

Medieval Academy of America

The Papal Bulls for the Chapter of St. Antonin in Rouergue in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

Author(s): Giles Constable and Robert Somerville

Source: *Speculum*, Vol. 67, No. 4 (Oct., 1992), pp. 828-864

Published by: [Medieval Academy of America](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2863470>

Accessed: 28/02/2011 09:23

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/action/showPublisher?publisherCode=medacad>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Medieval Academy of America is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Speculum*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

The Papal Bulls for the Chapter of St. Antonin in Rouergue in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries

By Giles Constable and Robert Somerville

for Domenico Maffei

The ancient abbey of St. Antonin in Rouergue was located in the valley of the Aveyron, from which came the name *Nobilis Vallis*, or Noble Val, by which the site has been known since at least the thirteenth century.¹ During the thousand years or more from its reputed foundation in the eighth century until its dissolution at the time of the French Revolution, the abbey went through two major crises. The first, with which this article is largely concerned, was its transfer in the late eleventh century from a house of monks into a chapter of regular canons. The second was during the Wars of Religion in the sixteenth century, when the town of Saint-Antonin was a center of the Protestant reform move-

Though this article is the joint work of the authors, both of whom worked on the relevant documents in the archives and reviewed the entire text, Professor Constable is primarily responsible for the narrative sections and Professor Somerville for the texts. They are indebted to Christiane Constant-Le Stum, Director of the Archives départementales du Lot (Cahors); Jean Delmas, Director of the Archives départementales de l'Aveyron (Rodez); Georges Julien, Conservator of the Archives communales at Saint-Antonin; and above all to Annie Lafforgue, Director of the Archives départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne (Montauban), without whose enthusiastic support this article could not have been written. Beatrice Terrien-Somerville and Patricia Woolf participated in the research in French libraries and archives for this study. The authors also want to acknowledge the advice and assistance of Alison Beach (New York), the Abbé E. Bro (Evêché, Montauban), the Abbé M. Druilhe (Evêché, Rodez), Michelle Eclache (C.N.R.S.), Jean-Claude Fabre (Société archéologique de Tarn-et-Garonne, Montauban), Rolf Grosse (Paris), René Lançon (Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron, Rodez), Jean-Loup and Nicole Lemaître (Paris), Dietrich Lohrmann (Aachen), Bernard Marre (Villefranche-de-Rouergue), Ludo Milis (Ghent), John Hine Mundy (New York), Susanne Roberts (New Haven), Kären Sorensen (New York), the Abbé S. Touzel (Saint-Antonin), and for invaluable help both with the research and with the text, Walter Simons of Dartmouth College. The following abbreviations are used:

AC = Archives communales de Saint-Antonin;

AD = Archives départementales de Tarn-et-Garonne (Montauban);

CB = *Collectio Britannica*, London, British Library, MS Add. 8873;

JL = numbered entries for papal letters in Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., rev. S. Löwenfeld et al. (Leipzig, 1885–88);

Lafon and Lafon MS. See n. 11, below.

¹ On St. Antonin, see the bibliographies in Charles Beauquier, *Abbayes et prieurés de l'ancienne France*, 4: *Provinces ecclésiastiques d'Alby, de Narbonne et de Toulouse*, ed. J. M. Besse, Archives de la France Monastique 12 (Ligugé and Paris, 1911), pp. 84–85; Camille Couderc, *Bibliographie historique du Rouergue*, 2 vols. (Rodez, 1934), 2:490 f.; and Laurent Cottineau, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, 3 vols. (Mâcon, 1939–70), 2:2595–96. The only general works on the history of

ment.² In 1570 the church and the collegiate buildings were destroyed and the canons expelled. When they returned in the seventeenth century, and in 1661 joined the reformed Congregation of France at Ste. Geneviève, they occupied a new building in the center of the town, and the old site on the river was used as a garden and more recently for a thermal establishment and an old people's home.

Aside from a few structural fragments, all that remains are parts of the archives.³ The study which follows is an account of the fate of these documents and registers in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and of the recent rediscovery of some of the earliest papal bulls for St. Antonin. The privileges of the abbey were based in large part on those bulls, which are a fundamental source for any reconstruction of the history of the house. An account of their rediscovery and content will help illuminate the opaque history of St. Antonin in the high Middle Ages and also serves as a reminder to modern scholars of the riches to be found in the works of, at times obscure, early-modern local historians.

1

What happened to the archives of the house during the troubled times of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is not known. When the canons were expelled, they may have taken their archives with them, hidden them, or entrusted them to a notary in the town. The papal bulls were cataloged and classified at this time, however, and several inventories were made in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in addition to an earlier collection of excerpts and summaries from fourteen bulls.⁴ The most complete lists were those made in 1661

the religious house (in contrast to the town) of St. Antonin are J. M. F. Vaissière, *Saint Antonin, prêtre, apôtre du Rouergue, martyr de Pamiers* (Montauban, 1872), and Victor Lafon, "Histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Antonin-en-Rouergue," *Mémoires de la Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron* 12 (1881 for 1879–80), 1–39, and (separately) Rodez, 1879 and 1880. Severe judgments on both these works were passed by Robert Latouche, *Saint-Antonin: Pages d'histoire* (Montauban, 1913; repr. 1926), p. 15.

² See the work, begun in 1787, of the Abbé de Grimaldi, *Les bénéfices du diocèse de Rodez avant la Révolution de 1789*, ed. J. Touzery (Rodez, 1906), pp. 131–34; Guillaume Lacoste, *Histoire générale de la province de Quercy*, ed. L. Combarieu and F. Cangardel, 4 vols. (Cahors, 1883–86), 4:131 f.; and Nicole Lemaître, *Le Rouergue flamboyant: Clergé et paroisses du diocèse de Rodez (1417–1563)* (Paris, 1988), pp. 449 f.

³ All that survives of the buildings are a few capitals and drums of columns recovered from the river: see *Congrès archéologique de France, XXXIIe session: Séances générales tenues à Montauban, Cahors et Guéret en 1865* (Paris, 1866), pp. 264–65; Jean-Claude Fau, "Découverte à Saint-Antonin (Tarn-et-Garonne) d'un chapiteau roman consacré à Adam et Eve," *Bulletin monumental* 135 (1977), 231–35; and Maurice Scelles, "Des chapiteaux de Saint-Antonin aux Etats-Unis?" *Société des amis du vieux Saint-Antonin, Bulletin* (1989), pp. 45–46.

⁴ These are found in AD E 331, G 877, and G 1019. See Appendix 1, below, where the collection of summaries and the inventories are analyzed. The chapter's interest in its privileges was practical as well as antiquarian, since it repeatedly had to defend its exemption against the claims of the bishop of Rodez and, it appears, other bishops. Records of two of these disputes (in 1341–44 and 1521–23), citing the chapter's privileges, are preserved in the Archives départementales de l'Aveyron

and 1662, immediately after the house joined the Congregation of France, and include fifty-two bulls, with the pressmarks which are still found on surviving documents and indications that some bulls were by then missing. When Jean de Doat visited St. Antonin on behalf of Colbert in 1661, he took away at least seventy documents, promising to return them, and had copies made of these and others which now form part of volume 124 of the Collection Doat in the Bibliothèque nationale.⁵ In the middle of the eighteenth century Jean Philippi (or Philippi) made two inventories, which are still of value today, of the documents concerning the municipality, beginning in 1155, and the hospice, which depended on the municipality, beginning in 1163, but he included nothing from the archives of the chapter.⁶

This division lasted after the Revolution, when the chapter was dissolved and its archives passed to the commune and thus legally into the possession of the state, represented by the new department of Tarn-et-Garonne.⁷ A report to the prefect dated 1820 said that there were two archives at Saint-Antonin, one of the commune and one of the former chapter, which comprised about 150 bundles, registers, volumes, and documents.⁸ They were probably housed together, since the former chapter building was divided between the municipality, the presbytery, and the gendarmerie; the communal archives are still located in the major prior's chamber. In the ensuing years, something of a tug-of-war for the possession of these documents developed between the departmental archives at Montauban, represented by the archivist—backed up, when necessary, by the prefect, the inspector-general of archives, and the minister of the interior—and the communal archives at Saint-Antonin, represented by the mayor, who was clearly reluctant to give up any records and asserted more than once in the 1850s that all documents prior to 1790 had been destroyed during the Revolution.⁹

It was an unequal struggle, and the archivist Ursule Devals was persistent. At his instruction, according to a letter from the mayor dated 12 August 1864, five chests containing 1,036 registers and documents prior to 1790 were shipped

at Rodez, G 942 and 944 (see the descriptions in *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales antérieures à 1790, Aveyron, Archives ecclésiastiques, Série G, Evêché de Rodez* [Rodez, 1934–58], pp. 929–62 and 976–87). For other disputes in the thirteenth, fifteenth, and seventeenth centuries, see Lacoste, *Histoire . . . de Quercy*, 2:305; Lemaître, *Rouergue*, pp. 115–16; and Louis Servières, *Histoire de l'église du Rouergue* (Rodez, 1874), p. 489.

⁵ Philippe Lauer, *Bibliothèque nationale, Collections manuscrites sur l'histoire des provinces de France: Inventaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1905–11), 2:179, and J. L. Rigal and P. A. Verlaguet, *Notes pour servir à l'histoire du Rouergue*, 2 vols. (Rodez, 1913–26), esp. 2:42–47 on the papal bulls. Vol. 124 includes copies of the bulls of Urban II in 1090 (fols. 279r–281r) and Gregory XI in 1376 (fols. 320r–321v) and of the bulls of Martin V in the procès-verbal of 1430 (fols. 322r–333v) and of Alexander III and Lucius III in the procès-verbal of 1521–23 (fols. 336r–383r; see n. 4, above); see Appendix 1, below, nos. 1, 4, 5, 30, and 31.

⁶ AC GG 40 and JJ 11. See Vaissière, *Saint Antonin*, pp. 190–92.

⁷ At this time Saint-Antonin became part of the department of Tarn-et-Garonne and of the diocese of Montauban rather than Rodez, to which it belonged in the Middle Ages.

⁸ AC D 21.

⁹ The documents cited here and in the following paragraph are in AD 156 T 16, which contains letters concerning the documents of Saint-Antonin from 1850 to 1934, and AC D 21.

to Montauban. More documents were shipped in 1866, following a visit by the inspector-general, and an arrangement was worked out with the minister of the interior by which any documents relating to the municipality and hospice were returned to Saint-Antonin while all those from the chapter's archives remained in Montauban. According to a report of the prefect dated 13 December 1866, these included fifty-eight registers, about two hundred documents on parchment, and "un assez grand nombre de liasses."

Either by design or by accident, however, some documents relating to the chapter remained at Saint-Antonin. In September 1873 a local priest and antiquary named Victor-François Lafon presented an illustrated *mémoire* on the history of the abbey of St. Antonin to the Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron at Rodez, with a dedication to the bishop of Rodez, Monseigneur (later Cardinal) Ernest Bourret, who was himself a man of learning.¹⁰ This work appeared in print, with some abbreviations and changes and without most of the illustrations, as a separate work in 1879 and 1880 and as part of volume 12 of the *Mémoires* of the Society, for 1879–80, in 1881.¹¹ Lafon remarked at the beginning on the richness of the chapter's archives, on the losses owing to war and neglect, and on the depredations of Devaux, who took all he could find to Montauban "au nom de l'Etat." There remained at Saint-Antonin, however, he continued, "un fonds très riche de manuscrits anciens" of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries and "une belle collection de trente-deux bulles pontificales inédites, de 1090 à 1144"¹²—a misprint for 1444.

Lafon relied heavily on these bulls, which he described both in the text of his *mémoire* and in an appendix.¹³ Although his language suggests that the documents he had found were all originals, one of them (no. 2, Urban II in 1099; Fig. 3) was a copy, "mais une copie fidèle et authentique," and eight derived, if the illustrations are to be trusted, from "un vieux cahier en parchemin, revêtu d'une couverture de même matière," which contained many résumés of bulls addressed to the canons, down to the fourteenth century, and various other works, including "des histoires en langue romane."¹⁴ The present article con-

¹⁰ On Lafon, who lived from 1820 until 1891 or 1892 and spent most of his life in Villefranche in Rouergue, see A. Ancourt, "L'abbé Victor Lafon," *Nouvelles chroniques villefrancoises* (Villefranche, 1968), pp. 64–68, with a bibliography of his works on pp. 78–80. His death is dated 1892 in the *Procès-verbaux . . . de la Société . . . de l'Aveyron* 16 (1891–94), 95.

¹¹ See n. 1, above. The manuscript of this work is in Rodez at the seat of the Society, which kindly provided us with a photocopy and photographs. The dedication is dated 13 March (p. 4) and the section on the papal bulls February 1873 (p. 40). A report on this work was given by A. Remond to the Society on 15 March 1874 and published in *Procès-verbaux des séances de la Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron* 9 (1872–74), 170–76. Lafon's "Histoire" is cited here simply as "Lafon," and the manuscript as "Lafon MS"; the latter is cited only when it differs significantly from the printed version. There are a few faint pencil annotations, apparently in a later hand (see n. 24, below).

¹² Lafon, p. 1. The misprint "1144" for "1444," characteristic of Lafon, disappointed these two historians of the eleventh and twelfth centuries!

¹³ Lafon, pp. 33–39. He was more interested in the early than in the late bulls, which he simply listed at the end, saying that they presented nothing remarkable "dans leur état matériel" (p. 38).

¹⁴ Lafon, pp. 34 (see pp. 842–43 and n. 45, below, on this bull) and 37. This is the only reference to the *cahier*, which has subsequently disappeared. The Doat copies of the bulls of Alexander III

centrates on the first five of these bulls, including two of Urban II and one each of Calixtus II, Alexander III, and Lucius III, and with the light they throw on the history of St. Antonin in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Lafon's work is full of elementary errors of fact and method. He had no training in diplomatics or paleography, and he was unable to date, and perhaps even to read, many of the documents with which he was dealing. While giving the impression that he was citing the texts of the documents, he in fact often used the dates and descriptions of the contents given in the endorsements on the outsides, or perhaps even the descriptions given in the inventories, which were based on the endorsements.¹⁵ His drawings, on the other hand, some of which are reproduced here (Figs. 2–6), appear to derive from his sources and are a useful supplement to his text. Lafon was, furthermore, a local patriot. He resented the fact that Saint-Antonin now belonged to the diocese of Montauban rather than the diocese of Rodez and to the department of Tarn-et-Garonne rather than Aveyron, and he believed that these ancient religious documents belonged, if they were not at Saint-Antonin, in the episcopal archives at Rodez.

In view of these facts, the apparent disappearance of the documents since the time of Lafon's article and the failure of all subsequent scholars to mention them lead to the suspicion that, once he had seen them, he may have taken them, or even that he fabricated them. There is no reference to the bulls in the writings of Cardinal Bourret or in the preparatory works, which he patronized, for a *Bullarium Ruthenense*.¹⁶ More surprising is the failure of both Robert Latouche and above all of Wilhelm Wiederhold to mention Lafon's documents. Latouche knew Lafon's work and had a professional interest in Saint-Antonin, and Wiederhold, whose work came out in 1913, was active in the region, looking

and Lucius III were taken from a "livre en parchemin" dated 27 March 1521 (Wilhelm Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich, 7: Gascogne, Guienne und Languedoc*, Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1913, Beiheft [Berlin, 1913], pp. 137 and 173), which was probably drawn up in connection with the dispute with the bishop of Rodez in 1521–23, recorded in Arch. dép. de l'Aveyron (Rodez), G 944. Lafon's *cahier* sounds different, from his description. See also n. 25, below.

