rome, in violation of his promise to the Count of Nevers, Ponce described to the Pope the vexations he had suffered at the hands of the Count of Nevers. The Pope was led to declare that under no circumstances should the monastery submit to the hearing demanded by Nevers. On hearing this decision, the Count was furious and hostilities resumed.²¹⁰ The Abbot now appealed to King Louis for help but when the King suggested that he submit his case for royal judgment, Ponce refused and withdrew, fearing that the judgment might go against him.²¹¹ Another truce was proclaimed at Vézelay to permit the observance of the festival of the Magdalene.²¹²

Count William took advantage of the truce to try to provoke the men of Vézelay to action but the burghers were hesitant. They requested time to confer before answering his proposal. A group reported the Count's words to Abbot Ponce and asked his advice. All they received was a platitudinous sermon: "Be loyal to the church that has nurtured and raised you. . . . I promise each of you my efforts for your welfare and liberty and with you I will undergo all misfortune and bad luck, courageously and supported by justice."²¹³ With these

words he dismissed them. Now the men of Vézelay were in a desperate situation. The Abbot offered no hope of relief. The Count's address had contained fair words but beneath them there was an obvious threat--"Join me or things will continue this way indefinitely." It was at this point that decisive steps were taken to form the commune.

Even after the formation of the commune, a committee of elders made still another effort to find an amicable solution. They approached the cardinal-legates, John Paparo of S. Andrian and Jordan of S. Susanna, who were visiting the monastery, to request their assistance. They were merely referred to the Abbot who, while admitting that in the past peace with Nevers had been achieved by money or homage, would promise nothing more for the present than a pardon if the burghers abandoned the steps they had already taken.²¹⁴ The Cardinal-legates made an attempt to resolve the conflict between the Abbot and the Count but only deepened the bitterness and were forced to flee the town, taking with them Abbot Ponce who feared for his life.²¹⁵

Ponce ultimately reached Cluny where his reception by his brother, the Abbot of Cluny, appears to have been somewhat less sympathetic than he might have expected. Despite papal directives, Peter hesitated to cede the Abbey of Souvigny to his brother and, when he eventually did so, acted without the consent of the chapter of Cluny.²¹⁶ Peter also refused to anathematize the burghers as his brother urged.²¹⁷ Cluny was far from committed to supporting Ponce's claims and attempted to arrange a compromise with Nevers.²¹⁸ Their efforts were condemned by Hugh of Poitiers and the ill-will which they

engendered between the monks of Vézelay and Cluny indicate an important stage towards the later removal of Vézelay from Cluniac control.

Count William was perfectly agreeable to the establishment of peace and to the dissolution of the commune, which was a necessary condition for the return to normalcy, as long as his claims were acknowledged. One can imagine the dismay and fear of the burghers at this point. But Ponce refused to cooperate with these attempts at settlement, justifying his intransigence as being in accordance with the wishes of the chapter of Vézelay.²¹⁹ The irritation of Peter the Venerable at his brother's attitude crackles from the pages of the Chronicle even after eight centuries. "What are you doing?" he demanded. "Up till now I have worked for your peace and tranquillity . . . but you, just the opposite. What I build, you destroy; what I gather, you dissipate; what I collect, you disperse; and what I say publicly of your desire for peace, you secretly contradict. . . ." ²²⁰

It is at this point in the manuscript of the History of Vézelay that twenty-six leaves have been deliberately mutilated by being cut lengthwise in half. While the general sequence of events can be reconstructed, the evidence is insufficient to support detailed analysis. During the three year period whose history was related on these pages, it would appear that there were periods of truce and that during one such period, the burghers returned to the jurisdiction of the Abbot. One Robert the Baker was ordered to submit to a trial by combat, although he begged to be excused. At the place assigned for the duel, apparently at the cemetery,²²¹ a crowd of townspeople gathered and a battle ensued between them and the monks. The monastery was besieged

and with food supplies dwindling, the Abbot escaped to the safety of the royal court.²²² Negotiations at the royal court figured prominently on the mutilated pages. Reversing his earlier policy, Ponce now submitted to royal adjudication and paid homage to King Louis.²²³ Using the typical argument which Ponce employed to refute the claims of other authorities, his notary later explained that the homage was voluntary. He quoted King Louis, not once but twice, to that effect.²²⁴ He would have one believe that the King had carefully memorized a statement qualifying the nature of Ponce's submission. But it is quite evident that the King henceforth considered Vézelay as being in his domain.²²⁵

Pope Adrian IV (1154-59) had written to the King as late as May, 1155 requesting that he take action to suppress the commune,²²⁶ but it was not until November that Louis' decision was rendered and action was swiftly taken to implement this decision.²²⁷ It was undoubtedly the submission of the Abbot of Vézelay to royal authority in the intervening period that was the decisive factor in his change of policy. The King ordered his vassal, Count William III of Nevers, to restore order.²²⁸ William had no choice but to submit to the royal decree. He attempted to delay while taking steps to try to help the rebels escape but Ponce soon returned triumphantly to Vézelay.²²⁹ The leaders of the revolt fled before the Abbot's return. By the beginning of the next year the private fortifications which had been constructed by the burghers at Vézelay were torn down and the authority of the Abbot unquestioned.²³⁰

Towards the end of his term in office, however, Ponce appears

to have withdrawn from direct contact with his subordinates as well as with other residents of the town. Perhaps the fear of popular violence against himself which had been threatened during the period of the revolt had affected him, leading him to pursue the life of a recluse. During the last four years of his life a youth named William, the son of Peter of Monrsal, was one of his ministers and exerted such influence that no one had access to Ponce except through him.²³¹ William's official position in the monastic administration was not stated. The substantial private property that he possessed rules out the possibility that he was a monk. His service to Ponce must have involved him in the secular administration of Vézelay. Ponce's successor called him the "chief serf" of the church²³² which would seem to indicate that he held the highest secular official position, that of the Prefect. At the beginning of the twelfth century that position had been staffed by a serf²³³ and it is not unlikely that the use of servile officials was a common policy.

William's position was bitterly resented by the other monks of Vézelay who lost no time, after the death of Ponce, in taking their revenge on him. Hugh of Poitiers accused him of corruption; everything had a price.²³⁴ After Ponce died, William's house was searched by the monks and a gold candelabra which had been a gift from Empress Mathilda as well as the seals of the Abbot and the chapter which had been missing for two years were found.²³⁵ It seems strange that William would have dared to steal such objects which would have been difficult to dispose of, and be foolish enough to keep them for years in his home. Perhaps he had been entrusted with such objects by

Ponce for some obscure reason. A second search of his home revealed grain, wine, vases, cloths and furniture,²³⁶ a more likely collection of objects. But why was a second search necessary? Hugh of Poitiers' account contains many suspicious details.

It would appear that William had managed to enrich himself while in the service of Abbot Ponce. At the time of his arrest, he was alleged to have given over five hundred pounds in pledges until his hearing could be held before the new Abbot who had not yet been elected.²³⁷ William escaped to the Count of Nevers to whom he promised eighty pounds of "new" money and seventeen silver cups in return for help against the monastery. He commended himself to the Count, offering a yearly payment of two marks of silver to secure this relationship.²³⁸ He evidently anticipated a significant regular income, even though having fallen out of favor, he could not have expected to continue in his official position. He evidently had another remunerative activity on the side. Money-lending would provide a remunerative side-line and, if William were engaged in this activity, a possible explanation for the precious objects found in his home. Church property might have been used by Ponce to secure loans. The Abbot's taste for luxuries was evident even before his elevation to a position which could support it and may have outstripped the monetary resources of the monastery. The more than five hundred pounds in pledges which William surrendered to the monks may have been debts outstanding. William's efforts to protect himself, however, were to no avail. The Count was obliged to order his return. William's house and goods were confiscated, his pledges freed, and he himself thrown

into prison to await a final hearing.²³⁹

At the time of Ponce's death in 1161, an official named Gaufredus held the post of Hospitaler and continued to serve the new Abbot until the late 1160's.²⁴⁰ There is no evidence of the existence of such an office under Ponce's predecessors. A guesthouse existed by the time of Renald but by 1137, its facilities were inadequate. Alberic had succeeded in imposing the obligation of receiving guests of the monastery on the townspeople under the supervision of the Prefect and the Marshall. During his term in office or shortly after the accession of Ponce, Bishop Stephan of Autun was said to have sometimes been received by the monks and sometimes to have provided for himself in the town.²⁴¹ The influx of distinguished visitors in 1146 must have necessitated elaborate preparations for their proper reception and a more adequate guest-house may have been built for the occasion. The office of the Hospitaler may have been instituted at that time to supervise its functions.

By the time of Abbot William (1161-1171), the monastic complex at Vézelay had increased both in the number of structures and in their size. Some of this construction may have been planned or completed under Ponce. In 1165 the Abbot had a two story house for his own use.²⁴² The Almoner also had his own house at the entrance to the cloister, adjacent to the guesthouse.²⁴³ There was an infirmary which also appears to have had two stories.²⁴⁴ The monks had a refectory²⁴⁵ and a chapter house which was between the basilica and the cloister.²⁴⁶ In 1165 they were engaged in the construction of a dormitory.²⁴⁷ The monastic complex was enclosed by a wall. A later

account tells of two monks who escaped from the monastery by scaling the wall with the help of a rope. One was alleged to have broken his arm when the rope snapped.²⁴⁸ The wall around the monastery was in existence at the time of the communal revolt and probably goes back in some form to the time of the earliest monastic settlement on the hill.²⁴⁹ There does not appear to have been a wall around the town during this period. At the time of the commune, the burghers found it necessary to fortify their own homes.²⁵⁰ In the 1160's, the men of Nevers had no difficulty at all in riding into town and harrassing the inhabitants.²⁵¹ The wall must have been built in the later twelfth century. It was in existence by 1196 when the town of Vézelay was able to withstand a siege while neighboring villages in its territory were invaded and burnt.²⁵²

Information is fullest with regard to officials of the monastery during the term of Ponce's successor, William. This is due to the fact that the latter sections of Hugh of Poitiers' work contain the discussion of the internal dissension which erupted during William's term. Some of his officials are known to have served under Ponce and continued to serve William, such as his notary, Hugh of Poitiers, and his Hospitaler, Gaufredus. Others, such as William of Monreal, were replaced. The Prior Peter, who had been raised by Ponce to head the house of Tonnerre and returned to Vézelay during his term, continued to serve William but not in the capacity of Prior. Hilduin, Peter's successor, may be the same man later named as one of the ring-leaders in the monastic conspiracy against Abbot William.²⁵³ He evidently did not enjoy an official position at that time as Prior Gilo was then

in office.²⁵⁴ William's official family had an international flavor and it is possible that in this aspect, too, he continued the policy of Ponce. His subprior, Gaufredus, was an Englishman.²⁵⁵ An Italian clerk, John, was also in his service and, among other duties, delivered William's letters to the Pope announcing his election.²⁵⁶ The name of his Chaplain, Franco, was unusual in the region and was probably the same man who served as Prior in 1180.²⁵⁷ Two other officials who were first mentioned with regard to the time of William were the Almoner and the Refectorian.²⁵⁸ Abbot William also used the services of a lawyer (iurisperitus) when pleading his case at court.²⁵⁹

The precise number of monks in the monastic establishment under Ponce's supervision cannot be determined. At the time of the communal revolt when the monastery was under siege, Hugh of Poitiers alleged that five thousand men were opposed to scarcely one hundred.²⁶⁰ If scarcely one hundred can be taken as a reliable indication of the number of men within the monastery at that time, the number of monks would be somewhat less since this number would have included the servants of the monastery as well as other inhabitants of the area who had remained loyal to the Abbot and whose names were recorded on one of the mutilated pages of the manuscript of the History. The names or portions of names of thirty-eight individuals can be read on the remaining fragment.²⁶¹ The number of monks, therefore, could not have numbered more than fifty. To their number, however, must be added an undetermined number who had accompanied Ponce in his flight from the town. A decade later in the time of Abbot William, when the brothers of Vézelay were preparing to go into exile, the number of monks leaving

the church of Vézelay was given as almost sixty.²⁶² Whether this included the number who were to remain behind as a skeletal force cannot be determined. Other monks of Vézelay at this time were also not present, having left in the company of the Abbot. The number of exiles is mentioned along the route as amounting to almost eighty souls,²⁶³ a figure which included the servants of the monastery who accompanied the monks. A number around sixty appears to be a likely estimate of the monastic population of Vézelay at the time of the communal revolt and the number of servants in residence at the monastery may have been equal.²⁶⁴

The major work of construction on the basilica had been completed by the time of Ponce, but a second story was added to the narthex during his term with an altar to Saint Michael which was blessed by Hugo, Bishop of Rouen, sometime between 1146 and 1152.²⁶⁵ Ponce was also responsible for the construction of a church in honor of the Holy Cross to commemorate the site of the preaching of the Second Crusade.²⁶⁶ The wooden platform on which King Louis had stood on that occasion broke under the crush of the devotees, fortunately without causing injury. Louis regarded the fact that the part on which he stood remained unbroken as a sign of divine favor to the expedition and ordered that the church be built on that spot.²⁶⁷ An inscription over the door of the refectory of La Cordelle preserved the memory of its dedication by Bishop Peter of Marseilles, legate of Pope Eugene III (1145-1153).²⁶⁸ The chapel, known since the thirteenth century as La Cordelle, has recently be reconstructed and Father Ambroise, who directed the reconstruction, noted the similarity of style of foliate ornament found in the chapel and on the balcony of the narthex.²⁶⁹

The monks of Vézelay were also involved in the construction projects of daughter houses. Hugh of Poitiers recorded an incident during the term of Abbot William which gives an interesting glimpse into the fund-raising techniques used by the monks to further their projects. The monks of Vézelay were described as travelling about the countryside, bearing holy relics, to solicit contributions from the people for the construction of a monastery near Moret. On this particular occasion the technique was even more efficacious than could have been expected. Arriving at Arborea in the territory of Amiens, the monks deposited the relics in the local church. When they were about to leave, they found that the relics could not be moved. The Lord of Arborea considered this to be a sign from heaven and granted property for the construction of a house at Arborea to be under the control of Vézelay.²⁷⁰

The monastery was also concerned with the construction of secular buildings and facilities on their agricultural properties. During the time of Alberic, a mill had been built by Vézelay at Lucy-sur-Cure which also contained a residence and a meeting place for the court of justice.²⁷¹ There are references in the time of Ponce to monastic granges at Bessy, Saint Père and Pâtis.²⁷² These, too, probably had facilities for a variety of functions. In the time of Abbot William the property of the monastery at Chamoux and at Givry evidently had some facilities for accommodating guests.²⁷³

There is some evidence of an increased taste for luxuries in the monastic community from the time of Ponce and even more from the time of his successor. The treasury had received precious gifts,

such as the gold candelabra which William of Monreal was alleged to have stolen towards the end of Ponce's term. The seventeen silver cups which were also in his possession may also have once been monastic property.²⁷⁴ The gold leaf background used on the miniature of the manuscript BA 227 in the Bibliothèque d'Auxerre, f. 22r, indicates that the scriptorium of Vézelay was capable of producing luxurious manuscripts. Although wines were produced locally, Ponce imported the wines of Auxerre.²⁷⁶ Friar Salimbene immortalized these wines a century later²⁷⁷ but it would appear that by the twelfth century they already had considerable renown. Vézelay may also have acquired the vineyard in Chablis in the time of Ponce which was donated by one Peter, former Decanus of Chablis and Chaplain of Vézelay.²⁷⁸ The earliest references to luxury goods of eastern origin occur during the term of William. His return from the papal court was celebrated in Vézelay by the decoration of the town and the burning of incense. On that occasion he was presented with two precious cloths of silk and two tapestries.²⁷⁹ In 1165 the monks of Vézelay had a supply of pepper with which they bribed a messenger.²⁸⁰

There is almost no information on property acquisitions in the term of Ponce.²⁸¹ The donation of the church of Saint Machaut by Elias of Orleans was evidently not retained despite papal support for the claims of Vézelay.²⁸² Their claims may have been surrendered in exchange for confirmation of other disputed property. The town of Bulles in which the property of Vézelay had been disputed since the end of the eleventh century had been confirmed to the Bishop of Orleans in 1150.²⁸³ A final settlement recognizing Vézelay's rights in Bulles

was achieved in 1159 but its details are unknown.²⁸⁴ Perhaps both Orleans and Vézelay agreed to recognize each other's claims to properties which they themselves had little chance of securing. At around the same time, Ponce ceded the tithes of Cauffry which had been given to the church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Mello to the priory of Saint Leu d'Esserent in return for a modium of wheat and half a modium of barley.²⁸⁵

The statement listing the property of the monastery in 1170, nine years after the death of Ponce, would include acquisitions made during his term. Some of the properties listed can be identified as having been in the possession of the monastery at an earlier date. The list was included in a statement of the privileges of the monastery from Pope Alexander III to Abbot William, the text of which has been reconstructed on the basis of two fifteenth century documents which transcribed portions of the papal privilege.²⁸⁶ The text as it is known today is not complete. It does not, for example, include the church of Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay to which the monastery of Vézelay undoubtedly had title.²⁸⁷ A comparison of the list of properties confirmed in 1170 with that of 1103 indicates remarkable tenacity on the part of the monastery in the intervening period. Almost all of the properties listed in 1103 recur on the list of 1170, in some cases with indications that the monastery had acquired additional holdings at that locale.²⁸⁸ In 1103, for example, Vézelay's ownership of the church of Saint Sulpice in Asnières was confirmed; it was recorded in 1170 that they held not only the church but also half of the villa of Asnières. The church of Saint Peter in Blanney had been acquired

prior to 1103; in 1170, Vézelay also held the villa of Blanney and its appurtenances.

If one were to assume that all the properties listed were on the average of equal value, an obviously unjustified assumption, one could conclude from a comparison of these lists that the holdings of Vézelay in the diocese of Autun had almost doubled between 1103 and 1170. Two of the new properties were first mentioned during the term of Ponce. Givry was mentioned in connection with events in 1155 when Ponce stayed there from a Tuesday to a Sunday.²⁸⁹ The site was evidently sufficiently developed by then to provide suitable accommodations for a modest visit. Prissey was first mentioned in 1146 but evidently was acquired some time earlier. Ponce declared that the villa of Prissey, as well as the public ways and paths, had been an allod of the Duke of Burgundy held by some knights who "gave and sold" it to the Magdalene and had been held in peace "from that time until now."²⁹⁰ Ponce also claimed the tithes and fees from justice in the parish of the villa of Prissey.²⁹¹

Three other properties in Autun which appear on the list of 1170 were first mentioned in connection with events during Abbot William's term. Soon after his accession, a messenger was sent to the Abbot at Chamoux where, at least by 1166, the monastery had a priory.²⁹² The guest accommodations at Chamoux were evidently minimal since, in 1165, when the Count of Nevers invaded the monastery of Vézelay, Abbot William retreated to Chamoux but only stayed overnight before moving on to Givry.²⁹³ The area of Chamoux, as the Latin name Campus Mollus suggests, apparently specialized in grazing animals.

On the occasion of Abbot William's first visit, the youths of Chatel-Censoir reportedly drove off a flock of sheep which had been gathered for the occasion of the Abbot's visit.²⁹⁴ Later, in 1166, when a former monk was alleged to have been rustling, he was pursued by men from the town of Vézelay and a crowd of rustics from Chamoux.²⁹⁵

Les Broses was first mentioned in connection with the exile of the monks in 1165. After leaving Vézelay, they passed through Asquins and Mont-Joie to Les Broses where they stayed overnight.²⁹⁶ The chronicler was generally careful to give credit to those who extended hospitality to the monks on this journey and his failure to do so in connection with their stay at Les Broses suggests that they were still on their own property. The chapel of Saint Vincent, also included in the list of 1170, was first mentioned in connection with the monastic conspiracy of 1165 as the site of an oath taken by Renald of Lesigne, a monk of Vézelay. Renald later denied knowing that the oath was directed against the Abbot and abjured.²⁹⁷ He had probably been at the chapel on routine business for the monastery.

In 1103, the only property held by the monastery in the diocese of Auxerre was the church of St. Adrian of Mailly-la-Ville and a chapel in the same parish. In 1170 the Pope confirmed its possession of the churches of Mailly-la-Ville and Mailly-la-Chateau. The Abbots of Vézelay may have already had the right to appoint the chaplain of the church of Mailly-la-Ville, a right which was first mentioned in 1178 when it was extended to the church of Mailly-la-Chateau.²⁹⁸ The tithes of these churches were later granted to Vézelay in 1180.²⁹⁹ The church of Bessy and its appurtenances had been acquired soon after

the date of Paschal's list and was retained in 1170. In 1160, however, the lords of Bessy, who had retained half of their rights and properties, granted the monks of Regny their rights to the waters from the Fountain of Rouvray to Bessy which were shared with Vézelay in exchange for an annual payment of five solidi.³⁰⁰ The appearance of Regny in the area may signal a decline of the influence of Vézelay. The list of 1170 also indicates that the monastery had acquired the villa of Truciacum with its churches and appurtenances, the churches of Cersi and Arcy, and a house in the cloister of Saint Stephan of Auxerre.

The monastery of Vézelay had twice the number of properties in the diocese of Nevers in 1170 as it had held in 1103. The four churches listed in Auvergne in 1103 were retained, although included with two additional properties in Claremont in 1170. Vézelay had acquired a chapel in Bourges in the intervening period. There was no change in the holdings in Macon, however, the region of Cluny. Two properties which were listed in 1103 in the diocese of Noyon do not recur in the list of 1170. In one case, the property at Ham, there is some documentary evidence from the terms of Gerard and Alberic related to its surrender. In the other case, the churches of Ingulos may be included in the list of 1170 under Tonnerre as Angolox. Tonnerre had not been an episcopal seat at that earlier date when Vézelay held the churches of Ingulos which may have been in the area of Tonnerre. By the time of Abbot Ponce the monastery certainly had control of a house in Tonnerre to which the Prior Peter had been sent. Four new properties had been acquired in Noyon since 1103, three of which were in the

possession of the monastery by the time of Gerard or Alberic. Only one acquisition may date from the time of Ponce or William.

Vézelay had retained three out of four properties in Poitiers, two of which had been listed in 1103 in the diocese of Thouars. The monastery had retained the church of Saint Mary Magdalene in Mirebeau but there is no mention of the church of Saint Radegund of Burgonna in the same town. It is possible that the church of Saint Radegund, whose name suggests a Merovingian foundation, had been deserted in the interim but the failure of Vézelay to increase its holdings in that area indicates that it had lost the initiative in Poitiers. It had acquired one new church in Sancerre in addition to retaining the Church of the Magdalene of Ferrières, and the list of 1170 also includes holdings in Langres, and Le Mans, which had not appeared on the list of 1103.

The holdings of Vézelay also extended by 1170 into Italy where its possessions at Parma and Imola were confirmed. There is no information on its holdings in Parma but the monastery of Saint Mary Magdalene of Albore in Imola may have been in the possession of Vézelay for some time. Gerard, Prior of Alborne and former monk of Vézelay, testified in 1152 to events during the term of Renald.³⁰¹ He evidently did not remain at Vézelay after Renald's departure and if he went directly to his post at Alborne, this may indicate that the house, if it was the same as the Albore listed, was already under the control of Vézelay at that date. The other property at Imola was apparently a recent acquisition since the document, which usually does not give such information, described it as "a gift from the young Count W."³⁰²

The most striking increases indicated in the list of 1170 were in the number of holdings in the dioceses of Beauvais and Sens. In Beauvais, four churches had been listed in 1103 as property of Vézelay. In 1170, a property was listed at twenty-eight localities, including the churches confirmed in 1103. In Sens, the four properties listed in 1103 were also included in the twenty-two entries confirmed in 1170. The variety of properties included in these dioceses in 1170 is also in contrast to the record of holdings elsewhere. In the other dioceses, Vézelay was recorded as possessing churches or chapels, sometimes with their tithes and appurtenances, or including the surrounding villa or occasionally half of the villa. In Beauvais, in addition to similar listings, the monastery was recorded as having one-sixth of the tithe of Cires, one and a half modii of the tithe of Cateseri, the tithe of the garden and the little tithe, as well as the tithe of the villa of Solenglis, two modii in the mill of the viscount, hospitality at Borrentum, Croy, Vercebona, Parrentum, etc. In Sens, in addition to the more usual entries, the monks owned the mill of Avena in the burg of Saint Andrea, the mill of Seth, water rights on portions of the Loing and the Seine, three modii of grain per year in the mill of the King at Sens, the better oven and half of the other oven in the new forum at Chateau-Landon, twenty solidi per year for charity from the viscount in the curia of Marigny, etc.

It can hardly be coincidental that both Sens and Beauvais were part of the royal domain and that during this period, particularly from 1146 on, there was increasing contact between the monastery and the King and his court. The fragmentation of many of the new

acquisitions in these dioceses suggest that they represent modest gifts from many different donors. The preaching of the Second Crusade which brought the King and his courtiers to Vézelay en masse might have been the occasion for such gifts on the part of members of the royal entourage or for grants to cover the cost of entertainment at the monastery. It is, of course, always possible that the property holdings of Vézelay in other dioceses showed a similar fragmentation but were simply not recorded. Despite the length of the list, the increase in Sens and Beauvais were for the most part relatively insignificant properties. On the whole, the evidence of acquisitions during the term of Ponce is surprisingly small considering the fact that his term lasted almost a quarter of a century.

The support of the monastic establishment and its building programs were undoubtedly major items of expense. In addition, the monastery would have had to support the expense of entertaining guests who were accommodated in the guest-house. Pious donations and grants of property on the part of visitors may have compensated for this expense. The cost of entertaining the Count of Nevers and his entourage, however, was a major item and a serious cause of dispute. There are no specific figures available for the cost of this demand during the term of Ponce but the negotiations over this amount in the time of William show how serious the obligation was. When Count William IV insisted on being received against the Abbot's orders, he later agreed to pay 20 pounds for the usurped procuration, to renounce fortuitous procurations and to forgive the next feast, henceforth demanding only 100 pounds for each procuration. Although the chronicler

presents this as a victory for the Abbot, the latter paid 700 pounds to obtain the count's consent and 253 pounds for the procuration that was forgiven.³⁰³ The Count's payment of 20 pounds appears therefore to be a token fine for his action against the authority of the Abbot. Again, in 1165, when admission was refused to the excommunicate Count, he demanded 300 pounds for his loss.³⁰⁴ In 1166 the negotiations continued in earnest and it was suggested that the Count agree to accept 60 pounds for each of the two yearly occasions when the obligation was required and that the Abbot give him 700 pounds for his agreement to the arrangements. The Abbot suggested 50 pounds for each occasion and 500 pounds for the Count's agreement; the Count held out for 80 pounds each and 1000 pounds for his consent.³⁰⁵ Despite temporary settlements, the dispute was still an open issue in 1211 when Pope Innocent III complained that the Count of Nevers arrived with so many knights and servants that 1500 marks of silver were expended for each occasion. The Pope felt that fifty pounds of money of Auxerre should be sufficient.³⁰⁶

The monastery also had expenses for alms to the needy. The existence of a special official as almoner at the end of Ponce's term suggests that this too had become a significant item. There is no earlier evidence of the monastery being engaged in the distribution of alms. The author of Girart of Roussillon, who probably visited Vézelay sometime in the first half of the twelfth century, included an episode in which the heroine of his chanson, Berta, distributed charity to the poor in the form of bread, meat, fish, wine and flour.³⁰⁷ This may reflect the situation at Vézelay, indicating that charity was largely undertaken by private donors. Much later, in 1236, the Abbot of Vézelay and the

chapter undertook to observe the anniversary of King Louis and Queen Blanche in the same way as the anniversary of Count Gerard, the founder of the monastery.³⁰⁸ This was described more explicitly in 1244 as involving the annual refreshment of 100 paupers.³⁰⁹ This custom could not have dated from the time of the foundation when the monastery was too poor to have supported such generosity and there is no evidence to suggest that it had been instituted by the time of Ponce or William. It probably reflects the growing celebrity of Count Gerard due to the popularity of the chanson. One custom which Ponce instituted at Souvigny during the time when he was exiled from Vézelay and served as Prior of Souvigny may reflect a monastic custom of Vézelay. It is recorded that Ponce instituted a feast on All Soul's Day for the laborers for which he provided eighty cuttlefish and seven pints of wine and the sacristan provided a pound of fuel.³¹⁰

By the mid-twelfth century the Abbey of Vézelay was at the head of an organization with daughter houses scattered in northern France and even Italy.³¹¹ This organization appears to have been modelled after Cluny in so far as the daughter houses were clearly subordinate to the mother house and enjoyed the status of Priories. They did not, however, enjoy the privilege of the spiritual immunity of the mother house which characterized the organization of Cluny. One can trace the beginnings of this expansion to the mid-eleventh century when the monks of Vézelay were involved in the foundation of La Charité-sur-Loire. This early expansion was abortive as the new foundation was incorporated directly into the Cluniac order. In the following decades, Vézelay expanded into the territory north of Paris, establishing a cell near

Bulles from which it was able to increase still further its possessions in that area.

With the reimposition of Cluniac control, the autonomy of the order of Vézelay was respected although there was a tendency, as in the case of the cession by Abbot Artald to Saint Leu d'Esserent, to surrender the claims of Vézelay when they were in conflict with other houses of Cluny. The Abbots of Vézelay exercised complete authority over their daughter houses, disposing of property and appointing priors to head these houses.³¹² The influence of Vézelay also extended to other establishments not formally affiliated, such as the monastery of Saint Germain des Prés which, in the mid-twelfth century, had a succession of Abbots who were former monks of Vézelay.³¹³

Towards the end of his term in office, Ponce made a decision which was to have important consequences for the future of Vézelay. The election of Pope Alexander III (1159-1181) was contested by a candidate supported by the German Emperor, Frederick I (1152-1190). Alexander had the support of King Louis VII. Cluny had taken a neutral position, fearing to support one candidate in case the other triumphed. Abbot Ponce rallied to the cause of Alexander and, his chronicler relates, was the first French churchman to welcome the papal legates after Cluny had repulsed them.³¹⁴ Ponce had chosen the winning side and his successor reaped the reward for Vézelay in the form of a formal release from the control of Cluny.³¹⁵

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. BA 227, f. 66v (MPL CXCV 1580).

2. Ibid., f. 14v (Labbe, 396).

3. CGY I 315.

4. Hospitality was a common obligation assumed in return for protection; see Jean Richard, Les Ducs de Bourgogne et la Formation du Duché (Paris: Société des Belles Lettres, 1954), pp. 138-139.

5. BA 227, f. 126r (MPL CXCV 1625).

6. See Bandini, I, col. 141 in which the Pope complained of Nevers' excessive demands.

7. BA 227, f. 79r (MPL CXCV 1597).

8. Leopold Delisle, Rouleaux des morts (Paris: Renouard, 1866), pp. 234, 311.

9. GC XII 468 cites a manuscript of Cluny with regard to Artald: "Hic zelo succensus divino et de animae suae salute sollicitus, multa bona de sibi a Deo collata facultate contulit Cluniaco, multaque ac multiplicia beneficia et servitia reddidit, ideo et a domno Hugone Cluniacensi abbate praeceptum est ut memoria ejus in hoc loco specialiter habeatur."

10. Bib. Clun. 1655.

11. EHV I 288.

12. Rec. Clun. V, No. 3741; see also Joan Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny 910-1157 (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), pp. 10-46, on the growth of the order.

13. Bib. Clun. 1353; EHV I 286. The obituary of Saint Martin des Champs, Obituaires de la Provence de Sens, ed. Molinier (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), I, 450, records the day of his death.

14. CG XII 469.

15. Giles Constable, ed., Letters of Peter the Venerable (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), I, 229.

16. Ibid., I, 23.

17. Ibid., II, 243-244.

18. Ibid., II, 233-245 on the family of Peter the Venerable.

19. Ibid., I, 23.

20. BA 227, ff. 125r-v (MPL CXCV 1624): Hugh of Poitiers described the devotion of Ponce to the Magdalene "quem a puero enutritum . . ."; Rodulph's Vita Petri Venerabilis, MPL CLXXXIX 17, relates of Peter "quod in ipsa juventutis adolescentia in Viziliacensi monasterio. . . ."

