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ROWAN WATSON

ANGOULÊME, PÉRIGUEUX AND MONASTIC REFORM
IN 10th CENTURY AQUITAINE

For a century and more after the death of Louis the Pious in 840, Aquitaine was characterised by unstable government. From the 930s, a more stable political framework began to emerge, one that formed a background to a hitherto un-noticed effort at monastic reform. The movement throws new light on the nature of relations between rulers in Aquitaine, this at a time when the counts of Poitiers were extending their authority – styled dukes from 965, their power in the region was plausibly being described as regal by the 1020s¹. Confusion in the major literary source for the period, the chronicle of Ademar of Chabannes (d. 1034), has obscured the significance of this reform even for recent authorities, as has the uncritical use of charter evidence. Ademar's chronicle was composed from the mid-1020s with the aim of up-dating conventional histories of the Franks to bring Aquitaine into the narrative and to celebrate the rule of William the Great, duke of Aquitaine from c. 995 to 1030, and William, count of Angoulême from 988 to 1028; what follows brings into relief problems in a source long considered problematic.

After subjection to Carolingian power in 768, monasticism flourished in Aquitaine, with the observance developed by Benedict of Aniane promoted as a standard. The Astronomer described how Frankish abbots, as well as counts and vassals, were installed in the region; when Louis the Pious left Aquitaine in 814 to take up the inheritance of Charlemagne, his reforming activity had prompted bishops and laymen to emulate him, such that Aquitaine was resplendent with centres of monastic excellence: *veluti quibusdam lychnis totum decoratur Aquitanie regnum*². The picture is supported by the list of monasteries exempt from impositions appended in c. 850 to the »Notitia de servitio monasteriorum« of 817; among them were a number that would be contained within the Aquitaine ruled from Poitiers by the late 10th century. These monasteries were excused taxes (called *dona*) and military service, owing only prayers *pro salute imperatoris (...) et stabilitate imperii*. Not on the list were houses such as St Seurin in Bordeaux, St Hilaire in Poitiers and St Martial in Limoges, all of which had imperial privileges from Louis the Pious, presumably too strategically important to be exempted in this way³.

- 1 Pascale BOURGAIN, L'Aquitaine d'Adémar de Chabannes, in: Jean-Yves CASANOVA, Valérie FASSEUR (eds), L'Aquitaine des littératures médiévales, Leiden, Boston 2011, p.101.
- 2 Ernst TREMP (ed.), Astronomus Vita Hludovici Imperatoris, Hanover 1895 (MGH SS rer. Germ., 64), p. 290–292, 336–340; Philippe WOLFF, L'Aquitaine et ses marges, in: Helmut BEUMANN (ed.), Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, Düsseldorf 1967 (Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 1), p. 290–291. – I am particularly grateful to John Gillingham for comments on a draft of this article.
- 3 Émile LESNE, Les ordonnances monastiques de Louis le Pieux et la *Notitia de servitio monaste-*

Conditions deteriorated for almost a century from the 840s. When Louis the Pious disinherited the sons of king Pepin I after the latter's death in 838, civil wars characterised the region. A virtual collapse of government was either provoked or intensified by Vikings, who burnt Saintes in 845 with Bordeaux, Périgueux, Melle and Limoges suffering the same fate in the next few years⁴. Major abbeys were driven to safer regions: Noirmoutiers, situated near the coast, abandoned its premises in 830 to relocate to Tournus by 875, while Charroux sought refuge in Angoulême and the protection of its count, Vulgrin, in c. 866⁵. The lack of any bishop or count of Saintes after 862 suggests the collapse of any form of government in the Charente basin⁶. Viking raids are evidenced up to the early 11th century, but king Raoul's defeat of a Viking army threatening Limoges in 930 appears as a turning point⁷.

An eleventh-century view of the monastic past: Ademar of Chabannes

Ademar of Chabannes is famously unreliable as a source⁸, but he knew the Astronomer's life and could conclude in his chronicle that Louis was responsible, through his son Pepin I (d. 838) as king of Aquitaine, for founding St Jean d'Angély north of Saintes, St Cyprien in Poitiers and Brantôme in the Périgord, putting them with St Cybard in Angoulême under the control of an abbot named Martin⁹. The idea was plausible; Pepin's control of Angoulême and Poitiers is evidenced by his grant of 825

riorum, in: *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France* 6 (1920), p. 449–493; Theo KÖLZER (ed.), *Die Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen*, vol. 1, Wiesbaden 2016 (MGH *Die Urkunden der Karolinger*, 2), nos 1 and 5 (St Hilaire), 15 and 16 (St Seurin, Bordeaux), 127 and 128 (Church of Limoges) and vol. 2, Wiesbaden 2016, no. 333 (St Martial, Limoges).

- 4 Léonce AUZIAS, *L'Aquitaine carolingienne*, Toulouse, Paris 1937, p. 124. For this area in the 9th and 10th centuries, see Robert FAVREAU, *Histoire de l'Aunis et de la Saintonge*, vol. 2: *Le Moyen Âge*, La Crèche 2014, p. 32; most complete is Luc BOURGEOIS, *Le comté d'Angoulême et ses marges, fin IX^e–milieu XI^e siècle*, in ID. et al. (eds), *Une résidence des comtes d'Angoulême autour de l'an mil: le castrum d'Andone*. Publication des fouilles d'André Debord, Caen 2009, p. 384–394 – what follows differs from his account in several points of detail.
- 5 For Noirmoutiers, see René POUPARDIN, *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint-Philibert*, Paris 1905, p. XXV–XXXIX; for Charroux, Pascale BOURGAIN, Richard LANDES, Georges PON (eds), *Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon*, Turnhout 1999 (*Corpus Christianorum*. Cont. med., 129), p. 145 (book III, c. 23).
- 6 FAVREAU, *Le Moyen Âge* (as in n. 4), p. 34; ID., *Evêques d'Angoulême et Saintes avant 1200*, in: *Revue historique du Centre Ouest* 9/1 (2010), p. 90–91.
- 7 Robert LATOUCHE (ed.), *Richer, Histoire de France (885–995)*, vol. 1, Paris 1930, p. 108–111; Philippe LAUER, *Robert I^{er} et Raoul de Bourgogne, 923–936*, Paris 1910, p. 157–158; André DEBORD, *La société laïque dans les pays de la Charente, X^e–XII^e s.*, Paris 1984, p. 49–56; Marcel GARAUD, *Les incursions des Normands en Poitou et leurs conséquences*, in: *Revue historique* 180 (1937), p. 248 ff.
- 8 John GILLINGHAM, *Ademar of Chabannes and the history of Aquitaine in the reign of Charles the Bald*, in: Margaret Templeton GIBSON (ed.), *Charles the Bald. Court and Kingdom*, 2nd ed., Aldershot 1990, p. 41–51; Richard LANDES, *Relics, apocalypse, and the deceptions of history. Ademar of Chabannes, 989–1034*, Cambridge, Mass., London 1995, p. 135, notes Ademar's tendency to write »historical fiction«; Yves CHAUVIN, Georges PON (trad.), *Adémari de Chabannes, Chronique*, Turnhout 2003, p. 14 – the introduction to this translation provides an excellent synopsis of problems relating to Ademar.
- 9 *Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon* (as in n. 5), p. 133 (III 16)

to Ste Croix in Poitiers of the right to hold fairs at *Cajoca (...) in pago Pictavensi* and at *Fulchrodo (...) in pago Engolesmensi*, and to exempt them from taxes; Ademar had no memory of this any more than of Pepin's installation of a monastic regime at St Maixent freed *ab omnibus secularium vel publicarum impediacionibus* – the latter a useful reminder that even reformed institutions might be subject to services and taxation¹⁰. Ademar's remark is useful in linking these establishments, but his chronology is quite at fault, led as he was by a desire to give Carolingian origins to institutions that were powerful in his own day. The same desire had driven him to develop the preposterous story that Vulgrin had served Pepin the Short (d. 768) and his son Charlemagne (d. 814) before being made count of Angoulême by Charles the Bald in 866; the chronicler attempted to make this credible by describing Vulgrin as an old man when he arrived in the city¹¹. Ademar likewise attributed to Charlemagne the privilege of Charles the Bald of 852 for St Cybard¹².

Evidence for the very existence in the 9th century of all but one of the abbeys mentioned by Ademar is very slight. Brantôme was mentioned in the list of exempted abbeys of c. 850¹³. But it is extremely doubtful that St Jean d'Angély and St Cyprien, or even St Cybard, existed as independent institutions at this time. A 17th century Benedictine scholar saw a document which he thought issued by Pepin I in 817/836 which exempted St Jean d'Angély from *pedagium* on the transport of goods throughout the kingdom; the text is lost¹⁴. Otherwise the earliest reference to St Jean d'Angély comes from Louis IV's diploma of 942; this referred to the loss of the place's pristine glory (*quandam abbatiam [...] nunc a pristino penitus honore desolatam*), but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some kind of cell was being raised to monastic status – certainly conditions in the area until this date surely favoured what has been called »eremitic monasticism« rather than the »coenobitical monasticism« established in 942¹⁵. St Cyprien was built in 932/936 by bishop Frotier *consentiente (...) rege nostro Radulfo necnon comite nostro Willelmo*, though the church on which it was based was amassing property from shortly after 900; Frotier acquired a papal privilege which, while accepting the bishop's rights, forbade any material demands from laymen and limited what liturgical services they could expect¹⁶. As for Angoulême,

10 Maurice PROU, Léon LEVILLAIN (eds), *Recueil des actes de Pépin I^{er}, et de Pépin II, rois d'Aquitaine (814–848)*, Paris 1926, nos 3, 9.

11 Ademari Cabanensis *Chronicon* (as in n. 5), p. 138 (III 19)

12 Georges TESSIER (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve*, vol. 1, Paris 1943–1955, no. 149

13 LESNE, *Ordonnances monastiques* (as in n. 3), p. 492; a manuscript of the Lorsch Annals mentions Brantôme under the year 768, but this appears to be an 11th-century interpolation; see Charles HIGOUNET in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 2, Munich, Zürich 1983, col. 577, and *MGH Capit.*, vol. 1, Hanover 1883, p. 351, and *MGH SS*, vol. 1, Hanover 1836, p. 146 (*Annals of Lorsch*, for 768).