¹⁵ Lafon's errors in dating (see Appendix 1, below) and describing the bulls frequently derive from the endorsements (see, for example, n. 25, below), but he made many mistakes of his own, which it is unnecessary to list here. On the "genealogy" of the misdating of Alexander III's bull of 1175 to 1165, see Jean-Claude Fabre, "Aperçus historiques sur Notre-Dame de Peyrègues," *Journée d'études . . . à Saint-Antonin Noble-Val* (Société Archéologique du Tarn-et-Garonne: Supplément au *Bulletin* 1981), pp. 2–3, who traced it from Vaissière and Lafon (see n. 1, above) to Moulénq (see n. 21, below) and Galabert (see n. 75, below). It may in fact go back to an erroneous date in the endorsement. See also n. 14, above, on the *cahier* used by Lafon.

¹⁶ See Bourret's remarks on the failure to publish the *bullarium* of St. Antonin, in the *Bulletin . . . de la Société . . . de Tarn-et-Garonne* 22 (1894), 167, and his *Documents sur les origines chrétiennes du Rouergue* (Rodez, 1887–1902), pp. 392–94 and 469, where he referred to the project for a *Bullarium Ruthenense*. Gregorio Palmieri and P. Calmet, *Varia documenta quae Ruthenensem et Vabrensem dioceses respiciunt e schedis Garampianis in Archivo Vaticano exstantibus deprompta* (Rodez and Rome, 1896), and two works of P. Calmet (which first appeared as a series of articles in the *Annales de Saint-Louis-des-Français*), *Sommaire des bulles de Jean XXII concernant le diocèse de Rodez et celui de Vabres* (Rome, 1896) and *Sommaire des bulles de Clément VI concernant le diocèse de Rodez* (Rome, 1905), list many documents concerning St. Antonin in the late Middle Ages, sometimes with useful notes, but they have been to a great extent superseded by the publication of the papal registers.

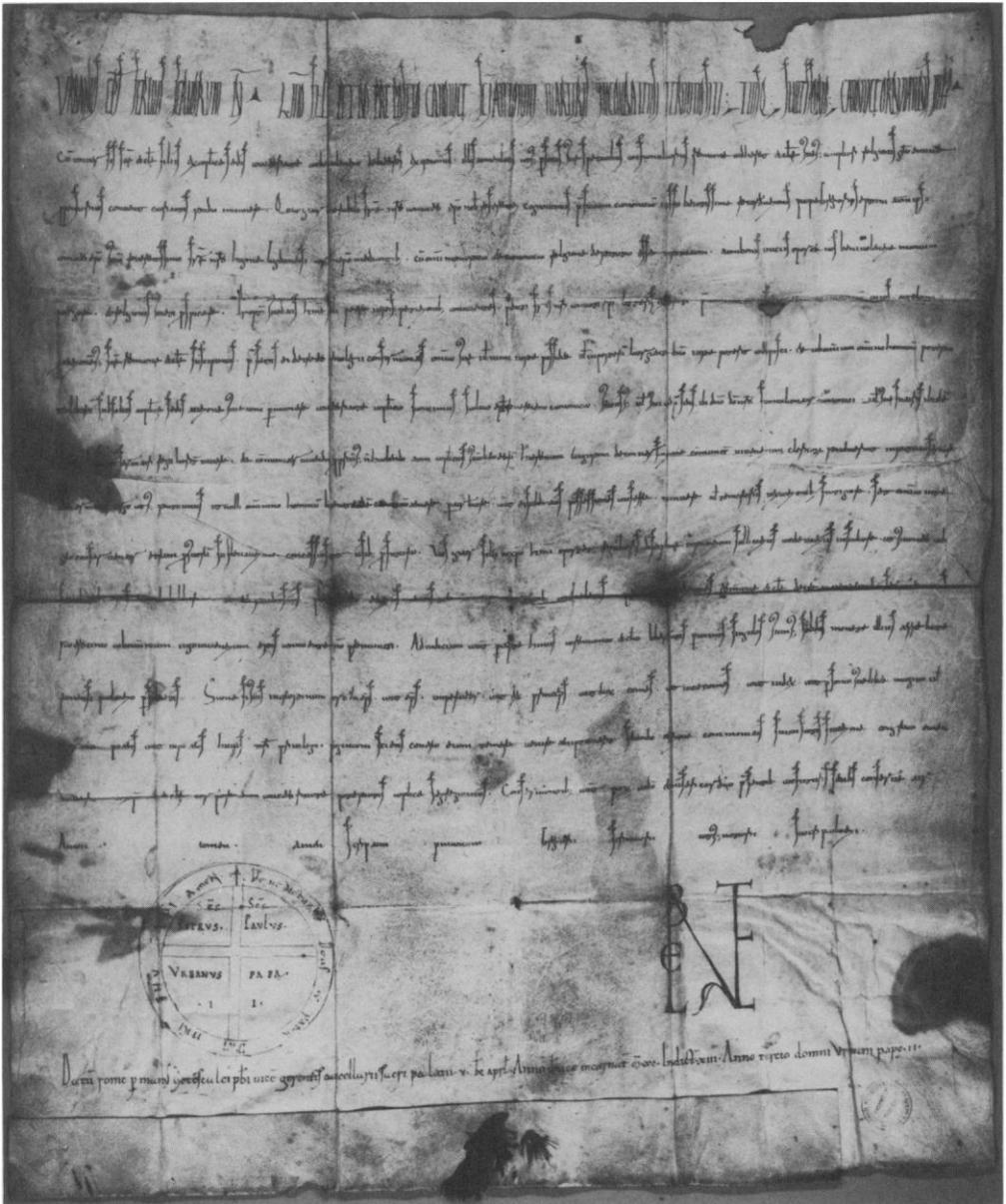


Fig. 1. Original Privilege of Urban II for St. Antonin (AD G 1281).
See Text 1.

Figs. 1 and 7 are reproduced courtesy of the Archives de Tarn-et-Garonne, Service photographique, Montauban; Figs. 2–6, courtesy of the Société des lettres, sciences et arts de l'Aveyron, Rodez.

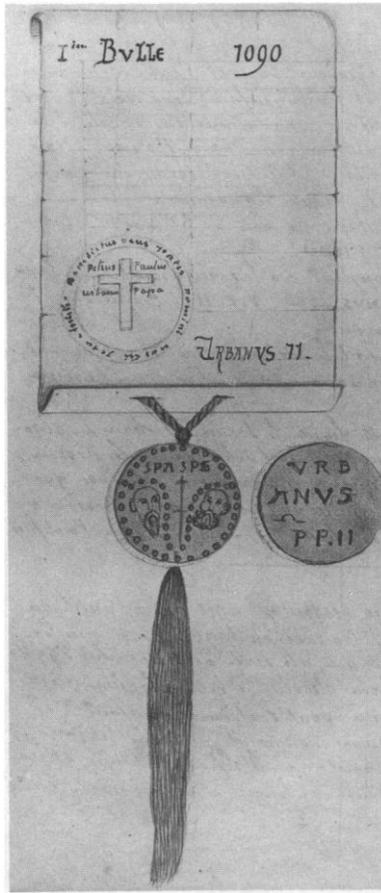


Fig. 2. Lafon no. 1; MS, p. 40.
Cf. Text 1.

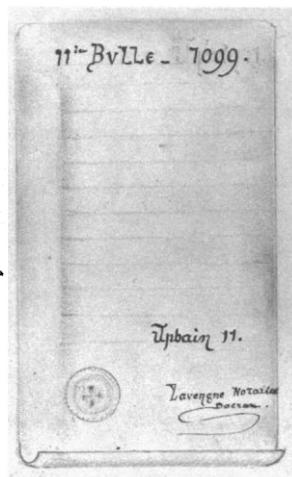


Fig. 3. Lafon no. 2; MS, p. 42.
Cf. Text 6.

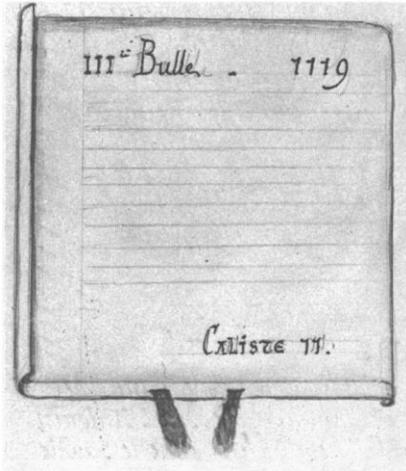


Fig. 4. Lafon no. 3; MS, p. 43.
Cf. Text 7.

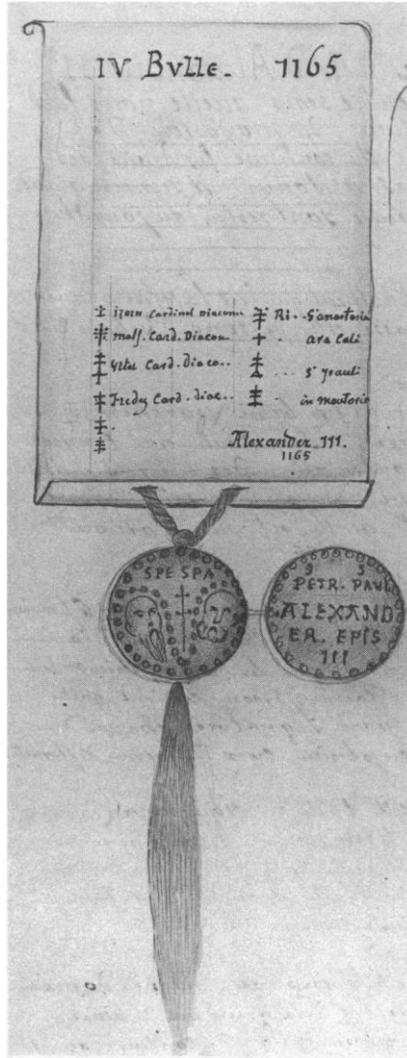


Fig. 5. Lafon no. 4; MS, p. 44.
Cf. Text 8.



Fig. 6. Lafon no. 5; MS, p. 50.
Cf. Text 10.

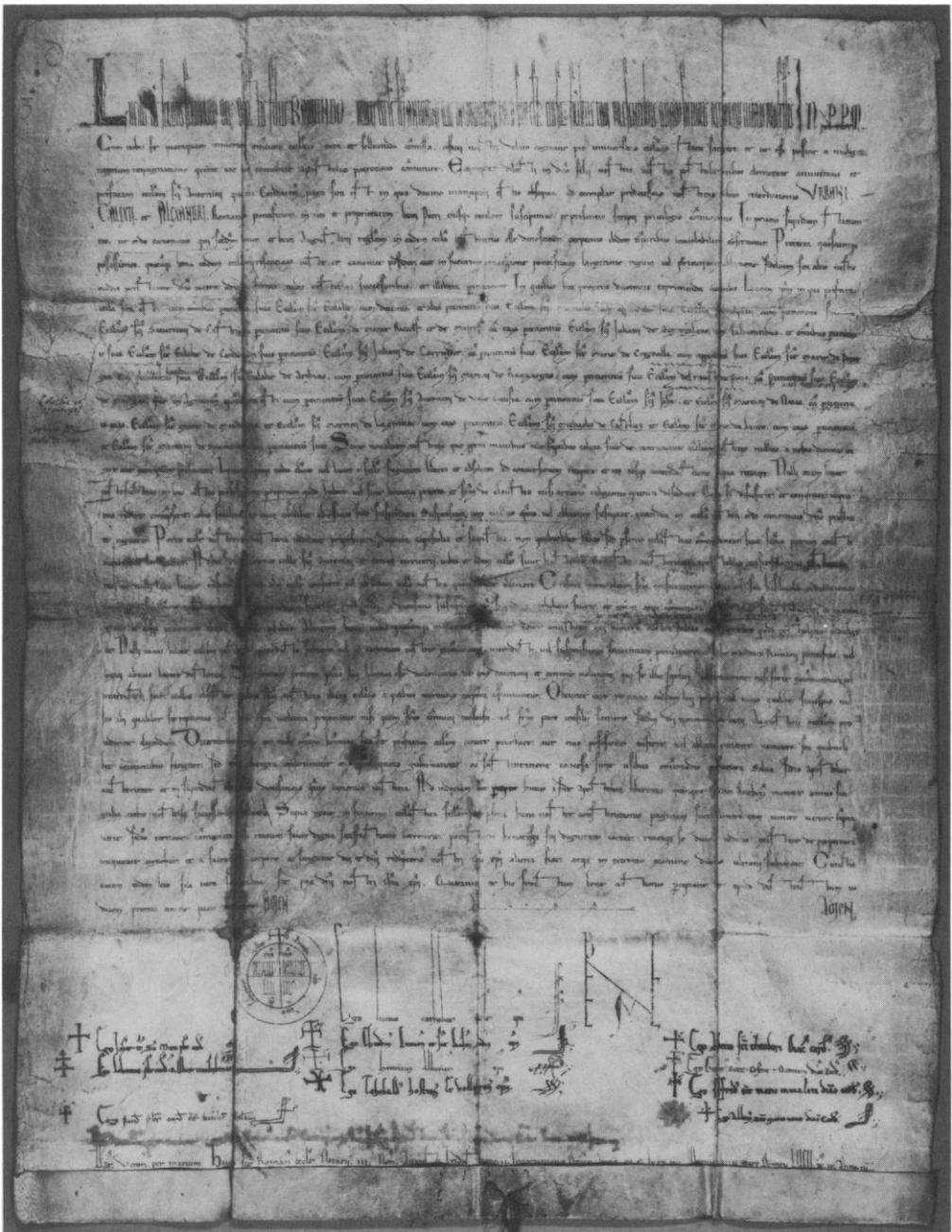


Fig. 7. Original Privilege of Lucius III for St. Antonin (AD G 876).
See Text 10.

for papal documents, less than three decades after Lafon's article was published. He saw, in fact, the original of Urban's bull of 28 March 1090 at Montauban and equated it with the bull of 5 April 1090 described by Lafon. Wiederhold's unpublished notes reveal that he knew Lafon's work, but he made no reference to the other bulls presented therein.¹⁷

A few of them were cited and apparently seen by some local scholars working at the same time as Lafon, though whether or not independently of him is hard to say. In 1872, the year before Lafon presented his *mémoire*, Jean Vaissière, a priest of Montauban,¹⁸ published *Saint Antonin, prêtre, apôtre du Rouergue, martyr de Pamiers*, which included a "Coup d'oeil sur l'histoire et les archives de Saint-Antonin." He mentioned, in addition to Philippp's inventories and some secular documents, "une belle collection de bulles," including a bundle of twenty-eight of the bulls dating from 1090 to 1360. He referred to eight bulls described by Lafon, four in terms resembling his, and one otherwise-unknown bull (by Benedict XIII in 1404) not mentioned by Lafon.¹⁹ Two years later, in 1874, Louis Servièrès, a priest of Rodez, cited six of the bulls described by Lafon, occasionally in similar terms, in a general history of the church in the Rouergue.²⁰ Thirdly, four of Lafon's bulls (Urban II in 1090 and 1099, Gregory XI in 1370, and Martin V in 1425) and one (Leo X) not mentioned by him were cited in the first volume of François Moulenq's *Documents historiques sur le Tarn-et-Garonne*, which appeared in 1879.²¹ These three writers may have derived their knowledge of the bulls from Lafon, whose "discoveries" were probably known from the early 1870s, but the fact that two of them cited bulls not in Lafon's work, and that Vaissière in addition described a bundle of bulls not mentioned by Lafon, suggests that they were working independently. The occasional similarity in language may point to a common source rather than to dependence.