21. MPL CLXXXIX 17.

22. Ann. Ben. V 599.

23. RHF XV 142-143.

24. Ibid., XV, 45-46. A letter of King Louis VI of the same year referred to the damage suffered by the house of Saint Benoit of Fleury due to the maladministration of its abbots who had alienated property; Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de St. Benoit-sur-Loire, ed. Prou and Vidier (Paris: Picard, 1907), 264. A possible source of conflict suggested by the extant sources exists in the fishing rights in the Loing River which had been granted to Fleury in 1065, ibid., 194-197, and were confirmed to Vézelay in 1170, EHV III 171.

25. Lebeuf, Memoire sur le diocese d'Auxerre, ed. Challe and Quantin (Auxerre: Perriquet et Rouille, 1855), IV, 30, is dated by the editors ca. 1110. Chérest, EHV I 287 accepts a date in 1119 for this settlement because in 1110 the papal legate in France was Richard, not the Odalric who appears in this document.

26. GC XII Instru. 112 refers to arrangements to which A. Vizeliacensis was party; in Lebeuf, Memoires, IV, No. 30, Alberic appeared as a witness. See also BN Latin 9885 ff. 7r and 21v in which Abbot Ponce appeared as witness.

27. BA 227, f. 14v (unpublished): "Ventorum rabies domos et silvas diruit 1116; Terre motus fuit 1117."

28. Ibid., ff. 46r-v (d'Achery, 505-506).

29. Bandini, I, 141.

30. BA 227, ff. 57r-58v (d'Achery, 513-514).

31. Ibid., f. 18v (Labbe, 399).

32. At the beginning of the crisis in 1151, Abbot Ponce conferred with William of Nevers at Clamecy; ibid., f. 81r (d'Achery's edition, MPL CXCV 1600, incorrectly gives the name as Cluniacum instead of Climiciacum).

33. Ibid., ff. 77v-78r (MPL CXCV 1596).

34. GC XII Instru. 343-344. For the charter of foundation of Saint Stephan of Nevers, see GC XII, Instru. 334. These privileges were also confirmed by Philip Augustus in 1186; see Recueil des Actes de Philippe Auguste, ed. Delaborde (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916) I, 221.

35. CGY I 227-228. Although the document, as published by Quantin, bears the date 1112, other indications are contradictory and it has generally been accepted as 1119; see Ann. Ben. V 498; Victor Saxer, "Le status juridique de Vézelay" Revue de droit canonique, VI (1956), 247, n. 50. The later date appears to be confirmed by a fifteenth century copy, AY H 1941 f. 11v and another late copy in the Library of Grenoble, ms. No. 1421 f. 64, which bear the date 1119.

36. Bandini, I, col. 135.

37. Ann. Ben. VI 46 referred to this confirmation but did not give the source. Chérest, EHV 289, stated that he was unable to locate this document. I have not had any more success.

38. BA 227, f. 14v (not published): "Hoc anno in monasterio Vizeliaci multi et multes igne extincti."

39. BA 145, f. 289v (RHF XII 291).

40. RHF XII 407.

41. Ibid., XII 299.

42. C. Oursel, "L'incendie de Vézelay en 1120," Annales de Bourgogne, XX (1948), 58-62.

43. Faillon, II, cols. 741-742.

44. Mansi, XXI, 691-694.

45. BA 227, ff. 165v-166r (MPL CXCV 1664).

46. Kingsley Porter, Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads (New York: Hacker, 1966), I, 88-95, rejected a date after 1120 in favor of an earlier period primarily on the basis of this keystone which he concluded was sculpted after the fire in a much later style than the rest of the nave; see comments by Oursel, "La Genèse Monumentale

de l'Église abbatiale de Vézelay," Art Studies V (1927), 45, who concluded that the keystones had no relevance at all to the problem of dating the structure.

47. I am indebted to Father Hugues, OFM, of Vézelay for admitting me to this area which is closed to the public and for pointing out this work.

48. On the iconographie of the tympanum, see A. Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum of Vézelay: its Encyclopedic Meaning and its relationship to the First Crusade," Art Bulletin, XXVI (1944), 141-151.

49. See Fr. Salet, La Madeleine de Vézelay (Melun: Librairie d'Argences, 1948), p. 67.

50. BA 227, ff. 69r, 70r, 71r (MPL CXCIV 1583, 1585, 1586).

51. A witness, after mentioning the church of the pilgrims, ibid., f. 70r (MPL CXCIV 1585), continued: "Idem consecravit altare de choro majoris ecclesie. . . ."

52. The churches of Moissac and Tournus also have unusually large, enclosed, two-story narthexes and exhibit other features in common with Vézelay. At Moissac, as at Vézelay, the main tympanum has been displaced from the west facade, but there, it is found at the north entrance to the narthex. A definitive answer to the original function of the narthex at Vézelay, which bears directly on the interpretation of this phrase, must consider the contemporary appearance of this feature elsewhere.

53. See Salet, La Madeleine, p. 25, n. 2; his more detailed discussion of the question appeared in his article, "La Madeleine de Vézelay et ses dates de construction," Bulletin Monumentale, XCV (1936), 5-25.

54. See discussion, pp. 167-170.

55. Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint Jacques de Compostelle, ed.

Vielliard (Macon: Protat Frères, 1938), p. 52.

56. BA 227, ff. 66v-67r (MPL CXCIV 1580).

57. Ibid., f. 70r (MPL CXCIV 1584).

58. Ibid., f. 69v (MPL CXCIV 1584).

59. Ibid., f. 15r (Labbe, 397). The letter from Paschal II to "Abbot Robert," d'Achery 505, is probably an error in transcription. BA 227, f. 46r contains the same letter addressed to "Abbot R.," probably Renald.

60. Ibid., f. 69r (d'Achery's edition, MPL CXCIV 1583, omits the italicized words): "vidi quod benedixit Abbatem Balduinum et audivi quod benedixit Albericum Altissiodori. . . ." The omission was noted by Chérest, EHV, I, 241.

61. EHV, I, 289.

62. Renald was listed among those present at a council in 1128, RHF XIV 232, as "abbas Vizeliacensis qui non multo post factus est Lugdunensis archiepiscopus ac SRE legatus." See Ann. Ben. VI 204 with regard to his retention of the monastery after his elevation.

63. Lebeuf, Memoires, IV, No. 23.

64. Martene and Durand, Thesaurus novus anecdotorum (Paris: 1717), I, 366. Luperciacum cannot be identified. Guy de Valous, Le Monachisme clunisien dès origines au XVe siècle (Paris: Picard, 1970) II, 183, lists a house of St. Gervais at Lubersac, diocese of Limoges, among the monasteries in the order of Cluny, but gives no further information.

65. Bull. Clun. 41.

66. E. g., the Vita Gerardi in Meyer, "La Légende de Girart de Roussillon," Romania, VII (1878), 192; Bib. Clun. II notes 133; BN Latin 4934, f. 144r. Mansi XIX 737 has Verzelliensis.

67. See the letter of Pope Honorius to Peter of Cluny of 1126, Bull. Clun. pp. 43-44; and the account of the struggle in L. M. Smith, Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (London: Allan, 1930), pp. 226-275.

68. Oursel, "La Genèse monumentale," pp. 31-50; Salet, La Madeleine, p. 57.

69. EHV I, 305-306.

70. BA 227, f. 14v (Labbe, 397). The Chronicle of Saint Marian composed by Robert of Auxerre, BA 145, ff. 289r-v gives details of the foundation.

71. See Appendix A.

72. BA 227, f. 47r (d'Achery, 506).

73. Bib. Clun. 766: Peter described how a house, laboriously constructed, could be quickly destroyed and, similarly, a tree, a boy, "Hoc de Vizeliaco, abbate sublato, provenire timemus."

74. RHF XV 562-563; Eng. trans. by Bruno Scott James, The Letters of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux (London: Burns Oates, 1953), p. 223.

75. BA 227, f. 47r (d'Achery, 506).

76. Ibid., ff. 126v-127r (MPL CXCV 1626).

77. CGY I 314-323.

78. BA 227, ff. 66v-67r (MPL CXCV 1580).

79. The obituary of Saint Germain des Près, Obituaires, I, 264, records for June 20: "Obit Havidis, mater Alberici abbatis monasterii Viziliaci."

80. See Georges Duby, "Le Budget de l'Abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155," Annales, VII (1952), 155-171.

81. BA 227, f. 51r (d'Achery, 509): the salutation reads "Albericus Dei gratia Hostiensis Episcopus, sedis Apostolice Legatus, Venerabili fratri P. Vizeliac." The word Abbati inserted in d'Achery's edition appears as a suprascript in the manuscript.

82. Obituaires, I, 469, has an original entry for November 20 "Depositio domni Alberici episcopi" to which a later hand added "Hostiensis. Officium plene fiat, sicut de abbatibus. Generale debet camerarius, ad quod emendum ipse dedit xxx marchas argenti."

83. RHF XIII 702.

84. BA 227, f. 127r (MPL CXCV 1627).

85. CGY I 314-323.

86. BA 227, f. 67r (MPL CXCV 1580-1581).

87. Constable, Letters, I, 142-144.

88. BN Bourgogne No. 327, p. 4.

89. GC XII 469.

90. He was among a group of prominent churchmen captured on their return from the Council of Pisa; RHF XV 629-630.

91. GC X col. 377; the document is dated "Pisis anno Dominicae Incarnationis 1136 Indiction XIII." The Council of Pisa met in 1135, a date which is in accord with the thirteenth indiction.

92. CGY II 40.

93. GC X col. 377; it is not possible to identify Fraxinum as there are several places known today as Fresnes or Fresneaux in the region.

94. Quantin, ed., Recueil des pieces pour faire suite au Cartulaire Générale de l'Yonne (Auxerre: Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1873), p. 14.

95. The original grant, ibid., p. 14, expressly stated "in servis quoque et ancillis ad casamentum ejusdem ville pertinentibus, per omnia do medietatem, sive in eodem loco manserint seu ubicunque manere reperti fuerint. . . ."

96. Ibid., p. 15; Quantin's edition reads "justitiam mihi teneret" but the document, AY H 1941, reads "justitiam inde teneret."

97. Ibid., p. 15.

98. CGY I 323.

99. E. g. Seguinus Grossus, whose name appears on documents of the Count of Nevers from 1134, AY G 1797, ff. 15r-16r; 1140, AY H 1405; and 1144, Lebeuf, Memoires, IV No. 35. Other witnesses who were from the territory of Nevers or in his service were Hugone vicecomite de Clameciaco, Hugone de Petrapertusa, et Rainaldo, fratre ejus, Gaufrido de Ulvillari, Matheo de Castellione, Villelmo de Castelluz, Artaldo de Castellione, Villelmo Marescalco, and Odone de Monteruillone.

100. CGY I 316, 317.

101. Ibid., I 320, 322.

102. BA 227, f. 87v (MPL CXCIV 1609).

103. CGY I 319.

104. Ibid., I, 318, 321.

105. Ibid., I, 315.

106. Ibid., I, 319.

107. Ibid., I, 316.

108. English translation in William E. Lunt, Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), II, 4.

109. CGY I 316, 317. Although the registration of marriages was not common at this time, it seems to be the most likely explanation of the ambiguous requirement.

110. See NCE IX 271-290 on the question of marriage in the Middle Ages.

111. CGY I 318. This practice was frequently condemned by ecclesiastical authorities; e.g., the council of Rheims, Mansi XIX 742, which forbade, "Ne quis pro sepultura, vel baptismo, sive pro eucharista aut infirmorum visitatione quidquam exigeret." The frequency of the condemnations, however, indicates that violations were common.

112. CGY I 315.

113. Ibid., I, 322, 323.

114. Ibid., I, 315.

115. Ibid., I, 317.

116. Ibid., I, 317.

117. The monastic control of mills and ovens was mentioned in connection with events of 1152; BA 227, f. 89r (MPL CXCIV 1611).

118. CGY, I, 322.

119. Ibid., I, 319.

120. Ibid., I, 319.

121. Ibid., I, 323.

122. Ibid., I, 315, 316.

123. Ibid., I, 318, 321.

124. BA 227, ff. 69r-v (MPL CXCV 1583-1584). There were later several leprosariums in the territory of Vézelay, including one to the south of the town on a site which is still called the Maladerie, and another at Saint Père. Abbé Pissier, Notice historique sur Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay (reprinted from BSSY LVI 1902), p. 46, identified the reference of 1137 with the hospital of Saint Père. A fragment from an early rule for the leprosarium of Saint Père survives; see ibid., p. j. No. 13.

125. Leonard Guillier, Notes et recherches historiques pour servir de continuation à la Chronique de Vézelay (copy made in 1921 of the manuscript of 1846 preserved in the Archives of the Mairie of Vézelay), pp. 45-46. Guillier believed that Saint Stephan was not converted into a parish church until the early eighteenth century when the hospital to which it was attached was converted into a grenier à sel.

126. Ibid., p. 357. Guillier refers specifically to a cartulary of 1463 as well as other unspecified documents which would have been available to him as mayor of Vézelay in the mid-nineteenth century.

127. Quantin, Receuil, p. 15. See de Valous, Le Monachisme clunisien, I, 88-212, for an overview of the roles of monastic officials in the Cluniac order.

128. BA 227, f. 146v (MPL CXCV 1649).

129. Ibid., f. 146v (MPL CXCV 1649).

130. Ibid., f. 146v (MPL CXCV 1649).

131. Ibid., f. 147r (MPL CXCV 1649 includes part of the section; the rest is published in EHV III 187).

132. Ibid., f. 153v (EHV III 193): one of the conspirators addressed the others, saying "sicut iurastes domino nostro Petro abbati."

133. Ibid., f. 67r (MPL CXCV 1581-1582).

134. CGY, I, 317.

135. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

136. BA 227, f. 68v (MPL CXCV 1582).

137. CGY I, 316-317.

138. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

139. BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

140. Ibid., f. 165r (MPL CXCV 1663): the Count of Nevers ordered the release of prisoners held "in domo prepositi."

141. Ibid., f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597): reference was made to the testimony of Guinimerum olim decanum as well as Gerardum decanum.

142. CGY, I, 322.

143. Ibid., I, 323.

144. Ibid., I, 317.

145. Ibid., I, 322.

146. Ibid., I, 316.

147. Ibid., I, 316, 318, 319.

148. Ibid., I, 317.

149. Ibid., I, 321.

150. BA 227, f. 58v (d'Achery, 513).

151. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

152. CGY, I, 320.

153. BA 227, ff. 67r-v (MPL CXCV 1581).

154. See Constable, Letters, II, 233-245; on the relationship between Ponce and the Count of Nevers, see BA 227, f. 79v (MPL CXCIV 1598).

155. See the letter of Peter to his brothers, Constable, Letters, I, 153-173; Hugh of Poitiers also referred to his family, BA 227, f. 64v (MPL CXCIV 1577).

156. BA 227, f. 15r (Labbe, 397): "MCXXXVIII. Poncius abbas Vizeliaci ordinatur. Hic frater Petri Cluniacensis abbatis de Clusino monasterio assumptus est." Chérest, "Étude historique sur Vézelay," BSSY, XIV (1862), 309n, suggested the identification of Ponce with an early twelfth century prior of Souvigny but this seems doubtful.

157. Constable, Letters, I, 22-23.

158. See L. M. Smith, Cluny in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (London: Allan, 1930), 226-275; Georges Duby, "Le Budget de l'Abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155," Annales, VII (1952), 155-171, discusses the financial crisis faced by Peter.

159. Constable, Letters, I, 23.

160. Ibid., I, 24.

161. Ibid., I, 234.

162. Ibid., II, 161.

163. Ibid., I, 234.

164. BA 227, f. 89r (MPL CXCIV 1611); ibid., f. 112v (EHV I 352).

165. Ibid., f. 15r (Labbe, 397).

166. Faillon, II, cols. 740-741.

167. Julian of Vézelay, Sermons, ed. R. P. Damien Vorreux, OFM (multigraph, Vézelay, 1966), p. 62. Most of the sermons of Julian of

Vézelay have not been published; see M. M. Lebreton, "Les Sermons de Julien, moine de Vézelay," Studia Anselmiana XXXVII (1955), 118-132.

168. Julian, Sermons, p. 77.

169. For details of the find and the publication of the fragment from the sermon of Saint Augustine, see Robert Pirault, "Decouverte des manuscrits de Vézelay," L'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 80 (March-April, 1969), 6-10. I am indebted to the author of this article for communicating to me additional information with regard to his find.

170. See Paul Abelson, The Seven Liberal Arts (New York: Columbia University Press, 1906) for a study of the curriculum in the Middle Ages in so far as it presented a continuation of classical subjects.

171. BA 227, f. 1r (unpublished): "I. Pitagoras philosop . . . XIII Virgilius, Salustius, Libius, Ortensius, Terentius, Oracius claruerunt . . . XVIII Ovidius obit. . . ." Hortensius may have been the orator to whom Cicero referred on several occasions. Saint Augustine, Confessions, Bk. III, chap. 4 (ed. Watts, Loeb Classical Library, London: Heinemann, 1931), p. 108 mentioned a book by Cicero called Hortensius. No work of that name is extant.

172. BA 227, ff. 65r, 74r, 148r (MPL CXCV 1578, 1590; EHV III 189). Hugh's self-consciousness of style and rhetorical speeches also suggest classical models.

173. Julian, Sermons, p. 89; see also the index of non-Biblical citations and allusions prepared by the editor, pp. 159-162. Lebreton, "Les sermons," pp. 120-121 suggested that the sermons reflect the intellectual interests of the school of Chartres around the beginning of the twelfth century.

174. Salet, La Madeleine, pp. 123-124.

175. BA 227, f. 167r (MPL CXCV 1666).

176. I am grateful to Father Sylvester (Robert Pirault) for photographs of these objects.

177. See Jean Richard, "Pour la connaissance d'un type social: Un 'jongleur' bourguignon du XIIe siècle," Annales de Bourgogne, XXV (1953), 182-185; Rene Louis, "Aymeri Picaud alias Olivier d'Asquins, Compilateur du 'Liber Sancti Jacobi'," Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires Français, (1948-1949), pp. 80-97. BA 227, f. 66v (MPL CXCV 1580) refers to "Sanctum Jacobum in Esconio, obedientia Virzeliaci. . . ."

178. Girart de Roussillon, ed. W. Mary Hackett, (Paris: Picard, 1953).

179. René Louis, Girart, Comte de Vienne dans les chansons de gestes (Auxerre: Imprimerie Moderne, 1947), II, 288.

180. BA 227, ff. 103v, 111v-112r (EHV I 331, 350-351).

181. Ibid., ff. 64v, 67v, 68r, 69r (MPL CXCV 1577, 1581, 1582, 1583-1584).

182. Ibid., f. 56v (d'Achery, 512).

183. See Constable, Letters, II, 304-310.

184. BA 227, f. 69r (MPL CXCV 1583-1584).

185. MPL CLXXIX 671.

186. BA 227, f. 47r (d'Achery, 506).

187. Ibid., f. 68r (MPL CXCV 1582).

188. In 1178, Vézelay's right of appointing the chaplain in the church of Mailly-la-Ville was extended to the church of Mailly-le-Chateau; AY H 1941bis, p. 835.

189. BA 227, ff. 76v-77r (MPL CXCV 1594).
190. Ibid., f. 47v (d'Achery, 506).
191. Ibid., ff. 77r-79r (MPL CXCV 1595-1597).
192. Ibid., f. 76v (MPL CXCV 1594).
193. Ibid., f. 77v (MPL CXCV 1595).
194. Ibid., f. 57r (d'Achery, 513).
195. This is a very early example of the use of the word by the author of the life of Louis VII; see Ducange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis, (Niort: 1883-1887), V, 99-102.
196. MPL CLXXXII 447.
197. Mansi XXI col. 691-694.
198. BA 227, ff. 19v, 76v (Labbe, 400; MPL CXCV 1594).
199. Ibid., f. 79v (MPL CXCV 1598).
200. Ibid., f. 79v (MPL CXCV 1598).
201. Ibid., f. 80r (MPL CXCV 1598).
202. Ibid., f. 80v (MPL CXCV 1599).
203. Ibid., f. 81r (MPL CXCV 1600): "Existente autem comite apud Climiciacum, ingressus est ad eum abbas. . . ." D'Achery's edition gave the place name as Cluniacum.
204. Ibid., f. 81r (MPL CXCV 1600).
205. Ibid., f. 87r (MPL CXCV 1609).
206. Ibid., f. 82r (MPL CXCV 1601).
207. Ibid., f. 83r (MPL CXCV 1602-1603).
208. Ibid., ff. 71r-v (MPL CXCV 1587).
209. Ibid., f. 73r (MPL CXCV 1589).
210. Ibid., ff. 83v-84r (MPL CXCV 1603-1604).

211. Ibid., f. 84v (MPL CXCV 1605).

212. Ibid., f. 85r (MPL CXCV 1606).

213. Ibid., f. 86r (MPL CXCV 1607).

214. Ibid., ff. 86v-87r (MPL CXCV 1608). For further details on the activities of the Cardinals, see Constable, Letters, II, 266.

215. Ibid., f. 87r (MPL CXCV 1609).

216. See the letter of Anastasius IV to Abbot Peter, A.-C. Chaix de Lavarenne, Monumenta Pontificia Arvernicae (Clermont-Ferrand: Bellet, 1886), pp. 230-231, instructing him to rescind this grant.

217. BA 227, f. 88v (MPL CXCV 1610).

218. Ibid., f. 80r (MPL CXCV 1612).

219. Ibid., f. 90r-v (MPL CXCV 1613). Ponce used a similar argument in 1146 to deny the validity of Renald's concession to Nevers.

220. Ibid., f. 90v (MPL CXCV 1614).

221. Guillier, Notes et recherches, p. 112. mentioned the discovery in the course of road construction of the remains of an old cemetery on the lower part of the Champ de Foire; the cemetery of the monks was in back of the choir of the church, ibid., p. 225-226.

222. BA 227, ff. 106v-108r (EHV I 340-343). See also EHV I 159-259 for Chérest's attempt to reconstruct the events described on the mutilated leaves.

223. BA 227, f. 116r (EHV I 359).

224. Compare ibid., ff. 171v and 174v (MPL CXCV 1671 and 1674).

225. The King's legates, ibid., f. 168r (MPL CXCV 1667) charged the Count "de excessu perpetrato in feodo regis"; the King himself declared, ff. 169v-170r (MPL CXCV 1668): "de feodo meo habet ius illud

quod sibi vendicat, ergo prius debuerat michi clamorem facere de iniuria feodi mei. . . ."

226. Ibid., f. 63r (d'Achery, 516).

227. Ibid., f. 120v (MPL CXCV 1620).

228. Ibid., f. 118v (MPL CXCV 1616).

229. Ibid., f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1617).

230. Ibid., ff. 121r-v (MPL CXCV 1621-1622).

231. Ibid., f. 129r (MPL CXCV 1629).

232. Ibid., f. 130v (MPL CXCV 1631): "capitaneus servus

ecclesie."

233. Ibid., f. 138v (MPL CXCV 1641-1642).

234. Ibid., ff. 129r-v (MPL CXCV 1629).

235. Ibid., f. 129v (MPL CXCV 1630).

236. Ibid., f. 130v (MPL CXCV 1631).

237. Ibid., f. 129v (MPL CXCV 1630).

238. Ibid., f. 139r (MPL CXCV 1630).

239. Ibid., ff. 130r, 131v (MPL CXCV 1631, 1632).

240. Ibid., f. 126r (MPL CXCV 1625). The author, writing ca. 1168 of events of 1165, ibid., f. 151v (MPL CXCV 1653), mentioned "Gaufridus tunc hospitalis"; see also f. 165v (MPL CXCV 1664).

241. Ibid., f. 70v (MPL CXCV 1586).

242. In 1165, one of the men of Nevers was described as being "ad inferiorem portam domus abbatis" and later occupied the residence, "tam superius quam inferius"; ibid., f. 164r (MPL CXCV 1662). See Adolphe Guillon, "Le Chateau des abbés de Vézelay," BSSY, XLIV (1890), 5-9, on the possible location and plan of this residence.

243. BA 227, f. 152v (EHV III 191) contains a reference to a meal eaten "in domo helemosine"; see ibid., f. 162v (MPL CXCV 1661) on the location of the guest-house.

244. Ibid., f. 153r (EHV III 193) describes a meeting of the conspirators "in partem obscurissimam superioris domus infirmorum."

245. Ibid., ff. 154r, 164v (EHV III 194; MPL CXCV 1664).

246. Ibid., ff. 164r, 162v (MPL CXCV 1663, 1661).

247. Ibid., f. 141r (MPL CXCV 1644) describes the harassment of the brothers engaged "ad construendum dormitorium suum"; see also f. 153v (EHV III 193).

248. Ibid., f. 157r (MPL CXCV 1656).

249. Ibid., ff. 106r, 113v (EHV I 339, 354).

250. Ibid., ff. 120v-121v (MPL CXCV 1620-1621).

251. Ibid., f. 176r (MPL CXCV 1675-1676). Victor Petit,

Description des Villes et Campagnes du Département de l'Yonne. II:

Arrondissement d'Avallon (Auxerre: Gallot, 1870), pp. 251-252, asserted that the construction of the enclosing wall began in the first years of the twelfth century. I have been unable to find any documentary justification for that date. He also attributed the construction of the Porte Saint Croix, also not mentioned in the documents of the twelfth century, to that century because it pre-dated the invention of the drawbridge.

252. Robert of Auxerre, RHF XVIII 261, reported "Vizeliacumque cum expugnare non possent." The Little Chronicle, BA 227, f. 15v (Labbe, 398) refers to the campaign but does not mention the siege.

253. BA 227, f. 155r (EHV III 196).

254. His name is first mentioned on ibid., f. 137r (MPL CXCV 1640).

255. Gaufredus Angligenus, superior is first mentioned ibid., f. 137v (MPL CXCV 1640).

256. Johannes Italicus Clericus is first mentioned ibid., f. 126r (MPL CXCV 1626).

257. Ibid., f. 156r (MPL CXCV 1654; Franco, Prior of Vézelay witnessed the document in CGY II 325).

258. Gislebertus helemosinarius appears on ibid., f. 137v (MPL CXCV 1640); Renaldus helemosinarius, who may have succeeded him, appears on ff. 152v, 159r, 185v (EHV III 191; MPL CXCV 1658, 1680). Robertus refectorius is mentioned on f. 154r (EHV III 194).

259. Mainerius iurisperitus was in the party of Abbot William in 1166 at the conference of Moreto; ibid., f. 175r (MPL CXCV 1674).

260. Ibid., f. 113v (EHV I 354).

261. Ibid., f. 112r (EHV I 351).

262. Ibid., f. 166r (MPL CXCV 1665)

263. Ibid., f. 167v (MPL CXCV 1666).

264. In 1463, the number of monks at Vézelay was 34; see Sommet, Topographie statistique, histoire de la ville de Vézelay (Auxerre: Gallot, 1879), p. 18. This was, of course, long after the decline of Vézelay as a spiritual center.

265. BA 227, f. 68r (MPL CXCV 1582).

266. RHF XII 126.

267. MGH SS I 107.

268. Guilliers, Notes et recherches, pp. 99-100.

269. Father Ambroise, OFM, Chronique de la Cordelle (manuscript), p. 9h. I am indebted to the author for discussing his work with me and for permitting me to consult his manuscript.

270. BA 227, ff. 138r-v (MPL CXCV 1641).

271. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

272. BA 227, ff. 122r-v (deB 551).

273. In 1155, Ponce stayed at Gibriacum from a Tuesday to Sunday; ibid., f. 118v (MPL CXCV 1617). Abbot William stayed one night at Campunmollem before moving on to Gibriacum, f. 135r (MPL CXCV 1637).

274. Ibid., f. 176r (MPL CXCV 1675-1676).

275. Ibid., f. 130r (MPL CXCV 1630).

276. Ibid., f. 79r (MPL CXCV 1597).

277. MGH SS XXXII 218.

278. AY H 2150 (CGY II 236-237) records the gift of this vineyard by Vézelay to the Abbot and the church of Quincy in 1172.

279. BA 227, f. 129r (MPL CXCV 1629).

280. Ibid., f. 176r (MPL CXCV 1676)

281. A vidimus of 1466, AY H 1942, contains a reference to a list of properties contained in a bull of Eugenius III to Ponce of 1151 which unfortunately has not been preserved.

282. BA 227, f. 56v (d'Achery, 512).

283. GC XIII, Instru. 511.

284. Ibid., VIII, 1557.

285. La Prieuré de Saint Leu d'Esserent: Cartulaire, ed. Muller (Pontoise: 1901), II, 73.

286. EHV III 169, n. 1.

287. The list of Paschal II of 1103, CGY II 40, confirmed Vézelay's possession of this church. The village of Saint Père was very closely linked to Vézelay throughout this period and, in 1182, Lucius III extended the spiritual immunity of the monastery "in ecclesiis Asconii et Sancti-Petri quae sunt in radice montis ipsius villae sitae"; EHV III 177.

288. See Appendix A.

289. BA 227, f. 118v (MPL CXCV 1617).

290. Ibid., ff. 78r-v (MPL CXCV 1596).

291. Ibid., f. 56v (d'Achery, 512)

292. Ibid., f. 131r (MPL CXCV 1632). Gaudricum, Prior of Chamoux, is mentioned on ibid., f. 186r (MPL CXCV 1680).

293. Ibid., f. 135r (MPL CXCV 1637).

294. Ibid., f. 131r (MPL CXCV 1632).

295. Ibid., f. 172v (d'Achery's edition, MPL CXCV 1671-1672 appears to have been much edited at this point; see Chérest, EHV III 197-198 for the complete text).

296. Ibid., f. 167r (MPL CXCV 1665)

297. Ibid., f. 154v (EHV III 195). For the renunciation, see ibid., f. 155r (EHV III 196).

298. AY H 1941 bis, p. 835.

299. CGY II 324-325.

300. AY H 1565; AN LL 988 bis, f. 105r.

301. BA 227, ff. 66v-67r (MPL CXCV 1580).

302. EHV III 174.

303. BA 227, ff. 135v-136r (MPL CXCV 1638).

304. Ibid., f. 159r (MPL CXCIV 1657).

305. Ibid., f. 173v (MPL CXCIV 1673).

306. MPL CCXVI 478.

307. Girart de Roussillon, p. 427.

308. Layettes du trésor des Chartes, Inventaires et Documents,
ed. Teulet and Laborde (Paris 1863-1866), II, 326.

309. Ibid., II, 538.

310. GC IV 470.

311. At the time of the secularization of the monastery, according to the list prepared by Turgot, Histoire de la ville et l'abbaye de Vézelay (1826 ms. in the collection of M. Raymond Clavreuil), Vézelay controlled ca. 40 priories, most of which were in the areas in which Vézelay had property by the mid-twelfth century. It is likely that many of these were already in existence, in addition to those which have already been mentioned.

312. In addition to Artald's dealings with St. Leu d'Esserent, Gerard's negotiations with Premontre, Alberic's surrender of Chaaliz, etc., AN J 731 No. 13 concerns the disposition of property of the house of Moreto by Abbot Hugh of Vézelay in 1205. Ponce's appointment of his Prior Peter to the house of Tonnerre has already been mentioned.

313. Theobald, Abbot of St. Germain des Près (1151-1161) was a former monk of Vézelay; BA 227, f. 131v (MPL CXCIV 1633). At that time, Abbot Ponce had played a role in this election; see Poupardin, Recueil des Chartes de Saint Germain des Près (Paris: 1909), p. 179. Theobald's successor, Hugo of Monceaux, was also a former monk of Vézelay; BA 227, f. 134r (MPL CXCIV 1636).

314. BA 227, f. 124v (MPL CXCIV 1623).

315. Ibid., ff. 127v-128v (MPL CXCIV 1628-1629).

CHAPTER IV

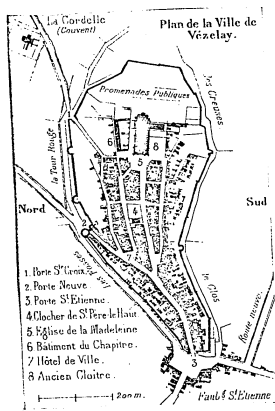
THE PEOPLE OF VÉZELAY

Vézelay in 1155 was described as "a town crowded with a diverse population of many thousands--men of different ways and means since the majority has come from many parts and has different interests which are of greater concern than upholding the customary law."¹ These aspects of twelfth century society will now be investigated more closely.

