

Studien und Dokumente zur Gallia Pontificia

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SAINT-GILLES ABBEY
AND THE COUNTIES OF TOULOUSE

THE IMPACT OF PONTIFICAL TRAVEL IN FRANCE *

BY

URSULA VONES-LIEBENSTEIN

The trips of the popes in France and here more particularly in the regions Mediterranean, independent in fact since the Carolingian era of any central power, offered to abbeys, monasteries and chapters the opportunity to acquire new privileges or to have their old rights and possessions. Abbeys directly dependent on the Saint Headquarters, like Saint-Gilles, were especially concerned, since the space separating them from Rome and the papacy could only be reduced by the sending of legates, by the constitution of delegated judges or by the coming of the pope himself¹.

Saint-Gilles, Benedictine abbey, located not far from Nîmes, on the right bank of the Rhone, knew from the XIth century a big rise, thanks to its port, but also thanks to the pilgrimage to his holy founder. "It's a pilgrimage center for nations that come from the ends of the earth, three miles separate the city from the

* The following abbreviations have been used: *HGL* for Claude D. *guy* and Joseph V. *Aissète*, *General history of Languedoc with notes and supporting documents*, t. IV and V, 2nd ed., Toulouse, 1872-1875; *B^{RUEL}* for the *collection of the charters of the abbey of Cluny*, ed. Auguste Bernard and Alexandre Bruel, t. IV: 1027-1090, tV: 1091-1210, Paris, 1888-1894 (Collection of unpublished documents on the history of France); *GCNN* for *Gallia christiana novissima*, ed. Joseph Hyacinthe Albanès and Ulysses Knight, t. I-VII, Montbéliard / Paris, 1899-1920; *JL* for *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita Ecclesia ad ap Chr. natum MCXCVIII*, ed. Philipp Jaffé, 2nd ed. Samuel Loewenfeld, Ferdinand Kaltenbrunner and Paul Ewald, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-1888.

1. John VIII had very clearly seen this problem, when he wrote in a privilege in favor of Saint-Gilles: "dum spatium earth illud cenobium at Romana separaret Ecclesia" (*bullary of the abbey of Saint-Gilles*, ed. Etienne Goiffon, Nîmes, 1882, no 3, p. 6).

fourth century after Rome, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostela³.
 Soon enough, from the ninth century⁴, Saint-Gilles turned to the papacy in order to
 to find protection against the pretensions of the bishops of Nîmes. In 878 the pope
 John VIII, fleeing the partisans of King Carloman, went to sea and landed
 Provence⁵, where he returned to Arles a sentence in favor of the abbey of Saint-Gilles,
 recognizing that it belonged to Saint Peter thanks to the gift of its founder,
 a gift whose act would have been found in the pontifical archives⁶. He confirmed
 this sentence at the Council of Troyes, prohibiting the Bishop of Nîmes
 to usurp from now on rights belonging to the Church of Rome⁷. Same
 time, he entrusted the abbey to Duke Deusededit of Ravenna, one of his faithful⁸, who

2. Benjamin de Tudela. See *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. Critical Text, Translation and Commentary*, ed. Marcus Nathan Adler, London, 1907, p. 2-11, and Joseph S HATZMILLER, "Stories from Hebrew journeys in the Middle Ages", in *Crusades and pilgrimages. Stories, chronicles and trips to the Earth holy*, ^{ninth - sixteenth century}, dir. Danielle Regnier-Bohler, Paris, 1997, p. 1279-1390, at p. 1306.

3. Pierre-André S IGAL, "Saint-Gilles pilgrimage center in the twelfth century: the testimony of *Miracula Sancti Aegidii*", in *Tribute to Robert Saint-Jean. Art and history in Languedoc and Rhone-speaking Midi* (X -

Nineteenth century), dir. Guy Rostaing, Montpellier, 1993 (Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of Montpellier, 21), p. 247-253; Patrick C ORBET, "The diffusion of the cult of Saint Gilles in the Middle Ages (Champagne, Lorraine, North Burgundy)", in *Annales de l'Est*, t. 32, 1980, p. 3-42, and Pierre-Gilles G IRAULT, "Observations on the worship of Saint Gilles in the South", in *Hagiography and Worship saints in southern France* (XIII - XV century), Toulouse, 2002 (Fanjeaux Papers, 37), p. 432-454, and, on the extension of the congregation of Saint-Gilles to Poland and Hungary, Eliana M AGNANI, "Monastic networks and networks of power. Saint-Gilles-du-Gard: from Languedoc to Hungary (IX-early thirteenth century)" in *Provence historical*, t. 54, 2004, p. 3-26, with a list of all priories and churches attached to Saint-Gilles (pp. 20-23).

4. It has long been believed that Saint-Gilles was already included in the "Notitia de servitio monasteriorum" of 818, before Walter K ETTEMANN, *Überlieferungs- und textgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Witiza-Benedikts, Seines Klosters Aniane und zur sogenannten "Anianischen Reform", mit kommentierten Editionen der Vita Benedicti Anianensis, Notitia of Servitio monasteriorum, Chronicon Moissiacense / Anianense sowie zweier Lokaltraditionen aus Aniane*, Ph.D. thesis, history, Duisburg, 2000, p. 339-484, in particular p. 367-375, only proves that his name was added only to

century as a fulcrum against the claims of the King of France (URL: <http://duepublico.uni-duisburg-essen.de/servlets/DocumentServlet?id=18245>).

5. "Cum Arelatem maritimali itinerant, pro omnium ecclesiarum negotio, futuremus" (*Bullaire ...*, No 4, p. 12; JE 3179). See, on the events of Rome, Dorothee A RNOLD, *Johannes VIII. Päpstliche Herrschaft in den karolingischen Teilreichen am Ende des 9. Jahrhunderts*, Frankfurt / Berlin / Bern / Brussels / New York / Oxford / Vienna, 2005 (European Academic Publications, XXIII, 797), p. 109-115.

6. "cum in nostro archivo munimina cartarum inquireremus, [...] illud preceptum a beato Egydio traditum invenimus" (*Bullaire ...*, No 4, p. 12). See also D. A RNOLD, *Johannes VIII ...*, p. 140-141 and Ulrich W INZER, *S. Gilles. Studien zum Rechtsstatus und Beziehungsnetz einer Abtei im Spiegel ihrer Memorialüberlieferung*, Munich, 1988 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften, 59), p. 41-44.

7. See D. A RNOLD *Johannes VIII ...*, p. 140-141 and U. W INZER, *S. Gilles ...*, p. 41-42.

8. See D. A RNOLD, *Johannes VIII ...*, p. 193-194, which also mentions that the role played by Deusededit in Nîmes is particularly emphasized in the writing of Pierre Guillem de Saint-

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received from the hands of the bishop of Nîmes⁹ and forbade the count «quicquam ex monitate ipsius monasterii accipere»¹⁰. Thanks to the Pope's visit to France, Saint-Gilles had managed to emancipate himself from the tutelage of the Bishops of Nîmes.

I .- "... ALLODIUM ESSE SANCTI P ETRI ,

THAT DONO DOMINI POPE R OMANI TENEMUS »¹¹

Rome being so far and the bishops of Nîmes put back in their place, the counts

de Provence and after them the counts of Toulouse managed to establish their power in Saint-Gilles. Towards the end of the year 997, we learn that the counts of Provence had interests there ¹², and a few years later the Pope Benedict VIII warns Countess Ermengarde and her son, Count William III of Provence, that he would banish all those who will attempt to usurp the possessions of the abbey: "nullus episcopus nec ullus comes nec ulla secularis potestas presumptuose audeat monasterium beati Aegydi sibi in dominium usurpare" ¹³. Emma (about 1063), daughter and heiress of the count

Gilles of the Life of Pope John VIII in the *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne, 2 vols., Paris 1886-1892, t. II, p. 221.

9. "who super-corporal tradicionem of omnibus rebus predicti monasterii a prefato Girberto accepit episcopo" (*Bullaire* ..., No. 4, p. 13). After the signing of the "scriniarius" follow the signatures of several Counts and Viscounts, who probably over the centuries subscribed this act. The first in line is Count Raimond, who can only be identified with Raimond II (918-924), Pons Raimond III (924-944) or Raimond IV Saint-Gilles, since the count Raimond I was already dead († 864) when the pope's diploma was issued.

10. *Bullaire* ..., No. 4, p. 13. It may be a clue that there was already a workshop at that time monetary policy in Saint-Gilles. This is attested by the corners from the end of the ^{eleventh century}, the reign of Raimond IV. See on this subject Marc B OMPAIRE, "The Counts of Toulouse and Monastic Life" shut up in Languedoc", in *From Toulouse to Tripoli. The power Toulouse in the twelfth century (1080-1208)*, Toulouse, 1989, p. 66-73, in particular p. 69, where he indicates that the denier of Saint-Gilles was worth 1099 as much as Melgueil's denier.