The research for the present article started, therefore, with a search for the missing bulls, of which seventeen, and perhaps eighteen, were eventually found in the archives at Montauban, together with the originals of the eight bulls which Lafon knew only from the *cahier*. This leaves six (perhaps five) original bulls and one copy whose present whereabouts is unknown but whose existence is

¹⁷ Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7: esp. p. 20. See also his manuscript notes (presumably written after the publication of this work and now preserved at the Deutsches historisches Institut in Paris), where he described the original as "newly discovered" by Latouche in the archives at Montauban and said that Lafon cited the document as findable at Saint-Antonin. Since he missed the difference in dates and made no reference to the other eleventh- and twelfth-century bulls cited by Lafon, he may have relied on a reference given him by Latouche.

¹⁸ According to a typescript genealogy in the AC (no pressmark), Vaissière came of an old Saint-Antonin family and was born in 1828. See also Couderc, *Bibliographie*, 2:486–87.

¹⁹ Vaissière, *Saint Antonin*, pp. 175–98 (see Appendix 1, below). Cf. Camille Daux, *Histoire de l'église de Montauban*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1881–82), 1:V, 19, n. 1. Vaissière also referred to the legatine document (see n. 79, below), which Lafon did not mention.

²⁰ Servièrès, *Histoire . . . du Rouergue*, pp. 151 (Lafon, nos. 1–2), 189 (nos. 4–5), 217 (no. 9), and 285 (no. 25). On Servièrès, see Bourret, *Documents*, p. 466.

²¹ François Moulenq, *Documents historiques sur le Tarn-et-Garonne*, 4 vols. (Montauban, 1879–94). Moulenq was apparently familiar with both the AD and the AC, from which he cited the royal charter of 1253 with its pressmark.

confirmed from other sources.²² Exactly when and how the surviving bulls were moved to Montauban is not known, but it was probably in 1875 or 1876, when there was a flurry of activity following the visit to Saint-Antonin of the departmental archivist G. Bourbon, who the following year began work on his inventory of the communal archives.²³ It seems probable that word of the existence of the bulls got out as a result of the works of Vaissière, Lafon, and Servières and that the authorities arranged for their transfer to Montauban. Moulenq, writing in or before 1879, indicated that the bulls of Gregory XI in 1376 and Martin V in 1425, of which Lafon saw the originals at Saint-Antonin, were in the departmental archives.²⁴ Camille Daux, whose history of the church of Montauban was published in 1881–82, cited Clement VI's bull appointing Hugues de Connac major prior of St. Antonin (Lafon no. 23) as among the “pièces, Archives départementales, fonds de Saint-Antonin, non classées,” but since this was cited by Lafon from the *cahier*, the original may already have been in Montauban. Daux also marked Martin V's bull of 1425 as in the “fonds de Saint-Antonin,” presumably at Montauban.²⁵

No record was kept of these transfers or of the integration of these bulls with the other documents from the archives of the chapter. Latouche wrote in his official report for 1912 that he had found “dans un placard des archives”—clearly referring to the departmental archives—several important documents concerning St. Antonin, including the originals of Urban II's bull of 28 March 1090, which may be Lafon no. 1, and of three other bulls described by Lafon.²⁶

²² See Appendix 1, below. The confirmatory evidence comes from references in other bulls, the records of disputes (see n. 4, above), and inventories.

²³ This work was completed by Charles Dumas de Raully in 1881. The first forty pages (to BB) were printed under the title *Inventaire-Sommaire des Archives Communales de St Antonin*, but the publication was never completed. See Latouche's report on the departmental archives for 1912 printed in the *Bulletin . . . de la Société . . . de Tarn-et-Garonne* 40 (1912), 129.

²⁴ Moulenq, *Documents*, 1:411, n. 4. Two incomplete pencil notes next to the illustrations of these bulls in Lafon MS, p. 66, indicate respectively “bulle rapporté dans le arch” and “bulle rapporté.” A note next to no. 6 (p. 48) looks like “Elle est mise” and one next to no. 17 (p. 59) “il y avait dans un camera a St antonin,” but the significance of these notes is uncertain.

²⁵ Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 6, n. 1, and XII, 7, n. 2. The two bulls (of which the correct dates are 1348 and 1425) were dated 1350 and 1419 by Lafon and 1360 (perhaps a misprint for 1350, since Clement died in 1352) and 1430 by Daux. The endorsement on the original bull reads, with the date 1350: “Deux bulles de clement six portant commission a l'abbe de Beaulieu et autres pour mettre en possession du prieur mage de st anthonnin hugues conac chanoine du dide chappitre.” Lafon MS, p. 62, reads: “Deux bulles de Clement VI portant commission à l'abbé de Beaulieu . . . de mettre en possession du prieuré-mage de St Antonin Hugues de Connac chanoine du dit chapitre. . . .” The descriptions in Lafon MS (p. 24) and printed text (p. 22) are different. Daux has “le pape Clément VI . . . donnait commission à l'abbé de Beaulieu de mettre en possession du prieuré-mage de Saint-Antonin Hugues Coniac, chanoine de ce chapitre.” The similarity between the three descriptions points to two conclusions: The résumé in the *cahier* cited by Lafon was related to the endorsement, though it provides some additional information (not cited here); and Daux (if he indeed saw the original in the AD) cited the endorsement rather than the text.

²⁶ On these documents, which are now classified G 1281 (see Appendix 1, below), see the two printed versions of Latouche's report for 1912 in the *Bulletin . . . de la Société . . . de Tarn-et-Garonne* 40 (1912), 130–31, and *Tarn-et-Garonne, Conseil général, Première session ordinaire de 1912, Rapport du Préfet, Annexes et procès-verbaux des séances*, 3: *Annexes au Rapport du Préfet*, pp. 215–16, which resembles the former except that “Archives” is spelled with a capital, showing beyond question that

The whereabouts of the still-missing bulls, which include some of the earliest and most interesting, remains a mystery. They may have been destroyed, possibly by the fire at Lafon's house, which took place apparently before 1878 and destroyed other papers;²⁷ they may still be hidden somewhere in the archives at Saint-Antonin or Montauban, like the documents found by Latouche; or they may have been stolen and be resting unnoticed in some private or public collection. It will be a happy day when these bulls are found, but fortunately we have a fair idea of their contents from other sources.

Among the questions which can be asked about the early papal bulls for St. Antonin, the principal unsolved puzzle is whether Lafon's bull of Urban II on 5 April 1090 is the same as *Cum universis sancte*, dated 28 March 1090 (JL 5430), of which Latouche discovered the original at Montauban (Figs. 1–2). Lafon's bull was seventy centimeters high and fifty wide, had sixteen lines of writing, a rota twelve centimeters in diameter, and a seal with cords of which Lafon gives an elaborate description.²⁸ The bull at Montauban is about sixty-four centimeters high (without the plica, which is four to five centimeters in breadth) and between fifty-three and fifty-three and a half centimeters wide, has sixteen lines of writing (in *curialis Romana*), a rota ten and a half centimeters in diameter, and no seal but a few cords still attached.²⁹ Given Lafon's general lack of precision, and the fact that a seal is easily lost, these characteristics are compatible. Lafon's bull was dated 5 April and the original at Montauban 28 March, but "V kal. Aprilis" can easily be read as 5 April by someone unfamiliar with the Roman calendar. That Lafon said his bull was unedited, whereas *Cum universis sancte* has been printed more than once, is insignificant, given his apparent ignorance of secondary literature.

The most serious objection to the identity of the two bulls is their contents. Next to the illustration of the bull in his manuscript (Fig. 2), but not in the printed text, Lafon wrote: "Bulle du Pape Urbain II. qui met le Chapitre de St Antonin, sous la juridiction immédiate du St Siège, établit la régularité en obligeant les chanoines à vivre en communauté, en suivant la Règle de St Au-

it refers to the AD. See also Latouche's letter of 21 August 1912 (in AC D 21), accompanying a photograph of the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne and saying, "J'ai retrouvé le document qui était égaré aux Archives." One of these bulls (no. 29) was cited by Lafon from the *cahier* and may therefore have left Saint-Antonin earlier (or have been overlooked by Lafon).

²⁷ Ancourt, "Lafon," pp. 65–66, refers to some papers which were in Lafon's possession "avant l'incendie qui détruisit, avec eux, sa maison paternelle" and to which he referred in a letter of 17 January 1878 as having been formerly in his possession. This possibility suggests no impropriety on Lafon's part, since it was common practice at the time for scholars to borrow manuscripts and documents from public collections, but one would have expected some contemporary reference to a loss of this importance.

²⁸ Lafon, p. 33.

²⁹ The fact that Wiederhold in his manuscript notes (see n. 17, above) gives the measurements as sixty-four (without the plica) by fifty-six centimeters suggests that he may not have seen the document. For the Roman curial script, which at the turn of the eleventh to the twelfth century was being replaced by chancery minuscule, see Thomas Frenz, *Papsturkunden des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Historische Grundwissenschaften in Einzeldarstellungen 2 (Stuttgart, 1986), pp. 14–15; and Paul Rabikauskas, S.J., *Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei*, Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae 22 (Collectionis no. 59) (Rome, 1958), with reference to JL 5430 on p. 235.

gustin, et à ne rien posséder en propre.” So far this is a reasonable summary of JL 5430, but he then went on, in a new paragraph: “Le chapitre de ce Monastère qui auparavant était séculier est transformé en Chapitre Régulier, composé d’un Prévot ou Prieur-Mage, de 12 Chanoines Réguliers, aux quels il est joint 12 Prébendiers Séculars.”³⁰ Elsewhere in both the manuscript and the printed version, with a few small differences, he wrote that Urban’s bull “transforme le monastère de Saint-Antonin qui était d’abord composé d’un prévôt et de dix-huit chanoines séculiers, suivant la règle de saint Benoît, en un chapitre régulier composé d’un prieur-mage, de douze chanoines réguliers et de douze prébendiers.”³¹

This cannot be JL 5430. It sounds more like the bull described by the Abbé de Grimaldi, a canon of the cathedral at Rodez, in his work on the benefices in the diocese of Rodez, begun in 1787, who said of St. Antonin that “Le Pape Urbain II par sa bulle en l’année 1090 rendit le monastère régulier, réduisit le chapitre à 12 chanoines réguliers, 12 prébendés séculiers.”³² Charles Bosc in his *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du Rouergue*, of which the first edition appeared in 1797, wrote that “Le chapitre fut d’abord composé d’un prévot et de dix-huit chanoines séculiers; mais le pape Urbain II en fut un chapitre régulier en 1090, et le réduisit à douze prébendiers séculiers.”³³ It is hard to judge whether Grimaldi, Bosc, and Lafon all knew a lost authentic bull of Urban regulating the composition of the community, whether Lafon knew the works of Grimaldi and Bosc, or whether he put together information drawn from various sources. We shall study this question in the light of the papal policy towards St. Antonin and other houses of regular canons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to which we now turn.

2

The information in *Cum universis sancte* (JL 5430) needs to be compared with that in the documents concerning St. Antonin in the *Collectio Britannica* (CB) and with the summaries of two hitherto-unknown bulls contained in a sixteenth-century collection of summaries and extracts.³⁴ *Cum universis sancte* (Text 1, below) is addressed to Peter, the provost of the chapter (*canonica*) of St. Antonin the martyr in *Condacensi termino*.³⁵ Urban wrote that “Since we know from the

³⁰ Lafon MS, p. 40. The first paragraph closely resembles the wording in Vaissière, *Saint Antonin*, p. 189, who says nothing about the number of canons.

³¹ Lafon, p. 8, and MS, p. 12, where he omitted “de Saint-Antonin,” used numerals in place of the written-out figures, and put “seulement” and “aussi” before and after the last “et.”

³² Grimaldi, *Bénéfices*, p. 132. Cf. the editor’s notes on p. 133, which are based on Lafon.

³³ L. Charles Paul Bosc, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire du Rouergue*, 3 vols. (Rodez, 1797). Later editions of this work all appeared after the publication of Lafon. On Bosc, see Bourret, *Documents*, pp. 461–63.

³⁴ See our article “Two Monastic Fragments Attributed to Pope Urban II from the *Collectio Britannica*,” in *In Iure Veritas: Studies in Canon Law in Memory of Schafer Williams*, ed. Steven Bowman and Blanche Cody (Cincinnati, 1991), pp. 11–20, and, on the list of summaries, Appendix 1, below.

³⁵ This phrase (which appears as “in Condatensi pago” in the bulls of Alexander III and Lucius III and later sources: see *Inventaire sommaire . . . Rodez*, p. 164) is puzzling, since St. Antonin was

report given us by our venerable brother Bishop Amatus that the aforesaid chapter was established at the order of Pope Gregory VII of most blessed memory, for whom both Amatus himself and our most revered brother Hugh archbishop of Lyons acted as agents, because it lacked all monastic and canonical life, it is fitting for us to extend a benevolent hand to such good beginnings and to provide for the peace of religious life.”

At the request of the Provost Peter, the pope continued, and “urged by the letter of our aforesaid brother Bishop Amatus,” Urban took the chapter under the protection of Rome, confirmed its present and future possessions, and granted it freedom “from the power of all men . . . saving the canonical jurisdiction (*iustitia*) of the bishop” on condition that the canons lived *regulariter* and observed “the statutes both of the apostles and of Sts. Jerome and Augustine concerning the life of clerics living together” by living in common and having no private property. He then again forbade anyone to disturb the chapter and instructed the canons to observe “the institutions of the regular discipline” and especially the decrees of the Roman church, “by whose protective power you are free from the yoke of all living men” and to which, as a sign of this liberty, they should pay five shillings a year.

CB is a canon law collection which was assembled at the very end of the eleventh or at the beginning of the twelfth century and which survives uniquely in London, British Library, MS Add. 8873. The compilation itself is unedited, although many of its texts are in print, taken either from CB or from other occurrences. The latest entries in Add. 8873 are forty-seven excerpts from letters and *acta* of Pope Urban II, all of which are found together, perhaps even in chronological order, in the manuscript.³⁶

CB 36 consists of two sentences from a letter from Urban to Bishop Pontius of Rodez, which must date from between Urban’s consecration in March 1088 and Pontius’s death in 1090, perhaps before 28 March 1090, when *Cum universis sancte* was issued.³⁷ The first sentence reads: “We have done what we decided concerning the monastery of St. Antonin, the cleric Hugh having come to us, on the advice of the monk Teuzo, who was *nuntius* of the Roman church in your parts.” His legate, Bishop Amatus, Urban continued in the second sen-

located in no known limit or area known as *Condacensis* (Condat, Condé, Candé, Candes, etc.): see Auguste Longnon, *Atlas historique de la France: Texte explicatif des planches* (Paris, 1912); idem, *Les noms de lieu de la France*, ed. Paul Marichal and Léon Mirot (Paris, 1920–29), pp. 58–59; and J. Moreau, *Dictionnaire de géographie historique de la Gaule et de la France* (Paris, 1972), pp. 324–25. The name usually indicated (like “Confluent”) the meeting point of two rivers and may derive from the location of St. Antonin at the confluence of the Aveyron and the Bonnette. It might be related to Candas (*Candadense*) or to Conques, but these places were far from St. Antonin. In the seventeenth century there was a “bâtiment” in the commune of Saint-Antonin named “Contensou” (information kindly supplied by Annie Lafforgue).