Numbers and Groups

Today the population of Vézelay is approximately 500. The remains of the ancient walls enclose a kidney shaped area of approximately 20 hectares.² The population of the town at the time of the communal revolt is a matter for conjecture. The only precise statistic available for the twelfth century is the report that the tragic fire in the basilica in 1120 killed 1,127 men and women.³ Neither the reliability of this figure nor its relationship to the population of the town can be established. Many of those killed were undoubtedly tourists in Vézelay to celebrate the Feast Day of the Magdalene.

The narrative account of the communal revolt contains several other references to the population of Vézelay in the thousands. During the period of the commune (1152-5), the Abbot bemoaned, "Three thousand have conspired."⁴ At the siege of the monastery he alleged that five thousand men were opposed to scarcely one hundred.⁵ After the commune was suppressed, the town was described as deserted, all the men having



10. MAP II: The town of Vézelay

fled, leaving their homes, wives, children, possessions and merchandise. Almost no one remained "from so many thousands."⁶ Then, when a group of vassals of the Count of Nevers arrived, declaring that they had come to apprehend the rebels, the Abbot queried, "Four men to seize so many thousands?"⁷ On the basis of these statements, particularly the Abbot's figure of three thousand, Chérest estimated that the population of the town at the time of the communal revolt was around ten to twelve thousand since these statements would have referred only to the adult male population.⁸

How much faith can be placed in these estimates? Could the Abbot himself have known the population of the town? To answer that question one would have to have some knowledge of the administrative procedures of the monastery but unfortunately no routine administrative records have survived. Their existence and, to some extent, their contents can be inferred from extant sources. During the first half of the twelfth century, Vézelay had exceptionally close ties with the mother-house of Cluny from which much archival material has survived.⁹ The abbots Renald, the nephew of Saint Hugh of Cluny, Alberic, the former sub-prior of Cluny, and Ponce, the brother of Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, must have been thoroughly familiar with the administrative procedures of the Cluniac order. The administrative reforms instituted by Peter the Venerable at the beginning of his term in office are of particular significance since his sub-prior Alberic was to be Abbot of Vézelay. Extant records show that Peter had conducted a detailed inventory of the estates dependent on Cluny for the purpose of allotting to each the responsibilities for provisioning the mother-house for a given period of time.¹⁰

Many of the complaints recorded in the agreement between the Abbot and the burghers of 1137 indicate that Alberic had instituted a similar inventory of the land under cultivation, involving a thorough assessment of the holdings of each individual.¹¹ The inhabitants of the territory of Vézelay at that time were, moreover, subject to an annual taille payable after Christmas, whether they were burghers or rustics, owned their own home or leased the property of others, after they had been in residence a year.¹² This taille was levied by the prefect and the decanus who probably kept some sort of record of those who were liable and those who had paid, as well as the amount of each assessment. The ministers of the Abbot also kept records of marriages.¹³ These records would have provided the basis for a fairly accurate estimate of the population of the town of Vézelay.

Abbot Ponce, during whose term in office the communal revolt broke out, had retained the officials appointed by Alberic and undoubtedly continued his administrative organization. Both he and his officials, including his notary Hugh of Poitiers whose History recorded these statements, could probably have given an accurate account of the population of the town. But did they? The phrases "so many thousands" may have meant no more than "many." The figures three thousand and five thousand have more credibility since they are more specific but one cannot assume that they referred only to the population of the town. It is also not unlikely that the chronicler would have wished to exaggerate the number of conspirators in order to dramatize the seriousness of the situation. He would hardly have aroused much sympathy for his hero, Abbot Ponce, if he recorded that the opposition was a mere handful of men. Chérest's

estimate, therefore, while based on the probably valid assumption that the statements referred to the number of adult males, must be taken as a maximum possible estimate. It does, however, seem safe to conclude that in the mid-twelfth century the population was several times the present population of Vézelay and that, by the standards of mid-twelfth-century France, it represented a substantial urban agglomeration. The number of monks and servants in residence at the monastery alone seems to have been over a hundred.¹⁴

Could the area of the town of Vézelay have accommodated such numbers? The present population is housed primarily within two story structures which were known in twelfth century Vézelay¹⁵ and could have been predominant had the need existed. Of the buildings that remain standing today, many are deserted and boarded up. Others have been converted into stables for cows. Others are now being used for storage. But the present town has shrunk within its walls. Whole streets have disappeared, leaving hardly a trace.¹⁶ Obviously the area of the town of Vézelay could and once did house a much larger population than today. The density of population in the twelfth century was undoubtedly greater per square foot of living space than modern standards would allow.

In addition to housing a much larger population than the present town, the numbers accommodated were swollen by hundreds, perhaps thousands of temporary visitors who came as pilgrims, particularly on the three major feast days. Where could they have been housed? The present town suggests an answer. Most of the houses of Vézelay contain vast basements, often going down two or even three stories, which today serve no purpose and are often filled in or boarded up. Some, such as the base-

ment of the Centre Sainte Madeleine, still have large decorated fire-places and sculptured column capitals indicating that they were not originally intended as storage facilities. The basement of the house adjacent to the present mairie has been restored to serve as an archeological museum and exhibits many features typical of these basements. A large staircase led at one time directly to the outside while a small staircase, probably for the use of the master of the house, led to the main floor. The basements of Vézelay are much older than the present houses and frequently do not coincide with the property lines of the surface.¹⁷

Further study is needed to establish the date of the basements which still exist and should shed much light on former property divisions in the town. A reference in the chronicle of Hugh of Poitiers to the basements of Hugh of Saint Père and of Hugh Frying-Bread¹⁸ suggests that they were already a feature of the town in the twelfth century. The present basements, which were obviously designed for human occupancy, are too large to have served normal family needs but could have received large numbers of pilgrims. They suggest that the comforts awaiting the average twelfth century pilgrim to Vézelay were minimal and privacy non-existent. The owner of the house would probably have supplied him with food and drink, served directly from the main house, as well as shelter and heat in the winter, if he were fortunate enough to get a place near the fireplace. Hopefully he also found good fellowship to compensate him for the inconvenience and discomfort.

The first half of the twelfth century was a period of very rapid growth in population. The Agreement of 1137 contains several references

to the growth of the town. In particular, the decision with regard to the obligation to provide hospitality which was based on the practice in the time of Artald (1096-1106), was modified because of the increase in population, requiring the obligation only half as often from each individual.¹⁹ If the amount of this reduction was related directly to the amount of the increased population, it would appear that the population of Vézelay had doubled between ca. 1106 and 1137. The growth continued through 1155 when, as has already been noted, a majority of the inhabitants were alleged to have come from different parts. These statements seem to indicate a growth-rate in the first half of the twelfth century of more than 100% every twenty years.

Very few of the inhabitants of Vézelay at the time of the communal revolt, therefore, would have been the descendants of families which had lived in the town for several generations. The new-comers who came from any distance would have enjoyed de facto if not de jure freedom by virtue of the distance which separated them from their place of origin and the ties by which they had formerly been bound. Personal freedom appears to have characterized the burgher class at Vézelay in 1137. Their agreement with the Abbot at that date makes no mention of the onerous obligations associated with servitude. The burghers were subject to the annual payment of the taille after a year in residence,²⁰ but this period of time calls to mind the most widespread and best known of the early municipal customs, the enfranchisement of an individual after a given period of residence, usually a year and a day.²¹ It would appear that at this date the taille was a tax imposed on free men in recognition of their freedom. The agreement of 1137 did not use the word mortmain in any

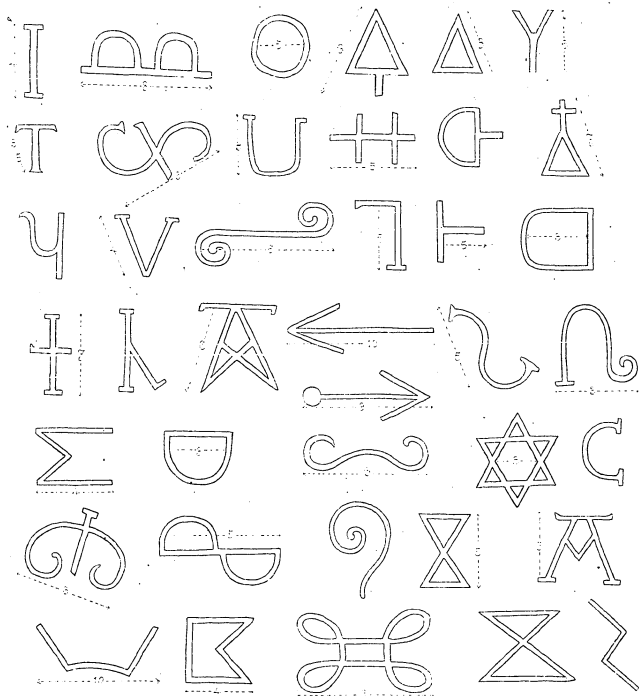
context but it did appear in the Charter of Vézelay of 1200 at which time it was relinquished in exchange for the taille.²² Between 1137 and 1200 a considerable change had taken place in the status of the burghers which will be discussed below.

The burghers of 1137 were not subject to formariage. On the contrary, the agreement confirmed the freedom of their daughters to marry whom they pleased without payment of any duty to the Abbot or his ministers.²³ The latter were, however, to be informed of their unions. There may possibly have been some restriction on marrying men subject to the jurisdiction of another lord. Unfortunately the text is defective, leaving only a reference to the "scandals which often arose" from such situations. Since it was apparently the local custom in such unions for the child to assume the status of its mother,²⁴ the Abbot may have been concerned with protecting monastic interests in the event that a girl who had inherited property and obligations at Vézelay joined a husband where that custom was not observed. The reference to "scandals," however, indicates at least an ostensive altruistic motive. The Abbot may have desired to protect the sanctity of marriage and the provision that his officials be informed may have been an effort to discourage illicit unions.

The agreement of 1137 makes no mention of any required corvée labor which undoubtedly would have given rise to disputes had it been required. Although the failure to mention such issues is an argument ex silentio, the fairly extensive number of items raised in the discussions at that date makes the omission somewhat more significant than most such arguments. There is, moreover, evidence that other sources

of labor were used for local building projects. The workmen who constructed the basilica of the Magdalene were apparently wage-earning laymen. The mason marks on the stones of the basilica indicate that the workmen were paid in accordance with the amount of work performed rather than being required to serve for a fixed period of time or to accomplish a given task.²⁵ The author of Girart de Roussillon who may have been in Vézelay at the time of the construction of the basilica described the efforts of a pilgrim who worked without stop, carrying stone, mortar, and buckets of water for the construction of the basilica. The pilgrim was said to be staying with a poor woman whom he supported with his earnings.²⁶ The work of carting the stone may have been provided by servile labor. At the time of the siege of the monastery, several carters were named among the men who remained loyal and shared the hardships of the monks.²⁷ These men certainly did not identify themselves with the interests of the rebellious burghers and their loyalty may indicate a high degree of dependency on the monastery. Much later, in 1165, the monks themselves were described as engaged in the construction of their dormitory.²⁸

The agreement of 1137 did make a distinction between "free men" and "men of the church" with regard to rights of testation and alienation of property. The burghers complained that when they died without sons and daughters as legitimate heirs, the Abbot seized their mobile and immobile possessions and refused to concede them to brothers, sisters, or other relatives whom they might wish to inherit their property. The Abbot did not deny this assertion but justified it on the basis of the practice of his predecessors as well as that of other ecclesiastics and



Note: The dimensions indicated are in centimeters.

11. Masons' Marks

Exterior Walls of the Basilica of Vézelay

many laymen.²⁹ Since Alberic did not acknowledge Abbots Baldwin and Gerard as his predecessors, it may not have been the custom at Vézelay during their terms (ca. 1124-1131).

The arbitrators of the hearings in 1137 decided that free men might leave their property to free relatives provided that the heirs remained in Vézelay and upheld the customs of the town. The heirs might not, however, invest themselves with the goods or buildings of the dead man but were to receive them from the hand of the Abbot or of his ministers.³⁰ This requirement may be the origin of the custom of mortmain which was defined in charters of Bleigny, Gigny, and Lindry as applying in the event a man died without heirs of his body.³¹ Presumably an oath of fidelity to the Abbot would have been required at the occasion of this investment and the heir was also required to accept limitations to his mobility. Those who refused to observe the decision were deprived of the inheritance and the property would be forfeited to the church. As to the property of "men of the church" who died without legitimate sons or daughters, it was to remain in the hand and power of the Abbot. If, however, they had divided their goods during their lifetime, that part which they possessed at death remained in the jurisdiction and power of the Abbot and the church. The Abbot's right to the property of "his men" in death as in life was also asserted in response to the complaint that his ministers demanded payments for burials and prayers for the dead.³²

The burghers also complained that they were not permitted to give any of their "taxable" (censualibus) lands or vineyards to lepers.³³ The use of the word censuales is quite ambiguous, apparently applying to

the property of free men who could alienate the property, as well as to the property of men of the church who could not. In the former case it should probably be translated as "taxes"; in the latter as "rent." The right of free men to donate movable and immovable goods to lepers was recognized in the decisions of 1137 "since lepers and their church properly belong to the church of Vézelay."³⁴ The lepers were, however, forbidden to sell or mortgage the lands or buildings which had been left to them to men of another domain or to other churches. Property of lepers may not have been tithed or taxed because of traditional taboos³⁵ and such gifts would therefore have diminished the revenues of the church. It would appear, however, that the lay populace was less concerned with taboos and not at all adverse to doing business with them. The burghers may have been using sales through the mediation of lepers as a means to cancel the obligations on property being transferred. "Men of the church" were permitted to donate movable goods but might not relinquish lands, vineyards, or any building to the lepers without the consent of the Abbot.

According to the statement of the privileges of Vézelay granted by King Charles the Bald in 868, the phrase "someone's men" applied in the ninth century to both free and servile inhabitants.³⁶ In 1137 it apparently still implied personal freedom since the distinction was only made with regard to property rights and probably reflected the conditions under which the property was acquired and held. There were no restrictions on the alienation of movable property during the lifetime of a "man of the church." As for his real property--lands, vineyards and houses--the nature of the restrictions on alienation, requiring the consent of the Abbot during the man's lifetime and reverting to his jurisdiction in the

event he died without immediate heirs, suggests that these properties were originally granted by the Abbot through precarious contract to a man and his descendants. The camparties contract, a common arrangement in the twelfth century in which a holding was granted in return for a fraction of the harvest, at Vézelay one third,³⁷ provides one example of the type of arrangement by which a man might accept the status of "men of the church." As in the case of the investment of indirect heirs of free men, an oath of allegiance to the Abbot would presumably have been required at the time the man entered into such a contract and, since the purpose of the contract was to encourage settlement, the mobility of the individual would have been limited so long as the claim was valid.

In 1137 this was apparently an honorable status, in all other respects indistinguishable from that of free men. But what of the children who had the right to inherit this property? They were not required to renew the oath as a condition to entering into their inheritance. Would the bond of loyalty to the Abbot and limited mobility also have been inherited? If so, as men subject to hereditary bonds, their status would have diminished, according to the social concepts of that time.

The sources indicate that considerable ambiguity existed with regard to this status in Vézelay around the mid-twelfth century. In 1151, when Count William III of Nevers addressed the men of Vézelay, he bemoaned the fact that they had lost the freedom with which they had been born.³⁸ The most frequent phrase used by Hugh of Poitiers to describe the status of men at Vézelay was "men of the church." Despite the Count's allegation, this status was still an honorable one--at least

in theory. When Abbot Ponce addressed representatives of the burghers in 1152 he called them his fideles, reminding them of their oath to him, and promised to continue to work to protect their liberty.³⁹ At that time Ponce was desirous to secure their support in the face of popular rebellion and may, for that reason, have chosen to emphasize their personal oath of fidelity, overlooking any depression in their status that may have existed in fact. The importance of the oath appears again in the stress laid on the fact that the formation of the commune involved disavowing allegiance to the Abbot and one of the most frequent charges levelled against the rebels was that they were perjurers.⁴⁰

The account of events of the 1160's indicates that by that time there was a tendency to use the terms "men of the church" and "serfs" as synonyms which may reflect very accurately the interpretation of the monastic officials at that time. The suppression of the communal revolt had meant the exclusion of all other authorities in the area from interference in the affairs of Vézelay, eliminating the possibility of appeal from a decision of the Abbot except to the royal court which was too distant to offer effective protection and inclined to support the Abbot's authority. The exercise of such absolute power by a man like Abbot Ponce of Montboissier whose selfishness and lack of love for humanity (caritas) were deplored by his own brother, the Venerable Peter of Cluny,⁴¹ could only work to the detriment of anyone whose interests were opposed. There are no examples to illustrate the practical implications of this power from the remainder of Ponce's term in office but two incidents are recorded from the time of his successor which illustrate the effects on personal status.

The case of William of Monreal in 1161 provides a case in point. William had attained a position of great power and wealth towards the end of Ponce's term but, on the latter's death, the monks of Vézelay took their revenge. William fled to the Count of Nevers, offering a generous bribe and an annual payment for his protection. The new Abbot of Vézelay demanded the return of his "serf". Nevers conferred with the local barons who advised him that "men of the church" could not be taken into his protection.⁴² The Count reluctantly surrendered William to monastic vengeance. Whether or not William was actually a serf of Vézelay is unimportant. The significant aspect of his case is the recognition in 1161 on the part of the lay nobility in the area that "men of the church" could not escape the jurisdiction of the Abbot of Vézelay. Only he, therefore, could interpret the meaning of this status in case of ambiguity.

In 1166 the Count of Nevers attempted to appeal to the royal court on behalf of André of the Marsh. The Abbot of Vézelay claimed that André was a serf, a fact denied by Nevers who asserted André was his man.⁴³ The King's advisors also equated "man of the church" with "serf" and explained to the Count the custom of the royal court with regard to cases of disputed possession. The serf was to be brought in and interrogated. If he acknowledged the man in whose possession he had been, the plaintiff had no rights to him. If, however, he recognized the claims of the plaintiff, he would be handed over to him, stripped of all his goods (mobile as well as immobile) which would be confiscated by the man in whose possession he had been.⁴⁴ This procedure was obviously to the liking of the Abbot who at best would have his complete rights over the ~~man~~ confirmed by the royal court and at

worst be authorized to confiscate all his goods. André of the Marsh would lose no matter which way he testified. The Count of Nevers withdrew the case.

Since the time of its foundation the lands of the monastery had included a servile populace. Vestiges of slavery still existed in the mid-twelfth century although it was apparently rare and Hugh of Poitiers' description of the depredations of the satraps of Nevers against "slaves (*mancipiorum*) as well as oxen and cattle of the church" ⁴⁵ indicates that they were considered as another variety of domesticated animal. The condition of serfs was better although the twelfth century chronicler obviously also considered their status despicable. Enemies of the monastery were described as "serfs by birth and by manners." ⁴⁶ There would, however, appear to have been considerable opportunity for advancement open for men of servile origin.

Around the beginning of the twelfth century the monastery had acquired property at Bessy and some information is available with regard to the conditions of serfs on this property. There apparently were two groups of serfs. One group was connected with the servile quarters although not necessarily in residence there. The obligations of this group were uniform. Another group was subject to obligations which varied from one individual to the next. By the time of Abbot Alberic, the family of André had achieved sufficient prominence to be the subject of dispute between Alberic and the heir to the remainder of the property at Bessy. Letericus, the son of André, witnessed the agreement for the co-owner of the property and may have had a responsible position in his personal service. ⁴⁷ His status was

evidently no bar to his serving in that capacity. These conditions at Bessy, which is not far from the bulk of the monastic domains, may have been typical of the region. If so, it would appear that the serfs on the lands of Vézelay could improve their situation and that they enjoyed some physical mobility although they continued to be bound by their inherited obligations.

If the allegations of Hugh of Poitiers can be believed, there was even more opportunity open to serfs at the town of Vézelay itself. Odo, the Prefect of Vézelay at the end of the eleventh century, was allegedly a serf, as was his grandson, Hugh Letard, the Prefect of Chatel-Censoir in the 1160's.⁴⁸ William of Monreal, the Prefect of Vézelay towards the end of the term of Abbot Ponce, has already been mentioned. He was able to acquire considerable wealth as well as a well-furnished house in Vézelay during his term in office.⁴⁹ Hugh of Saint Père, who was also described as of servile origins, had achieved a position of wealth and influence by the time of the communal revolt without official preferment. He enjoyed the confidence of the Count of Nevers and supposedly entertained the hope of holding local office in a neighboring village through the Count's influence.⁵⁰

Another group of rural inhabitants, rustics, apparently were free men. In 1137 they too were assessed for the payment of the taille which at this time was levied on free men. There were evidently no restrictions on their mobility as they were mentioned at that date along with the burghers as having usurped certain lands of the monastery. In addition to these issues in which they were mentioned on the same terms as the burghers, other references to the rustics in the

agreement of 1137 reveal a strong community of interests between these two groups. The rustics were also alleged to have participated with the burghers in a conspiracy against the Abbot and the burghers sought to defend their interests against injurious acts of the monastic authorities.⁵¹ This community of interests between the burghers and the rustics continued through the time of the communal revolt and was evident in the 1160's when the burghers of Vézelay and the rustics of Chamoux joined forces in pursuit of a cattle thief.⁵²

The town of Vézelay, however, constituted a distinct jurisdictional unit with its own customs. The abbot firmly rejected the effort of the burghers to extend their protection in 1137 to the rustics in the neighboring villages. The Abbot himself, in defiance of episcopal authority, exercised jurisdiction in cases involving matrimonial disputes. A local cleric served as advocatus in these proceedings.⁵³ The Prefect, an official appointed by the Abbot, was in charge of such rudimentary secular peace-keeping machinery as existed in the territory and criminals were brought to him for judgment and safe-keeping.⁵⁴ The apprehension of criminals was apparently the responsibility of local inhabitants. The only coercive force exercised in the region was that of the Count of Nevers who repeatedly claimed the jurisdiction of his courts over Vézelay.⁵⁵ Although his claims were rejected by the Abbots, his role in keeping the peace was obviously important since the removal of his protection in 1151 provided an opportunity for the petty nobility to run riot in the territory of Vézelay.⁵⁶

Trials by combat and ordeal were authorized by the twelfth

century Abbots of Vézelay. During the period of the commune, when a temporary truce restored the authority of the Abbot, his order that a local inhabitant submit to a duel was deeply resented by the entire populace and led to the immediate resumption of hostilities.⁵⁷ In 1166 accused heretics were subjected to a trial by ordeal of water in the presence of Abbot William and other prominent churchmen. The heretics were accused of acknowledging only the essence of divinity and denying the efficacy of sacraments, construction of churches, payment of tithes and offerings, the institution of monks and all offices of priests and clerics as well as rejecting marital relations. Such beliefs were obviously subversive at this date when monastic authority had been rigorously asserted. Their guilt being indicated in their trial by ordeal, the heretics were sentenced by popular acclamation to be burnt.⁵⁸

The heretical movement may have been connected with a not very successful conspiracy of burghers at that time⁵⁹ but there is no reason to believe that earlier popular movements had any theological implications. The agreement of 1137 provides the earliest concrete evidence of popular associations and their aims. The hearings themselves were a catalyst for popular meetings to air grievances. The burghers were apparently unprepared at the initial session which perhaps gave them hope for the resolution of other problems. Before the decisions to the issues discussed the first day were even rendered, they had entered into serious discussions among themselves and with the residents of the surrounding territory. The Abbot opened the discussion of the second set of issues by charging that while he had been awaiting the

restoration of peace and concord, the burghers had formed a conspiratorial association among themselves against him and the church, including his rustics from many villages in the conspiracy. Servants and friends of the Abbey had reported seeing obvious signs and evidence of such a conspiracy which they were prepared to prove. The burghers completely denied this allegation.⁶⁰

The burghers were told to select seven men to swear on behalf of them that they would neither enter into nor have knowledge of others entering into a confederation, allegiance, or oath against the church or the Abbot. The terms confederation and conspiracy were frequently used in connection with the formation of a commune and have sometimes been suggested as synonyms. It is therefore highly significant that the term commune was not used in 1137. The narrative of the events of 1152 will have to be closely examined to see at what point the term was used in order to determine what development took place in 1152 which justified its usage at that date.

The agreement of 1137 does not record the names of the spokesmen for the burghers and it may be that no individuals were officially designated as such. The seven men who were selected to swear on behalf of the burghers may have been the most outspoken members of the group present at the hearings or the most prominent proponents of common actions. It is more likely that they were chosen as the most "respectable" members of the community. They must have enjoyed the confidence of the popular leaders, however, or their oath would have been pointless. Those selected to swear were Aimo, the son of Aimo the money-charger, Peter Letard, Gilbert the Pastry-cook, Durannus Glaiello,

Durannus the Inn-keeper, and Fulbert the Mercer.⁶¹ Five of the seven are clearly identified as businessmen. Two of these five were money-changers, which may indicate the importance of this activity. Four of the five, the money-changers, the inn-keepers and the pastry-cook, would have been dependent on the tourist trade for their livelihood. Visitors may also have been a significant proportion of the customers of Fulbert the Mercer.

Aimo (or possibly his father) was certainly the same man as the Aimo Nummularius who testified in 1146 to the conditions on the routes into Vézelay.⁶² Peter Letard may have belonged to a prominent family long established at Vézelay since he bore the same cognomen as the Prefect of Chatel-Censoir in 1165 who was mentioned as the grandson of Odo, Prefect of Vézelay around the end of the eleventh century. There is no indication of Peter's occupation and apparently his name Letard had more local significance. Although there is no evidence that cognomens were hereditary at Vézelay at this time, the name Letard was not a common name in the area. According to Hugh of Poitiers, the family was of servile origin. A Durannus the Innkeeper was punished in 1155 for his role in the communal revolt by the confiscation of his wine.⁶³ At that time he was again chosen with about forty others to swear allegiance to the Abbot on behalf of the burghers in the presence of the King at Auxerre.⁶⁴ Later, in 1165, Durannus the Innkeeper was described as "particularly favorable" to Count William IV of Nevers.⁶⁵ If this was the same man (and it might also have been a descendent), Durannus would have been a relatively young man in 1137. No other information is available on the oath-takers.

Some of the issues raised by the burghers at this time indicate increased political awareness and the desire to participate in official capacities. They complained of the method of assessing the taille and suggested that they be permitted to elect four of themselves to accompany the decanus and the Prefect in assessing this tax which they suggested be levied in accordance with the individual's ability to pay. They proposed that the committee of four be changed every year.⁶⁶ The acceptance of such a plan would have marked a significant break from the arbitrary control which the monastery represented in the direction of self-government. Their proposal was quite concrete, including the size of the committee, its method of appointment, its functions, as well as providing for an annual change in its composition which would have prevented the abuse of its power. The Abbot rejected the proposal as completely unprecedented and was prepared to introduce servants of the monastery to swear that they had neither seen nor heard of the taille being assessed in any other way than at the discretion of the ministers of the Abbot. The arbitrators supported his position fully.⁶⁷

Other items discussed imply the actual existence of some organized popular tribunal at Vézelay although it apparently was not officially recognized. The Abbot complained that the money-lenders bought and sold money according to different weights in defiance of ancient custom. He denounced this practice because of the opportunity it gave for cheating.⁶⁸ For some reason he apparently was unable to act directly to impose his jurisdiction in the case of these frauds perpetrated in the market-place. The arbitrators decided that no one might

buy or sell in all Vézelay except according to the mark of Cologne. Anyone seized in the act of buying or selling in accordance with an - other weight would pay damages according to the appropriate just law.⁶⁹ The text at this point is defective and there is no further information as to the contents of the law or the tribunal which would judge the violators of that law.

The arbitrators also declared that the Abbot might have a period of a month once a year in which he could have a monopoly on wine sales. He could chose any month except the weeks before and after the festivities of Easter, Pentecost and the Day of Mary Magdalene, the busiest times of the year, these periods being reserved for the burghers. If the Abbot could prove that he needed more time, he might have as much as he could prove necessary.⁷⁰ To whom was he to present such proof? The text does not say. Obviously it could not have referred to a court held under monastic jurisdiction since there would be no point in requiring the Abbot to present proof of his need to his own officials.

In another item the burghers alleged that the Abbot had harmed his men of Saint Père and other villages and they wished him to rectify the injury through them.⁷¹ It is unlikely that they would have intended restitution to be effected through the amorphous body known as burghers but probably had in mind some recognizable group which could effectively serve as intermediaries on behalf of the men of the other villages. The Abbot rejected this request asserting that if the men of his villages complained, he could adjust the matter through his ministers. The affairs of the rustics did not concern the burghers, he declared, and characterized their request as "unjust." The

arbitrators agreed that these affairs were none of their business.⁷²

These items imply the existence of some body already exercising jurisdiction in the marketplace before whose power the Abbot was forced to bend, even if he refused to acknowledge its existence. He could not directly oppose its operations by regulating weights used in financial transactions even in the case of fraud but had to appeal to arbitration to combat this practice. While deciding according to his desires, the arbitrators appear to have left the determination of violations to this body in accordance with the law of the marketplace. Nor was the Abbot in a position to arbitrarily declare a period of monopoly for his sales but again achieved his purpose through arbitration. Any extension of his monopoly, however, probably remained within the province of this tribunal. In both of these items, however, the Abbot had made serious inroads in encroaching on their control of market operations, and he rejected a possible attempt to extend the powers of this tribunal to protect the men of neighboring villages. Abbot Ponce may have introduced other means to counteract their independence by making concessions of facilities to his own favorites. Although a papal directive of 1156 rejected his policy in so far as it involved alienation of the property of the church,⁷³ the Charter of Vézelay of 1200 authorized the continuance of financial regulations in the marketplace as they had been in the time of Abbots Alberic and Ponce.⁷⁴

The burghers won a minor victory in 1137 for the principle of self-determination. They had complained that the decanus and the Prefect posted guards in their vineyards at will. The Abbot expressed little interest in this complaint, merely stating his desire to observe the

customary practice.⁷⁵ It was decided that the guards be selected by the burghers in the presence of the decanus and the prefect so that these officials might be assured of their loyalty. The burghers were to pay the decanus twelve deniers for each guard.⁷⁶ As part of the peace-keeping function of the local administration the guards of the vineyards would have been subordinate to the prefect. The decanus, who took charge of financial affairs, would have had the responsibility for paying the wages of the guards. It would appear that these officials had abused their powers, perhaps appointing unqualified individuals or unnecessary guards, providing sinecures for friends and relatives at the expense of the burghers. It would not be the last example of padding a public payroll. If, however, the selection of guards by the burghers had been the customary practice, by giving monastic officials a supervisory role in their selection, the burghers' control may in fact have been curtailed.

There is no information on popular associations at Vézelay between 1137 and the time of the communal revolt. In 1152, shortly after the formation of the commune, a group of "elders" (maiores natu) made a final futile attempt to reconcile the situation. If these men had any official standing in the secular community, they apparently did not have any recognition from monastic authorities as Hugh of Poitiers described them merely as men who "seemed to be the heads of the people."⁷⁷ The suggestion that they were in fact communal officials is unconvincing due to the fact that a decade later, long after the commune had been decisively suppressed, the "elders" were still to be found in Vézelay. At that time, when Count William IV of Nevers raised an issue about the

salt-tax, the new Abbot claimed ignorance of the customs and promised to call the Elders of the town and other wise men and to reply to the Count's complaint in accordance with their advice.⁷⁸ It would appear that at this date the body had some official recognition as authorities on local customs. It was precisely with regard to questions of local customs that the elders had come to express themselves in 1152, requesting remittance of "certain new and tyrannical customs." Abbot Ponce refused to discuss the matter with them.⁷⁹

Although the earliest reference to this group occurs with regard to this meeting in 1152, it is likely that they existed at an earlier date. The agreement of 1137 between the Abbot and the burghers was discussed primarily on the basis of customary practice and it may be that the spokesmen for the burghers at these hearings were in fact the "elders," the body whose authority on local customs was recognized. If so, judging from the information available on those burghers present whose names were given, in 1137 the "elders" represented the local elite, either by virtue of profession or family. Abbot Ponce continued Alberic's policy of not recognizing their existence but carried it one step further by also ignoring customary practice, their special field of competence. His successor, perhaps for reasons of his own related to the specific issue disputed by Nevers, chose to accord the Elders some recognition. He may have considered them more reliable allies after the experience of the commune when more radical elements had come to the fore. In the course of time, official recognition might separate this group from the rest of the burgher populace due to its vested interest in supporting the status quo.