14 *Recueil des actes de Pépin I^{er}* (as in n. 10), no. 41. Royal diplomas of this date never refer to any tax as a *pedagium*.

15 Maurice PROU, Philippe LAUER (eds), *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France, 937–954*, Paris 1914, no. 19; Joachim WOLLASCH, *Monasticism*, in: Timothy REUTER (ed.), *The New Cambridge History*, vol. 3, Cambridge 1999, p. 167–169. The discussion of Isabelle ROSÉ, *Fondations et réformes à l'époque Carolingienne*, in: *Monachesimi d'orient e d'occidente nell'alto medioevo*, vol. 1, Spoleto 2017, p. 405, warns against taking specific diplomatic documents as marking foundations, preferring them to be seen against a background of a long-term reform process.

16 François-Xavier RÉDET (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cyprien de Poitiers*, Poitiers 1874,

Ademar of Chabannes went to some lengths to invent a Merovingian past for St Cybard, claiming that the counts of Angoulême had been protectors of the abbey (*advocati eius et defensores*) since the time of king Childebert (d. 711), though no Merovingian count has ever been identified. Like his claim that St Germain, bishop of Paris, had been sent by king Charibert I in the 6th century to consecrate the basilica of St Cybard along with Gregory of Tours, this was certainly fictitious¹⁷. The first unassailable evidence for some kind of religious institution comes from the diploma of Charles the Bald of 852; St Cybard was then described as a *monasterium* run by the bishop (*sub regimine [episcopi]*); its clerics were managed *secundum proprii pontificis canonicam administrationem*. That the church had monastic status before the second quarter of the 10th century is extremely doubtful; it was amassing property from the 880s but under the management of the bishop of Angoulême, as will be seen. Archaeological evidence of the pre-Romanesque abbey suggests a series of cells, probably based around the tomb of St Cybard, rather than quarters for collective living, and it is difficult to disagree with the conclusion of the director of excavations there that, until about c. 930, a group of canons protected the tomb and cult of St Cybard under the direction of the bishop¹⁸.

The career of abbot Martin

The abbot Martin mentioned by Ademar did indeed run the monasteries of St Jean d'Angély, St Cyprien of Poitiers, St Cybard and Brantôme, not in the 830s but in the 930s. This mistake has led many medieval and modern historians astray¹⁹. These houses, Brantôme excepted, were not established or developed by imperial or royal patrons, but were the creations of 10th-century secular rulers, the heirs of agents dispatched to these distant parts of the Empire by Carolingian monarchs in the 9th century who had managed to found comital dynasties. Martin was remembered as having a special link with the St Cyprien in Poitiers, the centre of his wide-reaching reform activities. The account of his career that follows will show his particularly close links with the counts of Poitiers, allowing us to regard him as a Poitevin²⁰.

p. XXII, nos 3, 4, 115, 301, 235, 270, 271, 277; Harald ZIMMERMANN (ed.), *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, vol. 1, Vienna 1984, no. 63.

17 Ademari Cabanensis *Chronicon* (as in n. 5), p. 158, 44–45 (III 36 and I 29). Gregory of Tours' history refers to a *cellula* to which St Cybard retired with a few *monachi*, but this was hardly a monastery (MGH SS rer. Merov., vol. 1/1, Hanover 1951, p. 277–278). The miracles and »*Vita sancti ac beatissimi Eparchii*« published in MGH SS rer. Merov., vol. III, Hanover 1896, p. 550–564, from the 14th-century BnF, ms latin 5306, were clearly composed in the 11th century or later.

18 Brigitte BOISSAVIT-CAMUS, *Saint-Cybard: de l'abbaye au CNBDI*. Histoire d'un site, Angoulême 1991, p. 11.

19 Jules DE LA MARTINIÈRE, *Saint Cybard. Étude critique de textes*, in: *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, VII^e série, 7 (1906–1907), p. 101–106, accepts that Ademar erroneously named Martin as abbot of the four monasteries but, on the basis of a 12th-century source claiming that Pepin I had given a charter to the Cathedral of Angoulême, asserts, with improbable circumstantial evidence, that St Cybard itself had been founded at the time of king Pepin; see Jacques BOUSSARD (ed.), *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium*, Paris 1957, p. 4.

20 Alfred RICHARD, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou*, vol. 1, Paris 1903, p. 82, 84, 85, refers to Martin as abbot in St Cyprien, St Jean d'Angély and Jumièges but does not link him to Ademar of

Martin was a reformer active on a much broader scale than imagined by Ademar. His career paralleled that of a number of 10th-century reformers, though unlike Odo, the second abbot of Cluny (d. 942), Gerard of Brogne (d. 959) in Flanders or even Gauzelin of St Julien de Tours, active from the 980s to 1007, he left behind minimal documentation²¹. Like these figures, Martin was recruited by secular powers to reform institutions under their control, and like them, he was described as abbot of several establishments at the same time – a common feature of monastic reform in the 10th century²². The earliest reference to Martin comes not from Poitiers but from Angoulême, in an undated charter, subscribed by Martin as abbot, by which count Ademar and his wife Santia endowed St Cybard with a church and property near the city²³. Count Ademar appears in the succession of counts found in the Angoulême annales, and he was mentioned in a charter of 923, but did not appear in Ademar of Chabannes' account of the descendents of Vulgrin²⁴. Martin's presence in the undated charter suggests a date near 930, the date of count Ademar's death according to the annals²⁵. Ademar of Chabannes was totally confused about this count Ademar. His copy of the annals expanded Ademar's title to *comes Egolismensis*²⁶, but in his chronicle this individual was identified – or mis-identified – as a count of Poitiers, one said to have died in 926 and succeeded by Ebles. This was patently an error since Ebles had driven Ademar from Poitiers in 902 and established a dynasty that spread its authority throughout Aquitaine thereafter. The chronicler explained Ademar's presence in Angoulême by describing how, as count of Poitiers, he was a »familiar« of Alduin and William, counts of Angoulême and Perigueux, marrying William's daughter Sancia²⁷. The chronicle underlines Ademar's position as count of Poitiers

Chabannes's account, no more does Françoise POIRIER-COUTANSAIS, *Les monastères du Poitou avant l'an mil*, in: *Revue Mabillon* 53 (1963), p. 18, or Jean BECQUET, *Les premiers abbés de St Augustin*, in: *Revue Mabillon* 58 (1975), p. 358–359.

- 21 Isabelle ROSÉ, *Construire une société seigneuriale: itinéraire et écclésiologie de l'abbé Odon de Cluny (fin IX^e-milieu du X^e siècle)*, Turnhout 2008, p. 27–31; Steven VANDERPUTTEN, Brigitte MEIJNS, Gérard de Brogne en Flandre. État de la question sur les réformes monastiques du X^e siècle, in: *Revue du Nord* 92 (2010), p. 271–297; Guy-Marie OURY, *La reconstruction monastique dans l'Ouest: l'abbé Gauzbert de Saint-Julien de Tours*, in: *Revue Mabillon* 54 (1964), p. 69–124. Only in the 18th century was information first brought together to identify Martin's activities: *Annales ordinis sancti Benedicti*, vol. III, Paris 1739, p. 448–449.
- 22 Giles CONSTABLE, *Cluny in the monastic world of the tenth century*, in: *Il secolo di ferro: mita e realtà del secolo X*, vol. 1, Spoleto 1991, p. 409, 410, 414. For Ebles and Girbertus as co-abbots of St Maixent, see Alfred RICHARD (ed.), *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent, Poitiers 1886*, p. lxx–lxx.
- 23 Paul LEFRANCQ (ed.), *Le cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Cybard, Angoulême 1930*, no. 161.
- 24 Jean NANGLARD (ed.), *Cartulaire de l'Église d'Angoulême, Angoulême 1900*, no. 27, a joint endowment of cathedral and St Cybard.
- 25 The annals of Angoulême, a source totally independent of Ademar of Chabannes, is now *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, MS Reg. lat. 1127, fol. 1r–2r, published as *Annales Engolismenses*, in: *MGH SS*, vol. 16, Hanover 1859, p. 485–487.
- 26 Ademar's edited copy of the annals is now BnF, ms latin 2400, f.137 *bis* verso, published as *Annales Engolismenses*, in: *MGH SS*, vol. 4, Hanover 1841, p. 5.
- 27 *Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon* (as in n. 5), p. 141 (III 21): *Ademarus autem filius Emenonis, Santiam in conjugio copulavit sibi, ab Alduino et Willelmo familiaribus fovebatur*; *ibid.*, p. 144 (III 23): *Ademarus comes Pictavensis defunctus est*. Emeno was the count of Angoulême (d. 866) who preceded Vulgrin.

by describing his endowment of St Hilaire de Poitiers (an endowment not recorded among its many charters of this period), with property at Courcôme near Ruffec (where authentic counts of Poitiers had property in the 9th and 10th centuries)²⁸, and his burial there. The chronicler evidently sought to replicate for the 10th century the kind of friendship that linked the rulers Poitiers and Angoulême in his own day²⁹. These errors do not, however, affect the conclusion that the ruler of Angoulême called on Martin, a Poitevin cleric, to reform St Cybard.