³⁶ This is not the place to delineate the issues surrounding this enigmatic book. See Constable and Somerville, “Two Monastic Fragments,” and Robert Somerville, “The Letters of Pope Urban II in the *Collectio Britannica*,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Peter Linehan, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Subsidia 8 (Vatican City, 1988), pp. 103–14, where earlier literature is given. The collection will be treated in detail, with an edition of the texts ascribed to Urban II, in a forthcoming work by S. Kuttner and R. Somerville on Pope Urban.

³⁷ Text 2, below. See the relevant notes in “Two Monastic Fragments.”

tence, had testified in his presence that he and Hugh of Lyons had approved and confirmed this decision, "saying that it was more useful and worthy for regular canons to live there than for those who are monks only in name to consume the goods of that church." This information fits reasonably well with that in *Cum universis sancte*.

CB 24 consists of two parts presumably taken from a single letter. It is marked on two lines in the margin "Bernardo ab/monasterii," but it is impossible to reconstruct the full address because the letters after "ab" (and possibly some other words) have been cut off by the binder. This Bernard had apparently asked for a privilege, which the pope refused to grant (or put off granting) "because it is not the custom of the Roman church to draw up privileges for persons who are not present." He went on to say, however, that Bernard could send the prior and other suitable people if illness prevented his coming in person. In the second part he wrote, shifting from the singular "you" to the plural, that "Concerning the profession about which you asked our advice through the legate, we advise you in reply that you should promise the prior of St. Antonin, from whom you received your order, that you will live regularly until with God's help you are able by the counsel of religious men to choose a master and provost for yourselves from your own congregation."³⁸

The sense and wording of this second part of CB 24 corresponds closely to the conclusion of a bull of which a summary, in the third person, is found in the collection of summaries (Text 4 and see Appendix 1, below): "Urban II promised protection and defense by the apostolic defense to the canons of St. Antonin, who had recently become regular canons, as to his most beloved sons, as long as they lived under the canonical discipline, and meanwhile he granted that they should declare their regular profession before the prior of St. Sernin until with God's help they were able by the counsel of religious men to choose a master and provost for themselves from their own congregation." The similarity between the second part of this bull and the second part of CB 24 suggests that this is a summary of the bull from which CB 24 derived, though the address presents a problem and there is no reference to Urban's refusal to grant a privilege.³⁹ The only important difference is the substitution in CB 24 of St. Antonin for St. Sernin. This was a natural error, or "correction," in a document which dealt with St. Antonin and had no apparent connection with St. Sernin, but it made less good sense.⁴⁰ The summary concludes with a date, written in another hand, "1084 m^l. lxxxiii," which is impossible, since Urban became

³⁸ Text 3, below. See the relevant notes in "Two Monastic Fragments" and, on the address, n. 39, below.

³⁹ The address on this summary raises further questions about the "Bernardo ab/monasterii" in the margin beside CB 24, since by this time St. Antonin was already (though recently) a house of canons. Perhaps the former abbot presided over the transfer until a new superior could be chosen. Some further word or words, besides the conclusion of "ab/," may be missing, since it is hard to make sense of "Bernardo abbati monasterii" alone.

⁴⁰ See the discussion of this problem in "Two Monastic Fragments." The text of CB abounds in obvious scribal mistakes. The error (if it is one) is fortunate for us, since it is the only link between CB 24 and St. Antonin, without which the association with Urban's bull summarized in Text 4 would probably have been missed.

pope in 1088. It must have been issued, like CB 24, and perhaps 36, between March 1088 and March 1090, since St. Antonin did not yet have a superior.⁴¹

The following text in the collection of summaries is a summary of *Cum universis sancte* (Text 5), which is of interest only for showing the writer's method of inserting parts of the original text into the summary. Text 6 is a summary of the lost bull of 1099 mentioned by Grimaldi, Lafon, Vaissière, and Servières (Fig. 3). It is addressed to the Provost Rigard "and to his brothers who have professed the canonical life in the church of St. Antonin and their successors who will persist in the same religion." Since this formula is found in at least eight other privileges of Urban for regular canons, including one granted on the same day to the canons of Rodez,⁴² it presumably derives from the original bull. Urban went on to say that at the request of Bishop Ademar of Rodez, a former canon of St. Antonin,⁴³ he had renewed the privilege of Roman protection and decreed "that the discipline of the canonical order to which by the inspiration of God you are dedicated should always be reckoned firm and undiminished among you."⁴⁴ This agrees exactly with Lafon's statement that in this bull Urban "confirme les privilèges, qu'il a donnés dans la première, de ne relever immédiatement que du Saint-Siège, et rappelle aux religieux comment ils doivent vivre en suivant la règle de saint Augustin."⁴⁵ The bull is dated 14 March 1099, when Urban also issued a privilege for the canons of Rodez at the request of Bishop Ademar, who was probably in Rome at that time and took

⁴¹ The facts that St. Antonin was called a monastery in CB 36 and that CB 24 (and the bull from which it derives) was addressed to regular canons (cf. n. 39, above) suggest that CB 36 antedated CB 24, but it was not unknown to refer to a house of regular canons as a *monasterium*.

⁴² *Patrologia Latina* 151:360AB (JL 5482 for St. Paul, Narbonne), 390B (JL 5532 for Pistoia), 408C (JL 5550 for Maguelonne, with "victuris" for "permansuris"), 423C (JL 5573 for Cahors), 427D (JL 5579 for St. Rufus, Avignon), 455A (JL 5629 for Marbach), 479A (JL 5660 for St. Sermin, Toulouse, with "victuris" for "permansuris"), and 546C (JL 5805 for Rodez). Six of these eight houses were in the south of France, and three in the immediate area of St. Antonin.

⁴³ The reading "quondam" ("condam") is uncertain but makes sense in context. Jean Dufour, *Les évêques d'Albi, de Cahors et de Rodez* (Paris, 1989), pp. 85–86, does not indicate that Ademar was a canon of St. Antonin.

⁴⁴ Text 6. The term "innovamus" is unusual and may be a misreading for "munimus," which was often followed by "statuimus" in Urban's bulls. The "clause of regularity" making a grant of papal protection conditional on adherence to the rule became standard in the twelfth century: Jacques Dubois, "Les ordres religieux au XIIe siècle selon la Curie romaine," *Revue bénédictine* 78 (1968), 285–87.

⁴⁵ Lafon, p. 9. On pp. 34–35 he said that this bull was "une copie de la bulle originale du pape, mais une copie fidèle et authentique, certifiée pour pouvoir être produite en justice par *Alvergnus, tabellarius et doctor* (Alvergne, notaire et docteur) qui a signé." Lafon MS, p. 42, resembles this, with a few differences, notably the addition "Cette bulle du pape fut portée devant Adhémar III successeur de Raymond" at the beginning, which suggests a misreading of the text. Lafon's illustration (Fig. 3) shows a round seal on the lower left and "Lavergne notarius doctor" on two lines on the lower right. There were many notaries named Lavernhe and Lavergne in the Rouergue, but no suitable candidate is listed in Jean Delmas, *Archives notariales de l'Aveyron* (Rodez, 1981), or in the typescript supplement which was kindly made available to us, or in Lemaître, *Rouergue*, pp. 500–502. In AD G 877 there is a seventeenth-century extract from the procès-verbal of 1430 concerning the reduction in the number of canons at St. Antonin (see n. 79, below) made by "Lauergne dr" with a note "Contre Monsieur Leuesque de Rodez." This may be the notary who made the copy seen by Lafon.

the opportunity to obtain a privilege for his former house as well as one for his cathedral chapter.⁴⁶

Together these documents shed light not only on the history of St. Antonin and its transfer from a monastery into a house of regular canons, but also on the policy of Popes Gregory VII and Urban II, both of whom patronized regular canons as well as monks.⁴⁷ Their legates Hugh, Amatus, and Teuzo, who became respectively archbishop of Lyons, archbishop of Bordeaux, and cardinal-priest of Sts. John and Paul, were active in southwestern France from the mid-1070s until at least the mid-1090s and held councils at Toulouse in 1079, at Bordeaux in 1079 and 1080, and at Avignon in 1080.⁴⁸ They promoted canonical as well as monastic reform and were prepared when necessary to turn a decadent monastery into a house of canons.⁴⁹ Gregory VII wrote in the *arenga* to his privilege for the regular canons of St. Sernin at Toulouse, where a regular chapter was established in the late 1070s or early 1080s, that “we naturally rejoice at how often the religion of monasteries and houses of canons has begun

⁴⁶ See n. 42, above.

⁴⁷ See Eusebius Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium et saecularium* (Venice, 1747), pp. 325–26; Charles Dereine, “L’élaboration du statut canonique des chanoines réguliers spécialement sous Urbain II,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 46 (1951), 534–65; and Johannes Laudage, *Priesterbild und Reformpapsttum im 11. Jahrhundert*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte 22 (Cologne and Vienna, 1984), pp. 285–303. On Gregory VII, see Gustave Bardy, “Saint Grégoire VII et la réforme canoniale au XIe siècle,” *Studi gregoriani* 1 (1947), 47–64; Jean Leclercq, “Un témoignage sur l’influence de Grégoire VII dans la réforme canoniale,” *ibid.* 6 (1959–61), 173–227; Bernard Bligny, *L’Eglise et les ordres religieux dans le royaume de Bourgogne aux XIe et XIIe siècles*, Collection des Cahiers d’Histoire Publiée par les Universités de Clermont, Lyon, Grenoble 4 (Paris, 1960), pp. 205–8; and Charles Dereine, “La prétendue règle de Grégoire VII pour chanoines réguliers,” *Revue bénédictine* 71 (1961), 108–18. On Urban II, see Carl Korbe, *Die Stellung Papst Urbans II. und Papst Paschalis II. zu den Klöstern*, Diss. Erlangen (Greifswald, 1910), pp. 104–7, and Horst Fuhrmann’s three works, *Papst Urban II. und der Stand der Regularkanoniker*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Kl., Sitzungsberichte, 1984, 2 (Munich, 1984); “Una papa tra religiosità personale e politica ecclesiastica: Urbano II (1088–1099) e il rapimento di un monaco benedettino,” *Studi medievali*, 3rd ser., 17 (1986), 1–21, esp. pp. 4–10; and “Das Papsttum zwischen Frömmigkeit und Politik: Urban II. (1088–1099) und die Frage der Selbstheiligung,” in *Deus qui mutat tempora: Menschen und Institutionen im Wandel des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Alfons Becker*, ed. Ernst-Dieter Hehl, Hubertus Seibert, and Franz Staab (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 157–72, esp. pp. 160–62, where he wrote that “Noch stärker als Gregor VII. hat sein zweiter Nachfolger Urban II. die Regularkanoniker gefördert.” See also the lists of bulls in Charles Dereine, “Vie commune, règle de Saint Augustin et chanoines réguliers au XIe siècle,” *Revue d’histoire ecclésiastique* 41 (1946), 365–406 (pp. 381–85 on Urban II); *idem*, “Prétendue règle,” pp. 112–14 (for Gregory VII); and Jakob Mois, *Das Stift Rottenbuch in der Kirchenreform des XI.–XII. Jahrhunderts*, Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte, 3rd ser., 19 (Munich and Freising, 1953), p. 243.

⁴⁸ See Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich vom Verträge von Meerssen (870) bis zum Schisma von 1130*, Historische Studien 263 (Berlin, 1935), pp. 89–90, 93, 102, 110–12, 114, 121, and 123–24. Hugh was in Rome in 1086 (pp. 140–41) and Amatus probably in 1090 (p. 146, n. 34). All three of them subscribed to the bull Urban issued for St. Sernin from St. Gilles on 20 July 1096 (JL 5658), during his visit to France in 1095–96: *Cartulaire de l’abbaye de Saint-Sernin de Toulouse (844–1200)*, ed. C. Douais (Paris and Toulouse, 1887), pp. 475–77; see also René Crozet, “Le voyage d’Urbain II et ses négociations avec le clergé de France (1095–1096),” *Revue historique* 179 (1937), 271–310, and Alfons Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–1099)*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 19/1–2 (Stuttgart, 1964–88), 1:213–26 and 2:454.

⁴⁹ Korbe, *Stellung*, pp. 105–6 (citing St. Antonin); Charles Dereine, “Chanoines,” *Dictionnaire d’histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* 12 (1953), 367; and Bligny, *Eglise et les ordres*, pp. 211–13.

in various parts of the earth and, after beginning, has flourished, and . . . it is our responsibility to approve and give the support of our favor to holy efforts just as it is to correct those things that are perverted."⁵⁰

On the local level, Bishop Pontius of Rodez, in whose diocese St. Antonin was located, was also a supporter of reform. In a charter issued in 1079 he stressed his duty to correct "any ecclesiastical matters which were neglected through the negligence of my predecessors or the violence of secular powers" and went on to say that "the abbey of St. Amantius, which formerly flourished in the monastic religion, had declined into a secular state (*ad secularitatem*)." In order to reform it "to its ancient, that is monastic, order," Count Robert and his wife had given it to Abbot Bernard of St. Victor at Marseilles,⁵¹ which was at that time an important center of monastic reform. Bernard, who was abbot from 1064 to 1079, won the support of Gregory VII and served as a papal legate,⁵² but "owing to the savage confusion of wars," he was unable to reform St. Amantius before his death. By this charter Pontius gave the monastery to his brother and successor Richard, who was also an influential reformer, "in order that he might reform the monastic order there." Three years later, in 1082, Pontius renewed this grant and gave a more detailed description of the condition of St. Amantius, which had been "for a long time without religion and without the service of God both owing to the power and, so to speak, madness and pride of the secular abbots, who were apostates rather than abbots and soldiers rather than clerics and who devoted the monastery's estates to secular uses and to their relatives, and owing to the negligence of the clergy, who disregarded their order and until now made light of the danger to their souls and the ruin of the things entrusted to them."⁵³

Religious life at St. Antonin was also clearly at a low ebb in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and perhaps long before this, since the monks were

⁵⁰ *Cartulaire . . . de Saint Sernin*, p. 473, and Elisabeth Magnou[-Nortier], *Introduction de la réforme grégorienne à Toulouse (fin XIe-début XIIIe siècle)*, Cahiers de l'Association Marc Bloch de Toulouse: Etudes d'histoire méridionale 3 (Toulouse, 1958), *pièces just.*, p. 16. On the reform of St. Sernin, see Korbe, *Stellung*, pp. 55-56; Elie Griffe, "La réforme canoniale en pays audois aux XIe et XIIe siècle," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 44 (1943), 76-92 and 137-49; Bardy, "Grégoire VII," p. 63; Dereine, "Elaboration," pp. 538-39 and 544 (and "Prétendue règle," pp. 16 and 19 on Gregory's bulls, which he dates c. 1081 and 1082/83); Magnou, *Introduction*, pp. 13 and 33-34, and idem, *La société laïque et l'église dans la province ecclésiastique de Narbonne (zone cispyrénéenne) de la fin du VIIIe à la fin du XIe siècle*, Publications de l'Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail A 20 (Toulouse, 1974), pp. 477-81; and H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 113-18 (esp. pp. 114-15).

⁵¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Marseille*, ed. B. Guérard, Collection de Cartulaires de France 9 (Paris, 1857), 2:203, no. 837. See also Pontius's grant to the regular canons of Mont-Salvy in 1087: Dereine, "Vie commune," p. 381, no. 109.

⁵² See Paul Schmid, "Die Entstehung des Marseilles Kirchenstaats," *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 10 (1926-28), 176-207, esp. pp. 185-99 on Bernard and Richard, during whose abbacies St. Victor received several papal privileges and acquired many dependencies, and Jean-Claude Devos, "L'abbaye Saint-Victor de Marseille et la réforme grégorienne," *Mélanges Busquet* (Vaison-la-Romaine, 1956), pp. 32-40.