Economic Activities

By 1137, as their suggestion with regard to the assesment of the taille in accordance with the means of the individual indicates, the burghers were well aware of contrasts between rich and poor within the town. These differences would be quite apparent in the homes of rich and poor. The old pilgrim who worked so diligently at the construction of the church in Girart de Roussillon was described as having refused comfortable accommodations in a stone house and instead lived in the tumble-down shack of a poor cripple.⁸⁰ There was evidently considerable wealth in the hands of burghers of Vézelay. A Cistercian monk in the time of Abbot Stephan of Cîteaux was supposedly enabled to purchase the plows, food, clothing and other necessities for his house due to the generosity of his host at Vézelay.⁸¹ Saint Bernard referred to the "forces of mammon" as being in alliance with the opponents to Alberic's accession in 1131.⁸²

Although Vézelay is on the edge of the barren region of the Morvan, the immediately surrounding countryside does not share the geological primitiveness of that region. Of the more than 25,000 hectares which comprise the present canton of Vézelay, less than 4 per cent has been classified as barren.⁸³ Agricultural activities were of great importance in the life of the burghers in the twelfth century as is illustrated by the very first issue discussed in the hearings of 1137. The Abbot complained that the burghers did not pay the full tithe of wine and grain and that they wanted to give little or nothing of sheep, lambs, calves, pigs, and other tithes called "first fruits."⁸⁴ These were spiritual taxes for the support of the clergy and their functions,

based ultimately on Old Testament provisions.⁸⁵ By the twelfth century they had undergone a long and involved development and the problems involved in the application of ancient principles in societies with radically different conditions had resulted in considerable variations in the practical application of these provisions.⁸⁶ The burghers of Vézelay, for example, responded that the Abbot demanded more than the tithe of the first fruits and a fourth of the lambs. The rest of their statement is lost.

The fact that the Abbot chose to present this complaint as the very first issue to be discussed suggests that this was the most important item from his point of view. The arbitrators declared that the burghers and the rustics should pay the legitimate tithe according to the custom of the universal church and neighboring practice.⁸⁷ It is impossible to determine with certainty which side stood to benefit from the decision rendered in terms of a principle with which few could argue. The fact that reference was made to neighboring practice rather than to the customary practice on the monastic lands suggests that monastic practice had been at variance with that in the surrounding territory. Since the Abbot had made the arrangements and probably selected the arbitrators, since the document was actually prepared under his direction, and since this was apparently a major issue involving an important source of revenue for the monastery, it appears likely that the decision represented a victory for his position.

During the early period of growth, the Abbots of Vézelay might have granted attractive terms to new residents to encourage settlement in the area. In the period prior to the accession of Alberic when

the monastery had reportedly suffered materially as well as spiritually, the collection of even these liberal dues may have been lax. Alberic, in a general policy of tightening up the administration of the monastery apparently attempted to collect the tithes in accordance with the general practice, resulting in increased demands which the burghers resisted. The decision of the arbitrators would have given Alberic a legal basis for this increase. Ultimately such increased obligations might encourage more enterprising burghers to turn their attention from agriculture to other activities not subject to such stringent demands.

The largest number of disputes discussed in the hearings of 1137 were related to viticulture. Wine was evidently then, as now, the standard beverage in the area and of particular importance in the town of Vézelay since the inhabitants of the promontory did not have convenient access to adequate sources of water. They apparently had to import water from the base of the hill. Such was the case in 1165 when the harassments of the men of Nevers created serious problems for the burghers and monks who descended the hill for water.⁸⁸ Gui de Bazoches, who joined the Crusading armies at Vézelay in 1190, has left a vivid description of the town at that date as surrounded by verdant vineyards, delighting both in the charm of its site and in "the abundance of liquid pleasing to the heart."⁸⁹ At an inquiry in 1578 the town was described as "situated in a countryside of vineyards."⁹⁰ This aspect is graphically illustrated in an extant engraving made in the year 1610.⁹¹ The number of disputes related to the vineyards in 1137 indicates that this picture was also valid for the first half of the twelfth century.

12. Agricultural Activities -
Labors of the Months
12th-century sculptures from Vézelay



Mowing the Hay



Harvesting the Grapes

In 1137 the burghers of Vézelay held vineyards under two types of arrangements. Some owed a tax or rent called the herban, payable annually at a fixed rate of wine per area of cultivation.⁹² Others had entered into a sharecropping arrangement (campartes) in which the monastery received one-third of the grapes harvested.⁹³ The men who held vineyards under this second arrangement do not appear to have been as important in the town of Vézelay as the first group since the document records no grievances on their behalf. Perhaps it was only a temporary arrangement ultimately leading to ownership of the property subject to the herban.⁹⁴ The reference to the campartes holdings appears in the document as an afterthought, inserted by the arbitrators between discussions of the herban and the Abbot's ban on wine sales. They merely stated that the division of the harvest was to take place in the presence of the monastic officials. If an official was unable to come after being summoned, the division might take place in the presence of neighbors. The Abbot's share was then to be transported to his barns.

The burghers who owed the herban appear to have been a very important, or at least vocal, group. They complained that the Abbot had increased their tax, a charge the Abbot denied, explaining that he had assessed the rent at the same rate, one half pint of wine per jurnali, but that since the burghers had increased the size of their vineyards, their obligations had increased.⁹⁵ The arbitrators supported his position, adding that those who could prove that they had been taxed at a lower rate by the proper officials would have their obligations adjusted accordingly.⁹⁶ The payment was due, both sides agreed, at the Feast of Saint Martin.⁹⁷ The previous lax administration may not have

taken into account the increased area of cultivation, and perhaps even reduced the rate in some cases--the reference to "proper" officials suggests that others not considered "proper" may have taxed at a lower rate. Alberic's more efficient management again had resulted in increased demands. One need not, however, conclude that his demands were excessive. The herban had probably been established originally at a reasonable amount to encourage settlement and, with successful operations and more intensive cultivation, would have decreased in proportion to the yield per jurnali even without a tax abatement from the previous administration. In a rising economy the campartes arrangement would be more profitable to the monastery which would benefit from any increase in the value of the yield, whether from increased productivity or inflated prices.

The burghers also complained that the officials of the Abbot demanded payment in coin rather than in wine and at a rate in excess of the amount for which it was sold in the town.⁹⁸ They apparently did not object so much to the demand for coin but rather to the rate at which the monastic officials assessed the amount due. This tax was evidently in the process of being converted from a payment in kind to a money payment. The fluctuations and variations of quality in the market place, however, left considerable grounds for dispute as to the rate of conversion. Monastic officials would obviously be interested in assessing the rate at the highest possible value. The charge that they were demanding more than the market price was a challenge to the legality of their rate. The concept of the "just price" at this time was based on the market price⁹⁹ and a charge in excess would have been illegal.

The arbitrators determined that the tax was to be paid in full either with wine of a certain quality or according to the price at which the most expensive wine was sold in town.¹⁰⁰ Once again this represents a significant victory for the Abbot, assuring the conversion rate at the highest legal limit. The burghers were permitted to pay in kind if they preferred but were restricted to payments in good quality wine. The Abbot was entitled to exact damages if the tax were not paid in full. The final step in the conversion of this tax to a money payment by establishing a fixed rate for conversion was not yet taken but in the light of the preference on the part of the monastic officials for payment in coin and the fact that fluctuations in the market price would have led to constant dispute over the rate of conversion, it is not unlikely that a more permanent basis for conversion of this payment soon followed. If so, the monastic revenues would have been decreased in the long run as inflation decreased the actual value of the payment.

Other issues illustrate different aspects of disputes related to viticulture. The owners of the vineyards were obliged to use the wine press maintained by the Abbey. A statement was inserted in the agreement establishing the amount which was to be paid for the use of this facility at a rate to which both parties agreed, of one pint of wine for the Abbot and one denier for the keeper of the wine press. If more were demanded and the word came to the Abbot, he would see that justice was done.¹⁰¹ In the charter of Vézelay of 1200 it was stipulated that the charge for the use of the wine press was to be eight coins and one pint of wine.¹⁰² The monastary charge had

increased eight-fold and, since it was mentioned first and no reference was made to the payment as applying to the services of the keeper of the press, it would appear that the money was then payable to the monastery. Despite the increased charge, the Abbots of Vézelay had succeeded in maintaining their monopoly of this facility through the twelfth century although by the mid-twelfth the burghers were capable of constructing their own wine presses.¹⁰³

Reference has already been made to the complaints against the abuses of power on the part of monastic officials, some of which related to the operation of the vineyards. The right of the burghers to select the guardians of the vineyards subject to the supervision of monastic officials has already been discussed. The burghers were to pay twelve denarii for each guardian,¹⁰⁴ probably a collective yearly payment since the need was seasonal, being required only when the grapes were ripening. The burghers had also complained that the decanus sent his servants into their vineyards to collect grapes without their permission or knowledge, a practice which the arbitrators forbade.¹⁰⁵ The antipathy of the burghers towards the decanus apparently continued up to the time of the communal revolt despite the probable succession of another man to that office, as his vineyards and his mill were destroyed.¹⁰⁶

The power of the owners of the vineyards is apparent in the fact that the Abbot was not permitted to impose his ban during the weeks before and after the dates of major pilgrimages.¹⁰⁷ These periods were reserved for the burghers. The owners of the vineyards were obviously conducting their affairs on a money economy. They

paid taxes in money as well as paying money for the services of guardians and the use of the wine press. They probably maintained retail outlets in the town for the sale of their wines, as do the owners of small vineyards in many wine-growing regions of France today. While it would certainly be anachronistic to imagine the walls of twelfth century Vézelay covered with the signs of twentieth century commercialism advising visitors to "Degustez les vins" or "Visitez les caves," street vendors may have uttered similar cries to attract twelfth-century pilgrims to patronize their establishments. Such men as Eustachius, Simon, Durannus the Inn-Keeper, Hugo Frying-Bread, and Felix, who were punished after the suppression of the communal revolt in 1155 by having their wine poured out,¹⁰⁸ may be representatives of this group of burghers.

In 1137 the burghers also held meadows and their obligations with regard to this property gave rise to disputes. The Abbot claimed that each man, whether he held one or more meadows, owed a trussie of grass at the time it was ripe, whether it had been scythed or not. The burghers recognized this obligation only when the Abbot was in town.¹⁰⁹ This payment had originated, apparently, as an aid arising out of the personal relationship between the man and the lord of the land since it was incumbent on the individual regardless of the amount of land or number of parcels held and, at least in the burghers' interpretation, related specifically to the lord's personal need rather than being a source of income. The decision effectively converted this aid into a regular tax by stipulating that the marshall of the Abbot might collect the grass for the horses of the Abbot whether the

Abbot was in Vézelay or not. It was also stipulated that he was not to take hay.¹¹⁰ The repetition of these provisions in the charter of 1200 indicates that this was a recurrent source of dispute. At that time it was stated that the grass could be taken two weeks before and after the festival of Saint John but was not to be taken from a scythed meadow.¹¹¹ The distinction between grass and hay was very ancient¹¹² and probably was made to protect the supplies stored for the winter which could not be replaced. The prohibition against the seizure of supplies from the scythed meadow may have been instituted to avoid any ambiguity leading to an encroachment on the supply of hay.

Some of the burghers and rustics had taken possession of lands which were part of the arable domain of the monks in 1137. Those who could not prove that they were authorized to hold these lands were instructed to leave them.¹¹³ The fields recovered may have returned to cultivation under the direct supervision of the monks but it is more likely that they were re-assigned to other occupants on a rental or share-cropping basis. There was evidently no shortage of cultivators if the monastery had no compunctions about rejecting these settlers. Quite the contrary, it would appear as though the amount of good agricultural land in the area had reached the saturation point and the Abbot was no longer concerned with encouraging settlement. This development is supported by the discussion of other issues which indicate that the enclosure of common lands was also a concern.

Communal rights to pastures, woods, and waters were also discussed in 1137. The area around Vézelay is still known to sportsmen for its good fishing and, judging from the order of presentation,

fishing rights were of great concern to the burghers. They claimed that they should be free to fish where and when they wanted, a claim the Abbot contradicted flatly, denying that it had been the practice in the time of his predecessors.¹¹⁴ The decision generally supported the demands of the burghers but contained significant exceptions. Fishing in pools and the use of nets were prohibited. These restrictions would effectively prevent any significant commercial exploitation of the waters. Choice fish were to be delivered to the ministers of the Abbot and all others were to be offered first to the cellarer at the same price that would be asked from others. In accordance with the testimony of the forester that he had not seen the waters of Vergigny used by the burghers during or since the time of Abbot Artald, the use of these waters was forbidden without the permission of the Abbot.¹¹⁴ Fish was an important element of the diet in the twelfth century and Abbot Alberic's concern with fishing rights was apparent on another occasion.¹¹⁶

Although the statement of the burghers with regard to their claims to pastures has been lost, the response of the Abbot which is partially preserved and the statement of the decision make clear the source of dispute. The burghers apparently had complained that pastures which had been common had been withdrawn. They were then in the hands of private individuals who paid rent for them. The Abbot expressed his willingness to reopen those pastures which could be proven to have been common at an earlier period and, if those who had paid rent for them left, he would refund their rent.¹¹⁷ The arbitrators accepted this plan.¹¹⁸ How effectively this decision was

carried out, however, is questionable since the burden of proof was placed on the burghers. This issue also illustrates the pressure on the land at this date.

Certain woods which had been common were restricted by the Abbot, the burghers complained. Alberic asserted that they had only been made common during an emergency resulting from a fire and that the burghers had almost totally destroyed them. Certain groves had therefore been reserved and placed under ban for their own good as well as his. Those which remained open were sufficient in his opinion.¹¹⁹ It was decided that those woods which had been restricted before the fire in the time of Alberic should remain so. Those which were common at that time should remain so.¹²⁰ It is difficult to imagine that deforestation was a problem in twelfth century Vézelay¹²¹ but this was evidently the case. The account of the incident in 1151 in which a man was discovered chopping down a tree on monastic property by a monk patrolling the property¹²² indicates that the protection of the forests continued to be a concern of the monastic officials. Wood was undoubtedly the primary building material although it would appear that stone was also used for private houses. It would also have been used for fuel, furnishings, and implements. In a wine-growing area the demands on wood supplies were especially great as wood was needed for poles to support the vines, vats for fermentation, and barrels for storage.

While the largest number of issues discussed in 1137 concerned agricultural activities or abuses of power on the part of monastic officials in these or spiritual affairs in which the interests of the

burghers would coincide with those of the peasants in the territory, other disputes were of particular concern to an urban community. The obligation to provide hospitality for the guests of the monastery was an onerous charge on all groups on which it was imposed but an even more serious imposition when it preempted facilities and services from which a man realized his livelihood. This charge was so keenly resented in the town of Vézelay that in 1106 it was apparently the immediate cause of the murder of Abbot Artald. Renald, his successor, had released the burghers from this obligation but they were still required to receive the members of the household of the Count of Nevers every fourth year.¹²³ A guesthouse was maintained by the monastery by the time of Renald but by 1137 its facilities were evidently inadequate.¹²⁴

Alberic sought to reimpose hospitality on the burghers in accordance with the practice in the time of Artald. He complained that the burghers rented to merchants and pilgrims despite his prohibition and that the monastery itself was often obliged to pay to lease houses for the use of their guests.¹²⁵ Rents were rising at this time.¹²⁶ The arbitrators supported the Abbot's position but reduced the individual's obligations because of the growth of the town since the time of Artald. Whoever had guests one Easter was to be pardoned the next and similarly with regard to the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalene. They warned that the decanus and the marshall not show favoritism in assigning this obligation which obviously gave them considerable arbitrary authority.¹²⁷ Among the men who represented the burghers at this time was Durannus the Innkeeper, mentioned above. The result of the

decision on such a man would be not only the imposition of the burden of the actual expenses involved in entertaining guests of the monastery but also the loss of the income that he might otherwise expect from rooming and boarding pilgrims at precisely his busiest times.

Only four of the issues discussed in 1137 can properly be considered as exclusively concerning a commercial class. Two of these issues concerned the weights used in the market place and two involved exactions and conditions imposed by the monastery for the use of the commercial facilities of merchants and money-changers. This relatively small number of issues may be an indication of the relative role of business and commerce in the overall economy of mid-twelfth century Vézelay although it was clearly of significance since the beginning of the twelfth century. At that time Easter and the Feast Day of the Magdalene were important periods for pilgrimages¹²⁸ and business was undoubtedly active on those days. By the time of Abbot Renald, Pentecost was also a busy time and a toll was instituted on the route to Auxerre by the Count of Nevers on the three major holidays, with the consent of the Abbot of Vézelay.¹²⁹ In 1137, the weeks before and after these festivals were reserved by the burghers for the sale of their wines,¹³⁰ a clear indication of the importance of commercial activity at these times.

By that date the Fairs at Vézelay were attracting business to the town. There is an account of a monk who was sent to the Fairs of Vézelay by Stephan of Citeaux(1109-1134) to buy three plows, cloth, food, and other necessities.¹³¹ These Fairs were probably held at the base of the hill, perhaps at the site of the present Champ de

Foires,¹³² since it is unlikely that the local inhabitants would have driven plows up the steep hill only to sell them to customers who would then have the problem of leading them down the precipitous descent. The monk was described as arriving empty-handed but enabled to buy through the generosity of his host at Vézelay who put at his disposal the legacy of a rich relative. It would appear from that account that business was conducted on a money basis rather than barter. The description of his purchases suggests that the Fairs may have been primarily established for the exchange of agricultural equipment and other necessities but since the spartan life of Cîteaux would not have allowed its monks to purchase luxury goods, this evidence is of little help in categorizing the nature of the early Fairs.

Despite this evidence of early commercial activity in the town, it should be borne in mind that Vézelay was not located on a major commercial highway.¹³³ In the twelfth century the two main areas of economic development were in the North, in Flanders, and in the South, along the Mediterranean Sea. Burgundy provided a connecting link between these two areas and the valleys of the Saône and the Rhône had important commercial traffic, as did the valley of the Loire which led into the royal domains of central France and then through Angevin lands to the Atlantic. The Cure River valley was not an important trade route. Rising in the heights of the Morvan, still an economically backward area of France, the river flows through picturesque wooded shores from no place in particular, in a rather treacherous course. Although in the twelfth century it was still a navigable river,¹³⁴ its shores offered little comfort to travellers and, if

one were daring enough to venture along its course, one would have found little convenience or opportunity for business. The monastery of Vézelay itself might have offered security to travellers on the Cure River but it was located at a distance of a few kilometers from the river, atop a hill whose ascent is rather difficult. Merchants who arrived at Vézelay at this date presumably came because this town was their destination, not because they just happened to be in the area.

The difficulty of the approach to Vézelay was certainly recognized by the end of the eleventh century. The Vita Girardi, a life of the founder of Vézelay and Pothières, composed by a monk of Pothières, pointedly referred to the monastery of Vézelay as built on the highest summit of the hill.¹³⁵ In this work, as well as in Girart de Roussillon, Berta's efforts in helping in the construction of the monastery were recounted. In the chanson de geste, while assisting in carrying buckets of sand and water from the base of the hill to the construction site, she tripped and fell. The pole from which the bucket was suspended remained steady, miraculously supported.¹³⁶ The twelfth century author of this poem apparently considered the ascent sufficiently difficult to elicit divine intervention! Another twelfth century author who left an account of the preaching of the Second Crusade described the event as next to "the mountain of Vézelay."¹³⁷ What difficulties early peddlers would have had in lugging their packs up the steep incline! The site of the original monastic settlement, Saint Père, would seem a much more likely spot for them to settle from the point of view of convenience. Long distance commerce may have

contributed to the development of that site but it appears to have been a by-product of the development of Vézelay.

Travel to and from Vézelay was sufficiently active by 1104 for the town to be used to identify the route which served as a boundary in a land grant at Reigny.¹³⁸ This route, and others leading to Auxerre, continued to be the most frequented by merchants coming to and from Vézelay. The most important route, described by the Abbot as an "old public royal road,"¹³⁹ passed through Asquins to the plateau of Mont-Joie on which a cross marked the limits of the monastic domains.¹⁴⁰ This was the route taken by the monks of Vézelay in 1165 when they went into exile. They travelled by foot through Asquins, past Mont-Joie, to Brosse, which was probably the site of a cell of monks of Vézelay, where they rested overnight. They arrived the next day in Auxerre.¹⁴¹ Progress on that occasion was unusually slow because of the large number of exiles which probably included the elderly and infirm. Merchants travelling on horseback could probably have made the trip to Auxerre and back in one day.

A branch of this route followed the course of the Cure to a point below the town of Saint Moré where it crossed the river and passed through the monastic property of Precy to Joux, there joining the road of Agrippa from Avallon to Auxerre.¹⁴² Another branch crossed the river near Blannay and was prolonged to the east as far as Isle-sur-le-Serein.¹⁴³ Hugh of Poitiers also mentioned the road from Crai which would give access to Clamecy, a town in the territory of the Count of Nevers whose men may have attended the markets of Vézelay by 1119.¹⁴⁴ A route through Monte Tirohet was also mentioned but has not been

satisfactorily identified. It may have referred to Montreuillon which is some distance to the south of Vézelay.¹⁴⁵ Contact with eastern Burgundy does not seem to have been important.¹⁴⁶

The references to the routes in the twelfth century chronicle indicates that the commercial orientation of Vézelay at this time was primarily towards the north and to a lesser extent towards the west. The names which are known of inhabitants of Vézelay around the mid-twelfth century leads to the same conclusion. The careless translation of the name of one prominent citizen, Arnulfus de Ferrariis, has, since the time of the publication of the French translation of the History by Guizot, been used as evidence of the presence of an Italian at Vézelay. The Guizot edition and subsequent authorities have referred to him as Arnulf of Ferrara.¹⁴⁷ The form of the name which is consistently spelled with two i's militates against that translation as Ferrara occurs with the singular i. The common French place name, Ferrières, on the other hand, would appear in Latin as de Ferrariis. This place name is found all over France, including the Forest of Ferrières in back of the monastery of Vézelay and the town of Ferrières in Sancerre whose Church in honor of Saint Mary Magdalene was in the possession of the monastery of Vézelay in the twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ Both the form of the name and the geographical proximity of places named Ferrières indicate the strong probability that the man was Arnulf of Ferrières.

Other names which have been suggested as indicating Italian origins appear on closer examination to be more likely derived from old French forms (Muschete) or specifically related to local place

names (Nancapra).¹⁴⁹ None of the local inhabitants are known to have had names associating them with southern France or Italy. The few names which suggest distant origins, indicate a relationship with northern or central France.¹⁵⁰ With the exception of Simon of Souvigny in the Bourbonnais to the southwest, however, these names are so vague as to preclude a relationship with a commercial center in those regions. There is, however, evidence of other types of contact between Vézelay and distant parts. The names of Robert Jerusalem and Stephan Jerusalem probably do not indicate the place of origin of these men but may refer to their participation in a pilgrimage or crusade to the Holy Land. At the papal hearings in 1152 there were references to such voyages on the part of residents of Vézelay.¹⁵¹

Contact with the south, although probably of some economic significance, primarily indicates a relationship with the pilgrimage route leading to Santiago of Compostella. Roger, the pilgrim from Evreux who had visited Saint Gilles as well as Vézelay before the end of the eleventh century, may also have had commercial interests.¹⁵² The Guide to Pilgrims of Saint James, written ca. 1140 by a former priest of Asquins, placed Vézelay at the beginning of one of the four major routes to Compostella.¹⁵³ The same manuscript preserves the story of the pilgrimage of Brun, a burgher of Vézelay, who returned from Santiago so empty-handed, however, that he did not even have enough money to buy a loaf of bread.¹⁵⁴ Count William III of Nevers may have followed the route outlined in the Guide on his trip to Spain in the early 1150's.¹⁵⁵

The religious influence of Vézelay in northern and central

France, however, appears to have been much more important. The growth of the cult of the Magdalene in southern France was negligible at this time. Of the thirteen localities for which there is some evidence of the continuity of devotion to the Magdalene from the eleventh to the first half of the twelfth century, only one site, Limoges, is further south than Vézelay.¹⁵⁶ The preservation in the libraries of Tour and Troyes of the most complete manuscripts of the Sermons of Julian of Vézelay also indicates that the spiritual influence of Vézelay travelled in the same direction.¹⁵⁷ The evidence of commercial contact with the north, moreover, is quite specific. It was along the route to Auxerre that the Count of Nevers maintained a toll station and his repeated blockades of the routes to Auxerre were expressly for the purpose of intercepting merchants and peddlers coming and going from Vézelay.¹⁵⁸

The burghers of Vézelay travelled along these routes to conduct business primarily in the fairs to the north. A description of these men has been preserved in the snide remark of Abbot William in 1165 when, in response to a demand for immediate payment, he replied, "I never carry my little sack to these fairs in the way of money-dealers."¹⁵⁹ In 1148 a group of money-changers from Vézelay were seized on their return from the fair of Provins and robbed of more than 700 pounds by the son of the Vicount of Sens. Theobald, Count of Blois, wrote to Abbot Suger on their behalf to obtain restitution.¹⁶⁰ By the time of the communal revolt, papal letters indicate a clear recognition of the importance of these travels in the life of the burghers. Pope Eugenius III wrote to the Bishops of Sens, Langres, Paris and Troyes,

instructing them to bar the excommunicate burghers of Vézelay from their fairs and markets. Similar instructions were sent to the lay authorities of Burgundy, Bourbon, Chalon, Jovigny, Donzy, Rougemont, Luz, Monreal, Sens, Vergy, Mont Saint Jean, and Chateau-Landon who were instructed not only to prevent the burghers of Vézelay from attending their fairs but also to seize them and confiscate their property.¹⁶¹

The enumeration of witnesses who testified in 1146 to the conditions on the routes to and from Vézelay included, in addition to the names of lay officials in the service of the monastery, the names of other men who were probably merchants or money-lenders whose frequent travels along those routes gave them knowledge of these conditions.¹⁶² They included Arnulf of Ferrières and the banker Aimo, who have already been mentioned. Another witness, Renald Dautram, was probably the same man as Renald Daudet who was later an active leader in the communal revolt.¹⁶³ Good-friend of Chateau-Censoir bore a name that was frequently assumed by converts from Judaism to Christianity. He may have been the father of the Hugo, son of Good-friend, a non-resident of Vézelay, who was active in the communal revolt.¹⁶⁴ William of the Bridge may have been an elderly man in 1146, as a man of the same name testified in 1137 to conditions in the time of Abbot Artald (1096-1106).¹⁶⁵ His brother Jonas also appeared at the hearings in 1146. Another witness, Robert of Montreuillon had also enjoyed prominence during the time of Alberic for whom he appeared as an oath-taker to the settlement of disputes at Bessy.¹⁶⁶

Other witnesses on that occasion continued to enjoy prominence

in the town. The name of Blancard the Tailor was also mentioned in the hearings of 1152 at the papal court when Abbot Ponce's role in adjudicating problems arising from the marriage of his daughter to Aimeric the Wax-dealer was mentioned.¹⁶⁷ Gofridus Bertinum may also be the witness Gofridus who testified on behalf of the Bishop of Autun in 1152.¹⁶⁸ The name of Renald of Saint Christopher may have appeared on the mutilated pages of the manuscript of Hugh of Poitiers' History,¹⁶⁹ although it is unclear whether or not he was mentioned as a rebel. In 1165 he was named as one of the most prominent burghers taking refuge in the cloister from the men of Nevers.¹⁷⁰ Nothing more is known of the other witnesses of 1146, Durannus of Chatenay, Durannus of Villa Louet, Stephan the Dairy-man (Beuraudum), and Handsome Odo.

Some of these men journeyed to the fairs and markets to engage in money-changing operations or to purchase merchandise such as cloth and wax. Wax, in particular, appears to have been a valuable import, being mentioned in connection with the complaint in the 1140's against the toll-keepers of Nevers who had seized a pound of wax from burghers returning from Auxerre.¹⁷¹ Later, in 1165, wax was offered, along with pepper and money, as a bribe by the monks seeking to get a message through to the Abbot.¹⁷² Wax may have been used as a money substitute in the area.¹⁷³ There are no references in the documents to bee-keeping in the area of Vézelay but the representation of aspects of apiculture on one of the capitals in the nave of the basilica suggests that it was a familiar sight.¹⁷⁴ Local supplies were apparently not adequate for the needs in the 1140's as the reference to the

importation of wax from Auxerre suggests, but this may have been a temporary situation associated with preparations for the occasion of the preaching of the Second Crusade.

In the time of Abbot Ponce, wines were also imported from Auxerre¹⁷⁵ but this is probably not a reflection of the inadequacies of local supplies. The thirteenth century Franciscan Salimbene has left an enthusiastic encomium to the fame of the wines of Auxerre¹⁷⁶ and their importation to mid-twelfth century Vézelay would seem to indicate that their reputation was already established a century before his time. The taste of the Abbots for quality wines may also have been incidental to their acquisition about this time of a vineyard in Chablis.¹⁷⁷ Several qualities of wine could also be bought in the marketplace of Vézelay.¹⁷⁸ The travelling merchants also performed other errands for the Abbot such as obtaining chrism and oil for the needs of the monastery.¹⁷⁹

At the time of the communal revolt, grain supplies had been brought into the area by boat, but this may have been only a temporary measure to offset the famine and destruction of 1151.¹⁸⁰ There was no need for the importation from any distance of other basic necessities such as salt and iron. The salt springs at Fontaines Salées were known and undoubtedly exploited for local use at this time. Eleventh and twelfth century coins have been found on this site, although in far fewer numbers than Roman issues.¹⁸¹ The poem, Girart de Roussillon, contains a reference to the waters of that site.¹⁸² On his return from the Second Crusade, Count William III renounced his father's "usurpation" of the salt-tax which was probably imposed in

connection with the exploitation of the waters of Fontaines Salées.¹⁸³
 In 1165 a dispute concerning the salt-works led to the renewed hostilities of his heir, William IV.¹⁸⁴ This source would have provided more than adequate supplies for local needs but there is no reason to believe that it was developed sufficiently to provide a staple for export at this date.¹⁸⁵

The exploitation of the iron resources in the forests to the west of the monastery was also apparently on a much more modest scale than in antiquity.¹⁸⁶ This was probably the source for the iron needed for agricultural implements as well as the iron chains, pens, and hammers which were used by the monks.¹⁸⁷ The use of iron rods to brace the clerestory of the nave of the basilica of Vézelay permitted architectural innovations by taking some of the thrust, permitting lighter supports. The ends of the attachments of these rods are still visible in the basilica.¹⁸⁸ The cognomen of Arnulf of Ferrières may indicate some relationship with the iron works.¹⁸⁹ A study of the stone used for the church indicates that the pink stone came from the quarries of Tharoiseau, a site fairly close to Vézelay at which the monastery may have owned property in the twelfth century.¹⁹⁰ The white stone is believed to have been brought from Mailly-la-Ville, a town approximately one-third of the way to Auxerre in which the monastery of Vézelay had property by 1103.¹⁹¹

Goods brought into the town of Vézelay were subject to a toll imposed by Abbot Renald. The violent reaction by the men of Nevers in 1119 may have led to the temporary suspension of this exaction by his successors but it had been reintroduced by Abbot Ponce in the 1140's.¹⁹²

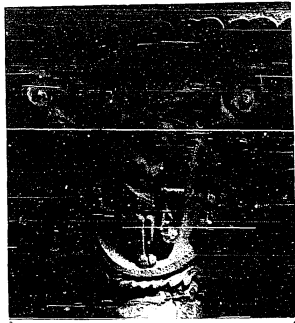
The Abbot also profited from the commercial activity in the town by renting stalls in the marketplace to moneychangers and merchants. The burghers complained in 1137 that he had increased the rents, a charge which Abbot Alberic acknowledged, claiming that the increase was in accordance with the practice of his predecessors who had increased not only the charges for the stalls but also for houses and other rented properties in accordance with the improvement and growth of the town. He observed that no one was forced to rent them and that the burghers themselves had increased the rents they were charging for their houses. The burghers also complained that they were not allowed to put booths and benches in the streets of the town without payment.¹⁹³ The fact that the need for commercial space had, by 1137, exceeded the space available in the marketplace is some indication of the commercial vitality of the economy of Vézelay at that time.