11. B RUEL, t. IV, No. 3410, p. 518.

12. This is the complaint of the monks of Montmajour before Pope Gregory V against the count Roubaud and Countess Ermengarde of Provence, who had helped a former monk of Saint-Gilles to take possession of their abbey. See *Papstregesten (911-1024)*, ed. Harald Zimmermann, 2nd ed., Vienna / Cologne / Weimar, 1998 (JF Böhmer, Regesta Imperii II, Sächsische Zeit, Fünfte Abteilung), No. 808, p. 246; Eliana M AGNANI S OARES -C HRISTEN, *Monasteries and aristocracy in Provence, middle Xth - early 12th century*, Münster, 1999 (Vita regularis, Ordnungen und Deutungen religiösen Lebens im Mittelalter, 10), p. 119-120.

13. *Papstregesten* ..., No. 1089, p. 327. The question of whether this pontifical act is authentic or was forged in the late ^{eleventh century} has been much ink. The original was unfortunately lost and all that remains to us is his copy transcribed in the cartulary of the abbey in the years Forty of the ^{twelfth century}. Elisabeth M AGNOU -N ORTIER, *Secular Society and the Church in the Ecumenical Province Narbonne diastique the late ^{eight} to the late ^{eleventh} century*, Toulouse, 1974, p. 505-506, consider it as fake. Recently Amy Goodrich R EMENSNYDER, *Remembering Kings Past. Monastic*

Roubaud de Provence, was to marry in 1019 Count Guillaume Taillefer de Toulouse and bring him rights to the Marquisate of Provence, with the abbey from Saint-Gilles ¹⁴. By the middle of the ^{eleventh century}, in 1037, their son, Count Pons of Toulouse, gave among others half of the abbey in dower to his first wife Majore ¹⁵. He seems to have done the same for his second wife, the Countess Almodis of the March ¹⁶. What is stranger is that it seems to have kept the usufruct after his divorce ¹⁷. But she could not dispose of it freely, as we will see.

In 1066, a few years after the death of her ex-husband, Pons de Toulouse († 1060/1063), the Countess of Barcelona took the road to Languedoc with a impressive suite of noble Catalans, including the Viscount of Girona, Pons Gérald ¹⁸, and two castellans from Barberà Castle near Barcelona,

Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France, Ithaca, NY, 1995, p. 230, again pronounced in the same meaning, believing that this document was made in the workshops of the abbey to the

century to prove that it was free from secular interference. *Papsturkunden 896-1046*, ed. Harald Zimmermann, Vienna, 1985 (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse. Denkschriften, 177), t. II, no. 468, p. 891-893, considers it as false, but holds him in authentic ... *Papstregesten*, no. 1089, p. 327. E. M. AGNANI, S. OARES - C. HRISTEN, *Monasteries and aristocracy in Provence ...*, p. 120, n. 98, and U. W. INZER, S. Gilles ..., p. 48-49 also believe with good reason the authenticity of this act.

14. See Helen D. ÉBAX, *The Languedoc feudalism XI - XII centuries. Oaths, tributes and fiefs in the Languedoc of Trencavel*, Toulouse, 2003, p. 29, and always Georges DE M. ANTEYER, *Provence of first in the twelfth century*, Paris, 1908 (Memoirs and documents published by the Society of the School of charters, 8), Paris, 1908, p. 269-270 and 304-305, which emphasizes that Raimond de Saint-Gilles is the first count of the house of Toulouse to be called marquis of Provence in 1094.

15. HGL, t. V, p. 428 (1037 September 14). See Hélène D. ÉBAX, "The Countesses of Toulouse: biographical notes", in *Annales du Midi*, vol. 100, 1988, p. 215-234, at p. 221, and EAD., "Strategy marriages of the Counts of Toulouse (850-1270)", *ibid.*, p. 131-149, at p. 136, as well as more recently EAD., *The feudalism Languedoc ...*, p. 30. On the notion of dower, see now the deeds of a round table gathered in 2000 and edited by François B. OUGARD, Laurent F. ELLER and Régine L. E. J. AN, *Dots and Dairies in the High Middle Ages*, Rome, 2002 (Collection of the French School of Rome, 295). For Languedoc see especially Claudie A. MADO, "Marital donation and parental dowry. Practices aristocratic languedociennes the tenth - eleventh centuries", *ibid.*, p. 153-170, which finds that the Gothia was in the eleventh century, like Catalonia, still governed by the Visigoth code (p. 155).

16. U. W. INZER, S. Gilles ..., p. 51. See, on the Count of Toulouse's abduction by the count Ramon Berenger of Barcelona, Pierre B. ONNASSIE, *Cataluna middle of the tenth to the late twelfth century. Growth and mutation of a society*, 2 vols., Toulouse, 1975-1976, t. I, p. 353-354, H. D. ÉBAX, "The countesses ...", p. 221-222, and Martin A. URELL, *The Count's Wedding. Marriage and Power in Catalonia, 785-1213*, Paris, 1995, p. 260-264.

17. See the right of women to dispose of their dower freely, even in the case of remarriage - provided there were no children from the first bed - Laurent F. ELLER, "Morgengabe", dot, tertia: report introductory", in *Dots and Dairies ...*, p. 1-25, in particular p. 10-15. The case of a divorce is not mentioned.

18. Pons Gerald de Cabrera, Viscount of Girona (1050-1105), later became one of the supporters of his son Raimond Berenger II, Cap d'Estoupe. See Ursula V. ONES - L. JEBENSTEIN, *St. Ruf und Spanien. Studien zur Verbreitung und zum Wirken der Regularkanoniker von St. Ruf in Avignon auf der Iberischen Halbinsel (11. und 12. Jahrhundert)*, Turnhout, 1996 (Bibliotheca Victorina, 6), p. 170 and 175.

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Adalbert Guitard and Bérenger Raimond de Barberà¹⁹. She was probably come to settle the matter of his dower and prepare the purchase of the county of Carcassonne by her husband, the Count of Barcelona, Raimond Berenger I²⁰.

In Nîmes, where an assembly of the high clergy was held, among which were prelates as illustrious as the archbishop of Arles, Raimbaud de Reillane, qualified of "Vicar" of the Roman Church²¹, Bishop Durand of Toulouse²² and the abbots Bernard of Saint-Victor of Marseille and Frotaire of Saint-Pons de Thomières, Almodis was going to donate the Abbey of Saint-Gilles to Cluny. The presence of Pierre, "clericus, Romane Ecclesie subdiaconus"²³, shows that Rome had informed and agreed.

According to the document written by Almodis and his son, Raimond, who is tulaït then Count of Rouergue, they gave Saint-Gilles to Cluny to be for always registered - just like the late Count Pons de Toulouse, their children and all their parents - in his memory²⁴. It's about fraudulent goods

19. The castle of Barberà was bequeathed to the Church of Barcelona by a certain Guitard in 1005 (*Diplomatari of the Arxiu Capítular of the Catedral de Barcelona, Segle XI*, Ed Josep Baucells and Reig et al., 5 vols., Barcelona, 2006 (Fundació Noguera, Diplomataris, 37-41), t. I, no. 54, p. 330-332; see about this document falsely attributed to Viscount Guitard of Barcelona, José Enrique R. UIZ - D. OMENEZ, *Quans els vescomts of Barcelona eren. Història, crònica i documents of a family catalana dels segles X, XI i XII*, Barcelona, 2006 (Fundación Noguera, Texts i Documents, 39), p. 41, n. 9. On Adalbert Guitard's Barbera see documents no. 1140 and 1141 *Diplomatari of arxiu capitulare ...*, vol. IV, p. 1796-1798,

- on B. Singer, *Early Feudalism*, Cl. 140 and the "dirty" of Carcassonne/Ruf the Count of Barcelona (1067-1070) and the rise of Trencavel, in *Speculum*, vol. 63, 1988, p. 826-864, as well as H. D. ÉBAX, *Feudalism ...*, p. 58-71, which speaks of "the absence of a determined commitment of the count of Toulouse" (p. 71). Guillaume IV of Toulouse did not therefore oppose this sale and the fact that strongholds formerly held by him in the counties of Carcassonne and Toulouse were sold to the Barcelonense and restored into fiefs now held by Almodis and Raimond Béranger (H. D. ÉBAX, *La féodalité ...*, p. 61).
21. "Roman Ecclesie Vicario" (B. RUEL, vol. IV, no. 3410, p. 518). On the person of Raimbaud Reillane and his position in the Provençal Church, see Paul A. MARGIER, "Raimbaud, monk of St. Victor, Archbishop of Arles (1030-1070) and his Reillane family", in *Publications of the European Center of burgondo-median studies*, t. 11, 1969, p. 36-46; Florian M. AZEL, *The nobility and the Church in Provence ...*, close yearly fourteenth century. The example of the Agoult-Simiane-Baux and Marseille families (CTHS Histoire, 4), Paris, 2002, p. 86, makes corrections. Jean-Pierre P. OLY, *Provence and the feudal society 879-1166. Contribution to the study of so-called feudal structures in the Midi*, Paris, 1976, p. 191-196, 204-208 and 260-262; Raimbaud was from the forties of the eleventh century, a firm believer in the return of churches (p. 119-120) and presided in 1045 an assembly for the promotion of the peace of God in Saint-Gilles (page 151). See also E. M. AGNANI S. OARES -C. HRISTEN, *Monasteries and aristocracy in Provence ...*, p. 114-116, 141-142, 239-247, 259-262 and 373-374.
22. Patrice C. ABAIL, "The bishops of Toulouse (third - XIV century) and places of burial," in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Society of the South of France*, t. 59, 1999, p. 123-162, at p. 146: Durand of Bredons ("saint" ... June 27, 1059-8 May 1071), who abbot of Moissac was elected bishop of Toulouse.
23. B. RUEL, t. IV, no. 3410, p. 518-519.
24. "ut vero nostri parentumque nostrorum memoria Cluniaco perhenniter habeatur" (B. RUEL, t. IV, no. 3410, p. 518). See the importance of this aspect U. W. INZER, *S. Gilles ...*, p. 56-57,