⁵³ *Cartulaire . . . de Saint-Victor*, 2:202, no. 836. On the later controversy over St. Amantius between the canons of Rodez and the monks of St. Victor, see the charters of 1140 and 1144 in Etienne Baluze, *Miscellaneorum liber secundus* (Paris, 1679), pp. 216-19; 2nd ed. (Lucca, 1761-64), 3:70.

said to lack any monastic or canonical way of life and to be monks only in name. Gregory VII, acting through Amatus and Hugh, therefore ordered it to become a house of regular canons following the rule of St. Augustine and the order of St. Sernin at Toulouse. The date of this transfer is not known. Grimaldi mentioned an otherwise unknown bull of Gregory VII for St. Antonin in 1078, and the year 1084 on the summary of Urban's first bull in the collection of summaries may reflect the date of Gregory's order,⁵⁴ but unless other information comes to light all that can be said is that the decision was probably made late in Gregory's pontificate, since the change was apparently not complete when Urban became pope in 1088.⁵⁵

The life of regular canons at this time was comparatively severe, especially for monks who had been living without any rule. According to a charter of Bishop Isarn for the cathedral chapter of St. Stephen at Toulouse, the canons "should not have or even . . . call anything their own; they should eat as one [and] sleep as one; the food and clothing should be common to all . . . ; no freedom to go out or travel anywhere should be given to anyone without the permission of his prior, so that there should be one spirit and one soul in those for whom there is one Lord, one baptism, and one faith."⁵⁶

It is possible that the monks of St. Antonin hoped to reverse Gregory's order when he died and that they sent the cleric High, who is mentioned in CB 36, to Rome for this purpose. Victor III, Gregory's successor, was a former abbot of Monte Cassino, and Urban II had been prior of Cluny. Urban confirmed the decision, however, on the advice of his *nuntius* Teuzo and after hearing the evidence of Amatus concerning the previous order.⁵⁷

CB 24 and the summary of the related bull addressed to the canons of St. Antonin, "nuper regularibus canonicis effectis," show that some points had to be settled before the new chapter was fully established. First, it needed a papal privilege, which Urban said could be given only to an official of the house in person, though he promised protection and defense provided the canons observed their rule.⁵⁸ Second, they needed a superior, to whom they could make a regular profession.⁵⁹ Urban advised them to make their professions to the

⁵⁴ Grimaldi, *Bénéfices*, p. 131, and Text 4, below. See also the analysis of the 1526 case between St. Antonin and the bishop of Rodez, in *Inventaire sommaire . . . Rodez*, p. 991, which gives the date of c. 1081.

⁵⁵ See n. 41, above.

⁵⁶ Magnou, *Introduction*, App. 1, p. 2 (and pp. 24–25 on the date). See the parallel provisions in Urban's bulls for Marbach, St. Sernin, and Rodez, cited in n. 42, above, and the detailed provisions in the charter of Bishop Berengarius for the cathedral of Vic about 1080 in *España sagrada* 28 (Madrid, 1774), pp. 290–91.

⁵⁷ Text 3, below (CB 36), where the evidence was given in the pope's presence. According to Text 1 Amatus also (presumably later) wrote to Urban urging him to grant a privilege to St. Antonin.

⁵⁸ The wording suggests that Urban introduced this provision because the dedication of the canons to their new way of life was still uncertain.

⁵⁹ On the profession of regular canons (which was parallel to that of monks), see Amort, *Vetus disciplina*, pp. 402–3 and 1065–74; Pl. Lefèvre, "Les cérémonies de la vêtue et de la profession dans l'ordre de Prémontré," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 8 (1932), 286–307; idem, "A propos du cérémonial de la vêtue dans l'ordre de Prémontré," *ibid.* 33 (1957), 147–56; idem, "Encore un formulaire pour la profession des chanoines dans l'ordre de Prémontré au XIIe siècle," *ibid.* 37

prior of St. Sernin, from whom they received their order, until they could elect a superior for themselves.⁶⁰ The reason for the delay in electing a superior is unknown. Possibly there was disagreement among the new canons, as the pope's reference to God's help and the advice of religious men implies; or there may have been too few professed canons to hold an election. The issue was settled before 28 March 1090, however, when *Cum universis sancte* was addressed to the provost Peter of the *canonica* (no longer *monasterium*) of St. Antonin, which in the 1099 bull became the provost and brothers "who have professed the canonical life in the church of St. Antonin."

This brings us back to the question of whether Urban issued one or two bulls for St. Antonin in 1090, and to the related question of the constitution of the new community in its early years. Lafon described a document which physically resembled *Cum universis sancte*, as we have seen, but which was issued on 5 April rather than 28 March and which transformed the monastery from a community consisting of a provost and eighteen secular canons following the Benedictine rule into a regular chapter composed of twelve regular canons and twelve secular prebendaries under a provost or major prior ("prieur-mage").⁶¹ The evidence of Grimaldi and Bosc, both of whom wrote well before Lafon, tends to confirm the existence of such a bull, and no single point in Lafon's description tells decisively against it. Some cathedral chapters had a fixed number of members in the ninth century,⁶² and a *numerus clausus* is found in several bulls for cathedral chapters in the eleventh century.⁶³ The number of canons at St. Hilary of Poitiers was set at sixty in 1078/79, and a cell restricted to six monks was established at Pegau in 1090.⁶⁴ The second canon of the council of Benevento in 1091 referred to chaplains who were appointed, without episcopal consent, "contra statutum numerum."⁶⁵ In the twelfth century twelve members was considered the standard minimum for a house of either canons or monks.⁶⁶ The

(1961), 308–13; Josef Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsass*, *Spicilegium Friburgense* 10 (Fribourg S., 1966), pp. 169 and 296 (and intro., pp. 6 and 27–28), and Fuhrmann, *Papst Urban II.*, pp. 29–30.

⁶⁰ On the reading "priori sancti Antonini" in CB 24 see nn. 40 and 50, above. It is hard to see how the canons could have received their order from or made their profession to the prior of St. Antonin.

⁶¹ Lafon, p. 8, and MS, p. 40.

⁶² Jacques Pycke, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XIe à la fin du XIIIe siècle*, Université de Louvain: Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie, 6th ser., 30 (Louvain and Brussels, 1986), pp. 98–100.

⁶³ Leo Santifaller, "Papsturkunden für Domkapitel bis auf Alexander III.," *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, ed. Leo Santifaller (Weimar, 1931), pp. 102 and 106, citing JL 3989 (Magdeburg), 4723 (Lucca), 5532 (Pistoia), 5968 (Barcelona), and others.

⁶⁴ *Documents pour l'histoire de l'église de St-Hilaire de Poitiers*, ed. L. Rédet, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest 14 (Poitiers, 1848), pp. 97–99, no. 91, and *Annales Pegavienses*, s.a. 1090, in MGH SS, 16:244. Urban accepted this number but urged the founder to add six more to enable them to observe the "tenor regularis disciplinae."

⁶⁵ J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 20 (Venice, 1775), col. 739.

⁶⁶ Peter the Venerable, *Statuta* 41, ed. Giles Constable, in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum* 6 (Siegburg, 1975), p. 75; Johannes Wirges, *Die Anfänge der Augustiner-Chorherren und die Gründung des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Ravengiersburg (Hunsrück) Diözese Trier*, Diss. Fribourg (Betzdorf, 1928), pp. 43–44; Heinrich Büttner, "Die Statuten des Binger St.-Martin-Stiftes vom Jahre 1160,"

reference to secular prebendaries is more puzzling, but it was not unknown for religious houses to support a fixed number of poor laymen.⁶⁷ Urban was certainly familiar with the practice at Cluny of giving an allowance of food to eighteen *pauperes praebendarii*.⁶⁸ Sauxillanges granted a prebend to a layman in 1123, and at Xanten in the twelfth century there were twelve *elemosinarii*, who were probably the same as the *confratres* and *consorores*, “whose prebends are twelve.”⁶⁹ In 1197 Abbot Otto of St. Laurence at Liège objected, in the interests of economy, to “the ancient practice” of having lay and clerical *praebendarii* and set the total number of monks at forty.⁷⁰ The title “prieur-mage” presents more serious problems. It presumably stands for *prior maior*, which was not used in the eleventh and twelfth centuries for the heads of houses of canons, who were usually called *prepositus*, *prelatus*, *abbas*, or, in Italy, simply *prior*.⁷¹ Urban himself had been prior (and probably *prior maior*) at Cluny,⁷² however, and he could have used the term in combination with *prepositus* for the superior of St. Antonin, but it more likely found its way into the summaries owing to its later use.⁷³

While references to a fixed number of canons and prebendaries and to a *prior maior* are not therefore impossible in a bull of 1090, their appearance together raises serious doubts, and on the basis of the available evidence it seems probable that Lafon’s description represents a conflation of information drawn partly from *Cum universis sancte* and partly from other sources, perhaps including Grimaldi and Bosc.⁷⁴ It is hard to believe that Urban, the former prior of Cluny, would have described a house consisting of a provost and eighteen secular canons as a monastery living under the Benedictine rule or have established a

Historisches Jahrbuch 72 (1953), 162–70. The number twelve was “normativo nei capitoli dei canonicani,” according to G. G. Meersseman, *Ordo fraternitatis: Confraternitate e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, Italia Sacra 24–26 (Rome, 1977), 1:150–54, esp. p. 153.

⁶⁷ Ursmer Berlière, *La familia dans les monastères bénédictins du moyen âge*, Académie Royale de Belgique: Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques, Mémoires in-8°, 2nd ser., 29/2 (Brussels, 1931), pp. 42–52, and Emile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, 6: *Les églises et les monastères centres d'accueil, d'exploitation et de peuplement*, Mémoires et Travaux Publiés par des Professeurs des Facultés Catholiques de Lille 53 (Lille, 1943), pp. 179–82 and 198–200.

⁶⁸ Bernard, *Ordo Cluniacensis* 1.3 and 13, in *Vetus disciplina monastica*, ed. Marquard Herrgott (Paris, 1726), pp. 142 and 158–59, and Ulric, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses* 3.24, in PL 149:766BC. See Wolfgang Teske, “Laien, Laienmönche und Laienbrüder in der Abtei Cluny, 1,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), 275–77.

⁶⁹ *Cartulaire de Sauxillanges*; ed. H. Doniol (Clermont-Ferrand, 1864), no. 905, and Friedrich Wilhelm Oediger, *Die Stiftskirche des hl. Viktor zu Xanten: Das älteste Totenbuch des Stiften Xanten* (Kavelaer, 1958), pp. 32, 86, and 97.

⁷⁰ See the appendix of documents to *Historia monasterii S. Laurentii Leodiensis*, in *Amplissima collectio*, ed. Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand (Paris, 1724–33), 4:1180.

⁷¹ Dereine, “Chanoines,” pp. 399–400; Charles Giroud, *L'ordre des chanoines réguliers de Saint-Augustin et ses diverses formes de régime interne*, Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis: Theses ad Lauream (Rome, 1961), p. 129; Ludo Milis, “Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 22 (1979), 66–67.

⁷² Becker, *Urban II.*, 1:41–51, who said that Urban was a monk and later prior (probably major prior) at Cluny from ca. 1070 to ca. 1080.

⁷³ See Grimaldi, *Bénéfices*, p. 134. Lafon in his summary of Alexander III’s bull (MS, p. 44, omitted in the printed version) translated “prior” as “Prieur Mage.”

⁷⁴ It may be significant, as noted above, that Lafon in his manuscript divided the account of the bull into two distinct paragraphs.

chapter of twelve regular canons and twelve secular prebendaries under a provost or major prior. There are certainly no parallel provisions in any of his other bulls for regular canons.

There is no reference in the surviving bulls of the eleventh and twelfth centuries to the number of canons at St. Antonin.⁷⁵ John XXII in 1323 appointed Arnaud de Mazarac to a canonry whether or not there were any statutes or customs “concerning a fixed number of canons,”⁷⁶ and in 1360 Innocent VI maintained that a fixed number (*certus numerus*) did not exist at St. Antonin.⁷⁷ The number of canons was fixed at eighteen, however, before 1376, when Gregory XI reduced it to fifteen.⁷⁸ In 1425 Martin V commissioned Abbot Durandus of Beaulieu and Arnaldus Guillermus, dean of the church of Saint-Etienne-de-Tescou at Montauban, to look into the question of the number of canons at St. Antonin, and in 1430 they reduced the number to twelve canons and twelve *capellani* (“in augmentum divini cultus”), who may have been equated with prebendaries.⁷⁹ These figures lasted down to the dissolution of the chapter at the time of the Revolution. Grimaldi, Bosc, and Lafon probably knew from these or related sources that the chapter of St. Antonin at one time numbered eighteen canons and was progressively reduced to fifteen and to twelve, to whom twelve prebendaries were added. They may have associated these changes with the reform of the chapter in the eleventh century and therefore attributed to Urban II the provisions governing the makeup of the chapter which in reality dated from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is possible but very unlikely that a bull dated 5 April 1090 and containing the provisions described by Lafon will some day turn up. If so, it will add to our knowledge of the early history of St. Antonin but will not reduce the interest or importance of the bull of 28 March, which is one of Urban II’s earliest bulls for a house of regular canons and among the first to refer specifically to the statutes of Jerome and Augustine. It thus prepared the way for the privileges for Rottenbuch, St. Rufus of Avignon, and St. Paul at Narbonne, of which the

⁷⁵ On the number of canons at St. Antonin see Vaissière, *Saint Antonin*, pp. 197–98; Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 7, n. 2; and Latouche, *Saint-Antonin*, pp. 46–47. J.-A.-Firmin Galabert, *Disciplines monastiques au moyen âge dans le diocèse de Montauban* (Montauban, 1933), p. 5, cited a transaction in 1152 made in the presence of twelve canons of St. Antonin, but the document in question (AD G 873, presuming it is the same) includes no reference to the number of canons. On Galabert’s use of this charter, see Fabre, “Aperçus historiques,” p. 2.

⁷⁶ AD G 902: “non obstantibus de certo canonicorum numero si forsan ibidem existat et quibuslibet aliis statutis et consuetudinibus contrariis monasterii et ordinis, predictorum iuramento, confirmatione apostolica, vel qualibet firmitate alia roboratis,” Lafon, pp. 22 and 38 (misdated 1327), no. 13 (see Appendix 1, below); Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 7, n. 2.

⁷⁷ AD G 1290; Lafon, pp. 23 and 39, no. 27 (see Appendix 1, below); Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 7, n. 2.

⁷⁸ AD G 876; Lafon, pp. 26, 28, and 39, no. 30 (see Appendix 1, below); Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 7, n. 2 (misdated 1370).