Martin is recorded as abbot of St Cybard up to 941³⁰. At St Cyprien, the earliest document to mention Martin as abbot is datable to 933/934, and he is recorded in this position until his death in November 942³¹. A monk named Aimon acted as co-abbot³². That Poitiers was the base from which Martin operated is clearly indicated by the action of William Tête d'Étoupe, count of Poitiers, in the mid-930s when he sent Martin with twelve monks to Normandy take over the governance of the abbey of Jumièges, this at the request of his brother-in-law, William Longsword, duke of

- 28 Courcôme was near Ruffec, a castle owned by the duke of Aquitaine in the early 11th century; see Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 163 (III 41). Ebles, count of Poitiers in 891, owned land at Courcôme: an *alodium nomine Curcolmum* was included in his endowment of St Martin de Tours of that date (Jean BESLY, *Histoire des comtes de Poitou et ducs de Guyenne*, Paris 1647, p. 209). Courcôme is not mentioned in the Louis IV's privilege of 942 listing lands of St Hilaire (PROU, LAUER, *Recueil des actes de Louis IV* [as in n. 15], no. 18). A charter of c. 970 records the gift of *alodium meum nomine Curte Colma (...) situs in pago Pictavo* to St Hilaire de Poitiers by William Fier-à-Bras, duke of Aquitaine: Louis François Xavier RÉDET (ed.), *Documents pour l'histoire de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers*, in: *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* 15 (1848), no. 39; see also RICHARD, *Comtes de Poitou* (as in n.20), vol. 1, p. 45, 105. Ademar of Chabannes' list of gifts to abbeys by count Ademar is highly problematic, only that for Cybard in Angoulême is known from a charter: LEFRANCQ, *Cartulaire de Saint-Cybard* (as in n. 23), no. 161. Other abbeys supposedly endowed by count Ademar – Charroux, St Martial de Limoges, St Jean d'Angély – are all known to have owned land in the areas from which count Ademar made his gifts, but no details of their origin are known: Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 142 (III 21).
- 29 On the devolution of Poitiers in 902, see RICHARD, *Comtes de Poitou* (as in n. 20), vol. 1, p. 52; Jean-Pierre BRUNTERC'H, *Naissance et affirmation des principautés au temps du roi Eudes: l'exemple de l'Aquitaine*, in: Olivier GUILLOT, Robert FAVREAU (eds), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine, de Robert le Fort aux premiers Capétiens*, Poitiers 1990, p. 83. The count Ademar mentioned in the life of Gerald of Aurillac might be another candidate for identification of the erstwhile count Ademar of Poitiers; see Anne-Marie BULTOT-VERLEYSEN (ed.), *Odon de Cluny. Vita Gerardi Auriliacensis*, Brussels 2009, p. 50, 59, 183–189.
- 30 LEFRANCQ, *Cartulaire de Saint-Cybard* (as in n. 23), no. 218, dated 937 mentions abbot Martin, as does no. 237, dated the kalends of July (1 July), the 6th year of Louis IV's reign. A gift to St Cybard and the cathedral dated 922 implies there were not monks or an abbot of St Cybard at that date: NANGLARD, *Cartulaire de l'Église d'Angoulême* (as in n. 24), no. 27.
- 31 Jean LAPORTE, *Les listes abbatiales de Jumièges*, in: *Jumièges. Congrès scientifique du XIII^e centenaire*, Rouen 1955, p. 455, suggests that Martin died in Poitiers in 943 on 21 March. A 13th-century calendar from Ste Croix records an obit for an abbot Martin on 24 October; assuming this is the reforming abbot Martin, his death or commemoration would be in 942: Pierre DE MONSABERT (ed.), *Documents inédits pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Sainte-Croix de Poitiers*, in: *Revue Mabillon* 9 (1913), p. 384.
- 32 RÉDET, *Cartulaire de Saint-Cyprien* (as in n. 16), no. 99, is dated in the 11th year of king Raoul, i. e. 933/934; Abbot Martin is mentioned as well in a document of 935 (*ibid.*, no. 267) and in various undated documents: nos 520, 548. Aimon is mentioned as abbot in documents dated by the reign of king Raoul (hence before 936) and 938/939 (*ibid.*, nos 422, 423).

Normandy, to whose sister he was married. Once in Jumièges, Martin nominated one Anno as his co-abbot³³. William Tête d'Étoupe also had a role in Martin's dispatch to Limoges in c. 935, when Turpio, bishop of Limoges, called on him to establish a monastery in the church of St Augustin near the city, a monastery founded *iubente (...) Radulpho rege et domno Guillelmo comite*, that is to say by king Raoul and William Tête d'Étoupe³⁴. The founding of St Jean d'Angély was probably under way when Raoul was in Poitiers in January 942. The rulers of the city seized this occasion to obtain a privilege for the abbey (as they did for St Hilaire de Poitiers as well) which recorded its bestowal on Martin *causa emendandi*. The document was issued at the request of Ebles, brother of count William Tête d'Étoupe and a key figure in his government – he was abbot of St Maixent and treasurer of St Hilaire in Poitiers, this at a time when the count himself can be seen controlling the abbey's lands³⁵. On Martin's death, his place at both St Cyprien and St Jean d'Angély was taken by his colleague Aimon³⁶.

Martin's mission in the Limousin involved contact with Odo of Cluny and his circle, people who were later to join him in reforming monasteries in the Périgord. Some years before Martin's arrival, Turpio had called his brother Aimon from the Poitevin abbey of St Savin sur Gartempe to reform the abbey of St Martin in Tulle, an arrangement made on the advice of Ebles (d. c. 934), count of Poitiers, and confirmed by king Raoul. Aimon, probably the same individual as Martin's co-abbot at St Cyprien in Poitiers, appeared as abbot in Tulle in documents dated between 929 and 931, with Adacius, a pupil of Odo of Cluny, as co-abbot between at least 927 and 931³⁷. Aimon's rule would presumably have involved subjection to St Savin sur Gar-

33 Elisabeth M. C. VAN HOUTS (ed.), *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vol. 1, Oxford 1992, p. XXIII–XXIV, 86–88. For Martin in Jumièges, see Jean LAPORTE, *Listes abbatiales de Jumièges*, in: *Jumièges* (as in n. 31), p. 435–457, espec. p. 455.

34 Jean BECQUET (ed.), *Actes des évêques de Limoges des origines à 1197*, Paris 1999, p. 8, 26–27, no. 5. Philippe LABBÉ, *Novae Bibliothecae Manuscriptorum*, vol. 2, Paris 1657, p. 278, had a source which gave a date of November in the 12th year of Raoul's reign, which Becquet interprets as 934, though a later date of 935 is just as plausible: Robert-Henri BAUTIER (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Robert I^{er} et de Raoul*, Paris 1978, p. CVII.

35 *Recueil des actes de Louis IV* (as in n. 15), nos 18, 19; RICHARD, *Comtes de Poitou* (as in n.20), vol. 1, p. 95–99.

36 The fuller title of Aimo (*Aimo ex cenobio alme genetrice Dei matris atque beati Cypriani*) in the 7th year of Louis IV's reign, i. e. 942/943, has been taken to indicate that he was sole abbot (RÉDET, *Cartulaire de Saint Cyprien* [as in n. 16], no. 242). Aimo's becoming abbot of both St Cyprien and St Jean d'Angély is recorded in the »Chronique de Saint Maixent«, see Jean VERDON (ed.), *Chronique de Saint Maixent*, Paris 1979, p. 90–91.

37 The sequence of events relies upon the narrative contained in the privilege of king Raoul for St Martin in Tulle: *Recueil des actes de Robert I^{er} et de Raoul* (as in n. 34), no. 21. The document is discussed in detail – and convincingly re-dated to 931 – in Jean-Pierre BRUNTERC'H, *La succession d'Acfred, duc d'Aquitaine (927–936)*, in: *Quaestiones medii aevi novae*, vol. 6, Warsaw 2001, p. 196–239. Bautier and Dufour gave the date as 933. Ernst SACKUR, *Die Cluniacenser in ihrer kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtlichen Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des elften Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, Halle an der Saale 1892, p. 82, accepts that Aimon acted as abbot in St Cyprien, St Martial de Limoges and Tulle. Robert FAVREAU arrived at the same conclusion: *Les inscriptions de l'église de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe*, in: *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 19 (1976), p. 12. The chronology is uncertain, though Aimon's removal from Tulle in 931 agrees with his appearance in St Cyprien, where he was recorded in documents dated 932/936 and 942/943 (Ré-

tempe; he disappeared from Tulle in 931 when a new regime was installed by Raoul, who placed Odo of Cluny in charge of the abbey with Adacius remaining as co-abbot. Aimon was to reappear in 936 as abbot of St Martial³⁸. Odo's appearance at Tulle in 931 marked the replacement of a Poitevin reformer by a Cluniac from Burgundy³⁹. The wording of king Raoul's privilege for Tulle shows that under Aimon, the abbey had been placed under the *dominatio* of the king; when Odo became abbot, this was changed to a royal *tuitio*, a status which would agree with Cluny's aim to acquire a royal guarantee for monastic independence rather than the direct control suggested by the term *dominatio*⁴⁰. In c. 928 Aimon had supported Odo of Cluny's work at the monastery of Aurillac; as abbot of St Martial de Limoges in 942, he was to establish a spiritual association with St Benoît sur Loire (Fleury), both facts which suggest co-operation rather than rivalry⁴¹. Fleury had been reformed from its ruined state shortly before 938 by Odo of Cluny himself, with the support of duke Hugh the Great; the new arrangements benefitted from papal confirmation in 938 with the abbey's independence also guaranteed by the king, who alone was to guarantee that its *potestas* was not to be farmed out to any cleric or layman – a Cluniac style of reform⁴².

These reforming activities of abbot Martin took place in areas where Poitevin power was expanding beyond its heartlands. The founding of St Jean d'Angély was surely related to development of Poitevin authority in the Saintonge, a natural extension of the establishment by Ebles, count of Poitiers in 902–c. 934, of a viscount at Aulnay, less than 20 kilometers to the north-east⁴³. Viscount Hildegaire of Limoges appeared in the entourage of count Ebles in a charter of 925; the notion that the vis-

DET, Cartulaire de Saint Cyprien [as in n. 16], nos 183, 184, 242, 251, 422). See also Isabelle ROSÉ, Un cas problématique de succession au X^e siècle. Le multi-abbatit d'Odon de Cluny (vers 879–942), in: Frédérique LACHAUD, Michael PENMAN (eds), Making and breaking the rules: succession in medieval Europe, c. 1000–c. 1600, Turnhout 2008, p. 206–208.

38 ROSÉ, Construire une société (as in n. 21), p. 218–220.

39 RICHARD, Comtes de Poitou (as in n. 20), vol. 1, p. 68, saw Raoul's privilege for Tulle as an effort to extract the abbey from the influence of Ebles, count of Poitou, and as subjection to St Savin sur Gartempe, even though the lay abbot of Tulle, Ademar, had Ebles and Raoul agreeing jointly to his endowment of Tulle, clearly an endowment that ensured Ademar's enjoyment of monastic land for his lifetime with reversion to Tulle on his death: Jean-Baptiste CHAMPEVAL, Cartulaire de l'abbaye bénédictine Saint-Martin de Tulle en Limousin, in: Cartulaires des abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour, Brive 1903, no. 14.