The origin of the wealth of the later patrician class has often been explained in terms of their control of the real estate in the marketplace.¹⁹⁴ This, it has been alleged, had been acquired at fixed rents which in the course of time became token payments due to the rising economy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The complaints of the burghers in 1137, therefore, indicate that a crucial stage had been reached in the development of this class at Vézelay. The arbitrators declared that the Abbot might raise the rents as he saw fit since they were the church's buildings. The streets, too, were church property and therefore no one might put booths, benches, etc. in them without the permission of the Abbot or his ministers.¹⁹⁵ The Abbot probably realized a substantial income from the rental of stalls and the issuance of

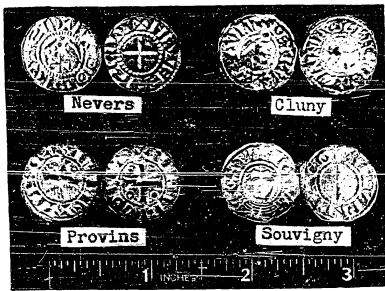
permits to streetvendors. At the same time these provisions gave him an opportunity to exercise some control over commercial enterprises. Rents in the marketplace may have remained stable during at least the seven years of lax administration under Abbots Baldwin and Gerard. But for Alberic's reforms they might easily have continued so, establishing a precedent which would have been increasingly difficult for future abbots to overcome.

The desire of Abbot Alberic to control the conduct of business in the town was also evident in his complaint that the moneydealers (nummularii) sold and bought according to marks of different weights in defiance of ancient custom. He denounced this practice because of the opportunity it gave for cheating.¹⁹⁶ In the discussion of this issue the word nummularii was used whereas in the group of names of burghers who were called on to swear on behalf of the townspeople one finds the names of Aimo, filius Aimonis cambitorum and David cambitor.¹⁹⁷ The former (father or son) was probably the same man as the Aimo Nummularius named as a witness in 1146.¹⁹⁸ The choice of terms in the document of 1137 indicates that a distinction was intended between them as far as function was concerned. Nummularius may have been meant to refer to a moneylender while cambitor was reserved for a moneychanger. Most men who dealt in money probably combined both functions, such as Aimo to whom both terms were applied, and in the course of time the distinctive use of these terms disappeared. In 1137, however, the Abbot's complaint was apparently directed against the practices of moneylenders, a profession which he did not condemn outright but merely sought to regulate.

13. Financial Activities



Scale used for precious Metals*
12th-century capital from
Vézelay



Some 12th-century feudal coins

*For the identification of the scale, see Urban Tigner Holmes, Jr., Daily Living in the Twelfth Century (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1966), p. 277, n. 57.

The Charter of Vézelay of 1200 did not preserve the precision of language but nevertheless made a distinction between the two types of financial activities. It declared that there was no dispute concerning those who rented the benches of moneydealers (nummulariorum). This apparently referred to moneychangers since a bench would not have been adequate for the operations of moneylenders who would have needed larger facilities for the storage of objects surrendered to them as security for loans. The charter went on to state that it was agreed that those who did not rent would "exchange" (cambiant) according to the practice in the time of Alberic and Ponce.¹⁹⁹ The use of the verb "exchange" in connection with these operations which apparently were those of moneylenders may be a euphemism reflecting the increasing ecclesiastical pressure against moneylending of the end of the twelfth century.²⁰⁰

The regulations of moneydealers at the Champagne Fair town of Lagny issued in 1194 preserve the distinction of language to designate different functions. It was stipulated that no more than six moneylenders (nummulariorum) might be permitted to operate at Lagny without the consent of the Abbot and the chapter as well as the moneylenders themselves, except at the Fairs. At that time the Abbot might permit as many moneylenders as there were counters to assign to them. These men might have been engaged at the fairs in recording credit transactions and preparing the letters of credit payable at the next Fair, therefore not needing storage facilities although they still needed more work space than changers. The number of moneychangers (cambitorum) could exceed six and many could share one counter. A moneychanger was

permitted to give, sell, rent or in other ways alienate his counter or portion of a counter. At each counter, however, the moneychangers were to maintain a common fund for their operations.²⁰¹

Finance was a very important occupation in twelfth century Vézelay. The needs of pilgrims and merchants who came from any distance bringing the currency from their places of origin made the occupation of money-changing an absolute necessity. Lending was a ubiquitous need which, not surprisingly also had its practitioners at Vézelay. The moneylenders of the town also extended their services into the surrounding countryside.

Abbot Ponce intervened on behalf of the burghers G. and W. to obtain papal assistance in securing the repayment of their loan to the Abbot of Chora.²⁰² By the beginning of the thirteenth century their moneylending activities carried them even farther afield. In 1209 the Abbot of Vézelay recorded the acknowledgment on the part of Peter the Goldsmith, a burgher of Vézelay, of the receipt of forty pounds Provins owed him by the chapter of Langres.²⁰³ The reputation of the men of Vézelay apparently continued to be high in the realm of finance through the thirteenth century. Saint Louis included a man from Vézelay in a committee appointed of men from important commercial centers for the purpose of recommending monetary reforms.²⁰⁴ Stephan des Fontaines of Vézelay was moneyer for the Duke of Burgundy in 1265, a position which had also been held by his father William before him. John Bernier of Vézelay, a burgher of Beaune, was charged in 1282 with furnishing a sum of £ 987 10 s. tournois to the Duke.²⁰⁵ A master Henry of Vézelay in the late thirteenth century served as treasurer of Laon.²⁰⁶ In 1317

the King employed the burghers of Vézelay and Clamecy to advance a sum of £ 657 tournois to Nevers.²⁰⁷

In 1137 the complaint of the Abbot with regard to the activities of moneylenders won the support of the arbitrators who decided that in the future, no one would buy or sell in the whole town except according to the weight of the mark of Cologne.²⁰⁸ The mark was a weight which appears to have been widely adopted in the eleventh century when the local variations in the pound-weight had become so unstable as to be virtually useless as a standard.²⁰⁹ The Agreement of 1137 from Vézelay contains the earliest known reference to a specific mark,²¹⁰ a specification which became essential and more and more common as the variations in the mark-weight made it, too, an ambiguous standard. The mark of Cologne was equal to a weight which was referred to at an early date as "in accordance with the weight of Charlemagne".²¹¹ This weight was in use over a wide area. In 1201 the Doge of Venice concluded an agreement which called for payment in "marks of pure silver, according to the weight of Cologne which is used in our land."²¹² Later sources indicate that the mark of Cologne was equal to the earliest weight of the mark of England (the Tower Mark), the mark of Rochelle, marks in use in Spain and Portugal, and there is evidence which suggests its early use in other parts of France and Italy.²¹³ While in some cases this coincidence can be explained in terms of borrowing, in others it appears more likely that the usage of a common weight goes back to a common source.²¹⁴ The name of Cologne may have been applied to this weight during the early twelfth century in such diverse places as Vézelay and Venice in order to distinguish it from local variations because of the

commercial importance of Cologne or in deference to the recognized stability of the standards in use there.²¹⁵

The mark of Troyes, which was later to be the most important weight in France, was one of the local variants which developed during this period. The earliest text which specifies the mark of Troy was a charter of the Archbishop of Bourges dated 1147.²¹⁶ Documents of 1173 and 1174 from Auxerre expressed values in terms of the mark of Troyes.²¹⁷ In 1202 it was specified in documents from Autun and Moutier-Saint-Jean, both in Burgundy.²¹⁸ The mark of Troyes may have been one of the new weights introduced into Vézelay shortly before 1137 against which the Abbot complained. By the end of the twelfth century it was apparently the predominant weight in use in the area. Two factors undoubtedly contributed to the ultimate predominance of Troy weights; their adoption as the official weight of Paris and hence their diffusion with the spread of royal authority and, perhaps of more immediate importance, the rise of the Champagne Fairs which were to eclipse the commercial importance of Cologne.²¹⁹

Since the pioneer work in French numismatics of Le Blanc, a scholar during the time of Louis XIV, it has been generally accepted that the official adoption of the mark of Troyes occurred during the reign of Philip I.²²⁰ The evidence for this is very slim, consisting of nothing more than the use of the mark as a weight of metal in two documents during his reign.²²¹ The time of Philip I was a period in which references to the mark-weight became more and more common and, in the two documents in question, the King would simply appear to be in accord with this general practice. As far as reforms of standards are concerned, Philip I did not attempt to impose uniformity on the issues

of the mints of the royal domain, and there is no reason to believe he imposed uniform weights in his territory.²²²

In the document of 1137, the Abbot explicitly stated that the use of marks of varying weights was a new practice. Another stipulation in the same document required that the pounds and weights in use must be equal to the old and just weights of the sacristan,²²³ indicating that the use of the mark of Cologne, which was imposed, was a return to the previous standard which had been unchallenged until a short time earlier. Since the provisions of 1137 also make it clear that payment in coin for goods and services and taxes was a common practice, the use of a weight apparently applied to payments of significant amounts and exchange transactions. Considering the diversity of issues which probably found their way to Vézelay in the hands of pilgrims, this would have provided a sensible solution to the problems posed by the diversity of weights of these issues. Problems arising from variations of purity of metal were more difficult to determine. Twelfth century money-changers and other businessmen were evidently considered capable of detecting variations in purity. A charter of Philip Augustus of 1188 specified the standard of weight and purity for the mint of Nevers and provided that in the case of debasement, this could be established "by changers and discreet men knowledgable in silver and weight" as well as churchmen or barons.²²⁴

In the narrative account of the revolt at Vézelay begun shortly after its suppression, there is no mention of the mark-weight. Values are expressed in shillings or in pounds, i.e., by tale.²²⁵ Perhaps the Abbot was unsuccessful in effecting a return to the traditional weight

and, in the continued confusion, the mark was no longer a useful standard of value. This multiplicity of weight standards may have been one manifestation of the struggle between the burghers, attuned to commercial change, and the Abbot, seeking to maintain his authority in a developing world. In particular, the burghers who frequented the fairs in Champagne may have been aware of their growing importance and sought to have Troyes weights replace the old mark of Cologne. In Hugh of Poitiers' account of events in the time of Abbot William of Mello written in the late 1160's, although values were still generally expressed in pounds, there are occasional references to marks. Shortly after the death of Abbot Ponce in 1161, William of Monreal promised Count William IV of Nevers eighty new pounds and an annual payment of two marks of silver.²²⁶ Later, in 1166, the Abbot claimed that two hundred marks were due him from the Countess of Nevers as damages.²²⁷ It is not clear whether the author meant a mark of silver or a mark of money but the only other references to the use of the mark in this region clearly refer to a mark-weight. Count William IV introduced a major change in the coinage of Nevers²²⁸ very soon after his accession. The coinage reform may have been accompanied by the official adoption of a new weight, the mark of Troyes, which, by the 1170's, appears to have been standard in Auxerre which was under his control.

Although an extensive series of confirmations of the privileges and immunities of the Abbey of Vézelay has been preserved, none of these makes mention of any minting rights. Nor did Hugh of Poitiers, secretary to the Abbots of Vézelay, allude to such rights in his history of the monastery. It seems unlikely that this stalwart defender of

the privileges of his monastery would have overlooked justifying claims to such rights had they been claimed or exercised.²²⁹ Considering the multiplicity of local mints in the twelfth century and the apparent financial sophistication of the inhabitants of Vézelay at this time, the failure to seize the opportunity to profit from the extremely lucrative moneymaking business is somewhat surprising. One can only guess at possible reasons for this anomaly. The answer may lie in part in the complicated jurisdictional disputes in which the Abbots were involved with other authorities, Nevers, Autun and Cluny, who did exercise minting rights. The burghers might have had sufficient economic power to reject a monastic issue, were one initiated, in favor of another local issue with broader circulation.

Although the Abbot apparently did not mint, it is possible that the burghers were counterfeiting. Six thieves were seized on the highway carrying false money away from Vézelay and brought to justice before the prefect of the town.²³⁰ The primitive technique of twelfth century coinage, the apparent illiteracy of the minters, as well as the lack of control over the weights and types issued lent themselves to easy counterfeiting, an activity in which both great and small apparently engaged.²³¹

By the 1130's business in the marketplace and at the Fairs was conducted on the basis of money. Wine (apparently of several grades), cloth, and fish are specifically mentioned as being sold for money in the market. The burghers rented their houses and the Abbot was indignant at having to pay for accommodations for guests of the monastery. Moneychangers and usurers conducted their trade in the town, as did

merchants, pastry chefs and, by 1146, a wax dealer, a tailor, and presumably other tradesmen whose services were needed by the community and its visitors. Officials of the monastery demanded coins at the time of weddings and for taxes and services. Despite the frequency of references to money payments in this document and in the narrative history of events up to 1166, these sources are silent as to the type of money in circulation. On one occasion Hugh of Poitiers refers to the payment in 1152 by Abbot Ponce to the Count of Nevers of sixty pounds monetae publicae.²³²

Later documents were more specific but, unfortunately, not consistent. A document of 1180 required a payment of 200 pounds in money of Souvigny from the church of Vézelay.²³³ At approximately the same time the Abbey of Regny agreed to an annual payment of eight solidi of money of Auxerre to Vézelay for fishing rights.²³⁴ The Charter of Mont Saint Jean which copied many of the provisions of the Charter of Vézelay of around the year 1200 probably did not do so in its statement that the taille had amounted to ninety pounds in money of Dijon.²³⁵ Papal documents from about the same time refer to payments from Vézelay in money of Provins.²³⁶ The stipulation of 1137 that the exchange was to be based on a standard monetary weight, the ambiguity of exchange around the mid-century, and the later variety of issues stipulated for payments to or from the monastery suggest that there was, in fact, no official currency in the town of Vézelay.

Numismatic evidence is equally vague and inconclusive with regard to the pattern of currency circulation in the area during this period. Very few coins have been found in Vézelay itself. Only two that I know

of are datable to the twelfth century, a denier of Provins with the name of Count Thibaud (1125-1152) and a denier of Philip Augustus from the mint of Arras.²³⁷ Coins have been found at the excavations at Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay and Foissy-les-Vézelay, sites within a few miles of the town, but unfortunately the published note on these coins gives only passing mention of the coins of the time of the earliest crusades, referring to deniers of Vienne, Melgueil, Provins, Arles, Souvigny, Nevers, and an obol of Sancerre.²³⁸ One can get an idea of the diversity of issues which might have been introduced into Vézelay by pilgrims who arrived from many regions from a hoard dated around the year 1155 found at Massay (cant. Vierzon-Ville, Arr. Bourges, dep. Cher), about 150 kilometers to the west of Vézelay.²³⁹ The 3886 coins in that hoard included coins from the royal domain, from Brittany, Penthièvre, Anjou, Saint Martin of Tours, Blois, Chartres, Chateaudun, Romorantin, Deols, Issoudun, Gien, Sancerre, Vierzon, Saint-Aignan, Souvigny, Saint-Martial de Limoges, Angoulême, Melgueil, Saint-Valerien of Tournus, Provins, Meaux, and Lucques.

A hoard of a slightly later date than the period with which this study is primarily concerned but nearer to Vézelay was found at Varzy (ch.-l. cant., arr. Clamecy, dep. Nièvre), about forty-two kilometers west-south-west of Vézelay, and has been dated ca. 1170.²⁴⁰ It contained 113 pieces from Nevers, Burgundy, Auxerre, Tonnerre, Bourbon, Sancerre, and Issoudun. From Accolay (cant. Vermanton, arr. Auxerre, dep. Yonne), twenty-eight kilometers north of Vézelay on the Cure River, just a little over half-way to Auxerre on one of the most travelled routes in the mid-twelfth century to Vézelay comes a hoard buried

around 1175 which contained 2800 pieces from Paris, Bourbon, Nevers, Chartres, Issoudun, Sancerre, Gien, Souvigny, Burgundy, Provins, Tonnerre and Auxerre.²⁴¹

Even later in date and more distant but one which may possibly be connected directly with Vézelay is the hoard of forty-four coins found on the island of Samos which was buried some time after 1185.²⁴² It contained coins from Gien-Donzy, Burgundy, Auxerre, Tonnerre, Troyes, Provins, Meaux, Saint Martin of Tours, Anjou, Penthievre, Souvigny, Bourbon, Vienne, Savoy, Melgueil, Genoa, Antioch and Jerusalem. The contents of this hoard indicate that its owner had spent some time in the area of Burgundy and may have joined the crusading armies at Vézelay in 1190 to accompany them to the east. The relative scarcity of non-French issues would seem to indicate that the owner of the hoard had not been in the east for any significant length of time.

While all these hoards contain a multiplicity of issues, the predominance of local coins is apparent in most. In the hoard of Massay, of 3886 pieces found, coins from Issoudun accounted for 1763 examples, Vierzon was represented by 989 coins and Saint-Aignan by 392. In the hoard found at Varzy, of the 100 coins described, 72 were from Auxerre. Of the 2504 pieces described from the hoard of Accolay, 1744 were from Auxerre. In general it would appear from these hoards which are closest in time and place to Vézelay during the period under examination, that most coins did not circulate very far and that, in a given locale, the coinage that would be found in greatest abundance would be that issued by the nearest mints.

The coinage of the Counts of Nevers, whose territory surrounded

the lands of the monastery, was undoubtedly of great importance for the economy of Vézelay in the twelfth century. Until the time of Count William IV (1161-1168), the coinage of Nevers was an immobilized degenerate version of a type first issued under Louis IV (936-954).²⁴³ The obverse of this prototype had the legend LVDOVICUS with REX in the field. On the reverse appeared NEVERNIS CIVIT. and a cross. The only basic change in this type occurred in the field of the obverse where the elements of the letters of REX in the field were decomposed into an arrangement of lines, dots, curves, and a small cross²⁴⁴ which characterized the type issued by the Counts of Nevers until the time of William IV who introduced his name on the coinage.²⁴⁵ The anonymous coins found in the hoard of Accolay, which included a total of 616 coins of Nevers, were described as of high quality and weighed up to 1.40 grams.²⁴⁶ This is extremely important evidence since these anonymous coins which were buried ca. 1175 must date from the end of the ca. 200 year period in which this type was issued and therefore suggest that the Counts of Nevers maintained a relatively high standard of weight and purity throughout the period with which this study is concerned. The anonymous type of Nevers was also imitated by the lords of Bourbon on their earliest issues, another indication that in the early twelfth century the coinage of Nevers was highly regarded.²⁴⁷ The quality of the coinage of Nevers declined later in the century.²⁴⁸

During most of this period, the Counts of Nevers were also Counts of Auxerre and Tonnerre or these counties were held by junior members of the family of the Counts of Nevers. Auxerre is only 52 kilometers from Vézelay and in the mid-twelfth century had extremely close

commercial ties. It is now generally accepted that the Counts of Nevers controlled the mints of Auxerre in the twelfth century.²⁴⁹

A donation of 1136 stipulated a sum of 70 pounds in money of Auxerre and Nevers,²⁵⁰ an indication that these issues were on identical standards which could only be maintained if they were under the same direction. The mint of Tonnerre was also under their control and for some time supervised by the same official as the mint of Auxerre. This must have been the situation for a considerable period before 1204 at which date the Count of Nevers appointed an official to supervise the coinage of Auxerre and Tonnerre, replacing an official who had held that office by right of inheritance.²⁵¹ The type of Auxerre was characterized by an anepigraphic reverse and bore an obverse legend giving the name of the city around a cross with pointed ends in the field.²⁵²

The coinage of Auxerre also appears to have declined in quality by 1165.²⁵³ Texts from 1120 to 1139 indicate that at an early period the money of Auxerre circulated in Tonnerre.²⁵⁴ The earliest reference to the coinage of Tonnerre is from the year 1136.²⁵⁵ This was an imitation of the type of Auxerre, the only difference being in the name in the legend, TORNODORI CASTI.²⁵⁶ Another type which bore the legend *COMES TONODOR,²⁵⁷ may date from the period when Tonnerre was ruled by Count Renaud (1133-1159) as an appanage of Nevers, indicating by the legend that the lord had no other title.²⁵⁸

The early coins of the Dukes of Burgundy are very rare and no coins at all have been attributed to the Dukes of Burgundy who reigned between 1102 and 1162.²⁵⁹

The Bishops of Autun, 93 kilometers from Vézelay, also minted.²⁶⁰ Since they claimed jurisdiction over the territory of Vézelay and since the priests of the churches of Vézelay attended the yearly synods of Autun until the early 1140's, the regular contact with Autun undoubtedly led to some familiarity with its coinage. Commercial contact, however, appears to have been relatively unimportant and the output of the mint of Autun does not appear to have been as important as that of Nevers. The coinage of the Cluniac order may have been more important at Vézelay than either of these issues. The earliest coins of Cluny were struck at its priory at Souvigny around the end of the eleventh century and continued to be issued with minor changes in type until 1213.²⁶¹ The importance of Simon of Souvigny from 1138 on suggests that the burghers of Vézelay were at least familiar with the output of the Cluniac mint at Souvigny. Around 1123 coins began to be issued from the territory of the mother house of Cluny and these, too, might have been known in the markets of Vézelay.²⁶²

The Count of Champagne had no territorial claims to the region around Vézelay but by 1165 took an active interest in its affairs as a mediator in the dispute between the Abbot and Nevers.²⁶³ The early commercial contact with the Fairs in the area of Champagne which were frequented by moneychangers from Vézelay brought them into contact with the issues of the mints in that region. Thibaut II (1125-1152) introduced the use of his name on both the coinage of Troyes and Provins²⁶⁴ and one of his deniers from Provins has been found in Vézelay. If the suggestion that the mark of Troyes was introduced into the market place of Vézelay shortly before 1137 is correct, this would indicate that the

contact with that area was of some importance around the time of his reform. While the weight of Troyes came to be of increasing importance in the course of the twelfth century, it was the money of Provins which became prominent contemporaneously, being imitated by the end of the century as far away as Rome.²⁶⁵ In 1215 the Bishop of Auxerre granted a concession of taxes for six years in exchange for a payment of two thousand pounds in money of Provins. During the six year period the money of Auxerre would not be struck²⁶⁶ and, in all probability, the money of Provins replaced it in general circulation.

It would appear likely that around the mid-twelfth century, the coinage of Nevers, which was apparently abundant and of good quality, and the coinage of Auxerre, which was under the control of Nevers were the standard currency in the marketplace of Vézelay. The phrase publicae monetae, used by Hugh of Poitiers in connection with a payment made by the Abbot of Vézelay to the Count of Nevers, could hardly have referred at that date to any other issues. The tremendous variations in the weight, purity, and types of coins in circulation obviates the possibility that a value could have been expressed without a specific type in mind. Had the phrase been used to refer to another issue, a specific identification of that issue would have been imperative considering the local importance of the coinage of Nevers. The hesitancy of the secretary of the Abbots of Vézelay to identify the type by name is undoubtedly to be connected with the struggles between the Abbots of Vézelay and the Counts of Nevers in which an official recognition of his currency would have given more substance to his claims for jurisdiction over the area. In the 1160's the quality of the coinage under

the control of Nevers declined and it is possible that in the course of the second half of the twelfth century, the coinage of Provins gradually replaced that of Nevers and the issues of other mints as the standard currency.

Simon of Souvigny was probably the wealthiest man in Vézelay around the mid-twelfth century. At the beginning of his term in office, Abbot Ponce had granted Simon a moneydealer's counter on very liberal terms. Pope Adrian later referred to this concession as contrary to ecclesiastical practice which prohibited the gift, sale or alienation of property of the church and instructed Ponce to revoke the grant.²⁶⁷ The monks of Vézelay had anticipated these instructions, however, and smashed Simon's counter in the vestibule of his home.²⁶⁸ Hugh of Poitiers asserted that the counter had been built against the objection of the brothers but the papal letter, which was added to the cartulary in a later hand, makes it clear that the counter was authorized, although perhaps not approved by the chapter. The Chronicler was probably interested in justifying the destruction by the monks. The location of his counter suggests that Simon was engaged in moneylending as his business was adjacent to his home in which he could conveniently store objects left as security. Such a location would be less desirable for a moneychanger who would wish to be near the flow of pilgrims and other visitors.

Simon's role at the time of the communal revolt is obscure. His name appeared on the mutilated pages in connection with some financial transaction apparently against the interests of the monastery although its precise nature cannot be determined.²⁶⁴ References to him as

the "impious Simon" after the suppression of the revolt indicate that he was considered as one of the rebels although his name did not appear in connection with any of the activities mentioned on the list of the rebels. During the period of the commune he had taken defensive steps to protect himself by fortifying his home and constructing a tower above it. Hugh of Poitiers referred to his house as "both the cause and beginning of all evils,"²⁷⁰ perhaps because it played some role in the communal regime, although Simon's continued presence in town makes it unlikely that he was so closely identified with the insurgent government. It is more likely that the chronicler meant to suggest that it was Simon who initiated the practice of erecting private fortifications, the specific "evil" against which he was expounding at that time. In his profession, the need may have been more immediate.

Although, at the beginning of his career at Vézelay Simon was indebted to the Abbot for special favors, by the 1150's he could count on the good graces of other local powers. Indeed, the chronicler recounts that he had presumed on the strength of his "favor and familiarity of princes" to fortify his home and, after the suppression of the revolt, he had obtained letters from local potentates urging that his home be spared.²⁷¹ The Abbot's order to attack Simon's home was undoubtedly meant to assert in no uncertain terms the absolute authority he now exercised over the community. Hence, he chose the home of the most prominent local resident as an example to the other burghers that they, too, must comply. There is no other evidence to indicate that Simon received any punishment because of his participation in communal revolt.²⁷² Quite the contrary--he continued to live in Vézelay

and prosper.

His relationship with the Count of Nevers was evidently very close in the 1160's. In 1165, when he and Durannus the Inkeeper volunteered to speak to the Abbot on behalf of the burghers, he was described as partisan to the Count's positions.²⁷³ The following year, when the monastery was split by internal dissension, the monk Peter, a leader of the opposition to Abbot William, gained access to the Count of Nevers through Simon.²⁷⁴ Later that year Countess Ida, mother of Count William IV of Nevers, was entertained in his house and the next day was joined by her son.²⁷⁵ Simon's residence must have offered considerable comfort to receive such distinguished guests. In 1170 a Simon of Vézelay appeared as a witness to an act involving the Count of Nevers drawn up in Auxerre.²⁷⁶ It is quite possible that he was the same man known in Vézelay as Simon of Souvigny.

Revolt

Although the first half of the twelfth century was generally a period of prosperity for the burghers of Vézelay the Abbots had succeeded in compromising their position. In 1151, tensions reached the boiling point. The Little Chronicle recorded a famine in that year²⁷⁷ and at the same time the people were subjected to new customs imposed by Abbot Fonce which they felt to be unjust.²⁷⁸ The petty nobility was running amok over the lands of the monastery, preying on peasants and merchants alike.²⁷⁹ Revolt simmered in the countryside around Vézelay. The thoughts of the rural populace at first were directed towards rejecting the lordship of the Abbot of Vézelay and subjecting themselves instead to the Count of Nevers who could offer

them the protection they needed. The Abbot was incapable of offering such protection and unwilling to come to terms with the power that could. The people seem to have given no thought at this point to self-government in any form as an answer to their problems.²⁸⁰ The initiative now passed to the Count of Nevers who descended on Vézelay and convoked the inhabitants. In his address to them protection was the central issue. He contrasted the efficacy of the protection he could offer to that of the monks.²⁸¹ A truce between Nevers and the monks brought a temporary respite.

In 1152 hostilities resumed. The Count of Nevers again appealed directly to the people of Vézelay. The speech ascribed to him by Hugh of Poitiers suggests an exercise in classical rhetoric. "O viri illustrissimi multaque prudentia famosissimi," it begins. While the style is inappropriate to the occasion, the contents are very illuminating. It is highly unlikely that Hugh of Poitiers was actually present on this occasion and he may not even have had a sympathetic report of the meeting. He nevertheless recorded a credible account of arguments and appeals which at the very least are significant in representing those that the author found appropriate for the occasion.

"I grieve for your miserable condition," William allegedly declared, "since, though you possess many things, you are lords of nothing since you do not even possess your innate liberty." He reminded them of "the determined courage" which had led to the assassination of Abbot Artald. Under Ponce, "a foreigner of Auverne," they had incurred such demands of their goods and even lives that they might with reason be compared to brute animals, "and as the last straw, he has removed my

protection so that he may impose even more exactions." He proposed that they establish a sworn confederacy among themselves and promised that if they kept faith with him, they would enjoy his protection and he would endeavor to free them from all unjust demands.²⁸²

After a final, fruitless appeal to Abbot Ponce, the men of Vézelay entered into "an alliance of conspiracy against their lord."²⁸³ The account suggests that the presence of the young men of the town was particularly conspicuous on that occasion. Still the term *commune* was not used to describe their activities. Then, at the time and place that the Count of Nevers had set for a response to his proposal, the burghers allied themselves with the Count, abjured their allegiance to the Abbot and, "through the power of the tyrant, formed the detestable *commune*." Each swore never to desert the others by counsel or help against anyone. The Count appointed leaders or judges whom they resolved to call *consuls*.²⁸⁴

This last point has been a bone of contention in scholarly circles ever since Augustin Thierry described the appointment of the *consuls* as an election.²⁸⁵ Léon de Bastard pointed out that the verb used by the chronicler, constituit, would indicate that the *consuls* were appointed by the Count and concluded that, in the communal insurrection "politics played no part." To the extent that political functions were exercised, "they only served to safeguard those for which they rebelled: civil rights."²⁸⁶ Aimé Chérest found it incumbent to explain: "That does not mean that they had abdicated the right to elect their leaders to the Count forever."²⁸⁷ It has apparently escaped the notice of these authorities that we have only

Hugh of Poitiers' testimony as to the method by which the officials were chosen. It seems highly unlikely that he was present on that occasion. Moreover, his contempt for the burghers is expressed throughout the work and his tendency to present them as incompetent stooges acting at the direction of the Count of Nevers is evident on other occasions. His account is hardly conclusive evidence as to the means of selecting the communal officials at Vézelay. It does, however, present important evidence on the usage of the word commune in the mid-twelfth century.

The election of their own magistrates apparently was not a crucial factor in the formation of a commune. Until the second meeting with Nevers, however, the commune did not exist. Until that time the men of Vézelay had formed an "alliance of conspiracy (foedus . . . conspirationis)" against their lord.²⁸⁸ The new developments which resulted from this second meeting were:

1. The burghers had abjured their allegiance to their lord. Earlier confederations had been directed against the lord but his relationship to them had never been denied. They were directed against the individual or his policies. Such organizations were illegal in that they violated the basic obligation of personal fidelity to their lord. At this point, however, by abjuring their allegiance to their lord, the burghers had denied the relevancy of fidelity and established a new order. The loyalty promised to Nevers was given as a group and did not create personal ties.