⁷⁹ AD G 877, where the bull (dated 11 September 1425) is copied within a procès-verbal drawn up for Durandus and dated 1 June 1430. See *Gallia Christiana*, 1:267D: “Durandus 1430 promulgat Martini V. bullam de reductione canonicorum S. Anthonini a numero quindeno ad duodenum.” Lafon, pp. 26, 28, and 39, no. 31 (see Appendix 1, below), and MS, pp. 67–68, who allegedly saw the original of Martin V’s bull, dated it 1419. See also Daux, *Histoire . . . de Montauban*, 1:XII, 7 (citing *Gallia Christiana*), and Latouche, *Saint-Antonin*, pp. 46–47 and 66, dating it 1426.

arenga, describing the ancient tradition of the *vita communis*, was often cited in the twelfth century and has been called the Magna Carta of the canonical movement.⁸⁰

Not much is added to this account by the four bulls granted by Calixtus II, Alexander III, and Lucius III in the twelfth century, except to show the development and regularization of the chapter's privileges and its growing prosperity. The original of Calixtus's bull, which Lafon claimed to have seen (Fig. 4), is lost, and its contents are known only from his description, but its authenticity is guaranteed by the references to it in subsequent bulls and in the account of the dispute over exemption between St. Antonin and the bishop of Rodez in 1341–44.⁸¹ According to Lafon, Calixtus confirmed the privileges of the chapter and its dependence on the Holy See, prohibited simony and selling the sacraments, and ordered that the rule of St. Augustine and of enclosure be strictly observed. Lafon said that it was dated 1119 from the monastery of St. Théodard (the future town of Montauban), where Calixtus is known to have been on 20 July of that year.⁸²

The original of the bull of Alexander III, which Lafon saw (though he dated it 1165 rather than 1175 and made other mistakes; Fig. 5), has likewise disappeared, but the text is known from the minutes of the dispute between St. Antonin and the bishop of Rodez at Avignon in 1341–44 and from a copy in the Collection Doat, which itself derived from a copy of 1521.⁸³ Owing to its importance this bull was listed first in several of the inventories, and in the dispute of 1341–44 the canons relied heavily on the original, which was taken to Avignon and which the chapter's proctor specifically asked to be returned.⁸⁴ It was clearly an impressive document, and Lafon commented on its size and splendor.⁸⁵ It listed not only the churches belonging to St. Antonin, together with their possessions, but also its privileges with regard to tithes, the reception

⁸⁰ See Amort, *Vetus disciplina*, pp. 331–32; Wilhelm Levison, "Eine angebliche Urkunde Papst Gelasius' II. für die Regularkanoniker," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 8 (1918), 27–43, esp. pp. 29–33; Mois, *Rottenbuch*, pp. 76–77; *Papsturkunden in Frankreich*, new ser., 7, ed. Dietrich Lohrmann, *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, 3rd ser., 95 (Göttingen, 1976), pp. 247–48, citing Peter Classen; and Gert Melville, "Zur Abgrenzung zwischen *Vita canonica* und *Vita monastica*: Das Übertrittsproblem in kanonistischer Behandlung von Gratian bis Hostiensis," in *Secundum Regulam Vivere: Festschrift für P. Norbert Backmund O. Praem.*, ed. Gert Melville (Windberg, 1978), pp. 205–43. The priority of the Rottenbuch and St. Rufus privileges is debated (see Dereine, "Elaboration," pp. 545–46), but they certainly postdated the St. Antonin privilege.

⁸¹ Arch. dép. de l'Aveyron (Rodez), G 942, fols. 66v–67r.

⁸² JL 6719–20; Lafon, pp. 10 and 35, no. 3, and MS, p. 43.

⁸³ Text 8, below. Arch. dép. de l'Aveyron (Rodez), G 942, fols. 85v–88v, and Paris, BN, Doat 124, fols. 344v–349r. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:137–39, no. 89, published the property and witness lists from the Doat copy. Alexander's undated bull from Anagni delegating the dispute between the bishop of Cahors over the church of Caylus to the bishop of Rodez and the abbot of Beaulieu (Text 9, below) was published by Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:147–48, no. 101, from a seventeenth-century copy in AD G 945. A brief description of this bull is found under no. 35 in the inventories of 1661 and 1662 (AD G 1019).

⁸⁴ Arch. dép. de l'Aveyron (Rodez), G 942, fol. 95v.

⁸⁵ Lafon, pp. 10 and 35, and MS p. 45.

of recruits, control over its members, offices, burials, and elections.⁸⁶ Most important, perhaps, in view of the continuing disputes with the bishops of Rodez, was its definition of the relation between St. Antonin and the bishop. Urban II in his bull of 28 March 1090 took the house "into the right, care, and protection (*ius, tutelam, protectionemque*) of the holy Roman church," freed it from the power of all men "saving the canonical jurisdiction of the bishop (*salva episcopali iustitia canonica*)," and freed the canons "from the yoke of all living men" by the patronage (*patrocinium*) of the Roman church, to which they paid an annual census as a mark of this liberty.⁸⁷ This clearly applied to secular rather than ecclesiastical control, and Urban preserved the rights of the bishop.⁸⁸ Full exemption from episcopal jurisdiction was rarely if ever granted to canons in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁸⁹ Alexander III's bull (or possibly Calixtus's, of which the text is lost) marked a small step in that direction, however, since the canons were required to receive holy oil, consecrations of altars and churches, and ordinations to holy orders from the diocesan bishop provided he was in communion with Rome and acted without payment or irregularity. Otherwise they could approach any catholic bishop. Only the pope or his legate, furthermore, could interdict St. Antonin or excommunicate, interdict, or suspend the canons. These were significant limitations on episcopal authority but far from the exemption which the canons later claimed.⁹⁰ The bull of Lucius III, of which the witness list alone was published by Wiederhold,⁹¹ follows word for word the bull of Alexander with a few insignificant differences in wording and orthography (Figs. 6–7). By this time the upheavals of the late eleventh century were

⁸⁶ On these privileges see Georg Schreiber, *Kurie und Kloster im 12. Jahrhundert: Studien zur Privilegierung, Verfassung und besonders zum Eigenkirchenwesen der vorfranziskanischen Orden vornehmlich auf Grund der Papsturkunden von Paschalis II. bis auf Lucius III. (1099–1181)*, Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen 65–68 (Stuttgart, 1910).

⁸⁷ Text 1, below.

⁸⁸ On the *libertas Romana* in the eleventh century, see Schreiber, *Kurie und Kloster*, 1:43–47 (and pp. 58–59 on the protection of episcopal rights); Mois, *Rottenbuch*, pp. 49–50, 52–54, and 149; Josef Semmler, "Traditio und Königsschutz," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.* 45 (1959), 1–33 (esp. p. 25 on distinction of papal and royal liberties); Hans-Josef Wollasch, *Die Anfänge des Klosters St. Georgen im Schwarzwald*, Forschungen zur oberrheinischen Landesgeschichte 14 (Freiburg-im-B., 1964), pp. 81–83, 95, 99–100; and Brigitte Szabó-Bechstein, *Libertas ecclesiae: Ein Schlüsselbegriff des Investiturstreits und seine Vorgeschichte, 4.–11. Jahrhundert* (= *Studi gregoriani* 12; Rome, 1985), esp. sec. 3a and references to JL 5430 on p. 206, nn. 71 and 74.

⁸⁹ Schreiber, *Kurie und Kloster*, 1:108, and Jean Becquet, "Les chanoines réguliers en Limousin aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," *Analecta Praemonstratensia* 36 (1960), 218–19 (and n. 74: "Il n'y a donc pas à parler de l'exemption canoniale en Limousin au XII^e siècle"). On the distinction between protection and exemption, see Willy Szaivert, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung der Klosterexemption bis zum Ausgang des 11. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 59 (1951), 265–98, esp. p. 288.

⁹⁰ Cf. Josef Semmler, "Das Stift Frankenthal in der Kanonikerreform des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Blätter für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte und religiöse Volkskunde* 23 (1956), 109–10.

⁹¹ Text 10, below. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:173–74, no. 129, published only the witness list. A few of the differences from Alexander's bull may be of interest to students of papal diplomatics, such as the additions of "aut extorquere" to "exigere" to the clause concerning noval tithes and of "sicut hactenus tenuistis" to the clause concerning tithes, and the substitution of "conserventur" for "et illibata serventur" and "ecclesiis" for "capellis" in the clause guaranteeing the freedom from disturbance of the church and its possessions.

part of history, and St. Antonin had joined the ranks of the many established religious houses that owed their prestige and prosperity to the reforming initiative of the papacy in the eleventh century.

TEXT I

Urban II to Provost Peter of the "canonica" of St. Antonin and his successors forever, following what was established by Pope Gregory VII, confirming possessions (not enumerated) and rights; issued at Rome, 28 March 1090.
JL 5430

Original at Montauban, AD G 1281, bulla missing but a few threads remain: approx. 64 cm. × 53 cm., with 4–5 cm. plica.

*Copies:*⁹²

(i) Paris, BN, MS Doat 124, fols. 279r–281v, made 18 November 1667, from the original;

(ii) Paris, BN, MS Baluze 269, fols. 83r–84r;

(iii) Paris, BN, MS lat. 16989, fol. 69r–v (Maurists' notes on papal letters).

Copies ii and iii do not specify a source. Baluze 269 is a large volume of fragments, transcriptions, and documents of various sorts, pasted into a larger book.⁹³ The copy of JL 5430 probably is not in Baluze's hand; "Antonin de Rouergu(?)" and the date "1090" are written in the top left margin. MS lat. 16989 notes, preceding the privilege, that the transcription was made "Ex archivo monasterii sancti Anthonini in diocesi Rythenensi."

Printings:

(i) *De canonicorum ordine disquisitiones* (Paris, 1697), "Auctore P.*** è Gallicanâ Canonicorum Regularium Congregatione,"⁹⁴ pp. 535–37, "Ex Autographo";⁹⁵

(ii) Edmond Martène and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), 1:248–49, "Ex ms. Colbertino";⁹⁶

⁹² For the information presented here see Constable and Somerville, "Two Monastic Fragments" (see n. 34, above).

⁹³ L. Auvray and R. Poupardin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Collection Baluze* (Paris, 1921), pp. 324–25.

⁹⁴ The BN's *Catalogue général des livres imprimés*, 93 (Paris, 1928), p. 1031, notes the author of this work as "le P. Alain Le Large." In the *Index librorum* at the beginning of vol. 1 (p. xvi) of JL, however, the work is listed: "(Chartonnet) De canonicorum ordine disquisitiones"; and within the calendar, under the entry for JL 5430, Chartonnet again is noted as this work's author, here without parentheses. The claims which can be made for either "Chartonnet" or "Le Large" have not been investigated. It can be noted, however, that inside the front cover of the copy of the *Disquisitiones* in the Burke Library at Union Theological Seminary in New York City several notes in various early-modern hands discuss the question of authorship, indicating that Le Large is preferred by some, but "alii tribuunt Genovevano canonico, nomine Chaponet."

⁹⁵ This probably means that the source was the original (cf. Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre* [Leipzig, 1912], 1:86), and thus Constable and Somerville, "Two Monastic Fragments," p. 13, should be revised.

⁹⁶ Since the copies of documents in the Collection Doat were made for Colbert, and entered the Royal Library in 1732 with the Colbertine manuscripts, a text printed from a Doat copy could in the second decade of the eighteenth century be termed "Ex ms. Colbertino," although differences between Martène and Durand's printing and the Doat copy of JL 5430 call that derivation into question. The survival of the original makes the matter unimportant for establishing the text of Urban's privilege, although perhaps it is an indication of a medieval copy of the privilege among the Colbertine manuscripts. An effort to find such a text has been fruitless, although that result is tentative given the fact that the modern catalogue of the "fonds latin" has yet to reach MS 4000.

(iii) PL 151:319–20, from ii.

JL 5430 is calendared by Rabikauskas (see n. 29, above), “Chronologisches Verzeichniss aller in römischer Kuriale geschriebenen. . . .”

The text below is from the original, edited for capitalization and punctuation and with capitals used to render the elongated letters of the protocol. The ends of lines are marked by /. Items in pointed brackets are illegible on the original and have been supplied from copy i; editorial additions are in square brackets.⁹⁷

URBANUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI⁹⁸ KARISSIMO FILIO PETRO PREPOSITO CANONICE SANCTI ANTONINI MARTIRIS IN CONDATENSI TERMINO SITI TUISQUE SUCCESSORIBUS CANONICE ORDINANDIS IN PERPETUUM./ Cum universis sancte ecclesie filiis ex apostolice sedis auctoritate ac benivolentia debitores existamus, illis tamen locis atque personis que specialius ac familiarius Romane adherent ecclesie queque ampliori religionis gratia eminent/ propensiori nos convenit caritatis studio inminere. Quia igitur, venerabili fratre nostro Amato episcopo nobis referente, cognovimus prefatam canonicam iussu beatissime recordationis pape Gregorii septimi, tam ipso/ Amato episcopo quam reverentissimo fratre nostro Hugone Lugdunensi archiepiscopo mediantibus, cum omni monastica et canonica religione destituta esset, institutam, tam bonis iniiciis oportet nos benivolentie manum/ porrigere et religionis quieti prospicere. Propter quod tuis, karissime fili Petre, iustis petitionibus annuentes, predicti fratris nostri Amati episcopi litteris exorati prenominatam sancti Antonini canonicam in ius, tutelam,/ protectionemque sancte Romane ecclesie suscipimus, presentis ei decreto privilegii confirmantes omnia que vel nunc iuste possidet vel inposterum, largiente Domino, iuste poterit adipisci, et ab omnium omnino hominum potestate liberam sub solius apostolice sedis tuitione quietam permanere auctoritate apostolica sancimus, salva episcopali iustitia canonica, quousque vel qui ad presens ibi Domino Deo nostro famulantur canonici, vel qui futuris ibidem/ (temporibus) sunt servituri regulariter vivere, et communiter vivendo propriumque non habendo tam apostolicas quam beatorum Hieronimi, Augustini de conversatione communiter viventium clericorum studuerint institutas [s]ervare.⁹⁹ Decernimus ergo atque statuimus ut nulli omnino (MS: omninino) hominum liceat eandem canonicam temere perturbare, aut ei subditas possessiones auferre, minuere, vel temerariis vexationibus fatigare, set omnia integre conserventur eorum pro quorum sustentatione concessa sunt usibus profutura. Vos igitur, filii in Christo karissimi, oportet regularis discipline institutioni sollicitius ac devotius insudare ut quanto ab/ secularibus estis tumultibus (liberi, tanto) studiosius placere Deo totius mentis et anime virtutibus anheletis, precipue studentes Romane ecclesie decreta veneranda servare, cuius/ patrocinio ab omni [om]nium iugo viventium estis, annuente Domino, premuniti. Ad indicium autem percepte huius a Romana ecclesia libertatis per annos singulos quinque solidos monete illius terre Late/ranensi palatio persolvitis. Sane si quis in crastinum archiepiscopus aut episcopus, imperator aut rex, princeps aut dux, comes aut vicecomes aut iudex aut persona quelibet, magna vel/ parva, potens aut im-

⁹⁷ Notwithstanding the difficulties of deciphering *curialis Romana*, the edition presents a more accurate rendition of Urban's privilege than has been available to this time.

⁹⁸ After “DEI” and before “KMO” (“KARISSIMO”) is a space and a triangular symbol. Another such triangle occurs at the end of the protocol, after “IN PERPETUUM.” The significance of these symbols, which frame the address and salutation, remains to be determined.

⁹⁹ The sense of the privilege from “quousque” to the end of this line is clear, but the text is complicated. The early-modern editors supplied “et” between Jerome and Augustine, which does not appear in the manuscript, and read “statuta servare” at the end of the line. The document has “institutaservare.”

potens, huius nostri privilegii paginam sciens contra eam temere venire temptaverint, secundo tertiove commonitus, si non satisfactione congrua emen/daverit a Christi et ecclesie corpore eum auctoritate potestatis apostolice segregamus. Conservantibus autem pax a Deo et misericordia presentibus ac futuris seculis conserventur./ Amen. Amen. Amen. Scriptum per manum Gregorii scrinarii atque notarii sacri palatii./

Rota

Benevalete

Datum Rome per manus Gotesculci presbiteri vicem gerentis cancellarii sacri palatii, V kal. Aprilis, anno Dominice incarnationis MXC, indictione XIII, anno tercio domni Urbani pape II.