acquired, which had to be rendered to God²⁵, because the abbey was "alodium [...] sancti Petri, "they had the" dono domini Pope Romani²⁶ and they wanted the abbot of Cluny should order according to what he saw fit²⁷. The fact that Almodis Toulouse, Raimond's sister, recently married to Count Pierre de Melgueil, confirmed the donation²⁸, shows that this is part of the dowry of his mother²⁹. Raimond, on the other hand, held the other half of the abbey by inheritance right - Pons of Toulouse having disposed in favor of his younger son of goods entered by marriage (here that of Emma de Provence with Guillaume Taillefer) in his house³⁰ - either by donation of the pope, a fact that did not seem so aberrant at the time Gorian³¹. A sentence from the Urban II Act, on which we will return, refers moreover to this donation³²: "potentatus sui partem a Romana Ecclesia optinens."

It was assumed that Gregory VII did not want to know anything about this donation of lay people in Cluny, since by confirming to Father Hugues de Cluny the right to

Eliana M. AGNANI S. OARES -C. HRISTEN, "Marriage Alliances and the Movement of Goods Across Provençal charters (X-early twelfth century). "in *dowries and Dots ...*, p. 130-147, in particular at p. 145; *Memoria in der Gesellschaft des Mittelalters*, dir. Dieter Geuenich and Otto Gerhard Oexle, Göttingen, 1994 (Schriften of the Max Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 111); *The Church and the memory of died in medieval France*, dir. Jean-Loup Lemaitre, Paris, 1986. In 1078, after the violent death of Almodis, William IV creates a birthday for his father as well as for his mother in Abbey Moissac (HGL, vol. IV, no. 332, col. 641-642).

25. B. RUEL, t. IV, no. 3410, p. 517-518, at p. 517: "who has nichil eo miserius quematical adquisi-depreciation, fraud and fraud."

26. B. RUEL, t. IV, no. 3410, p. 518. See Susan WOOD, *The Proprietary Church in the Act Medieval West*, Oxford, 2006, p. 388, which emphasizes the fact that both speak of the abbey as a Pope's gift.

27. B. RUEL, t. IV, no. 3410, p. 518: "potestas and districtio and ordinatio abbatum and monachorum Sancti Egidii, and eorum that soliti sunt tenere, in domni abbatis Hugonis and successorum ejus potestate consistat". On this donation and the influence that Cluny exerted on Saint-Gilles and the attempts of the monks of Saint-Gilles to recover their independence, see U. W. INZER, *S. Gilles ...*, p. 59-82, and Arnim K. OHNLE, *Abt von Hugo Cluny (1049-1109)*, Sigmaringen, 1993 (Beihefte der Francia, 32), p. 154-156.

28. "Volente and laudante nobili Adala, Sustancionense Comitissa" (B. RUEL, vol. IV, no. 3410, p. 519).

- See on this wedding Mr. A. LIBER, *The wedding*, n. 276, and on Pierre, Count of Melgueil, who was to put his county in 1088 under the protection of the Holy See Johannes FRIED, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. The politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11.-13. Jh.)*, Heidelberg, 1980 (Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, 1980, 1), p. 72-74.
29. See, on the right of the woman to dispose of her dower either in favor of her sons or in favor of a religious institution, E. M. AGNANI S. OARES -C. HRISTEN, "Marriage Alliances ...", p. 145-146.
30. See H. D. ÉBAX, *The feudalism Languedoc* ..., p. 29, and always André D. UPONT, "The Counts Toulouse and Provence in the late ^{11th} century to the middle of the ^{thirteenth} century", in *Proceedings of the ^{XVIII} Congress of the Federation of historical Mediterranean Languedoc and Roussillon from 1953 to 1954*, Montpellier, 1956, p. 67-86, especially p. 68, which explains that Emma could collect all the inheritance paternal after the death of his brother.
31. W. INZER, *S. Gilles* ..., p. 52-53 believes he sees in "this so-called gift" a happy compromise, safeguarding the interests of the house of Toulouse as well as those of the papacy.
32. *HGL*, t. V, n. 393 / II, col. 744-745; *Bullaire* ..., n. 17, p. 35-36.

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to reform the abbey of Saint-Gilles and to have an abbot ³³ elected there, there had not been allusion ³⁴. But why would he have called Count Raimond twice Sancto Egidio, if he had not wanted to point out a special link between that abbey, the count and the Holy See?

II. - "... RAIMUNDUS OF S ANCTO E GIDIO COMES "

Count Raimond, son of Almodis and Pons de Toulouse, was probably the youngest of a pair of twins, the eldest Guillaume inherited the death of their father from the county of Toulouse. Raimond, however, had to be content with a fairly modest territorial base: rights to the Abbey of Saint-Gilles and the Land of Argence, including the Archbishop of Arles claimed the lordship ³⁵. After the death of his cousin Berthe de Rouergue in 1065, he succeeded in to make sure of his armed legacy ³⁶ and henceforth he preferred Count of Rouergue ³⁷.

Shortly after, probably before the donation of the abbey to Cluny, when Alexander II delivered a privilege in favor of Saint-Gilles by limiting further

33. *Bullaire* ..., n. 12, p. 26-27: "what our abbots Cluniacensi non dedimus locum Sancti Egidii, that juris sancti Petri is, nisi ad ponendum ordinem and religionem and ad eligendum abbatem vice nostra".

34. See also Herbert E. J. C. OWDREY, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform*, Oxford, 1970, p. 95-97, who insists that Gregory VII never speaks in his privileges for Cluny or Saint-Gilles from this donation. U. W. INZER, *S. Gilles* ..., p. 52-58 believes he did not accept that Almodis and Raimond had an abbey belonging to Saint-Pierre (pp. 57-59 and 61-62).

35. On the rights of Raimond on the Land of Argence, see his charter of 1070 for the Church of Arles (*HGL*, t. V, n. 198, col. 584-585;... *GCNN*, vol. III, Aries, n. 428, collar 174, 1070...) and testament of 1105, in which he returns to the Church of Arles "jus suum, id est totam Argentiam, in restituendi relinquo integrum" (*HGL*, t. V, n. 420, col. 791-793;... *GCNN*, vol. III, n. 464, col. 187.).

36. See Christian L. AURANSON -R. OSAZ, "The Velay and the Crusade", in *The Council of Clermont de 1095 and the call to the crusade* (Collection of the French School of Rome, 236), Rome, 1997, p. 33-64, especially p. 55. Jacques B. OUSQUET, *Rouergue in the first Middle Ages (around 800-around 1250). The powers, their relations and their domains* (Historical Archives of Rouergue, 24), Rodez, 1994, vol. I p. 54-56.

37. See B. RUEL, t. IV, n. 3410, p. 517, December 15, 1066: "and filius meus Raimundus, comes Rutensis and Nemosensis, Narbonensiumque nobilissimus"; see J. B. OUSQUET, *The Rouergue* ..., p. 55: in 1085, in his confirmation of the foundation of Saint-Pons de Thomières, he is called count of Rouergue, Gévaudan, Albigeois, Nîmois, Agathois, Biterrois and Narbonnais

(HGL, vol. V, no. 366, p. 697-698). See on this act J. B. OUSQUET, *Le Rouergue...*, p. 55, and Walter K. IENAST, *Der Herzogstitel in Frankreich und Deutschland (9.-12. Jahrhundert)*, Munich, 1968, p. 289. Frederic L. C. HEYETTE, *Ermengard of Narbonne and the World of the Troubadours*, Ithaca, NY, 2001, p. 43 points out that the acquisition of Rouergue gave Raimond the right to be called "dux Narbonnensis" and that was especially the purpose of his conquest. But it's only from 1091 that he used it, even if his heirs had to adorn himself regularly with this title.

once the rights of the Bishop of Nîmes³⁸, Count Raimond was at Rome. We know this from a letter sent on 2 February 1074 by Gregory VII to Duke of Burgundy, Guillaume Tête-Hardie, reminding him of the promise made formerly by him, Count "Sancti Egidii", Count Amedee II of Savoy and a relative of Prince Richard of Capua "manibus ad celum extensis" in front of the Pope Alexander II, to help him against the Normans or against the infidels who a threat to the Byzantine emperor³⁹. In this letter, Gregory VII does not only call him Raimond de Saint-Gilles, but also "Fidelis sancti petri"⁴⁰. The fact that he was going to excommunicate him twice for having married a relative, a "consanguinea"⁴¹, changed nothing. If we do not take account of an act with dubious dating in favor of the abbey of Lézat where Raimond appears in 1058 as a witness with the title "de Sancto Aegidio"⁴², it is after 1067 that it appears for the first time with this title in an oath Security Council in favor of Archbishop Guifred of Narbonne⁴³.