40 See the discussion of BRUNTERC'H, La succession d'Acfred (as in n. 37). Raoul's diploma for Cluny of 927 contrasts these terms: duke William in founding Cluny subjected it to the Pope *ad tuendum non ad dominandum* – see Recueil des actes de Robert I^{er} et de Raoul (as in n. 34), no. 12.

41 Georges KOZIOL, The politics of memory and identity in Carolingian diplomas, Turnhout 2012, p. 290–291, however, sees the advent of Odo at St Martin de Tulle in political terms, with Tulle wrested from Poitevin authority and brought into a »network« of abbeys controlled by Odo.

42 Charles DE LASTEYRIE, L'abbaye de Saint-Martial de Limoges, Paris 1901, preuves no. 4; Maurice PROU, Alexandre VIDIER (ed.), Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît, vol. 1, Paris 1907, nos. 44 and 45; ROSÉ, Construire une société (as in n. 21), p. 320–324; EAD., Odon de Cluny, précurseur d'Abbon?, in: Annie DUFOUR, Gillette LABORY (eds), Abbon, un abbé de l'an mil, Turnhout 2008, p. 246–248. For the bull of 938, see Harald ZIMMERMANN (ed.), Papsturkunden 896–1046, vol. 1, Vienna 1984, no. 83.

43 Marcel GARAUD, Les vicomtes de Poitou, IX^e–XII^e siècles, in: Revue historique de droit français et étranger, 4th series, 16 (1937), p. 437.

count became a »vassal« of the count of Poitiers at this time is given credence by the fact that Ebles' son, William Tête d'Étoupe, could make his brother, also called Ebles, bishop of Limoges in 944, though the extent of his authority outside Limoges itself is not clear⁴⁴. Secular authority created the conditions where reform could be envisaged⁴⁵.

What can be deduced about the kind of reform promoted by abbot Martin? Observance of the rule of St Benedict was doubtless the aim, though this could be interpreted in a number of ways, particularly the degree of isolation from secular affairs and links with family and property. The tone was not likely to have been less than that given in the life of St Gerald of Aurillac (d. c. 909), probably written by Odo of Cluny when abbot of Aurillac in 928 with the encouragement of Aimon and bishop Turpio. The regime proposed for a pious ruler was largely that followed by a monk, involving withdrawal for prayer, silent listening to the reading of sacred texts during meals, rejection of conspicuous consumption, and chastity⁴⁶. More specific points can be gleaned from other sources. In c. 935, when handing over the church of St Augustin to Martin and his monks *ad construendum monasterium*, bishop Turpio demanded that »sacred rules«, presumably those of St Benedict, should be ceaselessly observed (*sancta regula indesinenter custodiatur*); divine service was to be carried on *sine ullo strepitu saeculari*⁴⁷. Such provisions conform with the continual liturgical celebration established at Cluny. The stipulation that the ancient custom be preserved by which clerics and citizens shared the cemetery showed that some links with secular life were to be maintained, something Cluny sought to avoid. An endowment made by bishop Turpio at this time specified that no-one was to have the *potestatem (...) dominandi*, except that the bishop's legitimate rights were guaranteed – again a significant deviation from the Cluniac ideal, where freedom from interference by secular or ecclesiastical rulers was guaranteed in both royal and papal privileges⁴⁸. Louis IV's diploma of 942 for St Jean d'Angély echoed that of Raoul for

44 RICHARD, Chartes de Saint-Maixent (as in n. 22), no. 11. Vincent ROBLIN (ed.), Recueil des actes des vicomtes de Limoges, Geneva 2009, p. 9, talks of »l'entrée du vicomte dans la vassalité des comtes de Poitiers« at this date; further support comes from a single charter in which William Tête d'Étoupe was called count of Poitiers, Limoges and the Auvergne, datable only to 951/963 (RICHARD, Chartes de Saint-Maixent, no. 27). The *Adalbertus Lemovicensis* who appeared before count Ebles in 903 may conceivably be linked to the *fidelis* of Charles the Bald named Hildeburtus, who was granted land in the county of Limoges by the emperor in 879 (Pierre DE MONSABERT [ed.], Chartes de l'abbaye de Nouaillé, Poitiers 1936, no. 32; Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve [as in n. 12], vol. 2, no. 411); Robert DE LASTEYRIE, Étude sur les comtes et vicomtes de Limoges antérieurs à l'an 1000, Paris 1874, p. 100–101, no. 3. BRUNTERC'H, La succession d'Acfred (as in n. 37) goes as far as to suggest that Ebles became count of Limoges.

45 The conclusion of Anna Trumbore JONES, Noble Lord, Good Shepherd; episcopal power and piety in Aquitaine, 877–1050, Leiden, Boston 2009, p. 171–172, that bishops drove reform reflects a desire to see church government as independent of secular authority, a view often based on a rather literal interpretation of sources.

46 See BULTOT-VERLEYSSEN, Odon de Cluny. Vita Gerardi Auriliacensis (as in n. 29). Mathew KUEFLER, The making and unmaking of a saint. Hagiography and memory in the cult of Gerald of Aurillac, Philadelphia 2014, p. 9 ff. questions Odo's authorship of the »Vita prolixior«, the tone of the »Vita brevior« being more in tune with Odo's view of monastic virtue.

47 BECQUET, Actes des évêques de Limoges (as in n. 34), nos 5, 6.

48 Ibid., no. 6.

Tulle in decreeing that the monks should elect abbots according to the rule of St Benedict, a standard condition found in royal diplomas for reformed abbeys along with specific prohibition of interference by any count or powerful person. The abbey was to enjoy immunity »under our protection«, the phrase *immunis sub nostra deffensione* being a standard provision in royal privileges of protection granted by 9th and 10th century monarchs⁴⁹. For Jumièges, Dudo of St Quentin remarked that Martin kept the monks »under the discipline of the strictest contemplative rule«. Martin dissuaded William duke of Normandy from becoming a monk on the grounds that his son and heir was a junior and needed parental direction; the implication was that monastic life was to involve complete withdrawal from affairs of the secular world. The anecdote recorded by Dudo about Martin's theological lesson to the duke suggests that such studies were to be part of the new monastic regime⁵⁰. What is absent from reform in 10th-century Aquitaine is the evocation of protection by the Pope, who from the 930s was assuming the role of guardian of the freedoms of Cluny and its closest associates: the role of royal and secular authority was similarly to guarantee the abbey's independence. However, Odo of Cluny could be flexible on occasion. When called on to reform St Julien de Tours, he appears to have been content to be guided by his old colleague, Theotolon, archbishop of Tours, and respected his rights⁵¹. At Fleury, he abandoned Cluniac insistence on independence from secular authority when he accepted the leading role of duke Hugh the Great as he met furious protests and riots when reform was imposed on the community⁵². Martin was doubtless as concerned as Odo to isolate the monastic community from secular affairs, but he may have been more relaxed about the participation of lay rulers in his work⁵³. Whether Martin met with more success than Odo in obliging monks, all from the higher echelons of society, to abandon the life-style of their class for a rigorous and cloistered life of liturgy, silence and prayer does not appear.

Monastic reform in Angoulême

Ademar of Chabannes knew that reform associated with an abbot Martin had taken place in his own abbey of St Cybard in Angoulême and that it had been led by the count. Having ascribed Martin's activities to the kingdom of Aquitaine in the 830s, he needed a personality around which to build a story of reform and celebrate the progress which the introduction of a monastic regime represented. A solution was found when he alighted on an undated document in the name of William, count of Angoulême in 930–962, which recorded a major endowment of St Cybard⁵⁴. The

49 See the discussion in *Recueil des actes de Charles le Chauve* (as in n. 12), vol. 3, p. 227–231, with clauses whose wording remained unchanged in 10th-century documents of this kind.

50 Jules LAIR (ed.), *Dudo of St Quentin, De moribus et actis primorum Normanniae ducum*, Caen 1865, p. 200–203; VAN HOUTS, *Gesta Normannorum* (as in n. 33), p. 86–89.

51 Guy-Marie OURY, *Le rôle du monastère de Saint-Julien de Tours après sa restauration par Odon de Cluny (peu avant 942–1046)*, in: GUILLOT, FAVREAU, *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine* (as in n. 29) p. 192–193.

52 *Ibid.*, p. 306–316.

53 ROSÉ, *Construire une société seigneuriale* (as in n. 21), p. 458–474.

54 Confusion about the sequence of counts in Angoulême stems from efforts to reconcile charter

charter is best dated between abbot Martin's death in 942 and the count's in 962⁵⁵; an edited version of the document appeared in Ademar's chronicle described as a *testamentum*⁵⁶. William subscribed the document as count and monk⁵⁷, other subscribers being his cousin count Bernard of Périgueux (another grandson of Vulgrin) and members of their families; the chronicler's text added Arnald, son of count William, as a subscriber, doubtless to link Arnald Manzer, count from 975, to the act. The endowment enabled Ademar to fabricate a story of reform: he took it to signify that count William replaced canons with monks (though charters show that monks were recorded at the abbey from an earlier date, when Martin was abbot), and that an abbot Mainard rather than Martin put in charge. A Mainard is among subscribers but is not described as abbot; however an abbot named Mainard can be found in a series of undated 10th-century documents from the abbey⁵⁸ and in a document which Ademar recorded in his notes as dating from the reign of Lothair (954–986)⁵⁹.

With Martin's arrival in Angoulême comes the first evidence that St Cybard was controlled by the count. Before this moment, the bishop of Angoulême had controlled the abbey's resources, a widespread practice in the Carolingian environment⁶⁰. The privilege of Charles the Bald of 852 showed bishop Launus as controlling clerics in the *monasterium sancti Eparchii*; early 10th-century charters indicate that the resources of the cathedral church and the abbey were managed jointly by the bishop⁶¹. The description of count William as both count and monk

evidence with statements of Ademar of Chabannes and the Angoulême annals; Ademar held that William became count after the death of his father Alduin in 916, his count Ademar being count of Poitiers. It seems reasonable to assume that William became count on the death of count Ademar in 930.