TEXTS 2–3

CB 24 and 36 are printed here exactly (aside from punctuation and capitalization) as they appear in London, British Library, MS Add. 8873, fols. 146r and 149r. These two texts will be edited by Stephan Kuttner and Robert Somerville in their forthcoming edition of the excerpts attributed to Urban II in CB.

Here and in the following texts, pointed brackets indicate letters supplied by the editors; square brackets indicate manuscript readings where these differ from the printed text.

Printings:

(Text 2) Samuel Löwenfeld, *Epistolae pontificum Romanorum ineditae* (Leipzig, 1885), p. 61, no. 125, from a transcription of MS Add. 8873 made by Edmund Bishop.

(Text 3) Paul Ewald, “Die Papstbriefe der Britischen Sammlung,” *Neues Archiv* 5 (1880), 363, no. 36, also from Bishop’s transcription.

Text 2: CB 24 (JL 5379)

Bernardo ab/ monasterii.

(Q)uia consuetudo Romane ecclesie non est ut personis absentibus privilegia formentur, id distulimus exhibere [MS: exhibere]. Si ergo tu, karissime fili, egritudine, sicut dicitur, impediens, ipse nobis tuam non poteris exhibere presentiam, priorem mitte, et cum eo personas quas ipse iudicaveris. De professione unde nos per legatum consuluistis, id vobis respondendo consulimus ut prioris sancti Antonini, a quo ordinem accepistis vos victuros regulariter promisistis donec, Deo adiuvante, religiosorum virorum consilio, de propria congregatione magistrum et prepositum vobis eligere valeatis.

Text 3: CB 36 (JL 5389)

Pontio Rutenensi episcopo.

(Q)uod si de monasterio sancti Antonini, Hugone clerico ad nos veniente, decrevimus, consilio Teuzonis monachi qui vestris in partibus Romane fuit ecclesie nuntius, misegimus. Idque ipsum legatus noster Amatus episcopus se Lugdunensem archiepiscopum probasse et confirmasse, in presentia nostra, testatus est, utilius ac dignius asserens regulares tibi canonicos conversari quam solo nomine monachos ipsius ecclesie bona consumere.

TEXTS 4–6

The following are the first three items in the set of sixteenth-century summaries of papal bulls for St. Antonin found in AD G 877. Capitalization and punctuation are editorial, but the inventory’s spelling has been retained.

Text 4 (cf. JL 5379)

Urbanus secundus canonicis sancti Anthonini nuper regularibus canonicis effectis, quam diu sub disciplina canonicè vixerint, sicut carissimis filiis suis [MS: carissimos filios suos] apostolica deffensione protectionem et deffensionem promisit, et interim concessit quod professionem regularem emittant coram priore sancti Saturnini donec, Deo iuvante, de consilio religiosorum virorum, de propria congregatione magistrum et prepositum sibi eligere valerent. Et est de data 1084 mⁱ. lxxxiii.

Text 5 (cf. JL 5430)

Preffatus Urbanus secundus Petro preposito sancti Anthonini in Condatensi termino siti suisque successoribus canonicè ordinandis imperpetuum sub hiis verbis: Quia igitur venerabili fratri nostro Amato episcopo refferente cognovimus etc.; tam bonis iniciis oportet nos begnivolentie manum porrigere ac religioni quieti prospicere, propter quod tuis, carissime fili [MS: filii] Petre, iustis peticionibus annuentes per predicti fratris [MS: fratri] nostri Amati litteras exortati prenominatam sancti Anthonini canonicam in ius, tutelam, et protectionem sancte Romane ecclesie suscipimus, presentis ei decreto privilegii [MS: privilegi] confirmantes omnia que nunc iuste possidet etc.; et ab omnium omnino hominum potestate libera sub solius apostolice sedis tuitione quietam permanere auctoritate apostolica sanximus, salva episcopali iusticia canonica. Et postea sequitur: precipue studentes Romane ecclesie decreta veneranda servare, cuius patrocinio ab omnium iugo viventium estis, annuente [MS: annuentem] Domino, praemuniti, ad indicium autem percepte huius a Romana ecclesia libertatis per annos singulos quinque solidos etc. Postea sequitur: Si quis in posterum archiepiscopus aut episcopus, imperator aut rex etc. Datum Rome quinto Kl. Aprilis, anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo lxxx, indictione xiii, anno tercio domni Urbani pape secundi.

Text 6 (JL ———)

Predictus Urbanus secundus Rigardo preposito et eius fratribus in ecclesia sancti Anthonini canonicam vitam professis eorumque successoribus in eadem religione permanuris iuxta petitionem venerabilis fratris Adhemari, quondam [MS: condam] dicte ecclesie canonici tunc vero Ruthenensis episcopi, concessit ut sequitur: dilectioni vestre Romane protectionis privilegium innovamus estatuentes ut canonici ordinis disciplina, quam inspirante Deo preposuistis, firma semper apud vos et illibata repputetur. Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum, secundo idus Maii, indictione septima, incarnationis Dominice anno Domini millesimo nonagesimo nono, pontificatus domni Urbani pape secundi xii.

TEXT 7 (JL ———)

The bull of Calixtus II for St. Antonin, of which Lafon claimed to have seen the original, is known from the privileges of Alexander III and Lucius III and from the fourteenth-century dispute between St. Antonin and the bishop of Rodez (see n. 81, above). Lafon's descriptions provide details not found elsewhere, including the fact that the document was issued from the monastery of St. Théodard (Montauban) in the year 1119. This fits Calixtus's itinerary, for late in July of that year the pope was at St. Théodard (see JL 6719–20).

The following passages quote Lafon's comment on the bull of Calixtus. The first two are printed in his article and are found also in MS (pp. 13 and 43), with insignificant differences.

(Lafon, p. 10) En 1119, une bulle du pape Calixte II renouvelle les privilèges accordés

par ses prédécesseurs au chapitre de Saint-Antonin, de ne relever que de l'autorité immédiate de Saint-Siège: elle recommande de nouveau l'observance exacte de la règle de saint Augustin et défend la simonie.

(Lafon; p. 35) Cette bulle existe, en original, sur petite feuille en parchemin. Elle est datée du monastère Saint-Théodard [*sic*], de l'an 1119 et de la première année du pontificat de Calixte II. Le sceau a été brisé. . . . Le prévôt de Saint-Antonin et le syndic s'étaient rendus à Saint-Théodard [*sic*] pour le passage du pape et ils y obtinrent de lui la confirmation des privilèges du chapitre. C'est l'objet de la bulle dont il s'agit.

(Lafon MS, p. 43, opposite the drawing of Calixtus's bull, Fig. 4) Bulle du Pape Calixte II qui confirme le privilège accordé par ses prédécesseurs au monastère de St Antonin de relever de la juridiction immédiate du P.P. d'en appeler à lui pour les Domaines des fiefs et des biens qui leur venaient des donations pieuses. Illa [*sic*] défend la simonie, la vénalité des sacrements; ordonne l'exacte observance de la Règle de St Augustin et de garder fidèlement la cloture.

TEXT 8

Alexander III to Prior Stephen of the church of St. Antonin and his brothers forever, following Popes Urban and Calixtus, granting a privilege of protection, confirming possessions and rights; issued at Anagni, 30 November 1175.
JL 12525

Original lost.

Copies:

(i) Rodez, Arch. dép. de l'Aveyron G 942, fols. 85v–87v, made 19 November 1341 from the original for a "procès en cour de Rome" between the house of St. Antonin and the bishop of Rodez;

(ii) Paris, BN, MS Doat 124, fols. 344v–349r, made 18 November 1667, from a copy made 27 March 1521 from a "livre en parchemin."

Possessions, subscriptions, and datum printed by Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:137–39, no. 89, from ii. The description of i in the printed inventory of the Archives dép. de l'Aveyron (see n. 4, above) contains (pp. 950–51) a list of the possessions, mainly in French although in some cases identification was impossible and the Latin is given.

The text below is from i, edited for capitalization and punctuation; that transcription contains corrections by deletion and interlinear addition, which have been followed without note.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis Stephano priori ecclesie sancti Antonini que in Condatensi pago sita est eiusque fratribus tam presentibus quam futuris regularem vitam professis in perpetuum. Cum nobis sit quamquam inmeritis omnium ecclesiarum cura et sollicitudo commissa officii nostri debito, cogimur pro universarum ecclesiarum statu satagere, et ut esse possint a malignantium impugnatione quiete eas nos convenit apostolico patrocinio communire. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris iustis postulationibus benignius annuentes prefatam ecclesiam, in qua divino estis mancipati obsequio, ad exemplar predecessorum nostrorum felicitis memorie Urbani et Calixti Romanorum pontificum, in ius et proprietatem beati Petri eiusque tutelam suscipimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus. In primis siquidem statuantes ut ordo canonicus qui secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam in eodem loco institutus esse dignoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur. Preterea quascumque possessiones, quecumque bona eadem ecclesia in presentiarum iuste et canonice possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis modis prestante Domino poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimenda vo-

cabulis: locum ipsum in quo prefata ecclesia constructa est cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie cum decimis et aliis pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Michaelis cum appendiciis suis, ecclesiam sancti Sulpitii cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Saturnini de Castris cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam de monte Riccolf et de Mairissi cum pertinentiis earum, ecclesiam sancti Iuliani de Segregalgas cum salviatibus et omnibus pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie de Cande cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Iuliani de Carrander cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Cregoalla cum appendiciis suis, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Peregas cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie de Archiac cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Martini de Rocazargas cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam del Raust de Pino cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam de Marzac que in Agenensi episcopatu sita est cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Antonini de Valle Secusia cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Iohannis et ecclesiam sancti Martini de Naiac cum pertinentiis earum, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Mardanna et ecclesiam sancti Martini de Lazinnac cum pertinentiis earum, ecclesiam sancti Michaelis de Castluz et ecclesiam sancte Marie de Liuro cum pertinentiis earum, ecclesiam sancti Martini de Spiamonte cum pertinentiis suis. Sane novalium vestrorum que propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis sive de nutrimentis vestrorum animalium nullus omnino a vobis decimas presumat exigere. Liceat quoque vobis clericos vel laicos e seculo fugientes liberos et absolutos ad conversionem recipere, et in vestra ecclesia absque contradictione aliqua retinere. Nulli etiam liceat post factam in loco vestro professionem proprium quid habere, vel sine licentia prioris et fratrum de dicto claustrum nisi optentu artioris religionis discedere. Quod si discesserit et canonicè monitus redire contempserit, vobis facultas sit eum ubilibet ab suis officiis suspendere. Suspendum vero nullus episcoporum vel abbatum suscipiat quandiu in ecclesia vestra canonicus ordo Domino prestante vigerit. Porro ecclesie vestre ministeria videlicet prepositura, decania, capiscolia, et sacristia, non quibuslibet laicis sed personis ecclesiasticis committantur, sicut sanctorum patrum constitutionibus continetur. Ad hec decimationes ville sancti Antonini et totius territorii vobis et eidem ecclesie vestre auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, statuentes ut nulli laico liceat easdem decimas alii ecclesie conferre, vel ab eadem ecclesia vestra quomodolibet alienare. Crisma vero, oleum sanctum, consecrationes altarium seu basilicarum, ordinationes canonicorum seu clericorum vestrorum qui ad sacros ordines fuerint promovendi a diocesano suscipietis episcopo, si quidem catholicus fuerit et gratiam atque communionem apostolice sedis habuerit, et ea gratis et absque pravitate aliqua vobis voluerit exhibere. Alioquin liceat vobis quemcumque volueritis adire antistitem qui nimirum nostra fultus auctoritate quod postulatur indulgeat. Nulli quoque liceat ecclesiam vestram interdicto subicere vel in canonicos vestros excommunicationis, interdicti, vel suspensionis sententiam proferre nisi de mandato Romani pontificis vel legati a latere eius destinati. Sepulturam quoque ipsius loci liberam esse concedimus ut eorum devotioni et extreme voluntati qui se illic sepeliri deliberaverint, nisi forte excommunicati vel interdicti sint, nullus obsistat, salva tamen iustitia illarum ecclesiarum a quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur. Obeunte vero te nunc eiusdem loci priore vel tuorum quolibet successorum, nullus ibi qualibet surreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam providerint eligendum. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum liceat prefatam ecclesiam temere, perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere, minuere, aut quibuslibet vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia integra et illibata serventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione ac sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura, salva sedis apostolice auctoritate et in supradictis capellis diocesanorum episcoporum canonica iustitia. Ad indicium autem huius a sede apostolica percepte libertatis nobis nostrisque successoribus quinque solidos Ruthenensis monete annis singulis persolvatis. Siqua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostre

constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere venire temptaverit, secundo tertiove commonita, nisi reatum suum digna satisfactione correxerit potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino iudicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et Domini redemptoris nostri Ihesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine districte ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis autem eidem loco sua iura servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Ihesu Christi quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant, et apud districtum iudicem premia eterne pacis inveniant. Amen.

Ego Alexander catholice ecclesie episcopus.

Ego Bernardus Portuensis et sancte Rufine episcopus.

Ego Gualterus Albanensis episcopus.

Ego Iohannes presbiter cardinalis sanctorum Iohannis et Pauli tituli Pamachii.

Ego Iohannes presbiter cardinalis tituli sancte Anastasie.

Ego Albertus presbiter cardinalis tituli sancti Laurentii in Lucina.

Ego Boso presbiter cardinalis sancte Pudenciane tituli pastoris.

Ego Iohannes presbiter cardinalis tituli sancti Marci.

Ego Manfredus presbiter cardinalis tituli sancte Cecilie.

Ego Petrus presbiter cardinalis tituli sancte Susanne.

Ego Vivianus presbiter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Celio monte.

Ego Iacintus diaconus cardinalis sancte Marie in Cosmidin [MS: Colmidin].

Ego Arditio [MS: Ardino] diaconus cardinalis sancti Theodori.

Ego Cinthus diaconus cardinalis sancti Adriani.

Ego Hugo diaconus cardinalis sancti Eustachii iuxta templum Agrippe.

Ego Laborans diaconus cardinalis sancte Marie in Porticu [MS: Portien].

Dat'Anagni per manum Gratiani sancte Romane ecclesie subdiaconi et notarii, II kal. Decembris, indictione IX, incarnationis Dominice anno MCLXXV, pontificatus vero domni Alexandri pape III anno XVII.

TEXT 9

*Alexander III to the bishop of Rodez and the prior of Beaulieu, commissioning them to settle a dispute between the canons of St. Antonin and the bishop of Cahors concerning the churches of Caylus; issued at Anagni, 28 November 1159–60, 1173, or 1175–76.*¹⁰⁰ JL ———

Original lost.

Copy at Montauban, AD G 945, made 5 June 1668.

Printed by Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:147–49, no. 101, dated between 1159 and 1179. The privileges of both Alexander III and Lucius III note St. Antonin's possession of "ecclesiam sancti Michaelis de Castluz" with its appurtenances. Presumably this refers to Caylus (see *Inventaire sommaire des archives départementales . . . Aveyron* [see n. 4, above], p. 951), but the conflicting claims of the canons and the bishop of Cahors would require further investigation.

In the text below capitalization and punctuation are editorial.