2. They had taken direct steps to provide for their common defense through the force of the Count of Nevers. They were no

longer passively subject to whatever provision their lord might make for their protection. The prominence of the young men prior to the formation of the commune suggests the creation of a local militia to take over local peace-keeping functions. After the return of the Abbot in 1155, arms and shield were found in the houses of the rebels who had fled.²⁸⁹

3. They now had civic officials, perhaps chosen from among the burghers. These "leaders or judges" whom they called consuls were probably in command of the local militia as well as spokesmen and executives when the need arose. Their names, unfortunately, were not given on this occasion. The use of the term consuls has been taken by Thierry and others to indicate the influence of municipal ideas from Italy or the Midi.²⁹⁰ It was not uncommon in the area, around Vezelay however, being used by the Count of Nevers himself probably in the same sense of leader or judge.²⁹¹ Hugh of Poitiers also used the word "consulship" to describe the office of Nevers.²⁹²

After the flight of Abbot Ponce, the chronicler recounted a long series of crimes committed by the burghers: sacrileges in the church, invasions of the monastery and the occupation of its tower, injuries to the monks and destruction of monastic property and facilities.²⁹³ It was then, according to Hugh of Poitiers, that the sentence of excommunication was pronounced and the people reacted furiously. Odo of the Marsh gathered stones to throw at the priest who had pronounced the sentence. David Longbeard and his son Robert would have assaulted the offending priest if he had not taken shelter behind the altar. The next day Hugh and Peter of Saint Père removed the barrier

on the door of the church and opened it to the congregation. But when they approached Prior Hilduin, who had been left in charge of the monastery, he refused to deal with them. "Since you have excommunicated us undeservedly," they declared, "we will act like excommunicates. We will therefore no longer pay you tithes, rents, or other dues." 294

The burghers then, supposedly, approached Count William, complaining of the sentence, but he could offer no relief. "Let them do the same to me if they wish," he replied. The burghers were confounded: "Where will we mill or bake our bread? The monks refuse to mill with us," they complained. "Go and light the oven with your wood and bake," Count William advised. "If anyone prevents you, burn him alive; and if the miller objects, crush him alive with the millstone." 295

Shortly before, Hugh of Poitiers had recounted a long description of the crimes of the burghers, including the destruction of the mills. Now he represented them as frightened and confused, incapable of action without the direction of the Count. There appears to be an inconsistency between the picture presented of men who were capable of all kinds of sacrilege and violence and the confused supplicants to the Count who could not imagine how to effect the milling of their grain by force if necessary. One must question the motives of the author at this point. In describing the alleged crimes of the burghers, he was interested in dramatizing the plight of Ponce and in justifying the sentence of excommunication which was pronounced against the burghers. In narrating the conversation between the burghers and the Count, he was apparently concerned with showing the latter as the

instigator of all evil.

This inconsistency in the narration of events by Hugh of Poitiers casts serious doubt on the sequence of events he presented. It seems more likely that, shortly after the formation of the commune, Ponce fled in terror. The sentence of excommunication of the burghers which he advocated was promulgated on the basis of their disavowal of their oath of fealty to him, prior to any overt acts of violence on their part. Until then, there had been no significant change in conditions in Vézelay. The burghers continued to acknowledge the authority of the officials of the Abbot, paying taxes, rents, and other dues as usual. The innate conservatism of the inhabitants probably negated to a large degree the drastic implications of their adjuration of their oath of allegiance to the Abbot. As complete novices at self-government, they were content to let the administration of the monastery continue to function as before, probably only interfering in the case of controversy. The new customs which were so keenly resented were undoubtedly suppressed and, with the renewed benevolence of Nevers, the blockade was lifted and trade resumed. With business back to normal, the burghers would have been too busy with everyday affairs to concern themselves with the normal administrative routine of the monastery.

The sentence of excommunication against the burghers was evidently totally unexpected and believed by them to be undeserved. The immediate reactions were spontaneous acts on the part of individuals directed in anger against the agent of its promulgation. When the

leaders attempted to confer with the Prior, they were repulsed as excommunicates. It was only at this point that they refused to pay tithes and taxes, but still they apparently did not contemplate organized violence. When the monastic officials refused them the use of communal facilities which were necessary to them, however, violence was the only alternative to starvation or emigration. Count William's advice, if indeed it was ever given, was hardly necessary to make them aware of those alternatives. The obduracy of the monastic officials, in line with the policy of the Abbot, made violence inevitable.

Hugh of Poitiers referred to councils being held day and night at this time.²⁹⁶ Unfortunately the account of the events during most of the period of the commune appeared on the mutilated pages of the manuscript which preserve only scraps of information on the structure and functions of the commune. There is one possible example of the use of the title consul on the extant fragments,²⁹⁹ but one finds instead the phrases "princes of faction" or "leader of faction."²⁹⁸ The word "citizen" appears to have been used at this time.²⁹⁹ A partially preserved suprascript identifies the "princes of faction" as Hugh and Robert.³⁰⁰ Hugh was undoubtedly Hugh of Saint Père, "the worst adversary" according to the twelfth century chronicler.³⁰¹ The identity of Robert cannot be determined as the narrative account and the list of the rebels mention several Roberts who played prominent roles in the revolt.³⁰²

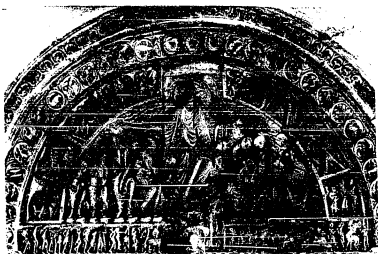
The list of the rebels which was inserted into the History of Vézelay at the end of the account of the communal revolt provides

additional information for that period. This list was probably a compilation of lists prepared by several officials as it contains many variant spellings of the same names. The first section was headed, "These caused the uprooting of the vineyards of the decanus and others," and was followed by a list of men who apparently were leaders of the revolt since they were held responsible for the action. The second group of names followed the statement "These are the uprooters" while a third group was given under the heading "From Vézelay there were these at the vineyard." 303 Residents of Vézelay as well as non-residents were involved in the revolt, although the list suggests that there was a tendency for one group or the other to be involved in a particular act, probably for reasons of convenience or due to the local nature of a grievance. Most of the issues which had been discussed in 1137 revealed that the burghers shared common grievances with the rural population. Now they were again united in revolt, the causes of which must therefore be sought primarily in factors affecting both the urban and the rural populace.

The next section of the list contains the names of men who had seized the grain supply which came by sea and was followed by an account of how much flour had been received by each one of a group of men, almost all of whom had been listed before as "leaders." The next group of eight names, seven of whom were "leaders," was introduced by the statement, "These six (sic) seized eleven pigs which were killed in the home of Robert Quarrel and divided among them." Then, "These, with the above six, seized hens, capons, geese, pigeons," followed by a long list of names, ending with the statement, "The rabble ate the

others." ³⁰⁴ The mutilated pages of the History of Vézelay contained a description of a banquet at Asquins, ³⁰⁵ very likely the home of Robert Quarrel whose name had been included in the list of non-residents of Vézelay. The produce and animals seized appear to have been appropriated for a banquet held at this home. This banquet could not have been a function of a merchant or craft guild, if one were in existence in Vézelay at this time, since it was held outside of town and included residents and non-residents of the town as well as John the Shepherd who would not have been a member of such a guild.

Very little is known of confraternities of the Holy Spirit at this early date but they appear to have been wide-spread. Community dinners and the distribution of foodstuff at Pentecost were common features of these confraternities. There was apparently no social exclusiveness during the early period of their history. Later evidence indicates that their officials were known as consuls. ³⁰⁶ The evidence for the period of the commune at Vézelay suggests the existence of such a confraternity. It may originally have been formed at an earlier date. The representation of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, an unusual subject in twelfth-century Burgundian sculpture, on the celebrated tympanum of the basilica of Vézelay, ³⁰⁷ may be merely a coincidence--or it may reflect popular involvement in the project during the time of the anti-Cluniac Abbots who had popular support. Alberic's suspicions of popular movements ³⁰⁸ may have led to its temporary suppression, only to reappear in 1152, after the rejection of Abbot Ponce, to provide the nucleus of organization for the revolt.



14. The Descent of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost
Central Tympanum from the Narthex of Vézelay
12th-century

The list of the rebels goes on to more serious charges, recording the names of the men who "smashed the granary of Pâtis," who "smashed the mill of the decanus", who "smashed the mill of the grange," and who "carried off the grain of the grange of Saint Père." The final headings have a more ominous note: "These swore death to the Abbot," and "Death to William the Constable." 309 The general impression of this list of "crimes" is not very horrifying to a twentieth century reader. There was seizure and destruction of property. The oaths to assassinate were apparently not kept--Abbot Ponce survived the commune by six years and, although nothing else is known of William the Constable, there is no reason to believe that the oath to murder him was carried out with any more success. It is always possible that these oaths were meant merely to frighten the individual into fleeing, in which case they succeeded in the case of the Abbot.³¹⁰

The list is probably not complete but there is no reason to believe that any missing sections would have contained more serious accusations. If, in fact, there were sections charging more serious crimes of violence, one would have expected that the monks of Vézelay would have taken greater care to see that they were included in the manuscript. The list hardly supports the general picture of slaughter and mayhem Hugh of Poitiers tried to convey and it is probably significant that, with one possible exception, the twelfth-century historians never attributed a crime to a specific individual or group of individuals more serious than the spontaneous attempted assault on the excommunicating priest of Upper Saint Père who was able to find safety behind the altar.³¹¹ A riot provoked by the Abbot's order that a trial by combat be held may have led to the death of some of

the monastic personnel;³¹² the seige of the monastery described on the mutilated pages seems to have resulted in deaths and injuries.³¹³ King Louis later referred to the death of boys of the church.³¹⁴ In no case, however, was either the murderer or his victim mentioned by name.

The possible exception occurs on the mutilated pages which must be used with great caution. Chérest attempted to reconstruct an episode relating the ambush and murder of a messenger by Aimo of Saint Christopher and some companions. The fragmentary remains appear to justify the conclusion that an ambush took place but this was followed by a description of the banquet. Then the fragmentary lines permit one to conclude that a head was cut off and Aimo was angered.³¹⁵ It is equally plausible to interpret the fragments as relating the decapitation of an animal in preparation for the banquet. Aimo of Saint Christopher's nickname, "Crazy Aimo," suggests that he was a hot-tempered man but there is no other reason to believe that he was a murderer. He was punished along with others for his part in the revolt by the destruction of his house and the confiscation of his goods³¹⁶ but in no way singled out for special punishment.

The names recorded on the list of the rebels give considerable information about the individuals involved. The use of a second name to distinguish men with the same first name had become a common practice by the twelfth century.³¹⁷ The first name, the baptismal name, was considered the real name. The second name was not permanent, as is evident at Vézelay by the use of variant forms conveying the same meaning or by the fact that an individual might be known

by more than one name.³¹⁸ The second name might indicate the place with which an individual was identified although not necessarily his place of origin.³¹⁹ It might also state his occupation or give a nickname

applied for some often obscure reason. The meaning is often ambiguous.

Gauterius Alamannus might be Gauterius the German, or he might be the son of Alamannus (although the genitive case is more commonly used to indicate this relationship), or it might simply be a nickname applied for some unknown reason.³²⁰ Thus, in the interpretation of the names included on this list, one cannot put too much emphasis on the evidence of a single name. In the case of place names the problem may be complicated by the fact that the name had in fact become hereditary. As far as the possible relationship of a man to a distant area is concerned, however, the association is of significance whether it involved the particular man or whether it actually applied to an ancestor. Despite the difficulties in using this information, the group of names recorded is sufficiently large to suggest some general conclusions.

First, who were the actual leaders of the revolt? The name of Hugh of Saint Père was always mentioned by the chronicler of Vézelay with particular venom. As already noted, he was specifically identified in a suprascript as one of the "leaders of faction." Although his name did not appear among those considered responsible for the destruction to the vineyards, it does appear elsewhere on the list in association with other leaders. He was first introduced in the History as "Hugo de S. Retro advena, ignoble by birth and manners, to whom nature offered little but skill in mechanical art brought wealth."³²¹ Hugh has been the center of almost as much controversy in modern academic circles as he was in his own day. This introduction,

the importance of his role, the use of the term consuls mistakenly assumed to relate to southern municipal institutions, provided the kernel of fact for Augustin Thierry's imaginative presentation of Hugh as a man who came to Vézelay from the Midi, introducing into his new home the concepts of municipal government of that region.³²²

The use of the adjective advena suggests that he was not a native to the area of Vézelay but there is no reason at all to connect him with the Midi. The intent of the chronicler in using the word advena, however, is obscure. As Léon de Bastard pointed out, on other occasions the term alienus was used to describe foreigners.³²³ The word advena was also used around this date to mean a fly-by-night, a good-for-nothing, a man who was here today, gone tomorrow, an unstable character, or, more specifically, a runaway serf.³²⁴ In the light of Hugh of Poitiers unconcealed detestation of this man, it might have been used by him merely as an insult, meaning no more than the introduction, in the modern parlance, of "Hugh of Saint Père, the Bum." If the chronicler meant literally to describe him as a runaway serf, one would be justified in concluding that he had come from a more distant area but one could not accept the chronicler's testimony as to his status since this information would hardly have been publicized.³²⁵

There has also been discussion as to whether de Sancto Petro was meant to refer to the village of Saint Père or, as Thierry suggested, to some more distant town of Saint Pierre. The communal revolt, however, involved several men with the name de Sancto Petro³²⁶ and it

hardly seems likely that a common name would refer to an obscure distant locale when its reference to an area in the immediate vicinity would be obvious to the local populace. On one occasion mention was made of "Hugh and Peter, both named de Sancto Petro." ³²⁷ This statement would not make much sense if it were meant to indicate that the men were named after another town unknown to most of the people in Vézelay. It has, however, thus far escaped notice that there were two places in the area which were known by that name by the time of the communal revolt, Lower Saint Père, the settlement at the foot of the hill, and Upper Saint Père, on the hill of Vézelay. ³²⁸

Lower Saint Père, the site of the original foundation of Vézelay on the banks of the Cure River, had a much more favorable location from the point of view of a commercial settlement than the town of Vézelay itself. The village had shared the growth and prosperity of the town. The ruins of the old parish church indicate that it was first built in the mid-eleventh century, then almost doubled in the mid-twelfth century by the addition of a large aisle. ³²⁹ In 1137 the burghers of Vézelay had attempted to secure redress for injuries allegedly inflicted on the men of Saint Père by the Abbot, ³³⁰ indicating a feeling of identity of interests. Upper Saint Père may have originally been a colony established at the town of Vézelay by settlers from Lower Saint Père. There was a parish church of Upper Saint Père by the time of Abbot Renald (ca. 1108-1124). ³³¹

On the occasion when both Hugh and Peter were named as from Saint Père, they were described as removing the spikes with which the monks had secured the doors of the church of Upper Saint Père after

the sentence of excommunication had been pronounced against the burghers.³³² Hugh and Peter may have been members of this colony in the town of Vézelay since they reacted so directly to the closing of the parish church there. The mutilated pages of the History preserve the portion of a name . . . us de Sancto Petro inferioris ville,³³³ which, from the form, could not have been Hugh but might have been Peter. It is however more likely that it referred to another man, possibly Claudus (sic) de Sancto Petro who took part in the revolt and whose son was listed among the non-residents of Vézelay, in which case the specification of Lower Saint Père might have been made to emphasize his distinction from the more active leaders of Upper Saint Père.

Hugh of Saint Père may have originated outside the territory of Vézelay and, on his arrival in the area, settled first in the village of Saint Père. Since he had a son and perhaps grandsons old enough to take part in the communal revolt,³³⁴ he must have been well along in years at the time of the Agreement of 1137. He may have entered into the alleged conspiratorial movement which included the men of that village. At the very least he must have been aware of the issues in dispute at that date. The failure in 1137 to achieve a settlement of the problems of the men of Saint Père may have contributed to the growth of the colony at Vézelay where they would also have been able to enjoy the customs of that town.

On the eve of the communal revolt, Hugh of Saint Père was a mature man who had apparently been settled in the area for some time, judging from his property holdings. In 1151, when conflict erupted

between the Count of Nevers and Abbot Ponce, hugh of Saint Père emerged as an intermediary between the Count and the rural populace of the domains of the monastery. According to the chronicler, Hugh urged, with gifts and flattery, that the Count extend his protection and aid to the oppressed villagers in return for their submission to his authority. Hugh supposedly hoped that the Count would put him in charge of a village.³³⁵ That he had access to the Count of Nevers in 1151 is evident although the precise nature of their relationship cannot be determined. Chérest suggested that after his return from the Crusade the Count's monetary needs compelled him to have recourse to the "rich industrialist."³³⁶ This suggestion is hardly consistent with the comparatively modest ambition ascribed to him by Hugh of Poitiers. Nor does the reference to his wealth as acquired from ars mechanica suggest that he engaged in moneylending.

The precise meaning of ars mechanica cannot be determined. It was apparently obscure to the later monks of Vézelay for a marginal note defined ars mechanica as "a general term referring to whatever was performed with regard to rural service, such as construction, weaving, provisioning."³³⁷ The references to his property give some hint as to how he might have applied his skill. Hugh had erected a wine press in the basement of his house which was destroyed by the monks after the destruction of the commune.³³⁸ This was probably a relatively recent enterprise dating from the time of the establishment of the commune when the Abbot was not in a position to enforce his own monopoly on such services. The need for such a facility would have been felt at that time due to the refusal of the monks to permit

excommunicates to use their facilities or due to the destruction of those facilities. After the suppression of the commune, his home, mills, and ponds were also destroyed and all his goods were confiscated.³³⁹ He was obviously a prosperous local resident with diversified property holdings but the information hardly justifies Chérest's description of him as a "rich industrialist." He may have fled Vézelay after the suppression of the commune to the protection offered in the territory of the Count of Nevers.³⁴⁰

Evidence as to the identity of other leaders of the revolt is contained in the list of the rebels which, in the very first section, gave the names of the men considered responsible for the act of destroying the vineyards. The list also gives the names of men who might be considered as the extreme activists in the section which records those who vowed to assassinate the Abbot. Hugh of Poitiers' narrative is of some help in the account he gives of the punishments meted out by the Abbot.³⁴¹

Some of those who were leaders appear to have been non-residents of Vézelay or to have family residing outside the town. The cognomen of some is given in the genitive form, probably a contraction of "son of X." Since this implies that the father was also known in the area, they apparently were at least second generation inhabitants. In some cases the names of sons and grandsons of these leaders also appear on the list of the rebels. The importance of family relationships would indicate a certain stability and established settlement in the area. They are not the foot-loose peddlers or runaway serfs who arrived the day before.

The name of the leader Peter of Saint Père, whose name must have referred originally to the village of Saint Père, although he himself may have been an inhabitant of Upper Saint Père, has already been mentioned. He also appeared on the list as having received one sex-tarius of flour,³⁴² stealing pigs and hens, and swearing death to the Abbot. His home was burned and his goods confiscated at the end of the revolt. Other leaders had place names of a general nature which probably also referred to specific localities in the immediate vicinity. Odo of the Marsh, for example, had the same cognomen as Adrian of the Marsh who has been mentioned in connection with the Abbot's claim in 1165 that he was a serf, a charge denied by the Count of Nevers. The marsh may have been the site of a reclamation project originally fostered by local authorities. Odo had been the first to react to the pronouncement of the sentence of excommunication in the church of Upper Saint Père, gathering stones to throw at the priest.³⁴³ His presence on that occasion may indicate that he too was a member of the colony of Upper Saint Père at the time of the communal revolt. He was also mentioned on the list of rebels as having stolen pigs and hens. Nothing is known of his fate after the suppression of the commune.

None of the leaders' names suggest distant origins or connections with the developing commercial centers of western Europe. Only one of the leaders was identified by profession. Robert the Baker's activities incurred the penalty of the destruction of his home and the confiscation of his goods. He apparently was the central figure in one of the most dramatic episodes described on the mutilated pages. From the fragmentary leaves that remain it would appear that during a

period of truce in which the authority of the Abbot was temporarily restored, the latter ordered him to submit to a trial by combat. He begged to be excused but Ponce refused.³⁴⁴ A crowd gathered in the cemetery, the site appointed for the duel, and an attack on the monks ensued.³⁴⁵ Abbot Ponce later referred to the duel as involving a serf in connection with a dispute over possessions of the church.³⁴⁶ Robert's work, at a facility maintained in normal times by the monastic administration and very likely staffed by servile labor, adds credence to his servile status. On the list of the rebels, Robert was also mentioned as having stolen eight poultry. Lambert, his son, and Renald, another son or Robert's brother (the reference is uncertain), were accused of stealing grain from the supplies that came by ship and from the grange of Saint Père.

The only one of the list of men held responsible for the destruction to the vineyards for whom there may be evidence of some role in earlier events at Vézelay is Renaldus Daudet who may be the same man as the Renaldus Dautram (identified in a suprascript as de altranno vel de alto Anno). Renaldus Dautram had appeared in 1146 as a witness for the Abbot in the hearings on the disputed jurisdiction over the routes to Vézelay.³⁴⁷ His familiarity with the conditions on these routes may indicate that he was a merchant or moneychanger who frequently travelled. On the list of rebels Renaldus Daudet also was recorded as having received flour, stolen pigs and divided the poultry. His son, Gautherius, a non-resident of Vézelay uprooted vineyards. Another son, Bollerius, swore death to William the Constable with a group of other men who appear to have been nonresidents of Vézelay

A son of Renaldus was also listed as having stolen poultry and carried off grain from the grange of Saint Père. Renaldus received the more severe penalty of having his home destroyed and his goods confiscated.

The list of the rebels suggests that another active leader, Robert Caligalaxa, had achieved a position of some economic comfort prior to the revolt since not only his grandson Little Ponce, but also his servant (famulus), Little Bruno, took part in the revolt. Both were included with the names of the men of Vézelay who took part in the destruction of the vineyards of the decanus and others. Robert also received grain, stole pigs and hens, and swore death to the Abbot. Nothing more is known of his fate.

The group of men who swore death to the Abbot included residents of Vézelay as well as nonresidents. It included some of the men who have been identified as leaders, such as Hugh of Saint Père, Peter of Saint Père, and Robert Caligalaxa, as well as Aimo of Saint Christopher whose role has already been mentioned. Hugh, the son of Good-friend, may be related to the witness of 1146 who was probably a commercial traveller. His father's name was one frequently taken by converts from Judaism. The name of Renaldus Moyses also suggests Jewish origins but since he too had taken the oath, he must have been Christian at that time. Only one of the men who swore death to the Abbot, John the Shepherd, was identified by his occupation.

The destruction and confiscation of the property of Hugh of Saint Père received special comment "that it might be a parable and proverb to all future generations." Other rebels were also punished by the destruction of their homes and the confiscation of their goods.³⁴⁸

The men who received this punishment had probably fled the territory of Vézelay. In most cases their recorded role as leaders of the revolt or "activists" appears to justify this penalty although in some cases there is no evidence at all of the individual's participation or the evidence that exists does not seem to justify the more severe penalty.

"The piety of the Abbot moderated the sentence" of another group of men who were punished by having a quantity of their wine spilled out. These men apparently continued to reside in Vézelay and in some cases are known to have continued to enjoy local prominence. Durannus the Innkeeper has already been mentioned. Despite his prominence attested from 1137 to 1166, the extant sources make no mention of any rebellious acts on his part during the period of the commune. Hugh Frying-Bread's punishment seems more deserved. Although his name did not appear on the list of the rebels, it was included with a group of known rebels named on the mutilated pages.³⁴⁹ He was also mentioned along with Hugh of Saint Père as having constructed a wine-press in his basement which was destroyed by the victorious monks.³⁵⁰ He was still in town in 1165, however, when he was named as one of the distinguished residents who took refuge with in the monastery.³⁵¹ His name suggests an occupation involved in food preparation, probably also in connection with the needs of pilgrims for refreshment.

When the final judgment of King Louis VII was announced on 3 November 1155, a penalty of 40,000 shillings was imposed as damages.³⁵² A group of more than forty men was required to swear fidelity to the

Abbot in the King's presence at Auxerre. Three of their names are preserved--Durannus the Innkeeper, Hugh Frying-Bread and a third man, Guibertus, perhaps from Lorraine,³⁵³ who is otherwise unknown. Hugh of Poitiers described the group as "traitors made loyal." Those named were presumably the most distinguished of the group and the two who are known were connected with service occupations in the town, not with long-distance commerce. On his return from Auxerre the Abbott appointed treasurers (questores) from the group to begin the collection of the damages.³⁵⁴ Thus, for an unpleasant, temporary task, a group of former rebels was accorded a semi-official position.

The evidence available on the leaders of the revolt gives very little support to the theory that they represented the newly-established commercial class. Nor do the other names of rebels suggest that this class was active. A member of the household of Arnulfus of Ferrières took part in the uprooting of the vineyards.³⁵⁵ Although Arnulfus' testimony in 1146 suggests that he too was a commercial traveller, he had probably been in residence in the town about thirty-five years. He appeared as a witness for Abbot Alberic in the 1130's and then, in 1152, appeared as a witness for Autun against the Abbot of Vézelay.³⁵⁶ Stephan Jerusalem may also have been an old established resident. At the papal hearings of 1152 there was a reference to the decision rendered by Abbot Renald (1106- ca.1124) with regard to the marriage of Stephan Aicaphit who returned from the Holy Land to find that his wife had remarried.³⁵⁷ If this were the same man, he must have been at least fifty years old at the time of the revolt.

The lack of evidence of names indicating connections with dis-

tant commercial centers has already been discussed. On the contrary, those place names which appear on the list are for the most part derived from villages in the immediate vicinity of Vézelay such as Meschinus de Nancapra (of Nanchèvre), Guilelmus de Scalaris (of Esclarlis), Galteriolus de Nancapra (of Nanchèvre), Guido de Burgalaudo (of Bourgelier), Tetbaldus de Esconio (of Asquins).

In contrast to the agreement of 1137 in which five out of the seven names recorded clearly indicated the man's occupation, very few of the rebels were identified by occupation. Among the inhabitants of Vézelay who took part in the destruction of the vineyards was Dodo, the reseller of hay. The nonresidents at the vineyards included Galterius Treading-Hay. John the Pastry-cook, not surprisingly, seized grain. The names of other rebels suggest a relationship with the monastic officialdom, such as Renald, the grandson of Robert the Chaplain, and the Prefect Stephan, perhaps the same man as the Prefect of Blannay who testified in 1146,³⁵⁸ who was charged with keeping a column and two beams from the smashed mill of Pâtis. The name of Jonah, son of the paganus Seguin, indicates the participation of a member of the petty rural nobility, perhaps the Seguinus Grosso who witnessed the agreement of 1137.³⁵⁹ Another rebel, Robert Champerrus, may also have witnessed the agreement with other petty nobles.³⁶⁰

In general, the names of the rebels show very little evidence of the active participation of the commercial and business class but rather indicate that the revolt involved a broad spectrum of regional society, including peasants, villagers, townspeople, tradesmen, members of the class of officials and even the petty rural nobility.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. BA 227, f. 117r (MPL CXCV 1615).

2. See Map II, p. 249. Although this area is much smaller than that of the major twelfth century urban centers, it is more than twice the size of twelfth-century Bath; see Carl Stephenson, Borough and Town (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1933), p. 187. See also comments above, p. 13 on the questionable relationship between the wall and the urban unit in the case of Vézelay.

3. RHF XII 407. The documents for the twelfth century unfortunately offer very little evidence for statistical surveys of population; see the discussions of the problems involved and of recent work on medieval demography in J. C. Russell, "Recent advances in medieval demography," Speculum, XL (1965), 84-101; and Jacques Heers, L'Occident aux X^{IV}e et X^Ve siècles (Nouvelle Clio, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 272-283.

4. BA 227, f. 93v (EHV I 314).

5. Ibid., f. 113v (EHV I 354).

6. Ibid., f. 118v (MPL CXCV 1617).

7. Ibid., f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618).

8. EHV I 86-87.

9. See Bull. Clun., Bib. Clun., and Rec. Clun.

10. See Georges Duby, "Le Budget de l'Abbaye de Cluny entre 1080 et 1155," Annales, VII (1952), 155-171.

11. CGY I 314-323.

12. Ibid., I, 319.

13. Ibid., I, 317.

14. See discussion above, pp. 210-211.

15. BA 227, ff. 153r, 164r (EHV III 193; MPL CXCV 1662).

16. Leonard Guillier, Notes et recherches historiques pour servir de continuation à la Chronique de Vézelay (copy made in 1921 of the manuscript of 1864, lent by R. P. Damien Vorreux, OFM), 33-34.

17. E. g. the basement below the present Hostellerie du Roy Louis. I am indebted to Mme. Talard, hostess of the Hostellerie, for this and much more information on the basements of Vézelay.

18. BA 227, f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618).

19. CGY I 316.

20. Ibid., I, 322.

21. E. g., Les coutumes de Lorris, ed. Maurice Prou (Paris, 1884), 136; on the origins of the taille, see Carl Stephenson, Medieval Institutions (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1954), 41-103.

22. The Charter of Vézelay of 1200 is lost but its contents are known from the charter granted to Mont Saint Jean in 1222 and other Burgundian charters of the thirteenth century; see the discussion in Joseph Garnier, Chartes de Communes et d'affranchissement en Bourgogne (Dijon: Darantière-Jobard, 1918), 67-72. The Charter of Mont Saint Jean, CGY II 507-508, introduces its provisions with the statement, "Tenor compositionis istius, secundum chartam Virziliacensem, telis est. . . ."

23. CGY I 317; it was not necessary at this time for a priest to be present to officiate, see NCE IX 271-290.

24. In 1151 the Count of Nevers explained his interest in a subject of the monastery by stating that the man was the son of one of his men who had assumed the status of his mother; BA 227, f. 81r (MPL CXCV 1600).

25. Adolph Guillon, "Sigles ou marques des tacherons tailleurs de pierre," BSSY, XLVI (1892), 493-502. Guillon had copied the marks when the church was being reconstructed. They apparently appeared on the pink stone used on the portions built from 1120-1132. Unfortunately it is not possible today to distinguish the original marks from those added at the orders of Viollet-le-Duc. Guillon also discusses the precocious use of these marks on other structures in Nevers.

26. Girart de Roussillon, ed. Hackett (Paris: Picard, 1953), 427.

27. BA 227, f. 112r (EHV I 351).

28. Ibid., f. 141r (MPL CXCV 1644).

29. CGY I 318.

30. Ibid., I, 321.

31. Max Quantin, "Recherches sur le tiers état au moyen age dans les pays qui forment aujourd'hui le département de l'Yonne," BSSY, V (1851), 23.

32. CGY I 318-319.

33. Ibid., I, 318.

34. Ibid., I, 321.

35. See Leviticus 13:45.

36. Bandini, I, col. 135.

37. CGY I 323.

38. BA 227, f. 85r (MPL CXCV 1606).

39. Ibid., f. 85v (MPL CXCIV 1607).

40. E. g., ibid., f. 87v (MPL CXCIV 1609).

41. The Letters of Peter the Venerable, ed. Giles Constable, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1967), I, 22-23.

42. BA 227, f. 130v (MPL CXCIV 1631).

43. Ibid., ff. 175r-v (MPL CXCIV 1675).

44. Ibid., f. 175v (MPL CXCIV 1675).

45. Ibid., f. 138v (MPL CXCIV 1641).

46. E. g. ibid., ff. 80r, 141r (MPL CXCIV 1599, 1644). The occasional use of the word to express the subordinate relationship to an exalted power such as f. 167r (MPL CXCIV 1666) when in addressing the Magdalene her monks were called "servos tuos," or f. 168r (MPL CXCIV 1667) when the royal messengers described themselves as "servi regis" does not mitigate the harshness of the general usage of the word.

47. Max Quantin, Recueil des pieces pour faire suite au Cartulaire Général de l'Yonne (Auxerre, Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne, 1873), pp. 14-15.

48. BA 227, f. 138v (MPL CXCIV 1641-1642).

49. Ibid., ff. 129r-v (MPL CXCIV 1629-1630).

50. Ibid., ff. 80r-v (MPL CXCIV 1599).

51. CGY I, 316, 318, 320.

52. BA 227, f. 172v (MPL CXCIV 1671-1672): "insecuti sunt eum tam ex oppido quam ex viculo Campimolli multitudo rusticorum. . . ." D'Achery's edition has oppido in the place of viculo.

53. Ibid., f. 68r (MPL CXCIV 1582).

54. See above, p. 185.

55. Bandini, I, col. 144; BA 227, f. 77v (MPL CXCV 1595).

56. BA 227, f. 81r (MPL CXCV 1600).

57. Ibid., f. 106v (EHV I 340).

58. Ibid., f. 187r-v (MPL CXCV 1682). On the general question of heresy, see Jeffreycy Burton Russell, Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965); see also Steven Runciman, The Medieval Manichee (New York, Viking Press, 1961), pp. 121-122, 185, for his interpretation of the names Poplicani or Deonarii, as the heretics of Vézelay were called. Runciman's suggestion, p. 122, n. 4, that the heretics were handed over to the lay authorities in accordance with the instructions of Herbert of Bosham, MPL CXC 1462-1463, receives no support from Hugh of Poitiers' description of the events.