In 1076, the same year that Gregory VII calls it "comes Sancti Egidii", Raimond bears this name in an act, in which he takes the young Guillem V of Montpellier under his protection⁴⁴. In two acts of the cartulary of the Abbey of

38. JL 4602; *Bullaire* ..., no. 10, p. 24-25. In this privilege, dated by Goiffon between 1062 and 1066, the pope forbade the bishop of Nîmes to excommunicate the abbot of Saint-Gilles Bérard, because he had had the pope consecrate.

39. JL 4823; *Das Register Gregors VII.*, Ed. Erich Caspar, 2 vols., Berlin, 1920-1923 (MGH, *Epistolae selectae in usum scholarum*, 2), t. I, I, 46, p. 70. See Gregory VII's draft of a expedition in the East Herbert E. J. C. OWDREY, "Pope Gregory VII's crusading plans of 1074", in *Outremer. Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem, presented to Joshua Prawer*, dir. Benjamin K. EDAR, Hans-Eberhard M. AYER and R. S. MAIL, Jerusalem, 1982, p. 27-40, as well as Alfons B. ECKER, *Papst Urban II. (1088-1099)*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1964-1988 (MGH, *Schriften*, 19), t. II, p. 294-300.

40. *Das Register Gregors VII.* ..., t. I, I, 46, p. 70. See Jean F. LORI, "The spiritual preparation of the crusade: the ethical background of the notion of *miles Christi*", in *Il concilio di Piacenza and the Crociate*, Piacenza, 1996, p. 179-192, at p. 183-185.

41. *Das Register Gregors VII.* ..., t. I, III, 10a, p. 269 and t. II, VI, 5b, p. 401. On this parent, whose the name is never mentioned and who was perhaps the daughter of Bertrand, count of Provence, see H. D. EBAX, "The countesses ...", p. 223, EAD., "Matrimonial Strategies ...", p. 133-134, EAD., *The feudalism languedocienne* ..., p. 76 and F. M. AZEL, *The nobility* ..., p. 243.

42. The dating of this charter is erroneous and its tradition nothing less than sure; see *The cartulary of the Abbey of Lézat*, ed. Paul Ourliac and Anne-Marie Magnou, t. I, Paris, 1984 (Collection of documents unpublished elements of the history of France, in-8 series n. 17), no. 364, p. 287-288; HGL, t. V, no. 252, II, col. 1764. See also H. D. EBAX, *Feudalism* ..., p. 31.

43. HGL, t. V, no. 273, col. 535-538; on the date of this act see Thierry S. TASSER, "The house of Narbonne to the tenth and eleventh centuries", in *Annales du Midi*, vol. 105, 1993, p. 489-507, at p. 499 and n. 53.

44. HGL, t. V, no. 322, col. 624; *Liber Instrumentorum Memorialium: Cartulary of the Guillems*, ed. A. Germain, Montpellier, 1884, no. 78, p. 147-148. See on this undated act Claude D. UHAMEL - A. MADO, "The Origins of Guillems Montpellier (tenth - eleventh century) Genealogical questions and return to historiography", in *Studies on Herault*, vol 7-8, 1991-1992, pp. 89-109, at p. 95.

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Pilgrims, copied at the Beginning of XIIIth century, He Was named "comes Egidiensis"⁴⁵ and another act, recounting a quarrel between Lérins and Saint-Victor Marseille, we talk about him as "Raymond, Saint-Gilles, in all and per omnia consiliator and adjutor"⁴⁶. We have to wait for Raymond's decision to leave to the Holy Land before he takes back that name⁴⁷, under which he will enter in the history of the Crusades⁴⁸.

What happened between 1080 and 1096? Around 1080 Raimond, "the very famous Count of Provence",⁴⁹ had gone to Sicily to marry the count's daughter Roger of Sicily, Mathilde d'Hauteville, reinforcing the alliance with his half-brother Raimond Bérenger II of Barcelona, who had been married for two years ravant the daughter of Robert Guiscard, the cousin of the same name Mathilde⁵⁰. The last had to go to Rodez, near her cousin, to give birth to his first son, the future Raimond Bérenger III of Barcelona, a month before the murder of her husband by her own brother⁵¹. In the following years, the Count Raimond maintained close ties with the Count's supporters assassinated, among whom are the Viscounts of Girona and Barcelona

45. *Cartulary of Lérins Abbey*, ed. Henri Moris and Edmond Blanc, 2 vols., Saint-Honorat de Lérins / Paris, 1883-1905, t. I, n. 235, p. 242-243 (deed dated 1073) and *Cartulary of Lérins*, ed. Henry Flammare of Nice 1885 n. 239, p. 315-316 (Act dated 1080 concerning the Church of Fourches that Count Raimond was in the Church of Arles, *GCNN*, t. III, n. 464, col. 187).

46. *Cartulary of Lérins* ..., ed. Moris and White, t. I, n. 318, p. 325-328. Although the act is dated 1089, the title of the report may be added later in the making of the report.

47. Thus in 1096 in a charter of the Church of Puy (*LGHVT*, No. 395, 747-748 col. 1).

"I Raymond of St. Gilles, both Toulouse and Rodez comes" at col 747.

48. See Jean RICHARD, "The Saint-Gilles and the County of Tripoli", in *Islam and Christians of the South (XIIth - XIVth century)*, Toulouse, 1983 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 18), p. 65-75, and on the establishment of Raimond in the Holy Land, *ibid.*, *The County of Tripoli under the Toulouse Dynasty (1102-1187)*, Paris, 1946 (Archaeological and Historical Library, 39).

49. Our main source is *Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily Roberti Guiscardi ducis fratris eius*, ed. Ernesto Pontieri, Bologna, 1925. Gaufred Malaterra, who writes this chronicle of the reign of Count Roger of Sicily and his brother Robert Guiscard on demand Count Roger, Mathilde's father, was very well informed and gave us the official version.

facts. On Giuseppe SCELLINI, *I Normanni nel Meridione: the analisi storiche of Amato, Guglielmo and Malaterra*, Rome, 2003. Malaterra (lib III, c.211) reports that "Raimundus famosissimus comes Provinciarum" had heard of the "Strenuitas" of the Count of Sicily and he had asked for her daughter in marriage. Having heard about the beauty of the girl, he fell madly in love with her and went to fetch him himself at his father's court, where the wedding was celebrated (see the text in MIGNONE, *Patr. Lat.*, t. 149, col 1167-1168).

50. H. D'ÉBAX, "The Countesses of Toulouse ...", p. 234, *EAD.*, "Marital Strategies ...", p. 133-134, who believes in the intervention of the pope to arrange this marriage.

51. See Szabolcs DE VÁJAY, "Matr. of Apulia, Countess of Barcelona and Viscountess of Narbonne, in the social context of his time, in *Beziers and the Biterrois 43rd Congress of the Federation History of Languedoc-Roussillon*, Montpellier, 1970, p. 129-150; Mr. A. URELL, *The wedding*, p. 182-183; U. ONES - L. JEBENSTEIN, *St. Ruf and Spain* ..., p. 167.

as well as Besalú Count Bernard III⁵² and Viscount Aymeric Ist of Narbonne. Mathilde with the marriage Viscount Aymeric de Narbonne, whom he also supported the brother, the bishop Pierre de Rodez, elected archbishop of Narbonne, against the pope's candidate, Dalmatia, to train abbot of La Grasse⁵³, just a few years ago his stepfather is having sex with his wife with the count of Clermont⁵⁴.

This system of alliance with the Normans crumbled after the death of the brother Elder of Raimond, Count William IV of Toulouse. Guillaume died in 1093 on the way to Jerusalem⁵⁵ and left, after the death of two sons at the bottom age, a girl as heiress. Although Philippa Toulouse⁵⁶ married Duke William IX (soon received the news of the death of his father) of Aquitaine, to ensure his support in defending his rights to

52. The following oath of security shows how much the relationship between Count Bernard III of Besalú, then in open opposition with his uncle, Bernard II of Besalú, the viscount of Narbonne and Count Raimond de Rouergue were narrow: "and ipsos adjutorios faciam and Without your attention deception in the name of Raymundo, who was Adalmodis countess, who is committee of Rutenensi" (*HGL*, vol. V, n. 364, col. 693-694). See U. VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *Saint Ruf and Spain* ..., p.167-177.

53. Contrary to what was believed, the letter of Gregory VII asking "R. and B. nobilibus comitibus" (*Das Register Gregors VII*, ... II, VIII, 17, pp. 537-538) has nothing to do with Raimond of Saint-Gilles (see in this sense Herbert EJ C OWDREY, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085*, Oxford, 1998, p. 341-342, who even identifies "B." with Count Bertrand from Provence, making him the sound of Raimond de Saint-Gilles). It is addressed to the counts Raimond Bérenger II and Bérenger Raimond II, who at the time ruled together on the county of Barcelona.