- 55 The Annals of Angoulême give the date of the death of count William, *valde amantissimus*, as 962 (MGH SS, vol. 16 [as in n. 25], p. 487); there is no reason to follow Ademar of Chabannes who in his edited copy of the Angoulême annals (*ibid.*, vol. 4 [as in n. 26], p. 5) made this count William the son of count Bernard, calling him *Willelmus Talerandus*: Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 149 (III 28).
- 56 LEFRANÇO, Cartulaire de Saint-Cybard (as in n. 23), no. 222; Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 146 (III 24). The St Cybard charter has traditionally been dated to just before 945; this stemmed from the calculation of Ademar of Chabannes that count Bernard of Périgueux and his sons took over Angoulême 30 years before the death of Bernard's son Rannulf in 975.
- 57 The subscription as monk led Debord to assume that count William abdicated, his place as count of Angoulême being taken by his cousin Bernard of Périgueux and Bernard's sons: DEBORD, Société laïque (as in n. 7), p. 68.
- 58 LEFRANÇO, Cartulaire de Saint-Cybard (as in n. 23), nos 180, 216, 232bis.
- 59 Ademar's notes on charters from St Cybard notes are to be found in the margins of Leiden, University Library, Codices latini Vossiana, octavo, 15, f. 139r-144r; they were published by Oswald HOLDER-EGGER, Notizen von S. Eparch in Angoulême und S. Martial in Limoges, in: Neues Archiv 7 (1882), p. 630–637, and re-published by Léopold DELISLE, Notice sur les manuscrits originaux d'Ademar de Chabannes, Paris 1896, paginated 1–118 (an offprint from Notes et extraits des manuscrits de la bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, vol. 35, 1^{ère} partie [1896], p. 241–258). Ademar recorded that *Tempore Loterii fuit Mainardus abbas sancti Eparchii* (HOLDER-EGGER, Notizen von S. Eparch, p. 634, DELISLE, Notice, p. 316).
- 60 Josef SEMMLER, Karl der Große und das fränkische Mönchtum, in: Bernhard BISCHOFF (ed.), Das Geistige Leben, Düsseldorf 1967 (Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 2), p. 277; Mayke DE JONG, Carolingian monasticism; the power of prayer, in: Rosamond MCKITTERICK (ed.), The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 2, Cambridge 2006, p. 627–628.
- 61 NANGLARD, Cartulaire de l'église d'Angoulême (see n. 24), no. 42 (915), LEFRANÇO, Cartulaire

surely implies a comital role in governing St Cybard, even if the evidence does not match that for William Tête d'Étoupe in Poitiers, who from at least 944 was styled both count of Poitiers and abbot of St Hilaire, and was clearly involved in managing the abbey's resources⁶².

Monastic reform in the Périgord: the charters of count Bernard

One of the signatories of the *testamentum* mentioned above was Bernard, grandson of Vulgrin and count of Périgueux. For Ademar of Chabannes, the Périgord was a little known territory, and his chronicle abandons any coherent narrative to describe a medley of disputes and their resolution by warfare. Poitevin influence in the Périgord and La Marche is hard to trace; in the 970s, the duke acted as adviser to the viscount Guy of Limoges in disputes with Helie and Aldebert, sons of Boso of La Marche⁶³. Count Bernard's reform activities in the 930s are evidenced in three charters which, despite difficulties of interpretation, show that our Martin, together with Odo of Cluny and his colleague Adacius, were all active in the Périgord at the request of the count (see the appendix below, p. 42–47, nos 1–3). The charters, all to be dated to 936/942, were issued for the abbeys of Brantôme, Sarlat and Saint-Sour in Terrasson-Lavilledieu, all within the diocese of Périgueux at a time when references to a bishop are totally lacking. They were entrusted to Martin, Odo and Adacius, and Adacius respectively⁶⁴. The Brantôme charter survives as a very early copy, probably interpolated since its account of foundation by Charlemagne reflects 11th rather than 10th-century preoccupations; recent editors of the charter judiciously described it as a »copie figurée« rather than an original. It is a striking document with exuberant calligraphic penwork, in format if not in script rivalling the more exuberant charters from Cluny of this date⁶⁵. The Sarlat charter survives as an interpolated, late-11th century document, though fortunately a copy of an earlier version of the text is known⁶⁶. Whatever the date of the surviving versions of these charters, the information contained in them fits too neatly into what is known of reform at this time for the basic authenticity of their texts to be doubted.

de Saint-Cybard (as in n. 23), no. 235 (922). The charter of 915 records gifts to the cathedral and to St Cybard in a single document, one evidently issued from a public court, since the twelve signatories are headed by a viscount, vicarius and subvicarius. In the charter of 922, bishop Gombaud ceded land in the *potestas* of St Cybard to a lay party with the consent of the *congregatio* of the cathedral and of St Cybard.

62 The earliest charter showing William count of Poitiers in control of St Hilaire is datable to 941/942; RÉDET, Documents de Saint-Hilaire de Poitiers (as in n. 28), no. 18.

63 ROBLIN, Recueil (as in n. 44), p. 24–25; Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 147 (III 25).

64 On these charters, see ROSÉ, Odon de Cluny (as in n. 21), p. 299–303.

65 Hartmut ATSMAS, Jean VEZIN (eds), Les plus anciens documents originaux de l'abbaye de Cluny, 3 vols, Turnhout 1997, nos 4, 11; Amy G. REMENSNYDER, Remembering kings past. Monastic foundation legends in medieval southern France, Ithaca, London 1995, p. 164–165, 311–312, discusses the cult of Charlemagne at Brantôme.

66 For comparison, see BnF, Coll. Bourgogne 79, no.166A, a charter of 1097 concerning the monastery of Baigne and Cluny, available at <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte1733>.

The texts of count Bernard's charters are nearly identical. The use of the same text for documents drawn up for different institutions is not totally unknown at this date. The foundation charter of Déols, for example, borrows wholesale the language of Cluny's foundation charter, as does that of Romainmôtier in Burgundy⁶⁷. Grants for St Martial in Limoges of 974/988 by Gerald, viscount of Limoges, and for the abbey of Uzerche of 997/1002 by Guy, viscount of Limoges, have identical wording⁶⁸. At a later date, the text of the count of Anjou's endowment of La Trinité de Vendôme in 1040 was used in 1047 for establishing Notre Dame de Saintes⁶⁹. The similarities in count Bernard's charters surely indicate co-operation between those running the abbeys, that is to say Martin, Odo and Adacius.

Each of these charters has an independent provenance. All were drawn up in the name of Bernard, *Petrocoricensis comes* for Brantôme and Sarlat and simply *comes* for Terrasson; in each case, Bernard was count *Dei gratia*. The use of this epithet is noteworthy. The beneficiary institutions that drew up charters (papal documents can be assumed to have been issued by papal authorities, with only some royal diplomas clearly issued from a royal chancery) had their own tradition of nomenclature. William the Pious, founder of Cluny in 910, was *domo Dei comes et dux*; abbeys such as St Hilaire, St Maixent and St Jean d'Angély expressed the same idea in their own phraseology in charters of William Tête d'Étoupe as count and for his son William Fier-à-Bras as count and duke⁷⁰. The abbey of St Martial in Limoges in 977/988 graced Gerald with the title *gracia Dei Lemovicensium vicecomes*, which Vincent Roblin takes as a sign that the viscount sought to underline the regalian nature of his authority, but the occurrence is unique⁷¹. The qualification of Bernard as count »by the grace of God« was surely useful to the reformers of Brantôme, Sarlat and Terrasson, paraded to show that the grant itself had divine sanction – the count acted with the same divinely-sanctioned authority as a king.

Bernard's motives and actions are expressed in a virtually identical form: *sub iure meo retinere timui, et in ordine monastico restituere dignum duxi*. The beneficiaries were brought into the *potestas* of Christ, St Peter and St Sicaire for Brantôme, of God and St Suris for Terrasson, and of St Sauveur for Sarlat, with the count renouncing his *dominatio*; anyone bringing the monks or their property *in potestate propria* was threatened with anathema. There is no hint here of the terminology of royal privileges of the period which exempted abbeys from the jurisdiction of public officials – usually on the lines of *nullus iudex publicus vel quislibet ex iudicaria potestate (...) ingredi audeat*⁷². The royal guarantee of immunity, expressed in royal privileges with

67 Jean HUBERT, L'abbaye exempte de Déols et la papauté, X^e-XII^e siècles, in: Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes 145 (1987), p. 12; Alexandre PAHUD, Le testament d'Adélaïde, in: Jean-Daniel MOREOD (ed.), Romainmôtier, histoire de l'abbaye, Lausanne 2001, p. 68 n. 18.

68 ROBLIN, Recueil (as in n. 44), nos 4, 5.

69 Olivier GUILLOT, Le comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle, Paris 1972, vol. 2, nos 79 (p. 67–69), 110 (p. 85–88).

70 Walther KIENAST, Der Herzogstitel in Frankreich und Deutschland, Munich, Vienna 1968, p. 163 ff., does not consider expressions referring to divine sanction for the ducal title.

71 ROBLIN, Recueil (as in n. 44), no. 4 and p. 97 n. 3.

72 Philippe LAUER (ed.), Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, Paris 1949, no. 21 (899, for Aurillac).

phrases such as *sub tuitione atque immunitatis nostre deffensione*, was replaced by the idea of what would later be called a *sauveterre* under royal protection. Brantôme, Terrasson and Sarlat were brought under royal protection with the phrase *Sint autem ipsi monachi in subiectioe regis ad locum salvum faciendum*, Brantôme and Sarlat owing only prayers in return – a stipulation recalling the Carolingian requirement for Brantôme in c. 850. This phraseology was circulating among reformers, in the Limousin at least. It occurs in the agreement of c. 931 by which a viscount Ademar made over to St Martin de Tulle lands he held as lay abbot, ensuring that he retained a life interest, an arrangement made as part of the reform of the abbey by Odo of Cluny and his colleague Adacius. Viscount Ademar described the monks in Tulle as being *in mundebugo regis ad locum salvum faciendum, non ad aliquid persolvendum nisi solas orationes*⁷³. The Carolingian concept of *manburgium* had appeared in the privilege of Charles the Simple for St Gerald's monastery at Aurillac in 899 and in that of Raoul for Tulle itself in 931⁷⁴. This effort to place the abbeys directly under a king echoes the efforts of Odo to obtain royal protection for the totally independent status of Cluny, Déols and other institutions. Royal authority was unknown in the Périgord at this date, but it had a role in the reformers' vision of the perfectly ordered society. Efforts in the Périgord to provide safe havens around major abbeys seems to correspond to the zones around churches recorded in Catalonia from the 980s, though here they were termed *sacraria* and were mostly under episcopal supervision⁷⁵. Appeal to papal protection seems absent for the Périgord except for Sarlat, where there is a tantalising 17th-century reference to a papal bull issued to Odon of Cluny by Leo VII in 938/939⁷⁶.