59. The Little Chronicle, ibid., f. 15v (Labbe 397) mentions the burning and on the next line records: "Burgenses vizeliaci conspirati sunt contra ecclesiam." Hugh of Poitiers' account ends with the burning of the heretics.

60. CGY I 318.

61. Ibid., I 321.

62. BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597). Chérest, "Étude historique sur Vézelay," BSSY, XVI (1862), 303, suggested the identification of this man with the rebel Aimé of St. Christopher, also known as Crazy Aimé, but this is doubtful since the latter was probably not a resident of Vézelay.

63. Ibid., f. 120r (MPL CXCV 1619).

64. Ibid., f. 120v (MPL CXCV 1620).

65. Ibid., f. 137r (MPL CXCIV 1639).
66. CGY I 319.
67. Ibid., I 322.
68. Ibid., I 315.
69. Ibid., I 317.
70. Ibid., I 323.
71. Ibid., I 320.
72. Ibid., I 322.
73. BA 227, f. 63v (d'Achery, 517).
74. CGY II 508.
75. Ibid., I 319-320.
76. Ibid., I 322.
77. BA 227, f. 86v (MPL CXCIV 1608).
78. Ibid., f. 136v (MPL CXCIV 1639).
79. Ibid., f. 87r (MPL CXCIV 1608).
80. Girart de Roussillon, 427.
81. MPL CLXXXV 1016.
82. RHF XV 562-563.
83. Flandin, "Statistique agricole du canton de Vézelay,"
Annuaire de l'Yonne, XXXII (1868), 182-183.
84. CGY I 315.
85. See Exodus 34:19; Numbers 18:21-32.
86. See the study by Giles Constable, Monastic Tithes (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1964).
87. CGY I 316.

88. BA 227, f. 176r (MPL CXCIV 1675-1676). The cistern in the cloister of the monastery, believed to be the oldest in the town, see Guilliers, Notes et recherches, 159, apparently did not yet exist.

89. Epistola XXXIV in W. Wattenbach, "Aus den Briefen des Guido von Bazoches," Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde, XVI (1891), 101.

90. Flandin, "Vézelay" Annuaire de l'Yonne, VII (1843), 85.

91. Published by Abbé Lacroix, "De Bacchus aux Vignobles de Vézelay," l'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 87 (May-June 1970), 27. I cannot agree with Abbé Lacroix that this evidence establishes continuity of the vineyards from antiquity.

92. CGY I 316.

93. Ibid., I 323.

94. See Dion, Histoire de la vigne (Paris: 1959), pp. 202-203 for his discussion of the complant contract.

95. CGY I 319.

96. Ibid., I 322.

97. Ibid., I 316.

98. Ibid., I 315.

99. See Raymond de Roover, "The Concept of Just Price: Theory and Economic Policy," Journal of Economic History, XVIII (1959); and Kenneth S. Cahn, "The Roman and Frankish Roots of the Just Price of Medieval Canon Law," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, VI (1969), 3-52.

100. CGY I 316-317.

101. Ibid., I 322.

102. Ibid., II 508. According to a statement of the rights of the Abbot of 1355, Guilliers, Notes et recherches, 79-85, 8 d. and a setier of wine were still demanded whether the winemaker used his press or not. An additional tax was laid on those having their own presses.

103. BA 227, f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618).

104. CGY I 322.

105. Ibid., I 317.

106. BA 227, ff. 122v-123v (deB 549-552).

107. CGY I 323. In 1355 the banvin of the Abbot was proclaimed for the month of August and applied to the town as well as to other communities in the territory of the monastery; see Guillier, Notes et recherches, 79-85.

108. BA 227, f. 120r (MPL CXCV 1619).

109. CGY I 315-316.

110. Ibid., I 317.

111. Ibid., II 508.

112. Gregory of Tours recounts an episode in which a soldier took hay in defiance of Clovis' orders only to take grass; MPL LXXI 233.

113. CGY I 316.

114. Ibid., I 316.

115. Ibid., I 317.

116. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

117. CGY I 320.

118. Ibid., I 322.

119. Ibid., I 320.

120. Ibid., I 322.

121. Flandin, "Statistique," p. 184, indicated that in the early nineteenth century, the woods in the canton of Vézelay covered 40 per cent of the land.

122. BA 227, f. 80v (MPL CXCIV 1599).

123. CGY I 315.

124. Bandini I 142.

125. CGY I 315.

126. Ibid., I 319.

127. Ibid., I 316.

128. Artald had required hospitality for these feasts; ibid., I 316.

129. BA 227, f. 79r (MPL CXCIV 1597).

130. CGY I 323.

131. MPL CLXXXV 1015-1016.

132. Guillier, Notes et recherches, p. 112, commented on the evidence which remained to his day that the Champs de Foires had formerly been covered with structures.

133. This is an important point from the point of view of the theory of Henri Pirenne who claimed, Medieval Cities, trans. Frank D. Halsey (New York: Doubleday, 1956), p. 95, that "A map of Europe on which was marked the relative importance of the commercial highways would coincide very closely with an abstract of the relative importance of the city groups."

134. See the records of the inquiry of 1578 into the possibility of restoring the navigability of the Cure which had formerly served the inhabitants of Vézelay for the shipment of their wines to market

in Flandin, Annuaire de l'Yonne, VII, 85.

135. Paul Meyer, "La Legende de Girart de Roussillon," Romania, VII (1878), 192.

136. Girart de Roussillon, ed. Hacket, pp. 436-437.

137. RHF XII 120.

138. AN LL 988 bis, f. 126v.

139. BA 227, f. 79r (MPL CXCV 1597).

140. See René Louis, "Sens successifs et étymologie du nom 'Montjoie'," Publications Annuelles de la Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des monuments historiques de l'Yonne, Série toponymique I (Auxerre, 1939) on the features of this site.

141. BA 227, ff. 166r-167r (MPL CXCV 1665-1666).

142. The road of Agrippa went from Lyons to Boulogne-sur-Mer, passing through Chalon-sur-Saone, Autun, Saulieu, Avallon, Auxerre and Troyes; see Leon Foin, "La Voie d'Agrippa de St. Moré à Bazaines," BSSY, LXV (1911), 40.

143. It was perhaps along an extension of this route that the unusually large blocks of stone used for the pillars of the choir in the early thirteenth century were brought from the quarries of Coutarnoux; see M. G. Cotteau, "Note sur la provenance Géologique des pierres qui ont servi à la construction primitive de l'église de la Madeleine à Vézelay," BSSY, XVIII (1864), 153-159.

144. See his discussion of the routes, BA 227, ff. 78r-v (MPL CXCV 1596-1597).

145. Chérest, EHV I 88-89, also suggested that this was the route to the south, through the Nivernais to Lyons and the Midi,

perhaps, the route Philip Augustus took in 1190. The other routes, however, were identified by places in the vicinity of Vézelay.

146. Even in the mid-thirteenth century the Abbot of Flavigny referred to the irregularity of communications with Vézelay; see the newly discovered document, published by Robert Pirault, "Les Manuscrits de Vézelay," L'Echo d'Auxerre, No. 81, 27.

147. Guizot, Collection des Memoires, VII (Paris: 1824), 144.

148. CGY II 41.

149. See Calmette and David, Les Grandes Heures de Vézelay (SELFT: 1951), p. 143 for these and other doubtful "Italians." Some of their questionable identifications were noted by Richard and Drouot in their review of this book in Annales de Bourgogne, XXIII (1951), 65.

150. Gauterius Alamannus, BA 227, f. 122v (deB 549); Gauterius Normannus, ibid., f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1619); Rotbertus Normannus, ibid., f. 122v (incorrectly given as Mormannus in deB 549); Joslenus de turribus was corrected in a suprascript to read Turonensis, ibid., f. 105r; Guibertus Leucensis was also corrected in the manuscript to Lotariensis, ibid., f. 121r; the first name of a man from Tonnerre has been lost, ibid., f. 105r (EHV I 337).

151. Ibid., f. 67r (MPL CXCV 1580).

152. RHF XIV 792-793.

153. Le Guide du Pèlerin de St. Jacques de Compostelle, ed. Jeanne Vielliard (Macon: Protat Frères, 1938), p. 2.

154. Published by René Louis, "Aymeri Picaud, alias Olivier d'Asquins, Compilateur du 'Liber Sancti Jacobi'," Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires Français, 1948-1949, 84-85.

155. BA 227, f. 81v (MPL CXCV 1601). The basilica also suggests the possibility of contact with Moslem Spain in the shape of those arches of the nave which were not reconstructed by Viollet-le-Duc and in the use of alternating colors of stone on these arches which call to mind such monuments as the mosque of Cordoba.

156. See Victor Saxer, Le Culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident (Paris: Librairie Clavreuil, 1959), I, maps 1-2. The situation changes radically in the thirteenth century when the influence of her cult at St. Maximian is felt; ibid., II, 228-265.

157. Tours, Bib. Mun. 229, ff. 4v-68r; Troyes, Bib. Mun. 1715, ff. 40r-120v.

158. BA 227, ff. 77r, 79r (MPL CXCV 1594, 1597).

159. Ibid., f. 159r (MPL CXCV 1657).

160. RHF XV 503.

161. BA 227, ff. 51v-52r (d'Achery, 509). The same prohibitions were repeated by his successor, Anastasius; ibid., ff. 58v-59v (d'Achery, 514).

162. Ibid., f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

163. Ibid., f. 122v (deB 549). A suprascript, f. 78v, explains the name as de altramo vel de alto Anno.

164. Ibid., ff. 122v-123v (deB 549-552).

165. CGY I 316.

166. Quantin, Recueil, p. 15.

167. BA 227, f. 68r (MPL CXCV 1582).

168. Ibid., f. 70v (MPL CXCV 1586).

169. Ibid., f. 95v (EHV I 318) contains the fragment "di de Sancto Christophoro." On the following page there is a reference to "Renaldi iam dict. . . ."

170. Ibid., f. 176v (EHV III 198).

171. Ibid., f. 79r (MPL CXCV 1597).

172. Ibid., f. 176r (MPL CXCV 1676).

173. A witness in 1152, ibid., f. 69v (MPL CXCV 1584), referred to collections of "unusquisque nummum, vel cere nummatam." In 1179, Bishop William of Auxerre conceded to the monastery of Crisenon, BN Latin 9885, f. 22v, "XX solidos censuales et VII libros ceree annuatim recendas." On the general question of money substitutes, see Marc Bloch, "Économie-nature ou économie-argent: un pseudo-dilemme," Annales d'Histoire Sociale, I (1939), 7-16.

174. See Blanchereau, "Travaux d'Apiculture sur un chapiteau de Vézelay," Bulletin Monumental, LXXVII (1913), 403-411.

175. BA 227, f. 79r (MPL CXCV 1597).

176. MGH SS XXXII, 218.

177. AY H 2150 (CGY II 236-237).

178. CGY I 317.

179. E. g., BA 227, ff. 67v-68r (MPL CXCV 1582).

180. Ibid., f. 123r (daB 550) mentions the confiscation by the rebels of "annonam de mares."

181. See P. le Gentilhomme, "Note," RN⁵ VI (1942), 147-149, on the coins of the Pissier Collection which came from this site.

182. See discussion in René Louis, Girart, Comte de Vienne dans les chansons de geste (Auxerre, Imprimerie Moderne, 1947), II, 219-220.

183. BA 227, f. 80r (MPL CXCIV 1598).

184. Ibid., f. 136v (MPL CXCIV 1639).

185. According to an Arrêt du conseil d'état du Roi dated 19 January 1706, the site supplied people from a very wide area who wished to evade the gabelle; see Abbé Bernard Lacroix, "Les origines protohistoriques et gallo-romaines de Vézelay (Yonne)," Ogam, XV (1963), 70, n. 20. Excavations of the site, however, have revealed little evidence of their development between the fifth and the fourteenth centuries; see Robert Dauvergne, Sources minerales thermes gallo-romains, et occupation du sol aux Fontaines-Salées (Paris: 1944), 67-84. On sources of salt in Burgundy, see Jean Richard, "Passages de Saone aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," Annales de Bourgogne, XXII (1950), 248.

186. The exploitation of this resource during the middle ages was not sufficient to obliterate the evidence of antiquity. The lack of specific references in documents is not surprising, however; Mlle. Hure, "Origine et formation du fer dans le Senonais," BSSY, (1919), 91-92, could find only five specific references to the utilization of iron resources in the twelfth century.

187. BA 227, ff. 131v, 161v, 166r (MPL CXCIV 1632, 1660, 1665) mentions the use of iron implements in the monastery.

188. See Auguste Choisy, Histoire de l'Architecture (Paris: Baranger, 1943), II, 128 and fig. 15. The rods were replaced in the fourteenth century by the exterior buttresses.

189. The Latin noun ferraria means iron-works, as does the French equivalent ferrières.

190. See Abbé Pissier, "Recherches sur l'histoire de Tharoiseau," Bulletin de la Société d'Études d'Avallon, I (1909), 35-37.

191. Cotteau, "Note sur la provenance," 153-159.

192. BA 227, f. 78r (MPL CXCV 1596). The reaction of the men of Clamecy in 1146 suggests that Ponce had reinstituted the toll.

193. CGY I 319.

194. See also A. B. Hibbert, "The Origins of the Medieval Town Patriciate," Past and Present, III (1953), 15-27, who approaches the problem from another point of view.

195. CGY I 321-322.

196. Ibid., I 315.

197. Ibid., I 321.

198. BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

199. CGY II 508.

200. See also Raymond de Roover, "Cambium ad Venetias: Contribution to the History of Foreign Exchange," Studi in onore di Armando Saponi, (Milan: Istituto Editoriale Cisalpino, 1957), pp. 631-648.

201. E. Chapin, Les Villes des Foires de Champagne dès origines au début du XIVe siècle (École pratique des hautes études, Paris, Bibliothèque Sciences historiques et philologiques, fasc. 268), p. 284.

202. BA 227, f. 56v (d'Achery, 512).

203. BN Latin 13872, p. 97.

204. F. Bourquelot, Études sur les foires de Champagne (Paris: 1865), II, 43.

205. See Jean Richard, Les ducs de Bourgogne et la Formation du duché (Paris: Société les Belles Lettres, 1954), 372-373.

206. GC IV Instru. 176.

207. Michel de Marolles, Inventaire des titres de Nevers, ed. Soulttrait (Nevers: Fay, 1873), col. 499.

208. CGY I 317.

209. There is considerable discussion as to the origin of the mark which was first mentioned in extant texts as a weight of metal in an Anglo-Saxon document of 857; see Louis Blancard, "L'Origine du marc," Annuaire de la Société française de numismatique, XII (1888), 224-229.

210. The most important general studies of the weights of this period are Guilhiermoz, "Note sur les poids du moyen âge," BEC, LXVII (1906), 161-233, 402-450; and by the same author, "Remarques sur les poids," BEC, LXXX (1919), 1-100. The number of instances in which the author revises in the later article the conclusions set forth in the earlier work should serve as a warning of how uncertain the state of knowledge is on this problem. Guilhiermoz referred in both articles to the agreement of Vézelay but mistakenly attributed it to 1178, thereby missing the significance and placing it at a date when the stipulation is probably anachronistic.

211. Guilhiermoz, "Remarques," p. 21; Benno Hilliger, "Gold- und Silbergewicht im Mittelalter," Blätter für Munzfreunde, V (1930-1933), 181-182.

212. Guilhiermoz, "Note," p. 442, n. 5.

213. Ibid., pp. 430, 439-442; "Remarques," pp. 77-78; Dieudonné, Manuel des Poids monétaires (Paris, 1925), p. 33.

214. An important objection can be made to this conclusion on the basis of evidence which has been interpreted to indicate that the mark-weight of Cologne changed between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries; see Hilliger, "Gold-und Silbergewicht," p. 106; W. Hävernicks, Der Kölner Pfennig im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, 1930), p. 49. The evidence for such a change, however, is very slight and contradictory.

While both authorities agree that the later weight of the mark of Cologne was 233.8123 grams, Hilliger accepts Guilhiermoz's figure of 229.456 grams for the earlier weight while Havernick concludes that it was 210.42 grams.

In the light of the improbability of such a reform of a standard, recognized by Frederick I in 1162 as "just" (see Ducange, V, 639), for which no motivation can be ascribed, nor effects observed, and for which there was no distinction made in the later terminology used to refer to the weights, it is better to explore other explanations for this evidence. See, for example, Erich Born, "Die Kaufmannsmark," Berliner Numismatische Zeitschrift, XIII (1953), 6.

215. The basic work on the history of Cologne is L. Ennen, Geschichte der Stadt Köln (Cologne, 1863-1880, 5 vols.). Mildred L. Hartsough, "Cologne, the Metropolis of Western Germany," Journal of Economic and Business History, III (1930-1931), 574-601, offers a summary of the economic importance of the city.

216. BN nouv. acq. Lat. 1274, f. 62, cited by Guilhiermoz, "Remarques," p. 21.

217. CGY II, 243, 249.

218. Bourquelot, Études, II, 55, 93.

219. See Charles Petit-Dutaillis, The Feudal Monarchy in France and England (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1964) for a summary of the growth of royal power during this period; on the evidence for the early history of the Champagne fairs, see my article, soon to appear, "The Development of Business Techniques used at the Fairs of Champagne from the End of the Twelfth Century to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century," Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History, VIII (1971).

220. F. Le Blanc, Traité historique des monnoyes de France (Paris, 1690), pp. 159-160. Although he had accepted this theory in

his earlier work, Dieudonné, Monnaies féodales françaises (Vol. IV of Blanchet et Dieudonné, Manuel de numismatique française, Paris, 1936), p. 12, later discarded it, attributing the reform to Louis VI.

221. See the discussion in Ad. Vuitry, Les monnaies et le régime monétaire de la monarchie féodale de Hugues-Capet à Philippe-le-Bel (987-1285) (Paris, 1876), p. 26.

222. The coins issued by the royal mints under Philip I show no evidence of any attempt to introduce uniform types, sizes, weights or purity; see Jean Lafaurie, Les monnaies des rois de France. I: Hugues Capet à Louis XII (Paris-Bale, 1951), Nos. 45-80.

223. CGY I, 323.

224. BN Champagne XLV, ff. 8v-9r.

225. BA 227, ff. 83r, 118r, 120v (MPL CXCV 1603, 1616, 1620).

226. Ibid., f. 130r (MPL CXCV 1630).

227. Ibid., f. 170v (MPL CXCV 1669).

228. William IV was the first to introduce his name on the coinage; see F. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales de France (Paris: 1858-1862), Nos. 2130-2131.

229. The Magdalon, a fifteenth century coin issued by René d'Anjou and Charles III of Sicily and Provence, had no connection with the Abbey of Vézelay; see Dieudonné, Manuel, IV, 346.

230. BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

231. For discussions on medieval minting techniques, see Shirley Fox, "Die making in the twelfth century," British Numismatic Journal, VI (1909), 191-196; and Philip Grierson, "A Note on Stamping of Coins and other objects," in History of Technology, ed. Singer et al. (Oxford,

1956), II, 485-492. D. G. Sellwood "Medieval monetary techniques," British Numismatic Journal, XXXI (1962), 57-65, discusses his experiment in fabricating a die and stamping coins in imitation of the coins of this period within two hours, using only a limited number of punches and simple tools which would have been available at this time. The text of the confession of the Count of Provins and Troyes of 1165 to having counterfeited the coinage of the Bishop of Meaux survives; see Hiver, "Considerations sur les monnaies du comte de Champagne," RN, IV (1839), 33-34.

232. BA 227, f. 83r (MPL CXCV 1603).

233. CGY II, 324.

234. AN LL 988 bis.

235. CGY II, 508.

236. MPL CCXVI 481-484.

237. See Adolphe Guillon, "Fouilles à Vézelay," BSSY, XLIV (1890), 193; and Robert Pirault, "Les Manuscrits," p. 10.

238. See P. le Gentilhomme, "Note," RN⁵, VI (1942), 147-149.

239. J. Duplessy and D. M. Metcalf, "Le Trésor de Samos et la circulation monétaire en orient latin aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," Revue Belge de Numismatique, CVIII (1962), 196-197.

240. Ibid., p. 198.

241. Ibid., pp. 196-199; E. Caron, "Un dernier mot sur la Trouvaille d'Accolay (Yonne)," Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique, X (1886), 410, concluded that the hoard should be dated in 1193.

242. Duplessy et Metcalf, "Le Trésor," pp. 173-195, discount the possibility that the hoarder travelled east with the crusaders on the grounds that the hoard does not contain any royal issues and that Samos is far from the crusaders' route. The alternative explanation they offer, that the hoarder was conducting business in the islands, seems even more unlikely since French feudal issues make up about 90 per cent of this hoard while, according to the evidence they themselves presented, these issues made up only about 10 per cent of the currency in circulation in the east. The lack of royal issues can have many explanations, the most obvious being that the owner spent them for his needs en route, the royal issues probably being more acceptable in the ports of call. The circumstances which brought him to Samos remain a mystery.

243. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 2110-2129.

244. See Dr. Voillemier, "Notice sur une monnaie inédite de l'un des comtes de Nevers," *RN*, X (1845), 142-155.

245. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 2130-2131.

246. Caron, "Un dernier mot," p. 402. Specific gravity measurements taken on one example in the collection of the American Numismatic Society which weighed 1.164 grams, indicated a significantly higher silver content than other feudal issues weighed. The impossibility of dating the specimen within the almost two hundred year period in which the anonymous type was issued, however, negates the value of this evidence, even if the measurements were reliable for the coinage of this period.

247. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, No. 2195; see also Georges de Soultrait, Essai sur la numismatique bourbonnaise (Paris: 1858), p. 34.

248. See Caron, "Un dernier mot"; Al. Bretagne, "Éclaircissements sur la monnaie féodale d'Auxerre," *RN*², IV (1859), 245-260.

249. Bretagne, "Éclaircissements"; Caron, "Un dernier mot"; Anatole de Barthelemy, "Nouveaux éclaircissements sur la monnaie d'Auxerre," *RN*², V (1860), 368-379, present various aspects of this controversy.

250. AN LL 988 bis, f. 103v; Barthelemy, "Nouveaux éclaircissements," p. 376.

251. Bretagne, "Éclaircissements," pp. 259-260.

252. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 5880-5890.

253. Caron, "Un dernier mot," p. 404; Barthelemy, "Nouveaux éclaircissements," p. 377.

254. Barthelemy, "Nouveaux éclaircissements," p. 371.

255. Caron, "Un dernier mot," p. 409.

256. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, No. 5855.

257. *Ibid.*, No. 5858.

258. Caron, "Monnaies Féodales," Annuaire de la Société française de Numismatique, VI (1882), 188-189. Caron, "Un dernier mot," p. 409, dates the coins with the legend TORNERO MONEIC, Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 5856-5857, somewhat later than this period.

259. Barthelemy, Essai sur les monnaies des ducs de Bourgogne, (1848), p. 9; see also the comments by the same author in *RN* (1843), pp. 47-51, and (1846), pp. 286-287.

260. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 5636-5647.

261. Barthelemy, "Numismatique Clunisienne," RN⁴, IX (1905), 16-17; Dr. Vannaire, Essai sur le monnayage des prieurs de Souvigny et des Sires de Bourbon, (Moulins, 1891), pp. 6-7.

262. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 5596-5599.

263. BA 227, f. 173v (MPL CXCV 1672).

264. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies Féodales, Nos. 5948, 5970-5977.

Dieudonné, Monnaies féodales françaises, p. 133, describes the coins of Thibaut II as slightly lighter and of inferior alloy than the earlier prototype but of better workmanship.

265. Poey d'Avant, Monnaies féodales, Nos. 5958-5962; see also Bourquelot, Études, II, 60; E. Cartier, "Addition aux observations précédentes sur les monnoies des comtes de Champagne," RN, IV (1839), 42-47.

266. Bretagne, "Éclaircissements," pp. 259-260.

267. BA 227, f. 63v (d'Achery, 517).

268. Ibid., f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618).

269. Ibid., f. 105r (EHV I 337).

270. Ibid., f. 121r (MPL CXCV 1621): "domui illius, que utique causa erat et initium omnium malorum." D'Achery's edition omits omnium. R. P. Damien Vorreux, OFM, has suggested that the foundations of Simon's tower may be those still to be seen in the Centre Sainte Madeleine at Vézelay.

271. BA 227, ff. 121r-v (MPL CXCV 1621).

272. The Simon whose wine was spilled out, BA 227, f. 120r (MPL CXCV 1619) was probably the brother of Eustachius, ibid., f. 105r (EHV I 337).

273. Ibid., f. 137r (MPL CXCV 1639).
274. Ibid., f. 151r (MPL CXCV 1652).
275. Ibid., ff. 162v, 165v (MPL CXCV 1661, 1664).
276. Lebeuf, Mémoire sur le diocèse d'Auxerre, IV, No. 62.
277. BA 227, f. 15r (unpublished): "MCLI Fames valida."
278. Ibid., f. 82r (MPL CXCV 1601).
279. See above, pp. 197-203 on the background for the monastic disputes with Nevers.
280. BA 227, f. 82r (MPL CXCV 1601).
281. Ibid., f. 82v (MPL CXCV 1602).
282. Ibid., ff. 85r-v (MPL CXCV 1606-1607).
283. Ibid., f. 86v (MPL CXCV 1607-1608).
284. Ibid., f. 86v (MPL CXCV 1608).
285. Augustin Thierry, Lettres sur l'histoire de France (Paris: Furne et Cie. 1851), 311-346.
286. Léon de Bastard, "De la commune de Vézelay," BSSY, II (1848), 530.
287. EHV I 151n.
288. BA 227, f. 86v (MPL CXCV 1608). Bourquelot, "Observations sur l'établissement de la commune de Vézelay," BEC, ser. 3, III (1852), 453, asserted that Hugh of Poitiers used the words confoederatio, conspiratio, and conjuratio as synonyms for communio. It is my contention that his usage was more precise. The correction which appears on one of the mutilated pages, f. 92r, from conspi . . . to confed . . . appears to indicate that contemporaries saw a difference.
289. Ibid., f. 120r (MPL CXCV 1619).

290. E. g. the recent work by Calmette and David, Les grandes heures, p. 140

291. Lebeuf, Memoires, IV, No. 14; GC XII Instru No. vi. For documents which include the phrase Guillelmo consule in the dating formulae, see BN Champagne XLV f. 89r; BN Latin 9885 f. 25r. An undated document in a cartulary of Nevers, BN Baluze LXXIV f. 363r, refers to "Raginaldus qui fuit Praepositus qui et ipse dedit vadimonium loco consulis."

292. BA 227, ff. 76v, 79v (MPL CXCV 1594, 1598). Hugh of Poitiers also used the Roman title questor, ibid., f. 121r (MPL CXCV 1621).

293. Ibid., f. 88v (MPL CXCV 1610).

294. Ibid., ff. 88v-89r (MPL CXCV 1611).

295. Ibid., f. 89r (MPL CXCV 1611).

296. Ibid., f. 88r (MPL CXCV 1610).

297. Ibid., f. 103r (EHV I 333) preserves the phrase ex consul but the word is next to the cut and may not be complete.

298. Ibid., ff. 105v, 108r, 114v (EHV I 338, 343, 356).

299. Ibid., ff. 95v, 96r (EHV I 318, 319)

300. Ibid., f. 108r.

301. Ibid., f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1618). See below for further information that is known on the career of Hugh of St. Père.

302. The first section of the list, ibid., f. 122v (deB 549), which appears to contain the names of popular leaders included Rotbertus Caligaxa, Rotbertus furnerius, Rotbertus de Cruce. Other sections of the list and Hugh of Poitiers' History mention Rotbertus frater eius

[Galterius Calcans fenum], Roberto de Campo-Petroso who was probably also known as Rotbertus Champerrus, Rotbertus Erraudi, Rotbertus Caseus, Rotbertus filius eius [David Longabarba], Rotbertus Guilers, Rotbertus Iherusalem, Rotbertus Normannus and Rotbertus Quarrellus.

303. Ibid., ff. 122v-123v (deB 549-552).

304. Ibid., f. 123r (deB 550-1).

305. Ibid., f. 114v (EHV I 356).

306. See Pierre Duparc, "Confréries du St. Esprit et communautés d'habitants au moyen âge," Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4 ser., XXXVI (1958), 349-367.

307. See A. Katzenellenbogen, "The Central Tympanum of Vézelay: Its Encyclopedic Meaning and its Relationship to the First Crusade," Art Bulletin, XXVI (1944), 141-151. If the tympanum is associated with the popular movement, the dates would be narrowed somewhat to the period from 1124-1131. At the same time it would be necessary to reject the suggestion offered by Katzenellenbogen that the guiding intellect behind the iconographical scheme was Peter the Venerable.

308. CGY I 318.

309. BA 227 ff. 123r-v (deB 551-552).

310. Chérest, EHV I 227, interprets the fragments of BA 227 ff. 110-111 to indicate that an attempt was made on Ponce's life by his companions while en route to Lyons. The text, however, is too fragmentary for such a conclusion.

311. BA 227, f. 88v (MPL CXCV 1611).

312. Ibid., f. 108r (EHV I 347).

313. Ibid., f. 113r (EHV I 353).

314. Ibid., f. 120v (MPL CXCV 1620).

315. Ibid., f. 114r (EHV I 355): see Chérest's reconstruction, EHV I 232-233.

316. Ibid., f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1619). Aimo insanus also appears on the list of the rebels, ibid., f. 123v (deB 551 Anno insanus is incorrect).

317. See Giry, Manuel de Diplomatique (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1894), 351-376; and, for words of caution on the use of this evidence, Richard W. Emery, "The Use of the Surname in the Study of Medieval Economic History," Medievalia et Humanistica, VII (1952), 43-50.

318. In addition to Aimo of Saint Christopher, the suprascripts in the manuscript indicate considerable ambiguity, as on BA 227 f. 121r, Guibertus Leucensis was corrected to read Lotariensis, f. 105r, Joslenus de turribus was corrected to Turonensis. For variant forms of the same name, see Blancard de Sarcitorio, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597) who is undoubtedly the Blancard sartoris, ff. 68r-v (MPL CXCV 1582). Rotbertus furnerius, ff. 122v-123v (deB 549-551) appears on ff. 105r, 106v, 119v (EHV I 337, 340; MPL CXCV 1619) as Roberto de Furno.

319. Ibid., ff. 147r-148r (EHV III 188-189), the monk known as Gaufredus de Latiniaco allegedly "aliquando fugiens de Bonavalle monasterio Carnotensi, respectu misericordie susceptus est in monasterio Latiniacensi."

320. There is also the possibility that Gauterius Alamannus, ibid., f. 122v (deB 549) might be the same man as Gauterius Normannus, f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1619) whose severe punishment is recorded but who is otherwise unknown.

321. Ibid., f. 80r (MPL CXCIV 1599).

322. Thierry, Lettres, 311-313.

323. De Bastard, "De la commune," 538. Chérest, EHV I 78, suggested that "advena" indicated that Hugh was not from the domains of the monastery although he may have received his name from his place of residence at Saint Père.

324. Ducange, Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, "Advena."

325. Rolf Sprandel, "Le fer au moyen âge," AESC, XXIV (1969), 307, interprets the phrase "homines advenae" in a document of 1155 by the Count of Toulouse to refer to an entrepreneur connected with ironworks.

326. In addition to Hugh and Peter who have already been mentioned, Rotbertus de Sancto Petro was a prominent inhabitant of Vézelay around the 1160's, BA 227, f. 177r (EHV III 198); Claudus de Sancto Petro also took part in the communal revolt; ibid., f. 105r (EHV I 337).

327. Ibid., f. 88v (MPL CXCIV 1611).

328. Ibid., ff. 67v, 80v, 88v (MPL CXCIV 1580-1581, 1585, 1611).

329. I am indebted to Professor René Louis, former Director of the Archeological Museum at Saint Père, for pointing this out to me. Professor Louis was also kind enough to call my attention to a thirteenth century inscription on the church of Notre Dame of Saint Père which indicates that the later church was originally built by a wealthy merchant of Saint Père. For the generally accepted theory of the construction of that church see Yves Bruand, "Église de Saint Père sous Vézelay," Congrès Archéologique de France CXCVIe session, 1958 Auxerre (Paris: Société français d'Archéologie, 1959), 251-264.