54. "Raymond Count [...] girl [of Emma, daughter of Roger Count of Sicily] Count Claramontius joined a legal marriage" (G Alfreð 1000 ALATERRA, *Deeds of Count Roger* ..., Bk 4. c. VIII, ed. M IGNE, *Patr. Lat.*, t. 149, col. 1189).

55. It is mentioned last time at Easter 1093 at the court of King Ladislas Ist of Hungary (H. D ÉBAX, *The Languedoc feudalism* ..., p.77, n.345). This king had submitted the abbots of his foundation from Somogyvár to the abbots of Saint-Gilles. See the reasons for this connection Gergely K ISS, "The Foundation of the Benedictine Abbey of Somogyvár", in *The Hungarians and Europe: Conquest and gration*, dir. Sándor Csernus and Klára Korompay, Paris / Szeged, 1999, p. 327-341, and E. M AGNANI, "Monastic networks ...", p. 14-15. See in this context the story of a vision of the Abbot of Saint-Sernin of Toulouse, telling that Count Guillaume drowned during his return journey from the Holy Land, since Saint Saturnin had prayed to God to punish him for oppressing the canons from Saint-Sernin. See Anke K RÖGER, *Southern French Local Saint Church, Dynasty and City of 5th to 16th century*, Stuttgart, 2002 (Contributions to Hagiography, 2), p. 291-292.

56. Contrary to what has been claimed - most recently Gérard P RADALIE, "The Counts Toulouse and Aquitaine (IXth - XIIth centuries)", in *Annales du Midi*, vol 117, 2005, pp. 5-23, at p. 12 She was not married to King Sanche Ramire d'Aragon. See Antonio U BIETO AT RTETA, *Historia of Aragón, Creation and Development of the Crown of Aragón*, Zaragoza, 1987, p. 60-63, who let the his second wife, Felicie de Roucy, whom he had married in 1070, survived him. See in same meaning Ana Isabel L APEÑA P AUL, *Sancho Ramírez, King of Aragón (1064? -1094) and King of Navarre (1076-1094)*, Gijón, 2004, p. 61-67.

Succession of the County of Toulouse ⁵⁷ , Raimond as his "paternal legacy" ⁵⁸ .

This is not the place to discuss Raimond has legitimately succeeded to his brother, or because that brother had himself opted for this solution ⁵⁹ , because we have always preferred in Languedoc the law of fiefs, that is to say in the absence of male heirs the succession of collateral ⁶⁰ . Which is certain is that Raimond puts the opposition of a part of the nobility Toulouse, supporters of Philippa and her husband, when he seizes the county of Toulouse ⁶¹ . From now on, that is from 1094, his name was "Raimundus

57. G. P. RADALIE , "The Counts of Toulouse ...", p. 12-13 remarks that "this marriage precipitated with the son of yesterday's adversary is perplexing" (p.12) and that William IV's relations with his brother Raimond were not so good that they wanted to believe him. See also Mr. A. URELL , *The wedding* , p. 260, n. 2 which also speaks of conflicting relationships. See on Guillaume IX still Alfred R. ICHARD , *History of the Counts of Poitou (778-1204)* , 2 vols., Paris, 1908, vol. I, p. 382-506, and on his relations with Philippa, Ruth E. H. ARVEY , "The wives of the first troubadour", Duke William IX of Aquitaine, in *Journal of Medieval History* , t. 19, 1993, p. 307-325. As for the foundations of the claims of his granddaughter Aliénor of Aquitaine on the Toulouse heritage see recently Jane M. ARTINDALE , "An unfinished business: Angevin politics and the siege of Toulouse, 1159", in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2000* , Woodbridge, 2001 (Anglo-Norman Studies, 23), p. 115-154, in particular at p. 147-148, which quotes among other English historians the testimony of the *Chronicle of Robert de Torigni, abbot of Mont-Saint Michael* , ed. Leopold Delisle, 2 vols., Rouen, 1872, vol. I, p. 319-320, "Robert Earl Moritonii, Willermi brother of the king who conquered the kingdom of England, has had [...] and three daughters: [...] a third [Led] comes Tolosanus Raymond brother count of St Giles. [...] Moreover, it comes out Tolosanus only one daughter Guillermo count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine, dead the above-mentioned to the girl of the inheritance of his own, namely, the city of Toulouse and the company of Toulouse, and brought him to his wife". 58. The mother later testimony of a miracle of St Robert of Turlande at the Chaise-Dieu ("The Liber Tripartitus of Miraculis S. Roberti", composed around 1160 by Bernard de la Chaise-Dieu, ed. Acta Sanctorum, April 24, col. 319-336, at col. 320) reports, that the count "omni paterna hereditate Carentem entered the chapel of St. Robert, placed his sword on the altar of the saint, lent him homage and swore that if God gave him the County of Toulouse by his intercession, he will not hold it that of him: "And comitatum Tolosanae urbis a nullo is living in the house, nisi has B. Roberto confirmavit, if Deus per illum sibi tradere will dispose. When he returned to Toulouse, all the "proceres" him paid tribute (Col. 330). See John H. H. ILL and Laurita L. H. ILL , *Raimond IV of Saint-Gilles (1041 [or 1042] -1105)* , Toulouse, 1959, p. 19 and G. L. AURANSON -R. OSAZ , "The Velay and the crusade ...", p. 54-55. Far from us the thought of judging here the actual content of this miracle, written to demonstrate Count's attachment to the holy founder of Chaise-Dieu.

59. See W. KENENAST , *Der Herzogstitel ...* , p. 290 and notes 82 and 99-101, which follows here Guillaume de Malmesbury, who reports that William IV had wished the succession of his brother in him selling the county (*Gesta Regum Anglorum* , Thomas Duffus Hardy, London, 1840, 603).

60. It is especially the opinion professed by Marie-Bernadette B. RUGUÏÈRE , "A precedent to the law salic? The exclusion of women in the house of Toulouse and Tripoli", in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, inscriptions and belles-lettres de Toulouse* , t. 141, 1979, p. 141-152.

61. See now G. P. RADALIE , "The Counts of Toulouse ...", p. 12-15, which demonstrates how Philippa and William of Aquitaine settled in Toulouse after the departure of Raimond and his son Bertrand, and were greeted with joy by the canons of Saint-Sernin as well as a part of the nobility.

Count of Toulouse, the leader Narbonnensis and Marquis Province » ⁶² . At the same time he reversed his system of covenants. He is leaving from the Norman kinship of his second wife, Mathilde of Sicily, Emma Mortain ⁶³ , and sought new support from Aquitaine of Castile ⁶⁴ . He married Elvira, daughter of Emperor Alfonso VI of Castile ⁶⁵ , and married a year later, in June 1095, his only son and heir Bertrand with

Helen of Burgundy and Henry of Burgundy, count of Portugal, who was going to marry Theresa⁶⁷, Elvira's sister. Apparently he had not yet the idea of leaving everything to go to the Holy Land.

3. - "... If we were elections " ⁶⁸

The rights that the Count of Toulouse claimed on the abbey of Saint-Gilles which neither Almodis nor Raimond had been renounced, on the one hand, the "Dominicatura" ⁶⁹, on the other hand "clothes and customs". By "dominicatura" it is necessary

62. It bears this title in an undated charter for Cluny (B^{RUEL}, Vol. V, n. 3908, p. 258, dated: 1113-1150). In a charter in favor of St. Victor of Marseilles of July 28, 1094 it is simply said "Thanks Raymond, the count and the marquis of Provence" (LGH, v. 5, n. 386, col. 731-734; *Cartulary of the abbey of St. Victor de Marseille*, ed. Benjamin Guérard, 2 vols., Paris, 1857 [Collection of Cartulars of France, 8-9], vol. II, n. 686, p. 25-27; F. M^{AZEL}, *The Nobility* ..., p. 201). G. DE M^{ANTEYER}, *Provence* ..., p. 305.

63. Count Roger of Sicily, Mathilde's father, had married Eremberge for a second time. Mortain, Emma's sister.

64. This fact may also be played in the barely disguised between Raimond and Bohemond of Antioch during the first crusade. See on Bohémond last Jean F^{LORI}, *Bohemond of Antioch : Knight of adventure*, Paris, 2007.

65. See on this wedding Bernard Francis R^{EILLY}, *The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla under King Alfonso VI, 1065-1109*, Princeton, 1988, p. 192-193; Eloy B^{ENITO} R^{PERU}, *Alfonso Jordan, Count of Toulouse. A Grandson of Alfonso VI in Castilla*, Toledo, 1987 (Studies on Alfonso VI and the Reconquest of Toledo. Proceedings of the International Congress of Mozarabic Studies, 1), p. 83-93, at p. 86; H. D^{ÉBAX}, "The Countesses of Toulouse ...", pp. 224 and EAD., "Matrimonial Strategies ...", pp. 133-134.