The aftermath of reform

Reformers of the kind just discussed have been described as »technicians of reform«, consultants, sent with teams of specialists to reform specific monasteries at the request of their rulers⁷⁷. With the disappearance of powerful personalities leading reform, the houses tended to revert to earlier habits: the fate of reformed monasteries in Aquitaine was conditioned by the political fortunes of lay rulers, not by any ecclesiastical powers. Weak government in the Périgord in the second half of the 10th century may be related to a major dynastic change apparent by the 970s. Ademar of Chabannes described how Bernard count of Périgueux and his four sons, Arnald

73 ROSÉ, Construire une société (as in n. 21), p. 218–222; CHAMPEVAL, Cartulaires des abbayes de Tulle et de Roc-Amadour (as in n. 39), no. 14 (p. 35).

74 Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple (as in n. 72), no. 21; Recueil des actes de Robert Ier et Raoul (as in n. 34), no. 21.

75 Pierre BONNASSIE, *Les sagreras catalanes: la concentration de l'habitat dans le cercle de paix des églises*, in: Michel FIXOR, Élisabeth ZADORA-RIO (eds), *L'environnement des églises et la topographie religieuse des campagnes médiévales*, Paris 1994, p. 72.

76 ROSÉ, Construire une société (as in n. 21), p. 385–389; Jean-Claude IGNACE, *Bullaire périgourdin: recueil des actes pontificaux antérieures à 1198 concernant l'ancien diocèse de Périgueux*, Périgueux 2012, no. 1, from BnF, Coll. Périgord, vol. 3, f. 145r.

77 Christian LAURANSON-ROSAZ, *Réseaux aristocratiques et pouvoir monastique dans le midi aquitain, du IX^e au XI^e siècle*, in: *Naissance et fonctionnement des réseaux monastiques et canoniaux*, Saint-Étienne 1991, p. 367.

Boirratio, William *Talerandus*, Rannulf *Bomparius* and Richard *Insipiens* ruled the counties of both Périgueux and Angoulême until the death, as the Angoulême annals tell us, of Rannulf in 975⁷⁸. The epithets given to Bernard's sons seem to reflect a literary topos, and faith in the chronicler is further slightly shaken by the three charters of count Bernard, which name Bernard's sons rather differently, but it is reasonable to follow the chronicler when he notes that Périgueux passed to the family of Bernard's sister Emma when she married Boso *Vetulus de Marca*, a man given the prestigious title of *marchio* in a document of 958. Of their children, Helie was termed count of Périgueux, his brother Aldebert merely as a count (whether of Périgueux or of La Marche is not known). Aldebert campaigned against the duke and attacked Poitiers, whose ruler appears to have supported the viscount Guy of Limoges when attacked by the brothers⁷⁹; by 989–992 Aldebert was appearing in ducal charters; count Boso (Aldebert's son or nephew) attended the duke's court from 997. Some kind of order was established when duke William the Great captured Périgueux, probably around 1003, separating Périgueux from La Marche and making Boso's son Helie count of the former and Aldebert's son Bernard ruler of the latter; Poitevin influence was reinforced by the duke's marriage to the widow of Aldebert of La Marche⁸⁰.

Against this background, Brantôme was claimed by a number of secular parties. »Count Boso«, probably count of Périgueux, managed to prevent Guy, viscount of Limoges, from enforcing his claim to it; the lords of Mussidan, in the person of Grimoard when he was bishop of Angoulême (991–1018), went to war to prevent the same viscount from gaining the abbey. The dispute ended up in Rome before Sylvester II, Pope from 999 to 1003, who managed to reconcile the parties – Sylvester was perhaps aware of the personalities, having begun his career as a monk at Aurillac⁸¹. At a later date the count of Périgueux retained or re-gained rights over Brantôme, since in 1080 count Helie could pass it to the abbey of La Chaise Dieu without reference to the lords of Mussidan, lords who were certainly dependent on him at that time⁸².

Hugh of Fleury's life of St Sacerdos, written c. 1107, refers to a papal privilege of a Pope Leo for the abbey of Sarlat. The terms have a certain ring of authenticity in in-

78 Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 149 (III 28); BOURGEOIS, Une résidence des comtes d'Angoulême (as in n. 4), p. 392–393.

79 ROBLIN, Recueil (as in n. 44), p. 24–25; Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 147 (III 25).

80 Ibid., p. 156 (III 34). Georges THOMAS, Comtes de La Marche de la maison de Charroux, X^e siècle–1177, Paris 1928, assumes a distinct county for La Marche in the 10th century, though many have suggested that La Marche and the county of Périgueux were one; see Robert-Henri BAUTIER, Les origines du comté de La Marche, in: Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à M. Henri Hemmer, Paris 1979, p. 10–19.

81 Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 157–158 (III 35, 36).

82 The dispute and appeal to Rome was described by Ademar of Chabannes (ibid., p. 158 [III 36]). For La Chaise Dieu, see Roger GAUSSIN, L'abbaye de La Chaise-Dieu, 1043–1518, Paris 1962, p. 138, and for the charter of 1080, see below, p. 43–44, appendix, no. 1. In 1080, count Hélie was involved in settling a dispute between St Florent de Saumur, Charroux and the lord of Mussidan in terms which show that the latter was subject to the count's authority: Paul MARCHEGAY, Chartes anciennes de Saint-Florent près Saumur pour le Périgord, in: Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord 6 (1879), no. 46.

sisting that the abbot was properly elected and condemning those who despoiled the abbey's lands (*ipsius ecclesiae audeat invadere dominatum*). There was clearly a memory of comital control of Sarlat when Hugh was writing: he described the fate of a cleric named Hubert who, with the support of a simoniac count William of Périgueux, took control of Sarlat (*arripuit dominationem*), and sold its possessions before being tortured by visions⁸³. But by the 12th century, Sarlat was evidently flourishing, overwhelmed with pilgrims when the relics of St Pardulf temporarily joined those of St Sacerdos⁸⁴, and its abbots operating within a settled framework of ecclesiastical government.

The path to such a situation for the abbey of Terrasson was not without problems. By 1101 it was controlled by Raymond, viscount of Turenne, who allowed its abbot, Ademar of St Riberio, to transfer the abbey to St Martial de Limoges, by then almost reconciled to its position as a Cluniac house⁸⁵. The abbey evidently needed reform: a number of monastic offices at Terrasson were reserved to monks of St Martial in an effort to ensue correct discipline. The arrangement was not satisfactory, and the abbot of Terrasson, Bernardus Vicarius, had to be disciplined by abbot Bernard of St Martial: he was humiliated in front of the community of St Martial, but finally retained his position⁸⁶. Thereafter Terrasson appears emancipated from direct secular control.

Ademar of Chabannes' account of the rule of Angoulême by count Bernard and his sons after the death of count William in 962 provides some details of comital relations with St Cybard. Bernard's son Arnald was said to have »seized« St Cybard's *villa* at Sales-Lavalette for bestowal on Itier of Villebois, compensating the abbey with the gift of a *villa* in Jarnac (ever prejudiced, Ademar of Chabannes always saw alienation of property from the abbey as unjustifiable seizures); both actions imply comital control of the abbey⁸⁷. Ademar noted a gift to St Cybard subscribed by Bernard in an undated charter, and a gift by his son Arnald⁸⁸. The chronicler was quite clear that the later counts of Angoulême, Arnald Manzer and his son William, controlled the abbey. An outraged Ademar of Chabannes, with his usual hysterical distrust of bishops and canons, recorded that bishop Grimoard paid the count for control of St Cybard and illegally alienated some of its possessions, but the episode is as likely to have involved mortgage arrangements as theft of comital resources. For Ademar, attempts by the bishop to control land belonging to the abbey was a scandalous attack on the count's role and resources. Later abbots of St Cybard operated

83 Acta Sanctorum, May, vol. 2, Antwerp 1680, p. 17, 18.

84 Geoffrey of Vigeois, in: LABBÉ, *Novae Bibliothecae manuseriptorum librorum* (as in n. 34), vol. 2, p. 280.

85 *Ibid.*, p. 297. Resistance to the gift or sale of St Martial to Cluny by the viscount of Limoges in the 1062–1063, and further disputes in 1087–1095 and 1114 are described in Herbert Edward John COWDREY, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian reform*, Oxford 1970, p. 90–94. The viscount still claimed a role in the election of the abbot in 1114; see Alexandre BRUEL (ed.), *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, vol. 5, Paris 1894, no. 3909.

86 Geoffrey of Vigeois, in: LABBÉ, *Novae bibiothecae manuseriptorum librorum* (as in n. 34), vol. 2, p. 306. Terrasson was first described as belonging to St Martial in a bull of Pascal II of 1102: BRUEL, *Recueil des chartes* (as in n. 85), no. 3810.

87 Ademari Cabanensis *Chronicon* (as in n. 5), p. 149 (III 28).

88 HOLDER-EGGER, *Notizen von S. Eparch*, p. 636; DELISLE, *Notice* (as in n. 59), p. 317.

as loyal members of the count's entourage, both abbot Richard and his successor Amalfredus accompanying count William to Jerusalem in 1026⁸⁹.

Circumstantial evidence indicates that duke William Fier-à-Bras was behind the accession of count Arnald in 975. Apart from Arnald's support of the duke in a number of military campaigns, the intimate friendship of his son William when count of Angoulême (c. 988–1028) with Fier-à-Bras's son, duke William the Great (c. 994–1030), suggests the two had grown up together, the former perhaps placed in the ducal court as a hostage. Arnald's marriage to the widow of the viscount of Thouars could hardly have taken place without ducal consent⁹⁰, and the nomination of Franco, from a family of ducal servants in Saintes, as abbot of Arnald's foundation of St Amand de Boixe, show how closely he was associated with Poitevin power⁹¹.