Alexander episcopus servus servorum Dei venerabili fratri Rhutenensi episcopo dilecto filio abbati Bellilocencie salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum prior canonicorum sancti Antonii et nuntius Caturcensis episcopi pro causa que inter eos super ecclesiis de Caylus vertitur in nostra essent presentia constituti, prior canonicorum asseruit quod episcopus eos super iam dictis ecclesiis iniuste gravaret et eas sibi conaretur auferre, nuntius vero episcopi econtra proposuit quod quidam de canonicis contra prohibitionem suam in eisdem ecclesiis divina celebravit, et excommunicatos ipsius recepit,

¹⁰⁰ For Alexander's itinerary see Lohrmann, *Papsturkunden* (see n. 80, above), pp. 8–9.

et Christiane tradere sepulture presumpsit. Quoniam igitur in eadem causa non potuimus procedere pro eo quod illi non venerant ad agendum parati, vobis, de quorum prudentia et honestate confidimus, ad petitionem eorumdem prioris et nuntii eamdem causam commisimus audiendam et fine debito terminandam, ideoque discretioni vestre per apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus cum exinde fueritis requisiti in unum pariter convenientes utramque partem ante vestram presentiam convocetis, et rationibus hinc inde plenus auditis et cognitis, eandem causam concordia vel mediante iustitia, remoto appellationis obstaculo, terminetis. Dat' Anagnie IV kal. Decembris.

TEXT 10

Lucius III to Prior Raymond of the church of St. Antonin and his brothers forever, following Popes Urban, Calixtus, and Alexander, granting a privilege of protection, confirming possessions and rights; issued at Verona, 3 August 1184. JL 15066

Original at Montauban, AD G 876: bulla missing, but a few threads remain; approx. 66 cm. x 55.5 cm., with 2.7–3 cm. plica.

Copy in Paris, BN, MS Doat 124, fols. 349r–353v, made 18 November 1667, from a copy made 27 March 1521 from a "livre en parchemin."

Protocol, incipit, subscriptions, and datum printed by Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden*, 7:173–74, no. 129.

The text below is from the original, edited for capitalization and punctuation and with capitals used to render the elongated letters of the protocol, the names of popes written in majuscule characters within the body of the privilege and in the datum, and the triple "Amen." The ends of lines are marked by /. Items in pointed brackets are illegible on the original and have been supplied from Doat 124.

LUCIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI DILECTIS FILIIS RAIMUNDO PRIORI ECCLESIE SANCTI ANTONINI QUE IN CONDATENSI PAGO SITA EST EIUSQUE FRATRIBUS TAM PRESENTIBUS QUAM FUTURIS REGULAREM VI-TAM PROFESSIS IN PERPETUUM./ Cum nobis sit quamquam inmeritis ecclesiarum cura et sollicitudo commissa officii nostri debito, cogimur pro universarum ecclesiarum statu satagere, et ut esse possint a malignantium impugnatione quiete eas nos convenit apostolico patrocinio communire. Eapropter, dilecti in Domino filii, vestris iustis postulationibus clementer annuimus et/ prefatam ecclesiam sancti Antonini que in Condatensi pago sita est, in qua divino mancipati estis obsequio, ad exemplar predeces-sorum nostrorum felicitatis recordationis URBANI,/ CALIXTI, et ALEXANDRI Roma-norum pontificum, in ius et proprietatem beati Petri eiusque tutelam suscipimus et presentis scripti privilegio communimus. In primis siquidem statuen/tes ut ordo canonicus qui secundum Deum et beati Augustini regulam in eadem ecclesia institutus esse dignoscitur perpetuis ibidem temporibus inviolabiliter observetur. Preterea quascumque/ possessiones, quecumque bona eadem ecclesia inpresentiarum iuste et canonicè possidet, aut in futurum concessione pontificum, largitione regum vel principum, oblatione fidelium, seu aliis iustis/ modis prestante Domino poterit adipisci, firma vobis vestrisque successoribus et illibata permaneant. In quibus hec propriis duximus exprimens vocabulis: locum ipsum in quo prefata/ ecclesia sita est cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie cum decimis et aliis pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Michaelis cum appendiciis suis, ecclesiam sancti Sulpitii cum pertinentiis suis,/ ecclesiam sancti Saturnini de Castris cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam de monte Riccolf et de Mair(i)ss(i) cum earum pertinentiis, ecclesiam sancti Iuliani de Segregalgas cum salvitatibus et omnibus pertinenti/is suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie de Cande cum suis pertinentiis, ecclesiam sancti Iuliani de Carrander cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Cregoalla

cum appendiciis suis, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Peire/gas cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancte Eulalie de Archiac cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Martini de Rauzargas cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam del Raust de Pino cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam/ de Marzac que in Agennensi episcopatu sita est cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Antonini de Valle Secusia cum pertinentiis suis, ecclesiam sancti Iohannis et ecclesiam sancti Martini de Naiac cum pertinenti/is earum, ecclesiam sancte Marie de Mardanna et ecclesiam sancti Martini de Lazinnac cum earum pertinentiis, ecclesiam sancti Michaelis de Castluz et ecclesiam sancte Marie de Liuro cum earum pertinentiis/ et ecclesiam sancte [sic] Mar(ti)ni de Spiamonte cum pertinentiis suis. Sane novalium vestrorum que propriis manibus aut sumptibus colitis sive de nutrimentis animalium vestrorum nullus a vobis decimas exi/gere aut extorquere presumat. Liceat quoque vobis clericos vel laicos e seculo fugientes liberos et absolutos ad conversionem recipere, et eos absque contradictione aliqua retinere. Nulli etiam liceat/ post factam in loco vestro professionem proprium quid habere, vel sine licentia prioris et fratrum de claustro nisi artioris religionis optentum discedere. Quod si discesserit et canonicè moni/tus redire contempserit, vobis facultas sit eum ubilibet ab officiis suis suspendere. Suspensum vero nullus episcoporum vel abbatum suscipiat quandiu in ecclesia vestra ordo canonicus Domino prestan/te vigerit. Porro ecclesie vestre ministeria videlicet prepositura, decania, capiscolia, et sacristia, non quibuslibet laicis sed personis ecclesiasticis committantur, sicut sanctorum patrum consti/tutionibus continentur. Ad hec deci(m)ationes ville sancti Antonini et totius territorii vobis et eidem ecclesie, sicut hactenus tenuistis, auctoritate apostolica confirmamus, statuen/tes ut nulli laico liceat easdam d(ec)imas alii ecclesie conferre, vel ab eadem ecclesia vestra quomodolibet alienare. Crisma vero, oleum sanctum, consecrationes altarium seu basilicarum, ordinationes/ canonicorum seu clericorum vestrorum qui (ad sacros) ordines fuerint promovendi a diocesano suscipiatis episcopo, si quidem catholicus fuerit et gratiam atque communionem (apos)tolicæ sedis habuerit, et ea vobis/ gratis et absque gravitate aliqua (voluer)it exhibere. Alioquin liceat vobis quemcumque malue(ritis) catholicum adire antistitem qui nimirum nostra fultus auctoritate quod postulatur indulge/at. Nulli etiam liceat ecclesiam vestram interdicto subicere vel in canonicos vestros excommunicationis, interdicti, vel suspensionis sententiam promulgare nisi de mandato Romani pontificis vel/ legati ab eius latere destinati. Sepulturam preterea ipsius loci liberam esse decernimus ut eorum devotioni et extreme voluntati qui se illic sepeliri deliberaverint, nisi forte excommunicati vel/ interdicti sint, nullus obsistat, salva tamen iustitia illarum ecclesiarum a quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur. Obeunte vero te nunc eiusdem loci priore vel tuorum quolibet successorum, nul/lus ibi qualibet surreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum Dei timorem et beati Augustini regulam pro/ viderint eligendum. Decernimus ergo ut nulli omnino hominum fas sit prefatam ecclesiam temere, perturbare, aut eius possessiones auferre vel ablatas retinere, minuere, seu quibusli/bet vexationibus fatigare, sed omnia integra conserventur eorum pro quorum gubernatione ac sustentatione concessa sunt usibus omnimodis profutura, salva sedis apostolicæ/ auctoritate et in suprascriptis ecclesiis diocesanorum episcoporum canonica iustitia. Ad indicium autem percepte huius a sede apostolica libertatis quinque solidos Ruthenensis monete annis sin/gulis nobis nostrisque successoribus persolvatis. Siqua igitur in futurum ecclesiastica secularisve persona hanc nostre constitutionis paginam sciens contra eam temere venire tempta/verit, secundo tertiove commonita, nisi reatum suum digna satisfactione correxerit potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reamque se divino iudicio existere de perpetrata/ iniquitate cognoscat, et a sacra(tissimo) corpore ac sanguine Dei et Domini redemptoris nostri Ihesu Christi aliena fiat, atque in extremo examine divine ultioni subiaceat. Cunctis/ autem eidem loco sua iura servantibus sit pax Domini nostri Ihesu Christi quatinus et hic fructum bone actionis percipiant, et apud districtum iu/dicem premia eterne pacis inveniant. AMEN. AMEN. AMEN.

Rota Ego Lucius catholice ecclesie episcopus ss. Benevalete
†Ego Johannes tituli sancti Marci presbiter cardinalis ss.
†Ego Laborans presbiter cardinalis sancte Marie trans Tiberim tituli Calixti ss.
†Ego Pandulfus presbiter cardinalis tituli basilice XII Apostolorum ss.
†Ego Theodinus Portuensis et sancte Rufine sedis episcopus ss.
†Ego Henricus Albanensis episcopus ss.
†Ego Tehobaldus Hostiensis et Velletrensis episcopus ss.
†Ego Arditio sancti Theodori diaconus cardinalis ss.
†Ego Gratianus sanctorum Cosme et Damiani diaconus cardinalis ss.
†Ego Soffredus sancte Marie in via lata diaconus cardinalis ss.
†Ego Albinus sancte Marie nove diaconus cardinalis ss.
Dat' Verone per manum Hugonis sancte Romane ecclesie notarii, III non. Augusti,
indictione II, incarnationis Dominice anno MCLXXXIII pontificatus vero domni LUCII
pape III anno III.

APPENDIX 1

The table on pages 862–63 presents a register of the thirty-two bulls noted by Lafon, together with information about their date, location, and “fortuna” in various inventories and printed sources.

Lafon no.	Pope	Date	Lafon Date (if different)	Original in AD	Papal Register	Summaries ⁶	Inventory I ⁷
1	Urban II	1090		G 1281?		2?	
2	Urban II	1099				3	
3	Calixtus II	1119					
4	Alexander III	1175	1165			4	1
5	Lucius III	1184		G 876		5	2
6	Innocent IV	1250					
7	Alexander IV	1255					8
8	Alexander IV ¹	1256		G 1281			7
9	Clement IV	1267				10	
10	Boniface VIII	1302	1298	G 1281		12	11
11	John XXII	1325	1320	G 901	21339 ³		
12	John XXII	1316	1320	G 898	2070		
13	John XXII	1323	1327	G 902	17548		
14	Clement IV ²	1268	1345	G 876	647 ⁴	8	17
15	Clement VI	1345		G 931			
16	Clement VI	1346		G 901			
17	Clement VI	1346		G 901			
18	Clement VI	1347	1348	G 900			
19	Clement VI	1347	1348	G 933			
20	Clement VI	1348	1349	G 933			
21	Clement VI	1348	1350	G 937			
22	Clement VI	1348	1350	G 937			
23	Clement VI	1348	1350	G 898			5
24	Innocent VI	1354	1356	G 876			
25	Innocent VI	1354	1358	G 876			
26	Innocent VI	1360		G 876			4
27	Innocent VI	1360		G 1290			
28	Innocent VI	1360		G 934			
29	Urban V	1364	1365	G 1281	11589 ⁵		
30	Gregory XI	1376		G 876			16
31	Martin V	1425	1419	G 877			
32	Eugene IV	1444		G 877			12

¹ Published in Yves Dossat, *Les crises de l'inquisition toulousaine au XIIIe siècle* (Bordeaux, 1959), p. 342; see also p. 283.

² Attributed by Lafon to Clement VI.

³ *Jean XXII (1316-1334): Lettres communes*, ed. Guillaume Mollat (Paris, 1904-47).

⁴ *Les registres de Clément IV (1265-1268)*, ed. Edouard Jordan (Paris, 1893-1945).

⁵ *Urbain V (1362-1370): Lettres communes*, ed. M.-H. Laurent et al. (Paris, 1954-).

⁶ AD G 877 (sixteenth century), with summaries of fourteen bulls (seven not in Lafon).

⁷ AD G 877 (first half seventeenth century?), with pressmarks corresponding to those in Inventory II, lists seventeen bulls (and one legatine privilege), of which eight (including the legatine privilege) not in Lafon.

Inventory II ⁸	Inventory III ¹⁰	Lafon source ¹¹	Grimaldi (1787) ¹²	Vaissière (1872) ¹³	Servières (1874) ¹⁴	Moulenq, 1 (1879) ¹⁵	Daux, 1 (1881) ¹⁶	Lafon no.
	1	O	131-32	188-89 (1), 197	151	1.411		1
		C	131-32	197	151	1.411		2
		O						3
1 ⁹	2	O	131-32	189 (3), 197	189			4
2	3	Cahier	131-32	197	189			5
20		O						6
14		O						7
13		O		188 (8)				8
18	9	O	131-32		217			9
17	8	O	131-32					10
22		O						11
46		O						12
44		O					XII, 7, n. 2	13
50	11	O		190 (14)				14
37		O						15
23		O						16
24		O						17
27		O						18
31		O						19
32		Cahier						20
39		Cahier						21
40		Cahier						22
5	5	Cahier					XII, 6, n. 1	23
11		O						24
12		O			285		V, 19	25
4	4	O						26
43		Cahier					XII, 7, n. 2	27
33		Cahier						28
19		Cahier						29
49		O		197		1.411	XII, 7, n. 2	30
		O		197		1.411	XII, 7, n. 2	31
21	10	O	131-32					32

⁸ AD G 1019 (nos. 6 and 9; two copies dated 1661 and 1662 respectively), with fifty-one bulls (and one legatine privilege), of which twenty-three are not in Lafon (see Appendix 2). Five (nos. 1, 28-30, and 36) are marked "en deficit" or "non trouvée."

⁹ Marked "en deficit," showing that the original was missing in 1661 and 1662.

¹⁰ AD G 1019 (no. 14; early eighteenth century?), with pressmarks corresponding to those in Inventory II, lists twelve bulls, of which three not in Lafon.

¹¹ O = original, C = copy (see n. 45, p. 843, above), and Cahier (see n. 14, p. 831, above).

¹² See n. 2, p. 829, above.

¹³ See n. 1, pp. 828-29, above. The numbers in parentheses are those given by Vaissière.

¹⁴ See n. 4, pp. 829-30, above.

¹⁵ See n. 21, p. 837, above.

¹⁶ See n. 19, p. 837, above.

APPENDIX 2

The following twenty-nine bulls are listed in the Summaries (S) or in Inventory II (I) but not by Lafon. The locations in AD of sixteen originals are indicated in parentheses. An asterisk (*) indicates a bull is marked in Inventory II as missing (“en deficit” or “non trouvée”).

Urban II: S 1 (see Text 4 above)

Alexander III: I 35 (see Text 9 above)

Alexander IV: S 6 (= I 15), S 7

Clement IV: S 9, S 11

John XXII: *I 28

Clement VI: I 9 (G 877), *I 29, *I 30, *I 36, I 41 (G 902?), I 48 (G 898), I 52 (G 887)

Urban V: I 25 (G 900), I 26 (G 900)

Gregory XI: I 8 (G 876), I 34 (G 945), I 38 (G 948), I 42

Clement VII: I 10 (G 877), I 51 (G 877)

Sixtus IV: S 13, S 14

Pius III: I 6 (G 938)

Leo X: I 3 (G 877), I 7 (G 898), I 16, I 47 (G 898)