66. Helen received from the Count of Toulouse in dower Ruthenam cum comitatu episcopio "as well as the Cited Avignon, Cahors, Worthy and Viviers (LGH, Vol. V, n. 389, collat. 738-739), thus possessions belonging to the patrimony of Raimond IV before he brigat the succession of his brother. G. DE M^{ANTEYER}, *Provence* ..., p. 308, n. 1, correct Digne in Die. See also Jacques Bousquet, "The donation of Segur by Raymond de Saint-Gilles, count of Toulouse, at the Church of Puy-en-Velay (1096), in *Annales du Midi*, t. 74, 1962, p. 65-70, at p. 68.

67. Theresa and Elvira were the children of Alfons VI's concubine, Jimena Muñoz. by Raimond de Saint-Gilles, who had previously had friendly relations with the Helen's maternal grandfather, William Hardie Head, strengthened his ties with Castile.

68. *Das Register Gregors VII* ..., t. II, VI, 5b, p. 401. The Pope ordered that Saint-Gilles should be struck by if Count Raimond IV, excommunicated for having married a woman to whom he was blood ties, did not repudiate her and kept the abbey in her power. See U. W^{INZER}, *S. Gilles* ..., p. 67.

69. See, on the meaning of the term "dominicatura", É. M^{AGNOU}-N^{ORTIER}, *The secular society* ..., p. 172-183, where she understands under this term the rights of justice, such as the exercise of the high

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presumably to understand the rights of justice that had yet to be claimed Count Raimond V on Saint-Gilles ⁷⁰, and taxes and "rights in the fiscal sense, lordly attached to power" ⁷¹. By "us and customs", very Easily associated "bad customs" means, for the most part, royalties due to a lord ⁷². In the case of St. Gilles it is rather the recovery offerings by the count, a practice much disputed by the pope.

These powers, this "dominicatura", the count was to exercise until the coming of Pope Urban II in Languedoc, and still long after his successors to claim them, on the arrival of the Legate Bernard of Toledo ⁷³ he declare himself ready to give up the offerings of Saint-Gilles, which he and his ancestors used to recover ⁷⁴. In a privilege promulgated at the Council of Placentia in February 1095 ⁷⁵, Urban II announced "universis per Gothicam provinciam fidelibus" the 1st September 1094, the day of St.

Gilles, the Earl kept his promise and withdrew from this right confirmed at the same time by his wife Elvire and his son

Bertrand ⁷⁶. In doing so, he had deposited two silver coins of the currency of Saint-Gilles on the altar of the saint. The Pope forbids him under the bread of excommunicating to reconsider this decision. He is threatening his successors with the same bread and all those to whom he had inferred a part of these offerings ⁷⁷ and forbidden even

justice, "right of requisition and right of lodging" (page 174) as well as "rights on the circulation men and goods, pastures, forests, salt and money" (pp. 178-179), the sum total of the rights exercised by the counts, the viscounts or their agents as only the owners of all or part of the public authorities whose first are invested" (p.181). S. WOOD, *The Proprietary Church ...*, p. 308 speaks of "lordly or official income, other than fees for sacramental functions". U. WENZER, *S.- Gilles ...*, p. 55 believes that this is a control over the lands of the abbey.

70. Raimond V de Toulouse tried in vain to quote these opposing parties before his court. The abbot of Saint-Gilles, supported by Pope Alexander III, refused it clearly, alleging the immunity of his church. See *Bullaire ...*, n. 54, p. 86.

71. H. DUBAX, *The Languedoc feudalism ...*, p. 151.

72. See É. M. AGNOU - NORTIER, *The lay society ...*, which shows that the term "usaticum" or "us" may designate "royalties in kind" (p.137).

73. Juan Francisco RIVERA RECIO, *The Archbishop of Toledo Don Bernardo de Cluny (1086-1124)*, Rome, 1962, p. 45-54 on the activities of Bernard as papal legate. He notes that Bernard was legate in Languedoc only from 1093 (p.46). But Mansi notes that he already participated in this function at the Council of Toulouse in 1090 (MANSI, XX, 7).

J. 74, 5540; *Bullaire ...*, n. 15, p. 30: "Part robbery rather than taking over from their parents altar of St. Giles and the rest of the church altar may have been accustomed. On the Council of Plaisance and the embassy of Emperor Alexis, see A. BÉCKER, *Urban II. ...*, t. II, p. 184-189.

75. *Bullaire ...*, n. 15, p. 30-33.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 31 "instrument with his wife and son Hervira Bertranno blessed the altar Giles confirmed, the bus there Gilles current cash position."

77. *Ibid.*, p. 31 "both him and his descendants all, if the altar, offering further attack attempts to ban submitted by all the Church and society horizon. Whatever the

the monks never to abandon, to avoid probably an abbot complacent does not agree later with the comtal power ⁷⁸.

A few months after the Council of Plaisance, Urban II decided to surrender in France, "pro ecclesiasticis negotiis" ⁷⁹. He took the road to the Mont Genève and its presence is reported in Valencia on August 5, 1095 ⁸⁰. On 1st September 1095, he celebrated at Saint-Gilles the feast of the patron of the abbey ⁸¹, before leaving for Auvergne, where it was launched on 17 November 1095 at the Council of Clermont call to the crusade ⁸².

IV. - "100 CHRISTIAN Milicie Prince" ⁸³ OR, "1000 ISLANDS Beatios P Etrio" ⁸⁴ ?

In historiography, Raimond IV of Toulouse is almost always considered as favorable to the reform of the Church and to the ideas propagated by the papacy, especially by Urban II. We have a little trouble explaining why he has always supported Archbishop Guifred of Narbonne, deposed for the cause of simony ⁸⁵ but only Florian Mazel ⁸⁶ considers the count's actions as deployed "outside of any subjection to the directives of the popes or their

the film accompanying obituary of their offerings fee, of course informed of the decision,

unless he is altogether of the church he doth return, be subject to the same hand we curse. " 78. *ibid.*, p. 51. "Even monks and monks forbid, any one, permitting the laity share in the oblations to any one of the altars in them. "

79. JL 5634, 5635, 5654, 5658; see in this sense A. B ECKER , *Urban II* , t. I, p. 214-217, which stresses that the subject to regulate the affairs of the Church and to promote reform first to the pope than the call to the crusade.

80. Alfons B ECKER , "The Journey of Urban II in France", in *The Council of Clermont of 1095 ...* , p. 127-140, at p. 129. See also *id.* , *Urban II* , vol. II, p.435-457; René C ROZET , «The trip of Urban II and his negotiations with the clergy of France (1095-1096) ", in *Historical Review* , 179 1937, p. 271-310, at p. 274.

81. R. C ROZET , *The journey* , p. 278; the pope stayed in a whole week in Saint-Gilles, after having dedicated to Nîmes the new bishop, Bertrand de Montredon, a family supporter of Trencavel, who The Holy See of the Holy See, without ever being able to take possession of his seat; see on this case É. M AGNOU -N ORTIER , *The Lay Society* , p. 556.

82. See the papers collected in *The Council of Clermont* . On the participants in this Council see R. C ROZET , *The journey* , p. 282-287.

83. On this title, see the article by Laurita L. and John H. ILL , "Historical rationale for the title of Raymond of Saint-Gilles, *Christian Militia Outstanding Leader*, "giving *Annales du Midi* , 66, 1954, p. 101-112.

84. M IGNE , *Patr. Lat.* , t. 148, col. 325-326. *Das Register Gregors VII* , t. I, I, 46, p. 70, where he is called "fidelis sancti petri".

85. É. M AGNOU -N ORTIER , *The Lay Society* , p. 473-475; Jacqueline C AILLE , "Origin and development development of the temporal lordship of the archbishop in the city and the terroir of Narbonne (IXth - XIIth century) ", in *Narbonne : archeology and history. Narbonne in the Middle Ages* , Montpellier, 1973, p. 9-36, at p. 26-30.

86. *The nobility* , p. 241.

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legates " ⁸⁷ . It is true that he never simply executed the pope's orders, but who of all these princes of the Mediterranean space ever did it? Even the count Bernard II de Besalú, who donated his county to the pope, did so only to safeguard the interests of his house ⁸⁸ . By supporting Archbishop Guifred Narbonne of the county house of Cerdanya "per drudarium", that is to say "by love " ⁸⁹ , he was looking for a reliable ally in this part of the duchy of Narbonne, which was dominated by the Viscounts of this city, and supporting Archbishop Aicard of Arles ⁹⁰ , also excommunicated and deposed by the Pope and his legates at the Council of Avignon, he ensured its support in the eastern part of its vast estates.

What we can see is a change of attitude of the count vis-à-vis of the Church from 1094, after he succeeded in taking over from his brother in the county of Toulouse. The first sign was the abandonment of his right to the offerings deposited on the altar of Saint-Gilles. Then he gave up Psalmodi, a Benedictine abbey also located in the diocese of Nîmes, in the exercise of all seigniorial justice - in the case of murder or adultery of a woman - except at the express request of Father ⁹¹ . In July of the same year, he abandoned gave its rights to all goods carried by ships or rafts of the abbey of Saint-Victor de Marseille on the Rhone ⁹² . And, at the beginning of the year 1096, he renounced, among other things, his "dominium" on the abbey Saint-André from Villeneuve-lès-Avignon ⁹³ .