330. CGY I 320.

331. BA 227, f. 67r (MPL CXCV 1580).

332. Ibid., f. 88v (MPL CXCV 1611). Only the steeple remains of the church of Upper Saint Père which was demolished in 1814; see Petit, Descriptions, II, 258.

333. BA 227, f. 107v (EHV I 342).

334. Ibid., ff. 122v-123v (deB, 549-552); his son Renald was listed as having participated in the oath to kill the Abbot and was involved in the seizure of grain from the monastic storehouse. Either Renald or another son who was unnamed seized eight hens and participated in the destruction of the mill of the granary. Three of Hugh's grandsons or nephews (nepotes) also participated in the destruction of the mill. One of them, or possibly a fourth, Arbertus, who was not a resident of Vézelay, took part in the destruction of the vineyards.

335. Ibid., f. 80v (MPL CXCV 1599).

336. EHV I 78.

337. BA 227, f. 80r: "Ars mechanica est genere generalissimo quicquid extra liberales artes rurali officio exercetur, ut fabricium, lanificium, obsonium. Dicitur autem mechanica vel adulterina quia a liberalibus artibus degenerat."

338. Ibid., f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618).

339. Ibid., f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1618-1619); d'Achery's edition incorrectly gives the form erat in the phrase "et exaltatus fuerat usque in celum."

340. It has recently been suggested that the thirteenth century church Notre Dame of Saint Père was originally commissioned by a

descendent of Hugh of Saint Père on the basis of Hugh's alleged great liquid assets, his identification with Saint Père and the fact that the first name of the thirteenth century donor was Hugh; the theory is discussed in a flyer by Maurice Frot distributed in the Archeological Museum of Saint Père. The little that is known of his career, however, militates against that suggestion. His wealth has been greatly exaggerated by nineteenth century historians and apparently was earned through artisanal occupations and invested primarily in real estate; in 1155 we are told it was all confiscated. He probably lived in Vézelay in the colony of Upper Saint Père but it is highly unlikely that he remained in the territory of Vézelay after the suppression of the commune. As for the first name, it is not at all unusual in twelfth century Vézelay and Hugh does not appear to have perpetuated it in the names of his descendants; see above, n. 334.

341. See Appendix B.

342. Rec. Clun. V No. 4143 states "De uno sextario fiunt CXX panes majores."

343. BA 227, f. 88v (MPL CXCV 1611).

344. Ibid., f. 106v (EHV I 340).

345. Ibid., f. 107v (EHV I 342).

346. Ibid., f. 117r (MPL CXCV 1614).

347. Ibid., f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597 does not give the *supra-script*).

348. Ibid., ff. 119v-120r (MPL CXCV 1619).

349. Ibid., f. 105r (EHV I 337).

350. Ibid., f. 119r (MPL CXCV 1618)

351. Ibid., ff. 176v-177r (EHV III 198). The group included three other men who were on the scene at the time of the communal revolt: Renaldus de Sancto-Christoforo, Johannes Rufus, and Girardus Dalmacii.

352. Ibid., f. 120v (MPL CXCV 1620).

353. Ibid., f. 121r (MPL CXCV 1620). The name of Guibertus was originally written as Leucensis then corrected in the manuscript. He has always been mentioned as from Lorraine although the usual Latin form was Lotaringiensis rather than Lotariensis, added by the scribe.

354. Ibid., f. 121r (MPL CXCV 1621).

355. His name was given in the genitive form on the list of the rebels.

356. Quantin, Receuil, p. 15; in 1152, BA 227, f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597) his surname was not given but an earlier witness mentioned his full name, ibid., ff. 67v-68r (MPL CXCV 1582). Arnulfus testified at that time to continuous practice for thirty-five years. If there were a second respected citizen of Vézelay at that time, with the same name, identification would have been essential.

357. BA 227, f. 67r (MPL CXCV 1580).

358. Ibid., f. 78v (MPL CXCV 1597).

359. CGY I 316.

360. His name was also given as Roberto de Campo-Petroso, BA 227, f. 119v (MPL CXCV 1619). It is possible that he was also the witness listed in 1137 as Rotberto de Campis; CGY I 316 and 321.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The history of occupancy of the site of Vézelay begins with the relocation of the monastery on that site ca. 887. The promontory chosen for its obvious defensive advantages, had many disadvantages from the point of view of travellers in the region due to its distance from land and river routes and the steepness of its approach. In normal times it could offer little to attract visitors other than the security from surprise attack. Although endowed by its founder with extensive lands rich in mineral resources and having diversified agricultural produce, the hardships of the succeeding period marked by famine and depopulation in the area rendered these inadequate to support even the modest community that remained. Necessity rendered the spiritual immunity which had been accorded the monastery at the time of its foundation a dead issue as the help offered by the Bishops of Autun was gratefully accepted.

The history of the town of Vézelay, however, must begin ca. 1030 with the influx of population set in motion by extended famine. The hilly region around Vézelay would not have suffered so disastrously from the torrential rains which flooded the fields in the lowlands. By 1037 a lay community was settled nearby which was instrumental in bringing about reform at the monastery by securing the accession of Abbot Gaufredus. The cult of Saint Mary Magdalene was established soon after and by ca. 1040 the belief that her body was preserved at Vézelay had spread as

far north as Cambrai. The influx of pilgrims, fostered by the proclamation of the Truce of God in 1040, insured the growth of the lay community which served the needs of transient visitors. It also provided the material basis for the greatness of the Abbey whose possessions had increased enormously by the beginning of the twelfth century. Despite the submission of the monastery to the spiritual direction of Cluny, the monks of Vézelay succeeded in preserving the integrity of their material gains and pursued an aggressive policy of expansion. The ambitious program of Abbot Artald entailed increased demands on the resident lay population which led to his assassination in 1106.

The subsequent relaxation of these demands culminating in a period of lax administration between the terms of Renald and Alberic was evidently a period of growth and prosperity for the townspeople. By the 1130's the population of the area had reached a saturation point vis-à-vis the land resources in the surrounding region. Common lands were being enclosed and the Abbot was concerned with the problem of deforestation. At the same time the commercial activity had overflowed the market place into the streets of the town. The temporary failure of the monastic administration to take cognizance of these developments permitted taxes and rents to remain frozen at the amounts which had been fixed at an earlier period. The lay property owners of Vézelay were quick to secure profits from the opportunities for expansion and the unearned increment accruing from increased property values. Were it not for the vigorous reform of the monastic administration instituted by Abbot Alberic, their financial obligations to the Abbey might have become permanently set at a pittance.

The attempt by Alberic to tighten the administration and to reimpose old obligations aroused the opposition of both the townspeople and the inhabitants of the countryside. His decision to submit the disputes to arbitration in 1137 was an extremely diplomatic move which confirmed his right to increased revenues while assuaging the burgher resentment by suppressing abuses on the part of monastic officials. Although the net result of this agreement would be to increase the obligations of the burghers, it would be a gross exaggeration to regard them as oppressed by monastic tyranny. The burghers were personally free and owed no forced labor services. In most cases the customary payments which had been reasonable enough to enable the burghers to make a profit in the past when the economy was less volatile were reimposed. Even these rates would have decreased in proportion to the income in many cases due to more intensive cultivation. Perhaps the most onerous and arbitrary demand was that for hospitality for the guests of the monastery during active business periods. There is no evidence of its application in subsequent years but Durannus the Innkeeper, a man on whom this would have been a particularly serious burden because of his occupation was still one of the most prominent local inhabitants about thirty years later.

The agreement reveals a period of prosperity in which the burghers of Vézelay were profiting and expanding their enterprises. Some had increased the size of their vineyards. Some had raised the rents on their houses. The merchant class appears to have exercised control over the operations in the market place. Certain significant victories were attained in principle. The rights of testation were extended in 1137 in the case of free men to include close relatives who were not immediate

descendants but who were local residents, subject to the customs of Vézelay. These heirs, however, could enter into possession of the property only through the hand of the Abbot or his officials and the oath of allegiance, which was probably demanded in the time of investiture, would place the heir in the category of "men of the church." This status was not, in 1137, a serious handicap, only involving limitations on the man's rights of alienation of real property. By the time of the communal revolt, however, it had apparently become hereditary and, after the revolt, it tended to be equated with servitude.

Not the least interesting aspect of the document of 1137 is the evidence it offers of a heightened awareness on the part of the burghers of their common interests and of rudimentary political activity to foster these interests. Their specific proposal put forth with regard to an advisory body to assist in the assessment of the taille, which was completely rejected as unprecedented, reflects a fairly sophisticated level of understanding of the mechanics of such a body. The burghers did achieve a minor advance in the direction of self-determination in the recognition accorded their right to select guardians for their vineyards.

In general, however, the burgher was identified as such primarily on the basis of his place of residence. The town of Vézelay constituted a distinct jurisdictional unit with its own customs, a fact recognized in the spiritual status granted by the early twelfth century to the churches of the town. The burgher did not, however, feel a clearcut distinction between himself and the men of the surrounding countryside with whom he associated and with whose interests he identified. He was concerned first and foremost with problems arising from agricultural pursuits.

Although the most prominent local inhabitants appear to have been merchants and money-dealers, another group, the viticulturists, who also apparently maintained retail outlets in town, appear to have been an extremely important element of the population. This identity of interests felt between the burghers and the inhabitants of the countryside continued to be an important element through the 1150's when they joined forces in rebellion.

A combination of circumstances set the stage for the proclamation of the commune. Not the least of these was the personality of the Abbot Ponce whose increased demands in defiance of custom and indifference to the suffering of his subjects left few alternatives. 1151, the year in which the active opposition began, was a year of famine. The hardships of the populace in the area were increased by the Count of Nevers' actions which were intended to force the Abbot to acknowledge his jurisdiction. The routes in and out of Vézelay were blocked and the petty nobility ran riot over the lands. Although the Count of Nevers was described in the source written by the notary of the Abbots of Vézelay as a detestable tyrant, the incident which led him to press his claims, the blinding of a man for having insulted a monk, leads one to suspect that he had a higher ideal of temporal justice than that represented by the Abbot. The revolt in 1151 began in the countryside and led, in 1152, to the establishment of the commune at Vézelay.

There had been earlier confederations and conspiracies in the town of Vézelay but it was only in 1152 that the word commune was used. At that time provision was made for internal and external defense and officials were appointed by the Count of Nevers. The abjuration of

their oath of allegiance to the Abbot which took place at the same time could not have been the essential element of the commune since the charge of perjury which was frequently levelled against the rebels would have adequately condemned that development. Nor could it have been the election of one's own officials since, whether one believes him or not, the chronicler stated that the officials were appointed by the Count of Nevers. The essential feature of the commune established in 1152 appears to have been the organization of the inhabitants for self-defense.

The formation of the commune seems to have been a move of desperation brought on by the urgency of the situation of the inhabitants and the hopelessness of appeals to the Abbot to mitigate the hardships and conciliate Nevers. The burghers were ill-prepared for such a major change and the extent to which they were successful in creating effective organs of government during the three year period of the existence of the commune may never be known. In the early period of the commune the rebels were content to permit the monastic administrators to continue to function. The efforts of local inhabitants to construct private fortifications suggests that the commune was not very successful in achieving domestic security. Condemned by the Pope and the King, it was certainly never strong enough to maintain its independence once the support of Nevers was withdrawn.

There is very little additional information on the commune but considerable data on the rebellion. Although one cannot be certain that the two were co-extensive or identical, it is probable that they were. The community of interests clearly evident in 1137 between the burghers and the rural inhabitants suggests that there would be no reason for the

former to exclude the latter from participation in any organization formed in defense of these interests. The list of the rebels indicates that both groups took part side by side in the revolt. Residents and non-residents of Vézelay took the oath "Death to the Abbot," and participated in the confiscation and destruction of monastic property. Both groups took part in the banquet which was, in fact, held at the house of Robert Quarrel, a resident of Asquins.

Both groups appear to have been included in the leadership of the rebellion. The most prominent leader was Hugh of Saint Père, a man allegedly of servile origins. He had diversified real estate holdings including a house at Vézelay, probably in the colony of Upper Saint Père, and a wine press, mills, and ponds. His primary economic function is obscure but, although he does not appear to have been directly involved in agriculture, the evidence suggests that he was involved in related services and industries. There is no evidence suggesting that he was involved in commerce or finance. Only one of the leaders was identified by profession, Robert the Baker, a man also of servile origins pursuing an occupation found under relatively primitive conditions of specialization of labor in a rural economy.

The new commercial-financial class of Vézelay is most conspicuous for its apparent lack of participation in the revolt. Of the fourteen men named as witnesses in 1146 to conditions on the routes to Vézelay who may have been merchants or money-changers familiar with these conditions because of their frequent travels, there is evidence in only three instances of any connection with the rebellion and in two of these three cases, involving a member of their household. Simon of Souvigny, the

wealthiest moneylender in town, appears to have held aloof from the rebellion, being concerned more with the construction of his private fortifications. The leadership and extremism was supplied by relatively permanent inhabitants of the area in and around the town, most of whom were probably concerned primarily with agriculture or related activities. The role of the local businessmen, such as the innkeeper and wine retailer, appears to have been of secondary importance.

The cause of the revolt at Vézelay, therefore, cannot be sought in the aspirations of long-distance traders but rather in conditions affecting both the urban and rural populace. The results may present another story. If the commercial element was accorded some official recognition after the suppression of the commune as treasurers or elders, this element would have secured some political benefit from the uprising.

The history of the town of Vézelay illustrates certain points of Pirenne's theory of the origin of towns but differs in others. It is clear that the primitive settlement of the site offered nothing in the way of traditions or institutions from which later municipal institutions could develop. The site did offer security, but no commercial advantages from the point of view of itinerant peddlers. The earliest increase of population apparently came from refugees who came to buy, not to sell. Although burghers of Vézelay later travelled to distant fairs and markets, there is no evidence at all that traders originating in advanced commercial centers formed any element of the population of Vézelay up to the time of the commune. Such evidence as exists suggests that the source of the population was the countryside and the newcomers who established themselves in the town continued, for the most part, to pursue agricultural activities.

While it was not the rebirth of long-distance trade in the eleventh century that caused the growth of the town of Vézelay, another factor of that time was a necessary condition--increased mobility, whether caused by prolonged famine or fostered by the Truce of God. It was this aspect which initiated the growth and permitted the development of the pilgrimage to the shrine of the Magdalene, leading to the growth of commercial and financial activity at Vézelay. The beginning of the growth of Vézelay, however, is indicative of the extremely localized conditions of trade at that time when the population had to move to the source of supply and not vice versa.

The Agreement of 1137 illustrates a third aspect of Pirenne's thesis. It shows quite clearly that there were underlying issues resulting from conflicting economic interests and illustrates how this led to the development of embryonic political endeavors. These disputes, however, were not necessary conflicts but rather the reactions to specific provocations and policies. In contrast to the frequent picture of the economically aware commercial class opposed to the intransigent archaic order, the administration of the monastery of Vézelay was very much concerned with adjusting to the changing world by attempting to control it and share in the increased wealth. The status of the burghers in 1137, moreover, was quite compatible with the needs of their occupations. Despite economic disputes, the communal revolt was not inevitable. The burghers had prospered without the necessity of resorting to violence or breaking with the established authority. It was the increased demands on the part of the Abbots, and not their attempts to maintain the status quo, which led to hostility in 1106, 1137, and 1151. The communal

revolt itself was the result of immediate need, recent oppression, and insecurity felt by all subordinate elements of the society rather than a necessary conflict arising out of class interests.

At the end of the period which has been discussed in this paper, the communal revolt was utterly defeated and one might call Vézelay a ville manquée. One might, in fact, justifiably ask why the history of Vézelay should be studied in the context of urban history. During the period under discussion, there was neither a physical division of a wall, nor an economic specialization, nor a mental frame of mind to separate the burghers from the rural population and, at the close of this period, the effort at self-government was decisively squashed. This period is, however, precisely the formative period in urban history. Towns were not born full-grown, having immediately all the aspects of their later identity. Their individual development was gradual, some aspects being further advanced than others at any given moment.

By 1137, Vézelay had a population that was (1) personally free, (2) primarily concerned with economic problems, some of which were peculiar to an urban populace, such as commerce and banking, (3) legally distinct as subject to the customs of the town, and (4) exhibiting primitive political activity. The agreement of 1137, while not granting self-governmental institutions, did regulate many of the practices of the town, restricting the arbitrariness of official policy, which was one of the major purposes of communal charters. Indeed, it would appear that the failure to respect the traditional safeguards of established custom was one of the immediate causes of the attempt at self-government. The construction of the walls of the town was probably begun shortly after the period discussed.

Thus by the later twelfth century, Vézelay apparently had all, or had attempted to achieve all, of the major attributes of the medieval town. The example of Vézelay gains added significance for the period which has been discussed, as illustrating a town in the formative stage of its development, a stage rarely illuminated by the sources of that period. The history of Vézelay, however, as just one town of thousands in the process of development at this time, is too infinitesimal a part of the total picture to prove or disprove a theory of urban origins. Where it is in agreement with a particular theory, it can serve to illustrate it. Where it departs, one can ask if perhaps it is precisely those points of departure which explain the ultimate defeat of self-government at Vézelay.

Points of departure do, however, suggest possible new approaches to the problem. The relationship of other causes for the increased mobility in the eleventh century to the rise of the towns needs more study. Also important is the question of determining the immediate causes of communal activity and their relationship to progressive forces in the society. The role of various groups in the society needs more precise analysis. One cannot assume that the group which benefited from a particular action was identical with the group which caused that action. There is a need to investigate the question of class consciousness in the early urban context. Finally, there is a need to investigate changes in policy due to different personalities and circumstances and to avoid the tendency found so often in the past of accepting the facile assumption that authorities pursued a uniform unchanging policy, which does not appear valid.

APPENDIX A

PROPERTY OF THE MONASTERY OF VEZELAY

1103¹1170²Autun

Ecclesiam Sancti-Petri
juxta fluvium Chore sitam

Varginiacum villam cum
omnibus appendiciis suis,
et ecclesiam S.-Sulpitii

Dorneciacum villam cum
universis adjacentiis,
et ecclesiam S.-Petri

Flaiacum villam cum
ecclesia S.-Symphoriani,
et omnibus eorum appendiciis.

Ecclesiam S.-Syagrii de
Flagiaco cum omnibus
earum pertinentiis

Ecclesiam S.-Sulpitii
de Asinariis

Ecclesiam S.-Germani de
Fontiniaco

Ecclesiam S.-Petri de
Blanniaco

Ecclesiam S.-Georgii de Insula

Villam S.-Leodegarii de Morvanno
cum ecclesia ejusdem martyris
et universis eorum adjacentiis

Ecclesias de S.-Petri et
S.-Martini de
Dorniciaco.

Ecclesiam S.-Symphoriani
de Flaiaco

Ecclesiam S.-Siagrii
de Flaiaco

Ecclesiam de Asinariis
cum medietate ville

Ecclesiam de Fontenoitto

Villam Blanniacum cum
ecclesia et pertinentiis suis

Ecclesiam de Insula

Ecclesiam S.-Leodegarii de
Fulchereio

1. According to the privilege of Pope Paschal II, CGX, II, 39-42.

2. According to the Bull of Alexander III, EHV, III, 169-175

1103

In eodem territorio, ecclesiam
S.-Andeeii

1170

Ecclesiam S.-Andeoli

Villam qui dicitur Pressiacus
cum ecclesia et decimis
suis

Gribriacum villam cum
ecclesia et pertinentiis
suis

Villam que dicitur Vulturacus
et medietatem omnium ad
eam pertinentium

Ecclesiam de Montirueth

Ecclesiam de Brescia cum
villa, grangia, et
pertinentiis suis

Capellam S.-Vincentii in
Nemore

Ecclesiam de Campomolle

Ecclesiam S.-Dyonisii de
Saliaco cum pertinentiis
suis

Villam quae dicitur Pessum

Auverne

(In episcopatu Arverensi)

Ecclesiam S.-Germani

Ecclesiam S.-Cypriani

Ecclesiam S.-Lecdegarii de Vendac

Ecclesiam S.-Mariae-Magdalene
de Claromonte, cum universis
earum appendiciis

(In episcopatu Claromontensi)

Ecclesiam S.-Germani de Salis

Ecclesiam S.-Cypriani

Ecclesiam de Vendat

Ecclesiam S.-Marie-Magdalene

Ecclesiam de Bouzat

Ecclesiam de Bouzellis

1103Auxerre

Ecclesiam S.-Andriani de
Maliaco-villa, cum capellis
in eadem parochia sitis

1170

Ecclesiam de Malliaco castro
et de Mailliaco villa

Villam que dicitur Truciacum
cum ecclesia et omnibus
pertinenciis suis

Ecclesiam de Cersi

Villam que vocatur Bassiacus
cum ecclesia et
pertinentiis suis

Ecclesiam de Arsi

Domum in claustro S.-Stephani
apud Autissiodorum

Beauvais

Ecclesias Publīs castri

Ecclesias de Bullis, scilicet
S.-Marie, S.-Petri, et
S.-Martini, cum tota
decima ipsius castri

Ecclesiam S.-Remigii

Ecclesiam S.-Remigii cum villa

Ecclesiam S.-Mariæ-Magdalene
de Merloto

Ecclesiam S.-Marie-Magdalene
de Merloto, et in eodem
castro, ecclesiam beate
Marie Virginis cum prebendis
et omnibus pertinentiis suis

Ecclesias Borinellis villae cum
omnibus earum pertinentiis

Ecclesiam de Bornel

Ecclesiam cum villa de Mansuillio

Ecclesiam cum villa de Curtes

Ecclesiam de Remirangles cum
decima ejusdem villa

Ecclesiam S.-Vedasti

Decimam totius castri de
Merloto

Decimam de Solengiis

11031170

Decimam hortorum et minutam
decimam ejusdem ville

Sextam partem decime de Cires

Unam modium et dimidium in
decima de Cateseri

Decimam que est inter
Barisilvam et Danchelu

Cripsenvillam cum hospitibus
et vineis

Hospites qui sunt apud
fraxilium de Vercebona

Hospites qui sunt apud
Parrentum cum terra

Duos modio molendinis
vice-comitis

Hospites qui sunt apud
Borrentum

Hospites de Croy

Terram de Plasset

Capellam S.-Nicolai de Vensolne

Decimam de Ahacut

Ecclesiam de Nuera cum
decimis suis

Ecclesiam de Verchil cum
decimis suis

Ecclesiam de Ansolviles cum
medietate decimarum

Decimam de Reveray

Ecclesiam S.-Genovese cum
decimis suis

Decimam de Revalle

Capellam de Arducnvilla cum
decima ejusdem ville

11031170Bourges

Ecclesiam S.-Andre de Taciaco
 Ecclesiam S.-Mariae-Magdaleneae
 de Rufiaco

 Ecclesiam S.-Sulpitii de Salzelis,
 cum omnibus ad easdem
 pertinentibus

Ecclesiam de Tachat
 Ecclesiam de Rufiaco
 Capellam de Sauzellis

 Capellam Hugonis

Le Mans

Villam de Osiaco et ecclesias
 cum appendenciis earum

 Ecclesiam de Astherenis

Imola

Monasterium S.-Marie-Magdalene
 de Albore

 Ecclesiam S.-Jacobi de Silero

Langres

Ecclesiam Argenteolii cum
 decima sua

 Ecclesiam de Solemgi

Macon

Ecclesiam S.-Mariae de Coblenis

Ecclesiam de Coublan

Nevers

Ecclesiam S.-Petri de Longiaco

 Ecclesiam S.-Sylvestri de
 Varenntis

Ecclesiam de Langiaco

 Ecclesiam de Varenntis

1103

Ecclesiam S.-Martini de Tauriaco

Ecclesiam S.-Petri de Luperciaco
villa1170

Ecclesiam de Toriaco

Ecclesiam de Luparcias

Ecclesiam de Viglan

Capellam S.-Nicolai de Nivernis

Ecclesiam de Droia

Quicquid habetis in ecclesia
de SarciNoyonIn castro quod Ham vocatur,
ecclesiam S.-Mariae-MagdaleneIn Villari-Sylva, ecclesias
ejusdem Dei dilectricis, cum
universis earum appendiciis

Ecclesias de Ingulos

Ecclesiam de Villarisilva
cum decimis suis

1

Ecclesiam de Goslancoreth

Ecclesiam de Falenico

Ecclesiam de Fraxinis cum
decima suaEcclesiam de Candore cum
decima suaParmaEcclesiam S.-Cecilie de
RochetaEcclesiam S.-Marie-Magdalene
de Cypesia

1. See below, Tonnerre, for a possible listing of the same church with a variant spelling.

11031170

Ecclesiam S.-Marie-Magdalene
et S.-Dionisii super
fluvium Taronem

Poitiers

Ecclesiam Dei dilectricis
S.-Mariae Magdalene
Juxta Mireocellum castrum

Ecclesiam S.-Marie-Magdalene
de Mirabello

Ex altera parte ejusdem castri
Ecclesiam S.-Radegundis de
Burgonnio

(In territorio Toarcensi)

Ecclesiam S.-Germani

Ecclesiam S.-Germani

Ecclesiam S.-Mariae de Spis

Ecclesiam de Spis

Sancerre

Ecclesiam S.-Mariae Magdalene
de Ferrariis

Ecclesiam de Ferrariis

Ecclesiam de Genoliaco

Sens

Ecclesiam S.-Mariae de
Villari-Monasterio

Ecclesiam de Villari-Monasterio
cum decimis et pertinentiis
suis

Ecclesiam Castri-Fliscardi

Ecclesiam Fessardi

Ecclesias castri Moreti

Ecclesiam S.-Petri et
ecclesiam S.-Marie de
Moreto cum pertinentiis earum.

Ecclesiam Senardi villa cum
omnibus earum appendiciis

Ecclesiam de Senardvilla,
cum parochiis de Venit
et de Bolovilla, cum
decimis earum villarum

Ecclesiam S.-Remigii de
Scueles cum decima

11031170

Villam Campanie, cum ecclesia
et decimis suis

Quicquid habetis in aqua,
que appellatur Lupa, a
Sequana usque ad gurgitem
comitis

Quicquid habetis in flumine
Sequana sub monte Chanam

Apud Senonas, tres modios
frumenti singulis annis in
molendinis Regis, ad
mensuram Senonensem

Apud Castrum Landonis, in
foro novo, meliorem furnum
et medietatem alterius furni

In burgo Sancti-Andree,
molendinum de Averna, quod
fuit Hugonis Blanchi

Ecclesiam S.-Mauricii

Ecclesiam Monti-Landuni

Ecclesiam de Lodun

Ecclesiam de Johenvilla

Ecclesiam de Gondrevilla

Ecclesiam de Vico Mauro

Ecclesiam de Campo-Sevrai
cum decimis suis

Ecclesiam de Maneris

Ecclesiam de Chailly

Molendinum de Seth

In curia de Marigny, 20 solidi
per singulos annos de
eleemosina vice-comitis

11031170Tonnerre

1

Ecclesiam de Angolox cum
decima sua

Ecclesiam de Pulcrocampo
cum decima sua

In territorio de Castellione
Medietatem ville de Colongetis
cum pertinentiis suis

Vineam in ascensu Montis-
Ranfredi

1. See above, under Noyon.

APPENDIX B

LEADERS AND EXTREMISTS OF THE COMMUNAL REVOLT

The men who are included in this list are classified as "leaders" or "extremists" on the basis of:

- (1) An explicit statement
- (2) Inclusion in the list of men held responsible for a particular act of destruction
- (3) Inclusion in the list of men who swore death to the Abbot
- (4) Inclusion in the narrative as having been punished for their participation

Their place of residence is indicated on the basis of their being included in the list of men from Vézelay who took part in the destruction of the vineyards or on the basis of a reference to their house in the narrative which seems from the context to refer to a residence in the town. Those men named as being present at the uprooting of the vineyards who were not included among the leaders or among the men from Vézelay are presumed to reside outside of the town.

See discussion, pp. 330-341.

APPENDIX B

LEADERS AND EXTREMISTS OF THE COMMUNAL REVOLT

	Acts of Rebellion			Punishment		Residence		Prominence	
	Led Revolt	Swore Death Abbot	Other Acts	All Property Confiscated	Wine Poured Out	In Vézelay	Not in Vézelay	Before Revolt	After Revolt
Aimo de St. Christoforus		x	x	x					
Aimo de Phalesia				x					
Alardus (de Fonte Leonis?)			x	x					
Bonus Amicus family		x	x				x		?
Claudus de S. Petro family			x	x			x		
David					x				
Durannus Alburg					x	x		x	x
Durannus Gulos family?			x	x					
Eustachius brother Simon			x		x				
			x		x				
Felix			x		x				

	<u>Acts of Rebellion</u>			<u>Punishment</u>		<u>Residence</u>		<u>Prominence</u>	
	Led Revolt	Swore Death Abbot	Other Acts	All Prop- erty Con- fiscated	Wine Poured Out	In Vézelay	Not In Vézelay	Before Revolt	After Revolt
Galterius Normannus				x					
Gaufredus Quintini	x		x						
Guillelmus Rex		x	x				x		
Hugo Fricans-Panem			x		x	x			x
Hugo de S. Petro family		x x	x x	x		x	x		
Johannes Bergerius		x	x				x		
Johannes Christoforus family		x	x x				x		
Joscenus Attonet		x							
(son of) Martin Ermenre		x	x				x		
Michelet		x	x				x		
(sons of) Muschete		x	x						
Odo de Palude	x		x			x			

	Acts of Rebellion			Punishment		Residence		Prominence	
	Led Revolt	Swore Death Abbot	Other Acts	All Prop- erty Con- fiscated	Wine Poured Out	In Vézelay	Not In Vézelay	Before Revolt	After Revolt
Petrus Galimardi	x		x	x					
Petrus de S. Petro	x	x	x	x		x			
Petrus Surdellus	x		x						
Renaldus Daudet family	x		x x	x			x	x	
Renaldus Moyses		x							
Rotbertus Arraudus family		x x	x x				x x		
Rotbertus Caligalaxa family	x	x	x x			x			
Robertus de Campo-Petroso		x	x	x			x	x	
Rotbertus de Cruce	x		x						
Rotbertus furnarius family	x		x x	x					
Stephanus Jerusalem		x	x						

APPENDIX C

BA 227, f. 21r

qui monachus monasterii Vizeliacensis fuerat. Ac deinde translatus in ecclesiam corbiacum Cui successit Hugo de domocomitis prior villaris monasterium quem papa Innocentius proprio motu ecclesie Vizeliacensis abbatem fecit. Anno domin. MCCCLIII et receptus in predicta ecclesia die assumptionis beate Marie Virginis. Hic summo opere studuit omni suo tempore libertates atque iura ecclesie fideliter custodire. Sicut pater in arestis datis in curia regis tam contra habitantes potestatis Vizeliacensis quam vero comitissam Nivernensum tunc temporis comitatum tenentem. Et multa alia bona fecit capsam beate Marie Magdalene perfecit ac etiam beati andeoli pontiani eusebii martyrem atque hosiani confessoris et plurimorum sanctorum sanctorumque reliquias in aliam novam reposuit quem fieri fecerat. Nunc vero multa pillia preciosa ac vestimenta dedit tresque maximas campanas fieri fecit ac multos libros ecclesiasticos novos cameram constudio inter dormitorium et aulam Hugonis de auxelo abbatis construxit. Alia multa edificia pene destructa tam in ecclesia quam alibi reperari fecit. Hic etiam quod domu parisiis in vico sancti stephani gall. des gres et aliam in vico porte de bordellis vocantam domum cuniculorum. Item aliam apud autisiodorum in vico . . . Transiit autem ab hac luce in domino. Anno incarnationis christi MCCC Octuagesimo tercio prima die mensis novembris et sepultus in introitu chori a parte revestiarum ante sedem abbatis et prioris. Anima eius requiescat in pace. Amen.

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Latin 13582, 13th century, ff. 116r, 121v-122v, sermons of
Julian of Vézelay.

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