In the late 1020s, Ademar of Chabannes took it as axiomatic that the count of Angoulême was the special protector and effective ruler of St Cybard, just as the duke of Aquitaine was the natural defender of monasticism, his ejection of a simoniac abbot from Charroux and subjection of the house to St Savin sur Gartempe praised as evidence of good government⁹². Monastic privileges of the 10th century conventionally imposed the rule of St Benedict as the necessary form of observance, but it is difficult to see that provisions for separation from secular life and for free election of abbots were anything but ignored, abbots rarely behaving as other than ducal or comital servants. Duke William the Great called on Odilon of Cluny to renew the *regularem (...) districtioem* of St Jean d'Angély, but the resulting nomination of an abbot relied on the duke's approval⁹³. Duke William endowed Cluny with property in Aquitaine⁹⁴, but it was not until the 1070s and later that the rulers of Poitiers and Angoulême allowed the monasteries over which they had influence to be incorporated into the Cluniac system of government⁹⁵. But that is another story.

89 Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 156 (III 35), 158 (III 36), 184 (III 65).

90 For charters in which count William appeared with the duke, see Rowan WATSON, *The counts of Angoulême from the 9th to the mid-13th century*, PhD, University of East Anglia, 1979, p. 238–260; for the *Conventum*, see Jane MARTINDALE, *Conventum inter Guillelmum Aquitanorum comitem et Hugonem Chiliarchum*, in: EAD., *Status, authority and regional power; Aquitaine and France, 9th to 12th centuries*, Aldershot 1997, no. VIIb.

91 Théodore GRASILLIER, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Notre-Dame de Saintes*, Niort 1871, nos 1, 37, 52, 122. Franco *Capitolini* – a title which indicates control of the castle in Saintes – first emerged when the city was controlled by Geoffrey, count of Anjou; that Franco's control of the mint in Saintes was hereditary indicates that it pre-dated the Angevin regime.

92 Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 179 (III 58). At Charroux, the ejected abbot Peter was said to be a powerful secular figure, and thus presumably liable to use the abbey's resources against the duke. Cécile TREFFORT, *Le comte de Poitiers, duc d'Aquitaine, et l'Église aux alentours de l'an mil (970–1030)*, in: *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 43 (2000), p. 395–449, sees ducal relations with ecclesiastical institutions chiefly in terms of promoting piety.

93 Ademari Cabanensis Chronicon (as in n. 5), p. 176–177 (III 56); Jacques HOUILLIER, *Saint Odilon, abbé de Cluny*, Louvain 1964, p. 75–76, overlooks the duke's role. Unlike the terms of the subjection of Montierneuf to Cluny in 1079, the dukes retained a role in the election of abbots at St Jean d'Angély: BRUEL, *Chartes de Cluny* (as in n. 85), vol. 4, Paris 1888, no. 3495; Georges MUSSET, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Jean d'Angély*, Paris 1901, no. 337, a dispute of 1104.

94 BRUEL, *Chartes de Cluny* (as in n. 85), vol. 3, Paris 1884, nos 2709 (1017), 2716 (1019), 2737 (1020).

95 Armin KOHNLE, *Abt Hugo von Cluny, 1049–1109*, Sigmaringen 1993, p. 206, 210–212.

Appendix

Charters of Bernard, count of Périgueux

See Rosé, *Construire une société seigneuriale (as in n. 21)*, p. 299–303, for a discussion of these documents.

1.

Count Bernard confides Brantôme to abbot Martin. – 936/942.

B. AD Haute Loire, 1H, 182/1^{bis}: »figurative copy« of a 10th-century original, made in the early 11th century, 396 x 547 mm. Endorsements: (1) *Donum abbatiae sancti sitharii brantosmensi* (11th century); (2) *De brantosme* (13th or 14th century); (3) *Donation à l'abbaye de St Sicaire de Brantosme aux Religieux de St Benoit fait par Bernard comte de Périgueux* (18th century). Stout parchment, damaged along the bottom edge, where a decorative motif visible; ruled with hard point; writing beneath the top ruled line. The script, a rounded Caroline minuscule with highly ornamental and un-natural elements including ascenders and descenders (e.g. »p«, »q«) systematically graced with a vertical wavy flourish which is also applied like a cedilla added to the bottom of minims (e.g. »i«, or »r«) and to the foot of the tall »s«; elaborate »s-t«, »c-t« and »r-t« ligatures.

C. BnF, ms latin 12765, p.289–293: copy from B (?) by Estiennot (*floruit* 1658–1699), *ex tabulario Cantojolensi (...) originale diploma (...) reperi in tabulario Cantojolensi*, i.e. Chanteuges, an abbey subjected to La Chaise Dieu in 1137. D. BnF, Coll. Périgord, vol. 33, p.187–188: copy from C, 18th century.

Edited: (a) Jean-Baptiste PAYRARD (ed.), *Chartes inédites concernant l'histoire du Velay*, in: *Tablettes historiques du Velay* 8 (1878), p. 1–3. (b) Henri WAQUET, *Comte Bernard de Périgord et l'abbaye de Brantôme*, in: *Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord* 71 (1944), p. 26–27, from B, with a facsimile. (c) <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte3672> (Chartes originales antérieures à 1121).

DISPOSITOR ordinatorque mirificus omnium rerum Deus qui ut scriptum est quos vult humiliat et quos vult exaltat [*refers to* 1 Reg. 2,7]. Certum est quia multos / quos modo exaltat in seculo venturo humiliabit, et multo magis illos qui de donis eius superbientes sub potenti manu illius humiliare dedignantur. Propterea / enim iustum est ut homo subditus sit Deo, et de his que ab ipso percipit eidem placere studeat. Hęc omnia ego Bernardus gratia Dei Petrocoricensis comes considerans / monasterium sancti Petri apostolorum principis sanctique Innocentis SIKARII quod vocatur Brantosma, qui olim constructus fuerat a dompno Karolo rege Francorum, / et hunc predictum Innocentem a transmarinis partibus evexerat (1), qui modo minime regulariter degit, sub iure meo retinere timui, et in ordine monastico / restituere dignum duxi. Volo itaque ut notum sit omnibus hominibus tam futuris quam presentibus quomodo actum sit. Igitur ego in Dei nomine Bernardus / comes consenciente uxore

mea Garsinda hunc predictum locum cum omni abbathia ad eam pertinentia in potestate domini nostri Ihesu Christi et sancti Petri apostolorum principis / ac santissimi innocentis SIKARII qui ibi corpore illeso quiescit de mea dominatione transposui pro remedio anime meę patris marisque meę et pro anima uxoris meę filiisque nostris / ac filiabus et fratribus prodecessoribus quoque nostris et amicis fidelibus et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum et specialiter pro illis qui prefatum locum defenderint, / et beneficiis suis concesserint. Ideo ut predictum est cedo prescriptum locum domine Deo salvatori omnium et beati Petri apostoli in cuius nomine est consecratus sanctique Innocenti / SIKARII qui ibi cum magno favore quiescit ut sit liber et absolutus in perpetuum ab omni negotio seculari et a successoribus meis. Et trado in manibus dompni Martini abbatis / ipsius loci et in manibus monachorum ibidem manentium ut videlicet ipsi et successores eorum tam cenobium quam omnem abbathiam sine ulla contradictione teneant / et possideant, et post discessum dompni Martini abbatis eligant sibi monachi ipsius loci abbatem qualemcumque voluerint secundum regulam sancti Benedicti. / Sint autem ipsi monachi in subiectione regis ad locum salvum faciendum et non ad aliquid persolvendum nisi solum modo orationes. Ceterum aliud ei non concedo nec ulli / homini, sed potius contestor et adiuro omnes homines propinquos atque successores meos, cunctosque etiam illius cenobii vicinos tam presentes quam futuros / per tremendum sanctę Trinitatis nomen, et per merita sanctorum quorum reliquię inibi continentur, ut ullus nec abba nec monachus, vel clericus, sive etiam laicus res huius cenobii / inquietare presumat, aut in potestate propria ullo modo reddere studeat. Quod si quisquam hanc hereditatem Dei ac sancti Petri caelorum clavigeri, sanctissimique inno/centis SIKARII possidere conaverit, anathema sit et claudatur illi porta caelestis regni, et pateat ingressus inferni, et veniat super illum deprecatio psalmographi dicen/tis, Deus meus pone illum ut rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti, et confundatur [Psalm 82, 14 & 18] in seculum seculi, et pereat in ęternum, non sit coheres Dei, sed sit particeps / Pharaoni, qui ait : Deum nescio, et Israel non dimittam [Exodus 5, 2]. Ego Bernardus hoc datum a me factum nutu Dei disponente ratum perfectumque in perpetuum esse volo cum stipu/latione subnixa. S. Bernardi comitis qui hanc donum fecit et scribere rogavit et manu propria firmavit, et magnatis suis affirmare precepit. S' Guillelmi / S' Arnaldi. S' Gauzberti. S' Bernardi. S' Radulfi. S' Alduini. S' Gozcelini. S' Gauzfredi. S' Heliae. S' Fulcherii. S' Amalgerii / S' Odolrici. Data in mense iunio Regnante Deo, Dompno Ludovico imperante.

(1) qui olim ... evexerat *perhaps an 11th-century interpolation*.

Parts of count Bernard's charter are echoed in the gift of Helie, count of Périgueux, to the abbey of La Chaise Dieu, of 1080, from the lost cartulary of Chanteuges (terms such as *minime regulariter degit* and *sub meo iure retinere timui* derive from count Bernard's document), copied by Dom Estiennot in the 17th century, BnF ms latin 12759, p. 189–190; the text, partially published in Gallia Christiana, vol. 2, col.1491, is as follows:

Cunctos decet christianos dum tempus habent, operari bonum et exonerare se ipsos, si quid noscitorum est, ut post obitum percipiant cum electis sempiternum premium.

Predicatur enim nobis quia quicquid semina verit homo, hec et metet. Insuper quod et de actibus nostris reddituri sumus domino rationem in die iudicii et non solum de actibus sed de verbis et cogitationibus. Hanc sententiam pertimescens, ego Helias comes Petragoricensium, gehennales penas abhorrescens et electis Dei me optans sociari, monasterium sancti Petri apostolorum principis, sanctique innocentis Sicarii quod nuncupatur Brantosma, quo modo mea ignavia minime regulariter degit, sed abusione habitantium fere ad nihilum redactum est, sub meo iure retinere timui, ac vitium eorum favere. Ideoque consilio domni Guillelmi de Monte Berulpho Petragorice sedis episcopi, et cleri ipsius, Siguini Case Dei et successoribus suis tradidi ordinandum ... [sic] Factum fuit donatio ista anno Incarnationis domince MLXXX.