In May of that year, we have the first evidence of a meeting of the Earl with Pope Urban II. May 23, in a Pope's charter in favor from Beaulieu to Limousin, Hugues de Castelnau "miles" "What monastery was occupied by the civil power" and who renounces presence of his lord, Count Raimond ⁹⁴ . On May 24, Urban devoted

87. F. M AZEL , *The nobility* , p. 241. He enumerates all the arguments put forward to create the image

of a prince who is a paragon of reform: his devotion to Cluny and La Chaise-Dieu, his renouncing the right flank in Béziers (*HGL*, vol. V, n. 359, col. 685-687), the common support finally to Archbishop Dalmace of Narbonne and especially the fact that Urbain II chooses him as leader of the first crusade next to Adhémar de Monteil.

88. For this, see U. VONES-LIEBENSTEIN, *St. Ruf und Spanien ...*, p. 63-73.

89. *HGL*, t. V, n. 273, col. 535-538; see about the meaning of this word and the promise of security of the count, see FL C HEYETTE, *Ermengard of Narbonne ...*, p. 113.

90. See F. M AZEL, *The Nobility ...*, p. 220, which speaks of a treaty between Raimond and Aicard.

91. *HGL*, t. V, n. 387, col. 733-734.

92. *Ibid.* N. 386, col. 731-733.

93. *Ibid.*, N. 372 / I and 372 / II, col. 707-709. The dating of this diploma (1088) is not correct, because the bishop Arbert of Avignon, former abbot of Saint-Ruf, who appears there as a witness was not elected that between 1 January and 8 March 1096. E. M AGNANI S OARES -C HRISTEN, *monasteries and aristocracy in Provence ...*, p. 171-173 believes that these two documents were reworked in 1140, when Alfonse Jourdain tried to recover the rights of his father in Provence.

94. JL 5648 "present [...] committee Raimundo" during the affiliation of the abbey of Beaulieu to Cluny (*Cartulary of Beaulieu Abbey [in Limousin]*, published by Maximin Deloche, Paris, 1859 [Collection of documents

solemnly the collegiate Saint-Sernin of Toulouse and Raimond renounced to receive the wax count of the candles used in this church ⁹⁵. A few months later, just before leaving Languedoc, Urban II held a council in Nîmes, probably from 4 to 14 July ⁹⁶. He dedicated the cathedral and received of the Count of Toulouse a generous gift for his endowment, qualified as "sponsaliticum" ⁹⁷.

Six days later, on July 12, Raimond declared in a privilege in favor Father Odilon of Saint-Gilles, whom he had "in concilio apud Nemausum celebravit". Bravo from the lord and revered pope Urban 2, in the presence of the whole conciliated "renounced all the" honors "of the abbey of Saint-Gilles, which he had obtained rightly or wrongly in the town of Saint-Gilles or elsewhere" ⁹⁸, as well as "Recta omnes sive prava consuetudines" that he or his predecessors could have or require ⁹⁹.

But that was not all. In the confirmation of this charter, issued ten days later in Saint-André de Villeneuve-lès-Avignon and in which the Pope emphasized among other things that the count had taken the cross, he asserted that he "Received a part of his power, his seignorial rights [on St. Gilles] the Roman Church" ¹⁰⁰ "part of its strength from the Roman church optinens" ¹⁰¹. Does this mean that he had given up all his rights to the abbey Saint-Gilles to take them back in fiefs from the Pope? Is for this reason it was henceforth best named "Raimundus de

unpublished facts on the history of France], p. xxvii - xxviii, n. 1). See A. B ECKER, *Urban II ...*, t. II, p. 451, and R. C ROZET, *The Voyage ...*, p. 303-304.

95. In the privilege of Urban II in favor of Saint-Sernin, it is a question of "candelas quoque Raymond, the soft, Tolosanus comes into the church dedication of our present, discarded" (JL 5658; *Cartulary of the Abbey of St. Sernin of Toulouse [844-1200]*, ed. Célestin Douais, Paris / Toulouse, 1887, app. n. 3, p. 475-477, quote at p. 477). See R. C ROZET, *The journey ...*, p. 304 and A. B ECKER, *Urban II ...*, t. II, p. 450.

96. See A. B ECKER, *Urban II ...*, t. II, p. 452-453, R. C ROZET, *The journey ...*, p. 305-306 and Louis M ENARD, *Civil, Ecclesiastical and Literary History of the City of Nîmes*, vol. I, Nîmes, 1873, p. 177-184.

97. *HGL*, t. V, n. 392 col. 742-743, "in sponsaliticum" (col. 743).

98. "All the office of St. Gilles, both in the same town, which is called [Flaviana] which the extrinsic Whatever it showed just or unfair" (*LGH*, 5 t, n. 393/1 col 744; *Bullaire ...*, n. 17;

p. 35; *Layettes of the treasure of charters*, ed. Alexandre Teulet, t. I, Paris, 1863 [Inventories and documents], n. 28, p. 32-33). A. B ECKER, *Urban II ...*, t. I, p. 206, see this action of the Count of Saint-Gilles

as part of the 453. *Journal of the History of the Crusades*, on the 3rd and 4th, CHILLING, Guido of Vienna - Pope Calixtus II, Hanover, 1998 (MGH, Writings, 45), p. 138 and 655.
 99. HGL, t. V, n. 393 / CCCXV, col. 743-744.
 100. "In Jherosolimitani campaign to go" (LGH, v 5, n. 393/2, col 745; Bullaire ... n. 17, p. 35-36).
 101. HGL, t. V, n. 393 / II, col. 744-745; Bullaire ..., n. 17, p. 35-36. According to JF NIERMEYER, *Midnight Lexicon less*, Leuven, 1984, p. 818-819, "noble" means "power seigneurial" or "lordship".

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Sancto Aegidio " ¹⁰², to demonstrate that he was " miles sancti Petri ", the man from the pope ?

It was from that day that he showed a particular devotion to Saint Gilles ¹⁰³. In a donation in favor of the Puy cathedral "pro and satisfaction of my parents, because of the honor and love St. Gilles, which often offended many injuries like " ¹⁰⁴ asked that the feast of Saint Gilles is celebrated every year in the church of Puy and in all the churches under its siege, and that day the canons of Puy receive at his own expense a dinner worthy of the name. After several other for the salvation of his soul, he referred to the Council of Clermont, where we had promised that no one would have the right to harm the donations of those who would leave for the liberation of the holy places.

That Saint Gilles for his part agreed to take Raimond under his protection, the story of Raimond d'Aguilers shows it. The latter accompanied the count in Jerusalem and reported that during a disease of Raimond, a count

102. In a charter in favor of the Church of Puy (LGH, Vol. V, n. 395, col. 747-748). previously He Had used this name to 1076 (*ibid.*, n. 323, col. 624), whereas before It was called Expired Especially "Comes Ruthenensis" and after succeeding his brother "comes Tolosanae, dux Narbonnensis and Marquis Province ". On April 17, 1103 his name is "Raymond favor of Saint-Gilles and the province of the Marquis, and the captain of the help of God, in the Jerosolimitano the Knights of the Christian life ", (*Ibid.*, N. 414, col. 779). In his will in favor of the Church of Arles his name is "Raimundus Sancti Aegidii comes " (*ibid.*, N. 420, col. 791). His sound Bertrand, on the other hand, does not begin to peel "Sancti comes Aegidii" after His arrival in the Holy Land (*ibid.*, n. 433, col. 809).

103. E. M AGNANI, "Monastic networks ...", p. 6 says that the count as lord of Saint-Gilles also had the relics of the saint in his custody. It has been repeatedly pointed out that it is rather Saint Robert of Turlande, the founder of the Chair-Dieu, who was his favorite patron, to whom he Read more about the treasure of relics in the West: "ad sepulcrum B. Rotberti relics of Saints, who has had [...] with a number of other distinguished marks of great wealth " (*Journal Sanctorum*, April 24, col. 332). But this tradition, originating from the Chair-God, dates only from the middle the XIIth century. See above n. 58. C. AURANSON -R. OSAZ, "The Velay and the Crusade ...", p. 55 think that his devotion to St. Robert "allows him to rank among the" penitent "" militias ", because he had "Some wars on the conscience". But Herbert EJ Cowdrey has shown that Urbain II, in according to the conceptions elaborated by Gregory VII, demanded at the Council of Clermont that the pilgrims In depart from the spirit of true penance: "Nothing that is not where the heart penitentla compunctio. (Herbert EJ C OWDREY, "The Reform of the Papacy and the Origin of the Crusades", in *The Council of Clermont* ..., p. 65-83, at p. 81. The quote is in Robert S OMERVILLE, *The councils of Urban 2* t. 1, Amsterdam, 1972 [Annuaire history councils. Supplement, 1], p. 115) and that they have to renounce to perfect their crimes or to profit by them to obtain the pardon: "and which seek to refresh: the weapons equipment business. In fact, in no other way alone is in truth, nor penance, any other advice you can offer "(R. S OMERVILLE, *The Councils of Urban* ... 2, 115; HEJ C OWDREY, "The reform papacy ...", p. 81, n. 52). But that means it was not Raimond de Toulouse had committed crimes for which he wanted to do penance; otherwise he would have gone to pilgrim to the Holy Land and not to warrior and leader of the Christian army.