2.

Count Bernard confides Saint-Sour in Terrasson-Lavilledieu to abbot Adacius; a bishop Rannulf (of Angoulême?) is among subscribers. – [936/942].

B. La Réole, Archives municipales, MS.II.6 : copy, 18th century, from the late medieval Livre noir de la Réole, f. 39, now lost, itself said to be a copy from a 12th or 13th century cartulary.

Mentioned: (i) Guy MARMIER, De l'emplacement du *monasterium Genoliacense*, in: Bulletin de la Société historique et archéologique du Périgord 10 (1883), p. 583–586.

Edited: (a) Louis-Charles GRELLET-BALGUERIE (ed.), Cartulaire du prieuré conventuel de Saint-Pierre de La Réole, in: Archives historiques de la Gironde, vol. 5, Paris, Bordeaux 1864, no. 135, from B.

The date is suggested by similarities with the charter of count Bernard for Brantôme.

Conditor atque dispositor cunctarum rerum, mirificus Deus, qui ut scriptum est, hunc humiliat et hunc exaltat [*refers to 1 Reg. 2,7*], certum est quia multos quos modo exultat in futuro seculo humiliabit, illos scilicet qui nunc de donis eius superbientes sub potenti manu illius humiliare dedignantur. Quapropter iustum est ut homo subditus sit Deo, et de bonis que ab ipso percipit, eidem placere studeat. Quod ego Bernardus, gratia Dei comes, monasterium sancti Suris, vocabulo Genoliaco, quod modo minime sub regulari disciplina manet, sub potestate mea retinere pertinui. Unde notum sit omnibus fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris quod ego consensiente uxore mea Berta, et filiis meis, Guillelmo videlicet atque Gausberto, seu Arnaldo, et Bernardo pariter faventibus, hortante etiam atque supplicante quodam fidele meo nomine Frotario, predictum locum cum omni abbacia ipsi adherenti in potestate Dei et sancti Suris, de mea dominatione transfero ; trado enim in presenti iam dictum locum dompno Addazio abbati et monachis quibus regulariter vivere in ibi sub eius potestate placuerit, ut tam cenobium quam omnem abbatiam sine ullo contradictione teneant ac possideant, et post obitum dompni Adazii abbatis, qualem voluerint secundum regulam sancti Benedicti abbatem sibi eligant, in tali autem conventu predictum locum pro amore Dei teneant ubi servire Deo et sancto Soro studeant, et suis

orationibus meam animam pariter ex uxoris mee seu animas filiorum meorum Deo commendare satagant; habeant etiam remuneratorem Deum omnes qui predictum et habitatores eius defenderint. Sint igitur ipsi monachi in subiectione regis ad locum saluum faciendum, non etiam ad aliquid persolvendum. Ceterum contestor et adiuro omnes propinquos atque successores nostros, cunctosque ipsius cenobii tali nos tam presentes quam futuros per tremendum sanctae Trinitatis nomen et meritum beati Suris, cuius corpus prefato in loco requiescit, ut nullus monachos vel quaslibet res eorum inquietare aut in potestate seculari ullo modo redigere presumat. Quod si quis contra voluntatem Dei hereditatem eius invadere temptaverit, maledicatur per orbem universum, insuper iram Dei incurrat et cadat. Deus meus, pone illos et rotam et confundantur [Psalm 82, 14 & 18] in seculum seculi. Nec sit coheres Dei nisi resipuerit ab hac presumptione, sed sit particeps Pharaoni qui ait Deum nescio et Israel non dimittam [Exodus 5, 2]. Ego Bernardus comes, hanc cartam ut firmior sit veriorque credatur, manu propria, manibus filiorum vel fideliorum meorum roborari decrevi. Signum Bernardi comitis et uxoris sue qui hanc cartam, hortante Frotario, fidele suo, fieri vel adfirmari rogaverunt. Signum Ramnulfii episcopi. Signum Guillelmi. Signum Gozberti. Signum Froterii. Signum Albeherii. Signum Helie. Signum ite[ru]m Helie. Signum Hebrardi. Signum Stephani. Signum – Signum + Signum – Signum – Signum – Signum – Signum.

3.

Count Bernard confides Sarlat to abbots Odo [abbot of Cluny] and Adacius. – 936/942.

B. Copy made by Jean Tarde (1561–1636) from an original charter, included in his »Chronique«, a manuscript headed »Table chronologique de l’Esglize de Sarlat«, reported in (b) as being in the »Bibliothèque publique du Lycée de Toulouse«, not identified.

C. BnF, ms latin 11826, no. 2: late 11th-century interpolated copy of an original.

D. BnF, Coll. Périgord, vol. 12, f. 281r: copy from C, 18th century.

Edited: (a) Gaston DE GÉRARD, Gabriel TARDE (eds), *Les chroniques de Jean Tarde*, Paris 1887, p. 43–45, from B. (b) *Gallia Christiana*, vol. 2, Paris 1873, Instr., col. 495, from D. (c) <http://www.cn-telma.fr/originaux/charte1826> (Chartes originales antérieures à 1121).

Mentioned: (i) Étienne BALUZE, *Historiae Tutelensis*, Paris 1717, p. 29, from B or an original. (ii) BRUEL, *Recueil des chartes* (as in n. 85), vol. 1, Paris 1876, no. 475, reference to (b).

Robert FOLZ, *Aspects du culte liturgique de saint Charlemagne en France*, in: Wolfgang BRAUNFELS, Percy Ernst SCHRAMM (eds), *Das Nachleben*, Düsseldorf 1967 (Karl der Große. Lebenswerk und Nachleben, 4) p. 90–92, considered the document

(C) a forgery, but the view was substantially modified by Isabelle Rosé, though her comparison of B and C does not take into account the later, 11th-century, date of C (Rosé, *Un cas problématique* [as in n. 37], p. 210–211).

The text copied out by Jean Tarde (B) before his death in 1636 and published in 1887 differs sufficiently from that from the archives of Cluny (C) to show that the latter was a version independent of that seen by Tarde. Tarde's text mentions as abbots Odo and Adacius but does not link them to Cluny.

The following text is based on B.

Dispositor ordinatorque mirificus omnium rerum Deus, qui ut scriptum est, Quos vult humiliat et quos vult exaltat [*refers to* 1 Reg. 2,7]. Certum est quia multos quos modo exultat, in seculo venturo humiliabit, et (1) qui ipsis bonis (2) eius superbientes sub potenti manu illius humiliare dedignantur. Quapropter iustum est ut homo subditus sit Deo, et de iis quae ab ipso percipit, eidem placere studeat. Quod ego Bernardus, gratia Dei comes Petrogoricensis haec omnia (3) considerans, monasterium sancti Salvatoris quod vocatur Sarlatum quod modo minime regulariter degit (4), sub iure meo retinere timui (5), et in ordine monastico restituere dignum duxi. Quo circa notum sit omnibus tam presentibus quam futuris, quod ego consenciente uxore mea Garsinda predictum locum cum omni abbacia ad eum pertinencia in potestate sancti Salvatoris de mea dominacione transposui pro anima videlicet patris mei et matris meae et praedecessoribus propinquis (6), et pro me et uxore meae et filiis et filiabus nostris pro fratribus quoque nostris (7) et amicis fidelibus et specialiter pro illis qui predictum locum et habitatores (8) deffenderint. Igitur ut dictum est trado praefatum locum Deo et domno Oddoni et domno Adacio abbatibus (9), et monachis (10) quos ibi vel adduxerint vel congregaverint, ut videlicet ipsi et successores eorum tam cenobium quam omnem abbaciam sine ulla contradictione teneant (11), et post vero illorum discessum (12) qualem voluerint secundum regulam sancti Benedicti abbatem sibi constituent. Sint autem et ipsi monachi in subiectione regis ad locum saluum faciendum, et non aliquit persolvendum, nisi (13) solas orationes. Ceterum contestor et adiuro omnes (14) propinquos atque successores nostros (15), cunctosque etiam illius cenobii vicinos tam presentes quam futuros per tremendum sancte Trinitatis nomen, et per meritum beatorum (16) sanctorum quorum reliquie inibi continentur ut nullus vel monachus seu quilibet homo (17) res huius cenobii inquietare presumat, aut in potestate propria alicuius praesumat (18). Quod si quis hereditatem Dei dispossidere (19) temptaverit maledicatur per orbem universum et audiat (20) Deus meus, pone illum ut rotam et sicut stipulam ante faciem venti, et confundatur in seculum seculi et pereat [Psalm 82, 14 & 18], non sit coheres Dei nisi resipuerit, sed sit particeps Pharaoni qui ait, Deum nescio et Israel non dimittam [Exodus 5, 2]. Ego Bernardus hoc datum a me factum nutu Dei disponente, ratum perfectumque in perpetuum esse volo cum stipulatione subnixam. Signum Bernardi comitis (21) qui hoc donum fecit et scribere rogavit et manu propria firmavit. S' Guillermi. S' Arnaldi. S' Gauzberti. S' Bernardi. S' Ramnulfi. S' Alduini. S' Gauzfredi. S' Heliae. S' Amalgerii. S' Fulcherii. S' Odolrici. Data in mense iunio regnante Deo et (22) domino Ludovico rege imperante.

(1) multo magis illos *added*, C. (2) donis, C. (3) haec omnia *omitted*, C. (4) degens, C. (5) ex-
timui, C. (6) patris matrisque meae, pro discessoribus propinquis, C. (7) nostris *omitted*, C. (8)
eius *added*, C. (9) trado prefatum locum Deo et dompno Odoni Cluniacensi abbati atque Ada-
cio coabbati eius, C. (10) ad monachos, C. (11) et possideant *added*, C. (12) monachi cum con-
silio et voluntate abbatis cluniacensis *added*, C. (13) tantum modum *added*, C. (14) homines
added, C. (15) meos, C. (16) beatorum *omitted*, C. (17) nullus ... homo *replaced with* ullus
homo seu abba vel monachus seu quilibet clerius sive etiam laicus, C. (18) alicuius praesumat *re-*
placed with ullo modo redire studeat, C. (19) possidere, C. (20) per ... audiat *replaced with* a
domino, et veniat super illum dempcatio psalmographi dicentis, C. (21) et uxoris suę Garsindis
added, C. (22) et *omitted*, C.