104. HGL, t. V, n. 395, col. 747-748.

of Saxony, who had joined the army of Provence ¹⁰⁵, approached Raimond. he turned out to be sent by Saint Gilles to announce to the count that he would not die not of this illness and he would always be with him ¹⁰⁶. Raimond d'Aguilers, a canon of the Puy church, was therefore well aware of the fact that a special link The Count was related to this saint, of whom he claimed to be.

5.- "A aimundus Earl Carter " ¹⁰⁷

Once Count Raimond left to the Holy Land as a man of the pope, as leader of his militia to free the holy places with the intention of never to go back to Saint-Gilles, his donations did not remain not undisputed. But their effect was still lasting: from this day, Every time has count of Toulouse Gilles or to assert rights within the lordship of the abbey, the Pope threatened with excommunication by invoking the act of Raimond de Saint-Gilles. For example, on November 14, 1105, when Pascal II wrote to the count Bertrand de Toulouse to remember the Council of Nimes, now that he had invaded the village of Saint-Gilles ¹⁰⁸ and had seized offerings deposited on the altar ¹⁰⁹. After complaining in a series of letters from the conduct of the count Bertrand, forgetful of the promises made by his father

105. Contrary to Monique ZERNER, "The Raymond IV Count of Toulouse, chief of the people," in *Genesis of the modern state in the Mediterranean. Historical and anthropological approaches to practices presentations*, Rome, 1993 (Collection of the French School in Rome, 168), p. 45-60, who believes that Raimond dominated "an immense space, from Provence to the Middle Garonne, from the Mediterranean at the edge of the Central Massif and the Southern Alps "(p.46), it should be noted that it was 1096 it was not not the undisputed master of this area. Already the H_{ILL} (JH and LL H_{ILL}, *Raimond IV of Saint-Gilles ...*, p. 29-30) had found that among those who followed him in the East there were few nobles of the county of Toulouse - neither the Trencavel nor the viscounts of Narbonne or those of Toulouse do not meet. On the other hand, the Anduze, the Sabran or the Count of Die, who had long been his faithful when he was only Marquis de Provence and Count of Die, followed him. These serious problems to be deepened, which I can not do in this study.

106. "There was a partner in our exercise of Saxon, who came to the count Raymond; St Giles and legacy is maintained; and the second time and warned to say the count he would be easy not die from this disease; I have obtained a delay to God; I shall always be with you "(" Raimond de Aguilers canonical Puy History of the Franks, who capture homeward "in *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Western historians*, v. 3, Paris 1866, p. 231-307, at p. 240).

107. *Bullaire ...*, n. 28, p. 46-47, privilege of Pascal II in favor of Saint-Gilles of July 25, 1107.

108. *Ibid.* N. 22, p. 40, "Where Are We Surprised That the Borough to Come St Giles Church ammunition novae erigere presumpsisti. "

109. *Ibid.* N. 22, p. 40, "the writing of the keys in Nemausensi council; the father's request, the sacred memory of Pope Urban made, or believe you heard or seen. "

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Himself at the Council of Nîmes, the Pope finally pronounced his excommunication communication ¹¹⁰ .

And once again, it was the arrival of a pope in France to settle the affair. make. July 27, 1107, two months after the Council of Troyes where Pascal II had reiterated the prohibition of any investiture by lay people, ¹¹¹ Count Bertrand came in Saint-Marcel, near Valence, to make amends and come to terms with the Church ¹¹² . Again the pope had recourse to the charter delivered by Raimond of Saint-Gilles at the Council of Nîmes and did not lift the excommunication until many promises from Count Bertrand to respect it now ¹¹³ .

After his election, Pope Calixtus II stayed for some time in Maguelonne. From there he issued warrants to enforce the immunity of the city and the abbey of Saint-Gilles, also having recourse to the charter issued by Count Raimond at the Council of Nîmes ¹¹⁴ . Meanwhile, the half-brother of Bertrand, the son of Raimond de Saint-Gilles and Elvire of Castile, Alfonse Jordan, had returned from overseas and the quarrel between the counts of Toulouse and the abbey of Saint-Gilles went on again. In a letter to the archbishops from Arles, Aix and Narbonne and to Bishop Gautier de Maguelonne, Calixte II reports that nobles from Alfonse's entourage have invaded the borough of Saint-Gilles, committed murder and looting and raised a castle, at large detriment of this village ¹¹⁵ . He then issued nine warrants to put an end to these attacks, before excommunicating the count and his relatives and launching the ban on their lands ¹¹⁶ . After this massive intervention by the pope, we must wait until the end of

XIIth and the beginning of XIIIth century that tries to finally settle abbey. all the conflicts with the counts of Toulouse by placing this time under the protection of the Kings of France ¹¹⁷ . Shortly after, the monks gather in a roll some fifteen acts concerning this conflict ¹¹⁸ . It is significant that the privilege of Urban II, mentioning the charter of Raimond de Saint-Gilles (1096),

110. *Ibid.* N. 27, p. 46 (March 14, 1107), U. W^{INZER} , *S. Gilles* ..., p. 80-81.

111. See on the Council of Troyes recently Beate S^{CHILLING} , "Zur Reise Paschalis" II. nach Northern Italy and France 1106/07 (with itinerary appendix and map) "in *Francia* , vol. 28/1, 2002, p. 115-158, at p. 140-142 and in particular p. 152-154 with a complete overview of the sources and the bibliography.

112. See the pope's stay at St. Marcel *ibid.* , p. 156.

113. JL 6161; *Bullaire* ..., n. 28, p. 46-47 (July 25, 1107).

114. *Ibid.* N. 37, p. 55 (June 28, 1119), "Nemausense meeting at the hand of predeces-soris our holy memory of Pope Urban [...] left." UW^{INZER} , *S. Gilles* ..., p. 85-88.

115. *Bullaire* ..., n. 40, p. 59-60 (June 21, 1121): "the destruction of the town was built."

116. On the stay of Calixte II at Saint-Gilles in 1119 see B. S^{CHILLING} , *Guido von Vienna* ... , p. 689-690.

117. E. M^{AGNANI} , "Monastic networks ..." , p. 6.

118. Paris, NA, J 317, n. 9. I thank Mr. Rolf Große for agreeing to procure micro-movies from this folder.

is at the head of this scroll, which ends with a charter of Philip II Auguste confirming in 1210 all the privileges granted by his father Louis VII at the abbey ¹¹⁹. Although the confirmation by Pope Innocent III of a sentence of his legates in favor of the abbey in his quarrel with the counts of Toulouse ¹²⁰ is also inserted, it is clear that the protection of the King of France was substituted in the XIIIth century to that of the distant Pope.

Now come to a conclusion to see what the impact of pontifical trips on the troubles of the counts of Toulouse with the abbey of Saint-Gilles. The history of the abbey of Saint-Gilles in the XIth and XIIth centuries was marked by the requirements of the counts of Toulouse on the one hand and the pretensions of the Bishop of Nîmes and the Abbé de Cluny on the other hand. The count required a *Dominicatura* on the abbey, the bishops of Nîmes opposed the exemption of the monastery and the abbot of Cluny aimed at the legal incorporation of Saint-Gilles in his congregation ¹²¹. Here, only the claims of the Count of Toulouse were interested. It was to show what the consequences were for Saint-Gilles of the meeting between the count of Toulouse Raimond IV and the pope Urban II during his trip to France. And these consequences were of a importance for relations between Saint-Gilles and the counts of Toulouse, since they sealed for the centuries to come the independence of the abbey and gave the popes the means to enforce it despite the efforts of the heretics third of Raimond IV.

Before the arrival of Pope Urban II in France, Raimond IV did indeed consented to renounce seizing the offerings deposited on the altar of Saint-Gilles. During the passage of the Pope he went much further: he gave him his "potentatus" on the abbey of Saint-Gilles. Raimond, who had resigned all his rights on his estates in favor of his son, went to the Holy Land as count of Saint-Gilles, as "fidelis sancti Petri", as a man of the pope. Only the presence of Urban II in France could lead to such an act, full of quences for the Abbey of Saint-Gilles as well as for himself and his successors. The importance of his act in favor of the abbey made him alone all the counts of Toulouse were registered in the obituary of the abbey: "Raimundus comes ¹²². He also entered the *memoria* of the abbey next to the popes Gregory VII, Urban II, Pascal II, Gelasius II and Calixte II ¹²³, who had as helped him free Saint Gilles from any secular influence.

119. *Layettes* ..., t. I, n. 950, p. 360 (Paris edition, AN, J 317, n. 9, 15).

120. *Ibid.* N. 1180, p. 431 (Paris edition, AN, J 317, n. 9, 11); see also the sentence itself (n. 942, p. 357 et seq., Paris edition, AN, J 317, n. 9, 10).

121. AG R EMENSNYDER, *Remembering* ..., p. 218-243, which speaks of the "Three Enemies" of St. Gilles.

122. The two of the calends of February (January 31). U. W INZER, *S. Gilles* ..., p. 364-366.

123. *Ibid.*, p. 215-221.